

*Events of the Year One Thousand Three Hundred and Five Hijri, Down to the
Beginning of Which Year Seven Years, Three Months, and Twenty-Five Days
Have Passed Since the Auspicious Accession to the Throne of His Majesty*

At the beginning of this year, Ya'qub 'Ali, Muhammad Tahir, and Muhammad 'Ali the sons of Sayyid Ahmad, one of the sayyids of Sarab of Ghaznin, had built a well-fortified six-tower fort. Despite the royal might they had shown themselves to be willful and unsubmitive and had picked a fight with Ghulam Husayn Khan, the son of Gulistan Khan Hazarah, over a tenancy matter involving the people of Sarab. Because of this and also because of the fact that they had been acting arbitrarily in seizing property belonging to Afghan nomads and robbing them with impunity and bringing grief and injury to the people, a farman went out from His Majesty to Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, telling him to arrest the men, send them to Kabul and confiscate their money and property for the royal purse (*khālīshah*). Thereupon (the governor) quickly dispatched Muhibb 'Ali Khan, the *kūtwāl* with Muhammad Din *ṣad-bāshī* and a group of Sakhlu infantry to Sarab and they confiscated the fort, and the money and property of those sayyids. The *ṣad-bāshī* went to Nahur to confiscate their forts and property there and brought them all into the confines of the confiscation accounts. Ya'qub 'Ali who had at this time had just come to Kabul was arrested and jailed. Muhammad 'Ali was arrested and sent to Kabul under detention. Their wives and children were also summoned to Kabul. After awhile, all were released but ordered to live in the capital. After a few years, Ya'qub 'Ali and Muhammad Tahir fell victim to cholera and died. Muhammad 'Ali managed to escape to Mashhad with his family.

During this time, on Tuesday, the second of Muharram/20 September 1887, because of a letter from Parwanah Khan, deputy field marshal, General Ghulam Haydar Khan sent to Kabul two banners (*bayraq*) of Sakhlu infantry from Gardiz who had been serving under his flag since the rebellion of the Taraki, and 'Ali Khayl. He dispatched them from the fort at Shinkay with the messenger who had brought the letter as well as a chestnut (*surkhang*) horse which His Majesty had given the general to use from the royal stables.

Also, the new Durrani regiments which were wending their way to Kabul arrived in Muqur on the second of the month, departed from there for the capital, were reviewed by the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan, and were enrolled in the regular army.

On Wednesday, the third of Muharram, seven of the leaders of the Khajuri tribe, seven from Mihr 'Ali Khayl, fourteen from the Ayyub Khayl tribe, seven from Kamal Khayl, fifty individuals of middling status from those tribes, together with Malik Qazi, Gul Mir, and five leaders and thirty individuals of middling status of the Ghalang who had come forward in obedience and, as was recounted under the events of the previous year, were shown consideration and had returned home, repentantly presented themselves before Sardar Shirindil Khan and, using the Glorious Qur'an and sayyids as intercessors sought

forgiveness for their misdeeds, begged for pardon with the tongue of humility, and presented three head of sheep as a customary offering (*ta'āruf*). Sardar Shirindiul Khan along with Colonel Sayyid Asghar Khan, the regular army commanders Muhammad Nasir Khan and °Ali Muhammad Khan, and Fayz Muhammad Khan *risālah-dār* assuaged the fears (of the delegation), put their minds at ease, obtained a solemn pact, sworn on the Praiseworthy Qur'an, and resolved with them they would follow no path but obedience and, as friends of the allies of the government they would utter not one word in agreement with its enemies.

On Thursday, the fourth of Muharram/22 September, Mulla Wali Allah Tirahi who was behind all the trouble and turmoil which has been previously recorded, having departed the world at his appointed time, two of his disciples who had gone among the Mangal people to perform the Friday prayers, were expelled from their midst by an order from His Majesty which he had sent to Sardar Shirindil Khan.

On this same day, Malik Surat Matuni and °Alam Gul Makani presented themselves before Sardar Shirindil Khan and rubbed the temples of subservience on the ground of submission. They had fled to the Mangal mountains and then settled there and were now reconciled through the mediation of those who had come (to Sardar Shirindil Khan). Sardar Shirindil Khan gave robes of honor to all one hundred and twenty-four Mangal leaders and followers who had come to him. Some of them he kept by his side for government service (as *nawkars*) and to the rest he gave permission to return home. He sent (some of the) the notables along with their sons and brothers' sons whom he had detained as *nawkars* to Kabul, a few /574/ being kept by him.

During this time, Sayyid Shir Muhammad Khusti and the brother of Malik Qazi, the two of whom had been sent to conciliate and win over °Ala al-Din and the leaders of the Jani Khayl, now presented themselves at the majlis of Sardar Shirindil Khan accompanied by Qazi Mir Hashim Khan; the son of Qazi °Abd al-Rahman Matuni; Gul Din, the brother of Mulla °Ala al-Din; Kamal Khan, his cousin (father's brother's son); eight disciples of that mulla; five leaders of the Jani Khayl; Nur Allah Khan of Jaji Maydan; Dihbashi Gul Baz Khusti; and Shah Dad and Mir two men of the Sabri (tribe), all of whom up to now had wandered in the valley of foolishness but now came forward in repentance, Qur'ans on their heads. They brought two goats to Sardar Shirindil Khan and apologetically requested forgiveness for their crimes. All were treated kindly and their minds were set at ease. Mulla °Ala al-Din himself feigned illness and sent a message promising that after he recovered his health he would come to see Sardar Shirindil Khan with the Jani Khayl leaders. The reason for his feigning illness was this: he wanted to wait and see, along with the Jani Khayl leaders, what happened, good or bad, to the Ma'i Khayl leaders who had been sent to His Majesty.

When, as will come in due course, the leaders of the Ma'i Khayl were honored with the gift of ceremonial robes in the nobility-bestowing presence of His Highness, their imprisoned members released, the Mangal leaders and sons

of the leaders of the first rank honored at the court whose axis is justice, kept at Kabul with leaders of the second rank to serve the government and provided with salaries, expenses, and a wardrobe, and leaders of the third rank were given permission to return home, then Mulla °Ala al-Din and the Jani Khayl leaders came to Sardar Shirindil Khan in obedience and put their heads beneath the writ of the farman.

During these events, Mulla Khalil Akhundzadah who had given the hand of allegiance to His Majesty and had set forth to destroy the Khan of Jandul who refused to swear obedience, fell upon the latter at Miyan Kali and two sides fought. The battle was fierce and in the end sixty of Mulla Khalil's companions were killed or wounded. Of that total, two who were killed were disciples of the late Mulla Din Muhammad, known as "Mushk-i °Alam" (Fragrance of the World). Mulla Khalil turned his back on the fight and headed for home. He informed the court of his defeat and at the end of his letter he wrote these few words,

Although I was defeated, nevertheless before this, presently, and after this, all the heroes of the art of obedience and the braves of the craft of service have tightly tied the belt of service to the padshah of Islam, stand with integrity and, having knotted the rope of the oath (of obedience) to firm faith, are resolute in both word and deed, and as long as they live, they deem it their task to exterminate the Khan of Jandul who has turned his face from the felicity of allegiance.

To affirm this letter of his, he dispatched a number of the ulema and leaders there to go to the court of world refuge in Kabul, give the hand of the oath of allegiance, and return. Thus they were received and after the oath returned home.

Also during this time, a letter from Jan Muhammad Khan, the governor of Hazarah-i Day Zangi, Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani, Mir Yusuf Beg La°l, and Mir Ibrahim Beg Sar Jangal arrived at the throne. It informed His Majesty of their negotiations at the head of Charkh Pass with Mir Muhammad °Azim Beg Sih Pay, as recorded above. He (His Majesty) wrote

The matter of a robe of honor and title of sardar for Muhammad °Azim Beg who has embarked on the road of allegiance and service to the government has met with acceptance and we approve. The end.

He referred the matter of marriage to the sister of Muhammad °Azim Beg to those mirs and wrote that they themselves, with the approval and consent of the tribes and families of the girl should formalize the marriage contract. If consent were not forthcoming, the daughter of (that) person should not be given to anyone. At the issuance of this royal order, Jan Muhammad Khan informed Mir Muhammad °Azim Beg Sih Pay and summoned him. At first he sent a letter promising to come to the locale of Bargar but then on second thought sent a

message saying he would go to the throne of world refuge after the thirteenth of Muharram and would fulfill his hopes by kissing the sublime threshold. The recording of his being honored with an audience will come in due course—God willing.

Also in these times, through letters from news writers in Turkistan, it reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty that Mir Dawlat Khan Andkhudi and Mir Muhammad °Azim Beg Darzabi set their hearts on flight and resolved together to turn their faces towards the valley of foolishness along the path of waywardness and go to the territory in the grip of the Russian government. Also (they wrote that) Mirza Muhammad Riza, a clerk to General Ghulam Haydar Wardak who, as was recorded at the end of volume two, had murdered Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan the son of the late Amir Muhammad A°zam Khan, and fled to Bukhara, this clerk of his remaining behind was now enrolled in the corps of people serving Sardar /575/ Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan. In assemblies and gatherings he speaks ill of the government. Also, Colonel Taj Muhammad Khan, who in the past had been honored and esteemed by the government and at this time has withdrawn and is dwelling in the corner of apathy, is treading the path of disgruntlement toward the government. The same thing can be said About General Najm al-Din Khan. His daughter has the honor of sharing the bed of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and early on one of his sons was made governor of Aqchah while another son was the governor of Andkhud thanks to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's being his son-in-law. At this time their accounts are being examined. Out of consideration for Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the people of the diwan are not seriously demanding restitution of the misappropriated government money.

So His Majesty on Tuesday, the ninth of Muharram/27 September sent a farman to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and summoned the others to Kabul. With regards to Najm al-Din and his sons he wrote

There should be no special trust for a brother-in-law or the son of a brother-in-law. A case in point are the sons of Mir Jahandar Shah who enjoy the relationship of brother-in-law to His Majesty. What evil haven't they gotten up to? Keep an eye on your brothers'-in-law for you should be aware that you will get no benefit from them.

Also at this time Shah Abu'l-Fayz Khan Darwazi and his brother Shah Mahmud Khan, who had turned the face of hope in the direction of the court whose portico is compassion, arrived in Khanabad, were received with all honor and regard by the governor of Qataghan, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, and stayed there for a while as his guests.

During this time, Fath Muhammad Khan who had been ordered by His Royal Majesty to build guard posts along the Panjshayr and Andarab roads, erected strong towers at strategic locations and on behalf of the people of Panjshayr created an obstacle to any attack by the kafirs. A number of guards were assigned to each guardhouse and he then returned.

Also on the ninth of Muharram/27 September, two hundred men of the Urukza'i and Afridi of Tirah district who, incited by Mulla Wali Allah, had become allies (*rafīq*) of Nur Muhammad Khan and gone down into the valley of waywardness, now turned their hearts from him and with Mulla Bashir came to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan on the path of repentance, expressed their humility and submission, and asked forgiveness for their misdeeds. Similarly, one hundred others with Sahib Shir presented themselves before him, swore an oath on the Divine Word and agreed with the field marshal that they would not set foot off the highway of obedience, would not refuse but would fulfill any command or prohibition that issued from the glorious royal wellspring, nor would they turn from any royal judgments as these are what implement the divine commands and prohibitions.

Following this agreement, the field marshal obliged them to make their first act of service the following: to expel the wives and children of Sa'adu from Tirah, not allow him to remain in their midst. Nor were they to allow any fugitives to stay who had turned their faces from felicity and the government, embarked on the path of evildoing and wickedness, and set foot in the district of Tirah, whether coming from Afghanistan, India, or elsewhere. They were to prevent those connected to Nur Muhammad Khan from coming and going through those parts and if they entered, they were to seize their money and possessions and arrest and put the people themselves in chains. All these issues they accepted as their obligation, were dismissed, and returned home.

During this time, Mr. (Salter) Pyne, the Englishman, who was honored by reception at court and the boon of being enrolled in the corps of employees of the government, was ordered to go to London by His Majesty to purchase the necessary tools and machinery for the steam workshop, which had yet to be brought to its required completion. On Thursday, the eleventh of the month/29 September, a farman was sent to Mulla Abu Bakr, a government appointee resident in India, to hand over four laks and seventy thousand English rupees, the price of the items which that "mister" was buying for the government. He was also to accompany him to London and supervise the purchase of those items and the price which he paid for them so no loss would accrue and no funds wasted. (His Majesty) also gave Mr. Pyne power of attorney to get an accounting from the Bank of England of 12,000 English rupees which had gone missing and add them to the money available for the price of the machinery he was buying. Mulla Abu Bakr had handed these 12,000 rupees, in accordance with a farman recorded earlier, to Mr. Jerome Krishgar the Frenchman, to carry out this same task (to purchase machinery). With royal approval he had recruited another five people to work for the government of Afghanistan and deposited the funds in the Bank of England payable to him. He then vanished without a trace, despite the loyalty he (supposedly) had to the government of Afghanistan. Although an investigation was undertaken he was never found.

Meantime, officials of the English government at the suggestion of His Majesty obtained solemn written undertakings (*iltizām-nāmah*) from Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan son of His late Highness Amir Shayr °Ali Khan,

Mirza Habib Allah Khan, *mustawfi* for the Wardak tribe, Shah Muhammad Khan, Sayyid Mahmud Khan Kunari, and others who had turned their faces / 576/ from the government, gone to India, and had each received a pension from the government of England, that should there ever be even a hint of their involvement in opposition to the government of Afghanistan they would surrender one year of pension as a fine. Accepting this condition, they gave a written affidavit (*sanad*).

Copy of a Manshur Which was Issued in the Name of Mulla Wali Allah Tirahi

Also during these times, Mulla Wali Allah Tirahi who had written a letter to His Majesty and then himself, as previously mentioned, had passed away on the fourth of this month (22 September 1887), his letter had reached the luminous consideration of His Majesty before news of his death and on Monday the fifteenth of Muharram/3 October, precisely eleven days after he died, the following manshur was addressed and sent to him:

Let it be known to the discerning mind of the Akhund, the possessor of sound belief and reader of the text of the Resurrection and the Return that last year your son presented himself with a letter you wrote (expressing) your obedience and saying, 'We and (all) Muslims call you our amir.' You also filled your letter with promises and vows to the effect 'Whoso obeys the amir obeys God, and whoso disobeys the amir disobeys God.'¹ We gave your son leave to return home with as much honor and esteem as could have been given and in the end the outcome of your 'obedience' was that you gave access to and assisted Nur Muhammad Khan, the son of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, and the bandit Sa^cdu. You were happy to see strife and tumult, loss and injury, introduced at their hands into the borders of the land of the government of Islam so that the affairs of Khust were thrown into turmoil and the wealth of some Muslims and Hindus was looted and the blood of many of those who utter the words "There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God" was spilled on the ground, until a victorious royal army arrived in that region and the evildoers fled and earned shame and a blackened face in this world and the next. Again they entered your house and tied the knot of wickedness. They are now settled among the Shinwar people and they allow no one to move from the path of waywardness to that of righteousness. "Oh zephyr, you have brought all this." On the Day of Reckoning, what answer will you give to the Lord of lords, the Lord of the Shari^cah, and the Book. This world is fleeting and all that is in it quickly perishes. Soon you will come to the place where you will be addressed and punished and you will find the rewards for your actions. As for us, as long as our hand, as God

¹ RM: FM gives this Prophetic hadith in Arabic.

wills, exercises authority and issues farmans, and, of all his worshippers, is delegated to protect his creatures, we will never be timid about dealing with enemies. The chill wind of the might of the Lord will remove from the page of existence this handful of dirt (the rebels) which passes its nights in one place and its days in another (hiding) in caves and crannies, so that not a speck of (its) dust will remain on the mirror of our mind. More astonishing is that in the recent letter which reached the throne you wrote, ‘You are the amir of the Muslims of the world because of your justice. My connection and friendship with Nur Muhaammad Khan is a patent falsehood.’ Are he and Sa’du, both of them, enemies of the government or not? They entered Tirah, from there came to Khust, caused disturbances, and then returned to Tirah. Were you unable, either in the first or second instance, to arrest them, or strike at them and drive them out from your midst? On this question, if your excuse is ‘I didn’t have the power either to strike or capture them’ it’s unacceptable because you were prepared with an adequate force to attack the Turi people living in Kurram and weren’t worried about their numbers. Yet you were afraid of Nur Muhammad Khan and Sa’du? In any event, we leave punishment for your actions to the Lord Creator. (verse) “Do whatever you want; the Prophet is witness and God is the judge.” The end.

Since this manshur was issued after his death it was all in vain and brought no chastisement to the negligent nor guidance to the wayward.

Also at this time, through a letter from Sardar Muhammad ‘Umar Khan, the son of the Amir-i Kabir (Dust Muhammad Khan) whose expulsion from the country has been recounted above, his hardships and difficult circumstances were brought to the attention of His Majesty and on Monday, the twenty-second of Muharram/9 October 1887 a letter was drafted to him saying

It seems strange to me that though you were comfortable and safe in your land and your snug house, you then took an ax to your foot. Now that you are far away and experiencing despair and helplessness you remember the comforts of home. Sardar Ahmad Khan and Sardar Habib Allah Khan, your brothers, and Sardar Muhammad Aman Khan according to you are your enemies and there’s nothing strange about this because /577/ they opposed you in Kabul as well. Since you were aware of their enmity toward the government at the time they were expelled, you said nothing and so we ordered your expulsion as well despite your being at odds with them. Now we give you permission to come to the capital on condition that you don’t say you’re ill (when you come) and fail to fulfill the requirements of a friend and well-wisher (by coming to see me). The end.

Also in Muharram, cholera broke out in Qandahar and dispatched to the

land of non-existence many people whose appointed hour had come.

Also one hundred and fifteen of the imprisoned evildoers captured from the Taraki, °Ali Khayl, Hutaki, and other tribes, who were being guarded the newly formed Fufalza'i Durrani infantry regiment, left Qandahar in Muharram and entered Kabul on Thursday, the second of Safar/20 October 1887. At the order of His Majesty, one of the prisoners, the qazi of the Hutaki, was immediately executed. The account of the criminal activities of the others was requested, reached Kabul from Qandahar, and each person received the punishment his actions merited. The prince of the heavens and earth Sardar Habib Allah Khan reviewed the regiment, awarded regular army uniforms, weapons, and pay, enrolled them in the regular army and recorded each one individually by name in the (army) register.

During these events, at the order of His Majesty, the Englishmen Captain Bate and Major Peacocke with Muhammad Husayn Khan *risālah-dār* the son of Rajab °Ali Khan Hazarah of Ghaznin who at the time of the demarcating of the borders of Herat and Turkistan were (all) members of the English commission and who had good knowledge of the locations of the boundary markers separating the two countries along with forty cavalry and forty regular infantry went from Shalkut via Qandahar to repair those border towers and markers. They took with them one hundred mules for transport and arrived in the halting place of °Abbasabad on Friday the third of Safar. The governor of Qandahar having appointed an escort for them ordered the escort to take them as far as Girishk and from there to the provinces attached to Herat the governor of Pusht-i Rud would appoint an escort for them.

Meantime, Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan, the governor of Herat, because of a felicity-instructing manshur which His Bounteous Majesty had issued in his name, summoned to Herat General Ghaws al-Din Khan who since the time of the rebellion of the Firuz Kuh, mentioned above, had been stationed there and assigned the general's brother, Mulla °Aziz Khan, to go to Firuz Kuh from Herat and deal with the affairs of the Firuz Kuhis so that the general could join the officers sent by the English government to repair the boundary markers. When the English reached Isfizar and General Ghaws al-Din Khan also arrived in Herat, he (the qazi) prepared eight days worth of supplies for the English group at Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar, Qarah Tapah, Chihil Dukhtaran,, and Ribat-i Qashan. He also assembled and readied transport camels and in conjunction with Mirza Ya°qub °Ali Khan, an employee of the English government stationed in Herat, notified General Maclean in Mashhad of this by letter. On the 28th of October 1887 Miladi, the general sent a letter of thanks and appreciation to the governor of Herat. In it he also made the request that if provisions were needed in places other than these he would inform the viceroy of India that they would be provided. He also wrote and asked that the letters of the captain and the major be delivered under guard to the borders of Mashhad and Shalkut. The governor of Herat forwarded General Maclean's letter of to the throne and asked His Majesty for instructions. The order which issued from the royal presence will be recorded in it proper place, God willing.

The Joyous Marriage of the Fortune-Starred Daughter of Malik Landi Khan to The Felicitous and Youthful Prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, and an Account of the Circumstances of Mulla °Ala al-Din Which Were Indicated Earlier

Also in these times the chaste daughter of Malik Landi Khan Mangali whose request and wish met the glory of approval and the honor of acceptance of His Resplendent Majesty for her marriage to the eldest jewel of noblest rank and the brightest star of the constellation of perfection, the good and fair prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan. A farman was sent to Sardar Shirindil Khan to make splendid and joyous arrangements for the nuptials of the prince and to bring this matrimonial celebration and joyous occasion to fruition according to the custom and tradition of the Afghan general public, to assign some elderly wives of the leaders of that place to attend the lady of felicitous bower and prepare the marriage bed of honor and esteem.

During this time, Mulla °Ala al-Din who, it was previously indicated, seeing some of the leaders /578/ who were favored by His Majesty, awarded robes of honor and returning in glory, wrote out an oath of obedience in the margins of the Miraculous Word of the Lord of worshippers, put his seal on it, and, with two hundred of the leaders and worthies of the Jani Khayl Mangal who had promised to present themselves before Sardar Shirindil Khan sent it off to the sardar. After their arrival and the leaving of the Qur'an with him, he warmed all their hearts by saying

His Majesty, having drawn a pen through the crimes of all the people of Khust and Mangal, has forgiven their mistakes. So why has Mulla °Ala al-Din made himself the consort of frustration and fear and is avoiding officials of the government. He should take account of the kingly favors of His Majesty, who is one with his subjects, and should take the path of obedience, return home and settle down.

The (Jani Khayl) leaders, who had presented themselves and received the reassurances of the praiseworthy sardar, responded,

Since Mulla °Ala al-Din has sought refuge among us we deemed it fitting that first, humbly and through (your) intercession, we ask that he be forgiven for his mistakes. When he is pardoned we will bring him forward to apologize and will place the rope of obedience to the government around his neck.

Sardar Shirindil Khan liked and approved what they said and later adorned those worthy of the robe of honor with such a garment, assigned Sa°id Khan Minza°i, Qazi °Abd al-Rahman Matuni, Qazi Mir Hashim Khan, and Shayr Muhammad Khan to accompany them and gave them leave to return home so that together they could also reassure Mulla °Ala al-Din, set his mind at rest, and

bring him (back) with them. Thus it was that on the twenty-seventh of Safar/14 November 1887, they brought the mulla and six others, each holding a copy of the Word of God as mediation on their heads, to Sardar Shirindil Khan. After they all requested pardon and forgiveness for their shortcomings, the mulla himself abjectly requested of Sardar Shirindil Khan that first he (the sardar) and Colonel Sayyid Asghar Khan would ask pardon for sins from the favor-bestowing threshold of His Majesty and then he would send his brother and his cousins as well as several other of his relatives to the capital. He himself, because of his being weak and convalescing, should be excused from going to Kabul until the month of Hamal (Aries/March-April) so that God willing, after the world-dazzling Nawruz (New Year's Day, 20-21 March), dressed in pilgrim's garb (*ihrām*) he would direct his footsteps toward the qibla of mankind and the place akin to where high and low-born perform circumambulation, and there perform the ritual of kissing the sublime threshold of authority.

In view of the fact that Mulla Gulab al-Din and leaders of the Waziri tribe had refused to come forward on the path of obedience and submit to the writ of the farman, waiting to see what the outcome, either good or bad, would be for him (Mulla °Ala al-Din), Sardar Shirindil Khan gave his request a place in the ear of acceptance and awarded him a robe of honor. (Sardar Shirindil Khan) summoned the mulla's wives and relatives from the fastnesses of the Mangal mountains, gave the mulla himself permission to return home and made his dwelling place one of ease and comfort. (The Sardar) also sent off the mulla's brother and the sons of his paternal uncles to Kabul with the Jani Khayl leaders. Exalted by His Bounteous Majesty with the gift of robes of honor and the acknowledgement of their service to the government, those who merited it were given permission and returned home.

During this time, Malik Yar Muhammad Khan Dawari had come forward with his son, Khan Muhammad Khan, by way of obedience and offered their services to Sardar Shirindil Khan. Of ten thousand men living in Dawar, they identified three thousand who belonged to them and they agreed to pay five thousand Kabuli rupees as the tax on the lands belonging to them as was paid by other subjects to officials of the government. Sardar Shirindil Khan gave him a robe of honor and permission to return and concluded an agreement with him to return home and then bring the leaders of his district. After their being reassured and given robes of honor and permission to return home, he would forward the tax revenues. He also sent letters of reassurance with him to other leaders of the district of Dawar and invited them to proffer their obedience.

The Situation of Ill-wishers of the Government Who Were in Herat

Also during the above events, through reports from news writers in the "Abode of Victory" Herat and others, officials and friends of the noble government informed His Majesty of the detrimental actions and enmity of some people of Herat who wished the government ill and had taken the path of hostility. Some of them had (already) been summoned to Kabul while a number

(2) of others were still in Herat. On Monday, the twenty-seventh of Safar, the same day that the leaders of the Jani Khayl and Mulla °Ala al-Din had presented themselves to Sardar Shirindil Khan, /579/ as has already been noted, a farman was sent to the governor of Herat, Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan through Na°ib Mir Sultan Khan the *kūtwāl*, regarding government funds and some of the troublemaking bad actors in Herat like Mir Ibrahim who had wound the turban of mystical knowledge (*ma°rifat*) around his head and put the mantle of discipleship (*irādat*) on his shoulders (i.e. as an ascetic). He was summoned to Kabul and there it was established that fifteen thousand Kabuli rupees belonging to illwishers of the government who had fled to Iran had been entrusted to him. He gave surety (*sanad dādah*) that he would deposit the money in the (government) treasury. But from prison (in Kabul) he wrote in secret to those who had stayed behind to get his business capital and liquid assets (*māl al-tijārah wa naqdīnah*) out of Herat. This letter fell into the hands of officials of the throne and passed before the luminous sight (of His Majesty). So it was resolved that these funds should be collected from him. First he (the governor) should collect thirty thousand *qirān* rupees and send an accounting (*siyāhah*) for the remainder to officials of the throne.

A similar case is Captain Ghulam Muhammad Khan who, because of his wickedness and corruption, was summoned to Kabul, and then promised Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the former governor of Herat, a lak of *qirān* rupees not to send him to Kabul, funds he would pay him the next day. For this reason and also because a letter of his has fallen into (royal) hands in which he urges Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan to come to Herat, he should be sent to Kabul. He (the governor of Herat) should also send to Kabul (the following people): Ayyub the Jew who has charge of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's cash assets (*naqdīnah*); °Ali Akbar Khan Mughul who, according to what Sardar °Abd Allah Khan Taymuri has written, has in his possession Ahmad °Ali Khan's money; Shah Nawaz Khan the merchant who is a friend and partner of Taj Muhammad Khan the son of Aرسالah Khan Ghilja°i; °Abd al-Baqi the son of Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Zaman Khan whose father is in Kabul and who himself has taken sanctuary (*bast*) at the shrine of Khwajah °Abd Allah Ansari—God's mercy be upon him. The latter had spent some time in sanctuary and in the end threw himself down from the minaret, and broke his leg and ribs (lit: leg and side: *pā wa pahlū*). Rustam °Ali Khan, the *ḥasbī* (adopted?) brother of Field Marshal Faramarz Khan, arrested him with weakened body, broken back and ribs and handed him over to his father-in-law, °Abd al-Qadir Khan. When he recovered from his injuries, he escaped and his (own) wives and father-in-law were imprisoned. Concerning Mulla Sanjar it was decreed that as there was a great deal of money and property in his possession belonging to the exiles great care should be taken to make sure he did not hide it and that all of it passed into the hands of the government. It was also decreed that for every tuman, he should collect an additional two rupees to pay the salaries of the collector and the clerk assigned to this task.

During this time officials of Khurasan, at the order of His Highness, Nasir

al-Din Shah—his order made at the request of the English General Maclean—sent Luynab Khushdil Khan the son of the late Shirindil Khan Luynab, Saydal Khan, °Aziz Muhammad, and Ruh Allah Khan, retainers of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan who were in Mashhad, to Tehran so that from there they could all be transported to India along with the sardar by way of the Noble Baghdad, all of which will come in due course God willing.

During the course of this, Sar Buland Khan the son of Muhammad Akbar Khan Fufalza'i and Ghulam Muhammad Khan Barakza'i who at the time of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's arrival at Chashmah-i Minu were serving as Gushadah cavalry of the Herat territory (*julgā*), had welcomed him and thus strengthened his resolve, had been imprisoned therefore in Herat. Now their own relatives and fellow tribesmen demanded their deaths and executed them by stoning. Field Marshal Faramrz Khan bound Sharbat Beg, who had inclined his head towards the opposition, to the mouth of a cannon and blew him to bits.

In the course of these events, a sword which Nadir Shah Afshar used to hang from his belt and in the course of time had come into the hands of Muhammad Jan Beg Firuzkuhi, was taken from him by Rustam °Ali Khan who used to wear it on his belt. After some time he gave that sword to Field Marshal Faramarz Khan and one named "the dragon" to Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan, the governor of Herat. From reports of the news writers there, this reached the percipient royal hearing and he demanded both swords be sent to him. Field Marshal Faramarz Khan spent one hundred and seventy *misqāls* of gold alone to repair the shoulder strap (*bāzūband*) of Nadir Shah's sword which was virtually destroyed and sent it to the throne accompanied by Muhammad Hasan Khan.

Also at this time, several letters from Mirza Dust Muhammad, a Herati, reached his brother Mirza Ghulam Haydar Khan, who was secretary (*muḥarrir*) to His Highness the noble prince Sardar Nasr Allah Khan. They contained (criticism of) the misdeeds and immoral ways of Mirza Jilani who was the chief financial officer (*sar daftar*) of Herat and (praise for) the high and praiseworthy standards of Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan, the governor there. Through his brother, these (remarks) were forwarded to officials close to His Majesty and were presented for the noble consideration. His Majesty, thinking that Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan had instructed him to write this, sent a farman to the qazi to send him (Mirza Jilani) under guard from Herat to Kabul and not let him cause trouble by being there. It was also ordered that Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan absolutely had to send the son of Muhyi al-Din Khan who was his (Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan's) / **580/** father in law. This man had originally fled with Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, then come to Kabul by way of India and at the intercession of Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan been pardoned. His Majesty had forbidden the latter to take him with him to Herat but in violation of that order he had taken him anyway where he had (again) trod the pathway of illwill toward the government. The order further stated that should he refuse to send him to Kabul he should (at least) hand him over to Field Marshal Faramarz Khan who would expel him (from Herat).

Meanwhile, at the royal order which had been issued instructing him to send

the brothers of Mir Yahya to Kabul, Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan, summoned them to his durbar with a message telling them to present themselves, have some discussions, and then return home. One of them, Mir Afzal, in accord with the saying “fearful is the traitor,” was apprehensive because of things he had done and responded insincerely saying, “It’s evening now and too late to come, but I’ll definitely come tomorrow.” Having made this promise, both brothers of Mir Yahya along with a nephew and another man who were hostile to the government, fled toward Mashhad. But border guards at Kusuyah and Kafir Qal’ah captured them as well as another enemy of the government who was going in disguise to Herat from Mashhad and they were all imprisoned in Herat.

During this time, Colonel Yate who had been sent via Iran to repair and re-erect the towers marking the frontier of Herat, entered Holy Mashhad and traveled on from there via Zurabad and Dahanah-i Zu’l-Faqar to Qarah Tapah. The governor of Herat who, as noted above, had sent Mulla ʿAziz Khan to Firuz Kuh and recalled General Ghaws al-Din Khan to Herat in order for him to escort (another group of) the English who were coming by way of Qandahar and had now reached Isfizar, dispatched him (Mulla ʿAziz) to the frontier sending him a letter with orders to go to Colonel Yate in Qarah Tapah and to accompany him until General Ghaws al-Din Khan arrived.

Meanwhile Captain Bate and Major Peacocke who had departed Isfizar for their destination by way of Arduwan reached Colonel Bate (sic! Yate) and linked up with him. When Mulla ʿAziz Khan arrived he met with Colonel (Y)ate. The latter presented Mulla ʿAziz with a double-barreled hunting gun, a six-shooter pistol, an enamel snuff box, and a drinking glass. He sent them all to the governor of Herat.

Eventually the representatives of the two governments of Afghanistan and England rebuilt the towers marking the border which had deteriorated and “they are decayed like dust” so that the end result was that on one side the Kushk River to the borders of Chihil Dukhtaran was the border of the government of Russia and on the other up to Qara Tapah belonged to Afghanistan. The Qashan River to Turah Shaykh and both sides of Turah Shaykh belonged to Afghanistan but (the land) farther down from that belonged to Russia thus establishing the boundary markers according to this delineation so eliminating controversy and making any disputes remote.

During this time, Mir Muhammad ʿAzim Beg Hazarah, who with Jan Muhammad Khan the governor of Day Zangi had promised to come after the thirteenth of Muharram and rub the forehead of humility on the dust of the sublime threshold, now came to fulfill his promise and obtained the honor of kissing the sublime threshold. His Majesty complimented him and exalted him with the bestowal of a robe of honor and the title of sardar. (His Majesty) promised to grant him the same stipend for men and mounts as that held by Sardar Anbiya Khan Taymani after all affairs were settled in the Hazarahjat so that both would have equal status. (But) he forgot these favors of His Majesty and in the end, as will come, he rebelled and received the rewards of his unsuitable actions and saw what he saw of recompense for what he did.

General Ghulam Haydar Khan and the Governor of Ghaznin Return from the Regions of the Taraki, °Ali Khayl, and Hutaki and the Promotion of the General to the Rank of Deputy Field Marshal

When the business of the fort at Shinkay which in Ramadan of the previous year at the order of His Majesty they began work on, constructing it with a moat which was six *zar*^c wide and four *zar*^c deep, throwing the dirt from the moat inside its walls (*dīwār*) and concealing its battlements (*hiṣār*) under ground, and also when the matter of the rebels of the Taraki, °Ali Khayl, and Hutaki tribes had ended and order was restored, due to a farman dated the thirteenth of Rabi° al-Awwal/29 November 1887 from His Majesty and sent to General Ghulam Haydar Khan, the latter left a regiment of regular infantry under the command of Sufi Muhammad Afzal Khan with one hundred regular cavalry in the Shinkay fort and himself with the rest of the army returned towards Ghaznin on the eighteenth of Rabi° al-Awwal. Likewise, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, on the 19th /581/ of the month set out on his return from the Taraki district. The two men entered Ghaznin one after the other on the twenty-fourth and twenty-seventh of the month. General Ghulam Haydar Khan camped the army beneath the two minarets of Ghaznin which are some of the structures from the time of Bahram Shah Ghaznavi while he himself came to Kabul at a farman of summons from His Majesty was pleased with the honor of kissing the hand of His Majesty and was given the great honor of being granted the title of deputy field marshal by His Majesty in reward for the services he had rendered. He then was given leave to return to Ghaznin which he did and there busied himself with army matters.

Also at this time, a friendly and agreeable response to the letter which General Maclean had sent from Mashhad to Herat regarding provisions for the men assigned to the frontier of Herat and the delivery of their letters and, as previously noted, which had then been sent to the throne was drafted by His Majesty. Sending the reply to the governor of Herat, he approved the requests of the general.

During these events, Ahmad °Ali Khan, the treasurer (*khizānah-dār*) of Herat was dismissed and, through the efforts of Mirza Jilani *sar daftar*, °Abd al-Jabbar Khwafi, a man of Herat, was appointed in his stead. Through an audit (*sanjish*) carried out by the mirza, sixteen thousand *qirān* rupees were determined to be owed by Ahmad °Ali Khan. Of that total, eight thousand rupees of tillas and other (coins) were determined to be on hand (? *jāydād*²) and so eight thousand was his immediate responsibility (*pāygīr-i ū*). He was summoned by farman to Kabul where he turned over to the public treasury (*khizānah-i °āmīrah*) the funds for which he was responsible.

² RM: Afghani-Nawis defines *jāydād* as *māl-i ghayr manqūlah* (immoveable property) and as *pūl-i qalamdādī bāqī dih zimmah-i ashkhāṣ* (money declared as in arrears and the obligation of individuals).

Also in this time, Rukn al-Dawlah received appointment to Khurasan from His Highness Nasir al-Din Shah and arrived in Holy Mashhad. Learning of this, His Majesty sent by parcel post (*dāk-i pārsāl*) to the governor of Herat two pieces (? *takhtah*) of white Kabuli camlet (fine wool) and five pieces of various colored pashminah of Kashmiri weave, equivalent to two bolts, and ordered him to write on his own behalf a letter of felicitations and congratulations and send it with the above items to Mirza Yusuf Khan, agent of the government of Afghanistan in Mashhad. When this was done, the *wālī* of Khurasan was obliged and grateful to the government of Afghanistan and wrote a letter in a highfalutin style to the governor of Herat to acknowledge the arrival of the gifts.

Also in these times, it reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty from news writers in Khanabad that Sayyid ʿUmar, the nephew of Sayyid Afzal the paternal uncle of Sayyid Mahmud Kunari who had fled to Hasan Abdal in the Punjab and was living there, enjoyed the honor, respect, and esteem of Sardar ʿAbd Allah Khan, the governor of Qataghan. His job is to read the letters that come to his Excellency, the governor, but he is also interfering in other government matters. His Majesty summoned him to Kabul by farman and sent him into exile in Hasan Abdal.

On Tuesday, the twenty-seventh of Rabiʿ al-Awwal/12 December 1887, the same day Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan arrived in Ghaznin as was mentioned above, a manshur was issued by His Majesty in the name of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan telling him to send to Kabul Aqa Rahim Beg, Musa Beg, and Mahmud Beg, leaders of the trouble-seekers of the Qubchi and Paranchi tribes who because they had aided and abetted the rebels of Firuz Kuh had been arrested by General Sharbat Khan, sent to Mazar-i Sharif and imprisoned there. He thereupon sent the three men to Kabul where they perished in the “prison of capital punishment” (*zindan-i siyāsat*) and carried the load of rebellion into the tomb.

During this, a letter and petition from all the sayyids and leaders of the Turi people living in Kurram reached Sardar Shirindil Khan. They wrote,

We heard that you were coming to Kurram to discuss and resolve with a representative of the English sent from Peshawar the issue of the property stolen from us by men of the Jaji tribe. We rejoice and are hopeful. We consent, and are pleased to submit, to His Majesty and we want a governor to be appointed to Kurram district on the illustrious behalf of His Highness to put into effect the royal commands and prohibitions. Since in view of our past rights we consider ourselves the humble servants of the government of Islam, at the time Muʿazz Allah Khan was governor of Aryub, we wrote and expressed to him our circumstances in the same words, but up to now we haven’t been fortunate and no resolution has emerged. Now that the people of Kurram have gotten a response from the English government, they’re frustrated and have little expectation of any help from that quarter and, in any event considering them (the English) repugnant, they hope that

some resolution will be introduced into their affairs by the government of Islam. If their hopes come to nothing, then this should be concealed and not brought out into the open and revealed.

The sardar forwarded their letter and petition on to the throne where it was honored by the luminous consideration of His Majesty /582/ who wrote Sardar Shirindil Khan saying,

The people of Kurram speak truly; declarations like this have been continually forthcoming and they have made abundantly evident their inclination and their professed and actual wish to obey and follow us. But since they haven't acted and behaved according to arrangements and instructions which have been issued (in the past) and have therefore remained in a suspended state, an order promulgated in their name was as follows: 'because the English government separated Kurram from the kingdom of Afghanistan during the amirate of Amir Muhammad Ya'qub Khan, the day we entered the kingdom, we had no choice but to keep silent on the matter and not to twist and tangle up the rope of discussions with that nation (by bringing up this issue) because English control and discretionary power is in effect there. Therefore we have no wish to demand Kurram from the English government nor that there be any meddling or interference there (by us) or that we be thought covetous.' If those people give any thought at all to the consequences of their actions, and consider us sympathetic to their situation, then they should tell the English government, 'we have been Afghans and since ancient times subjects and followers of the padshah of Afghanistan and now we are subject to the government of the Afghans. At the time we wanted to separate Kurram district off from Afghanistan it was because of the harsh and cruel treatment we received at the hands of the late Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan and his officials. We knew that even worse things would come from his children and successors. But those conditions have disappeared and Afghanistan has an amir who is a friend of all the peoples and tribes of Afghanistan and we are now embarked, willingly, on the path of obedience to him.' The English government would accept this if presented in this fashion and would say, 'fine.' But since the people of Kurram have not put things in such a way, and since for our part we have no ambitions (for Kurram), their affairs will remain as entangled and confused by their own doing as they are now. Also as long as they follow this path, it's fine, and there will be no problem. The end.

Sardar Shirindil Khan wrote and told the people of Kurram about the contents of this manshur. They were unable to take the step of making such a declaration to the English government and so have remained up to now as subject to that government.

During this time, on the eleventh of Rabi^ʿ al-Thani/27 December 1887, Mulla Muhammad Hasan, a Herati living in Holy Mashhad, at the request of the governor of Herat, sought to predict Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's future through divination (*az qa^ʿidah-i jafr³*). His prediction was,

“In the name of God Most High, the eleventh of the month of Rabi^ʿ al-Thani. The fate of Ayyub will be like this: He will remain an enemy because of the instigation of another person,⁴ but his fantasies are impossible. He will be crushed and damned and will betray (the government) along with the one who encouraged him. Because of this treachery he will be imprisoned for eternity. He will petition the enduring government of the amir-sahib for refuge. With regard to his imminent moving from the sacred soil (Mashhad), nothing is known but perhaps it will occur in the next thirty-six days. After his moving he will be confined for eternity and will never in any way whatsoever gain any dominion at all over Afghanistan. His wish is absurd and the consequence for him will be none other than degradation, distress, and confinement. The end.

The governor of Herat sent this prediction to the world-refuge court and asked that he (the fortune teller) be hired by the government, even though he hadn't requested it. His Majesty wrote,

If the question accords with the answer, (i.e. if what he predicts turns out to be true) then he should be given some gift or reward and also invited to come from Mashhad to Herat and appointed to some office. The end.

Also in these days, the Englishmen who had arrived on the frontier of Herat to repair the border towers and markers, as was previously mentioned, and begun the task they had been assigned, traveled from Murghab to Maymanah and from there to Balkh. Nazir Nur al-Din Khan, who at Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's order had undertaken to supply them with provisions, joined the Englishmen at Chahar Shanbah and when he arrived Mulla ^ʿAziz Khan who had accompanied them from Herat at the orders of the governor returned to Herat. The English now divided into two groups, half of them heading for Peshawar by way of Kabul with Muhammad Husayn Khan Hazarah who held the rank of *risālah-dār* in the regular army. The other half took the road to Iran heading for Mashhad and by both routes reached their home base.

³ RM: According to Steingass, *jafr* is “the art of divining from certain characters written by Ali upon a camel's skin, which contains all events, past, present, and future.” But see *EF* “*djafr*” for a full discussion of the mystical and prognostic powers of the Prophet's family.

⁴ FM: The “other person” refers to General Maclean who deceived him with the promise and glad tidings that he would give him a share in governing Afghanistan.

During this time, Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan Hazarah who as previously mentioned had been honored with reception at court and exalted with bestowal of a robe of honor and the title "sardar," received permission to return home taking with him eleven manshurs addressed to leaders of eleven [sic] tribes of Hazarah *yāghistān* who up to this time had not put their heads beneath the writ of the farman. These included the following tribes: /583/ °Inayat Khan, Hajji, Basi, Panj Pay, Mir Adinah, Hajji Khan, Dawlat, °Aziz, Askah, Sultan Ahmad, Zawuli, Uruzgan, Suhbat Khan and others like Shuy, Bubash, Day Chupan, Zardak, Qalandar, Pashah-i, Shir Dagh, and leaders like Muhammad °Askar Qazi, Muhammad Yusuf, °Ali Panah Tarkhan, Husayn Zuwwar, Mulla Najat, Kalb Husayn Mihtar, Taj Muhammad Sultan, Mulla °Ali Shayr, °Ali Nazar Uqi, Mulla Shayr °Ali, Kalb Husayn, Mirza °Ali and others. The contents (of each manshur) issued by His Majesty were the same:

At this time having given the honorable and veracious Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan the guidance of good fortune and felicity, he was received with honor at the durbar and elevated to the illustrious rank of sardar by His Concern-showing Majesty and then with all due regard and esteem was given leave to return home. It is our duty to see that you too are singled out for, and honored with, high rank and that we make known to you what is taking shape in our minds. So we write you to tell you that the Supreme Possessor of Sovereignty has given us a position of preeminence and the rank of padshah only in order to organize the country, provide His worshippers with tranquility, improve the condition of the subjects, and advance the lives of the people. Therefore we have accepted as our solemn obligation to treat all the people living in the kingdom of Afghanistan—Afghans, Hazarahs, Qizilbash, Tajiks, and Hindus—with kindness and affection, to sympathize with the lives of all and guide them in their daily work (*kār wa bār*), and put to rights all matters near and far. If we were to consider that there was a distinction between Afghan and Hazarah both of whom have the same qibla, belong to the community of one Prophet (peace be upon him), and are devotees of one Book, and separate them one from the other, then on the Day of Reckoning before the Lord of the Religion and the Book, we would be shamed and have no answer. It goes without saying that we consider you, lineage and clan, just like the Afghans and the Afghans just like you as our clan, tribe, friends, and subjects. We also believe it our solemn and absolute obligation, for the sake of God and His Prophet, to care for you and we consider our solemn duty to collect from you what is due God and the Prophet which is the zakat on property and money, to deposit it in the Bayt al-Mal of the Muslims and to spend it on the advancement and glorification of the religion, the community, and the government of Islam. We cannot neglect our solemn and requisite duty. I have referred to the words of the Holy Law and the Book up to this point and I want to make you

aware as well of the laws of politics (*qawānīn-i saltanat*), rule (*jahānbānī*), and the regulations of kings and kingship. Is there any sultan or padshah in a country or kingdom where a few weak households would call themselves disobedient (*yāghī*) and have the strength to raise the neck (and make) dangerous claims, where the padshah, being negligent and not evincing pride was unable to make them obedient and his subjects and was thus unable to erase this bad name from the pages of his kingship? Since there has never been nor will there be such a case, therefore, in accordance with the desire and idea that we have, it is necessary that first we guide all of you, lineage and clan (*silsilah wa qawm*) to obedience and the right way through kindness, favors, and conciliation. If that doesn't work, we will come down on you with force, harshness, and a punishing army, and bring you under the farman. As God of the world, the knower and judger, and the Prophet is witness to these words of ours, we will never swerve from our goal. The words of men, especially padishahs, are weighty; so what need is there to swear an oath? Our oath is so that you will believe us and so that you won't be tricked and deceived into thinking, 'we've heard a lot of words like these—all talk and no action.' The notice that we've given and the words we've spoken—these we will do. So it's up to you to put the foot of sincerity and integrity on the road of humanity (*ādamiyat*), Islamism, piety, and unity with the nation. You will make us happy and content by acting appropriately and correctly or you will cause mighty armies to descend on you from every direction, from every corner of the land, by every road and through every doorway, to punish and chastise you. We have commissioned Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan in this regard to counsel and advise you and we sent this letter of advice with him so that (along with the letter) he would also speak to you. Between now and New Year's Day is the appointed time for you and for us. At the beginning of the solar Turki year Ud Yil (Year of the Ox) (New Year's Day), we will order mighty regiments all over the country to mobilize and we will be watching what you do. Either you will give yourselves a good name with God and His Prophet and making yourselves proud of the government and the nation of Islam, or taking the path of rebellion and waywardness, you will have rebelled. In either case, whichever path you take, I too am prepared. The end.

Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan took these letters with him and went back to his own country. Before the arrival of these exhorting letters, Jamshid Khan the son of Muhammad Baqir Sultan Jaghuri who at the order of His Majesty had gone by another route to win over and give good guidance to the people living in Uruzgan, Shuy, Bubash, Qalandar, Pashah-i, Shir Dagħ, and other places, saw the leaders of those people and advised them. /584/ Through his persuasion alone they agreed to submit and to allow the stationing in their territory of one

regiment of regular infantry and one of regular cavalry made up of Qizilbash and Hazarah tribesmen of the Muhammad Khwajah, Chahar Dastah, and Jighatu of Ghaznin as well as the Chahar Dastah of Hazarah Jaghuri who had always trod and still tread the path of obedience and service to the government. They also agreed to carry out royal orders and they would punish anyone who refused. But they would conceal this agreement until the royal army entered their territory lest troublemakers stir up strife and wickedness, incite people, and put a stop to their becoming obedient. Jamshid Khan obtained a treaty from them agreeing to these terms sworn to in the name of the peerless God and the Great Five (the family of the Prophet) that "when the royal army arrives anyone who does not follow their example and advice will be forcibly brought to the path of obedience. They would also make all the Hazarahs of *yaghistan* accept the farman and be obedient without a fight. Anyone who should prove to be evil and rebellious would be sent to Kabul as hostages for government service." When news of this agreement, treaty, and pact reached the vigilant ears of His Majesty in a letter from Jamshid Khan, he wrote Jamshid Khan saying, "We will do what those people wish and act in accordance with what they see as their own best interest. The end." God willing, the response of the Hazarah people will be recorded in due course.

During these events, a letter from the English geologist C. L. Griesbach came to the luminous attention of His Majesty. Since he requested employment and claimed to be able to serve the government of Afghanistan, his petition was accepted and on the fifteenth of Rabi^c al-Thani a farman inviting to come was issued. His coming and having the honor of being received will come, God willing.

His Majesty Departs Kabul To Honor Jalalabad with a Visit

Also at this time, on the eighteenth of Rabi^c al-Thani/3 January 1888, His Majesty, left His Highness the Prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan in Kabul to take charge of government affairs and to dispense justice to the army and the subjects and issued the justice-marked proclamation of world-cleaving in the direction of Jalalabad accompanied by regular cavalry and infantry regiments and courtiers distinguished by honesty and integrity whose number approached twelve thousand. His intent was to establish winter quarters there and to conclude ties of friendship with the people living in Swad (better known as Swat), Bunir, Bajawur, and Dir, as well as with the Salarzaⁱ tribe and others who were continually lighting the fires of disturbance and perturbation, raiding from territory occupied by the English government, and causing much damage and loss. Since the construction of the private quarters of the Bagh-i Shahi had not yet been completely finished as required and was as yet unsuitable for the status and dignity of His Majesty, he resided at the estate of Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, today known as the Bagh-i Kawkab, and ordered the army and all the courtiers and attendants of court to camp on the banks of the river and all around the estate.

After His Majesty's rising up and setting out, Shah Abu'l-Fayz Khan and Shah Mahmud Khan Darwazi who a long time before had abandoned their homeland (*waṭan-i ma'lūf*) because of their opposition to the Amir of Bukhara, and had gone to Khuqand to live, because of an incident in which, as previously described, they had acted generously towards His Majesty during his travels when he stopped there, at this time they turned the face of hope in the direction of the threshold where the world takes refuge, reached Khanabad where they stopped and were given hospitality, and then came on to Kabul. They were accorded the honor of being received in audience by the excellent and compassionate regent, prince of the sky and earth, and the pleasure of a meeting with him. From him they received a stipend as guests until the eldest star of the house of perfection and the brightest jewel of the degree of nobility having informed the sovereign of the sea of favors of this by letter, a manshur was issued by His Majesty which told him to fix their expenses in accord with his own wishes and according to the standards of living appropriate to their status so that after the return from Jalalabad some settlement would be made regarding their lives and situation, as will come in due course—God willing.

Also in these times, °Abd al-Wahid Khan, the governor of Khust, was transferred. After being received in audience, because he had trod the path of service with integrity, he was re-appointed to the position of *pīshkhidmat* at the court whose axis is justice, /585/ a position he had previously held.

Also in the course of the events of Rabi° al-Thani of this year, Nur Muhammad Khan Achakza°i, who had confiscated a quantity of cash and goods from his tribe at the time of the recruitment of individual soldiers and formation of the Durrani regular infantry regiment and which His Majesty had learned of through letters sent to the throne from news writers in Qandahar, before any order could be issued in this regard, became fearful and fled to Shalkut. At the order of the crown-wearing sovereign, the governor of Qandahar brought his mother and wives and money and possessions from outside the city inside it, put them under surveillance and held them there.

Also Mirza Mir °Uthman Khan was promoted to the office of *sar daftar* of the government gazette (*rūznāmchah*) of the capital.

Also in this month, Muhammad Husayn Beg the son of Yusuf Beg La°l Hazarah of Day Zangi, Muhammad Na°im Beg the son of Mahdi Beg Sarjangal, and Mihr °Ali Beg son of Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani Hazarah (of Day Zangi) were honored with appointments as *pīshkhidmats* at the court of His Majesty and for all three men and their servants adequate salaries and stipends were assigned through the beneficence of His Majesty. Eventually because of the great wickedness which Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani and Muhammad Husayn Beg fomented among the people of Day Zangi and other places, as will come, the aforementioned Muhammad Husayn and Mihr °Ali were put to death.

During this time a letter from °Abd al-Khaliq Khan, the son of the late excellency, the Akhund Sahib of Swat, was put before the luminous consideration of the brilliant royal sun. Since it requested the restoration of the money and possessions of Mulla Najm al-Din Akhundzadah which had been left

behind at the time of his flight, on Friday the twentieth of Jumada al-Awwal/3 February 1888, His Majesty transferred the money and furnishings to the care in of the Akhund Sahib of Swat and his son, but did not agree to his residing in Kabul which had also been requested. An order was issued that

he was to remain in Swat where he was and beware not to set foot in the vicinity of Jalalabad and Kabul lest people of the mountains become a source of disturbance on his behalf and get themselves into a fight with the government of England which follows a path of friendship with this government and have (this) government accused of inciting them, for which the English would want to open talks with this government.

The English Transport Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan from Iran to Hindustan

Also during Jumada al-Awwal, the British transported Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan to the land of Hind from Mashhad via Tehran and Noble Baghdad. As was mentioned above, he had gone from Khwaf to the Englishman General Maclean in Mashhad and there turned himself over to him, putting himself at his disposal. Outwardly, (Maclean) had given him the glad tidings that the British government would give him part of Afghanistan but in fact their real agenda was to keep him in Hindustan. So it was that they transported him to India along with associates of his who were in Tehran as well as some who, prior to this, were sent from Mashhad to Tehran, men like Luy Nab Khushdil Khan and others. After his move to Nishapur and then his arrival in Noble Baghdad, from there a letter written by Sardar Muhammad Musa Khan, son of Amir Muhammad Ya'qub Khan, reached Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan (known as Kaku Khan), son of the late Sardar Faqir Muhammad Khan, who for some reason had stayed behind in Mashhad, at Turuq, a place two farsangs from Holy Mashhad. As he had written that until his arrival they would stop in Baghdad and postpone going on to Hind and therefore it was incumbent on him to get himself there with all due haste, he thereupon quickly set out and soon joined them and went to India.

During this time via a letter from Mirza Bayza Khan, resident in Holy Mashhad, came to the royal justice-encompassing ear. In it he wrote of the statements of Mulla Ahmad, Jahandad, and Riza (which he had learned) through Ja'far 'Ali a servant of Na'ib Mir Sultan *kūtwāl*, that "there are 40,000 rupees from Hafiz Allah Lahugardi, who is an enemy of the government, with Hajji Rajab, a Herati merchant. This is his (entire) trading capital." His Majesty sent a farman to the governor of Herat to arrest that hajji and confiscate all his property, both moveable and immoveable. After an investigation, when it was revealed that they had falsely accused him, he ordered the hajji freed /586/ and his money and possessions returned to him. As a fine (for the false accusation) that same sum was taken from those who had made the accusation.

During this time, a letter from Tarkhanov concerning opening a route for trade goods of the government of Russian into Afghanistan reached the governor

of Herat. He forwarded it to the throne and when it had been read by His Majesty a royal order was issued saying,

A route should not be opened at this time. At the time when the path of friendship opens, each of the two government is at peace with the other, and the rope of non-interference of either side in the affairs of the other is firmly tied, then the trade goods of that government will be allowed to flow into Afghanistan.

Thus it was that after tying the rope of friendship, the trade route opened and the capital and goods of the two countries began to flow back and forth.

During the time of this negotiation, a Firuzkuhi named Qadam, along with Allah Wirdi the son of °Ashur were working as shepherds for the Suqti tribe living in the part of Panjdih belonging to the Russian government. He (Qadam) killed his colleague Allah Wirdi who was working with him and took the one thousand sheep that were in his care to Bala Murghab. Owners of the sheep, Arzu and Aman, went to General Ghaws al-Din Khan, the official in charge (*qā'im maqām*), and sought redress. He arrested Qadam, seized five hundred and sixty sheep from him and gave them to the two men. They then went to Alikhanov and complained about not getting back the remaining four hundred and forty sheep and told him the story of what had happened. They also related a story about °Uthman, an Isfizari Gushadah cavalryman, that he was the instigator of the incident. Alikhanov sent a letter to the governor of Herat, demanded the rest of the sheep and the bloodwit for Allah Wirdi and he forwarded it on to the throne. A farman was issued by His Majesty saying that he should get the rest of the sheep by force from Mahmud Khan *sarhang* and Sad Bashi Zarin Khan, the border guards, and return them to their owners because it was due to them that this happened, otherwise how was it that they were not the first to inform about the incident. Since Qadam had died in prison, the bloodwit was now a moot point (*bi-hadar raftah*). The governor summoned °Uthman Khan from Isfizar, obtained the sheep in the manner His Majesty had ordered, and delivered them to their owners. A short letter from Tarkhanov, the governor of Panjdih to General Ghaws al-Din Khan, expressing satisfaction and appreciation, put an end to the correspondence and the dispute.

During these events, sons of Khan Aqa-yi Jamshidi who had receive dtheir just desserts for the hostility and illwill they had shown the government, now at a farman of summons came from Herat to Kabul with their wives and children and were given a living allowance adequate to their needs by the government along with a place to live. Until the year one thousand three hundred and twenty-six Hijri (1908) they lived in Kabul. Then, thanks to the kingly generosity of the resolution-bestowing mistake-forgiving padshah His Highness Lamp of the Nation and the Religion (Habib Allah Khan)—may the world of his generosity remain beneath his signet ring—drew the pen of forgiveness over the sins of all the people who had committed mistakes against the government and, commanding all be included in the regal favor, gave them an amnesty (freed

them) in that year. As will be written down under the events of (the reign of) His Laudable Highness one of the evil doings they committed was that °Abd al-Rahman the grandson of Khan Aqa abandoning the glory and felicity (of the king) fled in wretchedness with Sayyid Beg and went to Russia.

Also during this time and the negotiations (referred to above), the appointed time arrived for Iskandar Khan *sarhang*. He was afflicted by an illness of the chest (*marʒ-i zāt al-ṣadr*) and a chronic fever (*tibb-i muzmin*) which Habish, a Hindu physician was treating, but it was to no avail and on Wednesday, the twenty-third of Jumada al-Thani, saying "Here I am, Lord" (*labbayka*) he departed this life. Since he had spent his valuable life in loyal service to the government, Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor of Qandahar, along with all the officers of the regular army and the notables and leaders of the city came to his house (*nashīman-gāh*), washed his body, and wrapped him in his shroud. They sent his bier to his son, Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan in Ghaznin and gave five hundred rupees from the treasury as donations to the poor (*ṣadaqāt*) (in his honor) and other necessary things. After arrival in Ghaznin, his corpse was buried at the shrine of one of the "saints of God."

During this time, at the beginning of Rajab/March 1888 (all the events of which year have been recorded, beginning with Muharram), Bahawul Khan, Gulzar Khan, and °Abdal Muhammad Khan the son of Fazil Khan Andari, who from the beginning of their rebellion had followed the path of wickedness and deviation, now because of the difficulties and adversity that confronted them, afflicted and enfeebled, they came to Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan on the path of repentance and without using anyone as an intermediary for their misdeeds. There they begged forgiveness for their sins. He left the punishment for their actions in the hands of the Lord Creator, received guarantees from several Afghan leaders whom he trusted and /587/ sent a legal written guarantee to the throne containing a pledge of obedience and (a promise) to forego any (further) wickedness or evil-doing. It satisfied the generous and sin-forgiving nature of the padshah and on the twentieth of Rajab a manshur of forgiveness was issued from the apology-accepting sin-pardoning throne vis à vis all evil-doing fugitives. There it was written that

any of the trouble-seeking, contemptible men of the Andari, Taraki, °Ali Khayl, and other tribes who had stirred up trouble, brought the dirt of scorn down on their own heads, and shed the blood of thousands of Muslims, since the door of repentance before God is open, they should give them all the opportunity (to repent), obtain guarantors for them, and send them with their letters of guarantee (*khuṭūṭ-i zamānat*) to Kabul so that judging by the veracity, sincerity, and desire that may be observed in their demeanors they may be assigned to some government service and their properties restored to them.

Thus those people who came and were honored by kissing the threshold, some, who before their sincerity and desire became known to officials of the

government, came to their appointed hours and passed away. The rest were treated to royal favors and the lands and properties of all were restored to them and to the survivors (of those who had passed away) and from then on they assiduously avoided error and mistake.

Also in these times, Shayr °Ali, a resident of Shughlah-i Hazarah-i Jaghuri, who had incited and directed some evil men to murder Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan, the governor of Jaghuri, an event which was recounted earlier, had up to this time disappeared into the mountains. Now he and five of his confederates were captured by Sayyid °Abd al-°Ali Khan the (present) governor of Jaghuri. He sent them all to Kabul where they perished in the “prison of capital punishment (*zindān-i siyāsāt*).”

During these events, regarding the English party which had been sent to repair the border towers on the Herat frontier, some of whom were returning to their own country via Kabul and others via Mashhad, some of the party which had set out for Mashhad went towards Qandahar with Shalkut their destination. When they reached Kurshk Nukhud and the halting place of Yakh Chal, since they had reached the end of the money they had been given for expenses, the governor of Pusht-i Rud, Mawla Dad Khan ordered people along their route to give them provisions. When they returned to Shalkut, he (Mawla Dad Khan) sent the receipts that they had given people for the provisions to General Maclean in Mashhad who reimbursed them and the money was paid to the subjects.

During this time, a royal order was issued concerning the management and administration (*ḡabṭ wa rabṭ*) of the religious endowments of the administration of the kingdom of Afghanistan which had been endowed on behalf of the leaders of the religion and the guides to the way of truth and certitude. The order said that all endowed lands, shops, and gardens were now under the administration of the diwan and a separate office called the Diwan-i Awqaf was hereby established so that the whole income would be spent on stipends for the ulama and the sayyids, the mosques and shrines, and no one would be able to embezzle or misuse (the income).

Also at this time, Mawlavi Ghulam Rasul, a resident of Dera Ghazi Khan who claimed to be of the Quraysh by lineage, had been busy for four years teaching students in the Herat Madrasah. From his actions, behavior, and words, indications that he was a spy became evident and clear to all. The governor of Herat assigned a cavalryman as escort, sent him to Shalkut by way of Qandahar, informed His Illustrious Majesty, who approved what he had done.

The Settlement and Resolution of the Negotiations over Hashtadan District Which Had Been Going On for a Long Time

Also during the events of this year—1305, one thousand three hundred and five Hijri—General Maclean and Nizam al-Mulk of Iran entered Khwaf to resolve the issue of Hashtadan which had been a matter of dispute between Iran and Afghanistan for a long time. Ministers of Iran and England had agreed that

England would act as neutral arbiter between the two countries. From (Khwaḥ) the general sent a letter to the governor of Herat notifying him to prepare ten days worth of provisions at Hashtadan. He did ready ten days worth of provisions and fodder there, summoned General Ghaws al-Din Khan—who had finished the other tasks assigned to him, gone to Badghis, and there was engaged in personal matters—and sent him and Mirza Muhammad °Umar Khan Karkhi (to Khwaḥ) with the documents about Hashtadan. As an escort he also dispatched a group of regular army and militia (*nizāmi wa mulkī*) foot and horse with them. When on the tenth of Sha°ban/22 April 1888 the two sides entered Hashtadan district in a spirit of amity and concord, they sat down together and commenced negotiations. The talks dragged on. General Maclean called for the original memorandum and documentation (*aṣl-i sijill wa nawistah-i*) which Hasan Khan Shamlu⁵ had written /588/ regarding properties and lands pertaining to Mashhad and Herat that he ruled over and which (?). General Ghaws al-Din Khan considered proof of the rights of the government of Afghanistan. But since the *sijill* had been lost, General Ghaws al-Din Khan, although he considered the *sijill* a decisive document (*sanad-i qawī*) could not produce it and promised that if it were found it would be produced. Although there was evidence other than this documentation affirming Afghanistan’s rights which fact General Ghaws al-Din Khan made clear, General Maclean downplayed this and kept demanding other stronger documentation. This went on until a letter arrived from His Majesty who had been informed of all that was going on by the governor of Herat who was apprised by letter from General Ghaws al-Din Khan (of Maclean’s demands). His Majesty’s letter advised that General Maclean was not accepting the documentation for his own reasons or perhaps at the request of the Iranians. In either case, they should send all the documentation to Kabul so that the matter might be resolved (directly) with the governor-general of India. Meantime General Maclean had also written to ministers of the government of England with his side of the story and so he put off resolution of the matter until those parties could respond. Because of the heat, the general himself left his party there and went to the mountains of Bazak until an answer came to his report to the viceroy—as will come God willing.

RM:* Hasan Khan Shamlu was a Safavid governor of Herat in the early 17th century.

The Return of the Felicitous Entourage of His Majesty from Jalalabad

His Majesty who had left Kabul on the eighteenth of Rabi° al-Sani to pass the winter in Jalalabad—as above—having satisfactorily and decisively dealt during his residence there with all the affairs of the people near and far, the people of the frontier and the highlands, gave the army and the servanst of the throne three months salary from his personal travel treasury (*khizānah-i rikāb*) and in kind terms remarked,

⁵ RM: Hasan Khan Shamlu was a Safavid governor of Herat in the early seventeenth century.

This three-months salary, contrary to the norm, is being paid in advance so that no faithful soldier or bureaucrat should be embarrassed or put upon when it comes to providing gifts for his family and so that those they leave behind who look hopefully for their return should not suffer deprivation or hopelessness but rather be joyful and pleased.

In brief, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, on Friday, the first of Shaʿban/13 April, a day before the departure of the royal entourage, transported all the goods of the royal camp across the Jalalabad River at a point opposite Chihil Sutun and on Saturday, the second of Shaʿban, the banners marked with good fortune of the illustrious celestial entourage shone their light from the garden-estate of the late Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan on the road to Lamqan. The (first) stop was made at the locale of Char Bagh and there the governor of Lamqan, Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan, and grandson through a daughter of the late Sardar Kuhandil Khan was dismissed from his post because he had not managed to perform the duties of his office successfully. Muhammad Khan Nizam al-Dawlah Herati—as will come—was appointed in his stead. All 12,000 members of the entourage were provided with rice, meat, oil, candles, sugar, tea, and firewood by the government from the time they left Jalalabad until they reached Kabul and were not required to spend a single dinar from their own purses. In fact, everyone carried home some amount of the provisions they were given for the march. This humble writer who had gone to Lahore from Qandahar to study, from there had arrived in Jalalabad by way of Peshawar, and had made friends with one of the royal attendants, Jaʿfar ʿAli Khan the son of Baz ʿAli Khan Jaghuri, on this trip also enjoyed this general and delightful largesse.

On the eleventh of Shaʿban, corresponding to the fourth of the solar month Thawr/23 April 1888, the capital Kabul shone with the splendor of the royal arrival and was immeasurably beautified by it.

During this season, on the twenty-second of the month, corresponding to the fifteenth of Thawr and the fifth [sic-4th] of the English month of May, over most regions of Afghanistan two feet of snow fell, but no harm came to any plantings or trees. In fact in Qataghan it wiped out a locust infestation.

During this time, officials of the English government trespassed two thousand paces [into Afghanistan] from the manzil of Chaman located on the western skirts of Kuzhak Mountain, the border point separating the two governments of Afghanistan and England, and near the manzil of Kadni put up a sign that they would erect a building there. The governor of Qandahar, wrote about this to the (Political) Agent of Baluchistan seeking some explanation. On the twenty-seventh of the month of Shaʿban/9 May, the throne was informed but since the sign was on territory belonging to the aforementioned /589/ government (England), nothing further was said on this score.

Also at this time, English surveyors led by Muhammad Yaʿqub a *ṣūbahdār*, at the order and with the permission of His Highness, entered the district of Pusht-i Rud and through the Badam Pass (Kutal-i Badam) arrived in Gazsar,

where they undertook to survey by geographical measurements and to record the length, breadth, and the four boundaries of that territory. They then moved on to the locales of Tizini, Musa Qal'a, Shahr-i Kuhnah-i Zamindawar, Rawshanabad, Sargand, Shahrak, Kushk, and Nawzad, surveying them manzil by manzil and then turned back. They entered Nawah-i Landi located in Zamindawar, from there marched to Dahanah-i Duab and stage by stage mapped the whole region. They then went to Girishk by way of Qal'a-i Gaz and Shuraki and camped there. From there they came to Qandahar via Yakh Chal. Mawla Dad Khan, the governor of Pusht-i Rud prepared fodder and provisions at every stopping place for them and ultimately sent the receipts to the governor of Farah, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan. He forwarded them to the governor of Herat who sent them to General Maclean in Mashhad for reimbursement.

Also at this time, the leaders of Tarnak and Mizan wrote a letter detailing the oppression, injustice, and confiscation of property by Mohmand Khan their governor. They secretly placed the letter at the gate of the residence of Aqa Sayyid Ahmad, the *sardaftar* of Qandahar and requested redress saying that they cannot go to the governor and are unable to seek his help. The *sardaftar* took their letter to the governor and he summoned those who had affixed their seals to the letter and were in Qandahar in order to see justice done. But, worried that he might investigate too deeply and their governor would find out and plunder their property, they disavowed the letter. Since that letter implicated Mirza °Ali Gawhar, the *sardaftar* for the eastern part of Qandahar as an accomplice of Mohmand Khan, that mirza, after the letter had been disavowed by its authors, denounced Aqa Sayyid Ahmad Khan who had brought the letter to the attention of the governor of Qandahar and losing control got up from the meeting (with the governor) and walked out. The justice-hearing ears of His Majesty learned of this incident in a letter from the governor of Qandahar and he issued a farman telling him that those two men (the *sardaftars*) should come to Kabul and bring Mohmand Khan with them in irons so that the good may be distinguished from the bad in the royal presence and truth preserved and the false put to rest. God willing, the coming of those two men to Kabul and what happens to Mohmand Khan will be recorded in its proper place.

Also at this time, twenty households of the Salur Turkman who were renowned as thieves and highwaymen and lived in Dawlatabad, prior to the conquest of Maymanah in the time of its regent, Dilawar Khan, who has been described earlier, migrated from Dawlatabad and settled in Badqaz. There some Salur Turkmen riders came secretly from the Russian side at night and took the twenty households with them to add them to their own tribal group. When the cavalrymen at Maymanah learned of this they set out in pursuit and caught up with them outside the territory belonging to Afghanistan. The Salur unloaded their camels and arrayed them around themselves as a kind of breastworks and defended themselves from behind them. One of the Maymanah horsemen was killed and the two horses of Muhammad Zaman Khan, the son of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, the governor of Maymanah and the son of Nafas Beg Mingbashi were injured. Two of the Turkman were killed but the Maymanah

cavalrymen could not make headway and retired without achieving their goal.

A letter dated the last day of Sha^ʿban from Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan informed His Majesty of the incident. He wrote to English officials saying that they should settle this matter with the governor of Panjdih so that henceforward there would be no interference on the part of the Russian or Afghan governments in the lives of each other's subjects. Otherwise, the people of Trans-Oxiana, who consider themselves tied by the bond of brotherhood in Islam with the people of Afghanistan, by way of obedience to the amir of Islam, naturally desire that the Afghan government should provoke them to rebel and call on them to obey it in violation of international rights. But since this way has been abandoned by other governments and ruled out as an alternative path, the Afghans are not going to go counter to the practices of other governments because that would oblige the Russians not to lengthen the thread of trouble or engage in conflict.

During this time, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan was confined to his bed because of the flu (*tibb-i nazalī*). Sultan Ahmad Khan the *ishik āqāsī* at his durbar who harbored some rancor seized the opportunity and fled. A number of horsemen stationed at Mazar-i Sharif set out in pursuit but did not find him and returned empty-handed. Whatever property he had was confiscated by the diwan.

Also during this time Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan the former mustawfi who at the time of His Majesty's setting his banners towards Kabul had been left in Jalalabad to audit accounts there, reconciled the books of the tax collectors (*ʿummāl*), police (*ḡubbāṭ*), and subjects, informed His Highness of this, and by virtue of the farman of summons /590/ which was issued on Tuesday, the third of Ramazan/14 May 1888, came to Kabul and was obtained the honor of kissing the royal hand.

Also during this month, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan having won the leaders of the Sih Pay and other Shinwaris to obedience, people who not long before had been instigated by Nur Muhammad Khan the son of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, who had (finally) left them out of apprehension [for what they might do to him], invited them to come see him and they discussed the assessment of taxes on their fields and orchards (*mazāri^ʿ wa musāqāt*). They declared that first he should review the pastureland, the land watered by springs (*chashmah-sār*), and the land where streams were plentiful (*rūdbār*) and afterwards record the taxes due from every landowner by name in a diwan register. He consented to their proposal and ordered several engineer-surveyors to begin to measure the lands of the Mandiza'i tribe and then follow that up by completing a survey of everyone. In the company of the local leaders he himself headed for Chil Gazi with fifty regular horsemen and four hundred regular infantry. There the rest of the Shinwari and Pashah-i leaders who had not attended His Majesty during his stop in Jalalabad came to the praiseworthy field marshal and accepted the obligation of 17,000 Kabuli rupees for the land taxes of the people of Haydar Khayl, Pashah-i, and Rahimdad Khayl and said that they would hand that sum over to officials of the government annually.

During these negotiations, retainers belonging to the wicked son of Yar Muhammad Khan and the son of the *mīrākhūr* who were residing at Mamand and two of whom had fled to Peshawar and whom Nur Muhammad Khan had assigned to stir up the people in Darrah-i Niyaziyan with the false rumors that the English had brought Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan from Iran to India in order to install him in Afghanistan were inciting people to evildoing while he himself (Nur Muhammad Khan) out of fear had left the Sih Pay people and was traveling the road of wickedness, spending the night in one place and the day in another. Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, who was bent on exterminating him and his companions and was spending his days searching for him, promised a certain Shah Zaman from the Sangu Khayl the good tidings of a reward if he could find out, by whatever means, where Nur Muhammad Khan was hiding out and, if he could, to kill him so that the trouble would end, or at least expel him from that region. He and his companions managed to get to the place Nur Muhammad was hiding out. They opened fire on him with seven rifles but the hand of fate deflected the bullets from him and he was unharmed.

After this, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan summoned a certain Jilani, promised him a reward of 2,000 rupees as a reward, gave him 400 gold rupees and sent him off to kill Nur Muhammad Khan. At night he reached the place where Nur Muhammad was staying. Tunneling beneath the walls of a house where he was supposedly spending the night, he packed it with powder and set a match to it. From the explosion, the wall and roof of the house were destroyed and collapsed. Since Nur Muhammad Khan was the guest that night of someone else, the injury that was supposed to befall him did not, but his wife and mother-in-law, who were in the house, were killed.

Similarly, as Pir Muhammad Khan the nephew of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, who had gone to Mandah, a place in °Adil Khayl territory, had chosen the mountains as a place to stay, and out of wickedness was encouraging the people to take the path of error, the field marshal admonished the °Adil Khayl leaders who had come to him to settle finally (*bast*) the issue of their land taxes and said,

You people never take the path of sincerity and loyalty! If it's not thus, why don't you seize Pir Muhammad Khan and destroy Qal°ah-i Iskandar, where he's made himself at home.

To do the right thing, they accepted the obligation that the field marshal laid on them and set out to annihilate Pir Muhammad Khan. On their heels, the field marshal dispatched °Ali Khan Bishbulaqi and Mir Sana Gul Khan to find out surreptitiously whether these people were lying or telling the truth. But these people were in fact sincere. Setting out to destroy Pir Muhammad Khan they fell upon him with all the men of °Adil Khayl, showed courage and exerted every effort and fought him through the day and into the night. Pir Muhammad Khan, seeing his options limited, climbed up into the mountains and escaped under cover of darkness and with a thousand difficulties and hardships. In the

confusion of his escape he left behind two rifles, a pistol, a piece of Kabuli *patū* cloth, as well as two caps, a pair of boots, and three *kūt* garments (according to Afghani Nawis, an article of clothing worn with pantaloons). These fell into the hands of the ʿAdil Khayl men and they sent them all to the field marshal and so became the occasion for congratulations and were seen to be people of integrity.

Meanwhile, via a letter from Muhyi al-Din and Jafat, who had put their heads beneath the farman's writ, it reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty that

Malik Musa and Muddasar have joined forces with Khan-i Nawagi and ʿUmra Khan of Chandawul and are attacking our people. In eight places /591/ on the distant edges of our territory they have erected towers and forts and are making life difficult for us and causing us injury. Now, thanks to the mediation, vigilance, and concern of the men of Babazaʿi they have agreed to cease killing and robbing us for a month. But if no assistance reaches us from the government, after the month is up, it is certain that they will attack again and will bring down on us more violence and anguish.

His Highness sent written instructions to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan to restrain the hands of aggression and intimidation from the collar of those who have taken the path of obedience. Consequently, as a result of the message which he (the field marshal) sent them they refrained from hostile acts and were no longer the sources of trouble and wickedness. Instead, a number of the Utaman Khayl leaders residing in Bajawur such as Hajji Mir Zaman, Akhundzadah Abu Bakr, and Sahibzadah Muhammad Saʿid, using the field marshal as intermediary, sent a letter to the throne expressing obedience, and included a treaty and covenant sealed with solemn oaths. As they had requested an army from His Highness so that, going to that mountainous region, together, with its assistance, they would bring the people there under the control of officials of the government and into obedience with the "commands and prohibitions" of the royal authority, His Exalted Highness, as a result of their request, sent Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan a farman of instruction to summon the above-named along with other leaders and negotiate with those people whatever is in the best interests of the government and the religion. Once that is established to so inform the throne so that matters may be settled vis à vis those people.

During this time, on Tuesday the tenth of Ramazan/21 May 1888, Shah Abu'l-Fayz Khan and Shah Mahmud Khan Darwazi, whose audience with the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan has been discussed above, were received by His Majesty in the palace at Pamqan where he was spending the summer. As a measure of respect for their dignity His Majesty awarded an annual stipend of three thousand rupees to Shah Abu'l-Fayz Khan and two thousand to Shah Mahmud Khan thus filling the skirts of their hopes. He also showed favor to Muhammad Khan Nizam al-Dawlah, a Hazarah of Qalʿah-i Naw of Herat, who

had been under surveillance for a long time, drew the pen of forgiveness across the page of his rebelliousness, awarded him a sword, a gold inlaid belt, a luxurious robe of honor, the governorship of Lamqan, and an annual salary of six thousand "cooked" rupees and so raised the neck of his glory well above his equals and peers.

Also (at this time) C. L. Griesbach, the English geologist whose employment by the government of Afghanistan was first mentioned above, arrived in Kabul and a monthly salary was awarded him at his audience with His Majesty. It was four hundred and forty English rupees or, on an annual basis, five thousand two hundred and eighty rupees. Assigned to find ore, he began to prospect in the mountains where such discoveries were most likely but none of the skill that he had in prospecting produced anything except a map of the plains, mountains, valleys, deserts, and rivers which he took with him [when he left]. Otherwise the government realized no benefit from his work.

Also at this time because of the transfer of Mirza Muhammad Da'ud Khan who had been named to the office of postmaster (*sar-rishtah-i pust*), i.e., the *dāk-khānah*, at the dismissal of Colonel Wali Muhammad Khan, His Majesty now promoted Mirza Amir Muhammad Khan to the position of postmaster (*sar-rishtah-i dāk-khānah*) of Kabul and he took up those duties.

Meantime since matters at Jalalabad had been concluded and good order had been introduced into its mountains and environs, at a farman of summons, General Mir 'Ata Khan, having set out (for Kabul), arrived to make obeisance to His Majesty on Thursday the twenty-sixth of Ramazan/6 June 1888.

Also, Nasab 'Ali Khan, a servant and emissary of the Mir of Chitral, entered Kabul in friendship and amity with eleven horsemen and was received in audience. He had brought and presented as gifts to His Highness four female slaves and two male slaves, one Shunqar-falcon, one Shahin-falcon, and a horse. All won the approval of the world-adorned. The emissary in turn was the object of royal favor.

During this time, Hazarah mirs of Day Zangi and Day Kundi such as Yusuf Beg, Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani, 'Ali Jan Beg [of] Takht, Ibrahim Beg [of] Sar Jangal, and Salman Beg the son of Hasan Sardar received a farman of summons, came to Kabul, and were received by His Majesty. His Majesty had sent farmans full of conciliatory and winning words by the hand of Sardar Muhammad 'Azim Khan to win over the Hazarahs of "yaghistan" as was earlier mentioned. They agreed to be obedient and had asked for a royal army so that should anyone reject the farmans the army would help their own militias destroy the recalcitrant. (His Majesty) spoke kindly to the mirs and told them that in accordance with the wishes of their people they would return to the Hazarah mountains together with a triumphant force and whoever came forth on the path of obedience /592/ and put their heads beneath the writ of the farman to them could they give the glad tidings of the favor of the government. But whoever refused and persisted in error and wrong-headedness, they should punish them. But His Majesty had not yet acted on this nor assigned an army when fate put a twist on things and Satan seduced Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor

of Turkistan, and caused him to set forth on the road of sedition. The business of conquering the Hazarahjat was postponed to another time—as will come, God willing.

Also at this time, on the second of Shawwal/12 June the men of Pashah-i for no reason raised their heads through the collar of seditiousness and embarked on the path of rebellion. Without any justification, they murdered three regular infantrymen who were traveling along a road on some business. As soon as Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan heard of this incident, he appointed people living near the district in which these men resided to go and punish them. A fierce fight ensued and two men loyal to the government, Dilawar Khan and Maqam Khan, were killed but in the end the band of evildoers, fearful that the mighty regiments would come quickly to the battlefield and annihilate them, turned their backs on the fight and fled into the mountains. When the exalted monarch learned of this in a letter from the field marshal, he issued the order to freely kill (*hukm-i qatl*) (the rebels). He also commanded that after the killing and looting their lands and properties should be given to the Mohmand and no trace of the existence of those ill-starred people was to be left in that region.

Since General Mir °Ata Khan, as has been noted above, had come to Kabul with most of the regular regiments, leaving only a small force in Jalalabad and its environs, on issuance of this order, the field marshal wrote the throne and requested two more infantry regiments so that he could undertake the annihilation of those people in accordance with His Majesty's order. But because of the seditiousness and disobedience of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan (the dispatch of the regiments) was delayed.

Nasab °Ali Khan, the emissary of the Mir of Chitrar who had come with a letter from the mir asking permission to buy horses in Qataghan and had presented gifts in an audience with the amir, as was recounted, was given leave to return and with regards to the purchase of horses took back a written response which said,

The government of Afghanistan needs thousands of horses for the artillery corps, the regular army, and for other purposes. Forbidding the sale of horses is permissible at times, when it would be an occasion for a loss or a shortage that would disrupt the internal affairs of the country. Otherwise, permission is given for people to sell horses to people outside the country. [In other words, the amir is refusing the request.]

Then in exchange for the gifts which the emissary had brought, His Majesty sent back with him for the Mir a piece of Kashmir-woven Khalil Khani shawl cloth, one piece of Peshawar-woven gold *langi* cloth, one long-sleeved brocade cloak, one long-sleeved Kashmiri overcoat (*chūkhah-i abrah*), and eight Shahi and Bukhara'i long-sleeved over coats (? *chūkhah-i abr* i.e. *abrah*?). He also sent especially for Shah Malik, the son of the Mir, a piece of Khalil Khani shawl cloth, a piece of Peshawari gold *langi*, and a long-sleeved brocade cloak.

Also in this time, Mirza Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Mirza °Ali Gawhar Khan in whose names and that of Mohmand Khan, the governor of Tarnak and Mizan—as was mentioned above—a farman of summons was issued. The first two men were left free but the third was arrested and accompanied by an escort and guards. All came to Kabul.

During this time, on Tuesday, the fifteenth of Shawwal/25 June, His Majesty wrote a cordial letter to Russian officials regarding the retainers and others left behind in Khuqand by Shah Abu'l-Fayz Khan and Shah Mahmud Khan Darwazi who had come to Kabul and, as was mentioned earlier, received the benefits of royal munificence while their people had remained behind. The letter said,

[Regarding] Muhammad Yahya Khan, Kamil Khan, Muhammad °Umar Khan, and Muhammad Wali Khan, the sons of Shah Abu'l-Fayz Khan; °Abd Allah Khan, Wali Muhammad Khan, and °Abd al-°Aziz Khan, the sons of Shah Mahmud Khan; and Ahmad Khan the son of Hamid Khan, and Rahman Qul Khan, Hamrah Khan, Muhammad Yusuf Khan, and Muhammad Ya°qub Khan the sister's sons of [Shah] Abu'l-Fayz Khan and Shah Mahmudf Khan: I have a longstanding sincere affection for them whether there or in Darwaz and thus having renewed that tie and opened the door of connection and path of sincerity in this direction they have come to enjoy the fruits of royal favor. They now request and wish to spend the days the days of decline and old age and the season of their ease and dotage should life be given them and death spared in the shade of the bounty of this government and be relieved of the trouble of scrabbling about for a livelihood. Their request has been heard with approbation. We write that since the sublime Russian government is compassionate and kind towards all people, whether noble or commoner, living in its part of Turkistan therefore its officers and officials stationed in that region once they are /593/ apprised of and know what lies in our mind they will be willing to relocate those (abovementioned) persons and let them rejoin their fathers because their being separated and severed from each other will be the cause of hardship, pain, sadness, and grief for both sides. It is thus strongly hoped that they will be given travel documents (*tikat-i rāhdārī*) and permission to come here. In consideration of the rights of friendship and neighborliness that prevail between these two governments, they should send them to this land. The end.

This letter was entrusted to Hamid Khan and several of their servants like Mulla Wali Muhammad, °Abd al-Karim, Nasir °Ali, Shah Muhammad, Muhammad Salim, and Muhammad Rahim who had accompanied the two brothers [Shah Abu'l-Fayz Khan and Shah Mahmud Khan] and they were dispatched to Khuqand to bring to Kabul all those left behind [and mentioned above] as well as their wives and children. God willing, ana cocuint of their

arrival in Kabul will be recorded in due course.

Also during these events which have been recorded, Sardar Muhamad Ayyiub Khan and his retinue, as was earlier mentioned left Iran by sea and arrived in India and was settled in Rawalpindi. A monthly pension was fixed by the English government of 10,000 English rupees for himself, another 10,000 for Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan, and 13,000 for all their relatives and retainers, in total 33,000 rupees a month and three lacs 96,000 sovereigns (*kalah-dār*). For each of his retainers he set a monthly stipend from the 13,000 rupees assigned for that purpose and this will be recorded in due course, God willing.

The Issuing of Farmans of Summons to the Governors of a Number of Provinces and Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's Failure to Appear Because of the Thoughts of Fitna He Harbored in His Heart

On Monday, the twenty-first of Shawwal/1 July 1888, when His Majesty was summering in Pamqan, to each of the following—Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Farah; Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin; Mir Badal Beg, the governor of Siqan and Kahmard; Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan; Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, the *wālī* of Maymanah; Muhammad Akram Khan, the governor of Hutak; Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qataghan; and Sardar Sultan Murad Khan, its *mīr*—a farman of summons was issued by His Majesty which said,

In these auspicious and felicitous days, we would like you to have the pleasure of seeing us and for us to likewise obtain delight from meeting and talking to you,. After a few days of the sweetness of seeing each other we will let you return.

After the arrival of this happiness-conveying manshur, some came to pay respects to the pleasure-bestowing presence monarch and were honorably received. Others were still in the process of preparing for the journey when Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan raised the head from the collar of mutiny and bluster and rebelled. God willing, this will be recorded below.

Also on Thursday, the twenty-eighth (sic-twenty-eighth was a Monday) of Shawwal/8 July, a farman reached Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan telling him to send to Kabul Mirza Mawlan (sic) Qul Saripuli, Mirza Qul Muhammad, Mirza Muhammad Hasan, Mirza Muhammad Nabi, Mirza Farman Shah Mazari, Mirza °Abd al-Rahim, Mirza Ganjah Khan Aybaki, Mirza Muhammad Rajab of Aqchah, and Mirza Sayyid Jan Tashqurghani whether they were working or not. Then, once they had the honor of being received by His Majesty, if they had the capability to perform some job they would be assigned to do it. Otherwise they would be sent back. On the heels of this farman, at the order of the exalted monarch, Mulla Uways al-Din Khan, the chief caravaneer (*qāfilah-bāshī*) was sent to Turkistan with his assistant, °Abd al-Wahhab to buy horses for the

government and bring them to Kabul in exchange for the following goods or with the money from the sale of these goods: forty-three bolts of *alwān* material (multi-colored cloth), seventy-nine bolts of white *ṣaḥn* (?), eight hundred fifty-nine bolts of muslin, two *kharwār* and sixty nine Kabuli *sīr* of tea, two hundred eighty-four and a half pieces of *langī* cloth, forty-five bolts of yellow *ṣaḥn*, one alpaca (*alpākah*) garment, two bolts of *kashangarī* (?), forty-five bolts of *chīngarī*, and six hundred and ninety-nine teacups. At the order of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan who had his heart set on being king, officials in Turkistan taxed all these things (?—*maḥṣūl giriftah*). They also taxed the horses which were bought for the government so one could say that even though they knew it was government property, they taxed it twice over.

Also at this time a farman went out from His Majesty to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qataghan, telling them to be sure to post guards on the Oxus River crossings and protect those places well so that sheep, cows, horses, camels, and other commercial goods would not be taken from Turkistan, Qataghan, and Badakhshan for sale in Russia. They were to consider this a definitive and irrevocable order because unless there were ways of stopping such trade, /594/ much harm would befall the livelihoods of the people of Afghanistan and much hardship would ensue. In the case of anyone who should conspire, in light of this prohibition, to sell horses, sheep, and other things from inside the country to foreign places their elders should be held strictly to account.

During this time, due to the order of the monarch of majestic authority to construct a strong fort in Muqur district, the vice field marshal (*nā'ib sālār*), Ghulam Haydar Khan, left Ghaznin with four hundred regular cavalry and four hundred regular infantry, and two mule guns. He left 100 cavalymen at the manzil of Mushki and another hundred at Qara Bagh. After reaching Muqur he assigned another hundred to Shinkay and sent out another forty to patrol the Muqur area keeping the rest and the cannons with him so that if the Nasiri or the troublesome °Ali Khayl, Taraki, and Andari should show signs of causing him any trouble and attack him anywhere, at an instant's notice his troopers from Mushki to Muqur and Shinkay would be prepared for battle and could come to the aid of one another. On the fourth of Zi'l-Qa'dah/13 July 1888, next to the royal highway, he himself laid the foundations for the fort, sacrificed four cows, distributed the meat to the poor, and set to work. The fort was at a place in the midst of Akhtar Khayl and on the south and north sides of it were the mouths of (two) subterranean canals. The Taraki and °Ali Khayl people, to show their loyalty, willingly took upon themselves the job of completing the work. After a month, when the work had reached a certain point, the vice field marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan left the rest of that as the responsibility of the governor of Muqur and returned to Ghaznin.

Also in these days, Sardar °Ata Muhammad Khan, the son of Sardar Shirindil Khan, because of hints, innuendo, and incitement from some people with their own agendas, people antagonistic to Mulla Muhammad Afzal, the qazi of the Shar'ī court of Gardiz, he reported to the throne an account of some

loathsome actions and blameworthy deeds of the qazi's. As a result of his representations, His Majesty requested that he (the qazi) come to Kabul and sent him off to prison. Eventually, when it was revealed that he had been accused through forged letters and seals (? *mawāhīr*) they brought him out of jail, he was freed of all restraints by His Majesty, was restored to his post as qazi of Gardiz, and went there. Despite their close tribal kinship, His Majesty ordered that Sardar °Ata Muhammad Khan be slapped twenty-four times on the face, as justice required and so made his cheeks black and blue. To further humiliate him, he expelled him from the durbar, ordered him to sit at home, and forbade him from riding a horse.

During this time, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Farah, having designated Mawla Dad Khan, the governor Pusht-i Rud, as his locum tenens, set out for Kabul in response to an order of summons issued in his name on the twenty-first of Shawwal/1 July 1888, as was reported above.

Also the governor of Ghaznin, having arrived in Pamqan obtained the honor of a royal audience.

Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan, harboring enmity and sedition in his heart, refused to come to Kabul, pretended to be ill, went to Shadyan from Mazar-i Sharif on the pretext of changing his residence (because of his illness) and there wrote a duplicitous letter to His Majesty requesting that he send the physician, °Abd al-Fattah Khan. His Majesty was unaware of his deceit and wrote that when he comes and has the honor of meeting the royal person, he would be treated. And so [the amir] did not send the physician.

Meantime, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qataghan, at the order of His Majesty selected Falul, a place between Andarab, Khust, Khanabad, Taluqan, Ghuri, Baghlan, Farkhar, and Badakshan as the site for the governor's residence, and laid the foundations. Then at a farman of summons he himself on the 17th of Zi'l-Qa'da/26 July, garbed in pilgrimage dress, having set out for the intended *qibla* to kiss the sublime threshold, arrived in the manzil of Shur Ab where he stopped for a bit in order to take care of various matters and prepare appropriate gifts and presents for His Highness. At this moment Baha al-Din Khan, the cousin (aunt's son) of Mulla Uways al-Din Khan, chief caravaneer (*qāfila-bāshī*), was ordered to go as police official (*ma'mūr-i zabṭ wa rabṭ*) for the rest of Tashqurghan and from Kabul he headed there. Yar Muhammad Khan, who was the police chief (*zābīṭ*) there, was dismissed. In addition, Mirza °Abd al-Majid Khan was honored with the post of *sar daftar* of Turkistan and was sent off to Mazar-i Sharif by His Majesty along with Muhammad Akram Khan *daf'ah-dār* who was charged with collecting the government revenues.

Immediately upon Mirza °Abd al-Majid's arrival there, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, who had returned from Shadyan, according him every honor and sign of regard, handed over to him the previous and following years' diwan (accounts) for both the military and civilian (operations) so that he would audit the previous year's and also administer the current and following years' (accounts). He also assigned a group of cavalry and infantry to Muhammad

Akram Khan in order to /595/ collect arrears owed. Then, contrary to the intent he harbored in his heart, he gave Mirza °Abd al-Majid Khan responsibility for preparing the various things he would present to the royal person so that he could take them with him to Kabul once the mirza had readied everything. Then by letter on the twenty-first of Zi Qa°da/30 July Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, in an outward show, informed His Majesty of the implementation of all these things and put his mind at rest concerning those matters which still lurked in his heart. In secret, he was engaged in preparing the tools of rebellion and sedition. After consultation and conversations with some of his confidants and associates, he dispatched Lalah Kuhandil Khan to Maymanah to stir up the military and civil officials there. Outwardly he sent a letter with him to Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, the *wālī* there for whom a farman of summons had been issued. In the letter he said that he should come to Mazar-i Sharif with Lalah Kuhandil Khan so that together they could set out for Kabul. But secretly, since he was somewhat afraid that he would not join him in a rebellion, he instructed the lalah to bring him back using whatever device he could. If he should refuse and give some excuse, he should kill him. He also summoned the officers of the regular army in Maymanah to Mazar-i Sharif. He got General Sharbat Khan to join him and charged him with inciting the people of Maymanah and the troops stationed there.

Meantime, Lalah Kuhandil Khan reached Maymanah and delivered Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's letter to Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan. The latter, unaware of what was afoot, replied that he would prepare gifts and presents for His Majesty, then go to Mazar and join the noble sardar for the trip to Kabul. The lalah, as instructed by Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, using the pretext that the sardar, in a hurry to leave for Kabul, was anxiously awaiting his arrival and also that the noble sardar was preparing the gifts and presents on his (Mir Muhammad Husayn's) behalf would not hear of delay and brought him (straightaway) to Mazar-i Sharif. There Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan spoke of rebellion and opposition to the government and of allying and siding with him but Mir Muhammad Husayn, in light of the rights and favors which the government had bestowed on him, turned from the words and actions of the illustrious sardar and would not hear of such things. For this, the sardar arrested and imprisoned him. Because of this incident and the suborning of General Sharbat Khan, the insurrection and the means for it which Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had, until now, kept under wraps, was revealed to and quickly spread among the Maymanah regiments. Thus, at the moment when Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan was detained in Mazar-i Sharif, General Sharbat Khan wanted to show to the troops garrisoned in Maymanah the Noble Qur'an which Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had sent with him in order to deceive them all with the miraculously arranged word of the Creator of mankind and incite them to join him. But before he could turn his hand to that act of troublemaking and bring down on himself (responsibility for) bloodshed and "Islam-killing" (*islām-kushī*), Muhammad Sharif Khan the son of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan learned of the imprisoning of his father, joined forces

with Munshi °Awaz Badal Khan and Abu'l-Fayz Khan to resist the insurrection, and got the troops to side with them. Then when General Sharbat Khan placed the foot of damage-causing on the field of evil-doing and opened the mouth of incitement to exhort and admonish them, the people of Maymanah and the entire army, with whom felicity and good fortune were allied, at the advice and counsel of the son of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, Munshi °Awaz Badal Khan, and Abu'l-Fayz Khan mutinied against General Sharbat Khan. They seized the general, Commander (*Kumidān*) °Abd al-Samad Khan, and four people of Maymanah who had allied with him in evil-doing, shackled them with chains on their necks and feet and sent them to Herat.

Likewise in Mazar-i Sharif, all the officers of the regular army stationed there turned from Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and were put to death by him. All these events reached the blessed ears of His Majesty at his summer palace in Pamqan by letter dated the twenty-ninth of Zi Qa°da/7 August from the *sar daftar* of Qataghan, Sayyid Khalil Shah. He immediately dispatched mighty regiments an account of which will come shortly, God willing. recounted,

Meantime, the unworthy sardar raised the errant banners of waywardness with his son Muhammad Isma°il Khan, arrested servants of the throne and supporters of the government like Mirza °Abd al-Majid Khan and others, detained them alongside Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan and himself left Mazar for Tashqurghan. From there with the Mazari infantry regiment, he headed for Qataghan. Leaving his son behind, he marched to Qataghan and arrived in Khanabad. From there he dispatched the Mazari Infantry Regiment and another [infantry] regiment with four cannon and two 800-man cavalry regiments to reinforce Qal°ah-i Shash Burjah (“the six-tower fort”) of Kahmard where he had sent Najm al-Din Khan, his father-in-law with orders to fortify it. He gave orders for provisions and fodder for them and told them (the infantry regiments) to levy camels belonging to the well-to-do (? *rāḥilah-i ālū wa bīgār*), load them with these provisions and send them manzil by manzil (to the fort).

During this time Mir Ahmad Shah Khan, the governor of Fayzabad Badakhshan /596/ came to him offering his obedience and, with words of supplication, prostrated himself. Considering his fawning words to be merely opportunistic, he first arrested him along with Mirza Muhammad Amin Khan and a few others and then decided to kill him. But later, through the intercession of Sardar Sultan Murad Khan who was allied body and soul with the noble sardar, he did not put him to death but instead turned him over to the regular cavalry and ordered them to take him across the Oxus River, release him, and then return.

Meantime His Majesty learned in letters from servants of the throne in that region of what was going on and on the sixth of Zi Hijjah/14 August he ordered Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qataghan who was on his way to Kabul and about whose situation as well as that of Mir Ahmad Shah Khan and Sultan Murad Khan (His majesty) was as yet unaware to wait in Andarab, to assemble the *mulkī* and *niẓamī* troops in nahrin and prepare for combat.

At Herat, Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan the governor and Field Marshal Faramarz

Khan were also aware of what was happening and they dispatched Rustam °Ali Khan with two hundred regular cavalry to Maymanah. In addition, two hundred Kushadah horsemen were ordered to garrison Shahrak and the following forces were sent in Rustam °Ali Khan's wake towards Maymanah: three hundred troopers with Mulla °Aziz Khan the brother of General Ghaws al-Din Khan who himself (the general) was there (in Shahrak) to settle the dispute over Hashtadan; Mahmud Khan *sarhang* and the Afghaniyah Kushadah horsemen of Herat who were stationed in Murghab; and Hazarah horsemen under the command of Jalal al-Din Khan. Similarly, Haydar Quli Khan Jamshidi set out for Maymanah after all the others with four hundred other cavalymen. Mir Isma°il Khan likewise with six hundred more horsemen was sent from Herat to guard the territory from the district of Kushk to Chahar Shanbah located where the territory of Maymanah begins and there to be vigilant and prepared to fight. All these horsemen added up to some two thousand three hundred men. Of these, Mulla °Aziz Khan, Sarhang Mahmud Khan, and Jalal al-Din Khan were en route to Maymanah when the garrison in Andkhud (first) came out for Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and laid siege to the governor and the citadel. But because of (Mulla °Aziz Khan, Sarhang Mahmud Khan, and Jalal al-Din Khan's) heading for Maymanah, they then abandoned the siege, withdrew their support for Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, and joined up with the Maymanah garrison.

During this time, Qari Taj Muhammad Khan who at the order of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had gone out to incite the regiments of Maymanah after the arrest of General Sharbat Khan so that perhaps through deceit and trickery they could be steered off the path of service to the government and onto the road of waywardness, arrived in the manzil of Balchiragh. There, the horsemen from Herat with officials from Maymanah attacked him and captured three captains and three horsemen whom he had with him and drove the rest away. Riding the horse of flight, they rejoined Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. The (Heratis and Maymanah officials) entered Maymanah in triumph and the Maymanah garrison rose to welcome them and Rustam °Ali Khan, firing the cannon of welcome and performing to the full the ceremonies of joyous greeting.

From Kabul, on the same sixth of Zi Hijjah/14 August when, as was mentioned, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan was sent a farman to wait in Andarab, Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan with 800 regular horsemen and the Hazarah mirs of Day Zangi and Day Kundi who had come to Kabul, as was earlier mentioned along with their governor Jan Muhammad Khan in order to bring the Hazarahs of the *yāghistān* under government control and until now had not left, at the order of His Highness set off via Sar Chashmah and Bamyan in order that all the horsemen of those two Hazarah tribes (*tā'ifa*) would go to Turkistan. Likewise, Colonel Muhammad Yunis Khan, Colonel Muhammad Nasir Khan, °Ata Muhammad Khan, Miyan Rahim Khan, °Abd al-Hakim Khan, and Muhammad °Umar Khan, regular army officers, with one 700-man infantry regiment, five 600-man infantry regiments, two regular cavalry regiments, and five artillery batteries set off for Qataghan via Charikar.

Meanwhile, in the course of all these events, General Maclean, who had promised to settle the dispute over the district of Hashtadan and was awaiting the viceroy's answer with Nazim al-Mulk Khan, the Iranian, and General Ghaws al-Din Khan and had gone to Bazak, on Tuesday, the twenty-eighth of Zi Qa^cda/ 6 August 1888 arrived at the camp of the tripartite commission and promised to hold talks with the Irani representative on Sunday, the third of Zi Hijjah/11 August. The latter, because of this promise of General Maclean, assembled the hazrats of Shakiban and the na^{ib}s of Kuhsan to give testimony and now notified the governor of Herat to send Kalan Khan Mohmand and Muhammad ^cAlam Khan Ghuriyani to Hashtadan for the appointed day since those two men were especially knowledgeable. The governor speedily sent the two men from Herat and on the appointed day a majlis /597/ for the talks was arranged and all sat down together. Nazim al-Mulk, the representative of the government of Iran, presented to the others the gist of his claim in the form of a written memorandum that included (a map), the east side of his map (showing) (the land) from Sang-i Dukhtar to the barrage (*dar band*) of Shur Ab and the western side from Kuh-i Abad, Karat, and Farzanah with both sides of the (drainage) ditches (*ābrīz-hā*) of Hashtadan which are the hamlets and estates (*dihāt wa imārāt*) of Bakharz. He handed the memorandum to General Maclean. General Ghaws al-Din Khan likewise presented the Afghanistan map which was delineated along its eastern side to Shur Ab and from the western to Karat and Kuh-i Farzanah and Garmah, the lands on both sides of which belong to Afghanistan and are occupied by it. General Maclean placed the Iranian map in General Ghaws al-Din Khan's hands and the Afghani map in Nazim al-Mulk's and asked both sides to provide evidence and proof of their claims. First General Ghaws al-Din Khan produced his documents and proofs and Nazim al-Mulk uttered not a word but wrote down:

If the representative of the government of Afghanistan includes in his depiction Farzanah and Garmah which are under the control and occupied by the government of Iran and leaves out Sang-i Dukhtar and Shur Ab, I am not authorized to sit any longer in this conclave. If he should remove Farzanah, Garmah, and Chah-i Qal^cah from his claim and add Sang-i Dukhtar and Shur Ab to it, then we can discuss it.

General Maclean acknowledged what he had written as correct and said,

Farzanah, Garmah, and Chah-i Qal^cah—all three places—are not in the region in dispute. Shur Ab, Tir Kisht, and Sang-i Dukhtar are. Should it be otherwise, I have no authority to resolve (the problem). At the moment I believe that it is best for Afghanistan not to prolong this discussion.

General Ghaws al-Din Khan requested a three-day postponement to answer what Maclean had said and wrote the governor of Herat to tell him what had

transpired. He in turn sent it on to the throne. The resolution of the matter was postponed until His Majesty issued a judgment (*hukm*), as will come in due course, God willing.

Meantime, Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan who had left Kabul for Turkistan via Sar Chashmah and Bamyan on the sixth of Zi Hijjah with the Hazarah mirs of Day Zangi and Day Kundi and regular army officers under his command like Mir Aqa Khan, Muhammad Jan Khan, Dust Muhammad Khan, Muhammad Hasan Khan, Nur °Ali Khan, and Sayyid Hasan Khan dismounted for two hours at Arghandah and after the noon prayer set out again. At 12:30 at night he reached the manzil of Sar Chashmah and from there, with the consent and approval of the Hazarah mirs and the regular cavalry officers who were with him, he sent ahead Mir Aqa Khan and Jan Muhammad Khan, the governor of Day Zangi, with one hundred regular troopers and ordered them to ride hard. They did not stop for a day and a night but at three o'clock on the night of the eighth, nearly dawn, they reached Bamyan. On the day (after) the night of the arrival of Sayyid Shah Khan at the manzil of Sar Chashmah, His Majesty sent him 2,000 rupees accompanied by Mir Badal Beg to cover expenses of the campaign. Sayyid Shah Khan then set off from Sar Chashmah.

On the eighth of the month/16 August, His Majesty also ordered Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan by farman to march from Ghaznin to Turkistan with the battle-eager army under his victorious banner and join Sayyid Shah Khan in Bamyan. Thus on the tenth of Zi Hijjah/18 August, Sayyid Shah Khan arrived in Bamyan. The deputy field marshal, Ghulam Haydar Khan, who was eager for battle with the enemies of the government hurried from Ghaznin toward Turkistan. The army which was sent out from Kabul via Ghuri reached the manzil of Tatamdarrah on the same day and continued its march. At His Majesty's command, one lak of rupees from the Kabul treasury was transported via Panjshayr to reach the brave army in Andarab. On the fourteenth Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan camped at the ribat (caravansary) of the Wardak tribe and departed on the fifteenth.

Also on this day, all the soldiers of Qataghan and Badakhshan, both *mulki* and *niẓāmī* presented themselves before Sardar °Abd Allah Khan in Andarab and under his banner assembled to serve the government.

During this time, fifteen letters of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, which he had written to the khans of Kuhsitan, Kuhdaman-i Kabul, and Panjshayr and sent with Sartip Shams al-Din Khan to persuade those regions to submit to him and to fight the officials of the government, fell into the hands of Sardar °Abd Allah Khan and he sent them on to the throne. Since each one of the letters was addressed to individual khans in Kuhistan, Kuhdaman-i Kabul, and Panjshayr who had made him hopeful through messages of their own, he threw them all into the fire.

Also at this time, he sent separate farmans with one and the same message to the *mulki* and *niẓāmī* men of Maymanah and other regions of Turkistan as a precautionary measure /598/ telling them that they should be vigilant regarding Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and his supporters and that wherever they

encountered them they should not leave them alive and should take their money and loot their possessions.

Meantime, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, who had raised the banner of occupation in Khanabad, had sent out some of his riders to raid in the vicinity of Andarab where Sardar ʿAbd Allah Khan was camped. These riders encountered the latter's mounted scouts who were guarding the region and retreated back to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. Also, although he (Muhammad Ishaq Khan) had won the obedience of the tax collectors and police officials of Andarab, upon all of whom he bestowed robes of honor and the promise of benefits which he would give them once he was successful, they now turned their faces away from him and towards Sardar ʿAbd Allah Khan.

During this time, Muhammad Srawar Khan, a *pīshkhlhidmat* of the sublime court, came to help Sardar ʿAbd Allah Khan from Parwan—now known as Jabal al-Siraj—with 3,000 armed horse and foot as did Siraj al-Din Khan, the governor of Panjshayr with the Panjshayri tribal militia (*īljārī*). His army now numbered 17,000 fighters and his power (greatly) increased. On the sixteenth of Zi Hijjah/ 24 August, a 1,000-man infantry regiment from Lahugard under the command of General ʿAbd al-Wakil Khan departed from Kabul towards Turkistan at His Majesty's command on the heels of, and to reinforce, the army that had left earlier.

Elsewhere, Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan (also on the sixteenth) crossed the Kutal-i Khuk-i Kushtah (Slaughtered Pig Pass) and camped at Sarmah-i Nahwar (Nāhūr?). Then on the seventeenth in Sabz Ab of Hazarah-i Bahsud and marching manzil by manzil, he joined Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan in Bamyan. Here too 3,000 horsemen and 2,000 infantry from Hazarah-i Day Zangi and Day Kundi with Jan Muhammad Khan, the governor, Mir Aqa Khan and their mirs who had split off from Sayyid Shah Khan at the manzil of Sar Chashmah as was explained above and had gone off to assemble this force now joined Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan. Besides this force, twelve infantry regiments, six regular cavalry regiments, and thirty-six artillery pieces had been assembled in Bamyan.

During these events, Sayyid Shah Khan moved on from Bamyan, entered Sayqan and dispatched the regular cavalymen to Aq Ribat.

Meantime, General Najm al-Din Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's father-in-law, Qadir Khan *sar ʿaskar* and Mir Dilawar Khan who all were garrisoned in Qalʿah-i Shash Burjah of Kahmard with Sakhlu infantry and *mulkī* and *nizāmī* cavalry to block the path of the Kabul army, beefed up the citadel defenses, dug a deep moat around it, and sent a man to the Shaykh ʿAli Hazarabs and the Tatar and invited them to come and help. But they refused saying, "We will not draw the sword of rebellion against the padishah of Islam."

During this time, Wali Shah Beg, and Faqir Beg the sons of Saʿid Muhammad Khan Duabi came to Sayyid Shah Khan in Siqan offering their support.

Also during this time after the arrest of Sartip Shams al-Din Khan, the bearer of letters from Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan to the leaders of Kuhistan,

Kuhdaman, and Panjshayr and his imprisonment and dispatch to Kabul, a certain Muhammad Qasim took several letters from the sardar to the leaders of those places and set off. He was detained at Khinjan by servants of the government and in the custody of two regular was sent to Charikar where he was executed. Also °Abd al-Rashid Khan, the brother of General °Abd al-Wakil Khan who at His Majesty's command had set out on the road to Ghurband and Shaykh °Ali with thirty-five government servants as a spy to report on the state of affairs there, entered Ghurband on the seventeenth of Zi Hijjah. On his heels were sent 1,061 *mulki* men from Najrab who had been given arms from the royal armory and ordered to guard the Chardar Pass and also had been instructed that if no other trouble should occur in the pass they should head without delay to Talah and Barfak of Hazarah-i Shaykh °Ali. So they cleared the pass of any problems and, heading for Talah and Barfak, entered Ghurband where they joined °Abd al-Rashid Khan.

During this time, because of the letter from General Ghaws al-Din Khan concerning the negotiations over Hashtadan which he had sent to the governor of Herat and he, as was previously noted, had forwarded on to the throne, which informed His Majesty of the discussions of Nazim al-Mulk and General Maclean, on the nineteenth of Zi Hijjah a letter went out for the governor of Herat from His Majesty saying,

By no means should General Ghaws al-Din Khan be neglectful of the instructions that have been given to him and that is that /599/ it is essential that he not say anything regarding any place where we have no rights or where we cannot prove a right. On the other hand we should not relinquish a place where documentary proof of its ownership exists. In any case, discussion should not be further postponed and resolution of the dispute should be effected because our continuing to discuss this with officials of Iran, diverts us from other (more important) matters near and far.

Meantime, General Maclean had written to the viceroy to apprise him of the situation and turned resolution of the dispute over to high officials of the English government. This because General Ghaws al-Din Khan had promised to give an answer in three days, had informed the governor of Herat of what was going on, he had passed it on to His Majesty who then issued the above manshur in reply, and a long time beyond the promised (three) days had come and gone before the arrival of the above order. Thus because of his letter, which he had sent to India, a letter from the Foreign Secretary arrived at the throne (in Kabul) saying:

High officials of the government of Iran have lodged a complaint with the highest officials of the English government because of General Ghaws al-Din Khan's speaking out of place and making exorbitant demands over a place for which he has no document, evidence, or proof of any rights and so is prolonging the dispute. The general should be

told to cease talking about things which are of no benefit and do no good to his government, so that no further harm is done.

The answer to the Foreign Secretary's letter will be given in due course, God willing.

Also on the nineteenth of this month His Majesty sent a note in his own hand to Sayyid Shah Khan, who had arrived in Siqan. It dealt with marching, halting, advice against being too hasty, and the rules of combat:

May God be your friend and victory your companion! You must wary of everyone and proceed no further until other regiments with Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan reach Siqan from Bamyan and the two of you join forces. Beware not to run around aimlessly, for all matters and the conduct of war (are based on) organization and deliberation (*tadbīr wa tamhīd*) not haste and indecisiveness (*shītāb wa tardīd*).

Also on this same day, numerous letters of advice went out from His Majesty to the Tatar people dwelling in Duab and Ru'i and other places as far as Sar Bagh and Chabchal. One by one he reminded them all of their past services and his previous favors to them and encouraged them to assist the mighty (government) regiments. Also five proclamations of guidance were sent to the tribesmen and residents of Sang Charak, Juybari, Zari, Amrakh, Kajan, and Sar-i Pul saying:

Because Ishaq, a hypocrite from head to toe and the perfidious lying son of an Armenian,⁶ has embarked on the path of enmity and discord, has withdrawn the neck of obedience from the halter of loyalty to the government, become an employee (*nawkar*) of the Russian government, and been incited to rebellion through its urging and encouragement, we're determined to fight him. Having readied laks of men of Islam we will fight him and whoever is encouraging him. Up to now, other than the regular army which numbers 20,000 blood-thirsty men, I have dispatched to that region thousands of fighters from different places by various routes. I have also readied 30,000 more men of the regular army and its officers in Kabul so that I can keep sending (a continual stream of soldiers) until, with the assistance of God Most High, I shed the light of day on the black heart of the dark of night. So, you must strike that son of an Armenian and drive him out of the country so that you make the daylight of that blackguard like the dark of night.

⁶ FM: He is called "son of an Armenian" because the mother of Muhammad Ishaq was the daughter of an Armenian, Timur Khan.

At this time, on the twentieth of Zi Hijjah/28 August 1888, Sayyid Shah Khan and Jan Muhammad Khan, the governor of Day Zangi, set out from Siqan on the road to Kahmard. Sending the Hazarah mirs with their horsemen to Darrah-i Suf, they spent the night at the mouth of the valley of the Dandan Shikan Pass and on the twenty-first reached the district of Kahmard. The Day Zangi mirs who had headed for Darrah-i Suf attacked and seized the village of Walishan whose people had turned their backs on the government and wholeheartedly joined forces with Muhammad Ishaq Khan and made off with all their livestock, money, and household possessions. To the left and right they raided and plundered and, victorious, at the order of Sayyid Shah Khan, set the face of assault towards Buyinah Qarah and Kashandah.

Meanwhile, a certain *kalāntar* named °Aziz delivered a letter from General najm al-Din Khan and Qadir Khan *sar °askar* to Mir Badal Beg, °Abd al-Rahim his son, and Sayf Allah Beg which incited them and asked their help. But they refused to turn their faces from the quarter of felicity and brought the *kalāntar* and the letter he had with him to Sayyid Shah Khan and Jan Muhammad Khan. They turned him over to the horsemen of the army to be used as the goat in a game of buzhashi. This (game) is a custom among the horsemen of Turkistan. They dragged him around, first one horse then another, and tore him to bits.

After these signs of victory and auguries of triumph, Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan /600/ arrived at the manzil of Sukhtah Chinari with his large force on the twenty-fourth of Zi Hijjah/1 September 1888.

During this time those regiments which were in Qataghan and on the march for their intended destination, entered Khinjan with six pieces of artillery and a set of instruction arrived from His Majesty telling them when to march and when to rest and where to dismount and where to camp. It said that they should carefully observe the situation of the enemy, keep abreast of the movements, the marches and the halts, of the army sent to Bamyan, and on the day the army sent towards Bamyan arrives at the manzil of Khurram they should arrive that same day in Ghuri so from those two directions they would simultaneously confront the enemy and draw up battle plans so that the enemy would be unable to get help from any one else.

Following the arrival of this set of instructions, Muhammad Sarwar Khan Jabal al-Siraji and Siraj al-Din Khan, the governor of Panjshayr, reinforced strategic places with brave men and then at Banu, Pushta-ha, Zard Aspan, and Barm located in Khushdarrah met up with and attacked Muhammad Hashim Khan *ishik aqāsī* and the commander (*sālār*) of the advance force of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's army.. They had the rest of their force along with leaders from Salih Ulang, Hurat, Shatal, Bazarak-i Panjshayr, and Kuhistan, men like Langar Khan, Bahadur Khan, Muhammad Rahim Khan, Commander (*sar kardah*) Amir Muhammad Khan, Commander Din Muhammad Khan, Mansur Khan, Mirdad Khan, Najat Khan, °Abd Allah Khan, Sayf Allah Khan, Samad Khan, Muhammad Khan, Khurram, Malik, °Abd al-Rahman, Muhammad Nabi, Muhammad Akbar, Turah Khan, Muhammad Shafi°, Amir Khan, °Ayn Allah, Malikji, Muhammad Hasan, °Aziz Beg, Muhibbat Khan,

Kala Beg, Mahmud Khan, Muhammad Taqi, Sar Faraz, Zayd Allah, °Aziz Khan, Muhammad Hakim, Qalandar Khan, Bahram Shah, Muhammadi Khan, Muhammad Aslam, Muhammad Nur, and Mir Kalan. In the twinkling of an eye, they carried off spoil, shed the mortal blood of sixteen men, wounded many others, took twelve prisoners, and captured many horses and weapons. Muhammad Hashim Khan himself was wounded and retreated to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and joined his force. After gaining the victory, Muhammad Sarwar Khan and Siraj al-Din Khan stationed four hundred of their men in Khushdarrah to protect it and two hundred in Dushi. When (news of) the winning of the victory reached the throne with the arrival of a letter from Muhammad Sarwar Khan and Siraj al-Din Khan and this Majesty was informed, each of the leaders listed above was sent a robe of honor as a way of showing his favor.

Also at this time, Asad Allah Khan, Mirza Marham Khan, Mulla Ghulam Khan, Shah Wali Beg, °Abd al-Rahman *mīr-i hazār*, Bakhtiyari Khan, °Ali Khan Beg, Muhammad °Ali Khan, Fath Muhammad Khan, Mirza Haydar °Ali Khan, and other leaders of the Shaykh °Ali Hazarāhs with a multitude of their tribal followers (*ayl wa ulūs*), with the exception of the men of Talah and Barfak who had tendered their obedience to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan at the urging of Sayyid °Ali Gawhar, came to Ghurband to (Ishan) °Aziz Khwajah Khan the governor there. The total of Shaykh °Ali Hazarah foot and horse combined with those of Ghurband reached 6,000 armed men. Ishan °Aziz Khwajah wanted to attack and plunder the people of Talah and Barfak but His Majesty issued a farman staying such an attack and telling them that only when the course of action of the evildoers of the Talah and Barfak people is disclosed—that is whether they assist the rebel army or side with the supporters of the government—only then should they act in accord with what those people choose to do.

Also during these tumultuous events, forty households of Kilami (Kaylami?) infidels, through the mediation of °Abd al-Wakil Khan, and forty households of Katur infidels tendered their obedience and agreed to pay the *jizya*.

Also during this time, at the order of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, a certain captain, entered Kuhistan-i Kabul on a spy mission. Na°ib Mir Sultan Khan the *kūtwāl* got wind of him in a written report from the governor of Istalif. He sent a certain Shayr Muhammad who arrested him with a horse and a pistol and brought him to Kabul where he was imprisoned.

Also in this season, the English Colonel Adani (=Udni? see below), the commissioner of Peshawar, who had sent His Majesty a letter inquiring about the uprising in Turkistan and the rebellion of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan—thinking that it was all at the instigation of the Russians, had his fears allayed by two consecutive letters sent by his Majesty on the twenty-fifth and twenty-seventh of Zi Hijjah/2 and 4 September in which an explanation of events was set out.

The Victory at Qal°a-i Shash Burjah

On the twenty-seventh of Zi Hijjah, from Bamyan, prior to the arrival of the infantry regiment which Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, as was previously mentioned, had sent from Khanabad to reinforce the garrison of Qal^a-i Shash Burjah, Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan with their victory-accompanied army /601/ approached the qal^a and laid siege to General Najm al-Din Khan as well as the son of Shah Pasand Khan and Qadir Khan *sar* ^{askar} all of whom were stationed inside it with a unit (*dastah*) of Sakhlu infantry and some Tatar horsemen. The horsemen, unable to maintain their position, escaped toward Dasht-i Sapid. Two hundred regular army horsemen who were stationed at Bajgah, seeing the Tatar horsemen in flight, also lost heart and fled Bajgah. At the order of Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan, two hundred of his regular cavalry were sent to Bajgah as a scouting party and seeing no sign of the troopers stationed there at Dasht-i Sapid in the vicinity of Qala^a-i Surkh met, skirmished with, and won out over a scouting party of cavalry from the army loyal to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. Muhammad Amin Beg the brother of Muhammad Rahim Beg Siqani along with two of his maternal uncles all of whom were supporters of the government were killed in the encounter. The beaten enemy fled and the territory as far as Madar and Dasht-i Sapid came into the hands of servants of the state. Provisions and fodder on their way to the Qal^a-i Shash Burjah that had reached Qal^a-i Duab-i Shah Pasand were seized as booty by those cavalry scouts.

Meanwhile Mir Darwish Beg Tatar of Duab along with Mirza Sharif, Mirza ^{Is}mat Allah Khurrami, the nephew of Mirza Sufi, Khushi Beg, Ghulam Husayn Beg and eight Tatar leaders came to Ghulam Haydar Khan, the deputy field marshal, to tender their obedience. He reassured them and gave them solace (*dil bi-jāy āwurd*). He also ordered ^{Abd} al-Rahim Beg the son of Badal Beg as a precaution to take up station to protect Siqan, Sayf Allah Beg likewise in Duab, and his brother Habib Allah Beg with 100 foot and horse in Kahmard. Sayyid Shah Khan, after taking control of and fortifying the abovementioned places sent a letter to the governors of Ay Bek and Tashqurghan telling them to take the path of obedience and withdraw the hand of support from Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. Otherwise they should count on the arrival of the mighty regiments and know that their lives are forfeit. After sending this letter, on the twenty-eighth of the sacred Zi'l-Hijjah, he (Sayyid Shah Khan) together with Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, Colonel hajji Muhammad Gul Khan, Colonel ^{Abd} al-Hayy Khan, Jan Muhammad Khan the governor of Day Zangi and the entire regular army set to conquer Qal^a-i Shash Burjah. They struck the walls of that fort with 4,000 shots from the mouths lightning-delivering cannon and breached it. The people in the fort saw themselves faced by destruction and asked for security for their lives (*amān-i jān*). They arrested and detained General Najm al-Din Khan, Muhammad Hashim Khan, the son of Shah Pasand Khan, Qadir Khan *sar* ^{askar}, and the Sakhlu infantry officers and gave all the others pledge of security. They took their weapons and sent them (the ones given security) along with the three detainees to Kabul escorted by 100 Hazarah

cavalrymen.

After the victory at the fort, Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and made his way to the manzil of Duab. The Hazarah mirs—Yusuf Beg, Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani, Ibrahim Beg, °Ali Jan Beg, Husayn °Ali Beg, Sayyid Shah Riza Bakhsh, Riza Quli Beg, Yazdan Bakhsh Beg and other *mirzādahs*—who as previously mentioned had raided Walishan with their horsemen and then turned the face of plundering in the direction of Darrah-i Suf, Buyinah Qarah, and Kishan Dih, raided as far as Zanbaq and Hajar, had weighed themselves down with the booty of the livestock and furnishings of the people of those places who had turned from the government and offered their allegiance to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. At the order of Ghulam Haydar Khan, the deputy field marshal, they went from there to the manzil of Bajgah.

During this time. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, who had ensconced himself at Khanabad, had ordered the troopers belonging to followers of his into combat against Muhammad Sarwar Khan Kuhistani and they had been routed. Unable to withstand (Muhammad Sarwar Khan's) might, in defeat they turned the face of obstinacy in the direction of the camp of Sardar °Abd Allah Khan. His troopers rode out to defend against (Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's) men and killed many of them. Sixteen were taken prisoner, the rest were routed, and the bulk of their weapons were seized as booty. Found amongst the booty was a letter written by Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan to Muhammad Hashim Khan the son of Shah Pasand Khan before the latter was captured at Qal°a-i Shash Burjah encouraging him to stand fast and resist and also asking for information about the place where Sardar °Abd Allah Khan had camped. Sardar °Abd Allah Khan sent it on to the throne. Because of this letter, a number of the things which Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had in mind, it was now evident to the liberal mind of His Majesty that he would never succeed in effecting. After winning this victory, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan went on to Ghuri with three regular infantry regiments—one 1,000-man, one 700-man, and one 600-man, twelve pieces of artillery, 400 regular cavalry, 3,000 /602/ fighters from Kuhistan who had come with Muhammad Sarwar Khan to do battle, 7,000 Panjshayri and Ghurbandi braves who had come to serve the government with Siraj al-Din Khan the governor of Panjshayr, Ishan °Aziz Khwajah, the governor of Ghurband, and the leaders of (their) clan and tribes (*ilāt wa aḥshām*). (Sardar °Abd Allah Khan) acting in accordance with His Majesty's command, as previously noted, reached Ghuri on the same day that the victory-accompanied army traveling via Bamyan arrived in Khurram. Both then commenced fortifying strategic spots.

The Issuance of the Reply of the Viceroy Who Wrote to Notify His Majesty of His Dismissal and to Inquire About The Illness of the Royal Foot Which Was A Chronic Affliction of the Royal Personage

When, at the end of the month of Zi Qa°da/early August, gout, which is the illness of kings, flared up in His Royal Majesty and (when) at the same time the

viceroys were dismissed and by a friendly letter dated the eighteenth of the month of August one thousand eight hundred eighty-eight A.D. equivalent to the ninth of Zi Hijjah one thousand three hundred and five A.H., he informed His Majesty of his stepping down and of the circumstances of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and inquired about His Majesty's illness, on the twenty-ninth of the month/6 September the latter wrote and sent to India a letter which said,

the percipient friend (*dūstdār*) having referred to my gout and expressed his regrets, praise God the attack has been warded off. Although for several days every year the friend experiences the pain of such attacks still the disease is not particularly serious, it is being treated properly and soon, perhaps the attacks will come to an end. Regarding Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, on whose account you have written saying, 'although bringing him and his entourage to Hindustan has entailed great expense on the revenues of India it has been done simply for the benefit of that friend (*mīhrbān*) and that is why it is acceptable to the English government. still simply from the benefits that accrue it is a good thing for the English government. Because it is clear that it would be harmful to that friend if the aforementioned again attacked Afghanistan with the help and under the patronage of the Russians at that time, in no one more than that friend (the viceroy) has the substance of this matter been so well established. As is implied from your expressions, you believe that I have heard that exaggerating tongues say Ayyub Khan has some standing in this country and that unhappy fugitives flock around him and this has reached that friend (His Majesty). He should be well aware that it is not in accord with our wishes that the sardar should make some dealing which is contrary to the wishes of that friend. When the representative of the friend, i.e. General Amir Ahmad Khan, who is stationed in Calcutta, reported that Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan has been inciting fugitives from Afghanistan to meet with him, since we know that that sardar would never attempt to carry out such things, but naturally it causes the friend pain. So I candidly informed him (the sardar) that permission for this kind of dealing (*kār rawā'ī*) would never be given. Since then Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan has been kept isolated. Because the special request of the friend (*dūstdār*) asking that he go to Hindustan was so that the friend would be even more firmly established on the throne of Afghanistan and so that the people of that country would be more secure from tumult and trouble, he should know for certain that it will never be allowed that any arrangements for the benefit of that friend in any way can be subject to alteration which would be to the detriment of that friend (*mīhrbān*).'

[FM: up to this point these are the words of the viceroy.]

Now I understand all this. I write in the sure confidence knowing that I consider that friend (the viceroy) and all the high officials (*awliyā*) of the great government as my friends, allies, and the benefactors of my welfare, of the welfare of my children and the welfare of the people of my kingdom. It is self-evident—since I am a sincere friend of the great government and always will be—that the high officials of the great government will look upon those who wish me ill, whoever they may be, as their enemies as well. Therefore, because of my sincerity, I did not keep in my heart what I had heard about Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's access to governing circles and wrote to my representative to let the officials of the great government of India know that the friend (His majesty) is not hiding what is in his mind from officials of the government nor does he allow the dust of dissension to cloud his mind. As for this news [about Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's meeting with opponents of His Majesty] whether what has reached the friend has been exaggerated in whole or in part, it was nonetheless the friend's duty to articulate and express it and if it is correct then it is contrary to what is expedient. But now that his (Sardar Muhammad Ayyub's) life is isolated and he is kept separate from gatherings of Afghan fugitives hostile to the government, the friend is reassured and consoled vis a vis the best interests of /603/ the people of Afghanistan, of course the friend (*dūstdār*) is easy in his mind (about this). With regards to what he (the viceroy) has written that whoever takes his place will be as friendly as he has been in terms of governmental or personal relations, I reassure you that this friend knows that whoever replaces that friend will be as much a well-wisher and friend of the government of Afghanistan as that friend has been because my friendship towards the great English government is not like the friendship of the local princes of Hindustan, who if the ruler of Hindustan does something in accordance with the external interests of them well and good, otherwise they watch him with the eye of partisanship. My friendship and unity with the great government is constant; it is not based on my own personal agenda; and the foundations of my desires are the unity and concord of the two governments. Whenever the base of friendship attains this degree, whoever of the officials of that government becomes the ruler of India, in the view of the friend will be as one. I will recognize whoever takes the place of that friend as if he were the friend himself. And wherever that noble one should go, just as today when he sits in India and is a sympathetic friend of the affairs of Afghanistan, I will think of him as both my mentor and my assistant (*murabbī wa mu'āwin*) in those matters that are in the best interests of both countries. The end.

Also during this time when General Maclean had sent a letter to the viceroy of India concerning what General Ghaws al-Din Khan had said—as was noted

above—and had referred the resolution of the Hashtadan dispute to the government for resolution, General Ghaws al-Din Khan returned to Herat and was dispatched to Murghab. From there he left for Maymanah, because of the trouble which Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan was causing, and there busied himself with military organization (*niẓāmdārī*).

Nizam al-Mulk and General Maclean who had reached agreement with General Ghaws al-Din Khan that neither the Afghan nor the Iranian governments would interfere by trying to occupy (*mudākhalat-i mutaṣarrifānah*) Hashtadan until the dispute was resolved and settled, returned to Mashhad. Once the representatives of all three governments had withdrawn, a letter dated 29 Zi Hijjah/6 September from the viceroy of India corresponding to the twenty-seventh of December (sic!) of the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight of the Christian era reached the throne as a result of the letter which General Maclean had sent to the viceroy in India from Hashtadan:

In accord with the correspondence dated to a time corresponding to the fifth of December His Majesty had agreed and written that a person of rank be appointed by the English government to arbitrate impartially the facts of the border situation of Hashtadan in order to settle the dispute over it which has arisen between Afghanistan and Iran. After that it became known that His Majesty, the Shah of Iran, was also amenable in this matter to a third party arbitrator (*mufaṣṣil-i ṣāliṣānah*).⁷ Consequently General Maclean was appointed and charged with ascertaining what was required. The facts thus ascertained may be complicated, still that friend is aware that it has been four months since General Maclean first met with the representative of that friend and with the representative of His Highness, the Shah of Iran, at Hashtadan. There is no doubt that that friend has been kept informed of the facts of the case. The reports of General Maclean which have reached the friend (the viceroy) have made it clear that the two parties have put forward their claims, parts of which could not be considered acceptable. The Iranian representative offered evidence to support his claim to the whole of the district (*julgā*) of Hashtadan and all the lands up to Kuh-i (Sanad)⁸ Sang-i Dukhtar along the eastern side in order to expand his claim to the eastern part of that. He also indicated that if questions arise about Hashtadan to the south and north he should be allowed to be the first to present his case. The district which has been claimed by the Afghan side first included Kalukh, Pardah, and the lands of Hashtadan for which the representative of that friend suggested that the investigations be limited to these areas. But because of the additional claims of

⁷ FM: *Mufaṣṣil* with an 'i' on the 'ṣ' is one who resolves or arbitrates a dispute. "Third party" refers to the designated Englishman.

⁸ FM: The word "sanad" has no relevance here but since it appears in the original letter it is left unchanged.

the Iranians, that representative (General Ghaws al-Din Khan) then added claims to Farzanah, Garmab, and other places which besides being under the control of the Iranians are located west of the border that officers of that friend had already indicated to the British officials. In the opinion of General Maclean, it is pointless to try to settle the dispute of the border of Hashtadan before defining the parcel of land that each side is laying claim to. It is also pointless to accept claims which apparently cannot be established. So the first thing that needs to be done is to define the piece of land which is in dispute, for future dealings are tied to that. I (the friend) think that, regarding the northern and southern boundaries of the disputed land, there is no real disagreement. These are well-known because they are marked /604/ by mountains, i.e. Kuh-i Sanjati to the north and Kuh-i Kadwanah to the south. The difficulties lie in the western and eastern boundaries. Because of the actions of the Iranian and Afghan representatives these difficulties have been magnified. The investigation that General Maclean has conducted in this area has led him to suggest that investigations should be limited to the piece of land whose boundaries are detailed below, i.e. the north side by Kuh-i Sanjati, the east by Sang-i Dukhtar and Kuh-i Balkhar, the south by the Kuh Kadwanah range, and to the west by a line from the wall (*band*) of the Kuh-i Kadwanah range touching and near the outlet of the subterranean canals which irrigate the lands of Hashtadan, Kalukh, and Pardah and continuing on to Kuh-i Sanjati. I (the friend) trust General Maclean who has accurately surveyed and defined the disputed piece of land. I deem it necessary that if the dispute is to be settled, the two sides should be satisfied with the delineation of the disputed piece. Therefore I (the friend) asks of that friend that he approve the delineation of the disputed piece and instruct his officials to withdraw the claim for Farzanah, Garmab, and other places outside it. I am writing to the special envoy (*wazīr-i mukhtār*) of Her Majesty (Queen Victoria) who is resident in Tehran and asking him to obtain the consent of the government of Iran to this as well. I (he friend) want to reassure you that General Maclean will safeguard the interests of that friend from this. I have no doubt that on condition that the findings are limited to the boundaries as explained above that the abovementioned sahib (General Maclean) will soon be able to send to me his views on finalizing the stipulations approved by that friend and the government of Iran. I (the friend) want to express the great regard and admiration I hold for that friend and counts himself a sincere friend of that kind one. The end.

His Majesty sent a copy of this letter from the viceroy to the governor of Herat and wrote a note in his own hand which said that he should not be impertinent and overstep the bounds and if negotiations and talks were required

he was not to say anything. Otherwise he should abstain from saying anything that was out of place. In the end, after the sending and receiving of much correspondence, a map arrived at the throne from the viceroy of India setting out the borders of Hashtadan in this manner: Much of the land located in the Dasht-i Hashtadan and the qanats, the waters of which watered the greater part of the lands (of the *dasht*) and which flowed from the mouth of Shur Ab toward the lands of Kafir Qal'a, these lands and qanats were given to the Afghans. The qanats which were located north of the aforementioned *dasht* and between the mountains and the hills and the waters of which irrigated the lesser part of the lands of the *dasht*, these belonged to Iran. His Majesty approved this and the delimitation of the borders was fixed.

Also at this time, Turkmen shepherds subject to the Russian government brought their flocks to Rukhtab which belongs to the government of Afghanistan. The border guards tried to drive them off and the killed one of the border troopers. One of the shepherds, a certain 'Awaz Jak was captured and sent to Herat. When news of this reached the royal hearing thanks to a report from the governor of Herat, he issued an order instructing the governor to hold the detainee until the bloodwit was paid for the slain border guard and to write the governor of Panjdah and tell him that the murderer should send the bloodwit if he committed the murder with other than a weapon. Otherwise, (the man who was held in Herat) will be put to death in retaliation.

The governor of Herat informed General Maclean who was in Mashhad about this case. He had yet to be apprised of the facts of the matter when a letter from Alikhanov reached the governor of Gulran saying,

All your governors know that it is well established and generally accepted that the subjects of the two governments, the Afghan and the Russian, should not interfere with the other nor set foot on the lands of the other. In violation of this agreement, Afghan border guards have seized nine sheep, eighty *qirān* rupees and two horses (*markab*) from Turkmen shepherds and so a dispute has arisen. As result of this case, parties to the dispute from Russia crossed the border and were imprisoned. 'Awaz Jak who was captured and jailed in Herat was not a party to this dispute and is ignorant and innocent of the mischief. He must be freed forthwith.

The governor of Gulran forwarded his letter to the governor of Herat and in reply he wrote,

The border guards have not stolen nine head of sheep. Perhaps they (the Russians) want to use 'stolen sheep' as an excuse for their own criminal behavior. That is, they are suggesting that on account of their sheep they have embarked on the path of conflict with the Afghan border guards and they are not criminals nor destroyers of property. If this be otherwise then this declaration of theirs has no basis and no leg

to stand on. As for the (eighty *qirān*) rupees and the horse, if (the accusation about) this is correct, then it was because at the time of the skirmish /605/ it was taken from the Turkmens who put °Awaz Jak on that horse and sent him off.

He also informed the governor of Gulran if the horses (sic) are from the Turkmens, then he should return them. He sent the detained °Awaz Jak to Mulla °Aziz Khan and told him to hand him over to Russian officials and demand the bloodwit for the slain man. (Mulla °Aziz Khan) handed him over to Tarkhanov and he (°Awaz Jak) then escaped from Russian custody. At the time all this happened and the governor informed the omniscient ears, a farman was issued saying, “Since the murderer (°Awaz Jak presumably) is (now) an escapee from a Russian jail, either they should pay the bloodwit or find him and hand him over.” In the end, in accordance with the royal order, the bloodwit was forthcoming from the troublemaking Turkmens and given to the heirs of the victim.

Also in these times, a border guard for the English government, °Abd al-Hamid, with a number of his infantrymen, crossed the border of Baluchistan from the English side in order to excavate and carry back sand from the desert on the Afghanistan side (which was) in the Qandahar district. The Afghan border guards confronted him and there was a skirmish. The governor of Qandahar, on being informed of the incident, wrote the Baluchistan (Political) Agent and made him aware of what had happened. At the same time he wrote the throne. His Majesty wrote and instructed the governor of Qandahar:

“Even though preventing someone from digging up and carrying off a fistful of sand from the desert is a mean and shameful thing to do, still be careful not to let them carry off any sand from territory belonging to Afghanistan. This so that English officials will know that the Afghan people will protest and be stirred to outrage at the carrying off of even a handful of sand from the territory of Afghanistan and so imagine what they would do to protect the border and the interior of the country.”

In short, this trivial incident evolved into a more serious conflict (*munjarr bi-munāqashah*) and in the end led to fighting between the border guards. Several on both sides were injured. Two of the English, along with °Abd al-Hamid, ostensibly just to visit the injured but in actuality intending to find out whether the wounds were fatal or minor, came to see the wounded Afghans and gave each of them a sum of money to cover the cost of treatment. They put the blame on the neck of °Abd al-Hamid who had ventured onto the soil of Afghanistan and then returned. Since between the English government (and the Afghans) there was a tie of friendship and the conflict only involved a handful of sand, His Majesty did not confront the officials of that government and sever the cord of intercourse (*tanāb-i mukālamah*).

During this time, Sa'id Ahmad, the governor of Balkhab showing his

support and partisanship for Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan attacked Mir Luqman Beg Kashani and plundered all his property and possessions. Bereft and desperate, he fled with his wife to the district of Hazarah-i Day Zangi. He left his wife there in the home of a friend and came himself to Kabul and was received in audience. Giving him 100 rupees, a rifle, a riding horse with saddle and bridle, and a robe of honor, he showed him great regard and gave him leave to return home and ordered that he set out for Turkistan and join up with other mirs of Day Zangi and Day Kundi who are loyally serving (the government). He also sent a farman to the other mirs telling them to seize anyone whom Mir Luqman Beg points out as an enemy of the government since Mir Luqman is fully cognizant of the good and evil of people of that region.

He also sent a farman to Jan Muhammad Khan, the governor of Day Zangi and Day Kundi to provide 500 rupees for the expenses of Mir Luqman's wife to spend on food. Also letters from His Majesty went out to the mirs who were raiding within the regions (*muẓāfāt*) attached to Turkistan, as was mentioned above, telling them to attack the regions occupied by the enemy everywhere and not hold back at all in killing and plundering. He also wrote:

Three years ago, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan was complaining, instigated by a number of your people who were troublemakers and his noises reached the throne. You took care of the evil elements among you and sent them on to the governor (Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan). Now that he has turned out to be our enemy and the foe of Islam and the killer of you people and he also considers you his killer and you still keep some sympathy for him and at the same time you're keeping a (wary) eye on what the victorious armies are doing. It is necessary that you people equip yourselves and plunder his regions from end to end. You should attack and plunder and slaughter. Don't waste your time because dyeing your beards with henna after the holiday is over is foolish.

After the arrival of this clear order the people of Hazarah Day Zangi began to implement the business that was required and to put into effect the services that had to be done.

Also, General Sharbat Khan, Commander Samad Khan, Mangbashi Turah Khan, and Almar, a *qarāwul-begī*, Kamal al-Din Khan *īshūk-āqāsī* /606/ and Amir Beg Maymana'i all six of whom were arrested and sent in chains toward Herat, as was mentioned earlier at the time of the inciting of the regiments stationed in Maymanah—the artillery, the Second Kabul Regiment, the First Taraki Regiment, the Charyari (Four Friends) Regiment, two hundred regular cavalry in the Rizavi Regiment and 500 Sakhlu foot soldiers—during these events were executed in Murghab district at the order of Field Marshal Faramarz Khan, and their heads were skinned, stuffed with straw, and sent to Herat and from there they were sent on to Kabul. The end.

The Events of the Ninth Year of the Reign of His Majesty Amir °Abd al-Rahman Khan Which Corresponds to One Thousand Three Hundred and Six Hijri Which is Eight Years, Three Months, and Twenty-Five Days From His Auspicious Enthronement

At the beginning of this auspicious year Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who had won the victory at Qal°a-i Shash Burjah, as mentioned, was camped at Duab. Three regular regiments of cavalry and infantry and four pieces of artillery which Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had sent under the command of Akhundzadah Nizam al-Din Khan from Khanabad to reinforce Najm al-Din Khan reached the manzil of Dasht-i Sapid en route to Qal°a-i Shash Burjah in Kahmard. There they learned of the fall of Qal°a-i Shash Burjah and the capture of General Najm al-Din Khan and turned back in fear.

Meantime, the Hazarah mirs and horsemen who had raided the people of Walishan, killed forty men there and then, when they sought intercession through the Holy Qur'an and asked to be spared, left the survivors alone, ceased killing and plundering them, and made them their allies, as was mentioned above, turned the face of raiding in the direction of Darrah-i Suf, Buyinah Qarah, and Kashandah and now could plunder freely anywhere they wanted.

During this time, on the 2nd of Muharram 1306/8th of September 1888, Colonel Sayyid Mu°min Khan, having set out for Khinjan with the Ardal Infantry Regiment at the order of His Majesty, reached his destination. Governor Jan Muhammad Khan and the Hazarah mirs having arrived in Bajgah, on the 3rd of the month, they crossed the Qarah Pass (Qarah Kutal) and entered Duab. From there, they turned back at the order of the Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and joined the royal *urdū* (in Kabul). On the 4th of Muharram, the whole force that was on the march towards Bamyan reached Duab and joined up with Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan. Of the cavalrymen, the Hazarahs set out for Ziragi. On the 7th of Muharram/13 September, His Majesty was informed in letters from the regular army officers of the stalwartness and bravery of the Hazarah horsemen and he wrote to the Hazarah mirs:

Resoluteness and bravery on the part of the Hazarah men has been and ought to continue to be evident after this. God willing, from now on trust and peace of mind will prevail above all, both on our part and on the part of you people. I am very pleased at the speed and quickness with which you accomplish goals and evince your service to me. I asked God the following: that the Hazarahs serve as a distinct unit, and it is good that your service and your integrity as a separate unit has been distinct from what others have done. That is why no one can claim that your services were performed by someone else. We ask God that you be worthy of a thousand favors and praises and be blessed with all happiness.

During this time, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan dispatched two Bamyan sayyids,

Sayyid °Azim and Sayyid Akram, to Balkh and Mazar-i Sharif. Their goal was to distribute the letters which His Majesty had sent with an order to leave them secretly in mosques, on street corners, and places where the people of Balkh and Mazar gathered so that the inhabitants of that region would turn from the duplicity of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and not support him. The two men did as instructed and then returned. They told Sardar °Abd Allah Khan:

Muhammad Isma°il Khan the son of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan is stationed in Mazar with one company (or unit—*dastah*) of Sakhlu infantry. The sardar himself who is in Khanabad is getting ready to flee. Also the Maymanah cavalry with Muhammad Sharif Khan the son of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, the *wālī*, is campaigning in the region of Andkhud. They have killed the son of General Najm al-Din Khan and have occupied Andkhud.

Sardar °Abd Allah Khan was much heartened on hearing this news and set out for his destination (Mazar-i Sharif).

Meantime, Hazarah horsemen who were riding towards Ziragi arrived there. Dust Muhammad Khan and Nazar Muhammad Khan, both colonels of the regular army who were stationed as guards in the fort at Darrah-i Suf, fled with 200 regular cavalry, one cannon, and one banner (*bayraq*) /607/ of *khāsshah-dārs*. The Sakhlu infantry (stationed there) who could not flee but stayed behind (after the regular cavalry left), came to the Hazarah mirs offering their allegiance. They pursued the horsemen of Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani, Mir °Ali Khan Beg, and other horsemen of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan who had fled, killed four, and captured six. They sent off the prisoners to Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and returned in triumph. At this time the victorious royal army marched from Duab and camped at Ru°i.

Elsewhere, 200 regular cavalry, followers of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, who were guarding Nahrin were unable to hold their position in face of the awesome might of the victory-consorting army and headed for the wasteland of ignominy. Among them, the *ishik-aqāsī* of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's durbar who had earlier been wounded at the hands of supporters of the government straightaway fled alone into the wastes of disgrace.

During this time, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan ordered several Uzbekiyah horsemen to come go to Khinjan from Baghlan. He also put to death Jan Muhammad Khan, colonel of the Haydari Infantry Regiment, and Muhammad °Azim Khan Mohmand and a number of other loyalists of the government whom he had imprisoned. The cavalry whom he had ordered to Khinjan clashed in the Murgh Pass with a party of seventy royal cavalry under the command of Muhammad Yusuf Khan the son of Na°ib Shayr Khan, Na°ib Baba Khan, and Na°ib Sa°id Muhammad Khan Andarabi. They were defeated and twenty of them were killed. Several were captured and the survivors fled back (sic) to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. Seeing the way the situation was developing with so many heroes heading for Turkistan and descending on him from every

direction, he realized he could not hold Khanabad and so fled toward Tashqurghan. Mir Sultan Murad Khan, who was allied with him, also fled with some of his retainers, heading for Trans-Oxiana. After the decamping of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and Mir Sultan Murad Khan, government loyalists seized two of the cannons which the Sardar, in fear of his life, had left behind in Qunduz and transported them to Khanabad. They also captured and imprisoned a man with six-fingers, Habib Allah Khan, one of the supporters of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. When the land of Qataghan was cleansed of the filth of the enemy's existence, the Tatar and Habash (Ethiopian?) people living in the region of Bamyan and others who had borne the ups and downs of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's situation no longer placed any hopes in him and came to Khurram to Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan to offer their allegiance. They presented him with 100 head of sheep and four horses, were given reassurances, and returned home. After that, the deputy field marshal marched from there and camped at the manzil of Char Bagh. Here Jan Muhammad Khan, the governor of Day Zangi returned with Mir Yusuf and other Hazarah mirs from their raiding and joined the royal army. On the 10th of Muharram, they marched from there and entered Aybek. One banner of Sakhlū infantry which was stationed there at Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's orders sent the head of the banner to greet Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan. He collected all their weapons and released them to go wherever they wanted. He waited a few days in Aybek in order to find out what the situation was with Sardar ʿAbd Allah Khan who at this time was in Khinjan with his force. The deputy field marshal offered reassurance to the people of the surrounding region and won them over.

Also at this manzil, Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan sent a letter accompanied by a certain Muhammad ʿAzim of the Tajik tribe to ʿAli Jan Khan, the governor of Tashqurghan which he had written earlier. The letter told him not to be seduced by the deceitfulness of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan or take the path of waywardness. Before the arrival of the sardar in Tashqurghan, the governor fled and was captured at Sayyadan by loyalists of the defrauding Sardar who cut off both his ears. Later, following the victory over Turkistan, from the cornucopia of his beneficence His Majesty assigned him a permanent stipend.

To sum up, while Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and the triumphant regiments were at Aybek and Sardar ʿAbd Allah Khan was at Khinjan with his forces, Sayyid ʿAli Gawhar came with the Afghans and Hazarahs living in the district of Shaykh ʿAli and Panj Qawm and elsewhere, who had turned their backs on the government and joined forces with Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan to a place called Kud in the district of Dushi, a very rugged place (*mawẓiʿ-i ẓaʿbī*). There they threw up road blocks to stop the passage of the royal army and were well entrenched. Sardar ʿAbd Allah Khan dispatched Colonel Muhammad Yunis Khan with one regular infantry regiment, one of hors, two cannons and residents of the district of Khinjan under the leadership of General ʿAbd al-Wakil Khan and Sayyid Jaʿfar Khan. their task was to punish ill-fated Sayyid ʿAli Gawhar /608/. They attacked and drove away

Sayyid °Ali Gawhar and his companions who were blocking the road and defeated them. They also took control of the district of Dushi, fortified the strategic places there and stood vigilant in case of strife.

Similarly, Malah Khan *risālah-dār* entered Taluqan and attacked the retainers and those left behind by Sultan Murad Khan who himself had fled. The blood of five men from both sides flowed to the ground of perdition. Finally, the cousin of Sultan Murad Khan turned his back on the fight and fled. Among the Taluqanis, Imam Qul Beg and Baba Beg were captured. Malah Khan put both men under guard and eventually sent them and other ill-wishers of the government who had been snared in the chains of disloyalty to Kabul along with their wives and children. They were to spend some time there during which some died. Some of the others, with others kept under surveillance, were allowed to return to their homes at the beginning of the reign of His Majesty, Lamp of the Nation and the Religion—may the world be possessed of his generosity. God willing, the impartial laws (*qawānin-i °adl*), the justice, and other beneficent matters which occurred in his kingdom and under his authority will be set out in volume four of this auspicious book.

To sum up, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, in accordance with a farman dated Tuesday, the 11th of Muharram/17 September, which was issued to him by the Praiseworthy Instructing Majesty and which arrived, he left Muhammad Sarwar Khan Jabal al-Siraji with the infantrymen of Kuhistan to protect Khinjan, Siraj al-Din Khan, the governor of Panjshayr, (to garrison) Andarab with his men, and he himself with his army left Khinjan for Turkistan as did General °Abd al-Wakil Khan from Dushi. On Sunday, the 16th of Muharram/22nd of September, they joined Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan at Aybek.

Meanwhile, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan who as mentioned above had left Khanabad for Tashqurghan, riding the horse of escape, arrived there by way of Ajrim. He fortified the Tashqurghan Gorge (*Tangī Tāshqurghān*) by erecting breastworks. He ordered his son Sardar Muhammad Isma°il Khan with the qazi of Mazar-i Sharif and two regular infantry regiments to garrison Aqchah. He sent one of his retainers, a certain Kakar named Taj Muhammad, to Shibarghan and put to death Mirza °Abd al-Majid Khan and Hajji Nur Muhammad Khan just like (*bi-maṣābah-i*) Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan the *wāli* of Maymanah who, at the time of his (Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's) march to Khanabad he had handed over to Muzaffar Khan Maymanah-i who then killed him.

During this time, Rustam °Ali Khan who was stationed guarding Maymanah with 800 horsemen, 3,200 regular infantry, and Kushadah horsemen of Herat, he sent off the Kushadah horse of Herat and Maymanah under Mulla °Aziz Khan and Sarhang Mahmud Khan to raid areas under the jurisdiction of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and his officials. In their wake he dispatched other horse and their officers telling them not to lose contact with the army (ahead of them) and stop and camp, manzil by manzil, one stop behind them, not forgetting the rule of *yasāq* (FM here defines *yasāq* as "readiness and preparedness for battle and also with the meaning of *diwān* and durbar from the

Turkish”).

Meantime, Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, General °Abd al-Wakil Khan, Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan, and Jan Muhammad Khan, the governor of Day Zangi with an army eager for battle beat the drums of march from Aybek and on the 19th of Muharram made camp at Hazrat Sultan. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan sent General Muhammad Husayn Khan Hazarah-i Jaghuri with several other regular army officers and a well-organized artillery unit and a bloodthirsty army from Tashqurghan to Ghaznigak to fight. He (the general) having fortified the strategic spots well and braced up the building of war, sat ready.

During these events, having learned in letters from well-wishers of the government who were rendering service to it in the locales of Qataghan of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan’s move to Tashqurghan, His Majesty ordered General Mir °Ata Khan with two regular infantry regiments and six gun carriages to march from Kabul to Qataghan by way of Panjshayr and the Khawak Pass telling him that since there is no army, either friend or foe, in order to keep trouble from again arising from the subjects he was to station himself there and put to rights the affairs of Qataghan which have suffered so much damage at the hands of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. But for some reason he (General Mir °Ata Khan) delayed—as will come—and he traveled with His Majesty’s entourage. Also he was to arrest persons who had entered into alliance with him (Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan) and become enemies of the government.

Also in these times, Ishan °Aziz Khwajah, the governor of Ghurband, with *mulki* people of his district, attacked the fort of Khayr Allah Beg, a Shaykh °Ali Hazarah who had turned from the felicity of the state and loyalty to it. Seeing himself unable to fight, (Khayr Allah) abandoned his fort and first thought of fleeing with his people. But then seeing his escape route closed, he came to see Ishan °Aziz Khwajah and abased and humbled himself, seeking through his mediation to gain forgiveness from His Majesty. /609/ Then when the misdeed-forgiving, error-overlooking king gave them assurances of security, they tied the belt of service to the government, joining the entourage of that governor and set forth on the path of allegiance. After winning the allegiance of the people of Khayr Allah Beg’s fort, Ishan °Aziz Khwajah with his own people set off for Char Dar and there gave guidance and advice to win over and return to obedience the people of °Ali Jam and Panj Qawm of the Shaykh °Ali Hazarahs who had stolen a bag of government letters from postal employees and, at the instigation of Sayyid °Ali Gawhar, had turned from obedience, as was mentioned above, and before this had suffered defeat at the hands of Colonel Muhammad Yunis Khan at Dushi.

Meantime, leaders of Parsa and Turkman such as Mirza Haydar °Ali Khan, Asad Allah Khan, Abu’l-Mu°ajjan, Marham Beg, Mawla Dad Beg, °Ali Jan, Ghulam °Ali, °Ali Muhammad, °Abd al-Rahman, °Ali Dad, Nazar °Ali, and Tahir Quli, with an assemblage of their tribesmen set forth to destroy the Hazarahs of shaykh °Ali. When they reached the summit of the Warsandan Pass,

a letter from Sayyid Yaqut Shah Khan Ghurbandi reached them saying, he had set out on the path of devotion and piety and the people of Dawlat Beg through his advice had placed the thread of obedience on their necks and accepted the command of His Majesty, Because of this letter of the sayyid's, they agreed to obey the royal person and considered themselves to have gained what they wanted.

During this time, leaders of the °Ali Jam and Ash Khwajah tribe, thanks to the guidance and persuasion of Ishan °Aziz Khwajah, left the path of waywardness and came to Sayyid Yaqut Shah Khan whom they trusted and with whom they had ties of discipleship. In his retinue, they entered the way of service. Later, that sayyid, the Turkman and Parsa Leaders, and the Shaykh °Ali people who had tendered their obedience, all joined together and set out in the wake of Sardar °Abd Allah Khan to serve the government. When these goings-on reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty, on Wednesday, the 19th of Muharram, the same day that victory-marked army was camping at Hazrat Sultan—as was mentioned earlier—decrees and announcements went out from His Majesty to high officials (*awliyā*) of the government saying,

If the people of °Ali Jam and Ash Khwajah are speaking truthfully and have indeed embarked on the path of service, then they certainly should arrest Sayyid °Ali Gawhar and the grandsons of Sayyid Shah Sa°id and hand them over to servants of the government. Otherwise they (government officials) should be aware of their duplicity and watchful of their behavior and actions.

During this time, Muhammad Sarwar Khan Jabal al-Siraji assigned two hundred of his Kuhistani infantry to take the place of two hundred infantry who had been ordered to garrison Dushi but whom Sardar °Abd Allah Khan had taken with him.

Also at this time, 2,000 infantrymen from Rizah-i Kuhistan joined the force (*lashkar*) of Siraj al-Din Khan governor of Panjshayr who had taken up positions at Tall-i Mir Ghazi with the aim of annihilating Sayyid °Ali Gawhar and the Hazarah Shaykh °Ali rebels. Because of the reinforcing by the mighty regiments (of the government) and their manning these strategic positions, Afrasiyab Khan who had stationed 500 regular and *mulkī* horse at Buzdarrah and 700 horsemen at Nahrin, his horsemen lost heart and decamped from Buzdarrah on their own initiative. While fleeing, they encountered the royal Kushadah cavalry who were in that region and a battle ensued. The men of Kuhistan and Panjshayr came to help, and drove the enemy back and scattered them in defeat.

The Battle of Ghaznigak and the Flight of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan

On Thursday the 20th of Muharram/26 September 1888, General Muhammad Husayn Hazarah who was stationed at Tangi Tashqurghan and had fortified all the strategic spots with numbers of his vengeance-minded troops, at

the order of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, who had come there from Tashqurghan intending to make a stand, had pitched his tent on top of a hill and from there organized all the battle formations. Meanwhile the royal army was divided in two columns: Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and Sayyid Shah Khan with the regiments under their banners having left the banks of the Aybek River to cover the right flank and Sardar °Abd Allah Khan with General °Abd al-Wakil Khan and their army to take up the left flank. With their backs to the east and facing the west, the two columns advanced to fight the enemy.

The army of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, unaware /610/ of Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and the regiments under his command, turned the brunt of their attack against Sardar °Abd Allah Khan and °Abd al-Wakil Khan and a fierce fight took place. Five thousand on both sides were killed and in the end the army of the sardar (Muhammad Ishaq Khan) was victorious and Sardar °Abd Allah Khan and °Abd al-Wakil Khan's force was defeated. The Ardal Infantry regiment dipped its banner in surrender to the sardar and the sardar's people brought him the glad tidings of the Ardal Regiment's surrender. Just at this moment, Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan opened fire with his victory-residing artillery on the sardar. This threw him into confusion and he asked for the horse of escape and mounted the saddle of flight. One of his servants seized the horse's reins, stopped him, and said, "The Ardal Regiment has surrendered and victory has been won, so loosen the reins." He answered, "If we've won and the Ardal Regiment has surrendered then where is this bombardment coming from?" After saying this and grabbing his pistol, he declared, "Do you want to have me captured by the enemy? Let me escape!" So the servant released the reins and he took off. At the height of victory, he befriended defeat and suddenly fled. Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan came up and assigned men to guard his (Muhammad Ishaq's) stores and tent (*bunah wa āghrūq*).

Meantime, his men were plundering the belongings of the army of Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, returned in high spirits to their camp, where many of them were taken prisoner by those guarding the captured stores and tents (of Muhammad Ishaq). Those who managed to escape spent the night in fear of Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan's forces. in the morning they found that their commander had fled and they put themselves under the banner of Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and offered him their allegiance. The royal army which found itself on the brink of destruction and had fled heedlessly into the wilderness had all its belongings plundered by people along its path. Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, general °Abd al-Wakil Khan and others routed in the battle fled to Burj-i Gul Jan, a place several manzils away before releasing their rein and stopping. Most of them (eventually) reached Kabul, Charikar, Lahugard, and Ghaznin. Of them, two hundred regular Qandahari infantry fled via Darrah-i Suf towards Yakah Ulang in Hazarah-i Day Zangi. A man named Muhammad Riza along with the people of Darrah-i Suf began to rob them of their weapons and clothing. The fleeing soldiers tried to put up a fight and six

men of Darrah-i Suf and eighteen of the soldiers were killed. Of the Darrah-i Suf slain, two men—Mulla Faqir and Muhammad Murad— were nawkars of Mir Badal Beg.

In summary, after a thousand kinds of trouble and hardship, they passed through the Darrah-i Suf. In the region of Nargis, the people of Panjab of Hazarah-i Day Zangi prevented twenty-three of the fugitives from going on and sent them to Bamyan to Ahmad °Ali Khan, the former treasurer (*khizānah-dār*) of Herat. He had been sent, at His Majesty's order, to Hazarah-i Day Zangi from Kabul at the very beginning of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's uprising to assemble a tribal army. (Besides the twenty-three men) the people of Panjab also sent thirty government-issue rifles, thirty regular army cartridge boxes (*tūshahdān-i niẓāmī*), twenty bayonets, forty-one clips of cartridges (*chihil wa yak gadah-i kārtūs*)⁹, three swords (*sīlābah*), one dagger (*ḥarbah*), three horses, and 138 rupees cash. Ahmad °Ali Khan turned the soldiers over to Captain Aqa Khan who was on guard duty there but kept their money, horses, and weapons. After the issuance of a signed order from His Majesty, which was sent him, he sent all the men, along with the property and weapons to Kabul to Deputy Field Marshal Parwanah Khan. Most of the government funds and the weapons and belongings of the royal army had been stolen from them while fleeing by subjects along the way, both friends and strangers.

After winning the victory, Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan pursued Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan as far as Tashqurghan and then returned at evening to the army base. General Muhammad Husayn Khan Hazarah, along with another officer from Takhtah Pul, was captured by servants of the government. Colonel Afrasiyab Khan, who had fled Buzdarrah—as mentioned above—and was present at the battle, was also captured and imprisoned. The regiments which, as previously recorded, had joined up with the victorious soldiers en route to Bamyan by way of Ghuri along with Sardar °Abd Allah Khan and General °Abd al-Wakil Khan, because of the flight of these two leaders, they too turned their faces to flight, plundered the government treasury and arsenal which they had with them, and fled as far as Burj-i Gul Khan and Charikar. When Sardar °Abd Allah Khan and General °Abd al-Wakil Khan halted their own flight at Burj-i Gul Khan, these men too ceased fleeing. Of the regular regiments in this battle, thirty-two cavalymen under the standard of / 611/ Mir Aqa Khan were missing in action and no one could discover whether they were alive or dead. The mir himself was killed. As noted above, the remaining slain of both sides were reckoned at 5,000.

After Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan's victory, on Friday, the twenty-first of Muharram/27 September 1888, he entered Tashqurghan in a show of might with seven infantry regiments, a few regular cavalry regiments, and an artillery battery. A day later, Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan having gathered up all the equipment (*asbāb wa aḥmāl wa aṣqāl wa bunah wa āghrūq*)

⁹ The editor of the Tehran edition says "*gadah* is like "*gāntah*" a clip of ten bullets also a bundle of paper." (p. 434.

of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's army which was at his army base and appointed a guard over it, entered Tashqurghan in the wake of Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan. Of the casualties, it was reckoned that 129 regular government cavalry and infantry (from both sides) were slain. The rest of the dead all were from the tribal forces.

In short, on the 23rd of Muharram by letter they informed the throne of the glad tidings of their victory and the good news of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's flight from Tashqurghan. The aforementioned sardar, having fled the battlefield, gathered up all his wives, children, sons, and retainers in confusion and terror, crossed the Oxus River at the Patah Kaysar ford, and sought asylum with the Russian government.

Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan sent a letter to Colonel Fayz Muhammad Khan Tukhi and Colonel Mir Afghan the son of Mir °Abd al-Salam Khan Istalifi, who were stationed at Dih Dadi at the orders of the vanquished sardar with two regular infantry regiments, six horse-drawn (*jalwī*) guns, and one mule-drawn (*qāṭirī*) gun and ordered them to leave Dih Dadi and go to Mazar-i Sharif. The deputy field marshal himself left Tashqurghan and entered Mazar-i Sharif with the soldiers he had under his standard. The soldiers stationed there fired a twenty-one-gun salute to welcome him and escorted him into the city with full honors. After the arrival in Mazar-i Sharif of the force and the two abovementioned colonels from Dih Dadi, he made it clear to them that if they were not happy with serving the government, they should hand over their government-issue weapons and go back to their homes. They invoked praises and prayers for His Majesty name and the long life of the government and renounced their abandonment of government service. The deputy field marshal himself made camp at Baba Qanbar and assigned a place on the right flank of the regular army camp for these two regiments and their cannons.

He confiscated the residence, property, and money belonging to Mirza Amir Muhammad Khan the son of Mirza Saydal Khan who had given his services to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and, out of enmity to the government, had fled with him, and imprisoned his brother. He subjected to seizure all those who had allied themselves with the sardar in rebellion and, out of hostility to the government, had taken the path of tyranny. He turned over to the public treasury 8,000 rupees which Sardar Muhammad Isma'il Khan the son of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had left behind in his treasury and been unable to remove. To Kabul and the throne, he sent a volume of letters, correspondence, and royal orders which Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had bound, kept closely guarded, and left in its place along with his rifle (?) box all of which now fell into the deputy field marshal's hands. From Shibarghan he transported the body of Mirza °Abd al-Majid Khan who had remained loyal to the government and whom Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had killed and buried in the precincts of the bountiful shrine of the Shah of the Saints (°Ali b. Abi Talib). The corpse of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, *wālī* of Maymanah who was also put to death because he was a loyal servant (of the government) he sent to Maymanah at the request of Muhammad Sharif Khan and Muhammad Zaman Khan, the latter's

sons and there he was committed to the earth in the cemetery of his ancestors (*niyākān*). He (the deputy field marshal) also put to death a brigadier named Mulla Muhammad who had supported Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, taken the path of flight into the wasteland of hopelessness (*hirmān*), and was captured by servants of the government. After concluding all these matters, he appointed patrols to the junctions, roads, and borders, and commenced appropriately fortifying and organizing strategic points. He sent out Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan to reassure the people of Aqchah, Khamyab, and other places who were afraid because of their having sworn allegiance to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. By means of a letter, he got the Turkmen of Aqchah, Khamyab, and other regions to return to their homes and he gave robes of honor to their Kushadah horsemen from *sartip* to *mangbāshī* and so gratified them. He pleased all of the cavalrymen with (promises) of royal favors from His Majesty. He then set out for Shirbarghan, put its affairs in order and made everyone content.

By various means he also won the loyalty of Safdar, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's majordomo (*farrāsh*), assigned a stipend to him and it was agreed that he would report on Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's movements and whatever plans and schemes /612/ he was thinking up in Trans-Oxiana. He also assigned a man named Nazir Nur °Ali with this same task. Qurban Beg *sartip*, Amir Khan *ilbegī*, Mirza Gul Khan, and Irash (*īrash*) Khan the son of Rustam Khan, who supported Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan in lighting the fires of *fitna*, he snared in chains and neck-shackles. Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan after dispatching Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan on the above-mentioned mission, he appointed Mirza Sayyid °Ali Khan, a Qizilbash sayyid from Kabul who was now living in Mazar-i Sharif, as *sar daftar* of Turkistan. He did this because Mirza Sayyid °Ali Khan had a fairy-like, moonfaced daughter whom the deputy field marshal wanted to marry. In this he succeeded and with the appointment made the girl his wife. He named Sayyid Ja°far Khan whom Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had thrown in prison as governor of Aqchah.

Elsewhere, the sardar (Muhammad Ishaq Khan) arrived with his retainers and relatives in Shirabad, a subdistrict (*az muẓāfāt*) of Bukhara. Its governor detained him and put him under his protection, awaiting orders and permission from the Amir of Bukhara. The amir, informed by letter from the governor of the situation, summoned him to Bukhara. The sardar's son, Sardar Muhammad Isma°il Khan along with Mulla °Izzat Allah Khan, the qazi of Mazar-i Sharif; Nazir Nur al-Din Khan; the sons of General Najm al-Din Khan; and Mirza Ghulam Rasul Khan went to territory occupied by the Russian government. The family of Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Hashim Khan, who himself had fled with Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, were detained by high officials of the (Afghan) government.

During these same times, the regiments which had quit fighting in support of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, went to the deputy field marshal in Mazar-i Sharif. He confiscated all their government-issue weapons and detained them, awaiting orders from His Majesty. The regiments which, out of evil, had

supported Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and gone into battle for him, were put to work as “mudders” (*gil-kārī*) [preparing the mud used for roofing and wall plastering], building roads, and other kinds of service. Each was allotted a monthly food allowance of three and three-quarters *sīr* of wheat from government grain stores.

Also at this time General Ghaws al-Din Khan who had returned to Herat from Hashtadan, as mentioned earlier, and from there had gone to Maymanah, after his arrival there, Rustam °Ali Khan put the Maymanah regiments under (the general’s) banner and he himself with 200 regular cavalry and 100 Kushadah troopers from the Herati cavalry set out from there for Sar-i Pul. After he arrived there, he dispatched Wali Muhammad Khan Jamshidi to garrison Andkhud with his cavalry and Mir Isma‘il Khan (to garrison) Aqchah; Haydar Quli Khan, Shibarghan; and Hajji Dad Muhammad Khan, Khamyab. He also ordered them to exercise diligence guarding and protecting those places and to perform services for the royal government in any way they could. (Rustam °Ali Khan) himself went on to Mazar-i Sharif from Sar-i Pul and there under the command of Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan engaged in serving the government.

Meanwhile, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan and General °Abd al-Wakil Khan, who as previously noted out of inconstancy had fled on the day of the Battle of Ghaznigak, and had regrouped, somewhat ashamed of themselves, at Burj-i Gul Jan, then came to Kabul with (others) who had cut and run and regrouped at Charikar because of a summons dated Tuesday, the 25th of Muharram/31 September 1888. There they ground the forehead of shame in the dust at the threshold of authority. Out of embarrassment when confronting His Majesty, the perspiration of humiliation flowed from the brow of the status them all and they offered excuses worse than the offense. Afterwards, in a proclamation issued by the royal prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, at His Majesty’s order and distributed to every city and town, the words of their shameful excuses were inscribed, as will come—if the Benign King (God) so wills it.

*An Account of Sardar Shirindil Khan’s Negotiations with the Englishman, Mr.
[Richard] Udney*

During the events of the first month of this year when Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, as has been related, brought to conflagration the flames of his harmful evildoing, an Englishman, Mr. Udney was assigned by officials of the English government to resolve the fighting and looting of property that was occurring between the Turi people living in Kurram and the Waziri, Muqbil, Jadran, and Mangal tribes. He met with Sardar Shirindil Khan for negotiations at a place which the sardar had designated. The mister opened the talks by addressing the people of Kurram who were subjects of (his) government and said that they should produce an inventory of all the property stolen /613/ from them so that the matter could be resolved. Therefore they (the Turis), who in the first ten days of Muharram were performing the mourning ceremonies for the

Lord of Martyrs, Imam Husayn—May God be pleased with him—promised that on the eleventh of Muharram they would produce a detailed listing of the property and possessions stolen from them. Mr. Udney agreed to their request and mentioned the three following things: 1) if the Muqbil and Waziri people have transgressed against the Turis, as they are not under the control of either England or Afghanistan, they cannot be held to account, 2) if they cannot produce an inventory of the losses caused by the jaji people to the people living in Kurram by the appointed day, these losses won't be considered, and 3) tyranny caused by the Turi people against the subjects of Afghanistan will be investigated. The mister said these things because of a particular agenda he had in mind. He wanted the Muqbil and Waziri people to be grateful to the English government for not investigating them so that if at some point they decide (to be obedient to a government) they would place the collar (*kamand*) of allegiance to that government (the English) on their necks. However, he is ignorant of the fact that everyone, whether living on the border or in the interior of the country, knows that the Turis and other Islamic peoples are unhappy and have sent letters to the throne and have begged to be (allowed to be) obedient to it. But His Majesty has not agreed to this because of the treaty which has been concluded between the two governments. Therefore, there is no place for such politically motivated statements and even less so is there occasion for the mister or anyone else to tempt people in such fashion. In short, after giving promises to the people of Kurram and after Mr. Udney's stating these three items of his, everyone returned to their respective places.

On the third day of these talks, Sardar Shirindil Khan went to meet the mister at the latter's residence, performing an official “return visit” (*bāzdid-i rasmī*) at his invitation. The mister then said to Sardar Shirindil Khan,

The inventory of the Turi's losses will arrive on the appointed day. You should also produce an inventory of the losses suffered by the people of Afghanistan so that a copy of that can be made.

Akhundzadah ʿAbd al-Rahim, on behalf of the “consort of nobility” His Majesty, and a man named Shahzadah Sultan Jan, on behalf of officials of the English government, had (already) been appointed to clarify these same accusations (of theft) and had met. The akhundzadah first presented an inventory of the property stolen from subjects of Afghanistan and the people of Kurram produced a list (worth) several times what he had listed. In the end they received an amount from the subjects of Afghanistan for their losses (which exceeded the losses of the people of Afghanistan). Therefore Sardar Shirindil Khan, offered as an excuse to Mr. Udney,

Since the people of Afghanistan are scattered and farflung, it's very difficult to bring them together and get an inventory of what they lost. However, every day three or four people who are able, will come and give a listing of the property stolen from them until we can compile

(all) the items. At that point, (the inventory) will be produced and explained. As for the Turis, who all live in one spot and are not scattered about, work can begin to resolve and finally settle their issues (now).

Mr. Udney agreed with what Sardar Shirindil Khan said and replied,

Regarding the five items which are already listed from the Turis and the people of Afghanistan, these should be resolved now.

He also declared, “The resolution of the claims of both sides should be carried out at my place.” Sardar Shirindil Khan responded,

I have no objection to such a request but if the items on the Turis’ list should be settled in your residence and the items (on the list) of some of the subjects of Afghanistan should be settled at the place I’m staying, there should be no problem.

At the end of this back and forth between the two sides, which lasted forty minutes, the sardar returned to his residence. Then at the scheduled time, the Turis came and presented the inventory of their stolen property to Mr. Udney. He wrote it out in his own hand and sent it to Sardar Shindil Khan. He (in turn) wrote out the inventory (of the stolen property) of the Afghan subjects and gave it to the mister. He set the twenty-fourth of Muharram/30 September as the day for resolving the issues and they then parted company. On the appointed day, they began discussions. For several days both sides made good efforts, but were unable to bring to resolution the issues as the situation required. Finally the two sides referred the matter to their own governments, asking that they resolve the matter, which now fell into abeyance, Mr. Udney, unable to get a decision and stymied, made for Peshawar. /614/

The Evil Seditious of the Wicked Ghilja’is on the Road to Jalalabad

When news spread of the rebellion—reported above—of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and reached the far corners of the country, the marketplace of evildoers sprang into business and every cutpurse and highwayman, fruitlessly whiling away their miserable days in the grottos and niches of perfidy, suddenly saw in their malevolent minds, that their livelihoods were restored and so began extending their evildoing hands to harming, preying upon, and attacking ordinary people. Among them, two Ghilja’i men living in Hisarak along the Kabul-Jalalabad road, Muhammad Shah and Khuda Bakhsh, in the last days of Muharram when the news of the sardar’s defeat was not yet a rumor, attacked, with a number of other evildoers, a group of regular cavalymen who were on the path of service and good repute, captured Ghazi Khan *daf^cah-dār* along with four other cavalymen of the 21st (Regiment) and twelve horses and

the first squad (*turb-i awwal*) of the Hizdah-Nahri regiment, and looted them. Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, who was stationed at Dih Baba-yi Shinwar with the regular army, heard about the incident, sent out 300 tribal troops of that region along with their leaders, 100 Sakhlu infantry under the command of Shahbaz Khan *ṣad-bāshī*, Hamid Khan, and Muhammad Sarwar Khan. (Their orders were to) give those evildoers a suitable punishment and retrieve the captives and the horses by force. However, before the men sent by the field marshal reached their destination, the cavalry and infantry who were stationed at the manzil of Jagdallak as guards came to the rescue of those who had been attacked and rescued Ghazi Khan and his companions as well as the stolen horses. The artisans of perfidy fled up into the mountainous region of Chapar, part of the Sapid Kuh chain.

During this time, thanks to a letter dated the 23rd of Muharram/29 September from Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan, and reaching the felicitous presence of His Majesty on Monday, the second of Safar/8 October, the victory of Ghaznigak brought happiness, good cheer, and joy to His Majesty. This same day, by means of victory proclamations, the joyous glad tidings were sent to every town and province and contentment was spread abroad. Everywhere, celebratory volleys were fired off and lights were lit. One of these proclamations was a manshur carried by two regular cavalymen and containing the good news of this joy-invoking victory which His Majesty sent to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan. In the Latah Band Pass which overlooks Sih Baba and faces the Tizin River a group of evildoers of that region intercepted the two men carrying the manshur and stripped them of their clothing, weapons, horses, and the packet of letters. They read and then tore up the royal letters which were in that packet along with the news of the victory and scattered them to the winds of evildoing and impudence.

In face of the depredations of those evil people, six laks of English rupees and five hundred boxes of cartridges for the Henry-Martini rifle, along with an arsenal and fuses, part of the permanent subsidy of the English government to Afghanistan sent as assistance, and which had been shipped from Peshawar towards Kabul by ‘Abd al-Khaliq Khan, the government almond seller. At His Majesty’s order, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar, in contravention of the usual custom (because of the ongoing troubles), ordered a large contingent of regular cavalymen as escort from the borders of Afghanistan to Kabul where they delivered it. The funds were deposited in the general treasury and the cartridges and fuses turned over to the arsenal. The cavalry then returned to Shinwar.

Also at this time, in accordance with a farman issued to the governor of Qandahar at the time of the rebellion of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, seven laks fifty thousand Qandahari rupees, equivalent to four laks twenty thousand Kabuli rupees, were sent to Kabul on the 6th of Safar/12 October along with the 1,000-man Qandahari Infantry Regiment.

Meantime, Mirza Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Mirza ‘Ali Gawhar Khan who had had a confrontation concerning the people of Ma‘ruf, a district of Qandahar, as previously noted, and were summoned by farman to Kabul, since no crime vis

a vis the government emerged, were restored to their previous positions, given leave by His Majesty to return to Qandahar, and set off. They had yet to arrive and were still en route when the abovementioned treasury reached Kabul and His Majesty learned from the governor of Qandahar that through repeated audits by Haydar °Ali Khan Bala Hisari, the treasurer of Qandahar, Mirza Zaman Khan, and Mirza Aman Allah—who reviewed his (i.e. Mirza Sayyid Ahmad Khan's) accounts—one lak seventeen thousand Qandahari rupees, /615/ had disappeared and been embezzled. Therefore, His Majesty ordered that Mirza Sayyid Ahmad Khan be dismissed from his position in Qandahar since he thought that the sum had been embezzled by him, Mirza Aman Allah, and Mirza °Ali Gawhar Khan. He also wrote that wherever the order reached him en route, he was not to go to Qandahar but to return to Kabul and stay at home. With his dismissal, Sada Nand, a Hindu and the brother of Narinjan Das, was honored by appointment as *sar daftar* of Qandahar. There he went and undertook the work assigned to him.

In this same time, Jan Muhammad Khan, the governor of Day Zangi, who had taken a position with Hazarah infantry and cavalry remote from the site of the battle of Ghaznigak and there seeing the numbers of regular troops fleeing the battle, confused by it all joined them in fleeing. En route his horse, clothing, and weapons were stolen, and absolutely stripped of everything he reached Sar-i Qul. By letter, he requested that His Majesty send him clothing. In his own hand, His Majesty wrote back,

Congratulations! Here you've been defeated without even putting up a fight and you want me to send you a robe of honor! The ways of the world are like this? Whoever is routed should be given a robe of honor? What you're asking for is so appropriate! The end.

Also during these events, the Tatar people, who at the time Ghulam Haydar Khan reached the manzil of Duab, rose up, eight of their men were killed, their leaders came to the deputy field marshal to apologize and beg pardon, he reassured them, and their minds were put at ease. When soldiers from the mighty (royal) regiments fled from the battle of Ghaznigak—i.e. the Hazarahs and regular cavalrymen— (the Tatars) turned again to wickedness, joining forces with the Habash people and together plundered the village (*qariya*) of Andarab, also robbing those defeated (at the battle of Ghaznigak) and stripping them of their mounts, weapons, and clothing. At His Majesty's order, a fine of one lak sixty thousand rupees was levied as retribution for what they had done and they paid it to the treasury.

Of the government soldiers who fled the battle, 300 men from the Qandahari Infantry Regiment under Ahmad °Ali Khan *pishkhidmat*, over and above those who, as already mentioned, had gone to Bamyan, turned the face of flight in the direction of Qandahar by way of Day Zangi. The governor of Day Zangi, Jan Muhammad Khan, with the help of the mirs of Day Zangi, stopped all the fugitives and took them to Bamyan with him and put them under guard.

Similarly, he prevented another twenty fugitives under the banner of Sardar °Abd Allah Khan from fleeing. Another 230 fugitives from the Qandahari regiment reached the district of Yakah Ulang in Hazarah-i Day Zangi. There Mir Yusuf Beg, °Ali Jan Beg, and Ibrahim Beg who had also entered that district in flight, blocked the path (of the Qandaharis) and sent them to Bamyan with full honors and every show of respect to Jan Muhammad Khan, the governor of Day Zangi who himself had withdrawn the foot from flight and stationed himself at the place he had reached. Having (originally) fled in fear of their lives, they also managed to escape from Bamyan and again headed for Qandahar. Once again those abovementioned mirs (Mir Yusuf Beg, °Ali Jan Beg, and Ibrahim Beg), realizing what they had in mind, treid to bring them back. They drew their weapons and (in the ensuing skirmish) one of the followers of Mir °Ali Khan Beg was killed and one of his followers and a nawkar of Mir Ibrahim Beg were wounded. Ultimately, unable to overcome them, these mirs showed them hospitality and regard, since they were from the royal army, and invited them to sit down to a meal despite the fact that they had inflicted casualties on their (the mirs') people. Thirty-six (of the 230) came to the table, but the others, not waiting around, continued their flight towards Qandahar.

The Auspicious Birth of the Prince Sardar °Inayat Allah Khan

On Friday, the 13th of Safar/19 October, the happy, praiseworthy existence of the choice jewel of auspicious degree, and the one (born) under the most auspicious nativity sign, the celestial-dwelling prince Sardar Inayat Allah Khan, thanks to the favor and mercy of the Most High Enabler, rose like the sun from the horizon of glory, occasioned joy in the minds of the friends of the throne, and gave pleasure to high and lowborn alike living in the country. From the bounty of the birth of this felicitous one who was born, the purse of hope of the people of the world was filled with offerings and gifts of cash and kind.

Also on this triumphant day, a farman went out from His Majesty to Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin saying:

From the outset of our enthronement—whose companion is prosperity—up until now, whenever we turned our attention (to them) /616/ there was never anything but sincerity, integrity, and loyalty forthcoming from the Hazarahs of Muhammad Khwajah, Chahar Dastah, and Jighatu. Therefore, through Muhammad Akbar Khan *pīshkhidmat* who has been assigned to this, one 600-man infantry regiment should be assembled from these tribes and enrolled as a regular regiment so that those tribes will take part in and not be deprived of sitting at the table of His Majesty's favors.

An account of the assembling and the naming of this regiment the Kandak Qarabaghi will come—God willing.

Also during this propitious time, Mirza Sayyid Khalil Shah Khan, the *sar*

daftar of Khanabad; Mirza Muhammad Amin Khan; and Mirza Buland Khan, all being of unsullied character, had not put their necks beneath the order of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. It had been his intent to kill them, but in the end, thanks to the intercession of a friend of theirs who was held in high regard by the sardar, they were spared and were instead expelled across the Oxus River where the governor of Qubadyan, in view of their being loyal servants of the government and the throne and boosters of its friends and destroyers of its enemies, received them with every regard and kept them honorably. After the flight of the sardar, they left Qubadyan for Mazar-i Sharif. (On the way) they gave reassurances to Mirza Zaman the son of Mirza °Abd al-Ghafur Khan and took him back with them. He had been news writer for the sardar, kept a record of what was going on in Kabul for him, eventually went to Turkistan in his service, established himself with him, and then fled when he fled. They crossed back over the Oxus and on the 18th of Safar/24 October 1888 reached Mazar-i Sharif. Deputy field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan gave each of them 100 rupees as “hospitality” and assigned Sayyid Khalil Shah Khan to go to Khanabad and there undertake again the responsibility he had had before (i.e. the *sar daftarate*). But Sayyid Khalil Shah Khan indicated with apologies that he would only go there at the order of His Majesty So instead the deputy field marshal sent Mirza Buland Khan to Khanabad. He wrote a report explaining the situation and sent it to the throne. Since an order would be issued by His Majesty in response to this report of his, it will be dealt with in its appropriate place.

His Majesty Departs Kabul for Turkistan

Also at this time, a letter of intercession from Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan on behalf of General Muhammad Husayn Khan Hazarah—an account of whom was given above arrived addressed to Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan *dabīr*. He asked him to approach His Majesty—forgiver of the sins of old and young—at an opportune moment, when he was in good spirits and there was no sign of his being in a bad mood, and ask him meekly and entreatingly for a pardon for all his misdeeds. He passed the letter before the noble, lustrous, sun-gleaming eye and a manshur was issued in the name of Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan telling him to hold (General Muhammad Husayn Khan) under strictest security until arrival of the the royal planet of the lustrous entourage. Then whatever should strike the royal mind as appropriate to his case would be brought from potentiality to actuality.

During this time it came to the royal attention thanks to a letter from Mirza °Abd al-Rashid Khan who had been ordered by His Majesty to prepare supplies and food for the force accompanying the felicitous retinue at every stopping place all along the Ghuri route that everything—the route, the supplies—was all arranged. On hearing this, the subject-instructing and justice-dispensing khedive left the fortunate price, Sardar Habib Allah Khan in Kabul to guard the felicity-draped throne and on the 19th of the month of Safar/25 October 1888, he raised

the victory-starred banners intending to re-organize the affairs of Turkistan and left Kabul for Mazar-i Sharif on the Charikar and Ghuri route, (his banners) cleaving the air and scraping the heavens, accompanied by two infantry regiments under the command of Colonel Farhad Khan, two mule-drawn batteries, two royal *risālah* cavalry regiments, one regiment of cavalry with their own horses (? *khūd aspah*), and General Mir ʿAta Khan who had been appointed to Qataghan but had delayed his departure.

At the manzil of Charikar, he ordered some regular soldiers, who at the time of the battle of Ghaznigak had plundered the treasury and arsenal and then been arrested, tied to the mouths of the cannons and blown to bits. He also ordered that any other deserters pay back to the treasury as a fine any salary they had received beginning with their first enrollment in the army so that no one else from the regular army would perpetrate such acts (in the future).

During these events, while Mir Ahmad Shah Khan, the governor of Fayzabad and Badakhshan, an account of whose going to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, his flight and his being expelled by him to Trans-Oxiana was given above, was in those lands, the ruler of Bukhara /617/ got wind of his situation. Since he (the ruler of Bukhara) knew him to be a loyal servant (*chākir*) and trusted courtier of the throne of this government he sent him as a gift 400 tangahs and two riding horses and invited him to come to Bukhara. There he kept him for a while showing every regard and then, at his request, gave him leave to return towards the *qiblah* of security and hope. God willing, an account of his realizing the happiness of kissing the royal stirrup will be come in due course.

Elsewhere, on Monday, the 21st of Safar/27 October, the royal retinue alighted at Tutumdarrah. There His Majesty issued a farman regarding two regular infantry regiments, fourteen guns, and 200 regular cavalry whom Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan had sent from Mazar-i Sharif under the command of Colonel Rahmat Khan to secure the road to Badakhshan. The farman was that he (the Deputy Field Marshal) should keep these regiments and guns from further movement until the blessed royal entourage reached the district of Ghuri so that they could provide His Majesty's officials with information about the situation in Qataghan and Badakhshan. They would then be subject to and carry out whatever order His Majesty gave them.

Meantime, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan whose going to Bukhara has been already described in summary form, the details of it are these: when a farman of summons from the padeshah of Bukhara reached him at Shirabad, having sent all his companions on ahead into the valley of confusion, he himself with twenty-five of his personal riders whom he had to keep with him set off for Bukhara leaving behind in the care of the governor of Shirabad his wives and wards (*ʿiyāl wa taʿalluqāt-i sharʿiyya*). His son, Sardar Muhammad Ismaʿil Khan, who had gone to see Russian officials in hopes of getting their help but whose hopes had been frustrated and disappointed, had been compelled to return and rejoin his father's family in Shirabad. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan himself having gone to Bukhara nothing emerged there that conformed to his

wishes. Counting as gain the food and drink which the padeshah had allotted to him, he spent some days there in some distress.

Also at this time, the men of the Sulayman Khayl hearing of the disturbances in Turkistan and reckoning that His Majesty's departure for that region provided an opportunity, turned the cheek from obedience and began raiding. They stole camels belonging to nomadic Taraki tribe and killed a number of them. Weith the outbreak of this trouble, His Majesty, en route to Turkistan, sent a farman to the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan. He also wrote to the governor of °Ali Khayl and Taraki, and Mirza Muhammad Khan the son of Dust Muhammad Khan telling them to investigate, collect the blood money and affine for those slain in accordance with the Shari°a and state ordinances (*sharī°at wa siyāsāt*), and restore the stolen camels to theiior owners. The investigation had not been opened when sixty Sulayman Khayl horsemen attacked in the district of Nawah-i Taghar and battle was joined. Two of the Sulayman Khayl riders and six Nasir men were slain and many of their livestock were carried off. God willing, the punishment which the prince ordered and which was carried out will be recounted in its proper place.

During this time on the 28th of Safar, His Majesty sent by post to the prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, the following proclamation:

He should post this announcement in Kabul and other towns and provinces:

May it not be hidden from the pious minds of the people living in Kabul and the provinces of the kingdom that Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan has sent before my Hazrat and the *qiblah* and the *marja°* (reference point) of the people of Islam a roll of the martyrs from the battle of Ghaznigak. After reading the handwritten scroll of Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, he sent it to me so that I would announce to all subjects the number of those slain at the battle of Ghaznigak and make known that three men from the artillery force, thirteen men from the First Ardal Regiment, twenty-five from the Second Ardal Regiment, five from the Chahar Yari Regiment, fifteen from the Herati regiments, eleven from the Barakza°i Regiment, fifteen from the Alikuza°i Regiment, five from the Colonel Muhammad Nasir Khan Regiment, eight from the Nurza°i Regiment, seven from the Haydari Regiment, four from cavalry regiments, and twenty-two from miscellaneous (units), in all one hundred twenty-nine men became the shroud wearers of honor. Those soldiers who did not fight, never saw the face of the enemy, and threw themselves into the valley of desertion by way of plundering and stealing the treasury, the supplies and tents (*bunah wa āghrūq*) of their own army and found no escape from their own humiliation and remedy for their own waywardness except by saying that 'many of our troops having been killed in battle, the enemy was everywhere victorious and in command of the field, and there was no alternative but to retreat' and now, wherever they are, they keep

repeating this /618/ and so introduce the doubt into many hearts that 'if there was a victory, why did these three thousand men desert?' So now, from the enumeration of those (actually) slain, you know that their desertion is nothing more than cowardice and treachery and the steadfastness and constancy of the victors was exerted in honor of the religion and to protect the faith and it was not otherwise. So bravo! to those who died courageously and so earned a good name. One-third of their annual salaries will be given in perpetuity to their children and grandchildren. Those who survived, their pay will be increased and they will be distinguished with the title "hero" (*bahādur*) and a reputation for valor (*nishān-i mardānagī*). These one hundred and twenty-nine men who gave up their lives shed the blood of thousands of the wicked evildoers. They made their names immortal.

(verses): The living are sentient/those who die next to the Friend live on. The end.

In accordance with the crownbearing sovereign's order, the noble prince published this proclamation and so informed all the people living in the country that they should know that of the five thousand who fought in that battle and went to the Hosue of Eternity, four thousand eight hundred and seventy-one were the enemy.

During this time, through a letter from Prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan who at the order of His Most Glorious Qiblah was guarding Kabul and protecting its people, news of the oppression and tyranny of Na'ib Mir Sultan Khan reached the justice-perceiving ears of His Majesty. It said that that artisan of oppression and craftsman of tyranny has extended the hand of injustice to the money and property of the people of Kabul and its environs. He has laid punishments especially on those persons whose people and close relatives have gone to live in Turkistan either out of service to the government or simply to practice a trade and earn a living and has begun to take their property and furnishings. Once he was aware of this vile and wanton behavior, the praiseworthy prince summoned him and asked him the reason for his execrable actions. He told the prince that at the time His Majesty set off for Turkistan, he whispered into his truth-unhearing ears that he was to arrest those persons whose close relatives are in Turkistan. The prince remained unconvinced and told (His Majesty) of his wanton bhavior and malicious acts and wrote His Majesty in his own hand an account of the tyranny and oppression of that impious man. He also wrote,

His Majesty not yet having alighted on the plain of Turkistan, has so far not learned of the good and bad, the fine and the villainous doings of the people there who united with Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, so how does one know whether they should be arrested or not?

His Majesty issued a note over his own signature to the prince which said that except for an order to Mashku Khan, the son of Sarwar Khan Luhani, on

another matter, His Majesty had said nothing to that “night watchman” (*mīr shabb*—Naʿib Mir Sultan Khan) and given no order. So he was to stop that tyranny-dispensing, oppressive-appearing man from doing what he’s doing and unless there were a royal order issued in the name of the prince himself he should not allow him to do anything at all. Thanks to this letter of the praiseworthy prince and the issuing of the royal order people were protected from the tyranny of that *mīr shabb* and they rested easy in the cradle of safety and security.

A Royal Order is Issued Concerning The Evil Shinwar

On the 8th of Rabiʿ al-Awwal/12 November 1888 while on the road to Ghuri a royal order was issued concerning the Shinwari rebels. It was issued to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and said that by the end of the month snow would fall on the mountain summits where the Shinwari lived and block their escape routes. So Deputy Field Marshal Parwanah Khan was to send from Kabul two regular infantry regiments and 2,000 tribesmen from Tikab to the mountain region of Shinwar in order to annihilate that reprehensible group. But he was to be wary of their trying to deceive him by sending a Qurʿan as intercession and asking for security for they would never put their heads beneath the farman and accept obedience except at sword and spear’s point.

Also at this time, a certain foolish Mughal (*mughūl-i na-maʿqūl*) (Khan) who for a long time had been forgotten in the wastes of anonymity thought that because of His Majesty’s setting off for Turkistan and the abovementioned disturbance caused by Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan his hopes were close to being realized and so went to the Mohmand district to incite the people there. Village by village and house by house he moved about the district, appealing to Afghani honor (*nang*) and calling on the people to rise in revolt and begin raiding. Similarly Nur Muhammad Khan, the son of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, who for a long time had been causing trouble, spending his nights in one place and his days seeking shelter, according to this custom at this point left Shinwar for Tirah, intending to arouse the people there to rebellion. On the way, he was confronted by some people of Chamkani and they fought. They made off with all his possessions and drove him away. Terrified, he managed to extricate himself and save his life. Also /619/ thanks to the letters which Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan had written to the people of Mohmand they forced the Mughals to leave their midst. Frustrated, they set forth on the road of distress.

Meanwhile, the Shinwar people made a pact and swore solemn oaths among themselves that not one of them would go to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and a tribal fine of 200 rupees would be levied against whoever violated this vow. The field marshal prepared the tools of war and readied food and provisions for those two regiments which Deputy Field Marshal Parwanah Khan was sending from Kabul at the orders of His Majesty. In a report to His Highness the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan had requested those two regiments be sent. An account of the march of the regiment at the prince’s order

and Parwanah Khan's efforts to send them from Kabul will come in its proper place, God willing.

During this time, at the order of the prince, Mirza °Abbas Khan was named *sar daftar* of Kunar to replace Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan. He went there from Kabul and performed his duties diligently.

Putting an End to the Salaries and Stipends for the Descendants of His Late Highness, Amir Muhammad A°zam Khan

On the same day, the 8th (of Rabi° al-Awwal) that a farman went out to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan regarding the Shinwar rebels, His Majesty ordered the stipends paid to the descendants and family of the late Amir Muhammad A°zam Khan be stopped because of the rebellion of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the son of the above-named amir. These totaled 96,763 and 1/3 Kabuli rupees. He instructed the people of the diwan not to give them any more vouchers and also ordered them expelled from the country.

Also during these abovementioned events, Ghulam Husayn Khan, the son of Gulistan Khan Hazarah, forwarded a letter to the throne. It was from Mulla Muhammad Sa°id Khan, the qazi of Muqur; Mulla °Abd al-Rahim, the mufti; Muhammad Halim Khan; Payandah Khan; Sayf al-Din Khan; and Fayz Muhammad Khan, leaders of the Taraki tribe. They had sent it at the time of the rebellion of the Taraki, °Ali Khayl, and others mentioned earlier, to the Jaghuri Hazarahs who had immediately given it to Ghulam Husayn Khan, the son of Gulistan Khan Hazarah who was serving the government with the infantry and cavalry from the Muhammad Khwajah tribe under the banner of Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who at the time still held the rank of general. Up to this point, Ghulam Husayn Khan had held on to the letter. They had written and sealed the letter to Jaghuri rebels and said,

We swear on the Qur'an of our Lord that we will sacrifice ourselves for you. Why do you hesitate, pull back your forces, and not help us? If your forces would come and assist us, then some of those in the 'army of the hypocrites' like the (Hazarah) men of Muhammad Khwajah, Chahar Dastah, and Jighatu-yi Hazarah who are treading the path of loyalty to the royal army, will pull back in fear of their lives and head for their homes. Take care not to be hesitant or slow about coming because we have begun hostilities against the padishah.

On Tuesday, the eighth of the month (Rabi° al-Awwal), the same day the stipends to the family of Amir Muhammad A°zam Khan were cut off, His Majesty, as a result of this letter from the leaders of the Taraki, wrote to the *kutwāl* of Kabul, Na°ib Mir Sultan Khan, and told him to show the letter to any of the leaders of the Taraki who were listed in it and were in (government) custody and then, once they confess (to having signed it), to put them to death because, having admitted their hostility to the padishah, they have made their

being killed obligatory, according to the law of God and the Prophet. Therefore they should not remain alive. They have stayed alive because this proof had not come to light. Now they must suffer their Lord's penalty which their actions require.

Also at this time after the arrival of a farman dated the tenth of Rabi[°] al-Awwal and issued in his name, Parwanah Khan, the deputy field marshal, sent out from Kabul 100 regular infantrymen of the Kabul army to arrest evildoers of the Hazarahs of Shaykh [°]Ali, Turkman, and Parsa who, at the time of the rebellion of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan—as was previously recounted—had traveled the highway of troublemaking and disruption. He ordered them to garrison Shaykh [°]Ali and they marched there and carried out their orders. /620/

The Felicitous Arrival of His Majesty in Ghuri

Elsewhere, the auspiciously-starred royal entourage arrived at the edge (*dahanah*) of Ghuri district on the eighteenth of Rabi[°] al-Awwal/22 November 1888 and there His Majesty sent out farmans to the people living in all the locales of Qataghan and Badakhshan, reassuring them all with the glad tidings of royal favor and kindness. On the twentieth, he ennobled the land of that district by planting there the victory-consorting banners. There Mir Ahmad Shah Khan, an account of whose situation was related above, along with Sayyid Khalil Shah Khan the *sar daftar* of Khanabad, who had excused himself from (obeying) the order of Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and had delayed going there until an order from His Majesty arrived, came from Mazar-i Sharif to welcome the auspiciously-starred royal entourage, obtained the honor of kissing the royal stirrup, realized their hopes, and at the order of His Majesty Sayyid Khalil Shah Khan now actually took up the duties of *sar daftar* of Khanabad and went there. Mir Ahmad Shah Khan was singled out for the honor of service in the royal retinue. Also, Colonel Farhad Khan with a 1,000-man infantry regiment, two mule guns, and 100 cavalrymen from the Hizdah Nahri Cavalry Regiment were given responsibility for Qataghan and Badakhshan, were sent by His Majesty to garrison Taluqan, and set out from Ghuri. Also, a farman went out to Nur Muhammad Khan *ajīdān* who was stationed in Khanabad to be diligent in transporting four cannons along with their gunners to Colonel Farhad Khan in Taluqan from Khanabad.

During this time, Sayyid Yaqut Shah Khan the son of Sayyid Zamrud Shah Khan Duabi, as a reward for the service he had performed at the time of the rebellion of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and the tyranny of Sayyid [°]Ali Gawhar and the contemptible Hazarahs of Shaykh [°]Ali, became the object of royal favors and was appointed to the position of *dah suwārī*. Similarly, Sayyid Ahmad Shah was appointed a *panj suwārī*.

Also at this time, Sultan Murad Khan, the Mir of Qataghan, whose evildoing and flight to Trans-Oxiana has been previously recounted, allied himself there with the eldest son of General Najm al-Din Khan and settled at Samarqand. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, who had left his wives and

retainers at Shirabad, as was related earlier, went to Bukhara, had food allotted to him as a guest, and after a few days was permitted to leave and to take up residence in exile at Qarshi. Ten of his personal servants (*farrāshān*) abandoned him and came to Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan in Mazar-i Sharif and received reassurance.

Also at this time, several officers and soldiers of the regular army, at the incitement of Ghulam Haydar Khan whom Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan by a letter had encouraged to create trouble, made a pact to use any means they could to shoot and kill the Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan. (Ghulam Haydar Khan was the son of Muhammad Hasan Khan, a grandson (*nawāsah*) of Sadr al-Din Khan better known as Sadu Khan. Sadu Khan was a grandson (*nawāsah*) of Hajji Darwish Khan the son of Hajji Jamal al-Din Khan, better known as Hajji Jamal Khan about whom an account was given towards the end of the narrative of the time of the reign of His Highness Ahmad Shah Durrani.) The deputy field marshal learned of their vow and imprisoned them all.

The Uprising of the People of Ragh, Shahr-i Buzurg, Pasakuh, and Others

During these events, the son of Mir Shuja^{at} Khan and other sons of mirs (*mīrzādagān*) of Qataghan and Badakhshan who had turned their faces from the government at the time of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's uprising, joined him in rebellion, and then had fled along with Mir Sultan Murad Khan to Trans-Oxiana, at his (Sultan Murad Khan's) encouragement and urging returned to Qataghan and Badakhshan to cause trouble, incited the people of Ragh, Shahr-i Buzurg, and Pasakuh and then with 5,000 armed men headed towards Rustaq to attack it. Defending (Rustaq) were °Abd al-Ghaffar Khan *daf^{at}ah-dār* of the regular cavalry, artillery officers, a regular infantry regiment, and a Sakhlu infantry regiment stationed there as well as Mirza Amir Muhammad Khan, clerk (*nawīsandah*) of the daftar of Rustaq; Mirza Taj Muhammad Khan, clerk of the godown (*nawīsandah-i gadām*); Muhammad Ghazi Khan; Shayr Muhammad Khan; and Amir Muhammad Khan. A fierce battle was fought and 250 of the evildoers were killed and sixty captured. Of the government supporters, °Abd al-Ghaffar Khan *daf^{at}ah-dār*, one *ṣad-bāshī* from the Sakhlu infantry regiment, two regular cavalymen, two artillerymen, and two men from the regular infantry regiment were killed. At the height of the fighting the elder (*āqsiqāl*) Muhammad Salih Khan, a resident of Shahr-i /621/ Buzurg along with a number of other people as well as the son of the *āqsiqāl* Muhammad Sharif Khan Chah Abi abandoned property and belongings and in defense of the government, left wives and lives in support of the servants of the government, attacked the villages (*qishlāq-hā*) of Mir Bahadur who had raised his head in opposition, set them on fire and burned them to the ground. The group which had turned the face of obstinacy towards Rustaq and was engaged in the heat of battle, now lost heart because of the assault (on the *qishlāqs* of Mir Bahadur), and fled defeated into the high mountains.

The Letter and Presentation of Congratulations Sent by Prince Habib Allah Khan to the Viceroy

During this time, Lord [Marquess of] Lansdowne (*Līstdūn*), having been named viceroy and ruler (*farmān-rawāʿī*) of India by the lords of the parliament (*pārnāmānt*) of the great and powerful English government, arrived in Calcutta. In accord with order sent him by His Majesty, the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan sent a letter to Calcutta just like the letter which had been sent with congratulations at the time Lord Dufferin replaced Lord Ripon. Offering congratulations on his being named viceroy, he dispatched it by way of friendship, along with official gifts, on the 23rd of Rabi^c al-Awwal/27 November.

Meanwhile, the Government of India requested, via a letter from General Amir Ahmad Khan, the envoy of Afghanistan stationed in Calcutta, that three surveyors from India, (be allowed to do their work)—one via Baluchistan up to the border of Iran, one from the border at Chaman up to the district of Ma^cruf of Qandahar, and the third from *sar-julgā-yi* Zhub of the Kakar district through (the territory of) the Sulayman Khayl and the district of Zurmat of Ghaznin. The surveyor who was going to Zurmat would return via Kurram. This request of the Government of India was made known to His Majesty and on Friday, the 25th of Rabi^c al-Awwal/29 November he sent General Amir Ahmad Khan a farman from Ghuri in which he stated that (the general) should tell the officials of the great Government of India:

these surveyors will not be given permission to enter the territory of Afghanistan while His Majesty has left the capital for Turkistan. As long as they don't enter Afghanistan and keep their movements (restricted) to the land occupied by their own country and then return home, that is their own prerogative.

In (His Majesty's) own hand he wrote a reply to a letter which had reached him from officials of the Government of India:

At this moment when the viceroy of India has just been replaced and I'm on my way to Balkh over administration (*sar rishtah*) of the border with Russia, you express regrets about Afghanistan's lack of resources and its (poor) income. Don't distress yourself about this matter for in Afghanistan distress is always my business. I have no cause to complain for I will always do what's in my power. Whoever lays claim to Afghanistan knows that these matters crop up from time to time. Who's responsible for this? I will never be the object of the Russians' reproach for they know that if there is anything I can't do, it is because of the lack of things necessary to do it. I'm not ashamed of saying this. Of course, the one who has taken on the responsibility for the (partial) expenses of Afghanistan, it is to him that bad name will be given (if it

does remain in need). I will always do what is in my power to do. If I should fail in some way, intelligent people will absolve me of any blame. (Verses): If my guardian is the one whom I know//He protects me when life is difficult. The end.

During these discussions, Sardar Shirindil Khan ordered Malik Arsalah Khan Mamuza² and a thief from Tirah named Chak to use any means they could to assassinate Nur Muhammad Khan, the son of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, whose adventures have been recounted here bit by bit and who for a very long time had been treading the path of evildoing and was now wandering in the mountains of the border and inciting the people there. This Chak, whose name was originally Muhammad Sarwar, in the early days of Nur Muhammad Khan's disturbances had been an ally of his but eventually, thanks to the advice and counsel of the sardar (Shirindil Khan), turned away from him and offered his allegiance to the government. He (the sardar) also promised to give the Jaji people 5,000 rupees as a reward if they would kill Nur Muhammad Khan. But he got wind of the reward and returned to Peshawar where he hastened to go to his father. (After this) he lost all power and capability to cause trouble and remained stuck in the corner of disrepute.

During this time, /622/ a manshur was issued by His Majesty in the name of the Hazarah mirs of Day Zangi who had gone to their homes at the time of the rout of the army at the battle of Ghaznigak as related above. He sent it by the hand of Ahmad °Ali Khan *pīshkhidmat* who had come to the sublime *urdū* from Bamyan and realized the privilege of kissing the royal stirrup. It told the mirs to come to the *urdū* and present themselves for service. They were told to come with the following contingents: Mir °Ali Khan Beg with forty horsemen, Mir Ibrahim Beg with thirty, Salman Beg with thirty, Riza Quli Beg with twenty, Husayn °Ali Beg with ten, Yusuf Beg with forty, Yazdan Bakhsh Beg with forty and Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani with forty, in all 250 cavalymen. Following the arrival of this manshur, they did not come immediately, taking a few days to get ready and a second hukm was issued saying, If they come quickly to offer their services, this is the desired thing; otherwise they will lose their ranks of "mir" and those offices will be conferred on others. In accordance with the royal command, they (forthwith) came to serve the felicity-connected retinue.

The Royal Entourage Leaves Ghuri for Tashqurghan

After waiting eleven days in Ghuri, on Thursday the second of Rabi° al-Sani/6 December, His Majesty ordered the victorious banners, cleaving the air and touching heaven, toward Tashqurghan. En route at the manzil of Aybek, on the eighth of the month/11 December, he dismissed a certain Muhammad Nabi Yarkandi, bearer of a letter which the people of Yarkand had written offering their allegiance and requesting assistance from him. On the ninth, he alighted in Tashqurghan.

On the tenth, at the order of the prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, as a result

of a letter—discussed above—which Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan had sent him, Deputy Field Marshal Parwanah Khan dispatched two infantry regiments of the regular army under the command of Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan from Kabul toward Shinwar to punish the evildoers.

Also at this time, a Bajawuri named °Abd al-Majid, along with a forger of seals, made His Majesty's seal and issued a farman with the *tughrā* (of His Majesty) in the name of Umra Khan of Chandawul. They also forged a voucher (*barāt*) for 1,400 English rupees in the name of °Abd al-Khaliq Khan, the government almond seller in Peshawar, on which they impressed the seal and collected that sum from him. He sent the *barāt* on to the throne. To prove his claim, the aforementioned (°Abd al-Majid) had shown °Abd al-Khaliq Khan the farman with the *tughrā* with the same seal as the one on the invoice. Since the seal on invoices from His Majesty was small and different from the one appearing in the *tughrā* on his farmans and hukms, he (°Abd al-Khaliq) made a mistake (by accepting it) and so he took the farman to Shahzadah Ibrahim, the *mīr shabb* of Peshawar. Shahzadah Ibrahim summoned °Abd al-Majid and in the course of the investigation removed from the pocket of his evildoing three rings, on the bezel of one of which was inscribed the name of His Majesty, on another the name of Umra Khan, and on the third the name °Azim Allah, and sent them to the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar. He then imprisoned those two men. When news of this came to the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty in a letter from °Abd al-Khaliq Khan, on the thirteenth of Rabi° al-Sani/17 December His Highness sent a letter to General Amir Ahmad Khan that said,

If in the process of investigating these two men, nothing turns up, that will be a mild reproach against the officials of the government of Great Britain because there will be much evildoing amongst the foolish people living in the mountains of that region as a result of this forged seal. Although I have signed and authenticated government documents with my own signature (*bi-khatt-i khāṣṣ*) and still do, and also royal officials have to have all copies registered in a daftar, still the punishment of those two individuals is one of the most important things to be done. This should be discussed with officials of that government and the matter resolved.

So in accordance with the royal order this fraud was eliminated and served as a warning to all people.

During this time the noble prince, laudable of action, Sardar Habib Allah Khan who in conformity with the order of His Majesty had sent to Shinwar two infantry regiments under the command of Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan—as previously noted—and similarly in accord with the royal order issued to send 2,000 men from Tikab to Shinwar, the praiseworthy with the approval of Brigadier Amir Muhammad Khan sent a thousand muzzle-loading English double-barreled guns (*tufang-i dūbast*) along with four victory banners from the government magazine /623/ to the tribal force from Tikab. He sent a farman to

Muhammad Shah Khan, the governor there telling him to ready 2,000 foot soldiers and send them to Shinwar via Lamqan and Jalalabad. Meantime, the two infantry regiments which had marched from Kabul covered the ground quickly and on the fourteenth of Rabi[°] al-Sani/18 December met up with Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who was camped at a village above Shinwar (*dih-i bālāyi Shinwār*).

Meanwhile, Colonel Wali Muhammad Khan, due to the deceit and treachery he had evinced toward the government, one example being when he was in charge of the mail, he opened letters and the mail sack (*kharīṭa-i dāk*) and read them, for such behavior of his and for his other treacheries, His Majesty punished him, confiscating all his money and property for the diwan.

Also at this time, it came to the truth-gathering ears of His Majesty from his news writer in Holy Mashhad that the former governor of Herat, Muhammad Sarwar Khan had invested four laks, 50,000 Kabuli rupees of government money with Aqa Muhammad [°]Ali, a moneychanger in Mashhad. He had taken 50,000 of the rupees from the moneychanger and the balance remained with him. His Majesty ordered Prince Habib Allah to verify the claim and he in turn passed the order to Na[']ib Mir Sultan, the *kūtwāl*. The latter summoned Kaka Fayz Muhammad, a man who worked as steward for Muhammad Sarwar Khan and because of some business like this was in jail. Through his testimony and affidavits, the kutwal accounted for this sum and an indefinite sum from other contingencies and sent it to His Majesty. But His Majesty was not content with the affidavit and testimony of (Kaka) Fayz Muhammad and wanted to be sure no injustice was done so secretly he sent a farman to the mother of [°]Alim Bibi on the sixteenth of Rabi[°] al-Sani/20 December telling her to visit the wife of Muhammad Sarwar Khan, and ascertain the true state of affairs so that no one would be harmed by officials of the government without due cause. She questioned Muhammad Sarwar Khan's wife in confidence and it was established that the funds attested to by (Kaka) Fayz Muhammad were correct and corresponded to the actual state of affairs. Thus his (Muhammad Sarwar's) money and belongings, his house and furnishings, were all confiscated by the diwan in compensation for the government funds.

The Evildoing and Rebellion of the People of Durnamah

During what has been discussed above, the people of Durnamah drew their heads through the collar of disobedience and rebelled. The celestial-dwelling prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, ordered Deputy Field Marshal Parwanah Khan to send munitions from Kabul to the governors of Najrab and Panjshayr. He also wanted, with the permission of the prince, to send an infantry regiment. The prince put off any action awaiting a royal order. By letter he asked permission from His Majesty to assign an infantry regiment. His Majesty left the sending of an infantry regiment to the discretion of the noble prince and wrote that he should do whatever he himself considered best. The prince, whose heart was in the right place, wanted to do what was best for the subjects. Because of the ruin

that would be caused (to everyone by the dispatch of an army), he restrained the regular army from going to punish those evil people and instead sent Sahibzadah Ghulam Haydar Khan to use his good judgement and good character to advise and win over that misguided tribe. Before the arrival of that sahibzadah, there was a confrontation between the people of Durnamah and the men of Kuhistan and Najrab who had been sent by the prince to annihilate those ill-natured people. Blood of men on both sides poured down on the ground of destruction and in the end the men of Durnamah turned their backs on the fighting, fled, and took refuge in the mountains of adversity where they stayed until Sahibzadah Ghulam Haydar Khan and General Kutal (Katal) Khan, as directed by the noble prince, reached them, reassured and consoled them all, and returned them to their homes. They detained the architects of evildoing, brought them to Kabul, and so quelled the flames of rebellion.

Also during this trouble, the mirzadahs of Badakhshan who in conjunction with the son of Mir Shaja^cat Khan, as mentioned above, had turned the face of aggression in the direction of Rustaq, been defeated, and fled up into the mountains of adversity, once again lit the fires of evildoing and spread rancor and hatred. °Aziz Muhammad Khan *risālah-dār* who was stationed in Rustaq sent a report to Colonel Farhad Khan who had just arrived in Taluqan with a regiment of infantry and asked him for permission to attack the village of Dunak which had thrown its support to the mirzadahs. The colonel passed this request before His Highness and on the sixteenth of /624/ Rabi^c al-Sani/20 December a letter was sent to Colonel Farhad Khan telling him to give the troops stationed in Rustaq permission to march on Dunak and Shahr-i Buzurk and uproot the corruption. A farman also went out to the regiments stationed in Fayzabad to march in that direction, follow the instructions of the *sar daftar* of Badakhshan, Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, and bring the punishment those people deserve down on their heads. A sublime signed order (*tawqī^c*) also went out saying, should there be need of help, 200 infantrymen and 100 cavalrymen under Colonel Farhad Khan's banner should set out to assist. After the arrival of these orders, °Abd Allah Khan *kumīdān* quickly set off for Dunak with the regiment stationed at Rustaq and engaged the rebels. Twice they skirmished and each time he defeated the evildoers, killed many of them, eliminated the taint of their existence from that land, and sounded the drums of victory. Thirty (of the rebels) were captured on the field of battle by (his) braves. In addition a regular cavalryman who came from Istalif and foolishly joined the son of Mir Shaja^cat Khan was taken prisoner by four men sent out by Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and brought back hands bound. Likewise, they captured two Sakhlu infantrymen and a banner-bearer who in cowardice had shamefully fled the battlefield and sent them to His Majesty along with the thirty (rebel) prisoners.

During this time, two Turk cavalrymen who had gone to one of the villages subordinate to Fayzabad to collect its diwani taxes, and had been detained by people of the *qishlāq* of Khanji, were brought to the mirzadahs and turned over to them along with their horses, weapons, and a government-issue six-shot revolver. They imprisoned those two men and confiscated their horses, weapons,

and other belongings. After the abovementioned victory and the defeat of the rebels, Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan rescued those two men by force and retrieved their horses and weapons and as punishment extracted from those people a fine three times the cost of the things those people had given the mirzadahs.

During these troubles, a number of Uzbek riders captured seven grooms from the regular army cavalry under the command of Jan Muhammad Khan *risālah-dār* who were transporting wood to °Anbar Kuh. They injured two of them and made off with seven ponies they had with them. At the time, 300 regular cavalymen, who at His Majesty's farman were riding from Mazar-i Sharif to Khanabad-i Qataghan, arrived and, at the order of Colonel Farhad Khan, went on to join Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Rustaq. Together with these horsemen and the garrison there, (Muhammad Yusuf Khan) set out to punish Colonel Mir Shah °Alam Khan who was at Shahr-i Buzurg with a party of rebels and was the occasion of trouble and evildoing. He also wrote Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in Fayzabad telling him of his march towards Shahr-i Buzurg. He in turn dispatched the horse and foot soldiers of Yakah Mughul and Yaftal to reinforce him. The fighting which then occurred with the evildoers will be recorded in its proper place, God willing.

The Approval of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's Request That He Be Allowed to Stay in Samarqand

On Sunday, the seventeenth of Rabi° al-Sani/21 December, the Russian (N. V.) Charykov came to Qarshi on some business in the service of his government. On the eighteenth, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan came to meet him and alone, without his retainers, they held cordial talks in the course of which the sardar asked him to provide him with a place to reside in Samarqand with his family and 200 of his retainers. Charykov heard the request with the ear of approval after which he returned to his residence from the place they were meeting *in camera*. In the evening, Charykov came to his residence, making (the obligatory) return visit (*bāzdid*). Before his arrival, the sardar instructed his son and all his companions to don their official uniforms and they formed ranks in the military fashion in front and to the sides and stood at attention until Charykov arrived with another Russian. He (Muhammad Ishaq Khan) introduced his associates and his officers to Charykov and eventually (also) Mir Sultan Murad Khan released the tongue of petition and requested that he give him a place to reside on the banks of the Oxus River. Charykov referred this request to the decision of the Emperor of Russia and told him to stay in Qarshi until an answer was received. When, through a report from the news /625/ writer of Trans-Oxiana, these talks reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty he wrote to General Amir Ahmad Khan, his ambassador (in Calcutta), a copy of which will be given in its proper place, God willing.

A Regular Infantryman Fires His Rifle at His Majesty

On the 20th of Rabi^c al-Sani/24 December His Majesty raised the victory-twinning banners from Tashqurghan towards Mazar-i Sharif, intending to perform *ziyārat*-pilgrimage ceremonies at the shrine of the “King of Men” (°Ali b. Abi Talib). When he arrived in that Paradise-resembling town, at the moment when His Majesty, sitting on the chair of glory and esteem, with the ranks of the regular army passing before the pure sun-like face, one of the regular soldiers, from the men of Herat, just as he came opposite His Majesty fired his Snider rifle [FM: *Sanaydar* in Afghanistan is better known as *baghal-pur*] at His Majesty. Thanks to the inescapable divine decree, at the very moment when he had taken aim at the rancorless breast of His Majesty and tightened the finger of destruction (on the trigger), His Majesty leaned over to speak to one of those in attendance and bent just enough that the spot on the felicitous royal being at which that miserable soul had drawn a bead turned from the path of the bullet which struck the center of the chair in which His Majesty was sitting just in line with the rancorless breast. It hit a page (*ghulām*) who was standing behind the felicity-spreading royal person and wounded him. Deputy Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who was standing in front of the ranks to one side and was moving about then immediately struck down and killed that blackguard of a soldier with a short sword (*karīchī*) which he was carrying on his belt. All the regular army officers were frightened and confused by the alertness and the nimbleness which the deputy field marshal displayed and feared that they would come under suspicion of conspiracy with, and being an accessory of, that soldier. They ascribed weakmindedness to him and disparaged him (the would-be assassin). Sorrowfully, His Majesty stood up and entered the blessed shrine where he performed the rituals of *ziyārat* of the blessed shrine of the saint, the Friend of God. Servants of the threshold of sovereignty and well-wishers of the court of government brought livestock and purses of money by the thousands as freewill offerings of thanks for the health and wellbeing of the royal person and disbursements by the blessed royal person himself fulfilled the hopes of the poor and indigent. His Majesty then decided not to return to Tashqurghan and settled at Mazar-i Sharif where he undertook to straighten out the affairs of the people of that region both near and far.

During the time, a regular infantryman named Niyaz Muhammad shot and wounded Captain Sayyid Nazar Shah Khan and after an investigation it emerged that these two men had been using *chars* (extract of hemp). Subsequently, an order was issued by His Majesty that any regular soldier engaged in the forbidden act of using *chars* would be expelled from the army.

At this time thirty friends and associates of the man who shot at His Majesty and were arrested because of their connection with him were sent to Herat escorted by Nur Muhammad Khan *daf^cah-dār* of the Taraki Regular Cavalry and the guard troopers. A farman was sent to Field Marshal Faramarz Khan telling him to collect 1,000 *qirān* rupees from each of them as a fine and if they could not pay, to collect it from their tribes and relatives. Afterwards, he could release them. Consequently he collected and turned over to the royal

treasury this fine along with a collector's fee of two rupees per *tūmān* for a total of 16,500 Kabuli rupees. He then freed the miscreants.

During this time, it reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty in reports from news writers in Herat that 7,000 rupees belonging to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's wife were placed for investment (*bi-rasm-i tijārat*) in the hands of a Jew named Yahya, a resident of Herat. His Majesty decreed that all his (Yahya's) money and possessions including these concealed funds which he had not disclosed to officials of the government, be confiscated to the diwan. Yahya himself was arrested and brought to Kabul. A bill was issued to Mirza °Ali Gawhar the brother of Mirza Afzal, the latter the clerk of the post office (*pustkhānah*) of Turkistan who had been aware but had not reported the rebellion of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. He was arrested and his salary was reclaimed. He had made an interest-free loan of 2,000 rupees to Mirza °Ali Gawhar his brother but Mirza °Ali Gawhar denied it. As a consequence, everything those two brothers owned /626/ was confiscated by the diwan-i a°la to compensate for the salaries which they had received for years from the government.

Also at this time Sayyid Khalil Shah Khan, the *sar daftar* of Qataghan and Badakhshan, summoned to Khanabad Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in order to audit his accounts (*qaṭ°-i ḥisābash*). He had been engaged in repelling the mirzadahs of Badakhshan and other evildoers and because of his preoccupation with punishing the evildoers of Badakhshan—as was indicated above—he did not heed the summons but instead petitioned His Majesty who on the 24th of Rabi° al-Sani/28 December sent a farman to that sayyid saying:

This is stupid and illogical. At a time when Muhammad Ibrahim Khan is preoccupied with the evildoing mirzadahs and troublemakers of Badakhshan, affairs there are in disarray, the army is fighting without officers and we've been sending encouraging farmans to Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan to either win over and persuade the people there in such and such a fashion or we will punish them, and you then summon him (for an audit)? Be very careful that you don't distract him from his work unless you have an order issued by me. The end.

Meanwhile, Colonel Farhad Khan—whose arrival in Taluqan was related above—confiscated all the property of Mir Sultan Murad Khan who had turned his face from the government and from happiness, had fled to Qarshi, and established himself there, as well as the property of Khwajah Muhammad Amin and other evildoers who had fled with him. By letter he consoled and reassured the fugitives who had gone to Trans-Oxiana with Sultan Murad Khan and invited them to return to their homeland. As a result, a certain Gul Mirza with a few people, Muhammad Latif the son of Muhammad Shafi° *yasāwul*, and Shams al-Din, a personal servant of Sultan Murad Khan, because of the colonel's letters, came to him in repentance and humility and asked for pardon. The colonel detained Muhammad Latif and Shams al-Din in order to find the cash

and goods of Sultan Murad Khan and his associates which had been concealed by other people but allowed the others to return to their homes. When these matters reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty in a letter from Colonel Farhad Khan, a royal edict was issued telling him to keep (only) one of the returnees with him in order to investigate and locate the property of the fugitives and send the others to the throne. So he sent to Mazar-i Sharif all of those who had been living in their homes and with the help of the detained man he discovered the money and possessions of Sultan Murad Khan and of others who had turned their faces from the government and confiscated it. He also arrested the *raʾīs* of Warsaj who was the leader of 1,000 households and whose two brothers had fled with Sultan Murad Khan. The people of Warsaj, worried about a royal investigation, had expelled him. The colonel sent the *raʾīs* to Mazar-i Sharif and returned to the duties he was charged with.

The Auspicious Birth of the Noble Prince Sardar Hayat Allah Khan

On Monday, the 25th of Rabiʿ al-Sani/29 December by decree of the Divine Majesty, the Illuminator of the Star of Success, the Jupiter-like prince Hayat Allah Khan arose from the horizon of the sphere of glory, and thanks to his auspicious nativity, the skirts of the needy were filled with gold.

Also at this time of the regiments stationed in Rustaq which had marched for Shahr-i Buzurg to punish and put down the mirzadahs of Badakhshan—as has already been noted—Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Rustaq, ordered a contingent of *mulki* men along with ʿAbd al-Ghaffar Khan, a *jamāʿah-dār* of the regular cavalry who had garrisoned Shah Darrah to patrol the roads and byways and protect the area. But the troublemaking mirzadahs attacked and took Arbab Sharif, one of ʿAbd al-Ghaffar’s men, and several others prisoners and the mirzadahs routed the *jamāʿah-dār* himself. With his men, he fled defeated to Rustaq. The regular army under the command of Nur Muhammad Khan *ajīdān*, ʿAziz Muhammad Khan *risālah-dār*, and other officers, [and which included] 200 regular cavalymen, a tribal force, and Muhammad Ghazi Khan, was en route to Shahr-i Buzurg and at this moment was camped at Malwan, learned of ʿAbd al-Ghaffar Khan’s defeat and on the 26th of Rabiʿ al-Sani/30 December marched as fast as they could for Shahr-i Buzurg. At the foot of the Safid Pass, the men of Shahr-i Buzurg came to the army camp to offer their obedience and placed the forehead of repentance on the ground of abasement. Their leaders, who out of ignorance had ascended the mountain of waywardness, returned to their homes as a result of letters and messages [of reassurance]. /627/

After the men of Shahr-i Buzurg put their heads under the writ of the farman, the government loyalists and those on the path of service turned the face of combat in the direction of Ragh. When they camped at Zarak, the people of Chawgan, Pasakuh, and Barkham sent a man to the army leaders and in humble terms sued for peace. Without putting any conditions or obligations on them, the army leaders granted their request, reassured them with gentle words, and sent

them home. In a show of obedience, they undertook to transport the royal army's provisions and fodder as repayment for this kindness. Colonel Shah °Alam Khan Hizhdah Nahri [possibly of the Hizhdah Nahri Regiment], the cup of his hopes was tainted with the turbidity of misfortune (*nil-i falākat*), fled to Trans-Oxiana with his wives and children having failed to achieve his ends. His brother Nasr Allah with 150 horse and foot rode towards Ragh by way of Risman in search of the evil-twinning mirzadahs. The royal force entered Shahr-i Buzurg where the wretched rebels had lost heart thanks to the submission of its people and the flight of Colonel Shah °Alam Khan and his brother and themselves ran away into the wasteland of adversity.

Meantime, on the 27th of Rabi° al-Sani/31 December, Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan sent 400 Sakhlu infantry, 100 regular infantry, and two mule guns under the command of Sultan Muhammad Khan *sarhang* and °Abd Allah Khan *kumidān* of the First Artillery from Fayzabad to Shahr-i Buzurg. Later, when he learned of the royal army's arrival in Shahr-i Buzurg and its departure for Ragh, he sent an order to the force from fayzabad while it was on the march to head for Ragh. He also sent the rebel prisoners he had with him to Colonel Farhad Khan. To His Majesty in Mazar-i Sharif he sent under guard the three regular army soldiers who had defected to the rebels but whom he had captured.

During this time °Ali Mardan Shah and Mahru Khan, who had fled to Trans-Oxiana in rebellion, entered Wakhan with a troop and a company (*bā dastah wa jamā°ah*) of horse and foot. Khwajah Nazar Muhammad Khan and his men rose up to resist them and when the evildoers discovered that they were on the march, they quickly withdrew from Wakhan towards the foot of the Chittrar Pass. From there by letter they asked Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan to forgive them and grant security for their lives. Meanwhile, Na°ib °Ashur Khan Wakhani had set out after them in order to take them prisoner. When they found out about him, before they could get an answer from Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and fearing capture at the hands of Na°ib °Ashur Khan, they escaped into Chittrar.

Also at this time, an order went out to Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan and another brother of Mir Ahmad Shah Khan, who were both sent by his Majesty to serve as deputies to their older brother [Mir Ahmad Shah Khan] who, until the time of the rebellion of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and his arrival in Khanabad which was described above, had held the governorship of Fayzabad. The order was to take charge of and manage all affairs there and stay there until the arrival of Mir Ahmad Shah Khan himself. But ultimately, Mir Ahmad Shah Khan, too occupied with service to the royal person of His Majesty was unable to go to Fayzabad.

During this time, the mighty regiments heading for Ragh to punish and make an example of the blackhearted evildoers arrived. The rebels, seeing themselves on the brink of destruction because of the awesome might of the royal army, fled towards Bukhara. Thus that region was cleansed of their evildoing and supporters of the government could rest secure from the anxiety of disruption.

*The Disturbance of the Shinwar Evildoers Who Fought with Field Marshal
Ghulam Haydar Khan*

It was mentioned earlier that at the order of the felicitous prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan two regular regiments under the command of Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan from Kabul and 2,000 fighters from Najrab and Tikab under the command of Muhammad Shah Khan, their governor, were sent to Shinwar and all joined the regular army at Dih-i Bala. (During the events in Badakshan), forty Shinwar coming out of the mountains raided Pachar in the Khugyani district and during the night assaulted the fort of a certain Khugyani named Zayn Gul, wounded him and made off with the property and livestock of the people of the fort. The people of Pachar found out and attacked them. Five of the bandits were wounded and five captured by the people who went after them. The captives were delivered to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan. /628/ He strapped each of the five to the muzzle of a cannon, lit the touchholes, and blew them to bits, the roar of the cannon bringing terror and dread to the ears of the enemy. Similarly, day by day in twos and threes, the braves of the army captured the rebels of the °Adil Khayl tribe until the number of captive rebels and oppressors reached 200.

During this time, an account of the service and loyalty of Baha° al-Din, better known as Bahawul Khan *kumīdān*, which he had demonstrated in the battles of Arit, Shamash, and Kalman through unrelenting effort and unremitting bravery, reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty in a letter from Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan. A manshur in his name, conferring the glorious rank of colonel on him, was then issued and sent by His Highness.

During this time, on the sixth of Jumada al-Awwal/8 January 1889 His Majesty, who had learned from a news writer there of the meeting between the Russian Charykov, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq, and Sultan Murad Khan at Qarshi—as previously related—wrote to General Mir Ahmad Khan the envoy in Calcutta telling him to inform British officials of their meetings and discussions with Charykov so that the British would be aware of their duplicity and treacherous dealings with the Russians.

During this time, on the eighth of Jumada al-Awwal, a letter which Sardar Muhammad Khan had written at the very outset of his rebellion and sent to the Governor-General (*gabūrñātur* i.e. *gubernatur*.) of Russia in Tashkent accompanied by Ghulam Qadir Khan, the governor of Aybak along with some valuable things as gifts but which came into the hands of friends of the government from his private secretary (*munshī*) who was (also) treading the path of viciousness (*badmanishī*), and was read by His Majesty. A letter was sent by His Majesty (on this day) to General Amir Ahmad Khan the honorable envoy conveying its gist and telling him to inform the officials of Great Britain that Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan has written a letter to the governor-general and sent it to him with presents and gifts.

In it he writes 'at the time the English government established its authority over Afghanistan, by order of the Great Emperor having invited us to Tashkent he asked us to go to Afghanistan to (the part of) Turkistan belonging to Afghanistan. My brother Muhammad Sarwar Khan was killed. There thanks to the benevolent regard of the *Īmparātūr* we gained control over the kingdom of Afghanistan. But the pact which Amir 'Abd al-Rahman Khan made with the Russian government, he then broke and [instead] allied himself with the English government. I (on the other hand) am true to my word and as a consequence of the steadfastness of my word and friendship for the Russian government, that amir wanted to destroy me. He ordered me to stop people sent by the Russian government to Balkh to buy cows, sheep, and other things. But disregarding his orders, I did not stop anyone sent by the Russian government. I also showed the utmost respect and deference to the surveyors appointed by that (Russian) government to demarcate the border points which they of course will attest to. I know that my fortunes (whether I prosper or am destroyed) lie in my ties with the Russian government. I place my hopes on the Russian government that at such a time they would help me with weapons and other instruments of war.' The governor-general did not reply to his letter but did send a message concerning him saying, 'without a direct order and permission from my padeshah, I cannot assist with any arms or military equipment. I will not trouble Afghanistan nor are the Afghans troubling us.' The end.

Also during this time, the English foreign secretary went one day, on behalf of the viceroy of India, to meet with General Amir Ahmad Khan, the ambassador of Afghanistan. During their talks, he [the foreign secretary] mentioned the incident of a soldier's firing his rifle at His Majesty and said,

This incident resembles one that happened to the padeshah of Russia by a man with his own special religious beliefs (*naḥlah-i khūdāsh*) (FM note here says, 'The meaning of *naḥlah* (sect) here refers to a heretical sect.') As a result the blood of thousands was shed and there was no peace until the prime minister reconciled him (the tsar). For two years now, [the prime minister] has worked at reconciliation, to treat the wounds of the dissidents' hearts, to free those people who were bound by the chains of punishment, and to calm things down as much as possible. In this (the Afghan) incident, it is possible that His Highness, the Amir of Afghanistan who has spoken openly or secretly of (his) fear of the English to his soldiers who sympathized with Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and they thought themselves to be targets of threats and violence has caused this incident. This is not just a case of one man. There will be many people, whether in the army or merely subjects, from whose hearts the Amir Sahib must drive out fear and

terror so that he himself can achieve peace and security.

By a report from the ambassador, General Amir Ahmad Khan, these words of the foreign secretary became known to the world-adorning sunlight-shedding mind and he sent a farman to him and other officials of the English government which said:

The benefit bestowed by me on all soldiers and subjects has been of such a degree, and accounts of which have been published in the newspapers of all foreign nations /629/ that there can be no objection [to my reaction to this matter]. Similarly, there is no need to recount or explain the elements of justice pertaining to the subjects. If, in certain times and places where people have committed evil acts we hand down punishment, it is merely that we are acting to deal with something small for the good of all. It is not that we are taking the path of arbitrary violence and punishment because of personal caprice or selfish avarice which gives rise to fear and dread. I know full well that the incident that happened was instigated by outside elements. They seduced some poor undistinguished drug-addled fellow by promising him a reward. It was not instigated by someone here, because that soldier was one of a group of soldiers who had achieved victory. Had this been the work of regiments stationed in Balkh, any plot of evildoers and any incitement and instigation would have been considered the responsibility of their officers. Since that contemptible and pea-brained fellow was a Tajik from Herat, he was the (sole) perpetrator. It has since been discovered that he was urged on by people outside the country. On this point, I have excellent witnesses about things coming into Herat who have definitely established that [outsiders] were the cause of this incident. Despite this, since the soldier was killed, the truth of the matter remains hidden. Other than that, it is as I have said. The end.

Also during these times, a certain Sayyid Muhammad Sharif, a sayyid from Medina, arrived in Qandahar. He had come to Herat by way of Baluchistan and Sistan and after meeting with Saʿd al-Din Khan, the governor there, obtained a letter recommending him (*sifārash-nāmah*) to Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor of Qandahar. Because of the letter and out of respect for his being an sayyid, moreover a sayyid from Noble Medina which he asserted as being his native place, the governor gave him a nice house and a per diem from the government treasury of three Kabuli rupees for his expenses. On Friday, along with the numerous people who had gathered around him, he went via the bazaar to the congregational mosque saying the *ṣalām* ("Praises and peace be upon him [the Prophet]"). After performing the prayers prescribed for the Friday service, he ascended the pulpit and, in violation of the established custom and the Holy Law he delivered the homily which should be given before the prayer. He then came down from the pulpit and all those present reached for his hand to

kiss it. But because of the huge crowd, the opportunity (to kiss his hand) was limited to a few and to them only with great difficulty. After he left the mosque, the governor called him to account (held him responsible) for what had happened. He apologized and asked forgiveness. When His Majesty learned of about this sayyid in a letter from the governor, on the ninth of Jumada al-Awwal/11 January 1889 he wrote the governor and chastised him saying, that it is very strange that having reached the age of ninety, having seen good and bad, and having tasted the hot and cold of life, he should be so taken in by this sort of person simply on the basis of his assertions and his appearance that he should assign him three rupees a day for expenses! Now he was to tell him to leave Afghanistan by the way he had come. After receiving this order, the governor ordered the sayyid to go back via Baluchistan and gave him a letter (*raqīmah*) that said should he want to go to Kabul via Peshawar in order to visit the holy threshold of the sultanate, the road patrols should not bother him, but allow him to enter the capital. The prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, got wind of the governor's letter and sent a farman underlining His Majesty's order to the patrols on the road between Kabul and Peshawar. He told them that they were to stop that sayyid from traveling towards Kabul so that he would not be able to reach it. (The sayyid), recognizing the limits now on his ability to carry out the scheme he had in mind, retraced his steps to his own country and did not head for Kabul.

Also during this time, with the permission of His Majesty, there arrived in Qandahar ten Muslims, one Hindu clerk, and several regular cavalymen, whom English officials had requested be sent to Mashhad from Shalkut by way of Qandahar and Herat to serve General Maclean, the consul of the English government. They were carrying a letter of introduction addressed to officials of Afghanistan from the (political) agent of Baluchistan. From Qandahar, escorted by Afghan cavalry, they traveled safely to Herat and from Herat to Mashhad.

During these events, His Majesty made the following appointments: Mir Abu Talib Khan as *sar daftar* of Aqchah, Mahmud Khan *beglarbegi* as governor (of Aqchah), Muhammad Sarwar Khan as governor of Sar-i Pul, Nazir Nasir Khan governor of Andkhud, and Nawruz Khan as *mīr-shabb* of Tashqurghan. Each went to his assigned place and took up his duties. /630/

Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Punishes the Evil Shinwar

Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, who as previously mentioned, had been spending his days punishing the Shinwar people, on Monday the 19th of Jumada al-Awwal/21 January 1889 left camp with the braves of the regular army to crush the evildoers and at eleven o'clock at night on the 23rd turned the face of campaigning towards Darrah-i Nankas and from then until break of day marched twelve kuruhs. As soon as the force arrived, they brought death and devastation to the people of the °Adil Khayl, with flashing sword dispatching forty-five evildoers to the land of non-existence and taking 140 men, women, and children captive. Of the royal force, one of the men from the tribal

contingent from Tikab and one regular infantryman under Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan's command were killed while one other Tikabi man suffered a minor wound; otherwise there were no casualties. The army made off with most of the weapons, furnishings, livestock, and utensils of the evil-minded malefactors and burned all their forts to the ground. After this victory, all their supplies which had been left at the army base were now brought forward and they camped at Darrah-i Ajin. (Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan) himself then advanced with the army to extirpate the foolish people of Pashah-i district and Haydar Khayl. When they entered Darrah-i Pashah-i, the men of the Haydar Khayl placed the thread of submission on the neck of repentance and came to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan in contrition, apologizing and asking forgiveness and placed their heads beneath the farman's writ. The royal orders which became operative among those people will be discussed in their proper place, along with an account of other troublemakers.

The Letters Which English and Afghan Officials Wrote Regarding Qal'ah-i Chaman

During the abovementioned events, a letter dated the 18th of September 1889 [sic] from the Englishman Colonel Sandeman (*s-n-d-m-n-d*) who also had the post of Chief Commissioner (*chīf kamishinari*) of Baluchistan reached the governor of Qandahar. He forwarded it on to His Majesty. In it was written:

It has come from the Nawwab Governor-General, with the approval of the Executive Council (of the Viceroy? or the Imperial Legislative Council?—*ijlās-i kunṣul*) that I should write to that friend so that the friend commends the officials of Afghanistan for having conveyed the mail (*khariṭah-i dāk*) up to Qal'ah-i Chaman. But it does not follow from this that the border of the government of the Afghans extends as far as Qal'ah-i Chaman, in particular, that in that territory there should be no cultivation for (a distance of) farsangs. I also express to that friend that meantime as Political Agent of Shalkut and Fushanj we have administered that side of Chaman for several years now and that the Janab-Viceroy of India will regret it if that friend rejects his request and denies (this fact). Indeed, they (the viceroy and council) do not agree that the border of the territory of Afghanistan goes up to the walls of the Qal'ah-i Chaman for the mentioned reasons because in barren country, it is difficult to establish a sound boundary between two adjacent countries. Thus, the above janab believes that the boundary of the country under English control goes up to where the Qandahar highway joins level ground. This place is at a spot nine miles from Qal'ah-i Chaman. Now that the governor of India has been building a rail line towards Chaman, it is very difficult to terminate the rail cars (*kādī*) at any place in Chaman which is not level. Therefore it has been decided that the terminus of the rail line will be a little below Qal'ah-i

Chaman where there is an expanse of level ground and the foundations laid there.

In response, on the 28th of Jumada al-Awwal/30 January 1889, His Majesty wrote the governor of Qandahar and instructed him to write in reply to the Agent of Baluchistan as follows:

the special feature of Qal'ah-i Chaman is that it is the fixed boundary dividing Qandahar and Fushanj. Ever since the day representatives of the English government extended the arm of control to Baluchistan, the people of Afghanistan have acknowledged Qal'ah-i Chaman as the border point separating the two governments. They consider this issue so firmly established that should officials of the English government trespass by even one cubit towards Qandahar from that qal'ah, which in fact is the homeland and residence of the Achakza'i Afghan tribe, even if the land is inhospitable wasteland, it would create a problem for the treaty between the government of England and the tribes of the kingdom of Afghanistan because, according to that treaty, they (the English) should not intrude on Afghan soil either overtly or covertly. If English officials want to build a rail terminus on this side of Qal'ah-i Chaman, /631/ no matter how small it is, it will be unpalatable and unacceptable to the temperament of the Afghan people and will shake the foundations of their trust for the English government. With regard to their writing that it is difficult on land which is broken and rough to establish a sound boundary between two adjacent governments, the answer should be that if it was possible for English officers to demarcate a border between Afghanistan and Russia on lands that were deserted and sand desert and wastelands without water and they were able to erect pillars, towers, and markers then why not the same at Qal'ah-i Chaman which is the border of Qandahar and so well-known that there is no need even to state it and to mark the boundary point. And also it should be fully understood that His Majesty gave me instructions on this matter, that before the outbreak of the rebellion of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan he invited [or intended to invite?] to Kabul highranking British officials to settle all matters of this type, such as those issues that involved the demarcation of the Qandahar and Baluchistan border. But the rebellion prevented His Majesty from carrying out what he and the British officials had in mind. Now I hope that after winding up matters in Turkistan and His Majesty's return to Kabul, again his undivided attention can be given and several leading English officials may be invited to Kabul. These things, naturally, ought to be discussed before any dealings with that place. Officials of the English government must not perpetrate anything that leads to the forming of doubts and suspicions by the people of Afghanistan. If they want more reason it is this: regarding the taking of sand from waste

land of the district belonging to Qandahar which the English were doing [earlier] without permission from His Majesty, they should know how upset the Afghans were by that and at the end it led to fighting and killing. Therefore employees of the English government who are assigned by their own government to the soil of Baluchistan to administer their districts should behave in such a way concerning the people of Afghanistan so as to day by day incline their hearts towards friendship to the English government, not to further those things which do them harm and turn them away. Above all, you (Colonel Sandeman) are not appointed to discuss border matters which (instead) you should correspond with me about and ask for a response. And I am not authorized to give you an answer for it is not up to those responsible for the borders between two governments to negotiate. This was something which the former viceroy of India himself expressed to His Majesty and if that new viceroy (*na'ib al-salṭānah*) whenever he thinks it appropriate should raise the matter, he will get an answer and I who am the *nā'ib al-ḥukūmah* of Qandahar will give the answer. What I have mentioned here is just to inform you so that you don't transgress the border as formerly agreed on for I cannot offer a single word in regard to resolving one foot (of territory). The end.

After this letter reached the political agent of Baluchistan and through him other officials of the English government, they [British officials presumably] indicated to the agent of Baluchistan that he should consider the lowlying land at the foot of Kuh-i Kuzhak up to a border which is a rocky area as under ownership by the English government and he should so write to the governor of Qandahar. Also a letter in this regard from the viceroy of India reached His Majesty which said, "the English government has not meddled with the borders of Qandahar nor with the points marking the land of Afghanistan. It is building the rail line on points belonging to it and is improving those points." At the arrival of this letter His Majesty wrote and instructed the governor of Qandahar telling him to go to the border separating the two countries with forty diligent and skillful leaders and whatever defining of boundaries needs to be done, to do it. He was also to produce a suitable map of the mountains, plains, deserts, and wastelands and send it to the throne so that if the place where the English officials have chosen to build the railway is outside the territory of Afghanistan and belongs to them, further negotiations can be curtailed. Ultimately, in accordance with this order of the sovereign, a rail station was built outside the territory of Afghanistan.

Also at this time Haydar °Ali Khan Bala Hisari, the treasurer of Qandahar, passed away.

Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Reassures the Shinwar Evildoers

During the above-recorded events, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who had marched to Darrah-i Pashah-i and Haydar Khayl, worked to win over all /632/ the evildoers of the Shinwar mountains with good efforts and fine counsels until Friday the seventh of Jumada al-Thani/8 February and brought their leaders to the army camp to offer their obedience. The men of the Sangu Khayl tribe and the people of Darrah-i Niyaziyan refused obedience and remained twinned with foolishness but all the others submitted and became obedient. They promised to hand over hostages (*yūrghumāl*) and pay the costs of the army and a fine for their misdeeds and shameful behavior (blackened faces). They also gave a pledge to hand over to government officials any begetters of corruption or instigators of enmity and hate. Consequently, forty men from the leaders of the Pashah-i people and from others who had come were named by the people as evildoers and corrupters and were taken into custody. (The field marshal) took sixty of the leaders of the Mandinza³i, Haydar Khayl, and Rahim Dad Khayl tribes as hostages and allowed the men of the ⁴Adil Khayl and Badinza³i to return home, ordering them to bring their leaders back as hostages. He issued a bill (*hawālah*) for the regular diwan taxes as well as one for the fine for their evildoing and oppression and appointed a collector. Then, with his mighty forces, he himself set out to crush the evil people of Darrah-i Niyaziyan and Sangu Khayl. When he reached the destination, a fierce fight ensued with the evildoers. Twenty-five regular army soldiers and forty tribal horse and foot from Tikab, Najrab, and other places who were serving the government, were killed or wounded. A great multitude of the enemy became the target of bullets and food for the sword. Those who survived fled the battlefield and turned the face of adversity to the mountain of humiliation, speeding their stumbling way towards Tirah. At the order of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, the soldiers set fire to the forts and homes of these losers and burned them all to the ground. Much booty in the form of livestock and household possessions and money fell into the army's hands and in triumph it returned to its base. Later, the field marshal of celebrated deeds sent a letter to the people of Tirah. Its message was:

Since they are of the same religion (*millat*), ethnicity (*īliyat*), and tribe (*qawmīyat*) with the padeshah of Islam, if the enemies of the government who have sought refuge there should become obedient and take the path of submission, in consideration of the (good) opinion of the Tirahis their malicious actions will be overlooked and they will be given assurance of personal security (*amān-i jān*) so that they can return to their homes and homelands. Otherwise we will request another army from Kabul, that land will be trampled under the feet of the army, and both friend and foe will suffer greatly.

After sending this letter he notified the throne of the caliphate of the joyous news of his triumph, began building a fort in Shinwar large enough for a garrison of two infantry regiments, one cavalry regiment, and an artillery

battery.

*The Summoning to the Throne of Officials of Badakhshan and Qataghan and
Other Events of That Heavenly Province*

On Tuesday, the eleventh of Jumada al-Sani/12 February, a farman of summons was issued by His Majesty to Mirza Sayyid Khalil Shah Khan, the *sar daftar* of Qataghan, telling him to bring the register of the revenues of that province and its individual locales and present himself at Mazar-i Sharif along with the Uzbek elders (*aqsiqālān*) (of Qataghan) in order that the revenues of the lands and estates (*arāzī wa ‘aqār*) of that region be registered in the central diwan according to proper accounting procedures. In a similar manner, a farman of summons went out to the elders of the locales of Badakhshan as well as the qazi, mufti, and *raʾīs* of Fayzabad and the younger brother of Mir Ahmad Shah Khan who, a short while before this, had been appointed to Badakhshan by His Majesty—as was related above. It told him to identify the good and evil of the people of Badakhshan for the monarch so that anyone who deserved it would be favored and enjoy royal honors in line with his rank and anyone who trod a path into the deserts of evildoing and tyranny would also be rewarded commensurate with his actions. Individual farmans went out to the elders of Rustaq, Chah Ab, Pasa Kuh, Shahr-i Buzurg, Zibak, Ishkashim, Karran, Anjuman, Minjan, Jarm, Arku, Kashm, Mashhad, Daraʾim, Tishkan, Baharak, Zardah, Sar Ghilan, Wakhan, and Yaftal telling them to come to the court whose axis is justice.

(With regards to) Naʾib Muhammad Amin Khan of the First Troop (*dastah-i awwal*) under the command Sultan Muhammad Khan and Khan Shirin Khan *ṣad-bāshī*, to both of whom Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had written a letter and because of their friendship and loyalty had urged them to incite soldiers and civilians but the letter had fallen into the hands of government loyalists and at this time had reached the lustrous purview of His Majesty, Colonel Farhad Khan was instructed, at His Majesty's order, to send four men to the court in the custody of regular cavalymen: those two, Muhammad ʿUmar Khan Khusti, and one of the latter's servants. A royal order regarding /633/ (Naʾib Muhammad) Amin (Khan) and Khan Shirin Khan was issued which said:

They should repay any salary they have received from the government from the first day of their service up to the moment of the treachery and betrayal which they have committed.

Muhammad ʿUmar Khan Khusti and his nawkar were thrown in prison and the brother of Khwajah Musa Khan who had informed His Majesty's officials about these matters was honored with the gift of a *khilʿat* and given leave to return home.

During this time, Mangbashi Murad, a man from Maymanah who at the royal command had gone to garrison Taluqan with ninety-nine of his own horsemen under the banner of the son of Ishik-aqasi Muhammad Sarwar Khan,

arrived there, and Colonel Farhad Khan accorded him a respectful ceremonial welcome.

On the twentieth of Jumada al-Sani/21 February Mirza Tayyib Khwajah, clerk (*nawīsandah*) for the miscellaneous taxes (*sāyir-i*) of Tashqurghan during the time of His Highness the late Amir Shayr °Ali Khan, was summoned to appear at court. This was due to a letter from Na°ib Mir Sultan Khan, the *mīr shabb* of Kabul, into whose hands had fallen a document with the handwriting and seal of the late Shirdil Khan Luynab which he (Mirza Tayyib Khwajah) had written in the name of Colonel Muhammad Hasan Khan for twelve camel loads of indigo. The *mīr shabb* sent it to His Majesty who summoned Mirza Tayyib Khwajah so he could be interrogated about the matter and the price of that could be collected and turned over to the treasury from whoever had received it, an account of which will come in due course, God willing.

On the twenty-seventh of Jumada al-Sani/28 February His Majesty made the following appointments and each man went off to his appointed place: Mulla Shah Mardan Qul as *khaṭīb* of Andkhud; Mulla Muhammad Niyaz as qazi of Shibarghan; Mulla Imam Wirdi as *khaṭīb* of the outer city (of Shibarghan); Sayyid °Imad al-Din as *khaṭīb* of the inner city; Mulla Sayyid Jalal as qazi of Qal°ah-i Naw; Mulla °Abd al-Karim as mufti (of Qal°ah-i Naw); Mulla Sayyid Mirza and Mulla Isma°il Warsaji as mufti(s) of Taluqan; Mulla Shahbaz as *khaṭīb* there; Mulla Zahir al-Din Farkhari as *ra°īs* of the Shari°ah court there; Mulla Baba Nazar Taluqani as *kātib* (clerk) of the court registers books (*sijillāt*) and (recorder) of the resolution of appeals (*fayṣalah-i murāfa°āt-i shar°iyyah*) (in Taluqan); Muhammad Yusuf Khan the son of Na°ib Shayr Khan Beg as governor of Hazrat Imam; Amir Muhammad Khan of the Musa Khayl tribe as governor of Ishkashim, Jabal Dagh, Falul, Nahrin, the Ishkashim region (*julgā-yi Ishkāshim*), and Hasan Tal; Salih Muhammad Khan as governor of the tribe(s) of Bangi, Subhani, Kisah-bar, various Charikari and Panjshiri people, and Afghan and Hazarabs of Dah Mardah, Khinjan, Surkhabi, and Qunduz who were settled in those places; and Timur Shah Khan Charikari as governor of the tribes of Hajji Pachah, Tuquz Tuqmaq, Kijanah, Barq, Mandarrahchi, and the Hazarabs living in Chal. The governors of Tashqurghan, Shibarghan, Aqchah, Andkhud, Sar-i Pul, and Sangcharak such as Muhammad °Umar Khan, Sa°id Muhammad Khan, Mahmud Khan, Muhammad Anwar Khan, Muhammad Sarwar Khan, Sar Andaz Khan, Mirza °Abd al-°Aziz Khan, *daftārī* of Sangcharak who had been imprisoned by sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, some of whom had been only recently appointed (when the rebellion occurred) while others had been governors for some time, were not changed at this point but remained in their governorships and clerkships.

Also at this time, people living in Andkhud sent to the court with a certain Khwajah Baba Khan 25,000 tangahs which they had collected as a gift through the mediation of Nasir Khan, the father of their governor. There it was received with the full approbation of the world-adorning nature.

The Arrival of a Letter and Gift for Prince Habib Allah Khan from the Foreign

Secretary

Also at this time, the viceroy of India, in return for a letter and gift which the noble prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan had sent from Kabul, as was previously related, instructed the Foreign Secretary to send to the prince's court a silver tea service and a letter of amity and friendship. On the seventh of March 1889, equivalent to the fourth [sic—should be the sixth] of Rajab 1306, he sent a letter to the celestial-dwelling prince along with a silver service for tea. The prince immediately reported on the arrival of the letter to the compassion-showing presence (*ḥuẓūr-i shafqat-zuhūr*) of his glorious father and then at the latter's order he wrote,

May it be evident to the mind of the kind and thoughtful friend, the Foreign Secretary *ṣāhib-bahādur*, that the friendly missive dated the fourth of Rajab 1306, corresponding to the seventh [sic-sixth] of March 1889, has come to the attention of (this) friend. Because the arrival of my letter and the gifts which were included brought such pleasure to the great janab of magnificent rank, the vice-regent *bahādur* /634/ of India and he has so graciously acknowledged that with love-betokened thanks and expressions of friendship, it is the occasion of much satisfaction. The friendly gifts, which have been sent on the part of that kind janab as a sign of friendship, arrived and have heightened the feelings of amity. God willing, the doors of permanent unity will remain open between the Great (British) government and His Majesty, the most noble and great *qiblah* and friend and the line of his sons, the flowers of love and cordiality will bloom in the minds of both parties, and the fragrant zephyrs of trust and candor will always blow. The end.

During this time, because of His Majesty's establishing himself at Mazar-i Sharif and because of the rumors flying about, the Russian government was convinced that he planned a campaign against Trans-Oxiana and would raise the victorious banners in the direction of the Islamic lands there. It therefore notified its consul who was stationed in Holy Mashhad and told him to see General Maclean, the English consul there and a friend of this government, and get news of what was going on. The viceroy of India also sent a telegram of inquiry to (the consul) and he sent a polite letter to His Majesty inquiring about his intentions. On Sunday, the seventh of Rajab/9 March His Majesty wrote General Maclean:

I am aware of the telegrams which have arrived from the viceroy which that friend has sent to (this) friend. These following words are written in reply to the telegram. He (Maclean) should immediately transmit them by telegram to the viceroy: 'I do not harbor in my heart any desire at all to start a war with the Russian government for the consequences of that would be the mutual hostility of Russia and England. Why

would I cause a confrontation with the Russian government without them having violated their agreement with the English government not to transgress the borders of Afghanistan? From the day of our arrival in Balkh nothing contrary to the rules, agreements, and protocols of government and authority has appeared on the part of the Russian border patrols. Even if they do something untoward, it will be immediately conveyed to that janab. I have no intention of intruding on the territory inhabited by the Uzbeks of the (part of) Turkistan which belongs to the Russian government. He should rest assured that I will act with reason and with an eye to the consequences and will never be party to any deed which leads to disaster.' The end.

During this time, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who, after punishing the evildoers of Shinwar, as was recounted, had erected a new fort, now ordered the army to move because of its distance from water and it camped at Sarubi. After the arrival of the army there, a group of the Char Padar people came down out of the mountains in order to survey their destroyed forts and homes. Learning of this, the field marshal secretly sent a contingent of cavalry and infantry to arrest them. The force laid an ambush and vigilantly awaited the appearance of the evildoers. When the enemy neared their hiding place, they sprang out and attacked. They killed eleven of the enemy, captured the son of Malik Madad Khan, and brought him to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan. On Tuesday, the ninth of Rajab, he wrote and reported to His Majesty this feat of the braves of his army and the arrangements which he had put in place in that region and so became the object of praise and congratulations. He also detained and fettered all the leaders living in that place who, at the time of the evil-doing and oppression of Mughul Khan—related above, had given him refuge and food and offered him their assistance. With his mind now relieved of the anxiety of the evil people of Shinwar, he gave Muhammad Shah Khan, the governor of Tikab who had come to serve the royal army with the horse and foot of Tikab and Najrab, permission to return home and the latter set off for the place of his governorship.

Also during these events which have been recorded and related, the Qandahari Hazari Infantry regiment commanded by Colonel Sar Buland Khan and stationed in Shayrpur, incited by a number of troublemaking corrupt-natured people showed every intention of rebelling, by speaking to Brigadier Amir Muhammad Khan in insulting terms and putting the instruments of dissension into play. Deputy Field Marshal Parwanah Khan notified the sublime prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan of what was afoot and, when he reported, said to the prince, "It is necessary to bring to account those individuals from that regiment who are the cause of the trouble and let them embrace the punishment for their deeds." The prince, mindful of the consequences and aware that he must always be mindful of the affairs of everyone and not plunge into any matter without first giving it full consideration, believed that what Parwanah Khan was saying was not straightforward and without ulterior motives. /635/ Therefore he wrote a

letter of counsel in his own hand to that regiment and sent it. The next day, which was Tuesday and the day for reviewing the regular army, the prince, as was the custom, went to Shayrpur and there, in the presence of all the regiments, chastised (the Qandahari Hazari Regiment) and said,

At this time when His Majesty has gone to Turkistan you who are of my own *qawm* for what reason do you cause trouble and fan the flames of corruption? If it were someone else who was the instigator of trouble it would be incumbent on you, because tribal kinship (with me), to punish him. But instead, you let the skirts of your robes be ignited by dissension and so you disgrace me before the padeshah of Islam and all mankind.

At this speech, the regiment shouted “to hear is to obey” and the men began raising their voices in praise of His Majesty and his government and addressed the prince of excellent character saying “All of us place the ring of subordination in our ears and the cloth of subservience on our shoulders and we will not get involved in anything besides service and obedience to the government.” When words had come to this point, the prince reassured them all, asked them to hand over the evildoers who had been the cause of disquiet among them. They forthwith expelled eighteen men from their regiment who had been the source of trouble, and surrendered them to officials of the prince. The prince took them into custody and sent them to Turkistan where His Majesty inflicted on them the reward for their actions and sent praises and commendations to the prince.

During this time, a foolish person from the mountains entered an army post (*urdū*) in Kunar, wounded a captain of the regular infantry, and escaped unscathed. Colonel Muhammad Amir Khan [thereupon] levied and collected a 1,500 rupee fine on the people residing within 500 paces (*gām*) of the post so that it would not happen again.

An Account of ‘Umra Khan of Chandawul and the Khan of Dir and Ghayrat Khan

During the abovementioned events and troubles, ‘Umra Khan of Chandawul in the district of Bajawur who had again embarked on the path of friendship with the English government and at the instigation of its officials had trimmed his cloak with the embroidery of hostility towards the Muslims of that district, clashed at Bardal with the khan of the Dir district who was a supporter of the government and religion of Islam (Afghanistan). Much blood flowed on both sides and ultimately, the Khan of Dir turned his back on the fight and fled. Out of friendship, Ghayrat Khan now rose up to assist him and he too was defeated. Following their reverses, both men considered themselves vanquished and ‘Umra Khan to have the upper hand and felt there was no choice but to offer him their allegiance. He took Ghayrat Khan with him to Chandawul, confiscated from him 1,200 English muzzle-loading (*sih rukh* [triangular-barreled?] *dahan*

pur) rifles and thirty breech-loading Henry-Martini rifles, and seized all his belongings. He also confiscated and brought under his jurisdiction three impregnable-situated mighty fortresses as well as eighteen breech-loading (*panāhpur*) rifles and a few horses. He left him the rest of his possessions. When news of this incident reached the perceptive ears of His Majesty thanks to reports of news writers, though regretting the disunity of the Afghan border tribes, because of his involvement in re-organizing the affairs of Turkistan, he did not punish the negligent nor instruct the foolish nor (even) send a letter of guidance or counsel to put a stop to their troublemaking and evildoing.

His Majesty Chastises the Governor of Herat for His Acting On Maclean's Order

Also during these times, a certain Mustafa of Quchan accompanied by a Muhammad Sadiq came from Mashhad to Herat on some matter or other. General Maclean, the English consul, thought they were spies and sent by the Russian consul and he sent a letter to Sa'd al-Din Khan the governor of Herat through an agent of the English stationed in Herat. The letter told him that, without harming or detaining them, he should not allow Mustafa and his companion to spend more than one night in Herat and should send them back to Mashhad in such a way that they do not suspect that they were prevented from staying in Herat because of Maclean's message. In conformity with the general's message and order, Sa'd al-Din Khan instructed the *mīr shabb* to arrest Mustafa as soon as he set foot in Herat and he sent him back to Mashhad the very next day. He himself informed His Majesty of this and on Monday, the twenty-third of Rajab/25 March /636/ [His Majesty] sent him an admonishing manshur:

You were wrong to agree to this erroneous and meaningless instruction (*ḥukm*) from Maclean. It is clear that he thinks you're an idiot and you'll do whatever he tells you to do. You should have replied to him and said, 'If he is a Russian spy and some harm will befall my government because of him why are you telling us not to put him in chains and punish him? If he's not a spy then why this order to expel him?' In any event, from now on you are not to negotiate about such matters without weighing things since you're ill-equipped to engage in such an exchange. If you're one of Maclean's *nawkars* then we know that whatever he says you think it's like divine inspiration from the heavens. It's a shame that you're a Muslim! The end.

Also at this time, (His Majesty) cancelled the sun-annealed seal on royal farmans and hukms which had been current up to now but which certain malicious evil-doers like 'Abd al-Majid and others—described earlier—had copied and used for their own nefarious ends (for gaining advantage and staving off loss) amongst the people of the mountain regions most of whom can neither read nor write (*ummī wa bī-sawād*). On the abovementioned day (Monday, 23 Rajab) a new seal was produced, all farmans and hukms were to be henceforth

sealed with it, and this was announced to all the provincial governors.

Collecting Confiscated and Misappropriated Government Revenues from Defrauders of the Country

During these times, Muhammad Husayn, a *nawkar* of Mirza Khwajah Muhammad Khan, the former chamberlain (*‘arzbeḡī*) of the royal justice-administering court, confessed that with the full knowledge of his master he had taken as bribes from people seeking justice, (such as) the maliks of Lamqan, the son of General Muhammad Zaman Khan Wardak, Nur Muhammad Sar-asya³i, Nazir Khadu, and the Hazaraks of Bihsud, 7,410 rupees in cash and a certain amount of things in kind for a total of 40,000 rupees which he laid on his master's shoulders. At the order of His Majesty a bill was issued that this be collected from him (Mirza Khwajah Muhammad Khan) and repaid to its owners. Also, on Tuesday the first of Sha[‘]ban a farman from His Highness was sent to the prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, telling him to summon this Muhammad Husayn for justice to give clear proof about the rest of the 40,000 rupees which he alleged so that this would not bring (unwarranted) trouble and harm to Khwajah Muhammad Khan. Also he himself (the prince) should say to him, “What right does someone who earns a salary and money granted him by seal-bearing farmans and hukms from His Majesty have to take bribes from justice seekers and hapless people from the provinces and stuff it in his own greedy purse?” He was also to warn him (presumably Khwajah Muhammad Khan) that his treachery was now revealed and he had to pay whatever amount was now fixed as his responsibility. Consequently, having delivered up what could be proven, he was exempted from what could not be proven by documents. Similarly, a bill was issued that 27,000 English sovereign rupees be repaid which Hajji Asad Khan and his brother [‘]Abd al-Samad Khan, at the time of their being sent to Bombay, had stolen from government funds to pay for equipment and to buy metal pipes. [‘]Abd al-Ahad Khan the son of [‘]Abd al-Samad Khan whose father had died by now refused to repay the money and referred the entire amount to his uncle Hajji Asad Khan. Out of a sense of justice so that no oppression occur, His Majesty ordered those two men to appear in a Shari[‘]ah Court so that each one's responsibility could be legally established and the government money be repaid. But [‘]Abd al-Ahad Khan asked of the qazi that his claim (that he was not responsible) be waived and together with his uncle he repaid the funds to the public treasury gradually over time.

During this time, eight cavalymen from the Afshar of Kabul who had shirked their duties at the battle of Ghaznigak, and taken the path of ignominy, were imprisoned by His Majesty and sent with other miscreants to Kabul. A farman was sent to their *qawm*, the Afshar people of Kabul, deputizing them and saying, keeping in mind the royal favors granted to their clan and tribe and the perfidy (of these eight men), whatever they reckoned as suitable punishment for their misdeeds they should impose on them. Because of this order of His Majesty, the Afsharis came to see officials of the government a number of times

and requested that these men be handed over to them so that they could put them to death. But since in actuality seventeen men, all Afshari, had been arrested but in the farman only eight were listed, officials of the government were unable to decide which eight of the seventeen should be handed over to the Afsharis. The Afsharis therefore never got a 'yes' to their request and eventually all eight Afshari men along with twelve others from other tribes who deserved /637/ to be executed were reprieved by His Majesty, a 1,000-rupee fine was levied on each one and they were freed.

During this same time, news of a certain Mulla Abu Bakr who at the time of the rebellion of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had come from Bajawur with ten disciples of his to Khawat-i Wardak and there incited its people, reached His Majesty from his news writers and he ordered the mulla be jailed along with four of the leaders of Khawat-i Wardak. The mulla and five of his disciples while in prison bade farewell to life. Of the rest, some, having reached their allotted time, passed away and others were freed after a long while and their lives spared.

Likewise of the Taraki and °Ali Khayl leaders whose letter which was sent to the people of Jaghuri, Ghulam Husayn Khan Hazarah had forwarded to His Majesty—as previously recounted—for which they were condemned to death by royal decree, of them Qazi Fayz Allah Khan who had been arrested and imprisoned was put to death. The others had not yet been detained so that the reward for their acts could be meted out to them.

During this time, 226 fugitives from the battle of Ghaznigak who had not seen any fighting but had fled in panic and after this was proven had been sent in chains to Kabul at His Majesty's order, in accordance with a judgment which His Highness issued for repayment of their entire salaries from the first day of service until the day they fled at the sound of the cannons of the battle of Ghaznigak, they were freed from prison after each gave two men as guarantors attested to in documents bearing the seals of the Shari°ah Court and gave those documents to government officials.

Also at this time Mirza Muhammad Yusuf Khan of the Tajik tribe (*qawm*) of Ghaznin who had been appointed to the recording office (*daftar-i fāriḡh khaṭṭī*) wrote a letter to His Highness and asked for the salary of the office of *sar daftar*., His Majesty wrote him in his own hand from Mazar-i Sharif:

(Verse): Wealth does not come easy for him who does not suffer
The reward, dear brother, goes to those who work for it. (Sa°di)

You were hired for your writing ability. You don't get the salary of a supervisor (*sar-rishtah-dār*).

During this time, Sayyid Ya°qub °Ali and Muhammad Tahir, the sons of Sayyid Ahmad Khan Sarabi, who were under surveillance in Kabul thanks to some deception on the part of Colonel Wali Muhammad Khan—whose own misdeeds have been recounted above—their families and others they had left

behind in Ghaznin were summoned to Kabul by farman and took up residence there. They stayed in Kabul as long as those two men were alive and after their death, along with Muhammad °Ali Shah, a brother, and Ahmad °Ali, a son of Ya°qub °Ali, they escaped from Kabul and went to Mashhad, and were (at this time) causing trouble among the people of Mashhad.

Also at this time, the Englishman Mr. Pyne (Sir Salter Pyne) who was working for the government of Afghanistan and had gone to Europe (*firangistān*) to buy equipment for the steam workshop, arrived in Kabul with two English engineers, Dr. (John) Gray, and twelve Muslim master craftsmen from India and began the manufacture of cannons, rifles, cartridges, and other instruments of war as well as new manufactures.

Also during these recorded events, at a farman of summons mentioned earlier, the youngest brother of Mir Ahmad Shah Khan from Fayzabad, Badakhshan and Mirza Sayyid Khalil Shah Khan from Khanabad along with the elders (*aqsiqālān*) of those two provinces, who had gone to Mazar-i Sharif, were honored with an audience with His Highness, and one after another they reported to him what they knew of the people causing trouble in Badakhshan and Qataghan. After receiving these reports, on Tuesday, the first day of Sha°ban/2 April, His Majesty issued a farman to Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, the brother of Mir Ahmad Shah Khan, and Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. The farman said that twenty-nine people from Ragh and Yaftal who, because of their involvement with and support of the rebellion of the mirzadahs, had previously been detained and sent to Mazar-i Sharif, now, thanks to the testimony of the brother of Mir Ahmad Shah Khan given in their presence, their evildoing and wickedness has become clear, therefore all their family and people left behind should go from that region to Ghuri so that after their arrival there (the twenty-nine) will leave Mazar, join them, and together go to Kabul. Of these men, eight were from Ragh—including Adinah, Safar Muhammad, Muhammad Nazar, Dawlat Muhammad, Muhammad Sharif, °Abd al-Rahman; three of various origins—Murad Muhammad, Qurban, and Mulla Sufi; fourteen from Upper and Lower Yaftal—Muhammad Niyaz, °Ashur Muhammad, Muhammad Ya°qub, Nazar Muhammad, Muhammad Shah, Shah Mansur, Qurban Muhammad, Sharaf Beg, Barat, Gaday Muhammad, Khaspalah, Muhammad Karim, Baba Shir, /638/ and Adinah; and Aqsiqal Yadgar, Aqsiqal Yusuf, Arbab Muhammad Amin, and Fazil Beg—the last four, because of their loyalty and backing of the mirzadahs, had been detained by supporters of the government after the mirzadahs flight and sent to Mazar-i Sharif. After the arrival in Ghuri of their dependants, at the order of His majesty, they all were sent from Mazar-i Sharif to Ghuri under escort, and from there on to Kabul with those they had left behind. When they reached Kabul, their living expenses and a residence were provided by the government.

Also on the first of Sha°ban a royal decree was issued concerning the twelve camel loads of indigo belonging to Shayr Dil Khan Luynab that were referred to earlier. After an affidavit was taken from the merchants who in partnership (with Shayr Dil Khan) had sold the indigo, the sum of 12,906 and

two-thirds Kabuli rupees, representing the market value (at the time of sale) were collected from them.

During this time, on the eighth of Sha^oban/9 April, His Majesty sent out instructions in his own hand to all the *sar daftars* (bureau chiefs) and *nawīs-andagān* (clerks) of the *dīwan-i a^olā* (the central chancellery) who had promised to provide a full accounting along with a summary, of all the revenues and appropriations of the kingdom (*jam^o wa kharj-i madākhil-i mamlakat*). The instructions said,

the deadline for fulfilling the promise they had given is drawing near and they should be aware that until they complete the accounting and the summary and it meets our approval, they will not draw a single rupee in government salary. If they do, it is hereby decreed that they will have to pay it back one hundred times over as a fine and as punishment. The end.

During these recorded events, the *kandak*—i.e., the Qarabaghi regular infantry regiment—to which a royal hukm had been issued in Safar/October 1888 as mentioned earlier to collect the land taxes from the Hazarah people of Ghaznin through the mediation of Muhammad Akbar Khan, a royal courtier, had collected the taxes, gone to Kabul, been honored by the benevolent prince, royal Habib Allah Khan, and were enrolled in the regular army. The Panjshayri Regiment and the Bahluli Regiment, made up of people from Panjshayr and Tajiks from Ghaznin, also entered the royal army in these times.

Also at this time, sixty-six men from the Nurza^oi Durrani Infantry regiment who were stationed in Qal^oah-i Shinkay, had mutinied, and been bound in the chains of ignominy in Qandahar, at a farman of summons went under escort to Mazar-i Sharif by way of Ghaznin and Kabul. Twenty-two of them escaped while en route, two died, and the rest, having arrived in Mazar-i Sharif, received their due punishment at the order of His Majesty.

Also on the eighth of Sha^oban/9 April, Sa^oid Hasan Khan Mohmand was promoted by His Beneficent Majesty to the rank of *il-begī* of the ^oArab tribes of Sar-i Pul, the Siyah-khanah ^oArabs of Balkh, the sheepowners (*gusfandārān*—a proper name?) of Hijdah (Hazhdah) Nahr, and the Dawlatza^oi tribe. He was further distinguished by the gift of a valuable "robe of honor" (*khil^oat*) of shawl cloth and a broadcloth overcoat (*chūkhah-i mähūt*) and set off to perform his duties.

On Thursday, the eleventh of Sha^oban/12 April, a *panjāh-bāshī* named Nazar, who was better known as "Barjak," was appointed *dah sawārī* by His Majesty and assigned a monthly salary of forty rupees for himself and twenty rupees for each of his cavalymen and was assigned to Karki, Charjuy, Bukhara, and the land of the Turkmen to report to royal officials on the activities, movements, non-movements, and intentions of officials of both the Russian government and the ruler of Bukhara. Because of his assignment, the news writer for those regions, Mirza Taj Muhammad, was re-assigned as news writer

for Samarqand. Similarly, Mulla Fayz Muhammad, son of Niyaz Muhammad, was given a salary of twenty-five rupees a month and the responsibility of reporting the news from inside the city of Bukhara and went there.

Also during this time because of heavy rain, destructive floods rose in the mountains of Tashqurghan and destroyed shops, homes, farms, and orchards in Tashqurghan. Ten people were swept away by the floodwaters; one perished but the others were rescued. The government granted some relief by reducing the diwani taxes. At His Majesty's order, the Bagh-i Jahan Numa (park) was constructed on the holiday prayer grounds of the town.

*Discussions with Officials of the Government of Iran Concerning the News
Writer(s) of Afghanistan*

Also in this period, an order was sent from officials of the throne of Iran to Iranian officials in Khruasan concerning Mirza Yusuf Khan and Mirza Bayza Khan, news writers and employees of the government of Afghanistan who were stationed in Mashhad. /639/ The order said that those two men had been allowed to stay in Mashhad with the approval of the *ṣāhib-i dawlat* (the shah) because of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and other Afghan sardars who had entered Iran as enemies of the government of Afghanistan. But the sardar and his entourage had turned themselves over to the English government and now they (the Khurasan officials) should expel those two men from Mashhad. When the officials ordered those two to leave, they informed the (Afghan) throne and as an appendix to their letter they also passed on to officials of the throne the news of His Highness Nasir al-Din Shah's leaving Tehran for Mashhad on the twentieth of Sha^cban/21 April. His Majesty sent a manshur to the governor of Herat telling him to inquire of General Maclean, who was resident in Mashhad, what the motive and cause of this (expulsion order) was. He should tell (the general),

What was the problem with our appointees? We know at least that this is the work of people with specific agendas because they want no one to be in Mashhad working for the government of Afghanistan. Having removed even the tie that remains between Afghans and the people of Iran in that sometimes they remember to greet each other as Muslims and outwardly are affectionate and respectful towards each other, the doors of friendship and neighborliness, regardless of our sharing and being one in religion, would be shut so that if something should arise involving our being neighbors, the Afghan people won't be able to express themselves on it and will be forced to use others to express our innermost thoughts. Or they want to perplex and confuse the official(s) of Afghanistan and make him discouraged with the policies of his own government and familiar and intimate with themselves so that having given them information about the good and ill of the government of Afghanistan so that when it comes to the negotiations which might occur between Afghanistan and Iran he becomes their agent. In any

event, an Afghan official must be stationed on the sacred soil (of Mashhad) and if the government of Iran has not been happy with the stationing of a servant of Afghanistan there it would have objected and refused during these (past) few years. So I am certain that it is satisfied and content. Whether it consents or not, I won't let this issue drop. The end.

He ordered and instructed the governor (of Herat) (also) to write on his own behalf to the governor (*wālī*) of Khurasan and say:

There are people with agendas who are not happy with the tie of friendship and unity that exists between the two governments of Afghanistan and Iran. Nonetheless—Praise be to God—no one has gained dominance over Iranian and Afghan authority and independence so why let the edifice of our former friendship and affection deteriorate and not be stronger than it was originally?

His Majesty also ordered three Qataghani horses be sent from the royal stables along with five superb pieces of fine Kashmiri-weave wool in different colors—off-white (*nukhūdī*), beige (*bādāmī*), cinnamon (*dārchīnī*), dark red (*gulnārī*), and brown (*khākī*)—forty-nine *zar*^cs of cloth in all. This was all to go to the governor of Herat accompanied by Darwish Muhammad Khan with orders to send the horses and the cloth to the *wālī* of Khurasan along with his letter. Also he was ordered out of his own pocket to produce a horse blanket, bridle and headstall from broadcloth (*māhūt*), and other fine materials to send to Mashhad. Then, for some reason, the horses were delayed for several days and eventually sent from Mazar-i Sharif escorted by a certain Baqir Khan.

During this time, via a letter which someone had put into the “box of justice” (*ṣandūq-i ‘adālat*) in Farah, it came to His Majesty's attention that several *ḥawālah-dārs*, officers and soldiers of the Mazari Infantry Regiment, and regular cavalrymen stationed in the “Abode of Tranquility,” Farah, at the time of the rebellion of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had spread talk of sedition and mutiny amongst the members of the regiment and fanned the flames of corruption with the skirt of evil. In particular, ‘Abbas Khan *jamā‘ah-dār* Ghulam Muhammad Khan *kabṭān*, Muhammad Yunus Khan *ḥawālah-dār*, Yar Muhammad Khan *ḥawālah-dār*, Sikandar, Baz Muhammad, and Mulla Sa‘id Ahmad had trod the path of dissension more than others and provoked individual soldiers to mutiny. His majesty sent a farman to Qazi Sa‘d alk-Din Khan, the governor of Herat, and Field Marshal Faramarz Khan ordering them to summon the abovementioned people from Farah to Herat then send them to Mazar-i Sharif. Consequently, after their arrival there, His Majesty ordered all seven to prison.

During this time, Allah Yar Khan Bakharzi who had a previous acquaintance and friendship with His Majesty, sent on behalf of his son Muhammad Riza Khan, a short sword with decorated scabbard as a gift for His Munificent

Highness the noble prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan. His Majesty then sent it on to the commendable prince and he deposited it in his private armory (*asliḥah-khānah-i khāṣṣ*).

Meantime, prior to the letter and gifts of the governor of Herat mentioned above reaching Rukn al-Dawlah, the *wālī* of Khurasan, the governor of Herat was informed in a letter from the English Colonel Stewart, /640/ General Maclean's locum tenens, that although the government of Iran has decided that Mirza Yusuf Khan and Mirza Bayza Khan should leave Mashhad, they have been given another stay. The colonel pretended in his letter that the English foreign minister had written Rukn al-Dawlah, the *wālī* of Khurasan, and at his request, Rukn al-Dawlah allowed them to stay for now. He did this to place a burden of obligation on Afghanistan for his favor. But in fact, the *wālī* of Khurasan himself, on this matter of the connecting threads of unity and friendship between Afghanistan and Iran which are strong and firm, wrote to the throne of Iran and requested that since the royal entourage, after returning from its visit to Khurasan intends to make a tour of Europe it is inappropriate for servants of the government of Afghanistan to leave Mashhad and so sever the chain of amity. Nasir al-Din Shah found Rukn al-Dawlah's point to be well taken and wrote back, "Don't object now to the servants of the government of Afghanistan." Rukn al-Dawlah himself and Nazim al-Mulk were to carry out whatever they deemed in the best interests (of the country) vis a vis the servant of Afghanistan.

What had happened was revealed to officials of the government of Afghanistan through reports from news writers of Iran (in Afghanistan) and from these it was understood that it turned out that the servants of Afghanistan were not to be expelled from Mashhad, thanks to the good nature and friendly attitude of Rukn al-Dawlah, not because of any other person..

During this time it reached the all-perceiving ears of His Majesty in a letter from the abovementioned Mirza Yusuf Khan that the Russian consul had built a residence inside the city of Mashhad on the soil of Tus and it was rumored that he was also building a church. Sorrowfully, His Majesty penned and sent this verse apropos of the situation of the Iranians:

Wait till the morning of his fortune appears,
For this is still the outcome of dawn.

When the letter and gifts of horses and textiles reached Rukn al-Dawlah from the governor of Herat he sent a letter (back) to the governor saying,

Mirza Yusuf or someone else should be appointed to Mashhad on behalf of the government of Afghanistan and similarly someone should be appointed as news writer in Herat on behalf of the government of Iran so that the thread of cordiality and friendship of both governments remain secure and not be referred to others to negotiate.

This reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty in a report from the governor of Herat and it seemed acceptable to the world-adorning nature. Therefore a royal farman went out to the governor of Herat telling him to write to the *wālī* of Khurasan informing him that His Royal Highness has wholeheartedly (lit: with the word *labbayka*) accepted the desires of the government of Iran and saying that until the return of the shah of Iran (from Mashhad), the government must (only) send its person in secret to Herat. After the shah's return, in accordance with the dictates and exigencies of the time, he can stay there openly. At this point, the news writers for Afghanistan were free to stay in Mashhad but the government of Iran, with an eye to its own best interests, did not send anyone to Herat.

*Assigning a News Writer in Secret to Qandahar and the Opening of Negotiations
over the Sistan Border*

On the twenty-second of Sha^oban/23 April, notwithstanding the fact that Shayr Muhammad, one of Qazi Sa^od al-Din Khan's retainers, had been an undercover news writer in Qandahar for a long time, without replacing him, His Majesty named ^oAbd Allah the son of Arbab Khalil Fushanji as secret news writer in Qandahar and he went there from Mazar-i Sharif. He moved into one of the houses of traitors to the government which the chancellery had confiscated and devoted himself to his work.

During this time, a certain Mirza Zaynal, at the order of ^oAli Akbar Khan *sartip*, son of Amir ^oAlam Khan Qa^oini, set out for Gardan Rig and Zirrah to collect the revenues (*bāj wa kharāj*) owed by owners of flocks and nomads (lit: desert dwellers). He traveled through desert and wasteland until he reached the place called Shaqq al-Nahr Taraqu where at some point in the past they had drawn water from the Hirmand River and irrigated a substantial area of land. He observed the remains of ancient palaces (*imārāt*) which lay beneath the ground there and, regretting (the sight), he had the idea of again causing water to flow through the silted-up and blocked canal and make that region once again flourish. Gilan Khan Barakza^oi and Sad Bashi Arsalah Khan, Afghan border guards stationed at Qal^oah-i Fath in the district of Chakhansur, learned about the peregrinations and arrival of Zaynal in that region, and sent Dahbashi Mihrdil Khan to him with the message asking, for what reason does he enter the territory of Afghanistan impulsively and without permission? so that depending on his answer they would do whatever seemed appropriate under the circumstances. / **641/** Because of their message, Zaynal turned back towards Sistan and sent them a letter and informed them that, contrary to the real purpose of his mission, he had come to that region to survey the border dividing Afghanistan and Iran, had now turned back, and had no further plans (there). Since the Afghan border guards had forbidden him, they themselves must now inspect the border between the two countries with their own eyes and verify that no violations would arise. Each one would know where his place is and would not dare to set foot on the territory of the other. After this letter of his arrived, the contradictions in what

Zaynal said became clear to supporters of the government, thanks to a letter sent to Mawla Dad Khan the governor of Pusht-i Rud and the locum tenens of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, governor of Farah, by Muhammad Riza Khan, the son of Kamal Khan Baluch who had been summoned by farman to Kabul and now was with His Majesty in Turkistan. These contradictions were revealed because in his letter Muhammad Riza Khan said that Mirza Zaynal was in Gardan Rig and Zirrah to assess the *bāj* tax, that he returned home without achieving his goal when he saw that the flock owners and desert dwellers of that region were Afghans and were on their own land and that he told Amir °Alam Khan, “The Sistani owners of flocks are all going to Gardan Rig and Zirrah and are not paying the *bāj* tax. The Taraqu canal should be made to flow again so that people in the far corners of Sistan will pay the *bāj* and the *kharāj*.” Because of what he said, Amir °Alam Khan ordered him to restore the Taraqu Canal. To sum up, the governor of Qandahar found out what was going on in a report and referred the matter to Akhundzadah Faqir Muhammad Khan, the border guard of Chakhansur, to finally resolve, an account of which will come in due course, God willing.

His Majesty Resolves to Conquer the Hazarahjat and His Appointment of a Qazi in Aqchah

On the twenty-fifth of Sha°ban/26 April Mulla Awliya Qul Khan °Arab and Mulla Habib Allah Khan were honored and privileged by appointment to the posts of qazi and mufti respectively of Aqchah. Mulla Haqq Nazar Khan was distinguished by appointment as court clerk (*muḥarrir*) and Mulla Fazl Zahir Khan as bailiff (*ra°is*) of the court and they all left Mazar-i Sharif for Aqchah.

During this time, some of the leaders of the Hazarah rebel territory like °Ali Asghar *mihtar*, Iqbal °Ali, Kalb Husayn Khan Zawuli, and the qazi, Muhammad °Askar all dwelling in Hajaristan and °Ali Naqi *mihtar* and others to whom farmans of counsel, reconciliation, and reassurance had been sent accompanied by Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan Sih Pay, as has been previously noted, and had been delivered to each one of the leaders and all of them had turned the face of pride towards obedience and loyalty as a way of holding on to power and glory, now, worried lest their people would refuse to cinch the belt of allegiance to the government and embarrass them, wrote to His Highness and asked that he send an army and artillery so that whoever turned his face from the “bidding and forbidding” (*amr wa nahy*) of the government they could make obedient with the help (of the army and artillery). His Majesty, who because of the trouble caused by the Andari, Taraki, °Ali Khayl, the mountains areas of Mangal, Shinwar, and Lamqan, Nur Muhammad Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and others, from the beginning of his reign until now which has consumed nine lunar years and four days during which he has not spent not one month in a year, one week in a month, one day in a week, and one night in a day free of fighting and strife on the part of evildoers, rebels, and foolish people, now that he was relieved of this fighting, on receiving the letters of the Hazarah leaders he thought it time to

put into effect an idea he had long had in his mind which was to conquer the Hazarahjat. So on the eighth of Ramazan/8 May farmans went out to the governors of Ghaznin, Qandahar, Pusht-i RudSiqan, and Kahmard, to men like Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, Mawla Dad Khan, and Mir Badal Beg whose jurisdictions surrounded the mountains of the Hazarahjat to the east, south, and north. The farmans told them each to appoint two men of intelligence and integrity to go into the Hazarahjat mountains and reconnoiter the distances, the easy and difficult places, the curved and straight roads, the places for marching and those where the army can camp, where the roads pass through gorges and narrow defiles, the size of the population dwelling therein, and their inhabited and abandoned places. Having traveled manzil by manzil (through the Hazarahjat) they should all meet with him in Mazar-i Sharif in order to correctly and according to the reality inform His Majesty so that by which they could travel with how big an army /642/ and how much equipment. The governors' assignment of people to gather intelligence on the mountain region of the Hazarahjat after the receipt of this farman will be recounted in due course, God Most High willing.

Also at this time His Majesty issued an order to General Ghaws al-Din Khan, who was stationed in Maymanah, to build a bridge over the Murghab River.

During this time Field Marshal Faramarz Khan in accordance with a farman issued in his name, had sent to Turkistan 234 sons of the leaders of the districts (*bulūkāt*) of Herat for service in the regular army. When they arrived in Maymanah, General Ghaws al-Din Khan formed them into ranks according to military regulations and marched them off to Mazar-i Sharif, giving each one ten rupees for the expenses of the trip. When they arrived in Mazar and were honored by an audience, His Majesty singled out forty-one of them for bestowal of the ranks²¹ of *kabīān* and *kūt ḥawālah-dār*, seventeen were honored with the rank of *chahār suwārī*, and 170 others were given the rank *dū nīm suwārī*. Six of the group were young and were pleased with the promise of (such) bestowals once they attained puberty (*sinn-i bulūgh*). (His Majesty) also ordered that the *dah sawārī* khans of the Kushadah cavalry formerly of Herat who had done their service would annually provide (only) eight horsemen but would be paid for ten as an increment to their salaries. Those holding the rank of five-horsemen (*panj-sawārī*) would be paid for five but would only have to provide four. With regards to the new cavalymen he also ordered things be done just as for the veteran cavalymen, and governors and officials should consider them just like the veteran cavalymen.

The Evildoing and Raiding of the Troublesome Tribes of the Waziri, Nasiri, and Sulayman Khayl

During these events, men of the Kabul Khayl of the Waziri stole 2,800 sheep belonging to the nomads of the Katawaz district while they were en route to Wanah, 1,200 hundred riders of mares from the Nasiri had been assembled

and sworn an oath to attack the people of Katawaz and steal everything they had. The government also sought compensation for 13,000 sheep stolen by the Kharuti and the Nasiri for six men they had killed earlier. Out of willfulness, they had not put into effect the royal decrees (issued in this regard) and had refused to return the stolen sheep or pay the bloodwit for the slain men until Mihtar Ya'qub, a Katawazi, came to the royal audience seeking redress and presented his case. On the sixteenth of Ramazan/16 May His Majesty sent the noble prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, a farman telling him to provide redress, ferret out the truth and suppress falsehood. Consequently, the laudable prince opened an investigation of the tyranny of those transgressors from the thicket of stupidity and asked Sardar Shirindil Khan by farman to inform him what had happened. The matter had not yet been resolved when 400 riders from the Sulayman Khayl tribe living in Katawaz set out to raid Shinkay and Surkhay. Two hundred of them set up an ambush and the other two hundred attacked, swords flashing, a Nasiri wedding party that was taking the bride from her father's house to the groom's. They murdered twelve of the Nasiris who were escorting the camel on which the bride was seated and made off with her. When the Nasiri men found out, they went out to bury the slain and were ambushed by the other two hundred Sulayman Khayl riders and fourteen of them were killed. The Nasiris living in Darwazagi heard what had happened and 300 of them rode out to get revenge. They at once (caught and) decapitated the two hundred Sulayman Khayl and seized their horses and weapons as booty. Since this tumult and strife had occurred despite the decree of His Majesty which had been issued forbidding the Nasiri from entering Afghanistan, as noted earlier, the kind of chastisement and retaliation which would have (normally) been required did not happen.

During this time, on the twentieth of Ramazan/20 May, Muhammad Isma'il Khan, the governor of the Taraki and 'Ali Khayl, was dismissed from the governorship, due to a letter from subjects there to His Majesty complaining about his oppression and injustice, and his records were audited.

Also at this time, a special belt belonging to the servant-soothing, enemy-consuming prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, the decoration of which amounted to 120 *misqāls* of gold, was lost by Qurban 'Ali Khan Afshar, who had been honored with the office of personal attendant (*ābdārī*) to the prince. /643/ Actually, friends of his had stolen it. Notwithstanding the issuance of a royal hukm to the prince to investigate and punish the thief, because of his tendency to think well of people and his good nature, the prince, thinking that since the thief was unknown, and some of his own servants might be arrested, guided by the maxim (Qur'an VI:164) "Every soul earns only to its own account; no soul laden bears the load of another" troubled no one lest an innocent person be detained.

Also at this time, Sardar Sharif Khan Baluch passed away. From Sistan, he had earlier turned the face of hope in the direction of the (Afghan) government and attained his wishes from the bounteous table of His Majesty, as was previously recounted.

Meanwhile, when the order of His Majesty to appoint a person to reconnoiter routes (through the Hazarahjat) reached Qandahar, on the first day of Shawwal/31 May, Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor there, dispatched Sayyid Shah Najaf, a resident of Chahar Dahanah and Muhammad Jan Kandakani of the Qizilbash tribe to Uruzgan with orders to carefully survey and note all the territory between where the region of the rebellious Hazarahs (*Hazarah-i bāghī*) begins to where it ends—all highways and byways (*rāh wa bīrāh*) where an army can pass and the population density and go to to His Majesty with this information and tell him when would be a good time to pass through those people and deliver a punishing blow to those evildoers. Since they were accustomed to traveling on business into the Hazarahjat, they took with them some of the things which were in demand among the Hazarahs like thread (*nakh*), needles, matches, and other goods and set off.

During this time on the tenth of Shawwal/9 June, instructions were sent by His Majesty to Akhundzadah Faqir Muhammad Khan, the governor of Chakhansur, and the border guard there regarding a rental contract (*ijārah*) of the elders (*kadkhudāyān*) of Chakhansur who had agreed with Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Farah that their diwani taxes should be 4,000 *kharwārs* (of grain) and had given him a written *ijārah* contract in that amount. The instructions said that those elders have accepted the obligation of (paying) that amount and in future it was incumbent on him (the governor) to show his abilities and skills as a tax collector to increase the amount without causing hardship to the subjects. That is to say, he was to make the region flourish by increasing the cultivable land and the size of its population and thus the revenues to be delivered to the throne, not by extending the hand of oppression to the property of the weak or by chopping down and scattering the foundations of the citadel of society with the ax of injustice.

Also at this time, after the arrival of the royal order in the name of Mawla Dad Khan, the locum tenens of the governor of Farah, regarding the routes in and out of the Hazarahjat, he assigned Muhammad °Umar Khan and Yar Muhammad Khan to go by way of Ghur and told them to identify and provide information about all march routes, whether easy or difficult, for a royal army and deliver that information to His Majesty in Mazar-i Sharif.

*The Malicious Wishes and Intentions of Mulla Mir Muhammad of the Tajik Tribe
Dwelling in Rīzah-i Kuhistan*

During these times, it reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty in a letter from the news writer of Tikab that

eight students (*tālibān-i °ilm wa adab*) are in Shukut-i Tikab studying with Mulla Mirzaji and are engaged in acquiring (knowledge of) the sunnahs and traditions (*ādāb*). One day during a discussion of some science or other, talk turned to the institutions of the amirate and the caliphate and they were heatedly discussing (literally: put to a gallop

the roan horse of discussion) the commentary on the Qur'anic verse "Obey God, obey the Prophet, and the first in command amongst you." One of them, Mulla Mir Muhammad, the son of Marjan of the Tajik tribe of Rizah-i Kuhistan, uttered the following scathing words, 'Since the amir-sahib has expelled the akhundzadah, the throne of *'irfān*, Mulla Najm al-Din, from the country, if God ever put him at my mercy I would gouge out his eyes, put them in his hands, parade him through town and bazaar, and blacken his name in the world, so that no such ruler would ever expel a man of such purity from the land.' The others, upset by his remarks, told him to shut up, and declared, 'An insignificant bat like you cannot blot out the light of the sun and cannot harbor such an intention in his heart. Another thing is that it was Mulla Najm al-Din himself who turned his back on the government and fled from the country in ignominy. It was not that he was chastised and demeaned by the padeshah and banished. On the other hand had the padeshah banished him, it would never have occurred to us weak ones to do other than pray for the long life of his government because guided by the (above) maxim and having in mind leaders and intelligent people (*'urafā'*) /644/ we would never take any other path regarding the amir and the padishah of Islam than (what is expressed in this) "Don't debase yourselves by abandoning obedience to your sultan because the just sultan takes the place of the merciful parent so love for him what you love for yourselves and despise for him what you despise for yourselves and if he is just, ask God to give him long life and, if he is unjust, ask God to reform him because your welfare lies in the welfare of your sultan."'"¹⁰ The one whose heart was filled with rancor and hate replied, 'He has built a house of marvels in Kabul and there worships idols. What kind of Islam does he have that entitles him to call himself the "Padeshah of Islam"? Moreover, he cut off the heads of all the ghazis who fought the English.' To this they replied, 'He did not kill any ghazis. Rather, wherever he saw troublemakers, he excised them, and so patched up breaches in the kingdom.'

On the thirteenth of Shawwal/12 June, His Majesty sent a farman to the prince of heaven and earth, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, ordering him to arrest this student of selfish desires and heeder of Satan's whisperings and imprison him so that no one else would play this kind of inimical music ever again.

During this time, Mirza Rabi^c, a merchant from Qa'in, brought a number of things to His Majesty. These included carpets which His Majesty had ordered and which were manufactured in Qa'in and Birjand according to His Majesty's specifications. Also included were a double-barreled hunting gun, one woven spread (*farsh-i qālīn*) woven in Birjand, 500 *misqāls* of saffron, and 200 *qirān*

¹⁰ RM: FM gives this in Arabic so it is possibly a popular, though perhaps spurious, hadith.

rupees sent by Amir °Alam Khan Qa°ini as a present and voluntary donation (*ṣadaqah*) for the bullet which had just missed His Majesty and wounded a *ghulām bachchah* named Samandar. He presented all these things before His Majesty and all were met with the approval and satisfaction of the world-adorning nature. He paid cash for the carpets (that he had ordered) and on the fourteenth of Shawwal/13 June gave the merchant leave to return home. He also sent with him two bolts of Kashmiri silk (*abrah*), two pelts (*takhtah*) of black sable (*khazz-i ṣulamātī*), two bolts of Benares brocade (*kamkhwāb-i Banārasī*) and two bolts of Kashmiri multicolored (cloth) (*alwān-i Kashmīrī*) as gifts for Amir °Alam Khan Qa°ini. With regards to Mirza Zaynal and Sayyid Hashim who, as mentioned earlier, had come to the border of Nahr-i Taraqu (the Taraqu Canal), done some reconnoitering (*gardashī*), and then returned and reported (*wānmūdah būdand*) to Amir °Alam Khan, "The canal belongs to the government of Iran," (concerning this), His Majesty sent an order to Akhundzadah Faqir Muhammad Khan instructing him to write a letter from himself to Sartib °Ali Akbar Khan, the son of Amir °Alam Khan with the message that according to the demarcation of the border carried out by the Englishman Goldsmid, Nur Muhammad Shah Khan, the *ṣadr-i a°zam* of His late Highness Amir Shayr °Ali Khan's time, and a representative of the government of Iran, Taraqu and its canal belong to Afghanistan. In conformance with the royal order, (Akhundzadah Faqir Muhammad Khan) wrote such a letter and sent it to °Ali Akbar Khan by the hand of a certain Musa Khan. °Ali Akbar Khan, without giving any oral or written response, sent back the messenger of Akhundzadah Faqir Muhammad Khan. Resolution of this issue would await another time, as will come in due course—God willing.

Also at this time, Muhammad Isma°il Khan, the son of Muhammad Taqi Khan Jawanshayr and the former governor of Charikar, one night invited Mirza °Abd al-Husayn Khan the son of Mirza Muhammad Zaman Khan to his home (in Kabul) and he (that is Mirza °Abd al-Husayn Khan) copied out an accounts scroll of his (*tūmār-i siyāhah-i ū*) (i.e. Muhammad Isma°il Khan) and his clerk, Mirza °Abd al-Rahman Khan which dated to his era as governor and which he had in his possession. (The copy was made) for the purpose of finalizing his accounts with the chancellery (*dīwān*) so that (Mirza °Abd al-Husayn Khan) could take the original to chancellery officials and resolve the accounts while he kept the copy for himself. Through reports from news writers in Kabul this reached the justice-perceiving ears of His Majesty and on the twenty-fourth of Shawwal/23 June he sent to his most meritorious son the prince Habib Allah Khan a note written in his own decisive hand (*dastkhatt-i khāṣṣ qaṣā ikhtiṣāṣ*) instructing him to arrest him (Muhammad Isma°il Khan), compare the copy that he had had made with the original and if there were any alteration or attempt to mislead he should notify His Majesty as promptly as he could for:

these mirzas of the Qizilbash tribe (*qawm*) have been extremely shameless (lit: white of eye) and the brother of Mirza Muhammad Tahir Khan (i.e. Muhammad Isma°il Khan) ought to be strapped to the

muzzle of a cannon and blown away for they overstepped the bounds.
Make them aware that these Qizilbash mirzas should not play games
with you. The end.

Ultimately, however, outside of the copying of the one scroll no funny business or tampering with any other scrolls ever came to light and so he was released. He was (later) appointed to the office of *sar-rishtaḥ-dār* of the Maymanah bureau (*daftar*) /645/ as will come.

In a similar fashion, most of the tax assessors and collectors (*‘ummāl wa ḡubbāt*) of this tribe (the Kabul text has *maqūm* and the Tehran edition, *qawm*) in the course of time were stretched on the rack of an audit, but no malfeasance or misprision was ever found and they were spared punishment. The reason for recording these few instances here in this book is only so that people of the world will know well, from the information and recollections about this wise sovereign, that he was always attentive to everyone—individual by individual—living inside the country and in their very homes and did not let a single hour of the day or night pass in which he was negligent of executing the affairs of rule.

During this time, on the twenty-fifth of Shawwal/24 June, in conformity with a farman issued in his name—as noted above, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, sent Sayyid Baba Shah, Sayyid ‘Abd al-Wahhab, and Sayyid Muhammad Nabi, three sayyids living in the Hazarah region, to Malistan and Hajaristan, areas of “the rebel Hazarahjat.” Like the emissaries of the governors of Qandahar and Pusht-i Rud, they were to gather intelligence on the Hazarahs, go on to Mazar-i Sharif, and present the information to officials of the throne so that when a royal army was sent to the Hazarahjat to conquer it, would be fully apprised of the easy and difficult roads and of the places where it was possible to maneuver and where camps could be made.

During this time, on the third of Zi’l-Qa’dah/1 July, the Ardal Infantry Regiment, the Charyari Infantry Regiment, and the Kabuli Infantry Regiment (which was known as the “Jadidi [new] Regiment”) with four mule guns, and two hundred Taraki regular cavalymen (all) under the command of Brigadier Rahmat Khan set off for Maymanah at His Majesty’s order for the purpose of relieving (the garrison there). At a farman of summons, the garrison stationed there headed for Mazar-i Sharif.

Also at this time Mulla Sufi Khan, the qazi of Fayzabad, having passed away, on the twelfth of the month/10 July, His Majesty appointed Miyan Fazl Qadir, a man from Jalalabad, to take his (Mulla Sufi Khan’s) place as qazi of Badakhshan and he went to Fayzabad. Similarly, Mulla ‘Aziz, a Wardak, was appointed, along with Mulla Gul, a Kharuti, as muftis of the Shari‘a Court of Sangcharak and Mulla Muhammad Yunus, a man from Lahugard, had his desires fulfilled with appointment as qazi there. Mulla Mahmud Kattah Khayl was named qazi of Aqchah; Mulla Sa‘id Ahmad, a man living in Narkh Maydan was named mufti of Sar-i Pul; Mulla Darwish Jalalabadi as qazi of Khanabad; Mulla ‘Abd Allah Wardak as qazi of Taluqan; and Mulla Burhan al-Din of the

Safi tribe as mufti of Rustaq. All were honored with robes of honor comprising turbans and overcoats made of broadcloth (*māhūt*), were sent off, went to their designated places, and undertook the resolution of *sharʿī* disputes and litigation (*mukhāsamāt wa murāfaʿāt*). The two men who were performing the duties of mufti and qazi in Mazar-i Sharif were left in place and not changed.

During the events inscribed here, Mir Abu Talib Khan, the brother of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan the former *mustawfī* whose dismissal from the post of *mustawfī* of the central chancellery (*dīwān-i aʿlā*) was described at the beginning of this auspicious book (i.e. volume), was now dismissed as *sar-rishtah-dār* of the royal harem (of His Majesty's wife) as a result of some funds which he misappropriated from that Eve-like model of chastity. At His Majesty's order he left Mazar-i Sharif for Kabul and Mirza Muhammad Yusuf Khan of the Tajik tribe of Ghaznin who had been appointed *sar-rishtah-dār* of the *Fārigh-khaṭṭī* Bureau but had not yet begun to receive the *sar-rishtah-dār* salary, was ordered by farman to audit carefully his and the treasurer, Jan Muhammad Khan's, accounts and provide evidence of any shortfall or embezzlement that they might have brought to pass. Thus through investigation (*ʿim-āwarī*) and scrutiny, a certain sum was established as owed by Mir Abu Talib Khan and the chastity-twin harem purchased his properties in exchange for the outstanding balance and received a legal bill of sale (*qibālah-i sharʿīya*).

The Mirzadahs of Badakhshan Once Again Light the Fires of Sedition

During the above-recorded events, the evil-twin mirzadahs of Badakhshan who had fled in dread of the royal army into the valley of ignominy, again returned from the territory of Bukhara and, with the encouragement of the Mir of Kulab, incited the people of Khalashak a place located on the banks of the Oxus (Jayhun) River and of Naw Shahr to join them. Also they suborned a certain Dahbashi Ghulam, a man whom Muhammad Yusuf Khan the governor of Rustaq had sent there to serve the (Afghan) government. They (the mirzadahs?) sent one of the mirzadahs, Nasr Allah to incite the men of Dih Dank (Dang) and a Murad ʿAli with a number of (other) evildoers men to Sadah and Yalur to incite those people and raise the banners of uprising. One night they attacked Anjir, a dependency of Chah Ab, drew up battle lines with its people and killing and injury ensued. Muhammad Sharif Khan Chah Abi, fearing his house would be destroyed, fled in the dark of night, and (only) after a hundred difficulties and completely exhausted /646/ arrived among the (government's) subjects living in that region and sought safety. In this situation, the people of Par Darya and Dih Dang, at the encouragement, incitement and provocation of those who had come among them and instigated all of them to rise up, set out on the road of evildoing with Khwajah Baha al-Din on the road to Yangi Qalʿah. Having learned of the flare-up of fighting, Colonel Farhad Khan sent ʿAla al-Din Khan *risālah-dār* with 100 regular cavalymen to defend the edge of the Oxus River and notified Nur Muhammad Khan to send the horsemen under his command to the banks of the river and to Chah Ab so that

the people of those regions would not be thrown into turmoil by those evildoers. Similarly, Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Rustaq dispatched Mangbashi Dawlat Beg with forty riders to guard the edge of the Oxus. in the midst of this strife, Haqq Dad Khan, the governor of Wakhan, departed this earthly existence and other officials of that region, at the instructions of His Majesty, sent a letter to the Mir of Kulab saying that it was with his help that the mischievous and contemptible mirzadahs had turned the face of strife in this direction and had begun to raise havoc. If it were not the case that he was aiding them, then how had they been able to pass through the region that belonged to him and become the occasion for evil and turmoil? Whatever the case, he should stop complaining about the sending of an army to the border and cease saying that the Afghan army was harassing and injuring him.

Because of the dispatch of cavalymen to strategic places along the banks of the river, the band of evildoers realized that they were in an abject and weak position and scurried off to the hole of ignominy. The elders (*āqsiqālān*) of Qataghan and Badakhshān, whose summoning to the presence of His Majesty has been related above, were given leave and returned to their homes with several other people from Shughnan. One of these leaders, Arbab Sahib Nazar Shughni, who with several other men had rejected the honor of going to His Majesty's presence and given aid to the loss-inducing mirzadahs, began again to raid. Learning of the problem from servants of the government stationed there His Majesty immediately dispatched four banners (*bayraq*) of Sakhlu infantry which were stationed in Fayzabad and ordered them to go to the aid of Fath Muhammad Khan, the governor of Zibak, and join his forces. In addition, Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, the brother of Mir Ahmad Shah Khan, sent the elders of Badakhshan, who had been given leave by His Majesty to return to their homes, along with their tribal followers to Shughnan and sent as well several rifles and cartridges to Fath Muhammad Khan who was trying to defend himself against enemy attacks. Meanwhile, the Shughnan rebels, in fear of the royal army, had sent their wives and children to Ghand and Bartang while the men had ensconced themselves at Sang-i Surakh and sat waiting for battle to begin.

During this time, Na'ib °Ashur Muhammad Khan and Qazi Ghulam Nabi Khan who with several leaders of the Wakhan district like Arbab Mubarakshah, Arbab Ghulam Haydar, Arbab Aman Beg, Arbab Tila Beg, Arbab Tamasha, and Arbab Mazhab Shah had gone to the justice-based throne as well-wishers, His majesty favored them all with gifts of robes of honor and then leave to return home to Wakhan.

Also Brigadier Sayyid Shah Khan was promoted to the elevated rank of general in reward for the services which he had performed. A farman of recommendation (*farmān-i sifārash*) in his name was given to those arbabs and (His Majesty) sent him off to Badakhshan. He also ordered that two infantry regiments and 200 regular cavalry should set out for Badakhshan from Mazar-i Sharif and set matters to rights in that province for its soldiers and subjects. Further, having taken Na'ib °Ashur Muhammad and the abovementioned arbabs with him to Fayzabad, he should send them on to Wakhan. A farman was also

sent to Colonel Farhad Khan to set off for Fayzabad with two infantry regiments and 100 horsemen stationed in Taluqan, one infantry regiment from Rustaq and an artillery battery. Of this total, he was to leave 100 men in Taluqan and 100 others who had already been assigned to defend the region of Khwajah Ghar and Hazrat-i Imam were to be left as they were.

Similarly, a farman went out to General Katal Khan ordering him to head for Badakhshan from Kabul with one infantry and one cavalry regiment. All these precautions (*istihkāmāt*) and dispatching of forces was in case the turmoil caused by the mirzadahs was at the instigation of the Russian government and to prevent internal strife from leading to war with an outsider and unprepared military forces giving rise to weakness. To sum up, the turmoil caused by the evil mirzadahs becoming generally known, royal officials undertook to stamp out that malicious group and defend themselves. Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan called on officers stationed in Ragh to protect him and so they sent him a force of 100 cavalry, 100 regular infantry, two mule guns, and 100 Sakhlu infantry for security.

Also at this time /647/ 100 Kushadah cavalry from Darrah-i Suf under the banner of Sharaf °Ali Khan *sartīb* were sent at His Majesty's order from Mazar-i Sharif to General Sayyid Shah Khan.

During this time, Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan who had sent a tribal force from Fayzabad and its environs to Shughnan, as previously related, after the return of those sent to help out in Ragh marched from Fayzabad to Baharak. From there, at Chakiran, he clashed with 100 enemy cavalry, killing eight of them and capturing twelve. The rest fled towards Jarm. The governor (of Jarm) sent the regular cavalry there after them and they slew six with the sword and captured another ten and brought them back in chains. At the two previous places not a government supporter sustained injury but here (at Jarm), Mir Akhur Muhammad Rajab Khan, was wounded. Now, the surviving enemy cavalry no longer considered themselves to have the capability to continue the struggle and so fled towards Shughnan. People along the way stole most of their weapons and horses and only with the greatest hardship and trouble did they reach Shughnan alive. Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan let those who had captured them keep all the horses and weapons of those despicable people and took nothing for himself.

During this tumult, Fath Muhammad Khan the governor of Zibak who, as previously mentioned, had set out to destroy a group of evildoers, reached the fortress of Ishkashim. At first the men in the fortress took an oath on the Glorious Qur'an and for one full day assisted him in fighting the evildoers but in the middle of the night of the second day they turned their faces away from the government and, showing no regard for the integrity of the Qur'an (and their oath on it), took Fath Muhammad Khan prisoner and handed him over to the evildoers. They carried him off to Shughnan and then sent him on to Darwaz.

During these disorders, Timur Shah Khan, the brother of Akbar Khan, threw a certain Khwajah Nazar into the Oxus River and he drowned. The people of Wakhan, who were enemies of the people of Shughnan and were serving the

government, learned of the detention and dispatch of Fath Muhammad Khan to Darwaz, bound the belt of service to the government with La'l Beg Khan the son of Na'ib °Ashur Muhammad Khan, who was en route with General Sayyid Shah Khan and had not yet reached his house, and with Nazir Haqq Dad Khan, and together they prepared to defend against the evildoers. They reinforced the fortress of Panjah, undertook to protect Zakat Begi who resided in the fortress and kept watch over him with respect and deference, so he would not be captured, like Fath Muhammad Khan, the governor of Zibak, by the evildoers.

Meantime, on the twentieth of Zi Qa'dah/18 July, General Sayyid Shah Khan with the army under his banner with which he had left Mazar-i Sharif for Badakhshan, as noted above, reached the district of Shughnan with Na'ib °Ashur Muhammad Khan and the arbabs of Wakhan. There he named an officer to watch over the crops of the people so that even though they had raised the standard of revolt and were hastening towards the tight places of waywardness, their crops would not be destroyed and eaten by the army's cattle and camels. Frightened by the arrival of General Sayyid Shah Khan in that land, the evildoers fled to Rawshan and sought refuge there. They made a stand at Sadwij, where they threw up a sturdy breastworks. Sayyid Shah Khan ordered 400 regular infantrymen and two cannons to Sadwij to strike the enemy. But the contemptible evildoers abandoned their breastworks because of the approach of the army braves and fled into the mountains. They took refuge at Yal Darband and established a strong position.

During this time, the Mir of Darwaz released Fath Muhammad Khan from custody. He went to Fayzabad by way of Kulab, and from there quickly made his way to Muhammad Yusuf Khan in Rustaq, and then joined the entourage of Sayyid Shah Khan. From there he was summoned to Mazar-i Sharif by farman to the presence of His Majesty where he was the object of royal kindness. Also, Muhammad Isma'īl Khan, the youngest son of Na'ib °Ashur Muhammad Khan, who was in the corps of royal *ghulām bachchahs*, was given leave from the compassion-manifesting royal presence to go home. En route, he was captured by some evil and corrupt people who sent him to a Khitay (Chinese) border guard. Out of regard for his status as a *ghulām bachchah* of His Majesty, the border guard sent him on to his father in Wakhan along with four Qirghiz and he arrived home safely.

General Sayyid Shah Khan diligently working to extirpate all evil-doing attacked every place they had erected sangars and made many of the evildoers taste the flashing blade and be the targets of fiery rifle and cannon shots. He inflicted casualties and took many prisoners until the enemies of the government and the evildoers of that province were uprooted and fled to Darwaz. There they were all rounded up by the mir and he prevented them from again lighting the fires of trouble. After achieving this victory, General Sayyid Shah Khan /648/ undertook to reorganize the affairs of this region in an easy frame of mind. He began to conciliate the people of Rawshan, Shakh Darrah, and Bartang and with skillful prudence (*bi-tadbīr*) won them over and returned them to their homes. He ordered three "banners" of Sakhlu infantry, 100 regular cavalrymen from the

Haydari Regiment, 100 infantrymen from the Miyan Rahim Khan, and 200 infantrymen from the Hazari Regiment, all under the command of Colonel Farhad Khan to garrison Rawshan. With the remaining forces he stationed himself in Fayzabad.

On the Maymanah front to which Brigadier Rahmat Khan had gone with a contingent of forces from Mazar-i Sharif to relieve the troops there as was mentioned above, having arrived there, on the twenty-first of Zi Qa°dah/19 July its garrison came to Mazar-i Sharif to serve.

During this time, the Nasiri people, who because of their own evildoing had been forbidden by His Majesty from entering Afghanistan—as was previously recounted—but under the guidance of the governor of Qandahar, Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, whom they had secretly visited and at whose advice they had entered Afghanistan and written a humble letter begging forgiveness for their misdeeds, sending it along with a copy of the Immortal Miraculous Word to the throne, wrote:

Notwithstanding the shameful and hostile (things we have done), we turn the face of hope towards the threshold of the generous and beneficent padishah, make God, His Prophet and His Qur’an our intermediary, and hope for forgiveness.

On receiving this petition from the Nasiris and a letter from the governor of Qandahar, intuitively knew that it was done under the tutelage of the governor of Qandahar. Otherwise, how did a handful of desert-travelers (*ṣahrā-nawardān*) find the ability to trample upon a royal order and become the perpetrators of things forbidden? If, out of repentance, they had wanted to be forgiven for their enmity and tyranny, as they were (*hamchinānkih būdand*) they should have written the petition from outside the country, obtained permission and then entered the country. They should not have violated of the royal order by first coming into the country and then sending the petition. In any event, on the twenty-third of Zi’l-Qa°dah/ 21 July in his own hand he wrote the governor of Qandahar a letter of reproof and told him,

You uninformed governors annoy me no end! You should be the object of the wrath of God for not awaking from the sleep of negligence. Day and night, by your words and deeds, you upset me. I want God to destroy you! Now that the Nasiri are inside the country, you tell me! God damn you ignorant people! You didn’t have among you a single man or horse (to inform me)? What are you doing? The far corners of the country are being destroyed and thrown into confusion by the likes of you governors. When I turn my attention in one direction you destroy things in another direction. It is well known that not a single real man is left in my tribe (*qawm*). All are just a bunch of queers (*khunṣā-yi-mushakkal*). Today, I’m ashamed that you’re (part of my) family. What can I do? It’s probably God’s will that thanks to you, the

Muhammadza'i tribe is being ruined because of actions like this of yours. I have no hope and daily my despair increases. In light of your thoughtlessness and ignorance which I see, the affairs of all (other) men are improving while thanks to you the Muhammadza'i tribe is in decline. May the consequences of these ignorant things which have taken root in the minds and hearts of Muhammadza'i people be for the best. As for me, I consider all of them destitute beggars and utterly depraved. It is well known that the total disappearance of the Muhammadza'i tribe is near because an eighty-year old man of their's, doesn't have the wit and intelligence of a sixteen-year-old from another tribe let alone that of a young man (*jawān*)! The great master wrote:

[verse] Because the people of the world are so unconscious//the world looks like a house of images [i.e. no one has a grip on reality]

This Muhammadza'i tribe will cast itself to the wind of annihilation because of its arrogance, stinginess, envy, self-worship, and self-indulgence. Now that the Nasiri people have entered the country, I have to accept their apology because of the Qur'an of God and that is why I have summoned their leaders. Be careful that the people of those regions don't attack the Nasiri because of the hukm which I issued forbidding them to come to Afghanistan because you yourself out of stupidity allowed them to enter and failed to prevent them from entering the territory of Afghanistan. Beware that you don't make their entering a cause for fighting which would lead to trouble and lengthen the cord of corruption. When their leaders come, I will make the necessary arrangements and place the requisite restrictions on them. The end.

This same day, conciliatory manshurs of prohibition whose aim was to conciliate were issued by His Majesty from Mazar-i Sharif addressed to Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin; the leaders of the Tukhi, °Ali Khayl, Taraki, Hutaki, Nasiri and other tribes along with numerous proclamations and sent to the good and just prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan in Kabul. The prince was told to send them all by the hand of a regular cavalryman to each person whose name was written on the documents /649/ so that they would give up fighting, their leaders would go to the sublime threshold and some settlement would be placed on the affairs of all who are now engaged in bloodshed, and they would cease killing and plundering each other. The Nasiris, who were in some apprehension because of their actions, sent to Mazar-i Sharif as their purported leaders four men who had no status or clan connections. In view of their lack of knowledge, His Majesty ordered the four men held and a farman went out to the Nasiri telling them to send men of knowledge and comprehension. After the arrival of this farman in Kabul, the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan sent it on to the Nasiri people accompanied by Muhammad Akbar Khan the brother of Sufi Muhammad Afzal Khan. The Nasiri

wrote back, "Those four men, whether knowledgeable or ignorant, hold absolute power of attorney for the entire Nasiri tribe. If he asks them to treat the tribe well or harshly, in either case this is agreeable to the whole tribe." They also inscribed a covenant on the margins of a page of the Glorious Qur'an and sent it back via Muhammad Akbar Khan to the compassionate court of the politically astute prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, and he forwarded it on to the brilliant presence of His Majesty where it was given the regard due the Holy Word. The resolution and solution brought to the affairs of those tribes will be described in due course, God willing.

Also at this time, Nur Muhammad Khan *pishkhidmat-bāshī* was dismissed from service and Ghulam Husayn Khan the son of Sardar Shukr Allah Khan was promoted and appointed in his stead as *pishkhidmat-bāshī*.

Also during the abovementioned events of the month of Zi Qa'dah, Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, the maternal grandfather of Prince 'Abd Allah Khan, the heir-apparent of the late Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan, passed away and attained the mercy of the Lord. He had fled to Iran with his daughter (the mother of the prince) and settled at Khwaf, one of the districts of Khurasan.

Also at this time, 3,858 Kabuli rupees were fixed as the value of soap misappropriated from the government workshop by Ghulam Haydar Khan the son of the merchant Rajab 'Ali Khan. Ghulam Haydar Khan was the superintendent (*ẓābiṭ*) of the workshop and confessed to the embezzlement. A bill was issued by the diwan for him to pay the amount to royal officials. Since the named individual had gone to Turkistan with the royal urdu and was in Mazar-i Sharif, he appealed to His Majesty and explained that he was bankrupt. His Majesty, in view of the fact that he was the son of a merchant and that his sister had been married to the late Amir Shayr 'Ali Khan, forgave him the amount. Because of this act of generosity on the part of His Majesty, the fortunate young prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan after his (Ghulam Haydar Khan's) return from Turkistan also was generous to him and did not allow any need of his to go unmet. Concerning (Ghulam Haydar Khan), he came to hold the post of steward (*khānah-sāmānī*) of the Bustan Palace. After this lak-forgiving sovereign (His Majesty) passed away (in 1901), since that palace was his private residence, at the order of His Highness the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion (Habib Allah Khan) His Majesty was to be buried there prior to the construction of his domed tomb. But the aforementioned Ghulam Haydar Khan, who had appropriated and stolen things that belonged to that fortune-surrounded palace, one night set fire to it and burned it down. Its roof, being covered with oiled metal (? *az āhan-i rawghan zādah*), also completely burned. Because of these losses which he had caused, His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion, ordered his nose cut off, and, satisfied with that, ordered no other punishment. Details of the generosity of this perceptive sovereign and an account of the damage caused by Ghulam Haydar Khan will be written down in volume four in their appropriate places, God willing.

Also during this time, Sayyid Ja'far Khan Kunari, the governor of Ghuri, due to the obedience-requiring farman of His Majesty which had been issued in

his name and reached him, escorted by twenty Kushadah cavalry, arrested twenty-three sayyids living in the district of Hazarah-i Shaykh °Ali, men like Shah Ghulam, the son of Sayyid Isma°il; Shah Musafir, the son of Sayyid Jabir; Shah Sikandar, the son of Sayyid Qalandar; Sayyid Ahmad, the son of Shah °Ali Safar; Shah Tawakkul, the son of Sayyid Mirza; Sayyid Tahir, the son of Sayyid Shad °Ali, Sayyid Shahinshah, the son of Sayyid Khan Baba; Sayyid °Askar, the brother of the aforementioned Sayyid Tahir; Sayyid Safdar, the son of Shah Bayza; Sayyid Amir Shah, the son of Shah Almas; Sayyid Hasan, the son of the abovementioned Sayyid Jabir; Sayyid Musafir, the son of Sayyid °Ata Allah; Sayyid Akram, the son of Sayyid Mahdi; Sayyid Zumurrud, the son of Sayyid Akram; Sayyid Ghaybi Shah, the son of Sayyid Mahmud; Sayyid Darab, the son of Sayyid Hatim; Sayyid Faqir, the son of Sayyid Mahmud; Sayyid Tawakkul, the son of Sayyid Mirza; and Sayyid Isma°il, the son of Sayyid Ganj °Ali. These men, at the time /650/ of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's rebellion, had trod a path of support for him through the wasteland of waywardness and had incited the people of Shaykh °Ali to rise up. After arresting them, (Sayyid Ja°far Khan) sent them to Mazar-i Sharif escorted by these (Kushadah) cavalrymen.

Also, officials in Qataghan detained and chained twenty-one of the nawkars and relatives of Mir Sultan Murad Khan, whose enmity and damage to the government was previously recorded, and sent them to Kabul, at His Majesty's order, along with their wives and children, another sixty-seven people above and beyond those already arrested. They were to pass their days there as farmers. For all of these people, as well as all those who had opposed the government and were punished for their despicable deeds, out of kingly compassion the line of pardon was drawn through the list of all their sins during the reign of the just and forgiving padishah, His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion, and they were given leave to return to their original homes. An account of the favor and kindness of this merciful and oppression-dispersing ruler vis a vis the people dwelling in the kingdom of Afghanistan will be recorded in the fourth volume of this book, God willing.

During these days, men living in Sapid Chihr and Dasht-i Riyut attacked and killed a number of *jizya*-paying infidels living in Gar. They also took one woman and two men captive and took them away with them. Shayr Muhammad Khan (the governor of Panjshayr) asked to take the captives and return them to their homes but those who had them refused and (instead) sent the aforementioned woman and another young female to Siraj al-Din Khan, the former governor of Panjshayr who at this time held the post of governor of Andarab, as a gift. They held on to the two male captives until word of what had happened reached His Majesty in a report from the news writer there. First, by a manshur, he asked Siraj al-Din Khan (to return the captives) and then after his sincere reply (and return of them), sent the people there a farman of prohibition and one they were to follow telling them that they were to return those two people to their homes, never again perpetrate such a thing, and not trouble any infidels who pay the *jizya*. Otherwise, they would be subject to severe punishment. After the arrival of that farman, those two captives were freed and

no one else of those people was bothered again.

Also at this time, His Majesty who for a long time had pondered the idea of conquering Kafiristan, bestowed stipends on a number of recent converts to Islam like Dur Muhammad, Muhammad Dad, Muhammad Rafiq, °Ali Shayr, Wali Muhammad, and Shahbaz and on the first of Zi'l-Hijjah/29 July sent them into the mountains of Kafiristan to scout out the roads suitable for the military, the size of the population of infidels, and where they lived and report to the governor of Andarab, Siraj al-Din Khan on the conditions there. he in turn was ordered to inform the throne so that when the time came to send an army to conquer Kafiristan, there would be good information about the narrow defiles and slippery places in the mountains and the army leaders would not encounter and problems when it came to the march routes and the sites for combat. In addition, His Majesty sent out from (Mazar-i Sharif) men from Katar—Muhammad Hasan, Mahmud, Qamar al-Din, and Mulla Wali Muhammad, the son of Latu along with Langak Din and Gawhar Khan Bartanini, recent converts to Islam—to serve as guides for Ahmad Din the son of Malik Jan Muhammad Haruki, °Aziz Muhammad, and four of his nawkars, all of them to join General Sayyid Shah Khan so that through them he could acquire knowledge about the roads and their junctions in the mountains of Kafiristan and report back to the throne so that an army could be assigned to conquer that mountain region. An account of the victorious conquest will be given in its proper place, God willing.

Also during these days, General Katal Khan who had set off for Qataghan and Badakhshan from Kabul, as previously noted, entered Farkhar and at the order of the imperial sovereign stayed there.

During these times, a Russian officer named Gramchevski Turah [B. L. Grombchevskii, according to Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia*, 156), entered Darwaz intending to make a tour of Kafiristan. By letter he requested permission from General Sayyid Shah Khan to enter the mountain region home to the infidels. The general gave his request short shrift and ordered him to go back from Darwaz and so, without gaining his goal, he returned whence he came. At the order of His Majesty, Sayyid Shah Khan confiscated all the weapons of the people living in Badakhshan and deposited them in the royal arsenal. As a fine, he collected 2,000 Kabuli rupees from people who had sided with the evildoers because of one mule gun completely destroyed in the battle between Sardar °Abd Allah Khan and the mirzadachs /651/ and deposited that sum in the government treasury.

At this same time, His Majesty ordered the construction of a public audience hall in Mazar-i Sharif and it was completed in a short time. In the Musafir Khan Park (*bāgh-i Musāfir Khān*) a tower was erected for firing the midday gun and a mighty fortress was ordered built in Dih Dadi which was completed in a short period of time.

Meantime, the governor of Qandahar, Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, as a consequence of the negotiations, described earlier, that he had had with English officials over the location of a rail station at Chaman, on the fourth of Zi'l-Hijjah/1 August he traveled there from Qandahar. When he stopped at Qanat,

belonging to the Nurza'i people and located adjacent to the railway, he met with officials of Baluchistan drew up a map of that region and then returned (to Qandahar). He sent the map to His Majesty. Because of his trip, people of the Achakza'i tribe, thinking that with his permission, the English would be building a rail station at Chaman and His Majesty would not know about it, out of national pride (*ghayrat-i millat*) and as a service to the government since they were all backward hillbillies and knew nothing of the government's agreements, took it upon themselves to harm the English officials and like thieves in the dark of night surrounded the fort at Chaman, opened fire on the fort and the people inside it, then withdrew as daybreak approached and hid out in the rocky hills. The English officers inside the fort were hardpressed by the attack of the Achakza'i and pled with the governor of Qandahar to defend them and remove the mischief caused by that tribe. In reply, he wrote,

English officials know the Afghan people well and they know that these few steps to establish a railway station are uncompletely unpalatable to the temperament of the Afghan people and hence they feel free to injure and cause trouble to the English.

In sum, one night the Achakza'is (again) targeted the fort with their bullets and seriously wounded one of its regular infantrymen until the English had enough. Then the commissioner of Baluchistan by letter requested a meeting with the governor of Qandahar so that with his assistance and agreement an end could be brought to the trouble being caused to the garrison of Chaman by the Achakza'i. He informed His Majesty about the commissioner's request and His Majesty sent him a farman telling him to reply in writing to the commissioner of Baluchistan as follows:

My first meeting with you concerning the location of the rail station took place with the permission of His Majesty. Now, too, if there is some issue between the two governments and such an order should be issued by His Majesty, meetings will be held. Otherwise, with regards to some unknown Afghans shooting (at the fort), the (Afghan) government is not responsible because these kinds of things are happening due to (those people's) unhappiness with the creeping encroachment of the officials of the English government, not because there is any instruction (for them to do so). Rather, the Afghan people are responding according to what comes naturally to them. If English officials know who the shooters are and they are subjects of Afghanistan, then of course then of course the process of punishing them will go forward.

When this letter of the governor of Qandahar reached the commander (*kumāndik* ?) of Baluchistan, he fell silent and said nothing more.

At the time of the night assault, they killed a landlord named Muhammad

Ibrahim Khan near the fort of Chaman and made off with all his money and belongings. The (political) agent of Baluchistan arrested on suspicion a number of Achakza'i men who had had nothing to do with his murder and sent them to Muhammad Ya'qub Khan, the governor of Kadni, for him to make inquiries. Because these men could not be accused of murder, according to the Holy Shari'ah, he released them all and conducted no investigation.

During these recorded events, a fever struck the noble prince of perfect qualities, Sardar Habib Allah Khan but after six or seven days, Most High God granted him the favor of (a restoration of) full health and the skirts of hope of the poor and orphaned were filled by the distribution of voluntary alms which the ladies of the harem and the leading courtiers distributed. On the joyous Festival of the Sacrifice (tenth of Zi'l-Hijjah/7 August), the highest officials of the government and the leading lights of the kingdom, the military and civilian officers (*afsarān-i niẓāmī wa mulkī*) kept the noble and laudable prince from going to the holiday prayer ground (*'idgāh*) on the recommendations of his physicians, and at his order his younger brother, the prince of royal lineage, Sardar Nasr Allah Khan, went to the holiday prayer ground royal and there with all the high- and low-born military and civilians performed the holiday prayers. After the firing of the customary artillery salute, he repaired to the public audience hall and, in accord with protocol, fulfilled the desires of the city leaders and military and civilian office-holders by the distribution of food and sweets.

Also during these days, Mahmud Khan, the governor of Aqchah, died from a burning fever (*tibb-i muḥriqah*) and on the fifteenth of Zi'l-Hijjah /652/ his brother, Shayr Muhammad Khan, was promoted to the position of governor there in his stead.

Also during this time, Muhammad Sharif Khan, the son of the late Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan the *wālī* of Maymanah whose father—as was related above—had been killed while in service to the government at the hands of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, was honored by His Majesty and elevated above his peers and equals with the bestowal of a *khil'at* and the rank of *wālī* of Maymanah and on the twenty-second of Zi'l-Hijjah/19 August was given leave and set off for Maymanah in the company of his supporters and leaders of Maymanah who had been honored with the privilege of making obeisance at the sublime threshold. These included: Sultan Khan, Mirza Abu'l-Fayz Khan, Sartib 'Awaz Badal Khan, Kattah Beg Qara'i, Turah Beg, Bahram Beg, Yuzbashi 'Inayat Allah, Mangbashi Dawlat Beg, Wazir Beg, Mangbashi Sa'id Murad, Mangbashi and Ishikaqasi Abar, 'Abd al-Rasul Muharram, Muhammad Murad *nasaqchī* and *yūzbāshī* of the Hazarah (u)ymaq, Yuzbashi Sa'd Yar, Qazi 'Abd al-Samad, and others. He also ordered that each one of them was to send to His Majesty either a son, a brother or a nephew as a hostage to ensure that they never again become the sources of trouble or the perpetrators of oppression. On the government's part, according to each one's status, they were to be assigned a stipend commensurate to his needs and to the services he was to perform. At the request of Muhammad Sharif Khan, who had had a falling-out with his brother,

Muhammad Zaman Khan, another son of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, and was uneasy about him, at His Majesty's order, Muhammad Zaman Khan was told to reside in Kabul. In addition, °Awaz Badal Khan *munshī*, Baba Jan Khan, Mangbashi Nafas Beg, Hazrat Qul Beg, Dad Khwah, Afzal Beg, Yuzbashi Sa°adat Qul, Ishan Khan, Khalifah Salih Khwajah, Ishan Muqim Khan, Khalifah Muhi al-Din, and Khalifah Mu°in Shah all of whom had sided with Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan in Maymanah at the time of his rebellion were prevented from staying there and with wives, children, and dependents were summoned to Mazar-i Sharif and from there were ordered to make their residence in Kabul. Similarly, another son of the *wālī* of Maymanah, Muhammad A°zam Khan, as well as °Abd Allah b. Muhammad Karim Khan, Awliya Qul, Isfandiyar Beg, Yuzbashi Malah, Mir Hakim Khan, Dad Khwah Khayrabadi, Baba Murad Andkhudi, Sa°adat Beg, Turah Beg Qarā°i with his son and brother, Yar Laqab Beg, Sahib Dad the son of °Ali Mardan, and Rahmdil the son of °Ata Gul Bandari, who, guided by the whisperings of Satan and selfish thoughts, at the time of the sardar's rebellion had incited the people of Maymanah to rise up and been the source of evildoing, were all summoned from Maymanah to Mazar-i Sharif and from there, at His Majesty's order, with their children and families came to Kabul under guard and made their residence there. Of them, Baba Murad Andkhudi spent his days studying religious science in one of the rooms of the Royal Madrasah and after a long time was honored by appointment to the office of deputy qazi at the Shari°ah Court of Kabul. Then, at the beginning of the auspicious reign of His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion, he was appointed to the post of qazi of Mazar-i Sharif. Sometime afterwards, he was summoned with his family to Kabul for some reason and appointed to the post of *qazī °askar*, by the sovereign wearer of the crown, the details of which will be recounted under the events of the aforementioned highness in volume four of this book. I am saying this here since his name is included (above) among those who were illwishers of the government [and I want to show you that later he changed.].

During this time, on the twenty-third of Zi°l-Hijjah, His Majesty, who, out of deference and respect for the Word of God, had summoned the leaders of the Nasiri, Taraki, and °Ali Khayl and as was previously recounted, the Nasiri had sent four lowborn nonentities to His Majesty, now sent a farman to Malik Sarwar, Malik Shadi Khan, Malik °Ata Muhammad, Malik Shahzad Khan, Malik Mir Muhammad, and Malik Nik Muhammad telling them:

whenever you tire and repent of your bad behavior and recognize that God Most High has made it incumbent on Muslims that they obey Him, His Prophet, and the Padishah of Islam, then of course, because of the belief which you have in the Qur'an you will no longer tread the path of opposition which you have been on up to now. I too because of my respect for the sacrosanctity of the Noble Qur'an which you sent me as mediation, give you a place and refuge in the shade of the protection of the government, which is the government of Islam. So, with easy minds

you must send to the threshold where the world takes refuge four of your leaders so that once I finish up with your affairs I will quickly give them leave to return home.

Since he had changed the sunlike [royal] seal—as was previously recounted—and had ordered a new seal adorn (henceforward) farmans and hukms, in order to eliminate any doubt [about the genuineness of this farman] in the minds of those people, he signed his noble name next to the seal impression. He also recommended and emphasized to the governor of Ghaznin /653/ that once the Nasiri leaders arrived in Ghaznin he should send them to Mazar-i Sharif with a trustworthy and efficient (*chust*) guide.

Also during this time, in order to control *sharʿi* litigation and disputes and disputes over business dealings (*dād wa sitad*), His Majesty fixed (a fee) throughout the kingdom of Afghanistan of one-half percent (half a rupee per hundred rupees) on general transactions such as lending money on and buying and selling the estates of deceased persons. In these cases, local qazis would assign on the estates of the deceased (the fee) to be apportioned as the share of each of the heirs according to the *sharʿi* division of estates. The fee of one-half percent was to be collected from the heirs to pay the salary of the person dividing the estate (into the legal shares) and was to be turned over to the government treasury so that no suit would arise among the heirs and each would know what was his by right. Similarly, the stipend of the person doing the division should not occasion any shortfall to the treasury of the Bayt al-Mal [provide note here]. Likewise in all other transactions such as obtaining a document (*hujjat*), making a gift (*mawhibat*), property transfer (*tamlīk*), a contract (of sale usually, *qabālah*), divorce, marriage, a claim (*daʿwā*), quittance (or quit-claim, *ibrāʾ*), etc. (forms for these were to be printed up) in his name at the Government Press and a separate ledger of standard documents (*ṣukūkāt*) would be created so that once these transactions were written down on official forms (*kāghaz-i dawlatī*) (baseless) lawsuits would no longer occur and the one-half percent fee could be collected. For documents other than those for business dealings [i.e. other than those where some financial transaction is involved] such as a promissory note (*ẓamānat khatt*), legal notices (? *aʿlām-i sharʿī*), an (official) letter written on behalf of a subject (*taʿlīqah-i raʿīyatī*), etc., a fee from one *shāhī* to one *ʿabbāsī* should be collected.

Gradually, the revenue from these kinds of documents, because of overcharging (*īẓāfah-gīrī*) by tax assessors and collectors, grew to one rupee and more. This was so that the extra amount that the collectors took over and above the set amount would be subtracted from the fee amount and accrue to the general revenues so that the compensation of the salary recipients working on (with?) this ledger (the *daftar-i ṣukūkāt*) would be readily paid. [add note re: later withholding of pay, see below]

Also during the days of the last third of Ziʾl-Hijjah, Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Sar-i Pul, bid the world farewell, and His Beneficent Majesty appointed Muhammad Hasan Khan Alikuzaʾi in his place.

Also during these recorded events, a letter from Mulla Janan and Mulla Mir Mahdi, muftis at the Shari‘ah Court of the district of Tikab which they had written to Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan in enmity to the government and sent to India, fell into the hands of wellwishers of the government and reached His Majesty. On the twenty-fifth of Zi‘l-Hijjah/22 August, an announcement went out from the throne to officials of the government in the capital to summon those two muftis, compare their signatures with the signatures on the letter, and if the two signatures match, then punish them severely so that no other person who “eats the salt” of the government perpetrates such a thing, especially mullas and sayyids, many of whom are perpetrators of this kind of thing.

During this time, Sayyid Najaf, the son of Sultan Shah, for whom the Hazarah people held a high opinion and whom they trusted, arrived in Mazar-i Sharif along with a merchant, Muhammad Khan of the Qizilbash tribe who because of his business dealings in the Hazarahjat knew all the Hazarah leaders. The governor of Qandahar, as discussed above, had sent them to scout out the routes through the Hazarahjat. Sayyid Baba Shah, Sayyid ‘Abd al-Wahhab, and Sayyid Nabi, men sent by the governor of Ghaznin, and ‘Abd al-Rasul Khan Saduza‘i and ‘Abd al-Nabi of the Baruti tribe likewise had been assigned by the governor of Pusht-i Rud for this same duty and they all now arrived in Mazar-i Sharif and were received in audience. His Majesty, observing that they had brought excellent intelligence on the routes of the Hazarahjat and had provided, as was the goal, a map of the easy and difficult places of that mountainous region along with the places for stopping, marching, and camping, assigned to each of them a monthly stipend of thirty-six rupees as well as a stipend of twelve rupees to each of their attendants and ordered that they were to collect it in cash from the treasury month after month.

Also during these days, the most noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan, in accordance with a farman which His Majesty issued in his name, sent Ghulam Haydar Khan with plans for building a fortress in the Paywar Pass and ordered him to build one there large enough for a garrison of one hundred regular infantrymen who would provide security for people traveling through that region and protect them from the depredations and thievery of the people living there. Its purpose also was to make it impossible for evildoers and artisans of enmity inside the country from leaving the country. Ghulam Haydar Khan went there, built the fort ordered by the noble prince in the Paywar Pass and then returned. Later, a group of salaried government people were sent to garrison the fort and devote themselves to safeguarding the roads.

During all this, Sar Buland the son of Qasim of the Kharuti tribe escorted eleven Hindus living in Dirah Isma‘il Khan, along with 16,000 English *chuhrah-shāhī* rupees worth of their trade goods to the district of Gilan, according to a promissory note (or note of guarantee—*zamānat-i khaṭṭ*) which he had given to officials of the English government saying that after so that after they sold their goods (at Gilan) he would escort them back to their homes. But the Hindus /654/ were unable to sell their goods before the return of the nomad Afghans (to Gilan), and so they stayed there. Sar Buland then went off leaving

these Hindus to sell their goods and once they had done so, and having received the revenues from the sales, to return to Dirah Isma'īl Khan [without an escort]. Malik Muqarrab Khan, a man of the Sulayman Khayl, collected a sum from them (the Hindus), gave an undertaking to bring them (safely) to Dirah (Isma'īl Khan) and then accompanied them as a protective escort (*badraqagī*). Arriving at the third manzil at the edge of the district of Wazkhwah, they camped. Malik Muqarrab Khan himself, despite the fact that he was a retainer of Baz Muhammad Khan, the grandson (*nawādah*) of Khanagi Khan, a "salt-eater" at the government's bountiful table, showed no fear of the government and incited the Sulayman Khayl living in the vicinity of that manzil, and, together with them, murdered all the Hindus, made off with twenty thousand rupees cash and fourteen of their riding horses, and threw an inventory listing part of their goods into the fire and burned it up. This is the kind of criminal act those people used to commit often and still commit.

The Events of One Thousand Three Hundred and Seven Hijri Corresponding to the Tenth Year of the Powerful Sultanate of His Majesty Which Means the Tenth Year [Sic]

On the third of Muharram/30 August in a letter from Sardar Shirindil Khan concerning Malik Rahmat Shah Khan Waziri who had turned the face of hope in the direction of this government with wives, children, and a number of his mounted retainers and had gone to Sardar Shirindil Khan in Khust who had assigned to him a sum of money from the government treasury in the name of hospitality, His Highness was informed, "he is in dire straits and because of a lack of means is spending his days in great difficulty." Because of this letter of the sardar, he received instructions from His Beneficent and Generous Majesty to report the pretext for his coming and not having sufficient means to cover the normal expenses so that an arrangement can be made for a stipend and an allowance for him. The favors which His Majesty extended to this honorable person will be written in its proper place, God willing.

Also in these times, on the ninth of Muharram/5 September, the days of the life of Qazi Mir Jamal al-Din Khan Pashdi came to an end in Mazar-i Sharif. As he was a pious and righteous man his death occasioned sorrow and regret on the part of His Majesty. Similarly, the appointed time arrived for Mir Yusuf Beg Hazarah of Day Zangi and he passed away. As was noted above, he had brought his services and his horsemen to the auspicious retinue of the sovereign of celestial rank in Mazar-i Sharif along with other mirs of the Hazarahs (of Day Zangi) with their horsemen. His Majesty bestowed his rank of "mir," along with an expensive *khil'at*, on Muhammad Husayn Beg, his son, who was enrolled in the royal corps of *pīshkhidmats* and thus greatly honored him.

Also at this time, on Thursday, the nineteenth of Muharram/15 September, the exalted prince Sardar Muhammad °Umar Khan was born out of the womb of the unique pearl of the sea of sayyidship, the lady of the esteemed harem of sovereignty, the daughter of Mir °Atiq Allah Khan and granddaughter of the late

Mir Wa^ʿiz, an account of whom was given in volume one of this fortunate book, under the events of the time of Shah Mahmud. (At the birth) the skirts of those people of Mazar-i Sharif who had such desires were filled with the gold of votive offerings and all creation took pleasure and realized its fondest hopes.

Also at this time, with the death of Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Sar-i Pul, Muhammad Jabbar Khan Alikuza^ʿi, one of the khans of Herat, was promoted by His Majesty to that governorship. Also Mir Isma^ʿil Khan Herati was singled out for the governorship of Bamyan. His Majesty ordered that the 200 men of the Jadid Regular Infantry regiment who were stationed in Bamyan should serve under the banner of Mir Isma^ʿil Khan whenever he should decide to march to the Hazarahjat on (military) service and that 200 regular infantrymen of those stationed in Kabul should go to Bamyan to take their place.

During this time, it reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty in a letter from a certain ^ʿAta Muhammad that 12,000 minted Bukharan gold tillas with other documents of the financial dealings of Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfi* during the reign of the late Amir Shayr ^ʿAli Khan, were hidden by Mulla Muhammad ^ʿUmar Khan Dih Afghani buried under the floor of the house of a certain Khalifah ^ʿAbd Allah in Dih Afghanan (in Kabul). His Majesty sent a farman to Na^ʿib Mir Sultan Khan, the *kūtwāl* of Kabul, ordering him to investigate, and notify him as to the truth or falsehood of this report so that an order could be issued corresponding to the facts of the matter and no harm or injury would befall any innocent person. The *kūtwāl* searched the premises of Khalifah ^ʿAbd Allah and discovered thirty-four registers from the administration of the kingdom of Afghanistan during the time of the *mustawfi*'s tenure in office as well as many other documents, government chits (*tikat-hā*), /655/ deeds (*qabālah-jāt*), etc. but of tillas in the form of cash nothing came to light. Khalifah ^ʿAbd Allah, after the discovery of the registers and documents, confessed before the *mīrshabb* (title equivalent to *kūtwāl*) that Mulla Abu Bakr Khan and his (Mulla Abu Bakr's) brother, Hajji Muhammad ^ʿUmar Khan had hidden these registers and documents in his house. Na^ʿib Mir Sultan Khan then wrote and informed His Majesty and an order was issued in his name from the throne of the caliphate seat to deposit the registers and documents in one of the rooms of a small storeroom (*sarāchah*) outside the palace of the haramsaray in the Arg and padlock the door. He was also to incarcerate Khalifah ^ʿAbd Allah in the prison of criminals. Eventually, when the truth came out, it was established that those two brothers were the perpetrators of this incident. They were jailed for a time then released. This matter has been included here for thousands of similar kinds of things took place but unless there was proof no one was harassed or oppressed. It was included so that readers of this book would know that all investigations took place fairly and under the aegis of the Sharī^ʿah and not that His Majesty would ever pass judgment arbitrarily and cruelly in cases of people like this. If he had not conducted inquiries in this manner, then one could have said that all authority (*salṭanat*) was lost.

Chastising and Punishing the Evil People of Shinwar Who For A Very Long Time

Had Been Traveling the Road of Tyranny

Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who had a long time—as has been described—had confronted the Shinwar evildoers in combat, on the twenty-fifth of Muharram/21 September with 800 valiant and battle-ready soldiers and a group of men from Sjhinar and Tirah who had recently taken the path of obedience, turned the face of fighting in the direction of Darrah-i Niyaziyan whose inhabitants had taken the road of sedition and tyranny. Another group who had recently placed their heads under the farman's writ and had brought wives and children down from the mountain of foolishness to the path of obedience and were well settled in their homes, joined with the field marshal to chastise and punish the evildoers. Together they attacked and flushed the men of Karmu Khayl and Chahar Padar, who had withdrawn their heads from the shackles of obedience, like partridges out of the woods, stony ground, and crevices and drove them up into Kuh-i Bazar which is the homeland of the Afridi tribe and the land of the people of the Sangu Khayl. Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan himself, having moved forward from the villages of Darrah-i Niyaziyan with two gun carriages and the regular infantry, a group of the rebels opened fire under cover of woods on him and his troops. With a rifle shot they brought down a mount belonging to the field marshal on which Muhammad Aslam Khan Achakza'i was riding. They wounded two of the artillerymen, killed two tribal soldiers from of the Mandinza'i and wounded another man from that tribe as well as one of the Shinwaris who had recently taken the path of obedience and one man from Rud-i Kut. Malik Afghan from the Chahar Padar tribe and two men of Karmu Khayl were killed. The others not seeing the capacity to further resist retreated towards the home ground of the Kuku Khayl of the Afridis. Muhammad Zaman Khan the son of Malik 'Abd Allah Nur Khan Kuku Khayl who was in the field marshal's force with forty of his men attacked the rebels from the army's direction, while Malik Amin Khan, his brother, attacked from the direction of the homes of the Kuku Khayl and by force of arms kept the rebels from finding refuge among the Kuku Khayl. Seeing their way constricted, they were forced to retreat on the feet of flight from the region of Bazar and go find refuge on the side of the mountain which is outside the locale of Bazar. After this, the Karmu Khayl people, in repentance, sent a man to the field marshal. In tones of humility the man asked for forgiveness for their misdeeds saying that those who were obedient and had put their heads beneath the farman would guarantee that (the others) would never again flirt with the skirts of villainy and would travel no road but that of obedience. The field marshal, concerned lest three or four hundred bloodthirsty Afridi reinforce them and assist them in evildoing and banditry had no choice but to hear their request with the ear of acceptance and sent them the message that they should give guarantees from the leaders of the Karmu Khayl, and then they should return in peace of mind to their homes. But in the case of the one hundred Chahar Padar households who in the previous year had fled on the path of villainy and established themselves in Bazar, he did not accept their guarantees

and demanded hostages from them. Those who gave guarantees returned and settled again in their homes. The issue of the (hostages from the) 100 households was left in abeyance until another time.

During these negotiations, on the twenty-seventh of Muharram/23 September, Muhammad Saʿid Khan Sahibzadah-i /656/ Bajawuri came to the field marshal as a messenger on behalf of Safdar Khan Nawagi, Malik Khala Khan, Hajji Mir Zaman Khan and the Salarzaʿi and Shamuzaʿi tribes and declared that

they are well-wishers of the government and he whom they have sent would request that at this opportune time a large army be sent on behalf of the (Afghan) government to the region of Bajawur so that through such reinforcement and assistance Bajawur would become a dependency (*zamimah*) of the kingdom of Afghanistan as it was before. If many regiments cannot march, then two infantry regiments which could be dispatched with Muhammad Akbar Khan LaʿIpurah and Muhammad Akbar Khan Gardabi, should be sufficient to destroy ʿUmra Khan and conquer Bajawur. Should Bajawur belong to the English in accordance with the governmental agreement, this is another matter entirely and an army should not be sent.

The field marshal, saying that sending an army would have to wait and would depend on an order and permission from His Majesty, put his mind at ease regarding Bajawur, saying,

it is one of the dependencies of Afghanistan and the English do not interfere in its affairs because the road of friendship between the two governments is open and they will not extend the hand of occupation to lands of Afghans who are allegiant and obedient to either of the two sides simply because they are “Afghani” (*maḥẓ-i ism-i Afghānīyat*).

With this answer from the field marshal, the sahibzadah returned home and reassured the khans and tribes who had sent him that the English would not interfere and they calmed down. After the return of the emissary, the field marshal, whose actions were above reproach, set to rights the affairs of the evil Shinwar until the last day of Muharram/26 September, made them all submit, raised the banners of return with the army he had with him, and took up station in the new fortress which he had constructed at the orders of His Majesty.

During this time, in the first days of Safar/end of September, Munshi Ghulam Murtazi Khan, (originally) a Qandahari, whom English officials, with the permission of His Majesty, had sent to reside in Mashhad by way of Qandahar, crossed the border separating the governments of Afghanistan and the English, officials from the Afghan side were appointed to provide protective escort and, showing him all due regard and respect, conveyed him to the border point between Afghanistan and Iran. This is the (same) Munshi Ghulam Murtazi

Khan who translated from English into Persian the book written by the Indian, Sultan Muhammad. Sultan Muhammad served the throne for a time as a secretary (*maktūb-nawīsī*) and enjoyed His Majesty's trust and regard. But in the end, for no apparent reason, as the saying goes "the traitor fears for his life" turned his face away from fortune and felicity, abandoned a woman from Kabul whom he had married, and fled back to his original home. There he translated from Persian into English the book *Pandnāmah-i dunyā wa'l-dīn* [Counsel for This World and the Next] written by His Majesty in his own hand, covering his life from childhood up until the time he left Khuqand for Afghanistan and arrived in Badakhshan, and published at the press in Kabul. Sultan Muhammad made one volume of this (translation) and wrote a second volume comprised of the events of Afghanistan which he had heard from various people and which he himself had heard at the royal durbar from attendants of His Majesty. He earned a considerable sums of money from the sale of these volumes. The two volumes came into the hands of the munshi (Ghulam Murtazi Khan) in Mashhad, he translated them from English to Persian, and gave them the title *Tāj al-tawārikh* [Crown of Histories]. Here and there we used the volume of this book (the *Pandnāmah*) which was printed in Kabul, since it was in His Majesty's own hand, but as we have no evidence that his (Sultan Muhammad's) second volume was genuine we did not use it in the second volume of this book.

To return to the story, at the time Munshi Ghulam Murtazi Khan was traveling to Khurasan by way of Qandahar and Herat, officers of the infantry regiment of the Fufalza'i tribe, one of the Durrani tribes, who were on government service stationed in a fortress in Shinkai because of some matter that arose between the regular infantrymen, attacked each other, blood flowed, and the incident turned into serious trouble. From letters of officials there this evildoing reached the wise ears of the noble and celestially enthroned prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan and he sent farmans to the governor of Qandahar and other government servants there to arrest the promoters of corruption and the perpetrators of enmity and send them in chains to Kabul. But before this admonishment-directing manshur (*manshūr-i siyāsat-dastūr*) of the laudable prince arrived, they arrested Mirza °Ali Gawhar Khan and other supporters of the government like Colonel Muhammad Siddiq Khan and Commandant Muhammad °Umar Khan, along with several of the troublemakers, took them to Qalat and from there sent them to Qandahar. After the arrival of the prince's hukm they were sent to Kabul. At an order of the noble prince issued in their name, the rest of the members of the (Fufalza'i) regiment were moved from Shinkay and spent the winter months in Ghaznin.

During these events, Mirza °Abd al-Latif Khan, a descendant (*nabīrah*) of the late Mirza °Abd al-Ghaffar Khan who was chief factotum (*madār al-mahāmm*) /657/ of Nadir Shah Afshar [d. 1747] and after him his children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren served the Saduza'i sultans, and the more recent of them lived their lives in service to the late Wazir Fath Khan, was honored with enrollment in the corps of secretaries to the beneficence-showing prince of excellent qualities and praiseworthy virtues, Sardar Habib Allah Khan.

Up until now, he has been employed for twenty-seven years in this service.

During this time, members of the Qandahari Regular Infantry Regiment in Mazar-i Sharif began to loot and steal the property and belongings of people living in the vicinity of Mazar, leaving the army camp at night and robbing the houses of defenseless subjects. This reached the justice-attuned ears of His Majesty in reports and statements from his officials and he ordered all regular army officers to take roll call of the regiments at midday and at midnight. Anyone who was absent was to be punished. Not content with this, he also secretly assigned trusted spies to the case in the event that the army officers were less than diligent and did not catch anyone. In this way, His Majesty curtailed the activities of the thieves and gave householders repose in the cradle of peace and security. After a few days, His Majesty was overcome by compassion regarding the (twice-daily) roll call for members of the army, revoked it, and ordered that the roll was to be taken as usual: ranks would be formed, the roll call taken, and the men dismissed. When this relief-giving order was issued by His Majesty, many of the members of the army were delighted to find themselves freed from the midnight roll call and that first night a number of men from the Alikuza'i Infantry regiment such as Tur Muhammad, Muhammad Nur, Awrang, Salar, Gul Muhammad, °Ala al-Din, Muhammad °Umar, Muhammad Akbar, Ghafur, Muhammad Karim, °Abd al-Haqq, and Shah Muhammad departed on the path of thievery, killed a wayfarer, wounded two other men and looted all the property and possessions they had with them. The next morning, they were arrested because of bloodstains on the clothing of some of them and based on their own statements the twelve were imprisoned. His Majesty imposed a fine of 5,000 Qandahari rupees on each one them—for a total of 60,000 rupees—and sent a farman to the governor of Qandahar to collect that sum from them and deposit it in the public treasury. (Only) 2,000 Qandahari rupees could be collected from each one—for a total of 24,000 rupees—and because of the petitions, entreaties, and pleas from the relatives of the thieves, His Majesty forgave them the remaining 36,000 rupees.

During these times, Nazir Qurban °Ali Khan, the *ṣandūqdār-i jinsī* (treasurer for taxes paid in kind) who had accompanied His Majesty to Samarqand and had spent his life in loyal service, on the thirteenth of Safar/9 October bid farewell to the world and at His Majesty's order was buried in the forecourt of the shrine of the Shah of the Saints [°Ali b. Abi Talib]—May God honor him—and the expenses of his funeral and the ritual recitation of the Fatiha were paid by the government. In view of his service and his loyalty, His Servant-Rewarding Majesty promoted his brother, Himmat °Ali Khan to the position of *ṣandūq-dār-i jinsī*.

At this time, some of the officers of the regiments stationed in Jalalabad sent a letter to sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan in India with a message that said that he should get himself to Bajawur and when he arrived to inform them. They would then raise the entire army stationed in Jalalabad [on his behalf] and would offer their services to him. Afterwards, having raised his claim to authority, with their assistance he could engage in retrieving the kingdom. Via reports of news

writers of Jalalabad, this affair reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty. Knowing it all to be in vain, he said nothing until the Gagarah Infantry Regiment which was stationed in Kunar, at the time of collecting their salaries, they demanded ten months' pay, began pelting the clerks who were paying and registering their salaries with sticks and stones, and mutinied. When he heard this, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan betook himself to Kunar that same day from the new fort at Shinwar, and arrested twenty-three mutineers but did not catch three others who managed to escape before he arrived. His Majesty became aware of this incident in a letter from the field marshal and suspected that the avenue of correspondence being open between the regular army officers and Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, the letter of the events writer which reached him in this regard (about the correspondence) was right. So he ordered Mir Abu'l-Qasim Khan, chief of the investigations bureau (*sar daftar-i tashkhīs*) to secretly send to Jalalabad experienced and intelligent men to find out what was really going on and inform him in order to treat the problem before it arose. Mir Abu'l-Qasim Khan sent Muhammad Gul Khan Jabbar Khayl who was from /658/ Surkh Rud of Jalalabad and Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan who much earlier had been appointed *sar daftar* of Kunar as spies from Kabul. Those two men arrived in that region and although they investigated and made inquiries about the letter of the officers which they supposedly sent to Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, except for Major Amir Muhammad who lived in Chakri, they believed the others were innocent and absolved (of this charge). The major, with his brother Iradat and two of his sons had been the (lone) perpetrators of this and so they arrested them and sent them to Mazar-i Sharif along with those who had mutinied over their pay and been jailed by the field marshal. As for Mir Abu'l-Qasim Khan, because of this order to send spies to Jalalabad which had been issued to him by His Majesty and which he had so skillfully carried out, His Majesty transferred authority for most of the news writers inside and outside the country to him because of the good work he had done. Until his last breath, he performed this work well along with the other bureaucratic responsibilities he had. Of his subordinates, Muhammad Gul Khan Jabbar Khayl and persons who worked for him, whom he sent to India to report on the words, deeds, intentions, and behavior of ill-wishers of the government who resided there under the protection of the English, were honored with assignment from His Majesty of permanent annual salaries of 5,000 rupees.

Similarly, Sahibzadah Anas, a man stationed in Sharkar along with five of his sons and nephews (brother's sons) (who were) from Peshawar, was named to the post of news writer there and an annual salary of 1, 416 English rupees was assigned to him.

Also during these recorded events, Payandah Muhammad Khan, the brother, and Nawruz °Ali Khan, the son of Bunyad Khan Hazarah-i Fuladah living in Malistan who himself (Bunyad Khan) had for a long time—as has been noted above—been kept under surveillance in Ghaznin, at the instructions and direction of Bunyad Khan who perhaps thinking some decision would be made in his case if he could bring himself to the attention of government officials,

began inciting the arbabs of Malistan, refused to submit the land taxes of Malistan and pulled their heads through the collar of sedition. Ghulam °Ali Khan, the first cousin of Bunyad Khan, both mutually unfriendly, along with Khuday Nazar Khan, another brother of Bunyad Khan taking the path of support for the government lest they be linked to the other's evildoing, provided information to the governor of Ghaznin and requested a royal army be sent. He in turn asked permission from His Majesty by letter to dispatch a force and artillery and on the nineteenth of Safar a decisive farman was issued in his name giving him the discretion whether to send an army or not. What he chose to do will be recorded in due course, God willing. But before the arrival of this royal manshur in Ghaznin and before any action on the part of the governor, Sayyid °Abd al-°Ali Khan the son of Muhammad Taqi Shah, the governor of Jaghuri embarking on the path of service, set out from Sangmashah for Malistan with the Sakhlu infantry he had with him and a tribal force (*lashkar-i iljārī*) of the Hazarabs of Jaghuri. He attacked, but he found himself besieged with his force in the forts of Ghulam °Ali Khan and Khuday Nazar Khan by the bold and overwhelming forces of the Malistanis. Although (at first) placed under a tight siege, with the help of Ghulam °Ali Khan, Khuday Nazar Khan and a group of Malistanis who sided with them, they managed to break out and capture Payandah Muhammad Khan and three of the other evildoing arbabs. Sending those four men from Malistan back to Sangmashah-i Jaghuri escorted by Sartib Nazar Muhammad Khan and twenty Sakhlu infantrymen, he (Sayyid °Abd al-°Ali Khan) ordered them to take the prisoners on from there to Ghaznin and have them join Bunyad Khan (under surveillance or house arrest). Mir Nabi Khan and Shayr °Ali Khan, leaders of the Baghuchari tribes of the Hazarabs of Jaghuri rose up in defense of the prisoners and forcibly removed them from the custody of the *sartīb* and then sent them off to the vicinity of Qal°ah-i Panj Burjah ("five-towered fort") in Malistan. Hardly had they arrived there when they laid siege to Sayyid °Abd al-°Ali Khan who was there with his supporters. Fighting broke out and in the end Sayyid °Abd al-°Ali Khan, not seeing in himself the ability to resist and fight, lost heart and fled in defeat to the fort of Ghulam °Ali Khan and °Abd al-°Ali Khan, the sons of Darwish °Ali Khan, who were on the path of service to the government. There he barricaded himself. The governor of Ghaznin learned what was going on in reports from officials there and sent to the Hazarabs of Jaghuri (Sayyid) °Ali Naqi Shah, the uncle (father's brother) of Sayyid °Abd al-°Ali, whom the Hazarabs greatly respected because of his being a sayyid and whose words and actions they trusted. With him he sent a letter to the Hazarabs of Jaghuri who had forcibly freed the government's prisoners from the custody of Sartib Nazar Muhammad Khan, taken them to Malistan, and again lit the extinguished fires of trouble. /659/ The letter put the fear of royal retribution into their hearts. He also wrote that by way of atonement for this sin of theirs they should go to Malistan and free Sayyid °Abd al-°Ali Khan from the siege of the rebels. He also ordered Muhammad Khwajah and Chahar Dastah Hazarabs of Ghaznin the edges of whose lands adjoin Malistan and Jaghuri to set out on the path of destroying the malefactors living in Malistan and Jaghuri

together with the sayyids of Sarab and their own cavalry and infantrymen. At the order of the foresighted prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, the governor sent Muhibb °Ali Khan, the *kūtwāl* of Ghaznin, to Sangmashah-i Jaghuri to occupy the Sangmashah fort of Sardar Shayr °Ali Khan Jaghuri and empty it of its residents, and to hold it so that the Fufalza'i Regiment which was on its way from Shinkay to Ghaznin could be stationed there to chastise the evildoers. When the people of Jaghuri learned of the dispatch of a royal army and a tribal force via the letter of the governor of Ghaznin which reached them and realized the consequences for them would be disastrous, they set out for Malistan with a large force before the arrival of the army, drew Sayyid °Abd al-°Ali Khan the governor, and °Abd al-°Ali Khan with his wives and children out of the fort, put them under the protection of Sayyid °Ali Naqi Shah who had just arrived there and sent them safely to Jaghuri. They themselves turned to punishing the rebels of Malistan and put them under tight siege. Sayyid °Ali Naqi Shah delivered °Abd al-°Ali Khan with his family and retainers and Sayyid °Abd al-°Ali Khan his own (that is Sayyid Naqi Shah's) nephew to Jaghuri and returned to Malistan intending to quell the flames of trouble.

During this time, at the order of the governor of Ghaznin, fifty horsemen from the Hazarahs of Nahwar-i Ghaznin and fifty Kushadah riders of Ghulam Haydar Khan, a Hazarah of Jighatu, entered Malistan. Eventually, Payandah Muhammad Khan, the brother, and Nawruz Khan, the son, of Bunyad Khan, realized they did not have the means to resist, were satisfied by the persuasion of Sayyid °Ali Naqi Shah, took the latter's guidance and advice as proof that they should submit and set forth on the path of repentance. They paid some of the land taxes (they owed) and accepted responsibility for paying something more and so became obedient. The tribal force from Jaghuri returned home, Sayyid °Ali Naqi Shah went back to Ghaznin, and the affairs of Malistan were settled.

Also during these tumultuous events, on the 19th of Safar/15 October, the day, as was mentioned above, that a farman was issued by His Majesty to the governor of Ghaznin concerning the evildoers of Malistan, Ghulam Husayn Khan petitioned the throne of sovereignty by letter for permission to come to Kabul and there rejoin those he had left behind. Ghulam Husayn Khan was the son of Habib Allah Khan Jawanshayr and with his father and uncle, Amir Muhammad Khan, the sons of Khanshirin Khan, Field Marshal Husayn °Ali Khan of Sipah-i Mansur, Na'ib Nur Muhammad Khan, Munshi Mirza Muhammad Hasan Khan, and all the retainers of these men as well as other Qizilbash of Kabul who were servitors and well-wishers of the late Amir Shayr °Ali Khan, at the time of His Majesty's journey from Transoxiana toward the capital of his forefathers, had fled Kabul, and gone with Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan from Iran to India. His Majesty having a good idea of Ghulam Husayn Khan's situation issued a farman of summons with permission for him to come to Kabul. After the arrival of the royal manshur, he put on "pilgrim's garb" for the "qiblah" of safety and hope and came from Lahore to be honored with the right to kiss the sublime threshold, all of which will be mentioned in due course, if God Most High so wills.

Also during the events of these days, General Mir Ahmad Khan, the ambassador of Afghanistan in Calcutta, bid farewell to this world and was buried in Holy Sirhind. His son, Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan was dispatched by His majesty to take up the same duties.

Also on this day (the 19th) of Safar, °Umra Khan Chandawul who never ceased poisonously thinking of the vermilion-hued wine of the blood of Muslims of the region of Bajawur as his sweetest desire, with a group went to occupy Barun Fort in Asmar. They took up positions at night around the fort so that at first light when the people inside the fort opened the gates to come out, they would attack and seize it. But Tahmasb Khan Asmari found out what he intended and informed the field marshal (Ghulam Haydar Khan) about it.. But before the letter could reach its destination and the field marshal could decide on a course of action to repel the trouble and eliminate the harm caused by this villainy, at the moment when the people of the fort opened the gates wanting, as was their custom, to walk about outside each on his own business, °Umra Khan's followers headed straight for the gates to seize them. The people of the fort alertly and quickly went back in, bolted the gates, and put up a stout defense from the towers and battlements of the fortress, shooting repelling bullets from the mouths of their blazing rifles. They killed or wounded fifteen of °Umra Khan's men and dispersed them from around the fort. °Umra Khan, his intention thwarted, /660/ returned home in shame. It was thanks to these sorts of hypocrisy-inciting maneuvers of his, that made the people living in the border regions fed up, and caused the English to take over Bajawur. The bloodthirsty people of the mountains of that region who should have assisted him, did not do so. Instead they were happy at the thought of his not being in Bajawur. An account of his goings and comings up to the point where he brought the face of hope to this government, found food at the royalty table, and bid farewell to the world will be recorded little by little below, God willing.

Also during these events, Jan Muhammad Khan, the governor of Hazarah-i Day Zangi requested he be given back his governorship. Out of shame and ignominy, he had run away at the battle of Ghaznigak without seeing the battle nor (even) hearing the sound of cannon and rifle fire. Merely on hearing news of the defeat of the victory-marked army, he had fled from the place he was stationed. Along the route of his retreat, people had stripped him of his weapons and clothing. Feigning illness and pretending to be demented, he came to Kabul at his own request. He then wrote His Majesty and told him that he had recovered and requested restoration of his governorship. But His Majesty paid no heed to his request and summoned him from Kabul to Turkistan. he traveled to Mazar-i Sharif, was favored with the privilege of kissing the sublime threshold.

During this time, in a petition from Jaghuri Hazarah subjects, a story reached the just ears of the prince, who nurtures the subjects and cares for the most insignificant of them, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, concerning the shameless of the governor there, Sayyid °Abd al-°Ali Khan, who because of the rebellion of the brother and son of Bunyad Khan, and their release from the custody of

Sartip Nazar Muhammad Khan by the leaders of the Baghuchari tribe—as was mentioned earlier—had opened the doors of oppression and committed various kinds of transgressions. Although all affairs of the government and kingdom had been entrusted to him, without permission and an obedience-necessitating order from His Most Glorious Qiblah for his own wellbeing he would not dismiss or appoint governors or bestow army ranks and so he could do little more than write (His Majesty) and act in accordance with any order which would be issued by the throne. So he wrote His Just Majesty and at the royal command, he dismissed Sayyid °Abd al-°Ali Khan from the governorship of Hazarah-i Jaghuri and Sa°id Muhammad Khan Kuhistani appointed governor in his stead.

The Nasiris Reject the Conditions Set By His Majesty

Meantime, representatives of the Nasiri people who had presented themselves in Mazar-i Sharif, and for whom bedding, utensils, pajamas, and food were all assigned by the government, after the arrival of the letter from this tribe mentioned earlier for whom these men had absolute power of attorney and whatever they agreed to do would be carried out (by the tribe), they came to a royal audience and His Majesty reached an agreement with them and it was fixed that the Nasiri tribe would provide as hostages one household in every ten or ten in every one hundred. These would be sent to Qataghan and there they would farm. The others would continue in their traditional way of life and would travel in and out of Afghanistan every year to pasture their herds and flocks. Their representatives happily provided government officials with an affidavit to this effect but the Nasiris refused to accept it and did not place it on their necks. In the season when they always traveled, they returned to Banun and Daman. His Majesty was angered and on the twenty-ninth of Safar/25 October he sent a farman to the governors of Ghaznin and Qandahar telling them to block their path with the regular army when that tribe sets out. If they agreed to the terms then they weren't to prevent them from entering Afghanistan. But if they refused, they were to forbid them to set foot on its soil. The governor of Ghaznin ordered Ghulam Husayn Khan the son of Gulistan Khan Hazarah of the Muhammad Khwajah tribe along with Ghulam Haydar Khan the son of Ghulam Muhammad Khan Hazarah of the Jighatu (Hazarahs), and one hundred Kushadah cavalry of his and 300 horse and foot of Muhammad Khwajah Chahar Dastah, and Jighatu men to prepare themselves and at the (appropriate) time go and block the Nasiris. He also wrote Muhammad Isma°il Khan, the governor of Wardak to prepare to serve the government with the cavalry and infantry of the men of Wardak. An account of their marching and that of the governor of Ghaznin will be given in its proper place, if God Most High wills it.

During this time, a number of foolish people living in Chuki and Divgul who had fled into the mountains /661/ now presented themselves before Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan in repentance and placed the forehead of humility in the dust of obedience. They declared that as long as he did not go there, there would be no order and the evildoers of that mountainous region

would not submit. So, on the first of Rabi^c al-Awwal/26 October (the field marshal) sent a letter from Shinwar to Mazar-i Sharif and requested permission to go to Chuki and Divgul. God willing, the issuance of permission by His Majesty and his going there will be recorded in its proper place.

Also in these times, Munshi Dust Muhammad Khan Haravi who with his nephew, Mirza Ghulam Haydar Khan because of malfeasance in the Herat mint, the larceny of one leading to the imprisonment of both, he sent the funds determined to be his responsibility to royal officials of the government and at the order of His Majesty they were released from prison. Mirza Dust Muhammad Khan was enrolled in the corps of royal munshis and Mirza Ghulam Haydar Khan rose to the post of letter-writer for the noble prince Sardar Nasr Allah Khan and was honored and privileged.

Also in this time, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the former governor of Ghaznin died in Mazar-i Sharif. His estate was entrusted by His Majesty to Lady Jahantab Begum his daughter, to whom he (Muhammad Sarwar Khan) had already assigned ownership. His Majesty issued a farman to other heirs of the deceased forbidding them from trying to take possession saying, “You should not harass the lady.”

During this time, Muhammad Taqi, a Turk from Tabriz, by his own declaration said that he had caused the loss of 30,000 tumans, equivalent to one lak, 50,000 (150,000) Kabuli rupees of Iranian government revenues in the course of tax assessment and collection (*abwāb jam^c*),¹¹ and so had fled to the court, the pivot of favors. His Majesty favored him with a gift of 200 rupees provisions for the road and had ordered that he should leave Afghanistan by way of Peshawar and then go wherever he wanted. But having no other place of refuge in mind but this threshold again (at this time) petitioned the honor-gathering felicity-guiding highness, the Pleiades-dwelling prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan. As His Majesty commanded, he too bestowed fifty rupees for the necessities of the road and sent him to Peshawar with a regular cavalry escort, thus removing him from the country.

During this time, a certain Hajji Rayhan Khan was named by His Majesty as *hājji-bāshī* for pilgrims from Turkistan so that through him they would acquire passports, he would prepare provisions and riding animals for every one who did not have the means so that all would have everything they needed for the going and coming (on the pilgrimage) and so that they would not get into trouble and be confused and find things difficult because of their ignorance of the ways of a strange land. From this day forward, most pilgrims from Turkistan, whether local or from outside (Afghan) Turkistan travel to and return from the Sacred House of God (Mecca) by way of Kabul and carry out the ceremonies of the hajj with peace of mind and free of worry. They experience no trouble or harm. Huge sums are given to them by the government and good people of the community because of which gifts, the prayers of ascetics,

¹¹ According to Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, *abwāb-jam^c* is the portion of the harvest belonging to the peasant as determined by the tax assessor.

worshippers, and pilgrims will keep ascending to the pinnacle of positive response (*bi-awj-i ijābat*) on behalf of this sublime government and the chosen community, if God Most High so wills it.

During these times, on the tenth of Rabi^ʿ al-Awwal/4 November His Consequence-minded Royal Majesty ordered 921 Herati Kushadah cavalrymen, to have their salaries reduced by the sum of 49,516 Kabuli rupees and forty *fiṣ* which represented one-fifth of their salaries, as a fine. This was because at the time of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's rebellion and sedition, they had been ordered to go defend and protect Andkhud by supporters of the government but had refused. 192 cavalrymen, who at Qaranqul, one of the dependencies of Andkhud, had performed their duties and most of them had been killed or wounded as a result, were exempted from this reduction in their salaries.

Also during this time, a certain Mirza ʿAbd Allah, of unknown place of residence, took up a leather sack filled with letters he had forged. At the instruction and urging of some worthies and courtiers of the world-refuge throne he put the name of Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan *dabīr* (private secretary to the king) towards whom these courtiers were hostile. The idea was that he would pass the patrols guarding the roads and entrepôts without the bother of close inspection (because of the name of Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan). Perhaps one of them, after he had passed by, would report to His Majesty his name and the fact that he was carrying a sack of letters without the government stamp on them and was traveling in the direction of Iran and thus Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan *dabīr* would be subject to royal punishment. But that deceitful infidel-like corrupt one was detained at Murghab by border guards. They sent him to Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan in Herat. He told him as well that he was the servant of the *dabīr* and concealed the truth. He (the qazi) wrote to the *dabīr* what he declared and verified that what he said was contrary to the truth. He then took him into custody /662/ and sent him to His Majesty in Mazar-i Sharif along with Nazir Yusuf ʿAli (Khan), a common criminal (*mujrim-i dawlatī*) under escort of Yar Muhammad Khan Ishaqzaʿi, Fazl Ahmad Khan, Husayn Quli Khan Afshar, and Muhammad Yusuf Khan Barakzaʿi. After their arrival there, Mirza ʿAbd Allah received the punishment his actions deserved and Nazir Yusuf ʿAli Khan was incarcerated in the criminal prison.

During these days, the measure of the life of Mir Ismaʿil Khan Haravi, the governor of Bamyan was filled to the brim and he passed from this world to eternity.

During this time, on the first of Rabi^ʿ al-Sani/25 November, His Majesty secretly sent Sayyid ʿIbad Allah, Sayyid Rahmat Allah, Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, Sayyid Shahsawar, and Sayyid Muhammad Quli to the Russian territories of ʿAshqabad and Char Juy as news writers and assigned monthly salaries to each one of twenty rupees. He also appointed Nasr Allah Khwajah the son of Qilich Khan Andkhudi as secret news writer for Marw, ʿAshqabad, Sarakhs, and Char Juy without these other news writers knowing. This was so that no one would know about the others and whatever they wrote of events that was equivalent and corresponded, officials of His Majesty would know to be accurate and not

made up and (accounts of) events in which there were differences, those officials would know needed further investigation.

Also on this same day (first of Rabi^ʿ al-Sani), a monthly salary of twenty rupees was assigned by His Majesty to Sayyid ^ʿAta Khan and Baba Khan who were reporting the news from Char Juy and Urganj on behalf of Sayyid Hasan, the *mīr āb* (water superintendent) of Andkhud and to Mulla Jan and Muhammad Sharif, who were news writers in Marw for Murad Bay, the deputy governor (*nāʾib-i ḥākīm*) of Andkhud.

Also during this time, Muhammad ^ʿAlam Khan at the order of the governor of Herat set out for Ghur to take over the governorship (*rāh-i ḥukūmat*) with 200 regular infantry and 100 cavalry. Accompanying him were a qazi and two muftis for the purpose of settling legal litigation. The *sar daftar* of Herat, Mirza Jilani Khan, also wrote out and gave him a set of instructions (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) regarding the taxes, revenues, and related things there (*māliyāt wa wujūhāt wa furūʿāt*) since the region had not been subject before to assessment and revenue collection and therefore until now nothing had been registered in the diwan (as its obligation). A copy of this set of instructions was sent to His Majesty who approved it.

During this time, His Majesty was informed in the letter from Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan in which he requested permission to move from Shinwar—as was previously noted—to Chuki and Divgul in order to put affairs in that region to rights, and he granted permission so that the field marshal marched from Shinwar and on the twenty-second of Rabi^ʿ al-Sani/16 December entered Kunar. On the twenty-fifth/19 December, he arrested twenty-five of the mutineers from the regiment stationed in Kunar, quelled the fires of trouble, and sent them in chains to Kabul.

Also during these days, for Dad Muhammad Khan, the governor of Jalalabad, the journal of his life was closed, as his appointed time had come, and he attained the mercy of God. His Majesty sent a farman from Mazar-i Sharif to the prince of wakeful fortune, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, telling him to see if Sardar Shad Muhammad Khan had become incapacitated by age and if not and if he could be governor to appoint him. So the servant-nurturing bounty-spreading prince summoned him to his compassionate presence and since he showed he was capable of serving the government and said, “to tread the path of duty to religion and the state (whether) in a state of capability or incapacity is the ultimate desire and hope,” the prince honored him with the governorship of Jalalabad and thus gratified him.

Also in these times, Brigadier Nur Muhammad Khan, the (commanding) officer of the Lahugardi Infantry Regiment who for some reason was stopped from serving and fled, his wives and children came to Kabul at His Majesty’s order and were assigned a pension for their living expenses so that they would not have to pass their days in hardship.

During this time, on the tenth of Jumada al-Awwal/2 January 1890 Muhammad Shah Khan was honored with appointment as governor of Aqchah by His Benevolent Majesty. Mirza ^ʿAbd al-^ʿAziz Khan, the former clerk

(*nawīsandah*) of Sangcharak who, because of his support for the government had, as was previously noted, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had thrown him in prison, was honored with appointment as *sar daftar* of Maymanah.

Meanwhile, the Safi and Divguli men who had inclined their heads towards troublemaking learned of the arrival of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan in Kunar, described above, in fear of their lives set forth on the path of repentance, came to the field marshal in submission, rubbed the forehead of humility in the dust of apology and begged forgiveness for any shortcomings. He forgave them all, reassured them, obliged them to pay the diwani taxes to the extent of their ability, and ordered them to hand them over to the tax assessors and collectors of Jalalabad. Placing the finger of obligation /663/ on the eye of acceptance, they submitted and were obedient.

During this time, the people of Mohmand Kuh ("Mohmand Mountain") and Malik Zaman of the 'Isa Khayl in support of Malik Ghayrat against whom Safdar Khan Nawagi, Malik Musa, and Mudassir at the instigation of foreign elements had laid plans to attack, seized the forts of Malik Musa, set them on fire and burned them all to the ground. When this happened, the supporters of Malik Musa and Mudassir all joined with Malik Ghayrat and together they came to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan asked to promote Malik Ghayrat to be leader and head (*buzurgī wa sar khaylī*) of their tribe. Hearing their request with the ear of approval, the field marshal conferred the title of leader of the people of Mohmand Kuh and its tribe (*qawmash*) on him and made them all happy.

Also at this time, the emissary of Muhammad Sharif Khan, Sahibzadah Muhammad Sa'id Khan, and Malik Khala Khan who some time before this as was reported above had sent this man to ask the field marshal for assistance to punish 'Umra Khan of Chandawul and had received a positive reply, onmce again came to the field marshal and asked him to fulfill what they had first requested (and what he had agreed to). He wrote to His Majesty and gave the emissary leave to return home and told him he would give help once an order to that effect was issued by His Majesty. On the fourteenth of Jumada al-Awwal/6 January His Majesty wrote to the field marshal regarding his letter:

Because of the hypocrisy those people harbor in their hearts, they tell only lies. From the very beginning they have never set foot on the road of truth and one therefore cannot make any agreement with them. The policy which should be followed with regards to them and what they deserve is this: they should be left to their own affairs and officials of the government should not get involved in anything (good or bad) of theirs so that they will see the consequence of their words and deeds which are not believable and will suffer the just desserts of their actions.

Thus it came about as His Majesty said and wrote, according to the meaning of "the lords of nations are inspired," and little by little the English took over Bajawur.

During the time of the Mohmand trouble, a Russian colonel (*palkūnik* i.e., *polkovnik*) came to the edge of the Oxus River and wanted to dig a canal on land belonging to Afghanistan for the Turkmen people who were living in Karki. Aqa Jan Khan *risālah-dār* who was stationed on the border forbade it and stopped him from digging a new channel. After his (Aqa Jan Khan's) stopping him, he abstained from his original intent. When he was asked by the government, he denied that he wanted to dig a canal and in the course of the discussions he declared that he had set foot in that desert only to tour about and that he had nothing else in mind. This affair reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty from the news writers of the region and on the twenty-seventh of Jumada al-Awwal/19 January he sent a farman to Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan, (Afghan) ambassador stationed in Calcutta telling him to inform the Viceroy of India of what was going on so that he in turn would notify the British ambassador resident in Petersburg so that Russian officials would put an end to this kind of audacity lest trouble break out and an embarrassing incident ensue.

Also during this time, it reached the just ears of His Majesty in a letter from the news writer in Mashhad that Mirza Ramazan °Ali, a man from Qandahar, was serving the Russian government and was to enter Afghanistan as a spy to discover the highways and byways and the mountains and plains of Afghanistan along with the state of the people living there and after doing so to return and inform Russian officials. On the sixth of Jumada al-Sani/28 January His Majesty sent notices to all the border guards of the virtuous kingdom to prevent that spy from entering Afghanistan.

The Uprising of the Shaykh °Ali Hazarāhs and the Punishment They Received For Their Acts

During this time, the Shaykh °Ali Hazarāhs, because of the arrest of some of their sayyid families who had committed despicable acts—and who are described above by name—were disaffected from and angry with the government. Half of them were of the Shi'ī sect (*mazhab*) and belonged to the denomination (*mashrab*) of Aqa Khan Mahallati (FM: Mahallat is a village and one of the dependencies of the city of Qum, Iran which lies three manzils south of Tehran.). The other half is Sunni and Hanafi by *mazhab*. Because of the affair of their sayyids and because of another matter which had occurred within one tribe, they began to fight each other. Their governor, °Abd Allah Khan, wanted to stop the fighting and bring peace through the use of threats and force. He accused them of having committed many crimes and appointed men to collect a fine but that wild tribe did not have enough sense to write a letter to the crown-wearing sovereign and ask forgiveness for their sins. Perhaps the forgiving padishah would have required of them only what they could have borne. But they did not do it (write such a letter) and foolishly set out on the path of error and openly rebelled. They answered the collectors (with refusal) and set the face of insurrection towards the residence of °Abd Allah Khan and attacked him and Sad Bashi Muhammad Kabir Khan and the *khāṣṣah-dārs* under his command,

driving them off and besieging [°Abd Allah Khan] inside his residence. Sayyid Ja°far Khan, the governor of Ghuri, learned about this and sent ninety Nik Pay Hazarahs armed with *mulkī* weapons (?) to help °Abd Allah Khan prevail. On Tuesday night, the fourteenth of Jumada al-Sani having gotten themselves to Talah and Barfak, they took up positions inside the fort where the governor was under siege.

This uprising reached the justice-perceiving ears of His Majesty in a letter from the aforementioned governor and he dispatched one infantry and one cavalry regiment from the regular army stationed in Mazar-i Sharif along with an artillery battery to destroy that evil tribe. He also sent farmans to °Abd al-Rahim Beg, Habib Allah Beg, and other leaders in Kahmard district, to °Abd al-Ghafur Khan, the governor of Duab; to Sayyid Ja°far Khan, the governor of Ghuri, for whom His Majesty still had no evidence of his having taken part in combat; and Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Khinjan. He ordered them to go with the people living in that region and punish that wicked tribe and link up with °Abd Allah Khan as quickly as they could and disperse the evildoers who had him surrounded before the arrival of the force and artillery sent from Mazar-i Sharif. They all prepared their forces and had yet to march on that district when one of the *nawkars* of Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Khinjan, who was stationed in Dushi on government service, at [Muhammad Sarwar's] order hurried with three hundred men from Dushi and the rest of the Nik Pay men like a scudding cloud ahead of the others toward Hazarah-i Shaykh °Ali. As soon as he arrived there, he attacked the rebels. But the evildoers stood firm and defeated the servants of the government and drove them off. They captured most of their horses and donkeys (*ulāgh*), both the riding and pack animals, as well as their equipment and made off with it. After this incident, that wicked tribe sent a letter to His Royal Majesty taking up the pen of deception in order to mislead and writing:

We were having an internal dispute. We have never rejected or refused the government's right to 'prescribe and forbid.' But our governor has accused us of this and so we had no choice but to fight him. We hope for forgiveness and that the merciful padishah will draw the pen of pardon across the record of our deeds and restore our confidence with royal kindness.

Because of this petition, His Majesty sent a farman to the besieged °Abd Allah Khan, dismissing him from the governorship. He also dismissed the leaders of the evildoers from their leadership posts. He sent a farman to Sayyid Ja°far Khan, the governor of Ghuri telling him to bring the governor, °Abd Allah Khan, and the Shaykh °Ali Hazarah individuals who up to this point had held the title "leader" (*buzurgī*) in the tribe to Mazar-i Sharif so that the good and bad of both sides might be investigated and the facts determined and whoever was tainted with [the sin of] disobedience to lawful authority would receive a punishment fitting the crime. But before the arrival of this manshur, because

they knew that they were undeserving of the compassion and forgiveness of the padishah due to the crimes they had committed, the wicked malefactors resigned themselves to [a fight to the] death and turned obstinate. They fought the followers of Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Khinjan; Sayyid Jaʿfar Khan, the governor of Ghuri; and others who at His Highness's order had come to punish the people of tyranny and to aid and assist ʿAbd Allah Khan. On hearing this, His Majesty was angered and sent a farman to Siraj al-Din Khan, the governor of Andarab, to speedily set off with a tribal force from there to destroy that evil group of Hazarahs from Shaykh ʿAli. In addition, a regular force which was stationed at Dahanah-i Ghuri marched at His Majesty's farman towards Hazarah-i Shaykh ʿAli. A farman also went out to General Katal Khan who was stationed at Khanabad with the Ghaznavi Infantry Regiment to march against those wicked Hazarahs to punish them. The arrival /665/ of these victory-betokened forces there and the annihilation of that tribe, artisans of corruption and enmity, will be recorded in its proper place, God willing.

Also at this time, on the fifteenth of the aforementioned month of Jumada al-Sani/6 February 1890, when the vengeance-seeking regular army had left Mazar-i Sharif to annihilate the Shaykh ʿAli Hazarahs, the noble celestial-dwelling prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, in accordance with a farman which was issued and sent to him by His Majesty in response to his letter, made the following promotions and appointments of sons of leaders (*buzurgzādagān*) of the Sihganah (i.e. Muhammad Khwajah, Chahar Dastah, and Jighatu) Hazarahs of Ghaznin to the Qarabaghi Infantry Regiment which at His Majesty's command was organized from these tribes and enrolled among the regular regiments: Muhammad Akbar Khan the son of Ghulam Muhammad Khan to the rank of colonel; and Muhammad Jaʿfar Khan, his uncle, to the rank of commandant (*kumūdān*). The following were promoted to the rank of captain: Ghulam Riza Khan, a grandson (*nawādah*) of Gulistan Khan; and Kalb Husayn Khan the son of Shah Husayn Khan, of the Muhammad Khwajah Hazarahs; Muhammad Zaman Khan the son of Taj Muhammad Khan of the Chahar Dastah Hazarahs; Ghulam Haydar Khan, the son of Hasan Khan and Qanbar ʿAli Khan the son of Sulayman Khan of the Jighatu Hazarahs; and Ahmad ʿAli Khan the son of Murtaza Khan. Six sons of maliks (*malikzādagān*) of those three tribes were honored with the rank of *šūbah-dār* and one of them was given the rank of sergeant (*sārjanī*). He appointed Mirza Yusuf ʿAli Khan to the rank of major and so flattered them all.

*The Evildoing of the Wicked Mangal and An Account of the Stipends for the
Servants of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan*

During the abovementioned events, several Mangal bandits attacked a group of Ahmadzaʿi merchants who were traveling on business to Peshawar, killed nine of them, and wounded fifteen others. They made off with 12,000 rupees in cash and other things as well as their clothes and travel provisions. Other than one killed and another wounded, the Mangals suffered no casualties.

Since they live in difficult or impenetrable mountains along the border they were neither recognized nor held accountable by the government (of Afghanistan).

During this time in a letter from a news writer in India who was on friendly terms with people of the English chancellery and who regularly wrote His Majesty about events there, and also had images of sixty-eight of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's servants made with the art of photography, which he relayed to His Majesty along with the stipends each of them, by name, received from the English government, His Majesty learned the following: Mir Akbar Khan Maydani, Mir Haydar Khan, and Yar Muhammad Khan Kakari, a watchmaker, each received a monthly stipend of ten rupees; Lalah Ghulam Jan Sipahi Qandahari received 100 rupees per month, Bahram Khan Tikabi and Muhammad Khan Sipahi fifteen rupees; Muhammad Akram Khan, fifteen rupees; Mulla Muhammad the son of Bahram Tikabi, ten rupees, Khwajah Sayf al-Din from the Chahardahi people of Kabul, twenty rupees; and Mir Bachchah Khan Kuhistani, 120 rupees. Because of his (Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's) enmity and quarrel with Khushdil Khan Luynab he had reduced his monthly stipend and was giving him less than had been assigned to him. °Ata Muhammad Khan Siqani (received) fifteen rupees; Aman Allah Khan, the brother of General Taj Muhammad Khan who had the rank of *pīshkhidmat* to Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, seventy rupees; Na'ib Ghulam Haydar Khan, the nephew (sister's son) of Field Marshal Husayn °Ali Khan had no assigned stipend from the government and got his remuneration from (the sardar) himself; Muhammad °Alam Khan the son of Khan Muhammad Khan Lamqani, forty rupees; Pir Muhammad Khan, a *nawkar* of Sardar Amir Muhammad Khan and Amin Allah Khan, the nephew (brother's son) of Taj Muhammad Khan the son of Mu°az Allah Khan, seventy rupees each; Qazi Nur al-Din Khan, the nephew (brother's son) of Qazi °Abd al-Rahman Khan "the Khan-°Ulam of Afghanistan," one hundred rupees; the brother of the father-in-law (*barādar-i khusur*) of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, sixty rupees; Sardar Muhammad Khan Muhammadza'i, one of the sardars of Kabul, seventy rupees; Muhammad Yusuf Khan the son of Safdar °Ali Khan, brother of Field Marshal Husayn °Ali Khan, sixty rupees; Muhammad Sharif Khan, the brother-in-law (*khusurzādah*) of General Taj Muhammad Khan, sixty rupees; the general himself 700 rupees; Shayr Muhammad Khan, the brother of Amir Muhammad Khan, the brother-in-law of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, 100 rupees; Mubin Khan Taraki, thirty rupees; Muhammad °Alim Khan *kumīdān* from Qandahar, eighteen rupees; Aghar Khan, the brother of Bahadur Khan Maydani, twenty rupees; Amir Muhammad Khan, the father-in-law of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, 900 rupees; °Abd al-Khaliq Khan, the son of °Abd al-Qadir Khan Siyah, 220 rupees; Sardar Shayr Muhammad Khan, one of the sardars of Kabul, 800 rupees; Yar Muhammad Khan Sipahi, fifteen rupees; °Abd Allah Khan Qandahari, fourteen rupees; °Abd al-Hakim Khan, the brother Gul °Alam Khan, twenty rupees; Ibrahim Khan of the Wardak tribe, twenty rupees; Ra°uf Khan the brother of Ghulam Ghaws Khan, twenty rupees; General Taj Muhammad Khan the son of the *mīrākhūr* °Ali Muhammad Khan, 100 rupees; Allah Bakhsh, a *nawkar* of one

of /666/ the English who guarded and watched over Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan—his image is on one of the tintypes (*āyīnah-i ʿaks*) [no rupee amount given]; Khushdil Khan Luynab, 1,050 rupees; the son of Sardar Shayr Muhammad Khan and Jan Muhammad Khan *kumīdān* Qandahari, twenty rupees each; Gul Muhammad Khan, the brother of Muhammad ʿAlim Khan the son of Muhammad Khan, forty rupees; Sikandar Khan, the brother of Khushdil Khan Luynab and *pīshkhidmat* of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, seventy rupees; Captain Gordon, an Englishman who appears in the pictures but who was not one of the servants of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan; Shah Muhammad Khan, the treasurer (*ṣandūqdār*) of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, 300 rupees; the *īshik-aqāsī* Muhammad Akbar Khan, a cousin (on his father’s side) of Luynab Khushdil Khan, 120 rupees; Sardar Fath Muhammad Khan, 950 rupees—his son and his father also shared in this stipend; Colonel Khayr Allah Khan of the Wardak tribe, thirty rupees; Field Marshal Husayn ʿAli Khan 700 rupees; General Mir Faqir Khan, fifty rupees; ʿAbd al-Wahhab Khan *qāpūchī*, sixty rupees; Colonel Amir Muhammad Khan Kakari, forty rupees; Mirza Ghulam Ghaws Khan fifty rupees; two sons of the field marshal Husayn ʿAli Khan, 100 rupees each; one of the latter’s *nawkars*, twenty rupees; General Wali Muhammad Khan Wardak 100 rupees; Haydar Khan, the *lālah* (tutor) of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan sixty rupees; Arsalah Khan Tikabi, twenty rupees; Gul Muhammad Khan Fufalzaʿi 100 rupees; Mir Afzal Khan Sipahi Qandahari, thirteen rupees; Muhammad ʿUmar Khan Sipahi Qandahari, eighteen rupees; a maternal uncle (*khālū-yi*) of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan from the Mohmand tribe received 100 rupees a month from the sardar himself; Muhammad Mir Khan Kakari, thirty rupees; Muhammad Akram Khan, the brother of Khushdil Khan Luynab, Sultan Muhammad Khan Qandahari, a *nawkar* of Muhammad Akram Khan the son of the late Sardar Faqir Muhammad Khan, and Muhammad Afzal Khan Qandahari, 100 rupees each; and Sultan Muhammad Khan Ishaqzaʿi, forty-five rupees. In all fifty-four of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan’s *nawkars* received from the British government a monthly total of 8,073 English “sovereign” (*chihrah-shāhī*) rupees, over and above the stipend that the sardar himself received, which was noted earlier. The order issued by His Majesty regarding the relatives of those men left behind in Afghanistan will be recorded in its proper place, God willing. (His Majesty) turned over to his officials the photograph of them which he received from India and it was preserved.

During this time, via a petition of Muhammad Ayyub Khan the son of Amin al-Dawlah Khan, the grandson of Shujaʿ al-Dawlah Khan, assassin of the late Shah Shujaʿ, it reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty that (Muhammad Ayyub) was unhappy and had broken with his father and wanted permission granted so that he could return to Kabul. On the sixteenth of Jumada al-Sani/7 February, His Majesty wrote and told him that he should consider the skirt of the English government the “firm handle” of his desires and hopes, he should cling tightly to it for that skirt is wider and longer than the skirt of the government of Afghanistan, and henceforth he should close the door of correspondence with

officials of His Majesty's government and refrain from the audacity of sending any more letters.

Also on the sixteenth of the month, the (written) order of His Majesty which had been sent on the twenty-seventh of the preceding month to the Afghan ambassador (in Calcutta) concerning the activities of the Russian colonel (see above) and he (the ambassador) had informed the Foreign Secretary as to its contents, after having been translated from Persian into English, was now delivered by the viceroy to the Russian prince who had arrived in Calcutta on a tour and was met by the viceroy at the rail station. He in turn informed officials of his government of the reckless and unreasonable activity of the colonel and they ordered all their border patrols not to intrude on the soil of Afghanistan so that nothing further would be perpetrated for which their government would have to answer.

During this time, Muhammad °Ali Khan, one of the descendants of Mir Muhammad Ibrahim *mushrif* whose story was told in volume one under the events of the reign of Timur Shah Saduza'i, was appointed superintendent (*sar-rishta-dār*) of the Islamic Post Office in Peshawar in place of Mirza Faqir Muhammad Khan.

Also at this time, on the twentieth of Jumada al-Sani/11 February, a royal order was issued concerning those relatives of the servants of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan (an account of whose stipends from the English government was given above) who had stayed behind in Afghanistan. It was addressed to Na'ib Mir Sultan Khan, the *kūtwāl* of Kabul and it told him to investigate and seek out the location of the homes of all the relatives and those left behind by them (the servants of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan) wherever they may be. Since it was certainly the case that at least some of the families (wives and children) and money and property (*māl wa manāl*) of them would be found with other families and as they are ill-disposed and hostile to the government, he was to confiscate everything so that the avenue of correspondence on both sides would be closed and produce no further trouble. Since the royal personage himself was in Turkistan /667/ in Mazar-i Sharif, the *mīr shabb* made this royal order an occasion for his own oppression and tyranny and threw the net of oppression and violence over the heads of helpless innocent people, snared a large group in the bonds of punishment, expelled them from the country, and confiscated all their belongings. Up until today, which is twelve years, ten months and eleven days since the auspicious accession of His progressive-minded and wise Royal Highness, Lamp of the Nation and the Religion (i.e. 1913), which has passed with kindness, happiness, prosperity, good rule, justice-dispensing, servant-pleasing, and impartiality-ornamenting, most of the servants of the noble Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and others who took the path of opposition to this government in Iran, Punjab, and Hindustan, and spent their days wishing it ill, now thanks to the compassion and generosity of this sin-pardoning, misdeed-overlooking padishah have obtained the privilege of return to their original homelands and their own homes. Each one has been restored to an excellent rank and auspicious duties, to a bounteous

salary, and to an appetizing and successful share in the country's abundance. Day after day they have found glory and respect, obtained their deepest desires and ascended to the highest pinnacle of nobleness and advancement, an account of all of which, God willing, and of their obtaining honor from the government, will be duly written out in volume four of this book.

During this time, Mulla Darwish Muhammad, a Kabuli, was assigned by His Majesty to go to Bukhara to sell qarakul skins. He went there and was diligent in carrying out that responsibility.

The Uprising of the Char Sadah People and Certain Matters Which Became the Motive for the Rebellion of Those Contemptible People

During this time Suhrab Beg and Mulla ʿIsa, two Char Sadah leaders, without the issuance of any order fled Mazar-i Sharif. So a farman went out from His Majesty to the governor of Herat telling him to arrest those two men and send them back to him in chains. The governor dispatched Muhammad ʿAlam Khan Barakzaʿi and Muhammad Amir Khan Afshar with their Kushadah cavalry who numbered 120 riders to detain those two men. But before the arrival of this contingent, the governor of Sar-i Pul arrested Mulla ʿIsa. With his arrest Suhrab Beg lost heart and entered Maymanah on the path of repentance with a servant of the government, Barzu Beg. From there, hoping that he would intercede for him, he headed back to Mazar-i Sharif. He had not yet obtained the honor of an audience and the privilege of seeing His Majesty when the governor of Sar-i Pul, sent sixteen regular cavalry to Chaqcharan to Sad Bashi ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan, they arrested thirteen of Suhrab Beg's friends who were also friends of Mulla ʿIsa, brought them to Sar-i Pul, and incarcerated them in the same jail where Mulla ʿIsa was held.

During these goings on, Hasan Bahadur, a Hazarah of Qalʿah-i Naw, departed this world. His Majesty conferred his drum, banner, and Kushadah horsemen on his eldest son and thereby provide some consolation for his father's death.

Having honored him, (His Majesty) then dismissed (*taghyīr dādah*) Muhammad Ismaʿil Khan the brother of Sardar Anbiya Khan, who was governor of Tayurah in order to resolve (questions arising over) the accounts of his governorship, and ordered him to go to Herat and present his accounts to the people of the diwan there.

Meantime, the governor of Sar-i Pul who had shown considerable skill in arresting the Char Sadah leaders sent a letter to Sayyid Qasim Khan, the governor of Maq and Char Sadah in which the message was for him to arrest Sharif, Fazil, ʿAziz and other persons who had cooperated with Mulla ʿIsa and Suhrab Beg in their good and bad activities and send them to sar-i Pul so they could be sent on to Mazar-i Sharif. On the heels of this letter, he dispatched his son Muhammad Akbar Khan with several regular cavalymen. Their orders were to round up the abovementioned men as well as malefactors of the Riza Sar tribe who, at the instigation of Ishik Aqasi Hit Muhammad, Ghanimat Beg, Mulla

Suhrab, Sharaf al-Din, Musa, and °Aziz Beg, all Char Sadah people, had attacked, some time prior to this, four government collectors who were collecting government tax revenues, captured them, raised the head of tyranny, and then been jailed by the abovementioned governor (Sayyid Qasim Khan) and because of which (the jailing of these men) Mulla °Isa and Suhrab Beg, who as mentioned above had fled Mazar-i Sharif. He (Muhammad Akbar Khan) was to move all these people, along with their wives and children, from there (the locale of the Riza Sar) and send them to Sar-i Pul. In short, after those people sent by the governor of Sar-i Pul, including his son reached Sayyid Qasim Khan, the governor of Maq and Char Sadah, they asked to transport those abovementioned people to Sar-i Pul. Consequently, people of the Zi Hindu and Riza Sar tribes rose up and fought with Sayyid Qasim Khan, the governor, the horsemen /668/ sent by the governor of Sar-i Pul, and his son. They mortally wounded the governor and two of the cavalymen (poured the blood of the governor on the ground of destruction), and freed the captives who had been summoned to Sar-i Pul. Afterwards, half of the people of Maq, fearing for their lives, moved to Darrah-i Falakhar, and half to Darrah-i Kharanj and sought refuge in those places. As a consequence of this incident, Muhammad Amir Khan Afshar and Muhammad °Alam Khan (Barakaza'i) who, as noted above, had been sent with 120 horsemen from Herat to arrest Suhrab Beg and Mulla °Isa and were camped at Ubah, now, at the order of the governor of Herat and Field Marshal Faramarz Khan set out to destroy that evil group of the people of Char Sadah.

During this time, Akhundzadah Faqir Muhammad Khan, the governor of Chakhansur, who had been summoned by noble farman to the presence of His Majesty, was given leave to return. His Majesty gave him some words of royal advice and instruction concerning the protection of the Sistan border and how to get along with Iranian officials. He also gave him a written set of instructions concerning the border and his government and instructed him to return to Chakhansur via Herat. So he left Mazar-i Sharif, reached there (Chakhansur) in accord with His Majesty's order, and was diligent in performing those things referred to him.

During this time when supporters of the government and servants of the affairs of the sultanate were busy putting out the fires of the Char Sadah and Shaykh °Ali insurrections, as was mentioned above, and the final outcome of which will be described below, His Majesty learned in letters and scrolls about the completion of the work of the heads of departments of the chancellery whose salaries and those of their clerks, because of the incompleteness of their work and (the incompleteness of) the summary budget of the kingdom, were withheld awaiting completion of the summary (budget). (He learned) that they had completed the summary and were requesting payment of their salaries. On the fourth of Rajab/4 February 1890, wrote out a proclamation to all the people of the diwan by way of admonition and chastisement which said,

You have sent to the threshold where the world takes refuge the scrolls

(registers) and journals of work that has been done, sealed, and signed. These have been reviewed by us and a summary obtained. But with regard to an examination of your work just saying [it has been done] and making something in the form of a scroll does not make it conform to the test of acceptability because some of you write and say that you have finished some of your work, some is close to being finished and some is not finished at all. Concerning the withholding of your salaries for this year you present yourselves as being in need of compassion and kindness. Therefore it is necessary that I say a few words to you through the tongue of the pen, make you understand your situation, and make you aware of my views for when I established three bureaus in Afghanistan and all of you came to work in them, laks of rupees were in arrears in the kingdom and laks more were not coming to the treasury because of your embezzlement and theft but were going into your own purses. Fearing lest your thievery become public, having completed summaries for no year, you simply did not complete the work. Whatever I tried to do, whatever effort I brought to bear so that the affairs of the bureau would be well regulated, nothing happened. So changing that state of affairs was unavoidable, the bureaus were subdivided, and again I entrusted you with them. In both situations, when there were three bureaus and after I subdivided them, I obtained from you written affidavits saying that you would clean up old business, organize and put in good order all new business, and, having quickly dealt with old business, you would not be negligent about future business which could lead to loss for the government and profit for you. (In the past) you said that ‘if there are more clerks then of course, we can finish up old business, make good organizational provisions for new business, and prepare summaries of the kingdom’s expenditures.’ Taking this statement of yours as free of any hidden agenda, many clerks were appointed to serve under the bureau chiefs and the salaries of a bureau head and the clerks were fixed (at a level) that no one has ever been paid before in Afghanistan. I have provided an amount of salary for just one bureau chief and his clerks that is more than what the late Mirza ‘Abd al-Razzaq *mustawfi* had for all his clerks so that to the people of the diwan now laks of rupees have been allocated as the salaries for several bureaus, the bureau chiefs, and their clerks. If the amount for their salaries is compared with the total revenue of the country, it is one-tenth or even one-fifth and as much as half of the income from customs duties. Notwithstanding this, after the subdivision of the work (of the diwan) and spending on more salaries, procedures anything which helps advance things and is good for everyone has simply not been forthcoming. You haven’t exerted yourselves at all and you’re just not doing your jobs. Even now that the work has been subdivided and the government sustains more loss in the form of more salaries to the people of the diwan, you (people of the

diwan) are just not working. This is due to the incitement of individuals who are not happy with the subdivision of the bureaus of the kingdom of Afghanistan. In fact, because of their personal agendas, they want the /669/ business of the diwan again placed under a single *mustawfi*. Seduced by their deception, you have been so impudent and negligent as for years to have failed to produce even a trace of a summary of the revenue and expenditures of the kingdom of Afghanistan. As for old business, no cleaning up of accounts is evident and no one has said that the business of (even) one year of Afghanistan ('s accounts) has been cleaned up let alone the summaries of several years. No matter how I counseled you, it profited nothing and my good advice fell on your deaf ears. Day by day, you've become more and more habituated to negligence and indifference (to your work). You have given as excuses for not doing your work the need to see a sick person, to shop, to go to the bath, and to pay visits to your family and your clan. You considered both cold and warm weather as preventing you from doing your work. You produced these sorts of pretexts and tomfoolery so that I had to force you to be present at work and set the times when you had to be there. To admonish, chastise, warn, and punish you, I ordered that if you were absent from work your salary would be docked. And since your days were spent in injuring the people and you receive a huge salary, you showed no concern nor any shame despite your claiming to be Muslims. When you headed home from the office, like a prisoner being released from prison, your steps were light. But when you left home for the office, like downcast prisoners it was as if you were being forced against your will to go to work. You did nothing to improve your work and you never said to yourselves, 'this job is my responsibility and it is necessary therefore that I do it.' You had no fear of ruining the prestige and regard people might have had for you nor were you bashful about ruining the reputation of your forefathers and family by your idleness. You didn't even worry about your own future and say, 'eventually our actions will offend the padishah and he will ask people from other countries to be the bureau chiefs and the responsible ones.' Indeed, you didn't produce the (budget) summary, nor work on the old accounts, nor straighten out the arrears of the kingdom and put them to rights. I'm not saying you didn't do any work. You worked but work according to my wishes and thus make me happy. Finally, comparing you to people in other countries who wield the pen and serve padishah and subjects as amins, wazirs, dabirs, and reliable people, what do they do? Do they take a salary from the treasury of the Muslims with a sense of integrity and serve, or do they believe themselves Muslims while extorting and embezzling what is rightfully the padishah's and the subjects and feel happy about it? In any event, despite the many years your fathers and you yourselves spent enjoying the prestige (of office) in this government, I don't know

how it is that now acting irreligiously and deviously you can cast aside Islamic pride, the safeguarding of your fellow Muslims, and the protection of your own honor and reputation, ignore the good opinion of everyone and tie your belt to your own humiliation, to the loss of the government, and destruction of the subjects. This too is conceded that in the whole world, no one is more trusted or relied upon than people in such positions who with patriotic pride and integrity carry out the affairs of government, wherever they may be. What religion and principles do you people have and why do you pay no attention to the consequences of your work and the outcome of what you do? What you're doing will rend the veil of your honor and will curtail your authority (lit: shorten your hand) in government affairs. You have had control of the bureaucracy for ten years now. Now in these scrolls some from three years ago, some from four, some more, some less, you talk about finishing the business of crediting and debiting accounts and give an indication of your services. Now, corresponding to my regulations and decisions as well as your promises and, in view of the fact that responsibility (work) has been in your hands for a number of years, this scroll of yours is just not good enough. How can I achieve peace of mind just by your say-so? That summary which you say has been finished, where is it? And how many years does it cover? I came to Afghanistan in the Year of the Crocodile, 1297 Hijri, and took the reins of control of the country into my hands. It is now the end of the Year of the Ox and the seventh month of the lunar Hijri year 1307. And you are giving me a summary of the revenues and expenditures, some of you from the Year of the Ram, some from the Year of the Monkey, some from a point between between those two years and some from the beginning. So that if I accept the middle years from you, who can I ask about the beginning and from whom can I find out about the end? In short, I made you my trustees and you betrayed that trust. I made you partners in the government of Afghanistan and you turned yourselves into foreigners. I tell you that you should not allow the funds of your government to be in arrears. You are to collect them all and pay yourselves in cash from the treasury. But you are so confused and clueless when it comes to your own work that you think, 'our amir doesn't pay us our salary and he gets our work for free.' What you don't think about is the fact that month after month I have to pay the soldiers of your government their salaries in cash from the treasury. How can I leave you hungry and without food? My goal and purpose is that you be partners in the royal treasury /670/ and leave no arrears uncollected in the kingdom. If everything goes into the treasury your salaries will be the first to be paid, before anyone else's. If sometime you come up short [for expenditures], you can take funds from the treasury, and don't need to borrow from the people of the bazaar. What sort of bad idea do you have when you say, 'the padishah has withheld

our salaries and will not pay them.' How can you imagine that I who am your amir have used what rightfully belongs to your government for my own expenses and those of my children and leave nothing for you and so cause you hardship. My idea from all this is in accordance with the Pure Shari'at of His Excellent Seal (of the Prophets) so that the rights of the Muslim treasury (*bayt al-māl*) are never lost, things are done to protect the honor of the community, arms are assembled, and the army is well-organized so that defending against the enemy is done properly and the wealth of the community is not wasted. without waste. It is not just to act on the desires of just a few people of the kingdom which truth and the Shari'ah forbids and for which one would be held accountable in the next world. Indeed, the reason for withholding your salaries is because I am determined to be the guarantor and implementer for what is essential: that you speedily carry to conclusion those matters that devolve on you, thereby obtain honor and esteem, make God and His and our Prophet pleased with you, be paid your salaries completely, spend them licitly on your daily needs, and not illicitly consume what rightfully belongs to two crore of souls of the praiseworthy community. Until last year you collected your salaries. In this same one year in which (your) salaries have been withheld there is no issue other than concerning your collections, proper accounting, and completing your responsibilities. I hope no infamy or corruption will appear on your part. Indeed, I ask of God that you be trustworthy, loyal, straight-dealing, straight-speaking, and taking only what is licit. Now I am asking of you (only) that you straighten out and finish up your work. And that is nothing more than the summary of the credits and debits of the kingdom's budget. I (also) want the summaries from Luy Yil until now, which is Ud(i) Yil, ten years in all. If Udi Yil cannot be done (yet) then you must complete (the summaries) up to Sichqan Yil (Year of the Rat). After that, should God will it, I will come to Kabul next year and review your work. When the summaries are submitted, I will give each one of you a discharge for the work you've done and a certificate of satisfaction signed by myself. You will then start in on the new work that will arise. I am not inclined to find fault or look for shortcomings and mistakes in your work. I have written all these words to you by way of advice for your salaries are not (actually) suspended and curtailed but are in escrow (*amānat*) which will eventually come to you. If it hasn't come into your hands today it will tomorrow. You should consider God as being present and should not think about whether it's day or night but should finish your work and leave nothing unfinished so we don't get into such squabbles and I won't have any complaints about you. Your completing and cleaning up the accounts and creating summaries will endow you all with good reputations because every person in Afghanistan calls you thieves and traitors. In their hearts they believe that the people of the diwan don't finish their

summaries for that reason so that arrears are left in the kingdom. For without arrears, the marketplace of their theft could not operate. By creating the summary, nothing is left in the kingdom to steal and the road of theft is blocked. What is most distressing and disgusting about your situation is that all the tribes and clans [of Afghanistan] have fitted your figure exactly for the robe of disrepute. By making the summaries, people's tongues will have nothing to say and you will gain a good name. The fortune of a man is his good name and is his pride. All of you lay claim to intelligence and intuition and what intelligent, discriminating person would forfeit his pride? I have written these words so that you will wind up and finish the rest of your work. When I come to Kabul, I will review all the work. If I leave Mazar-i Sharif and go for some reason to another part of the kingdom for a time to oversee the reorganization of the affairs of a province or locale, at that time I will delegate someone to inquire about your work, look at the summaries, and inform me. Wherever I happen to be, I will issue an order for the payment of your salaries. I cannot however authorize payment of your salaries on the basis of the scroll you've sent me because there are two problems with it. First, not knowing or understanding things I have no knowledge of, I will have to verify [the scroll]. But I can't verify without investigating. Second, it appears that I suspended your salaries merely in a fit of pique. (But) simply by seeing the scroll of your work that anger subsided and vanished. These two are not really the points. The point is your work will be verified only when you complete the summaries and I verify them. Then at that time, your salaries will be released and an order to pay them will be given. But now the best thing is that I don't order the payment of your salaries. In conclusion, /671/ I strongly advise you that you consider the government as your own and your work and that you be in sympathy with it. I who [annually] collect one crore eighty and some laks of rupees as the revenues (*māliyāt*) of the government through your hands and your pens and pay it to the armies of your people's own government, naturally I am not bothered by your salaries and I consider that you deserve the salaries and the favors, and glory, and benefits. But God has given you reason and intuition and has given you guidance so that you don't lose sight of and forget your own glory and my position. The end.

He sent this letter of royal counsel to the noble, virtuous, fine, praiseworthy, veracious prince, Habib Allah Khan, in Kabul and ordered him to summon all the people of the diwan, whether humble or noble, of whatever status to the public audience hall (the Public Salamkhanah) and read the letter out to them. (He also ordered the prince) to release the salaries of Mir Abu'l-Qasim Khan chief (*sar daftar*) of the bureau of audit (of those receiving government salaries —*tashkhīṣ*) [NB: Kakar, 32, says it was the office paying pensions to those not

on active service but the citation isn't compelling.]; Mirza Muhammad Yusuf Khan, chief of the *fāriḡh-khaṭṭī* bureau (office authorizing releases and finalizing all transactions); Mirza Muhammad Tahir Khan, chief of the *rūz-nāmchah* office (recording journal); Mirza Muhammad Yusuf Khan, *amīn-i nizām* (office administrator) and all the clerks under them, all of whose responsibilities had been completed in accordance with His Majesty's command, and to send them a farman to collect (their salaries). After the arrival of that, the celestial dwelling and laudable prince, in accord with the order of his glorious qiblah and most esteemed Ka'bah (i.e. his father) read out the entire fatherly letter of counsel with its the kindly royal suggestions and exhortations which up until now no father of good discernment of all those who had been farman-givers had ever bestowed or ever would bestow on a noble son. At the conclusion of the reading of the letter all the people of the diwan both great and small offered up thanks and prayers in abundance and praised the renowned king and prince. They were then dismissed and hurried back to their offices.

But they botched their work even more and increased the confusion of the subjects. Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan *mustawfī* who 'held the pen of *istīfā'* (the office of the chief of the diwan) had finished up a summary of two of the four years and was putting final touches on the third year but was dismissed while engaged in work on the fourth year of the felicitous accession and so had not finished the summary. The summary of years one and two which he had finished and filed in the royal bureaus' records room (*taḥwīl-khānah*) before his dismissal. Despite this, they (the people of the diwan) did not produce these lest (His Majesty) demand a summary from them for every year. In short, stuffing the cotton of negligence in their ears and closing their eyes to royal favor, they made excuses on the grounds that it would cause loss to the revenues (*ʿamal wa dukhl*) of the government and did not complete any summaries until the time came for the improvement-desiring, just, and equitable padishah, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion (Habib Allah lhan) for throne-embellishing and farman-issuing and he drew the pen of forgiveness over the arrears of the kingdom which amounted to seven crores (seventy million) of rupees and had come to light as a result of investigations. Speaking eloquently, he publicly addressed all the people of the diwan and said,

I forgive all the mistakes, negligence, transgressions, and missteps you have committed in the past and in future there will be no lapses on the part of the diwan and they should not extend the hand of greed to the wealth of the government and the subjects.

By this order of His Majesty, now, which is the thirteenth bountiful year of his reign, he knows that the people of the diwan, by this one word uttered by the blessed tongue, are like a mirror cleansed of the dust of perfidy and treachery and he has not had to order an investigation of a single person. Nonetheless, whatever matter arose among the people of the diwan and whatever action they took whether by way of integrity and service or by way of corruption and

treachery, God willing, will all be recorded little by little and in its entirety in volume four, for this ‘sect’:

“If they possessed one barleycorn worth of fairness,
There wouldn’t be one-half of a millet seed of pain in the world”

*The Issuance of a Manshur Forbidding the Nasiri People Who Had Violated the
Stipulations Laid Down by The Government (From Entering Afghanistan)*

Since, as was previously noted, the Nasiri people rejected the conditions which His Majesty had proposed to their representatives, to which they (the latter) had agreed, and for which they had given a written attestation, and gone off to Daman, His Majesty was angered by that evil tribe’s double-dealing and on the seventh of Rajab/27 February he sent a farman to the noble prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, telling him to inform the leaders of the Sulayman Khayl who were in Kabul on some matter or other to prevent the Nasiri from entering Afghanistan with vigilance and whenever they start to head for Afghanistan from Daman to be battle-ready so that if they (still) refuse to accept the terms and impudently enter Afghan territory, they could inflict destruction on them and stop them from doing so. Also he was to send one regiment of regular infantry /672/ and one of cavalry to Ghaznin to be stationed there so that the Fufalza’i Infantry Regiment and the governor of Ghaznin could march to the district of Taraki where they would block the path of the Nasiris. On this same day he sent a confirming farman to the governors of Ghaznin and Qandahar who, prior to this, had been given orders at the time the Nasiris had gone to Banun and Daman (not to let them back in). In it he wrote that they were to march with the Fufalza’i Infantry Regiment, Afghan tribal irregulars (*mardum-i alūsi Afghān*), and Hazarahs from Ghaznin and Qandahar to stop the Nasiris. In case of the latter’s failure to accept the terms which His Majesty had imposed on them through the pact with their representatives, they were to be prevented from entering Afghan territory. He also sent a farman to Mir Bash(i), Mir Haydar, Sardar, Awliya Khan, and °Abd Allah, the *mihtar* of the entire tribe of the Nasiri; Khan Bahadur, Awliya, Shahzadah, and Din Muhammad, leaders of clans of that tribe (*qabā’il-i qawm*) such as the Yahya Khayl and Hush Khayl clans; Shayr, Babur, Lamar, Muhammad Yar, Shahbaz, Niyaz Muhammad, Habib Allah, and Madad, leaders of the Shadi Khayl and Da’ud Khayl—also clans of that tribe. The farman was accompanied by Mulla Payandah Muhammad of the Hush Khayl, Shadi Khan of the Bahr Khayl, °Ata Muhammad Khan of the Yahya Khayl, and Malik Sardar of the Da’ud Khayl, envoys of the Nasiri tribe who had been received by His Majesty and had brought with them a Qur’an as intercessor. The farman said:

Your emissaries came to Mazar-i Sharif and were honored with an audience. They presented a message of obedience and submission on behalf of the Nasiri tribe and with repentance asked that their misdeeds

by forgiven. I kept these four from returning home and wrote (a farman) to you both in Pashto (Afghani) and Persian (Parsi) and listed a number of stipulations. I sent it to my felicitous and successful son in Kabul, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, and he sent it on to you accompanied by Muhammad Akbar Khan the brother of Sufi Muhammad Afzal Khan. After meeting with this emissary, you put your seals to a letter and to a Qur'an and sent it back to my illustrious son by the same hand. When these came from Kabul to Mazar, I saw your letter and the Noble Qur'an but there was no enumeration of the stipulations which I had put in my farman. Nor did you write the oath of allegiance and obedience which should have been inscribed on the margin of one of the pages of the Glorious Word of God. [Instead] you wrote that on two separate leaves outside the Qur'an and put several seals on it. These names and seals were not recognized [by me]. Which of them is the leader of which clan? I didn't consider your letter and written covenant of any value. They didn't answer to the stipulations I laid down. They oppose the basic thing that I'm after and [furthermore] are duplicitous and treacherous. I had discussions with your envoys and gave them leave to return home. Reckoning this as necessary, I write in all frankness that if the livelihood of you who are °Abd Allah Khan and the leader of the Nasiri tribe is earned on that very road you travel in order to get to your winter quarters [i.e. within English territory], the best thing is that you should live under the shade of the protection of the English government and don't let the thought of coming to Afghanistan ever cross your mind again because I've given up any hope of your being of use to the government of Afghanistan and I've closed the eyes of trust. If your coming is not based on friendship and feelings of cooperation, then for every one injury that would befall the government, you, your property, wives and children would suffer ten. Such being the case, why would [I let] you cause me so much trouble? I would have to keep from attacking you all the tribes and peoples who are prepared to fight you and are just looking for the opportunity to kill and plunder you. Why should I have to think about your situation and prospects as well as those of your enemies? No intelligent person would want to bring trouble on himself and cause injury to others without good reason. If you can't make a living in the land occupied by the English government, and the loosening of the knots of your affairs (i.e. the only way you can live) is by coming to Afghanistan then you should be fully aware that unless you give as hostages one household (*khānah*) of every ten and ten of every hundred and one hundred of every thousand, all of whom should be possessors of wealth and trusted and respected by the tribe and of every forty households one household which is the sons of leaders and of clan chiefs—men who are capable of conducting the business of the households under their supervision—and unless they go and settle in the well-watered land and pastures of

the province of Qataghan never will the knot of your affairs be loosened and I will not allow [you to enter Afghanistan]. I will not allow this until they go where the aforementioned households are supposed to reside to succeed at farming and herding and until they take into consideration what is best for the government. There, if they want money in advance for planting needs and land for pasture and farming, the government will provide these things so that as many animals as they have can be pastured, and they can freely move about. And cultivable land will be provided for however much farming they want to do, so that their days will be spent pleasantly and their lives will pass in happiness. Land which is given by the government for them to live on and farm /673/ will not be exempt from rights of ownership and partnership for that same household which can use the water, pasture, crops, and revenue as the source for its own expenses and for its livestock and animals should live in ease and leisure and should be satisfied with and thankful for this show of generosity and kindness by the government. Such a household will occasion my own peace of mind and the trust of its own tribe because by virtue of their settling there I can say to myself that I have given a refuge and a place for this number of households from my own tribe in Qataghan which is on the edge of the kingdom of Afghanistan and on the banks of the Oxus River. Naturally, I am more secure. Therefore, after your coming to Afghanistan and giving one household in every ten to me and I settle them in Qataghan and establish livelihoods for them, this will be a visible sign of your cooperation with the government and of my trust in and reassurance about you. Regarding my desire that these households be possessors of wealth and from among the influential and prestigious [tribal] leaders, the reason is that people who are foreign neighbors would understand and recognize that that this number of households from the Afghan tribes, all of whom are people of integrity, good reputation, wealthy, and productive would bravely sacrifice themselves out of feelings of patriotism (*waṭan-parastī*) and therefore no one would dare seize and occupy their lands. By their going there, these households will be the strong right arm of the government and the ‘feathers and wings’ [basic support] of the might of the state. Weak and feeble households would be a burden on the mind of the government and you. Neither you nor I will accept such a burden. Indeed, if you were to agree to come to Afghanistan according to the terms that have been written down, I too would agree. If not, don’t come. Your coming would be one disaster for the government but several times over a disaster for you. These are my last words: if you enter Afghanistan in submission and obedience, the slate will be wiped clean of your past acts of hostility against the Sulayman Khayl and others and replaced with love and friendship. You will also gain peace of mind from this for I am a well-wisher of yours, not an ill-wisher. The rest is up to you.

With regards to advances (*taqāwī*) and help with expenses which will be given to these households, they will not be called [for repayment] for four years. But after four years, the taxes of the fifth year along with the four-year advance will be requested year by year in a way that won't be a burden. You will annually pay twenty-five percent tax (*chāryak*) on irrigated land and ten percent on unirrigated (*daymah*) land. The end.

The evildoing of the Nasiri that came to light after the arrival of this manshur will be recorded in its proper place, God willing.

The Murder of Qazi Shihab al-Din Khan Jawanshayr and One of His Nawkars

During this time, Khurram Dil Khan the son of Sardar Shirindil Khan, on whose temples and cheeks a first soft down had appeared like a halo around the moon, one night invited Qazi Shihab al-Din Khan Jawanshayr to his house as a guest. The qazi came with one of his nawkars. These two men were subsequently shot and killed by rifles fired by their host and by Mahmud, his tutor (*lālah*). Khurram Dil was then arrested by foot soldiers attached to the police court (*maḥkamah-i kūtwālī*) but his tutor escaped and was not [immediately] found. The noble prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, summoned to his justice-administering presence Na'ib Mir Sultan, the *kūtwāl* (of Kabul), whose accounts at this time were under investigation at His Majesty's order, he having fallen from royal favor and trust. [Sardar Habib Allah Khan] restored his confidence by giving him a robe of honor, a belt, and a six-shot revolver from his own wardrobe and arsenal and ordered him to use every trick he knew to capture and punish Mahmud, Khurram Dil Khan's tutor. In accordance with the laudable order of the noble and celestial-dwelling prince, he captured him, put him in chains, and threw him in prison. He interrogated him as to the reason for the killing of the qazi and then, from his statements, wrote to the bountiful and sublimely capable sardar [Habib Allah Khan] that the qazi had performed an indecent act of sodomy on his master [Khurram Dil Khan] and because of that filthy business deserved to be killed. Khurram Dil Khan likewise declared that this act was the reason for killing [the qazi]. But he also added to his statement that the qazi—God forbid—was killed because he had cursed the great Companions of the Lord of Mankind (Prophet Muhammad). The celestial-dwelling prince sent the heirs of the murdered man and his murderers to the Shari'ah Court and referred the resolution of the case to the Holy Law. Jalal al-Din Khan, the eldest son of the slain qazi, along with the other heirs, both young and old, in light of the fact that for generations the ancestors [of Khurram Dil Khan] had served the dynasty of this state and enjoyed its favors, /674/ deemed the shedding of [Khurram Dil's] blood unworthy, despite the fact that it was perfectly legal to do so in vengeance (*qiṣās*), forgave him, thereby not staining their hands with the blood of the royal tribe. Both these matters [the murder and its forgiveness] was reported by the sublimely capable prince to the benevolent

ears of the sovereign of celestial gravity and he then wrote these words to the prince:

The statements of both the master and his nawkar are very well-founded, proper, accurate, and correspond with what must certainly be the case because anyone who comes as a guest and in recompense for the favors of the host and as gratitude for his kindness feels obliged to curse the great Companions and the host in return for the honor and kindness which is the custom of people of the world and is conferred on the guest, must of necessity shoot and kill him! [But] this is also true: any obscene and profane act that involves two people is predicated on the consent of both parties. Of course, in a transaction between two parties there might be some loss (to one of the parties) which could result in a case where the ‘buyer’ is killed by the ‘seller.’ May God damn the qazi and Khurram Dil both. If the qazi abstained from corrupt behavior, idle talk, and inappropriate actions and day and night did not go from one house to another of his friends and acquaintances, why was he killed in such a fashion? And if Khurram Dil was not accustomed to such unmanly and obscene things, why did he participate in and encourage this? This business is infamous and disgraceful. Whatever happened to the qazi and whatever happens to this unfortunate person, is what their actions justly merit. (The end.)

A Manshur Issued in Response to a Letter from the Moon-Veiled Nawwab, the Virtuous Sister of His Majesty

During these goings-on, in a letter from the moon-veiled chaste sister of His Majesty and the wife of Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan, the brother of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, an account of the difficulty of her life and the expulsion of her husband from the country—mentioned previously—reached the justice-attuned ears of the sympathetic sovereign. On the fourteenth of Rajab/3 March 1890, a letter was dictated by His Majesty in the name of that veiled fount of chastity and virtue which read:

Oh sister! Your statements about the adversity that has befallen you because of the suspension of your stipend requires me to say a few words and make a few things clear to you. This is that no one has taken a single speck of your money, property, fortune (*dawlat*) and the basis for your wealth. No one even has any desire to take it. Although you seem to think ‘the brother has somehow been injured by me and because of the anger which he feels, he will usurp my money and fortune,’ praise be to God, I don’t illegally seize the money and belongings of anyone, friend or otherwise. I have never harbored such inappropriate thoughts nor will I ever. But there are reasons for my feeling offended and vexed, and outwardly severing the love I have for

you and I will list them one by one. For years I have been father and brother to your husband, Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan and his brothers and out of affection have cherished and nurtured them. I took Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and his brother Muhammad °Aziz Khan under my wing as a father and a big brother would who is looking out for a son and a younger brother. Even more, in educating and raising them I served as their tutor up until the point where they attained reason and could distinguish right from wrong. At no time did I ever abandon the duties of caring for them. Even within the walls of my house I honored and respected them and they shared in both my good fortune (*dawlat*) and my honor (*hurmat*). When it happened that we were forced to travel to foreign parts, I never denied them or withheld from them even the crust of bread which I found in a stranger's house. In the same way, my late father [Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan] looked after and took care of their late father [Amir Muhammad A°zam Khan] his whole life. And he [Muhammad A°zam] became the possessor of name and rank because of my father. And he was counted one of the most trusted and esteemed sons of my glorious grandfather, the Amir-i Kabir [Dust Muhammad Khan] and if the reputation of my father who dwells in eternity had not passed to him, no one ever would have mentioned his name. In any event, because of my father's reputation, he was held in high regard himself. When my father left this transient world and passed on to eternal mercy and everlasting paradise, the kingdom and power remained as my patrimony. I was the eldest son and heir and furthermore had seized kingship with my own sword. But I thought of my uncle as my father and despite the fact that he was unsuitable, I considered him deserving of sovereignty and I put the reins of power into his hands. I girded him with my father's sword, sat him on the throne of power, and made myself his servant until the time when, because he was incompetent, he relinquished kingship and government and turned to me. If someone else had been in my shoes at that moment, he would have ignored him, thought about establishing himself, and would have said to him, 'give up your claim to rule, go sit in a corner, and [be happy with] whatever I give you of food and clothing.' But I foreswore /675/ that kind of behavior, considered him as the amir, raised an army to support him, and sent it off to fight an[other] uncle of mine, the late Amir Shayr °Ali Khan. When it came to military questions, he did not allow me my own ideas, things unfolded without much forethought, and because of a failure to harmonize our plans with our capabilities we were defeated and had to leave for the desolation of foreign parts. While en route, with my own ears I heard him say to Salih, a man from Khust, 'Praise God! I'm not the only miserable person here. °Abd al-Rahman is just as miserable as I am.' Despite such utterances and behavior, until we entered Iranian territory I was not remiss in my service to him. But after that, by

mutual agreement, we separated and by the will of God I went to the land of the Russian government and he went to Iran where he bid farewell to this world. I shared with his sons the very bread I got by begging. I grieved with them over the death of their father. I said to myself and consoled myself with the thought that although I have no father or friend, the sons of my uncle whom I have with me and whom I have raised and taken care of, these are my strong right arm. I was so grateful for their existence that when God again bestowed kingship and good fortune on me I made Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan the ruler (*farmān-rawā*) of Turkistan in the place of my father and kept Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan and two of his brothers beside me like my own sons, raised them, educated them, and never withheld anything from them. I made no distinction between them and my own sons, Prince Habib Allah Khan and Prince Nasr Allah Khan, and all that I got in return, the result and fruit of all my kindness, was what took place. Ungrateful for all these favors, they rebelled against me. It is impossible for me to fathom how this sort of favor reaped this kind of abuse from them. It can never be accepted and never will be. Like the sons of the late Amir Shayr °Ali Khan, the progeny of this uncle have made themselves infamous for their hostility and enmity towards me and my sons. They made no distinction between the way I treated these two families. In fact, I didn't nurture the sons of Amir Shayr °Ali Khan, didn't respect and honor them for years [the way I did the sons of Muhammad A°zam]; rather, I fought them for leadership and kingship. There are many stories of this kind of struggle and strife among royal families but this kind of thing where good deeds are repaid with bad, and friendship is confronted with enmity, is rare. So what hope, indication, and glad tidings can one cling to? And how much longer would I have to live before I could satisfy them with even more favors than the ones I have already bestowed on them? If one supposes that they would be satisfied how could I trust them, because trust has disappeared and hostility and enmity have become entrenched? Although Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan has brought about evildoing and harm, in fact it's not all his own doing, people with their own agendas have brought about his disgrace. His brothers too have gone along with his wrongful acts. If you say that his brothers have no secret connection nor friendly relations with him and have not had such, and that they are only half brothers anyway, and moreover you tell me, 'I was engaged to Sardar Muhamamd Ishaq Khan but did not accept him and then in accordance with the Holy Law I accepted Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan so that this issue, as well as that of being half-brothers,' [if you say this] I then would say to you that being a half brother does not prevent cordial ties and real unity. You are my half sister and if at some critical time you abandoned me or were able to abandon me or I was able to abandon you, there's no escaping the fact

they too could have abandoned their brothers. Concerning my engaging you to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, whom you didn't accept and you cite yourself as the cause of hostility between the brothers, a person shows such jealous pride [only] when he has a mother "with clean skirts" (who is above reproach). Now his mother was an Armenian and she didn't leave him a legacy of such pride that would have made him disown Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan because of you. Rather he shows all too well the legacy of hostility which she left him. So although I know that Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan is innocent, still he's the brother of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and he can't help being his brother. Just like you can't stop being my sister and no one can take this from you. By these indications, the marks of brother-ness will never disappear from those two and they will never forswear their being brothers. As for you, on what basis would you spend your life with me? If this is what you want, being the wife of Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan and my sister, these are two mutually incompatible things. If you want to be my sister while he considers you his wife, that incompatible state will remain. You must either be my sister or the wife of your husband as you have been. In the event you are his wife and don't want to abandon him, then I won't stop you and don't ask /676/ you to repudiate him. Whatever you're inclined to do, you should do it. With the greatest pleasure I will send you after your husband in pleasant and appropriate conditions and provide you with travel provisions, food, and a riding camel and send you to him. With regards to the stipend which you will have, in India I will give you 8,000 Kabuli rupees annually because you're my sister. Now that I am possessor of government and state I won't deny you the crusts of my bread. If I had no kingship and government, even as a beggar I would have to share my bread with you. Now that thanks to the unending benevolence and kindness of God I have everything of course your annual stipend will arrive there. When I pay a stipend to the son of Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan and the brother of Sardar Mir Afzal Khan in Hindustan, how could I not do the same for you? I owe you this much that whether I'm in power or not you share my bread. If you were to leave Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan and consider yourself my sister, tell me exactly how you would leave him. This would strengthen the loving attachment between you and me. Otherwise there can be no regard for explicit declarations [i.e. words are cheap]. I don't want you to swear an oath in order to reassure me. I can see what your deeds and actions are in terms of disgust for your husband and heartfelt affection for your brother. I regret that when I expelled Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan from the kingdom of Afghanistan, I did not get you divorced from him, with the consent of both parties and in accordance with the Holy Law. Now if I knew that your divorce from him with his consent could be facilitated with rupees, I would spend

fifty thousand rupees of my own money to buy a writ of divorce for you from him. Since this matter would not be easy under the terms of the Holy Law, you must make up your own mind about this business. If you choose me who is your brother, then my home is your home. If your inclination is towards your husband, the path for you is open and there is nothing stopping you. The end.

He wrote this with his own pen and at the end inscribed,

I write you so that you won't worry. I have sworn to God [by the words] "O God" and "By God" that there is no untruth in the words that I have written in this letter and that I am not angry about your leaving. Because of that I have given you the option of going or not going to India. Either is fine with me and if you go I will not be angry with you. The end.

After the arrival of this manshur, the veiled nawwab again ventured to write and address the throne of His Benevolent Majesty. She wrote,

I am honored to enjoy the shade of the Homa-bird, the most kind brother, whom I can never forsake. I am not in contact nor do I have amicable relations with my husband. Having cut my ties, I have no further business with him. To me, there is no brother like the fortunate existence of the justice-dispensing sovereign. And I will never think otherwise. If I become as dust, I will not detach my hand from the hem of the skirt of my brother. The end.

After finishing the royal reading of this letter, a farman went out from His Majesty to the eminent prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan telling him to pay her the previous year's stipend as well as the current year's out of compassion so that she suffer no hardship or humiliation when it came to (obtaining) food and the means of livelihood. In accordance with the royal order, the prince paid her the stipends.

A Treatise Composed by Likhar, a Hindu, Which he Had Written in Denigration of the Community (Millat) of Islam

During these events via a letter from a number of Muslim scholars living in Amritsar like Mulla Muhammad Taj al-Din, Mawlawi Khuda Bakhsh, Mulla °Ubayd Allah, Mulla Ghulam Rasul, Mulla Ghulam Dastagir, Mulla Ghulam reasul hanafi, Mulla Ghulam Allah, Mulla Sayyid Mir Husayn, Mulla Sayyid Amir Shah, Mulla Ahmad al-Din, Mulla Ghulam Muhammad, Mulla Hafiz Ghulam Mahmud, Mawlawi Ahmad Shah, Mulla Ahmad Allah, Mulla Hafiz °Alim al-Din, Mulla Rahm °Ali, Mulla Buzurg Shah, Mulla Ahmad Bakhsh, and Mulla Nizam al-Din, mullas of all the people, whether high or lowborn, His

Majesty learned that a man of the Hindu sect named Likhar had written a treatise scoffing at the community of Islam and its division into different denominations (*mazhab*). He had presented his treatise for debate and he wanted to make the scholars of the noble community of Islam to refute the proofs and evidence which he had adduced and made clear. Since his proofs were fantastic and like the words of Kalila and Dimna and whatever response they made, no one listened, they solicited His Majesty's help in extinguishing the flames of these confused and fanciful noises (*walwalah*). Intuitively, His Majesty knew that this sort of hostile and provocative dispute was instigated by the English government among the different sects /677/ that were its subjects and occurred as a means for that government to attain its ends. So on the fourteenth of the month of Rajab/ 3March he wrote to those mullas saying,

In a kingdom where there is free speech and not under an absolute ruler and also it is not an Islamic government, in the view of the wise it is a bad idea to open the door of debate using inappropriate words with people of this ilk. As Shaykh Sa'di of Shiraz said, 'It's best to shun the ignorant for he is despised both in this world and the next.' Hence, silence is golden and it's advisable not to say anything.

Despite that, since most of the Hindu people living in India overstepped the bounds in insulting the true *mazhab* of Islam, (His Majesty) after returning from Turkistan in 1308, he made 'Ata Allah Khan, the British envoy stationed in Kabul, aware of the unpleasant consequences of this matter at the public audience hall, as will be mentioned in its proper place.

*Punishing the Shaykh 'Ali Hazarabs Who Had Mutinied and the Dispatching of
Mighty Regiments to Annihilate Them*

Meantime, the regiments and regular and militia (*mulki*) soldiers at His Majesty's order—mentioned above—set out to destroy the evil tribe of the Shaykh 'Ali Hazarabs from all directions. Among them, Siraj al-Din Khan, the governor of Andarab, set forth with 1,500 *mulki* horse and foot on the seventeenth of Rajab/6 March to punish that evil group. At the same time, the regular regiment stationed at Dahanah-i Ghuri having marched to destroy that wicked tribe when it arrived in Shalaktu a letter from Sayyid Ja'far, the governor of Ghuri reached the officers of this regiment telling them that there won't be any provisions for the forces at Talah and Barfak and so the royal force will face great difficulty. Therefore they were to choose deliberation over haste, halt their march, and by letter ask for food and fodder from His Majesty. They took his letter as good advice, halted at Shalaktu, and wrote a letter to the throne of servant-rewarding padishah. In response His Majesty authorized six Uzbek Kushadah horsemen as well as fifty of their (the Andarabis) horsemen to forage for provisions. He gave them a voucher (*hawalah*) for 695 *kharwars* of flour, barley, and rice as well as quantity of oil and a number of sheep and other things

to be assessed on the people of the villages of Bamyan, Kahmard, Siqan, Tatar, Habash, Khurram, Sar Bagh, Ghuri, Dushi, Gilagi, and Khinjan and sent them off from Mazar-i Sharif to requisition these things. He (also) ordered that they should collect these provisions as quickly as possible from those places and deliver them to Talah and Barfak.

During this, on the twenty-fourth of Rajab/13 March several men from the *mulki* force, men from Khinjan and Ghuri, set out for the locale of Dahanah-i Dadu to commandeer provisions. The Shaykh ʿAli Hazarāhs learned of this, took up a strong position on their route, and laid an ambush for them. (But) Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Khinjan, was informed of their plans and set out after the foragers with a force of 1,000 foot and horse to support them. Before he arrived, those who had been sent out to forage had commandeered a little flour and some other things from Dahanah-i Dadu and were returning towards their base. As they neared the Hazarāh ambush, the Hazarāhs suddenly attacked, driving them back and plundering them. They were running away when Muhammad Sarwar Khan, in the nick of time, reached them. At his approach, the Hazarāhs took fright and fled up the mountain of desperation. Those carrying provisions safely made it back to their base with Muhammad Sarwar Khan. Due to the Hazarāhs fleeing up into the mountains, Sayyid Jaʿfar Khan, the governor of Ghuri who had separately come to the locale of Asmathah with a contingent of the army, found his way forward blocked (by them) and himself closely besieged by these Hazarāhs. Meantime, a group of rebels pursuing Muhammad Sarwar Khan who was on his way back to base attacked and routed him and his supporters. The latter managed to make their way into one of the forts of that region while Muhammad Sarwar Khan himself, in confusion having made his way into the mountains, seeing the way the situation was developing, became discouraged and in fear and trembling ran for his life through ravine and hollow, stumbling along mountain by mountain until a number of the Hazarāh evildoers who were following him caught up, captured one of his nawkars who had escaped with him and only then turned back. In short, he kept going along the road back to his camp. His army, which—as was noted above, /678/ had been caught in the grip of a siege, when he fled several of the Hazarāhs had come forward to attack them, fought fiercely, and killed six of his companions, wounded his brother, and took him and two of his nawkars and a number of other captives back with them to the sangar where the other Hazarāhs were holed up. Although in different places (the Hazarāhs) had managed to surround and besiege Sayyid Jaʿfar Khan, the governor of Ghuri, ʿAbd Allah Khan, the governor of Hazarāh-i Shaykh ʿAli and the forces of Muhammad Sarwar Khan, they were mindful of the consequences, and so after reaching the sangar, they released Muhammad Sarwar Khan and other captives but kept as hostages one of his (Muhammad Sarwar Khan’s) nawkars and two of the leaders of the Nik Pay people, who were well-wishers of the government and had been captured by these misguided people. They promised Muhammad Sarwar Khan that after the release of those evildoers who had been imprisoned (by government forces) they would free these three and told him, “We have not

pulled our heads from the halter of submission and obedience but because of the bill (*hawālah*) for a fine of one lak of rupees which we had no possibility of paying we raised the banners of an uprising so that perhaps His majesty would pay attention to the noise and tumult and show us clemency." They stated to him this excuse, which was worse than the sin, and in wheedling and importuning tones they begged him to address the compassion-bestowing presence and interceding on their behalf request forgiveness for their sins and rebellion. As a result, after being freed, Muhammad Sarwar Khan wrote a letter to His Majesty but since the assertions (of that evil group) contradicted their statements at the outset of their rebellion, as was noted above, His Majesty, accusing them of deceit, refused (to forgive them).

Meantime Siraj al-Din Khan, governor of Andarab, who as previously mentioned had set out with 1,500 horse and foot to destroy with all due speed the evildoing Hazarahs, on the twenty-ninth of Rajab/18 March entered Talah. The Hazarahs of Shaykh °Ali now, because of his arrival and the approach of more mighty regiments, withdrew from around the forts where they had surrounded °Abd Allah Khan and Sayyid Ja°far Khan and retreated to Darrah-i °Ali Jam where they took refuge at a place they had established.

During this time, Mirza Ghulam Husayn Khan was appointed by His Majesty as *sar daftar* of Badakhshan to replace Mirza Muhamamd Ibrahim Khan, an account of whose service during the trouble and turmoil caused by the mirzadahs of Badakhshan has been given above. At His Majesty's farman, Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan came to Kabul and his accounts for the time he was *sar daftar* were scrutinized.

Also (in this time) Muhammad Khan Nizam al-Dawlah, the governor of Lamqan, passed away and Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was honored by His Majesty with appointment as governor.

Meanwhile, the royal regiments bent on wiping out those marching along the road of errancy, i. e. the Hazarahs of Shaykh °Ali on the night of the sixth of Sha°ban/28 March, one regiment of infantry and 200 regular cavalry, with a cannon and 500 men from the *mulki* force marched on a *qishlāq* (winter pasture) which (was filled with) Hazarah rebels and was located in Tanaw Gorge (Tangi Tanaw). The Hazarahs learned of the aim of the government supporters and before their arrival fled from the *qishlāq* and headed into the mountains of adversity. As soon as the troops arrived, finding the *qishlāq* empty of its contentious and insolent people, disappointed the regular cavalry and infantry laid hands on 100 head of sheep which had been left behind while thirty sheep and two horses fell into the hands of the Andarabi *mulki* troops. Frustrated from attaining the goal they had in mind, they turned back feeling sorry for themselves (*bā āh wa afsūs*). The very next morning, Colonel Dust Muhammad Khan, Commandant °Abd al-Samad Khan, Colonel Ghulam Haydar Khan, and Arsalah Khan, with the Taraki Regular Infantry Regiment, two gun batteries, and 200 regular cavalry turned the face of assault towards the homes of the ill-favored tribe of the Karam °Ali of the Shaykh °Ali Hazarahs. When they approached the fort of Barmak (or Qal°ah-i Barmak), the rebels saw them and

sent four of their leaders out to greet them and ask for peace.. Those four advanced on the feet of apology, lowered the head of humility to the feet of the army officers, placed the forehead of submission on the ground of intercession-seeking, and stated that they had not withdrawn their heads from the writ of the farman nor had they set out on the path of unity with the evildoers. Having said this, they asserted that they would set out together with the royal force to destroy the evil people of °Ali Jam tribe who had placed their heads beneath the farman of waywardness and so prove that what they had said (about not having themselves been disobedient) was true. The army officers kept them at the *urdū* and sent an Andarabi named Baba Khan to the Karam °Ali tribe to find out if what they said was true or not. He brought back word that what they said was indeed true. The qazi there by whose persuasion and encouragement they had put forward the foot of obedience /679/ was kept (in custody) along with the four emissaries of the Karam °Ali tribe and they wrote a letter to His Highness informing him of what had transpired. His Majesty being informed of the situation of the Karam °Ali tribe by that letter wrote that if those men are truly obedient and are enemies of the rebels, give them security for their lives and possessions and pay attention to them so that they are not subject to any punishment. But if they should be speaking guilefully they should not consider them secure from the plundering of their possessions and the seizure of their wives.

After the arrival of this manshur, the leaders of that tribe, since they had placed the hand of abasement on the skirt of intercession of Baba Jan, they authorized him as guarantor that they would pay their taxes, hand over their weapons, and deliver up the fine and from five of their leaders—Amir Khan Beg, Baba Karim, Dawlat Muhammad, Mir Hazar Bayza, and Ziya Beg—a letter containing a request for pardon for their misdeeds and containing the above terms and stipulations which they had agreed to was sent to His Benevolent Majesty by the hand of Baba Khan. His majesty then wrote them a letter corresponding to the order which he had written in reply to the officers of the army which was recorded above.

Meanwhile the punishment of the evil Shaykh Ali had to be put off until the twentieth of this month (Sha°ban)/11 April because the army had not gathered yet in strategic places, as will come, God willing.

The Governors of Qandahar and Ghaznin Set Out To Stop The Nasiri Tribe In Accordance with A Farman Issued to Them

Meanwhile, Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor of Qandahar, in accordance with a farman which was issued to him, as mentioned above, on the seventh of Rajab/27 February, marched to Arghistan in the district of Shinkay intending to prevent the Nasiri tribe from entering Afghanistan. Having secured all the places, the highways and byways, where the Nasiri might cross (the border), When he stationed himself in the fortress of Shinkay, vigilantly awaiting the arrival of the Nasiri, he assigned several horsemen to move out of

Nawah-i Taraki some households of Nasiris who had arrived there ahead of other clans and send them to the district of Kakari. They went, moved them, and sent them across the border. Other Nasiris learned from this expulsion that His Majesty was not going to let them enter Afghanistan and so, frustrated, they went to the district of Aspin and turned the face of longing away from the soil of Afghanistan. Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, also marched out of Ghaznin for Muqur and Nawah-i Taraki to stop the Nasiris accompanied by the Fufalza'i Regiment, Ghulam Haydar Khan the son of Ghulam Muhammad Khan and all his 100 Kushadah horsemen, Ghulam Husayn Khan the son of Gulistan Khan Hazarah and 300 horse and foot from the Muhammad Khwajah, Jighatu, and Chahar Dastah (Hazarahs), and 300 of the Tajiks of Ghaznin. His arrival there will be recorded in its proper place, God willing.

Also during these events, numerous proclamations went out from His Kindness-Guided Majesty to the people living in Kuhistan-i Kabul, Tikab, Najrab, Lamqan, Kunar, Jalalabad and their environs like the Khugyani and others, all with the same contents: that anyone from these regions who is landless and poor, may voluntarily leave his place with wives and children and go to Qataghan where he will find that the government will provide sufficient land and loans. For four years he will be exempt from all tax levies and, after that, only the diwani land taxes along with repayment of the advance will be required of him year after year. An order was also sent to Mirza °Abd al-Rashid Khan, the *sar daftar* of the Northern Bureau telling him to give a place of residence, a loan, and cultivable land to them and to make a record of this in (his) bureau. For three years he was to consider them exempt from taxes. After that, year after year, he should issue bills for the taxes and loans and collect them, but in a civil and considerate manner. However, the people of those places did not think much of this great boon and grand gift, ungratefully refused to accept this free boon and did not go (to Qataghan) where they would have enjoyed prosperity.

During this time, on the tenth of Sha°ban/1 April a sealed farman went out from the the Ruler of the World to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan regarding preparation for the conquest of Kafiristan—now called Nuristan. It ordered him to prepare fodder and rations for conquering Kafiristan, lay the groundwork for assembling an army, and await /680/ a second order which be issued by His majesty for the actual conquest of that mountainous region to begin. After the arrival of this manshur, he notified officials in the districts of Kunar and Lamqan about the felicitous intent of His Majesty and they too turned their attention to preparing fodder and rations and the instruments of war against the people living in those mountains. In a short time, all the materiel was readied and they sat expectantly awaiting the issuance of the second order. It had not yet been issued by His Majesty when troublemaking people with their own agendas learning of His Majesty's intentions, incited people living in Bajawur to rise up. Four hundred followers of those who were not thinking were stirred up at the instigation of people were not and still are not happy with the power of Islam

and entered Tar Guzar, a road junction, on jihad against Kafiristan. A number of men crossed the river under cover. °Ali Muhammad Khan, the governor of Kunar, learned what had happened and ordered the men of Chaghan Saray to assemble to stop (the Bajawruis). He also ordered 100 Sakhlu infantry stationed in Kunar to link up with the men of Chaghan Saray and set up an ambush and when the Bajawuris return from Kafiristan to capture all of them. So they went out and laid an ambush across the return route of Bajawuris. When the malefactors came back, the (government forces) attacked them and the two sides fought. At the height of the fighting, the Chaghan Saray men went over to the Bajawuris and defeated the Sakhlu infantry. One of the (Sakhlu) *khāsshah-dārs* was killed, two men of Chaghan Saray and residents of Dih-i Garhalah and Dih-i Dam were slain, and two wounded. Sad Bashi Muhammad Hasan Khan was captured by the Bajawuris and they took him away with them. His Majesty learned of this incident in a letter from the governor of Kunar and on the thirteenth of Sha°ban/4 April he wrote a letter chastising (the governor) and also criticized Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan for this incident saying,

Sometime ago you went from Shinwar to Kunar and informed me about the state of affairs of that region, now how has it happened that consequences have arisen that are quite the reverse of what you wrote us and that redound to your embarrassment and shame? And (how is it that) despite the presence of artillery and the regular army in Kunar they couldn't prevent a few wretched people from causing such trouble? This makes us very annoyed.

He wrote in similar vein to Colonel Muhammad Amir Khan, (commanding) officer of the regiment stationed in Kunar and lambasted him saying,

It's entirely due to your cowardice and pusillanimity that a few stupid people living in the mountains can enter territory occupied by the government, turn you into a (cringing) dog, and erase your name from the register of manliness. Mighty regular regiments and artillery stand ready at your command yet you send Sakhlu infantry to put down the uprising and thereby have demeaned and denigrated, and continue to demean and denigrate, the good name of the army of the government. In any case, I know full well that you are just a dog with a doggy nature and am fully aware of your cowardice and cravenness.

During this time officials of the English government resident in Peshawar, thinking about trying to unite the Mohmand some of whom live on that side of the Barik Ab spring which is the border and some on this (the Afghan) side, crossed over the border and began to offer advice and guidance to people of that tribe who belonged to Afghanistan. With the tongue of instruction they incited them and advised them out of (their common) tribalism, to offer their obedience to the English government in partnership with those (Mohmand) who lived on

that side of the border and who belonged to the English government and to assert that they voluntarily renounced loyalty to the government of Afghanistan and wholeheartedly accepted submission to the English government so that such a declaration by them would serve as evidence and proof that they (the English) also can take over this side of the border. In return for (accepting) these instructions, they gave some gold to their leaders and promised much more gold eventually. But those people, who counted enmity for the Christian sect as the main ingredient (*sar māyah*) of security and hope in this world and hatred and opposition to them in accord with the statement of (the Qur'an) "O you who believe, do not take Jews and Christians as friends..." etc., to be the ornament of good things on the Day of Reckoning, and who kept accepting sums of money from the English for these kinds of wishes but would not submit themselves to being obedient, hemmed and hawed and had still not made any declaration when Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan learned of this and opened a correspondence and negotiations with the commissioner of Peshawar and also informed His Majesty by letter (of what was going on). Instructions went out to him from His Majesty to write on his own behalf to the commissioner of Peshawar and warn him that from Chashmah-i (the spring of) Barik Ab, which is the border point, the government of Afghanistan would under no circumstances give up the spring of Barik Ab let alone allow the people living on this side of that spring and in its environs to accept obedience (to the English). /681/ Because of this letter from Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, the commissioner of Peshawar denied any such provocations and disclaimed having any such aim in mind. No further discussions over the border took place at this time, the two sides remaining silent (on the issue).

Meantime, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, who, as was previously mentioned, at His Majesty's order had marched toward Nawah-i Taraki to stop the Nasiri (from entering Afghanistan), on the nineteenth of Sha[°]ban/10 April entered Sar Chashmah-i Muqur and camped there for ten days.

On the twentieth of the month the regular army officers and the leaders (*a[°]yān*) of the *mulkī* force who had entered the district of Hazarah-i Shaykh [°]Ali as mentioned above and were engaged in combating that wicked tribe launched an attack, with the regular and *mulkī* force and the entire contingent of the Karam [°]Ali of the Shaykh [°]Ali Hazarahs, against the place where the [°]Ali Jam tribe had taken refuge. Exerting every effort, they seized the sangars of the rebels by force of arms and the rebels fled into the mountains of adversity. Many were killed and wounded while only one *daf[°]ah-dār*, one *jamā[°]ah-dār*, and one regular infantryman from the regular and *mulkī* royal force sustained wounds. No one else was hurt and in triumph the rest occupied the sangars abandoned by the rebels. They stayed there and kept watch for another seven days as will shortly be mentioned.

During this time, on the twenty-fourth of Sha[°]ban/15 April Mulla Sayf al-Din Khan was named by His Majesty as qazi of the Shari[°]ah Court of Maq and Char Sadah, despite the fact that the people of Char Sadah had ascended the

mountain of waywardness on the path of error and evildoing and were still—as will come—persevering in their rebellion. He went there from Mazar-i Sharif and devoted himself to those duties entrusted to him.

Meantime, the royal forces which after the defeat of the Shaykh °Ali Hazarāhs had stayed for seven days and had withdrawn the hand from fighting, on the twenty-eighth of the month/19 April again set forth to destroy that evil group. As they had taken refuge in the rocky places, grottos, and caves of the mountain of foolishness, the royal infantrymen traversed these nearly impassable areas with great difficulty and only with strenuous and taxing efforts but finally took weapons in hand. A fierce fight ensued and many on both sides fell to the ground of destruction. In the end, the Hazraahs turned their faces towards flight but most of them were captured by the victory-accompanied army. Much livestock was seized by the battle-tested braves and victory was achieved. When the glad tidings of accomplishing this victory reached the benevolent ears of His majesty in letters from the officers of the regular army and leaders of tribal force who were present there, he praised and congratulated them all writing:

All the property and wealth of that ill-favored group is licit for you. Nothing but the prisoners of that wicked tribe should come to the government. (You) should bring them back with (you) and divide the spoils up equally.

The victory-accompanied army turned back after gaining this triumph, spent a night at Dahanah-i Ashraf and the next day launched an attack on the ill-disposed tribe of the Nik Pay who at first had served (the government) but eventually befriended the enemy. They punished that ill-natured group just as they had the °Ali Jam tribe. Having attained that goal, they unbuckled the belt of relaxation.

During this time, on the twenty-ninth of Sha°ban/20 April the governor of Ghaznin who—as was earlier mentioned—had entered Sar Chashmah-i Muqur with the Fufalza°i Infantry Regiment and a tribal force of Hazarah and Tajiks from (Ghaznin) and had camped there for ten days, now set off for Nawah-i Taraki, set up base there in order to prevent the Nasiri from entering Afghanistan and undertook to strengthen the places where that foolish (*bī-shu°ūr*) tribe was likely to pass.

Meantime, the flames of evildoing of the men of Char Sadah which had been ignited, during this time flared up even more. On the twenty-ninth of Sha°ban, Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan set out from Herat with 200 regular cavalry, 200 Kushadah cavalry 200 Sakhlu infantry, one Herati infantry regiment, and four mule guns. General Ghaws al-Din Khan, in accordance with His Majesty's order which was issued to him, dispatched from Maymanah 200 Sakhlu infantry, 200 horsemen, one regular infantry regiment, and two guns, all under the command of Colonel Nur Muhammad Khan towards the homeland of the ill-natured Chahar Sadah.

During this time, Commandant Ghulam Ahmad Khan was promoted to the rank of colonel by His Majesty to replace Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan who had been assigned to be ambassador to India—as was mentioned above—and had gone to Calcutta. Thus he could boast of being a consort to glory.

During this time, Sadbashi °Abd al-°Aziz Khan, stationed in Chaqcharan, prior to the arrival of the force from Maymanah and Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan, headed up into the mountain homeland of the the Chahar Sadah with thirty of his Sakhlu infantrymen and several of the leaders of the people living in /682/ Chaqcharan to occupy Gawhar Fort where the rest of the Sakhlu infantrymen under his command were headquartered. He had not yet reached there when 1,500 of the wicked evildoers attacked the fort, fought with the Sakhlu infantrymen inside, and took it by force of arms. Two men, Mulla Gaday and Mirza Hasan, who were of those people but supported the government stopped the evildoers from (further) fighting. Sadbashi °Abd al-°Aziz Khan reached Tikab Taq, learned of Gawhar Fort's fall, and headed for Puzah Lij. The *khāsshah-dārs* stationed in the fort who had been defeated scattered each taking refuge somewhere. The rebels invited Mulla Gaday to join them in opposition to the government. He promised to join them if the leaders of his own tribe approved it and this made them happy. They immediately sent a man to the leaders of his tribe because they wanted to suggest that Mulla Gaday's seeking approval implied his being in rebellion. Meantime Mulla Gaday who had deceived them by this promise of his urged some men from the more trusted clans of his to go among the evildoers in friendship and then introduce dissension among them by whatever tricks they knew and could use and so throw them into disarray. He himself, with some of the wounded *khāsshah-dārs* stationed in Gawhar Fort, went off to his own fort and there kept his eye on the evildoers.

During this time, other well-wishers of the government like Muhammad Amir Khan and others who were treading the path of service to the government in that region sent a Qarachah named Wazir to the rebels and tried to win them over to obedience. But the evil malefactors attacked Muhammad Qadir Khan Afshar who at a farman of His Majesty issued in his name, was conducting a census among the people living in Bagh and made prisoners of Mirza Khuday Qul and Aqa Muhammad two men who were with him along with the regular cavalry that were riding with him. Several on both sides were slain in the fighting and the money and things that Muhammad Qadir Khan Afshar had with him, including the census register (*jarīdah-i siyāhah-i nufūs*), were stolen. He himself made it to Puzalij and notified the governor of Herat. Meantime, the Qarachah, Wazir, who had gone to persuade those evil men (to return to obedience), on the eighth of Ramazan/28 April came to Muhammad Amir Khan Afshar from those people with a letter from them seeking forgiveness for their misdeeds and then returned. Muhammad Amir Khan Afshar before anyone else had entered that mountainous region along with Muhammad °Alam Khan and 150 horsemen. After delivering the letter Wazir returned. Muhammad Amir Khan Afshar now informed Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan, the governor of Herat, of

the sending of the matter of the dispatched letter. He wrote back and instructed him to beware of the tricks and stratagems of those nasty people and put no stock in what they say as long as they refuse to offer their leaders, who are the architects of trouble and corruption and (our) enemies, as hostages. He should not be satisfied with their sending a letter of apology and cordial greetings and should restrain his hand from punishing them. He (the governor of Herat) also sent a letter with similar contents to °Abd al-Ahad Khan who had reached Chisht with the force under his command and brought him up to date on the situation.

Meantime Muhammad Amir Khan Afshar who had informed the governor of Herat of the duplicitous situation of that hopeless tribe, the set of instructions from the governor had not yet reached him when a person came and gave him another letter containing expressions of obedience and humility and asking for intercession and telling him to go with the horsemen he had to the fort of Hajji Char Sadah, speak to them of the terms of submission and sever the cord of dissension and strife. At first he took this message to be a trick of those miserable people and refused to go that fort. But on second thought, persuaded and guided by Mulla Gaday and Mirza Hasan, both of the Char Sadah, who were to all appearances in the corps of well-wishers of the government, but actually, after the battle which took place at Gawhar Fort had become friends of the evildoers, he set off for the fort of Hajji. he spent one night with those two men and his own horsemen camped inside and outside the fort. Those two deceit-plotting men gave him and his men food and fodder as their guests but on the second night 1,500 of the evil folk attacked the fort and those companions of Muhammad Amir Khan who were outside the fort fled into the fort fearing for their lives and, at Muhammad Amir Khan's order, barred the gate against the enemy. The evildoers surrounded the fort and besieged Muhammad Amir Khan and his cavalry. From within and without, the two sides fired their rifles at each other and passed the night fighting. By morning, having made no further progress, (the rebels) took as booty the horses of Muhammad Amir Khan's companions which had been left outside the fort. Muhammad Amir Khan, with Mustafa Khan and Rasul Dad Beg both servants of /683/ the government and his associates and companions, sent a letter to notify the governor of Herat what had happened. He sent out a mounted courier to tell Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan, who at this time was in Puzah-i Lij, to hurry and get himself in time to Muhammad Amir Khan and his supporters and save him from disaster.

During this turmoil, while Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan from Puzah-i Lij and Colonel Nur Muhammad Khan from Maymanah were marching towards the lands and homes of the Char Sadah people with forces and cannons thirsting for revenge, on the eleventh of Ramazan, a farman went out from His Majesty to Colonels Ghulam Haydar Khan and Dust Muhammad Khan and other army officers sent to Hazarah-i Shaykh °Ali who had frustrated and subdued the evildoers and gained the victory, as was previously recorded, as well as to Siraj al-Din Khan, the governor of Andarab; Sayyid Ja°far Khan, the governor of Ghuri; Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Khinjan; and °Abd Allah

Khan, the governor of Talah and Barfak, the leaders of the *mulki* force. The farman told them that Khwajah Burhan al-Din Khan, the governor of Aybak, has been sent to the district of Hazarah-i Shaykh °Ali with 100 of the Kushadah cavalymen of Ay Bik and they were to bring in and hand over to him in shackles and fetters all the Hazarah Shaykh °Ali prisoners—men and women, young and old—so that he can take them back to Aybak and there do with them whatever he is ordered to do by royal command. He sent the governor of Aybak carrying this manshur to that district.

During this time, in a letter sent by a news writer who was traveling incognito with the army dispatched to Hazarah-i Shaykh °Ali, it reached the benevolent hearing of His Majesty that the battles which had been fought with the Hazarahs were with 150 men from the Zay Nazar tribe and otherwise Hazarahs had not ventured on to the field of battle. Most of the captives and prisoners were taken from innocent people whose money and belongings many of the regular and *mulki* forces had simply stolen, and they had been taken captive merely so that they would not ask for their things back. At this His Majesty was enraged on the eleventh of Ramazan/1 May he wrote chastising and admonishing all the officers of the regular army and the governors heading the *mulki* force:

With regards to the actual war and your victory, I am fully aware how many Hazarah you (actually) fought and defeated. Your fighting was with 150 weak and ill-equipped men of the Zay Nazar tribe and no other Hazarahs gave the evildoers any help. This being the case, may God's curse be on the *mulki* leaders! This is because, with their six or seven hundred tribal soldiers they could have taken care of the 150 people, and there would have been no need of sending regular regiments and artillery. The trouble caused by the people there did not require 3,000 regular soldiers, artillery, and an arsenal. And if the evildoers were 3-4,000 fighters whom you defeated, then the booty and prisoners should have amounted to hundreds of men and women and thousands of cows, donkeys, goats, and sheep, so where are they? And why up to now hasn't information about the number of dead and wounded been made known? If a few of you were killed and wounded at the hands of some Hazarahs and their bodies hacked to pieces, then what were you—3,000 regular troops and 3,000 tribal levies—doing? And how come you were trumpeting the sound of victory to all corners? The end.

After sending this chastising letter, Muhammad Haydar Khan the son of Sardar °Abd Allah Khan Taymuri was assigned by His Majesty and sent from Mazar-i Sharif to the district of Hazarah-i Shaykh °Ali to investigate.

During this time, English officials intended to extend the railroad to the district of Shalman and to make it run alongside the river which flows from Kabul to Jalalabad, meets the Kunar River, and then joins the Attock River. But

Mulla Khalil prevented the (English) officials from running the railroad along the aforementioned river and the construction work led to contention and fighting. His Majesty learned what was happening from the news writer stationed in Peshawar and on the thirteenth of Ramazan/3 May he sent farman to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan to go there himself to determine with English officials the border points dividing the two governments and if they do not want to raise markers and towers at the border points and they do not allow him to do this (erect markers) then he should tell them to stop complaining about raids and trespassing by the tribe(s) of that region and not hold the government of Afghanistan responsible because it is they themselves who don't want to define the border and they cannot therefore consider the government of Afghanistan responsible for the bandits among the people of the frontier. Governmental talks which have been going on for a long time therefore gradually came to this. Whether Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan went there or not /684/ and whether the English did or did not consent to the delineation of the border of the frontier and the arrangements connected with this place will all be related in due course, God willing.

Meantime, Colonel Nur Muhammad Khan who had departed Maymanah in order to destroy the Char Sadah people, arrived in Khwajah Hashtumin and on the seventeenth of Ramazan/7 May left there and camped in wasteland. From there he stopped next at the village of Qadaqchah. As this locale was near the homeland of the Riza clan of the rebel Char Sadah, this struck fear in the evildoers' hearts so that on the day the force marched from there and made camp at Yakhtal, a group of the evildoers who had taken refuge at Kandagh decided to flee. Loading all their goods and their small children on horses, cows, and mules, they left Kandagh for Darrah-i Naristan. Some who were infirm and lacked the necessary equipment (for traveling) trailed behind and were only making their way with much difficulty. Fifty regular infantry and fifty regular cavalry under a regular captain from one direction, 100 regular cavalry, 100 regular infantry, and one banner of Sakhlu infantry under the command (respectively) of two captains and °Abd al-Razzaq Khan the son of Mama Niku Khan, the governor of Garziwan from another direction were sent to round up the laggards. They came face to face with a group of their women (*jamā'ah-i unāsiyah-i ishān*) accompanied by four men. The men took to their heels and fled up into the mountains. Twenty-three women and children as well as 250 goats and sheep and three cows fell into the hands of the servants of the government and became prisoners and booty. The force then returned to its base, taking everything with them. Because this event had coiled itself around them, the evildoers attacked the royal army camp from three sides like a wounded and angry serpent. Both sides, putting their hands to their weapons, opened the market of combat for business. The fighting lasted for five hours but eventually the band of rebels turned their backs to the fighting and their faces towards flight. Fifty of them were killed or wounded and three captured. Three of the government servants were killed. Both sides (now) undertook to bury their dead and each one fortified its position vigilant against an attack by the other. For

several days fighting was suspended, as will come—God willing.

His Majesty Decides to Return from Mazar-i Sharif to Kabul

During these events, on the 18th of Ramazan/8 May the idea of returning from Turkistan to the capital Kabul took hold of the illustrious heart and he assigned Brigadier °Abd al-Subhan Khan Hindi and 300 infantrymen from the Safar Mina Regiment to repair the Mazar-i Sharif-Kabul road so that having fixed up the road for the passage of the felicity-accompanying army, with the aid of subjects, he would clear the road's width of rocks, dirt, thorns, and debris and widen and improve (*nīk wa wasī° bi-pardāzad*) the route in a manner appropriate to its being traveled by the sublime felicity-connected retinue of His Majesty so that no (excessive) downhill or uphill would tire anyone in the entourage. On the same day, His Majesty also dispatched Bay Muhammad Khan *farrāsh-bāshī* and the 451 servants of the harem of the virtuous mother of Prince Muhammad °Umar Khan along with all the furniture and paraphernalia of that royal lady. Bay Muhammad Khan's assignment was to erect and arrange the tent and threshold of His Majesty and the pavilion of the sacrosanct and chaste veiled one at every stopping place (along the way). The servants of the harem of the moon-veiled nawwab going on (ahead) to Kabul were to unpack the baggage so that when the felicity-starred entourage of His majesty and beside him the litter (*maḥmal*) of the esteemed virtue-twin moved so that there would be no difficulties for the entourage (*lashkar*). Also a faraman went out to every governor and official on the route to prepare food and fodder at each of the twenty-six stopping places from Kabul to Mazar: Gurmar, Nawabad, Tashqurghan, Ghaznigak, Hazrat-i Sultan, Aybak, Sar Bagh, Khurram, Ru°i, Duab-i Shah Pasand, Madar, Kahmard, Siqan, Sukhtah Chinar, Aq Ribat, Surkh Dar, Tupchi, °Iraq, Kalu, Kharzar, Gardan Diwar, Juqul, Jalriz, Kut-i °Ashru, Arghandah, and Qal°ah-i Qazi. He also ordered that although some of these stopping places were near each other and there wasn't the same distance between them all, as a precautionary measure they should assemble provisions at all of them for most of the people in the entourage are loaded down and are carrying lots of gifts and presents for those they left behind (in Kabul) and should some heavy-laden person tire and /685/ be unable to travel a full stage, they shouldn't have to spend a night in difficulty because of a lack of food.

During this time English officials, intending to occupy Wanah, transported food and fodder from places which they controlled so that they could send an army there to conquer it by force. After the dispatch of supplies, the viceroy of India sent a letter to His Majesty and asked permission to occupy that district. No answer, either affirmative or negative, had yet been issued when that government's officials began building a road through the Ghaway Lasar Mountains which are an obstacle and a barrier situated between Wanah and the territory already occupied by the English. When His Majesty learned of this, in reply to the viceroy's letter he wrote about the dire consequence that would follow on the English invading and occupying the district of Wanah and warned

him:

The Afghan people are going to think that the English government's invasion of the district of Wanah absolutely severs the cord of friendship of the two governments with the shears of enmity and will raise the banner of opposition.

At the end of the letter, His Majesty added that all the leaders of the people living in Wanah and the leaders of the Waziri tribe had come to Sardar Shirindil Khan, the governor of Khust, seeking assistance and he had selected seventy-seven of them and sent them on to the world-refuge throne. His Majesty assigned a per diem as his guests to each of them from the cash treasury an average of twenty-five and two-thirds rupees and had opened discussions with them concerning their unhappiness with the English government and their desire to be subjects of Afghanistan which came out in their own statements to officials of that (the Afghan) government. But little by little, by the English giving lots of gold to every single one of those people, they have incited them and put an end to any resolution of this matter by co-opting those people who denied what they had said about their desire to be subjects of the government of Afghanistan and hence the matter fell into abeyance.

During these discussions, Ghulam Haydar Khan and °Abd al-Ghafur Khan, the governor of Duab, on the twenty-fifth of the month of the Fast/15 May set off with a number of regular soldiers in pursuit of the God-forsaken Shaykh °Ali Hazarāhs who had fled—as was already mentioned—and escaped into the fastnesses of the mountain of foolishness. They captured 140 men and women, six goats and sheep, seventy cows, ten mules, and one riding mare and returned loaded down.

During this time, General Sayyid Shah Khan, by a farman dated the twenty-ninth of Ramazan/19 May which His Majesty had issued in his name, sent Colonel Farhad Khan from Badakhshan to Dahanah-i Ghuri with two cannons with grips (or bands?) of plaited copper (? *tūp- qabẓah-i pīch biranjī*), 200 regular cavalymen, a 1,000-man infantry regiment to camp there and then to join the royal entourage at the time of the arrival of the felicity-touched retinue of His Majesty at a nearby stopping place.

Meanwhile when His Majesty's chastising manshur, issued on the eleventh of Ramazan—as previously mentioned—to the officers of the army fighting in the district of Hazarah-i Shaykh °Ali, arrived, it made the officers to whom the manshur was addressed and Muhammad Haydar Khan, who had been sent to investigate their conduct and who had also arrived, feel ashamed of themselves. They (the officers) then dispatched the Taraki Infantry regiment, one cannon, 100 Sakhlu infantrymen, and 200 soldiers from the *mulkī* force to garrison Darrah-i Ash Khwajah; 400 men of the Charyari Infantry Regiment, 400 from the Bahluli Infantry Regiment along with the *mulkī* forces from Andarab and Ghuri and one cannon to take up station in Darrah-i Sharaf in order to utterly root out the thread of the Shaykh °Ali Hazarāhs' existence from mountaintops to

the recesses of caves. Having taken this step, they then turned over to Muhammad Haydar Khan the 470 men, women, boys, and girls of the evil-twinning °Ali Jam tribe of the 700 households of that tribe which had secretly taken refuge amongst the Karam °Ali tribe, and then been taken captive. They also handed over to him another 717 people whom they had taken prisoner since the beginning of the fighting up until the arrival of Muhammad Haydar Khan from the contemptible foolish people of that tribe and placed in chains and fetters. He in turn handed them over to Khwajah Burhan al-Din Khan, the governor of Aybak who on the eleventh of Ramazan, as was previously mentioned, had been sent on this same mission by His Majesty along with 100 Kushadah horsemen from Aybak. From the district of Shaykh °Ali, he took them all with him to Aybak and there kept them in custody awaiting another order.

During this time, the crescent of the moon of Shawwal showed itself on the horizon to the faces of those fasting, devotees of the sublime powerful Messenger—the prayers of God and peace be upon Him and His Family—and, having fulfilled the duties of the fast and the prayers and invocations /686/ required in the month of Ramazan, they turned to joy and pleasure and indulged in the delight of the joyous holiday of Breaking the Fast. On this happy day (21 May) the praiseworthy prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan with a throng of nobles and commoners living in the city and its environs, after performing the holiday worship services and firing celebratory cannon salutes as was the longstanding custom he went to the public audience hall (*salāmkhānah-i °āmm*) and there had the officers and leaders of the regular military and *mulkī* branches of government, and the worthies of the city partake of food and various kinds of delicious sweets spread out before them and the ceremonies of the holiday were carried out. In Mazar-i Sharif, His Majesty similarly filled the cup of desire and the skirt of hope of young and old alike with gifts of money, food, and sweets.

Also on this day, Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor of Qandahar, who, as was previously mentioned had gone to the fort at Shinkay to stop the Nasiri tribe (from entering Afghanistan) and was stationed there watchful for the arrival of that tribe, celebrated the holiday worship services with his regular cavalry and infantry, gratified the qazi and mufti of the Shari°ah Court at Qalat as well as Sahibzadah Muhammad Yar Khan with the bestowal of traditional holiday robes of honor, and then raised the banners of march towards a point which the Nasiri (were expected) to pass. He left Shinkay and when he reached Lawaragi sent spies out to inform him about the camping grounds of the Nasiri. He learned that a number of households of that tribe was camped at Mandan. He thereupon sent Ghulam Sarwar Khan, the governor of Qalat, to tell that tribe about the manshur that His Majesty had issued concerning them so that if they handed over one household in every ten and these one-in-every-ten households were to go and settle in Qataghan and the rest were to pay the customs dues and taxes (*bāj wa kharāj*) and zakat on their livestock and capital (*māl al-tijārah*) in accordance with the commands of God and His Messenger, they would be allowed to travel without fear as they have always done to their summer pastures inside the kingdom of Afghanistan. Otherwise they should turn around and go to

some other land. Seeing their options limited now as a result of this message from the governor of Qandahar, they sent to him two of their leaders with three old women carrying Qur'ans on their heads in supplication. In apologetic tones, they promised submission and the payment of taxes but asked to be excused from handing over one in every ten households saying that they were desert-dwellers and accustomed to traveling (between) winter and summer (quarters) and so they could not accept that order. They hoped that that forgiving and merciful padishah, out of respect for the Qur'an, would allow them to enter Afghanistan and be satisfied with the taxes and the canonical tithe and that His Majesty would excuse them from making hostages of one household in ten and settling them in Qataghan. In view of His Majesty's letter of chastisement which he had written to him in his own hand, as was noted above, the governor of Qandahar did not agree to their request, assigned riders to accompany their emissaries back, and forced them to leave Mandan and get off the territory of Afghanistan. He stayed in that region for awhile, moving about and remaining vigilant. The dealings which he subsequently had with the Nasiri tribe and his return to Qandahar will be recorded in its proper place, God willing.

During this time, on the third of Shawwal/23 May, Ghulam Rasul Khan Payaru Khayl was sent by His Majesty as governor of Wakhan and he left Mazar-i Sharif and went there.

On this same day, Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan who had been sent to destroy the evildoers of Char Sadah with a mighty army and fire-belching cannons, and, as mentioned above, had arrived in Puzah-i Lij and then gone to the battle ground, now entered Yakhtal and joined forces and camped with the force from Maymanah which had already arrived there. At this time six of the evildoers' leaders came to the royal army camp in submission, were gladdened when they were reassured and given robes of honor, and then returned home. In accordance with an order given by the brigadier and other officers, they counseled the rebels to submit. They had not yet returned from the rebels to report to the army officers about the situation (the good and the bad) of the corrupters when battle-eager army not awaiting their return, two or three times attacked the evildoers who had taken refuge in Darrah-i Naristan. They killed many of them, threw the bodies of the slain into the river and took most of the men, women, and children captive.

During this fighting, Sayyid Ja°far Khan Kunari who out of hostility to the government had fled to the "slough of vagrancy" wrote a letter from Noble Bukhara to the throne of the benevolent sovereign and asked forgiveness and permission to return to Afghanistan. In view of the fact that he was a sayyid and was spending his days in hardship, His Majesty drew the pen of forgiveness through his misdeeds and gave permission for him to return to Afghanistan. Thus, by a farman of summons from His Majesty, he came to Kabul.

Meantime, those Char Sadah evildoers of the Riza tribe and others who survived the sword /687/ seeing themselves overwhelmed, took refuge with one of the evildoers, Sharif, inside a cave at the end of the Darrah-i Naristan, but 441 of their men, women, boys, and girls who were taken prisoner before they could

take refuge in the cave were sent as prisoners to Kabul by way of Turkistan. They have now been in Kabul for twenty-three years, and thanks to the kingly favors and beneficence from His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion (Amir Habib Allah Khan), they have thrived. Each one of them has been given such salaries, allowances, land, and housing (*qal'ahs*) by the government that they are the envy of the world and live in extreme contentment and happiness. But back to the story.

After the evildoers went into that cave the victorious royal army, not finding the way (to the cave), stopped fighting and divided up amongst themselves the money and livestock—4,940 sheep, twenty-seven riding mares, and 263 cows—all of which had fallen into the hands of the army braves from the tribe of Mulla Gaday.

During this time, on the fourteenth of Shawwal, His Majesty issued a proclamation separating Badakhshan and Qataghan from the Turkistan Bureau (*daftar*) and putting them under the Northern Bureau in the capital, Kabul and sent it to Kabul, Qataghan, and Badakhshan. It read:

From the favor of the One Who Empowers and the Lord of Knowledge and Foresight, the affairs of Balkh and the other province [Qataghan and Badakhshan are one province] of Turkistan belonging to Afghanistan, as is requisite and proper, have been reorganized and arranged and arrayed in accord with what is desirable. All affairs near and far, having come under the procedures and rules (*qa'idah wa qānūn*) of the government, have been straightened out and therefore the lofty banners of travel to Kabul will be raised. Having referred administration of the affairs of Qataghan and Badakhshan to the Northern Bureau in the capital, I ordered that a straight and smooth road be constructed over the Khawak Pass so that there will be a shorter route for people of those two districts going and back forth to Kabul. Both soldiers and civilians should refer all matters of that province [Qataghan and Badakhshan] to Kabul, not to Balkh. The end.

He assigned Muhammad Aslam Khan to construct the road.

Also at this time, a supplement of 6,480 rupees was added to the 3,000 rupees which His Majesty had allotted as pension to Shah Abu'l-Fayz Khan Darwazi, as was mentioned earlier, as a pension. The supplement was for his retinue (*mansūbān*) and his brother Shah Mahmud Khan. The total now came to 9,480 rupees annually. His wives and children who had set out for Kabul from Khuqand because of a letter of His Majesty, previously mentioned, which he wrote and sent to Russian officials, entered Khanabad in Qataghan. Prevented by a lack of supplies and bedding from continuing on, at a farman from His Majesty, Mirza Aqa Jan Khan, the *sar daftar* of Qataghan gave them 1,556 rupees, sent them on to Kabul from Khanabad and a residence was also given them by the government. Now, at the time of writing this auspicious history, °Abd Allah Khan, the son of Shah Mahmud Khan, has been singled out for the

governorship of Darwaz and Muhammad Wali Khan, the son of Shah Abul-Fayz Khan, holds the post of chief of the page boys (*sar ghulām-bachchagān*) at the justice-adorned court of His Highness the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion. God willing, the kingly favors which this servant-gratifying padeshah bestowed on this family will be described in volume four.

The Char Sadah Miscreants Ask for Peace and Forgiveness of Their Misdeeds

When the contemptible Char Sadah evildoers, as was mentioned above, took refuge inside a cave, and so stopped the royal army from further assaults and attacks, after a few days seeing how difficult life would be in that cave they had no choice but to send the son of Mulla Gaday with a few other people to Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan and proffer a message of submission. In repentance, they requested security for themselves. He encouraged them with abundant reassurances and counsels, and gave them leave to return. Once he was reassured, he sent Muhammad Amir Khan Afshar and Nur Muhammad Khan *kumidān* to them to bolster their spirits. They brought them all from the cave and back to the army and the brigadier placed the cord of obedience to authority and submission to the government around their necks. He sent to Herat thirty-three of them who had been taken captive during combat by the [army] braves along with the weapons and tools of war which had been seized after /688/ after their surrender and submission. After learning what had happened, His Majesty sent a farman to the governor of Herat to send those captives to Kabul along with Husayn Sultan Allah Yar, Nazar Allah Yar, °Ubayd Allah Yar, Bahram Allah Yar; Sar Buland Khan, the brother-in-law of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan; Kamran, his (Sar Buland's) brother; two sons of Sar Buland Khan; °Abd Allah and Ya°qub, his cousins; Rasul Dad Beg; Isma°il Miri; two sons of Muhammad Jan Beg; Muhammad °Azim, the grandson of Muhammad °Isa; Muhammad Najat; the son of Na°ib °Abd al-Rahman; Ni°mat Yar; the son of Qasim Parsah; Mirza Parsah; Qul Muhammad Parsah; and Fazil Qarachah, (all of) whom Barzu Beg and Haydar Quli Khan numbered among the troublemakers and corrupters of the people of Firuz Kuh who rebelled, as was discussed earlier, and they (Barzu Beg and Haydar Quli Khan) swore oaths that they had instigated those aforementioned men and encouraged them to cause trouble. All of them had been imprisoned up to now in Herat. So the governor of Herat, in accordance with the farman of His Majesty, sent them and the Char Sadah captive miscreants, in all ninety men and women to Kabul, under guard and escorted by 100 (regular) cavalry and 100 regular infantry under the command of Darwish Muhammad Khan *daf°ah-dār* and Mirza Ghulam Muhammad Khan. There they spent some time in prison but eventually were freed and given cultivable land.

Of the (Char Sadah), the evil Sharif, who did not put his head beneath the farman's writ but steadfastly rebellious at Darrah-i Naristan with a group (of followers) until Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan, dispatched a group of army braves and soul-stealing cannons to destroy him and his friends. The army made his base as black as night with the smoke from cannons and rifles. The evildoers,

seeing themselves on the brink of the abyss and facing utter disaster, came forward in submission. Of them, Mulla Mirza Hasan and Sharif, who were undeserving of forgiveness due to the magnitude of their sins, fled into the valley of adversity. Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan assigned several riders to pursue them and capture them wherever they found them. Two of Sharif’s friends were captured and one of them went to Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan and promised to lead them to where the filthy Sharif had fled and give him up to the government officials. Taking this assertion at face value, which the man had made because he feared for his own life, the brigadier sent a number of army men with him and a friend of his in pursuit of Sharif so that he could be captured with the help of these prisoners. One of the two slipped and fell from atop a rock and was killed and after this the men Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan had assigned found no trace of Sharif and so turned back with the other guide. On their way, they encountered three friends of Sharif and fiercely skirmished with them. Eventually, one of the evildoers was wounded and captured and the other two managed to escape. The wounded and captured man, at the advice of the man who had promised to give up Sharif and had led the soldiers on a futile search, stated that three days before he and Sharif had parted company and he (Sharif) had gone to Karrukh to the Hazrat Sahib. He said that Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad would doubt that the assertion of the first man was true and so, ascribing no untruthfulness to him, would not kill him. In short, Sharif did not fall into the hands of supporters of the government, the officers of the army well and truly punished the Char Sadah evildoers and after sending the (Char Sadah) prisoners to Kabul by way of Turkistan and Herat with all their weapons and accoutrements (*yarāq*) as mentioned above, order was brought into the affairs of the Char Sadah people, the army of Maymanah returned to Maymanah, the army of Herat returned to Herat, and no further trouble arose at this time.

*The Death of Wali Muhammad Khan Jamshidi and the Stopping of Visitors
(Zā’irān) from the Turi Tribe*

During these events, Wali Muhammad Khan Jamshidi who had undertaken the role of governor of Taluqan, passed away, and his son, summoned from Herat to Mazar-i Sharif, was named by His Majesty to the governorship of Taluqan in his stead.

During this time, approximately 300 men and women of the Afghan Turi tribe living in Kurram as was their longstanding habit entered Kabul intending to make *ziyārat*-pilgrimage by way of Kabul and Herat to the Sultan of the Throne of Acceptance, °Ali the son of Musa al-Riza—May God be pleased with the two of them. Since this tribe is /689/ subject to Afghanistan and an Afghan tribe but in accordance with its own desires had embarked on the path of obedience to the English government, because of this and also because they are Shi°ites, the people of Afghanistan view them with hostility. Even more, because they don’t hesitate to kill and rob them and make life very difficult for them, the noble prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, with an eye to ensuring that no harm would

befall them, barred them all from traveling by way of Afghanistan. They stayed in Kabul for awhile and eventually, in accordance with a farman from His Majesty, they returned to Kurram from Kabul. He ordered them not to travel back and forth to Mashhad through Afghanistan again.

The Appointment of Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Sarwar Khan as Governor of Turkistan

During these events, on the twenty-first of Shawwal/10 June, Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Sarwar Khan was honored and privileged by appointment to the office of vice-regent (*niyābat al-hukūmah*) of Turkistan by His Benevolent Majesty and he forthwith commenced the duties of the governorship.

Also at this time, with the dismissal of Muhibb °Ali Khan as *kūtwāl* of Ghaznin, Jalal al-Din Khan was appointed *mīr shab* there and after his arrival, Muhibb °Ali Khan, at a farman of summons, came to Kabul and the accounts of his time there were audited. Also Ghulam Rasul Khan was named the purchasing agent in Bombay for goods needed by the government and replaced Mulla Abu Bakr Khan.

Meantime, the governor of Qandahar, who as previously mentioned had camped at Mandan, stayed there for a time and then on the fifth of Zi Qa°dah/23 June set off for Ma°ruf. When he reached Salisun, he learned that some of the Nasiri who were camped in Dasht-i Ta°ifah-i Sini had not withdrawn and were still living there. Immediately upon obtaining this news, he dispatched 120 regular and *mulkī* cavalry with forty Sakhlu and regular infantry to the Nasiri camp. The cavalymen mounted one of the infantrymen behind him on his horse and, riding through the night, they approached the Nasiris at daybreak and attacked. They plundered the Nasiris of goods and livestock and made off with ninety-nine camels, 207 mules, and 1,800 sheep as well as all of the furnishings (bedding), utensils, the men's weapons and the women's jewelry and then returned to the governor of Qandahar. They gave out as gifts the stolen furnishings, utensils, and clothing to those in the army who had not gone along on the raid and they kept for themselves, at the order of the governor, all the money, women's jewelry, and other valuables. The latter considered the camels to be the government's share and turned them over to the royal camel stables and ordered that they be taken to pasture at Rawghani and Shinkay and there fattened up and made strong. He sold off the sheep and put the money in the public treasury. At the order of His Majesty, the mules were turned over to officials of the lead mine and sent to Kabul to be used to transport lead from the mine to the arsenal. Afterwards, a fort was built on land of the Taruza°i people in Salisun to house a garrison and protect the road. (The governor) ordered that two towers and two ramparts were the obligation of Shams al-Din Khan Shirza°i and Gul Muhammad Khan Taruza°i and (the other) two towers and ramparts the responsibility of the Sakhlu infantry who were with him. They were obligated to construct it and stay there to garrison it and provide security. On the ninth of Zi Qa°dah/27 June, he himself left Salisun and entered the district of Ma°ruf. there

he recruited 100 of the residents as *nawkars* of the government and gave their leaders the ranks of *ṣad-bāshī*, *panjāh-bāshī*, and *dah-bāshī*, and sent them to Salisun to assist the Sakhlū infantry who were there in constructing the new fort and then to help garrison it and provide security. As a result of all this activity on the part of the governor of Qandahar, all the Nasiri were frustrated from coming to Afghanistan and turned the face of their livelihood towards the district of Fushanj. Utterly plundered in the Dasht-i Sini, as described above, they departed the district of Salisun with bare heads and feet and empty stomachs, their young children whom they would have secured and transported on the backs of camels now placed on their own shoulders. With a thousand hardships, like animals, finding the bare sustenance necessary for life in eating the grass and herbage of the desert, they reached Tawbah where, because of hunger and humiliation, they were unable to go further and gave themselves up to death. When other Nasiris heard of the parlous state into which they had fallen, they sent them flour and pack camels from Fushanj /690/ and they brought to Fushanj all of those who still had some flocks.

Also at this time a Barakza'i man named Jalal Khan living in Wa'i who was feuding with Mir Adam Khan, an 'Umarza'i, managed to kill him, and fearing royal punishment (*siyāsat*), fled into the valley of waywardness, taking refuge in a district under the control of the English government. When His Majesty learned of this case in a letter from the governor of Qandahar, having in mind that no other malefactor living in this country should harm another and if he should kill him, then not flee to territory outside the kingdom of Afghanistan, sent a farman to the governor of Qandahar, telling him that as punishment, 22,000 Kabuli rupees as a fine and 2,200 rupees as the collector's fee, for a total of 24,200 rupees, should be collected by force from the tribe amongst whom Mir Adam Khan was killed because, not having caught Jalal Khan, the murderer, they allowed him to escape. In this same regard, he should appoint eight strong, bloodthirsty men as salaried *nawkars* and send them to the land under English control to go in secret to wherever Jalal Khan has taken refuge and kill him. He should also promise them that whoever kills Jalal Khan will get a reward of 1,000 rupees in addition to their salary. If two men together kill him, they should be given 2,000 rupees. Until all of the money from the fine is spent, he should not give up on this. Eventually, because of the bill issued for payment of this fine, the people who were liable brought him (Jalal Khan) to hand, and they were forgiven payment of the fine. By force, 10,000 rupees was collected from (Jalal Khan) himself, 3,500 of which were paid to the heirs of the slain, which was legally their right, and at the order of His Majesty compassion was shown and Jalal Khan was freed from the shackles of punishment.

Similarly. Muhammad Akbar Khan, (the government) almond seller, embezzled 50,000 rupees of government money, and fled Peshawar, as previously noted. Eventually, he married a woman of the people living in the mountains around Peshawar and made his home there. He concealed his act of treachery from the people of that region and would attribute his flight to the oppression and tyranny of His Majesty. Through a letter from the news writer

there, His Royal Highness heard of his lies and paid several men to stop a stop to his lying tongue. These men entered that place and gave people to understand the truth of the matter. In view of the accusation he had made against His Majesty and the tyranny he had imputed to the sacred personage, one night the people attacked him while he slept and killed him, took all his money and belongings, and burned his house to the ground. Apropos of this a matter, a wise man has said:

for the head, the tongue is the enemy / and the tongue has cast many heads to the wind.

During this time, the explosives (fuse-making) workshop in Qandahar caught fire. Eight *kharwārs* of black powder, ten *kharwārs* of saltpeter, and one *kharwār* and forty *sīr* of sulphur, all by Kabul weight, along with all the materials like rawhide, pouches (*dabbah*) and other things were destroyed. The watchmen all suffered injuries and one of them died. The others recovered, but the cause of the fire was never determined.

During this time, the mighty regiments dispatched to Char Sadah had returned to Maymanah and Herat as was recounted above. Of the Char Sadah evildoers, some had been captured and sent to Kabul and Sar-i Pul while others like Sharif, (Mulla) Gaday, Hayt Qul, Mulla Baba Khan, °Abd al-°Aziz, and Sulayman, etc., had taken the path of waywardness and now seeing the mountains and valleys of Char Sadah clear of all (royal) troops, once again came to make trouble among the people of Char Sadah who had submitted and tendered their obedience. But the remaining troops who were stationed there to guard the region easily captured them and on the twelfth of Zi Qa°dah/ 30 June sent all of them to Sar-i Pul, with their wives and children, as well as thirty-three other people who had been captured from Darrah-i Ashbar, along with 350 rifles, thirty swords, and 297 other households of evildoers who up until this time had been wandering in the mountainous region of adversity but then tried to return to their homes and were captured. Escorted by ninety-two infantry, 100 regular cavalry, and two *hawālah-dārs*, sixty-five of the evildoers in leg irons and another nineteen, who were more evil and were the cause of the trouble and losses, bound with handcuffs and neck irons as well, were delivered to the governor of Sar-i Pul. Eventually, at His Majesty's order, they were sent to Kabul. (From there) 1,053 of them were sent to Aylabad in Qunduz to take up agriculture. All the prisoners and property of the Char Sadah rebels who had taken the path of rebellion and waywardness from the outset and /691/ up to this point had been captured and turned over to government officials amounted to 650 households, 436 rifles, a few swords, thirty mares, 496 cows, 282 sheep, and thirty-two mules.

Also during this time, Ishik-Aqasi Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Turkistan, was afflicted by epilepsy, could not be treated by physicians, and did not regain his health. Little by little the acuity of his eyesight and hearing deteriorated as did his sense of touch. God willing, his being replaced as

governor of Turkistan by Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan the son of Sardar Shams al-Din Khan will be recounted in its proper place.

Also during this time, °Aziz Ahmad Khan, who after the death of his grandfather, General Mir Ahmad Khan, was appointed interim envoy and then a short while later, after the appointment, recounted earlier, of Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan, the general's son, as permanent envoy, had been kept on because of his familiarity with the affairs (of the embassy), requested through that he be allowed to come to Kabul to be a secretary to His Majesty. As a result of his request, on the twelfth of Zi Qa°dah/30 June, a farman of summons was issued in his name and he came to Kabul from Calcutta.

During this time, it reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty in a letter from Sayyid Muhammad, a Qadiri and the chief harbormaster (*sar shahbandar*) of the Ottoman government—May God sustain its army—that permission would be given for the transport of grain and fodder from Afghan Turkistan by people of Afghanistan through the land and kingdom of Russia to the Hijaz in Arabia because a bad harvest had led to a shortage of foodstuff in the Holy Land. On the thirteenth of Zi Qa°dah/2 July, His Majesty sent a farman to Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan, the ambassador resident in Calcutta, telling him that he should send this noble letter to him (Sayyid Muhammad) to say that the people of Afghanistan themselves would transport grains (*hubūbāt*) as far as Karki out of Islamic unity and brotherhood. Beyond that, they could not transport the foodstuffs as far as the Hijaz, which would be a real hardship. But after this letter reached the sayyid, he abandoned the idea, because the expense of transporting the rations all the way to the Hijaz was too great—a *pāw* weighing ninety-six *misqāls* would cost a riyal (to transport)—and nothing more was said about it.

Also during the aforementioned events, the Qarah and Dawlat Beg clans (*qawm*) of the Karam °Ali tribe (*tā'ifah*) who at the outset of the rebellion had sided with and supported the °Ali Jam tribe but when the royal army arrived in Shaykh °Ali, as was previously mentioned, had taken the path of submission and obedience and after the defeat and capture of the °Ali Jam evildoers and of Muhammad Haydar Khan's sending all the captives accompanied by Khwajah Burhan al-Din Khan—also mentioned earlier—to Aybak, worried about the fact that they had given the °Ali Jam refuge among themselves, abandoned their homes and with their wives and children ascended into the mountainous region of dread. No matter how government officials tried to reassure them and invite them to return home, they refused and in fear sought asylum in the mountains. His Majesty, being informed of the situation through reports from officials there, on the 13th of Zi Qa°dah/1 July wrote to the leaders of that clan (those clans) saying:

There is no solution but to leave you in your homeland, not move you, and not assign a place for you to live elsewhere in the kingdom. (But) the most desirable thing would be for you to come down out of the mountains, take the path which has been pointed out to you, and go

elsewhere to live. Otherwise, you will suffer the same fate at the hands of the royal army as that of the ʿAli Jam (tribe), which you’ve witnessed with your own eyes.

He wrote the same thing to Muhammad Haydar Khan and at the end added that he should send to the throne any captives taken since the sending of the prisoners who were accompanied by Khwajah Burhan al-Din Khan to Aybak. An order also went out to the men of the Karam ʿAli tribe who, out of desperation and fear, had made the mountains their refuge, telling them that all the officers of the regular army and the worthies of the *mulkī* forces have sworn oaths to safeguard the lives and property (of the Karam ʿAli) and they should come down out of the mountains. The (government forces) would also reach an agreement with them that no further harm would come to them from the government except for moving them and assigning them a place to make their homes from now on. But before the arrival of this manshur, forty households of the evildoers came down out of the mountains and settled at Barfak. Then when the order arrived via the post (*dāk*), officials sent two men to the others and informed them of His Majesty’s order, and reassured them and so thirty-five more households, because of those two men who had delivered to them the royal order, came down from the mountains and returned to their homes. Now, four out of forty households who previously /692/ had come, out of the extreme terror and dread that lodged in their hearts again fled into the mountains of adversity. Seeing this happen, Muhammad Haydar Khan without further delay moved the seventy-one households who had come down from the mountains to darrah-i Naʿlak located in Duab accompanied by Muhammad Kabir Khan *ṣad-bāshī*, lest like those four households, they too again decide to flee. He also sent a message to ʿAbd al-Rahim Beg telling him to stop any of the Hazaraks of Shaykh ʿAli who might try to flee by way of Bamyan and detain them in so they don’t scatter.

During this time, the son of the Shah-i Munjan who had reached the age of nineteen years, attacked some infidels with a party of Munjan men. He captured two boys and a girl and sent them to General Sayyid Shah Khan in Fayzabad in Badakhshan. He treated the three of them, who had all fallen ill from the hot weather and the hardships of the road, and when all three had recovered, sent them to Mazar-i Sharif as a gift for His Majesty.

Meantime, the army officers, after the coming of the aforementioned households and their being sent to Darrah-i Naʿlak, as mentioned above, dispatched Mir Muhammad Amir Khan, the Tatar *arbāb*, and Tahir Khwajah to the rest of the Karam ʿAli tribe. They reassured them, and brought back the message that that as long as the officers of the army do not reassure them, they, fearing persecution at their hands, would not come. The army officers put off giving reassurances and putting their minds at ease until the arrival of Colonel Farhad Khan who had set out for Dahanah-i Ghuri from Badakhshan, as mentioned above, with an infantry regiment and from there, at His Majesty’s order, had been sent to Shaykh ʿAli district. After his arrival there until the

twenty-fifth of Zi'l-Hijjah/12 August—as will be discussed below—he sent out letters and messages and then undertook to destroy that evil *qawm*.

During this time, fifty-three Tarmshi households who had rebelled and been captured by °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Hazarah-i Shaykh °Ali, were all sent to Mazar-i Sharif escorted by Muhammad Qasim Khan, his own son. At His Majesty's order, land in Turkistan was given to them so that they would cultivate it and not return to their homes.

The Royal Entourage Leaves Turkistan for Kabul

On the twenty-second of Zi Qa°dah/10 July, His Majesty, having sounded the drum of departure from Mazar-i Sharif for Kabul and having ordered the sublime, victory-betokened banners (unfurled) to scrape the heavens, (also) ordered Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan to go to the insubordinate lands (*yāghistān*) of the Hazarahs with whom correspondence has been going on for a long time and through written agreements from their leaders it has been made clear that they would not tread any other path but that of obedience and as far as he was able, by using persuasion, to guide them to obedience and to avoid bloodshed as much as possible. As long as matters can be settled through negotiation, he was not to draw sword or brandish spear nor assault with guns and artillery. But if they could not be brought to obedience through negotiation and remained steadfast in their folly, and if they refused to abide by the letters they had sent to His Majesty and the expressions of obedience contained therein, he should straighten out their crooked ways with the point of the sword. (His Majesty) assigned one infantry regiment from the regular army, 100 Uzbek Kushadah cavalry, 300 Afghan Kushadah cavalry, and twelve artillery batteries to be under his banner, and he left Mazar-i Sharif with the entourage of His Majesty.

At this time the excellent prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, by way of obtaining the satisfaction of his great and glorious *qiblah* (i.e. His Majesty) out of his own pocket hired the services of 110 bearers (*ḥammāl*)—who in the parlance of Kabul are called *ṭawwāf* (lit. one who circumambulates the Ka°bah)—and under the leadership of °Ata Muhammad Khan *pīshkhidmat* of the threshold of his felicity (i.e. at his court) had them carry fruits, vegetables, and spices (fragrances?—*rayāḥīn*) from Kabul stage by stage to Kahmard, assigning them to serve as couriers so that from the day of the arrival of the felicitous retinue of His Majesty at that manzil (Kahmard) twice a day every day they could provide fruits, vegetables, and spices. Thanks to those bearers, things would reach His Majesty so fresh, crisp, and juicy that one would wonder 'from what nearby garden have these been just picked and brought to His Majesty's reception (*maḥfal*)?'

At the time when the felicitous retinue /693/ of the noble royal star bestowed the honor of its arrival on the manzil of Tupchi, His Majesty gave the mirs of Hazarah-i Day Zangi leave to return home with their horsemen. At the time of the rebellion of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, as was previously

recounted, they had performed sterling service and had accompanied the victorious royal retinue of His Majesty to Mazar and up until this time had attended him. On the twenty-seventh of Zi Qa^cdah, they were obliged to provide (in future) 5,040 armed riders and foot soldiers and in return for the royal favors which had been bestowed on them, as an attestation and acknowledgement of this obligation, they gave a written affidavit to officials of the government and put their seals on it. The affidavit was to the effect that they would provide 5,040 mounted and foot soldiers for the entourage of Sardar ^cAbd al-Quddus Khan, that they would give ear to his words and pay attention to his actions and act in strict accordance with his commands and prohibitions. Similarly, they wrote out and put their seals on a deposition (*hujjat-āsā*) to the effect that they would provide 544 *kharwārs* of flour and barley. The *kharwār* being the Kabul *kharwār* weight of eighty *sīrs*, the *sīr* being sixteen *pāw*, the *pāw* being four *khūrd*, the *khūrd* being twenty-four *miṣqāls*, and the *miṣqāl* being twenty-four *nukhūd*. They also guaranteed to deliver by camel to the army of Sardar ^cAbd al-Quddus Khan 524 *kharwārs* of straw, thirty-four *kharwārs* and twenty *sīrs* of meat, and thirteen *kharwārs* and forty *sīrs* of oil. In light of the fact that these Hazarah mirs had served the fortune-attending retinue well on this campaign of good outcome, His Majesty bestowed magnificent robes of honor. For the wives of Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani, Husayn ^cAli Beg of Tagab Barak, Mahdi Beg of Sar Jangal, Riza Quli Beg of Surkh Juy, and Muhammad Husayn Beg the son of Yusuf Beg he also gave and sent with them the kind of gifts given by kings as souvenirs: five bolts of Gujarati brocade, three *zar*^cs of Wilayati brocade, sixty *zar*^cs of Chinese satin, 120 *zar*^cs of Herati *qanāwīz* cloth [see Dihkhuda for description], sixty *zar*^cs of lace with gold thread tatting (*gulābānūtī* = *gulābatūnī*), 500 *miṣqāls* of Bukharan silk, five pieces of gold *langī* cloth, five pieces of silk *langī* all for women's garments. The wife of Sardar Muhammad ^cAzim Khan, who himself was still not employed in an official capacity, had been given the title of "sardar" and a salary of 1,666 and two-thirds Kabuli rupees, as was mentioned above, and was sitting at home, received as much of all these items as did any one of the wives of these five mirs. The mirs of Day Zangi returned home, gave His Majesty's gifts to their wives and began to prepare the supplies and assemble the army (as promised).

Sardar ^cAbd al-Quddus Khan was ordered to station himself at Bamyan with the army and artillery assigned to him and an order was issued in his name by His Majesty which instructed him to build anew the city of Gholgholah which had become desolate and eroded down to dust so that it would become the entrepôt of the Hazarahjat.

After taking care of these matters, His Majesty raised the victory-declaring banner from Tupchi and stopped on the first of Zi Hijjah/19 July at the manzil of Yurt which is located in Juqul, bestowing on it the illuminating light of the face, consort of the sun.

During this time, Sardar Shirindil Khan, the governor of Khust, at the order of the celestial-dwelling prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, summoned Muhammad Sarwar Khan, better known as Chak the thief, who was one of the

bravest men of his time and was always engaged in robbery and thus a thorn in the flesh of English officials, causing trouble for them day and night. (He summoned him) intending to put a stop to his depredations and relieve those officials of the trouble he was causing so that they would not hold the (Afghan) government responsible. He offered advice and counsel and through good arguments, put him on the right track and persuaded him to serve the government. He in turn gave declarations of support, service, and loyalty and swore a solemn oath that he would no longer thief or commit evil or extend his hand to the property of anyone else either inside or outside (the country) so that the country (Afghanistan) would not be accused and given a bad name. Sardar Shirindil Khan then gave *khil'ats* to five leaders of the Mantu, Tiza'i, and Zimshati (tribes) living in Tirah, fifteen men from the Bangash, and six Turis living in Kurram who accompanied him and were really his partners and accomplices in all his deeds. These (*khil'ats*) are as follows: for Muhammad Sarwar Khan one piece of Khalil Khani shawl cloth of Kashmir weave, one broadcloth jacket with lace and an ornamental gold strap (*charmah-dūzī*); for his cousins and the leaders living in the above-listed places, ten pieces of gold *langī*, nine pieces of half-gold (*langī*), and four broadcloth overcoats; for three mullas who were his traveling companions, three bolts of muslin; for the rest of his comrades, eight bolts of plain Ludhiana *langī*. He gave the Turis and Bangashis nothing and dismissed them.

When this excellent business of the prince reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty by letter /694/ from Sardar Shirindil Khan, he was very pleased by the fine work of his beloved son. The benefits which His Majesty bestowed on Chak (the thief), God willing, will be recorded in their proper place.

Meantime, the celestial-dwelling prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan who was always following the path of seeking his glorious father's approval, when the sublime banners of the royal retinue drew near Kabul and since the Qal'ah-i Qazi was designated the site for the royal alighting, he had a great tent constructed of high quality broadcloth with a beautiful canopy, sent it out as a gift to the designated stopping place, and had it erected and beautifully decorated. So when His Majesty dismounted, he abandoned his own private tent and made himself at home in the tent the prince had provided. At this manzil, all the royal party were treated to and thoroughly enjoyed dishes, sweets, and 120 sheep which the prince had prepared, cooked, and served as host. In similar manner, he had decorated the Bagh-i Buland for the auspicious arrival of the royal entourage. When the royal banners arrived at the bagh-garden, the prince himself stood at the entrance just like the other attendants, waited on His Majesty, and mightily pleased His Majesty with the sincerity of his service.

Meantime, on the sixth of Zi'l-Hijjah/24 July His Majesty, spreading luster over the capital, Kabul, and gladdening the hearts and minds of the government's well-wishers, arrived to a fitting and necessary celebratory welcome complete with artillery salutes from the regular and *mulkī* army. On the tenth of Zi'l-Hijjah/28 July, before going to the 'Idgah festival grounds. His Majesty summoned the celestial dwelling prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, and

lavished more praise on him. In reward for the services he had performed in the absence of His Majesty for the government and for the soldiery and citizenry, he ennobled and honored him with a medal set with diamonds for his hat. Afterwards, he went to the festival grounds, performed the holiday prayers and the ceremonies that were a longstanding custom of the holiday.

*The Business of the Miscreants of the Karam °Ali Tribe of the Hazarahs of
Shaykh °Ali Is Brought to An End*

Meantime, Colonel Farhad Khan, as noted above, entered the district of Shaykh °Ali, but regardless of his efforts to win them over beginning from the day he arrived until the twenty-fifth of Zi'l-Hijjah/12 August, they would not come down from the mountain of folly because of His Majesty's edict that was issued not allowing them to stay there and because, out of sheer perversity, they believed that abandoning their native land would cause their destruction. Colonel Farhad Khan became exasperated and on that day, on which it was earlier promised it would be recorded, he ordered the army braves to ascend the mountain on which that group had taken refuge from two directions. The group of evildoers realized their situation was now tenuous with the army heading up the mountain and they fled down Kuh-i Warsandan. In their descent, two of their men were killed, twenty were wounded, and the majority taken captive at the hands of the battle-tested braves. After this incident, Colonel Farhad Khan together with Ishan °Aziz Khwajah, the governor of Ghurband, dispatched 500 armed *mulki* men in pursuit of the Hazarahs who escaped from Kuh-i Warsandan and made their way to other mountain defiles in desperation. They captured eight men as soon as they climbed the mountain and twenty-three others they found after a search of Sinah Khazak. They sent them all to Colonel Farhad Khan.

During this time, a group of evildoers of unruly temperament who saw themselves on the brink of annihilation, out of helplessness had no choice but to surrender to Colonel Farhad Khan with their wives and children. He put them all in chains and shackles and took them along with him and 7,000 goats and sheep which the victorious army braves had captured and, at the order of His Majesty, set off from Shaykh °Ali for Bamyan along with the Hazari Infantry Regiment, 300 cavalymen from the regular Taraki Cavalry Regiment. He ordered 200 regular infantrymen who were with him to garrison Qal°ah-i Talah /695/ and when he entered Bamyan he handed over to Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan all the goats and sheep which he had brought to supply the army which was assigned to conquer the Hazarahjat. He himself with his regiment and the Shaykh °Ali captives came to Kabul through Shibar, Ghurband, and Kuhistan. Some of the captive Hazarahs from Shaykh °Ali were ordered to settle in Girishk and Lahugard; others were assigned to weave *pardah* (cloth), cane chairs, curry leather, and polish stone in the (government) workshops. The government provided food and clothing.

During this time, on the twenty-fifth of Zi'l-Hijjah/12 August, His Majesty

who had been informed about the case of Muhammad Sarwar Khan, better known as Chak (the thief) in a letter from Sardar Shirindil Khan, as was previously mentioned, awarded him 5,000 Kabuli rupees and sent Sardar Shirindil Khan a farman to pay him the money from the treasury of Khust.

*The Events of the Year One Thousand Three Hundred and Eight Qamari Hijri
Ṣalʿam*

On Sunday, the first of Muharram/17 August—the eleventh year of the auspicious accession of His Majesty marking on the lunar calendar the passage of ten years, three months, and twenty-five days of his formidable authority, as this fortunate book has recorded—there was assigned and granted a monthly salary of 200 *chihrah-shāhī* English rupees, amounting to 2,400 of these rupees annually, by the throne of the generous and kind sovereign for Munshi Muhammad Hasan Khan the son of Shayr Muhammad Khan of the Yusufzaʿi tribe (*qawm*) who was resident in Haydarabad in Sind. In exchange for this salary, he was to exercise oversight for things which were bought at government order from India so that there was no chicanery on the part of the buyers and no loss to the government.

During this time, via a letter from Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan, the ambassador stationed in Calcutta and dated the twentieth of Ziʿl-Hijjah of the previous year/7 August, it reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty that the colonel, through diligence and the expenditure of some money, had gained the services for the just government of a man who worked in one of the sections of the “Council House” (*qunṣul-khānah*) of the English government in Calcutta. This man copied out the decisions on all domestic and foreign affairs of the (viceroys’) governing council after agreement had been reached and the decision signed. He (the ambassador) had come to an agreement that the man would provide him with complete information on every decision relating to Afghanistan whether signed or not which he would then forward on to His Majesty. In payment for this service, he would be paid 600 *chihrah-shāhī* rupees a month as stipend from the government. As evidence of his claims, two or three examples of the things which he copied and which reached officials of His Majesty along with the letter of Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan, the ambassador, were scrutinized by His Noble Majesty, whereupon his assertions and wishes found royal acceptance and on the tenth of Muharram/26 August Colonel Wali Ahmad received a letter and proclamation from the throne:

I agree (to the terms) on condition that he continuously provide to the envoy of Afghanistan useful items and important governmental matters. I also am interested in minor matters (*umūr-i juzʿīyah*) which might be part of larger issues because the main thing and what is truly essential is that I be kept informed about and aware of what the councilors are up to and what their views are. He should report on any sort of discussion about events in Europe and Asia which pertain to Afghanistan and give

them to the ambassador so that by having a good understanding of things, I can act appropriately. As things have always reached me before this so should they reach me from now on. If a letter to the viceroy should arrive from the (English) minister plenipotentiary (*wazīr-i mukhtār*) stationed in Tehran or the minister of India (?¹²) and he informs me about it naturally even more will be given to him.

(His Majesty) also confirmed that he should give him the glad tidings of inestimable royal favors on behalf of the government of Afghanistan, make him hopeful, make him promise to fulfill these terms, then pay him the monthly stipend and eventually, corresponding to the loyalty and service which he displays, his stipend will be increased. The end.

During this time, on the thirteenth of Muharram/29 August, at His Majesty's order thirty-nine of the wives and children, male and female, young and old, of Burzu Khan Tutumdarrah-i; °Abd al-Samī° Khan, the son of Sufi Khan Bayani; Fath Muhammad Khan, the brother of °Abd al-Samī° Khan; Ghulam Muhammad Khan Tutumdarrah-i; Mir Bachchah Khan Kuhsitani; Mir Darwish Muhammad Khan Baba Qajqari; Muhammad °Azim Khan, the third son of Sufi Khan Bayani; °Abd al-Ghiyas Khan, the son of Ilyas Khan Jalalza°i; and Jalandar Khan Tutumdarrah-i, who out of their selfish evildoing had taken the path of opposition to the government, left their homes for India, and abandoned their homeland, were sent /696/ to India. Despite the enmity and disaffection they felt for the government, His Majesty also wrote these very words to those wanderers in the wastes of animosity and folly:

No dishonor has befallen your wives. Up until now, they have lived in utter well-being and virtue and the veil of their chastity has not been violated. Despite your wicked activities, anything which would have been necessary to impose, and which those you left behind would have experienced as recompense for your actions, has simply not happened and I have left it up to God Most High to hold you to account for your actions which will come on the Day of Judgment. The end.

During this time, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, who—as was previously related under the events of 1307—had taken the Fufalza°i Infantry Regiment and a *mulkī* force of Hazarahs and Tajiks from Ghaznin to stop the Nasiris (from entering Afghanistan) and had gone to Nawah-i Taraki, at a farman of summons returned to Ghaznin and then at His Majesty's order chose one man from each of the tribes that had gone with him and performed services and brought them with him to Kabul. There they were

¹² RM: What °Abd al-Rahman means by the minister of India (*wazīr-i hind*) is by no means clear. Perhaps it refers to some other representative of the English government besides the viceroy.

honored with an audience but were prevented from returning for a time on account of their duty to assign as an army to (conquer) the Hazarahjat and giving marching orders (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) to it.

Also at this time, on the seventeenth of Muharram/2 September, the prince of noble lineage, Sardar Ghulam ʿAli Khan, progeny of the sovereign of celestial place, was born in Mazar-i Sharif. The wishes of noble and commoner were fulfilled with the distribution of sweets and those of the poor and orphaned with cash.

Meantime, as regards Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Turkistan, who, as was earlier related, had become steadily weakened and incapacitated by his chronic epilepsy, at an order from His Majesty issued to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Arukzaʿi (sic-Urakzaʿi) who, because of his victory at the Battle of Ghaznigak was promoted from deputy field marshal to field marshal, on the twentieth of Muharram/5 September the field marshal settled (Muhammad Sarwar Khan) on a stretcher and sent him to Kabul accompanied by 100 regular cavalry and fifty regular infantry. He placed the official government seal inscribed and decorated with the felicitous name of His Majesty in a small box, locked it, placed sealing wax on the lock, and impressed it with his seal. Until the issuance of a royal order, he conducted the business of Turkistan under his own seal and the seal of Mirza Muhammad Mirza Khan the son of Mulla Muhammad Mahdi Khan Qizilbash with no hiatus. Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Sarwar Khan arrived in Kabul and alighted at his own house. He recovered from his illness but since he wanted the governorship but did not want anyone looking over his shoulder and fearing that at some point he might be blamed and suffer (for irregularities in his governorship) he pretended to still be sick and did not again attend the durbar. Consequently, in the time of the auspicious reign of His Highness the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion, he was appointed governor of Kabul and sometime later, when Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan was replaced as governor of Herat—as will be related, God willing, in volume four—he was named governor of Herat.

Also during these events, the appointed hour came for Tahmasb Khan, chief (*raʾīs*) of the people of Asmar and he bade farewell to the world.

An Account and a Copy of the Manshur Which Was Issued by His Majesty to Two Hindus Living in Jammu

During the abovementioned events, via a letter from Ram Singh and Basan Singh, two Hindus living in Jammu, it reached the royal ears, which did not listen to falsehoods, that those two men had obtained a certificate (*sanad-i riẓāmandī*) attesting to their probity and integrity from the people of the Hindu religion living there, that they wanted to serve the government of Afghanistan and enroll 1,000 Hindus in the regular army of Afghanistan and were requesting permission to come to Kabul. On the twentieth of Muharram/5 September, the day Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Sarwar Khan, suffering in the coils of illness, left Mazar-i Sharif, His Majesty wrote to those two men:

Pandit Likh Ram of the Hindu tribe, has written a book containing abominable things about the pious community of Islam and including praises for the loathsome sect of the Hindus with ill-omened false statements and mendacious allusions. He has given it the title *Takzīb-i barāhīn-i ā'īn-i Ahmadiyah* [Giving the Lie to the Proofs of the Ahmadi (Muhammadi) Rite]. Through the auspices of Islamic scholars living in Amritsar, that book reached me some time ago. Apparently the author has such a high regard for himself and has so elevated the flag of ignorance that he thinks that the shining sun of the clear religion and the illuminating star of the unshakeable law of the noble one of water and clay, i.e. the Hazrat, the Lord of Messengers—the prayers and peace of God be upon him and his Family and Companions—will be brought down from the apogee of fortune to the depths of unwholesomeness by (such) absurdities and rubbish. Praise be to God and I take refuge in God from this shameless filth which fills his mouth and which suspends him by “the chains of seventy *zar*“s” upside down in the depths of Hell. /697/ In contemplating this wretched book, one can put no faith or reliance in the Hindu people. So how and in what way can I let 1,000 people of this sect into the regiments of Islam until some day, because of the animosity and hatred which they have for Islamis, they would make trouble and burn themselves alive with the fire of violence as they now burn the dead. Experiencing injury and distress, they would give Muslims a bad name. There can be no place in the army for a tribe so bigoted and hostile to the community of Islam. The end.

Because of this book which had reached His Majesty, a summons was sent to the leaders of the Hindus living in Kabul to come see the benevolence-guided sovereign. He ordered them to write to the Hindus of Amritsar on their own behalf to say that if they did not get rid of that book but instead had it published—as that would be a cause for communal strife between Muslims and Hindus—the Hindus in Afghanistan will be in fear and danger of destruction. The Hindus living in Afghanistan pay the poll tax for non-Muslims (*jizya*) and in the holy law of Islam, no harm comes to the devotees of an errant sect (*niḥlah-i khilāf*) who obey and pay the *jizya* to the padishah of Islam; moreover in all legal matters in which they are either plaintiffs or defendants against Muslims, they act according to the divine commands and the Prophetic law and cause no inconvenience (to anyone) outside the ordinances of the Book of God.

After this letter from the Hindus of Kabul reached the Hindus of Amritsar and after a verbal communication from His Majesty to ʿAta Allah Khan, who, as was previously mentioned, was the (English) envoy (in Kabul), there was no further discussion or debate about that book. Subsequently, when His Just and Magnanimous Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and Religion (Habib Allah Khan), in the course of his auspicious trip to India, he ordered the people of

Islam of that country that on the Feast of the Sacrifice, in order to prevent enmity and hatred, they should not slaughter cows, which the Hindus venerate, but rather slaughter sheep and camels. Thus unalloyed hatred and actual substantive hostility would not appear due to religious zeal, and (communal) strife would not arise because of mutual antipathy. It is His Highness's shrewd thought that the Hindus of India will (also) heed this farman, and—God willing—in the fourth volume, a detailed exlucidation containing worlds of meaning will be inscribed in detail by the pen of exposition.

Also during these events, it reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty in a letter from Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan, the ambassador (in Calcutta), that, in accordance with the farman sealed with the luminous seal which was issued in the name of Dr. John Gray, he had paid 18,000 *chihrah-shāhī* English rupees, along with 40,800 of the same type of rupees as an annual salary for the doctor, and 2,000 rupees for the maintenance (*in'ām*) of Yahya his interpreter, both men having attended His Majesty to treat the gout which afflicted the royal person and then been given leave to return home. On the twenty-second of Muharram/7 September, His Majesty had written and sent a farman to the ambassador authorizing payment of the aforementioned sums which totaled 60,800 English rupees, equivalent to 120,000 Kabuli rupees. He also wrote the ambassador regarding the raiding and looting carried out by the Turi tribe living in Kurram against people living within the borders of Afghanistan. He ordered him to open the door of negotiations with officials of the Government of India and inquire about an incident in which the men of the 'Ali Khayl and the Mastu Khayl clans of the Turi stole 1,420 goats and sheep from the Karim Khayl nomads at Wandaktir and killed Taj Khan, Gul Din, Nur Muhammad, and Shah Muhammad, and wounded Shani. In addition, there was the murder of Baz of the Tuti Khayl at Shayagah Pass. (He was to investigate) so that compensation (bloodwit, *diyāh*) for the slain men and the stolen livestock would be paid to those to whom it was due. In addition, (the Turis) should pay compensation (*māl*) for 200 cows belonging to the Jaji people which they had stolen from Girandah, the pastures of the Dawurza'i tribe, as well as bloodwit (*diyāh*) for their murder of the son of Mamar Shah. Further, he wrote that if they should refuse to pay the bloodwit and to compensate for the livestock, he should send a report of the negotiations and the response of the English so that, in accordance with the (inter-)governmental agreement, he could order an inquiry. The end.

During this time Muhammad Shah Khan Ghilja'i, who had established himself in Kurram and for a long time, as has been mentioned, had taken the path of hostility and opposition to the government, sent a letter to the leaders of the Jaji and others living in the frontier region and to Malik Pir Dust Ahmadza'i all of whom were enemies of the government, urging them to incite the Jajis and others living in those mountains to rise up and rebel against the government. This letter fell into the hands of servants of the government and so reached His luminescent Majesty. His Majesty sent Muhammad Shah Khan's letter to the envoy (in Calcutta), Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan, and wrote him to /698/ let the Foreign Secretary read this letter so that he would put an end to this

troublemaking and eliminate the hostility. Otherwise, words will turn into disagreement and contentment to unhappiness. A discussion of how things were satisfactorily resolved will be given in due course.

Meanwhile, (concerning) Muhammad Ya^qub Khan the son of Sardar Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan the son of Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan who had gone to Peshawar in opposition to the government and spent his life there in hardship, in response to his plea and request to His Majesty to be allowed to return, His Majesty wrote:

All of you wish the government ill. There is no permission for an ill-wisher of the government to return to the kingdom of Afghanistan.

During this time, in the last days of Muharram/mid-September, Sardar ^oAbd al-Quddus Khan, having arrived in Bamyan with some of the army and artillery assigned as previously mentioned, to conquer the Hazarahjat and to rebuild the ruined city of Gholgholah, indeed began constructing a barracks (*chahāwunī*) and laid the foundations for a cantonment (*dīwārī*) containing numerous buildings where the army could be based. At the time of breaking ground for the cantonment, on the western side of Gholgholah City three buildings appeared from under the ground, the dimensions of each one being thirty *zar*^cs long, ten *zar*^cs wide, and ten *zar*^cs high. From among other ruins in that city which were level with the ground, a sale document (*qibālah*) was found that had been written 700 years before. Sardar ^oAbd al-Quddus Khan sent it to His Majesty who gave it to the noble prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, whose soubriquet now is “Lamp of the Nation and the Religion,” and told him to keep that sale deed as a souvenir.

During the events of this time, on the twenty-eighth of Muharram/13 September, at the Order of His Majesty, the moon-veiled nawwab, the mother of Prince Muhammad ^oUmar Khan, arranged the marriage of the daughter of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan to Sardar Nasr Allah Khan, the fortunate second son of the celestial-dwelling sovereign. From that day until the seventh of Safar/22 September, she organized the marriage (festivities), pleasing the populace with gifts of money, goods, and pleasing wedding comestibles, and filling the skirts of their hopes.

Also in these times, since the business of summarizing the revenues and appropriations of the kingdom had not been completed and many clerks were preoccupied with it, His Majesty issued an order that all the clerks of the regular army of the capital and the rest of the country who were familiar with the system of accounting notation (*siyāq*) should gather in Kabul to help the people of the diwan with drafting the summary (*khulāṣah*) and the audit (*sanjish*) of the budget so that the work could be speedily completed. (He did this so that) the revenues and appropriations of the country would become clear to the perfumed royal mind of His Majesty and that based on the revenues, the (proper) organization of the army and the weapons of war could be effected. (This came about because) by six of the clerks under the chiefs (*sar-rishtah-dārs*) of the

royal bureaus—Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan, Mirza °Abd al-Ra°uf Khan, Mirza Shayr °Ali Khan, Mirza Ghulam Hasan Khan, Mirza Sayyid Mahmud Khan, and Mirza Muhammad Qasim Khan, each of whom worked under a chief of one of the bureaus and did not earn more than 700-800 rupees (annually?)—considered the interest of His Majesty as being preoccupied (*maşrûf*) with the summary of the revenues and expenditures and so had agreed to petition him that a summary and audit be done of the country's arrears. When their request was met with His Majesty's approval and the honor of his approbation, they asked for many (more) clerks and also that they not be Qizilbash or persons who for generations had carried out the business of the diwan, individuals who might stick their fingers where they did not belong. Consequently, His Majesty issued the order in the month of Safar to military clerks and assigned these clerks to work under these six men. But since the claim of these men was based on personal ambition, the work was begun but in a short time, at the first opportunity, they set the summarizing work aside and worked on the audit, this to gain personal benefit and to reveal what the government was owed. They caused laks of rupees to be collected by the treasury. Because of his discernment, acuity, intelligence, and intuition, and because his star was in the ascendant, Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan gradually reached the glorious post of *mustawfi* (chancellor of the exchequer) of the central diwan. Among nobles and commoners alike, the banner of his fame was raised, and he instituted rules and procedures into the work of the diwan. Whatever of good or evil befell the government and its subjects (because of him) will be dealt with in volume four, God willing.

Mirza Ghulam Hasan and Mirza Shayr °Ali, the two of whom were members of this society, at first had promised in writing that if they should connive at or pretend not to see something regarding the wealth of the government and its subjects, or were negligently /699/ to speak in secret with former bureaucrats and make some arrangement with them, or if they were to write any kind of document in each other's names which contained some negotiation over the accounts and either sign it or put it into effect without proper witnesses, they would be subject to the death penalty and confiscation of their property. Now, because of the violation of these conditions, they were put to death. The four others spent their days working for the government. One of them, Sayyid Mahmud Qandahari (= Mirza Sayyid Mahmud Khan), resigned from his government post and went to Qandahar where he worked as a craftsman and made enough to live on. With that he was content and spent much time thinking about the Day of Judgment.

During this time, on the seventeenth of Safar/2 October, His Majesty issued a farman regarding the official seal of Turkistan which, as previously mentioned, Field Marshal Ghulam haydar Khan had put under lock and key. he ordered that it be entrusted to Mirza Muhammad Mirza Khan so that he could carry out government business until the arrival of a new governor. (His Majesty) also wrote the field marshal that he was to review all written documents at the time (the mirza) sealed them.

*The Pardoning of the Nasiris and Their Obtaining Permission to Enter
Afghanistan*

During this time, a letter from the Nasiri—who for a long time had engaged in hostility, evildoing, and enmity toward the government, as has already been recounted—reached the throne expressing repentance, submission, humility, and asking forgiveness for their misdeeds and absolution for their sins. It was accompanied by a copy of the Glorious Qur'an and the Blessed Furqan in the margins of which they had written a vow of obedience and loyalty. Out of respect for the inimitable Word of God, after reading the letter, (His Majesty) accepted their petition. They obtained pardon from the justice-dispensing sovereign and permission to return to Afghanistan.

Also at this time in the last days of Safar/early October, Malik Landi Khan Mangali, who enjoyed the great honor of being related by marriage to the noble prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, was ordered by His Majesty to win over and reconcile the Mangal tribe who had begun an uprising with the Jadran people at the instigation of Muhammad Shah Khan Ghilja'i and Pir Dust Khan Ahmadza'i. The services which he performed in this regard will be recorded below, God willing.

The Evildoing and Rebellion of the Mangal and Jadran

The details of this are as follows: before the (above) assignment was given to Malik Landi Khan, the Jadran and Mangal, at the inciting of Muhammad Shah Khan, who was established in Kurram, and Pir Dust Khan, who was passing his days among his tribe, vowed to create a disturbance and together forged an agreement to rebel. The Mangal, because Malik Landi Khan was in Kabul, remained calm awaiting his return. The Jadran, such as the clans (*ṭawā'if*) of Biki, Almarah, Surah, and others attacked and killed some Isma'īl Khayl people who had not participated in the rebellion and had refused to unite with them and join their pact. Apprised of this incident, Colonel Sayyid Asghar Khan, along with Sardar Shirindil Khan a group of *mulkī* horse and foot and thirty regular cavalry, raised the banner of suppressing the uprising and set out for that district. As soon as he neared the dwelling place of the Isma'īl Khayl, they were emboldened and drove out the Jadrans and forced them up into the mountains. The regular horsemen with Sardar Shirindil Khan and Colonel Sayyid Asghar Khan came up and attacked and with the Isma'īl Khayl pursued (the Jadrans) and as soon as they arrived seized Giri Fort (*qal'ah-i gīrī*) which they burned to the ground. After the Jadrans retreated up into the mountain of tyranny, at the order of Sardar Shirindil Khan, the Isma'īl Khayl people established themselves around the (burned-out) fort, while the sardar himself and Colonel Sayyid Asghar Khan returned home. On the twenty-seventh of Safar/12 October, when Malik Landi Khan had still not yet arrived there to put out the flames (of the rebellion), 500 infantrymen from a new regular regiment

were dispatched with four artillery pieces to catch the Jadranis unawares and excise the pith of (their) corruption. So, without the Jadranis being aware of what was happening, the infantrymen ascended the mountain, put hands to weapons and the Jadranis, retreated from the mountain defile and the fort in which they had taken refuge and fled towards another place in the mountains. They (the pursuers) opened fire with their cannon and forced them off that mountain as well. In this fighting several soldiers of the regular army were killed and wounded and when they realized that they could not climb further up the mountain because of the rocky terrain and the many trees whose roots and branches were thickly interlaced (and so impassable), they withdrew.

During this time, the Hazarah tribe (*qawm*) of Sultan of Day Zangi drew its head through the collar of disobedience and openly rebelled. At the order of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, Mir Riza Quli Beg Surkh Juy set out to punish that evildoing tribe and played the music of combat with them. The outcome was that four of the followers of this mir were wounded and the rest, not seeing in themselves the strength to fight, set out for their homes without having attained their goal. But the Sultan tribe now was even more resolute and adamant in its evildoing and stubbornness.

Also at this time, Mir Salman Beg the son of Hasan and the sardar of the Hazarahs of Day Kundi, who had objected to going with the other Hazarah mirs to Turkistan and so did not join the felicity-attended retinue of His Majesty with his horsemen, now with his sons Muhammad Sadiq Beg and Muhammad Akbar Beg came to Kabul at a farman of summons issued to him on the first of Rabi° al-Awwal/15 October and was reprimanded. His Majesty ordered him to stay in Kabul and not return home. A farman replacing him as mir of Day Kundi was issued in the name of Shah Baba Beg and sent to him. All the wives and children of Salman Beg were summoned to Kabul and given a place to live in Afshar Tibah. Similarly, Mir Yazdan Bakhsh Beg, the son of Mir Nasir Beg of Wars-i Day Zangi and was a partisan of Mir Fayzak Beg Sih Pay, had not put his head beneath the writ of the farman and was resisting offering his allegiance to the government, was summoned to Kabul, forced to live there, and forbidden to go back to his home. To replace him, a manshur of appointment as mir (*manshūr-i mīrī*) of the district of Wars was issued in the name of his brother, Sulayman Beg.

During this time, through a letter from the Hazarah subjects in Bihsud, information reached His Majesty of the oppression and tyranny of °Ata Jan Sahibzadah, the governor there. Considering his being overlord there as contrary to the ordinances of rule (*khilāf-i qānūn-i saltanat*), he dismissed him from the governorship of Hazarah-i Bihsud and named in his place Muhammad Nabi Khan, a grandson of Sardar Bakhtiyar Khan, a Hazarah of Ghaznin who was in the corps of *pishkhidmats* of the royal court whose axis is justice.

Also during the events of Rabi° al-Awwal/October-November, Hajji Muhammad Nabi Khan the son of Nazir Muhammad Na°im Khan Kashmiri, Mirza Ghulam Nabi Khan of the Tajik tribe of Ghaznin, Mirza Muhammad Siddiq Khan, Mulla Masjidi Khan, and Malik Baha al-Din Khan, through the

mediation of Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan, an auditor (*sanjishī*) and a friend of theirs, were appointed to assess and survey the lands of the subjects of Ghaznin. They surveyed and measured in jaribs all the lands of the sayyids and Hazarahs of Ghaznin which had been irrigated by some ancient canals now silted up and by canals which were providing irrigation. They then recorded the taxes (owed) on each (jarib) at a rate of ten to one hundred times more than formerly. The cries of distress and anguish and wailing and moaning grew loud in Ghaznin and its environs. Because of this incident, most of the lands and properties of the people of that region were sold to someone with the right of preemption (*bi-shuḥḥah*) to pay the outstanding taxes and were the cause of great distress and hardship for the people living in that vicinity. Some who had no capability of paying the taxes nor any person with right of preemption (*shafīʿ*) who would buy and pay its real value eventually lost their lands by confiscation to the diwan. Later, as will be recorded in its proper place, God willing, through (another?) review (*sanjish*), a comparison was made of the revenues (that resulted from this re-assessment) with the taxes which the lands' owners had originally paid to the tax collectors. These were reckoned (now) to be less and so these (lands) were returned to their former owners at the old tax rate.

His Majesty Issues a Hukm Concerning the Abolishment of the System of Unbound Records (Fard) and the Recording of All Diwan Business in Codexes

Since up to this time, all the people of the diwan recorded the revenues and appropriations of the country as well as other government business, as was the custom in Iran, on separate loose sheets of paper (*bi-fard*) and each year the separate sheets would be put together in a register (*daftar*). As a consequence of the fact that all the individual sheets were loose and unbound, much embezzlement and malfeasance befell the wealth of the government and its subjects. Therefore, on the twenty-third of Rabiʿ al-Awwal of the Turkish Year of the Crocodile (Luy Yil)/6 November 1890, he abolished the system of the *fard*, in line with practice in European and other countries, and ordered that all official business such as revenues and appropriations and other things and even including correspondence which governors, tax collectors, and bureaucrats conduct with each other, except for letters and written documents which arrive at the throne, all were to be written into sewn (bound) books with numbered white pages. /701/ Whenever, through a slip of the pen, there is an incorrect entry, they should draw a line through the error and not lick it off the page nor try to scrape it off with the knife of deception. Whoever perpetrates either of these two things and is discovered, his hand will be cut off as punishment. From this day forward, thousands of volumes were made up for carrying out the business of government. Both sides of each volume were impressed with a special seal, the above order was written on the first page, and copies were handed out to all tax collectors, assessors and bureaucrats, through which they now conducted the business of government.

The Jirghi Hazarabs and the People of Dayah in Hajaristan Tender Their Allegiance

Also in these times, the Hazarabs of Wasi Muhammad Burjigi and Jirghi, who up to this point had not placed their heads beneath the writ of the farman, as a result of good fortune emanating from the manshurs of conciliation and guidance issued by His Just Majesty and brought by Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan Sih Pay to all the Hazarab people—as was previously discussed—they now sought to submit and on the twenty-seventh of Rabi° al-Awwal/10 November sent eight of their leaders to offer submission and tender allegiance through the mediation of three of the mirzadabs of the Hazarabs of Bihsud. They went to Muhammad Nabi Khan, the governor of Bihsud, and to Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan who had been sent from with the regular army to conquer the Hazraahjat and had arrived in Bihsud. Expressing gratitude, they asserted their obedience and placed on their necks the obligation to obey the royal “commands and prohibitions.” Because of the submission of the people of Jirghi and Burjigi, several of the leaders of the people of Dayah in Hajaristan, such as Mulla °Ali Shayr, Muhammad Riza, and Kalb Husayn, making haste to be first to tender their submission, drafted a letter expressing the obedience of the people of Dayah and sent it to the aforementioned governor and colonel. They in turn forwarded it to the throne, providing officials of His Majesty with the glad tidings and happy news. To Hazarabs of the areas not under government control (*yāghistān*) like the residents of Uruzgan, the Fuladah tribe of Hajaristan, the residents of the Zawuli district, the Sultan Ahmad (people), the tribes of Day Chupan, Shuy, Bubash, the Sih Pay Hazarabs of Day Zangi, and others who had not written the requisite response to the conciliatory farmans sent by His Majesty and brought by Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan (Sih Pay), Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan wrote individual letters on his own behalf from Bamiyan with copies (of His Majesty’s farman) to persuade them to submit. He also dispatched Ghulam Husayn Khan the son of Husayn Khan a Hazarab of Chahar Dastah of Ghaznin as quartermaster (*gudāmdārī*—see Hobson-Jobson, “go-down”) and sent him to Tamizan of Hazarab-i Day Kundi as a precaution to prepare provisions for the army there so that if these Hazarab tribes should refuse allegiance and make their way to the valley of obstinacy, he would move from Bamiyan, make his base there (Tamizan), and force them to submit.

When Ghulam Husayn Khan reached Tamizan and undertook to prepare supplies, the Sih Pay Hazarabs of Day Zangi attached to Mir Fayzak Beg Askani¹³ and to Mir Muhammad Riza Beg Alqa’i, both of whom reckoned Muhammad °Azim Beg (bearer of the farman) as of no account, envied him his title of sardar, and had tripped themselves up on the foot of jealousy, took the opportunity to act shamelessly and self-servingly, refused to supply provisions, and detained Ghulam Husayn Khan, the quartermaster. They told him that

¹³ FM: Askan is the name of a place in the district of Sih Pay of Day Zangi and situated on the banks of the Hirmand River.

Muhammad °Azim Beg (sic) who had ingratiated himself with the padishah, promised to make the Hazarahs of the ungoverned areas submit, and acquired the title of “sardar,” should try and come to free him (Ghulam Husayn Khan) and get those provisions. But Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan knowing himself and the evil mirs well, was aware that in the pans of a scale, those two evil mirs, would weigh a *kharwār* while he would weigh only a *mann*, and he could do nothing to free (Ghulam Husayn Khan). Then Fayzak Beg himself released him but instead of showing any gratitude to him and Muhammad Riza Beg, (Ghulam Husayn Khan) recruited infantry and cavalry from the people of Day Kundi and, in service to the government, attacked the two of them. Though a struggle took place, (Ghulam Husayn Khan) was unable to make headway and without achieving his goal went to Tamizan and established himself there. As for the other two men, they shamelessly remained resolute in their forts, showing every intention of putting up a fight. Ghulam Husayn Khan, who had gone to Tamizan, laid the foundations of oppression, and built a solid structure of tyranny until the people of Tamizan were brought from mere opposition to utter distress and laid plans to murder him.

Also at this time the glorious mother of the well-born prince Sardar Ghulam °Ali Khan set out for Kabul from Mazar-i Sharif at a farman of summons, but because of the /702/ insalubrious weather along the route, she left the infant noble prince and his nurse in Mazar-i Sharif with his good-natured grandmother while she herself reached Kabul in Rabi° al-Sani/November-December and joined the other ladies of the harem.

Also at this time, thanks to the ascendance of His Majesty’s lucky star, a salt mine was discovered at Dahanah-i Khwajah Zayd in the district of Ghuri. But because the mine at Chal, one of the dependencies of Qataghan, produced an abundance of salt, this (new) mine up until now remains unexploited and there the government obtains no output from it.

Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Embarks on the Conquest of Kafiristan

Also at this time, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan had come to Kabul from Jalalabad at a farman of summons and obtained the honor of an audience and the opportunity to see the royal sovereign. His Majesty did him the honor of addressing him and gave him a set of instructions concerning the conquest of Kafiristan, and then gave him leave to return. The field marshal returned to Jalalabad, set out from there to conquer Kafiristan with his mighty regiments, and on the fourth of Rabi° al-Sani/17 November arrived and camped at Dih-i Ziyarat in Lamqan. There—as will come, God willing—he began to reconnoiter the march route for his army and to prepare provisions as quickly as possible and organize things properly for the conquest of Kafiristan and the Kuhistan-i Lamqan.

During this time Muhammad Amin Khan Nurza°i, Jan Muhammad Khan Ghilja°i, Akhtar Muhammad Khan °Aliza°i, Arbab Pir Muhammad Khan Timuri, and Arbab Murad °Ali Khan Karakhi, representatives (*wakīlān*) of the

nomads of the district of Farah and Pusht-i Rud had come to the capital, Kabul, at a farman of summons along with Mir Afzal Khan. They enjoyed the honor of an audience and His Majesty discussed with them, in legal terms, the *zakāt* alms-tax on their livestock and an agreement was reached. Out of a sense of fairness, he imposed on them the obligation that the *zakāt* on herds and livestock for the people of Pusht-i Rud, Farah, Isfizar, Herat, and the Badghisat would all be the same, equal to that paid by the rest of the people of Afghanistan and not a penny more or less. They happily agreed to this amount and so on the fourteenth of Rabi^c al-Sani/27 November His Majesty issued a written order for the people of all these places:

We now inform you and all nomads of these regions of that which seems just and fair in the scales of our thought and the assay of our mind, corresponds with (our) celebrated character, and has been agreed to with your representatives, and (tell you) that you be should be aware of it and not violate it.

Fourteen cavalymen of the First Royal Cavalry Regiment were assigned by His Majesty to take a census of the sheep belonging to the nomads. In a similar vein, other government officials and functionaries (were assigned) to inventory the flocks and livestock of landowners (*zamīn-dār*) and villagers of the entire kingdom and from this day forward a government bureau called *Shākh-shumārī* (Livestock Census Bureau) was in operation.

The Contract of Marriage with the Daughter of Malik Rahmat Shah Khan Waziri

Also at this time, in a letter from Malik Rahmat Shah Khan Waziri, an account of whose turning the face of hope towards the government was given above, it reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty that his daughter, who wore the headdress of glory and the garments of pride because of her being affianced to His Majesty, has now reached the age of puberty. Since her father and her tribe were desert-dwellers, carried their homes on their backs, spent their nights in one place and their days in another, the hope is that she would be summoned to Kabul. His Majesty who was totally committed to tribal honor and feelings of tribal unity and devoted himself to unite (the interests of) large tribes with the government through marital unions (*az rāh-i waṣlat*), on Tuesday, the nineteenth of Rabi^c al-Sani/2 December sent a farman to sardar Shirindil Khan, the governor of Khust, and ordered him to dispatch on His Majesty's behalf fine things and royally ornamented women's clothing along with a (government) servant to arrange the marriage contract. He was also to suitably organize the other things required for the nuptials like the wedding banquet and the distribution of sweets in a fashion appropriate to the table of Malik Rahmat Shah Khan. After the wedding contract is finalized, he should have the bride escorted from there to Kabul by a chaste and pious person. Also he should write Malik Rahmat Shah Khan about the issuance of this order and tell him that Sardar

Shirindil Khan was taking care of the arrangements for the nuptials of his daughter and that he would deliver her with all due esteem and respect to Kabul. The end. /703/ This will be dealt with in its appropriate place, God willing.

Also on the nineteenth of Rabi^ʿ al-Sani/ 2 December a farman was sent by His Majesty to the governor of Herat concerning the Jamshidi people in whom signs of strife were evident and who were showing an inclination towards the government of Russia. His order was to move the Jamshidis from their homeland and settle them in the district (*julgā*) of Herat so that the trouble that they were conceiving in their heads would not bring strife to the border and the government might remain tranquil and easy of mind. After the arrival of this manshur, he dispatched ʿAbd al-Qadir Khan, Qasim ʿAli Khan, and Muhammad Amir Khan, the nephews (on both the brother’s and sister’s side) of Naʿib Sultan Khan Afshar, whose services and whose turning the face from the page of life to the house of the deceased has been previously related, with their Kushadah horsemen and 100 regular cavalry to the lands of the Jamshidi to move those people to Herat district. They moved them to Herat, provided homes for them, and after completing their work presented themselves before the governor of Herat.

Meanwhile, on the twenty-eighth of Rabi^ʿ al-Sani/11 December, clothing and cloaks (*albisah wa ḥulal*) for the daughter of Malik Rahmat Shah Khan were sent by His Majesty accompanied by Fath Muhammad Khan, one of the *nawkars* of the treasurer, Jan Muhammad Khan. Also four howdah-full’s (*hawdaj-wār*)¹⁴ of bedding, a covered howdah, and numerous other necessary things were sent from Kabul to Khust to Sardar Shirindil Khan by his hand. After (Fath Muhammad Khan’s) arrival, the sardar (Shirindil Khan), since His Majesty had commanded and written him that he name a trustworthy and pious individual as attorney (*wakīl*) to conclude the marriage contract and finalize the nuptials, designated his own teacher (*muʿallim*) Mulla Muhammad Sharif as attorney. His Majesty approved the mulla’s appointment when the sardar reported it to him by letter and sent back a written power of attorney. Thereupon Sardar Shirindiil Khan dispatched to the Buland Khayl various robes of honor, and rice, oil, mutton, and nuptial sugar (*qand-i nikāh*) and the sweets which he had prepared for this occasion, along with the cloaks (*ḥulal*) and clothing which His Royal Majesty had sent. He himself set off for the Buland Khayl with Colonel Sayyid Asghar Khan, Commandant Muhammad Nasir Khan, and ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan, his own son, as well as 200 regular infantrymen and 80 regular cavalry, all the leaders of Khust, and the goods listed above. He oversaw the conclusion of the marriage contract and the joyous celebration of the nuptials in a fully appropriate way and in accordance with His Majesty’s directive and with great deference and respect he seated that lady of the bridal chamber of chastity in a litter (*maḥmal*) with six white-haired female relatives of her father. 100 and some-odd men of Malik Rahmat Shah Khan’s tribe also accompanied the howdah as an escort and they all entered Khust. There the lady alighted from the

¹⁴ FM: *Wār* has many meanings. here it means an amount, like *jāmah-wār* (?).

howdah at the lodgings (*sarāy*) of the wives of Sardar Shirindil Khan. Because of the severe cold and excessive snow, (the sardar) had her spend a few days there, distributed cash and kind to the men of Malik Rahmat Shah Khan's tribe as a *khil'at* and they returned home from Khust in a happy frame of mind. At the order of Sardar Shirindil Khan, a few of their leaders stayed behind in order to accompany the bride to Kabul and then return.

Also at this time, (His Majesty) was more than ever applying himself to the administrative affairs of the country, taking upon himself the major issues and turning over to the celestial-dwelling prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, the job of holding hearings and inquiries (*dād-rasī wa mazālim-pursī*) for all soldiers and civilians and the tax assessors and collectors (*'ummāl wa ḡubbāt*) in the government administration. To the noble prince, Sardar Nasr Allah Khan, he delegated the task of organizing (*tanẓīm wa tansīq*) the diwan. (The latter) established himself in the Audit Office (*daftar-i sanjish*) and dedicated himself to the affairs of the cabinet (*kābīnah-i mamlakat*).

During this time, Muhammad Haydar Khan Herati was honored with appointment by His Benevolent Majesty as governor of the Jaji people and he went there from Kabul. The Jadran and Mangal people, who as previously explained, had rebelled and ascended the mountain of folly, after the return of Sardar Shirindil Khan and Colonel Sayyid Asghar Khan and their preoccupation with the business of the abovementioned nuptials, also made the Jajis their allies in evildoing and together they engaged in thievery and highway robbery. They harassed and harried people of the region, caravans, and others and robbed and killed eighty merchants and other people. At the instigation of Malik Pir Dust, they did not hand the murderers and the thieves over to government officials and remained steadfast in their obstinacy. They also took under their wing the thieves from the Ahmadza'i tribe who had chosen Lij Mangal as their base and did not hand them over to government officials. Having resolved on rebellion, they persisted in their crooked ways until the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan, at the order of His Majesty, /704/ in Jumada al-Awwal/December-January dispatched Colonel Muhammad Akbar Khan from Kabul with an infantry regiment of Qarabaghi Hazarahs, 100 regular cavalry, and four cannons to punish the evil tribes. (An account of) his arrival there and the suppression and humiliation of those trouble-seeking tribes will come its proper place, God willing.

The Evildoing of Some of the Hazarah Mirs of Day Kundi

Meantime, as referred to above, Ghulam Husayn Khan, the quartermaster, being freed from the clutches of Mir Fayzak Beg, when he entered Tamizan, he presented a requisition for provisions to the Hazarahs of Day Kundi and ordered that they were to prepare provisions and supplies for the royal army at Tamizan so that if the Hazarahs of the unpacified region (*yāghistan*) did not place their heads beneath the writ of the farman and Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus should come from Bamyān to punish them and enter Tamizan, there would be supplies for the

army there. But along with the requisition order for grain and other necessary things, he also opened the hand of tyranny and caused much oppression until those people were in extremis. Their leaders, Karbala'i °Ali Khan, Mir Riza-yi Beg, and Mir Nasir Beg, mirs of the Hazarabs of Day Kundi, refused to provide supplies and fled for sanctuary to Mir Fayzak Beg in Sih Pay district of Day Zangi. Fearing the wrath of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan because of the flight of those three men, Ghulam Husayn Khan, the quartermaster, (temporarily) ceased his oppression and afterwards those three men returned to their homes from Mir Fayzak Beg. They loaded up the provisions and supplies which had been requisitioned from them and set off to deliver it to Tamizan and get a receipt. The quartermaster, Ghulam Husayn Khan, intended to arrest those three men but they discovered his plans and again fled, this time from the point they had reached with the supplies. Fearing arrest, they headed up into the mountains. The quartermaster thought their running away was due to the instruction and instigation of Mir Kazim Beg who resided in Tamizan and so made up his mind to mistreat and cause him injury. As the poet says,

Don't you know that when the cat is cornered // It will take out the eye
of the leopard with its claws.

He (Mir Kazim Beg), seeing no way to rid himself of (Ghulam Husayn Khan's) tyranny except by killing him, on the fourth of Jumada al-Awwal/16 December sent some of his *nawkars* to murder him. They went to his house and bored a hole in the wall behind which Ghulam Husayn Khan the quartermaster and twenty of his men were sleeping. They poked the muzzles of their rifles through the opening and opened fire as one. One of the assailants, with agile quickness managed to get inside the house, removed the sword and a purse of money which the quartermaster had placed beneath his head, and carried them away. Now awake, Ghulam Husayn Khan and the other sleepers, examined themselves and when they discovered no one had suffered any injury, lit a lamp, and saw that nothing had been lost except the sword and purse of money. Then, in the dark of that same night, Ghulam Husayn Khan, quartermaster, ordered his men to find out who had shot at them. They dragged one of Mir Kazim Beg's *nawkars* from his house and in the presence of his master nailed one of his feet to the ground. Before driving it through his foot, they split the nail by driving a wedge into it. Blood poured from his toes and he kept up the torture in this fashion until the servant revealed where the sword and purse of money were, and they brought it out.

On the day this sordid event occurred, Mir Kazim Beg was condemned, and Ghulam Husayn Khan threw him in prison along with fourteen others whom they had rounded up. Seeing their chief, Mir Kazim Beg, incarcerated, the people of Tamizan, without giving thought to the consequences this would bring, attacked and besieged the fort where Ghulam Husayn Khan, quartermaster was ensconced, and made life very difficult for him. Thwarted by the heavy snow and severe cold from Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan's sending

him reinforcements from Bamyan, Ghulam Husayn Khan had no choice but to write to the governor of Qandahar and ask him for help. (The governor) sent the letter to Mirza Muhammad Khan, the governor of Tirin, corroborated it, and ordered him to send to Tamizan 200 Sakhlu infantry and some of the regular infantry stationed in Tirin along with one cannon and to get them to Ghulam Haydar Khan, quartermaster in time so that the Hazarabs did not destroy him. But because of the great amount of snow, Mirza Muhammad Khan, the governor of Tirin, was unable to send help. Meantime, the Hazarabs who had Ghulam Husayn Khan in the grip of a close siege, managed to wound him. Considering the wounding to be (sufficient) revenge, /705/ they withdrew from around the fort. On the margins of a Glorious Qur'an, they wrote a petition asking for forgiveness for their sins, declaring their innocence, and complaining about the tyranny of Ghulam Husayn Khan, quartermaster. They sent that Qur'an along with a second Qur'an, the first being the messenger (*rasūl*) and the other serving as the intercessor (*shafi'*), to the governor of Qandahar. In their message they said that they had not turned their heads from the writ of the royal farman, nor taken the path of error into the wasteland of shame. They had only risen up in order to rid themselves of the tyranny and oppression of Ghulam Haydar Khan and they said that they have wounded him. The governor of Qandahar meantime had summoned Mirza Muhammad Khan, the governor of Tirin, to Qandahar to jail him for not sending help to Tamizan, as mentioned above. Pleading the excuse of the severe cold and abundance of snow, in the presence of the Hazarab emissaries who had brought the Qur'ans and were asking for a pardon, he also confirmed the tyranny and oppression of Ghulam Husayn Khan and the lack of culpability on the part of the Hazarabs. Thereupon, (the governor of Qandahar) offered the Hazarab emissaries conciliatory words and the glad tidings of a pardon as well as a robe of honor. He also brought cheer to the heart of Mirza Muhammad Khan by reconfirming him as governor of Tirin and giving him a *khil'at*. He gave them all leave to return home and ordered him (Mirza Muhammad Khan) that as soon as he arrived in Tirin to send to Tamizan the regular and Sakhlu infantry at Tirin along with one artillery piece to garrison that place and suppress any trouble. He also summoned Ghulam Haydar Khan, quartermaster, from Tamizan to Qandahar. En route, the wound he had suffered and which had not completely healed, made him feverish and when the governor of Qandahar learned of this, he sent Muhammad Amin Khan Bayat with a litter and he brought him to Qandahar without (further) injury or agony (*zillat*).

When these matters reached the justice-perceiving ears of His Majesty in a report from the governor of Qandahar, he sent a farman ordering him to summon to Qandahar as prisoners Mirza Muhammad Khan, the governor of Tirin, and those two *ṣadbashis* who have been negligent and gave the excuse that there was too much snow and cold for them to go to Tamizan to help Ghulam Husayn Khan and then to send all three to Kabul. He should appoint two other *ṣadbashis* to go with the Sakhlu infantry marching towards Tamizan to be stationed there. Also, the quartermaster, Ghulam Husayn Khan, quartermaster whether healthy or sick should be sent back to Tamizan to fulfill his duties as quartermaster.

After receiving this admonitory manshur, the governor of Qandahar counseled Ghulam Haydar Khan not to be oppressive and tyrannical but to behave in a proper fashion and then gave him leave to return to Tamizan. The Hazarah mirs who had come to Ahmad Shahi City to ask for justice from his tyranny were gladdened with the bestowal of *khilʿats* and (the governor) ordered them to return their homes with him (Ghulam Haydar Khan) and not stray from obedience by rebelling.

Meantime, Sartib Mirza Khan and Sayyid Najaf Shah were traveling to Tamizan with the two units (*dastahs*) of Sakhlu and regular infantry and the piece of artillery which Mirza Muhammad Khan the governor of Tirin at the governor of Qandahar's order had marched from Tirin to Tamizan. Those two *ṣadbashis* and the governor (of Tirin) in accordance with the farman which His Majesty had issued to the governor of Qandahar, were put in irons and with Fath Muhammad Khan Kharjgir and Taj Muhammad Khan Baluch, the governor of Gizab, went to Qandahar from Tirin, and from there came to Kabul (as prisoners). At the order of His Majesty, Mirza Muhammad Khan was dragged to the gibbet of punishment and surrendered his life. The two *ṣadbashis* were required to repay six months' salary to the treasury as a fine and were then restored to their rank and service. Fath Muhammad Khan with Baj Muhammad Khan Baluch were restored to their previous duties by His Majesty thanks to the certificate they had in which Ghulam Husayn Khan quartermaster verified their services and they returned home in good spirits.

Meanwhile, during these events, when Karbala'ī ʿAli Khan, Mir Riza'ī Beg, and Mir Nasir Beg had for a second time fled into the mountains as was noted above, and then had gone to Fayzak Beg Sih Pay by a back road, they related their case to him. He, along with Muhammad Riza Beg Alqani, sent a man to Sardar Muhammad ʿAzim Khan Sih Pay, and asked him to come to them so that together they would decide on a plan and put some stability into their affairs. (Sardar Muhammad ʿAzim Khan) worried that they were plotting to involve him and make him an (unwitting) accomplice in evildoing with themselves, refused to go to them and moved with his wives and children from Ishkarabad which was his family seat. As he did not have the strength either to contend or negotiate with them and with regard to the fact that in comparison with them he was of low status, he fled to the district of Gizab and built himself a fort and settled among the people there. They were all (good) subjects and loyal to the commands and obedient to the prohibitions of the padishah. and settled down. / **706**/ He lived there until the arrival of Sardar ʿAbd al-Quddus Khan and in the end he rebelled—as will be recorded in due course, God willing.

*The Affiancing of the Fortune-Starred Daughter of Safdar Khan Nawagi to
Prince Muhammad ʿUmar Khan*

During this time, Safdar Khan Nawagi sent Muhammad Saʿid Khan Sahibzadah to the throne along with Malik Khala Khan and nine other men, such as Muhammad Riza Khan, Muhammad Munir Khan, Malik Shayr Muhammad

Khan and others, with appropriate gifts and presents in order to seek a marital connection with the royal family. He wrote and sent to the throne with these worthies a letter containing the request that His Majesty approve the joining in marriage of his daughter to the noble prince, Sardar Muhammad °Umar Khan, and so elevate his family and tribe above all their peers and equals. His Majesty heard his request with the ear of acceptance and on behalf of the prince gave to his fiancée the following presents: six gold-domed caps (*shash ṭāqah-i °araqchīn-i qurṣ-i zarīn*), six pairs of Kabuli gold (embroidered) shoes, six bolts of gold brocade (*kamkhwāb*), three pieces of Khalil-Khani shawl cloth of Kashmir weave, three bolts of gold *jālī* cloth known as *kar-chūb*¹⁵, thirty-five *zar*^cs of golden wool, thirty-five *zar*^cs of silken wool (*sūf ibriṣham*), 400 *zar*^cs of *qanāwīz*,¹⁶ one saddle (*sarj-i zīn*) with silver trappings, two pair of bracelets, two pair of gold bracelets, 100 Bukharan gold tillas (*ḥamāyilī*—on a sash), five gold rings for fingers set with emeralds, four finger rings set with rubies, one silver teapot, one serving tray (*paṭnūs*), one water jug of white copper, and four water jugs of red copper, all women's types (*ḥamah zanānah*). He also bestowed on all Safdar Khan's emissaries *khil°ats* and on the seventeenth of Jumada al-Awwal he gave them leave to depart, sent all these goods with them, and through this marital connection lifted the head of Safdar Khan's honor to the apogee of glory.

The Service of °Abd al-Jawad, the Merchant, and the Situation of Mirza Shah Muhammad Khan and the Evildoing Fugitives of the Char Sadah

During the time of these occurrences, °Abd al-Jawad, a Kirmani merchant who at his own request to serve His Majesty had asked for the position of news writer for Iran and Russia, this had been approved by the royal benevolent mind and a farman was issued accepting his services.

During this time Mirza Shah Muhammad Khan Herati who was one of the fine progeny and descendants of Mirza °Abd al-Ghaffar Khan, the chief minister (*madār al-mahāmm*) of Nadir Shah Afshar, and at the order of the governor of Herat had been appointed along with Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan to sell qarakul skins belonging to the government, had gone to Bukhara, and returned after one year to Herat, at the order of His Majesty in recognition of the faithfulness with which he had served, found himself honored to be kept in his position and once again went to Bukhara where he devoted himself to selling Trans-Oxianan (qarakul) skins. He served there for ten years and eventually, at a farman of summons, came to Kabul from Bukhara, his accounts were scrutinized by the people of the diwan, and they could find nothing, that he owed not a penny in government funds. In the year 1318/1900–1901 he passed away in Kabul.

¹⁵ According to Afghani-Nawis, this is "a type of textile (*qumāsh*). According to Dehkhuda, *kārchūb* is a kind of knitted textile.

¹⁶ Dihkhuda says *qanāwīz* is a kind of cloth from the end of the Muhammad Shah and beginning of the Nasir al-Din Shah era with a polychrome background and close parallel stripes of a color different from the background.

Also during these recorded events, prior to the discussion of the situation of the above mirza (Mirza Shah Muhammad Khan Herati), a certain Mulla Mirza, an evildoer of the Char Sadah tribe who at the time of its rebellion was captured by servants of the government and up until this time was held in Herat Prison, at an order of His Majesty, Field Marshal Faramarz Khan now strapped him to the mouth of a cannon and when the gun discharged his body was blown into tiny pieces. His brother, Shadyar, and Rasul Dad, the son-in-law of that crooked-minded one, were tied to the stakes of punishment at the regular army's shooting range and became the target of life-seizing bullets. One noble nawkar was led to the gallows and executed. (The field marshal) sent from Herat to Kabul the money and belongings of the first evildoers which had been confiscated after their capture, as was previously recounted.

As for some of the evildoers who had taken refuge in the rocky terrain of Darrah-i Naristan and up to this point had not been captured and were still treading the path of error, government officials (now) assigned a number of soldiers who brought 100 of their leaders and lesser fry to hand.

Also Sakhlu infantry along with several horsemen and leaders of the Chaqcharan district and Murghab embarked on a mission to find /707/ and capture the evildoers of Charas. They laid hands on two of that truth-neglecting group, but the men of Charas forcibly freed the others from the hands of the government supporters. A corrupt one named Sharif fled to Pukan and took refuge at the house of Yusuf Sultan. Fifty other households of evildoers learning of his arrival in that region came from the mountains of adversity and sought refuge with Yusuf Sultan. Despite the fact that he (Yusuf Sultan) was the husband of the paternal aunt of the evildoer Sharif, he did not show any regard for the marriage relationship (with Sharif) and charged every household sixteen tangahs, for a total of 800, as the price of asylum and then gave them a place to stay.

During this time, a noble farman was issued by His Majesty to officials in Turkistan regarding the evildoers of Maq and Char Sadah who had fled to that region and established themselves wherever they could. It said that they should detain these people and not allow them to spend their lives in freedom lest trouble arise. So a group of Sakhlu infantry and *mulki* men went out looking for those evil-natured people, but learning of this, they first sought refuge in the mountains of adversity but then, seeing that establishing themselves in the mountains would be extremely difficult, they headed for Gharjistan and stopped in Ayraf Cave (*ghār-i Ayraf*). The government soldiers (*chākirs*) came up and near the where Sultan Yar was, captured the evil Mulla Gaday. (The government force) surrounded the cave and engaged the refuge-seekers there in combat. Fighting went on until the time of the evening prayer. Dilawar one of the evildoers and a nephew of Mirza Hasan was struck by a bullet and killed. The others, fearing for their lives, emerged from the cave under cover of night, and with a thousand difficulties managed to escape. The government soldiers sent Sultan Yar whom they had captured to officials in Chaqcharan along with the severed head of Dilawar.

Meantime, those who had gone towards Murghab looking for the evildoers found not a soul but did find a Caucasian sword and a Russian dagger in the house of a certain Mulla Ahmad and sent them to Herat. On another front, Jan °Ali Khan who had gone to the district of Pukan with a number of arbabs, put Yusuf Sultan and Tahir Sultan Pukani who had given refuge to the evildoers, as was recounted above, under pressure to hand over the evildoers. Realizing that not surrendering the evildoers meant their own annihilation, Yusuf Sultan, unbeknownst to Jan °Ali Khan, sent seventy households to Sar-i Pul, to Muhammad Aslam Khan, the governor there, and then represented himself to (Muhammad Aslam Khan) as a loyal servant. He (Yusuf Sultan), through searches and investigations, brought thirty-nine other men to hand and turned them over to him (Muhammad Aslam Khan). He in turn sent them all to Herat. When the number of prisoners presently with Arbab Muhammad °Azim Beg reached 134, they were sent to Qunduz at the order of His Majesty to spend the rest of their lives farming there. The weapons which at this time—over and above the weapons which earlier the evildoers had hidden and not given up but which government *chākirs* had seized and sent to Herat—included 1,247 rifles, 410 ammunition belts, fifty-four swords, twelve pistols, and five daggers and these were turned over to the government arsenal.

The Arrival of a Russian, Kuropatkin, at the Herat Border

During these above-recorded events, a Russian named Kuropatkin, on a tour of the borders, came to the border point separating the frontier of Herat from what belonged to Russia but did not advance further. A government official, Mirza °Abd al-Samad Khan at the order of the governor of Herat (Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan), Field Marshal Faramarz Khan, and Mirza Jilani Khan, the *sar daftar* of Herat, sent as hospitality gifts (to Kuropatkin) a few head of sheep, a quantity of flour, rice, oil, and barley, and a number of eggs. He also wrote him a letter (at the orders of the above officials) saying that since he had entered the border area belonging to his own government yet close to the border region belonging to the government of Afghanistan, considering him like a guest, he was sending a quantity of food so that he would accept them as a token of friendship and neighborliness. The Russian accepted the above-mentioned things and warmly praised and congratulated Mirza °Abd al-Samad Khan and the (Afghan) government (*dawlat-i °alīyah*). During this time a letter from another Russian, Colonel Kazenov, reached Gul Hasan Khan *ṣad-bāshū* who was guarding the district of Gulran. He wrote:

Since the officer at Tanurah, Suzenov, has informed (me) that Yarim Padishah has entered Aq Ribat and the (abovementioned) Kuropatkin has entered the district of Tanurah, therefore (I am) informing (you—i.e. Gul Hasan Khan) that it would be good if you came to meet Yarim Padishah. Also Yarim Padishah wants to meet him (i.e. you). So he ordered me /708/ to tell you about meeting him. The end.

Gul Hasan Khan notified the governor of Herat and Field Marshal Faramarz Khan of the letter and request of Colonel Kazenov and after receiving permission (from them), he met with (Yarim Padishah), held official talks and returned without exchanging any gifts. Because of this activity on the part of Russian officers, the governor of Herat recalled to Herat the cavalry guarding the borders and sent out Din Muhammad Khan and °Abd al-Wahid Khan with 100 of their own Kushadah cavalry to Qarah Tapah and 150 other cavalymen who were in service in Herat under the command of Payandah Khan to guard the rest of the border points (with Russia).

Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan Marches from Bamiyan Towards Tamizan

Meantime, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan having learned of the disturbance of the Hazarahs in Tamizan in Day Kundi, described above, and having completed work on a barracks (*chahāwunī*) in the ruined city of Gholgholah which he had begun in Muharram/Augsut 1890, he sounded the drum of marching toward Tamizan which was seventeen stages south of Bamiyan and unfurled the banner of punishing the wicked people of the not-yet-pacified Hazarah regions. He spent a short time in the district of Hazarah-i Day Zangi in order to prepare supplies, issue requisitions (*suyūrsāt*), and assemble tribal infantry and cavalry from the Hazarahs of Day Zangi.

During this time, three companions of Shayr Jan Khan the son of Mir Ahmad Khan Taraki, an account of whose evildoing and flight into the valley of error was given above, were captured by followers of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and because of their association with him (Shayr Jan Khan) and due to the fact that they had bought several government rifles which thieves had stolen, at His Majesty's order they were dragged to the gallows and put to death.

Meantime, Colonel Muhammad Akbar Khan, who as noted above was sent to punish the Mangal, Jaji, and Jadran rebels with the Qarabaghi Hazarah Infantry Regiment, entered the district of Chamkani in the month of Jumada al-Sani/ January–February. There, La°l Gul Khan Gardizi with 500 horse and foot from his own tribe joined Colonel Muhammad Akbar Khan in service to the government and together they undertook (both) to chastise and to win over those tribes. They began by speaking conciliatorily and advising (those tribes) to submit—the reconciliation and submission of those tribes will be given in its proper place, God willing.

Also at this time, Nur Muhammad Khan, the son of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, having learned of the rebellion of those tribes and their withdrawing their heads from under the writ of the farman, went among those people and began to fan the flames of strife. Muhammad Sarwar Khan, known as “Chak the Thief” who, as was mentioned earlier, had entered the service of the government, promised Adyan, an Afghan living in the mountains along the border a reward of 3,000 rupees if he would kill Nur Muhammad Khan. At night (Adyan) got near (Nur Muhammad Khan) and shot him in the navel (*°uqdah-i*

nāf-ash) but since his appointed time had not yet arrived, the bullet missed a fatal spot and he managed to flee safely into the valley of adversity.

Also at this time, Malik Rahmat Shah Khan Waziri set out for Kabul with his chaste daughter who had been honored by enrollment in the company of virtuous ladies of the esteemed royal harem but had been forced by extreme cold and abundant snow to stay with the wives of Sardar Shirindil Khan in Khust. (Malik Rahmat Shah Khan) also left Khust with fifteen leaders from his tribe. When he arrived in Kabul, his daughter immediately became an intimate of ladies of the esteemed harem. He himself, with the people accompanying him, at the order of His Majesty, spent a period of time in Kabul as the guest (of the government) with food provided. The elevation of him and his tribe by the bestowal of stipends will be recorded in its proper place, God willing.

Also in this time, at the order of His Majesty General Sayyid Shah Khan built a very strong bridge at Juzun over the Fayzabad River,.

Also in these times, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, who—as mentioned above—had been summoned to Kabul with a group of local Hazarah leaders who, at the time of the rebellion of the Andari, Taraki, °Ali Khayl, and Nasiri tribes had rendered the government commendable services, and been awaiting instructions to send an army (*lashkar*) to the unpacified Hazarah areas, His Majesty (now) gave him (further) instructions regarding a tribal force made up of Afghans and Hazarahs of Ghaznin and pleased the Hazarah leaders /709/ by the bestowal of magnificent *khil'ats* and, with words of praise and congratulation, gave them leave to return (to Ghaznin). Thus, on the twenty-second of Rajab/3 March, they entered Ghaznin together with the governor, went to their own homes, and began preparing the equipment and supplies for an army for the campaign to the Hazarahjat.

Also at this time, it reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty via letters from news writers in Trans-Oxania that a certain °Alikhanov, one of the Muslims imbibing the dregs from the cup of love for the Russian government, at the order of officials of that government and with a change of clothes, at Satan's suggestion, had entered the mountainous region of Jalalabad to reconnoiter the easy and difficult routes and the situation, both good and bad, of the people there, and then to return. His Majesty wrote an order for °Ali Muhammad Khan, the governor of Kunar, telling him to be very diligent and should (°Alikhanov) set foot in (his) region to seize that spy and put him in chains. But not being discovered, (°Alikhanov) was not captured, and secretly made his way home.

During this time, through letters from news writers in the district of Hazarah-i Shaykh °Ali, it reached the justice-discerning ears of His Majesty that when the royal order was issued to officers of the regular army concerning the evildoers of Shaykh °Ali to punish that tribe, and they were told that the money and property, cattle and livestock of that wicked group would be considered theirs but men, women, sons and daughters who were taken captive be considered the government's share, as a result of the issuance of this signed order groups and individuals in the regular army plundered and seized cattle and livestock and everything people owned whether they were wicked, honest,

criminals, or simple peasants. His Majesty was angered at this and on the ninth of Sha^ʿban/20 March, he fined the regular army and billed it for the value of all the property of those people. Afterwards, pleased that the army which had tormented them had been punished, the people did not reclaim their property but gave it all to the government.

At the same time, it reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty in letters from news writers in Turkistan that the helpless subjects of Turkistan who were experiencing tyranny from the powerful people around Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan were demanding justice and alleging (that) the field marshal, together with the chief (*sar-rishtaḥdār*) of the Balkh bureau (*daftar-i Balkh*) and the Mazar-i Sharif bureau had referred their complaints to those same individuals, the arbabs, *kadkhudās*, and others against whom they were complaining and from whom they were seeking justice, and as a consequence, the doors of inquiry and investigation were closed and all the oppressed lost hope of getting justice from the royal government. On the thirteenth of Sha^ʿban/24 March, His Majesty sent a letter of chastisement to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and told him:

You are re-creating the tumult of the era of the government of His late Highness, Amir Shayr^ʿAli Khan, and blocking the path of justice (*dād-rasī*). This is just like in the time of the amirate of the late amir. If anyone petitioned him about the tyranny of Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfi*, Field Marshal Husayn^ʿAli Khan, and General Daʿud Shah Khan and sought redress, he would abuse and insult him and refer the investigation of the petitioner to those very same people. This kind of government violates the canons of Shari^ʿah and political law (*salṭanat*), for covering the eyes to the grievances and complaints of individual subjects and working to weaken the foundation of the subjects will undermine the wall (*dīwār*) of their existence at the hands of the arbabs and kadkhudas with a mattock and level and destroy it. Are you afraid of the arbabs and kadkhudas or are you in league with them to ruin the wealth of the subjects? For you have made such actions and behavior (as theirs) your own practice. If this is not the case, then I don't know why you have given the arbabs, kadkhudas, assessors and collectors free rein; ignored the pleas of the subjects, who are entrusted to us by God; and wiped out any claim they have on me. How long will your inexperience (*khām-kārī*) and blindness to injustice (*nā-ḥaqq guzārī*) last? Yesterday you saw with your own eyes and heard with your own ears what the arbabs of Balkh were doing in every street and quarter. These were the same unrepentant arbabs and leaders who took the Qur'an in hand as their intercessor, allied the people with Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, and created strife. A little while before that, at the time of the confrontation with Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, the kalantars of the city and environs of Qandahar and the craftsmen of the bazaar who for the most part enjoyed the respect of their peers gave

support and backing to the mullas, the 'possessors of cloak and turban sash' who called me an infidel, removed the green, red, black, and blue cloaks (*khirqah-hā*) from the shops of the colorers and dyers and, tying the banner of proclaiming holy war (*ghazā-guftah*) to the tops of their staffs, set forth on the path of resistance. In no way whatsoever should one rely on such people nor allow them any credibility. They have become so proud of themselves that they deem any grievance to be non-existent, and they produce nothing but corruption. In a very short time, they ruin the subjects, improve their own lot, and render the state (*salṭanat*) /710/ powerless. One might say that any esteem for arbabs, kadkhudas and others who don't discern the rights of God, the padishah, and the subjects is absolutely the cause of the ruination of the country not the cause of its prosperity. You need to get some sense into your head and pay attention to the petitions and grievances of the subjects, the downtrodden, and every one so that the tyrannical and powerful don't negligently swallow up and digest weak and poor subjects.

Also at this time, in a letter from the viceroy of India which reached the throne and was honored by the luminescent consideration of His Majesty, notice was given to the royal essence of excellent virtue of the replacement of Colonel °Ata Allah Khan (as British envoy) and the appointment of Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan Gandahpuri at Kabul and on the thirteenth of Sha°ban/24 March a farman went out to Sardar Shad Muhammad Khan, the governor of Jalalabad, to prepare food and provisions for him and his twenty companions from the (border) point of Gandah Chashmah and Haft Chah up to the territory under the jurisdiction of his own governorship. Manzil by manzil, he was to provide these things to him at the current cost. Sartib Muhammad Husayn Khan, the guard stationed at the manzil of Dakkah, with the Sakhlu infantry under his command, was ordered to escort (Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan Gandahpuri) from the beginning of the territory of Afghanistan and deliver him to Jalalabad in complete security and peace of mind so that he would experience no trouble from the people dwelling in the Mohmand mountains. Also, it was emphasized to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan that he was to exercise oversight of the governor of Jalalabad and the *sartib* in this matter and give it his full attention. As a result, (the envoy) arrived in Kabul and Colonel °Ata Allah Khan went back to India.

Meanwhile, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan had arrived in Dih-i Ziyarat of Lamqan on the fourth of Rabi° al-Awwal as mentioned above intending to conquer Kafiristan and up to this time had been busy preparing provisions and supplies, readying the army's weapons, and spending his time waiting for the royal command. On the sixteenth of Sha°ban/27 March a royal order was issued to him telling him that the time for conquering Kafiristan was passing and it was necessary for him to say how large an army was appropriate for that campaign so that whatever number of troops was needed for this task

from those stationed in Shinwar and from Kabul and its environs could be sent there in order that this spot of infidel darkness on the face of the kingdom of Islam could be removed and cleansed with the water of the swords of those striving in the way of the clear religion of the Lord of the Messengers—the prayers and peace of God be upon him and on all his Family and his Companions.

This order was yet to be carried out when the Mir of Chitrar made plans to erect fortifications and build strong fortresses in strategic places in the high mountains near the district of Bajawur. Since, the °Umra Khan Bajawuri had closed the door of any hopes (for help) from the government of Afghanistan due to his unpleasant actions, having repeatedly violated the agreements and declarations he had made with the government, when he learned of the plans of the Mir of Chitrar, he was too ashamed to say anything to the royal officials of Afghanistan and was forced to ask Jallad Khan, the Khan of Asmar, for help in stopping the Mir of Chitrar. He in turn wrote a letter to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and asked for permission and assistance saying that he would attack Chitrar with °Umra Khan and thus disrupt the power of the Mir of Chitrar and prevent him from building those forts. The field marshal sent his letter on to the throne and His Royal Majesty wrote and told him that if the Mir of Chitrar tried to build a fort and a citadel in regions belonging to Asmar, he should stop him because that region and its periphery are part of the territory of Afghanistan. If he should build a fort in the mountains belonging to Chitrar and outside the boundaries of (Asmar), he should not interfere with him. Also he should not let °Umra Khan attack or campaign against Chitrar. No one has the right to enter Asmar without the permission of this government and if someone should, the mighty regiments near Asmar, in particular those in Kunar, are ready for battle for there is but one manzil from Kunar to entering Asmar and they would give him his just punishment. In the end it turned out as His Majesty had written and there was no incident. As for the conquest of Kafiristan, it will be recorded in its proper place, God willing.

Also during this time, Ja°far °Ali Khan the son of Baz °Ali Khan Jaghuri who was enrolled in the corps of *pīshkhidmats* of the throne, through the mediation of the bureaucrat (*daftari*) Diwan Naranjan,¹⁷ at His Majesty's command, was appointed to collect the canonical tithe (*°ushr-i shar°i*) from nomads and a man named Mirza Muhsin was honored by appointment as his clerk (*nawīsandah*).

Also during this time, a Russian colonel named Drishtan (? *drīshstan* or D. Rishtan—see below) who was stationed at the town of Karki, one of the dependencies of Bukhara, set out from his base on his own initiative with some regular troops and a few artillery pieces to make an inspection tour of the border. /711/ When he reached the village and home of Alati Bay, he invited Aqa Jan Khan a *risālah-dār* and the border guard (for Afghanistan) to come and see him and so they met. At this meeting during the course of the official

¹⁷ This must be Naranjan Das.

conversation, he uttered various words here and there the purpose of which was not clearly understood and which contained hidden meanings. They then said their farewells, the *risālah-dār* returned to his base, and the colonel continued his inspection tour moving back and forth across the border and then returned to Karki. When these movements and the meeting reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty from news writers along the border, on the fifth of Ramazan/14 April he sent a farman to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who was stationed in Turkistan telling him to write to Colonel Drishtan the following:

I consider this sort of movement, meeting, and random talk on (the colonel's) part to violate the protocols of the government and my thought is what will this kind of activity, of which there was none prior to and even after the delimitation and demarcation of the border points separating the two governments, lead to? For the majority of people living in the kingdom of Afghanistan are cognizant in this regard of the fact that since the delimitation of the borders between the two governments has been carried out and affirmed in complete amity, no cause for ambiguity should remain in the friendly relations of the two sides. For the most part they know that the mighty Imperial Government is their large neighbor and they think well of it and firmly hold in their minds the respect of neighbors for each other's rights. That friend came and made a tour of the borders with troops and artillery and if we did the same thing, and no objection were raised (on their side), then there would be no problem. But if officials of the Russian government think such violations of the border unpleasant and cause for objection, then what reason is there for that friend to do what he did? Indeed, we want to know well about whatever happens so that if His Majesty inquires about it, a report which corresponds to reality can be sent to the throne so that I won't appear in the eyes of the officials of my government to be negligent or ignorant of things. The end.

After this letter of the field marshal arrived, Colonel Rishtan (sic) acknowledged that his activities were unfriendly and there was no further correspondence.

Also on that same day in Ramazan/14 April, at the order of His Majesty, 200 regular infantry and 200 regular cavalry who were stationed at Talah in Hazarah-i Shaykh 'Ali—since the business of Shaykh 'Ali was now straightened out—left there simultaneously with 200 Sakhlu infantry stationed at Duab and joined the force under the command of Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan which was assigned to conquer the Hazarahjat.

Also in these times, Colonel Wali Muhammad Khan passed away. Since he had been a loyal servant of the government this was a cause of great sorrow to His Majesty.

The Kingly Favors Which Were Bestowed on Malik Rahmat Shah Khan Waziri

Also in this time His Majesty summoned Malik Rahmat Shah Khan Waziri and lavished favors on him. As was previously related, Malik Rahmat Shah Khan had come to Kabul with several notables of his tribe, escorting the palanquin of his chaste and blessed daughter. In Kabul, hospitality was extended to him for a time at the order of the one whose eyes are always on God, I mean the crown-wearing sovereign. (Now) (His Majesty) enrolled (Malik Rahmat Shah Khan's) young son, whose name was Payu, in the corps of page boys (*ghulām-bachchahs*) and elevated (Malik Rahmat Shah Khan's) status well above that of his peers. He increased the malik's annual base stipend, which was 700 rupees, by 1,300 rupees, to a total of 2,000 rupees. He approved 100 foot soldiers of the men of his tribe to be servants of the government, assigned them to his command, and gave each an annual salary of sixty rupees, for an annual total of 6,000 rupees. He also favored Sardar Shirindil Khan with a farman telling him to pay these infantrymen at Khust forty rupees in cash and twenty in kind. At this time, when five *sīrs* of wheat by Kabul weight was worth one rupee, he was thus to pay them 100 *sīrs* of wheat (as the in-kind part of their salary). In addition he gave each one (of Malik Rahmat Shah's party) a permanent emolument which they could collect annually and which was registered in the diwan as follows: Allah Yar Khan the son of Suran Khan Mami Khayl, 140 rupees; Mihtar Khan the son of Fazl Khan, forty rupees; Khatul, twenty-two and one-half rupees; Muhammadi the son of Shumamid, fifty rupees; Baz Muhammad the son of Arsalah, fifty rupees; and Pat the son of Ghalah, thirty-five rupees—these **/712/** six men, whose emoluments total 337 and one-half rupees were all from the Mami Khayl clan (of the Waziri); °Aydal the son of Tamkin, thirty rupees; Pir °Ali the son of Shirang, forty rupees; Baburi the son of Ibrahim Dad, thirty rupees; Piruki the son of Miran, twenty-five rupees; Turah Baz, the son of Da'ud Shah, twenty-five rupees; Isma'il Khan the son of Darkhan, seventy rupees; Ghafur the son of Shahnawar, forty rupees; °Usman the son of Musa, thirty rupees; and °Abd al-Rahman, the son of Adam, twenty rupees—these nine, whose permanent awards amounted to 310 rupees annually, were from different clans—Buland Khayl, Mami Khayl, and Malik Shayr Khayl (of the Waziri). In all, the salaries and stipends bestowed by His Majesty on Malik Rahmat Shah Khan and his tribe and supporters, not counting the salary of Payu Khan his son and his son's attendants, came to 8,647 and one-half rupees, which in light of today's prices for goods is worth more than 40,000 rupees because all food stuffs and clothing have risen greatly in price (since then). After these awards by His Majesty, Malik Rahmat Shah was dismissed, left Kabul for Khust, and settled with his wives and children near the military barracks (in Khust).

Also at this time, officials of the English government dispatched some 10-12,000 regular horse and foot and artillery to Tarwah and Tirah. (This was done) at the request of the Nasiri tribe and the leaders of the Andari, Taraki, and °Ali Khayl whose rebellion, evildoing, and flight have all been covered earlier, and notwithstanding the fact that the Nasiri tribe, as was also earlier noted, had

used the Qur'an as mediator (with His Majesty), had written a promise on its margins, had affirmed it with solemn oaths, and had been forgiven and permitted to come into Afghanistan. Nevertheless, they had asked that government (the English) to assign forces to the district of Tarwah and other places, and build strong forts there so that they might, by way of tribal fellowship, guide the Afghans living in that district to become obedient to that government, especially to make the Ghilja'i obey the command and follow the prohibitions of that government, so that in this way they might render some service to that government.

(The English forces) camped near those two places and began building a fort and constructing roads towards the mountains on the border from a number of directions. To stop them, the people of Tirah attacked the English and the blood of forty of their people flowed onto the ground of destruction while twelve of the Tirahis embarked for Paradise on the path of martyrdom. They captured one Englishman, one babu,¹⁸ that is a surveyor of buildings, and a *sūbah-dār*¹⁹ and they forcibly prevented the English from building a fort and roads. The Waziris, likewise, attacked two regiments of foot soldiers and a few regular cavalry who had taken up positions in Kaj Sul and were busy building a road and fort, and plundered their food supplies. Many on each side were killed at the hands of the other. In the end, the English realized that building the fort and laying down the road would require constant fighting and so withdrew their hand from what they had planned. Because of the outbreak of this turmoil and the efforts of the people of Tirah and the Waziri tribe, the Nasiris, Taraki, Andari, and other fugitives lost credibility in the eyes of the English who realized that the promises the tribes had given were fraudulent.

Eventually, because of the outbreak of this strife, His Majesty asked the English to put an end to the turmoil, saying that they should name a representative and send him to Kabul so that he could determine with him the border points dividing the two governments and so stop strife between them so that such turmoil does not occur in future. The arrival of a representative from that government to Kabul, his admission to court, and the negotiations with His Majesty will be recorded in the proper place, God willing.

*The Instigation and Moving of Some of the Subjects Living in Qataghan by
Nawkars of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan*

Seven Afghan nawkars of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, at his order, undertook to incite subjects who were sympathetic to him but who had been unable to take the road of opposition because of their fear of royal retribution. They entered Qataghan and there on the sixteenth of Ramazan/25 April by raising vain hopes and false expectations they caused 100 households of Hazarabs living in Khust and Andarab to leave their native homes and flee. With

¹⁸ See Hobson-Jobson, "baboo" for the evolution of this term.

¹⁹ Captain of a company of sepoys. See Hobson-Jobson.

wives and children and all their possessions, they sent them towards Trans-Oxania. /713/ These people wanted to cross the Oxus River but had not yet gotten their boats into the water when °Abd al-Rahman Khan, °Izzat Khan, and the *dahbāshīs* who were guarding the crossing ford came up with all their followers and tried to prevent their crossing. But they were many and they took the crossing guards and eleven of their men prisoner, binding them hand and foot. When they got all their wives, children, livestock, and possessions across, they took away the weapons and horses of the crossing guards but released them from their bonds. Thus they crossed the river and entered territory subject to the Russian government.

Also at this time, at the order of His Majesty, the governor of Qandahar set out from the seat of his governorship, in order to take care of various matters. When he reached Kalat, he dispatched Muhammad Nabi Khan *ajīdan* with 200 regular cavalry and 200 Sakhlu infantry to garrison Taghar as a precaution so that if trouble should break out among the Nasiri tribe and the people of Taghar as a result of the entry of the English army in the region of Tarwah district, he could notify the troops stationed at Shinkay and together they could suppress it. When Muhammad Nabi Khan *ajīdan* arrived in Taghar, and settled in the fort of °Abd Allah Khan, he (the governor) himself left Kalat for Taghar. After putting matters in order there and fortifying the strategic places, he returned to Qandahar by way of Ma°ruf.

Also during this time, on the third of Shawwal/12 May Ghulam Riza Khan, the son of Wali Muhammad Khan Jamshidi, was sent from the benevolent presence of His Majesty to replace the governor of Taluqan.

Also at this time, envoys of Nawruz Khan Baluch Kharani arrived in Kabul bringing with them two *mahārī* camels with riding saddles and bridles and two *khurmā* camels as gifts from the khan for the light-illuminated presence of His Majesty. These gifts enjoyed the honor of being met with approval and acceptance.

Also (at this time) Sardar °Abd Allah Khan Tukhi who at the time of His Majesty's trip to Samarqand as was described in volume two of this auspicious book, had served him during the period of his exile, was put in charge of all the government livestock, horses, and pack animals, and became chief of all the equeries (*mīr ākhūrān*) of the royal stable.

Also in the month of Shawwal, (as a result of) the joyous matter of the nuptials of the moon-veiled one, the refuge of virtue, the one of great chastity and modesty, I mean the excellent daughter of the late Ishik Aqasi Shayrdil Khan Luynab of the Barakza'i tribe, whose contracted marriage to the celestial-dwelling prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan was concluded on the twenty-seventh of Ramadan/6 May, she became head of the noble ladies of the esteemed harem. Eventually, as will come during the just reign of His Highness, the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion, she came to be addressed by the gracious title of "°Ulya Hazrat, the Lamp of the Ladies."

During this time, the physician, Ahmad Jan Khan, who because of his fine work had been honored and flattered through bestowal of the title of "honorary

brigadier," was ordered by His Majesty to treat the sick of the regiment stationed in La[°]alpurah. He traveled by way of Adamiyat to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, was given leave by him as well, reached La[°]alpurah, and persevered there in the duties with which he had been charged. Thanks to his pure motivations and upright character little by little he rose to the heights of fame and influence.

Also, Muhammad Afzal Khan the son of °Ali °Askar Khan Qart, on the seventeenth of Shawwal/26 May was honored by His Illustrious Majesty with appointment as governor of Shibarghan. His base salary of 1,666 and two-thirds rupees was increased by 833 and one-third rupees for an annual total of 2,500 rupees which sum was recorded in the Central Diwan (*dīwān-i a[°]lā*). Under his banner, a *dahbāshī* one of the 153 infantry and cavalry who received salary from the government and provided services in return, along with ten of his own sepoys, were assigned to him. **[Check this translation]**

On the nineteenth of Shawwal/28 May, in light of the integrity, loyalty, and service described above of Muhammad Sarwar Khan, a resident of Parwan—now known as Jabal al-Siraj—who had spent his days in Turkistan in service to the government and had died there, out of his salary of 4,800 Kabuli rupees, 1,300 rupees were bestowed by His Majesty on six of his young sons and the other 3,500 rupees on Muhammad Ayyub Khan, his eldest son, who was capable of performing service (to the government).

On the twentieth of Shawwal/29 May, a farman went from His fine-acting Majesty to Sa[°]id Muhammad Khan, governor of Shibarghan, notifying him of the appointment of Muhammad Afzal Khan as his replacement as governor / **714**/ there and ordering him to go to Mazar-i Sharif and have his accounts audited by the *sar daftar*.

A manshur of recommendation also went out to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan telling him that Muhammad Afzal Khan Qart was a long-time servant and faithful retainer of His Majesty's illustrious father, and having obtained the honorable responsibility of the post of governor of Shibarghan, it is incumbent that he (the field marshal) show him every courtesy and respect.

Also on this same day, having been informed in letters from news writers in Turkistan about some ill-wishers of the government, His Majesty sent a farman to the field marshal to arrest and send to Kabul Mirza Muhammad Rahim Khan, Mirza Sultan Muhammad Khan, Mirza Shayr °Ali Khan, Mirza Muhibb °Ali Khan, Ustad Hasan, Arbab Sharif, Allah Beg, Gha[°]ib Bay, Hasan Bay, Dahbashi Qurban, Zaman-i °Attar, Safar-i Kirayah-kash, Masjidi-°Attar, Sayyid °Azim, the wife of Muhammad Beg Hazarah *sarhang*, the wife of Mulla Qurban °Ali his (Muhammad Beg's) brother, the *sarhang*'s daughter, Nazir Muhammad °Ali, and Muhammad Riza-yi Darrah-i Sufi so that they would no longer remain there but spend their days in Kabul.

During this time, on the twenty-sixth of Shawwal/4 June, Mr. C. Bellew Walsh and Mr. F. [Frank] A. Martin, two Englishmen set out for Kabul from Peshawar. They were sent by the Washlut (?) Company of Calcutta to arrange some commercial matters, at His Majesty's request. Their journey to Kabul was

facilitated by Mir Muhammad ʿAli Khan, chief (*sar-rishtaḥ-dār*) of the Islamic Post Office of the God-given Government of Afghanistan in Peshawar who provided the expenses for their journey and for their mounts. When they reached their destination, they were honored with an audience. His Majesty negotiated with them concerning trade goods of Afghanistan and India and laid down the terms (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) concerning the cash and goods which this government would get. Eventually, the government suffered losses, and the deal was abandoned.

*The Mighty Regiments March Towards the Hazarahjat and the Preparations of
Sardar ʿAbd al-Quddus Khan for Its Conquest*

Meantime, since the people of “Hazarah-i *yāghistān*” (the unpacified Hazarah region) were listening for the sounds of the mighty regiments incursion and for a long time—as mentioned above—through the sending and receiving of conciliatory farmans and letters consorting with submission had kept the dispatch of an army in a state of abeyance but in the end hearing of the oppression and tyranny of the quartermaster, Ghulam Husayn Khan, at Tamzan, they did not turn the face of obedience towards the noble court and thus because of their hesitations and procrastinations caused the thunderclap of the army to roll towards their homes. Consequently, Muhammad Nabi Khan, the governor of Hazarah-i Bihsud and Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan, intending to conquer Hajaristan, camped at Jurghi which is near the land of those wayward people with a regular army and there stood ready for battle. At His Majesty’s order, victory-marked regular and *mulkī* forces and artillery from Qandahar, Kalat, and Ghaznin stood ready to march. Sardar ʿAbd al-Quddus Khan having prepared for a campaign entered Tamizan. By letter, he asked for reinforcements from Kabul so that His Majesty, during the first days of Zi Qaʿdah/early June ordered Colonel Farhad Khan with the Hazari Infantry Regiment to go to Hajaristan via Hazarah-i Bihsud. He quickly marched to Jurghi, joined the regular and *mulkī* army under Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan and Muhammad Nabi Khan, the governor of Hazarah-i Bihsud, and together they set out to conquer Hajaristan.

During this time, nomadic Afghan tribes of the Ghiljaʿi and Mohmand who had suffered from the oppression and tyranny of the Hazarahs of *yāghistān*, and, out of fear of their depredations, could not take their flocks and herds farther than the mountains and pastures of Hazarah-i Bihsud, Nahwar-i Ghaznin, and Sih Dastah-i Jaghuri—moreover, even in those pastures they were not free from the fear of attack by the Hazarahs and were always subject to being attacked and murdered—voluntarily provided assistance to the government in the form of 400 camels for the transport of food and supplies for the victorious army. But His Majesty would not accept them under these terms and instead approved the leasing of the camels, fixing the stipend and fee, **/715/** and ordering that they (the nomads) should collect the amount from the army treasury monthly and should not provide uncompensated services. Also 2,222 armed fighters—one from every fifty men according to the size of the tribe—were provided to help

the government and set out for the Hazarahjat. They came from the nomadic tribes of the Dawlatza'i, Sulayman Khayl, Matani, Taghar, Mulla Khayl, Bahram Khayl, 'Umar Khayl, Aka Khayl, Alakza'i, Aluza'i, Isma'il Khayl, Awal Khayl, Urya Khayl, Ibrahim Khayl, Payindah Khayl, Buki Khayl, Patani, Tajul Khayl, Yariza'i, Taraki, Tarin, Tarah Khayl, Chinza'i, Kharuti, Chawul Khayl, Khuliza'i, Husaynza'i, 'Usman Khayl, Khamari Khayl, Khizri Khayl, Faqir Khayl, Khalaza'i, Khawazak, Amu Khayl, Dawlatza'i, Daraki Khayl, Dinar Khayl, Rustam Khayl, Zar Kapan, Sarghani, Sahhak, Sa'id 'Ali Khayl, Shamamza'i, Shahi Khayl, Shinwari, Safi, Turani, 'Ali Khayl, Amr Khayl, 'Arab, 'Aydu Khayl, Qaysar Khayl, Kari, Kakari, Katti Khayl, Lakand Khayl, Mihr 'Ali Khayl, Miyan Khayl, Mar Sangi, Musaza'i, Mulla Khayl, Mi'yar, Mahi Khayl, Mu'inza'i, Mandinza'i, Maydani, Barikat Malik Hikmat, Niyazi, Nasiri, Manduza'i, Hatmanza'i, Hasan Khayl, Hur Khayl, Hazar Buz, Ludin, and Qasim Khayl. (They sent men) because they had been asking Almighty God for such a thing to happen but (until now) had not had the joy of fulfilling that wish.

Meantime, when the letter of Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan, which asked for (a blessing on) the launching of the campaign, passed before the luminous consideration of His Majesty, a sun-resplendent farman was written and sent which said that until the his decisions concerning the roads and march routes, the camping places, the provisions, and the size of the victorious regiments and other things requisite for peace and war reached the ears of His Majesty, the victory-accompanying army would not be ready for a campaign let alone a battle and the Fatiha (launching the campaign) should not be uttered. After receiving this felicity-directing manshur, on the seventh of Zi Qa'dah/14 June, the sardar wrote out in five paragraphs the preparations which he had put in place for the conquest of the Hazarahjat and so satisfied His Majesty as to the measures which he had foreseen and taken. This so pleased His Majesty that he wrote him in his own hand saying:

Congratulations on your foresight in making these arrangements. May God reward you. God understands good arrangements.

These are the five sterling paragraphs that the sardar wrote which would have been truly praiseworthy had the final outcome somehow accorded with the initial plans.

1) At manzils located amidst subject people who ask to serve and strive to assist the government, sufficient food and provisions will be prepared for all the ranks of the army. As a precautionary step more grain than is needed for the daily needs of the victorious army will be provided at each manzil so that in the event of rain or another unexpected occurrence preventing the army from marching and they have to spend two or three days at one manzil they won't suffer any shortage of food or any hardship. Also at places near or adjacent to the

lands of the unpacified people a great quantity of food and provisions will be assembled so that at the moment the victorious army enters the homeland of the people of the *yāghistān*, food from those places will be available to the army wherever it camps and no harm will befall the army from lack of food. Moreover, for every 500 *kharwārs* of flour and barley, a sufficient amount of oil and a requisite number of sheep being readied at Waras-i Day Zangi, it has been agreed with the mirs of Hazarah-i Day Zangi that they will assemble 3,500 pack animals in accordance with the affidavit which they gave officials of the government at the manzil of Tupchi in which they accepted this as their responsibility. Then as needed, in conjunction with the army, they will transport the army all the provisions gathered at Waras and as long as these are needed they will not open a load or the mouth of a sack (of the provisions). As for the grain which has been ordered to be assembled near the people who are not yet pacified, Ghulam Husayn Khan, the quartermaster, has assembled the bulk of it in the district of Gizab. Also the governor of Qandahar gave the quartermaster 6,000 Kabuli rupees from the government treasury to purchase wheat, barley, oil, and sheep. He was also to collect the in-kind taxes owed by the Hazarahs of that region at current prices and put those in-kind taxes into storage.

2) With regards to the two routes which extend to the lands of the unpacified Hazarahs—one from north to south passing through Sih Pay of Day Zangi and the Fuladah district, entering Zawuli and from there going to Uruzgan, and the other running from northwest to southeast from Uruzgan for five manzils through the lands of the Hazarahs subject to Qandahar /716/, the army will enter Uruzgan by this (latter) route for the Hirmand River and other obstacles (of the route) are all within the territory of Hazarahs who are subjects. The materials for a bridge for the river are prepared and present and it soon will be erected. From the far limits of the lands of the subject Hazarahs up to the places of the unpacified Hazarahs, except for one pass at which the unpacified Hazarahs have erected a *sangar*, there is not another mountain or hill (in the way). Since the Sih Pay route cannot accommodate the movement or the camping of a large army, the sardar himself, because of the wide roads, ample provisions, and the few manzils and stages (to cover) will travel this same road that the army has taken. Over and above the reasons given above, he can surround all sides of the unpacified region with ease by simply marching up this route. In addition, it will be extremely easy to get the tribes of Afghans and Hazarahs living in Tirin and Dahrawad to join the victorious regiments. The place where the esteemed sardar will stop and wait and there negotiate with the *yāghī* people as whether it be peace or war will be Gizab, so that after the arrival of a decisive royal order, he will order

the entire group of horse and foot from the Hazarahs of Day Zangi and Day Kundi, who have prepared 5,104 men and stand ready in the district of Takht and Gizab to wait there, while he himself heads for Uruzgan and other areas of the *yāghistān*.

3) As for Colonel Farhad Khan and Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan, who with two regiments of regular infantry, along with Muhammad Nabi Khan, the governor of Hazarah-i Bihsud with the tribal horse and foot of those Hazarahs, all of whom are in Jurghi close to the people of Dayah and Fuladah and have set forth to conquer Hajaristan since no obstacle stands before them except for one pass, (the sardar) has instructed them to wait and make no move towards Hajaristan until the sardar himself sets out for Uruzgan from Gizab and the people there learn of his coming and being so enmeshed in their own problems will not be able to aid the people of Hajaristan. Then they may leave their base for Hajaristan. Once Hajaristan is brought under control, either peacefully or by force, they are to destroy their forts and disarm anyone who fights but they should not confiscate the weapons of those who come forward to submit peacefully but instead take them along and assign them to punish and chastise any rebel Hazarahs. They were to garrison the beginning, middle, and end of the Hajaristan district with the regular and *mulkī* men under their command. They should assign more regiments to garrison the end of Hajaristan than the middle since it is adjacent to the Hazarah *yāghistān* and in the middle more men than at the beginning of the Hajaristan territory so that the forces which are based adjacent to the *yāghistān* and near the Hazarahs of Zawuli and Sultan Ahmad should be the most experienced and battle-ready.

Also the Sih Pay Hazarahs of Day Zangi, seeing the tripartite division of the mighty regiments in Hajaristan district at their backs, would forswear the impudence which they have (shown). Whatever should be requested from them in the way of food and supplies for the victory-twinning army, they should take care to deliver. They should proceed in such a way that the road which goes towards Sih Pay remains on their right hand side and the road to Uruzgan is on their left. They should be vigilant (in the area) between those two roads for they are the real protectors of those two routes. When they request that food and supplies be brought up, they should speak politely and courteously to the people on the left and right hand sides (of the road), and tell their soldiers to avoid starting a fight and not set foot on the path of combat before the arrival in Uruzgan of the victory-marked banner of the sardar because crossing towards Sih Pay through the high mountains is extremely difficult. If they get into a fight with the people there, they will be prevented from reinforcing the army which intends to conquer Uruzgan and unable to assist it. In any case, if they make the mountains of the Zawuli region a barrier between them and Uruzgan, they will

have no inclination to march to the border of or even into Uruzgan before the arrival of the troops based in Gizab. Then, at the order and sign of the sardar, they from the north and he from the southwest will prepare for the fight, advance towards Uruzgan from two directions and bring all of the *yāghistān* under control.

(Agreeing with what was in this paragraph, His Majesty immediately sent a farman ordering the regiment stationed in Hazarah-i Jurghi to act according to the plan of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan.)

4) Since things are quiet on the part of the Hazarahs of Bihsud because of the large army and the short distance to Hajaristan, therefore it is absolutely essential that Hazarah horse and foot from Ghaznin and elsewhere should go to Malistan via Nahwar so that the benefit of their support can reach the army assigned to Bihsud. Also the cavalry and infantry of the people from Tirin /717/ and the rural people (*bādiyah-nishīn*) there can be sent from the south and protect the forces in the direction of Gizab. If the people of the *yāghistān* should venture to fight then naturally other forces would come from Herat, Kalat, and Turkistan. Through these strategies (*tamhīdāt*) which have come to mind and are being and will be carried out, the rebels will find themselves trapped on four sides and will have no choice but to submit.

5) As for the Hazarah cavalry and infantry from Day Zangi, Day Kundi, and elsewhere who have come outfitted for war, the sardar himself will make up a force of the regular infantry under his command, two cannons, 1,000 Hazarah cavalymen, and 100 regular cavalry, and after the arrival of the royal order will set out for Uruzgan from Gizab. (As for these Hazarahs) at the moment of departure (from Gizab) he will have a group of *hawālah-dārs* of the regular army, who in fact have been assigned to take the roll (*hāziri dīdan*) of the Hazarah cavalry, to call the roll twice a week so that on the days they halt, he will take the roll. This so that on the day of battle in whatever direction the mighty regiments turn the face of attack, the Hazarah cavalry and foot can also be sent along with the artillery and the royal army. And before fighting even takes place, the Hazarah infantry will be kept busy building roads and foraging for food. The Hazarah mīrs attending the sardar had placed the responsibility for the demolition of forts and the breaching and destruction of the sangars on the regular army and assumed as their own responsibility all other fighting and assaults on mountains.

This (the sardar) wrote at the end of the paragraph and sent it to the throne.

His Majesty approved his plans and applauded his judgment. He then

ordered Sayyid °Abd al-Wahhab, Sayyid Nabi, and Sayyid Baba Shah, Hazarah sayyids who prior to this, as has already been discussed, had brought to the court of His Majesty in Mazar-i Sharif a sketch map of the roads through the mountains of the Hazarahjat, had been honored with the assignment of a stipend, and had not yet been given permission to return home, to go to Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan by way of Ghaznin, Hazarah-i Jaghuri, and Uruzgan, and show him the roads by which they had traveled and be his guide.

During this time, of the Hazarah mirs who were attending Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan, who had abandoned his fort—as previously related—out of fear of Mir Fayzak Beg Askani and Mir Muhammad Riza Beg Ilqani of Sih Pay, and had gone to Gizab, built a fort at Gurgabah and was residing there with his wives and children. At the order of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, he now left for Hazarah-i Bihsud so that together with the two colonels, Farhad Khan and Muhammad Allah Khan of the regular infantry regiment and Muhammad Nabi Khan, the governor and commander of the Hazarah (tribal) horse and foot from Bihsud, he could give counsel and advise to the people of the Dayah and Fuladah living in Hajaristan and so guide and win them over to obedience.

The Replacement of Ishik Aqasi Shayr °Ali Khan And Other Events of This Time

When during these events, Shayr °Ali Khan, the brother of Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Sarwar Khan who had achieved glory and respect in the office, held on behalf of the government, of *ishik-āqasī* of the Qandahar governor’s court because of arbitrary and oppressive behavior which he inflicted on the people of that region, and which reached the justice-perceiving ears of His Majesty, on the ninth of Zi Qa’dah/16 June a farman dismissing him was issued from the throne of the amirate and he was summoned to Kabul. Dust Muhammad Khan, the brother of Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Shah Khan, an attendant at the munificent court of the noble prince whose place is the whole universe, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, was appointed in his stead to the office at the court of the Qandahar governor and he left Kabul and went there. This Dust Muhammad Khan gradually rose to high position and through good fortune and good deeds succeeded in achieving everything he hoped for. His brother and his brother’s sons, as will come, became influential figures at the courts of the princes. One could truly say that official decisions (*muḥākamāt-i ḥukūmatī*), penal judgments (*[muḥākamāt-i] siyāsātī*), and the investigation of criminal complaints (*bāz-purs-i maẓālīm*) entirely came under the control of his family and in the eyes of the government they enjoyed the highest degree of trust.

Also at this time, news reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty via letters from news writers in the Paradise-like city of Samarqand of the disturbance and trouble caused by a certain Muhammad Sarwar, a descendant of the excellent, virtuous, God’s chosen one, the holy mawlana, the “Renewer of

the Second Millenium”²⁰ who /718/ was living in the district of Ghuri and had formed a close tie to Sardar Bahadur who at the time of the amirate of His Late Highness Amir Shayr °Ali Khan had been an ill-wisher and enemy in Kabul of His Praiseworthy Majesty and at this time was corresponding and conversing with enemies of the government who were in Samarqand. On the ninth of Zi Qa°dah a farman went out to the governor of Ghuri, Sayyid Ja°far Khan to arrest and send the man in chains, along with his retainers and relatives, to Kabul and confiscate all his possessions. He carried out His Majesty’s order and sent him to Kabul.

Also in these times, at a farman of summons, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan sent to Kabul several enemies of the state such as the sons of Mirza Saydal Khan, his wives and (young) children, as well as the wives of Brigadier Nur Muhammad Khan, Mirza Buri, Mirza Kabir, Sa°id Muhammad *sarkārī-sawār*, Amir Muhammad Khan *risālah-dār*, Mulla Khayr Jan Mohmand, Khayr Muhammad *daf°ah-dār* and other evildoing captives from Badakhshan who had been imprisoned in Turkistan for their unworthy actions. All were escorted to Kabul from Mazar-i Sharif by Khayr Allah Khan *daf°ah-dār* and a troop of cavalry. Of them all, only Mirza Buri, a clerk of the late Na°ib Muhammad °Alam Khan, received the boon of a royal pardon and was forgiven his misdeeds. After a while he so rose in the esteem of the spreader of benevolence that all vouchers (*barāts*) and bills for payment (*hawālahs*) first had to be reviewed and sealed by him and then, in observance of his seal, the seal of the crown-wearing sovereign would be affixed.

Also during this time, °Umra Khan of Bajawur who was constantly harassing and injuring the people of that region and, as was previously related, at the instigation and prodding of English officials, he was continually fighting with the Mohmand and other tribes living in the mountains of the border, now plundered the property and belongings of Safdar Khan Nawagi and his people and little by little began general raiding. Not content with this violence and oppression, he began to put subjects of the government in harm’s way and to act unjustly. In letters from servants in that region, His Majesty learned about his outrageous and odious actions and on the fourteenth of Zi Qa°dah/21 June sent a farman to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who was busy preparing for the conquest of Kafiristan. It said that it was incumbent upon the government to help Safdar Khan Nawagi and that he should give him whatever he needs in the form of an army, an arsenal, and money so that he could stave off °Umra Khan’s evildoing and not allow the trouble he is creating to find a foothold in the kingdom. (His Majesty) also informed Safdar Khan that he had issued this manshur and wrote him and told him that he should immediately ask Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan for any equipment and weapons that would be useful and undertake to repel °Umra Khan and eradicate his hostility once and for all so that the people living on the edge of the kingdom would be secure from his depredations and safe from trouble.

²⁰ RM: This is a reference to Sayyid Ahmad of Sirhind, 1564–1624.

During this, on the sixteenth of Zi Qa^cdah/23 June, ^cAbd al-^cAziz Khan, a grandson (*nabirah*) of Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor of Qandahar, because of a letter of request from his father, was given permission to go to Qandahar. His Majesty presented him with a horse and a pack animal from the royal stable, and a tent from the royal wardrobe, and 500 rupees to cover the expenses of the trip. He assigned five regular cavalymen as escort and ordered them to deliver him to his grandfather in Qandahar. Consequently, (^cAbd al-^cAziz Khan) joyfully kissed his noble grandfather's hands, and, in repayment for the favors of the servant-flattering padishah, (the governor) offered up prayers and praises for the government and patted (the head of his grandson) with the hand of gratitude.

Meantime, when the abovementioned assistance-giving manshur issued in the name of Safdar Khan Nawagi reached him, he sent a man to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, in accordance with the order of His Majesty, and asked for help. On the twenty-second of Zi Qa^cdah/29 June, his envoy reached the field marshal. Because of a letter to His Majesty asking for help, His Majesty sent the field marshal a farman telling him to give him 20,000 rupees from the Jalalabad treasury. With regards to sending a regiment, he also instructed (the field marshal) to write him himself saying,

Since the business of conquering Kafiristan takes precedence, putting this business (Kafiristan) off and sending an army towards Bajawur would be imprudent and counter-productive because to attack on two fronts would both incapacitate yourself, abandon the direction which has been decided on, and which is on everyone's tongue, and violate the wish of the padishah. In terms of the traditions of rulership this would be an odious and undesirable thing. If, before the conclusion of the business of Kafiristan, Safdar Khan and the Mohmand people of Afghanistan punish ^cUmra Khan, this is what is desired. Otherwise, if he persists in fighting, royal forces will turn the face of vengeance in that direction after the conquest of Kafiristan and eradicate the corruption. /719/

In accordance with His Majesty's order, (the field marshal) sent him the money from the Jalalabad treasury and this letter. Then busying himself as he had been before with matters pertaining to the conquest of Kafiristan, he sent a request to the throne asking for 700 pack animals for the army which would be dispatched to Kafiristan.

Also at this time, during the last days of Zi Qa^cdah/end of June, His Majesty honored Sardar Muhammad ^cAli Khan, son of the late Sardar Pir Muhammad Khan—an account of whom was recorded in volume two of this book—with appointment as governor of Qandahar to replace Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan and his salary was increased by 8,333 and one-third rupees. Knowing himself to be from the glorious branch of the Muhammadza'i, a descendant of the late Sardar Payandah Khan, and thus a member of the noble

tribe of the royal family, he considered this supplement and his original stipend inadequate to sustain himself and wrote to Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan *dabīr* (His Majesty's personal secretary), explaining why his salary was not insufficient. The *dabīr* showed his letter to His Majesty whose inspired tongue produced these truth-marked words (in reply):

This is the same salary anyone who has been appointed governor of Qandahar has received. The government has decreed what he should be given and there will be no more. Since he has declared that this is insufficient for him to live on, he should not go to Qandahar. Someone else will be appointed governor of Qandahar, someone who doesn't have in mind such large claims and excessive expenses and isn't from the Muhammadza'i for everyone, from that tribe, old and young, intelligent or not, capable or not, they all devour the kingdom, plague the helpless subjects, and do harm because of their inordinate presumption. They are never satisfied and always ask for more. He himself doesn't believe that what is sufficient is good enough and he thinks that just because he is in the same tribe as the ruling family he considers himself in all things to be an equal.

In short, his request was denied and after uttering these words, His Majesty appointed Mirza °Abd al-°Aziz Khan the son of Mirza Jan Mirza Khan to serve as that sardar's (Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan's) secretary. His son, Mirza °Abd al-Latif Khan, had the honor of serving the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan and even now enjoys great esteem and, over and above his other duties, he has been given the responsibility of proofreading (*taṣḥīḥ*) this auspicious book. In His Majesty's scriptorium (*dār al-inshā*) he (Mirza °Abd al-°Aziz Khan) worked with the scribes under Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan *dabīr* drafting farmans. At this time, (when he was appointed Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan's secretary), he had resigned from that job and was sitting at home.

During this time, because of letters from Rahmdil Isfizari, and other news writers in Farah and Pusht-i Rud it reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty that Sayyid Husam al-Din, better known as "Dakani" (i.e. from the Deccan, India) about whom prior to this time—as was related earlier—His Majesty was told that he had married a woman in Nawzad and was living there, now Mirza Hasan and Mirza °Abd Allah, both Nawzadis and his brothers-in-law, in league with him, were sending abroad reports on the state of the kingdom. His Majesty (now) sent a farman to the governor of Qandahar (Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan) who was still there telling him to arrest those men, confiscate their property, and send them to Kabul. Because of his skill in geomancy (*jafr*—divination using the numerical value of letters), Sayyid Husam al-Din managed to be released from custody and an adequate stipend from the government as well as a residence were bestowed on him. After a time, his wife was brought to Kabul and he spent the rest of his life saying "Long live the government!" and eventually passed away.

Also during this time, Dust Muhammad Khan the son of Murghi Khan Kakari fought a number of skirmishes with the English army which, as noted above, had turned the face of occupation in the direction of the district of Tirwah. But eventually the strong right arm of his bravery grew weak before (that) government's power, and he was defeated. With his retainers, wives, and children he set off on the road of emigration (*hijrat*) from his homeland towards this kingdom and settled near Nawah-i Ghandan, a dependency of Kalat. His making this hegira was brought to the secrets-perceiving attention of His Majesty in a letter from the governor of Qandahar. He then sent the governor a farman telling him to give him some of the forts of that region which would be suitable for housing him, his relatives, and his family, provide him what he needed in the way of food and clothing and also give him the government's reassurances and tell him that since he has taken refuge with the government of Islam he should have no anxieties or worries and should consider himself safe and secure and easy of mind about everything. /720/

The Issuance of a Farman of Appointment as Governor to the Governor of Qandahar and a Copy of His Instructions (Dastūr al-ʿamal)

When, as described above, Sardar Muhammad ʿAli Khan was appointed governor of Qandahar but wrote Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan *dabīr* about the low pay and then heard the wise reply which His Majesty uttered, he regretted having said what he did. On the second of Zi Hijjah/9 July, he was given a farman conferring the governorship of Qandahar on him and the following lustrous set of instructions (*dastūr al-ʿamal*):²¹

Be mindful of God Most High and be obedient and heed His command and act in accordance with the Holy Law because prosperity and good fortune are dependent on following His command and adhering to the Noble Law. Assist God with hand and heart and voice, because He the Most High will help those who assist him. Since I have named you governor to a territory, over which many have been governors before you, from whom the people have witnessed much of both justice and injustice, and who have passed on, the people see in you what you see

²¹ FM: This is a copy of the set of instructions for the governor of Qandahar which with the abbreviation of some words and the addition of a few others was taken from a letter which (the Caliph) ʿAli—May God honor him!—wrote to Malik b. Harith Nakhaʿi (al-Ashtar) on the occasion of the latter's appointment as governor of Egypt. RM: There are at least three translations into English of this *ʿahd-nāmah* (*Nahj al-balāghah*, ed. Farouk Ebeid, Beirut and Cairo, 1989, 301–49, Arabic text with facing English translation both of which begin using the third person singular then switch to the second person; *Nahjul Balagha*, ed. Sheikh Hassan Saiid, Tehran, 1967, 483–503, where the English translation is rendered throughout in the second person. These translations were referred to here but in general ignored. The text appears to be one seen as freely adaptable.

in the people of the past and they say about you what you say about them. One should know those who do good things because God puts praise in the mouths of His worshippers. It is necessary therefore that you exert control over your personal desires. Don't covet and go after things which do not belong to you and don't let yourself be governed by your own whims and desires for to be stingy towards yourself and not to carry out those wishes shows great impartiality and is a grand achievement. Don't think about what seems pleasant or unpleasant to you but do the opposite, be merciful to the subjects, and befriend them. Don't be a rapacious animal who thinks of devouring their wealth and property as palatable and rightful spoil for they (your subjects) are of two types: a sect which has the same religion as you and a tribe who are similar in terms of temperament and customs [but of a different religion]. Whatever trouble arises from them and whatever confusion should enter their lives whether intentionally or not, you must take them by the hand and perhaps they will find their way to the path of uprightness and good deeds. You should forgive them their misdeeds and what has taken place in the past as you yourself are eager for such forgiveness from God. For you are the governor over them as God is governor over you and He Most High wants you to have competency over their lives and livelihoods and he will test you through [your government over] them. Beware! Do not contend with God and do not cause yourself trouble because you will never be able to bear His vengeance and you will never be beyond needing His forgiveness and mercy. If you forgive someone, don't regret it later, and when you treat someone else harshly, don't feel good about it. When the opportunity comes to forgive someone, put hostility aside and don't dwell on it. Although God has given you authority, you must always be mindful of your acts, words, and comportment and never be selfish and self-satisfied, for selfish desire hardens the heart and this brings negligence into religion and will quickly change your life. When you think your governorship and your power to be great, be humble and don't delude yourself. Be mindful of the sovereignty of God and of his power to do with you what you cannot do for yourself. When you do this (are humble), the rashness and impulsiveness of your intention cools down (and you can think rationally) for He—Most High—devours the oppressors and humbles the haughty. Practice fairness and carry out whatever the Holy Law requires. Treat with impartiality all people whether relatives or strangers; never be negligent of the rights of each. If you don't act thus, you will be a tyrant and God is the enemy of the tyrant and whomever God is the enemy of, he has no answer (on the Day of Judgment) and will be unable to defend himself. God hears the prayers of the oppressed and is merciful to them. If you seek the satisfaction of the mass of your subjects, then you must make them content with you because when the general populace becomes your

enemy, the satisfaction of an elite few will be of no benefit to you. If an elite few are unhappy with you, no harm will arise for you as long as the masses are content with you. In comparison with the masses, the elite are a heavy burden on the governor and of little benefit for they despise fairness and they will always be importuning and asking him for things and they do not consider it necessary to be grateful for what is given to them. In times of crisis, they won't be steadfast and because of their lofty status they will turn away from doing (necessary but) menial tasks. But the common people are not like this. They are content with the least show of impartiality and they pray for small favors. Indeed, these are the real supports of the religion, the pillars of the Muslims, the treasury of the time and the guardians of the world. Therefore, it is incumbent on you to secure their satisfaction /721/ and have a special regard for them. Keep him at arm's length whoever tells you of others' failings, don't tolerate his presence, and shun him, for you yourself are more deserving than anyone else of covering up other people's flaws. But whatever weakness of character is hidden from you, you should not try to discover it because when such weakness is evident to you, you have to correct it but whatever remains hidden from you, God will deal with. So as far as you are able, ignore people's weaknesses and failings for perhaps God will hide your flaws from other people. Don't let grudges against other people fester in your heart and pass over whatever seems wrong to you. Don't accept the advice of anyone who imputes failings and weakness to others and don't believe anything he says and when something important happens, don't involve despicable people for they are an obstacle to you on the path of knowledge and will cause you to be afraid of true need (of God —*faqir*) and helplessness. Don't ask for help from the cowardly who will prevent you from achieving surpassing greatness. And don't seek (advice) from the envious who will advise you based on jealousy and narrowmindedness, who will burnish their base avarice and sordid nature in your eyes and polish up indecent and evil acts in your presence. Vices like miserliness, cowardice, greed, and envy are various temperaments which emerge from conflict with God—May His grandeur be magnified. People characterized by these traits do not treat God as He deserves. They are completely uninformed of His perfection, power, justice, and utter capability. Be moderate in matters of truth yet rigorous when it comes to seeking justice. When it comes to organizing the administration and the wellbeing and the disciplining of the people, you cannot do without a chief minister and advisor who is intelligent, capable, and upright, so choose for the vizierate a person who is close to you and sympathetic and who does not consort with evildoers nor is an accomplice of theirs in crimes and misdeeds but is a person who gives no aid to tyranny and oppression for one should consider these sorts of people to be abettors of the criminals, brothers

of oppressors, followers of those who tyrannize and those pursuing enmity. You will gain far better results from such people. (Choose) people who have the traits of sharp thinking and incisive judgment and who do not persist in doing what is wrong and unwholesome, but rather guard themselves against such behavior. Choose them because this kind of person will not have a lot of material attachments and he will act well and be of impeccable character. He will give you good support and will never abandon his partisanship for you nor form an attachment or friendship with anyone else. From such a group choose someone who speaks the truth even though he is impolite and what he says is unpalatable to you. Don't turn away from him or his words, if in all situations, whether good or ill, in which you have issued instruction, he does not praise or congratulate you (and) if you should conceive of some important matter from the standpoint of personal whim, and he does not back you up. Associate always with people who are adorned with the embellishment of truthfulness and endowed with the accoutrements of piety and profit from that association. Let it be the case that no one would be able to praise you contrary to what you deserve nor exaggerate in praising you because exaggerated praise leads to vanity and pride and it deceives the soul at repose and draws it towards imperiousness. The man of good deeds must have influence and status with you above all others for if people (near you) find no profit in doing the right thing, no one else will have an inclination to do the right thing. So hold in high esteem anyone who does good work and esteem lightly those who do bad work. And act towards others as you would act towards yourself. If you want to think well of all people and have a mind free of suspicion then treat everyone well. Support them in their livelihoods and getting daily sustenance and as far as you are able do not use violence or force against them. When you do treat people this way, their hearts and minds will be strongly inclined towards you, they will accept service to you, and will consider obedience to you a favor granted to them. In this way signal disasters and calamities will be remote from you and your heart will be free of concern regarding difficult matters. Whoever receives preferential treatment in your dealings with him, then your good opinion of him increases. Beware lest you ever think of violating the noble way (*sunnah*—of the Prophet) or the regulations which others have laid down, which incline towards the truth, to which the wishes of the people who accept these (regulations) are attached, and to which a group are accustomed and on which a tribe agrees. Do not seek to fulfill your own desires for if you should try to set up another *sunnah* and establish a separate set of regulations, the reward will be for the person who originally established the “good *sunnah*” first and the sin of despoiling it will be on your head. Spend your time with those who seek knowledge and with people of learning and take part in their

lessons and discussions. learn from them whatever gives rise to the welfare and the improvement of the worshippers of God. When you have learned all of this and put it into practice, know this too, inscribe it on the tablet of your mind, and be ever-mindful that (your) subjects are of several classes and each depends on the others for its wellbeing and none can do without the others. One group, which is the army, is the bulwark of the kingdom, the impregnable wall around its subjects, the ornament of authority, and the glory of the religion and the Holy Law. The subjects stand firm /722/ and the kingdom rests easy, thanks to the army. This class is inextricably linked to other groups, like craftsmen and farmers, for it is from them that the diwan taxes and the means to raise palace and *aywān* and thanks to them that they are able to contend with the enemy and ready the weapons of war and the provisions for jihad. (The army) depends on that which they produce through their skills. They (the farmers) should enjoy peace of mind and calm hearts. These two groups are bound together only by good governors, just officials, and learned scribes so that the cord of dealings and the knot of cooperation are strong and tight and (together) they prevent rebellion, enmity, and oppression. Remembering the most detailed matters as well as the most general, they (the officials) should record them in the journal of justice and the register of accounts. The triumvirate—soldiers, farmers, and craftspeople—can only stand firm and endure through the trading of merchants and the earnings of laborers who keep the markets going and assemble from near and far all kinds of goods, cloth, and household furnishings which they (the soldiers, farmers, and craftspeople) demand and so they provide adequately for the needs and requirements of the people of the kingdom. After these sections of the population, there are the poor of the province and the disabled of the land for whose welfare the entire population must be responsible. The governor in charge has an obligation to each of these groups, to provide for (their) wellbeing to a certain extent and to ensure that each person from these groups is secure from degradation and distress. When you want to assign a soldier to carry out a necessary order, choose a person who fears God, is a trustworthy adherent of the Prophet, and who obeys the command of the imam of the age, i.e. the amir of the time—someone who is pious and shows clemency, operates calmly in the face of war, accepts apologies, befriends the weak, and is scrupulous with the strong; someone who is not carried away by excessive obstinacy nor is weak-minded or pusillanimous. Of those possessing such characteristics, also choose someone who comes from a noble family, is better known for the traits of nobility and gentility, and does not lack for bravery and courage. Once having chosen a person and given him his assignment, keep track of him and his activities, take steps to improve his actions and help him realize his hopes, and consider responsibility for him your duty. Whenever you have been generous to

someone (in comparison with others) in terms of money or position, don't think that they will be impressed. And whatever you have promised and awarded them no matter how small, don't consider it trivial. When you act in this fashion the entire army will think well of you, will never ignore your advice and counsel, and will stand staunchly behind whatever is good for the kingdom and improves the lot of the subjects. Though you do great favors on their behalf, don't deny them the little things and don't just rest on your laurels after doing big favors for them because they will become greatly enamored (of you) through many small favors, not counting the big favors for as much, even though they cannot do without them. The commander of the army should be someone who puts himself on the same footing as his men and knows that his duty is to be caring and concerned about them whatever the situation. He should distribute more than what is adequate for sustenance so that thanks to his largesse they themselves will remain happy and will stay content as well about the condition of their families and dependants. Thus their welfare will be linked and connected to your rule and their hearts will be full of love for you. But don't accept what they say (at face value) and don't listen to their advice except at those times when they glorify the Imam of the time and the ruler, maintain their loyalty for his preeminence and sanctity, do not consider the days of his government as a burden, and do not look forward to the end of his authority over them. Then (these conditions being met), do not reject their hopes, but find a way to fulfill them; praise them and whatever they perform in the way of excellent service and show as unalloyed belief. This too should be taken into account and rewarded. When you have done this, the brave ones will be even more motivated and the cowards will also find pride (and be encouraged). Look kindly on the degree of each one's service and don't give credit to someone for the service done by someone else but reward each one to the extent of his own service. If a noble person from a tribe performs a niggardly service, don't make much of it and when a humble person performs a great service don't treat it as insignificant. Everyone should be judged according to the service he performs. Don't allow distinctions to be made based on a person's pedigree. When some great crisis appears and some major matter arises, and you can't easily deal with it, refer the matter to God and His Messenger. Seek the remedy in the Book, that is the Noble Qur'an, for whatever you refer to God, and look for the solution to whatever you refer to His Messenger in the sunnah of [agreed on by] the community. Choose a person to administer the Holy Law and the decrees of the religion who is superior to others in getting at the truth and the essence of something, for whom no matter is too difficult, who is not engaged in litigation against a rival, who is not overly fond of ambiguities, who does not fail to pursue the truth, who is not swayed by personal ambition, who is not satisfied

with a little knowledge /723/ but seeks to understand something to the highest degree and to eliminate all ambiguity, holds to what can be proved, is patient when there are lots of issues to deal with, deems deliberation absolutely necessary and when the truth is established and clear is quick to agree to it. He should be someone who is not swayed by flattery nor lets false praise incline him away from the truth. This kind of person is rare. In whoever's hands you place the reins of authority, you must always keep yourself aware of his legal opinions and his rulings. Don't fail to pay them well so that by having extensive means of support they can keep themselves pure and free of corruption and be kept from forbidden things, not take bribes nor turn a greedy eye towards the property of the subjects. He should enjoy a status with you that no other of your courtiers would be ambitious for nor seek to have. If you act in this way, he will feel more secure about you, will not be troubled by envy, will serve faithfully, make his occupation sincerity of intention and purity of desire, and will work hard with uprightness and loyalty. Pay particular attention to this matter because this religion of Abraham (*dīn-i hanīf*) and this noble community has been taken captive by violent oppressors and evil governors and every person you see is pursuing his own whims and seeking (the gain of) this base world and its material things. When you want to appoint someone to official duties, to collect money and to record wealth, make it a personal requirement that you make sure he is experienced, truthful, and upright in his dealings. The officers who collect taxes should be people who are known for having experience, being modest, moral, and of a noble and ancient family, because this kind of a person has a noble character, a gentle nature, limitless patience, and little ambition and only looks to reward (in the next world). When you appoint someone like this be lavish with his salary and generous with his living expenses so that he is able to act justly and close his eyes to taking too much. Indeed, the oversight and concern of the governor in this matter is the decisive proof and (comprises) a firm and rigorous grip because not having considered the betrayer as a trustworthy person, a reliable person would be given the assignment. And if sometimes, he should do something wrong or betray the trust, it is not the governor's fault. After you've assigned him to his duties, you should continually audit the way in which he is carrying out his fiscal responsibilities. Appoint people of integrity and veracity as trusted spies on his activities because your secret diligence is his defense (against false accusations). He will not betray your trust, and fearing being called to account, will treat the subjects equitably and will take care of the supporters of the religion and the friends of the certain path. If he shows any sign of betraying your trust and commits an act that is unjust, knowing that the information of your trustworthy informants is evidentiary proof of his treachery, accept no excuse and punish him and retrieve whatever he

has misappropriated. Humble and demean him and put the mark of shame on the face of his existence and cast the dirt of disgrace and example on the skirt of his esteem. Require that the taxes of the land and the additional (sums) collected by the diwan of those who pay customs and land taxes all be collected correctly and paid by those who are able and not be lost, for the welfare and improvement of the population is inextricably tied to the land taxes. And it is essential that more attention be paid to building up the country than to the collection of taxes because tax collection cannot be envisioned separate from the prosperity of the country. Whoever spends all his efforts on collecting taxes and is unaware and does not think about the prosperity of the country, his kingdom will disappear and be lost. All his country will fall into wrack and ruin and it will be as if he wants God's creatures to be forced into exile and afflicted by calamity and he will not last long. Sometimes, should taxes fall heavily on the subjects due to heavenly and earthly disasters like a shortage of rain, the drying up of rivers and springs, and other things, do not be strict about collecting them but lighten their burden and don't count the lightening of their burden as an increase of your own burden because the benefit for lightening their burden will come back to you and the kingdom will stay prosperous, the provinces will be well-ordered, and people will praise you and glorify your name. You yourself will be pleased by what you've done and you will be able to rely on their being in a state of good order. Know this well that everywhere people become impoverished, that place becomes ruined and infertile. People become impoverished when their governors and tax collectors keep on collecting the taxes thinking that their own authority will come to an end soon (and therefore seize all they can) and they pay no heed to warnings nor give thought to what happened in the past. Once you bring good order into the military, the court of law, the diwan, and other offices and to the rural folk, the landlords and others, who have from the beginning been the subject of this discussion, and you behave towards each one in a befitting way, having given due attention to your scribes and secretaries, you should then entrust affairs to good and wise people about whom you feel secure that they will not reveal secrets nor support evildoers. (These are people) whose work, by their good morals and forbearance, you can trust, for these people will not become haughty because of abundant favors (from you) nor will they insolently do something in violation of your orders. /724/ Instead, they will show you letters as they come in from the provinces one after another and will write in reply according to your command and whatever you give or take, they will faithfully record. In regards to maintaining (your) dominion they will think of things that benefit you and will bring them to your attention. Should someone think ill of you, they will refute him and loosen that knot with the fingernail of good management. When you want to select someone

for this task don't rely on and be content with your own careful search, for many a person outwardly presents himself as a good servant but inwardly is far removed from providing good advice and being truthful. Test them by comparing their actions with examples good policies (from the past). You need several men for this (clerical work) because the work falls into different areas. Appoint one person to each area so that if the work is heavy he won't be overwhelmed by it. And if important issues arise, he won't be overcome by them and thrown for a loss. Should some defect become evident in him, ease his mind so that he will afterwards bring caution and deliberateness into his work and not continue to perpetrate these flaws. But if you are neglectful and don't reveal his shortcomings to him, those flaws will remain and others will appear. Treat well the merchants and artisans who work out of their own homes, do business with their own capital, prosper through their own efforts, and are always deeply engaged in making a living. Also encourage the worthies and notables of your court to treat these people well and issue just orders regarding them because this group is the instrument of (social) harmony and the means of prosperity. They are always traveling over hill and dale and through desert and across the seas, making their way to far distant lands, and going to different homes. Having passed through deserts, being always peaceful, and submitting to the farman, they stay well clear of trouble and evildoing. So behave with kindness and consideration towards them. Most of the time these people are exceedingly frugal and cannot pass up the opportunity to deal in, and to store up, seeds and grain. Through such activity, the general populace suffers great hardship which in turn brings great shame on the governor. So you must keep them from hoarding and driving prices up and make them aware of the Prophet's injunction. Set the standard of justice and make it clear that when it comes to the price of grain and other things, the seller must deal fairly so that the buyer incurs no loss. Punish anyone who, after this prohibition, obtains grain, hoards it, and causes the people's need for it to become great; but don't be too harsh. Turn away from excessive (punishment) and be mindful of God Most High. As for the poor and indigent, who are helpless and resigned to just getting by, know that to seek God's approval you must guard and defend them as God guards and defends you. Give them a portion from the treasury of the Muslims and make no distinction between those who are near and those far away. Recognize as your obligation that each of them has a right to be taken care of. And beware lest the haughtiness and pride of being governor cause your face to be turned from them. As for anyone who does not have access to you, you should not ignore their situation, even if it is not visible to you are deemed beneath consideration (by others). Choose one of your own servants who is a God-fearing person and treats everyone with humility and submissiveness, to look into their

lives, report to you on their condition, and inform you of what they want. Then treat them well so that you can plead your case before God Most Pure at the time of the Return (Day of Judgment) because this group of people is more in need and more deserving of justice and fair treatment than any other group. Then, in fulfilling the rights of any one of them, you will be asking God's forgiveness for the others. Having taken on the responsibility for orphans, consider also the care of the elderly an obligation, for these two groups are incapable of taking care of themselves. Carrying out the order discussed here is very burdensome for a governor but there is a time when God lightens the burden of those people who seek happiness and prosperity and a good reward and endure misfortunes and hardship and are true to their promise to God Most High. As for those who come with needs and make requests, appoint a time for them and free yourself of other matters to devote yourself to attending to them. Hold court in a place to which everyone has access and there keep God in mind and be humble. Keep your servitors and courtiers quiet so that whoever brings a request to you may feel free to express it, for the Prophet said that any group among whom truth is not given life and falsehood is not put to rest nor are the rights of the weak taken from the strong and restored to their owners, such a group will never achieve the throne of nobility nor reach the level of majesty. Be sure that **/725/** the weak are encouraged and do not fear speaking openly. Bear with their way of expressing themselves and don't lose patience with them for God will open the gates of His compassion before you and will grant you reward for your obedience. Whatever you give them, give it in a way that is palatable. If you don't give anything, gently beg their pardon. There will be many things that come before you which you will have to deal with yourself. For example, it may happen that the scribes of the throne of the province will perhaps be unable to write a response to fiscal officials in the outlying areas or some need will befall a person which friends and other servants are incapable of handling. Therefore you must take care of business on the same day it arises because each day has its own matter particular to that day (and must be attended to.) When, having finished up with everything pertaining to the subjects and those under your jurisdiction, you know each has been allotted his due, and you have set a time for dispensing justice and hearing the petitions of every tribe and you have dealt each one in a way pleasing to God and His Prophet, then take a look at your own situation and appoint a time for submitting to and worshipping God Most High and consider as obligatory that a part of your body and soul must be expended in worshipping God. When you choose a way to approach God and you feel confident about that way, then try to do it in full measure and to your utmost ability. Don't lengthen your prayers [unnecessarily] so that people find it tiresome and turn away but don't neglect them either. For

it may frequently happen that there is someone who is needy or disabled who cannot pray like you and since you recognize these things as incumbent upon you and take care to be mindful [of such people] also know that a governor will have his own people (*khāṣṣagān*) in whom vanity and a tendency to meddle (*dast-darāzī*) are predominant characteristics and who abandon all sense of fair play when dealing with the subjects, think only of themselves, and grab whatever they can. For these people provide an amount sufficient to cover their living expenses from what your own resources, so that they will cease all such activity and keep their hands in their own pockets instead of overcharging and misappropriating money. Don't give any of your fiscal or other officials as a revenue grant, a fief or villages which share the water with other country folk and farmers for they would simply shift the (tax) burden onto the shoulders of someone else and would make themselves exempt from taxation. Any evil done by them will be your heavy responsibility to bear in this world and the next. When it might be necessary to do the right thing either for strangers or your own people, do it necessary and bear [the consequences] patiently. Think of God and don't take the side of your people if they are in the wrong. You will [eventually] be rewarded for bearing this heavy burden. This kind of patient forbearance will have a good reward. Should other subjects think badly of you because of this, say that you have erred, and ascribe things to you unfairly, apologize, and put an end their thinking badly of you, for by seeking their forgiveness you can guide them to the right path and achieve what you want. When an enemy wants to be reconciled—and reconciliation is something God desires—accept reconciliation as obligatory and make peace for in peace is embedded the tranquility of the army, the ease of the governor's mind, and the security of the kingdom. Once peace is achieved, it is incumbent that one be extremely cautious of the enemy because the enemy is someone who seeks reconciliation in order to get peace but only for as long as it is opportune to do so. Since this is true, think of the possible consequences, be attentive, and never lose vigilance. Think of all aspects of the problem, and don't let optimism cloud your judgment. Once you have made peace with the enemy and signed a good treaty, make sure the treaty's stipulations are fulfilled. Whatever you have agreed to orally and taken on as an obligation be sure that you devote body and soul to carrying it out. Even those duties which God has made incumbent cannot necessarily unite (people), because of their divergent desires, in the way that rejecting deception and keeping one's promises can. Even polytheists and idolaters, who recognized the bad consequences of treachery and deceit, fulfilled (their promises) and knew the obligatory nature of treaties and covenants. So when you extend your hand, don't withdraw it, and when you ratify a treaty, don't break it. Don't betray an enemy, for God Most High has made his

covenant a citadel of security and a bulwark of safety through the gate of abundant divine mercy among his worshippers and has affirmed that as long as one seeks the safeguard of that impregnable (place) one should accept it without question. One does not sin against God and one does not break His covenant unless he does not recognize His rights and is degenerate and born under an unlucky star. When you conclude a pact avoid ambiguity and obscurity and do not harbor thoughts of breaking your promise [on technical grounds]. After a pact has been ratified and a treaty verified /726/ don't start interpreting every little word [in such a way that would violate it]. When you're obligated by a treaty and your latitude to act and your capabilities are confined by it, don't try to undermine it. Uphold the limits it places on you and strengthen them and ask God to loosen that knot and to free you from the abyss for to patiently bear an onerous load and to remain hopeful of God's assistance is more virtuous than any violation (of those terms) about which you may be anxious, and which God will ask you about and about which you will be unable to answer Him in this world and the next. Abstain from any bloodshed which contravenes the ordinances of God for there is no excuse that God will accept for this. Commit no mortal sin and do not cause (His) favor to vanish. On the Day of Judgment, the first decree God will make and the first question he will ask of his believers is whether they have shed blood. So do not shed blood in hopes of consolidating your rule for that same sin of shedding blood will render your rule weak and will infuse the foundations of your regime with the seeds of destruction which will eventually put an end to it. If you kill someone deliberately you will find you have no excuse either before God or before your ruler and there will be retaliation. But if this should happen by mistake, or in the course of laying on an excessive number of lashes with the whip, the pride and honor of the government must not prevent you from being liable for paying the blood money for the deceased and obtaining the satisfaction of his heirs. His rights must be honored. Beware of becoming too full of yourself, be wary of what makes you love yourself, and be leery of succumbing to others' praises for it is by these things that Satan insinuates himself into men's thoughts and undermines his intellect and his religion. (Then) if (a man) does something worthwhile (Satan) will erase it and render any reward null and void. Abstain from exaggerating something you've done, and abstain from violating any promise. Reproaches invalidate a good deed, exaggeration makes remote God's enlightenment, and breaking a promise displeases God and mankind alike. Do not be hasty in dealing with something before its time and do not hurry to bring it to conclusion, for this is a sign of foolishness. When its time comes, don't so preoccupy yourself with it that it becomes an obsession. When a matter suddenly arises, don't be obstinate about it and when it is fully

revealed don't take the easy way out. Take every matter in its turn and conclude every matter in its proper fashion. In those matters in which all people have some interest and rights, don't imagine that you yourself have the only say. Don't be blind to those things which could cause you problems because veils should be lifted and things be made clear to you. You will be held responsible for the oppressed and your justice will be demanded. Exercise control over your temper, avoid oppression, tyranny, interference, and an acid tongue. Control of your anger so that it abates and you have complete command of your emotions. You won't know this and you won't find this a virtue unless you remember that you ultimately will return to God; your inner anxiety (about this) is great and so is your sadness. Indeed it is incumbent upon you that you keep in mind the exemplary lives and careers of kings of yore and the praiseworthy things which the Prophet (on him be peace) uttered or that you recall from the Qur'an and that you put them into practice. You should also consider it obligatory to imitate and follow the example of what you see and hear of the conduct of affairs by 'the first in command.' Pay heed to all these matters recorded here, carry them out, stint not your efforts, and treat nothing lightly. The end.

This set of instructions, which is a model for all sultans is quoted in its entirety, except for the alteration of a few expressions and words and the abridgement and abbreviation of a few words, from the charter (*'ahd-nāmah*) which the Commander of the Faithful, °Ali—May God honor him!—wrote for Malik b. Harith al-Nakha°i when sending him out as governor of Egypt. This padishah (His Majesty) following that *ḥaẓrat*, indeed one might say (following) all rulers and governors, issued good instructions concerning the rules of political authority (*qawānīn-i siyāsāt*), governance, justice, and dealing impartially with the subjects. Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan's going to Qandahar from Kabul will be recorded below, God willing.

During this time, as a result of a request (to resign) from Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, the former governor of Qandahar, His Majesty approved the request, and Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan—as was already noted—was appointed governor of Qandahar. The letter requesting resignation was sent with the governor's son Muhammad Hashim Khan, who now enjoys the honor of enrollment in the corps of royal clerks (*dar jumlah-i munshīyān-i ḥaẓrat*) and servants of His Highness the Lamp of the Nation and the Religion. On the third of Zi'l-Hijjah/10 July (because of his resignation) His Majesty issued a farman of summons /727/ telling him not to delay and wait for the arrival of the new governor but to set out forthwith for Kabul. God willing, the arrival of this manshur, his leaving (Qandahar), and his arrival in Kabul will be inscribed below.

The Perfidy of the Sons of Sardar Sharif Khan Sistani

Also in these days, Muhammad Saʿid Khan and Muhammad ʿAli Khan, two sons of Sardar Sharif Khan Sistani, whose turning the face of hope in the direction of this government, receiving royal favors, and sometime later, his death have all been recorded above, were honored with a royal audience, and among those emoluments lavished on them as (His Majesty's) guest, he gave those two 8,333 and one-third Kabuli rupees from the stipend of their father as an ample fief (*iqṭāʿ-i wāfirah*) in the district of Qataghan and prescribed that they and their families would all be moved to live in Hazrat-i Imam in Qataghan from Qalʿah-i Fath in the district of Chakhansur which is near the part of Sistan belonging to Iran so that the feuds they have with some people in Sistan will not lead to a clash in which the dust of ill repute and evil consequences settles on the mirror of their daily life and the face of their quotidian existence and the government will not be held responsible for their misdeeds. Therefore, on the ninth of Zi'l-Hijjah/16 July, they were given 3,000 rupees from the Kabul and Farah treasuries to cover the costs of food and transportation and a farman was issued to the customs officers along their route not to collect customs duty and tax (*bāj wa kharāj*) on the goods they have with them. For His Majesty's peace of mind, Muhammad ʿAli Khan stayed in Kabul and he was given an additional 500 rupees for his expenses so that he would want for nothing until the arrival of his family. But these two paid no heed to these favors and when Muhammad Saʿid Khan arrived there (in Chakhansur), he collected the money for which he had a draft on the Farah treasury, picked up his wives and children, his retainers, and his father and brother, and, along with the funds which he had received from the Kabul treasury, left for Sistan. At the order of His Majesty, Muhammad ʿAli Khan was then expelled to Peshawar.

During these times, through letters and covenants from Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the son of the late Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan; Sultan ʿAli Khan, his son; and his brother, Khan Shirin Khan, it reached the compassionate ears of His Majesty that they wanted permission to come to Kabul from Peshawar and Lahore. Since in their petitions they had affirmed that the Qur'an was their mediator and they had affirmed their covenants with solemn oaths, His Majesty forgave them and issued a farman of summons in their names. On the thirteenth of Zi'l-Hijjah/20 July he sent it to them simultaneously by the post. He also wrote the commissioner of Peshawar saying that he should not obstruct their coming to Kabul but should send them along to this country. When they received this decree they were overjoyed, were released from the shackles of hardship, and came to Kabul.

The Issuance of Conciliatory Manshurs to Hazarah Leaders

Meantime, when Sardar ʿAbd al-Quddus Khan's plans and strategies for the conquest of the Hazarahjat, as was related above, had met the approval of the World Adorner, before the blessing for the conquest (*fātiḥah-i fath*) of the mountains of the Hazarah *yāghistān* could be recited, and the order to

commence the campaign be issued, on the aforementioned thirteenth of Zi'l-Hijjah/20 July forty-five conciliatory and advisory farmans bearing the *tughrā*, all with the same message, were issued to the leaders of the forty-five Hazrah tribes of the *yāghistān* region. Most of these leaders were *yāghī* (unsubmissive). Although a few had put their heads beneath the writ of the farman, they were no different from the rebels in terms of actually being obedient. The farmans were sent to: Rasul and °Ali Naqi, *mihtārs* of the Haydar tibe; Luti and Mir Muhammad, leaders of the Mir Qadam tribe; Zuwwar Shayr °Ali, *ra'īs* of the Dunkah tribe; Zuwwar °Ali Shayr the son of Farz °Ali Bahadur and Muhammad the son of °Ali Akbar, leaders of the Dayah tribe; Nazar son of Qayim, Khudadad the son of Muhammad Karim, and Sa'id Muhammad, *mihtars* of the Murad tribe; one *tughrā*-farman for the Hajji tribe but with no particular person named; likewise for the Qarluq tribe; also Tilla the son of Kalb Husayn better known as Kalbi and Khuda Bakhsh the son of Mami, leaders of the Dadi tribe; Fayz Allah, *ra'īs* of the Pashtan tribe; Payandah Muhammad the son of Safa Ikhtiyar, the *mihtar* of the Muhammad tribe; Ja'far Bahadur the son of Murad Beg, leader of Darrah-i Hushtu-yi /728/ of Sih Pay; Sahib Dad and Khaliq Dad, leaders of the Nihal tribe; Husayn the son of Lala Hasan, Khuday Rahm the son of Khal Muhammad, and Kalb Husayn the son of Razi Uqi, notables (*a'yān*) of the Khiyal tribe; Tawakkul the son of Shafi°, leader of the Dawlat Khan tribe; one *tughrā* (farman) without anyone's name for the Nik Muhammad tribe; Muhammad Safa the son of Husayn, Kafsh °Ali the son of Ghulam °Ali, Kalb Husayn the son of Na'ib Zafar, and °Ali Asghar the son of Kuchak °Ali, leaders of the °Aziz tribe; °Ali Husayn the son of Mawla Dad, °Ali Jum'ah the son of Husayn, and Tawalla the son of Adinah, leaders of the Askah tribe; another *tughrā* (farman) without a specific person named in it to the Tughluq Timur, better known as the Tuq Timur, tribe; °Ali Dad, Khudadad Zuwwar, Wali Pahlawan, Dawlat, Ustad Wali, and Haqqdad, chiefs (*ra'īs*es) of the Awtanah tribe; Qazi °Askar, leader of the °Inayat tribe; Qazi Mir Akbar Shah, °Ali Naqi Sultan, °Abbas Beg, °Ali Gawhar Beg, Khudadad Beg, °Ali Husayn Beg, Isma'il Khan, Chajghak (?) Beg, °Ali Akbar Beg, Muhammad Aslam Khan, Ahmad Khan, Muhammad Ibrahim, and Husayn Khan Beg, heads of the people of Uruzgan; a *tughrā*-farman without a specific addressee sent to the Sih Pay Hazarabs of Day Zangi and likewise to the tribe of Basi; Mawla Dad the son of Baqqal, *ra'īs* of the Chupanak tribe; Muhammad Husayn, Wali, and Faqir Muhammad, leaders of the people of Tah-i Chashmah; Adinah Muhammad the son of Rahim Mihtar and °Ali Husayn Mihtar, leaders of the Mir Quli tribe; a *tughrā*-farman without an addressee sent to the Kharshnu tribe; Shah Beg the son of Allah Beg and Ya'qub the son of Faqir, leaders of the Daru tribe; Payandah Muhammad Khan, Muhammad Shafi° Khan, and Khuday Nazar Khan, the sons of Jaras °Ali Khan Malistani, and Nawruz °Ali Khan the son of Bunyad Khan, who was imprisoned in Ghaznin, khans of the people of Malistan; °Ali Muhammad, Ustad Kalbi, and °Ali Shayr, leaders of the Barlas tribe, better known as Balas; another *tughrā*-farman without a named recipient sent to the people of Nawah-i Chaqmaq; Rah Malik, °Ali Panah Beg, °Ali Panah Zuwwar,

Mir Kalb °Ali, Ya°qub Zuwwar, Muhammad Shafi°, leaders of the people living in Bargar; °Ali Jum°ah, *ra°īs* of the people of the district of Suzak; another *tuḡhrā*-farman with no specific addressee sent to the people of °Adil Beg; Mir Muhammad Ja°far, Muhammad Nabi *mihtar*, and °Ali Muhammad son of Hatim, *ra°īs*es of the people of Zawuli; °Ali Shayr, La°li, Band °Ali, and Khudadad, leaders of the Shadi tribe; Mir Fayzak Beg the son of Ghulam Husayn Khan Askani, Muhammad Riza Beg Ilqani, and other people of Ghaf and Sih Pay; Mirza °Ali Madad, leader of the Sultan Ahmad tribe; Tilla the son of Duwali, *ra°īs* of the Tajik people (*qawm*); a *tuḡhrā*-farman agin with no specified recipient sent to all the people of Day Chupan; Sabz °Ali the son of Kalb Riza, leader of the Nur Beg tribe; a *tuḡhrā*-farman with no particular person named sent to the Sih Pay people affiliated with Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan who himself, as was recounted earlier, at the order of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, had gone to serve Colonel Farhad Khan; Shayr °Ali the son of Da°ud, head of the Hajji tribe; Aqsaqal Sultan Muhammad and Mulla °Ali Asghar, leaders of the Hajji Khan tribe; Na°ib Qurban, Muhammad Rahim *mihtar*, Muhammad Sadiq *mihtar*, and Mirza °Ali Husayn, leaders of the people of Mir Adinah, Zardak, and Pik; Nishan *mihtar*, °Ali Najat *mihtar*, Mulla Kalb Husayn, Muhammad Quli *mihtar*, and Ghulak *mihtar*, leaders of Hajaristan, Mirza Husayn °Ali and Muhammad Afzal Sultan, notables (*a°yān*) of the Khurdak-i Za°idah tribe; Hasan °Ali *mihtar* and Mulla Muhammad Zahrab, leaders of the Mulki tribe; °Ali Akbar *mihtar* and Sultan °Ali *mihtar*, heads of the Basi tribe; Jum°ah *mihtar*, Jawanshayr *mihtar*, Muhammad Shafa *mihtar*, Mir Ahmad, Mulla Muhammad Taqi, Sayf °Ali *mihtar*, and Muhammad Husayn *mihtar*, leaders of the Maknak tribe; Amir Khan, leader of the Muridi tribe; and Muhammad Hasan *mihtar* and Muhammad Husayn *mihtar*, heads of the people of Dihlah. It said,

What I want to say in this blessing-perfumed document is that, having written the entire thing in my own hand, I want to treat you all fairly. First, at this delicate time when Afghanistan is confronted on two sides by Christian nations, I have no recourse but to remove the words “rebellion” and “mutiny” from the kingdom. Previous padishahs did not make you assume the duty of obedience and ignored this sort of impudence because their minds were at ease about the periphery of the country and they did not worry about those padishahs who were their neighbors. But now that the Christian nation draws near, indeed touches the land of Afghanistan, and the time for enjoying peace of mind has come to an end, the thought of there being disobedient people inside the kingdom is extremely odious and repellent because it will give [our] neighbors the idea indeed they will say that the padishah and the Afghan tribe are unable to bring under their jurisdiction people who live in the heart of the country and are surrounded on four sides by Afghans. [If they cannot deal with these people] then what can they do in the face of those who have great padishahs and awesome power?

With such thoughts in mind /729/ those two governments—Russian and England—will broadcast throughout the world the dishonor and impotence of the padishah and tribe of the Afghans and this disgrace of the Afghans and their children and their children's children will continue to be remembered. I, who am Amir °Abd al-Rahman Khan and strive for the welfare and the good of all Muslims and on behalf of the Lord hold in my capable hands the reins of amirid jurisdiction over the affairs of a large part of the nation of Islam and seek what is best for them, the first thing that I strive for is this: it is incumbent that no Muslim turn his face from the command of God and His Prophet. Should anyone do so, I am absolutely obliged to counsel them and offer advice. But if my exhortations find no place in the ear of acceptance, then, in accordance with the command of God and the Prophet which is found in the Holy Word, I must make inquiries because failing to do so would make me answerable to God [on the Day of Resurrection]. Therefore I am writing and informing you that I would regret destroying you and only want that you, like other mirs and leaders of the Hazarahjat, enjoy regard and honor at the throne of the padishah of Afghanistan. I don't want to see you wretched and downtrodden and shamed before God and His Prophet. I am only saying what is for your own good so that you ignore the whisperings of Satan who is the predator of the Muhammadan religion and has filled your hearts with confusion, which diminishes religion and faith. You should show wisdom by abandoning selfish desires and accepting the divine farman, avoid submission to Satan for obedience to that cursed one is the cause of suffering in this world and the next, and act and behave according to the command of God who created you so that you will feel no shame before God and His Prophet in this world and the next. If, however, you don't find a place in your hearts for this advice of mine, then I praise God for all that He Most High has granted me as the means to govern commensurate with all other padishahs of the world and I am grateful to Him for the fact that he has brought under my farman hundreds of thousands of people of the noble community of Muslims and has granted and entrusted me with the means and the tools to punish and rebuke the enemies of the Muhammadan (peace be upon him) religion so that I may bring ruin to the livelihoods of those who practice the art of disobedience to God. Indeed, I write you out a feeling of pity and to warn you. I don't want you to be destroyed. You should show regard for God and His Qur'an, leave folly behind, go to Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan and, after exchanging greetings with him, place the cord of obedience around your necks and don't make me to have to fight you. If you refuse to accept my advice and give it lodging in your hearts, then consider this my final word for I will no longer be responsible to God and His Prophet. If you fail to heed this advice, the men of Afghanistan—indeed, all the people of Islam—will judge you

to be in [a state of] enmity, tyranny, and rebellion (against God) because mention of these heinous things has come in the revelation: 'Bring your learned men, open the Qur'an, and listen to what they say about rebellion, and how severe a judgment has been sent down for it.' Since we and you ascribe all faith to God and believe in His Book, you must not rebel. If you fail to heed these words of mine, you will incur God's wrath which will involve you in all kinds of dire consequences for opposing the Muhammadan religion. These few words which I have written out of compassion and well-wishing are absolutely my last word on the subject. It's up to you whether you choose to act well or badly. As for me, I ask God that he guide you to the path of good. The end.

On the fourteenth of Zi'l-Hijjah/21 July, Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan, the governor of Qandahar, whose appointment was noted above, was sent from Kabul to Qandahar.

On the twenty-first of Zi'l-Hijjah/28 July, as a result of a letter from Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who requested 700 ponies (*yābū*) for transport for the campaign to conquer Kafiristan—reported above—His Majesty sent a farman to the governors of Qataghan telling them to take 4,000 head of horses from the *zakāt*-payers of that region in lieu of the *zakāt* and send them as quickly as possible to Kabul.

Also at this time, nineteen documents (*hujjat*) found in a box belonging to Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfī* came to light. These were inventories of government revenues amounting to 182,987 *qirān* rupees, 128,264 Qandahari rupees, 170,406 Kabuli rupees, as well as 1,628 *kharwars* of wheat, and 87,058 *kharwārs* of straw (hay) in the form of dues on flocks and other things for the Year of the Rat 1293, in the reign of His Highness the late Amir Shayr °Ali Khan. They came to light through confessions of Shah Muhammad Khan Barakza°i, Mirza Rahim Dad Khan Nurza°i, Ustad °Abd al-Samad, Ustad Ahmad, Mirza Latif, Mirza Muhammad Husayn, Mulla Amir Muhammad, °Ata Muhammad Khan Bakhtiyari, Mirza Ahmad Jan Qandahari, /730/ °Ata Muhammad Khwafi, °Ata Muhammad Khan the son of Nur Muhammad Khan, Mirza °Abd al-Rahim Khan, Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, and Mirza Faqir Muhammad Khan all of whom had obtained leases (tax farms) from Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfī*. The documents were dated the twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth of Muharram/18–20 February 1876, the first of Rabi° al-Awwal/27 March 1876, the fifth of Rabi° al-Sani/30 April 1876, the sixteenth and twenty-ninth of Jumada al-Awwal/9 and 22 June 1876, and the first of Jumada al-Sani/24 June 1876. Officials brought these to the attention of His Majesty and on the twenty-third of Zi'l-Hijjah/30 July, he sent the documents to the governor of Herat and to Mirza Ghulam Jilani Khan, the *sar daftar* there. He issued a farman to the effect that since the aforementioned sums and amounts were the property of the government, if the named persons had receipts from the government none of the leaseholders should be troubled. But

in the event they didn't have official vouchers (*ḥawālah wa barāt*) they should be accommodating in collecting those sums from them. Since they had paid the funds and Mirza Habib Allah Khan had documents to that effect, no trouble came to anyone.

Also in this time, farman went out to the governor of Herat telling him to buy from Mashhad and send to Kabul for government use one lak of rupees worth of large and small turquoise.

During this time, the governor of Herat sent Nur Muhammad Khan the son of the late Najaf °Ali Khan, steward (*nāẓim*) of the court there (Herat) to the governor of Mashhad on some business or other on his behalf. After conveying a message [to the governor] and taking care of other business he had been assigned to do, he returned [to Herat].

Also at this time, on the twenty-fourth of this month/31 July, fourteen *tughrā*-farmans regarding the campaign to conquer the Hazarah *yāghistān* went out to the governors and leaders of the regions contiguous to those ill-natured people, to men like Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin; Mansur Khan, the governor of Muqur; Ghulam Sarwar Khan, the governor of Kalat; Muhammad Isma'il Khan, the governor of Wardak; Mawla Dad Khan, the governor of Farah; Mirza Aqa Jan Khan, the *sar daftar* of Pusht-i Rud; Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, commander of the forces assigned to conquer the Hazarahjat; Muhammad Nabi Khan, the governor of Hazarah-i Bihsud; Ghulam Husayn Khan the son of Gulistan Khan, (leader of the) Muhammad Khwajah Hazarahs of Ghaznin; Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan, governor of Qandahar, who was en route and had yet to reach the city; the governor of Dahrawad; the governor of Tirin, the governor of Khakriz, and the governor of the Ghurat. Each farman said the same thing:

As my final word, on the thirteenth of Zi'l-Hijjah I sent forty-five *tughrā*-(marked) letters of advice (*andarz-nāmah*) to the people of Hajaristan, Zawuli, Uruzgan, and other tribes who have not put their heads beneath the writ of the farman. I opened their ears with my last words [on the subject] telling them to put their feet on the straight path of obedience, forswear folly and ignorance, and awake from the sleep of negligence and carelessness. Thus (you) must make ready and prepare for battle so that whenever there is a need (you) could be sent for service. Also I had printed out as proclamations copies of the letters of advice that had been sent to the Hazarah people and sent those out so that they would be posted in those places where the people of the provinces of the far corners of the *yāghī* Hazarahjat commonly pass by so that they all would read and know that if the tribes which are listed in the proclamations and have had letters of advice sent to them do not put their heads beneath the writ of the farman they will be cast to the wind, for it is an absolute obligation on all the people of Afghanistan, whether Afghan or Hazarah, to punish those people. [And it is absolutely necessary] that military and civilian alike be involved in

wreaking vengeance on them for if they don't it will be a cause of humiliation that they have allowed to remain in their midst people who are seditious and disobedient. The end.

On the twenty-seventh of Zi'l-Hijjah/3 August, His Majesty dispatched twelve troopers from the First Royal Cavalry Regiment along with Ghulam Haydar Khan the son of Khushdil Khan Muhammadza'i, an officer in that regiment with nine *tughrā*-farmans calling on the governors, leaders, and subjects of the districts of Jaldak, Dihlah, Kajur, Dahrawad, Khakriz, Tirin, Baghani, Baghran, and the nomadic people of Qandahar. These were the contents: Since from all sides the people on the periphery of the *yāghī* Hazarahs, whether Hazarah, Afghan, or others have been ordered to turn the face of retribution with all their clans and tribes towards those evil people by those routes which lead to the Hazarahs of the *yāghīstān*, they will see this massed army of military and civilian forces surrounding them, will not set foot on the path of hostility, but instead take the road of obedience in accord with the letters of advice sent them and will not seek out the way of rebellion as they have been doing. Also instructions went out to all those aforementioned tribes to put themselves under the "command and prohibition" of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan and act as he suggests.

During these events, in accordance with the farman issued in their names, Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan, the governor of Herat, and Field Marshal Faramarz Khan /731/ dispatched towards the Hazarahjat 1,500 regular infantry and cavalry, 4,000 Hazarahs who made the region of Herat their home, and an artillery battery all under the command of Brigadier Zabardast Khan so that no escape route would remain open to any of those wicked people.

At this time, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, who had it in mind to move via Gizab towards Uruzgan—as he had informed His Majesty and as was noted above—being intent on assembling (*tadāruk*) the campaign materiel for an army sent to conquer Hajaristan by way of Hazarah-i Bihsud, set out with 100 regular cavalry from the place where he had camped and entered Bihsud. He ordered Commandant °Abd al-Samad Khan to march by way of Sih Pay and Ashkarabad with the Buhluli [voweled according to Tehran edition] Infantry Regiment and the Hazarah tribal militia (*iljārī*) of Day Zangi while he himself with Colonel Farhad Khan and Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan of the regular army; Muhammad Nabi Khan, the governor of Hazarah-i Bihsud; and their regular and *mulkī* forces, entered the district of Hajaristan. As the advisory farmans mentioned above had already reached those people they did not make any moves to oppose the army. A brief skirmish took place at Murwarid, located at the foot of Shah Tus Mountain, with some people who were not aware of the counsels of His Majesty. [Otherwise] all the people of Hajaristan presented themselves before Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan in submission and placed their heads beneath the writ of the farman. He ordered Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan to garrison Hajaristan district with the regular infantry and the guns which he had under his banner. Having put the affairs of the place in order, he sent Colonel

Farhad Khan with the regular army and artillery which were marching with him and the force of Hazarahs of Bihsud and Malistan towards the district of Mir Adinah, Zawuli, and Sultan Ahmad by way of Qushunak while he himself set off for the border of Uruzgan by way of Qul Khar.

It happened that Mir Yazdan Bakhsh, the son of Mir Safar Quli Bihsudi; Muhammad Shafi^c Khan, Khuday Nazar Khan, and Payandah Muhammad Khan, the sons of Jars ^cAli Khan; and Nawruz ^cAli Khan, the son of Bunyad Khan Malistani, who had camped away from the royal army with Hazarah force from Bihsud and Malistan, set out for Mir Adinah and joined up with Colonel Farhad Khan in the middle of nowhere (*tangnā-yi būm*) somewhere between the spring-watered land of Qushunak and Mir Adinah and [together] entered Mir Adinah where a tribal force from the Mulla Khayl Afghan nomads also joined the army of Colonel Farhad Khan, and from there they marched on towards the district of Zawuli and Sultan Ahmad. En route, Colonel Farhad Khan assigned the Mulla Khayl Afghans and the Malistani Hazarahs to serve as an advance force for the regular army. A skirmish took place and a group of the rebels was defeated and fled to Qal^cah-i Char Burjah in Zawuli. They barricaded the gate of the fort against the royal army and steadfastly waited for battle. From the royal army, the men of Malistan attacked the fort and captured it.

The Hazarah rebels fled to Qal^cah-i Shash Burjah in the same district and prepared to defend it. Before this fort could be taken, at the advice and persuasion of the leaders of the Malistan people, some of the Zawuli leaders came to Colonel Farhad Khan to submit and put the cord of obedience around their necks. He told them to recite the profession of faith (*kalimah-i tayyibah*) and also told them that they should say that they had been infidels and now—praise be to God—were Muslims. The Hazarahs recited the profession of faith but instead of uttering the second phrase (which Colonel Farhad wanted them to) they declared, "Praise be to God, generation after generation (*padar bar padar*) we have been and remain Muslims." After this, he presented them with *khil^cats*, gave them permission to return home, and ordered them to give other people hope with the glad tidings of the padishah's beneficence and persuade them to submit.

The next day Jamshid Khan of the Hazarah-i Jaghuri, having assembled 200 men of Zardak for government service, who were settled among the people of Malistan, along with a tribal force of the men of Pashah-i and Shayr Dagh, brought them with him and entered the royal army camp. Colonel Farhad Khan, who should have shown benevolence towards Jamshid Khan, cursed him and imprisoned fifty-three of the leaders of the Zardak, Pashah-i, and Shayr Dagh force who had come to serve. Fifteen of the prisoners he put to death and in a detestable manner seized the mount of Ibrahim Sultan Pashah-i's son, which was a horse fit for a sardar. Because of this behavior on the part of Colonel Farhad Khan, the Hazarah subjects who had come with their tribal forces to serve the government, grew very fearful and, afraid for their lives, fell silent, and felt extremely anxious. The rebels ensconced inside Qal^cah-i Shash Burjah—as mentioned above—unable to resist in the face of the royal army's might,

abandoned the fort and fled into the valley of waywardness. The Hazarah force left the place where Colonel Farhad Khan had /732/ unjustly dealt the aforementioned leaders the edge of the sword and attacked Qal'ah-i Shash Burjah and since it was empty of the enemy took it without opposition. Colonel Farhad Khan with the regular army and the irregular forces of the Hazarahs of Bihsud, the Afghans of Mulla Khayl, and the Hazarahs of Malistan having assigned some men to those two conquered forts moved on to the district of Sultan Ahmad. At Ab Puran, they joined up with the army under the command of Commandant 'Abd al-Samad Khan which had marched by way of Sih Pay of Hazarah-i Day Zangi and together, they moved on toward Uruzgan. Since the people of Hajaristan, Zawuli, and Sultan had submitted, they marched unhindered by any fear of enemy attack.

Meantime, Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan, who had set out to conquer Uruzgan by way of Qul Khar after the victory over Hajaristan—as mentioned above—was relieved to hear of the victory over Zawuli and Sultan Ahmad and Colonel Farhad Khan and Commandant 'Abd al-Samad Khan's march on Uruzgan and so turned his reins towards Timzan. He assigned 1,000 riders from the Hazarah cavalry of Day Zangi with a regiment of regular infantry and two guns to take up stations beside the bridge over the Hirmand River to block the routes of the Day Kundi Hazarah evildoers who, as previously mentioned, had quarreled and fought with the quartermaster, Ghulam Husayn Khan, so that if they fled in fear in that direction they would not let them cross the bridge and enter Uruzgan and so reinforce the people there. When the sardar himself reached Timzan, those people who were guilty of only minor missteps came personally to greet him while those who were the perpetrators of major treachery sent their sons. Those whom he suspected of troublemaking he took into custody and sent to Kabul. Of these, Mir Riza-yi Beg Uzmaki, Mir Kazim Beg Tamzani, Mir Nasir Beg Char Aspani, and Mir 'Ali Khan Beg Shinah-i, were subjected to royal punishment after they arrived in Kabul and thrown in prison where they remained until they died. As for the others, at Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan's order, each one sent him a son or a brother as hostages. He kept these hostages with the army and ordered their fathers and brothers to billet the units of the royal army inside their forts. He also reached agreement with them that whenever there was fighting with refractory people of the deserts and mountains, they would assist and accompany the army by serving as the vanguard. Whether they wanted to or not, they agreed to the noble sardar's terms. To reciprocate their acceptance [of his terms], the noble sardar promised them that after dealing with the evildoers and concluding matters there, they would be the objects of royal largesse and their sons would be honored with service at the royal court. On hearing these words and because of the glad tidings conveyed by Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan as well as the letters of advice of His Majesty which had arrived and filled them with hope, those people quickly fastened the belt of service to the government.

While this was going on, the regiments which were under the command of Brigadier Zabardast Khan and had set out for the Hazarajat from Herat—as

mentioned above—arrived in Tamzan and joined Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan. Meantime all the people of Hazarah-i *yāghistān*, unit by unit and regiment by regiment, gladly came on the path of obedience to Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan thanks to the exhortatory letters of His Majesty, described above, as well as the glad tidings and promises received from the sardar. They received reassurances and returned to their homes. Among them, the leaders of the people of Hajaristan who preceded the others in expressing their obedience, had not resisted the entrance of the mighty regiments on their land, but rather had themselves brought them in, were therefore rewarded more than others, were given abundant assurances, and their fears were completely allayed. When, by letter from Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, the knowing mind of His Majesty learned how the people of the Hazarah *yāghistān* had come and put their heads beneath the writ of the farman, he sent the sardar a farman telling him first to collect their weapons, while promising to give them back (*bi-ism wa rasm-i amānat*), assign groups of soldiers where necessary, then, providing security, gradually put into effect the royal commands and prohibitions with moderation and equitableness, organize matters, and set things to rights. After the organization of those people's affairs, he was to return to them their weapons and instruments of war.

During this time, a regular cavalryman for some reason entered the house of Mir Yazdan Bakhsh the son of Mir Nasir Beg of Waras who was one of the leading mirs of the Hazarahs of Day Zangi and was under surveillance in Kabul because of some matter. He forced himself on the mir's wife and involved her in an indecent act. /733/ The people of the village found out, caught the soldier in the midst of perpetrating the prohibited act, tied him up with a rope, took him to Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, and told him what had happened. Out of shame, the mir's wife fled, despite the fact that she had been forced against her will, and nothing more was known or heard of her. The soldier, by a stratagem that he knew and a trick he was able to use, managed to free himself from custody and his actions frightened the Hazarahs who feared that the regular army soldiers would now (freely) engage in this kind of abominable act.

Meantime, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, before the confiscation of weapons, sent a group of the Hazarah *yāghistān* leaders to Kabul to be reassured. These were men who, because of the well-expressed letters of advice from His Majesty, had placed their heads beneath the writ of the farman and presented themselves before the sardar on the path of submission. These leaders included: Kalb Husayn Khan, °Aziz *mihtar*, °Ali Shifa°, Mulla Hasan, Amir Muhammad, and Sayyid Amir Khan, leaders of the Sultan Ahmad tribe; Qadam *mihtar*, Mir Muhammad Ja°far, Mamah Zuwwar, Gul Hasan, Khayr Allah, Mirza Fayz Allah, Mahmud, and Ibrahim, notables of the Zawuli tribe and of Darrah-i Pahlawan, better known as Palan-i Uruzgan; also several of the chiefs of the people of Nik Ruz, a district of Uruzgan itself, men like °Ali Gawhar, °Ali Naqi, °Ali Bakhsh, and others; along with thirty ordinary subjects. Each of these men, thinking that going to the court of His Majesty empty-handed was not good, each brought to Kabul as a gift one Uruzgani horse, which in beauty and

deportment were second only to horses from Khatlan. When they were admitted into the royal presence, they offered the horses. They themselves were then put under house arrest by the kutwal's court and their horses were turned over to Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the Superintendent of Government Livestock. The thirty (Hazarah) commoners who formed a vanguard (*yazak*)²² leading the horses were given leave to return home. They brought the news of those put under house arrest to the people who had stayed behind and because of this the Hazarabs who had never experienced such harsh treatment became thoroughly frightened. But His Majesty had (only) prevented them from leaving and put them under house arrest as a precaution, concerned about the consequences should carrying out the duties laid on them by the padishah prove unpalatable to their natures and be the root cause of trouble. But those untamed people, because of this and other things which happened, were (nonetheless) the perpetrators of trouble and evildoing, and, as will come, were subjected to being killed and plundered and were destroyed (cast to the wind).

During this time, Mulla Yusuf Khan Rustaqi, the former kutwal of Qandahar, who had been promoted to the position of Superintendent of the Warehouses (*taḥwīl-khānah-hā*) of the Government Workshop, better known as the Machine House (*mashīn-khānah*), was fired because of some malfeasance and theft which he had committed, and Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the former governor of Farah and a son of the Eternity-journeying Amir-i Kabir, Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, was appointed Superintendent of the entire workshop by His Majesty.

Also at this time, 146 ulema and leaders of the Afridi people came to Kabul. When they entered the royal presence, they stated their case and asked permission to be allowed to attack the guardposts of the English government which had been built at several spots along the border and were manned by a number of guards, and to destroy the posts and kill the guards. His Majesty reassured them all with gifts of *khil'ats* and 5,513 rupees in cash and counseled them saying,

Although it is well-known about that tribe that they won't go to war against the English government even if instructed to by the government of Afghanistan, nor do they restrain their hands from looting and plundering just because this government forbids it. Indeed if what they say is true, they should beware not to tread a path which is contrary to the welfare of the general populace and is remote from what is good and approved. As long as the English government is the friend of this government, and no suspicions arise, they should speak nothing but the truth. Otherwise, if they have some other aim in their hearts and are not going to carry out the commands or avoid doing what this government

²² FM explains *yazak* as "the vanguard or *qarawul* of the army. Metaphorically it is a horse which they lead in front of the padishah. In Arabic it is called *janībah*." (RM: See Lane, "a horse that is led, not ridden.")]

prohibits, then they should not make (this) government answerable to the government with which it is on friendly terms for their ill-conceived actions.

In short, having given such advice he gave them leave to return home. To those they had left behind, he wrote out these abovementioned words and sent them with them.

During these events, Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan, the governor of Qandahar who on the fourteenth of Zi'l-Hijjah, as mentioned earlier, had left Kabul, on the twenty-eighth of the month/4 August reached that place and took up the duties of governor.

Also on this same day, at the order of His Majesty, thirteen households, in all sixty-four men, women, and children who were ill-wishers of the government, were moved from Narkh in Maydan-i Kabul, and settled in Khanabad in Qataghan. Similarly, eight households of evildoers living in Lamqan numbering thirty-eight men and women were ordered to Taluqan to spend their lives there as farmers. Thirty-six /734/ other men and women from the Islam Khayl and Sahhak tribes, people living in Samuch-ha-yi Mulla °Umar on the road to the Lataband Pass, Butkhak, and Taghar in Khurd Kabul who had written to His Benevolent Majesty, asked that they be given cultivable land in the district of the rebel Hazarahs of Shaykh °Ali, Ghuri, and Taluqan so that they could earn a livelihood there in agriculture. Their petition was received with approval by His Majesty and they went to those three places and settled. Twenty-five other households of rebels from Darrah-i Najil in Lamqan, whom Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan had earlier sent to Kabul where they remained in prison up to this time, were sent to Taluqan to earn their living at agriculture. Similarly, twenty-seven other households totaling 164 men, women, and children, evildoers of the Ashpi Tikab people and the tribe of Husayn Khayl who were living in Sarubi, by royal order were sent to live in Taluqan and Wakhan.

Also during the aforementioned events of this year, General Sayyid Shah Khan at the order of His Majesty built a strong bridge across the Kukchah River and also erected a bridge made of bricks over the Faizabad River.

Meanwhile, Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, the former governor of Qandahar, for whom—as was mentioned above—a farman of summons was issued but who up to this time for various reasons had not come to Kabul, on the last day of Zi'l-Hijjah/6 August left Qandahar for Kabul.