

“Say: Oh God, the Possessor of Sovereignty, He Endows Whom He Wills
With Sovereignty”

Volume Three

Of the History of the Religion-Endowed Kingdom

The Felicity-Marked Country of Islam

Afghanistan and Dependent Turkistan

A Record of the Reign of His Highness

Amir °Abd al-Rahman Khan

by Fayz Muhammad Katib Hazarah
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“And He Removes Sovereignty From Whom He Wills, He Ennobles
Whom He Wills and Humbles Whom He Wills”

(Printed at the Hurufi Press in the Dar al-Saltanah, Kabul)

1333 (Hijri)

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He is God, the Sublime

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Worship of the King of recompense, the One without peer, is well-deserved for the events of all the eras and years of His reign provide but an inkling of His dominion and the occurrences of the days and months are but a vestige of his power. The existence of every creature is through Him and by Him. Every opening and closing is within His comprehension. The greatest of minds stumble in trying to grasp the vastness of His sovereignty. No imagination is capable of penetrating even to the threshold of His grandeur and no calculation will ever complete the reckoning of His favors. Each day to Him is a matter of great moment and every moment of time a benevolence (from Him).

Flowing through the heavens is the power of His glory
Drawn over the earth are the skirts of His mercy.
Kings whose heads on proud necks stand,
At his threshold, in supplication, place them on the sand.

Praise to the Commander of Prophets and the King of all those now with God and to his Family and Companions, the rays of the moon on the banner of whose prophecy have illumined the earth, and by the light of the garden of whose path, the fields of paradise bloom - Muhammad, the intercessor for all mankind, through whom all hopes are fulfilled.

Amma ba^cd

Since, through the assistance of the capable one, the possessor of majesty, and through the making easy the bestowal of good fortune by the auspicious khedive, the possessor of a praiseworthy character, adorer of the throne of world-rule, ornament of the diadem of world conquest, deserver of crown and throne, His Highness, the brave and courageous (Lamp of the Government and the Religion) to whose bounty may all the world pay homage, this impecunious writer, this humble, errant, and incompetent one, Fayz Muhammad Katib, has succeeded in completing the writing of volumes one and two of this felicitous book, *Sirāj al-tawārīkh*, he has now gratefully undertaken, with happiness and pleasure, to draft volume three.

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The Reign of His Highness, Conqueror of the Country
Amir ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan

This padshah who desired the advancement of the government and the enlightenment and good order of the army and the people, was the sixth ruler of

the fruitful Barakzai family in the glorious Muhammadzai line. Having witnessed the vicissitudes of the world, having known the trials and tribulations of war, having experienced, because of his frequent peregrinations as detailed in volume two, both the world's heat and its cold, and having received a sufficient taste of battle and strife, on the 5th of Ramadan 1297, he placed his foot on the throne of world government. By good policies and positive efforts which he carried out in building up the kingdom, organizing the army, and improving the lot of the common people, he gave the Afghans and their country stature in the regions (of the world) and status in the eyes of others, in which—God willing—no reader of this book will deny his worthy qualities and laudable deeds. Rather they will affirm and verify his policies of governing and ruling.

Because the British had destroyed the Bala Hisar of Kabul in retaliation for the killing of Cavagnari, he chose to reside for a while at Darwazah-i Sapid-i Shirpur (the White Gate of Shirpur).

He initiated his regime and inaugurated his government by organizing the army. Day by day he enrolled in the regular forces (*fawj-i nizām*) young men in whose countenances signs of courage were clearly discernible. Despite a depleted treasury, he raised the salaries of the troops by one rupee over the seven rupee monthly salary fixed by the late Amir Shir ʿAli Khan, thereby giving individual regular infantrymen eight rupees per month and (regular) cavalry twenty rupees.

Meanwhile, notables and worthies from all parts of the kingdom, disturbed both by the depredations of the English and by their own assaults on each other because of the absence of a padshah over the tribes, now came group by group to the throne to offer their obedience, obtained the privilege of kissing (3) the sublime threshold, were individually honored with a ceremonial robe (*khilʿat*), and given leave to return, each to his own home.

The first policy which His Highness proposed and executed was the following: He forbade killing and fighting and gave amnesty to all the people of Afghanistan who had come into conflict with others and spilled blood. Word went out that “For every killing, wounding, theft, and assault which has taken place up to now among the tribes residing in Afghanistan no vengeance nor satisfaction should be sought because a lifetime would be needed to resolve them and it would hinder the task of governing and interfere with putting state policies into effect. This would not only make governing difficult (4) but would make it well-nigh impossible (5). But from this day forward, any perpetrator of an unworthy deed will be held strictly to account.”

By this decree, all disputes and conflicts which had led to revenge and enmity were suppressed. The Afghans, Hazarahs, Turks, and Tajiks whose hearts were black with hatred for one another and whose minds had never entertained the thought that they could ever be close, now cooperated and lived together in harmony.

During this time, His Highness appointed the following governors: Sardar ʿAbd al-Rasul Khan to Jalalabad; Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan to Ghaznin; Naʿib Sultan Khan-i Afshar to hazarah-i Day Zangi and Day Kundi; Muhammad

Husayn Khan Farari of the Jawanshir people (*qawm*) to Hazarah-i Bahsud; Ahmad Jan Khan Tukhi to Qalat; Dilawar Khan to Hazarah-i Jaghuri; °Abd al-Haqq to Najrab; Ghulam Qazir Khan to Panjshir; and Sahibzadah Mir Aqa to Khust. Similarly he named (other) governors and finance officials (*hukkām wa °ummāl*) to all the provinces and localities.

During his stay at Darwazah-i Sapid, at His Highness’s order, necessary repairs were done on a saray belonging to Mirza Muhammad Hasan Khan, the *dabīr al-mulk* which stood in the Murad Khani quarter (*maḥallah*) and the chancellery offices of the state and court (*dīwān-khānah-i khāṣṣ wa °āmm*) were set up there although it could not accommodate the royal private quarters.

At this time, the amir contracted marriage with Qamar Niqab, daughter of the late Mir °Atiq Allah Khan. On her mother’s side her lineage went back to the Amir-i Kabir (Dust Muhammad Khan). Festivities followed and the amir (now) favored the saray with his presence, moving from the Darwazah-i Sapid and there taking up the duties of state.

He assigned Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, the mustawfi al-mamalik, and his staff (ahl-i diwan) to the state chancellery offices (*dīwān-khānah-i °āmm*) the building which is now the Shari°ah Court.

Events of 1298 Hijri in Qandahar, Herat, and Elsewhere

Three months after he arrived in Kabul and assumed his ancestral throne, His Highness dispatched an old retainer, Khwajah Ahmadi, to Tashkent to escort the princes /380/ and ladies of the harem to Kabul. Khwajah Ahmadi stopped for a while in Mazar-i Sharif and then resumed his journey, eventually being welcomed by the princes. After his arrival, Mirza °Abd al-Hamid Khan, who enjoyed high esteem because of his piety and long service and who had been charged with serving the two princes and the harem, informed Kaufmann, the governor-general and supreme authority in Russian Turkistan, of the order issued by His Highness regarding moving the princes, harem, and their retainers. Kaufmann agreed. He invited the princes to a royal reception, paraded the regiments stationed in Tashkent in a review before the princes, and opened some of the government workshops (*kārkhānahjāt*) for their inspection. Then he saw the princes and the harem folk off for Afghanistan with all appropriate ceremony and ordered several officers and regular cavalry to escort them. They crossed the Oxus River at the Kilift ford and reached Mazar-i Sharif safe and sound. There they dismissed their Russian escorts and then the entire party—the two princes, the harem, and their retainers —departed Mazar-i Sharif for Kabul.

On the 25th of Rajab 1298 (23 June 1881), they reached Kabul where they were welcomed by all the city leaders and notables and by a military honor guard. The princes were received by His Highness and permitted the honor of kissing the royal hand.

In the course of the year, Sardar Anbiya Khan Taymani, who had left his people because s Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan had raised an army, as was recorded earlier, and having taken refuge in an ungoverned area (*yāghistān*) of

Firuzkuh, learned of the joyously auspicious accession of His Highness, Amir °Abd al-Rahman Khan, to the throne of the Afghan amirate and of the withdrawal of the English army to Hindustan and he drafted and sent off a petition (*°arīzah*) expressing his fealty. He sent it off together with some of the Taymani and Firuzkuhis and a Qur'an, in the margins of which they all pressed their seals as a binding covenant. These he sent to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan in Mazar-i Sharif, Turkistan by the hand of Khwajah Majnun, a man from Chisht.

Similarly, from Maymanah, Muhammad Amin Khan and Yalangtush Khan, sons of Khan Aqa-yi Jamshidi, drafted a petition for the same sardar. He in turn dispatched these declarations of allegiance and the Qur'an to His Highness, Amir °Abd al-Rahman Khan, in Kabul.

Meantime, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan set out from Herat with fourteen regular infantry regiments and regular and Herati (militia?) cavalry to take Qandahar. Ghulam Haydar Khan and Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan marched out of the city with a large army to defend it.

Meantime, the petitions and Qur'an forwarded on by Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan reached the exalted presence in Kabul. He issued a farman to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan telling him to send to the Taymani and Firuzkuh five hundred horse under the command of a clever person who with the Taymanis and Firuzkuhis could create trouble around Herat, worry Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, who was en route to Qandahar, and prevent him from establishing himself there.

When the order arrived, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan summoned the governor of Tashqurghan, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, showed him the farman, and assigned him the task. The latter, just twenty-seven years old, placed the finger of acceptance on his eyes and asked that Sardar Muhammad Muhsin Khan be sent after him with some regular infantry and artillery. Muhammad Ishaq transmitted the request to the throne. The amir responded, "a sutiable force has been sent from Qandahar to defend against Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan. The task of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan is merely to cause trouble in that region not to go against Herat which would necessitate artillery and a *paltan* being sent after him."

Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, having received the farman on the 15th of Sha°ban 1298, sent him off to Herat with three hundred horsemen. Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan rode via Kashan, Sapid Maydan, and Sar-i Jangal. he made the difficult passage through the mountains and when he reached Sar-i Jangal, Na'ib Sultan Khan Afshar, the governor of Day Zangi and Day Kundi, left Muhammad °Alam Khan, /381/ his son, in control of his governorate, in accordance with the royal command, and joined Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan.

Presenting himself for service, he informed him of the royal order which had been issued saying, "I am to offer my services along with those of 4,000 Hazarah horsemen." Together those two men were engaged in recruiting Hazarah horsemen when Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan engaged the Qandahar forces, defeated them, and occupied Qandahar.

Because he deemed the Hazarahs a malevolent and unruly people, when he received the news from Qandahar, he organized the horsemen who had joined his retinue to that point, told them nothing of the news from Qandahar, and hastily made for the territory where the Taymani and Firuzkuhi people lived and there attacked Taywarah which was held by Sardar °Abd al-Wahhab Khan. The water was cut off to the fort and after seven days Sardar °Abd al-Wahhab and the other defenders found themselves in difficult straits. Sardar °Abd al-Wahhab sent Sardar °Abd al-Quddus a Holy Qur'an by way of intercession and supplication and thereby sought to save himself.

Accepting his apologies and excuses, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan got a pledge from him written on the margin of a Qur'an that Sardar °Abd al-Wahhab would renounce further hostility and so he could freely leave the fort and go wherever he wished. Consequently, in Ramadan he surrendered the fort and departed for Iran with his household and retainers. Sardar °Abd al-Quddus turned the occupied territory and fort over to Sardar Anbiya Khan. At this point it was learned that Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, at a directive from Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, was on his way to Taywarah via Pusht-i Rud with a large force in order to stop Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan and was due to arrive very soon.

Similarly, Khushdil Khan Luynab, accompanied by Sardar °Abd al-Salam Khan, the governor of Isfizar; Brigadier Mir °Ata Khan; Fath Allah Beg Firuzkuhi; and other Isfizari and Adraskani khans as well as seven units (*bayraq*) of Sakhlu foot, one regiment of regular infantry, two cannons, and a few thousand horsemen, marched along the road from Herat, intending to drive off Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan. °Abd al-Quddus directed Sardar Anbiya Khan to confront Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan while he himself set out to intercept Khushdil Khan Luynab and Sardar °Abd al-Salam Khan.

At Tangi Pasar, the two sides clashed in a fierce fight. Sardar °Abd al-Salam Khan was wounded and taken prisoner along with forty members of his entourage. The rest of his retinue escaped. The Sakhlu foot, the regular infantry units, and both artillery batteries now came under Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan's command.

Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan had sent news of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's victory at Qandahar to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor (*hukmrān*) of Turkistan, from the district (*'alāqah*) of Hazarah-i Day Zangi. He in turn had sent as reinforcements 130 regular cavalry, 200 Sakhlu infantry, and two cannons along with a message saying "I am sending my brother, Sardar Muhammad Muhsin Khan, with one regiment (*fawj*) of regular infantry and six artillery batteries on the heels (of the first group)." At this point, the first of the reinforcements joined him at the site of the fight (Tangi Pasar) and were the reason for his victory.

In brief, after securing the victory and finding his power much enhanced, he set out to reduce Herat. When they learned of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's occupation of Qandahar, the Hazarah cavalry abandoned Sardar °Abd al-Quddus in Ghur and headed home with the booty they had taken from the Pasar

battlefield. En route to Herat, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan dispatched Sardar °Abd al-Salam Khan under guard to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan in Mazar-i Sharif who in turn sent him on to Kabul.

As for the rest of the prisoners, after reassuring and conciliating them, he gave them leave to return to their homes in light of the fact that they were from good tribal groups and were honorable men (*qawm-dār wa bā-i°tibār*).

*His Highness °Abd al-Rahman Khan Turns His Attention to Qandahar
and Triumphs*

When Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan entered Qandahar and raised the flag of occupation, with an eye to conciliating the population of the city and its environs and to inducing opposition to His Highness Amir °Abd al-Rahman Khan, he assembled the °ulama of the city and its environs and asked them for a fatwa supporting him and opposing the amir. One of the °ulama, Akhundzadah °Abd al-Rahim Khan Kakari, who had been one of the teachers of the prince, °Abd Allah Khan, heir-apparent to His late Highness, Amir Shir °Ali Khan, along with a few other °ulama who, when it came to questions of learning were quite renowned and were the ones on whom everyone else relied, issued a fatwa which said, “To support Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan /382/ is to aid the religion and to fight against Amir °Abd al-Rahman Khan and his troops is to preserve the Shari°ah of the Lord of the Prophets because the English have named him amir while Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan knotted the sacred garment of jihad and triumphed over the English army at the battle of Maymand [Maywand] and scattered it.”

Thanks to this fatwa, all the people of Qandahar and its environs mobilized and a somewhat motley lot assembled under Sardar Muhammad Ayyub’s banner giving him considerable backing and power.

Because of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan’s strength, His Highness Amir °Abd al-Rahman Khan put his own faith in the support and help of God. He assigned Sardar Ahmad Khan and Parwanah Khan, who was busy with *kutwāl* and other matters, as well as Mirza °Abd al-Hamid Khan, Qazi °Abd al-Rahman Khan, Mir Ahmad Shah Khan, Ghulam Riza Khan, Muhammad Shah Khan Tikabi who was garrisoned in the city [Kabul] with a Tikabi contingent, Muhammad Afdal Khan Qart, Khan Baba Khan Jawanshir, and Mihr °Ali Khan Muradkhani to protect the city under the overall command of Sardar Ahmad Khan. He assigned Khan Muhammad Khan Babakr Khayl and others to attend the princes, Sardar Habib Allah Khan and Sardar Nasr Allah Khan, who were recently arrived from Samarqand. He also named Mir Abu’l-Hasan Khan, the son of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, as *daftardār* for the two princes.

After mobilizing a force and making preparations for the journey, he departed Kabul for Qandahar. Outside the city (Qandahar) he readied the regiments for battle and then engaged Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan’s force in a bitter fight. Ultimately, though, the ascendant star of the sardar set and he turned his face toward the oblivion of flight. Triumphant, His Highness sent

General Faramarz Khan in pursuit with these orders, “Since Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan has chosen to flee towards Qa’in, Khwaf, and Bakharz, once he gets to the frontier if it is clear that if the governor of the Qa’inat region is not going to offer him a place to reside within the territory under his jurisdiction, well and good. Otherwise, he should attack and seize him wherever he finds him.”

His Highness himself, in the month of Shawwal 1298 (27 August–24 September 1881), entered Qandahar in triumph. He dealt summarily with Mulla ‘Abd al-Rahim, Akhundzadah-i Kakari, and Mulla ‘Abd al-Ahad Fufalzai who had issued the fatwa anathematizing the Kabul force and he conciliated other residents of the city and its environs by bestowing royal favors. He (also) named Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan to the governorship of Farah and Pusht-i Rud.

The Victory of Sardar ‘Abd al-Quddus Khan at Herat

During the above events, Sardar ‘Abd al-Quddus Khan, who was on his way to conquer Herat, reached Shafilan where he learned of the defeat of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan. It was his inclination that so long as he did not have sufficient strength and until Sardar Muhammad Muhsin Khan, whom Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, as was mentioned earlier, had told him he had sent with reinforcements, arrived, he would refrain from fighting. So he made his way towards the land of the Jamshidi. One morning at sunrise he came face to face with General ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan, Brigadier Yar Gul Khan, Muhammad Khan, *ra’īs* of the Hazarabs of Qal‘ah-i Naw, and leaders from Ghuriyan and Kuhsan who had come with two infantry regiments, five cannons, and 2,000 horsemen to fight him. The flames of battle flared until mid-day but in the end defeat befell the opposing force and it turned from the fray and fled. In the course of the fight, Muhammad Khan, *ra’īs* of the Hazarabs, was wounded at the hands of the the sardar (‘Abd al-Quddus Khan) and (thus) victory fell to the lot of the sardar. When the vanquished entered Herat, bodies exhausted and their reins hanging down, the next day the regular troops stationed their together with Brigadier Mir ‘Ata Khan went out through the gate of acceptance and welcomed the sardar at a place called Dashan and Pichghi. He re-assembled all seven regiments of regular infantry that had become scattered and on the 14th of Dhu Qa’dah (7 October 1881) he entered the citadel of Herat in triumph. He sent to the exalted presence in Qandahar, an announcement of the victory accompanied by Nur Muhammad Khan son of Najaf ‘Ali Khan Qizilbash—presently the poet (*nāẓim*) of the court of Herat.¹

At this time, Khushdīl Khan Luynab, Lalah Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Qazi Mulla ‘Abd al-Salam Khan and other important men who were supporters (“eaters of the salt”) of His late Highness Amir Shir ‘Ali Khan and well-wishers of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, taking Muhammad Musa Khan son of Amir

¹ FM: FM: The phrase “nāẓim of the court of Herat” had been crossed out. But a number of farmans from His Highness himself, Lamp of the Government and Religion, had been issued in the nazim’s name and so the crossed-out lines were restored.

Muhammad Ya'qub Khan with them, and leaving the family of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan under the sacred protection of (the Ansari shrine at) Gazurgah, fled Herat for Mashhad the Sacred. On the day of the arrival /383/ of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan in Herat, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, who had fled from Qandahar, entered the village (*dih*) of Mughilan-i Isfizar en route to Herat. Learning there of Sardar °Abds al-Quddus Khan's entrance into Herat he headed (now) for Qa'in and Birjand.

Not wholly satisfied with having sent General Faramarz Khan in pursuit of Ayyub with a thousand riders, on the 12th of Dhi'l-Hijjah 1298 (14 October 1881) His Highness Amir °Abd al-Rahman ordered Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Farah, to send the regular troops garrisoned in Farah to Herat and he himself with the khans of that region to stand vigilant guard over the border. He also ordered General Faramarz Khan, who had pursued Sardar Muhammad Ayyub in vain and then turned back, to station himself at Farah.

Meanwhile, Sardar Muhammad Muhsin Khan, who had gone from Turkistan with one regiment of infantry and two artillery pieces to support Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan and entered Herat after the victory over that heavenly city, was now ordered to return to Mazar-i Sharif with his foot soldiers and artillery. But before that order reached him he arrived in Qandahar and there enjoyed the great satisfaction of seeing His Majesty. Then the force which he had with him was ordered to Herat.

The Provocative Activities of Sardar Sikandar Khan, son of the late Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and Other Events of Herat and Elsewhere

During the above-mentioned events, Sardar Sikandar Khan, igniting the fire of rebellion, sent a letter from Mashhad the Holy to the leaders of Herat and urged them rise up against Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan and get rid of him so that he himself could enter Herat and take control of the throne of his ancestor (*jadd*). His letter fell into the hands of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan and he sent it to the Exalted Presence in Qandahar. From the happiness-guiding presence came an order to the sardar to expel the supporters and well-wishers of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan from Herat, leaving not a single one either in hiding or out in the open. But since, at the time of the Herat victory, he had made a solemn pact with them and agreed that he would intercede on their behalf with His Highness to obtain forgiveness for their misdeeds, he began to send petitions of intercession. Among their number was Colonel (*sartip*) Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan for whom an order confirming his expulsion had been issued but now thanks to the petition of intercession, he was forgiven and so remained in Herat. But all the others were expelled from the kingdom. Thus Sardar Sikandar Khan, the arrow of whose efforts to instigate the people of Herat to rise up had missed the bullseye of his hopes, now embarked on the path of devotion to the government (*dawlat-khwāhī*) and sent to the throne of world-refuge a petition which reported the evil consequences of Col. Nur Muhammad Khan's

being in Herat. Because of his report, His Highness issued a confirmatory farman to expel him (i.e., Col. Nur Muhammad).

After his expulsion, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan ordered Akhudnzadah Nizam al-Din Khan to garrison Kuhsan with 200 Turkman and Uzbek cavalry from Aqchah, 200 Sakhlū infantry, and two mule guns to guard the frontier with all due vigilance and secure the borders of Ghuriyan, Kuhsan, and other places.

During this, from royal largesse, His Highness honored and rewarded Na'ib Sultan Khan-i Afshar with an additional 100 tumans per annum for expenses beyond the stipend for soldiers and mounts that he already received.

*The Arrival at Herat of a Letter and Envoy
from the Khan of Khwarazm*

Also in this period Ishan Mirzā-yi *qarāwul-begī* arrived in Herat with a letter from the Khan of Urganj [alternately Khiva and Khwarazm]. Detaining the envoy with all proper regard and respect, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan forwarded the letter to His Highness. Since it contained expressions of disgust with the Russian state and the allegiance of the khan to the government of Afghanistan saying, "with the help of this government we would attack the Russians and advance our own cause thereby with the active assistance of an Afghan force and then would take the path of submission to, and alliance with, our co-religionists," on the 21st of Dhi'l-Hijjah 1298 (14 November 1881), His Highness sent Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan a farman saying,

"treat the Khan of Khwarazm's emissary with all due respect /
384/ but in such a way that no one knows of his coming or of the
khan's letter because it is not wise that others know or that the
letter be made public. If anyone should ask he should say that
because of the victory of Herat neighbors send letters and
messages of congratulations for the victory at Herat and the
Khan of Khwarazm has sent this person.

He gave the khan the good news of a promise to respond favorably at the proper time and he also wrote to Sayyid (Muhammad) Rahim Khan and the other leaders of Khwarazm who had joined the khan in the petition in accordance with what he had sent to sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan. He sent this *manshūr* of unity to Herat along with two bolts of Kashmiri *abrah*-cloth (a kind of fine wool), two pieces of Khalil-khani shawl cloth, and two bolts of Gujarati gold brocade (*kimkhwāb*), accompanied by a courier, °Abd al-Karim Khan. From there, the bearer of the khan's petition took them with him and made the head of the khan soar to the highest height.

*The Englishman Colonel St. John's Letter
Regarding Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan*

During the abovementioned events, a letter from Col. St. John *Inglis* was read by court officials of His Highness. It said,

“His Excellency, the Viceroy, has informed me by telegram that I should make Your Highness aware that His Highness Nasir al-Din Shah has agreed to the request of the English Government regarding Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan that he not be permitted to stop in Khurasan nor take up residence in the border area with Afghanistan. Similarly, officials of Iran have not allowed Muhammad Musa Khan, the son of Amir Muhammad Ya^qub Khan to proceed from Jam nor given him permission to return (to Afghanistan). They have shown him no special regard and have not given him more than one night’s worth of expenses as their guest.”

His Highness informed the governor of Herat, Sardar ^oAbd al-Quddus Khan, of the contents of St. John’s letter, and afterwards sent ^oAbd al-Latif Khan, the son of Mir Afzal Khan to Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Farah en route to exile. The governor then sent him on to be with his father in Tabas who was there until this point with Colonel Nur Muhammad Khan. Thus the penetrating world-building mind of the exalted one was freed of all disquiet caused by enemies.

The Insurgence of Sa^odu-yi Karukhayl, the Rebellion of the People of Najrab and Panjshir and their Chastisement and Punishment

When Sa^odu of the Karukhayl saw the royal entourage heading for Qandahar, he struck up a friendship with some evil-doers who were habituated to the crafts of thievery and highway robbery, and they began to assault and rob caravans of merchants and others. Because of his violence and tyranny, the Jalalabad-Kabul road was closed and travel over it for caravans and merchants was virtually impossible. Parwanah Khan, the police chief (*hāris*) of the capital, sent a force to Machalghu after consulting with officials of the prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, who had just turned nine years old and from this time on sat on the throne of government. This force destroyed Sa^odu’s fortress and brought back his property, retainers, and family to the prince. Sa^odu himself escaped into the Hazar Dirakht and Mangal mountain region where he conspired with the Hajji and Mangal maliks.

Once more he embarked on a course of highway banditry and began robbing caravans. Contingents of Sakhlu infantry commanded by Dust Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Akram Khan *ṣad-bāshī* were sent by the prince to garrison Tizin and the *manzil* of Jagdalak to protect the road and defend against Sa^odu and the Mangal and Hajji bandits.

Meantime Brigadier ^oAbd al-Rahim Khan fled from Kabul and Parwanah Khan at the prince’s order, sent riders in pursuit, but he was not apprehended. His property was confiscated by the diwan and his family were put under

surveillance. In a similar fashion, all the high court officials and army officers under His Highness Amir Shir °Ali Khan, without any particular order having been imposed on them by the king, began to decamp and leave the kingdom, some taking all their possessions and family and others leaving empty-handed.

Also in these times, the people of Panjshir having poked their heads out of the collar of insubordination at first rejected Ghulam Qadir Khan as governor there, but after the victory (of the amir) at Qandahar placed their heads under the farman without threat of an army being sent, and then along with the governor were treated with great respect by His Exaltedness, the prince, Habib Allah Khan. Placated and conciliated, they had returned to Panjshir. But at this moment, people of the villages of Pasha'i and Parab of Sih Darrah-i Najrab rebelled and came to blows with Mir °Abd al-Haqq Khan, the governor there. They wounded him but several of the Najrabis were taken prisoner by the men with the governor. Ultimately, /385/ they realized they lacked the strength and capability to maintain their resistance and so sought forgiveness for their misdeeds through the intercession of the Glorious Qur'an. Out of regard for the Noble Qur'an, they were forgiven. They surrendered their weapons to the government officials and became loyal and obedient.

During this time, Ja°far °Ali Khan Bayat collected 3,000 rupees from the Hazarahjat which were in arrears from the Tushqan Yil (Year of the Serpent) tax year, was honored by His Exaltedness Habib Allah Khan, and presented the prince with several of his own horses. The prince sent the horses to His Highness in Qandahar, appointed him (i.e. Ja°far °Ali Khan) to collect the back taxes from Kabul City and the region surrounding the capital, and heaped favors on him.

*The Seizing of Two Royal Artillery Pieces
from the Sons of Sardar Shir °Ali Khan Jaghuri*

During the aforementioned events, while His Highness was on the march from Kabul to Qandahar, Safdar °Ali Khan, Ahmad °Ali Khan and other sons, grandsons, and relatives of Sardar Shir °Ali Khan Hazarah who had been loyal to the late Amir Shir °Ali Khan, because they now feigned loyalty (to °Abd al-Rahman Khan), it became clear to officials of the throne that they had not truly set foot on the path of obedience but had their ears cocked to news of the victory or defeat of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan. Moreover, they had their eyes on the property of the weak and were seizing whatever they wanted. Thus if Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan were to be defeated (at Qandahar), they would be in the unruly Hazarah region (*yāghistān-i Hazārah*) where they would have access to substantial means. Although Shir °Ali Khan (Jaghuri's) brother, Baz °Ali Khan, admonished them against doing this and warned them about royal retribution, they paid no heed and continued doing whatever they felt like doing. This went on until the governor of Ghaznin, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan, petitioned by Baz °Ali Khan, sent his son to Jaghuri with 200 Sakhlu infantry, Tajiki tribal militia (*mardum-i ulūsi Tājikīyah*), the Hazarahs of Muhammad

Khwajah, Chahar Dastah, and Jighatu, and two artillery pieces. He marched there and captured two of the sons and the mother of Sardar Safdar °Ali Khan. Other household members, cousins, brothers, and relatives, escaped from Sangmashah and sought refuge with the people of Hazarah-i Pashah-i. The son of the Ghaznin governor then took Safdar °Ali Khan and his brother, Ahmad °Ali Khan, along with the mother and two of Safdar °Ali Khan's sons back to Ghaznin. He also took six mule guns which were from the royal arsenal and had been entrusted to their father (Sardar Shir °Ali Khan Jaghuri) by order of the late Amir Shir °Ali Khan, 350 rifles with ammunition, all of which the late amir had assigned to him; twenty mares, five mules, and thirteen camels which belonged to Mirza Habib Allah Khan *mustawfi* and which they were caring for. He also seized 1,748 breech- and muzzle-loading rifles with bayonets and cartridge boxes from the infantrymen of the late Amir Shir °Ali Khan's regular army which they had absconded with. These were confiscated from the Andari and Wardak men who had served in the regular army but at the time of the English invasion of the country had gone home. All of this was transported to Kabul and distributed to the new regular army.

During this time, the men of Nawruz Khayl-i Taraki, in alliance with some nomads named Malik Tuti, Malik Hukumat, Mir Wali Wakru, Shirdil, and Nur Allah, attacked the fort of Nakha°i in Hazarah-i Qarabagh at night and carried off seventeen women and girls living in the fort. In compliance with a farman from His Highness, issued in response to Hazarah complaints, the governor of Ghaznin took steps to redress the situation. He arrested three maliks of Nawruz Khayl who were the chief instigators and sent them to Qandahar. After an investigation, four women who had been sold in Qandahar along with two other women and a young girl whom Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan had bought, were re-united with their husbands and families by royal command. The other ten were never found.

Sayyid Mahmud Kunari, Muhammad Akbar Khan La°lpurah, and Others Turn their Faces from the Court of Justice and the Threshold of Authority

Also during the period when the royal retinue was en route from the *dār al-saltānah* Kabul heading for Qandahar, Sayyid Mahmud Kunari and Akbar Khan Mohmand La°lpurah stepped off the path of service and withdrew from obedience, and awaited to hear whether the great army which had gone to Qandahar would be victorious or vanquished. Although several farmans summoning them were issued and delivered via Sardar °Abd al-Rasul Khan, the governor of Jalalabad, these did not reach the ear of acceptance and, continuing to offer excuses, they failed to achieve the honor of an audience with His Highness. The family and children of °Ismat Allah Khan Jabbar Khayl Ghilja°i also turned their faces from the government and its welfare and with their belongings scurried into /386/ the uncontrolled mountainous regions (*jibāl-i yāghistān*). This disobedience was to their detriment; their fortress and real estate was completely confiscated by the diwan.

During this time, several one-*misqāl* rupees which had been struck and circulated at the “City of Victory” (*dār al-nuṣrat*) Herat with the name of His Highness, were sent by Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, and met the approval of the august personage. Notwithstanding the fact that the mint of Herat was producing gold coin (*sikkah-i zar rawāj yāfiāh*) and that there were enough customs duties and land taxes (*bāj wa kharāj*) being remitted to the treasury, by farman of His Highness, twelve thousand rupees from Turkistan, 40,000 rupees from the privy purse (*khizānah-i rikāb*) and 6,000 rupees which Sardar Muhammad Muhsin Khan had brought with him from Turkistan and handed over in Qandahar all were sent to Herat as a precautionary measure.

*His Highness Amir °Abd al-Rahman Returns
to Kabul from Qandahar*

As soon as His Highness was reassured about Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and his aimless and erratic movements, thanks to the above-mentioned memorandum from the Englishman, Col. St. John, he ordered four regular Kabuli infantry regiments, two regular Qandahari infantry regiments, 1,000 regular cavalry, an artillery battery and an appropriate arsenal to be stationed in Qandahar and named Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Tukhi to command the forces. He also summoned General Faramarz Khan from Farah to Qandahar and stationed him there along with General Shir Muhammad Khan Andari and General °Ali °Askar Khan Bayat. He appointed Mulla Yusuf Khan Rustaqi police chief (*kutwāl*) of the city and Mulla Sa°d al-Din Khan to report on what was going on in and around Qandahar and serve as qazi of the Shari°a Court for the region. On Thursday, the 24th of Dhi’l-Hijjah 1298/17 November 1881, the triumphal banners began to cleave the air toward Kabul and camp was made at Darrah-i Khwajah. At that stopping place, he issued a farman promoting Sardar °Abd al-Rasul Khan, the governor of Jalalabad, to the governorship of Qandahar—when he himself was not there—and instructing him to proceed there with all due haste. °Abd al-Rasul Khan’s brother, Sardar °Abd al-Ghafur Khan, was named governor of Jalalabad at the same time.

Mihrdil Khan and Rahmdil Khan, two of the king’s personal servants (*nawkarān*) who had stayed in Samarqand and then been allowed to leave by officials of the Imperial Russian government, arrived at Darrah-i Khwajah. There they were honored with the privilege of kissing the royal stirrup and each was favored with a position.

Mir Afghan, a messenger sent by Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, arrived from Turkistan with a letter of congratulations on the Qandahar victory. He was admitted to the royal presence and then given leave to return home. At that point, His Highness placed the felicity-increasing foot in the stirrup of moving forward.

The Events of 1299

On Friday, the second of Muharram 1299/24 November 1881, the arrival of the royal entourage having illumined Qalat-i Ghilja^oi, when it alighted at Muqur, Sayyid Faqir was named to replace Ahmad Jan Khan Tukhi as governor of Qalat and Fazl al-Din Khan was named governor of Muqur. At the stopping place of Nani the governor (*hukmrān*) of Ghaznin, Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan came to greet the amir and kiss the royal stirrup and was the object of royal favors. The royal entourage and imperial retinue now entered Ghaznin and the “plain beneath the two minarets” was ornamented by its arrival. During two days there, Sardar ʿAbd al-Rasul Khan, who had hastened from Jalalabad on receiving the farman appointing him governor of Qandahar, obtained the happiness of meeting the prince, Habib Allah Khan in Kabul, and set off for Qandahar now obtained the joy of kissing the royal hand. He related the stories of the evildoing and disobedience of Sayyid Mahmud Kunari and Akbar Khan La^olpurah, the flight of family and relatives of ʿIsmat Allah Khan Jabbar Khayl, and the confiscation of his property. He was then given leave to proceed on to Qandahar where he took up his duties as governor.

Moving on from Ghaznin, His Highness adorned Kabul with his arrival on the 22nd of Muharram 1299/14 December 1881. At the elegant arrival of the auspicious retinue, the princes Habib Allah Khan /387/ and Nasr Allah Khan, along with the heads of the army, the notables of the city, and all the leaders of the country who were in Kabul at the time welcomed the amir at the field (*maydān*) on the edge of Dih Mazang. His Highness dismounted before a very pleasing pavilion which Parwanah Khan had constructed of wood at the order of Prince Habib Allah and, in kind words, greeted and inquired after the health of the assembled worthies. From there he proceeded to the royal palace, which is the alighting place and threshold of divine munificence. Here he issued a farman concerning a loan of one lak 11,000 (110,000) rupees which he had borrowed from the traders of Qandahar and for which he had given them a letter of credit (*hawālah*) to be paid by the English authorities. The farman said that General Mir Ahmad Khan, ambassador of the God-given government (of Afghanistan) will repay (the loan) from the funds of that nation which it receives by treaty. Since the English had already handed over these funds to Mirza Mulla Abu Bakr Dih Afghani, an appointee of the God-given nation, prior to the arrival of the farman, the merchants of Qandahar, in accordance with the farman and a letter from the envoy, General Mir Ahmad Khan, received what they were owed.

*The Flight of Sardar Safdar ʿAli Khan and
Colonel Ahmad ʿAli Khan from Ghaznin*

Also during the month of Muharram, Safdar ʿAli Khan and Ahmad ʿAli Khan, the sons of Sardar Shir ʿAli Khan Hazarah who were under surveillance in Ghaznin, fearful because of their past actions, fled. The governor of Ghaznin ordered troopers to pursue them but they were not caught. A certain sayyid who was one of their companions and had stayed behind was arrested and the governor had him thrown off the ramparts of the Ghaznin citadel, the Bala

Hisar, to his death. Safdar °Ali Khan and his brother entered Hazarah-i Jaghuri and were taken into custody. Its governor, Dilawar Khan sent the two men back to Ghaznin along with some members of their families and some of their children who had been in hiding among the people of Jaghuri. Putting a guard over the retainers (*nawkarān*) and family of Sultan °Ali Khan, the son of Sardar Shir °Ali Khan, the governor now dispatched Sultan °Ali Khan and his brothers and Ahmad °Ali Khan, who had been sent back to Ghaznin on to Kabul at the order of His Highness. Safdar °Ali Khan and his family were given a place in Ghaznin. After awhile, Sultan °Ali Khan without permission and out of obstinacy (*khūd sarī*) went to Jaghuri and there sat and talked (*muṣāḥabat wa mujālasat*) with Dilawar Khan. The governor, unaware that Sultan °Ali Khan had come on his own recognizance, was induced through these talks and his persuasiveness to turn the people of Jaghuri against Baz °Ali Khan who had been assigned to befriend (*pahlūnīshīnī*) (and keep an eye on) the governor on the royal behalf. Thus the maliks of Hazarah-i Jaghuri began to petition the throne with complaints about the tyranny and oppression of Baz °Ali Khan. But due to the fact that the enlightening mind of His Exalted Highness was a mirror revealing the whole world and a touchstone to assay the good and bad, through the acuity of his mind he quickly disposed of the problem and ordered the governor of Ghaznin not to detain the relatives of Safdar °Ali Khan and Safdar °Ali himself in Jaghuri and Ghaznin any longer but to send them all to Kabul. Executing the command, he forthwith dispatched Safdar °Ali Khan and his family that was with him to Kabul. Sultan °Ali Khan, however, turned his back on the royal command and made for the district of Hazarah-i Pashah-i with his family and retainers.

On account of his friendship with Sultan °Ali Khan, Dilawar Khan was dismissed from the governorship (of Hazarah-i Jaghuri) and Muhammad Siddiq Khan Tukhi was honored by His Highness with the governorship. When he reached Sangmashah-i Jaghuri, Baz °Ali Khan, who had gotten hold of 120 rifles which belonged to the sons of Sardar Shir °Ali Khan and which they had not turned over to the government, sent them through him (Muhammad Siddiq Khan Tukhi) to the throne.

Despite the shameful and deviant behavior which he had witnessed on the part of the sons of Sardar Shir °Ali Khan, His Highness put no obstacles in the way of his royal favor towards them and commanded that they reside in Kabul and enjoy all honors and dignity.

*The Petition of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan
Regarding Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan and its Non-Acceptance*

In the course of these happenings, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor (*hukmrān*) of Turkistan, at the instigation and request of the governor of Herat, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, sent a letter to the throne requesting that the amir should give Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan free rein to conduct the affairs of government in the same way that he himself was allowed full

discretion so that whatever should be in the best interests of the government and to the advantage of the kingdom and what he deemed in his own mind /388/ to be right and good, he could implement and then inform His Majesty of what he had done. This letter did not find the ear of acceptance, however, and the amir issued a farman in reply saying,

“He does not have your rank and status. There is a great difference between your thoughts and his words. I consider you to be like me when it comes to common sense (*ḥusn-i raʿy*) and distinguishing between right and wrong for I have delegated the affairs of Turkistan to you. For other governors it is sufficient to their status that they report the right and the wrong (the good and the bad) of affairs to me and request instructions. They should not act on their own (as you may) which may be right or wrong.”

After receiving this reply, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan took away Mirza Sayyidal Khan’s title of *mustawfī* and gave him the title *sar-daftar* instead and notified His Highness of this by letter. Because of this letter, whose contents accorded with the amir’s wisdom-weighing nature, words of congratulations were sent.

“The kingdom of Afghanistan should not have an innumerable stock of *mustawfīs*. What is fitting is that the top clerks (*daftardārān-i buzurg*) be given the titles *sar daftar* and *sar rishtah-dār*. Henceforth the top chancellery officials in the provinces should be called by these two titles and the title *mustawfī* should pass from use except in the case of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan who will retain the title.”

The Arrival of a Letter from Makhdum Quli Khan Marwi

Also in this period, through a letter from Makhdum Quli Khan, the chief (*raīs*) of Marw, it reached the ears of the abundantly exalted one that he (the amir) should command, out of royal beneficence, that the region of Marw should be annexed to the kingdom of Afghanistan. In reply, His Highness wrote,

The district of Marw is remote from the presently constituted territory of Afghanistan. The people there must march in step with either Russia or Iran, according to the dictates of the time.

For that reason, these words are included in this history so that the world would know that the community of Muslims (*millat-i Islām*) whatever country they should be in, will never turn away from friendship and support for its co-

religionists. (But) they should also know that His Highness, Amir °Abd al-Rahman Khan, strove to extinguish these kinds of fires. Otherwise he would have been acting in accord with what the opinions of Muslims residing in other countries dictated and that would mean that not one day would pass without strife and fighting and would always leave the door of struggle and conflict wide open.

During this time, officials of Iran, at the order of Nasir al-Din Shah, moved Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and his entourage from Khwaf to Holy Mashhad and assigned a pension for him.

Also at this time, because of letters sent by Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, the governor of Herat, in which he told of the services and support rendered by Sardar Anbiya Khan Taymani, by the following letter [the amir] bestowed great honor on him:

In the nation of Afghanistan, you are the second person on the first tier. When you are present (second person) your word is only second to mine and when you are absent (third person) your simple word is the equivalent of the sworn oaths of others.²

As a result of this pride-conferring letter, Sardar Anbiya Khan reached the highest rung of esteem on the ladder of respect.

*Winning Over Sardar Ibrahim Khan Baluch
and Happenings in Sistan, Qandahar, and Herat During This Year*

Also during the above-mentioned events, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, governor of Farah, at the order of His Highness, undertook to win over Sardar Ibrahim Khan Baluch, first sending him messages pointing the way to the road of obedience, then sending Muhammad Akram Khan Babakr Khayl to him at Muhammad Akram's own request who believed he could persuade him and put his mind at ease. The governor gave him a message to carry that said he should not deviate from the path of goodwill but should submit to the path of obedience. (Sardar Ibrahim Khan) sent his son, Malik Khan, to Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan with appropriate presents and Yusuf Khan in turn sent him on to His Majesty. Honoring him with an audience and presentation of a robe of honor, he then was given leave and returned to his father.

After this, Muhammad Akram who negotiated Sardar Ibrahim Khan Baluch's swearing fealty, was now sent to Sistan by a manshur from His Highness to clear up problems there which had arisen between people of Iranian Sistan and the Baluchis and people of Chakhansur and other places who were subjects of Afghanistan and which had led to their raiding each others property

² RM: The text is couched in grammatical terms of the first person, second person and third person.

and livestock. He was instructed to consult with Amir ʿAlam Khan, governor of Qaʿin and Sistan and negotiate an end to the fighting and a return of the plundered property and to conclude a bilateral agreement that would ease the situation for the subjects so that no further strife and conflict would occur. So Muhammad Akram went to see Amir ʿAlam Khan and after settling the disputes and returning the stolen property of both sides he resolved the matter. Amir ʿAlam Khan in response to the friendly actions of the exalted monarch sent a merchant named Mirza Rabiʿ with suitable presents and gifts /389/ to the throne that is the refuge of the world. When he entered Kabul, the capital, he was granted an audience and then returned having been honored by the bestowal of a royal robe of honor. Due to such royal favors which win the hearts of fellow-countrymen and foreigners alike, Sardar Sharif Khan (Baluch) and Sardar Taj Muhammad Khan Baluch of Sistan turned their backs on Iran and came to Chakhansur with all their dependents and retainers.

Leaving their families in the care of Sardar Sharif Khan, his nephew, (brother's son) Darwish ʿAli Khan and Sardar Taj Muhammad Khan, accompanied by Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan who resided at Lash, went on to Qandahar. His Highness was apprised of the circumstances of the sardars via letters from Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Farah, and Mulla Yusuf Khan, the police chief (*kutwāl*) of Qandahar. He sent a farman to the governor of Qandahar telling him to provide Darwish ʿAli Khan with 1,000 rupees on behalf of the government and to give him leave to return to Chakhansur so that he may take care of his family responsibilities and then after winter is over pay a visit to the throne. Nothing was said regarding Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan of Lash but Sardar Taj Muhammad Khan was summoned to Kabul. After the execution of this order of His Highness and Taj Muhammad's being honored with the boon of kissing the sublime threshold, jealousy and envy attached themselves to the skirts of Amir ʿAlam Khan, the governor (*hukmrān*) of Sistan, and he began to scheme and conspire lest all the leaders of Sistan turn the face of hope to the refuge of security and peace, Afghanistan, and thus cause detriment to his conduct of affairs on behalf of the government of Iran. So he sent an Arabian horse as a present to Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Farah, and informed him of the misdeeds and injustice caused by Sardar Taj Muhammad Khan, who was, in fact, innocent.

Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan then sent a report of the misdeeds of Sardar Taj Muhammad Khan to court officials. Taj Muhammad was placed under surveillance in Kabul and a farman was issued to the governor of Qandahar telling him to send Mihrab Khan, the son of Sardar Taj Muhammad Khan, with his cavalry retainers, to Kabul in such a way that he should remain unaware because father and son were planning to lead an uprising in Sistan. In compliance with His Highness's command, the governor of Qandahar sent Mihrab Khan to Kabul.

Also at this time, the governor of Qandahar acting on the order of His Exalted Majesty, dispatched ʿAbd al-Hadi Khan, the son of the father-in-law (*khusurzādah*) of Sardar Mir Afzal Khan into exile in Iran.

Meantime, a certain Turkoman named °Aziz Allah arrived. He was an emissary from the Khan of Khwarazm, who had sent six horses as a gift congratulating His Highness on his coming to power. He now was sent home covered with honors, having been given a *khal°at* and other valuable gifts by His Majesty.

*Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan Returns from °Arabistan
and an Account of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan's Situation*

Also during these times, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, son of the late Sardar Khushdil Khan, returned from the circumambulation of Mecca the Illustrious, traveling by way of the port of Karachi and Shalkut. When he entered the district of Fushanj, reports from the news writers of that region reached the ears of His Highness and he issued a farman which said that, having wintered in Qandahar, in the spring he should present himself before the justice-instructing Presence. He gained the honor of an audience at the sublime court and was showered with royal favors.

Meantime, from letters sent by royal officials in Herat regarding the doings of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, the royal mind learned that the former had opened the gates of surplus funds to the general population. He had dispensed money to every Tom, Dick, and Harry (*har kas wa nā kas*) according to each one's whim. He had refused no one, had handed out robes of honor and other gifts, named inappropriate people to office, and had made every man an amir and every house a royal court.

On hearing of these ire-inducing doings, His Highness was extremely upset and on the 7th of Safar 1299 (29 December 1881) sent an admonishing manshur saying,

“You have only this much discretion when it comes to civil and military affairs. You are to expend the royal revenues of the province of Herat according to the procedures of government (*muwāfiq-i ḡābiṭah-i salṭanat*) and what is within the capability of the kingdom. Pursuant to official instructions about such expenditures, you are not to intervene where you feel a person is not receiving enough salary or emolument. In cases of loss or shortfall in anyone's salary or emolument. Other than investigating army affairs, assigning the military to certain missions, and investigating mistakes and crimes, you have no discretion in other matters, which belong to the royal personage. If you and other governors of the provinces were to decide on issues, make appointments, increase salaries, and promote the leaders /390/ of the army and the civil (bureaucracy), what is there left for us to do? No, you are not to overstep the bounds of the office of governor. If we were to put the reins of discretion into your hands you would soon (no doubt) establish Sardar °Abd al-Wahhab Khan, who is

an enemy of the nation, as governor of Farah, and Colonel (*sartīp*) Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, as one of your closest associates.”

Also on this day, Ahmad °Ali Khan Qizilbash, who was one of His Highness’s attendants, was assigned to Herat as chief of police (*kutwāl*) and a farman of dismissal was issued in the name of Ahmad °Ali Khan Tashqurghani, whom Sardar °Abd al-Quddus had named *kutwāl*. At the close of the farman, as an admonitory note, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, was instructed:

“If you conduct your affairs in accord with the instructions (*dastūr al-°amal*) which you have from me, well and good. If you do otherwise, this will be the cause of the destruction of the kingdom, for although your way of doing things imitates the procedures and rules of foreign nations it is contrary to the exigencies of the environment (literally: earth, water, and air) of Afghanistan. As long as matters accord with the instructions you receive, things will remain as they are. Otherwise, the ambitious and seditious will strive to see their desires fulfilled and if we fulfill them, it will cause the edifice of the government to be scattered to the wind. If they (think they can have their wishes fulfilled and) they don’t get what they want, then they will become angry. Consequently, unless a royal order is issued, you should consider yourself not authorized to act with discretion but rather simply as governor (*nā°ib al-ḥukūmah*)”

During this time, Turkoman renegade (*alamān*) horsemen raided the lands of Ghuriyan. The border guards, who were troopers belonging to Na°ib Sultan Khan Afshar and others as well as to Akhundzadah Nizam al-Din Khan, pursued the raiders and retrieved all the property and livestock they had made off with. They killed one of the *alamān* and took three others prisoner, taking their horses and weapons as well. Because of this incident as well as other incidents reported to His Majesty about the way Na°ib Sultan Khan was performing his service, a robe of honor made of Kashmiri wool (*abrah*) and a piece (*tāqah*) of Khalil Khani shawl cloth were sent to him by the hand of a certain Abu’l-Hasan. As for the bearer of the letter (reporting the incident), he too was sent back after being gratified with the display of much kindness and solicitude.

During this time, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, on instructions from His Highness, sent a letter to °Abbas Khan, the consul of Great Britain resident in Mashhad, to move Qazi Shams al-Din Khan, the son of Qazi °Abd al-Salam Khan, from Bakharz where he was living as a farmer, to a spot farther from the border of Afghanistan.

Also, as the result of a panegyric ode (*qaṣīdah*) which Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim, a Herati with the pen-name “Gawhari,” had composed for His Highness and sent to the throne, the amir bestowed on him one piece of Khalil-Khani shawl cloth and a permanent annual stipend of 200 Kabuli rupees for his

resplendent verses. He was thus flattered by this show of approbation from the “Caesar of perceptiveness.”

*His Highness Nasir al-Din Shah Issues an Order
About the Protection (ḥifāẓat) of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan*

During the aforementioned events, at the request of the English government, the Shah of Iran through Rukn al-Dawlah notified Nayyir al-Dawlah, the governor of Khurasan, by telegram to fix a sufficient stipend (*qarārī*) for the living expenses of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and his relatives who are guests of Iran and to be vigilant in watching the sardar’s movements so that he make no move towards Afghanistan and thus cause any disturbance. Due to this order, Mirza Yusuf, an employee of the God given government (of Afghanistan) having apprised Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, governor of Herat, about this order and also sent a copy of the contents of the telegram to verify what his letter said. He (Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan), with the intention of tying the threads of amity and unity between the God-given Government of Afghanistan and the Sublime Government of Iran, sent a letter replete with expressions of friendship and unity by the hand of Ahmad °Ali Khan, the *kutwāl* of Herat, with an escort of sixty-five horsemen. Nayyir al-Dawlah, the governor (*wālī*) of Khurasan, informed Rukn al-Dawlah of his message, and then at his order lavished honors on Ahmad °Ali Khan. After knotting tightly the threads of friendship and unity, he gave Ahmad °Ali Khan leave to return to Herat. The latter then drew up a memorandum of his talks with Nayyir al-Dawlah along with a report on the formal meetings with him that had taken place and drafted all of this as a small book and sent it to His Highness along with the following gifts: four and one-half *gaz* of Sultani broadcloth (*māhūt*), one bolt of fine Bajistani goat hair wool, a crystal waterpipe with a full array of accessories, one half *sīr* by Kabuli weight of *shūr-khisht*³ and seven *qatṭī*⁴ of Lanqah tea. These gifts were paid for out of his own pocket.

His Highness complimented and congratulated Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan who, as the architect of the edifice of friendship between the two nations of Afghanistan and Iran, had sent Ahmad °Ali Khan to Mashhad. On Ahmad °Ali Khan /391/ who had negotiated the terms of friendship between the two nations with the *wālī* of Khurasan in eloquent and elegant language, he also conferred a garment from the royal wardrobe (*malbūs-khānah-i khāṣṣ*) as a token of esteem. Of all the presents which Ahmad °Ali had sent him and which were all received with pleasure, he was most pleased by the Lanqah tea.

³ RM: *Shūr-khisht* (dried milk) is defined by Afghani-Nawis as “a kind of medication.” It is reportedly still used to treat constipation.

⁴ RM: It would appear that the Chinese unit of weight, the “catty” is being referred to here. See Hobson-Jobson, s.v. It might also simply mean ‘box.’

The Insurrection of the Turkman, Parsa, and Shaykh ʿAli Hazarāhs and the Murder of Several Government Officials

During the happenings recounted above, the Hazarāh tribes of the Turkman, Parsa, Mansur, and Bachchah-i Shadi rose up at the instigation of the Shaykh ʿAli Hazarāhs, and besieged their governor, Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan, keeping him under tight siege for several days. Then some of their tribal elders (*aqsiqālān*—“white beards”) through the mediation and intercession of Sayyid Riza, one of the sayyids living in Hazarāh-i Shaykh ʿAli, sought to make peace with the governor, though they still harbored malicious and deceitful thoughts. They sent him a message which said, “If some people come out of the fortress and reach agreement with us on the question of our taxes, then afterwards we will return to the path of obedience and come forward in peace.”

Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan, who was unaware of their duplicity, sent out to the Hazarāhs from the fortress of ʿAbd Allah Sultan where he was besieged, Mirza ʿAbd al-Hamid Khan, the chief financial officer (*sar daftar*) of the province and his son Mirza ʿAbd al-Rashid Khan who today is His Majesty’s (Habib Allah Khan’s) personal reader. He (Mirza ʿAbd al-Rashid) knew well the land tax assessment of those people as it was recorded in the tax register which he had with him. The governor also sent with them a colonel in the regular army (*karnīl-i nizāmī*), Salih Muhammad Khan; Nik Muhammad Khan, an assistant to the official in charge of the lead mine (*pīshkhidmat-i ḡabīṭ-i maʿdan-i surb*); and ʿAbd al-Ghani Khan. When they came out of the fort, they wanted to sit down somewhere with the Hazarāhs, begin talks, and open the register. But the Hazarāhs attacked them and shed the blood of four of them. Mirza ʿAbd al-Rashid Khan, whose allotted time on the earth had not yet expired, fled back to the fort while the others all perished.

After this assault, the Hazarāhs turned their attention to the fort whose occupants prepared their defenses. A fierce fight ensued after which the Hazarāhs withdrew and recommenced the siege, sealing all avenues of help for the besieged. This continued until His Highness ordered out the tribal levies (*mardum-i ulūs*) of Kuhdaman, Kuhistan, Ghurband, and Pamqan (Paghman) along with a regiment of the regular army and an artillery battery under the command of General Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan, son of the Amir-i Kabir (Dust Muhammad Khan) and Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, son of Sardar ʿAbd al-Ghafur Khan with orders to annihilate that wicked group. Thus they marched off, attacked, and killed many Hazarāhs. They captured 130 of the perpetrators of these ill-advised deeds including Sayyid Riza and brought them yoked and fettered back to Kabul. Through the inescapable decree of divine fate, there was an extremely heavy rain and the roof of their prison collapsed and eighty of the prisoners, as retribution for their actions, perished beneath the falling earth and wood. Those who survived, His Highness pardoned out of royal compassion and ordered them all, with their families, to go to Qandahar, and settle there as farmers.

Following the conclusion of this affair and the punishment of the Turkman and Parsa Hazarahs, the Shaykh °Ali Hazarahs, who were their accomplices in evil-doing, in a mutinous spirit, began to rob traders and travelers and so drew their necks from the collar of obedience to the throne. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan, dispatched an army from Mazar-i Sharif and a fierce battle took place. Samad °Ali Khan Farari, one of the leaders of the royal force, was killed along with several of its members and a number of the Hazarahs. Eventually, the Hazarahs, penitent, sought to save themselves. Slipping their heads into the noose of obedience, they came down from the mountain of ignorance. His Highness levied blood money of 10,000 rupees for Samad °Ali Khan and ordered Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan to collect it on receipt of the manshur. In light of the evil-doing of those misguided people, he collected 24,000 rupees and turned them over to the royal treasury (*khizānah-i pādshāhī*). He also took hostages, weapons, and a promise of service (*iltizām-nāmah*) from them. It was agreed that a bazaar would be established at Talah for the sale of necessities for caravans and travelers and that they would surrender to government officials any bandits and highwaymen. In times of need, they would also provide, like other subjects, beast of burden and irregular troops (*lashkar-i ulūs*). Moreover, should Sayyid Ja°far, their chief and leader (*ra°is wa buzurg-i īshān*) not come to Mazar-i Sharif if asked to do so, then they would be responsible for sending him with his whole family. As guarantors for these stipulations, (Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan) took °Abd al-Hamid Khan *ṣad-bāshī* and Muhammad Isma°il Khan, a Qizilbash, into custody and sent them, along with the *iltizām-nāmah* to the court. These things were viewed by His Majesty with considerable satisfaction.

Afterwards, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan settled the hostages in Mazar-i Sharif and handed over to the royal arsenal their confiscated weapons. The murderers of Samad °Ali Khan were discovered and put to death.

To the leaders of that errant people (*qawm*) who had not set foot on the road of villainy, /392/ His Highness paid homage by the bestowal of robes of honor. He appointed Sayyid Ashraf Khan governor of Hazarah-i Shaykh °Ali and sent him, along with a garrison of 200 Sakhlu infantry and the maliks, on whom he had conferred robes of honor, to Talah, located in Hazarah-i Shaykh °Ali. He ordered the royal army which had been assigned to chastise and punish that mutinous *qawm* back to Mazar-i Sharif and the people of Shaykh °Ali themselves sent Sayyid Ja°far there with his family.

The Joyous Celebration of the Circumcision of the Illustrious Princes and Other Events

Also during this period, at the command of His Highness, a royal festival (*jashn-i shāhānah*) was organized in the °Alamganj Garden. All the worthies and notables of the city and its environs attended this joyous celebration and found pleasure in hearing the playing and singing of Indian and Iranian musicians, and in consuming various delicious royal foods, drinks, and sweets. The city's poor

filled the purse of hope with the gifts of money which were passed out. The amir gave the order to proceed with the circumcisions of Prince Habib Allah Khan and Prince Nasr Allah Khan. The ʿulama and sayyids were honored with garments from the royal wardrobe and a large sum of money was expended on the affair.

During this time, Khudayar Khan, the Khan of Khuqand, who because of the Russian capture of Khuqand and their urging his son Nasr al-Din Khan and the people of Khuqand to oppose him, had been left with no option but to go to Orenberg, present his case to the ruler of Russia and to entreat him to return Khuqand to him. But his pleas being of no avail, he had been left with no choice but to stay there. After a time, fearful that the Russians might do him harm, by hook and by crook, he set out on the road of escape (*rāh-i hijrat*), crossed the Oxus River, and entered Mazar-i Sharif. From the (then) governor (*hukmrān*) of Turkistan, Ishik Aqasi Shir Dil Khan Luynab, he asked that he petition His Highness Amir Shir ʿAli Khan for permission to go to Kabul so that from there, after paying his respects to the amir, he could set off on the road to Mecca and perform cricumambulation of the holy House of God. The governor did as asked but since the amir at that time was in a state of hostility with the English and had harmonious relations with the Russians, he did not agree to the request but instead issued a farman giving him permission to go to Mecca by way of Iran. The khan did go, completed all the required ceremonies of the pilgrimage (*manāsik al-ḥajj*) and then returned incognito (literally, “in a change of clothing”) and settled in the village of Khwajah Kandi. There he spent his days in obscurity until His Highness, Amir ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan, added his luster to the throne of Afghanistan. At that point Khudayar Khan petitioned the throne through the mediation of the governor of Herat, accompanying his petition to Sardar ʿAbd al-Quddus Khan with a watch in a box (? *yak-qāb-i sāʿat*) who in turn forwarded them on to the court of His Majesty. Sardar ʿAbd al-Quddus Khan was advised to allocate Khudayar Khan a per diem of 83 and some Kabuli rupees from the state treasury beginning with the day he arrived and for as long as he decides to remain there. Should he show any interest in coming to the court, he should send him with all due respect by way of Qandahar.

But a few days after his arrival in Herat he was afflicted by a persistent fever and in order to change his environment and bring relief to his constitution, he moved out of Herat and went to Karkh to make *ziyarat*-pilgrimage at the shrine of Hazrat Sufi Islam. There he bade farewell to life and his grave was placed close to the resplendent tomb of the pure Hazrat-i Sufi. The structure (*ṣūrat*) of the tomb of the deceased (khan) was erected of brick and stone by royal order. A white marble tombstone was inscribed with the date of his death. Those with him were summoned to the court and then went to join the deceased’s survivors in Tashkand.

In similar fashion, Tuqtamish Beg, the brother of Baba Beg Shahr-i Sabzi came to Mazar-i Sharif from Tashkand. There he was received by Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan with a show of esteem as ordered by His Highness.

During this time, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, son of the late Sardar Khushdil Khan who, as previously recounted, had returned from Mecca, spent the winter in Qandahar, was summoned by His Highness, appointed governor of Ghaznin and took the place of Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan who was relieved of his duties and returned to Kabul. /393/

An Account of Sayyid Mahmud Khan Kunari, Akbar Khan La^clpurah, and Mir Bachchah Khan Kuhistani

During the above events, the brother of Akbar Khan La^clpurah whose rebellion with Sayyid Mahmud Khan Kunari against the felicity of the throne of authority was previously recounted, had now turned to the court seeking forgiveness. He also sought pardon for his brother, Akbar Khan's, not coming to the court saying, "Poison was poured in his mouth and he is unable to present himself to kiss the sublime threshold. He has, consequently, sent me to the court to say that after he recovers he will come and beg forgiveness for all his misdeeds and will press the forehead of humility on the ground of the threshold." Out of regal magnanimity, His Highness pardoned his shortcomings and sent him back to his poisoned brother with gladdened heart.

Also a petition now arrived from Mir Bachchah Khan Kuhistani who had turned his face from the royal felicity and fortune and had blundered into the wilderness of confusion. It voiced a desire for forgiveness from the misdeeds and leave to return to his native home (*waṭan-i aṣḡl*). It was delivered by Sardar ^cAbd al-Ghafur Khan, the governor (*hukmrān*) of Jalalabad. His Highness did not accept it however and issued a manshur of guidance to the governor saying, "We do not trust his words and apologies. He is lying and my view of it is that this is nothing but an attempt to mislead officials of the state. Beware of his duplicity and cunning for he is an enemy and should not be trusted." After the issuance of this manshur, Mir Bachchah entered the mountainous region of Shinwar and there launched an insurrection, as will be described—God willing—in due course.

Also at this time, as a result of a letter from Sayyid Mahmud Khan Kunari which reached the throne by the hand of an accomplice of his, Pir Muhammad, and which offered excuses that were worse than his sins, in response (the amir) wrote,

"During our private meeting at the house of my esteemed uncle, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, what was left unsaid about you and the other people of Islam? What satisfaction did you not then obtain? If you are a sayyid and a truly religious (*dīndār*) man, then holding fast to that same agreement, bond, and sworn oath, follow the path of upright Islamic behavior. Otherwise, follow the path of your own ideas."

After receiving this *manshur*, Sayyid Mahmud, the hem of whose heart was not cleansed of the impurity of temptation, incited the people of Shinwar in conjunction with (°Abd al-)Hamid Khan Mohmand, Mir Bachchah Khan Kuhistani, and Fayẓ Muhammad Khan Babakr Khayl.

When news of this uprising spread, orders and directives went out to the governor of Jalalabad from His Highness ordering him to drive Sayyid Mahmud from Kunar and Mir Bachchah Khan and °Abd al-Hamid Khan, the brother of °Ismat Allah Khan, from Shinwar by force with the assistance of a tribal force (*iljārī*). He was to act quickly lest they combine forces and compel the amir to dispatch a royal army. The governor first went without an army to Kunar with Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan hoping to lead the insurgents to the right path by persuasion. There he opened the doors of negotiation with Sayyid Mahmud. But talks had not made any progress when Mughul Khan Mohmand, an inhabitant of Rud Kamah-i Jalalabad, rose up because of Sayyid Mahmud's instigation, began to plunder the subjects, and so laid the foundations of an insurrection. At its outbreak, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and the governor of Jalalabad broke off attempts to persuade Sayyid Mahmud, summoned an armed force from Jalalabad to suppress Mughul Khan and set forth to punish him.

Sardar Muhammad Sulayman Khan, accompanied by his own horse and infantry and 900 Khugyani cavalry and infantry entered Shaki likewise having set out to crush Mughul Khan. With the arrival of the royal troops and tribal levies, Mughul Khan realized he had gotten himself into a very difficult position, fled into the mountains of ignorance, and joined up with Sayyid Mahmud Khan Kunari. When, the government representatives had, without a fight, earned a temporary respite from the affair of Mughul Khan, on the order of His Highness Sardar Habib Allah Khan, a son of the Amir-i Kabir who, along with Mirza Muhammad Tahir Khan and 100 regular cavalymen had been sent to Jalalabad to take care of business there and investigate its waterways (*mumayyizī rūd-hā-yi ān*), entered Lamqan, reviewed the Khugyani regular infantry regiment which was stationed there with the artillery and the Sakhlū infantry, paid their salaries, and then sent them to Kunar.

General Wali Muhammad Khan, also having left Kabul with a regular regiment to punish the rebels, halted at Jalalabad. Mir Bachchah Khan became apprehensive because of the arrival of the royal troops in Jalalabad and Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan's sending regiments from Kamah to Jalalabad and thence to Safid Kuh. So, with his accomplices, he fled the mountains of Shinwar for Tīrā.

At this time, Sayyid Mahmud became aware of the royal regiments leaving Kamah and marching towards Safid Kuh. Unconcerned about he infantry regiment and artillery sent from Lamqan to Kunar, he assembled the leaders of the Mohmand tribes (*tawā'if*) in order to expand the insurrection. He had yet to accomplish this when Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, governor of Lamqan, Mirza Muhammad Sharif Khan, and Colonel Payandah Muhammad Khan were dispatched with another regiment of royal troops, artillery, and a force of militia

(*lashkar-i iljārī*) to arrest /394/ °Abd al-Hamid Khan and the family and dependents of °Ismat Allah Khan who had taken refuge in Kashmand. They entered the mountains of Kashmand and a fierce battle ensued. Many on both sides were killed or wounded and °Abd al-Hamid Khan and the dependents of °Ismat Allah Khan, fearing the royal force, fled to Kulman. The people of Kashmand, who out of an Afghani sense of honor had sought to protect them and to resist the royal army, now felt remorse for their dishonorable behavior and approached the governor of Jalalabad, °Abd al-Ghafur Khan, to offer their allegiance. After he presented their case to His Highness and after His Highness approved his acting as mediator on their behalf, he fixed the amount of land tax they would have to pay, and told them not to allow the dependents of °Ismat Allah Khan to be in Kashmand. They then surrendered to officials all the weapons which the fugitives had left with them.

Sayyid Mahmud, frightened by the flight of Mir Bachchah towards Tira, the submission of the people of Kashmand, and then °Abd al-Hamid's seeking refuge in Kulman, sent two of his own sons, Sayyid Mas°ud and Sayyid Zakariya to the throne to seek pardon. They were both honored with admission to the royal presence and their apology on behalf of their father was accepted. Showered with kingly favors, they returned home via Kunar accompanied by Qazi Muhammad Hasan Khan Kirmani whom His Highness had appointed to comfort and reassure Sayyid Mahmud.

Due to his own character, Sayyid Mahmud was unable to embark on the path of obedience and he turned Qazi Muhammad Hasan Khan back; thus the latter was unable to achieve his object. His Highness, angered at such duplicity, ordered Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan to punish Sayyid Mahmud, Mughul Khan Mohmand, and Fayz Muhammad Khan Babakr Khayl and eradicate their evil. With the army and artillery under his banners, the field marshal headed for Mayyiti where the insurgents were and where they were flying the flag of wickedness. A sharp fight ensued; a large number of on both sides were killed or wounded but in the end, the rebels turned their backs to the fight and fled towards Bajawur. Reaching Miyankuli, they halted and waited.

During the battle, the field marshal's horse slipped on the rocky surface and fell on its flank on the rocks, crushing the field marshal's foot. Despite that, he did not even grimace and, after the rout of the enemy, returned to Jalalabad.

Mulla Amir Allah, son of Qazi Mir Jamal, who had rendered outstanding service in the battle was promoted to the position of *qāzī* to the Mohmand tribes. General Wali Muhammad Khan was appointed to command the garrison at Kunar; Sa°id Muhammad Khan and Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan respectively were appointed governor (*hākim*) and chief finance officer (*sar daftar*) respectively. Muhammad Bashir Khan was given the governorship of Shinwar and each went off to his jurisdiction (*maḥkamah*).

*Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan Sets Out to Conquer Maymanah and His
Negotiations with Dilawar Khan*

During the aforementioned events, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan decided to reduce Maymanah. In various gatherings and sessions he repeatedly referred to that city and its occupation and frequently expressed his ideas about conquering it. Dilawar Khan, the ruler (*wālī*) of Maymanah, who up to this time had not set foot on the path of obedience, learned of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's plans and with the thought of obtaining a full idea of just what he had in mind, he sent some precious objects of the province as a gift to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, accompanied by Ishan Khwajah and Awliya Khan. He also sent a cunning message to the effect that having forwarded his gifts to His Highness he should let him know whatever order His Highness should issue regarding Maymanah and he would see it carried out. Muhammad Ishaq Khan forwarded Dilawar Khan's gift as well as a letter of his own with six *pustīn* skins, two of which were Altai (*altā'ī*), two were qarakuḷ, and two were *qarsāq*⁵, along with six *qadāq*⁶ of tea paid on his own account accompanied by Colonel Mihr °Ali Shah Khan. Having been informed of Dilawar Khan's message, a *ḥukm* was issued to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan which said,

“It is understood from his gift and message that, having forestalled by such devices the proceeding of royal units to Maymanah, he would thus get his own affairs organized in order to raise a rebellion. If it is not to be understood thus, his (Dilawar Khan's) courier should be sent directly to the court so that by their words, the truth or falsehood of the *wālī* would be known then action taken with regard to Maymanah in accordance with the royal will.”

Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan sent the *wālī*'s courier to the capital and from the state they were in and from their words, the marks of duplicity and deceit were clearly evident. He gave them leave to return and in their wake he sent an addendum which he wrote in his own hand and sent to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan so that all subjects of Turkistan for their own part would write out a copy of this draft for Dilawar Khan as well as for the general populace of Maymanah so that perhaps he would put matters to rights and avoid bloodshed and battle. That is what is here recorded.

Our padshah, like his forefathers before him, having been governor and ruler and from olden times having striven—and is still striving—to make the kingdom prosper and to do right by the nation so that in this portion of time good works have resulted—and are resulting—from him as a consequence. One

⁵ RM: According to L. Z. Budagov, *Sravnitelnyi slovar' turetsko-tatarskikh narechii* 2 vols. (Sanktpeterburg, 1871), s.v., *qārsāq* is a kind of fox found in the steppe.

⁶ RM: According to Budagov, *Sravnitelnyi slovar'*, *qadāq* (= *qādāq*), is among other things a pound weight (*funṭ*) especially connected with weighing of nails.

of these (good works) is to free the kingdom of foreign influence (*millat-i bīgānah*). Another is strengthening and safeguarding the borders, so that, having fortified them all with troops, an impregnable barrier is created in the way of foreign nations in order that the kingdom of Islam, experiencing no injury from the depredations and violations caused by foreign influences, the honor (*nāmūs*) of the government and the nation (*millat*) is protected and shielded from unwonted occurrences (*ḥādīṣāt wa ṣādīrāt*), and he has rooted out and expunged those evil innovations of yore which were intolerable to the subjects. In the far corners of the land and in (all) the provinces, he has appointed to rule those people who turn their faces to God and their backs to tyranny and who consider the subjects as brothers and kindred, so that they conduct themselves with justice and our families and children live in tranquility. Moreover, he has made himself the bearer of the burden of authority, has sacrificed his own ease and tranquility, devoted himself to disseminating the religion and lets no time go by without the toil of work and without nurturing and cossetting the young and the old. So how can we ever release the grip of hope from the skirt of munificence of such a padshah and not stand bravely arrayed against his enemies? Consequently, whoever sets foot on the road of opposition to him, first having counseled them with brotherly advice we should invite them back to the highway of right guidance. But if they do not take the road of obedience and proceed into the valley of obstinacy, we will let sword's point and arrow's tip do the talking. We say this to you, the people of Maymanah, so that you accept the 'promoting and prohibiting' (*amr wa nahy*) of the padshah of Islam and you won't stray from the straight and narrow path of obedience. And that not allowing satisfaction in killing of Muslims, pillaging their property, and enslaving their families, you will join us in a covenant with, and submission to, the royal command so that together we may protect our kingdom and stay the hand of interference from our lives, property, and honor (*nāmūs*), not shedding each other's blood and not fighting each other. In any case, whatever the right-thinking padshah should command vis a vis Maymanah, you and your *mīr* should not turn from but should accept, for (if you do) we promise and solemnly vow that the the veil of your honor (*'izzat*) will not be torn asunder. But if not, then we swear before God that we will not stay our hands from pillaging your property nor our swords from spilling your blood as long as one of you is still alive so that there will be no need for a royal

lashkar nor any job for regular troops.

Having sent this draft to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, he wrote,

after you have a number of these drafted and get the people of Turkistan to put their seals on them, if they can't be distributed openly then they should be posted clandestinely in mosques, at road junctions, and along streets because when the people of Maymanah and its surroundings read these writings of the subjects of Turkistan if they have any understanding of what is good or bad, beneficial or harmful, words of advice will be enough and there won't be any need to use force.

On this point and regarding some other concerns as well, a manshur was issued from the court of His Majesty in the name of Dilawar Khan and the people of Maymanah. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan was instructed to send a message to them on his own behalf saying, "Here is a royal guide (*hidāyat-nāmah-i pādshāhī*) the radiant beams of which give you notice about peace and war and the consequences of obedience and disobedience" so that they should choose between the two and be hopeful about the consequence and results of their choice.

Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, after dispatching the manshur along with the numerous circulars which he had drafted, marched from Mazar-i Sharif, according to His Highness's order, with 4,000 regular horse and foot, artillery, and tribal militia (*aḥshām-i mulkī*) aiming to conquer Maymanah depending on the answer which came. He halted at Saripul. Sardar °Abd Allah Khan Tukhi, the governor (*ḥukmrān*) of Badakhshan and Qataghan likewise was ordered by His Royal Majesty to send 5,000 militia horsemen from those two provinces to assist Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. He had not yet assembled these irregular horse (*suwārān-i iljārī*) when Muhammad °Umar Khan Rustaqi turned his face away from the government and fled into Badakhshan where he joined Sultan Ibrahim Khan in insurrection. Because of the insurgency of these two men, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan held back from sending the horsemen to help Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and occupied himself with fighting the Badakhshanis.

Punishing and Chastising the Rebels of Badakhshan

The details are as follows: When Muhammad °Umar Khan Rustaqi joined forces with Sultan Ibrahim Khan Badakhshai and began a rebellion in Badakhshan, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan undertook to suppress the troublemakers and scattered them. Fearing for their lives, they fled to Bukhara. Because they sought refuge /396/ in Bukhara, His Highness sent a letter to the padshah there. Mir Musa Khan, agewbnt of the God-given (Afghan) government, who was stationed in Noble Bukhara as the official representative of the God-given nation, brought the letter to the attention of the padshah at Qarshi and was

received and treated with all due regard. In regard to the fugitives from Badakhshan explained in the letter from His Highness, his (Musa Khan's) mind was set at ease because the esteemed padshah of Bukhara declared that wherever they entered (his territory), he would summon those fugitives to Bukhara, prevent them from doing any more mischief, and keep them under close surveillance to forestall their making any move to become a source of insurrection and enmity.

On this side (of the border), Sardar °Abd Allah Khan arrested Mir Sultan Shah, Baba Jan Badakhshi, and Shah Yusuf °Ali Khan Shughnani who had been accomplices of Muhammad °Umar Khan Badakhshi in reaving and viciousness and sent them and their families to Kabul in chains. His Highness ordered Mir Sultan Shah and Baba Jan to go live in Qalat and the family and retainers of Yusuf °Ali Khan to remain in Kabul.

At this time, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan who, as mentioned above, had halted in Saripul, intending to take Maymanah, learned from a letter written by the mufti of the Shari°a Court of Maymanah about the situation of the *wālī* there—that he spent his days conspiring and would never set foot on the highway of allegiance nor would take the way of right guidance without the use of force and violence. In contrast to this letter of the mufti's, a letter from Dilawar Khan, the *wālī*, marked by deceit and guile, and brought by Ishan Khwajah and Turah Beg, also reached the eyes of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. He sent those two contradictory letters on to the throne.

His Highness had summoned to Kabul the khans of Herat and the mirs of the Hazarahjat, along with the leaders of Farah, Pusht-i Rud, and Afghan Sistan for the purpose of organizing matters saying that after arranging the affairs of the kingdom they would go with their horse and foot troops to Maymanah. He also notified Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan of this by manshur. The latter, as a result of this manshur, gave leave to return home to the emissaries of the *wālī* of Maymanah who were waiting for an answer to the above-mentioned letter. They went to Dilawar Khan and brought to his perceptive ears the story of His Highness's plan to take Maymanah, "Having assigned all the people of Afghanistan to Maymanah, he will not leave one dweller (*dayyārī*) in this land." Deeply disturbed by these words, Dilawar Khan sent a man to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan with a message saying,

We don't have the capability of housing the royal army here in Maymanah. We can't even acquiesce to a regiment being in Maymanah. But we would be able to accommodate ten or fifteen representatives of the government amongst us in order to tie the bonds of loyalty and obedience. In exchange, as security, we will send to Mazar-i Sharif several servants (*khidmatgār*) as *nawkars* from among the children of elders (*aqsiqālān*) along with a few households of notables (*a°yān*). Annually, we will hand over to government officials 20,000 tangahs in the form of land-tax (*kharāj*). Beyond this we will

not take on any other burden because we cannot (even?) accept responsibility for the Herat mail (*dāk*), but we will forward letters from Maymanah to Qal'ah-i Naw and Herat and from there to Sar-i Pul and Mazar-i Sharif. (We will do all these things) on condition that the *wālī* himself and his son be exempt from appearing before His Highness and Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and not be summoned to Kabul or Mazar-i Sharif.

Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan peremptorily dismissed his emissary with a message saying,

We don't think you're worth negotiating with. We consider these days of delay for the exchange of words and memoranda only permissible so that Muslim blood is not being shed during them nor the property of alien subjects being trampled and pillaged by the (royal) army. We have no other thought in mind than this. Immediately after this letter arrives you can expect the arrival of the victory-concluding regiments who will swiftly invade that place and will impose the reward for the wicked on them.

Since things had been brought to the point of mobilizing the army and the soft-spoken to lose control and resort to violence, of necessity (*nāchār*) Yuzbashi Shah Mardan Qul, hoping for the best, presented himself before Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and sought permission to go to Maymanah and persuade Dilawar Khan and the people of Maymanah to offer their allegiance, to impose an annual obligation on it of one lak of tangahs from the land tax on private property (*kharāj-i milk*) and to make °Abd al-Baqi Khan and his sons burnish their foreheads on the sublime shining threshold of authority. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan approved the *yūzbāshi*'s request and sent him from Sar-i Pul to Maymanah. There he laid the obligation on Dilawar Khan of paying the annual sum of one lak of tangahs. Of this total he came back to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan with 22,000 tangahs as well as ten households of elders (*aqsiqālān*) as surety and Turah Beg. He sent him a second time to Maymanah to collect the remainder of the imposed sum and bring back the son of the *wālī*. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan satisfied with this retired from Sar-i Pul to Mazar-i Sharif at the order of His Highness.

For his part, Shah Mardan Qul arrived in Maymanah and there at the request of Dilawar Khan and in conjunction with Turah Beg, drafted a letter to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan which said, "In fact, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan should be given the honor of going to Maymanah in place of the son of the *wālī*. Then, his son would go /397/ before the justice-dispensing Presence with his mind at ease."

At His Highness’s order, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan agreed to this and sent Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan with Awliya Khan, Isfandiyar Khan, and others to Maymanah. The *wālī*, apprehensive about (the consequences of) his own actions and in a continual state of mental vacillation, now refrained from sending his son and in apologetic and importuning tones appealed saying that he would send him at an opportune time and that he himself, after the return of his son and the payment of the agreed upon sum would present himself before the amir. This appeal, sent via the emissaries of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, met the approval of His Highness and Dilawar Khan was relieved of the anxiety that plagued his heart. To Mazar-i Sharif he sent 28,000 tangahs, which with the previously-sent money brought the total to 50,000 tangahs, along with three of his close confidants—Ishan Mirza °Usman Khan the son of Khalifat Allah Wirdi, Qazi Ni°mat Allah Khan, and Khalifah °Ismat Allah—and Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan’s emissaries, Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and Shah Mardan Qul. The rest of the affair of Maymanah would be left to another time.

Also at this time several Russians accompanied by a number of Bukharan Muslims entered Shughnan with the (declared) intention of making pilgrimage (*ziyārat*) to the sublime threshold of authority (the throne). Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Badakhshan, through intuition knew that their stated purpose was at odds with their secret desire which was gathering intelligence on the state of the government, the kingdom, and the subjects of Afghanistan. So he gave them permission to return to their own country by the way they had come. As a result of their return, a letter reached Sardar °Abd Allah Khan from Chernayesky, the man in charge of the borders (*sarḥadd-dār*) of Russia. It was accompanied by one of his underlings and, at His Highness’s order, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan without a word of explanation gave the man travel expenses and permission to leave.

Meantime, Muhammad °Umar Khan Rustaqi, at the time of his insurrection and flight—recorded previously—had sent a letter to Na°ib °Abd al-Shahid, Muhammad Nabi, °Ashur, °Ali Mardan, Lalah Amir Sarghalani, Ya°qub the night watchman (*mīr-i shabb*), Hatim Beg, and the elder, Tursum Badakhshi urging them to join his rebellion. But his letter fell into the hands of Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, all were arrested, and with their families and relatives were given a place to stay at Hazrat-i Imam. The sardar ordered Mir Sultan Murad Khan, the police chief (*ra°īs*) of the province of Qataghan, to keep them under close watch and supply them with food and clothing lest they go elsewhere and be the source of insurrection or an incident.

Also at this time, the same Mir Sultan Murad sent His Majesty three horses and a lion skin as gifts and some other valuable things as gifts to the illustrious princes and the virtuous lady of the harem. These were all accompanied by Yuzbashi (Centurion) Adinah Khan. Everything was well-received and brought pleasure. One piece (*tāqah*) of golden *langī* cloth and a long-sleeved garment (*chūkhah*) of gold brocade (*kimkhwāb*) were sent by His Royal Highness as a “robe of honor” to Mir Sultan Murad Khan by the hand of that same centurion.

*The Field Marshalship of Farāmurz Khān
And His Being Ordered to Herat from Qandahar*

On the twenty-second of Jumadi al-Ula 1299/11 April 1882, General Faramarz Khan who was stationed with the regular army in Qandahar was promoted by a benevolent decree from His Highness to the rank of field marshal and ordered to station himself at Herat. Eight items were added to the order as his instructions (*dastūr al-ʿamal*).

- 1) He should obey the governor as long as it was to the benefit of religion and the government and promoted the tranquility of the army and citizenry but in those matters where the opinion of the governor did not harmonize with his own thinking he should restrain the governor from acting and refer the matter to the court so that a decision on whose view was correct could be issued.
- 2) He should make the Turkistani, Herati, and Kabuli regular regiments that are in Herat become hopeful of royal favor by service to the nation.
- 3) He should train and discipline these three regiments and he should completely control their actions and behavior so that they will neither move nor stand still without his permission and command.
- 4) The entire army there has been commanded to recognize you as field marshal notwithstanding which they should not acknowledge your arbitrary appointing or dismissing of officials and rank-holders but in every case where a royal order is issued they should accept that with gratitude.
- 5) He should consider General Timur Shah Khan to be one with himself, and a friend, like two peas in a pod and in military matters to be his deputy.
- 6) Anyone of the officers of the Turkistani regiment whom he should notice violating military regulations /398/ should be reported to the throne so that the offender can be recalled to the capital.
- 7) Undertaking nothing on the basis of his own desire and whim or the plea of ambitious individuals, he should speak and listen only to the truth because if both the good and the false words of the field marshal should reach the royal ears as

if they were all the same how can he be considered credible?
And if heard with the ear of acceptance when in reality the
opposite were true, he would be put to shame and the cause of
a bad reputation in the world.

8) He should do nothing which, if it constrained Sardar °Abd
al-Quddus Khan, the governor of Herat, from carrying out the
job of governing, the latter would understand it as the cause of
his own dismissal. He should think of [°Abd al-Quddus] as the
civilian (*mulkī*) governor and himself as the military (*niẓāmī*)
commander.

Field Marshal Faramarz Khan went to Herat and in his wake, at the order of
His Highness, two laks, sixty thousand four hundred and thirteen Kabuli rupees
were dispatched from the Qandahar and Kabul treasuries to pay the salaries of
the Herat army.

During this time Mir Abu Talib Khan, the brother of Mir Muhammad
Husayn Khan *mustawfī*, obtained the honor of appointment by His Highness to
the post of *sar daftar* of Qandahar and on Thursday, the 8th of Jumadi al-Thani
1299/28 March 1882 he left Kabul for Qandahar.

*Punishing the Nurza'i Tribe of
Dihrawad and the Hazarahs of Suhbat Khan*

Also during the abovementioned events, the Afghan Nurza'i of the district
of Dihrawad and the Hazarahs of Suhbat Khan who had not brought their heads
into the fetters of obedience to the royal farmān and were also the instigators of
certain matters which the authorities could not tolerate now set foot in the valley
of ignorance and strayed from the path of farman-acceptance despite cajoling
messages from the governor of Qandahar, Sardar °Abd al-Rasul Khan. They
refused to obey Ahmad Shah Kulangari who was sent to administer Dihrawad
by the governor of Qandahar. They wrote a complaint of their dissatisfaction
with his governorship to the governor of Qandahar and he, who thought it best
to gain the obedience of the Afghans of Dihrawad without fighting, dismissed
Ahmad Shah Khan, and ordered Nazir Wali Muhammad Khan to go there.

He also sent Sartip °Azm al-Din Khan with his *khāṣṣahdārs* and a few other
officials to the district of Hazarah-i Suhbat Khan and told him to do the best he
could using words of persuasion to bring the people there into obedience. But if
that were not possible, to resort to force. On the heels of °Azm al-Din, he
dispatched a regiment of regular infantry, three cannons, and a number of units
(*bayraq*) of Sakhlu infantry to Dihlah so that perhaps the people of Hazarah-i
Suhbat Khan, awed by the imposing size and might of the royal army would
embark on the path of obedience. Thus it was that the Hazarahs were frightened
by the arrival of the government force (*lashkar-i dawlati*) in Dihlah and sent a
number of their leaders—Muhammad Rasul Khan, Yusuf Sultan, °Ali Akbar

Khan, Sharbat Sultan, °Ali Afzal Khan, Na°ib Zuwwar, °Ali Gawhar, Qurban °Ali, Muhammad Husayn, Nik Muhammad, Muhammad Karim, and others—to tender their obedience to the governor of Qandahar. A number of others, who nurtured thoughts of opposition in their hearts, did not set off for Qandahar on the pretext that they were getting provisions together for the trip. Harkening to the noise coming from the Afghans of Dihrawad, they turned their minds to the leaders who had come to Qandahar to greet the governor so that whatever advantage or harm should revert to their state of affairs, having gained some experience from it, they would be able to choose what would be of most benefit to them.

During this the Afghans of Dihrawad, for whom obedience to the king was an unpleasant prospect, found themselves also unhappy with their new governor, Nazir Wali Muhammad Khan, and they wrote of his oppression and injustice to the Qandahar governor. He in turn sent Ahmad Jan Khan, the brother of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Tukhi, who after his dismissal as governor of Qalat had come to Qandahar to be with his brother, to Dihrawad with a sizeable force of Qandahar militia in order to give guidance to any of the governors or citizens who were doing wrong. After arriving in Dihrawad, he observed that the Afghans of the Nurza°i tribe living there were acting contrary to the norms of religious and state law and with gentle and kind words advised them to mend their ways. He brought back a number of their leaders with him to Qandahar to give them assurances so that whatever the governor of Qandahar should decide vis a vis their [fiscal] affairs they would see it was carried out and not give one iota more to the government. The governor of Qandahar obtained a covenant (°*ahd-nāmah*) from them in which they tendered their obedience and foreswore opposition to the authorities and then gave them leave to return home.

This came to the ears of His Highness through the reports of the Qandahar newswriters and he was not pleased at the outcome. He accused the governor, Sardar °Abd al-Rasul Khan, of making a mistake and wrote him,

You have erred because by giving you a covenant, they have saved themselves from danger. Short of violence and brute force they will never truly submit and be obedient.

Just as the world-mirroring enlightened royal mind had discerned, hardly had those foolish plotters of disruption set foot again in Dihrawad then they rose in rebellion /399/ and set forth on the road of rebellion. They joined forces with those from Hazarah-i Suhbat Khan who had listened to the sounds of tumult and rebellion coming from Dihrawad and shot dead Nazir Wali Muhammad Khan, the governor, the nephew of Majid Khan, and Muhammad Jan Khan Nurza°i. At this, the force that was in Dihlah set off for Dihrawad with written orders from Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan which he sent from Qandahar and engaged in fierce fighting. After the killing and wounding of many of the Hazarahs of Suhbat Khan, whose leaders, as was noted above, had come to Qandahar to tender allegiance and who were still there now they withdrew from the field of

battle and strife, sought refuge with the *ṣāhibzādahs* of Dhakird, and stayed safe from harm through the protection (*bi-taṣḍīq*) of the *ṣāhibzādahs* there.

The Hazarahs, who had joined forces with the men of the Nurza'i, were exhausted by the struggle with the royal force and were forced to put their heads under the farman. They agreed to pay 50,000 rupees as a fine and thus were granted safety for their lives. Out of kindly favor, His Highness returned 25,000 rupees of the total to them and the remaining 25,000 was remitted to the treasury. They also turned over those who had fomented the trouble. Then, Jan Muhammad Khan who had been sent by the royal personage to investigate the affairs of Qandahar and the oppression and arbitrariness of its governor and who had arrived by this time, with the consent and approval of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, Mir Abu Talib Khan *sar daftar*, and Mulla Yusuf Khan *kūtwāl*, appointed Sahib Khan 'Aliza'i as governor of Dihrawad and sent with him as his assistants Majid Khan and Muhammad Jan Khan Nurza'i who had been loyal (rendered services) and whose nephew had sacrificed his life in serving the throne, along with Fayzu Khan, Fazlu Khan, and Muhammad Yusuf Khan. He gave the Hazarah leaders mentioned above whose loyalty had remained constant one robe of honor (*yaksar khil'at*) each and dispatched the whole group together to Dihrawad. Sahib Khan, the (new) governor, arrested the leader of the fomenters, Na'ib Akram, who to this time had not been captured, sent him to Qandahar, and from there he was dispatched to the capital.

*The Situation of Fath Allah Bik Firuzkuhi
and Mir Sulayman Bik Hazarah-i Day Kundi*

During these events, it reached the ears of His Majesty from the reports of the news writers and officials of Herat, the "House of Victory," that "Fath Allah Bik, chief of Firuzkuh, has not up to this point taken the path of submission but from ignorance has abandoned his home and chosen refuge in the mountains of evil. Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan, governor of Herat has established Sardar Sa'id Muhammad Khan and Sardar Bahram Khan both of whom were continually lying in wait for Fath Allah Bik in his place as chief of Firuzkuh." His Highness approved this action of Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus and issued a tamgha of commendation (*tamghā-yi iftikhar*) in the names of those two sardars. On hearing of this manshūr, Fath Allah Bik was envious and after spending some time in humbling circumstances, like a wild beast wandering the mountains and rocks, remorseful, he took the path of repentance and through the aforementioned Sa'id Muhammad and Sar Buland Khan he wrote a petition containing a plea that his shortcomings be forgiven, sent it to Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan and he passed it on to His Majesty. He also sent Khwajah Nur Allah Khan to Fath Allah Bik by way of reassurance and conciliation and Fath Allah Bik then sent his son, NAYaz Bik, to Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan in the care of the khwajah and promised to come himself at a later time. Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus, in accordance with a farman of summons which, as mentioned previously, had been issued in Jumada al-Thani to the leaders of Herat and other

provinces, now sent the boy with the khans of Herat to Kabul. Fath Allah Bik, whose heart was not much inclined to submission, seeing his son sent off to Kabul was even more driven into the valley of ignorance and proceeded to fan the flames of rebellion amongst the people of Chaqcharan. Having caused conflict among the people of that place, twelve of them were killed or wounded. In the end, Fath Allah Bik, lacking the capability to persevere, fled into the wastes of fortune's reversal and the desert of obscurity. His son, NAYaz Bik, was consequently ordered to reside in Kabul and was placed under surveillance.

Meantime, Mir Yusuf Bik Hazarah of Day Zangi, who was a rival and tribal enemy of Mir Salman Bik, a Hazarah of Day Kundi, the latter not yet having stepped off the path of ignorance and embarking on the road of obedience to the king, several times attacked him. In the end, Qadir Khan, nephew (brother's son) of Na'ib Sultan Khan Afshar, who had gone to his paternal cousin Muhammad °Alam Khan, now at royal command gave assistance to Mir Yusuf Bik and besieged the fort of Mir Salman Bik. Though bound in the tight constraints of the siege, the fort had yet to be taken when Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, governor of Herat, petitioned the throne for permission to send a lashkar from Herat to Day Zangi. His Highness, who did not approve of the shedding of the blood /400/ and the destruction of the property of his subjects, even when they had not put their heads under the farman, refused permission to Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan to send a lashkar. He suspended the order to chastise and punish Mir Salman Bik and changed it to one of merely giving him advice. Thus the amir summoned to Kabul Muhammad °Alam Khan Afshar, governor of Day Zangi and Day Kundi along with the leaders of those two tribes (*ṭā'ifah*) who were already on the path of allegiance and service, men like Muhammad Amir Bik Ilkhani, Husayn °Ali Bik, °Ali Jan Bik, Qasim °Ali Bik, Yazdan Bakhsh Bi, Muhammad Hasan Bik, Hasan Bik, Sayyid Riza Bakhsh, Murtaza Bik, Ibrahim Bik, and Qanbar °Ali Bik, and all were the recipients of royal largesse and treated with esteem and honor.

Of this group, Muhammad Hasan Bik, who had refused a royal command concerning the handing over of some farmland to one of his fellow tribesmen, was prevented from returning home and was ordered to take up residence with his family and entourage in Kabul. Three or four of his sons and grandsons were appointed to serve in the regular royal cavalry and as attendants at the court which is the axis of justice. He dispatched Muhammad °Alam Khan, at his own request, to his father Na'ib Sultan Khan Afshar in Herat and in his stead honored Muhammad Sa'id Khan Fushanji with responsibility for the governorship of Hazarah-i Day Zangi and and Day Kundi and sent him there with the aforementioned mirs. At seeing the bestowal of such favors, Mir Salman Bik became envious and came forward to profess his allegiance with gifts and presents, was honored with the happiness of kissing the threshold, and became the object of kingly favors.

The Arrival of Husayn °Ali Khan, Emissary of the Vice-Regent

*of Khurasan and Mir Muhammad Ayaz Khan, Emissary of Amir
°Alam Khan*

Also during this period, Husayn °Ali Khan, emissary of Rukn al-Dawlah, the viceroy of Khurasan, came to Herat because of 1,500 sheep belonging to the Qara'i people which twelve men from Farah had stolen and requested their return from Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan. He in turn informed the throne and a royal hukm was issued in the name of the governor of Farah, Muhammad Yusuf Khan telling him to take custody of the stolen sheep and return them. In accordance with the royal decree, he took the sheep and the thieves into custody and sent them to Sardar °Abd al-Quddus in Herat. He executed one of the thieves, incarcerated the others in Herat Prison, and returned the sheep to Husayn °Ali Khan.

During this, Mir Muhammad Ayaz Khan, envoy from Amir °Alam Khan Qa'ini, also arrived at the Herat court (*darbār*) and asked Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan to forgive the taxes on land in the village of Kulli Kurd Barat belonging to Amir °Alam Khan which amounted to 1,380 qiran rupees. He, as dictated by a royal decree issued in response to his own request and using a form for forgiving and exempting taxes, registered this in the Herat Accounts Office. From his own pocket, he bestowed robes of honor on the two emissaries and gifts appropriate to the status of the viceroy and Amir °Alam Khan and with all due respect and esteem gave them leave to return home.

Meanwhile, Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and Muhammad Isma'il Khan earned the honor of kissing the threshold of authority. They were the sons of Hajji Husayn °Ali Khan, a merchant from Turbat-i °Isa Khani who, in 1285 H. (1868–69) as was recounted in volume two of this embellished book, rendered His Highness a well-deserved service when the latter was on his way to Mashhad through that region. In repayment for the hajji's favor, His Highness honored his sons and from that time (1299) until now which is 1332 H. (1914) and the time of writing this auspicious book, those two sons and the grandsons (*nabīragān*) of the hajji make pilgrimage (*ziyārat*) every year to the shining threshold of this sultanate and take away more than one lak fifty thousand rupees; and they continue to come and continue to go away with that sum.

Also during these days, a Russian named Lessar entered Ghuriyan on a spy mission. The border commander (*sarhadd-dār*) there, Akhundzadah Nizam al-Din Khan, met him and allowed him to cross heading for Khwaf. This reached the attentive ears of His Highness in a report from Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan. When he learned that the akhundzadah had considered the Russian an official emissary and so had let him pass, it was the occasion of royal chastisement. A manshur of admonition and reproof was sent in his (Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan's) name which said,

You've blundered and made a grave mistake giving a stranger leave to cross the border without our express order and permission. We have sent you letters numerous times telling

you not to give anyone the opportunity to cross the border of Afghanistan unless they are the bearers of letters, for example as emissaries of the Khan of Khwarazm, the viceroy of Khurasan, and the amir of Qa'in. In such a case, they have come to according to the appropriate protocol, have been received with all due regard, and /401/ then returned home. You don't seem to be smart enough to understand that if he was an envoy and he didn't consider you worthy of being shown appropriate credentials or worth negotiating with then he should have been coming to us in Kabul not from Herat but by way of other cities. You've been negligent in thinking him an ambassador. What are his letters and his message? And with whom is his business? Anyway, since you obviously have no sense, the cunning Akhundzadah Nizam al-Din has bypassed you and so has thrown your credibility out the window in such a way that our high-minded advice and virtuous efforts are unable to clear the dust of stupidity from the mirror of your mind with the burnisher of chastisement. All I want you to understand is this: from now on, no Russian has permission to set foot on the soil of Afghanistan. If he should be carrying credentials then he should stop at a point on his side of the border and send a letter and the credentials so that he can get an answer to the letter and then return from the place where he has halted. Otherwise, he should be told, 'we don't have permission from our king to let anyone without credentials cross the border.' Obviously, once having heard this and having been stopped he will return by the way he came. From the reports of the akhundzadah who has taken the reins of decision-making into his own hands and has provided the basis for the Russian Lessar's crossing the border, one could say that you've acted disobediently, without having a farman, so that no trust in you regarding border-control matters remains. Therefore, except for civil matters—the assessing and collecting of land taxes and other revenues, and the adjudication of problems involving the civilian population—you should handle nothing else. We cannot allow you to intervene in matters you know nothing about and the consequences of which you do not understand. A sincere wish (to do the right thing) is one thing but understanding and perspicacity is something else again. From now on you are not to involve yourself in the arsenal, nor the salaries paid to the regular troops, nor the quartermaster's stores but should defer in all these matters to Field Marshal Faramarz Khan to whom we have entrusted them. We appoint Na'ib Sultan Khan Afshar as border commander of Kuhsan and Ghuriyan and

assign all the Herat cavalry to serve under his banner, as well as two mule guns and 100 regular cavalry so that as commander of all the mounted troops of Herat, he can devote himself to the affairs of the border and marchlands. The end.

Akhundzadah Nizam al-Din was dismissed from his post as border commander and ordered never to go to Ghuriyan nor meddle in the administration of the city. Also, thanks to the reports of Sardar °Abd Allah Khan Taymuri who had written about the shortcomings of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan's handling of affairs and which had reached His Highness's ears, he was named to audit the accounts and conduct an inquiry into Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan's activities pertaining to government administration. His Highness assigned the field marshal to confiscate gains made from any treasonous activity.

The Evildoing of the Mangal and Some of the Leaders of the Country who Promoted Illwill in People's Hearts and a Desire to Rebel Being Ordered to Take up Residence in Kabul

During the above-mentioned occurrences, the men of the Isma'il Khayl of the Mangal joined up with Sa°du-yi Karu Khayl who as mentioned earlier had turned his face from the government and good fortune (*dawlat wa sa°adat*) and fled to the mountainous region of the Mangal, and began an insurrection. They attacked Sahibzadah Mir Aqa Khan, governor of Khust. With the help of the Jaji men and the subjects of the Khust region, he responded bravely and drove back Sa°du and the Mangalis and drove them into the mountains. Because of the inaccessibility of the mountains, the Mangal's hand was strengthened and they fought fiercely. Among the rebels, the men of Aspinkand strongly resisted the Jaji fighters and killed thirty of them, losing sixteen of their own. Eventually, the Jaji lashkar forces, realizing that it was going to be very difficult to enter the Mangal mountains, returned to their homes. When His Highness learned of this rebellion from the governor of Khust, Sahibzadah Mir Aqa Khan, he sent a regular regiment from Kabul there with an artillery battery and a militia force (*iljārī*) of men from the surrounding area. The Mangals, frightened at the imposing presence and might of the royal regiment, sent a Qur'an and some white-haired women of theirs to Sahibzadah Mir Aqa. They were granted security on condition that they hand over Sa°du and promise not to rebel again.

The Mangal business had not yet been settled when the people of Khust rose up, refused to hand over the government taxes, and set out on the road of rebellion. Sahibzadah Mir Aqa Khan with the regular regiment and the artillery battery set out to punish the evildoers and got into a fight with the men of Sabri Khayl. He prevailed, killing, wounding, or capturing seventy of them. At sword's point, he rendered them obedient and collected all the outstanding taxes.

During /402/ the fighting, Sa°du, seizing the opportunity, sent a large sum in the name of hospitality (*bi-ism-i mihmānī*) to the people of Chamkani hoping

to provoke them to join his uprising. But they did not accept it and the arrow of his pretensions missed the target of his desire. In the end he fled, his nephew was captured and put to death by being thrown off a cliff.

Meanwhile, the majority of the 1,500 leaders of the country who were summoned to the capital as mentioned above during the account of Dilawar Khan, Mir of Maymanah, having been favored with an audience, the bestowal of robes of honor, and the assignment of salaries and stipends for each man and horseman they were responsible for, received permission to return home. A few, like Gul Muhammad Khan of the Jalalza'i Andari tribe, °Abd al-Qadir Khan, a Tajik of Ghazni, and others, on the forehead of whose natures the marks of rebelliousness showed plainly, were ordered to reside in Kabul. Similarly, a number of leaders from Herat, Farah, Qandahar, and other places, at His Highness's command, took up residence in the capital to serve the court. Among them were Brigadier Mir °Ata Khan, Muhammad Khan Nizam al-Dawlah, Muhammad °Umar Khan Nurza'i, Muhammad °Umar Khan Barakza'i, and Sa'd al-Din Khan the *qazi* of Qandahar, who, as required by the august order of His Majesty, had left his son Mulla °Abd al-Shukur in charge of the judgeship there. Among the Hazarahs, Ghulam Muhammad Khan, the son of Rajab °Ali Khan, was honored with the rank of "one hundred cavalry" (*ṣad suwārī*).

During this time, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, in accordance with the royal farman, was engaged in rooting out the supporters and well-wishers of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, and put heavy pressure on them all to leave the country. A number of the military supporters (of Ayyub) took refuge (*bast*) at the shrine of Khwajah °Abd Allah Ansari. One of them, Dad Muhammad, would not give himself up and managed to escape. Another one was Sayyid °Azim Shah who was in hiding and engaged in inciting the people. Out of regard for his being a descendant of the Prophet, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan had not punished him, and when the Herat news writers brought this to the attention of His Highness, he issued a *manshūr* to the sardar saying,

"You have no sense of discrimination and you can't tell the good from the bad. You are not (even) informed about those who are fugitives and those who incite to riot. When you are questioned, you report that they are being expelled. Beware. You must recognize (the danger of) Sayyid °Azim Khan and give him no opportunity. In these matters, whenever you appoint or dismiss someone, it is always a mistake. When you write to praise or denigrate someone, it is through ignorance and stupidity. From now on you are not to give one rupee to anyone and in all discretionary matters you are to consider yourself without any authority. For everything, in whole or in part, you should request instructions because due to God's unparalleled blessings the authority over a vast population of his worshippers has been placed in my hands. Like (other) padshahs, I am not a witless voluptuary or leisure-seeker who

considers hard work troublesome, is always uninformed about the state of affairs of my authority and kingdom, and fails to preserve, protect, and safeguard what has been entrusted to me by God. I (consider myself) included in the last part of the following:

For a king who attends to the protection of his flock
Let the kharaj-tax be licit, like the wages of a shepherd.
If he is not the shepherd of all the people, let snake venom be
Whatever he consumes, it is (tantamount to assessing) jizyah a
on a Muslim.

Should you ask for guidance and instructions on a thousand matters, you will (always) hear a fitting and worthy answer corresponding to the rules of governance and you will never see any delay in response.

An Account of the People of Katawaz, Kharuti, Sulayman Khayl, Nasiri, and others

During these recorded events, due to a longstanding enmity which they nurtured in their breasts, the people of the Sulayman Khayl and Kharuti came to blows. The Sulayman Khayl attacked the home grounds of the Kharuti and made off with many of their sheep and camels. They also killed six cameleers and shepherds. The Kharuti men of Sar-i Rawzah immediately blocked the retreat of the Sulayman Khayl and forcibly recovered their camels and sheep. In the process, they killed one hundred and twenty of the Sulayman Khayl while losing forty of their own. Because of this incident, His Highness summoned the leaders of the two tribes to Kabul and arbitrated a settlement of their hostility. After extracting a pledge from them to pay two years worth of taxes which up to this time they had not handed over, he permitted them to leave. With them, he sent Samandar Khan to collect the tax revenues and to restore the plundered property of the two tribes /403/ and instructed him to carry out these referenced matters with the approval of Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor (*hukmrān*) of Ghaznin. He (the governor of Ghaznin) thereupon assigned his brother, Sardar Shirin Dil Khan, to the task. Sardar Shirin Dil Khan met with Muhammad Rahim Khan and Sayyid Faqir Khan, the governors of Kalat and Muqur respectively, in Muqur and together they all set out for Katawaz. But they turned back en route when they learned in a letter from Samandar Khan that he had reached agreement with the people of Katawaz, the Kharuti, and the Sulayman Khayl and that their leaders would go to Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan in Ghaznin and in accordance with his recommendation would pay the taxes and restore the stolen property and livestock to their rightful owners. Having reached Ghaznin in compliance with their agreement with Samandar Khan, the leaders of these tribes promised to pay the two years taxes and make restitution of what

was stolen and then returned home. But when they reached home, they disobeyed and reneged on their agreement, an account of which will come in due course.

Meantime, Mir Yazdan Bakhsh, the son of Mir Safar Quli Khan, a Hazarah of Behsud with ties of marriage and blood to the sons of Sardar Shir °Ali Khan Jaghuri, was in Kabul with these sons (of Sardar Shir °Ali Khan) who as mentioned earlier had been ordered to make their residence there with their kinfolk. Mir Yazdan Bakhsh somehow had received permission to return to Kur °Ulyad his home but there he had drawn his head through the collar of disobedience. At the order of His Highness, Muhammad Husayn Khan, the governor of Hazarah-i Behsud, had taken six hundred Sakhlu infantry, two artillery pieces, and the militia (*iljārī*) of Hazarah-i Behsud and besieged Mir Yazdan Bakhsh in his fortress. The mir, seeing he lacked the means to resist, exited the fortress at night with his brother, Sa°id Muhammad, and some retainers, escaped to Sihpay Hazarah-i Day Zangi and took refuge with Muhammad °Azim Beg son of °Ali Zahid who had not bowed his head beneath the royal farman. Muhammad Husayn Khan then captured his two forts, arrested seven of his brothers and nephews who had refused to flee with him, and sent them to Kabul. He assigned forty of the Sakhlu infantry to guard the forts. Because of this, the people of Wasi Muhammad Hazarah-i Jarghi who also had ascended to the summit of foolishness and consequently had their forts burned to the ground by a royal regiment, returned in repentance and took the path of obedience. The regiment and artillery which had been ordered from Ghaznin to punish Mir Yazdan Bakhsh now turned around and went back to Ghaznin.

Meantime, the Sih Dastah (the “tri-partite”) Hazarahs of Jaghuri—the Pashah-i, Shirdagh, and Qalandar tribes—who had strayed into disobedience and insolence, through the guidance and persuasion of Baz °Ali Khan, brother of Sardar Shir °Ali Khan Jaghuri, set foot on the path of obedience and sent the tax revenues on their lands to Muhammad Siddiq Khan, the governor, through Ja°far °Ali Khan, brother of Baz °Ali Khan.

Also at this time, through petitions from the people of Bamyan and Siqan, it came to the august attention that Mir Badal Beg had violated the rights of those people. He was dismissed and Mir Muhammad °Uthman Khan was appointed governor and finance chief (*sar daftar*) there. Similarly, Muhibb °Ali Khan Kashmiri was appointed by His Exaltedness as head night watchman (*mīr-i shabb*) of Ghaznin. Sardar Shirin Dil Khan, who, as mentioned above had returned to Muqur from Katawaz, was ordered by Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, governor of Ghaznin, to settle the dispute between Hazarahs and Afghans who at the time of the occupation by the English army had come to blows, shed blood on both sides, kidnapped each others wives and daughters, and raided each others property. He arrived at the fort of Gulistan Khan Hazarah, proceeded to give five young Hazarah women from the “quadripartite” Hazarahs (Hazarah-i Chahar Dastah) for conjugal relations to the Afghan tribes of Marjan Khayl, the Durrani of Qarabagh, Taraki, Kharuti, and Jalalza°i and thereby severed the thread of contention. Likewise, he took six young women, 1,500 rupees cash,

and 540 sheep from the Hazarabs of Nahwar (Nahur?) who, at the time the royal entourage was marching towards Qandahar, had attacked the Afghan Aluza'i and Taraki nomads, stolen their sheep, and killed their shepherds. He gave these to the owners of the flocks. Likewise he seized the stolen sheep in the hands of the sayyids of Sarab, and the Shakhah and 'Ala al-Dini Hazarabs which they had taken from the Afghans and restored them to their owners. Of the young women, one named Safiyah, who along with the aforementioned cash had been taken under the requisition order of the governor of Ghaznin, was restored to her relatives by order of His Highness. From that day onwards strife and hostility between Afghans and Hazarabs ceased.

*The Resignation of Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan
from the Governorship of Herat*

When, through the letters of Sardar 'Abd Allah Khan; 'Ali Riza Khan, the *pīshkhidmat*; and Ahmad 'Ali Khan, the head night watchman (*mīr-i shabb*), the blameworthy and incompetent activities of the governor of Herat came to be understood by the acute mind (of His Highness) and the farman of reprimand, explained above, was issued, it made the governor fearful. /404/ Consequently, he drafted a petition of resignation from the governorship of Herat, including in it a request to give up worldly affairs and to choose the life of quiet seclusion, and sent it to the capital. His Highness found it utterly unacceptable and issued a manshur which is a right guide for officials (*mardān-i kār*), its words laden with gems, and is a manual of instruction for governors of the time. It read,

Your work is not dependent upon having complete discretion in governing Herat. You lack the kind of rank and status to have the understanding and maturity to know what is in the best interests of the nation's affairs and the delicate business of statecraft so that whatever you do would be free of any blemishes of willfulness and self-interest. If you are annoyed because we assign you (only) to manage the affairs of the civilian population, Field Marshal Faramarz Khan to manage regular military affairs, Na'ib Sultan Khan Afshar to protect the borders, and Ahmad 'Ali Khan to administer police (*kūtwālī*) and treasury matters, all these people are there for your protection of your honor and dignity. Through them we have lightened your load and put to rights any acts of yours that are flawed. From my perspective, there has been no breach in your honor, nor loss to your dignity. Your title as governor, your involvement in administrative matters, your recordkeeping and accounting, your keen interest in the goals of the Law and the Book, your meetings with the khans of the province and with (visiting) delegations, your investigations on behalf of the people, your administering justice to the

subjects, your maintaining the rules and etiquette of government (*ādāb-i ḥukūmat*) and administration, your carrying out the commandments and prohibitions of the (holy) law—these are not trivial things. If you would open your eyes and give a thought to the whole picture, you will see that the activity of the officials of all the countries of the world does not go beyond this: sometimes they are in one place; at other times they settle and work in other places, sometimes organizing the army, sometimes managing the affairs of the subjects. In all cases, there is no occasion for a change in their status (*ḥāl*) or in their compensation (*māl*). They deserve office, merit favor, seek honor, and desire the welfare of their government. You, too, are in the very position to which we assigned you and, addressing yourself to its duties, should not disturb yourself and, by paying heed to the words of mischievous people, stray from the path of your responsibilities. Rather you should carry out the matters referred to you. We write this as a kind of advice and as an exhortation. If it's your wish to know who are your friends and who your enemies and how to distinguish between what is right and what is wrong, watch their actions and listen to their words. If whatever they say inspires you to serve and be faithful to the government and obedient to the order of the king, and they don't overstep their positions, then they are special allies and faithful guardians. But if you should embark on the path of opposition because of the words of foolish people and because of conversations which appear outwardly fine but inwardly cause you to stumble, rest assured and mark my words that those people will cast you down a deep well because they have secretly made a pact with the devil. They will emphasize what your actions are, whether good or bad, and will say "regretfully" that is the reward you get for your service. A person who tells you things like this desires your destruction and is your real enemy. The rule (*qā'idah*) is this: the reward for service is the increase of favor and reputation; it is not the gift of a kingdom. Know this and be aware that as regards our compassion, you only need me; no one else matters when it comes to matters of kindness and favors. If our illustrious person should become fed up with you, of course those "friends" who tell you stories will turn the face of friendship away from you and those misdeeds and grievous errors which you have ever been the instigator of they will ascribe to you and your good deeds they will record as wrong. In any event, consider yourself a son and loyal servant of the nation, choose to avoid the bad ideas of youth, and make use of your eyes, ears, and wits in all matters

assigned to you. Pay no heed to the words of the world in comparison to our benevolence and our might. If there should be some defect in your horoscope, you persist in your wrong-headedness and willful desire (to resign), and you become useless, then you will come to Kabul and sit with your "brothers" and become the object of scorn and contempt by noble and commoner alike. The end.

In addition, on the heels of this auspicious manshur, His Highness decided to travel to Herat and informed Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan that due to his lack of knowledge and his deficient competence he was going to revive rule in that province and put to rights the affairs of the army and the subjects as long as no other crisis should threaten the government on another front. Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan was depressed by the arrival of these royal patents (*tawqī'āt*) and heedlessly decided to go to Kabul. But before he could set out for Kabul or any other place, His Highness, on the 11th of Shawwal 1299/26 August 1882 appointed Nazir Muhammad Sarwar Khan as deputy to Prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan and ordered him to take over the governorship of Herat. On the 14th (of Shawwal/29 August) he departed Kabul and on Monday the 18th of Zi'l-Qa'dah/1 October he reached Herat. The notables and leaders of the city and the officers of the regular army with their regiments turned out to welcome him. / **405**/ After the firing of a congratulatory artillery salute, he alighted at the Herat citadel. After his arrival, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan headed for Kabul with his family and relatives by way of Farah and Qandahar.

During the aforementioned events, Field Marshal Faramarz Khan, who had summoned his (°Abd al-Quddus Khan's) governors from Ubah, Karuchah, and other places to audit their accounts, appointed in their stead the nephew of Na'ib Sultan Khan as governor of Isfizar, Ghulam Jan Khan Fufalza'i as governor of Ubah, Pir Muhammad Khan "Jadid al-Islam" as governor of Karuchah and Wali Muhammad Khan Jamshidi to Karkh and then turned his attention to putting the affairs of the kingdom to rights.

Repairing the Walls (ḥiṣār) of Herat, the Construction of the Fortress at Ghuriyan, and the Building of the Cha(ha)r Bagh and Other Events

During these events, Field Marshal Faramarz Khan, after sending to Kabul Colonel Wali Muhammad Khan who had instigated a mutiny among the regular cavalry and (after) replacing Colonel Khayr Muhammad Khan and Colonel Muhammad Khan, officers of the Turkistan regiments who as mentioned earlier had entered Herat with Muhammad Muhsin Khan and were still there and causing trouble, sending them with their forces to Farah and the garrison stationed in Farah to Herat, [after all this] at the order of His Highness he began work to repair the walls (*ḥiṣār*) of Herat and restored them to their original condition. He also built the Chahar Bagh as the seat of government. Likewise, he renovated the fortress of Ghuriyan with 8,000 rupees from the subjects there

who voluntarily donated it. This was over and above the government funds appropriated (for the project). He also erected eight large commercial caravansaries inside the city. In reward for these services, His Highness increased his monthly salary and that of the deputy field marshal, Timur Shah Khan.

During these affairs, Fath Allah Beg Firuzkuhi, an account of whose rebellion and flight have been previously given, attacked the village of Bandar with support from the people of Maymanah and commenced fighting with the people of Firuzkuh. Having occupied Bandar, he incited the Char Sadah people also to rebel and extend their hands to killing and raiding. So it happened that they killed Shir Jan Khan, the nephew of °Abbas Khan Shahsavand, a retainer (*nawkar*) of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan who was going to Herat by way of the Hazarahjat. They also killed a group of Hazarahs who were on their way to Mashhad on *ziyārat*-pilgrimage and took some of them prisoner. Angered by this uprising, His Highness sent a farman to the governor of Herat telling him to punish and subdue the evil-minded and reprobate people of Char Sadah and Firuzkuh. With a desire to chastise those evil people, the governor began preparations to set an army in motion, as will be recounted soon, God willing.

Meantime, the merchant Mirza Muhammad Rabi°, sent as an emissary by Amir °Alam Khan Hishmat al-Mulk Qa°ini to kiss the illustrious and radiant threshold, having achieved that sublime pleasure, presented a letter full of friendly sentiments and gifts of two Birjandi carpets, and some saffron and barberry. Having made his presentation, he obtained the appropriate degree of approbation and was sent off to Amir °Alam Khan with six pieces of fine Kashmiri wool (*abrah*), and two pieces of white Kabuli blanket cloth (*patū*).

Also at this time, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan sent to Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Herat, the letter that Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan had sent him from Herat and in which he had written some complaints and used some exceedingly impolite words. Muhammad Sarwar in turn forwarded it to the throne. At His Highness's order, because of this letter, when Sardar °Abd al-Quddus entered Kabul, he was arrested and turned over to Parwanah Khan who put him under very strict watch as punishment.

*Sardar °Abd al-Rasul Khan is Dismissed from
the Governorship of Qandahar and an Account of Events in That Region*

When through the audit of Jan Muhammad Khan who had been ordered there because of the petitions and pleas from subjects in Qandahar—as previously recorded—a sum of 1 lak, ninety-nine thousand, one hundred and sixty-one (199,161) rupees of government revenues and confiscations from the subjects had been fixed as what Sardar °Abd al-Rasul Khan owed, he was dismissed from the governorship of Qandahar and, at His Highness's order, eighty-three thousand three hundred seventy-six /406/ rupees were taken from him and given back to those subjects who had suffered his oppression. Ten

thousand five hundred forty-seven rupees in government funds were seized from him but that was all he had. The remaining was to be paid in the future. Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, son of the late Sultan Muhammad Khan, was sent by His Highness to replace him. On Thursday, the 26th of Zi'l-Hijjah 1299/8 November 1882 he entered Qandahar. General °Ali °Askar Khan with a regular regiment, along with Jan Muhammad Khan, Mirza Abu Talib Khan, and the leaders of the city, received him and showed him every conceivable regard and honor.

Also at this time, Mirza Muhammad Kazim of the Qizilbash of Qandahar, sent to His Majesty a Qur'an written in the Kufic script by the pen of Imam Hasan, the son of °Ali—God ennoble his face—and it was deposited into the royal library.

During these recorded events, Patanza'i men of the Achakza'i tribe rebelled and fought a pitched battle with regular cavalry who were performing their duties in that region. They killed °Ala al-Din Khan *daf'adār* and captured another *daf'adār* and one of the troopers. The rest of the cavalry escaped to Farah and Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan. He assigned Muhammad Akram Khan, Fayz Muhammad Khan, and Muhammad Amin Khan with Farahi troopers to punish those iniquitous wayward ones and they stamped them out. Sayyid Mahmud and six of the leaders of those evil people were sent shackled to Kabul.

Meanwhile, Sardar Sharif Khan Sistani, who had received His Majesty with kindness and respect at the time he had crossed Sistan en route to Holy Mashhad as was recounted in volume two under the events of 1285/1868–69, at this time had turned his face away from the government of Iran, was showered with honors by His Highness, assigned an annual stipend of 16,660 Kabuli rupees, sent by His Highness to Chakhansur, and given the distinction of a sardar's robe of honor. Also a six-item set of instructions was given him by His Highness:

- 1) As long as the borders of Sistan are not demarcated between Afghanistan and Iran and the border guards (*sarhaddārān*) of the two sides do not recognize the boundary markers (*nuqāṭ-i fāṣilah-i bayn*), he, who has chosen enmity and conflict with the people of Sistan, should not leave his place of residence and meddle in any other place. Although he might know that such-and-such a place, according to the written treaty of the era of His late Highness Amir Shir °Ali Khan executed through the Englishman, Colonel Pollock (**check** *pāl-k*), Sayyid Nur Muhammad Shah, Amir Shir °Ali Khan's representative, and the minister of foreign affairs of Iran, is in fact on the portion that is Afghanistan's, he should understand that is necessary that he abstain from any meddling (in such a place). This is because the fundamental aim of renewing the written treaty and clarifying the sketch map of the division of Sistan between Afghanistan and Iran, as the

royal mind thinks about it, is that a renewed treaty and convention on border matters (signed by) the two noble nations would remain stable and in effect for long years. If the previous sketch map of the borders had been such a sound foundation and an unassailable source, then the subjects on both sides would not have extended their hands to the property of each other.

2) Whenever a tribe (*qawm*), or clan (*ṭāʾifah*) or single individual of Sistan should turn to the God-given government of Afghanistan and join the illustrious sardar and they should be people connected with Amir ʿAlam Khan Hishmat al-Mulk and are not listed collectively or individually on the rolls of the subjects of Sistan that belong to Afghanistan, he has no discretion on his own to admit them without the permission of the lord (*ṣāhib*) of the government of Afghanistan. He must report to the threshold of the throne on their circumstances and on what they intend to do and what they want and then act in accordance with any order that His Majesty should issue.

3) Persons from the part of Sistan which belongs to Afghanistan who, out of confusion, should take up residence in the part of Sistan belonging to Iran, especially those who are of the tribe (*qawm*), kin (*tabār*), and lineage (*mansūbān*) of the above sardar himself, should they ever return to their native place to take up residence, it is incumbent upon him to strive to make them comfortable and set their minds at peace and should act towards them with a high degree of sympathy and solicitude. And if at times, this should occasion objections from the amir of Qaʾin or should incite insurrection and trouble, he should not resort to force. Rather, he should persuade the amir of Qaʾin by letter to root out the causes of hostility and enmity. If he does not agree, then he should inform the governor of Farah and he in turn the governor of Herat so that the viceroy of Khurasan will be told the truth of what's going on and he will make the amir of Qaʾin cease and desist.

4) The sardar is not permitted to carry on a correspondence with any tribe, clan, or individual in the area of Sistan belonging to Iran. If he should receive a letter from anyone (there) he should send the original to the throne of authority and then carry out whatever should be commanded.

5) For every thing (*qāziyah*) /407/ that happens which should be reported to the throne, he should send a report to officials at the threshold of the throne of authority and leave none of the matters pertaining to the border hidden behind the veil of secrecy. Any matter pertaining to the governor (*hukmrān*) of Farah he should report to Farah and anything that should be

reported to the Presence, he should send to the throne without delay.

6) Those cultivated areas which the sardar has improved in Nahr-i Jadid of Qal'ah-i Fath and which he has taken trouble over and spent his own money on and into which Sar Faraz Khan and the son of Ayyam Khan Baluch have extended the hands of interference and co-ownership, he should turn to the governor of Farah to put an end to the dispute with those two men so that he might reach a settlement with them.

After Sardar Sharif Khan received permission to depart, when he entered Chakhansur his claim in Nahr-i Qal'ah-i Fath was proven and at His Highness's command, Sar Faraz Khan went back to this own land, the village of Chahgi and there was ordered never to enter onto the soil of Afghanistan again. During this time Ghulam Husayn Khan the son of Sardar Shukr Allah Khan having been sent to Khust by His Majesty to settle the disputes between the Jaji, Aryub, Mangal, and other tribes and having applied himself to the charge, put everything to rights.

The Events of 1300 Hijri (1882–83)

Since the men of Katawaz and Zurmat, in accordance with the agreement mentioned earlier (to pay their back taxes) had deceived Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, with a promise to pay their taxes, which amounted to two laks of rupees, and then had left him and returned to their own homes, for several days, with "would that-s" and "perhaps-s" they stalled Samandar Khan who had been sent there by His Highness to collect the divani revenues, and then eventually rejected the royal order. In a report from the governor of Ghaznin who had been informed by Samandar Khan, His Highness learned of this and in Muharram (12 November–11 December 1882), in the third year of his auspicious reign, he sent Sardar Muhammad Muhsin Khan to Ghaznin so that with the governor of Ghaznin, the regular cavalry, infantry, and artillery stationed in Ghaznin, Muqur, and Kalat and the tribal militias (*aḥshām wa ilāt*) of those provinces, (the entire force) under his (Sardar Muhammad Muhsin Khan) and Sardar Shirindil Khan's command, they would set forth to teach those evil people a lesson. On his heels, Brigadier Ghulam Haydar Khan, the son of Sikandar Khan Urakza'i with one hundred regular horse was sent to

Khust via Lahugard with orders to counsel and advise the evil-minded insurgents while the forces of Ghaznin, Muqur, and Kalat were mobilizing for the march and laying the foundations for a campaign. If the rebels still refused to obey and remained steadfast in their obstinacy, then he should keep negotiating with them until the arrival of the main force in that region so that they would not get the idea to make things any more difficult and cause them to respond violently to the royal army. So the brigadier arrived and with eloquent words and sweet-sounding phrases calmed the fears of the maliks of the Salih Khayl tribe, won them over with promises of royal favors and boons from His Highness, and set them on the path of obedience. He then sent to the threshold of His Majesty a petition from the leaders of that tribe asking forgiveness for their misdeeds and promising to pay the divani money and to obey and be bound by the royal “order and prohibition” and a petition of his own requesting the right of intercession (*shifāʿat*) (on their behalf). These met the approval of the favor-dispensing Presence. As a consequence, an order was issued to Sardar Muhammad Muhsin Khan to stay in Ghaznin and wait there, “listening to the words and watching the actions of those people whose promises are not as trustworthy as they should be” in order to act on the truth or falsehood of what they pledged. Ghulam Haydar Khan *birgid* occupied himself with collecting the outstanding revenues owed the government and with the restitution of the property which those tribes-people had stolen from each other.

During this, Ahmad Khan Lagand Khayl Ghiljaʿi on the pretext of matters involving his property rights (*zamīndārī*) in Zurmat, went there and began inciting the people to refuse to hand over the diwani revenues and obey the royal authority and to once again prepare for a rebellion. The governor of Ghaznin learned of his evil-doing through a letter from Brigadier Ghulam Haydar Khan and immediately confiscated all his property for the state (*dīwān-i aʿlā*). Because of this, the reins of tranquility slipped from the grasp of all the Andari people and they became frightened and imagined the worst. First, the governor of Ghaznin sent Sultan Muhammad Khan the son of Suhbat Khan Jarchi to Ahmad Khan in Zurmat to bring back information about his wishes and intentions by inquiring about his circumstances. He disclosed to Sultan Muhammad Khan the issue of his concern about his property rights which were the pretext for his going but revealed nothing else. But from his demeanor Sultan Muhammad Khan /408/ detected signs of evil-doing and then returned to Ghaznin. After his arrival, the governor summoned all the leaders of the Andari tribes to Ghaznin and consoled and conciliated them. He lavished particular attention on Mulla Din Muhammad Khan, better known as “Mushk-i ʿAlam” (Musk of the World), who was more fearful because of the imprisonment of ʿIsmat Allah Khan Jabbar Khayl, General Muhammad Jan Khan Wardak, his brother Muhammad Afzal Khan, and other leaders. Thus he sent to him his own brother Sardar Shirindil Khan along with Mulla ʿUzayr (ʿAzīz?), and Muhibb ʿAli Khan, the police chief (*kūtwāl*) (of Ghaznin) to reassure him. When they met, Mulla Din Muhammad Khan disclosed his worries and fears saying,

"Three thousand innocent Afghan and other leaders, people who've committed no sin or treachery, no iniquity or crime, and who at the time of the English occupation exerted themselves to protect our honor and the kingdom of Islam and bore heavy burdens in doing so, are now languishing in Kabul Prison and are this is the reason for the dismay and fear of the people. Therefore, all people, of whom I am one, feel ourselves in extreme danger."

After the return of Sardar Shirindil Khan to Ghaznin, the governor conveyed Mulla Din Muhammad Khan's words to the truth-discerning ears of His Highness. He in turn issued a conciliatory manshur in the name of Mulla Mushk-i 'Alam and other leaders of the Andari tribes on Wednesday the second of Safar (13 December 1882) which said:

"We consider the people of the kingdom of Afghanistan in general and the Andari tribes in particular to be servants of the government and well-wishers of the government and the leadership and law (*sharī'at*) of the Seal of the Prophets and we have no desire to cause the destruction of anyone. We do not take the opposition movement of Ahmad Khan as incontrovertible proof incriminating the people generally because he has no place or refuge except within this nation. Regarding those of whom Mulla Din Muhammad has spoken, in the course of his statement, as three thousand incarcerated people, which then become the imputed reason (*hawālah*) for his and the people's fear, he simply has misinterpreted things. For the most part the imprisoned are jailed in accordance with God's commandments and the law that mediates on the Day of Judgment. At the least, unless some misdeed is clearly evident, no one is jailed. Thus 'Ismat Allah Khan and other trouble-seeking leaders have been jailed because of irrefutable documents and sound and indisputable correspondence which have fallen into our hands. The mulla and all those who would excuse their actions and try to find some rationale should answer the following: Would it be acceptable to God and the Prophet and the religious leaders and the exemplars of the "people of certitude" that after the swearing of allegiance of a group of Muslims to his amirship and their submission to him under the circumstance that by virtue of his existence all Muslims in the kingdom will remain protected from the assaults of foreign armies and enemies of the religion and that he will protect their lives, property, and sacred honor (*nāmūs*) (is it acceptable that) four ignorant ones, heedless of the consequences, have engaged in burning the houses of their own peace, security, and faith and have stirred up rebellion in the kingdom and against the court of authority. Let them judge for themselves, seeing with the eye of insight and hearing with the ear of discernment. They should well understand that ever since the day we set foot in this kingdom on our return—praise be to God—we

have never cast a covetous eye on, nor opened a greedy mouth before, the money, property, wealth, and power (*miknat*) of anyone. We have given thousands upon thousands of rupees to the subjects in the form of tax reductions and other things and have raised the stipends of sayyids, and ulama from the diwan of authority by an amount whose like has never been seen in any era. Despite all this all our attention has been focused on advancing the religion and promoting the regulations of the law so that in this portion of time so much glory has appeared in Muslimism and so much evil has been transformed to something good, and to such a degree are the women of the Muslims hidden behind the veil of chastity, the garment of purity, and the screen of modesty. Fornicators, thieves, and highwaymen have given up their wicked ways so that in all provinces and locales, fearing condign retribution (*siyāsat*), and obtaining knowledge about security and safety through the petitions and pleas of the justice-seekers, such has been set afoot that no one has the capability to dare to kill anyone or be the perpetrator of any hostile act. If, on occasion, a person is the cause of some misdeed or treachery, we will apply the legal remedy immediately following a fatwa of the ulama corresponding to God's and the Prophet's command. We punish crimes against the state either by torture and execution (*‘uqūbat wa yāsā*) or by pardoning and showing favor. We do not accept intercession in the case of murder but require retaliation (*qiṣās*) in accordance with the command of the Divine Book. If, in the holy law, it is appropriate to exempt someone from retaliation and substitute blood-money instead, the legal blood-money is collected from the murderer and we hand it over to the heirs of the victim. Not a single dinar from these funds goes into the treasury. We don't shut our ears to pleas for justice. We have made and are making restitution to the oppressed from their oppressors so that from now on no one will ever find it easy to acquire the capability and power to tyrannize another. Thus, for example, we fired Sardar ‘Abd al-Rasul Khan, the governor of Qandahar, because of bribe-taking, seized a considerable amount of money from him and gave it to our needy subjects. In all things, we are grateful to God the Merciful so that to the extent of human capability we exert every effort to preserve and protect the divine trust (*amānat-i ilāhī*) /409/ and to safeguard the honor (*‘irz wa nāmūs*), lives, and property of our subjects and we consider our burden a pleasure and count ease in our daily life unwholesome to our nature. The aim and the wish of our royal highness is that whoever wants to become an ill-wisher and hostile to the government and the religion, he will always be deserving of wrath for his conduct and will be held accountable for his acts. As commanded by the excellent book of the Lord of lords, shedding the blood of such a person and plundering his property is perfectly legal (*ḥalāl*).”

The hostile document of ill will which was referred to in the letter was a note from Muhammad Afzal Khan and Muhammad Musa, sons of °Abd al-Karim Khan of the Safi tribe, to the noble mother of His Highness Amir Muhammad Ya°qub Khan. At the outset of the reign of His Highness Amir °Abd al-Rahman Khan, she had gone to live in the fort of Hushmand Khan. They sent the note through a woman who could freely visit her. The note said that they would fell His Highness with a rifle shot at the hunting ground at Chaman-i Bini Hisar. In this way, rule would pass to the son or brother of Amir Muhammad Ya°qub Khan. But the woman did not take the letter to the noble mother but through (*bi-ma°rifat-i*) Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, the *mustawfi al-mamālik*, she presented it to His Majesty. At the wishes of Muhammad Sarwar Khan and Mir °Abd al-Qadir Khan Kuhistani who had pleaded for the killing of these two men, they were turned over to the leaders of Kuhistan and were stoned to death. Similarly, Sardar Nik Muhammad Khan Muhammadza°i, °Ismat Allah Khan, Bahram Khan Jabbar Khayl Ghilja°i, General Muhammad Jan Khan, Muhammad Afzal Khan Wardak, and other leaders who at the time the royal entourage set out for Qandahar had made pacts to do harm to the royal being and their covenants and written pledges had reached His Majesty through servants of the government all were arrested and imprisoned. After awhile, some were executed and some were sent into exile.

After the dispatch of the above sublime letter to Mulla Mushk-i °Alam and the Andari people, Sardar Muhammad Muhsin Khan, who had been ordered to Ghaznin to punish and chastise the people of Zurmat and Katawaz, since, as mentioned earlier, these people had responded well to the advice and guidance of Ghulam Haydar Khan *birgid*, had offered allegiance, and put their heads under the farman, now was summoned back to Kabul and obtained honors.

At the end of the month of Muharram in this year (ca. 10 January 1883), a great twin-tailed comet (*sitārah*) the length of whose tail was approximately forty celestial degrees, arose at the hour of two in the night and was visible until the end of Safar (9 January 1883).⁷

*The Royal Entourage Heads for Jalalabad from Kabul
and Events in Khust*

On Thursday, the 15th of Rabi° al-Awwal 1300/24 January 1883, His Majesty, gave the word to leave Kabul for winter quarters in Jalalabad, left the noble prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, in Kabul to tend to government affairs, and named Ghulam Haydar Khan the son of Sahibzadah Ghulam Jan, as steward (*pīshkāri*) and Muhammad Akbar Khan, the son of Na°ib Kazim Arya Khayl as chamberlain (*īshīk-āqāsī*) [to the prince]. After the noble alighting in Jalalabad, His Majesty made the estate (*bāgh*) of the late Wazir Muhammad Akbar Khan, now named Bagh-i Kawkab, his vacation residence. He ordered the army and all

⁷ RM: This was known in the West as the Great September Comet, visible to the naked eye until February 1883.

the servants of the court to camp beside the Great River (*rūd-i buzurg* [the Kabul River]).

During this time, reports from the newswriters of Hazarah-i Jaghuri about the tyranny of the governor, Muhammad Siddiq Khan Tukhi, reached His Majesty. An order of dismissal was issued and Pir Muhammad Khan, the son of Nazir Din Muhammad Khan, was appointed in his place.

His Highness also learned in a report from Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, governor of Ghaznin, of the killing and looting being done by the Afghan Kharuti, Sulayman Khayl, and Nasiri tribes who had deviated from the royal treaty which His Highness had imposed on them—as previously recounted—and which had put an end to their strife. But now they had resorted again to plundering and killing each other. His Highness sent the governor a farman telling him to send to Katawaz all the *mulki* horsemen from the Afghans, Hazarahs, and Tajiks of Ghaznin along with the Herati regular infantry regiment, and four pieces of artillery under the command of Sardar Shirindil Khan, his brother. The force was to go there and billet themselves in the forts of Malik Khanagi and his people. They were to focus their eyes on and tune their ears to the doings of those three tribes so that whatever path of hostility they might take, the force could retaliate immediately. But even if there should be no provocative activity, due to the overwhelming presence of the royal force, they should still stay there so that not a single person would ever engage in any wickedness out of fear of the government army. So Sardar Shirindil Khan went there and sent to the court Malik Dust Muhammad Khan, the son of Khanagi Khan along with a number of the Sulayman Khayl leaders. Fazl al-Din Khan, the governor of Muqur, /410/ at the order of His Highness went to Zurmat and Katawaz with a force of ʿAli Khayl men and joined up with Sardar Shirindil Khan. The two men then dispatched the maliks and leaders of the Kharuti Sar Rawzah and Nasiri who resided in the district of Taraki to Jalalabad on the heels of the Sulayman Khayl leaders. His Highness obtained from these three tribes a treaty promising a cessation of hostilities and the conclusion of harmonious relations so that there would be no further incidents of aggression against each other and they would remain firmly on the path of obedience to government authority. He then gave them permission to return home.

During this time, Ghulam Muhammad Khan Hazarah who was at court bid farewell to the world. His rank of cavalry captain (*ṣad-sawārī*) was conferred on his son, Ghulam Haydar Khan, while another son, Muhammad Akbar Khan, and a nephew, Muhammad Nabi Khan, were singled out for appointment as attendants [at court] (*pīshkhidmatān*). Gul Muhammad Khan the son of Malik Shir Gul Khan Ghiljaʿi whose father's services when His Highness was still a prince and entered Kabul from Turkistan with his uncle, the late Amir Muhammad Aʿzam Khan, were recounted in volume two, was appointed to govern the Taraki people.

Also His Highness issued a farman to the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan telling him to lay the foundations for a palace complex (*arg*) at the Bagh-i Pahlawan Muhammad Nur, located in the northern part of the city, which His

Highness in 1299 had selected as the site for a new royal palace (*arg-i pādshāhī*) and to begin construction. The prince, at His Highness’s order, distributed alms (*ṣarf-i khayrāt wa mabarrāt*), recited the invocational prayer (*fātiḥah*) for beginning construction, and commenced work following the plans which he had received from His Highness and working through the engineers and builders (*mi‘mārān wa bannāyān*).

During this time, fighting broke out between °Ubayd Allah Khan, Habib Allah Khan, Sa°id Khan and the Amini Khayl Waziri people between whom there was an ancient enmity. Likewise between Malik and Mir Hazar two Kamrani Sultan Khayl men fighting erupted and several people were killed or wounded. These things reached the attentive ears of His Majesty through a report from Sardar Shirindil Khan and he levied an excessive fine so that they would no longer have the power to fight or the means to purchase weapons. The fine had yet to be collected when Sa°du of Karukhayl—an account of whose rebellion, misdeeds, and evildoing against the government was given above—joined forces with Gul °Alam, started trouble in the vicinity of Khust, and began attacking and raiding. Akhundzadeh Yahya Khan, fearing Sa°du’s rapaciousness, asked for help from Sardar Shirindil Khan who was stationed with his forces in Katawaz. Without the issuing of a royal order, he would not send help but informed His Highness’s officials of Sa°du’s evildoing and the akhundzadeh’s request for help. Two hundred regular cavalry were ordered from Kabul to Khust to fight Sa°du under the banner of General Kutal Khan who was stationed there with a suitable force and artillery. Because of the arrival of the regular cavalry, Sa°du saw no possibility for standing fast, took the road of ignominious flight, and went into the Mangal mountain region which was his place of refuge. After he made his escape, the members of the tribal lashkar were given leave to return home and the royal army stationed itself in Khust. Of the trouble-seekers, Mulla °Ayn al-Din and Qudrat, who were Sa°du’s strong right arm when it came to evildoing, were taken prisoner and sent to the threshold of good fortune (the throne) by General Kutal Khan along with leaders of the Jadran and Mangal who were persuaded by Sardar Ghulam Husayn Khan to proffer their allegiance. The two men escaped while en route and rejoined Sa°du. The others reached the sublime threshold and were honored. They took an oath either to destroy Sa°du in any way they were able to or force him to leave the mountains. In recompense for this promise, His Highness gladdened the hearts of all the Jadran and Mangal leaders with the bestowal robes of honor and then gave them leave to return. After they reached their homes, they set off towards the mountains with the royal army under the command of General Kutal Khan and Sardar Shirindil Khan to annihilate Sa°du. They entered the very difficult Mangal mountains from two directions. From the direction where Samandar Khan had gone they engaged the Mangal whose leaders were wearing the robes of honor and were present with the (royal) army. Those pugnacious and wicked men, paying no heed to their own leaders, fought a fierce battle. Eventually, turning their backs to the fray they faced in the direction of flight. From another direction Sardar Ghulam Husayn Khan, with four hundred Sakhlu

infantry, fifty regular cavalry, and one cannon surprised them and killed twenty-one Mangalis and wounded thirty. They drove all the rest before them, burned down sixty forts, and seized two thousand goats and sheep as booty. In this engagement, one of the royal army soldiers was killed and two were wounded. The Mangal people left this battlefield and joined forces with the Muqbil and Jaji people of Aryub and Turi in the district of Kurram in the name of Afghan honor and /411/ then began raiding and stealing from the people of Chamkani, who were royal subjects. The Jadranis also joined them and looted the property of the *sar daftar* of Khust. Laʿl Gul Khan and Miyadad Khan Gardizi *ṣad-bāshi* retrieved by force from the Mangalis and Jadranis two thousand rupees of the stolen money and a few of the goods and returned them to their owner.

During this time, the Mangalis attacked the people of Sabri Khayl and ten men on the two sides were killed or wounded and the men of Mangal fled. The Turis also attacked Zurmati merchants and made off with thirty-three head of horses. Then, they attacked the Jaji people of Maydan. Eight of the Jajis were wounded and one was killed while eight of the Turis were killed. His Highness was angered by these incidents and wrote to officials of the English government about the evildoing of the Turis whose subjects they were. He wrote that they should either stop the Turis from these unworthy actions or should negotiate with the Afghan government about disciplining these people so that officials of the Afghani government might stay the injury-causing hands of those evildoers. He sent another conciliatory set of instructions to the people of Muqbil, Mangal, and Jadran telling them to curtail the hand of evildoing and take the path of obedience. Otherwise he would next “inscribe” them with a bloodletting sword. After the dispatch of this letter, English officials stopped the Turi men from further troublemaking. The Muqbil people, too, after the arrival of His Highness’s message gave up their aberrant behavior and came to Sardar Ghulam Husayn Khan on the path of obedience. They bent their necks to His Highness’s command and handed over the Jaji leaders of Maydan as guarantors of their good behavior. Sardar Ghulam Husayn Khan favored them all with robes of honor and took a covenant and an oath from them that they would cause no further trouble or harm to anyone. Should any traveler or wayfarer suffer injury from them they would repay the equivalent in the stolen money and would pay for the royal robes of honor (the sardar had given them) as well as a fine (*jarimah*). After the resolution of this matter and their return home, a conflict arose between the Jadran and the Manduzaʿi and Ismaʿil Khayl tribes about a new fort which the Jadranis had built on the border of the territory of those [latter] tribes. Although Sardar Ghulam Husayn Khan forbade them from fighting, his words had no effect. Finally, he assigned Samandar Khan and Mirak Shah Khan with one hundred Sakhlu infantry and tribal levies from the Ismaʿil Khayl and Washay to watch the Jadranis in order to put an end to the dispute. Disloyally, the Jadranis came out to fight. Four of the Ismaʿil Khayl and Washay were killed or wounded and nine of the Jadranis were killed and six wounded. Eventually they barricaded themselves in their forts. As a consequence, Sardar Ghulam Husayn Khan came to the area on the heels of his

lashkar. The Jadranis appealed to him for safety for themselves, expressed remorse, and after receiving guarantees of safety, came before him on the path of obedience and bowed their heads to the royal command. Sardar Ghulam Husayn Khan and General Kutal Khan sent their leaders before His Majesty. Since they had taken a vow to destroy Sa^odu and to pay back taxes, which they had not yet handed over to officials of the government, they now re-affirmed that vow and were all shown respect with the bestowal of robes of honor and allowed to return home. Sa^odu and his accomplices became apprehensive at news of this covenant by the Jadranis and fled into the mountains of "unruliness" (*yāghistān*) [i.e. where the government's rule did not extend].

At this time a new fortress containing a bazaar and numerous rooms for stationing royal forces was ordered erected in Khust district by His Highness, a canal sufficient to irrigate 4,000 jaribs around this fortress was dug from the Shiml River, and fine orchards and gardens and attractive meadows were laid out. His Highness ordered that the owners of the river water (*ṣāhibān-i āb*) should receive annually from the crops of the new lands (only) seven *kharwars* of grain, equivalent to the yield of the land of these people (the Jadranis) which was produced thanks to this river. Due to the shortage of cultivable land, which was entirely stony ground, more than this had never been produced [before the canal was dug].

*Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan's Petition is Not Accepted,
The Revolt of the Panjshiris
and their Chastisement by Force and by Counsel*

During His Highness's stay in Jalalabad, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan made a plea from his detention to Parwanah Khan, his keeper, that his family and household in Turkistan and Herat be brought to Kabul. This was reported to His Highness who sent Parwanah Khan an order saying that he should keep him imprisoned and under strict surveillance so that he does not escape and so that he is not able to carry out anything he might have in mind by bribing his jailer. / 412/ Nothing was issued concerning his family at this point but after a bit they were summoned from Turkistan and Herat to Kabul by farman.

Also at this time, the chaste lady of the harem, the modest Mahd-i °Ulya, the immaculate mother of the felicitous princes Sardar Habib Allah Khan and Sardar Nasr Allah Khan, was felled by a raging fever due to measles (ḥaṣbah). Eventually, thanks to the favor of God and to spiritual and physical remedies, which involved prayers and alms to the needy, she regained her health.⁸

At this time, Arbab Jalal Khan and Arbab Rahim Khan Farajghani fought each other and as a consequence the people of Farajghan rebelled and ceased obeying the king. Mir °Abd al-Haqq Khan, governor of Najrab, reported this to royal officials and requested a lashkar and artillery so that he could punish those

⁸ RM: This passage was censored from the Kabul edition. See Tehran, 1994 edition, 64.

people. His Highness, by a farman of summons, invited those two seditious *arbābs* to Kabul. He also informed the governor of Najrab of the issuance of the *ḥukm* saying,

If those two men turn their faces from the *qiblah* of security and hope and fail to come to the Presence, then an army will be sent and their existence will be erased from the world. Otherwise, dispatching an army will cause much trouble and hardship for the subjects of that region. In terms of the ordinances of rule (*qānūn-i salṭanat*) this would be excessive, that for no reason a handful of weak (innocent) people should merit the imposition of an unbearable amount of vengeance [caused by sending an army].

This had not yet been resolved when the people of Panjshir drew their heads from the pocket of rebellion and Jan Gul Khan, who had replaced °Abd al-Qadir Khan, the previous governor, set out to reprimand and chastise them, putting fifty-one of the evildoers in shackles and leg-irons. He gave their money and livestock, such as cows and sheep, to the Sakhlu infantry as booty, cut down all their orchards, and set fire to their houses. The men of Begra³i, fled into the mountains in the face of this display of royal might. The son of Shifa⁶at Khan came to the governor to ask for guarantees of personal safety and he sent him to His Majesty in Jalalabad. Muhammad Sarwar Khan Kuhistani, who had learned of the Panjshiris' uprising, had set out for Panjshir on the path of retaliation with one thousand riders and foot from his own tribe, and neared it when the strife ended. Therefore Jan Gul Khan sent him a note telling him not to enter Panjshir so that the subjects there would not suffer. This letter reached Muhammad Sarwar Khan at a place called Shatal. He sent most of the horse and foot he had with him home but he himself with three hundred infantry whom he had not dismissed waited in Shatal. He made captives of all the people there because they had given the Begra³i rebels asylum and reprimanded and persecuted them to the extreme. He informed His Highness by letter of the actions he had taken vis à vis these people and these met with His Highness's full approval because those ignorant mountain-dwelling people can never be brought under the weight of the Shari⁶ah and the government without a beating.

In short, the governor, Jan Gul Khan sent to the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan in Kabul the fifty-one people he had taken prisoner escorted by Gul Ahmad Khan *risālah-dār* and Gul Hamid Khan. The prince ordered them incarcerated in Kabul Prison. A number of other Panjshiri leaders who had not supported the rebels went to Jalalabad on the path of supplication and were honored with an audience. Reassured by princely favors, they then returned home.

The people of Begra³i who had taken the road of waywardness, had the sayyids of that region intercede on their behalf and sought forgiveness for their sins (from Jan Gul Khan). He put off responding to their plea until he received an order from His Highness. After receiving the order he sent them off to Jalalabad. On His Majesty's part, a fine appropriate to the rebels was imposed.

After payment of the fine, they were pardoned for the sins they had committed and their detained colleagues were freed.

After crushing the rebels of Panjshir, Governor Jan Gul Khan turned his attention to collecting the divani revenues. He moved out of Bazarak, where he was staying, and entered the village of Tapah, which is located in Darrah, accompanied by five hundred armed (*tufang-dast*) men, sahibzadahs and Panjshiri leaders and bringing a bill for the divani taxes. The people of °Abd Allah Khayl of Kundi Wird refused to hand over the taxes in compliance with his bill and so the governor and his force invaded the place where the rebels resided and he demanded the taxes from the four tribes (*chahārgānah*) of Hazarabs who resided in Darrah. The Baba °Ali Hazarab tribe, because of his demand, turned their faces toward the mountain of foolishness. Jan Gul Khan sent the sahibzadahs with Nadir Khan, Bahadur Khan, and Haydar Khan and the foot soldiers he had with him in pursuit of that evil group. Although they tried their best to persuade and counsel them, it was to no avail and so those people themselves set fire to their own houses and burned them to the ground, would not come down from the mountain of waywardness, and became even more obstinate. The governor's deputies returned empty-handed. En route back, some of the evildoers who had taken positions on the hilltops took up their weapons and shot and wounded Langar Khan and Bahadur Khan, two of the Panjshiri leaders who had taken the path of service to the king, as well as two Sakhlū infantrymen and one of the governor's personal retainers. They also inflicted wounds on several of the tribal militiamen.

After two days, the governor and the servants of the state prepared the instruments of vengeance /413/ and set out on the path of battle after those ill-natured people and drove the rebels before them into the valley of Farajghan. They imposed a bond (*iltizām*) of 10,000 rupees on the people remaining behind of each of the four tribes of the Hazarabs, so that if they should ever help or give refuge to those rebels they would have to send that amount as a fine to officials of the state. The governor collected the land taxes (*māliyāt*) of all the other valleys (*darrajāt*) of Panjshir and then returned to Bazarak.

During this time, the people of Darrah-i Ghasak of Najrab also decided to rebel and refused to hand over their divani taxes. Salih Muhammad Khan, who had been named governor there after the dismissal of Mir °Abd al-Haqq Khan, marched against them with foot soldiers from Rizah-i Kuhistan, boxed their ears as they deserved, and retrieved the divani taxes.

Meanwhile, Padshah Khan Ahmadza'i who had taken the path of befriending and allying with Sa°du, was collared by the constable (*shahmah*) of royal retribution and to replace him Kuhandil Khan was honored by His Majesty with the position of leader (*buzurgī*) of the Ahmadza'i. The sons of Padshah Khan came to Kuhandil Khan, their new chief (*ra'īs*), with a Qur'an interceding for themselves. Because of his (Kuhandil Khan's) request a royal pardon was granted and the burden of their father's sin was lifted from their shoulders.

Meantime, the men of Sangu Khayl of Shinwar lifted their heads from obedience to the king and embarked on the road of rebellion. Muhammad

Husayn Khan Jawanshir who had been assigned to collect the land taxes and perform other services fled from them and came to Jalalabad and on Tuesday, the 21st of Rajab 1300/28 May 1883 conveyed (news of) the trouble caused by those despicable people to the attention of diligent people at the sublime threshold. He was ordered by His Royal Majesty to return there and an order was issued that having gone there that the regiment stationed in Shinwar should be mobilized and assigned to punish those perfidious people.

He marched against that group with a regular regiment and tribal foot militia (*piyādah ulūsi*) from the Jalalabad environs and from the Khugyani tribes. He threw a number of them from the vehicle of existence down on the ground of non-existence, and burned down their homes. The rest fled into the quarter of hopelessness. By royal fiat, their lands and farms were given to the Khugyani and he (Muhammad Husayn Khan Jawanshir) returned (to Jalalabad) where His Majesty gave him leave to return to his own governorship in Hazarah-i Bahsud.

After this, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan with the regular army and artillery set out in pursuit of those perfidious rebels heading for Andarah and the high mountains where the Sangu Khayl men had taken refuge. He ordered the tribal forces to climb to the tops of the mountains on the two sides of the valley while he himself with one hundred men from the Ardal regiment, one hundred from the Chahar Yari (Four Friends⁹) regiment, one hundred from the Herati regiment, one hundred horsemen from the Hazhdah Nahri (Eighteen Canal¹⁰) regiment, and two mule guns would advance up the middle of the valley. There was a fierce fight and the blood of many of the treacherous ones flowed into the ground. Twenty-two soldiers from the regular army were wounded and one was killed. Ultimately, the group of the evil doers fled for refuge into inaccessible mountain terrain and so Ghulam Haydar Khan could find no way to move forward and so returned to the army camp at Dih-i Bala. The properties of those people, still remaining after distribution to the Khugyani, he divided among the Tajiks of Bishbulaq.

During this time, Muhammad Shah Khan the son of Ishik Aqasi (Court Chamberlain) Amir Jan Barakza'i was honored with appointment by His Majesty to the position of *ishik-aqāsī* to His Highness, the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan, to replace Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Akbar Khan. He left Jalalabad for Kabul and there he was diligent in serving the prince.

During this time, Nazir Nasir Khan was appointed to Lamqan by His Majesty and a farman went out to Mirza Muhammad Sharif Khan, the governor and sar daftar there, telling him that, together with Nazir Nasir Khan he should either arrest the sons of Malik Ba'i Khan, Sahibzadah Mir 'Alam Khan, and Jalandar Khan and the grandsons of Sufi Khan Bayani who were in the Kuh-i

⁹ RM: "Four Friends" refers to the first four Muslim caliphs and is an assertion of Sunni identity. "O, Four Friends!" (*yā chahār yār*) is the Sunni battlecry comparable to the Shi'i "O, 'Alī" (*yā 'Alī*).

¹⁰ RM: Eighteen Canals is the name of the irrigation system at Balkh.

Najil and were preying on the property and livestock of His Highness's subjects or drive them from those mountains. The two men entered the Darrah-i Najil; the retainers of Sufi Khan escaped, but they arrested the sons of Malik Ba'i Khan and Sahibzadah Mir ° Alam Khan and their companions and sent them to His Majesty where at his command they were put under house arrest (*nazarband*).

Also during this time the people of Chaghansaray turned their heads away from the royal command and merited having their ears given a good boxing.

During these events, His Highness announced a four-item addendum to his agreement with the English government:

First: The British government does not have and will never have any responsibility (taklīf) in the government of Afghanistan.

Second: That government (the English) is obliged to rise up to help if any foreign government attempts to interfere in Afghanistan.

Third: It [the English government] should provide to His Highness any official memorandum [wathīqah] which [deals with] the delineation [judā namayad] of the borders with Russia and Iran.

Fourth: It should pay the government of Afghanistan annually, simply to maintain the ties of friendship and the condition of unity, the sum of twelve laks of English rupees. The end.

Having taken upon itself the obligation to repel foreign nations it provided the God-given government [of Afghanistan] with the border points and lines dividing Afghanistan from Russia and Iran and defining the borders of the three countries. It agreed to send the twelve laks of rupees and the above conditions were registered.¹¹

During this time, His Highness was attracted by the idea of incorporating the province of Bajawur into the kingdom by treaty and obtaining the allegiance of its people. *In view of the first article mentioned above*, he issued a *manshūr* to Sahibzadah Muhammad Sa'id Khan Bajawuri saying that in order to unite the Afghans, he should send the leaders of that province to the throne of good fortune so that an agreement can be established vis à vis the affairs of its people.

His Highness Honors Mama Khayl with a Visit from Jalalabad

After sending the farman summoning the leaders of Bajawur, His Highness ordered the victorious regiments which had been assigned to punish the rebels whome we have discussed above, each of which had reached such places as Kunar, Pashad, Shiwah, Jalalabad, and Ghani Khayl Shinwar, /414/ to make themselves ready. He himself with a personal bodyguard (lit: army of the stirrup) intended to make his summer quarters and pass the days of greatest heat (Tammuz, or July) in Mama Khayl in the Khugyani district. In the last part of Sha°ban 1300/early July 1883 he unfurled the banners of returning towards

¹¹ RM: The italicized sections here and just below were omitted from the Kabul edition. See Tehran, 1994, 68.

Kabul from Jalalabad. Stopping at Mama Khayl, he set up summer-quarters. [There] he drafted a proclamation and sent it to the Bajawur leaders accompanied by Azad Khan Mohmand. It read:

Our Highness has no object and no ambition in the province of Bajawur beyond the implementation of the ordinances of the Holy Law of the Best of Men [the Prophet Muhammad], the protection and preservation of the borders of the kingdom of Islam, and the peace and tranquility of the people. No leader of a tribe will be changed and after they accept allegiance and place their necks beneath the rule of the government, they will remain (as leaders). I consider it an obligation to take the initiative in implementing these things [i.e. establishing the Holy Law and peace and tranquility]. Beyond that no further burden will be placed on their shoulders.

After the dispatch of this proclamation, the arrival of the khans of Bajawur at the justice-dispensing court, the bestowal of robes of honor and favors, their acceptance of the royal farman, and their return home, on Wednesday, the 18th of Shawwal/22 August (1883), the victorious banners were unfurled towards Kabul and after the alighting of the royal person in Kabul, he ordered Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan to go from Jalalabad and station himself with the Herati regiment and four cannons at Mama Khayl and finish work on the fortress and gardens, which had been begun at His Highness's command, as well as related buildings and avenues. Mir ʿAta Khan *birgid*, who had just been promoted to the rank of general because of his services in punishing and giving just desserts to evildoers around Jalalabad, was ordered to stay in Jalalabad and keep an ear out for any sounds coming from any despicable trouble-seekers of the Jalalabad region or those living in the mountains so that should they again begin to cause trouble, he could punish them.

During this time, weapons which had been purchased from the English government were being shipped from Peshawar to Kabul. On the road between Jalalabad and Kabul, Marjan Khayl men who had chosen to join up with a certain Yar Muhammad and Amir Muhammad in the Aghaz Mountains (*Kūh-i Aghaz*) and were robbing caravans and merchants, attacked the weapons shipment but were unable to carry anything off, thanks to the stout defense of its guards, and so withdrew in frustration. Those evildoers had yet to be punished when again men of the Shinwar mountains, incited by the sons of Sikandar Khan, were the source of a revolt and turned their faces from obedience to the government. Because of this uprising, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, at His Highness's order, returned from Mama Khayl to Jalalabad and set off for Kabul accompanied by one hundred regular army cavalrymen. There he was received by His Majesty and obtained a set of instructions for punishing the rebels. Without further delay he headed [back] to Jalalabad. From there he set out with a vengeance-seeking army aiming to chastise the Shinwar and other obstreperous people. The sons of Sikandar Khan saw themselves on the brink of

destruction because of the advance of the royal army and fled into the mountainous terrain of the Rahimdad Khayl Mohmand. °Umra Khan, by way of serving religion and nation, fell upon the Rahimdad Khayl, people who had given refuge to these ill-wishers of the government, and much blood was shed. Eventually, °Umra Khan was forced to ask for help from government officials and as a consequence, at the order of His Highness, mighty regiments were dispatched from Jalalabad in that direction and the evildoers were given their just desserts. The sons of Sikandar Khan opted for flight and left that mountain region for the desert of adversity. After these evildoers had fled, the people of Shinwar sought peace and inscribed a pact on the margins of a Holy Qur'an, put their seals on it, and through the field marshal sent it to the court, declaring that they would not henceforth be travelers on the path of trouble and evildoing and would not let their feet stray from the highway of obedience. His Highness, out of regard for the Book of God, forgave the sins and misdeeds of that group. In order to insure that they would not deviate from the road of obedience, he assessed a large fine and collected it from them.

Meantime, some Waziris who had been received by His Majesty and gladdened by the bestowal of robes of honor and other favors, left with a governor, judge, and tax collector and at Urgūn were stopped by men of the Kabul Khayl who prevented the government officials from entering Waziri territory and carrying out the sacred admonitions and prohibitions (*awāmir wa-nawāhi ilāhi*) and the royal commands. News of this reached His Majesty's complaint-hearing ears from those government appointees accompanying the Waziri leaders. He issued a *raqam* which said:

They should stay at Urgun and there be watchful for any movement of war banners. We have known about the past duplicity of the Waziris and that is why numerous times we told those leaders who presented themselves at the court, 'First you should go to your tribes, make them obedient and loyal and then take a governor and magistrate to carry out the "limits of God" (*hudūd*), the divine ordinances, and royal orders in that /415/ territory.' But they would not agree and purely for gaining an advantage and obtaining robes of honor, they took state officials and are now ashamed of how their actions belie their declarations and assertions. Since those people are accustomed to nothing beyond highway robbery and deceitfulness, they will never walk the path of obedience. When the odor of this nation's move to take possession of their homes is diffused they will declare themselves loyal and obedient to the English government and will take sizeable sums as subsidy (*an'ām wa tankhwāh*). Then when it comes to that nation's implementing the laws of government, they will shout out the tumultuous cry of holy war (*ghazā*) and mountain by mountain will go on the attack beating their war drums and shouting [the battlecry], "*Yā Chahār Yār*" (O Four Friends!)." And when their deceit no longer fools the two governments (the British and the Afghan), they will revert to

what is their innate and natural activity—thievery and highway robbery. Therefore, the regiments, which the year before this under the command of Sardar Shirindil Khan were stationed in Katawaz, and are there now and well prepared for just this kind of thing, must punish that wicked tribe. The end.

But because of involvement in other matters and despite the fact that no one could recall His Highness ever failing to carry through on his intentions, the mobilization of an army there was put off and then postponed.

*Events and Negotiations which Took Place in Qandahar,
Chakhansur, and Elsewhere in this Year*

During the events recorded for this year, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Farah, had sent a letter accompanied by Sar Faraz Khan Barakza'i to the son of Amir °Alam Khan Qa'ini concerning the return of stolen property belonging to the people of Sistan and the province of Chakhansur—the goods and livestock which the subjects of Iran and Afghanistan had stolen from each other—and informed him of the instructions issued by His Highness. He in turn sent Mirza Hasan, a *sulṭān* i.e. a captain (*kubṭān*) of the regular infantry, to Sardar Yusuf Khan in Farah telling him to reach an agreement between the two sides according to tribal custom and then return. But since Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan had sent an inventory of the property plundered on both sides to officials in the capital he could not resolve the dispute without permission and instructions from His Highness. Once (His Highness) was notified, an order was issued which said that the subjects of both sides should swear an oath as to what had been stolen from them and thus sever the thread of dispute. But because the emissary of the son of Amir °Alam Khan had not waited but returned before the arrival of this order, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan dispatched Muhammad °Umar Khan Nurza'i to Amir °Alam Khan with a message saying that the stolen property of both sides should be restored according to the command of His Highness. Amir °Alam Khan used as a pretext to excuse himself from doing this the fact that he had to go to Mashhad to meet His Highness Nasir al-Din Shah who was making a pilgrimage there from Tehran. Muhammad °Umar Khan returned to Farah empty-handed. So the restoration of looted property to its owners was delayed.

During this time, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan sent a letter to Amir °Alam Khan concerning Sardar Ibrahim Khan Baluch's pledging allegiance to Afghanistan. Because of Amir °Alam Khan's instigation, he had yet to bow his head to the farman's writ. The letter [to Amir °Alam Khan] said that he should not deceive him so as to prevent him from taking the path of loyalty nor incite him. Amir °Alam Khan, who had gone to Mashhad, conferred with the viceroy of Khurasan about the message and about Muhammad Yusuf's intent. The viceroy responded saying, "The government of Iran has no right to interfere in the affairs of the kingdom of Afghanistan nor to keep its subjects from being

obedient." Through a letter from Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, these words reached the attentive ears of His Highness who issued a farman telling him to delay no longer in admonishing and chastising Sardar Ibrahim Khan and either win him over or crush him, demolishing the structure of his existence down to its foundations. Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan then sent him and his son Khan Jahan a letter inviting them to come to Farah. He also drafted and sent out a number of proclamations containing words of fear and hope and promise and threat to the elders (*kadkhudāyān*) of the people living in Chakhansur telling them to take the path of obedience along with Sardar Ibrahim Khan and his son. But if the latter should refuse and turn his face from good fortune, they should not assist him lest they be destroyed and cast to the winds when a royal army is sent there. On receiving these proclamations, the people of Chakhansur agreed to (take) the road of obedience and their elders prepared the things necessary to go and see Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan in Farah. Observing this, Sardar Ibrahim Khan was greatly perturbed and before the elders could set out for Farah he dispatched Na'ib Safar Khan along with two elders who were his close confidants /416/ to Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan along with one horse, six cows, and several swan-feather pillows as gifts. But secretly, he persuaded the elders to refuse to swear obedience. Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan became aware of his deceit and sent Muhammad Siddiq Khan Barakza'i and Mir °Abd al-Rahim Khan *sartip* along with Sardar Ibrahim Khan's envoys to Chakhansur. The royal lashkar made Sardar Ibrahim Khan tremble with fear. He wanted to send his son to Sardar Muhammad Yusuf as a ploy but his son refused his father's order. He had not yet come up with another plan when Na'ib Safar Khan and Bunyad Khan along with 150 of the elders of Chakhansur and the envoys sent by Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan entered Farah on the path of obedience and bowed their necks to the royal command. Sardar Muhammad Yusuf gladdened the hearts of all with the bestowal of robes of honor and gave them leave to return home accompanied by a lashkar of regular foot and horse which was ordered to garrison Chakhansur, Kadah, and Nad °Ali. Sardar Ibrahim Khan realized he was in serious danger because of the way events were unfolding and so he decided to flee to Amir °Alam Khan. Not long afterwards, Malik Khan, his son, turned away from him and went to Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan in Farah with his family. But at the order of His Highness, he expelled him from the soil of Afghanistan and sent him to his father in that part of Sistan which belongs to Iran.

In this time, Mir Ma°sum Khan, who had been sent as a gesture of friendship by the viceroy of Khurasan to the threshold of world refuge reached Farah where received him warmly. During their sessions together, (Sardar Muhammad Yusuf) related stories about the oppression and arrogance of Amir °Alam Khan who had plundered the property of subjects of the part of Sistan which belongs to Afghanistan. (Mir Ma°sum) took an inventory of all the property which Amir °Alam Khan's officials had stolen and sent it to the viceroy of Khurasan in Mashhad so that the outcome would be restitution and the prevention of further such activity on the part of Amir °Alam Khan. The

governor (viceroy) of Mashhad, sent Muhammad Mahdi Khan, one of his retainers (*pishkhidmat*) to Qa'in to Amir 'Alam Khan to settle things.

Meantime, Mir Ma'sum Khan, the viceroy of Khurasan's envoy, reached the capital and was honored with an audience along with Mirza Rabi', a merchant and retainer (*nawkar*) of Amir 'Alam Khan who as previously recounted, recognizing the good fortune of attending (lit. kissing) a gathering (*mahfal*) in the Presence, had obtained the honor of becoming acquainted with officials of the foot of the throne of authority. His Highness, in the course of the amicable discussions which he had with him relating to the government of Iran, also mentioned the matter of the property stolen from the subjects of Sistan belonging to both Afghanistan and Iran. It was agreed with Mir Ma'sum Khan, the envoy of the viceroy of Khurasan, that the royal order which is in the best interests of the people cannot be violated. Therefore in accordance with that *hukm*, "it is obligatory that the subjects of Iranian Sistan should come to Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan in Farah and there swear an oath to what had been stolen from them. Similarly, the people of Afghan Sistan should go to Amir 'Alam Khan in Qa'in and get possession of their livestock and other stolen property."

At the time when Mir Ma'sum Khan received leave to return to Khurasan, in accordance with the agreement (*qarārdād*) which he and His Highness had concluded, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan at His Majesty's order and instructions (*a'lām*) sent to Amir 'Alam Khan in Qa'in Muhammad 'Umar Khan Nurza'i who once before, as already noted, had been sent to Amir 'Alam Khan to resolve this matter and had returned empty-handed. Amir 'Alam Khan who considered the confiscated property to be for his own consumption, by means of feeble excuses given to Muhammad 'Umar Khan, the owners of the property, and Muhammad Mahdi Khan the *pishkhidmat* of the viceroy of Khurasan, procrastinated (lit: "sent today into tomorrow, tomorrow into next week, and next week into next month") until the property owners were frustrated and returned home. On their heels, Muhammad 'Umar Khan came to Farah, Muhammad Mahdi Khan went to Khurasan, and the resolution of the dispute and the curtailment of litigation never materialized.

During this time, the Achakza'i people turned their heads away from the royal order, attacked Captain Shukr Allah Khan and the regular infantry who were stationed in that territory, and began an uprising. The governor of Qandahar, dispatched Colonel Ghulam Hasan Khan Qizilbash with regular cavalry who were under his command along with a contingent of regular infantry to chastise and punish those insurgents. In fear of the royal army's might, they scattered and ran away and sought a truce. By way of supplication, they sent Iqbal Khan Nurza'i and Muhammad A'zam Khan Barakza'i to intercede on their behalf with the governor of Qandahar. At first he refused to accept their excuses and then left it that they should take on the obligation of a fine for this misdeed and stand bond against thieves and highwaymen and never again get involved in an uprising. Then they would find security. Otherwise they could expect punishment for their deeds. The Achakza'i agreed to these binding terms

and took on as their own obligation making sure the roads were safe. They sent 12,000 rupees as compensation for their crimes and thus removed their lives from jeopardy.

Also at this time General Shir Muhammad Khan /417/ Andari took two cases of cartridges (*kārtūsh*, i.e. *fishang*) from the royal armory. When General °Ali °Askar Khan learned of this he strongly admonished him saying, "We have in our possession millions (*hazārān-i hazār*) of weapons and fuses and ammunition by the *kharwār* (bought) with the nation's money. If we who are the highest officers perpetrate such wrongful acts, what can the government hope from us, and through us from the army, and through the army from the subjects?" These words angered General Shir Muhammad Khan and the two men's words led to a fight until each one of them asked the men under their command to strike down and injure those on the other side and so the army was divided down the middle. What was going on was reported to the attentive ears of His Highness by the Qandahar news writers and he summoned the two generals. He also sought the truth of the matter from the governor of Qandahar. When the two men presented themselves at the sublime threshold and obtained the honor of kissing it, from the words between the two sides and a letter from the governor, His Highness determined that General Shir Muhammad Khan was at fault and so suspended him from command and sent him to Kabul. General °Ali °Askar Khan was commended and given leave to return to Qandahar.

*Constructing a Garden Called the "Manzil Bagh" in Qandahar
and an Account of the Badiza'i people of the Achakza'i Tribe*

Also during these days, at the order of the crown-wearing potentate, His Highness, Amir °Abd al-Rahman Khan, Manzil Bagh was constructed at a distance of 3,800 paces (*gām*), approximately equivalent to 9,500 feet, from the city of Qandahar. The equivalent of forty *jaribs* of land were chosen east of the city for the planting of trees and laying out buildings and a garden wall and it was given the name "Manzil Bagh." In the course of two years, with the expenditure of one lak and twenty thousand rupees, it was finished as were its heart-stopping buildings and its pleasure-increasing boulevard (*khiyābān*) and terraces (*chaman-hā*).

To return to the story: The governor of Qandahar dispatched Major Muhammad Karim Khan with a sizeable group of Sakhlu infantry and others to chastise and punish the tribe (*tā'ifāh*) of Badiza'i, part of the confederation (*firqah*) of the Achakza'i living in Rigistan who had not placed their heads under the farman. He caught the Achakza'i unawares and attacked them, totally confounding them. Unable even to draw their weapons, they fled in confusion. Major Muhammad Karim Khan captured the leaders of that insurgent tribe, put them in fetters and chains and with the Sakhlu infantry secured the fortress of Mir °Alam Khan which lay on the border of the district of Shurabak. Then, having posted numbers of Sakhlu infantry in appropriate places and having

placed the necklace of obedience around the necks of those people, the major himself, with the captives, returned to Qandahar.

During this time the Hazarahs of Chalkur district, pulled their heads from the confines of obedience. Tukhi infantry and cavalry with a regular lashkar, five squads (*bayraq*) of Sakhlū infantry, and five gun carriages by order of the governor of Qandahar set out to punish and capture those uncivilized (*wahshī-manash*) rebels. Having boxed their ears, they put the necklace of obedience on them. Part of the army was left there and the rest returned to Qandahar.

Also in these times, (late 1300/autumn 1883)), His Highness laid the foundations for the Royal Mosque (*masjid-i shāhī*) in the Woodsellers' Quarter of Kabul. Under the supervision of Ghulam Nabi Khan and with the expenditure of much money it was brought to completion. Two hundred *kharwārs* of iron, which was much less used relative to other materials like brick, stone, wood, plaster (*gach*), and slaked lime (*āhak*), was employed for the arches of the arcade and the domes. Beyond this, the salaries of the builders, engineers (or architects—*mi^cmārān*), carpenters and laborers amounted to approximately two or three laks of rupees.

*Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's Situation and an
Account of Maymanah and Its Wālī, Dilawar Khan*

Also in this year, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan, who, had dismissed the envoys of Dilawar Khan, regent (*wālī*) of Maymanah, from Sar-i Pul, as was recorded under the events of the year 1299, sent Sayyid Mir Jan Khan Khawanin Sawar with them to collect the 50,000 tangahs which remained of the one lak which the *wālī* was obliged to pay. He himself left for Shibarghan where he bought seventeen horses from the elders of Panjdah, who had come to pay their respects. Ten of them were a gift for His Highness, two as a gift for the prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan, two for the prince Sardar Nasr Allah Khan, one for the governor of Kabul, Sardar Ahmad Khan, one as a present for Qazi ^cAbd al-Rahman Khan, the *khan^culūm*,¹² /418/ and one to be given to Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan, the *dabīr*. He outfitted them with elaborately tooled harness and sent them off. These were accorded the honor of acceptance and approbation by His Majesty and the noble princes. After sending the horses, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan put the affairs of Shibarghan to rights and then went on to Andkhud. There too he organized matters and then entered Mazar-i Sharif where he made plans for a wedding feast for his son, Sardar Muhammad Isma^cil Khan. Blessed with a gift of 15,000 tangahs from the consort of nobility, His Highness, he celebrated the occasion with joy and happiness.

During this time, Dilawar Khan, the *wālī* of Maymanah, having turned away from the promise he had given and the covenant he had made, sent to the threshold of world-refuge several of the leaders of Maymanah along with a few

¹² RM: The *khān^culūm* was the chief justice. See Kakar (1979), 24.

camels and horses and a letter of supplication and excuses. His Highness was outraged by his made-up tales and tricks and by way of chastisement wrote a *manshūr* saying:

he has nothing better to do than spending his time trying to think up tricks and stratagems to delay the dispatch of a royal army through evasion (lit: "through if only-s and perhaps-s"). He is ignorant of the fact that the padshah of Afghanistan and the part of Turkistan that belongs to it, whoever he may be, is compelled not to relinquish protection of the various borders and frontiers of his regardless of what a burden it may be. It is necessary therefore that he bring under his control all the territories near the borders and Maymanah, just like Badakhshan, is a border (*sarḥadd*) of Afghanistan. If it ever goes out from under the control of the ruler of Afghanistan that will mean Afghanistan is no longer an independent state. It is now (my) duty that Maymanah be taken possession of because as long as it is not possessed, the borders of Afghanistan will not be secure. Forty years ago, it was under the control of a separate governor and the amirs of Afghanistan were not particularly concerned about conquering it, largely because they lacked the kind of authority we have now and were continually fighting internecine struggles. Now things are not the way he thinks they are, and he should not permit himself to think that the government will not occupy Maymanah and will be worried about the neighbors in Turkistan. He doesn't realize that it is outside their power and capability to put themselves within the borders of Afghanistan, and so get involved in discussions [about what is going on there]. It is also highly improbable that foreign neighbors would recognize the *wālī* of Maymanah or have the power to violate the governmental agreements (*shurūṭ-i marbūṭ-i dawlatī*) or participate in matters where they have never interfered before and don't have the capability to interfere now. In any case, if he thinks himself a big shot (*buzurg*) and takes a path contrary to friendship and submission, (he should realize that) he is not more powerful than the mir of Qataghan and Badakhshan who submitted, while he has remained disobedient. In short, he should either go before Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan on the path of obedience or tread a path to the court so that a portion of the revenues of that territory may be assigned for his own maintenance, part be handed over to government officials, and a royal force be assigned to the environs of Maymanah, one of Afghanistan's borders, to occupy itself with protecting it. The city of Maymanah will remain under his discretionary control and no one but he will have fiscal control (*ʿamal wa dukhl*) of the province. A government force will be stationed near Maymanah and that part of the province's revenues which would be agreed as belonging to the government will be handed over annually. If these terms should be unpalatable to him and he

should choose to be obstinate, his just desserts will be meted out. The end.

At the time of sending this good-advice filled letter, two hundred mounted and one hundred foot of Qarah Taq Turkman raided the area around Andkhud and made off with several flocks of sheep belonging to people who were pasturing there for the summer. °Abd al-Ghani, the governor of Andkhud, pursued and overtook them with 200 regular cavalry and a band of Uzbek militia cavalry, and fought a pitched battle with them. One hundred of the mounted and fifty of the thieves on foot were struck down and several taken prisoner. Sixteen camels, several horses, and the weapons of the slain were seized as booty. Nine of °Abd al-Ghani's men were wounded and one was killed. He returned with the stolen sheep and the heads of the slain and erected a minaret with the heads as a warning to all who saw it.

Meanwhile, the captives from Badakhshan who, because of their evil-doing, had been incarcerated in the custody of Ish Muhammad Khan, the paternal uncle of Sultan Murad Khan, the Mīr of Qataghan, exerted themselves, got out, and began to bedevil Ish Muhammad Khan's people, attacking his family and retainers with sticks and stones. At the order of His Highness, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor (*ḥukmrān*) of Qataghan and Badakhshan, executed (*bi-yāsā rasānīd*) all the prisoners in retribution for their actions.

Simultaneous with the abovementioned events, a number of farmans went out from His Highness to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan; Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qataghan and Badakhshan; Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the viceroy (*nā'ib al-ḥukūmah*) of Herat; Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, governor (*ḥākim*) of Farah; Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, *ḥākim* of Qandahar; and Dad Muhammad Khan, *ḥākim* of Jalalabad, who /419/ had been appointed governor there in place of Sardar °Abd al-Ghafur Khan. The farman instructed them to sketch and explain on a map the borders of the areas under their jurisdiction including the wastelands, deserts, and waterless plains (*ṣaḥārī wa bawādī wa dasht*), the depressions (*hāmūn*) and uplands (*kuhsār*), the pastures, saltlands, meadows, and 'dead' lands (*kishtzār wa shūrahzār wa marghzār wa arz-i mamāt*), underground canals, streams, and springs (*qanawāt wa rūdbār wa chashmah-sār*) along with the points that delineate them (*bā-niqāṭ-i fāṣilah*) and the villages lying on either side of the border. Having mapped these, they should send the maps to the auspicious throne so that these could be sent to the officials of foreign governments and recorded on surveys and maps. Thus having fixed the borders, the government's seal would be placed on the maps and henceforth no dispute would arise between these provinces and foreign governments and for a very long time the amirs of Afghanistan would be secure from other's meddling.

Because of this matter's arising and because of other events, the business of conquering Maymanah was put off to a more opportune time as will be recorded in due course—God willing..

*Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, grandson of the late Wazir Fath Khan
Enters the Mountains of the Mangal and Incites Trouble*

Also during this period, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, son of Sardar Muhammad Quli Khan, entered the mountainous territory of the Jaji and Mangal and joined forces with Sa^odu. Inciting the people there, he launched a rebellion. Turning his head from the royal command, he opened the hand of plundering and killing poor and defenseless people. General Ghulam Haydar Khan Urakza^oi who was stationed in Khust with a regular force and artillery, marched to destroy that evil group. When he reached the village of Tarak-i Mangal, he immediately attacked and took the fight from there to the villages of Sur, Aman Kut, Sabari, and Silab and did not stay the hand from combat until nightfall. At night he retired to a camping place. Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan and Sa^odu with those evil people launched a night attack on the camp. From seven that night until four in the afternoon the following day, the market in combat waxed hot. Neither side relaxed for even a minute and for twenty-one hours the tools of war were put to good use. This lasted until fifty of the evildoers were killed and more than one hundred wounded had fallen on the field of battle at which point they turned their backs and fled. Of the royal army, four men were wounded. Five men from the Herati infantry regiment and one from the Sakhlu infantry went missing in action and what happened to them remained a mystery.

After this victory, the villages which the royal force had occupied were torched and burned completely to the ground. Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan and Sa^odu fled to the district of Tira.

During this time Mirza Mustamand Khan, Mirza Muhammad Tahir Khan the son of Mirza Muhammad Zaman Khan, and a Hindu, Diwan Arji, clerks under Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan *mustawfi* who were aware of mismanagement (*naqā'is*) in the affairs of the *diwān* agreed to act together to bring him down. But, since they did not think that without other trusted supporters of the government confirming what they said they had enough power to do this, the three went to Qazi ^oAbd al-Rahman Khan, Khan-i ^oUlam, persuaded him to join them and got his agreement to assign his son, Sa^od al-Din Khan, to go and see all the notables and worthies at court and make them all of one accord in opposing Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan at which point the three men would lay their complaint before His Highness. By declaring that the dignitaries at court would verify what they said they expected that this Highness would obtain information and satisfaction because of their words and put Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan under investigation. Thus, in accordance with the plan that they had thought up, they divulged the matter that they had kept secret up to now. At first, His Highness attributed what they said to avarice and ambition and paid no attention. Instead, he reassured Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, who had become frightened after learning of what was going on. His accusers, out of fear now of the harm he could do them, were forced to make allies of a few other office clerks and adopted the strategem of showing friendship and cooperation toward Mir Muhammad Husayn. After a while, they succeeded in deceiving him that

they were his friends and, in a kind of theft, diverted two laks of rupees of *sāʿir* revenues¹³ from the treasury and, with Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan's complicity, into their own pockets. They then informed those court dignitaries whom they had earlier made their allies about this. Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan *dabīr*, who had supported them, brought it to the attention of His Highness and all were imprisoned. Mir Abu'l-Hasan the son of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan learned of his father's situation and killed himself with a pistol shot. Because of his suicide /420/ his father was freed while the others were thrown down the well they had dug for themselves and the entire sum of government revenues was taken from them. Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan was dismissed as head (*mustawfī*) of the Chancellery (*dīvān-i aʿlā*), the royal bureaucracy (*dafātir-i pādshāhī*) was divided into four parts—the Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western, and each section was given to a trustworthy bureaucrat. Mirza Muhammad Zaman Khan Kabuli, whose son-in-law, Mirza Khan Shirin Khan, had informed His Highness of the loss of the revenues owed from previous years and verified the loss, was named chief (*sar daftar*) of all four sections. Mir Abu Talib Khan, the brother of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, who had been promoted to the position of *sar daftar* of Qandahar was summoned to Kabul. Fearful because of his brother's dismissal, he fled, as will come in due course, God willing.

His Highness Increases the Stipend of Sardar ʿAbd Allah Khan Taymuri and His Retainers; Awarding the Rank of Brigadier to Zabardast Khan; an Explanation of Fath Allah Beg's Situation; and Other Events in Herat

Also during this year, thanks to a letter from Field Marshal Faramurz Khan, His Majesty learned of the exceptional service and integrity of Col. (*karnīl*) Zabardast Khan and he was promoted to the rank of brigadier (*birgid*).

Also, the sum of 7,500 *qirān* rupees was added to the base stipend of Sardar ʿAbd Allah Khan Taymuri who had obtained the felicity of kissing the foot of the throne, along with the khans of Herat, and up to this time had stayed at court due to certain matters. The sum total of his stipend was now fixed at 10,000 *qirān* rupees. Similarly, a 500-*qirān* rupee supplement was added to the base stipend of his nephews so that each now had a 1,000-*qirān* rupee stipend. His brothers, who had not had any largesse from the generous table of His Highness, were successful in obtaining 1,000-*qirān* rupee stipends by which the skirts of their hopes were adorned. Eight thousand “raw [pure metal?] Tabrizi” (*khām-i Tabrīzī*) rupees were granted as a supplement to the salary of the viceroy of Herat, Muhammad Sarwar Khan giving him a total salary of 10,000 “cooked [alloyed] Kabuli” (*pukhtah Kābulī*) rupees. Forty-six *tūmāns* were granted as a supplement to the stipend and living allowance (*mawājib wa ʿarf-i khwān*) of Naʿib Sultan Khan Afshar fixing his total at 4,666 “cooked Kabuli” rupees and

¹³ RM: *Sāʿir* revenues are derived from the government fee charged for a place in the market. (Afghani-Nawis? check!)

two *‘abbāsīs*. A twenty-eight *tūmān* supplement was added to the base salary (*tankhwāh*) of Ahmnad *‘*Ali Khan, *mīr-shabb* of Herat so that his total annual stipend (*mawājib*) was recorded in the ledger-book as 1,666 Kabuli rupees and two *‘abbāsīs*.

After their stipends had been increased, Sardar *‘*Abd Allah Khan and his nephews were given leave to go to Herat. He was told that he, Sardar Anbiya Khan, Muhammad Khan Nizam al-Dawlah, and Yalangtush Khan Jamshidi should reside within the jurisdiction of the viceroy of Herat and should do whatever he told them to do.

Also (at this time) General Ghaws al-Din Khan went from Farah to Herat at the order of His Highness where he took up military duties under the command of Field Marshal Faramurz Khan.

During this time, Fath Allah Beg Firuzkuhi, whose rebellion, evildoing, and flight have been previously recounted, through the splendid efforts and excellent arrangements of the viceroy of Herat, Muhammad Sarwar Khan, came forward on the path of obedience and proceeded along the highway of service. His money and property which had been confiscated by the diwan were now restored to him. His son, Niyaz Beg, who had come to Kabul with the khans of Herat, as was earlier recounted, and been placed under surveillance, now obtained the honor of leave to go and returned to his own home and family. His Highness issued a *ḥukm* saying "Sardar Anbiya Khan and Fath Allah Beg, whom the people of Firuzkuh have of their own free will chosen as their leaders, are the leaders of the *qawm* and no one else should lay claim to leadership."

At this time, the viceroy of Herat summoned Niyaz Beg, the son of Fath Allah Beg, who had returned to his home and ordered him to go to Firuz Kuh with Muhammad Khan Tukhi and 200 of his father, Fath Allah Beg's, militia cavalrymen (*suwārān-i gushādah*) to collect from the Firuzkuhis the diwan revenues and the money stolen from the Hazarahs of Day Zangi. He was also to free the Hazarah captives the Firuzkuhis had taken and to restore the stolen money to its rightful owners. The party went to Firuz Kuh and joined up with Sharbat Beg, the nephew (sister's son) of Tatar Beg, who had been given the same charge prior to these two men (Niyaz Beg and Muhammad Khan Tukhi). Of the total of 600 head of sheep and 50 horses which had been stolen, and sixteen Hazarah pilgrims on their way back from Mashhad who had been taken captive, they managed to recover 400 sheep, 30 horses, and all the prisoners and, according to royal command, sent them all to Na'ib Sultan Khan Afshar. He in turn forwarded them to Mir Yusuf Beg Hazarah in La¹. The prisoners /421/ were reunited with their relatives and the stolen property with its owners. To reward this service, which Niyaz Bik the son of Fath Allah Bik had performed with integrity, His Highness increased by 1,000 *qirān* rupees the base stipend for the 200 horsemen belonging to Fath Allah Bik which was 10,000 *qirān* rupees.

During these events, *‘*Ali Akbar Khan the son of Amir *‘*Alam Khan Qa'ini sent out Kadkhuda Pasand with several other of his own thieving retainers (lit: stipend-consuming thieves of his) to rob and plunder. They made off with a flock of sheep belonging to Kadkhuda Faqir Muhammad of Nad *‘*Ali. The men

of Nad °Ali rose in retaliation and pursued them, attacking the Sistanis. Two of the Sistanis were killed and one of the owners of the sheep was also killed. A few of the sheep, panicked by the gunfire and the shouts of the men in combat got separated from the flock, and were retrieved (by the men of Nad °Ali) but the Sistanis made off with the rest of the flock.

In like manner, Ibrahim Khan and Mir Ghiyas al-Din, two of the retainers (*nawkarān*) of the son of Amir °Alam Khan robbed °Abd al-Haqq, a merchant from Qandahar who, having sold his indigo at Banjar was returning to Qandahar carrying with him the cash proceeds from the sale as well as goods to trade. They took all his cash and goods but, not satisfied with that, one of the *nawkars*, Ibrahim Baruki rustled 120 camels from the district of Garmsir inside Afghanistan. He gave one-fifth of the total or 25 (sic) camels to the son of Amir °Alam Khan and the rest he kept for himself as loot. His Highness learned of this from reports from officials (*kārpardāzān*) in Chakhansur and sent a farman to the governor of Herat telling him:

He should notify the viceroy of Khurasan that he should stop the son of Amir °Alam Khan from this kind of unacceptable behavior. Otherwise the patience of those guarding the borders of Afghanistan will be sorely tried and they will want to fight back, leading to large-scale trouble. If we are not informed of such incidents and don't seek to redress them, how will the business of rule and government be properly carried out? If we are informed of such incidents and we solicit the officials of the government of Iran but they fail to respond and then they make the evildoing of highway robbers the subject of negotiations and the 100-year-old picture of friendship and unity is thrown into the waters of disagreement and contrariness, no good will come of this. On our part, if, in order to destroy the wickedness of the Sistanis, we should permit our subjects to plunder (them), this would be tantamount to our thinking that a shameful thing which we would not approve of for others to do is acceptable for us. In any event, it is up to officials of the government of Iran to resolve this affair and redress the grievance for the right thing lies in stopping the son of Amir °Alam Khan and prevent him from further evildoing and wickedness. The end.

When the contents of this *manshūr* reached the governor of Khurasan, he sent Muhammad Mahdi Khan *sarhang* the son of Abu'l-Fath Khan to Birjand to retrieve the stolen property from the son of Amir °Alam Khan. The viceroy of Herat ordered Abu'l-Hasan Khan Afshar to go there with him and resolve the matter in accordance with governmental and religious ordinances (*qānūn-i dawlatī wa sharī'atī*).

*Demolishing the Musalla of Herat and Other
Events Occurring There*

Also in this period, an order was issued from the throne for the demolition of the Musalla of Herat which had been extremely well built of stone and brick during the time of Sultan Husayn a descendant (*nabīrah*) of Amir Timur Gurgan and had withstood the ravages of time up until now. It was leveled with explosives so that it would not serve as a place of refuge for enemies at times of siege and war and so be a breach in the defenses of Herat (*rakhnah dar ḥiṣār-i Harat rāh na-yābad*).

During this time, the governor was directed to send a force to garrison Bala Murghab under the command of General Ghaws al-Din Khan. The force comprised one regiment of the regular army, 500 Sakhlu infantry, six cannons, 400 local militia (*gushādah*) horsemen, 500 Jamshidi cavalry, and 500 Hazarah horsemen for a total of 2,500 veteran cavalry and infantry and 1,000 laborers. After the lashkar established itself there, he should relocate 1,000 Jamshidi and Hazarah households, including wives, children, and livestock, to that place and assign them to herd their flocks and cultivate the land there so that the region would prosper and so strengthen that frontier.

After the departure of General Ghaws al-Din Khan and the army's establishing itself, Fath Allah Bik Firuzkuhi, who was an enemy of the Hazarabs, along with Yalangtush Khan Jamshidi told the governor of Herat not to send Hazarabs to Bala Murghab, declaring that the two people cannot endure a single day together in the same place. Instead, because of rivalry and sectarianism, they would become enemies and consequently that region would not prosper. This was conveyed by a letter from the governor of Herat /422/ to the world-adorning opinion. He ordered that the sending of households be according to what the governor of Herat thought best. So the governor, following their wishes, sent 1,000 Jamshidi (rather than Hazarah) households and settled them in Bala Murghab.

Since at this time the government of Russia had decided to conquer Sarakhs to which Iran had sent an army from Mashhad, raised the banner of occupation, and strengthened its defenses, the Russians (now) began preparations to seize and possess it themselves. Stewart, a deputy to the minister plenipotentiary (*na'ib-i wazīr-i mukhtār*) of England, rode in secret from Khwaf to Mashhad to report to the English what the Russians' intentions and the state of affairs truly were so that some thought could be given to the consequences (*ma'āl-i kār*). But before he could get there, the Russians raised the flag of occupation over Sarakhs. He arrived in Darrah-i Gaz without having achieved his objective and tried to the best of his ability to incite the Turkman there to rise up. But seeing no profit in this he went to Mashhad. Half of the Turkman of Darrah-i Gaz accepted the rule of the khan of Urganj and the other half trod the path of obedience to Makhdum Quli Khan of Marw.

During this time, a letter from the men of Panjdeh and the tribes (*īlāt*) living in its environs brought by one of their own people reached the governor of Herat. It said, a letter reached them from the governor of Marv and Rahman Tarkan Bay Urganji via the people of Yaltan for the people of Panjdah saying that "their (the Panjdahis') leaders should go to the khan of Urganj and accept

his rule. The people of Panjdah and the Sariq Turkman are holding off giving an answer of “yes or no” (to submission to Urganj) until they have the approval of the governor of Herat. The end.”

The viceroy of Herat with the approval of Sardar °Abd Allah Khan Taymuri and Yalangtush Khan Jamshidi, wrote an answer to the people of Panjdah and the Sariq Turkman telling them that “Panjdah is a district belonging to Herat. No one has, or has had, the right to intervene there.”

Because of this letter from the governor of Herat, they sent the emissary of the governor of Marw home empty-handed. Baba Khan, a *kadkhuda* of Panjdeh, and Muhammad Yusuf Beg Karrukhi sent a message to the governor of Herat saying, “the people of Panjdeh have made their excuses to the emissary of the governor of Marw and answered him that whenever the khan of Urganj hands Marw over to them, at that time they would accept him as their sovereign. But this will never happen.”

After the sending and receiving of these letters, Fath Allah Bik Firuzkuhi, for his own purposes, and Muhammad Sarwar Khan Ghuriyani, wanting to reveal the shortcomings in the actions of Na°ib Sultan Khan Afshar, at the instruction of the governor of Herat, went to Kabul and when they were honored with an audience with His Highness told him a story (*dāstānī*) of the misdeeds and sins of Na°ib Sultan Khan Afshar. By scrutinizing the faces of the two men, His Highness realized that what they said was contaminated by ambition and was at the behest of others so he ordered them to stay in Kabul and forbade their return to Herat.

After these men had left for Kabul and then been commanded to stay there, the governor of Herat turned the affairs of the city and its surroundings over to Field Marshal Faramurz Khan and went to Ghuriyan to confirm the borders as required by the farman which prior to this had been sent to him, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, and Dad Muhammad Khan, the governors of Farah, Qandahar, Turkistan, and Jalalabad respectively—as has been already recounted—telling them to send a map of the border (in their region). He ordered the old citadel of Ghuriyan to be repaired and began work on a new one. He assigned guards to every place along the border. At each of the eleven towers which Qilich Khan had erected as guard posts during the time of Shah Jahan, the Mughal, and which were still standing, he assigned two infantrymen and one cavalryman. He put large earthenware jars in each of the towers so that the guards and passersby would not be in want of water. He then returned to Kuhsan and sent a letter with a certain Sayyid Qasim to the governor of Khurasan in Mashhad telling him that he should relocate some of the ill-wishers of the government like the sons of °Abd Allah Khan Nasiri, Dad Muhammad Khan Alikuza°i, and others who were residing in places near the border of Afghanistan to places far away so that they would not be the cause of trouble inside Afghanistan. From there he went back to Herat. Rukn al-Dawlah, the viceroy of Khurasan, welcomed and honored his emissary, appointed a collector (*muḥaṣṣil*) to move the sons of Qazi °Abd al-Salam Khan, °Abd Allah Khan Nasiri, and Akhtar Muhammad Khan chief

equerry (*mīrākhūr*), all of whom had fled Afghanistan and taken up residence in Iran near the border with Afghanistan, to places far removed and gave Sayyid Qasim, the emissary of the governor of Herat, leave to return to Herat.

*The Wali of Maymanah Appoints a Muḥaṣṣil to Collect
the Revenues of Murghab and the Situation of the People of Panjdeh*

Also in these times, Dilawar Khan, the *wālī* of Maymanah, was feeling confident because the mighty forces (of the amir) had not marched in his direction and he thought that the government was tied up with taking control of the affairs of kingship and organizing the business of ruling. So he sent a collector to take the tax revenues of Qal'ah-i Wali, located six /423/ farsangs from Murghab. However, General Ghaws al-Din Khan did not allow the collector to proceed and sent a message saying, "as long as Murghab had no owner (*ṣāhib*) and was a region (*mulk*) without anyone in charge, then the regent of Maymanah could collect its taxes. But now he must not set foot off his own kilim and should stay within his own bounds." After sending this message, the general took possession of Qal'ah-i Wali.

In the midst of this, the Sariq Turkman leaders from Panjdeh who had given an answer to the emissary of the governor of Marw and Rahman Turkman, had come to the viceroy of Herat, Muhammad Sarwar Khan on the path of obedience, promised to send to diwan officials the *shar'ī* tithe as well as the diwan taxes. The viceroy had given all of them robes of honor and leave to return home. He appointed Muhammad 'Uthman Khan governor (of Panjdeh) and sent him off with them. His Highness was pleased with the behavior and actions of the people of Panjdeh and sent a manshur of warm regards (*mulātāfat dastūrī*) to the leaders there—Qazi Aman Kildi, Aq Muhammad Khan, Mulla Hatim Bik, Rahim Khan *qūllar-āqāsī*, Husyan Khan, 'Iwaz Murad Khan, Cahri Khan, Birdi Qilich and others—saying that

one-fourth of the *māliyāt* taxes and the *shar'ī* tithe of Panjdeh district should be considered to be the Panjdeh elders due (*ḥaqq-i kadkhudā-yān*), another fourth that of the ulama and sayyids, and half, which is the two other fourths, the portion belonging to the treasury (*bayt al-māl*). Without interruption, they should hand this over every year to the tax collectors and agents (*'ummāl wa ḡubbāt*) of the nation.

In contrast to this great kindness, which should have made them wholeheartedly place their heads under the farman, they were utterly ungrateful, turned their faces from felicity, removed their heads from the constraints of obedience at the instigation of people sent by the Russians, and set off on the road of enmity. They drove out Mir (Muhammad) 'Uthman Khan, whom their leaders had taken back with them, and rebelled. The viceroy of Herat sent a lashkar, brought 20,000 sheep belonging to that wrong-headed tribe to Herat

from their pastures along with the head watchman (*qarāwul-bāshī*) and all the shepherds, and held them as bond (*bi-girawgān*). He sent the people there a message saying, “Until they have sent the entire *sharʿī* tithe, as stipulated in His Highness’s *manshūr*, and put their heads under the farman, the sheep will be held by state diwan in lieu of the *sharʿī* tithe and won’t be returned.” Having informed His Highness of the affair, the governor and Field Marshal Faramurz Khan were instructed in writing to order Sardar Anbiya Khan, Yalangtush Khan, and other Firuzkuhi and Jamshidi leaders, with their own people and tribal followers (*bā ayl wa ulūs khūd-i īshān*), as well as a regular force and artillery to go to Panjdeh and point the people there the way to obedience. If they don’t accept the farman, then they should resolve to destroy them. They should also punish (box the ears) of the Firuzkuh and Chahar Sadah people who because of the detaining (*tawqīf*) of Fath Allah Bik had raised the neck of disobedience.

Consequently, the governor and the field marshal at first sent off Rustam ʿAli Khan Jadid al-Islam with regular cavalry, infantry, and two mule guns; Sardar Anbiya Khan and his people (*qawm*) and Hazarah cavalry to Chaqcharan and Yalangtush Khan without a force to the people of Panjdeh to point them to the right path. If they did not proceed along the road of obedience then Rustam ʿAli Khan, having completed the chastisement of the people of Char Sadah and Firuz Kuh would embark on the path of punishing the people of Panjdeh. When Rustam ʿAli Khan and Sardar Anbiya Khan camped in Chaqcharan, the people of Firuzkuh, awed by the might of the royal force, without a word entered the army camp on the road of obedience and submission. Having placed the royal edict on their necks, their leaders were honored by the bestowal of robes of honor and they paid their diwani revenues. Two of them, ʿAbbas Beg and Gaday of the Char Sadah, also returned the money and valuables which their people had seized from the Hazarah pilgrims returning from Holy Mashhad. In view of the difficulty of the terrain of that region which was all mountains and stony ground, Rustam ʿAli Khan was satisfied with this, gave the Hazarah cavalry leave to return home and obtained a written affidavit (*sanad-i maktūbī*) from the Char Sadah and Firuzkuh leaders that they would not allow Muhammad Jan Bik, who engaged with thieves in evildoing and robbery, to operate in their midst; that they would establish guard posts at appropriate places like Puzah Lij and Ahangaran and elsewhere and patrol the roads and byways. A force of 100 regular infantrymen was stationed at Chaqcharan. Rustam ʿAli left Sardar Anbiya Khan there to undertake the punishment of Muhammad Jan Bik and his people who had turned their faces from the felicity of obedience and scurried up the mountain of ignorance while he himself with the regular force and the two mule guns moved via Ribat where he collected diwani revenues from the Huni tribes.

At this time, the people of Panjdeh, learning of the march of the royal army, through the persuasion of Yalangtush Khan, sought to get on board (*tamassuk justah*) and set off on the road of obedience. They submitted according to the terms which His Highness had sent them in writing and commenced to put them into effect. Their sheep, which were in Herat, were restored /424/ to them.

During this time, Muhammad Riza Khan the son of Muhammad Yusuf Khan Hazarah *sartip*, feeling hurt by (actions of) the government of Iran turned the face of hope toward the government of Afghanistan. When he entered Kuhsan, officials barred his way at the order of His Highness, and turned him back.

*The Death of the Prince, Shams al-Din, the Construction of
the Bagh-i Shahi in Jalalabad, and the Submission of the People of
Farajghan*

During Zi'l-Qa'dah of this year whose Hijri equivalence has been explained above (i.e. in September 1883), the prince, Shams al-Din, beloved son of His Highness, bid farewell to the cradle of life at the age of two and his bud, unopened on the rosebush of existence, was blown by the wind of fate into autumn. Turning his face from the bosom of the nurse of time, he found rest at the Hushmand Khan Fort in a burial niche beside the resting place of his noble grandfather, His Highness Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan.

Also this year, at the order of His Highness, an enclosing wall was constructed around the Bagh-i Shahi in Jalalabad and over the course of ten (*dū panj*) years, through the expenditure of a large amount of money, the surrounding wall with rooms (*hujrah-hā*) along the western side and a sublime royal palace (*imārat*) a domed entry gate, and rooms (*hujrah-hā*) outside the gate were constructed as will be related in due course—God willing. In 1305, after laying out perfumed terraces, avenues, fountains, two large cistern-reservoirs on the east and west sides of the private royal palace, bringing in a large canal, and planting orange, cypress and other trees, a marble inscription was mounted high on the entrance (*darwāzah*) to the palace which stood facing the entry gate to the park which is situated on its southern side. The sums which the patron of this book, that is His Highness, Lamp of the Religion and Nation, [Habib Allah Khan] spent and is spending annually for building new palaces and repairing the old palace, will be recorded in volume four.* It is calculated that two laks, eighty thousand rupees of the total were spent during the first six months of this year, the year in which this humble book is being written, (just) to restore the paint and varnish (*rang wa rawghan*) on the doors and windows of the palaces and to repair and whitewash the walls. On this basis, one can imagine how much the total expenditure is. Since this ornamentation and beautification has proceeded and is proceeding in accordance with the farman of His Highness, celebrated of character, Lamp of the Government and Religion, Amir Habib Allah Khan—May his kingdom endure—this will suffice for now. More details will come in the course of recounting the events of his noble, just, and fruitful reign.

In Zi'l-Hijjah 1300 (October 1883), Siraj al-Din Khan was sent by His Majesty to punish (box the ears) of the people of Farajghan because they had given refuge and asylum to the rebels of Darrah-i Tapah-i Hazarah of Panjshir as was related above and had not expelled them from their midst as they had promised

state officials to do. Siraj al-Din set off for Farajghan with some Panjshiris and men from Rizah-i Kuhistan. Similarly, the governor of Tikab, Muhammad Shah Khan, was ordered to punish the men of Askin and Ashpi. Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, the governor of Lamkan who had been named there because of Mirza Muhammad Shah Khan's being appointed governor of Shinwar, also set his face for Farajghan from another direction, at the order of His Highness. Of them all, Haydar Khan, the governor of Najrab arrived earliest at Zir-i Kutal ("beneath the pass"), then came Muhammad Shah Khan and together they entered Farajghan. The people there were confused and flustered by the arrival of the lashkar, placed on their necks the terms of the undertaking they had previously given, and begged forgiveness for their misdeeds. The others, with the lashkars which they had with them, concerned that the (innocent) subjects not be imposed upon, returned to their respective headquarters. Muhammad Shah Khan stayed behind with 100 men, collected hostages and five-rupee fine from each household and brought all of those people under the farman. In similar fashion, the people of Atup, Jilgah, Nuba and other places in Lamqan, who had rebelled and become the source of trouble and turmoil, (now) became obedient.

Events of the Year 1301 Hijri—Peace Be Upon The One Who Made the Hijrah

In Muharram, at the very beginning of this year, the brother of the personal imam of His Highness came to Kabul, the capital, to meet his brother. When he had gained the honor of attendance at court he told the king a story about sixteen government officials about whom Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Herat, had made repeated insinuations (*ta'lim wa talqin*) to him. On the 7th of Safar/8 December 1883, a manshur was issued—which is a set of instructions (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) for the governors of the age and the worthies of the time—penned by the hand of His Highness and addressed to the governor of Herat. It read:

The brother of my personal imam has explained to me the circumstances which you have related orally, without evidence to him. You have said that these sixteen have done something wrong. I didn't know /425/ whether you had in your possession evidence of their wrongdoing or not and (whether) you're accusing them of being thieves and locking them up based on the words of people in Herat who have their own objects in mind. You shouldn't say someone is bad or good on mere suspicion. It just isn't the way things are done in the world to make suspicion the grounds and procedures for conducting business. For example, you say about the police chief (*kūtwāl*) that theft is taking place. Now either the police chief is an accomplice to theft or he isn't. If he is knowingly involved, then what is the theft has been carried out with his aiding and abetting? If no theft has happened, then what is the rumor of theft that you say makes him an accomplice and why should he be called incompetent? Likewise, concerning the customs house

(*chabūtarah*), if it is leased out, then he (the lessor) pays the money when the installment (*qist*) is due. What business do you have with his accounts that he should be showing them to you? You deserve (only) that amount of the revenues from his lease of the customs which goes towards your salary. If there is some equity loan involved (*amānī*)¹⁴ then he should simply keep you informed about the flow of goods (*māl al-tijārah*) and you are to inform me. In this same regard, concerning the affairs of the border which are in the hands of Na'ib Sultan Khan Afshar, what is the 'dereliction of duty' (*kam-khidmatī*) that he has committed? And in the time he's had it in his possession up until now what 'illegal things' (*bī-qānūnī*) has he done that that border region should not now be administered by his nephew (his brother's son)? To sum up, the people of Herat don't want border affairs to be in the hands of one of your people because they don't want their goings and comings to be hampered. They despise the Qizilbash and bit by bit they feed you their prejudices. What's happened to you that you ignore your own reason and voice the thoughts of other people as if they were your own? This brother of the Qur'an-reciter (*qārī*) who is my personal imam says, 'I have attended all the private sessions (*majālis-i khalwat*) of the governor and have recorded the Herat news. I am a servant of the nation.' In my opinion, based on what he has said, he is a deceptive, devilish, evil person of ill-demeanor (*qawwārah-ash kharāb wa nā-ṣawāb ast*). How is it that a man like this could have a brother who is my personal imam? When such a person knows this kind of thing about you it is as if you had stood in the middle of the bazaar and uttered obscenities and other inappropriate things out loud. This happens because this person doesn't recognize his own place (i.e. has too high a regard for himself) so how can he know you in order to render you good service? What a shame that this intelligence (*ʿaql*) should be so wasted! Eventually—God forbid—he is going to be a real embarrassment to you.

Having explained the story of one private majlis you had with the field marshal whom you have made your accomplice, he has greatly perplexed me. This is that you talked together about the fact that the padshah of Iran, having come to Mashhad, might order his cavalry against Herat and so you decided that before he can mobilize his cavalry, it is essential to mobilize our cavalry to attack and plunder Jam and Bakharz and bring the booty back to Herat. Also you've said that after putting yourselves on high alert (*qal'ah-dārī*) (against counterattack) in Herat, you would then send news of the situation to Kabul. This man says, 'I was present and heard this conversation while sitting in front of those two men.' If this is what your 'brilliant' minds

¹⁴ RM: *Amānī* is a synonym for *girāw*, an equity mortgage which may allow the lender use of the property as well as receive installment payments from the borrower, the owner of the property.

have come up with, what should I do in that case? Think about this: sometimes such an idea does occur to the padshah of the government of Iran, or someone plants such an idea in his head (but nothing will come of it). What are you thinking? No matter how often I write and admonish you to be firm and consistent in serving religion and government and perform your duties accordingly (you come up with something like this). I chose the two of you from among all the people of Kabul. You should do your best to obtain a good name for me. You're not supposed to try to exert your own personality over each other in rivalry and so cast each other to the wind. There should be no doubt that your only job is this (to act in accord). These wicked people (*ḥarāmī-hā*) who insinuate themselves as your friends are all deceiving monsters (*ghulān-i farībendah*). If any worldly business of the two of you should go wrong, at that moment you will see what kind of help those so-called friends of yours will give you. For the sake of God, the Prophet and the Saints, don't cast the world to the wind for some dispute over who has the higher status (*naqāzat-i buzurgī*). Now that you are both riding the elephant of government, you don't know what the situation of the stranger is and what deceptive traps the enemy has laid in your path to mislead you, all the while pursuing his own ends. Believe me, I don't speak from the standpoint that their spells alone have insinuated their way into only your hearts and made an impression. Rather, I speak about this because, despite all your experience, your situation has come to such a pass. What about people who come new to a position of administration and are "new to the purse" (*naw-kīśah*); what will their situation be? Finally, having turned you against each other, they will have attained their ends.

It is now eight months since one item of your accounts has come (to me) in such different versions that I can make neither head nor tails of it. When you first entered Herat, you wrote, 'the local revenues are enough for the expenditures.' Then, after a little while, you wrote 'if there were another two or three laks of *qirān* rupees then all affairs of this province could be carried out.' Similarly, after another little while, you wrote 'there is a 12-lak rupee shortfall.' Which of these is right? It's clear to me that your accounts (*siyāḥah*) are whatever the clerks tell you. Either the first (i.e. a sufficient income for expenses) is what the clerks told you and the last (the 12-lak rupee shortfall) is what you yourselves have noticed or you're just guessing (*chub-andāz*)¹⁵ what the right amount of funds is. Afghanistan's revenues are well-known to you; where are /426/ the expenditures, other than the essential ones, going to come from? Why don't you tell me exactly (what the situation is) so that if necessary, I will cut expenditures by (the amount of) one

¹⁵ RM: Afghani-Nawis defines *chub-andāz* as (something paid) "on account without review or audit. (*‘alā’l-ḥisāb bi-dūn-i ta’ammul wa sanjish*)," s.v.

soldier or one regiment or by some other amount and then send more to you. And whenever you want, I will make the arrangements. You should take a good look at the fact that during the government of Sa'id Muhammad Khan, the son of Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan, the people of Herat made every effort to lead their governor to destruction. What things they did and what lies they told! A person has to muster his inner resources, be truthful, God-seeking, and prudent and not pay attention to their chicanery. A person has to have integrity (be straight with his God) and steer clear of corruption until the Lord, in his great mercy, grants him a boon and increases his wisdom so that he obtains a good name in the two worlds. Since I consider you like my own sons, I know that these individuals, for better or for worse, pretend to sympathize with your troubles. But they don't really sympathize and it is you who have made them your confidants and you give ear to what they say. Now you yourself should write on your own and, to the extent this is possible, tell no one else about your situation. It is best that you write with your own pen because "friends have friends; and beware the friend of the friend." These words that I have written are intended as fatherly advice. Everyone hates the superiority of another and with a thousand kinds of stratagems, they pretend to be friends so that they get what they want. Thus if anyone should speak ill of someone else to you, a friend of his will let him (i.e. the one spoken ill of) know saying, 'the governor has been disparaging you.' When he comes to the darbar the next day, he then is fearful because of these words and you, relying on what you have heard from envious people, would be on your guard and less friendly to him. Each of you would be apprehensive of the other and stay farsangs apart from each other. That person then might (even) flee from you. After that, the person who has denigrated the other continues to serve you while keeping his hand on the other's neck. In all this scheming, ambitious people advance their own agendas. Day and night this is all they do and so destroy everything around them. They claim that their services are so great that they don't know anyone like themselves. All the time they fervently beseech the governor or one of his aides when out riding, grabbing him by the armpit or by the stirrup, and misleading him (putting him on the horse of ignorance). When he is walking about, they cry 'God is good!' then lean towards his ear and repeat some words all the while glancing at the object of their insinuations and smirking, so that he imagines that his connections to the governor are being uprooted. Likewise, they tell lies wherever they know that these will get back to their enemy. They especially praise themselves saying, 'the governor thinks of me as a brother and the field marshal speaks to me as a kinsman. I have it in my power to help or to destroy anyone.' In the presence of the governor or any other seated official, they repeatedly invoke especially my name saying, 'Hurray for our lord, the Amir Sahib, he is a good padshah and

a friend of mine.’ By such words and invocations, they praise themselves and bring it to the ears of their enemies. Thus, they make him (i.e. their enemy) fear the official and think of him as a bloodthirsty ogre. They say, ‘if I am not (your) well-wisher, some day it will be the cause of one’s (your?) destruction.’ They say these things because inside they have enormous vanity, envy, greed, and miserliness. So you should avoid people from outside your darbar, treat everyone equally, and speak in such a way that no one thinks that you or any other governor is partial to him or partial to some one else. You and the other officials I have appointed to Herat, must be of one mind (literally, “raise your heads from one collar”) and never, through self-pride or the flattery of the wicked (*ḥarāmzādagān*), cast honor and respect for me (*nang wa nāmūs-i ma-rā*) to the winds, for honor and respect for me is the cause of honor and respect for you. Similarly, it redounds to my honor that you too are honored for people of (other) nations will say, ‘he knows experienced people and has appointed people to administer the borders who have put Herat’s affairs into (good) order.’ Then this esteem reflects back on me and all the tribes of Afghanistan will also earn a good name as a result of having such officials.

Therefore these are (your) instructions: if anyone in your employ does something foolish, you should counsel him in private. If he fails to heed your words, you should write down a description of his bad behavior saying, ‘such and such a person has not heeded our advice’ so I will know the bad thing he has done and will appoint another person so that he does not lose his reputation (get a bad name) and affairs don’t fall into disorder and ruin. Some duty of lesser importance than the first, which he will be able to perform, will be given to him. This should not be done in such a way that a foreigner would find out that officials of Afghanistan have been disgraced and say ‘there is no one in Afghanistan who can administer and manage matters.’ So why then should you give me and the people of Afghanistan as well as yourself a bad name? Once a week you should re-read this letter of mine with a sharp eye and be mindful of the ordinary person (literally, God’s people —*mardum-i khudā*). I have entrusted the other affairs of mine to the Lord of Two Worlds to keep me safe from a bad name in both worlds. The end. /427/

*Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan Flees Tihiran
and the Situation of the Wali of Maymanah*

Also at this time, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, son of His Highness the late Amir Shir °Ali Khan, left Tihiran without permission from officials of the Iranian government heading for Maymanah by way of Mashhad with Field Marshal Husayn °Ali Khan, General Parwiz Shah Khan, Khushdil Khan

Luynab, Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan, Qazi °Abd al-Salam Khan, °Abd Allah Khan Nasiri, Ahmad °Ali Khan and other major figures, as well as 300 cavalymen whom he had with him. This came about as a result of letters which Dilawar Khan, the *wālī* of Maymanah, had sent him urging him to come to Maymanah and promising to support him if he did. Hajji Mahmud, an agent (*khādim*) of Afghanistan who lived in Tihiran and was from there, notified officials of this government (Afghanistan) by telegram to India. From there a letter reached the justice-attuned ears of His Highness and he in turn notified the governor of Herat and told him to secure the borders and the area with his people and block the sardar's passage from the direction of Maymanah so as to prevent him from setting foot on the soil of Afghanistan lest he become a source of trouble. The amir also sent Sardar °Abd Allah Khan Taymuri to join the latter. Outwardly this was a show of regard and respect for Mir Ma°sum Khan, the envoy of the wali of Khurasan who had been given leave from the court to return and had arrived in Herat. Actually, however, (Sardar °Abd Allah Khan) had orders to secure the borders of Kuhsan and its environs. The amir also ordered General Allah Dad Khan and a regiment of Turki cavalry to take up positions at Qal°a-i Gah and Anar Darrah. The cavalry regiment stationed at Ubah was summoned to Kabul and the *nā'ib-sālār*, Taymur Shah Khan, was assigned to Shabash. (The amir) gave Sardar °Abd Allah Khan permission to open and read all the letters that came to Herat from Mashhad either by post or by courier (*dāk*) so that if any letter from Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan or other enemies of the state were to incite a leader or a *qawm* or *qabīlah*, it would come to hand and the enemy could be identified by it. (His Highness) also enjoined Na°ib Sultan Khan Afshar who was stationed in Ghur with three hundred regular infantry and one regiment of cavalry to be on his guard.

On the tenth of Rabi° al-Awwal 1301/9 January 1884, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan arrived in Holy Mashhad. Since the governor of Khurasan had already been informed by telegram of Ayyub's impetuous march, he had his officials stop the sardar from proceeding any further and engaged him in discussions on behalf of his government.

Mir Ma°sum Khan, who had enjoyed unlimited favors from His Highness and at this time had arrived in Mashhad, with the help of two agents of Afghanistan in Mashhad, Mirza °Abbas and Mirza Yusuf, began to exert every effort to turn some of the sardar's companions against him, especially Khushdil Khan Luynab, Field Marshal Husayn °Ali Khan, and General Parwiz Shah Khan, and to have them go to the felicitous court by way of Herat. But to no avail. They refused to turn their backs on Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan because they had eaten the salt of (his father) Amir Shir °Ali Khan and had enjoyed numerous favors from him even though they sent several letters containing exploratory feelers addressing their possible concerns to the governor of Herat and from him had received conciliatory words. Still, they paid no heed to (Mir Ma°sum Khan's) overtures so that along with Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan all were put under surveillance (*naẓarband*) and ordered to take up residence in Quchan.

During these events, Dilawar Khan, *wālī* of Maymanah, who was the cause of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's move from Tihiran, took the path of troublemaking and embarked on outright rebellion. He assembled the leaders of Maymanah and its environs and obtained from each of them an oath of loyalty to him and allegiance to Sardar Muhammad Ayyub. He had the document of the pact affirmed with oaths and then ordered a group to Karzuwan and Darzab to raid the property and livestock of subjects of the padshah.

Meanwhile, Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, the former *wālī* of Maymanah, whom Na'ib Muhammad 'Alam Khan had sent to Kabul after the conquest of Maymanah, and in whose place had appointed Dilawar Khan at the order of His Highness Amir Shir 'Ali Khan, and who was now still in Kabul, was honored with the bestowal of a valuable robe of honor and a manshur naming him to the government of Maymanah along with a decree which was issued in the names of the khan of the Qarah Turkoman and the leaders of the Subaq, Arghun, Adun, Kafash, Muchi, Bijaq, Qibchaq, Ungah Chit, Makrit, Qara'i Char Tikab, Kuzab, Shagird-pishah, and Bari-sinah (tribes). The *yarligh* said that they should consider Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan their *wālī* and governor and not shed Muslim blood because of Dilawar Khan's instigation. Rather, they should seize him and turn him over in chains and shackles to officials of the government and then return to Turkistan and present themselves in Sar-i Pul to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, /428/ who had gone there from Mazar because of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan received him (Muhammad Husayn) with respect and kindness and gave him a place to settle in Aqchah. He assigned him a sum of money, as his guest, to cover expenses and named Bidil Khan as his official host. The people of Maymanah learning of his excellent reception and his being settled at Aqchah, little by little began to come and pay their respects to him there. At His Highness's order, two laks of tangahs were given him for the cost of entertaining the guests that came. Dilawar Khan, wanting to keep the royal army from advancing in the direction of Maymanah, opened negotiations with Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan through 'Ali Jan Khan, an official of the nation, who by the terms of the former agreement had gone there and been there ever since, and so took the path of supplication and repentance.

Meanwhile, the lashkar which he had sent out to raid Karzuwan and Darzab was routed by the royal army and one of Dilawar Khan's confidants, Nafs Beg *il-bikī*, was captured. Thanks to this, the veil of Dilawar Khan's tricks was stripped off, he realized his stratagems were useless and he ordered his cavalry to attack the district of Andkhud. As a consequence, 2,000 head of sheep were stolen but the governor there, 'Abd al-Ghani Khan, retrieved the sheep. A second time, at the end of Rabi' al-Thani 1301/late February 1884, Tekke Turkman carried off 1,400 sheep from the vicinity of Andkhud. 'Abd al-Ghani Khan pursued the Turkman with horsemen and foot soldiers from Andkhud to retrieve the sheep. On his heels the regular cavalry stationed there were mobilized and sent out and together they entered Dawlatabad. Although they did not happen upon the sheep and the thieves, they did occupy Dawlatabad at the

request of its people who came forward begging for relief from the tyranny of Dilawar Khan. Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, at the orders of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, left Aqchah and joined the occupiers of Dawlatabad. Because of this, the people of the °Alikī tribe, the gilim weavers, and gold panners¹⁶ also turned from Dilawar Khan and came to Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan offering their allegiance. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, who for a long time at the orders of His Highness, had been preparing for the conquest of Maymanah and readying the instruments of war, decided that Jamjamah (Jumjumah?) Fort should be the base for the army. and so sent 5,000 soldiers and twenty-five officers with 480 camel-loads of weaponry and ordnance there. He ordered that contingent to guard carefully the barrage (*sar band*) of Tikab Shirin. Once he reached Katah Qal°a they should assault Maymanah from Tikab Shirin while he advanced from Katah Qal°a and so attack from two directions. In writing, His Majesty ordered Field Marshal Faramarz Khan who was stationed in Herat to send two thousand five hundred foot and horse stationed in Bala Murghab and fire-belching cannons to Maymanah and to make sure that this army and the force which was coming from Turkistan kept each other informed as to where they were on the march and where they camped so that they would arrive in Maymanah on the same day, so as to block all escape routes to Dilawar Khan and the people of Maymanah and contain their obstinacy.

Meanwhile, Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan had opened correspondence from Dawlatabad with the sons of Tuqtamish Khan who had fortuitously fled from Dilawar Khan and settled in Herat in the shade of royal favor, and urged them to head for Maymanah. The governor of Herat, after reading the letters which Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan had sent, and was sending to him as well as to the sons of Tuqtamish Khan, he gave them and Turah Baz Khan costly robes of honor and instructed them to go to Qal°a-i Wali so that having gone there and raised havoc, they would throw Dilawar Khan and his accomplices into confusion. On their heels he also sent 1,500 regular horse and foot, a contingent of Gushadah horse and Sakhlu infantry, six gun carriages, and 500 horsemen from the region of Herat under the command of Yalangtush Khan Jamshidi. Hardly had they shaken off the dust of the road and camped in Qal°a-i Wali then they began to raid the people living on the far edges of the Maymanah territory. After a while, they left Qal°a-i Wali and camped at Payrak and there awaited news of the Turkistan regiments. Subsequently, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan sent them a message saying that on the last day of Jumada al-Sani / 27 April 1884 they should invade Maymanah from two directions and with God's help put an end to the matter. He then advanced with his force and when he entered the *manzil* of Qurchi, °Abd al-Baqi Khan *ming-bāshī* came to him from Dilawar Khan, the *wālī*, and passed on a message in which he sought pardon for his misdeeds and asserted that he would uphold the terms of the pact

¹⁶ RM: The editor of the 1373/1994 edition considers *gilīm-bāf* (gilim-weavers) and *zar-shūy* (gold panners or washers) as proper names after °Alikī but Fayz Muhammad uses the singular *ṭāʿifah* not the plural *ṭawāʿif* when introducing the series suggesting "tribe" only applies to °Alikī.

which had been agreed to the previous year. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, who was all too well aware of his four years of deception which have been mentioned in this book, wrote back that having handed over 5,000 *misqāls* of gold coin to government officials, with the help of the people of Maymanah and the region around he should erect in the environs of Maymanah a large and impregnable fortress as a garrison for the royal army. He should annually supply the army stationed in the fortress with 500 *kharwārs* of wheat and barley /429/ along with the aforementioned sum of money. That, of course, would give him the security he desired. Otherwise, the sword blows of the mighty regiments would drive him to a place where he would not want to go.

°Abd al-Baqi Khan accepted all the aforementioned obligations and returned with the letter of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan. The sardar in turn had kept His Highness informed by letter of all this and on the 13th of Rajab 1301/9 May 1884, he sent him a letter telling him:

the government of Maymanah has been given to Mir Muhammad Husayn and whether Dilawar Khan comes or doesn't come (to terms) this royal order won't be revoked but if Dilawar Khan doesn't do something foolish and impudent and does hand Maymanah over to the government, of course then a pension and living allowance should be fixed for him and provision should be made for his necessities. Otherwise, not trusting the representations that he has made over the course of four years, he'll get his just desserts because he corresponded with Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and invited him to come to Maymanah from Tihiran. He also raided and stole the livestock of the people of Andkhud and sought assistance from the padshah of Bukhara and from Russia. How is it that (only now) having chosen the path of loyalty he will put his head beneath the writ of the farman?

With the issuance of this order, Dilawar Khan, seeing no other path but obedience, was compelled on Wednesday, the 25th of Rajab/21 May to humble himself before Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and kiss the ground in obedience. Without firing a shot, the mighty regiments entered Maymanah. His Highness then issued an order that Dilawar Khan, °Abd al-Baqi Khan *ming-bāshī*, Yazdan Qul and some of his retainers should be sent to the capital. A pact (*'ahd-nāmah*) was received from Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan containing expressions of loyalty and integrity, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan sent it to the throne, and placed Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan as governor Maymanah. He was sent a costly robe of honor by His Majesty. One hundred and ten head of horses belonging to Dilawar Khan and being tended by the people (of Maymanah), at Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's order, were sent to Kabul and placed in the royal stables. Two hundred and fifty Jamshidi cavalrymen were assigned to guard the frontier and were stationed at Tikab Langar. Qari Taj Muhammad Khan Farari was promoted to general and command (*sālārī*) of the regular regiments stationed in Maymanah.

In Sha[°]ban/27 May–24 June 1884, His Highness drew up a military plan (*naqshah-i chahāwunī*). A base (*lashkar-gāh*) near Maymanah was laid out and erected comprising barracks for the soldiers, a grain store, and an arsenal. After a short while, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan sent Dilawar Khan and [°]Abd al-Baqi Khan as well as other allies and confidants of his to Kabul. En route, of this lot, Najim Bik Darzabi, Hamid Khan, the nephew of Muhammad Khan Saripuli, Yazdan Qul, Amir Khan, and Ishik Aqasi Bik Murad, who had come out of Maymanah with Dilawar Khan to meet Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, all escaped and went to Karki. The others went on to Kabul. Their wives and children also came to Kabul shortly afterwards and were given places to stay and stipends to cover their living expenses. After all the elders of Maymanah were accorded the honor of presenting the amir with appropriate gifts and they in turn were awarded robes of honor, they received permission to return home. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan put the affairs of Maymanah in order, at His Highness's order appointed Awliya Khan as deputy to Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, and then returned to Mazar-i Sharif.

At this time, [°]Abd al-Rasul Khan, the tax collector (*°āmil*) for Nahr-i Aqchah was dismissed and at the request of the subjects there, [°]Abd al-Ghani Khan, the governor of Andkhud was appointed in his stead. Similarly, [°]Abd al-Ghiyas Khan was dismissed as governor of Ay Bik and Nizam al-Din Khan Fufalza[°]i appointed.

Mir Abu'l-Qasim Khan, the brother of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan *mustawfi* who at the time of the dismissal of his brother was (himself) relieved of the position of *sar daftar* of the military in Turkistan, was put under house arrest. Mir Abu Talib Khan, another brother, had fled Qandahar, been detained around Darafshan and was jailed in Qandahar. Both these men, having been summoned to Kabul under guard arrived at this time. Having fallen from favor for a while, later all three brothers were returned to important service in the diwan.

*Turmoil Amongst the Mangal People Because of the Incitement of Pir Dust
and Sa[°]du and the Punishment of that Deceitful Tribe*

During the events occurring in the first part of this year, Sa[°]du, who the previous year as was mentioned had fled from the might of the royal army and gone to Tira, came again to the Mangal and together with Malik Pir Dust Ahmadza[°]i /430/ aroused the Mangal and led them into the mountains of waywardness. He caused the people of Chamkani to fight with the Mangals but the Chamkanis vigorously defended their forts against the Mangals who had invaded with Sa[°]du and Malik Pir Dust and so great turmoil arose between the tribes. The royal forces stationed in that region set forth to exact retribution on (literally, box the ears of) that evil tribe. They joined battle with the followers of Sa[°]du and Malik Pir Dust and caused blood to flow. They set fire to their forts and burned them to the ground. General Ghulam Haydar Khan, who had entered the Mangal mountains with the army and torched their forts, because of the large

numbers and persistent attacks of the Mangals who surrounded his forces, found both his way forward and his line of retreat blocked. Showing his fortitude and composure, day and night he vigilantly fought off the Mangals. Nine difficult months were spent like this with him unable to get four hours, more or less, of sleep a night. Finally, in the first days of Ramazan (late June 1884), His Highness, deeply angered at the wickedness of Malik Pir Dust and Sa^odu and the insolence of those contemptible people sent a written order to Sardar Shirindil Khan who, a long time before, had gone to Zurmat with army and artillery and had stationed himself in the fortress of Malik Khanagi Khan in order to discipline the Waziri, Sulayman Khayl and Katawaz people. The order told him to gather together as many tribesmen as he could from Zurmat and Gardiz and march on the Mangals with those levies and the troops he had with him. Also from the capital, a sizeable lashkar of regular infantry and cavalry was sent out to serve under the command of Sardar Shirindil Khan. The amir also instructed Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin to send to Sardar Shirindil Khan the Andari men along with the Gushadah cavalry of Ghaznin.

After receipt of this order from His Majesty, over and above the regular forces which he had, Sardar Shirindil Khan rounded up 1,500 tribesmen from the abovementioned tribes and prepared to march from Zurmat against the Mangal. On his part, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, assembled two thousand Andari fighters and dispatched them to Sardar Shirindil Khan with the Gushadah cavalry. They joined him at the designated halting place on the road from Zurmat. The armies of Kabul, Ghaznin, and Khust set forth for battle from three directions. From one side, Sardar Shirindil Khan and from another Sardar Ghulam Husayn Khan and the men of Khust and from another General Ghulam Haydar Khan and General Kutal Khan with regular forces and artillery raised the banners of combat. At eleven o'clock on Saturday the 18th of Ramazan/12 July 1884, General Ghulam Haydar Khan launched an attack at Laj-i Mangal before the others could engage. For seven hours, the marketplace was very active until the darkness of night intervened. One hundred Mangalis were killed, three hundred were wounded and all were routed. Six officers of the regular royal force were slain and nine were wounded. Mirak Shah Khan and four Ahmadza'i men were killed and four were wounded. One man from Hasan Khayl and five from Jaji Aryub were killed and one hundred were wounded. The mighty forces were victorious and all the Mangal forts and homes were torched and burned to the ground.

On Thursday, the 23rd of Ramazan/17 July, once again the vanquished Mangal, with Sa^odu and Pir Dust, launched an attack. This time the fighting was just a skirmish before they were routed and turned their faces to flight. The Mangals, now realizing they did not have the capability to resist and fight, sought peace. They used the men of Tur Kand as intermediaries and through them sought pardon for their misdeeds. Thanks to the mediation of the leaders of Khust, they (the Mangal) placed their heads beneath the farman's writ. Twenty-five Mangal households and sixteen Jadran households gave a total of eighty-two people as hostages (*girawgān*) and sent to officials of the government. Also,

they pledged to send 1,500 armed men to serve whenever the government needed them. They agreed to accept the responsibility of sending the diwani taxes both current and arrears to the government and they returned all the property they had stolen except for 96 rifles which they had plundered from government stores and had turned over to Sa°du and Malik Pir Dust. These were not recovered but everything else was restored to its rightful owner. The rifles were not recovered because Sa°du as before fled and took refuge in Tira and Malik Pir Dust decamped to "the land of lost reputation and the mountain of evil consequences." The family of Sa°du managed to escape, thanks to some people whom he knew and was friends with, and join him in Tira. Colonel Sayyid Shah Khan pursued them with four hundred regular cavalry but not very diligently and since they slipped from his grasp, he returned empty-handed. However, Muhammad Sarwar Khan, governor of Chamkani, got his hands on thirty-one camels and some other property belonging to Sa°du and turned them over to General Ghulam Haydar Khan. The maliks of the "Five-Part" tribes of Tur Kand became the guarantors of the Mangal people /431/ and gave a written undertaking that the Mangals would not be the cause of trouble and evil ever again and if they did, then, as their guarantors, they would pay government officials a fine of one lak of rupees. Similarly the people of Baghlwar came to Sardar Shirindil Khan on the path of obedience and asked forgiveness for their sins. They accepted the placing of the royal command on their necks and were forgiven, all but Malik Pir Dust who, in view of what he had done, fled into the mountains of misery, refused to offer obedience, and became exceedingly careful regarding his actions and dealings. All others placed their head under the farman's writ. The victorious regiments returned to Khust and Sardar Ghulam Husayn Khan was summoned to Kabul and favored with the boon of kissing the threshold of the sublime dais. In his place, Sardar Shirindil Khan was awarded with a manshur naming him governor of Khust.

The Submission and Allegiance of the Sih Dastah of Jaghuri

During the fighting with the people of the mountain regions subject to Khust and with the Mangal, Sa°du, and (Malik) Pir Dust, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, at the order of His Highness set out to win over the tribes of Pashah-i, Shir Dagh, and Qalandar (the "three units") of the Hazarabs of Jaghuri. First he sent a letter of persuasion accompanied by Sayyid °Ali Naqi Shah to those three tribes and on the heels of that dispatched Ghulam Husayn Khan, the son of Gulistan Khan, and Muhammad °Ali Khan, the son of Rajab °Ali Khan of the Muhammad Khwajah and Jighatu Hazarabs of Ghaznin, with two thousand five hundred cavalry and infantry from those two tribes, and two cannons and two hundred Sakhlu infantry under the command of Coplonel Wali Allah Khan so that if the people of the three Hazarah tribes of Jaghuri did not offer their allegiance with receipt of the letter they would be compelled by force to submit and obey. A letter was also sent to Bunyad Khan

Hazarah of Malistan, with an order to assemble the Hazarabs of Malistan and prepare them for battle with the Three Unit Hazarabs.

Meanwhile, for the people of Qalandar, felicity came to their aid. Hardly had the letter of Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan and Sayyid °Ali Naqi son of Shah °Ali Akbar arrived then they tendered their submission and went to Pir Muhammad Khan, the governor of Jaghuri in Sangmashah, clasped the necklace of allegiance around their necks, and paid their diwani taxes. The men of Pashah-i and Shir Dagh, however, not finding right guidance and backed by the inaccessible mountains (in which they lived), stood firm in their wrong-headedness up until a royal force entered the manzil of Ushtur Sang of Pashah-i. Since the people there had taken up positions in the defiles, Colonel Wali Allah Khan and the tribal (*iljārī*) leaders of the Hazarabs of Ghaznin ordered their foot soldiers to ascend the mountains whose summits overlooked the rebel positions. Seeing this, the Hazarabs realized they did not have the strength to resist and sent a message of apology saying:

“We will accept the royal command and pay the taxes but we fear that in submitting we will be seized and persecuted. Thus, if some of the worthies of the army (*urdū*) would come and reassure us then, naturally, knowing that we are safe from danger we would come forward in obedience.”

So Pir Muhammad Khan, the governor; Sayyid Muhammad Tahir, the son of Sayyid Ahmad Sarabi; Ghulam Husayn Khan; and the maliks of Muhammad Khwajah and Jighatu left the urdu, reassured them, and brought them down from the mountain of ignorance. The Hazarabs came out of the forts whose defenses they had strengthened against the infantrymen, presented themselves at the royal army camp, submitted, and became obedient. The royal force stayed three days in Ushtur Sang, put affairs there in order, and then, with the Qalandar force which had accepted allegiance through the mediation of Sayyid °Ali Naqi, moved out, took possession of the forts of the Ibrahim Sultan tribes of Pashah-i, garrisoned them with braves, and set the face of persuasion towards the people of Shir Dagh. They stopped at Zayn Gar where those people (the Shir Daghis), also thanks to the good guidance given them by Sayyid °Ali Naqi, accepted allegiance. °Abd Allah Bik, their *raʿīs*, presented his son and his nephew along with two of the leaders of his tribe as surety, at the request of Pir Muhammad Khan, the governor of Jaghuri. After finishing up this business and winning over the people of Dadi of Pashah-i, who up to this time were in the mountains, the royal army took Khuda Bakhsh Khan Qalandar as guarantor of any slips on the part of the newly-obedient, and withdrew. The tribal force (*iljārī*) of the Hazarabs of Ghaznin was also given leave to return home.

During this time Nawruz °Ali Khan, the son of Bunyad Khan, was honored with an audience before His Highness and the opportunity to present gifts that were possible to find there (in Malistan) such as horses, camels hair vests

(*barak-hā*¹⁷) and other things. He also presented documents pertaining to services rendered (*raqam-hā-yi khidmatānah*) decorated with the seals of His Highnesses the late Amir Muhammad Afzal Khan and the late Amir /432/ Muhammad A[°]zam Khan for His Highness to peruse. His gifts were accepted and pleased the World Adorner. The documents too were met with approbation. With the bestowal of a robe of honor, his object was satisfied and he obtained permission to return home.

During this time, a letter accompanied by Sayyid [°]Ata Muhammad and expressing submission and obedience, came to Pir Muhammad Khan, the governor of Jaghuri, from the leaders and sayyids there such as Sayyid Shah Yusuf, Sayyid [°]Ali Hasan Shah, Shah [°]Alikak, Sayyid Shah, Sayyid Kalb Husayn, Sayyid Shah Muzaffar, Malik Rajab [°]Ali, Najaf [°]Ali, Dawud Khan, [°]Ali Muhammad Sultan, Mirza [°]Ali Panah, Malik [°]Aziz, [°]Ali Shir, [°]Ali Naqi Sultan, Ahmad Sultan, [°]Abbas *mihtar*, and [°]Ali Akbar *mihtar*. He forwarded it on to the throne. From His Majesty a manshur regarding their submission with instructions for conciliation and listing the names of the above individuals was issued and sent to the governor of Qandahar. Their emissary was given a robe of honor and also sent off to the governor of Qandahar. Also a farman was sent to the Qandahar governor telling him to straighten out matters with the people of Uruzgan whose leaders had voluntarily offered their submission to the *qibla* of security and safety and to impose the obligation of the *shar[°]i* tithe on them. The amir also issued a general order (*hukm*) saying that the buying and selling of Hazarah slaves was hereby ordered stopped. The taking of men and women slaves (*ghulām wa kanīz*) from these people which has been going on up to now was (henceforth) forbidden.

Also at this time Muhammad Jan Bik Firuzkuhi, an account of whose evil-doing and wickedness was related above, tired of his depraved behavior, went to the governor of Herat, and found a degree of forgiveness for his sins.

The Exalted Princes Leave Kabul to Honor Jalalabad with a Visit for the Winter

In the winter of this year, the laudably virtuous princes, Sardar Habib Allah Khan and Sardar Nasr Allah Khan were ordered to depart His Highness's court to spend the winter in Jalalabad. Sahibzadah Ghulam Haydar Khan and Lalah [°]Abd al-Hamid Khan and a number of other servants who were favored with the benefits and obtained the happiness of accompanying the princes, traveled with them stage by stage. Before the arrival of the princes, written notices were sent to the leaders of the tribes of the surrounding regions like those of Darrah-i Nur, Kunar, Pashad, Mohmand, Shiwah, Shigi, Kamah, Bihsud, Qal[°]a-i Tak, Surkh Rud, Shinwar, Khugyani, and others, informing them that on the day of the auspicious arrival of the praiseworthy princes in Jalalabad, they should gather

¹⁷ RM: Afghani-Nawis defines *barak* as "thick woolen cloth made in the Hazarahjat, s.v. However, Fayz Muhammad always precedes references to cloth with either *tūp* (bolt) or *ṭāqah* (piece) or *takhtah* neither of which is found here.

in Jalalabad and welcome them. So all the city leaders with the governor, Sardar Dad Muhammad Khan, the police chief (*kutwāl*), and the regular army officers, and the notables from the abovementioned places came and presented gifts both monetary and in kind—rice, dark sugar, as well as livestock such as horses, cows, and sheep and cash alms, and performed the rites of welcome. Having presented the gifts of cash and kind, they became the objects of the princes' favor.

Meantime, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan was summoned by farman from Jalalabad to Kabul, obtained the privilege of seeing the tutor-sovereign, and, after being instructed on some military matters, was given leave and returned to Jalalabad.

During these aforementioned events, Hajji Asad Khan, an agent for Afghanistan, having spent three laks of English rupees in accordance with the terms of the treaty with Great Britain and at the order of His Highness buying Henry-Martin rifles, which are known in Afghanistan as “tube-like,” shipped them to Kabul from India.

At this time the Zakhah Khayl and Marjan Khayl Afridis were attacking merchants and travelers on the Peshawar-Jalalabad road, had killed one of the La^lpurah mounted escorts, and made off with an entire caravan. They had also attacked and wounded several hajjis from Khuqand. Because of this outbreak, the governor of Jalalabad, Dad Muhammad Khan, at the orders of His Highness, wrote to the Peshawar commissioner, Colonel Waterfield, saying he should deal with the bandits who were operating in the district belonging to Britain and prevent their depredations. If he was unable to do so, he should allow the officials of this government to discipline the thieves. The commissioner, having placed the responsibility for the raiding on the Sangu Khayl and Marjan Khayl on the Afghan side, wrote a request to the governor of Jalalabad asking him to come to Landi Kutal and look into whether what he is saying is true or not and find out whether there was any reason to attribute the thievery to subjects of Afghanistan. The governor of Jalalabad, in accordance with his request, came to /433/ Landi Kutal and there with the approval of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, Mir Sana Gul Khan, and Muhammad Sa'id Khan laid the foundation of a guardhouse on heights overlooking Landi Kutal in order to remove doubts from the minds of English officials and eliminate the accusation that people on the Afghan side of the frontier were engaged in banditry. He informed the Peshawar commissioner of this and he in turn referred the question of whether to reject or accept the construction of a guardhouse above Landi Kutal to the viceroy of India and himself said neither “yes” nor “no.” His Highness, meantime, having been informed by the governor of Jalalabad of the substance of the matter, issued a farman which said:

Whenever negotiations over other guard posts like those at Haft Chah and Payandi Shakh are being conducted, if there should be a need, concerning the guard post at Landi Kutal, for correspondence with and permission from the Viceroy-Sahib, naturally to him things will be

written and sent. But now there is no question of the government not building this guard post or of stopping the work.

After the issuance of this farman, the governor of Jalalabad laid the foundations for the guardhouse but showing a certain amount of forethought returned (to Jalalabad) without finishing work on it. A short time later, at His Highness's command, he sent a copy of his letter and the original letter from the Peshawar commissioner to General Mir Ahmad Khan, the Afghan ambassador (*safir*) in Calcutta, so that he would show them to the Viceroy and discuss with him the fact that,

On the one hand English officials on the frontier have blamed the robbery and banditry on people on the Afghan side of the frontier. On the other, they have forbidden construction of the guardhouse on land which is rightfully Afghanistan's, according to what the Peshawar commissioner has written. Given the fact that this guard post is being built simply to improve the situation for caravans and travelers and not for anything else which would be the cause of harming the government or breaking the thread of friendship, why are they preventing its construction?

These discussions had yet to conclude when two thousand five hundred Afridis cut the road between Peshawar and Jalalabad at a place called Bazar wa Zakhah Khayl and extended the hand of robbery to the goods of merchants and travelers. Three hundred Sakhlu (infantry) who were stationed at the Haft Chah guard post marched out to disperse them. They killed many of the bandits and routed the rest. They captured the nephew of Wali Muhammad Khaybari and the son of Malik Khawass. As a reward for this service, the *sartip* of the Sakhlu infantry was given a shawl as a "robe of honor" and their *ṣad-bāshī* received from His Munificent Highness the boon of 100 rupees and both men were thus honored and ennobled amongst their peers.

Since the arrest of those two persons revealed to all that the highwaymen were not from that side of the frontier that belongs to Afghanistan, His Highness, found it necessary to send a letter of reproof to the Peshawar commissioner saying,

The wickedness and effrontery of this tribe being what it is and the negligence and connivance of the border guards of Britain being what they are, the ways and means for investigating such border incidents are completely obstructed and have been given up. No matter how many notices are sent from the amirate of Afghanistan to officials of the English government telling them to curtail the thievery and banditry by people under their jurisdiction and bind them with the thread of discipline, nothing happens. Despite all my declarations, no fruit has blossomed on the branch of friendship for that nation. It seems that the

officers assigned to the Khaybar have raised doubt about the appearance and reality of the matter to the friend and have obscured both the substance and the sense (*aṣl wa maʿnā*), so that that *janāb* (the commissioner) has made no effort to get the Government (*guvarnamant*) of India involved in resolving it. If this is not the case, then it is beneath the pomp and dignity of the great English government not to find some relief for the subjects of their own region from this bunch of highwaymen and to let the border situation fall into chaos. More surprising is the fact that English officials have paid heed to the false reports of the Khaybaris, whose only aim is to stop construction of the guardhouse at Sarab-i Landi Khanah, which we ordered constructed for the safety and tranquility of travelers and wayfarers, and so have introduced the means of stoppage from their side. Although we are building this guardhouse (*qarāwul-khānah*) out of necessity, see no other remedy than to build it, and if we don't build it, it will undermine the foundations of own authority, if it isn't built we'll have to withdraw from border patrolling. In any case, we have a complaint against the officials of the mighty government (England). Why do they allow inconsistencies and differences in the implementation (*naẓm wa nasaq*) of matters of this government and that government, ignore what is best for both governments, consider reliable the words of four evil people, and set all our affairs to one side? The end.

After the exchange of numerous letters, the guardhouse at Sarab-i Landi Khanah was constructed and the hands of the thieves were curtailed. After the conclusion of the discussions, the two noble and unaffected princes, who had passed the days of winter in Jalalabad dispensing justice to the weak, were summoned to Kabul where they obtained the honor of kissing the hand of their glorious *qiblah*. The excellent prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan was assigned to deal with the details of rule (*fayṣalah-i juzʿiyyāt-i saltanat*) and to investigate the cases presented by petitioners (*ghawr-rasī ʿarṣhiyān-i raʿiyyat*).

During this time, because of the dismissal of Saʿid Muhammad Khan, Baba Khan Jawanshir was appointed governor of Kunar. Similarly, with the dismissal of Muhammad ʿAzim Khan Mohmand, Rustam Khan was singled out for appointment to the *kūtwālī* of Jalalabad. /434/

*The Kafirs of Katar and Kanbir and the Injury and Harm They Caused
the Muslims in the vicinity of Lamqan*

On the 10th of Shawwal 1301/3 August 1884, a group of black-garbed (*siyāhpūsh*) heathens (*kuffār*) attacked the border of ʿAli Shang, a dependency of Lamqan, killed two Muslims in Darrah-i Najil and wounded one man, who threw himself into the river. They spent a day like this and then at night, in one of the villages of Najil, invaded the house of a Muslim, martyred seven and

wounded one. Their bloodthirstiness still not satisfied, they entered the district of Dawlat Khayl and there martyred four more Muslims after which they disappeared into the mountains. The Islamic people of Darrah-i Najil, Mas Mut, Isma'ilza'i and other regions of Lamqan were outraged by the evil of these heathens, reported it to the governor Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, and asked for permission to wage holy war (*ghazā*) and avenge the blood of the Muslims. He held off replying until he informed the throne. An order was then issued by His Majesty saying that having prepared the instruments to punish that vile tribe, they should ready themselves to undertake their chastisement. With the tools for smashing those evil ones ready, they should not launch the campaign until winter arrives and snow blocks the escape routes. Then they would be in a position to engage that wicked group and utterly extirpate it. But the Shinwar people of Shigil, not waiting to obtain permission, sent out 500 fighters to get revenge, and battled the kafirs of Katar and Kanbir. They drove them all into caves and onto rocky places, like hunting game, and blocked their routes of escape or return. As retaliation for the blood of the aforementioned Muslims, they cut down all their trees and destroyed their farms, and homes and then withdrew.

Meanwhile the men of Mas Mut (here Māsmūt rather than Mās Mūt) whose duty vis a vis the holy war against the kafirs was to follow the policy of waiting, grew restless, and poked their heads through the collar of rebellion. At the instigation of Muhammad Afzal Khan, they began an uprising. His Highness issued orders to the men of the Lamqanat to punish those refractory people and give them their just desserts. All were brought (back) into obedience to royal authority and put the necklace of submission around their necks.

The Draft and Copy (sawād wa naql) of the Instructions Concerning the Demarcation of the Borders Which Were Issued to the Border Province Governors by His Majesty

Since the demarcation of the borders and the establishment of the points separating the kingdom of Afghanistan from the governments of Russia and Iran was on the royal mind and the English government had established itself as the neutral arbitrator, had prepared and outfitted a commission to march to the borders of Afghanistan, and notified His Highness of this, therefore on Thursday, the sixth of Zi'l-Qa'dah/28 August 1884, the following set of instructions was issued from the court His Majesty concerning matters pertaining to the demarcation of the border and was sent to the governors of the border provinces:

- 1) First, the English commission, considers itself fair and impartial (*munsif wa mumayyiz*) in demarcating the borders and consider the Russians a hostile party. In addition, from every perspective, they consider the people of Afghanistan to be landlord (*ṣāhib-i khānah wa milk*), rightsholder (*zī-ḥuqūq*), and possessing full autonomy (*khūd-*

mukhtār) over the land they occupy. Any land which the Russians lay claim to, the people of Afghanistan must not abandon or relinquish even one clump of ground or one spot of it because a clump of soil will become a parcel and a parcel an entire place and a spot will become a path and a path a highway (in other words, if you give them an inch they'll take a mile). Therefore, officials of the English government, who are fair and impartial regarding what is right and wrong, will not allow spurious Russian claims to be accepted except on lands where Afghanistan has no right of interference. These are of two types—either a district (*‘alāqah-i*) in which Russian intervention creates no problem or threat to the border of Herat like Marw and ‘Ishqabad [Ashkhabad], etc. or a precinct (*iḥāṭah-i*) where Russian intervention constitutes a threat and harm to the frontier of Afghanistan such as the district of Yaltan which on one side adjoins Marw and on the other Panjdeh. If Afghan officials don't have possession of this kind of locale then Russians shouldn't have possession of it either and negotiations on this (*bast wa gushūd-i īn ḥarf*) are subject to the approval of the English commissioners (*umanā*) because there is nothing required of Afghan officials other than (taking part in the) talks (*mukālama*) *vis à vis* (such) disputed places.. The English officials will resolve finally (*imḡa' wa fayṣalah*) (any such negotiations) with the Russians in /435/ a reasonable and acceptable manner and they will not abandon their own interest which is to secure and establish the borders of Afghanistan.

2) Second, since for the Russians, the wind of ambition blows strongly through their prideful minds and they think themselves powerful, and by this very violence and terror (*zūr wa shūr*) they have taken away and will continue to take away the borderlands of Iran from the border guards of Khurasan and seeing the people of Afghanistan as also being in an inferior state they might turn their greedy eyes on their borders, therefore the officials of Afghanistan must, at this time, make known (to them) the strength and power of Afghanistan, that these men (the Afghans) with the support of the All-knowing Divinity, are prepared to do whatever is necessary to defend their borders, so that if a fight breaks out they would give battle. And if negotiations leading to a settlement (*band wa bast*) should come into effect they will tie the thread of negotiations and not be overwhelmed or weakened to such a point that whatever the Russians desire, intend and lay claim to they would have to accept. Thus the burden (*taklīf*) on Afghan officials is to keep informed and vigilant about their own affairs, to prepare and ready the regular regiments, and to keep eye and ear peeled for any (move by the) enemy; what is he (the Russians) doing and what is he saying? In any case, it is essential that they not be uninformed or negligent but keep themselves ready in such a way that they are prepared for war, so that if God so ordains it and the talks become all

tied up in knots and something unreasonable (*bī iʿtidālī*) arise, arise, they will be ready for war. But if things should result in peaceful agreement, the good arrangement of Afghanistan's affairs will be the cause of an increase in the glory and esteem in which servants of the government will be held by friend and foe alike.

3) Third, they should mobilize and ready all the regular cavalry which is stationed in Herat along with the *gushādah* and territorial (*julgāy*) militia cavalry at a base (*marhalah*) so that wherever a need might arise for patrols (*qarāwulī*) these horsemen could be assigned to a patrol; wherever an escort (*badraqah*) might be required, they could serve as escorts; and whenever need for a courier (*chāpār*) comes up, they could serve as couriers. And wherever needed, they can mobilize and assign infantry for duty (*bi-sarkār rasānand*). While the negotiations are going on, both regular and militia horse and foot should be kept on alert (lit: not be far from service to God and country) and whatever number of cavalry and infantry are needed to protect and escort the commission must be assigned.

4) Fourth, every local and provincial governor (*hākim wa wālī*) should be present at the negotiations pertaining to his borders. He should participate in the discussions and be attentive to the arrangements as long as the negotiations do not become convoluted and a place of deceit and fraud. The English commissioners will resolve and clarify issues directly with the Russians and they (the Afghan officials) should accept their counsel and resolution of the matters which they finalize. Whenever contention arises and potential harm is clearly evident and the Russians refuse to accept the equitable rulings of the English, then the Afghan representatives should tuck up the skirts of negotiation, state that they no longer have discretion, properly report the substance of the matter to the court and request a response. They then should do whatever is instructed.

5) Fifth, any question (*sukhanī*) which might be asked of the Afghan representatives in the course of a negotiating session (*majlis*) and both Russians and British agree to ask and find out the view of the Afghan officials, if the words (of the British and Russians?) are clear and free of allusion and insinuation (*kināyah wa ishārah*) and a sufficiently appropriate answer comes to the minds of the Afghan officials, then they should thoughtfully give an answer at that same session. But if the question should be posed in an arrogant or (apparently) deceitful manner and to give a quick answer to it might redound to the detriment (of Afghanistan), they should consult that very day with Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan, look at the issue from all sides, consider any defect or artifice in the matter and then after consultation and discussion among

themselves say, “our answer is that there is no harm if there’s a postponement (in answering).” They should conduct some of the negotiations off the record so to speak (*bar sabīl-i āzādī*) in the kind of fashion customary among all nations and current among consuls (*qunsulān*). And they should say, “I spoke off the record” (*āzādī guftam*) so that they don’t cite it as proof at some future time of need.

6) Sixth, before any meetings between the English commission and the Russians, they should take a look at and map the district(s) of Panjdeh, Murghab, Badghis and other places which they deem necessary, since the purpose is to obtain an clear understanding of the true state of affairs of each place (*sar zamīn*). To each locale, they (the British) will appoint a surveyor (*muhandisī*) to draw a map. They should not stand in their way but rather they, that is the representatives of Afghanistan, should consider it obligatory and their absolute duty to protect and provide for them and to send to accompany them reliable and trustworthy people and to assign an escort and in all situations to be attentive to them so that the outcome is correct and done properly and there is no flaw or irregularity in anything.

7) Seventh, the tribal leaders and the leaders of the common people of Herat and its dependencies and other places, as well as of Turkistan, Farah, and Chakhansur are not authorized to associate, converse, or mix with the commission without the permission of their own officials because the people of Afghanistan have little understanding of things and are uninformed about the negotiations. Those people (the British) are attracted to whatever accords with their own agenda and they ask 1,000 people in order to get the one right word they are looking for.

8) Eighth, no /436/ leader of the army or the people should deem it permissible to receive any reward or favor in either cash or kind that the commission might give, for their custom and practice is that if they accept some small service done by someone, they call this service “help” and deem it obligatory to give a gift and reward in return. Although these rewards and presents outwardly appear sweet to the taste of the people of Afghanistan, they will prove bitter in the end. So they should consider all such transactions to be foreclosed.

9) The commission members have brought brocade, silken fabrics, and other goods and things like watches, telescopes, rifles, and pistols so that when they deem it necessary they will give these things to the Sariq and Salur Turkmen inhabiting the region of Panjdih as a “robe of honor.” In answer to why you should reject and say ‘no’ (should they offer you such gifts) is to say, ‘if this territory is part of Afghanistan what benefit is there in giving people who aren’t your subjects such

gifts? And if it is someone else's (territory) then what is the benefit in that as well? Now, the situation is that the people of Panjdih pay customs and taxes and are subject to the jurisdiction of Afghanistan. Thus, a governor has been appointed and stationed in that district on behalf of the Afghan government and it's been two years since they first agreed to submit and pay their taxes. So, to give them the *khil'at* makes the other tribes (*ilāt wa ulūsāt*) give up hope and get ideas. In short, it cannot be imagined that any good will come to the government or the subjects by the bestowal of *khil'at* gifts. When the affairs of the people of Yaltan are settled and it is attached to Afghanistan, at that point, officials of Afghanistan itself will fulfill any promises of *khil'at* garments. Within the territory of Afghanistan, you have no obligation to incur expenses. The situation does not require that *khil'ats* should be given to the subjects of Afghanistan on behalf of the English nation. If they deem some disbursements necessary, of course officials (of the Afghan government) with the full approval and consent of both sides will shoulder the burden. As of today there is no obligation on the part of the British. And these things which are given out should be paid for out of the funds of the aforementioned government (Afghanistan).

10) Tenth, four hundred (regular) horsemen and two hundred regular infantry along with two mule guns with the governor of Herat should be dispatched to safeguard the glory and honor of the nation. Wherever the English commission makes camp, they should set up camp some distance away. Likewise, whatever number of militia cavalry is deemed necessary should also be dispatched to accompany him. Wherever they should be camped for two or three days, a contingent of three thousand cavalry should wait at a distance of six to eight *kurūhs*¹⁸ from the main camp (*urdū*). Then, on the day when the *urdū* decamps, to march at a distance of five *kurūhs* behind it so that if there should be some work to do they would not be far away and at the merest raising of a shout, they could join up and support the *urdū* which is in front of them.

11) Eleventh, Field Marshal Faramarz Khan should stay in Herat and not leave it because his departure and march would give the impression to his own people and to the foreigners alike of a campaign and a mobilization of forces while the army and the artillery marching with the governor of Herat suggests (only) protection and an escort for the English commission and does not give rise to suspicion and sedition.

12) Twelfth, at the end of the business, if the people of the commission should give something out of friendship, comradeship, and in gratitude

¹⁸ RM: A *kurūh* is equivalent to one-third of a *farsakh* or 4,000 paces (*gaz*). A *gaz* can range from .6 to more than 1.0 meters.

for services rendered to the governor of Herat, Turkistan, Farah, and the worthies of these three provinces, and it also behooves the officials of Afghanistan to give something in return, they should consider this completely free of any problem.

13) Thirteenth, there should be no stinginess when it comes to obligatory expenses and they should not consider it permissible to hold back funds in such cases. Nor should they think extravagance a good thing, because at this stage, of course, five rupees more may be spent as long as this does not exceed the bounds of moderation or does not, out of negligence, result in the nation's being given a bad name. The first thing is to see what the attitude of the English commissioners is and then do what they think is proper, and not being stingy about spending money and keeping in mind what the advantage or benefit is, whether in obtaining a good name or in promoting (the nation's) sovereignty.

14) Fourteenth, when they reach Kuhsan, since it is near Herat, the governor of Herat must give a nice reception for them. Also, if they should ask him to accompany their *urdū*, he should accept their invitation. If they think it best that he stay behind in Herat then he should immediately send a courier to Kabul, and make the response to them dependent on the instructions from His Highness. Likewise at the time of the actual demarcating of the borders the governor of Herat should have with him trustworthy and loyal people of age and experience. The end.

From the locale of Chahgi, a district on the border of Baluchistan which belongs to the English nation, up to Farah and from there to Kuhsan both of which are within Afghanistan, every stopping place of the English commission along with their necessary expenses were fixed by His Majesty in an appendix to the above set of instructions and sent to the governors of Farah, Herat, and Turkistan. They are as follows: 1) Chahgi Bulu, 2) Yarab Chah, 3) Sabili, 4) Salihan, 5) Ribat, 6) Malik Ibrahim, /437/ 7) Sakalik, 8) Khwajah °Ali, 9) Landi, 10) Rudbar, 11) Ashkank, 12) Charburjak, 13) Qal°a-i Fath, 14) Yad-ha-yi Sultan, 15) Dih-i Kamran, 16) Dih-i Dadi, 17) Maqbarah-i Habil, 18) Takht-i Rustam, 19) Juwayn, and 20) Khushk Rud. From there the first stopping place belonging to the territory of Herat is Kushk, 2) Kariz, 3) Zihkan, 4) Sangbar, 5) Kariz-i Dasht, 6) Mandal, 7) Shir Bakhsh, 8) Chah gazak, 9) Pahrah, 10) Ribat-i Bi-lab, 11) Kunar-i Hari Rud, 12) Kuhsan. At each of these thirty-two stopping places, it was ordered that eighty *sīr* by Kabul weight of flour, 320 *sīr* of barley, 320 *sīr* of hay, twenty *sīr* of rice, forty sheep, twenty *sīr* of vetch (*māsh*), twenty *sīr* of clarified butter, one cow, forty chickens, two *sīr* of sugar, five *pāw* of tea, sixty loads of wood, four hundred skins of water, ten boxes of candles, two *sīr* of tobacco, one *chāryak* of *chars* (Indian hemp extract), and one *pāw* of opium (*tiryāk*) be prepared for the use of the English commission which, by the

signatures of the two nations, sanctioned the movement of nearly 1,000 individuals.

One of these sets of instructions was entrusted by His Majesty to Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan who was appointed to demarcate the borders separating the kingdom of Afghanistan from Iran and Russia. On the 15th of Zi'l-Qa°da/6 September 1884, the qazi set out for Qandahar accompanied by Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Farah who at his own request had been summoned to Kabul with the elders of Chakhansur and the khans of Farah. Through his verification all the leaders, elders, and khans that had accompanied him were honored with the award of robes of honor, stipends, and militia horsemen. Some of them had been granted leave to return home and some had stayed in Kabul with him (up to now).

A royal order was issued saying that Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan should have no involvement with the English commission aside from the borders that were under his own jurisdiction and from start to finish, he should consider the clarification and demarcating of the borders to be entrusted (solely) to Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan.

Also, every three *kurūhs*, four militia cavalymen should be stationed so that when the English commission arrived they would be prepared to carry their letters as far as the borders of Afghanistan by way of Qandahar and Shalkut or via Kabul and Peshawar where they would hand them over to the officials of that nation.

On the 24th of Zi'l-Qa°da/15 September 1884, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan arrived in Qandahar with Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan whence he himself went on to Farah. At the report of Mirza Hashim Khan, an employee of the English government, who said that the English commission had yet to reach Shalkut and were waiting in order to prepare the necessities for the trip which had not been brought from Kabul, on the 29th of Zi'l-Qa°da/20 September, Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan set out from Qandahar for that hstopping place. (Shalkut). His arrival there and meeting with Barnes, the leader of the English commission, as well as their negotiations, will come in due course.

Things Which Took Place and Were Concluded During the Above-mentioned Events

Of these were numerous proclamations and countless small dispatch boxes which were prepared and dispatched from the royal court to a number of cities and towns and locales with governors as well as villages and hamlets of the entire pious kingdom of Afghanistan so that in every place a box would be placed, sent out locked by His Majesty and the keys entrusted to Mir Ahmad Shah Khan, into which the powerless and needy subjects of every locale who were unable to get to the capital or in some way found it too burdensome to present themselves and ask for justice could drop their petitions through a slot on the top of the box large enough for letters so that they would not have to reveal the matter and be spared the trouble of a trip (to Kabul) and its attendant

expenses. A royal order was issued that a guard from the regular infantry assigned to the night watchman's court of the capital would travel with each of the boxes and every six months, twice a year, the same person should bring the boxes to officials in the capital so that through Mir Ahmad Shah Khan responses to the petitions could be issued and be delivered by the post (*dāk*) to each petitioner. Thanks to the initiation of this just innovation, subjects seeking justice were given peace of mind and delivered from oppressive and tyrannical governors and tax collectors into the cradle of peace and security. This box, most appropriately, came to be given the name "box of justice" (*ṣandūq-i ʿadālat*).

During this time, General Ghaws al-Din Khan, with the regular horse and foot and two cannons which he had under his command, /438/ by royal order, set out for the district of Panjdih from the place where he had been stationed, as described above, to put pressure on the *wālī* of Maymanah. There he made forays to get information about the situation of its people, introduced some order into its affairs, stationed Haydar Quli Khan with 100 regular infantry and 100 militia horsemen from the militia horse of Herat to guard the frontier, sent the troublemakers of its population with their families to Murghab as hostages (*bi-rasm-i girawgān*) and appointed Amin Allah Khan governor. Together with the rest of the army he entered Maruchaq from where Amin Allah Khan with fifty horse and fifty foot, not of those just mentioned, went to Panjdih and undertook its government. In the course of this, "Rabgil Nak Kunak (*rabgīl n-k kūn-k*), a Russian traveler (*sayyāh*) entered Sukhti with two attendants and three Turkman horsemen who were in Sari Khan, governor of Yaltan's, retinue, who had been ordered to travel to that frontier from Samarqand,. General Ghaws al-Din Khan, being informed of his arrival there, sent a message to people there to seize them and send them to Amin Allah Khan, governor of Panjdih. He also instructed Amin Allah Khan to house this traveler in a separate tent, assign a guard and try to find out what he had in mind. Through a Samarqandi named ʿUthman who was a servant of the Russians, he found out about the man's being sent to that frontier and afterwards, at instructions from the governor of Herat, he expelled him from the soil of Afghanistan. He also freed eleven captives of the Turkoman of Panjdih from Khwaf and Muhsinabad belonging to the government of Iran and sent them to Herat. From there they were sent home, saved from the bonds of captivity.

Also at this time, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan with his followers was moved from Quchan to Tehran, with the approval of the English, and there assigned a place of residence. Because of this, some of his followers, considering him virtually a prisoner, turned their backs on him. One of them, Hajji Mirza Muhammad Bqāqir Khan the son of Mirza ʿAli Akbar Khan who was a retainer of Sardar Shir ʿAli Khan Qandahari and who had left him and gone to Holy Mecca by the sea route, having performed all the stations of the pilgrimage returned through Iran entered Holy Mashhad and there, along with General ʿAbd al-Rahman Khan, Muhammad Ibrahim Khan the son of Bahram Khan *qābūchī*, Muhammad Hasan Khan *risālah-dār*, and Muhammad Baqir

Khan *panjsuwārī*, abandoned Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and set the face of hope in the direction of the *qiblah* of security and fulfillment. When they were received at court, each one, according to his station, had the purse of his desires filled with gold coin and the fixing of a stipend. Hajji Muhammad Baqir Khan was honored with appointment to serve as a letter-writer for His Highness the prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, a position he continued to hold until he died.

Also at this time, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan Taymuri who had been assigned to assist the governor of Herat, as was discussed earlier, was summoned before His Majesty, because of his being accused of conspiring to get illicit gains and of accepting bribes. After a while during which no one came forward to testify that he had violated their rights, (he was found innocent) and was assigned by His Merciful Majesty to investigate the losses of the diwan which Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, as earlier noted, had incurred. Of the clerks who had occasioned these frauds and were imprisoned, Mirza Mustamand Khan *who was the pillar of treachery was strangled in prison*.¹⁹ Mirza Muhammad Tahir Khan who appeared innocent of the stain of perfidy was distinguished by appointment, along with Sardar °Abd Allah Khan to head up the Office of Investigation (*daftar-i sanjish*), and a number of clerks who knew accounting were placed under their supervision.

During this time, since some palace structures had been erected and completed in the Arg, His Highness resided there in good fortune and prosperity.

Also during the turn of recorded events described above, the governor of Herat requested (permission) to send a Qataghani horse and a letter of felicitation on the situation of Rukn al-Dawla as viceroy of Khurasan whose governorship there had been effected by the Shah of Iran and to send them to Mashhad as congratulations with °Abd al-Qadir Khan Afshar. But because of the death of Na°ib Sultan Khan, he was prevented from going to Mashhad, Husayn °Ali Khan Afshar became the transporter of the letter and the horse, was honored by Rukn al-Dawla and returned to Herat with a very cordial ("sealed with friendship") response. At the order of His Highness, in light of the loyal service of Na°ib Sultan Khan Afshar, the burial and funeral expenses were paid by the nation. His nephews (brother's sons) such as Muhammad Amir Khan, °Abd al-Qadir Khan, and Qasim °Ali Khan were honored promoted by His Majesty with promotion from their current duties to the services which had been entrusted to the deceased.

During this time, General Ghaws al-Din Khan, whose arrival at Maruchaq was mentioned previously, at the order of His Highness undertook the construction /439/ of a stout fortress there. An area measuring two-thirds of the size of the city of Herat, in fact, thirty *jaribs* of land were set aside for the fortress. The appropriations just for its outer walls and the walls of its internal structures, minus all other useful and ancillary things, came to one lak of rupees,

¹⁹ RM: The italicized words were removed from the Kabul edition. c.f. Tehran 1994, p. 117.)

according to the audit (*bi-mīzān-i sanjish*) of the national treasury. Mirza Muhammad Karim Khan Qandahari was charged with the responsibility of building and General Ghaws al-Din Khan took on his own shoulders preparation of all the construction materials, and he brought the work to completion.

Also in these times, decisive farmans were issued to the mirs and leaders of the Hazarahs of Day Zangi, Bihsud, Day Kundi, and the people of Dawlatyar concerning the building of a highway (*sarak-rāh*) from Kabul to Herat. In a short time, through the assembling of the aforementioned groups for voluntary labor (*hashar*), a wide smooth road, easy for the army and artillery to use, was completed and over the Helmand and Hari Rivers strong wooden bridges were built.

Also in this time, because of the fact that there were talks going on with the Russians concerning the district of Panjdih and Yaltan, a letter from the English minister plenipotentiary stationed in Tehran and seeking information on the state of affairs of those two places reached the frontier of Herat carried by a certain Hajji Husayn. In accordance with the set of instructions from the court which they had in hand, the Afghan border guards prevented the bearer of the letter from crossing the border and, since the letter was addressed to the governor of Herat, one of their horsemen took the letter to him. The governor ordered the emissary to stay where he was and sent a message saying,

In these days, the commission of the English government having set foot on the soil of Afghanistan will soon arrive on the frontier of Herat and Kuhsan. So, he (Hajji Husayn) should remain where he is and when the members of the commission come through on their way to Panjdih and Yaltan, if it seems appropriate, he will then be given permission to join his own *urdū* and so transmit to the minister plenipotentiary in writing the state of affairs in Panjdih and Yaltan. Prior to that, no permission will be given to him to set foot on the soil of Afghanistan.

This response of the governor of Herat also met with His Highness's approval.

Also during the course of these events, two letters from the Englishman Mr. Barnes, the Political Agent (*pulīṭīkal ajant*) at Shalkut reached the governor of Qandahar. He wrote,

One thousand rupees belonging to Mirza Haydar Quli Khan Qandahari an employee (*khādim*) of the English government, is owed to him by a certain Muhammad °Aziz, son of Sardar Quddus Khan. It should be sent to Shalkut for him (Mirza Haydar Khan). Also he (the governor of Qandahar) should exempt him and Mirza Ya°qub °Ali Khan his brother, both of whom have diligently performed services for the

English nation, from the taxes (*māliyāt*) on their cultivable land situated in Qandahar.

Due to the fact that no provincial governor was permitted to say anything or dispense even an iota (*chīzi wa pashīzi*) without His Majesty's review and issuance of an order, the governor of Qandahar sent both letters of the aforementioned Mr. Barnes to His Majesty and an order was issued:

If, at the beginning of the evacuation (*takhliyah*) of Qandahar, English officials had requested on behalf of these two men exemptions for their land taxes it would not have been approved, and no protest could have been made to the government of Afghanistan. Do you think it more likely now, three or four years after the fact, that the government of Afghanistan will exempt these two from their land taxes? It is we who should object and the point (*nukta*) should be explained to them that any Afghanistani who opts to work for the English and English officials write recommendations on their behalf then of course it is necessary that the dependents and tribes of those recommended people be released from the shackles of the farman and order of the governor of the time and not bear any burden concerning obedience to authority. The fact is that officials of the resplendent government (Great Britain) have no power themselves in all the territories subject to them to exempt their subjects from one seed of grain or one dinar of what is due to the government or give it back to them (so how can they expect to get such exemptions for subjects of another country?) But there are some basic principles to observe here. Every year twelve laks of English rupees comes to Afghanistan from the resplendent government. If they should recommend that Afghanistan should distribute one or two laks of that in accordance with their recommendation, it would not be a hardship. But the axis of affairs of authority being so bound by principles which the subjects and the army have agreed to, then the government cannot abandon those principles. Furthermore (referring to the debt of money owed Mirza Haydar Quli Khan) the negotiations of the dealings of those two mirzas with Muhammad °Aziz Khan is legal matter (*shar°īst*). They should designate someone as their attorney and settle the litigation in accordance with the command of the noble law. The end.

Also in this regard after the exchange of written queries and answers, , the governor of Shalkut authorized Colonel St. John to provide evidence and clarify the matter. He himself had dictated a paragraph on this very issue at the time of the (British) evacuation of Qandahar and had given it to Sardar Shams al-Din Khan. His Highness, not paying any heed to this, wrote /440/

St. John is just a colonel in the army and while he has discretion over the affairs of the regiment under him he has no such discretion regarding the kingdom of Afghanistan. Yes, he has endured a great deal at the hands of the people of Afghanistan and has thus written all these letters, because he has nothing better to do. They're not worth hearing, by the way.

*Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan Arrives in Nushagi
and His Negotiations with Mr. Barnes*

Since Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, as reported earlier, left Qandahar on the 29th of Zi'l-Qa'da, he arrived in Nushagi on Thursday, the 4th of Zi'l-Hijja 1301/25 September 1884, met with the Englishman Barnes, the Agent at Fushanj and then settled into a tent which had been set up for him. They sat together inside the tent and conducted friendly talks regarding the size of the commission which had been agreed not to exceed 600 but was now at 1,000 men and the route which they had taken but was contrary to what had been fixed. He asked Barnes about this and Barnes apologized for selecting the route via Shah isma'il and abandoning the Chahgi route saying, "This route is more direct and is not unsafe." In accordance with what he was asked concerning the number of members of the commission, he reduced it to 800 men.

Also at this place, Azad Khan Baluch brought 300 camels which the English wanted to buy from him and presented them free of charge as a gift.

Also the son of Nawruz Khan Kharani, who had extracted his head from the yoke of obedience to the government of the English, requested aid and support to wage *ghazā* against the English from His Highness, but had not found the time opportune, was disappointed and took the path of submission (to the British).

In the course of the joint talks and negotiations, Colonel Ridgeway, an officer of the commission, regarding pack camels to carry provisions, which would be leased for the transport of grain, asked Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan to assign one hundred of them to Shah Isma'il and six hundred to Khwajah 'Ali to carry the commission's goods. This, so that from the latter halting place the equivalent of 600 loads with the camels carrying them would be entrusted to Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan who would get them to Herat. There as needed he would hand them over to the commission because with the commission reduced in size a small contingent could not safely transport the loads. And if a greater number were hired to transport the goods some incident might occur.

He heard the request of Col. Ridgeway's with the ear of acceptance, informed Muhammad Fahim Khan whose job was to deliver provisions and at those two stopping places where the colonel had requested (Muhammad Fahim) assembled the camels.

Also, regarding the cavalrymen who had been in Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan's service and a majority of whom had fallen ill, after the qazi notified officials of the throne, an order went out to Sardar Muhamad Yusuf Khan to send to him

(the qazi) militia horsemen from Pusht-i Rud and Farah to replace the Qandahari cavalry.

Also at this stopping place, Colonel Ridgeway presented Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan with a two-room tent and a Waylah horse as a gift. In accordance with the fourteen-point set of instructions given above, he refused the gifts and made excuses saying "There's no need for a tent at this time because with all the coming and going a person is happier with the lightest burden possible. If there is a need after reaching the territory of Herat, it will be received without further ado."

To sum up, Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and the commission of the English government set out from Nushagi for Qal'a-i Fath in the district of Chakhansur, which—God willing—will be recounted in due course.

During this time, four hundred sons of the chief men of the Durrani who had a tribal relationship and a clan affiliation with the person of His Highness were summoned by farman to the court and formed into a regular cavalry regiment and given the name the First Royal Troop. Their assignment was to serve at the prosperity-consorting stirrup as body guards of the sovereign person whether he was present at court or traveling, or on the days of public audience or when relaxing and hunting. Their horses were completely outfitted with saddle, saddle ornaments, bridle and reins, silver girth-strap, a *karīj*-holder²⁰, a silver belt, a military cap made of lizard skin, a six-shot pistol, and a monthly salary of thirty Kabuli rupees. For every two men, the government provided them with one serving man. By these invaluable royal favors, all the Durrani were honored and distinguished above other tribes. /441/

*The Sedition of the Shakyali, Darrah-i Nur, and Other Tribal People
of the Lamqanat as Far as Farajghan*

In Zi'l-Hijja 1301, the people of Shakyali, Darrah-i Nur, Masmut, Najil, Atub, Jilgah, and Nuba rose up at the instigation of Safdar Khan Nawagi, he in turn incited by Sayyid Mahmud Khan Kunari and Mughul Khan Mohmand who a long time before, as was mentioned earlier, had fled and taken refuge in the mountains of evildoing and wickedness. First, the men of Shakyali and Darrah Nur attacked a royal fort located in Darrah-i Nur in which grains and foodstuffs belonging to the government were stored. The garrison defending the fort beat back their attempts to seize it, capturing two of the attackers and putting the rest to flight into the mountainous place of ignominy and misery. Dad Muhammad Khan, the governor of Jalalabad, by royal order, dispatched the two prisoners from the evildoers to the gallows in a public execution as a warning to others. Forces stationed in Jalalabad were sent out to punish the people there, with two cannon sent on ahead to the royal fort. Also, according to farmans sent by His Majesty on the 16th of Zi'l-Hijja/7 October 1884, Khan Baba Khan, the governor of Kunar and Colonel Muhammad Amir Khan reached the royal fort in

²⁰ RM: The editor of the 1994 edition defines *karīj* as "a sword-like dagger."

Darrah-i Nur with the regular and tribal forces of Kunar. General Mir °Ata Khan also arrived in Jalalabad with the Herati infantry regiment and six gun carriages which had been stationed in Mazinah. From there he set off for Darrah-i Nur along with the aforementioned artillery which was under the command of °Abd al-Rashid Khan *karnayl*. Joining up with the 400 regular soldiers, two cannons, and the *iljārī* men who had reached the royal fort in advance of him, he resolved to destroy the evildoers of Darrah-i Nur. At royal command, Khan Baba Kan, the governor of Kunar, paid 2,000 rupees to the maliks of Mati, who had agreed on condition of payment either to take Sayyid Mahmud into custody or to drive him out, and were charged with the punishment of Sayyid Mahmud who was the cause of this uprising. Meantime, Muhammad Akbar Khan La°lpurah-i with a group of the Mohmand engaged Safdar Khan Nawagi who had started the trouble and a manshur from His Majesty was issued telling him not to give up the fight as long as Safdar Khan remains unpunished.

During this time, Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, the governor of Lamqan who, as mentioned earlier, had punished the rebels of Masmut and Darrah-i Najil and then turned his attention to the conquest of Atub, Nuba, and Farajghan which had also risen up, was routed. Because of his defeat, the men of Masmut and Najil again assembled in a *jirgah* of insurrection. All these men, emboldened in their actions by the uprising of their friends, set a very large disturbance afoot. Separate farmans were sent by His Majesty to Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, General Mir °Ata Khan, and Muhammad Shah Khan the governor of Tikab asserting that they should not withdraw the hand from combat or the foot from the field of battle as long as these people were not destroyed. Similarly, he instructed Siraj al-Din Khan the governor of Panjshir and Ghulam Haydar Khan the governor of Najrab to attack the enemy in Farajghan from three directions on Sunday, the 21st of Zi Hijjah and strike with vengeance. Of all the governors, the governors of Tikab, Najrab, and Panjshir, in advance of the governors of Jalalabad, Lamqan, and Kunar and the mighty regiments ordered to Shakyali and Darrah-i Nur, raised 9,000 armed men from the districts under their jurisdiction and on the day specified headed for the intended destination by way of Askin, Tapah, and Darrah-i Hazarah. They entered the valley (*darrah*) of Farajghan from three directions, extended from their sleeves the hands of killing and pillaging and flexed the forearm of vengeance. Dealing out bold revenge, they seized several forts and killed and wounded many of the rebels. Those who survived fled into the mountains of the black-garbed kafirs and became partners with the kafirs in wickedness. The servants of the government put all their forts and homes to the torch. The government forces remained there, engaged in winning over the fugitives and leading the enemy onto the right path. Muhammad Akbar Khan La°lpurah-i who had engaged Safdar Khan Nawagi in combat entered the mountains of the Ba°iza°i people and fell upon Mughul Khan Mohmad who had fled there and settled. He killed three of Mughul Khan's companions and wounded six. Two of his own followers were slain and three suffered wounds. He did not cease the struggle and kept his attention focused on combat until /442/ the Ba°iza°i people seeing their own situation rapidly

deteriorating because of his superiority sought a truce. They asked for a truce for ten days to expel Mughul Khan from their district during which time they would not be subject to killing or plundering. At the end of that time, they would put the necklace of obedience around their necks and accept the royal writ. Muhammad Akbar Khan agreed to what the Ba'iza'i asked, stayed his hand from the fight, and watched and waited. Consequently, Mughul Khan found himself without support, left his brother and two hundred cavalymen and infantry guns in hand at Mazri Chinah and himself fearful of being taken prisoner escaped to Qal'a-i Gari where he took refuge. Unable to stay there after two or three days he fled into the valley of disgrace, via the path of uncertainty, instability, and incapacity. The families and relatives of Fayz Talab Khan, Shuja' Khan, and Sayyid Mahmud Kunari, all of whom had turned their faces from the felicity of submission to the sovereign's command, and settled at Mazri Chinah, were devastated and confused by the flight of Mughul Khan who was the bulwark of their hopes and they fled to Musa Khayl and Mati. (Thus) they (the government forces) pacified that mountain region and rid it of the means of evil for potential troublemakers. The elimination from the soil of Afghanistan of their existence and other obstructionist elements in the mountains of Jalalabad and Lamqan as far as Farajghan—God willing—will be penned in due course.

*The Events of One Thousand Three Hundred and Two Hijri
(21 October 1884–9 October 1885)*

On the first day of this year, the royal regiments that had set out to punish and chastise the Shakyali and Darrah-i Nuri people attacked, killed ten of the rebels and wounded seven while two of the tribal militia men of the government force were killed and four sustained wounds. Subsequently, on Sunday, 6 Muharram/26 October, General Mir 'Ata Khan launched an attack with the regular regiments and artillery and drove off the Shakyali and Darrah-i Nuri men along with the other people who had joined forces with them out of friendship and support, shedding much blood and raising the flag of victory. He set fire to their forts and homes and burned them all to the ground. The following day, he set out to battle the people of Bambah Kut. While he was forming his troops into battle formations, four of the Darrah-i Nur leaders who lived there, placing a Qur'an on their heads, approached General Mir 'Ata Khan in a show of contrition and, through the intercession and mediation of the Qur'an, asked for immunity. In deference to the Holy Word, he gave them such an assurance and then, at an order of His Highness that had been issued in his name, he sent their leaders to the court to offer their submission. After their return he collected the blood money and indemnity for the killed and wounded along with the diwani taxes and thereby, as required, rendered them obedient and submissive.

Similarly, Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, the governor of Lamqan, brought severe retribution on the men of Atub, Jilgah, Nuba, and Jandul who sought refuge in mountain caves. Because of the rumors of their being punished and their flight, the men of Farajghan, who had entered the mountains of Kafiristan

as fugitives as was earlier recounted, also now came to the governor of Tikab offering submission, handed over seventeen men as hostages, and placed their heads beneath the writ of the farman. The governor sent the hostages to His Majesty who, out of mercy and forgiveness gave all of them *khil'ats*. In return, they handed over five rupees for each household as payment in lieu of the customary pillaging by the troops (*na'l-bahā*), were given leave, and returned home.

During this time, General Mir 'Ata Khan who, as mentioned above, was in Darrah-i Nur, put things to rights there and then set forth to punish the Musa Khayl tribe and Mati. Sayyid Mahmud and his family and relatives had fled there and sought sanctuary. When the general arrived in the district of Pashad, one hundred and thirty of the leaders of the region, through the mediation of Malik Muhyi al-Din Khan of the Musa Khayl and Malik 'Azim Khan Tira'i came to the royal camp, were distinguished and gladdened with the bestowal of robes of honor and hospitality, and were charged with tearing out by the roots the existence of Sayyid Mahmud. Similarly forty-four of the Jabbar Khayl of Mati presented themselves at the camp, received blandishments, offered a document pledging obedience, and returned home. Sayyid Mahmud, witnessing what was happening, saw his own position as disastrous (*wakhīm* [1]), took the path of flight from there with family and belongings, and went to Ghanam Shah near Nawagi. But, fearful, he was unable to not stay there, and turned the face of his hopes to the land subject to the government of the English. He revealed his situation to officials of the government of Great Britain and requested a living allowance for his family. In view of the fact that he had turned his face away from this government and that the pillars on which the friendship between the two nations rested stood firm, /443/ permission was requested of His Highness by letter to guarantee him a place to live and a living allowance. After permission was granted, he crossed the Attock River and passed through Wazirabad and was given a residence and a stipend for as long as he lived.

After the flight of Sayyid Mahmud, Muhammad Akbar Khan La'alpurah-i who had embarked on a campaign against Safdar Khan, as previously noted, with three thousand five hundred infantry and one hundred twenty cavalry, engaged his forces in battle. Eventually Safdar Khan in fear of Muhammad Akbar Khan's being backed by royal power and might and realizing he was in the grip of calamity and misfortune, appealed for assurances of immunity. He sent a message saying that if the merciful and forgiving padshah should pardon his sins, he would straightaway send his brother to the court. But His Highness already knew what he was going to say from reports from Muhammad Akbar Khan and so sent a farman which said that as long as Safdar Khan himself did not come in obedience his petition would not be granted. After the issuance of this command, his affair fell into abeyance. In opposition to him, Fath Allah Khan the son of Azhdar Khan Nawagi, guided by vigilant fortune, set off for the throne and when he received the honor of an audience and was gratified with the gift of a *khil'at* and the cash grant of one thousand rupees took upon himself the obligation to get rid of Safdar Khan and was given leave to return home. He

went back with a manshur issued by His Majesty to the leaders of the Ibrahim Khayl, Hilal Khayl, Babakr Khayl, Chahar Ming and other tribes of the Mohmand, Salarza'i, and Shahi Khayl concerning lending him their support. Safdar Khan was envious and jealous of him but with no other recourse handed his nephew (maternal aunt's son) and his own brother over to Muhammad Akbar Khan and requested that he send the two to the court (the threshold of world refuge) and interceded on his behalf to seek pardon for his misdeeds. Thus, after those two were ennobled by kissing the sublime threshold, His Highness gave Safdar Khan a guarantee of safety and announced to Muhammad Akbar Khan that he should stay his hand from eliminating him and let things go until another time when it should become clear what the consequence of his penitence and abasement should be. At that time, in reward for obedience mercy will be given but in return for straying from the path nothing but pain.

During this time, Muhammad Husayn Khan, the brother of General Wakil Khan was promoted by His Majesty to the rank of *sartip* and in the role of border guard was stationed in the halting place of Dakka. Three hundred Sakhlu infantry were assigned to his command to guard the border and to protect and escort caravans so that he could safely deliver caravans of merchants and travelers from this side to a point separating the two nations of Afghanistan and the English and from there, he would accompany back to Dakka the merchants and travelers whom the British had escorted to that point so that no harm from bandits would come to the wayfarers.

Also in this time when the turmoil created by the people of the mountains of Jalalabad, Lamqan, and other places as far as Farajghan had settled down, as has already been recounted, the militia men of the tribes and clans who had served in the aforementioned trouble were given leave and returned to their homes. After the demobilization of the royal troops and their returning to rest and take up stations where they had been ordered to do so, the people of Way Gul were given a new lease on life and took the opportunity to once again cause trouble, murdering a number of the regular soldiers and Commander (*kūmandān*) Khushdil Khan who were stationed amongst them to provide security. All the people of Kulman, Saw, and other places conspired in this evil deed. His Highness, deeply angered by this incident, sent orders and instructions to the governors of Jalalabad, Lamqan, and Kunar to join up as equal partners (*sharik wa himāl sākhtah*) with General Mir 'Ata Khan to root out and eliminate the malignant people of those mountains and to punish them most severely. Accordingly, they quickly set about doing so, assembling a force (*hasharī*) from the environs of Jalalabad and Lamqan, and the district of Kunar and linking it up with the army under General Mir 'Ata Khan's banner. Taking one thousand regular infantry, one hundred regular cavalry and all of the militia force (*iljārī*), he attacked the enemy at the time of the evening prayer, wielding the strong right arm of vengeance. He routed them, seized the fortifications (breastworks—*sangar-hā*), forts, and homes, and burned all to the ground. That same night they started to return to the main army camp. When the gloom of night had spread its veil and friend and foe were indistinguishable, during the army's move back

towards the camp, the enemy who had fled thought that darkness would assist them and so they turned the face of hatred back towards General Mir °Ata Khan and attacked like wild animals. Colonel Hazrat Gul Khan, having come to a halt, now rose in defense and battled them courageously until he was killed. When General Mir °Ata Khan learned of his death he was overcome with rage, turned around, set the foot of bravery firmly on the ground, drove off the rebels, obtained the victory, and, one watch of the night having passed, entered the army camp. That night many on both sides paid with the coin of their lives. Fleeing, the rebels reached the Darrah-i Saw /444/ and Kulman. Although General Mir °Ata Khan was conciliatory, due to the incitement and provocation of Nizam al-Din Khan who had turned his back on the government and established himself in that region, they paid no heed until subject to slaughter and pillage, their homes burned and their lives utterly destroyed, they all finally descended the mountain of foolishness and tendered their obedience. Nizam al-Din Khan fled from there and went to another mountain fastness where he spent his days in ignominy and infamy, and the flames of rebellion died down.

*Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan's Negotiations with the Officers of the English
Commission Who Were Assigned to Demarcate the Borders of Afghanistan as
Impartial Arbitrators*

When Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan, as previously recounted, rode out of Nushagi with the commission of the English government, on the fourteenth of Muharram 1302/3 November 1884 reached Qal°a-i Fath in the district of Chakhansur. Between those two places, the negotiations between him and the officers of the English commission are these: the English said that the locale of Darshufti belonged to Afghanistan and made it clear to him that it had been illegally occupied by the son of the Amir of Qa°in. Likewise, at Kuhak, the talk was that that the government of Iran had overstepped its own border. Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan, showed the English as evidence in support of their idea that this belonged to Afghanistan, the traces of an old canal that was once on the soil of Afghanistan but now had become filled with earth. They thus had their views confirmed and counted it part of Afghanistan. Also, they revealed that a distance of two farsangs of reed beds which is on the other side of Takht-i Shah, according to Goldschmid's map belonged to Afghanistan but because Afghani officials had failed to take control of it had come into the possession of the subjects of Iran. In response to this explanation of the Englishmen, Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan opened the lip of reply saying,

Because of trouble and the domestic problems of the amirs of Afghanistan taking control of that region had to be postponed but this failure to take possession does not rule out ownership, especially at a

time when the demarcation of the borders has been put at the discretion of fair and impartial people of the (English) government."

The English acknowledged the truth of what he said and declared,

Because this land comes into the hands of the Afghans, it should not remain a pasture for the people of Sistan. If the Shah of Iran should request some sufferance from His Highness for the well-being of the livestock of his own subjects such a request would not be in vain.

He, in turn, replied,

I am unaware of any permission given prior to (this) disclosure. But we know this much that in demarcating the borders and distinguishing the lands of the two governments of Afghanistan and Iran which Goldschmid had achieved, if the government of Iran should consider it permissible to violate those determinations and His Highness does not prevent the people of Afghanistan from fighting (over such a violation) then a major conflict will erupt. Now it remains under the control of the government of Iran due to His Highness's stopping (any fighting).

In a spirit of amity, the English answered him saying,

Having informed the Viceroy of the land of India of the situation of these borders and border locales (*ḥudūd wa nuqāt*) then with his leave and in accordance with the order of His Highness, we will undertake to fix the points marking the border division.

Also at this stopping place (Qal'a-i Fath), he (Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan) handed over a penalty of one thousand English rupees to the commission. It had been assessed on the people of Garmsir who had hired out their camels to the commission but then en route had caused them to run off.

Also at this time, thanks to a report from Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, the good services of Akhundzadah Faqir Muhammad Khan reached the ears of His Majesty. When the English commission had lost a number of camels and one horse because of their own negligence and he had found them and returned them, he refused to accept the reward and proffered the thanks and salutations of the government of Islam, replying "Because of the abundant favors conferred on me by the master of my own nation, I have no need of anything." This was the cause of (His Highness's) approbation and from this time on little by little his stock rose and he earned the rank of border guard and governor of that province from the government as will come in due course—God willing.

Also at this time, a letter reached the throne from Sardar Mir Afzal Khan. It contained apologies for his misdeeds and request for permission to return from Iran to the kingdom of Afghanistan. As was explained under the events of 1297

Hijri at the very end of volume two, since his daughter was the mother of Prince °Abd Allah Jan, the heir-apparent of the late Amir Shir °Ali Khan he had refused to submit to the authority of His Highness and had then left the kingdom. His request (now) /445/ was not accepted.

During the time of the movement of Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan and the commission of the English government from Qal°a-i Fath towards Ghuriyan, the Englishman, General Lumsden, who had left Tehran to observe the border regions of Herat, entered Kuhsan on the 15th of Muharram/4 November 1884 and through a letter to the governor of Herat requested someone familiar with the situation of the border. But before any reply could reach him from the governor, he left Kuhsan and on the 18th/7 November arrived in Sarakhs. The governor of Herat sent him Wali Muhammad Khan Jamshidi with one hundred horsemen. He also ordered General Ghaws al-Din Khan who was stationed in Maruchaq with a force of regular troops and two cannon to go to Panjdih. Meanwhile, four hundred cavalry left Old Sarakhs for Pul-i Khatun on behalf of the great government of Russia and from elsewhere two cannons along with some regular troops came to Old Sarakhs and garrisoned it. Similarly, a Russian officer and eight cavalymen came to a point on the border of Panjdih where the Afghani border guards stopped them from setting foot on Panjdih soil. Angry, the Russians demanded, "Either let us pass or we'll tell our commanding officer and enter Panjdih district with his permission." The guards bravely replied, "Even if you tell your commanding officer, since there is no permission from His Highness, we can't let you pass." The Russians, because of this surprising response, had no choice but to turn back. The important figure who could not get through and withdrew was a *pulkūnik* (*polkovnik*=colonel). General Ghaws al-Din Khan sent a letter to the officers of the Russian cavalry who had entered Pul-i Khatun with the message:

Afghani scouts at Sanduq Kajan encountered a Russian patrol and challenged the colonel who had replied that he was on his way to Panjdih. When the Afghan cavalymen prevented him from continuing on, he had gone to Sarakhs. He (Ghaws al-Din Khan) had assigned the scouts to patrol Kajan and had also sent a *kabīān* to ride along the east side of the river (*daryā*) and provide him with information about the border there. They (the Afghan scouts) in response to what the general had told them said to the Russian scouts, 'we are the agents of General Ghaws al-Din Khan whose job is to stop you from wandering into districts where you are not supposed to be. You are not to advance any farther than Hazrat-i Imam, for the people of Afghanistan will not restrain themselves from harming you.' Also they told them, 'General Ghaws al-Din Khan is stationed in Pul-i Khishti and Aq Tapah with the regular forces and artillery.' On hearing this from the Afghan scouts, the Russians withdrew from Kajan only saying, 'we are (simply) following our own army.' The end.

The Russians showed General Ghaws al-Din Khan's letter which told of the negotiations between the scouts of the two nations of Afghanistan and Russia and which he had written to the Russians in Pul-i Khatun, to the English general Lumsden who was at this moment in Sarakhs and complained to him about the Afghan officials on the border. He passed the information on to Colonel Ridgeway who spoke about it with Qazi Sald al-Din and asked that he restrain the Afghan border patrols from speaking rudely (*durusht-gū'i*) lest it spark trouble.

Meantime, Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan reached the stopping place of Ribat in Ghuriyan with the English commission on the 20th of Muharram/9 November 1884. On the 24th/13 November, the governor of Herat who had left Herat in order to welcome Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and receive the English commission with all due honors alighted at Zandah Jan and on the 25th/14th of the abovementioned month(s) Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and the English commission set out for there. Because the qazi came down with a fever en route, the governor sent a sedan chair to meet him and had him carried into Zandah Jan with all due honors. At the moment of the arrival of the qazi and the English, the governor welcomed them and paid homage to their coming. He, Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, and the English met together in a large tent which was erected for the occasion and as talks began he opened a map of the borders of Herat. Talks then commenced with Colonel Ridgeway about everything and every little place. In accordance with a sanad from the government which Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan had, they announced that neither Afghan nor Russian should have the right to intervene in Yaltan. Colonel Ridgeway, without giving them the opportunity to offer their reasons and prove their point, changed the subject and said,

Today, a letter from Lumsden Sahib has arrived from Sarakhs and he writes that officials of the Afghani government in the region of Panjdih have been treating their neighbors harshly and been speaking arrogantly to them in ways that may lead to trouble. He has written, 'you should inform the governor of Herat to tell them to cease and desist.'

This is the same letter of Lumsden referred to above. /446/ In short, they responded to Colonel Ridgeway saying,

If the Afghani scouts had not stopped the Russians, then certainly the Russians would have by now entered Panjdih. When the Russians, out of presumption and pride, act with boldness and temerity, why should we think that we shouldn't try to stop them? For if we don't stop them, like Sarakhs, which they took from the government of Iran, they would take control of Panjdih. Therefore, it is inevitable that when the Russians set foot in Panjdih and elsewhere, opposition and resistance will arise. Now, the order of His Highness is that officials of the government of Afghanistan therefore should keep hold of Panjdih, take

full control of it, and fortify it. Now that the government of Russia has trespassed beyond Yaltan and has intruded as far as Hazrat-i Imam, General Ghaws al-Din Khan should be told to deal with them civilly and be vigilant so that no clash would erupt. Also, you should stop the Russians from intervening in Panjdih and keep them off its soil. Regarding the issue of not letting either side occupy Yaltan, His Highness will not compromise on this.

After these recorded negotiations, Colonel Ridgeway voiced the request that since working through the winter would be difficult, it would be best for him to make winter quarters at Kushk-i Murghab and then in the spring start work defining and demarcating the borders of the two kingdoms. Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and the governor of Herat said nothing in response and the negotiating session was concluded. The following day they left that place for the stopping place of Ruzanak. There four hundred regular cavalry who were stationed at Ghuriyan came to greet Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and the English commission at the orders of Field Marshal Faramarz Khan. There they joined the forces in the retinue of the governor. The cavalry formed up into ranks to greet them and carried out the welcoming ceremonies. An eleven-gun salute was fired to congratulate them on their arrival at that stopping place. When they had made camp, the officers of the English commission through the mediation of two of their own employees, Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan and Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan asked Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan to join them for a session of discussion. Because of the fact that at Nushagi he had refused their offer of a horse and tent, as noted above, saying that if it became necessary around Herat he would accept them, he now perceived that this invitation of theirs was merely to present him with something so he accepted it on condition that they not give him anything. Otherwise no session would be convened. The English took this as a friendly criticism of His Highness the late Amir Shir 'Ali Khan's acceptance of gifts and their hospitality at Ambala and answered (*mujāb shudand*) to the effect that it was as a guest in the kingdom of the English government that he accepted the gifts while here they were guests and the kingdom is the Afghans. The world frowns on taking something from a guest.

In short, having fulfilled the condition, a session was convened to express thanks and friendly discussions were held. Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan then said goodbye to the officers of the commission and went off to have a look at the district of Ghuriyan while the English and the governor of Herat went on to Kuhsan.

During this time, Alikhanov, the governor of Marw, entered Sanduq Kajan coming down the east side of the Murghab River with one hundred and fifty horsemen while another officer with one hundred and fifty riders did the same following the west side of the river. In addition, a regiment of regular infantry marched from Marw to Hazrat-i Imam. Six thousand troops from the regular army arrived in Marw with the governor of Khivah to replace the regiment which had gone to Hazrat-i Imam. General Ghaws al-Din Khan learned of these

Russian troop movements and reported by letter to the governor of Herat telling him to inform the English commission to prevent the Russians from intruding onto the soil of Afghanistan while he himself (the governor) should quickly set out for Panjdih. After sending his message, the general as a precautionary step left the place where he was camped and headed for Chashmah-i Sabz. He also informed Field Marshal Faramarz Khan and then summoned Colonel Shah Murad Khan, who was stationed in Maruchaq with one hundred Sakhlu infantry, and two hundred regular infantry stationed at Murghab to join him.

During this time, Qazi Sa' d al-Din Khan who had gone to Ghuriyan from Ruzanak, made his inspection tour, returned, and rejoined the party (*urdū*) of the English commission at Kuhsan. Likewise, General Lumsden came from Sarakhs and joined them. Later, on 6 Safar (1302)/25 November 1884, they left Kuhsan together for Chashmah-i Sabz where General Ghaws al-Din Khan had also arrived, as was already mentioned. After their move from Kuhsan, Field Marshal Faramarz Khan ordered one hundred infantry stationed there to garrison Kafir Qal'a and one hundred of the Sakhlu Chahar Bayraq (Four Banners) infantry / 447/ which had just come to Herat from Qandahar were sent by him to Kuhsan to replace the one hundred who had gone to Kafir Qal'a, placing them under the command of Muhammad Amir Khan Afshar with orders to guard the borders. The governor of Herat now informed General Lumsden of the contents of the letter, just described above, from General Ghaws al-Din Khan, left the regiment and artillery which he had with him in Ghuriyan and with two hundred regular cavalry and one thousand eight hundred militia cavalry on Wednesday, the 7th/26th of the aforementioned month(s), himself hurriedly left the English commission and set out for the district of Panjdih by way of Chashmah-i Sabz.

Meantime, General Ghaws al-Din Khan sent angry letters to Alikhanov to which he wrote harsh replies and the two sides nearly came to blows. When the governor of Herat learned of the obstinacy of the two men he reprimanded General Ghaws al-Din Khan and restrained him from his uncivil ripostes.

Also at this time Qazi Sa' d al-Din Khan had a negotiating session with General Lumsden at the stopping place of Qal'a-i Majnun and showed him the letter of General Ghaws al-Din Khan, mentioned above, which he had sent to the governor of Herat in which he requested his help. General Lumsden read the letter and said,

It is hardly believable that Alikhanov has come to Panjdih to wage war because the Russian forces are few. Also in Sarakhs the official has been told that if Russian regiments show any intent of intruding onto disputed land the Afghans will resist and fight and this will give the Russian border officials of these places a bad name and caused them shame. Alikhanov circulates these rumors for his own purposes so that the border people should not rise up. According to them, the fact that they have entered Sanduq Kajan and Hazrat-i Imam is to prepare supplies and fodder for their own commission. Nonetheless, it is incumbent upon the Afghan government to be vigilant and take care to

strengthen their own borders because the Russians will attack Herat by way of the Iranian border as soon as the English commission leaves.”

Qazi Sa‘d al-Din Khan said in reply, “The borders will be strengthened as far as it is in the power of His Highness and the people of Afghanistan to do so. But despite all that, the government responsible for dealing with foreign governments vis a vis Herat, even more, all of Afghanistan, is the government of England.” Lumsden agreed and said,

You’re right. This government is responsible and has an obligation to defend you but since it is far from Herat and the government of Russia is close by, the Afghan people, until help can arrive from the English nation, must guard their borders well. Then together, after the arrival of an English army, they could carry an assault on the Russian territory through its commercial ports (*banādir*). Engineers and surveyors have been assigned to the borders in order to designate places (suitable) for attacking Russia and point these out to Afghan officials so that they might inform His Highness who could then decide to erect strong forts at each of the designated places and so block off the routes for Russia to intervene in Afghanistan. It is the plan of the Russian emperor to keep the English government’s attention fixed on maneuverings from this direction so that he might at his leisure seize Constantinople from the hand of Islam. He would happily surrender to England all of Turkistan which he has occupied in exchange for this one goal of his. But the British government has never and will never accede to this.

Qazi Sa‘d al-Din Khan, taking these words as a warning and threat to the people of Islam said, “From all manifestations, Russia’s main plan is to seize the land of India. Since they consider Afghanistan the gate of gates to Hindustan, their first step has been to get themselves to the borders of Afghanistan.” General Lumsden, who had to acknowledge the truth of what Qazi Sa‘d al-Din said, did not reply to this but turned to another subject, “The object of this meeting was for me to find out which places His Highness thought should be a buffer (*ḥudūd-i fāṣila*) and which places should be under his authority.” Qazi Sa‘d al-Din Khan in reply to this said “The leaders of Marw and Sarakhs have always and everywhere behaved as loyal subjects and servants of the amirs of Afghanistan.” General Lumsden confirming this said, “Certainly, this was the way it was a while ago and on those same grounds you should lay claim to Mashhad.” To this Qazi Sa‘d al-Din Khan eloquently replied,

“Without regard to the distant past, the leaders of the tribes of Tekke and Akhal from the dependencies of Herat were members of the retinue of His Highness the late Amir Shir ‘Ali Khan and until quite recently were in Kabul and set off for Ambala with him. They were part of the retinue of khans and stayed behind in Peshawar. Deputy Ghulam

Haydar Khan, who is presently /448/ on this commission, was their official host there and he and Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan are well aware of that. But at this time, due to the carelessness and negligence of the British government, which has somewhat tardily sent a group of arbitrators and investigators (*munsifin wa mumayyizin*), the Russians has already taken the step of occupying Marw and Sarakhs."

General Lumsden, who heard these words, said, "You should give up this claim because Marw and Sarakhs will never be under Afghan control." In reply to this outlandish notion (*istib'ad*), Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan said,

"Although according to maps, atlases, and geographies, Old Sarakhs, Marw, and Akhal belonged to Afghanistan, due to the tardiness and sluggishness of the commission of the English government, they have come under Russian control. In any event, now the thinking of His Highness and all the leaders of the Afghan tribes is that if such places are not retrieved from the Russians, it is absolutely essential that the border be drawn from the center (*az asl*) of Khwajah Salih to Sarakhs through the deserts of Chul and Rigistan and be demarcated in accordance with the map which we have."

General Lumsden answered,

One must leave Sarakhs, Marw, and Akhal alone for it is impossible that these should not be under Russian control. The dam on the Sarakhs River is upstream and the Russians will never accept the dam on a river which waters their land being under the control of the Afghans.

The qazi said, "What you offer as advice, I am obliged to convey to the throne." When negotiations had reached this pass, General Lumsden turned the subject to the government of Iran and said,

"All of Qilich Khan's towers belong to Iran. So the officials of that government have been told to repair and improve them and station guards in them for this would be good for protecting the borders of Afghanistan.

In reply, Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan said,

"Those towers of Qilich Khan which are inside the borders of Iran without doubt will belong to Iran. Those which are situated within the borders of Herat belong to the Afghans and they will not accede them to the government of Iran."

To this Lumsden responded that the governor should get a deed (*wathīqa*) from Iran regarding the towers situated in any district belonging to Herat. The qazi replied to this, “The people of Afghanistan won’t accept this (a deed) and will assign their own guards (to these towers).” Lumsden was momentarily silent after hearing this, then said, “Although His Highness collects the tithe (*‘ushr*) from the people of Panjdih, still, at this time, in order for the people there not to be unhappy, he ought to write to His Highness to reduce the burden on those people.” He also went to say, “I say this only out of friendship. I am not authorized by my government to say anything about reducing taxes.”

At this point the discussion and negotiations between the two men concluded and they bid each other goodbye. On Saturday, 10 Safar/29 November 1884, at the halting place of Chaman Bid, talks took place between Qazi Sa‘d al-Din Khan and the Englishman, Captain Wanliss (? *w-līsū*)²¹ on behalf of General Lumsden. The captain said, “He (General Lumsden) says that we will prepare the winter fodder and provisions for the commission ourselves.” The qazi replied, “His Highness has ordered that we should cover all the expenses of the commission as hospitality on the part of the government of Afghanistan.” Capt. Wanliss responded, “General Lumsden says that ‘in the time of His Highness, the late Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, I was stationed in Qandahar and I paid my expenses out of my own pocket. This was acceptable to him (Amir Dust Muhammad) and now in the same way should be equally acceptable.’” Qazi Sa‘d al-Din Khan responded, “At that time, General Lumsden was an emissary for his nation, but now he is a guest of Afghanistan. There is a big difference between an agent and a guest.” Capt. Wanliss listened and then said,

“One can imagine two advantages to the commission’s paying its own way. One is that lot of the subjects of His Highness will prosper and the other is that Russian officials are spending money and offering assistance to people in these border regions and consequently pleasing and gratifying them. Therefore, it is also fitting that the English commission should be dispensing its own money. Another thing is that the treasury of Afghanistan would not thereby incur loss. Also, the subjects will be pleased and happy with the commission spending its own money.”

Qazi Sa‘d al-Din Khan replied,

The subjects of Afghanistan aren’t going to get rich because two laks of rupees are spent on fodder. Serious amounts of money would be required to improve their lot. The government of Afghanistan is in competition with the Russians and is obliged to spend the money.

²¹ RM: FM has Capt. D-lāsū on p. 517, line 27 which the 1994 Tehran edition says is Wālisū (p.264 note) L. Adamec, *Gazetteer* calls Wanliss a major.

Besides that, the national treasury incurs no hardship from such expenses as these. If it's empty; this isn't going to fill it up.

Capt. Wanliss acknowledged the truth of his words and said nothing more. The exchanges stopped until the evening of Sunday, the 11th/21st of the month when, at the *manzil* of Qal'a-i Muri, General Lumsden had a meeting with Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and repeated the discussions of the previous day. They formally agreed to inform His Highness and Lord Dufferin, the Sahib Viceroy of India and act in accordance with what the two sides approved and ordered. After signing this agreement (*qarārdād*), Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan /449/ turned to another subject and opened a discussion on Pul-i Khatun,

At the manzil of Kuhsan, I raised the issue, and you said, 'from Sarakhs I informed His Excellency the foreign minister in London that the Russians have seized Pul-i Khatun' and you promised that this impudent act would be confronted. I said that I would notify His Highness and you would wait for an answer from the foreign minister."

Having said this, he showed him a manshur which His Majesty had issued and there it was written that "one way or another, the Russians must leave Pul-i Khatun." After reading this order, he (Lumsden) stated,

the foreign minister has written, 'I have informed the Emperor of Russia that at the time of the arrival of the British commission at the borders of Herat this inappropriate move was committed by (Russian) imperial officials. If they don't evacuate Pul-i Khatun the border demarcation won't occur.' Therefore sometime during this period, the Russian cavalrymen will evacuate Pul-i Khatun.

Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, wanting to know what was actually said, responded,

I have to inform the governor of Herat to appoint guards to Pul-i Khatun when the Russians withdraw.

General Lumsden, who did not yet know the actual state of affairs said,

Don't assign guards, because your men haven't advanced beyond Gulran for a very long time.

The qazi replied,

Our men have raided and forayed as far as Sarakhs. The fact that former amirs and sultans of Afghanistan left most ports of entry (*bandarāt*) unguarded was not because their regimes did not have the

right to do so. Our failing to occupy such places has been because of tumult and turmoil inside the country. Thus at certain times, the Badghisat also were not under the control of the government but no one else occupied the region. From these exchanges, it is apparent that your intent is to gradually introduce documents and evidence showing Pul-i Khatun is part of Afghanistan although you yourself in Kuhsan attested to Pul-i Khatun's being part of Afghanistan.

Recognizing (the truth of) what Qazi Saʿd al-Din was saying, (Lumsden) said by way of confirming it,

Everything you say is true. No one will say that Pul-i Khatun does not belong to Afghanistan, but now, as soon as the Russians withdraw from Pul-i Khatun, Afghani cavalry should not go there for it would be a violation of the dignity of the Emperor and would make things very difficult for the Russians..

After saying this, he put this question to the qazi,

Before this, Panjdih was the home (*maskan*) of which tribe?

The qazi explained in detail,

In former times, ʿAta Allah Khan, a Jamshidi, now known as Saq Salmani, made that place his homeland. But because of the raids and forays of the Turcomans he left and the Ersari tribe requested of the Jamshidi leaders, who were its owners, permission to make it their place of residence. Their request was granted, they promised to pay a certain amount of tax, and they took possession of the land. After a while, the Ersari tribe was forced under wretched circumstances to abandon it. After that, when the government of Iran took possession of Sarakhs, the Tekke people decided to flee from there and settle in Marw and forced the Sariq out of Marw. A small number of the Sariq headed for Turkistan but most took refuge in Panjdih. They petitioned Khan Aqa-yi Jamshidi for permission to reside there and after he granted it they contracted to pay an annual tax of two thousand *tilla* coins, each weighing one-*misqāl*, or perhaps somewhat less.

General Lumsden, acknowledged the truth of this detailed explanation and declared,

It is necessary to get an affidavit from the Sariq corroborating these words for in Tiflis, Prince A. M. Gorchakov (*wāndākāf* ? *gārchākāf*), a Russian prince and governor of all Turkistan [sic] argued with me that the district of Panjdih will not be part of Afghanistan. During any

(future) discussions if I have such a document in hand with the seal of those people, it will answer the Russians.

Because of his declaration, Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan ordered Amin Allah Khan, the governor of Panjdih, and his brother Yalangtush Khan to get such a document from the people living in Panjdih and the two set out to do so. On Monday, the 12th of Safar/22 November, His Highness sent a farman to the governor of Herat telling him to return there until the actual demarcation of the border begins, organize its affairs and strengthen its defenses so that if the Russians should make any hostile moves he could counter them. The noble order said that he should give every member of the English commission—800 men—one complete military uniform (*yak dast-i sarāpā libās-i nizāmī*), one hide overcoat (*yak jild-i pustīn*), one hide jacket (*pustīnchah*), a pair of socks, a pair of gloves, and for each horse a stake for tying it up (*har aspī yak takhtah-i sarkash*) all of which has been sent from Kabul, along with an undergarment (*kurta*) of Herati *barak*-cloth so that whenever they went into winter quarters they would not suffer from the cold.

In accordance with the order of His Majesty /450/ he (the governor of Herat) requested all these items be sent from Herat to the *urdū*. Also, via a servant of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan who entered the *urdū* of the governor of Herat to find out what was going on, a letter was sent with the message that he (Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan) should assemble two hundred and forty-six tents from the region of Maymanah and prepare them with winter fodder provisions for the English commission in the district of Char Shanbah. In accordance with the letter of the governor of Herat, he prepared the correct supplies and equipment (*sar rishtah wa sāmān-i durust*) there.

During these events, one of the officers of the English commission left the *urdū* with a party of five subordinates to map the regions of Karkh and Ubah.

At this time, the *urdū* of the English commission and Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan reached the halting place of Burj-i Araz Khan where Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, an employee of the English government, said to Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, "Since the halting place tomorrow is in Panjdih, the royal (Afghan) forces should organize a ceremonial reception for the arrival of General Lumsden." Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan had yet to say either yes or no to him when a letter came from General Ghaws al-Din Khan with a request for permission to conduct such a ceremony. He agreed, telling him to form up ranks with the artillery 400 paces from their tents and when Lumsden neared the camp to fire a seventeen-gun salute to welcome him. Thus on the 14th of Safar/3 December 1884, the general set off with his commission. At the manzil of Aq Tapah, in accordance with Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan's order, General Ghaws al-Din Khan formally welcomed him. That evening, General Lumsden requested a meeting with General Ghaws al-Din Khan. With Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan's approval, they met and then he (General Ghaws al-Din Khan) returned to camp. The next day, as a return visit, General Lumsden went to General Ghaws al-Din Khan's camp. There, after a meal, he presented General Ghaws al-Din Khan with a watch and then

returned to his camp. On the 15th, they set off for and camped at Old Panjdih. On the 16th, the governor of Herat arrived there with 2,000 horsemen, all the leaders and worthies of Panjdih came to the camp themselves with Amin Allah Khan their governor and the ceremonies of honoring and glorifying each other took place. Because of the arrival of the English commission, the governor of Herat, and Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan in Panjdih district, °Alikhanov and the Russian *yazāl*,²² whose real intention was to occupy Panjdih, in the guise of a mere outing had approached within two farsakhs of the district. Received by the people of the district with indifference they pulled back to the place where they had first made camp and stayed there. On the 17th of Safar, the governor of Herat met in his own tent with General Lumsden and since he was determined that the taxes of the district of Panjdih not be collected, he declared to the governor of Herat, “The Russians don’t collect taxes from the subjects of Marw and other places. So too taxes should not be collected from these people lest they turn the face of their hearts towards the Russians and link up with the people of Yaltan.” In accord with the order of His Highness which had earlier been issued to the effect that half of the tithe should go to the government and the other half should be fixed as the share of the leaders and stipendiaries, he did not agree to General Lumsden’s proposal. At this meeting, in accordance with his (Lumsden’s) request of the governor of Herat and Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan that one-month’s expenses of the commission be received in Murghab instead of Char Shanbah, they gave the order to transport them there.

*A Manshūr from His Majesty in Response to the Negotiations
Between Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan and General Lumsden*

When the negotiations between Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan and General Lumsden were revealed to the mind of His Majesty through letters from the qazi himself, on Thursday 22 Safar/11 December 1884, he wrote and sent the following answers

Concerning a Russian attack on Herat and the obligation of the English government to defend it, I say to you, the members of the commission, how will you leave behind the soil of Herat? Are you concluding the job with a treaty or an international agreement (*bandubast-i dawlatī*) with the signatures of the two nations of England and Russia witnessed by all the foreign governments and in accordance with what is in the interests of your own government? Or are you leaving it vulnerable to war? If everything is done then after concluding the discussions (*baʿd fayṣala-i guftugūy*) and ascertaining the rights of each side, what rights belong to the Russian government on the soil of

²² RM: Tehran 1994, 138, note considers this to be two words and the second, *yazāl*, to be a rank but it seems more likely it’s one word and an attempt to render the name Vasilii (although I have yet to find a source for his first name). Alikhanov’s rank was “colonel” (*polkovnik*) which is impossible to derive from *wīzāl*.

Afghanistan and why should Afghans fear Russian attack? Why would the government of Russia make the kind of move that no thief or highwayman would make? Of course, it will never make such a move. If your work remains unfinished which would lead from peace to war, we basically have no fear or anxiety about war with Russia. Indeed for four years, I have repeatedly told the great English government of the lack of means, the small reach of the government (*kam dawlati*), and the shortage of materiel /451/ of Afghanistan, reminded them of the day that has now come and shown them the remedy and the cure until they gave me a written pledge (*hujjat-i zimmahwārī*) to fight a foreign enemy. I kept quiet, and today, if something comes of this I will spare no effort. If losses and shortfalls occur in the near or far term, it is not I who will be ashamed before the whole world because of the pledge I have from the English.

Second, when they say that strong forts should be erected at the places where the Russians would pass, they are speaking the truth. However there is a condition to any fort-building: If the matter of defining and demarcating the border takes concrete form and the Russian government at this time is satisfied and happy with its borders and puts aside the idea of inserting its hand and extending its foot to the soil of Afghanistan, perhaps we should turn our attention to fortifying certain places and building forts along the borders. This fortifying is not particular to the territory of Herat but forts and fortifications should be erected at appropriate places parallel to the edge of the Oxus River as well. Two years ago, during a stop in Jalalabad I explained this in detail to the viceroy of India and if there are disputes over the task of fixing borders in the task of border-setting (*hadd-bakhshī*) there will be no opportunity to build forts. We will then have to fight and defend ourselves against the enemy on our very doorsteps. Whatever God wills will be made manifest.

Third, regarding the reference to Constantinople (Qusṭantīniyah),²³ my view is this: If it (Russia) doesn't see the English government as weak it won't involve itself in Rum. Reason cannot believe that if the English have such power and might, that the Russians will attack Rum. Rather whatever effort they make will be in seizing regions of Afghanistan and stirring up trouble in Hindustan. It is essential they don't let their imaginations run wild because the focus of the will and intention of the Emperor of Russia doesn't shift from the borders of Afghanistan and the land of India in other directions. Therefore, the English commissioners should direct whatever remedies they have to the

²³ FM: Since this has been taken from the original letter Constantine has not been written as Constantinople. RM: According to the author's own ms. (see Tehran, 1994 edition, p. 140 note) this note should read exactly the opposite i.e. it *has* been written "Constantinople" rather than the original "Constantine."

business of the borders of Afghanistan for if these borders become secure, Constantinople will have ‘Alexander’s Dam’ and an iron citadel (protecting it).

Fourth, when they say, ‘When will the Russians ever accept having the headwaters of Sarakhs beyond their control and in the hands of the Afghans?’ they are making a good point. We too are well aware that ‘rivers can be made to flow uphill’ (force is a fact of life). Today, Sarakhs is not in our hands but those people should not occupy anything more in this direction and should be satisfied with the land of Sarakhs itself. Pul-i Khatun (Bridge of the Lady) should be fixed as the border between (the two sides) so that on the far side of the bridge would belong to them and this side to the Afghans. Afghan patrols would guard and protect this end of the bridge as their border while the Russian patrol post on the other side would guard and protect their end as their border so that neither they nor we would encroach on the other’s side. If the Pul-i Khatun cannot be the ‘screen between’ (*hijāb-bayn*) and the Russians don’t agree that this side should be our border and that side theirs, from that bridge, trouble and turmoil is always going to come to Panjdih. It’s not a remote possibility that actual fighting (*zad wa khūrd*) might break out between the two sides. Beware of taking Pul-i Khatun lightly for great difficulty comes because of negligence.

Fifth, regarding the Qilich Khan towers located in Herat, we will not be pleased to have Iranian cavalry guards occupy them in the name of ‘protection.’ We will appoint patrols and scouts because we do not want the reputation that the government of Iran guards and protects such and such a place and the borders of Afghanistan. Concerning the obligatory alms-tax (*zakāt*) of Panjdih, whatever has been collected has been collected and that’s that. But whatever is being collected, they should not stop collecting or the people there will say ‘because they consider the Russians their rivals, they have withdrawn their hands from collecting the tithe and the alms-tax.’ The governor of Herat who is there now should assign to the chiefs and leaders and the religious scholars appropriate salaries (*tankhwāh*) and stipends (*waḡīfa*) respectively out of the tithe and alms-tax revenues because collecting and then distributing it looks better than not collecting it and staying the hand from appropriation. The end.

He also made it clear to Qazi Sa‘d al-Din Khan that he should show General Lumsden and Colonel Ridgeway this *manshur* with these responses and make them understand well that the Russians prior to these negotiations occupied Old Sarakhs and Pul-i Khatun which is twelve farsangs from Old Sarakhs and is on this side of the Hari Rud (Herat River) and now count Pul-i Khatun as one of the dependencies (of Sarakhs). Sarakhs-i Nasiriyah is on the other side (their side) of the Herat River (*rūd-i Harāt*), one-half farsang from

Old Sarakhs and is in Iranian hands. Why didn't the Russians occupy that and how do they justify taking possession of Pul-i Khatun which is twelve farsangs and a long way away from Old Sarakhs?

Prior to the arrival of these reasonable responses, Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan with the English commission went to the district of Maruchaq and with the top figures in the commission went for a tour of a new fort there. (An account of its creation, the audit of its expenses at one lak of /452/ rupees, and its extensive size has been given earlier.) They observed with approval the street of *hujras* (rooms, chambers) along with half of the houses of its second side and the walls of its second citadel. When they returned to the camp, General Lumsden asked Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan to sit with him and talk. He accepted the invitation and they sat down together in a tent. General Lumsden showed Qazi Sa'd al-Din a letter containing a complaint of Fayz Muhammad Khan *risalah-dār* who was assigned as an escort to attend to (*mihmāndārī*) the commission and about whom Colonel Ridgeway had (also) recorded their concerns. The general asked him to dismiss or replace him as *mihmāndār*. Since the qazi had information about the matter, which was that 'Ata Allah Khan Jamshidi who was also a *mihmāndār* and who without Fayz Muhammad Khan's permission had gone to the tent of Merk, one of the members of the English commission, and told him about the situation of a number of places and for this Fayz Muhammad had beaten him with a stick. He had also cursed Wali Muhammad Khan Jamshidi which offended the (Jamshidi) people. (For all these reasons) Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan did dismiss him as *mihmāndār*.

The qazi wanted some explanation about 'Ata Allah Khan and said,

What work of yours is yet unfinished that 'Ata Allah Khan could undertake and carry out? Why haven't you inquired about those things that are unclear to you? Why would Merk invite a person of no status to his tent to talk? It was because of ('Ata Allah's) going off half-cocked like this that Fayz Muhammad Khan, who considered himself on the same level in terms of rank and privilege as Merk and superior to 'Ata Allah Khan, punished the latter. In any case, individual members of the commission do not have permission to leave their force, go off on their own, and move about freely wherever they want. (If they do) the Afghan people will harm them and the government will then be responsible.

During these talks, the governor of Herat, after taking care of all important matters relating to the commission of the great English government and having set the affairs of the subjects living in the border regions to rights, set aside from the tax revenues (*māliyāt*) of thirty-eight *zamīndārī* canals the sum of 380 tilla coins of one-*misqāl* (weight) for gifts (*bakhshish*) and gratified all the leaders (of the people living in the border regions) with the bestowal of *khil'ats*. He obtained a written pledge (*'ahd-nāmah*) of obedience and appointed Yalang Tush Khan governor of Panjdih in place of his brother, Amin Allah Khan, who

had resigned because of the two-facedness of the people there and their congenital duplicity. He also assigned an infantry regiment under the banner of Shah Mard Khan along with two hundred cavalry and two hundred *khāṣṣah-dār* infantry to garrison Aq Tapah and sent along with them 100 camels to transport provisions. He gave General Ghaws al-Din Khan instructions to spend half the days of the month in Aq Tapah and the other half in Murghab.

On Saturday, the fourth of Rabi^ʿ al-Awwal/22 December (1884), he himself (Muhammad Sarwar Khan the governor of Herat) bade farewell to Qazi Sa^ʿd al-Din Khan and headed back to Herat via Bala Murghab. At the moment of leave-taking, General Lumsden requested of both Qazi Sa^ʿd al-Din Khan and him that they should reduce the regiments stationed in the district of Panjdih and so be more secure from Russian attack. If Russia were to have the temerity to push forward, that government would then be subject to protest because of the small number of Afghan troops there. They asked for this request to be put in writing so that in the case of a reduction of Afghan forces, if the Russians were to attack, then the English would rise in defense and stop them. He did give them something in writing that said,

At the time of the negotiations on fixing the borders, the Afghan border guards should be humble and before any attack by the Russians, should show no bellicosity. After such an attack, however, the Afghans will defend themselves without hesitation or delay and will not be held responsible for this because any attack by the Russians will be contrary to the wishes of the Emperor.

In short, on Saturday, the 19th of the month/6 January 1885, the governor of Herat arrived in Herat and soon thereafter, in accordance with the request of General Lumsden who had asked him and Qazi Sa^ʿd al-Din Khan for binding evidence (*sanad-i qawī*) and something in writing (*nawishtah-i*) from the Sariq people attesting that Pul-i Khatun was part of Afghanistan, he summoned ^ʿAbd al-Jabbar Beg, a Hazarah of Qal^ʿa-i Naw, a very old man who had been an eyewitness to the battle between the late Wazir Fath Khan and Hasan ^ʿAli Mirza Qajar in 1234/1819 on the plain at Kafir Qal^ʿa and who was very knowledgeable about the (historical) role of the government of Afghanistan in Pul-i Khatun, Panjdih, and other places and got this affidavit from him:

The tower at Pul-i Khatun was built by Qilich Khan Taymuri who was a servant and official of the government of Herat. I met him while he was still alive. Since the Taymuri people paid and still pay their customs and land tax (*bāj-dah wa kharāj-guzār*) to Herat, during the reign of Shah Mahmud, the son of Timur Shah Saduza^ʿi, this same Qilich Khan held the reins of government service and was in charge of border patrolling. The Taymuri's livestock used to be pastured in the environs (*dar aṭrāf*) of Pul-i Khatun and beside the Herat River. This Qilich Khan built the tower beside the aforementioned *pul* (bridge) to

protect against the raids of the renegade Sariq (*Sāriqīn-i alamān*). The end.

This affidavit was stamped with the seal of this °Abd al-Jabbar Beg, the seals of a group of /453/ the leaders of Herat, and that of Hazrat-Sahib of Karrukh and sent to Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan who showed it to General Lumsden so that there would be documentation when the time came to discuss Pul-i Khatun.

After these discussions, the English commission chose Bala Murghab as the place where they would spend the winter. His Highness accepted the request of the viceroy of India to be responsible for the expenses of the English commission which to this point had been paid by the great government of Afghanistan as hospitality and which they should now pay themselves. One condition being that Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan would provide the fodder and foodstuffs to the commission, receive payment from the commission, and pay that to the subjects who had supplied the provisions. The individual members of the commission themselves should not be allowed to go out and deal with the subjects of Afghanistan themselves.

During this, the governor of Herat and Field Marshal Faramarz Khan at the request and behest of Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan and with the consent of General Lumsden, sent the Qandahari infantry regiment from Herat to Murghab with orders to first go to Panjdih by way of Qarah Tapah and Muri, show the flag (literally, display their might and power) to the people of the Panjdih district, then return via the same route, leaving four hundred men at Maruchaq and the remaining two hundred men with two hundred regular cavalry and two mule guns at Murghab under the command of Timur Shah Khan, the deputy field marshal (*nā°ib-sālār*). After the arrival of the troops in those two places, he (Timur Shah) should assign Colonel Shah Mard Khan *karnayl* with the infantry regiment under his banner, two of the Qajar cannons which His Highness Muhammad Shah Qajar had abandoned at the time of his siege of Herat, four hundred Sakhlu infantry, one hundred regular cavalry, and one hundred and fifty Gushadah cavalry to station himself at Aq Tapah and Pul-i Khishti. At the order of Field Marshal Faramarz Khan and with the approval of Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan, Muhammad Amir Khan Afshar went to Dahanah-i Zu°l-Faqar with his cavalry and left one hundred of them as a garrison there. The other two hundred men with him he sent to Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan to serve as couriers and for other duties. He himself returned to Herat and busied himself with other services to the governor. Likewise, General Allahdad Khan, who had been assigned to punish the insurgents in the mountains of Chaghcharan, put matters there to rights and returned to Herat where he worked with the field marshal training and organizing the army stationed there.

The Hostile Incursions and Transgressions of Russian Border Guards

During Rabi^c al-Thani 1302/18 January-15 February 1885, a Russian officer with forty-five regular cavalry entered Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar. The (Afghan) guards there stopped them and notified the governor of Herat. He in turn immediately wrote and informed the English General Lumsden. He also sent Muhammad Amir Khan Afshar with fifty regular cavalry and forty Sakhlu infantry back to reinforce the guards of Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar. At this moment, one hundred more Russian regular cavalry entered the land of Uymaq Jar, forcibly drove out forty Afghan cavalry who were guarding the place, and seized it. At the time they arrived they had directed rude fighting words towards the Afghan horsemen. The latter, forbidden by the government to use obscene and abusive language themselves, responded politely, and left the place they were stationed. General Lumsden apprised (the government) of this incident by telegram from Khurasan to London and also ordered Colonel Ridgeway to go and speak to the (Russian) officer in charge of those horsemen and find out, by speaking kindly and conciliatorily, what the intentions of his government were.

Also, in a letter from the governor of Herat and Field Marshal Faramarz Khan replying to Qazi Sa^d al-Din Khan, they wrote that he should inquire of the general whether the Russian provocations should be considered *casus belli* or should they be patient and just wait. (The qazi) showed General Lumsden this letter and the latter said that until the borders are demarcated, the Afghanis should speak softly to the Russians and listen gently to what they say and make no bellicose moves. Moreover, they should inform their border guards and make them understand that no matter how much Russian troops should use abusive language as a provocation, they themselves should respond in a dignified fashion..

During this, because of the telegram which General Lumsden had sent to London, Russian officials in Petersburg were queried by telegram as to what was going on and issued a reply saying, "A small number of regular troops have been sent to the border to extinguish flames sparked by people residing there. They have no intention of trespassing." Before news of the telegram arrived, another Russian entered Aq Ribat and the Afghan cavalry /454/ there stopped him and forced him to turn back. He rejoined the Russian cavalry who had entered Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar. At this time news of the telegram from Petersburg reached them and they withdrew from Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar for a distance of two cannon shots and set up camp on waste ground there. They also now withdrew from all the places they had occupied except for Pul-i Khatun. Later, General Lumsden sent ^cAlikhanov a letter telling him not to make any more provocative and hostile moves.

Meanwhile, because of the friendly relations (with the Russians) of the people of Panjdih and Yaltan, General Lumsden, attributing this to their hostility to the government of Afghanistan, declared to Qazi Sa^d al-Din Khan,

If His Highness permitted it, I would hand over all the Sariq people to Russia and expel them from the district of Panjdih. In their stead, I would request His Highness settle other people of Afghanistan here.

These words reached the percipient ears of His Highness in a report from Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan and he sent the qazi a manshur saying that "expelling any of the Sariq from Panjdih is out of the question because such an order is not expedient, and would even be detrimental." He also wrote,

Perhaps General Lumsden got this idea by telegram from the proposals (*iḡhārāt*) made by the Russian P. M. Lessar (*Īm Vī Līsar*) who is now stationed in London, an idea that was told to him, that he took upon himself, and then promised (to see it carried out). We are not unaware of his (Lessar's) declarations which have no evidence or proof behind them. He considers the Salar and Sariq Turkoman on the basis of their common tribal ties (*īlīyat*) with the Tekke and other Turkoman to be subjects of Russia and so wants this done (the expulsion of the Sariq). Her great and sublime Majesty, Queen Victoria, knows that what he wants is improper and has said that it is unacceptable. If General Lumsden should be incapable of solving this kind of problem he should so inform the viceroy (*nāʾib al-salṭana*) of India by telegraph so that at the time of our meetings for which, during these days, I will be taking myself to Rawalpindi at the request of officials of the government of Great Britain, we can discuss these things and resolve them with him.

Also on Tuesday, the first day of Jumadi al-Awwal/16 February 1885 because of the manifestation of service and the evidence of fealty of the family of Naʾib Sultan Khan-i Afshar whose loyal services have been previously recounted, Muhammad Amir Khan, his sister's son, and ʿAbd al-Qadir Khan and Husayn ʿAli Khan, his brother's sons, were the object of royal largesse from his Majesty. Muhammad Amir Khan was granted 118 tumans and 5,000 Tabrizi dinars as the stipends of nineteen cavalymen which had belonged to the deceased out of a total of 134 Kabuli tumans which were his per capita stipend. 151 Kabuli tumans, the salaries for his twenty Herati horsemen, were bestowed on ʿAbd al-Qadir Khan. Husayn ʿAli Khan with Abu'l-Hasan Khan and other relatives of his (the deceased?) were ordered to voluntarily enter the service of the government by joining the units of the Gushadah horsemen of Muhammad Amir Khan and ʿAbd al-Qadir Khan with either of whom they should be happy. Likewise, the base salary of Mirza Muhammad Akbar Khan, the governor of Herat's letter-writer, was increased by thirty-six Kabuli tumans, from fifty-eight to ninety-four tumans and (the increase) recorded in the daftar.

Meanwhile, the English commission moved from Bala Murghab, their winter quarters, towards Sarakhs. They notified the governor of Herat and asked him to come and attend the sessions when the fixing and demarcating of the borders was discussed. He gave the English request a place in the ear of acceptance and prepared the things for the journey. He took with him Sardar Anbiya Khan Taymani and Sardar Bahram Khan Firuzkuhi with Hazarah and

Uymaqiyah cavalry, left Herat, and set off for Sarakhs to join the English commission.

*His Highness Sets Off for Rawalpindi
and the Battle Between Russian and Afghan Border Guards*

Since the lords of the Parliament of the mighty English government, out of friendship and common purpose, had invited His Highness to visit India, and Rawalpindi was designated as the site for meetings, on Thursday, the 24th of Jumadi al-Awwal 1302/8 March 1885, he struck his tents in Kabul for Rawalpindi, placing the reins of administering the government in the capable hands of his noble son, Prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan, who was fourteen years old (literally: who had advanced his foot to the stage of 14 years). He named Sardar Shams al-Din Khan the son of Sardar °Abd al-Ghafur Khan to be his regent and assist him and delegated full discretion to the prince over all court officials and all affairs of the entire army and citizenry and to investigate diwan matters and the cases of those seeking justice./455/

At about the same time, Deputy Field Marshal Timur Shah Khan arrived in the district of Panjdih with his troops and artillery, while the governor of Herat, en route to Sarakhs, reached Ghuriyan and halted there.

During this time, Yazdan Qul, the *dīwānbeḡī* of the wali of Maymanah, Dilawar Khan, an account of whose flight came earlier, entered the service of °Alikhanov, the governor of Marw in Aymaq Jar and in league with him set about instigating and leading astray the people of Panjdih. By sending letters and holding out the promise of rewards, they began to turn the hearts of all towards obedience to the Russian nation. On this side, officials of the Afghan government stationed and ready in places along the frontier listened and watched for forays by Russian border guards. The Russian border guards, envious of the steadfastness and restraint of the Afghan border guards, took the path of enmity. Engaging in actions designed to provoke, they commenced willfully obstinate maneuvers. Their hostile activity and behavior became known to His Highness in Jalalabad via reports from Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan and on the 10th of Jumadi al-Sani/16 March 1885, he wrote to Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan from the first halting place (after Jalalabad) from which he set out for Peshawar, and to the officers of the regular army patrolling the frontier giving these instructions:

If the Russian army moves towards Panjdih and tries to provoke a fight, take care that the Afghan army not try to resist, but rather abandon that place, and take up positions and wait at Murghab because if they (the Afghans) fight and win, they have no way to advance and annex territory. If the army is defeated then the situation for the government (*kār-i dawlat*) will be disastrous all the way to Herat. The (Afghan) loss of the district of Panjdih will add no luster to the Russian cause. Which of those wretched tribes ever came under control in the time that you

were protecting and guarding that district? (Losing Panjdih) doesn't matter. The real harm would be in not being strong in Herat and Maymanah. For the lack of proper fortification of those two citadels will introduce an obvious breach in the power and capability of the nation. Therefore it is essential that those two cities be reinforced. Moreover, war with the Russians in the district of Panjdih has no value and will not advance the cause of our claim. Should that government occupy that district, (you) should get yourselves to Murghab and if it should be difficult to hold on there, then head for Maymanah, reinforce it, and plant your feet firmly there.

After dispatching this manshur, the auspicious royal banners cleaved the air and on Sunday, the 12th of the month/18 March camp was made at °Ali Masjid. On the same day, the Russian General Komarov sent a declaration of war to Deputy Field Marshal Timur Shah Khan that said that he should evacuate Aq Tapah or prepare to fight. On the 13th/19th, just as His Highness arrived in Peshawar and when other leaders assigned to the frontier had yet to be informed about Komarov's letter and to be consulted as to whether to prepare to fight or evacuate Aq Tapah and so answer his letter and Timur Shah, who was unaware that this was an effort on the part of the general to obtain a pretext to fight, thinking that there would be an interval of a few days before he had to answer the letter, did not ready the army and prepare its weapons but was lulled into a sense of security by a heavy rain that was falling, suddenly (on the 13th/19th) the Russian troops, like thieves, fell upon Aq Tapah and attacked the breastworks (*sangar*) where Timur Shah Khan had his headquarters. And although the bullets were flying and (the enemy) were coming closer, since (the defenders) were forbidden to resist and put up a fight they sat with their hands in the sleeve of forbearance and the head on the forearm of patience and contemplation and did absolutely nothing until the enemy drew near the redoubt. The Russians were emboldened by the lack of resistance from the Islamis (*Islāmiyān*) and pushed forward. Despite the fact that the wind was blowing strongly in the face of the Russians, they arrogantly advanced on the redoubt. The Muslims, with no escape—although their rifles were muzzle loaders, and because of the heavy rain, when they poured in the powder, water got mixed in and made a (noncombustible) paste—still they grabbed their weapons and strove valiantly until three hundred of the regular Muslim troops and Colonel Shah Mard Khan, as well as an army clerk and Sergeant (*sārjan*) °Ali Akbar Khan of the Mir Aqa-yi Ajidan cavalry regiment, all attained the sublime rank of martyrdom. In addition, seventy-three men from the regular cavalry, infantry, and artillery suffered wounds. Sixty-one horses were shot and killed and seven sustained wounds. Eight of the wounded men were taken prisoner and the Russians got possession of eight gun carriages that were in Panjdih. At that point the Muslims put their backs to the battle and were routed. According to reports from (government) letter-writers in Marw, Sarakhs, °Ishqabad and other places, more than one thousand Russians were killed. The wounded (Afghan) men taken

prisoner were eventually released after treatment and recovery from their wounds and were given travel expenses. One hundred and four of the gunners whose cannons had been seized by the Russians escaped to Herat.

On this day (the 13th of Jumadi al-Awwal 1302/19th March 1885) the members of the English commission, which was in /456/ Gulran, were at ease and keeping aloof from the fray. While they were on the march forty-two individuals of their force (*urdū*) had perished because of the heavy rain and severe cold. Similarly, three of the Afghans defeated (at Aq Tapah) surrendered their lives. In short, the Russian government having seized and occupied by force the district of Panjdih, Aq Tapah, the region of Chaman Bid and Chashmah-i Salim and other places, now set its sights on the conquest of Aq Ribat and Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar. Muhammad Amin Khan Afshar, the border guard at Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar came out to stop them ready for battle. The governor of Herat discussed the situation with General Lumsden, seeking some resolution. The latter declared in response that the Afghan border guards should withdraw from Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar and Aq Ribat and take positions at Nihal Shani, Kariz Ilyas, Qarah Tapah, Chaman Bid itself, and Qizil Bulaq. During this time, since they had no claim over them, the Russians abandoned some of the places they had seized and Afghan border guards returned to guard them. One of the border area leaders, Yalan Tush Khan, who was in Murghab with his family, on the day of the aforementioned battle, had left his family there and run away to Herat. After the conclusion of the battle, a 1,000-man infantry regiment and a 600-man regiment were sent from Qandahar to Herat as a precautionary measure.

During these events, the idea having occurred to the governor of Khurasan to occupy Hashtadan, develop it, and excavate an underground irrigation canal (*qanāt*) for it, he began work on the canal (*kāriz*). The Afghan border guards stopped the work and the governor of Herat sent a letter to Asaf al-Dawla, the wali of Khurasan, saying that he should keep his hands off that place. The wali, observing that Afghan officials were involved in fighting with the Russians, wrote in reply offering a few reasons for Iran's ownership of that place. His Highness notified General Lumsden by manshur and ordered that he should prevent Iran from occupying that place. The general assigned Colonel Stewart (Stuart?) to negotiate with the Iranian officials. The solution to the dispute was deferred to the time when the border between Afghanistan and Russia was fixed. He then returned and rejoined the English commission. The Uymaq people who at the time of the flare-up of war had quit Murghab were on the move. The defeated forces of Islam had reached that place and wanted to stop there but due to its emptiness and their lack of supplies were unable to do so and continued on to Herat.

His Highness, with his attendants, reached Rawalpindi by rail on the 14th Jumadi al-Thani/20 March, two days after the defeat of the Muslims by the Russians.

His Highness's Discussions at the First Session

with the Viceroy-Sahib Lord Dufferin

On Thursday, the 16th of Jumada al-Thani 1302/22 March 1885, the viceroy of India, who had come to Rawalpindi from Calcutta to meet with His Highness and to conclude a treaty of unity and friendship, arranged a grand assembly and a lavish soiree to which he invited His Highness. After the exchange of cordial formalities, both sides—all the nawwabs and rajahs of India and the Punjab and the Afghan leaders in His Majesty’s retinue—sat in regal chairs. When the soiree commenced and the formalities for speaking were all arranged, His Highness addressed the viceroy saying,

“I count your being here as representing the very presence of Her Majesty the Great Queen and Mr. Gladstone, the prime minister of England. I proffer my thanks and I am grateful for that which, for the last four years, I have declared and uttered and until now has not been credited but now has come out in the open. I have done nothing, praise God, for which I would be ashamed to speak to you today. A person who lives without ignominy naturally it is obligatory that he give thanks.

In reply the viceroy said,

“I am very pleased that at the outset of our talks in this session I heard of two letters bearing your imperial signature (*tughrā-nāmāh*) to Lord Ripon. One of those regards Mirza Sadiq, a spy for the Russians. When I was in Rum (the Ottoman Empire) I read it very carefully (*bī kam wa ziyād*). Your lines in my view were absolutely clear, I considered your powerful words appropriate and agreed with them.

His Highness released the tongue of reply and said,

“The matter which you introduce into the talk today I have previously foreseen and have apprised the ministers of your government so they would know that my obligation (*zimmah-i man*) (to you) will be free of any omission or incompleteness (*kasr wa nā-tamāmī*).”

The viceroy:

“You have kept yourself very well informed about the state of affairs of Afghanistan.”

His Highness:

“Yes, I am well informed about the state of affairs of the people of Afghanistan. /457/ And I have kept your government informed.”

The viceroy, in assent (*bi- zabān-i taslīm*):

“Brave and courageous men like you are hard to find these days and there are few powerful and heroic people (*qawm*) like yours in the world.”

His Majesty:

“I don’t know that I am brave and courageous. Intelligence lies in reason and I am satisfied with my (powers of) reason which so far has been at the service of my people and has chosen what is best for them. I hope from God that things will come better for my people in future.

The viceroy:

Because Afghanistan has fallen between two powerful large nations, by the law of necessity, it must have close ties of friendship with one of those two.

His Majesty:

“I know this very well myself. And I have chosen friendship with your nation. From the time I crossed the Hindu Kush, my goal was the friendship of your nation.”

The viceroy:

“You honoring us with a visit is proof of your words and a clear sign of friendship and unity.”

His Majesty:

“Much benefit has reached and is reaching my people thanks to the friendship of your nation. It is for the benefit of my people that I have chosen friendship with your nation. It is my hope that, for the sake of the advantage that accrues to my people, for which I have been meeting with your government, the friendship will endure.”

The viceroy:

“What you have declared during the time that you have been friends with us and in any event have kept us informed of, I have agreed with, whether I was in Rum or in Russia, because they would send me a

transcript of your letters (*khuṭūṭ*) from London via the government gazette (*rūznāmah-i dawlat*)."

His Majesty:

"When it comes to how my affairs have been postponed over these four years, because of the enmity of your two parties of ministers, i.e. the Liberal and Conservative, I know that the views of one party do not correspond with those of the other and I do not rebuke His Excellency Lord Ripon and also do not tell the ministers that they were not well-wishers of their nation. Of course they were cautious and out of extreme caution have put off the issue. That is why things have been set back four years (because of the enmity of the two parliamentary parties).

The viceroy:

"What's past is past. We need to think about the future."

His Majesty:

"The future is very difficult. A knot which you could once open with your hands now you must open with your teeth. When you should have been finding a solution you were postponing it. Now there is no opportunity for making (acceptable) arrangements.

The viceroy declared:

Now that the Russians are not letting up at all, you should not be thinking about the past.

His Majesty:

The responsibilities (*ikhtiyārāt*) for Afghanistan are not like a cap which I can take off and put on. My people are subject to my decree but the hearts of my people are not within the grasp of my power and authority (*ikhtiyār*). I can only say this much: that my friends will follow in those things that I undertake and all the tribes will behave (*ḥarakat khwāhand kard*) in accordance with my view but (only) when they can be brought into line. Now that we are friends and I have come to your house out of trust and friendship, I must tell you frankly that the people of Afghanistan have not yet been brought into line, especially in these days when pretenders come forward, the borders are insecure, and my forces (*lashkar-hā*) in every nook and cranny of the country are allies and protectors of those who want to cause trouble. For example,

the *lashkar* which I assigned to Kunar has decided to protect Sayyid Mahmud. And the *lashkar* which is in Bishbulaq is in league with the Shinwar people. And a *lashkar* which went to Mangal with Haydar Khan *janrāl* went there to suppress wicked evildoing but you gave refuge to those enemies of mine in Peshawar. The people have turned the people against me. Another line of ill-wishers who are in Iran are not under your control. So, a kingdom in which there are all these causes of trouble, even if it were an experienced two thousand-year-old government would fall into a state of disorder, so what can you expect of Afghanistan?

The viceroy:

Today it is certainly true that Russians prepare armies in the Caucasus and Marw and in the whole world there will be war with them. You must put your faith and trust in us.

His Highness:

I do trust, but only myself. On the part of the people of Afghanistan, trust will be obtained from them with the passage of time (*bi-murūr*) and that only when disorder, fear, and terror is removed from their hearts. Then will they acquire trust.

The viceroy:

What do you think of the paper that I wrote about reinforcing the citadel of Herat?

His Majesty:

Is it your idea (*manẓūr dārīd*) to reinforce Herat with its own troops who are Afghans, or with your troops?

The viceroy:

If you agree to the support of an army, military support will be provided.

His Majesty:

I haven't consulted my people. I don't know whether my people will agree or not.

The viceroy:

From what you say, it would seem that you would rather not have (*pahlū tahī mikunīd*) military assistance.

His Majesty:

Since I haven't consulted the people, I can't give you an answer. I don't shun military assistance. When the people of Afghanistan see the fundamentals of (such) support like providing weapons (*asliḥa wa yarāq*), ammunition, and other essentials, then they will think of military support from you as being assisting and supplying their needs. I say that of course your military support is necessary /458/ so that the army of Afghanistan and your army will stand and fight together in the face of the aggressor (*mudda'ī*) so that wherever the Afghan army is below strength, help would come from your army. And wherever your army is short on strength and capability, assistance could be provided (*dādah shawad*) by the army of Afghanistan, for example at Sebastopol (*S[i]vāst[u]pūl*) where both the army of the (Ottoman) sultan and your army were.

The viceroy:

The battle of the people of Afghanistan with Russia is not an isolated issue. On the Black Sea, in Rum, and elsewhere, battles will be fought everywhere.

His Majesty:

Take for example this hat (*kulāh*) which has fallen on the chair; I want it to be mine, you want it to be yours. Each wants to snatch it up. The moment that one of the parties puts his hand on the hat and takes it, what is left for the other two to fight over? The object of their struggle has gone. Each gathers up his skirts and withdraws. Your friends, like the Ottomans (*Rūmī*), Germany, and others if they saw you attack the Russians of course they would also come forward. Otherwise they stay on the sidelines.

The viceroy:

Can you make the people of Afghanistan accept our help to defend against the Russians?

His Majesty:

Let's say today I promise you something which I haven't revealed to my people and tomorrow it proves unacceptable to them, wouldn't you

say, ‘Why did he break his promise?’ Would you be able to go to war with another country without informing your nation?

The viceroy:

Concerning military assistance and reinforcing Herat we don’t want to put a burden on you. Our declarations are merely out of friendship.

His Majesty:

I realize that what you’re proposing would benefit my people but it should be done with their consultation.

The viceroy:

Tell us what you propose and what advice you would give for defending against the Russians.

His Majesty:

Whenever our armament and equipment needs are fulfilled, then of course there will be the means for organizing the defense against the Russians. Since they know that we don’t have the means, he will be successful because of our lack of means.

The viceroy:

Would you be able to repel the Russians when you get rifles (*tufang-i rifil*)?

His Majesty:”

I can’t say ‘repel’ but I would try. Could you, who own all the means, say ‘we can repel the Russians.’ With regard to the weapons you have if you provide them, whether they’re good or not good, I won’t refuse them. And if you don’t give them, I can’t say anything about that either since I have no rights in your government and I haven’t done anything for your government that merits my making this request. Likewise my people have done you no service that would give me the right to make demands on their behalf. Quite the contrary; until yesterday they have been your enemy. Today when they have become your friends whatever you give them in the sphere of friendship is out of kindness and a spirit of nurturing. So I’m not making any requests.

The viceroy:

How many cannon do you have in Herat?

His Majesty:

Thirty-one horse-drawn guns (*jalwī*) and fifteen fixed guns (*tūp-i janasī*).

The viceroy:

If we give you large long-range guns, can you get them to Herat?

His Majesty:

It's possible to get them there because a bridge of boats has been built on the Helmand River on which large guns can be carried across.

The viceroy:

Would you be displeased if our engineers were to erect small defensive breastworks in front of the walls of Herat?

His Majesty:

Would the construction of fortifications prevent the Russians from advancing and create fear and if war should start when would you have the opportunity to build those breastworks? In this the rainy season when your tents won't even dry out, how are the mud walls ever going to dry out? If there is no war, the opportunity won't disappear and they can be built.

The viceroy:

You make a good point. What is the state of the Tall-i Bangiha? I've heard that it is close to and overlooks the walls of Herat.

His Majesty:

I've ordered officials in Herat to get rid of the Tal-i Bangiha but it is not a dirt hill but rather a rock outcropping, which will be a lot of trouble to remove. Anyway, it's far from Herat and cannon shot fired from that hill won't reach the foot of the walls of Herat.. From the Musalla, however, a Snider rifle (*tufang-i baghal-pur*) can hit targets

inside Herat but I've given orders for tunnels to be bored beneath the buildings of the Musalla so that should the aggressor set foot on the soil of Herat the tunnels can be ignited and the Musalla destroyed.

The viceroy:

I am pleased with the reinforcement of Herat and the arrangement of the tunnels beneath the Musalla.

His Majesty:

In the unprovoked attack by Russia on Afghanistan in which they have advanced across the borders and their and our armies confront each other, what arrangements have the sahibs of the great (English) government made in accordance with the current treaty (*khatt*) in which they guarantee to defend (Afghanistan)?

The viceroy:

Our entire government and people (*dawlat wa millat*) are prepared and ready to attack them fiercely on land and sea. Also other nations, from all sides will join us.

His Majesty:

What you say is true. You can't set aside 4,000 years of glory /459/ and we can't set aside 8,000 years of our heritage and our existence. Other governments, relying on our friendship, will see themselves as movers and shakers as long as they have hope that things will turn out well. If they have no hope that things will turn out well for them, they'll drop out. So we are left, you and we, and as long as I am able I will exert myself to the full.

The viceroy:

Our forces are here to help you but we won't let them enter Afghanistan unless you yourself request it.

His Majesty:

My personal opinion is that your army and my army should be together on the day of battle. At the time I came here, I had not expressed this view to my people and now I see that the Russians have come out from behind the veil, have abandoned the interests of peace, and are

advancing to fight. Of course I will tell my people of your military assistance.

The viceroy:

Now that the Russian army confronts your army to fight it would not be appropriate for the commission of our government to be placed in harm's way. What's your view about this, that no harm should befall them?

His Majesty:

Your commission is a long way away from where the two armies confront each other. But if things move ahead and our army is victorious, then the people of your commission will be safe and secure. If however, our army is routed, they should come to the fortress of Herat, two members of your commission and ten of their servants should stay inside the walls of Herat and the rest will get themselves to the Ghurat and the border of the Hazarahjat. I will write the governor of that region to give them refuge until I can send troops from Kabul and other regions to the Ghurat. That force would attack the Russians outside Herat. It will not be easy for the Russians to seize Herat. At the time when Herat was in the hands of Wazir Yar Muhammad Khan and was much in ruins, Muhammad Shah Qajar, in the course of fourteen months, was unable to conquer it. He was accompanied by agents of Russia, the Ottoman nation, France, and your government and still eventually withdrew without achieving his aim. Now that the fortifications of Herat are much improved since that time and the army is stronger and better prepared, and well-stocked magazines (*jabā-khānah*) and depots (*gudām*) have been accumulated, where is the cause for anxiety and worry that the Russians will conquer it?

The viceroy:

As long as the people of Afghanistan are not willing to accept our army to assist them, how can any member of our commission be safe in Herat.

The *sarkār-i wālā* (His Majesty):

An army of yours sparks fear and anxiety in the people of Afghanistan that you might intervene and intrude on our sovereignty. But if it's just a matter of a few individuals, they don't imagine that these will intrude on our sovereignty. They know that they (the members of the

commission) are inside our country (*wilāyat*) for our own good and of course they will be guarded from danger.

The viceroy:

I will inform my government of your concerns by telegraph and will have further talks and meetings with you.

His Majesty:

You inform London about any tangles and knots that arise in the talks and you consult with the four hundred ministers of your government. But when it comes to Afghanistan's affairs, you ask only me. I will speak with my God in secret and seek the solution from Him.

The viceroy laughed and said jokingly:

You should ask me!

His Majesty:

My people won't like your ideas. In foreign affairs, I won't act without consulting you but in domestic matters concerning my sovereignty, I don't need your advice.

The viceroy:

I have held many talks with the Sultan of Rum (the Ottoman Sultan) and the Shah of Russia, speaking with them in the same language. Very few people have I seen in my day that are like you—frank, circumspect, and perceptive.

His Highness:

The burden which I bear is so that my people may have tranquility and prosperity. Otherwise, a person like me—with ailing feet and crippled limbs who, except for the five years of his life that have been spent ruling Afghanistan—(a person like me) with a robust constitution and personal freedom who loves hunting so much that he deems one day of it equal to all his authority and government (a person like that) would not quickly and hastily leave this country. But what can I do? The burden of the honor (*nang wa nāmūs*) of the people is before me and I must shoulder it and carry it to a place where I can put it down.

The end.

When the discussion had reached this point, they rose from the majlis and each returned to his own place.

The Second Session (Majlis) of His Highness with the Viceroy and their Talks

On Saturday, the 18th of the month (Jumadi al-Sani/4 April) the viceroy paid a return visit to the auspicious place where His Highness was lodged and the two conversed. The viceroy opened the conversation:

I have informed my government in London about yesterday's exchanges of questions and responses and today news has come on the telegraph and I can say to you on the basis of the telegram which the ministers of Parliament have dictated /460/ that our army stands ready to assist you in a war with the Russians. But because you have said 'I have not consulted with and informed my people on this issue and my people don't trust you at this time, but with the passing of time they will gain trust in you. When the real benefits gradually appear, and they witness them with their own eyes, then it is my hope their trust will be gained' (because of this) the ministers of Parliament are perplexed at the idea of not being able to send our army to your frontiers because of this distrust on the part of your people. You yourself—that is your army—have been defeated and is ill-prepared and not up to strength. With this defeat and your half-hearted battle with the Russians, it will be the destruction and downfall of Afghanistan. When the time comes that you are defeated and destitute and request the aid of our army, it will be extremely difficult for us to find a remedy and a solution. You have analyzed the issue well and accurately when you say that Afghanistan does not trust us. We acknowledge our error saying, 'Why did we fight with the people of Afghanistan? Naturally, after such a fight, their trust will not be forthcoming in a such a short period of time. The war with the Afghans was a very big mistake that we made. We didn't do right thing in going to war with the people of Afghanistan.'

His Highness:

What you say is true and to the point about Afghanistan's affairs being disordered, disrupted, and unfinished. But I have also spoken truly and accurately when I informed you that today you do not have the confidence of my people. If I didn't make you aware of the true state of affairs then in future I would be betraying (our) friendship and I would be ashamed. I have never betrayed a friend and have never accepted the shame of disgrace. Rather, I put my hope in God that through my efforts and strivings, little by little, I will get my people to trust you

and, in friendship, share a common purpose with you. Until now I have worked hard to make this assemblage and these men who I have brought with me and who are loyal to me not to see you through the eye of enmity and consider you as a friend. As regards the rest of my people, I am hopeful that I will go (back), and with evidence show them the benefits of your friendship and incline their own hearts to accepting your friendship. Although you acknowledge your mistake in fighting and alienating the people of Afghanistan, I would excuse as reasonable and proper this mistake of yours for the leader and amir of that time had himself made a grave error in not keeping you informed of the state of affairs of his people and what was on their minds. Nor did he consult with and seek advice (from his people) but embarked on friendship with you without informing the people. He agreed to certain matters for which he did not have the consent of the people and he was unable to effect those matters himself and, as a consequence, a certain individual of your nation perished and you were forced to remedy this assault on your honor and launch a war on Afghanistan to restore the dignity and honor of your nation. If you had not gone to war, your nation's dignity and honor would not have been restored. Whatever you did you simply had to do.

The viceroy:

Today our nation's parliament knows of no remedy or solution; what it should do or what options it should exercise to stop the Russians from taking provinces of Afghanistan and to keep your nation and your own house from being cast to the wind. If war should occur between Russia and you and your people suffer defeat because of unpreparedness and your and our enemy should conquer your land, the honor of our nation, which is the guarantor of the defense of your nation from foreign incursion, will be cast to the wind. Like it or not, there will be war with Russia. But we will do our utmost. We look to you for a way to solve this. You yourself should lay out for us any arrangement which would promote what is right and proper for the preservation of the honor of our nation and of your house and rule and give us some direction so that we may act on it. Our own thinking about a solution is fruitless (*bi-kār na-rasad*). The sovereign, the prime minister, and our other ministers will defer to your suggestion and will act accordingly.

His Highness:

Your nation, which today looks to me for a solution, knows me as a sincere and knowledgeable friend and the one who knows the best interests of both your nation and mine. What the best arrangements and far-sightedness require is that the sahibs of your commission, who are

said to be both impartial and friends of our nation, should relinquish to the Russians the bits and pieces of disputed land in the border regions of Afghanistan where the conflict between the Russians and us has now come to a head. I know that I haven't had control over the soil and dwelling place of the Sariq Turkoman and, the truth is the Sariq Turkoman are not my subjects and I haven't had any hand in administering their affairs. They are a tribe that has never put its faith in God and it has no pact or agreement (with us). What I see is that at the time of the battle between my army and the Russian army, those people would not leave their property and their nation and in order not to be crushed, would join the Russians, and would turn their own faces from the government of Islam. /461/ The wise have no business preparing themselves for war with a large and great nation, bringing themselves to ruin in utter defeat and impoverishment through a lack of preparedness and the means to fight, and getting their friend snared in the clutches of a powerful enemy over the homes and place of a group which is so irreligious and disloyal. You should allow your commission to leave a piece (*pārah*) of the disputed border region for the honor of Russia, whose padshah is a great figure. I, who have chosen the peoples of your commission as my just and well-wishing friends, will be satisfied with whatever parceling out and division they make with the Russians and whatever dividing line they draw and I will sign it. But this is like a fellow who "agrees" under compulsion to disembowel himself and right before plunging in the dagger he is offered the choice of cutting off the tip of a finger or disemboweling himself. Of course, cutting off the tip of a finger is better than disembowelment. From the small sacrifice (of the fingertip) he will reap the great benefit of life while from the powerful blow (of the knife to the stomach) he will lose it. The situation now is that that which is relinquished to the Russians will not be a part of the border region of Afghanistan. There is a superfluous piece relevant to the negotiations today that could be an ingredient in reaching a settlement and that I took possession of two years ago for the purpose of today's negotiations. If what I'm doing is right and my people listen to my words and are not negligent of the exigencies of the time, and if the twists and turns you confront in Egypt does not take precedence, the time for war with Russia is today when the people of Turkistan land, through their prayers and invocations desire war between Afghanistan and Russia so that great strife and turmoil will be break out, a general uprising will take place, and they will be able to free the skirt of their sovereignty from beneath the Russian foot. Night and day they await my command to indicate to them the hour and issue the call for *ghazā* and jihad. Hundreds of thousands of enemies of the Russians are ready and waiting, but my

business is unfinished, and you are all entangled in the affairs of Egypt.²⁴ I don't think a war today is a good idea and am content with a peaceful settlement. You are taking your revenge on your Egyptian enemies and similarly I am, with God's favor, exerting all my efforts in giving my people good advice and encouraging your nation to provide us with friendly assistance. I will strengthen the borders and build military fortresses on the frontiers. Righting the affairs of Afghanistan, as far as I know, requires a period of eight years of having the opportunity and being left alone. Eight years from now, although the people of Turkistan-land will be more or less conquered by the Russians, so they will not have the chance to make a general uprising, and the Russian occupation in Turkistan will stand on a good foundation. Today I am telling you on that day (eight years from now) though the Uzbeks will be bound hand and foot, nonetheless it is God's will that Afghanistan's affairs will be set aright, that they will not remain incomplete (*nā-tamām*) and that it will be able to act to confront the enemies of Afghanistan.

The viceroy:

This wise and rational plan of yours will clear up the perplexity among all members of Parliament and ministers of our nation. The fingernail of your thinking has released the knot which has entangled affairs. Your view is very good and much approved. The officials of our nation will naturally act on this opinion and good advice of yours. It will be excellent if the Russians recognize the value to their honor of what you are willing to compromise on and a settlement is reached. But if they didn't appreciate the value to themselves (of your compromise) and were to go to war then, by necessity, you and we will stand united against Russia and will fight her on the sea and on dry land. We will not leave you to face the enemy alone. Even if our whole nation should be cast to the wind as a consequence we are not afraid. We hope that the nation of Russia will be satisfied and pleased with this plan which you have now made the focus of the question. For our officials it will make the rough places plain. No member of Parliament has been able to come up with such a plan. Up until now I have acknowledged and affirmed your bravery, courage, and essential manliness. I also have believed that the business of rule and army command is well handled by you. But it has been my view up to now that you have paid too little attention to the business of advising, counseling, and planning policy. Now having witnessed this fine plan and elegant idea of yours, I can attest that one or at most two persons with the seasoned intelligence

²⁴ RM: Great Britain occupied Egypt by force in late 1882 and for several years its rule was inconsistent and its policies incoherent. (See Peter Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516–1922*, 216–17.)

that you have are to be found in our government. Though I am sure about the one, I have doubts about the second. You are a skilled and knowledgeable person. Now, we will conclude with you whatever kind of agreement you would like to make with us—for yourself and your children and friends.

His Majesty:

I, who have come to your country, consider myself your friend. I look to your friendship as a source of benefits for my peoples (*aqwām*) and by your support—God willing—I will set my own house in order. Because of my concerns, my sense of honor (*mardī*), and what I consider to be in my interests, it is impossible (*dūr-ast*) not to give up two pieces of land to the Russians which are extraneous to my borders, not to keep you from being in conflict and going to war with that nation, not to protect the dignity and honor of your nation and not to value your friendship. The sincere friend must act according to what is good and beneficial. /462/. He must choose that which causes his friend no harm. I see no need for a new treaty and pact with you. I consider your words and your offer considerate and honorable and you should know that my word is the written covenant (*sanad*) of my friendship with you. If you want me to write out in my own hand a covenant and an affidavit of my friendship, I will give it to you. I will never deviate (*bar kardan*) in my friendship for you and my enmity for Russia and will never be friends with it. Nor will I ever be enemies with you. If the Russians had not impugned my honor because of what Shir °Ali Khan Qandahari said, if they had not taken me as a prisoner from Samargand to Tashkent, and if they had not listened to the words of someone who was no equal of mine and was only a servant and subordinate in my household, it would not have been possible for me to turn away from friendship with that nation. Not only that but I would have become your enemy on their behalf. But after that they paid no heed to my views and they demeaned my reputation. Offended, I left their house and began a friendly conversation with you. It is therefore impossible now and will be in future for me to abandon your friendship.

The viceroy:

Our nation has complete and utter faith in your friendship and in the integrity of your words and up to now we have looked with favor and friendship on nurturing you and making you prosper. Up to now we were a kind of mentor, merely concerned about your condition. Now however we have established that you are half of the limbs of our nation. Whatever is good for our own health we want for you. It is obvious that whatever affects one half of the limbs, whether pain and

injury, or joy and pleasure, the other half cannot help experiencing that same condition. I feel that all my hopes for our meeting have been realized and now it is your turn to express every object and desire that you have. Tell them to us so that we may agree to them.

His Majesty (*sarkār-i wālā*):

My wish for the friendship of your nation and your acknowledgement of the correctness and accuracy of my words has been fulfilled. I have no other request. I do not (wish to) place an obligation on your government but if you yourselves, in view of the dignity of your government, should make evident something as a token of love and affection that would result in a strengthening of the affairs of the people of Afghanistan, I would be truly appreciative of your benevolence. You are now giving twelve laks of rupees annually and I am very grateful. That sum is added to the tax revenues of Afghanistan and I spend it all on military salaries. If you think that the army of Afghanistan should be maintained at high levels and kept up-to-date, I don't have the funds for new salaries. Nothing is left in the depots and the treasury above and beyond the tax revenues of Afghanistan and your annual subsidy. I haven't concealed the state of my reign and my government from you. The rest I leave to your discretion.

The viceroy:

Five thousand Snyder rifles and ammunition are immediately bestowed on you as a gift. Two thousand Henry-Martini rifles which you wanted to buy also will soon arrive with ammunition.

When the discussions had reached this point, the negotiations were adjourned and the viceroy hurried off to his house.

*The Third Majlis of His Highness with the Viceroy and the Items
which Emerged*

On Sunday, the 19th of the month (Jumadi al-Sani), His Highness honored the residence of the viceroy with a visit and after exchange of cordial formalities, His Majesty brought up a six-point list of supplementary items for discussion:

First, when from time to time it is within our power, after getting together sums of money, to buy weapons and ammunition from your nation, it is necessary that respected arms-dealers from your nation be introduced to and contract with us. Then without further difficulty we should be able to take delivery of the arms that are useful to us from

these dealers. We formerly put this same request to Lord Ripon Sahib Bahadur and by letter he had promised to arrange this.

Second, I have ordered that a number of workers from every craft learn technical trades (*ṣanāʿiʿ*) so that, having gone to London, they would learn those trades that are useful to the God-given nation of Afghanistan and from which the nation might progress and prosper.

Third, I want some able engineers from your nation, i.e. masters of construction, to come to Kabul to build forts at those border places that I think merit strengthening.

Fourth, I want a number of people knowledgeable in the science of mines, i.e. masters of mineralogy (*kān-shinās*), to come to Kabul, to tour the mountains of Afghanistan and find mineral deposits (*maʿdan*) of every type.

Fifth, regarding the large artillery which would be for the reinforcing of the forts here mentioned, it is absolutely essential that you be kind and make sure we get them so that they can be installed on the soil of Afghanistan wherever they are supposed to be.

Sixth, if it is your suggestion (*taklīf*), /463/ that I form a new army, there is simply no surplus in the income of Afghanistan minus the expenses of the current army from which to create a new army. There is simply no capacity and capability for an increase in the army from the revenues which Afghanistan now has. If this is not what you are suggesting, then I too don't really want to increase the size of my army without a fund specifically earmarked for it (*jāyḍād*). I spend these revenues on the army which I have created.

The viceroy:

In response, I will give very careful consideration to these six items which you've articulated.

With these words, both sides ended the talks.

The Fourth Session of His Highness with the Viceroy and What They Said

At eight o'clock in the evening on Tuesday, the 21st of Jumadi al-Sani 1302/7 April 1885, His Highness at the viceroy's invitation took a carriage (*kālaskah*), honored the gathering with his presence. Since the viceroy had organized two gatherings (*dū mahfal*) one private and one public, in the private one the attendees included the viceroy, a prince of England, and all the

prominent European officers. His Majesty made his entrance and was seated in the place of honor. To his right was the viceroy and to his left the prince of England, each on his own separate seat, the other officers then sat down to the left and right below the viceroy and the prince, each according to his rank. They then began reaching for the various kinds of foods and drink which were laid out on a tablecloth which was spread over a table. His Highness avoided the prepared foods which contained meat and oil and only took a piece of dried bread and a hardboiled egg. He let nothing else pass his lips. The Europeans were consuming wine as if it were water. The viceroy turned to His Majesty and said, "At meals we drink wine instead of water. His Highness responded, "I take water instead of wine."

In sum, after consuming the food and drink, everyone rose and gave a toast to the long life of their nation and sovereign. His Majesty also joined in the toast and eloquently said, "Having today made friends with you, I wish your nation progress and glory. My friendship with your nation is not on my account alone. I have in mind the good of my people. My hope is that from this friendship great benefit will come to my people. Long live your government so that my people may prosper." Those present were enormously pleased by this toast, stood again and toasted the amir, "May the tree of the life of His Excellency, the Amir Sahib of Afghanistan—who has made friends with our government, who pursues the prosperity of his people through friendship with our nation, and whose prosperity as our neighbor is the cause of strengthening and glorifying our nation, for in the prosperity of his people lies the ruin of our enemies—flourish under God's care."

With these toasts, this private gathering came to a close and His Majesty, the viceroy, the prince of England, and all the officers, went in to the public reception. There the rajahs of Hindustan and the nabobs from every district and region, lined up waiting to be received by His Majesty and one by one attained their object (of meeting him) and thus the majlis ended. The viceroy and his wife escorted His Highness, and then excusing themselves, went home. His Majesty, having gone to his residence, spent the night there.

*The Fifth Session of His Majesty with the Viceroy and
His Return to Afghanistan*

On Thursday, the 22nd of the month (Jumadi al-Sani) the viceroy organized a grand durbar and through the Foreign Secretary, his own private secretary and two other colleagues of his, notified His Majesty at 11 o'clock and invited him saying, "All the European officers and rajahs of Hindustan are present. This large gathering has been organized in honor of your presence and for a few words about the unity of the two governments to be exchanged by His Majesty and the viceroy. Thus the auspicious arrival of His Majesty is expectantly awaited."

At the same hour, His Majesty, accompanied by these emissaries of the viceroy, set out in a carriage for the gathering. From the gate of the palace where

His Majesty was staying to the door of the viceroy's pavilion, both sides of the road were lined with soldiers from every regiment of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. As he passed, a military band struck up music to greet and felicitate the auspicious presence of the royal personage. When he stopped near the viceroy's pavilion /464/ and stepped down from the carriage, a twenty-one gun salute of welcome was fired. The viceroy, the prince of England, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of India, beneath a canopy erected outside the pavilion, stood to show their respect, stepped forward, and extended their hands to His Majesty. Then hand-in-hand they entered the pavilion. On a raised dais (*suffa*) which stood in the center of the gathering and on which three gilded chairs were arranged, the viceroy took the middle chair, His Majesty the one to the viceroy's right, and the prince to the left. Below the prince's chair and to his left were the European, that is the Firangistan, officers and below them were arrayed the rajahs of Hindustan. Below His Majesty's chair and a short distance away were five chairs for the trusted members of his own delegation and beyond them the nawwabs from every district and region. Other people were arranged in rows behind the first row. What His Majesty guessed and what the viceroy confirmed was that 1,400 people were seated on chairs.

His Majesty briefly addressed the audience:

I thank God that (although) only a short time ago the peoples of Afghanistan were your enemies, today, through my mediation, they have become your friends. The sign of friendship is that I have come to your nation and a contingent of the notable and prominent figures from every tribe of Afghanistan is here today. They corroborate what I say in your presence that the peoples of Afghanistan have chosen friendship with your government with sincere hearts for the benefits and advantages it will bring them. They are the enemy of the enemy of their own government and of your government, i.e. Russia, and will never be friends (with Russia) because it is imagined that a great deal of harm is the result of either its friendship or its enmity.

The Foreign Secretary Sahib translated these words of His Majesty for the audience and all the Europeans, male and female alike, felt proud and, transported, pleased, and exultant, they applauded joyfully.

His Majesty continued:

Now that our friendship and unity is clear for all the world to see and the news of this majlis and a report of my speech today will reach every government and the ears of every sultan in the world, it is therefore incumbent in such a momentous gathering that there be not an iota (*sar mū'ī*) of inaccuracy in what I say and that I give you the glad tidings and bring you this good news: if there is ever trouble (*fitna*) for you in the land of Hindustan and any disruption in your governing, the peoples

(tribes) of Afghanistan are able, and have the capacity and capability, to provide you with friendly assistance in protecting the borders of India. With the help of your friends—the peoples of Afghanistan, trouble would be removed from your hands. The expression of this point is in compensation for that pact and treaty which you have made regarding repelling any foreign enemy of the nation of Afghanistan, that is, the obligation you have taken on to join with us to get rid of any enemy from abroad who attempts to lay a hand on the soil of Afghanistan.

Hardly had he finished when once again the Europeans present at the majlis sprang from their chairs and applauded enthusiastically. On observing this, the bird of color flew from the visages of the rajahs of Hindustan and their rosy red hue of their faces turned saffron (in fear).

Meantime, a multitude of gifts and presents which had been assembled to give to His Highness had been brought out one after another and displayed (before His Majesty). Then they were gathered together and taken out of the room. The viceroy called for a diamond-studded sword, placed it with a great show of respect in the hands of His Majesty and said, “As your auspicious self is counted one of the most courageous of the age, I deem it most appropriate to place in your hands this sword as a token by which to remember our nation.” In response to the viceroy’s words, His Majesty said, “I accept and—God willing—will strike the neck of the enemy of my government and of your government with this sword.” At these words of His Majesty, those present were transported with such joy as cannot be adequately described in writing and once again all present at the majlis burst into applause. His Majesty then rose from his chair and set out to return to his residence and the viceroy and the prince of England escorted him out to his carriage. When the noble personage climbed into the carriage, a twenty-one-gun salute was fired and the soldiers who were standing all along the route saluted him all the way back to the entryway of the palace where the royal personage was staying. There were no further talks.

At 10 o’clock on the 26th of Jumadi al-Sani/12 April 1885, with seventeen thousand breech-loading (*panāh-pur*) rifles, fifteen thousand side-loading (*baghal-pur*) rifles, twenty-three thousand muzzle-loading double- and triple-barreled (*dū-bast wa sih-bast mīl*)²⁵ rifles—for a total of fifty-five thousand rifles—along with ten elephant and bullock guns with stocks of ammunition (*qūr-khānah*), some bought by His Majesty and some given as gifts by the English government and turned over to His Highness during this trip, His Majesty boarded a “steam wagon” (*‘arrāda-i bukhār*) and departed Rawalpindi heading for the capital of Afghanistan, Kabul. At five o’clock after /465/ mid-day, he alighted at Peshawar and stopped two days there in order to tour the city and its palaces (*‘imārāt*).

²⁵ RM: *Du-bast* and *sih-bast* are both types of a muzzle-loading rifle (*tufang*) according to Afghani Nawis.

During these events, the English commission, deeming it difficult to stay at Gulran because of the aggression of the Russian border guards, moved stage by stage and on the 27th of the month (Jumadi al-Sani) reached Tirlpul-i Harat (the Tir Bridge of Herat). There they set up camp on a small prominence on the southern side of the bridge next to a grove of trees on the banks of the Hari River. Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Herat, camped on the north side of the bridge with the *urdū* and the people accompanying him and stayed there a few days.

*The Royal Retinue's Departure from Peshawar
and Its Arrival in Kabul*

On Wednesday, the 29th of Jumadi al-Sani/15 April 1885, His Highness set out on the stage-by-stage trip back to Kabul from Peshawar and on the first of Rajab the brilliance of Lawarak was augmented (by his arrival). There a letter from the Russian Chernovsky, governor of Samarqand, expressing regret and trying to make amends for the fighting between the Russian and Afghan border guards reached the noble unclouded eyes of His Majesty and a kingly response was issued.

On Saturday, the 6th of Rajab/21 April, Jalalabad experienced an infusion of light with the arrival of the royal retinue and on Thursday, the 14th of Rajab all the worthies and bigwigs of the city and the officers of the regular army along with the invincible regiments came out to the Bagrami plain and formed ranks to welcome him. At the moment the royal retinue reached the arrayed formations, a 101-gun salute was fired in appreciation and gratitude for the good health of the royal personage. Those whose health was inquired after by His majesty's blessed tongue, raised their heads in pride and these included present the two noble princes, Sardar Habib Allah Khan and Sardar Nasr Allah Khan who obtained the felicity of kissing the royal hand. Following the common people's shout of long life for the king and the government and the continuance of the regime, His Majesty dismounted at a *chūbtarah*²⁶ which had been erected at the order of the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan in the Maydan-i Siyah Sang near Marinja Hill. After taking tea and contemplating some sweets each of which was tempting by its very name and the distribution of cash alms to the poor and indigent, he expressed his enjoyment and pleasure to all and in blessedness and good fortune, he went to his palace.

During this time, the governor of Herat moved from the Tir Bridge and entered the city. The Russian General Komarov, after his victory and seizure of the districts of Panjdih, Aq Tapah, and Pul-i Khishti, returned to Sarakhs with Alikhanov by way of Yaltan after assigning ten cavalrymen to garrison Muri and thirty for Aq Ribat.

²⁶ RM: A house with an unwallled garden. (Afghani Nawis, s.v.).

*The Arrival of English Regiments at Shalkut as a
Precautionary Measure*

Since His Majesty, at the moment of bidding goodbye to the viceroy in Rawalpindi, had requested assistance from him, and similarly General Lumsden, at Tirpul had told Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Herat, that since the Russians had attacked the borders of Afghanistan contravening the treaty between their own nation and the English nation, it was incumbent for English troops to come to this border region by way of assistance to the Afghans and protection of the kingdom of Afghanistan and be stationed there to repel the Russians and not to return to India as long as matters were not completely worked out *vis-à-vis* the region (*ḥudūd*) of Herat, therefore fifty thousand troops and artillery and the proper supplies were raised from the lands (*buldān*) of India, Sind, and the Punjab and speedily assigned to Shalkut so that standing ready there, should the nation of Russia make a hostile move, they could march to Herat through Qandahar and be ready for war.

Also at this time, General Lumsden, who was still in Tirpul with the English commission, sent Colonel Stewart and an engineer, with the permission of the Herat authorities, to survey the towers and battlements and the inside and outside of the city of Herat. They recommended the places needing repair saying that Tall-i Bangiha, the new citadel, the towers, moat, breastworks (*shīr-ḥājī*),²⁷ embrasures (*khākriḥ*), parapet walkways (*mard gard-i dīwār*), and the gates of the city should be repaired, and strongly reinforced) and the Musalla minaret and other structures which have been erected of bricks, stone, plaster, and mortar should be torn down to their foundations. They made /466/ the governor of Herat responsible for this work and after two days returned to Tirpul. When the time came for the destruction of the Musalla minaret and the buildings of the Musalla complex, however, since its arcades (*rawwāq-hā*) and its panels of inscriptions were all (covered with) chapters and verses from the Glorious Word and the Blessed Revelation, these would be cast down when tunnels were bored through it and this would defile the sanctity of the Holy Qurʾān. This went down badly with the people of Herat, even more that witnessing the tearing down of the words of the “clear proof” would be cruel and harsh and so they began to protest, cursing the English and saying that “that government, using our hands, is desecrating a book in which we believe. We have no recourse but to lay down our lives to protect its sanctity. We cannot permit its violation.” The governor of Herat, fearful lest this lead to a full-scale uprising, gathered the scholars of the city—men like Miyan Muhammad ʿUmar Sahibzadeh, the qazi of the city, the Mir of Gazurgah, Hajji Hawḥ Karbasi, and his (the latter’s) deputy and requested a legal opinion (*fatwā*) for the destruction of the Musalla. Because the minaret overlooked the city of Herat and because its buildings offered a place where an enemy could take refuge at the time of attack and thus bring harm to the people living in the city, they issued a fatwa in favor of destroying the

²⁷ FM: Originally it was *shahr-ḥājib* and was shortened to *shīr-ḥājī*.

complex and this silenced the people. The affair had not yet reached the perceptive ears of His Highness nor had work begun to demolish the Musalla when the truth-recognizing, religion-instructing sovereign issued a farman that instructed that ladders be built and that the Qur'anic inscriptions be removed so that they did not fall to the ground. They were to be wrapped in shrouds (*chādir*) and thrown into the river so that they would never be trampled upon. In accord with this royal order, the work was undertaken.

Also at His Majesty's order, twenty thousand *kharwārs* of barley and wheat were bought from the area around Herat for cash from the treasury and readied as provisions for an army so that in time of need, there would be no shortage of foodstuffs.

Also at this time, the private militia (*khāṣṣahdārān*) attached to the banner (*bayraq*) of Mahmud Khan *sarhang*, who were men from Turkistan and had fled at the time of the fighting at Panjdih, were en route home when the border guards at Maymanah turned them back. At the order of Field Marshal Faramarz Khan, they were told to go to Murghab. From Herat the *ṣad bāshī* °Abd al-Wahhab Khan, was honored by being named to command them.

The Russian Government Makes Peace, General Lumsden's Trip to India, and Other Events

After the Panjdih incident, English officials opened a path of communications with Russian officials in St. Petersburg. Condemned for their brutish and hostile move, the Russians decided to move affairs from enmity to making amends, and to demarcate the borders, as will come in due course—God willing.

In Rajab of this year (April-May 1885), General Lumsden went to India when summoned by the viceroy. In his stead Colonel Ridgeway assumed the responsibility of settling disputes and fixing the points on the borders of Herat, as will be noted in due course—God willing.

In Sha°ban (May-June 1885), elders and leaders of the Jamshidi tribe, having heard rumors of the Russian's opting for peace, returned with their people (*il wa ulūs*), reaching the banks of the Murghab. At this time, regular and provincial cavalry, who had earlier been scattered, also crossed the river, entered the fortress and the *chahāwunī* (?) of Murghab and took up positions there. Because of the arrival and positioning of the cavalry, the Jamshidi felt safe and secure and returned to their agricultural pursuits.

At this time, a letter from a Russian officer, who had planted the foot of occupation in Panjdih, reached Amin Allah Khan, the border guard there. He had written that the locales of Shah Khalil Awliya and Tannur-i Sangi should be considered the demarcating points between the two sides and neither side should henceforth encroach beyond those two places. Amin Allah Khan sent the letter to Colonel Ridgeway as well as a message to the Russian officer saying, "I've sent your note to an impartial arbiter (*munṣif wa mumayyiz*) who has been assigned by the English nation to settle disputes so that I might act in this matter

according to his signed instructions. After receiving Amin Allah Khan's message, the Russian officer said nothing more, wrapping his foot in the skirt of waiting.

During this time, Gaday and Qasim-i Zard, two men of Char Sadah, on hearing the news of the Russian victory and the defeat of the Afghan border guards, entered the district of Char Sadah from Chaqcharan and launched a disturbance, extending their hands to plundering the property and livestock of the subjects of Turkistan. General Sharbat Khan, stationed in Maymanah, learned of the depredations of those two men and the people of Char Sadah and assigned Danyal Khan with a few regular cavalymen to annihilate them. He also asked for reinforcements from Herat and in response Field Marshal Faramarz Khan dispatched Sardar Sa'id Muhammad Khan and Na'ib 'Abd al-Rahman Khan with an equipped regiment from Herat. The royal forces attacked those troublemaking evil-minded men from two sides and gave them a /467/ proper drubbing. Qasim-i Zard and several of his men were slain by the braves and the rest fled towards the mountains. Because of this incident, the tax revenues from the Firuz Kuh districts were suspended and collection of them became exceedingly difficult. Consequently, His Highness, having sent Sardar Muhammad 'Aziz Khan the son of Sardar Shams al-Din Khan with four hundred regular cavalry from the court to buy provisions for the army in the Ghurat, now ordered him to punish the people of Firuz Kuh as well. So Sardar Muhammad 'Aziz Khan set his face for the Ghurat by way of the Hazarahjat with Najaf 'Ali Khan *ajīdan* (adjutant) and 'Abd al-Majid Khan *sārjan* (sergeant).

The Letter of Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India, and His Highness's Reply

On the 21st of Sha'ban 1302 equivalent to the Christian date the 10th of June 1885, a letter reached the throne from the viceroy of India. It said,

The English nation is extremely pleased that Colonel Stewart and an engineer have been given permission to survey the city of Herat and is willing to pay large amounts to cover the cost of repairing, renovating, and strengthening (the defenses of) the place. It is therefore hoped that permission will also be given the officers and men of the English artillery to cooperate with the Afghan officers in the task of repairing and renovating the city and Herat's strategic locales. Now four laks of English rupees have been appropriated for the costs of this work and the orders are to give them to Afghan officials. Concerning payment of the funds, as long as English officials don't know how the funds will be used for whichever segment (of the work), they cannot give Colonel Ridgeway permission to disburse the funds to anyone. So Afghan officials should confer with the colonel and act in all matters of the building and demolition entailing expenses to the subjects of the districts of Herat, in accordance with what he approves and should give

him a detailed accounting of all disbursements. They should also provide him with sufficient opportunity to reassure himself that the expenditures are legitimate because otherwise the people there will be dissatisfied. It is essential that they receive the full value of their lands and anything else. Also, until that time when a new agreement comes into force, it is probable that there will be conflicts between the Afghan and Russian border guards. Therefore, it is necessary that two English officers, one of whom is a medical officer and the other an engineer, remain for a while in the border locales near Herat after the return of the English commission, be free to roam about, and not be tied to one spot. The end.

In reply to this letter, His Highness wrote,

Regarding the costs of construction and the prices of lands purchased from subjects both of which are done for the purpose of strengthening the defenses of Herat, whatever sum Colonel Ridgeway disburses to our officials, it is stipulated that invoices (*sanad*) will be obtained from owners for their property, for construction materials, and for wages and Colonel Ridgeway notified of the amount. He will then disburse the money to our officials according to the affidavit. Nothing will be given anyone without an invoice (*sanad*). As far as the stationing of two officers goes, it's a bit vague as to what is meant by 'for a while.' Is it a few days, or a few months or a few years? In order to answer the question of the people of Afghanistan "for which important matter and for how long would they remain?" it should be clearly and comprehensibly stated that these two men are stationed as observers so that if the Russian government should take the initiative and have the temerity to attack, these men would be there to provide compelling witness. Unless we explain to the people of Afghanistan that this is the reason for their being stationed there and the length of time, it will never meet their approval. Something has to be said which will be acceptable to these people should those two officers want to be stationed permanently lest the Russians also express the same wish saying, 'the English have two men and a staff of ten subalterns (*nawkar*) in Herat therefore we, who have made peace with you, out of friendship should also be able to station two officers and a staff of ten in Herat.' Such words would cause the peace to break down. But if the length of time for stationing your officials is defined, then one could have a ready answer for what the Russians might say by saying 'my friend has chosen to remain a certain time to take care of a particular matter, after which he is returning home.'

Concerning the freedom of those two men to roam about, it's acceptable if there is some kind of plan. But they must be very careful. When they do go out, they will be accompanied by a cavalry escort so

that no harm will come to them from enemies of this government who are in the territory near the kingdom because someone promises a reward if they are killed. The end.

During this time, two Russian spies, one of whom was a Jew and the other an Iranian, were taken into custody by Herat border guards and sent in shackles to Qandahar.

Also the English commission /468/ which was in Tir Pul asked the governor of Herat to permit them to stay at a place three farsangs from Herat but he refused saying, “Your staying close to Herat might lead people of the region to be suspicious and trouble might arise.” Acceding to the governor’s words, they abandoned their plan and camped instead at Puzah-i Kabutar Khan, six farsangs from Herat.

On the twenty-second of Ramazan/5 July 1885, out of friendship Her Royal Majesty, Queen Victoria, Empress of the Land of India, conferred on His Highness the extraordinary title “Esteemed Great Brave Leader, First-Class Star of India” along with a letter in Her Majesty’s own hand in which the title was recorded. There was also a small chest filled with purple silk velvet (*makhmal-i abrīsham-i banafsh*) as a token of the friendship of the two nations. A Persian translation of the English letter is:

Her Royal Highness, the Great Queen and Empress of the Land of India, Victoria, through divine favor, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Protector of Religion, Empress of India and Ruler of Rulers, sends greetings to His Highness ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan, Amir of Afghanistan and the regions belonging to it. Since we, by virtue of our dominion, deem it appropriate to appoint you “Esteemed Great Brave Leader, First-Class Star of India” therefore by means of this decree do hereby give you the title “Esteemed Great Brave Leader, First-Class Star of India.” We grant and permit you to keep this rank and enjoy all the rights and privileges attendant thereto. By our letter to the government and the seal of the aforementioned rank, today, the 11th of April 1885, the forty-eighth year of our illustrious reign, this order was issued. The end.

On receipt of this highest of titles, His Highness gave all the leaders of the land the good news by a proclamation and thereby gladdened the hearts of everyone.

During this same time, it reached the perceptive ears of His Majesty by means of a letter from the governor of Herat that,

the common people are saying to each other that the English government is renovating and reconstructing the fortifications of Herat on its own initiative and that this is a hardship and utterly unacceptable to them. Moreover, along with the talk that people exchange with each

other, Colonel Ridgeway has refused to disburse the four laks of English sovereigns which Colonel Stewart calculated as necessary for the reconstruction of Herat and which the viceroy gave authorization to Colonel Ridgeway to spend. He (Ridgeway) says that the English clerk and engineer (*nawisandah wa muhandis*) must disburse, by their own hands, (all) payments to the wage workers, to the owners of land which is to be purchased, and for necessary materials and things.

On the 26th of Ramazan, a manshur was issued by His Majesty in the name of the viceroy regarding Colonel Ridgeway's failure to disburse the funds and what he (Ridgeway) had said. In addition, a farman was sent to the governor of Herat and Field Marshal Faramarz Khan that said:

If Colonel Ridgeway hands over the funds to officials of the nation, well and good. If not, the Afghan government will improve and renovate the strategic locales of Herat along with renovation of its fortifications out of its own funds. There is no need for funds which introduce confusion into the minds of the people and by means of which English officials would meddle inside and outside Herat.

After the issuance of the manshur, Colonel Ridgeway was given a warning by the viceroy and so he turned over to Afghan officials the one lak, 45,000 *qirān* rupees which had already been spent. Similarly, when the work was completed, an additional two laks, 55,000 *qirān* rupees were also handed over.

The Promotion of Regular Army Officers in Herat and other Events

During Shawaal of this year (July-August 1885), a manshur of promotion was issued by His Majesty bestowing the rank of *karnayl* on ʿAli Muhammad Khan *kumīdān* who was stationed in Herat. Similarly, most of the officers of the regular army stationed in Herat were honored with promotion to higher ranks.

During this time, three Russian cavalrymen spotted Afghan border cavalry riding on a plain (*ṣaḥrā*). The Russians then approached the tents of the Afghan border guards and wishing to ignite the conflagration of turmoil, began firing in the direction of the tents. Through divine decree, one of the bullets struck and wounded one of their own. The Afghans inquired of the Russians the reason for inciting such an act and heard the reply that this was an accident of fate and that there was no other intention. The Afghans then brought the Russians with their wounded man to their own tents and gave them water and a smoke. They then sent off with them a cavalryman, one of those attached to Mir Aqa-yi *ajīdan*, who escorted them back to their camp and then returned. Colonel Ridgeway having been notified of this incident requested of Qazi /469/ Saʿd al-Din that he suggest to the governor of Herat that he write a letter of apology for this incident and ask about (the health of) the Russian officer. In accordance with Colonel Ridgeway's request things went forward. The Russian officer was pleased and

he too attributed the matter to divine decree and did not blame the Afghan border guards.

After this, Qazi Saʿd al-Din, Colonel Ridgeway, and the English commission headed for Kuhsan from the place they had been staying. Since the arrival of a Russian commission had been delayed, Colonel Ridgeway left Kuhsan for Mashhad with a captain for company to get the latest telegraphed news. He asked Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan for a mounted escort and the latter assigned Abu Bakr Khan Alikuzaʿi and twenty cavalymen to go with him. En route to mashhad he sent Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan a letter in which he wrote,

I will stay in Mashhad until the Russian commission arrives, collect the telegraphed news regarding the definition of the borders and the fixing of the demarcation points and then return.

Also at this time, Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan who had been appointed by the English as their news writer in Herat in place of Mirza Muhammad Taqi Qandahari was himself now replaced by Muhammad Husayn Khan Afshar. Sometime later, Muhammad Ibrahim Khan *risālah-dār* was sent from India via Kabul and the Hazarahjat to take over this duty but when corruption became evident in his demeanor, at Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan's request of Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan and his seeking and receiving approval from the English, Baha al-Din Khan *risālah-dār* was appointed to the position of news-writer of Herat and Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and Muhammad Husayn Khan Afshar joined the staff of the commission.

During this time, the Englishman, Merk, one of the members of the commission, entered Herat with two engineers to survey the renovations and construction works at the order and with the permission of His Majesty. He approved the work that had been completed, saw to the placing of three cannons on the intervallum (*faṣīl*) of the Khakistar Tower. Since to this point, four laks, 75,000 *qirān* rupees had been spent on the Herat works, he issued a money order (*hawālah*) in the name of officials of his government who were in Mashhad in order to get 50,000 sovereign (*kulah-dār*) English rupees from there and bring them to Herat. (Merk) then returned to the (commission's) camp.

During these events, a manshur from Her Majesty Queen Victoria was received by Colonel Ridgeway who, as mentioned above, had gone to Mashhad to get the news that came by telegraph. It promoted him to head of the commission in place of General Lumsden who sometime before had gone to India. Similarly, the task of settling the demarcation of the border of Afghanistan and Russia was entrusted to him. A map of the borders and each side's portion also came from London. Because of the fact that Afghan officials had been prohibited from bringing the border forces to full strength and training them, indeed a reduction of forces had been recommended, General Lumsden was deemed to have been foolish because he prevented the Afghans from strengthening the border. If he had not done that, the Russians would have been

victorious and would not have occupied the district of Panjdih and other dwelling places of the Sariq and Salur Turkman.

A Letter (°arīzah) from the People of Sawad (Swat) and Bunir and a Transcript (naql) of a Manshur of His Majesty Issued in Reply

During this time a letter came to the throne expressing submission and loyalty and promising to carry out any command that issued from the royal presence. (It was sent by) Hikmat Khan, Mawas Khan, Najib Khan, Fath Jang Khan, Awwal Khan, Kujar Khan, Zutah Khan, °Abbas Khan, Muhammad Qasim Khan and other khans, notables, and maliks of Bunir and by Ashraf Khan, Rahmat Allah Khan, °Umra Khan, Muhammad Akbar Khan, Nur al-Din Khan, Qasim Khan, Mir Baz Khan, Mahtab Khan, Abul Khan, Kalu Khan, °Abd al-Rahman Khan, and °Abd Allah Khan—residents of Sawad. On the twenty-second of Zi'l-Hijjah 1302/2 October 1885, His Majesty issued a manshur saying,

Your cordial, supportive, and reverent letter brought by Muhammad Qasim Khan, Ahmad Khan, and seven other men has had the honor of arriving and been read by My Majesty. You have written, 'we expectantly await the orders and instructions of His Majesty and stand ready to carry out whatever service we are assigned.' We are completely sure of your fine piety, utter faith, and the strength and depth of your belief. The real state of your situation and thoughts is clear and evident to us. (We know) that having accepted as your obligation the admonition of God and the Prophet to (obey) "the first in command" (*ūlū'l-amr*) you would not stray from the realm of God's ordinances whether his "commands" or his "prohibitions" and so /470/ you are totally trusted by us. May God strengthen the foundation even more so that you will be the best in these matters among the people your time. Our situation and that of the kingdom of Islam is this: in these days when your delegation came to the royal presence, the circumstances of making peace between the Russian government and the government of Afghanistan had come before the throne. In those places where the aforementioned government had made advances it recognized its right and said 'these lands do not belong to Afghanistan but by right belong to the highway-robbing Salur and Sariq Turkman and are their regions. Today, because the Turkman tribe is entirely under our jurisdiction, therefore we must occupy these lands.' And the one who supplicates the divine threshold (i.e. His Majesty) would say, 'these places are the right of Afghanistan even though former governors and amirs did not open their eyes and foresee the consequences, did not recognize the welfare of the tribes but abandoned those places so that anyone could intervene and occupy them. I who today want the best for my people (*qawm*) cannot allow

(myself) to yield on this, for it would be to surrender the good of my people. If this means that the whole world becomes embroiled in fighting and full-scale international war breaks out over this no tears will be shed because the government of Afghanistan and other nations consider that war is better (than letting the Russians have their way) and that it is dishonorable that the Russians would deal the Turkman many blows, approach the soil of Afghanistan and say what the borders are and lay claim to the marches. Since the string of these words has become long, in order to strengthen the city of Herat, I have sent artillery, regiments, thousands of loads of munitions, and twenty thousand rupees in cash there one after another. Also from the English help in the form of twenty large cannon with complete stocks of ammunition has come to Afghanistan which I have dispatched to Herat via Qandahar. I have sent four hundred gunners for those cannon to Herat from Kabul by way of the Hazarahjat and have assembled and readied thirty thousand armed fighters whom I have assigned to the borders of Herat. Having observed and heard of these things, the Russians became absolutely certain that the people of Afghanistan were ready to sacrifice their lives and that they would not fight alone but that this would draw into a war with them all of Islam as well as several other nations, out of a sense of honor. And this would then cast to the ground the two-thousand year-old dignity (*ābrū*) of that nation and the result would be their destruction. So there was no recourse in their hearts but to seek peace. Thus, through the mediation of the English nation the peacemaking came into circulation and it was agreed that they would withdraw from all those (disputed) places and would not advance towards the soil of Afghanistan beyond Panjdih, the homeland of the Sariq Turkman tribe. The English who ha a full understanding of the map of the border (points) agreed to demarcate the borders with our permission. They have informed me ‘a resolution has been reached and now what is your view?’ I wrote them that my view was that the Russians should not occupy our regions and now that object has been achieved—in any case, peace is better than war. Thanks to my letter, the English and Russian ministers have drafted a treaty, included the borders in it, and ratified and signed it. Very soon a complete transcript of that will reach our presence. And an announcement of its details will be made. Now, I have assured you and given you peace of mind so that you in full satisfaction engage in pious matters and devote yourselves to strengthening the foundations of your Muslim-ness. Since one of the pillars of the religion is obedience and swearing loyalty to the imam of the age, naturally in this regard I can’t tell you how important it is that you have discussions with those tribes and clans under your jurisdiction and belonging to you. The main point is that you speak of these things to those under your jurisdiction and belonging to you so that they accept your advice and guidance. In advancing this matter and in

carrying out this goal, I will constantly be awaiting your letters and communications. This is the only thing you should do: that your people, as you yourselves, recognize the commands of God and not depart from the bonds of your oath of loyalty to us. You will be an enemy of our enemies and a friend to our friends. The end.

*The Story of Bunyad Khan Malistani
and the Evildoing of Yusuf ʿAli Naʿib Jaghuri*

After Nawruz ʿAli Khan the son of Bunyad Khan, a Hazarah of Malistan, was accorded the honor of an audience with His Majesty, was the object of royal favors, and was then given leave to return home—as was previously recounted—his father, Bunyad Khan, did not put his head beneath the farman as was required but occupied himself with spending his time hemming and hawing over carrying out the royal orders. Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan /471/, the governor of Ghaznin, obtained permission for Sayyid Muhammad Taqi, son of the late Shah ʿAli Akbar, who was with him, to go to Nahur and ordered him to get information about Bunyad Khan and his circumstances vis a vis his obedience and his errant ways so that action could be taken by the government that would be appropriate to his behavior. After meeting with Bunyad Khan and finding out what was going on he reported to the governor of Ghaznin, “at the time the son of Bunyad Khan went to the royal justice-centered court, the people of Malistan gave him three choice horses to take as gifts to the padshah. But Bunyad Khan put those three horses, which were well-worthy of a king’s saddle and bridle, into his own stable and took three different horses, of inferior gait and stature, and sent them with his son. He also collected four thousand sheep from the people of Malistan as their yearly tax and turned over to officials of the state only four hundred keeping the rest for himself. Similarly he had possession of much money and many goods and tents belonging to the sons of Sardar Shir ʿAli Khan Jaghuri which belonged to the government but he refused to disclose these. He does not listen to any advice nor does he agree to be obedient and due to the ambition he has, he think little of the power of the padshah.

In this time, during the aforementioned events of this year, Pir Muhammad Khan, the governor of Jaghuri, with the leaders of that place came to Ghaznin by royal order to see Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor there. They returned home having agreed to pay a large amount of the taxes on their lands in accordance with an audit and the signatures of the auditors who had been assigned by the state (to review their accounts) as well as (hand over) some processed clarified butter (*rawghan-i maʿmūlī*).

When they reached home, one of them, Naʿib Yusuf ʿAli of the Hichah tribe, burned seven members of his own tribe with the fire of oppression and killed them. Pir Muhammad Khan, governor of Hazarah-i Jaghuri having learned of this unworthy act of his, went to the district of Hichah to punish him, taking with him Sakhlu infantry of his own as well as tribal militia from Sangmashah, Dastah-i Atah, and Maskah. Worried because of his blameworthy

action, Naʿib Yusuf ʿAli closed up the gates of his and his followers' fortresses in the face of the royal army and began to defend the forts and fight the royal army. The governor ordered the people of Maskah to attack using any means they could to seize the forts of those sedition-minded and mutinous people. The fortress defenders, by seeking Qurʾanic intercession and suing for peace, managed to delay matters through the night (literally brought night to day). When in the daylight it became apparent that their words were merely to deceive, (the royal force) attacked. Several of the rebels, two men from Sangmashah, and three of the Sakhlu infantry suffered wounds and one of the *khāsshah-dārs* was killed. Several of the forts and houses were taken by force and then burned to the ground. That night Pir Muhammad Khan with the tribal levies (*mardum-i iljārī*) and the Sakhlu infantry returned to the forts of the Maskah people and made camp there. He notified the governor of Ghaznin of what had taken place and asked him to send a siege gun from Ghaznin for without such a weapon, Naʿib Yusuf ʿAli could not be defeated nor could the money and property of the sons of Sardar Shir ʿAli Khan which he had with him be retrieved. The governor of Ghaznin petitioned the throne and asked His Majesty's permission to send a force and a gun. His Majesty ordered the governor to send a letter to the people of Jaghuri and counsel them to themselves strive to put an end to this disturbance,

for if a royal force and a siege gun is sent to punish those who have lost their way, both dry and wet is liable to be burned and no distinction will be made between evildoer and innocent (*muḥsid wa muṣlih*). The friend and the sincere subject is the one who brings the matter to an end before the sending of army and gun and does not cause the government to get involved.

During this time, because they were farsighted and worried about the consequences, ʿAli Zafar Ikhtiyar and Muhammad Husayn Ikhtiyar, two leaders of Maskah, turned to Sayyid ʿAli Naqi Shah the son of Shah ʿAli Akbar and asked him to request of the governor of Ghaznin a pardon (*ʿazr-i bī-gunāhī*) for them lest Pir Muhammad Khan, their own governor, count them among the evildoers. When Sayyid ʿAli Naqi brought the request to the attention of the governor of Ghaznin he sent the sayyid with one of his own men, Muhammad Yasin, to Hazarah-i Jaghuri with a letter of conciliation for the people of Maskah that said,

Proof of your good behavior and faithful service will be to remove Naʿib Yusuf ʿAli from his fortress without further troubling Pir Muhammad Khan and the other people of Jaghuri and hand him over to royal officials.

When this letter and the delegation from the governor of Ghaznin reached the people of Maskah, thirteen spans (*wajab*) of snow had fallen and all movement in Jaghuri was blocked. Because of the severe cold and deep snow, Pir Muhammad Khan realized it would be very difficult to remain with his tribal forces and Sakhlū infantry among the people of Maskah /472/ and so returned to Sangmashah. He reached there only after plowing his way with great difficulty through the snow. Sayyid °Ali Naqi and Muhammad Yasin with equal difficulty reached Na°ib Yusuf °Ali, spoke to him in conciliatory terms, and eased his mind. The leaders of the Maskah tribe (*tā°ifah-i Maskah*) also accepted responsibility for paying compensation (*diyah-i khūn*) for the lone *khāsshah-dār* who had been killed along with compensation for those who had perished by fire and gave an affidavit (*sanad*) to Na°ib Yusuf °Ali that read

whatever His Majesty should levy as a fine by way of punishment (*siyāsatan*), he should not have to bear it alone but they would pay it out of tribal unity (*bi-ittifāq-i qawmī*).

Na°ib Yusuf °Ali, pleased with this pledge (*qarār-dād*), taking the path of obedience, set out for Ghaznin with Sayyid °Ali Naqi and Muhammad Yasin and reached the place. Representatives of the people of Maskah also arrived in Ghaznin on his heels and, at the orders of His Majesty accepted responsibility for paying six thousand rupees as a fine and compensation for the killing of the lone *khāsshah-dār* and were then given leave to return home. The governor of Ghaznin sent Sayyid Muhammad Tahir the son of Sayyid Mahmud Sarabi and Sad-bashi Sa°id °Ali Khan with them to collect the fine. Half the sum of the fine was collected from the people of Lower Maskah (*Maskah-i Sufla*) and they were busy collecting the other half from the people of Upper Maskah (*Maskah-i °Ulya*) when suddenly the people of Sangmashah-i Jaghuri broke out in rebellion. This was due to the heavy-handedness of Mirza Fayz Allah Khan who, at the time of the audit and cadastral survey, before getting the approval of those people or His Majesty's sanction of the cadastral count, had extracted an affidavit by force and liberal application of the club which he could present to officials of the diwan thereby emphasizing his own service. He also produced the affidavit as proof of the subjects' satisfaction and consent, thereby drawing a veil over the face of his oppression and tyranny. Leaving their forts and homes, the men fled with their wives and children to the district of Chihil Baghtu and took refuge in the mountains there. As a consequence of the flight of these people, the people of the tribe of Uqi, of Hud Qul, Qarah, and Upper Maskah drew their heads from the pocket of rebellion and turned away (*jawāb dādah*) all the royal collectors who were busy amongst them collecting the taxes, (blood) compensation, and fines mentioned above and which they had accepted as their obligation. At His Majesty's order, the governor sent a letter seeking the reason for their beginning this revolt. They provided no reasonable answer and at the instigation and provocation of Sultan °Ali Khan the son of Sardar Shir °Ali Khan Hazarah who with Haydar °Ali Khan his nephew and other relatives had

taken refuge among the people of Pashhah-i, they refused to come down from the mountain of ignorance. The men of Pashhah-i and Shir Dagħ were also incited by Sultan °Ali Khan and Haydar °Ali Khan to join forces with the rebels. As a consequence, an order for the punishment of those people will be discussed in due course—God Most High willing.

Also in these times, Sayyid Muhammad Taqī Shah the son of Shah °Ali Akbarbid bade farewell to the world. Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Tukhi who, due to a summoning farman had come from Qandahar to Kabul to finalize his accounts at which point it was determined that he had skimmed off 38,230 Qandahari rupees from the state's taxes and that it was his responsibility to repay it, decided to flee. His Majesty was deeply angered at his absconding and sent separate farmans to the provincial governors informing and ordering them to guard with vigilance the highways and byways so that he might not pass but be captured and brought to Kabul in chains. The governor of Muqur, Fazl al-Din Khan, notified °Azm al-Din Khan *sartīp* who was stationed in Kalat and he quickly sent out a *sad-bāshī* with the infantry under his command to arrest Pir Muhammad Khan, the brother of Ghulam Haydar Khan, at his home and bring him to Kalat. Fazl al-Din Khan went to a place called Khakah and there confiscated the money and movables (*māl wa mitā'*) belonging to the field marshal. Khwajah Muhammad Khan, the governor of the Taraki tribe, saw the field marshal, pursued him, and en route to the land of the Kakars (*kākaristān*) took his wives into custody and also capture Zir and Nabu, two servants of his. But they later escaped from custody. The field marshal himself made his way to Hindustan by way of Kakaristan and after a long while sent a letter to the throne begging forgiveness for his misdeeds and permission to return to Afghanistan and pay homage at the sublime threshold of authority. His Majesty received the petition with approbation and gave permission for him to come. He left India for Kabul, passed through Ghaznin, but at the manzil of Lurah he contracted pneumonia (? *dard-i pahlū*) and died.

*The Assignment of Muhammad Shah Khan, the Ishik Aqasi of
His Highness Habib Allah Khan, to Audit Pusht-i Rud*

During the unfolding of the events of the first part of this year (1302), because of the petitions and pleas which reached the perceptive ears of His Majesty from subjects in Pusht Rud who wrote of the arbitrariness, oppression, and tyranny of the tax collectors and officers, Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Shah Khan was assigned to investigate and confirm the truth of what the oppressed subjects there claimed. So he went and first he settled (the issue of) the sum of nine thousand rupees which Nik Muhammad Khan /473/ had confiscated²⁸ from the people of Tughi and settled it on the basis of evidence at an amount of (only)

²⁸ FM: The original meaning of confiscation (*muṣādarah*) is a sum of money taken in lieu of a person. It is given as security against being killed. They call this money "*muṣādarah*." Now this term is used for all monies taken by force. Thus according to the *Radd al-muhtār*.

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four thousand rupees. His Majesty learned of this through reports from news-writers there, and issued a signed diploma (*tawqīʿ*) of chastisement in the name of Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Shah Khan which said,

You should have avoided biased behavior and leaving bribes of thousands of rupees of money belonging to our poor subjects in the hands of their powerful oppressors. 'Sparing the leopard the spear means oppression for the sheep.' You should come back in good repute so that you will become the talk of the town for the goodness of your deeds.

He also ordered him, after straightening out the affairs of the people of Pusht Rud to go to Dahrawud whose subjects had been forgiven a fine of 25,000 rupees but which Mulla Yusuf Khan, the *kūtwāl* of Qandahar, had not given back to them. He was to collect that sum from the *kūtwāl* and others and then distribute it to the rightful people.

He carried out his investigation well, gave the subjects what belonged to them, and returned home.

Meanwhile, Aqa Sayyid Ahmad Khan had been honored with the position of *sar daftar* of Qandahar. When he arrived there, the Tajik and Hazarah subjects of Gizab had appealed to the governor of Qandahar against the tyranny and oppression of Muhsin Khan Hazarah. The governor ordered both sides to come to Qandahar, gave robes of honor to leaders of those subjects, whose side was the right, and gave them leave to return home. He kept Muhsin Khan under watch as punishment. Aqa Sayyid Ahmad Khan interceded on his behalf and he (the governor) appointed Ghulam Hasan Khan Afshar as governor of Gizab. (Aqa Sayyid Ahmad Khan) managed to resolve the case of Muhsin Khan Hazarah by intercession and drawing attention to his previous contributions, and so saved him from having to stay in Qandahar. When Muhsin Khan reached home he failed to heed the favors of, or to concern himself with giving a bad name to, Aqa Sayyid Ahmad Khan and immediately commenced extending his hand to the property of the subjects who had earlier petitioned against his tyranny. The people, who were encouraged by their (new) governor Ghulam Hasan Khan, rose up against Muhsin Khan. His brother was killed and he himself fled, taking refuge at the top of a mountain. All his property was sacked. When the governor of Qandahar was notified of this incident he immediately ordered a large cavalry contingent to go lest a wider-scale rebellion break out. These cavalymen entered Gizab, brought Muhsin Khan willy-nilly down from the mountain and brought him and the people with whom he had this dispute back to Qandahar.. The governor, who naturally was devoted to the state and the welfare of its subjects, settled the dispute between Muhsin Khan and his people. He gave the latter leave to go home but kept Muhsin Khan in Qandahar pending the arrival of an order from the throne. Thus, at His Majesty's command, a little while later when the subjects gave him a letter of consent (*riḡā-nāmah*) was

given leave to return home and he placed his foot firmly into the orbit of sincere and faithful service.

Also during the aforementioned events of this year, an epidemic of dysentery struck Qandahar and lasted for three months and some days. After that, through the abundant grace of God the incomparable, the epidemic ended. Many souls residing in the city and its environs took the garments of existence to the house of eternity. Among those Mirza Mudassir Khan, the *sar-rishtah-dār* of the Second Daftar of Qandahar said goodbye to life because of this disease. At the height of the epidemic, the governor of Qandahar sent Nur Muhammad Khan Achakza'i to Shalkut with men of the Siyah Suli to resolve a dispute and which those people had with the Baluchis. But at that moment, when the flames of the epidemic were raging, the (Political) Agent of Baluchistan would not give them permission to enter the district of Shalkut and at the manzil of Chaman they turned back. The Siyah Suli men were upset by (Nur Muhammad's) being prevented and attacked the Baluchis, stealing camels of theirs. The governor of Qandahar was disturbed by this action and took several of their leaders into custody. At His Majesty's order a heavy fine was taken from them, along with the Baluchis' camels, they were suitably punished, and the Baluchi's property was returned to its owners.

During this time the sons of Sikandar, whose turning away from the nation and heading into the mountains of ignorance has been previously discussed under the events of 1299, came to Jalalabad to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and sought his interceding for a pardon on their behalf. They came with 'Umra Khan Bajawuri whom they asked to mediate on their behalf.

A Letter and Request for Aid from Muslims (Islamiyān) in Foreign Countries and His Majesty's Written Response

When, during the Panjdih events which the Russians had initiated and brought to the brink of conflict, petitions from the Muslims of Khuqand, ~~1474~~/ Samarqand, Yarkand, Bukhara, and Urganj, lands occupied by the Russian nation as well as petitions from the Muslims of the Punjab, Sind, the Derajat, Peshawar, Swat, Bunir, Bajawur, and Chitrar, lands occupied by the English nation had reached the throne of authority, they (all) requested that drawing the head of courage from the pocket of obedience, they would lay the foundations of war for a *jihād* with the Russian nation that they were just awaiting an order and farman (to do so). His Majesty, due to the fact that the issue of war (*mujādalāh*) had already been resolved peacefully through the mediation of the British commissioners (*umanā*) replied to each individually writing,

Naturally all those who utter the words "there is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God" are bound together to fight the enemies of the religion of Islam, and holy war (*ghazā*) is a duty of the Right Religion and the Straight Path enjoined by God's decree and His Messenger, prayers and praises be upon him. For the people of Islam, it

is necessary to raise the head of unity and harmony from one collar and vis a vis those matters which are duties enjoined by the religion (*farā'iz-i dīn*) not be stingy with either life or wealth. But now that peace is at hand, the best thing is that wherever they should be they take no road but obedience to that nation which they adhere to (*tābi*^c) The end.

Also during these times, after punishing the people of Saw, Kulman, and other places and the flight of Nizam al-Din Khan and his brother from Waygul all of which was previously recorded, the Sakhlu infantry took up station in the fort of Muhammad Baz, a Safi, in order to protect that region and secure the roads. They set out about doing with diligence what they had been charged to do. When a short while had passed after the trouble caused by those ignorant people and they had still not become obedient, the *khāṣṣah-dārs* stationed in the fort, because they were lacking both in military skills and foresightedness, left eight men in the fort to prepare a meal while the others dispersed, going off to the villages and to lie down in the shade of trees. At such a moment, the sons of Muhammad Baz seized the opportunity, entered the fort, and shut the gate. Four of the *khāṣṣah-dārs* still in the fort jumped down from its walls. Three others headed for the gate before Muhammad Baz's sons bolted it, two managed to get out and escaped, and one remained inside. He managed to shoot and wound one of the Safis before he was killed. Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan, the *sar daftar* of the district of Kunar learned of this incident and notified officials of the throne as well as Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who was in Jalalabad. Then accompanied by the sayyids and subjects of Kunar and Sakhlu infantry, all of whom were serving the government, he set out for the fort of Muhammad Baz of the Safi tribe (*qawm*). He laid siege to the fort and then, together with Qazi Amir Allah Khan, Sayyid Ghulam Padshah, Sayyid Ghulam Haydar Padshah, Sayyid °Abd al-Wahhab, and their retainers and followers and the Sakhlu infantry, constructed twenty ladders and launched an assault. They set the ladders against the walls and just as they wanted to climb them and occupy the fort, two of the companions of Muhammad Baz's sons suddenly emerged with the Qur'an on their heads and asked to be spared. Respecting the sanctity of the Qur'an, the men took their feet off the ladders and held back from seizing the fort and killing and capturing the besieged. Sayyid Ghulam Padshah with his uncle went into the fort, put the rope of shame around the neck of the bareheaded and barefoot eldest son of Muhammad Baz, placed a Qur'an in his hands, and brought him to Mirza Ahmad °Ali. The other besieged were also spared, a letter interceding on their behalf was sent to the throne, and the fort was (re-)occupied. The sons of Muhammad Baz, thanks to the intercession of the abovementioned sayyids, were not killed but were taken into custody. After this victory, Sad Bashi Faqir Muhammd Khan, the *khāṣṣah-dārs* of whose unit had been negligent and lax about guarding the fort, was summoned to Kabul under arrest and was taken to the gallows. All his *khāṣṣah-dārs* were punished by the king, terminated from service to the nation, and their salaries, from the moment they

had entered service, were reclaimed as a warning to other servants of the nation and returned to the public treasury (*khizānah-i ʿāmirah*).

Also at this time as a consequence of the evildoing and wickedness of the Shinwaris His Majesty was forced to send an order to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan. Habitually, whenever an army was sent, the Shinwari would choose the path of obedience and government officials would work to restore their property and to ‘reconcile their hearts.’ Then just when royal orders had become, by and large, effective amongst them so that they would no longer be odious, vile, the regiments of His Highness would be withdrawn, so that the people would no be oppressed by the army. At that very moment, they would return to their old ways and take the desperado’s path. Consequently, His Majesty issued this order to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan:

As long as the maliks and leaders of Aghuz and Dih-i Bala such as Amir Khan, his son, the son of Yar Muhammad Khan, Naʿib, Ghashu, Zaman, Tuti, Sayyid ʿAli, Sazmir, Shakar, Iran, Nabi, Wazirah, Shah Zaman, and Baz Mir along with their wives and children are not under the supervision of state officials as guarantors (of good behavior), the Shinwar people will not be obedient. Therefore, it is necessary to take them into custody as guarantors (*yarghumāl*), re-establish good order there /475/ and so burnish (the authority of) royal orders and decrees.

Also an order was given to Malik Payandah Khan and Malik ʿUmra Khan of the Niyazi tribe, who had come to His Majesty as a sign of their obedience, that they must go to the maliks of Kulman and, with the cooperation of those maliks, arrest the six sons of Khal Muhammad, Bahram, and Kamal Khan. These men were permanent practitioners of the art of wickedness, sometimes taking refuge in Kulman and sometimes in Saw and Chatla and because of their evildoing keeping the royal army in a state of unease. Or they should refuse to give them sanctuary and inform government officials wherever they went so that they could be captured and peace brought to that region. The sons of Khal Muhammad learned of the royal edict and were frightened. Seeing themselves in the clutches of destruction, they had no choice but to seek intercession from the maliks of Harugi. They came then in a state of repentance to Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, the governor of Lamqan and sought forgiveness for their misdeeds. They paid a fine of 500 rupees for their unacceptable acts and odious characters, put the thread of obedience around their necks, and were pardoned. Similarly, the wives (*ʿiyāl*) of Bahram Khan also presented themselves to him (the governor) and asked for maintenance. Despite the trouble caused by Bahram Khan, the governor provided them with an adequate allowance for food and clothing from the government, at the order of His Majesty. Meantime, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, given the exigencies of the time, got a written guarantee (*ʿahd-nāmah wa zamānat-khaṭṭ*) from those same people in whose names an order had been issued to take them hostages. He sent those (guarantees) to His Majesty (about this) and also requested permission to release

those from the Sangu Khayl who had arrested. This was deemed acceptable by the one whom the world-adores and the order was given to free those arrested.

During this time, the Sarwarza'i (3) people refused to pay their fine and the canonical tithe (*'ushr-i shar'ī*) and took the path of opposition to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan. They attacked Qal'ah-i Shahi and made off with the livestock belonging to the people of the *qal'ah*. Eventually, however, they realized they did not have the wherewithal to resist the field marshal and the royal army and (again) took the path of obedience. They returned the flocks and herds belonging to the people of Qal'ah-i Shahi and became submissive and compliant.

Also at this time Colonel 'Ata Allah Khan was sent as envoy (*bi-sifārat*) to Afghanistan by the English to replace Muhammad Afzal Khan. Miyan Salih Muhammad Khan, at the orders of Dad Muhammad Khan, the governor of Jalalabad, and Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, went out as far as Dakkah with twenty regular cavalymen to welcome him officially, escort him to Jalalabad and from here on to Kabul.

Also this year, at the order of His Majesty, the machinery of a press reached Kabul from India and the Government Press (*matba'-'i dawlatī*) was set up in the palace (*sarāy*) of the mother of Shir 'Ali Khan Qandahari, and printing began.

Also Mawlawi Ahmad Jan Khan Qandahari, appointed to the post of *sar-rishta-dār* of the Office of Investigation and Written Release (*daftar-i sanjish wa fārigh khaṭṭī*) undertook a cadastral survey (*jarīb-kashī wa masāḥat-i arāzī wa amlāk-i ru'āyā*) to increase the land taxes by fixing the (land tax on the basis of the) number of jaribs. He set the tithe on dry-farmed wheat (4) for which the subjects are responsible at twelve *sīr* per *kharwār*, ten *sīr* going to the treasury (*bayt al-māl*) and two *sīr* being the commission going to the collectors and enforcers (*'ummāl wa ḡubbāt*). The cash marriage stamp (*tikit-i nikāh-i pūlī*) of a virgin girl was fixed at twelve and a half rupees and for a non-virgin, six and a half rupees. In the case of the first, two rupees, and in the case of the second, one rupee was to go to the mulla who gave the marriage homily. The price of each stamp (or ticket-*tikit*) was fixed at one *qirān*. Likewise a tax of one-half percent on the estates of deceased persons and on business transactions conducted by residents of the kingdom and a tax on the livestock census, the income from trees, both fruit and non-fruit—all of this was newly introduced by him. He also established his oversight of waqfs (*ḡabt-i awqāf*) and assigned their income to the imams and muezzins of mosques and to expenses connected with furnishings, lighting and so on of mosques. He also carefully investigated all the documents (*arqām*) of salary recipients which they had received from former rulers based on their learning (*'ilm wa faḡl*) or their being sayyids and for which they were paid an emolument from the royal daftar, for many of them had not a single iota of learning and (some of) the documents had over time passed into the hands of others who were collecting money from the treasury undeservedly. He then gave all those deserving of such funds new documents bearing the royal seal and those who were undeserving were cut off. Thus, for each one of his innovations a separate daftar has been set up. When all this was completed in

accordance with political and religious law (*muwāfiq-i qānūn-i siyāsī wa sharʿī*), it was approved by His Majesty and put into effect. (At this time too) he (Ahmad jan Khan Qandahari) composed the treatise *Asās al-quṣāt* and the treatise *Dastūr al-ʿamal-i ḥukkām wa ḥubbāt* concerning the resolution of disputes and the procedures for courts and had them published. Because of this many clerks were now needed and it brought to the diwan many individuals who previously had not had jobs there and (thus) many account books (*dafātir*) were established (*wāḏʿ shud*).

Also, in the month of Zi Hijjah of this year (September-October 1885), the sum of six thousand rupees from His Royal Majesty was given to the son of the ruler of Bukhara who had turned his back on his father and settled in Peshawar / **476**/. He had petitioned the throne of authority and sent with his letter a brass vase and cup made in Kashmir as a gift to His Majesty. The money was given him for the expenses of a palace (*ʿimāratī*) which he was building in Peshawar.

The Arrival of a Letter from the Viceroy Concerning the Russia Treaty

Also in the month of Zi Hijjah 1302, letters arrived from both the viceroy of India and Muhammad Sarwar Khan, governor (*nāʾib al-ḥukūmah*) of Herat, and were read by His Majesty. Both had the same contents saying that the Russian nation was in compliance with the treaty which it had negotiated and signed with the English and had withdrawn from Dananah-i Zuʾl-Faqar and the district of Maruchaq and solemnly vowed not to interfere in Afghanistan nor set foot across the borders specified in the treaty. This set the mind of His Highness at rest, the concerns which he had regarding the border regions of Herat now subsided, and he set his mind entirely to regularizing (*naẓm wa nasaq*) the affairs of the kingdom. Consequently he sent a farman to the governor of Badakhshan, Sardar ʿAbd Allah Khan ordering him to erect impregnable forts for the army in the three places of ʿUqāb Shin and Jalgharmati located opposite (facing) Fayzabad, and Zagharchi large enough for each to accommodate one hundred men. Similarly, at the order of His Majesty, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan, erected a fort on top of ʿAshiqan Hill in Maymanah, re-excavated the former *chahāwunī* (?) moat and deepened it.

Meanwhile the allotted time of Mingbashi Isfandiyar Khan arrived and he departed this world. In recognition of his faithful services, his stipend for horses and riders (*tankhwāh-i sar wa suwār*) was conferred on Bakhtiyar Khan, his brother, and Bakhtiyar Khan's stipend for horses and riders was given to another brother.

Also this year, Nazar ʿAli Beg, the brother of Mir Sultan Murad Khan Qataghan, came to the end of his days.

Merk and Peacocke, two English members of the commission sent out to survey and map the borders of Turkistan, reached their intended destination, and then having traveled from Andkhud to Khwajah Salih, Busaghah, and Khum Ab, completed their work, and returned to Murghab via Aqchah, Shibarghan, Abdan, and Khayrabad where they rejoined the commission.

Also during these times, at the request of the Foreign Secretary and with the approval of that request by His Royal Majesty, the Englishman Ney Elias, on the Badakhshan side, toured that part of Turkistan which belongs to China, met with courtesy and respect from the Afghan border guards, and continued on toward his destination.

Also in these times, Mir Hasan Khan *risālah-dār* was ordered by His Majesty to improve the road to Khanabad and Badakhshan. He completed this work in accordance with the instructions which His Majesty had given him. He built Khumri Bridge (*Pul-i Khumrī*) of brick, stone, slaked lime, and *kamāndār* (?), returned to Kabul and received His Majesty's "well done."

*The Events of One Thousand Three Hundred and Three Hijri
(1885–1886)*

On Sunday, the second of Muharram 1303/October 11, 1885, the noble prince Sardar Amin Allah Khan, the sixth child of His Highness, was born, an event that occasioned great joy in the royal heart.

Also at this time a Russian commission, in accordance with the agreement written into the treaty on the demarcation of the boundary between Afghanistan and their nation, departed the place where it was camped and raised its banners in the direction of Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar. Because of the movement of that commission, Colonel Ridgeway, who had left Kuhsan for Mashhad and, as was previously recorded, had promised to rejoin his commission when the Russian commission arrived on the border, left Mashhad for Herat on Thursday the sixth of Muharram/15 October. Before he reached Kuhsan, because the Russian commission included (only) 100 cavalry, the English commission selected 100 cavalymen and Baha al-Din Khan *risālah-dār*, who prior to this had been assigned as Herat news writer, was given command of the extra cavalry and was sent with them and Mr. Merk to Shalkut via Lash, Juwayn, and the periphery (*hāshiyah*) of the kingdom of Afghanistan. Deputy Ghulam Muhammad Khan was named news writer in Herat in place of Baha al-Din Khan.

During this time, on Sunday the 16th of the month (25 October), Sayyid Mir Kazim Khan and Khaliqdad Khan, the brother of Sardar °Abd Allah Khan Taymuri were appointed by the court to take charge of the godown (*gudām-dārī*) of Herat and to collect the land taxes (*māliyāt*) from the /477/ people of Firuz Kuh. As was noted earlier, Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan had also been earlier named to purchase provisions for the godown and to collect the outstanding taxes due from the same people. The two men left for Herat with a force of 100 regular cavalymen. Meanwhile, on Friday the 21st of Muharram (October 30), Colonel Ridgeway reached Kuhsan whence, according to the request of the viceroy and the permission of His Majesty, having set out for Herat with several members of the commission who had not seen the city of Herat, as well as fifty cavalry and one hundred and fifty infantrymen, he arrived in the village of Sang Bast. From there, on Saturday, the 22nd (October 31), he set off again and when he approached Herat, the governor sent out to welcome the English a regiment

(*fawj*) of infantry, two hundred cavalry, and three cannons under the command of a general and Rustam °Ali Khan. 1,000 paces (*gām*) from the city they formed up ranks and stood waiting. The governor (*nāʾib al-ḥukūmah*) of Herat also emerged from the city to greet the delegation and all alighted at Bagh-i Kartah. On the 23rd (November 1), the governor made arrangements for a gathering in the Charbagh Palace (*ʿimārat-i chār bagh*—**check this place**), assembled all the notables and worthies of the city and its surrounding area there, and invited Colonel Ridgeway to be his guest. When he arrived, the festivities began, and the governor introduced to him all the notables assembled there by their names and lineages. At the end of the gathering, Colonel Ridgeway and his companions arose, went to the citadel to meet with Field Marshal Faramurz Khan, and was treated there to much respect and esteem. Like the governor, the field marshal introduced the regular officers by name and rank and explained to him what each rank meant. At this majlis, Colonel Ridgeway was presented with gifts—a horse, shawl-cloth, fine wool (*karg*), ermine (*qāqmah*), a carpet and other things—from the governor and field marshal, and was pleased by them.

On this same day, they (the English) paid a return visit (*bāz دید*) to some of the regular army officials and civilian notables at the Bagh-i Kartah and he (Ridgeway) gave presents to the extent that his status as a colonel would allow, and also paid the rest of the 4,000 English rupee sum which had been promised for repair and reconstruction of Herat by the English government. In the course of the conversations, he asked the governor for five laks of rupees saying, “I’ve brought (this sum) from Mashhad for the expenses of the English commission and will turn it over to the Herat treasury, in return for it being paid from the Turkistan treasury to the remaining members of the commission.” But since at this time there were not funds (in Turkistan) equivalent to exchange for this sum, his request was not accepted.

On Friday, the 28th of Muharram (November 6), Birgid Sayyid Sha(h) Khan, was assigned to take up station in Ghur with the °Abbasi Troop *risālah*) of regular cavalry and a sum of money from the Kabuil treasury was dispatched with him for necessary expenses in Herat. Thus he delivered this money to Herat and then went on to Tayurah to Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan and took up his assigned tasks.

Meantime, Colonel Ridgeway said goodbye to the governor of Herat and Field Marshal Faramurz Khan, left Herat for the frontier with his companions, and reached the village (*mawẓiʿ*) of Gulran. The governor entrusted the city and its responsibilities to Field Marshal Faramurz Khan, departed on the heels of Colonel Ridgeway, and reached Kuhsan. On Monday, the first day of Safar (November 9) he departed Kuhsan and Colonel Ridgeway Gulran and they arrived one after another in the village of Qizil Bulaq in Dahanah-i Zuʾl-Faqar. The governor’s set up his camp a thousand paces from the English commission’s camp. On Tuesday, the second of Safar, equivalent to the 10th of November, the Russian commission also arrived at the frontier. Meanwhile Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan and Colonel Ridgeway met and Colonel Ridgeway asked that the qazi

should meet with Goldberg of the Russian commission adding that since the conversation would be in German, Mr. Merk should serve as interpreter. Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan agreed and said, "beyond being there as an interpreter Mark should also be present for I would not meet with any of the Russians without someone present representing you who are the arbitrator (*munṣif*) here." In short, accompanied by Mr. Merk, the qazi went and met with Goldberg. In the course of their conversation, he asked for a second meeting with the qazi, the qazi agreed, they set 11 o'clock on Friday the fifth (of Safar) as the time, and the qazi bade him farewell. When he had returned to his tent, Colonel Ridgeway sent a man to him with a message saying, "Tomorrow, the Russian commissioner is going to be present. We both must go and present to him (the plans for) the determination of the border points and the demarcation of the (border) separating the two nations."

Also on this day, the third of Safar, Muhammad Husayn Khan *risālah-dār* the son of Rajab 'Ali Khan, Hazarah of Ghaznin who was serving in the English regular army and with forty cavalymen, had been sent from Shalkut to Herat with forty infantry and /478/ 110 pack mules reached 'Abbasabad in Qandahar. The governor of Qandahar assigned someone to him as an escort and saw that he reached the border with Herat.

Also on this day Colonel Ridgeway, in accordance with the (previous) message to Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and the arrangements that had been made, entered the border area with several officers and engineers (surveyors) as did the Russian commission (Goldberg) with I. M. Yasar (? *īm yasār*) who, during Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan's governorship, had toured (*bi-pāy siyāḥat*) as far as Ghuriyan.

Demarcating the Border and Setting up Boundary Markers between Afghanistan and Russia

Once the two commissioners of Russia and England were present at the frontier, Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan also joined them and they set (the) first boundary pillar (*burj*) at a distance of 2,400 paces from the mouth of the Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar Valley on the Sarakhs side. In the course of four sixty-minute hours (*chahar sa'at-i nujūmī*) they erected the boundary pillar out of stone, mortar, and plaster. From this (boundary) marking and demarcation-fixing—from Kuhsan to Kamanah Bihisht—which is a distance of sixteen farsangs, and in former days and years had all belonged to Afghanistan and was a refuge for people, a pasture for animals, and contained developed lands, prosperous sarays, and forts without number, is now an utter wasteland. Similarly, three more boundary pillars were erected in that region under the supervision of Muhammad Amir Khan Afshar. After finishing this work, at ten o'clock on Friday, the fifth of Safar (November 13), the governor of Herat appeared before Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and at eleven o'clock, because of the appointment which had been made with Goldberg, Mr. Mark also appeared. Soon after Goldberg entered Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan's tent, accompanied by two regular cavalymen,

a meeting was conducted, after which they parted. On Sunday the seventh of Safar (November 15), His Majesty, having been informed by letter about the outcome of the negotiations and about the border demarcation and boundary pillar construction, approved of it and was content.

On the 12th of the month His Majesty promoted Commander Wali Ahmad Khan, at Field Marshal Faramurz Khan's recommendation, to the rank of colonel (*karnayl*) and sent a manshur to Herat awarding this rank to him.

On this same day, Baz Muhammad Khan Barakza'i who had been honored by promotion to the rank of Chief Equerry (*mīr ākhūrī*) and assigned to Herat, arrived there.

On Sunday the 14th of Safar, all entourages of the governor of Herat (Muhammad Sarwar Khan), Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, and the English and the Russian commissions left for Chaman Bid by way of Gulran. The governor of Herat, Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, and the Russian and English commissioners each with twelve riders rode to Chaman Bid via Chul, Lut, and Aq Ribat to demarcate the border (on that route) so that after erecting the markers at those places they would rejoin the rest of their contingents (*urdū*) at Chaman Bid. From the abovementioned pillar marker at Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar to the aforementioned Chaman, located twenty farsangs from there and Hawz-i Achah, through Saturday, the 27th of Safar, twenty-four pillars were erected.

With regard to the placing of a boundary marker on the top of a ruined fortress at Aq Tapah, there was a heated discussion (*muṣākarah wa mukābarah*) between the governor of Herat, Qazi Sa'd al-Din, and Colonel Ridgeway. They said that the land between the ruined fortifications at Chaman Bid and the ruined fort at Qarah Tapah-i Kuchak, a distance of one-half farsang, was the soil of Afghanistan. Colonel Ridgeway drew the two sides into conflict by agreeing with the claim of the Russians who said that from Qarah Tapah-i Kuchak to Qarah Tapah-i Buzurg, a distance of four farsangs, and (including) the town(s) of Khalil and Chihil Dukhtaran, were Russian soil because the Turkman had cultivated them and the aforementioned place (Aq Tapah) should be where the boundary pillar was placed. Ultimately, Colonel Ridgeway's position was accepted and these two men (Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and the governor of Herat) tried to mitigate their embarrassment and said, "Placing the boundary marker here will have the effect of creating conflict over the water." Colonel Ridgeway responded, "I will give a written guarantee (*sanad-i maktūbī*) that no one will ask Afghanistan for water for the purpose of irrigating (*siqāyat wa ābyārī*) these lands." In short, the pillar was erected there and they said to each other "After this we should not determine the border and erect the pillars without conferring and getting the approval of either side." Colonel Ridgeway informed the viceroy about this minor discussion. Those two informed His Majesty by letter saying, "Colonel Ridgeway, having decided that he is the final judge and we are only the people who bring provisions and are mere servants of his government, never asks us about anything (neither matters weighty nor trivial) and continues to advance the business of delineating the border."

During these events, on Tuesday, the first of Rabi[°] al-Awwal/8 December 1885, /479/ Nasir Khan *janrāl*, Mihrab Khan *janrāl*, and [°]Ali Muhammad Khan came to the noble threshold with high hopes. When His Majesty was still a prince, as was recorded in volume two of this felicity-sealed book, they were in his service and had fled to Bukhara with him, but there had chosen to offer their services to the padshah of Bukhara. At this time, the first two (sic-see below) left their wives and children in Bukhara and came to the throne. His Majesty, out of the kindness which was an ingrained part of his nature, said nothing about their betrayal and made them the objects of his favor. Bukharan officials had not allowed Mihrab Khan to leave for Afghanistan because of large outstanding loans and so a farman from His Majesty was issued to Qazi Sa[°]d al-Din Khan telling him to ask the Russian commissioner, Goldberg, to send the wives and belongings (*ta[°]alluqāt*) of [°]Ali Muhammad Khan and Nasir Khan along with Mihrab Khan and his belongings. As a result of this request all obtained permission to go to Kabul. Funds to cover the loans of Mihrab Khan were paid by the nation of Afghanistan and so they came to Kabul. Despite these men's unfaithfulness and their choosing to serve the padshah of Bukhara, out of the overflowing generosity and mercy of His Majesty merely for their flight from Afghanistan with His Majesty Nasir Khan and Mihrab Khan were honored by being granted the salaries of a general, but without the rank. [°]Ali Muhammad Khan was granted an adequate stipend for other services.

The Shagli Shinwari Men Launch a Night Attack on the Infidels of Kambir; the Sedition of the People of Kulman, Saw, and Other Places

During the above events of this year, the Islamic people of Shagli and Chaghan Saray-i [°]Ulya launched a night attack (*shabikhūn*) on the kafirs of Kambir. The kafirs of Katar heard the sounds of guns and the cries and noise of a battle and came to help, and fought the Muslims in the dark of night. Two Muslims were martyred and seven wounded and they retreated without having attained their goal. Since it was night and dark, it was impossible to tell how many kafirs were killed or wounded.

During this time, the men of Kulman, Saw, and other places, at the instigation of 1) Fayz Muhammad Khan, 2) Rahmdil Khan, 3) A[°]zam Khan, 4) Hazrat Shah Khan, 5) Fath Allah Khan, 6) Ahmad Shah Khan, and 7) Jan Muhammad Khan along with Fath Khan, the son of Sayyid Ahmad, [°]Umra Khan and others who for a long time had been the source of trouble and wickedness in the mountains of Lamqan and Jalalabad as has already been noted from time to time, had turned their miserable faces in the direction of Kuti, joined forces with Malik La[°]al Muhammad and had risen up and were giving support to them (the kafirs). Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, who had marched from Mama Khayl with his mighty regiment at His Majesty's royal command to punish these people reached Char Bagh-i Lamqan and from there on the 18th of Muharram (27 November 1885) turned the face of vengeance towards Saw and Kulman. Similarly from another direction Muhammad Shah

Khan, the governor of Tigab, set forth with 2,000 armed Tigabi foot and 1,000 men from Ashpi, Askin, Kutī, and Kuh-i Safi. Before deciding to give fight, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan sent a letter of reconciliation to the men of Kulman saying that if they turned the face of obedience towards the world-refuge threshold of authority, their blood would not be shed and they themselves would not become homeless vagrants. Those odious people paid no heed to the field marshal's letter and refused to come down from the mountain of ignorance. His Majesty was enraged at this and dispatched six mule guns and a regular infantry regiment from Kabul to crush those half-witted, idiotic people. He also addressed a farman to all the tribes of Panjshir, the environs of Jalalabad, and Lamqan telling them to join forces with the men of Tigab, Ashpi and Askin who had come there and wreak havoc on the lives of that wicked group. Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan was the first to arrive and camped at Chalamti. The people of Kulman were terrified by his coming and decamped for the fastnesses of the mountains with all their movable goods. Now freed from worry, they let the field marshal know of their escape. Similarly, the people of Divgul provided Nizam al-Din Khan who had turned his face from the nation and chosen to reside on the mountain of ignorance a place amongst them and turned to making trouble.

During this time, the men of Saw sent a note expressing obedience to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan. He viewed their message as duplicitous and mendacious and without responding or attempting to show a conciliatory face, he set out with General Mir ʿAta Khan and one hundred regular cavalry to decide on a place to establish a garrison as far as the mouth of the Kulman Valley and Siyah Ab. He sent a letter to the people of Kulman accompanied by the leaders of the Niyazi and Arugi (Aruki) tribe saying that those evildoing fugitives who had taken refuge (in Saw) /480/ should be brought to him along with hostages from their own leaders if they wanted to escape being crushed. In reply they said,

the fugitives aren't among us and, as far as hostages go, we don't consider it permissible to give to royal officials even one bald paralytic man (*kal wa shal*) as a hostage, let alone one of our leaders.

Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan was furious when he received this message and sent another letter saying,

Either hand over the diwani taxes, the fugitives, and hostages—all three—or expect the army's arrival and your own annihilation.

When what was in the field marshal's letters reached the blessed ears of His Majesty, he issued a noble *hukm* in his name telling him to stop negotiating and start fighting. So the field marshal began readying his war machine. Nizam al-Din Khan, ʿAbd Allah Khan, and other contemptible, trouble-making people who had chosen to go among the people of Kulman and were igniting the flames

of evil there, learned of the field marshal's intention and fled towards Bajawur on the road through Waygul, Jalas, Arit, and Shumas.

Meantime, men from the city and environs of Jalalabad along with 300 Sakhlu infantry under the command of a governor of one of the canal districts (*rūdāt*) (of Jalalabad) linked up in Darrah-i Nur with Sayyid Ghulam Padshah, the governor, and together marched from there and camped at Bar Kut, a place near Waygul. The men of Waygul, Saw, and Kulman, who were all in this together, were frightened when they heard this and hoped to try some strategem to keep the royal force from attacking. But the field marshal had marched from Lamqan and any escape routes for the rebels were now blocked by the regular army. So on Monday, the 29th of Safar (7 December 1885) he left Chalamti, arriving at the defenses (*sangar*) of the Niyazi tribe on Tuesday, the first of Rabi^c al-Awwal (8 December), gave the rebels no opportunity to come up with some trick, and attacked them and began shedding their blood. On Wednesday, the second of Rabi^c al-Awwal a number of the Kulman forts were taken by storm and the rebels, routed, were forced to turn their faces towards the mountain peaks of ignominy. Until nightfall, the braves of the army pursued them and shed the blood of many of the rebels. In fact they continued the fighting right through the night and by morning half the men of Saw who previously, as was recorded, had given a message of obedience, came to the tent of the field marshal with their weapons and joined the army of the padshah in killing and plundering the rebels. This day too was spent in shedding rebel blood and plundering rebel property until the ammunition (*qūrkhānah*) was nearly gone which made the field marshal especially anxious. He sent a letter to Kabul and asked for more ammunition and His Majesty immediately dispatched two hundred cartridges (*fishang*) (per man) so that each man would have twenty clips (*gāntah*) of bullets (*kārtūs*). But before the arrival of this ammunition, victory was won. On Thursday the third and Friday the fourth of the month (Rabi al-Awwal) all the forts and houses of the people of Kulman were torched by the army and burned to the ground. Most of those slain, because of the trouble and injury that had come to the mighty regiments on account of them, were also burned by the fire of vengeance. In this conflict, four regular soldiers were killed and forty wounded and forty from the militia forces (*lashkar-i mulkī*) were killed or wounded. The field marshal, who at His Majesty's command, had exerted every effort to wipe out those men, was not satisfied with just the victory and barricaded with his brave men the crossing points from the high mountains towards Kashmand. He also ordered his regular infantry to blockade the road through Chatla and Waygul so that with their path to salvation closed, the rebels could be captured by the heroes of combat. After blocking this road and taking control of the crossing points, the entire force, at his command, set off into the mountains to search (for the rebels). In fives and tens, they caught the rebels hiding in caves and in rocky fastnesses and dispatched them all with the blade of the sword until by the 5th of Rabi^c al-Awwal two hundred rebels had been recorded as killed. This did not include those slain the two previous days who had been buried and vanished. The soldiers opened one new grave and took out

from it copperware (*zurūf-i misīn*) and other goods they found there; then, out of greed, they dug up several other fresh graves but in each one, other than corpses buried in fours and fives, they found nothing else and then stopped their digging. When the victory had been won, the governor of Jalalabad, Sardar Dad Muhammad Khan, in order to remove any thoughts of rebellion from the minds of other people in the mountains of Jalalabad, themselves listening for the sound of the victory or defeat of these rebels and intending to rise up, had a twenty-one gun salute fired and this quieted everyone.

After the killing and plundering, the men of Kashmand, Bar Kut, Bambah Kut, Lam Gund, and Sitan who up to this time had inclined their heads towards rebellion became fearful and in humble supplication came on submission's foot and at Qal'ah-i Shahi in Darrah-i Nur presented themselves at the army camp and sought security for their lives and possessions. At this time, the field marshal said neither yea or nay but instead right in front of them gave orders to 300 of the regular infantry, the militia force from Tigab, and the (Tigab) governor, Muhammad Shah Khan to go up into the mountains and not to return until they could no longer see and find a single one of the rebels. He himself left the field of victory with the regular army and artillery and camped in Kulman and made that his base. He put the baggage and tents (*bunah wa āghrūq*) a place called Kazhuk because of the difficulty of traveling with them. He also left nine cannons there which could not be transported and only with great difficulty managed to get four cannons to the army camp. Afterwards he set all the infantry and cavalry of the army to cutting down the trees, digging up the crops, destroying the forts, and ruining the farmland of those evil people. He had one cannon set up at a trading post where there was some concern about hostile activity taking place. The half of the people of Saw, who before the uprising had come forward in submission and taken the path of loyal service, were rewarded with robes of honor. He was content to take only the legal tithe from these people and imposed no other burdens on them. Those who had come forward only after the victory in fear and requested security, on them he imposed customs dues, land tax, and an indemnity (*bāj wa kharāj wa yarghumāl*).

During this time, Turah Baz Khan of the Musa Khayl and Malik Haydar the brother of Malik Akbar Charbaghi who had taken the path of rebellion, along with other wicked people, and spent their days trying to incite the people living in the mountains, (now) turned their backs on their own friends, presented themselves before the field marshal in a spirit of repentance, and found security for their lives. Similarly the leaders of Chatla, Mindal, Laj darak, and Shafah who had set foot on the road of obedience were given robes of honor, they were given leave to go home, and Sayf Allah Khan with two of the Niyazi leaders and forty armed men were sent off with them to collect the diwani taxes (*mālīyāt-i diwānī*).

Also at this time Muhammad Sharif Khan, who had been assigned to assess the taxes of the district of Kashmand, laid hands on eighty-eight rifles and eighty army cartridge cases (*tūshdān-i niẓāmī*) belonging to °Ismat Allah Khan Jabbar Khayl and brought them to the field marshal. He in turn gave them to the

government magazine (*mīgazīn*). Similarly, the leaders of Waygul and Janishah Gul came to the field marshal with Sayyid Ghulam Shah who had been sent to win them over. They also brought 18 rifles belonging to the aforementioned khan (°Ismat Allah Khan) and seven that Fayz Muhammad Khan Babakr Khayl owned, and deposited them in the government magazine. All the people from the valleys of that unruly region (*yāghistān*) now came one after another to offer their submission to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and to pledge loyalty, except for the men of Kandah Gul which is near the land of the kafirs. Their feet remained bound to ignorance while the others all put th thread of obedience around their necks. Until the sixteenth of Rabi° al-Awwal, they came forward to accept the farman of authority, (then), at the order of His Majesty the lands of Kulman were given to the 200 Sakhlu infantry who were assigned to guard Qal°ah-i Shahi and its surrounding area. The owners of the land were resettled in Nahr-i Shahi in Jalalabad. From the first day of this conflict until its end some forty regular soldiers were wounded and sixteen killed while forty-four militia (*iljārī*) men were wounded and ten slain. Then once order had been established and government again was in effect among those people, the field marshal took into custody as hostages twenty-two men from Kashmand, ten of the leaders of Waygul, four from Satan, two from Majkandul, and two from Bar Kut, a total of forty with wives and children and gave all the others leave to return home. He dispatched Sayyid Ghulam Padshah with them to collect the taxes.

During this time, the wives and children of Nizam al-Din Khan who with others was the incendiary force behind this uprising were seized from Darrah-i Pich by Sakhlu infantry from the company (*dastah*) of Muhammad Shah Khan *sartip*. Nizam al-°Din Khan himself was killed. During this conflict, 1,800 rebels were recorded as slain.

A Manshur Which His Majesty Issued Regarding Demarcation of the Borders of Herat

As there had been a heated discussion, as earlier recorded, between Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan, the governor of Herat, and Colonel Ridgeway over the location of the border and the erecting of the marker pillar on the ruined fort at Qarah Tapah as well as over other places and as His Majesty had learned what was going on via a letter written by the qazi, on Friday, the 18th of Rabi° al-Awwal (25 December 1885), the following manshur was issued in the names of Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan and Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Herat by His Royal Felicitously-Instructing Majesty. It read,

Although Colonel Ridgeway is not going to compromise the welfare of Afghanistan, which is tied to the welfare of England, and would not be satisfied with any loss suffered (*nuqṣān*) by the Afghan people /482/ still he should not be referred to as the 'preeminent one, the final arbiter' (*ṣāhib-i ikhtiyār*) in front of the Russian commission just

because he is called ‘impartial arbitrator’ (*munṣifī*) and carries the decisive maps under his arm. In such circumstances, you should therefore discuss matters concerning your rights and borders with those two commissions in a straightforward and proper manner (*bi-durustī wa khūbī*), and be sure to ground your words in the very center of the truth. You should not easily relinquish even the tip of one finger’s worth of your land. Likewise, the Russian commissioner has come to make peace and heal the wounds of Panjdih and establish his border, not to make war or cause conflict. If it were otherwise, the demarcation of the borders would not have begun. The English commissioner is there to distinguish the true from the false. In any event, do not yield your rights to anyone else. If Colonel Ridgeway should say to you, in order to resolve the matter concerning a place, that you should cede it to the Russians, don’t base the fate of two crores of the people of Afghanistan on his mere word but write to me. Then act according to the instructions you receive from me. Colonel Ridgeway has agreed to be an arbitrator (*mumayyiz*) and should not consider himself the final judge (*ḥākim*) and not issue these kinds of rulings simply out of expediency. The end.

With regard to Khamyab: despite the fact that in the treaty, ratified and dated 1873 A.D., which in the time of the late Amir Shir °Ali Khan fixed the boundary between Russia and England, recorded in detail (that the land) up to Khwajah Salih was part of Afghanistan, and now also in accordance with that same former treaty and as verified by the surveyors (*injinīrān*) Khamyab is (definitely) inside the territory of Afghanistan, despite all this, the Russians did not accept the English surveyors’ findings. Therefore Colonel Ridgeway gave Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan and the governor (of Herat) the task of getting an affidavit from the people of Bukhara so that when he held talks with the Russian commissioner he could present the Afghans’ proof that the district was one of the dependencies of Afghan Turkistan, and not included in the lands under the jurisdiction of Russia. In accordance with Colonel Ridgeway’s declaration, they (the qazi and the governor) wrote Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan, and told him that he should get an affidavit from the people of Bukhara. He sent their letter on to the throne and asked for instructions and permission. His Highness, in order to resolve the issue under discussion, on Monday, the 21st of Rabi° al-Awwal (28 December 1885), sent Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan and the governor of Herat instructions and guidance in the following manshur:

What a marvelous job the officers of the commission of the great nation of the English have given you, which you have now referred to the governor of Turkistan! How is it that the people of Bukhara have become such a reliable source for great nations that the governors of Afghanistan should have sought or now seek to verify the borders of

their own country by asking (the Bukharans) for an affidavit of ownership? If confirmation of the borders of Afghanistan is subject to a written document and the seals of the leaders of Bukhara then where is the document (that gives them the right) to interfere in Karki and Charju'i and other places situated on this side of the Oxus River? Regarding those places where there is a (natural) barrier and a divider between the territories under the jurisdiction of Afghanistan and Russia, i.e. the Oxus River, no observer or surveyor or arbitrator can object to or deny (the jurisdiction of Afghanistan or Russia). But since some of those places have for many years been under the control of the Amir of Bukhara, therefore today one cannot say, 'what right does he have to interfere? And by the seal of which dynasty and tribe does he have an affidavit? The governors of Bukhara and the supporters of the Russians (likewise) cannot say, 'why has Khamyab come under the jurisdiction of the Amir of Afghanistan?' If they should begin to say such a thing, these words will give rise to other words, then without doubt it will go on and on (literally, the story will become protracted). Although, in comparison with the great nations, the means and weapons of war of the people residing in Afghanistan are few, still, because of the large population and the abundant determination which a jealous God (*khudāwand-i ghuyūr*) has given this tribe (the Afghans) they know it is a disgrace and shameful to think of the government of Bukhara as being an equal and on a par (with Afghanistan). How then can the commissioners of the two nations rely on the confirmation of the people of Bukhara and consider it decisive because this dynasty (the Afghan kings), has never acknowledged any greatness or grandeur on the part of the people of Bukhara and over the course of the 143 years in which the Afghan nation has belonged to the Durrani, they were never defeated by them (the Bukharans). Let's be fair about this: when the Russians trampled on Turkistan and seized much of the territory of the Uzbeks, no one objected and asked for a document from them (the Bukharans) regarding their intervention. He (Colonel Ridgeway) wants verification and documentation from us for a piece of our own land! The edge of a sharp sword is our verification and documentation and the roar of the cannon and the sound of the rifle are our words. Should the English commissioner's object be to finish his task—the responsibility of delineating the borders—and to gain fame thereby in the West (*fīrangistān*) that by the efforts of Colonel Ridgeway the job of defining the border between Russia and Afghanistan was carried out and successfully completed, that is why he asks you for verification and /483/ testimony concerning your borders. Wherever you have verification conforming to their view then they should fix the border accordingly. And wherever you don't have (evidence) they will say that this is the Russian border. Obviously, in this way, the matter would be quickly resolved. But they should be

clearly aware that the people of Afghanistan do not accept this manner of resolving things and will not yield and surrender their border territories to the Russians. Whatever comes out of this, they (the Afghan people) have no choice but to pursue this.

At the end of this manshur, His Majesty wrote in his own hand:

Be sure to show this letter to Colonel Ridgeway so that he is apprised and can speak with the Russian commission knowing what is on my mind.

Also, concerning the Qashan River which is within the territory of Afghanistan and also the place where it flows onto land under the control of Russia, Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan and the governor of Herat objected to the erecting of a boundary pillar at the headwaters and wrote to the throne. The matter was referred by His Majesty to the viceroy for clarification. Finally it was resolved in accordance with a map which English and Russian ministers consulted in London and the border was fixed.

Having completed the demarcation of the Herat borders, due to the severe cold, the demarcation of the Turkistan border and the erection of towers was postponed until spring.

Colonel Ridgeway came to the tent of the governor of Herat at Bala Murghab to express his gratitude for the favors he had received from Afghan officials and for the regard which had been shown him and the English commission. After meeting with the governor and expressing his thanks, on the 29th of Rabiʿ al-Awwal (5 January 1886) he said goodbye and left for Char Shanbah. The governor then returned to Herat the “Abode of Victory” while the Russian commission went to Panjdih. The Turkistani cavalymen who had been assigned to escort the English commission, along with fifty cavalry and thirty infantrymen who were from the regular army garrison in Herat and were serving in Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan’s entourage with the commission, went with the commission (and Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan) and they agreed that once they reached Maymanah they would give the Herati cavalry and infantry leave to go home and the cavalry and infantry of the regular army of Turkistan would go on with them (as escort). Meantime, the governor of Herat, having gotten as far as Murghab, assigned one hundred Sakhlu infantry to garrison the place and requested another one hundred Sakhlu infantry from Field Marshal Faramarz Khan to guard the citadel of Maruchaq and defend the borders and marches. The field marshal dispatched Sad Bashi Zarrin Khan with a company (*dastah*) of infantry from Herat to perform these duties.

Elsewhere, after the arrival of Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor, in Herat, Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan, with the English commission, reached the manzil of Char Shanbah on the borders of Maymanah. He told Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan, to prepare a ten-day supply of provisions at Dawlatabad for the commission of Great Britain, ten-days worth at Andkhud,

and a fifteen-day supply at Khamyab. He assigned Nazir Mihrdil Khan the brother of Lala Kuhandil Khan with fifty Turkmen troopers and twenty Gushadah cavalry from Mazar-i Sharif to carry this out and also ordered that fifty regular cavalry and fifty Gushadah cavalry from Maymanah join Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and do whatever he ordered. After the arrival of these cavalymen, the qazi dismissed the Herati troopers to return to Herat.

Also during these events, a trustworthy person came to Kabul with a petition from the Islamic people of the lands of Khuqand, Khujand, Marghinan, Shahr Khan, °Akkah, Andijan, Ush, Namangan, and from a group of soldiers and Qipchaqiya and Qirghiziya tribesmen. He was received at court and in accordance with the petition he had brought from these people he addressed the throne saying,

Because of the fighting at Panjdih which has occurred between the Russians and the Afghans, the people of these regions have through the sending of letters and other means have begun to come together and have, for the sake of religion, come to an agreement and sent me to the threshold where the world takes refuge so that with the approbation of the sober mind and the wisdom of the foresight of His Royal Highness, if he should so order it, they would rise up against the Russians from within, and the Afghan army from without, and launch war against that government and would strive with heart and soul either to gain the victory or drink the wholesome draught of martyrdom.

In light of the fact that through the mediation of the English government conflict was being turned into peace, and well aware that violating an agreement and a mutual undertaking was contrary to friendship and the pact, His Majesty did not want to embarrass and shame the English government, which was well-known to other governments as the friend of Afghanistan. So in reply to those people he wrote,

Our sincerest desires are these: that the followers of the religion and community (*millat*) of Islam find either in this territory or in other lands power and prosperity, that the enemies /484/ of the religion of the Lord of Messengers are defeated, and that in every land where peoples of Islam set foot they would release the skirts and collars of their brothers from the clutches of the enemy. You have to know with certainty and trust, that at no time am I ever free of worry about your affairs and your situation. My eye is always open for a solution and my ears are ever attuned to your voices so that if any opportunity presents itself to advance your best interests and what will be of benefit to you, I will seize it. I will not rest as long I don't see all of you living beneath the banner of Islam. "My hand won't rest, until it achieves success." (MM: Hafiz) Now, because of the dictates of the time and the exigencies of the day, I have given your emissary leave to return until the right time

comes and you receive your letter (from me, signaling the time is right). Whatever is good will eventually come to pass. Now you must await the time when the right opportunity presents itself. Right now is not the time so don't be the instigators of anything. The end.

During this time, Captain (P. J.) Maitland and Captain (M. G.) Talbot, two Englishmen who at Colonel Ridgeway's order had been assigned to bring him a map of the Turkistan borders, set out for Turkistan from Herat via the Hazarahjat, Bamyan, and Siqan. They sent a letter to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan informing him of their intentions. He in turn sent a certain Sayyid Mir Jan to them as a guide. From the point where the sayyid met them they rode together to Aybek. There Capt. Talbot set off for Khanabad and Badakhshan while Capt. Maitland entered Mazar-i Sharif. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, notwithstanding the fact that his status was higher than what would have necessitated his paying a visit to Maitland, still, out of a desire to show hospitality, went to his residence and met with him. In the course of their conversation Maitland declared to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan that he would be moving on the next day and requested a guide from the sardar. He agreed and assigned that same Sayyid Mir Jan as guide to show him the road as far as Maymanah. After the conclusion of this meeting, the captain, by way of acknowledging the status of Sardar Muhammad Isma'īl Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, went to see him, performed the protocol such a meeting required, and then returned to his own residence. The next day he departed Mazar-i Sharif and proceeded with the guidance of Sayyid Mir Jan to his destination. Elsewhere, Capt. Talbot had advanced as far as the district of Ghuri and then entered Mazar-i Sharif on his way back. After meetings with Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan he went on to Darrah-i Marmal and then turned around and he proceeded towards his own commission by way of Aqchah. He stopped for a little while near Khamyab and after that rejoined the commission.

During this time an Englishman, Ney Elias, whose arrival in Badakhshan was mentioned earlier, reached Khanabad and there presented Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qataghan and Badakhshan, with a rifle, a saddle, and an officer's sword. He stayed there until the 20th of Rabi' al-Sani (26 January 1886). On the 21st he set out for Rustaq. When he said his goodbyes to Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, in return for the gifts which he had given, the sardar presented him with two bolts of Day Zangi *barak* (a thick wool cloth) and two Turkistani ermine skins that belonged to him as well as two Qataghani horses that belonged to the government. To each of the eight men accompanying him, he gave an overcoat (*chūkhah*) and a sash (*dastār-i khil'at*) and then they all bade farewell. Elias now headed, by way of Rustaq, for Shahr-i Buzurg where he would wait until the time when the snow melted and the Pamīhr (Pamir) road opened. But having gotten only as far as the manzil of Khwajah Ghar, he was stricken with a fever. Turning around he came back to Khanabad and met Sardar °Abd Allah Khan a second time and then rejoined the commission by way of Mazar-i Sharif.

Also during this, Maitland and Talbot, with the permission of Afghan officials, set out again on a tour of Turkistan via Charas. They traveled with fifteen Afghan regular cavalry and forty regular English cavalry and they leased forty-four mules to carry their goods. They rode as far as the border of Uymaq where they gave ten of the Afghan cavalry accompanying them permission to return home, keeping five riders. Then, in violation of what they had promised and deviating from the agreed-upon route, they entered the district of Hazarah-i Day Zangi where they announced to Muhammad Amir Bik Ilkhani that they were going to Bamyan. After their arrival, Jan Muhammad Khan, the governor of Day Zangi, by way of showing respect and hospitality, sent out a large tent accompanied by Mir Ilkhani, Mirza Khidmat °Ali Khan, and several other khans of Bamyan. He himself followed shortly thereafter and met with them. After carrying out the protocol of such a meeting he said goodbye to them and the English went on to Turkistan. The English assigned Muhammad Husayn Khan *risālah-dār* the son of Rajab °Ali Khan to go to the Shibar Pass and they themselves went on into Turkistan. Taking two guides with him the *riāalah-dār* went as far as the pass and then came back and rejoined his companions. /485/

*Asaf al-Dawla, the Wali of Khurasan, Prohibits the People of Mashhad
From Their Abominable Doings, A Copy of His Letter, and His Highness's
Manshur of Friendship*

Also during the aforementioned events, Asaf al-Dawla, the wali of Khurasan, with the intention of tying the threads of unity between the various and contrary sects of the celebrated community of the creed of Islam, issued a strict order (*qadaghan-i baligh*) prohibiting the people residing in Mashhad from certain odious activities and shameful acts which they performed during the last part of the first ten days of (the month of) Rabi° al-Awwal. He particularly forbade doing anything which was contrary to the true doctrine (*mazhab*0 of the Hanafis and he nailed proclamations to this effect on the doors of mosques and posted them at intersections. Mirza Yusuf Khan, resident agent (*khādim*) of the government of Afghanistan in Mashhad, wrote about the issuance of the proclamation of the wali of Khurasan in his intelligence report to the governor of Herat. He in turn having written and sent a letter through Mirza Yusuf (to the wali) about the laudable actions and the praiseworthy foresight of the wali of auspicious creed. It was read by the wali and, in reply to the governor of Herat, after the usual official forms of address, he wrote these words,

Today, throughout Iran, it is conceded that I am one of the highly learned (*khayli bā-°ilm*) ulama of this land. Besides the fact that I have a total understanding and can completely recall governmental rules and religious regulations (*rusūm-i dawlatī wa qawa°id-i millatī*), I have seen and own all books of history, literature (*adab*), hadith, Qur°anic commentary, and whatever pertains to study of the religion and its doctrine from the beginning of Islam until now, books which no single

scholar of our sect has seen nor possesses. And whenever I get a moment free from the duties of government, whether at night or during the day, I spend that time reading books. During the time I was at the “domain of caliphate,” Tihiran, no Islamic scholar, at a majlis which I attended, had the same ability as I to articulate and express (Islamic subjects). It has been like this in Khurasan as well. I have fully informed myself about, and forbidden many things, about which no one else can say a single (informed) word. This is because the ‘worthy’ scholars (*ḥaẓarāt-i ‘ulamā*), knowing nothing about the many scientific disciplines, have no other skills than meanness, greed, and the ability to fool the common people. Because of this have arisen the differences (*ikhṭilāfāt*) between the sects of the Sunnah and the Shi‘ah and they simply do not comprehend that the origin and foundation of both sects is one and the same. The roots of these differences have arisen from this lack of comprehension and from the fact that they (the ulama) have neither learning nor books. I have never believed in the ritual cursing of the Companions of the Prophet—May God be pleased with them—nor has my father (the shah Nasir al-Din Qajar). I had a very learned and literate teacher who prohibited everyone from this vile practice. Even if he hadn’t existed, the Imams—on whom be prayers and praises—never cursed (the Companions). Moreover they never approved and do not approve (the practice). Wherever I have been, I have prohibited the ritual cursing of the Companions and believe that the one who curses the Companions should be utterly refuted, nay, should be killed. I am able to say that that the ‘differences’ which do in fact arise among us, have this as their basic cause, nothing else. If it were otherwise, how did the Christians manage to gain dominion over us? I have repeatedly made these points (*faqarāt*) to the sun-ascending (*mihr-a‘lā*) Sacred Highness—May our souls be his sacrifice. He has always confirmed them. A thousand damnations on anyone who curses the Companions as well as on anyone who does not stop the common people from this abominable practice. With the help of God, I have forbidden this throughout Khurasan usingh proofs derived both from rational and revealed sources (*dalā’il-i ‘aqliyah wa naqliyah*) so that whenever I hear—God forbid!—that something of this sort has been done by someone, I immediately punish them in different ways, as an example. It is my hope that wherever I am, at whatever time, I will not fail to conduct myself in this well-intended way which I know pleases God, the Prophet, and the Imams of our religion. God willing, you will copy this very letter to His Sublime Majesty, Decree-proclaimer of Afghanistan—may his power endure— or convey this very letter to him so as to reveal completely to him the situation and belief of this friend of his. The end.

The governor of Herat transmitted this letter, along with the report of Mirza Yusuf, the news-writer, and when it had been ennobled by subjection to the brilliant contemplation and the refulgent light of His Royal Highness, on Friday, the last day of Rabi^c al-Ṣānī 1303 (4 February 1886) there issued from His Happiness-inducing Majesty a letter whose subtly-worded expressions are clarity itself and whose words, replete with abstruse references to different principles and the way they are practiced (*uṣūl wa furū^c*), are indisputable evidence, clear proof and an excellent exposition (of the issue). It was written by Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan, *dabīr* and was sent to Mashhad through the governor of Herat in whose name it was drafted. It said,

The Honorable Mirza Yusuf Khan in an appendix to his report had written that His Excellency Asaf al-Dawla, wali of Khurasan, out of benevolent piety, a pure intention, virtuous belief, and a desire to remove and expunge innovations and because of way in which he has brought good order into the affairs of rule and religion (*mulk wa millat*) and because he desires to unite the community of Islam, has issued a strict order saying that he has forbidden and foregone that which the common people and those with the ignorance of cattle do in the holy precincts during the first days of Rabi^c al-Awwal in celebration of the holiday /486/ through revelry and bonfires. To elaborate on this, since the Shi^c'is (*ahl-i tashayyu^c*) raise the banner of the mourning ceremonies (*ta^cziya*) for the family of the Prophet—peace be upon him—from the first of Muharram until the end of Safar, i.e. for two months, after two months, they consider the death of ^cUmar-i Sa^cd²⁹ to have taken place during the first (ten) days of Rabi^c al-Awwal and that provides an excuse (*hujjati*) for the ignorant and those with no sense to engage in certain inappropriate activities and to light bonfires and engage in merriment and revelry. As a consequence the esteemed excellency put a stop to those celebrations and at the beginning of the aforementioned month (Rabi^c al-Awwal) posted notices in the mosques and at intersections saying 'if anyone perpetrates such activities, he will be subject to punishment.' All of this conforms with the sublime opinion, and the true words which have been expressed and articulated by the gracious and commendable excellency seem good and reasonable and are the cause of the approval of God and the Prophet. They are the principles of the rules (of the law) and the rules of the principles of the "proven religion" (*dīn-i mubīn*). After many long years, one thousand three hundred and three in number in fact, this bunch of weak and ignorant people who are as contemptible as ants and are blind men without a guide have no right to ritually curse the Sublime Companions, not only because they were spiritually and

²⁹ RM: ^cUmar b. Sa^cd b. Abi'l-Waqqas was the leader of the forces that attacked and killed Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. Husayn's death at Karbala in 680 became the central motif of the *ta^cziya* performance.

physically close to the friend of the Eternal (i.e. the Prophet Muhammad) —peace be most abundantly upon him—but also because they were apparently the sovereigns of the earth and the guardians and trustees of ‘Gods limits’ (*ḥudūd-i ilāhī*).³⁰ In fact, the religion of God has been strengthened and bolstered and the globe of Islam has been illuminated and well-regulated up to now through their efforts. If ritual and worship practices do not hinder and prevent the functioning of the basic principles (*ṣayr-i maqāmāt-i uṣūlīyah*) and if they don’t prevent the different sects from unting and abandoning conflict, then there is hope that with the help of the Hazrat, the Guide of Mankind (i.e. the Prophet Muhammad) until the hour of resurrection and the resurrection of the hour they (the various Muslim sects) will not witness the disappearance of their government nor set foot on the path of abasement and (there is hope) that the branch of the tree of their glory will not be destroyed by the wind of trickery and the deceptions (*taswīl*) of the twisted enemies of religion or that the prosperous pavilion of their government be ruined in the river of anxiety through the wiles of the opponents of the religious community (*millat*). Since the praiseworthy excellency (the wali of Khurasan) enumerates (only) a portion of his fine belief and faith, it becomes necessary for this slave of the threshold of the Eternal to write down some details about his own character (*tawīyat*) and disposition. My object today in writing down my life is only so that wherever there is a bit (*nuqṭa*) of Islam it will link up with the bit on my side. When the divine beauty marks rest on the cheeks of unity and common purpose of one another they will be as pieces of wild rue against the evil eye of events of the world and the evil eye cast by wicked enemies. Let the shaking of this chain (of bits joined together) be like an earthquake to the house of the enemy and the coming together of scattered peoples (*qabā’il*) be a reason for the discomfit of the enemy. For any government which enters through the door of peace and goodwill, friendship for them should be considered a great salvation. And for every nation (*har millatī-rā*) that comes in warfare and conflict, enmity towards them will be a great torment for them. If otherwise, the reasoning mind of the person of acute comprehension knows what the outcome and consequence will be. How true is the saying:

If this is the way love begins / then God save us from its end.

In important sessions and great gatherings I have always uttered these words and have recited chapters of sections and sections of books and still I am at it, talking night and day. I am pleased with my complete

³⁰ RM: ‘God’s limits’ are the Qur’anic penalties for certain specified sins—adultery, false accusation of adultery, drinking wine, highway robbery, and theft.

efforts and am thankful to God for his enabling this for before I came to the throne strife and enmity between the Afghan, Hazarah, Tajik, and Qizilbash tribes had reached such a point that instead of water they were drinking each other's blood. But from the time I arrived on the throne until now, the thread of their mutual friendship has been made so firm and strong and they have so intermingled and become so allied that one could say they are in love with each other. It is my wish from God that bit by bit and little by little the entire people of Islam and the whole community (*ummat*) of the Hazrat, the Best of Mankind (the prophet Muhammad), in Afghanistan, Iran, and the land of Rum will turn their souls to love for one another and the dust which the blowing of the wind of hostility has deposited on the mirror of their hearts will be polished away by the burnisher of the pure limpid sources of the fundamental principles (of Islam). It is my hope from my Lord that the friend in each of the three governments of Islam (the Afghans, Persians, and Ottomans) would be recognized by the others as friends of their friends and enemies of their enemies. For the friend reaps good benefits from all three while evil and harm befall their enemies. The people living in the jurisdiction of each of the three governments should undertake those things which are pleasing to God and the Prophet and with courage and wisdom (*farzānagī*) guard and protect the religion and the government. The end.

During this time, the Englishman, Mr. Merk, and Baha al-Din Khan *risālah-dār* who, as previously mentioned, had headed back for Shalkut when the demarcation of the borders of Herat was just beginning with the infantrymen assigned to the English commission, now reached the border of Baluchistan and the end of the territory of Farah. From there they sent the force (*urdū*) which they had with them on toward Shalkut and themselves turned around and, via Sistan, rejoined the entourage of Colonel Ridgeway and engaged in the duties which they were assigned to under his authority. /487/

*Demarcating the Borders and Erecting the Markers Delineating the Boundary of
Turkistan*

When the weather moderated, cold's sway was broken, and fragrant flowers poked their heads from the ground in serried ranks, the English and Russian commissioners and Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, all of whom as was mentioned above, had gone into winter quarters because of the severity of the hibernal blast, now set forth to establish boundary markers on Herat's borders and to demarcate those of Turkistan. First, Colonel Ridgeway and Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan left Chahar Shanbah. The governor of Herat, having dealt with the administrative matters of the city and the periphery, had gone to Murghab (from Herat), and was residing there. (All three men) now made for the border guard-post (*qarāwulkhānah*), to begin erecting the boundary markers demarcating the

border of Maruchaq and other parts of Herat's border which had been decided on but for which the work of erecting markers had been suspended (due to the onset of winter). Then they were to undertake the definition of Turkistan's borders in order to complete their task. They reached the guardpost and on Sunday, the last day of Jumada al-Awwal (6 March 1886), the Englishman Durand and Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan went to the tent of the governor of Herat for a meeting (with him and Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan) after which they all set out for Maruchaq. En route, they dismounted to have tea. They were in the midst of their tea and having a conversation when a Turkman cavalryman came up with a letter from the Russian commissioner, put it in the hands of Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, and stood by waiting. Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan opened the letter in the presence of Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan, an agent of the English government, and read it. There it was written:

The moving of the rest of the people of Qal'ah-i Wali is two weeks behind schedule. You must write and tell the reason why they haven't been moved up to now.

After reading it, he handed the letter to Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan, telling him to show it to Durand. They then mounted and rode on to Maruchaq where they stopped. At the order of Durand to whom he had given the Russian commissioner's letter, Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan went back to Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and gave him the message that he should write the Russian commissioner saying, "your cordial wish and expression is reasonable and under review" and the qazi did as instructed and showed his answer to Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan, Durand's messenger. Then, with Qazi Muhammad Aslam's approval, he dispatched his letter to the Russian commissioner along with some sweets (*halwiyāt*) which Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had sent him. One of his own men and a man from the commission of the English government carried the letter and sweets. The Russian was satisfied and allowed the movement of the people of Qal'ah-i Wali to be postponed, writing to Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan that he should move them but there was no great hurry. Colonel Ridgeway was irritated by this exchange between the Russian commissioner and Qazi Sa'd al-Din and on the evening of the second of Jumada al-Sani (8 March), he sent Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan to Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan with a message that said,

The viceroy of India has instructed in writing that there be no communication between Afghan officials and the Russian commissioner except through the English commissioner. Likewise His Majesty has ordered that the representative of Afghanistan should not engage in any direct talks or negotiations with the Russian commissioner without the mediation of the English commissioner. Now that you have opened the way with the Russian commissioner to sending and receiving letters and emissaries, this violates the aforementioned

order. You should cease this kind of activity and act according to what the viceroy and His Majesty (*sarkār wālā*) have both put in writing.

The qazi also added,

Colonel Ridgeway means by this message that the Russian commissioner should cease communicating with Afghan officials, but if on occasion he should send a letter, the Afghans should not write a reply but instead inform the English commissioner of what the Russian wants and then whatever he (the English commissioner) says, the Afghan officials should do. Whatever answer he (the qazi) deems fit and proper he should convey to Colonel Ridgeway and he will tell the Russian commissioner. No Afghan official on his own account should respond to the Russian commissioner because if this restriction were not in place there would be no need for the English commission to be here. The Afghans and the Russians could demarcate their own borders together.

Since Qazi Saʿd al-Din, in accordance with the advice and guidance of Durand, and with the approval of Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan, had drafted a reply to the Russian commissioner and sent it off with the sweets, he held Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan accountable. Although he was blamed, especially with regard to the message of Colonel Ridgeway, (Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan) once more opened his mouth and said, "the colonel wants all letters between Russians and Afghans to stop completely. The English commissioner will prevent the Russian commissioner from this sort of dealing so that he will never again write to Afghan officials. Since the matter happened this time due to negligence and by mistake, Colonel Ridgeway says that you yourself should write the Russian commissioner or send him the message that 'I am obliged by His Majesty's issued command' that he not write to you /488/ and should he write 'we cannot write in return.' Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan did not bow to these words of Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan and retorted,

I don't accept this wish of Colonel Ridgeway because he wants to provoke us to be hostile to the Russians. I will report this to the throne and ask for His Majesty's instructions, and I will act in accordance with them.

Having so informed His Majesty, on Tuesday, the 23rd of Jumada al-Sani (29 March 1886), this manshur, issued by His Majesty, came addressed to Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan:

I am surprised at hearing this story and learning what is on Colonel Ridgeway's mind and his anxiety. No friend imagines this sort of fuss about a friend. What this reveals is that the simple obtaining of every-

day things, recognizing the way matters exist between friends, and grasping the principles of the ties and connections of the two governments which they have as neighbors—each one careful to stand up for its own rights—somehow the colonel understands little of these things. Perhaps his youth and lack of experience has caused him to say what he did. Or there lies at the heart of the matter the fact that he doesn't want to see friendship with Afghanistan as something permanent. If this is not the case, then he would not have uttered these words which appear two-faced and duplicitous, and make the government of Afghanistan seem servile. Indeed, he should not even have thought them. So it becomes necessary that I inform Colonel Ridgeway and let him know very well that from now on he should not even approach the skirts of this sort of exchange nor utter such words and should understand that his value is measured by the value of the friend of his government because by demeaning our government he must of necessity be demeaning his own government. The degree of his own government's dignity is in direct relationship to the degree of our dignity because the reward for humiliation is humiliation and the reward for respect (*ʿizzat*) is respect (*ḥurmat*). In any event, it is absolutely necessary, and it should be clearly stated, that the government of Afghanistan, for the purpose of the border demarcation, has chosen him as a fair and impartial mediator, not to have the last word (as *ṣāhib-i ikhtiyār*). The affairs of this tribe (the Afghans) and two crores of souls (the population) has not reached such a pass that it is going to surrender the honor and reputation (*nang wa nām*) of the government and the community. No government which, after a time of enmity, chooses the enemy as its friend through its own amir with an eye to its own benefit and welfare and, within the context of friendship, wanting always to be on a footing of equity and equality vis a vis the friend, wants to establish the friend as having the final word. If, in the course of the first majlis in Rawalpindi of the viceroy and me, he had not conveyed to his own government and to the ministers of his government this point, then there would have been no good result for either of the two governments from that meeting. I said frankly 'if the people of Afghanistan had seen that their own welfare lies in friendship with Russia, it would have been impossible to be friends with you. But now that they believe their best interests lie in friendship with you and in hostility towards the Russians, it is unthinkable that they would turn away from their friendship to you and form mutual ties with the Russians.' I have reiterated this point many times, and the viceroy has agreed. Included in this point should be understood hundreds of points; we have become the friend of the government of Great Britain for the welfare and benefit of our own government, not because we were forced to. We have chosen friendship. The greatest benefit we have (from this friendship) is our own autonomy (*khūd-mukhtārī*). We won't

make anyone our lord and master (*āqā wa ṣāḥib-i ikhtiyār*). If the whole world collapses, we won't allow the status and dignity of our government to be compromised. As for the Russian government which today has turned to peace-making and reconciliation through the mediation of the English government, it is quite possible that until the agreement is finalized, hundreds of papers and letters concerning the borders will come to our border guards and answers will be given in accordance with the questions raised. These questions and answers are inevitable and in fact necessary so that everywhere in the world enemy may find common ground with enemy and stranger with stranger and border guard with border guard. No one should forbid anyone to do this. We've only taken on the obligation not to resolve or settle in a final way the most important of our foreign affairs without the suggestions of the English government for their resolution. There is no other constraint on us and we consider ourselves the independent ruler (*ḥukmrān*) of the country, autonomous, and fully capable of handling our own affairs. And what excuse does Colonel Ridgeway, who today has prohibited the Russian commissioner from writing letters to the officials of this government, have for not prohibiting the battle and incident at Panjdih? Why didn't he prevent the Russians from fighting by his own forbidding them as he is now forbidding them from corresponding? Well, let him forbid all he wants that for centuries to come not one letter from Russian officials concerning border issues should come to this side addressed to our officials and that our officials should respond. But if one does come and we don't have the power to answer, it is absurd. We are not yet owned by the government of India. We haven't given them the deed (*qabālah*) to Afghanistan. We haven't sold it to them in order to be like the rajahs of India. We don't know what it was that closed Colonel Ridgeway's eye of fairness and impartiality. The people of Afghanistan, before they were friends with the English government, were actively hostile to it (referring to the events of 1879–1880). They had no fear of the might and power of that government until the point came when /489/ they chose what was in their own interests and welfare (and became friends). Before the process of peacemaking, the Afghan people and the Russians were always at each other's throats. They slew each other and were slain. But they had neither dread nor awe of the superiority and abundance of the weapons and materiel of that government nor were they afraid. They fought bravely until there was a peaceful resolution. And had no peaceful resolution been reached, up until now the blood of thousands more on both sides would have been shed and mixed with the earth. From where then does such abasement and helplessness arise that they should obey the order of Colonel Ridgeway, whom they have chosen as their arbitrator in this matter, that (only) he should write the Russian commissioner and give him a letter saying that we are just a slave of

India (*mamlūk-i Hind*) with no control of our own affairs, like some Indian provincial chief. Colonel Ridgeway should be well aware that his fantasies (*khiyālāt*) about this God-given government are simply no good. The tribes residing in Afghanistan are sincere friends of the government of Great Britain, not slaves nor servile followers. They are also reconciling with the government of Russia and pursuing peace, not to become friends and allies, nor to be humiliated either in the eyes of the enemy or in the eyes of the friend. They can accept their own assessment of themselves as inferior (in power to the Russians) (but they don't want to hear it from others). They have chosen friendship with the government of Great Britain in order to increase their own dignity and power so that they would obtain a benefit from (friendship with) that government and gain esteem and respect in the eyes of the enemy, not because they have no other recourse and are simply forced to do so. This objection (*i'ṛāz*) which Colonel Ridgeway has put forth and which we know is completely baseless, indeed we might even consider that he has laid an accusation against us. He should note that no one ever wants a friend to be (so) accused. He should relinquish these ambition-tainted imaginings which will have no good outcome. The Russian government is well-informed on this point too—that the government of Afghanistan retains in itself competence and the right of self-determination. There is no need for Colonel Ridgeway to treat this government as just another provincial government of India. The people of Afghanistan know well that there is no reason to have faith in a peace treaty with the Russians. They might have hundreds of dealings with them and their dignity and pride would not accept them (the Russians) for in the sphere of peace-making and reconciliation they have not had the power to resolve border questions. Now that there has been no communication of which the officers of the English commission are unaware and nothing has been done that has not been based on their suggestions, after this too nothing will happen without their being informed and without their agreement and that of their government. For we have accepted as an obligation on us that our foreign affairs are constrained by the decision-making of the government of Great Britain. And a man who is bound by his own word and agreement cannot abandon it. The end.

In an appendix to this sealed letter he wrote to Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan,

Give this letter to Colonel Ridgeway so that he may read it thoroughly and if he wants, then inform his government of the truth of this matter. The end.

In short, during these negotiations and communications, they worked on erecting the boundary markers defining the border of Maruchaq, everywhere

raising pillars and moving towards the border of Turkistan. One night, because of severe cold and snow which fell to the depth of one foot, they were stopped from advancing. The next day they were about to set off again when the Russian commissioner said that several places on the soil of Afghanistan actually belonged to the Russian government. The English commissioner, giving in to him, decided to work to fulfill his goal. But Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan blocked the English commissioner and rejected (the Russian's) claim and refused to go on. Then all three men informed their governments by letter and until final answers were received the work of demarcating the border came to a halt. Consequently each of the three retired to their respective camping places and stayed there until Tuesday, the 8th of Rajab (12 April 1886) at which point work began again, which will be recounted in due course.

Construction of the Bagh-i Shahi in Jalalabad; Other Events which Happened in that Region; and His Majesty's Audience with the Field Marshal

During the previous events, Brigadier 'Abd al-Subhan Khan, an Indian engineer working for the government of Afghanistan, was assigned by His Majesty to Jalalabad to build a felicity-surrounding palace inside the Bagh-i Shahi of Jalalabad and to construct inner and outer chambers for it. Over the course of three years he completed the work by expending a substantial sum of money, as was indicated earlier in this auspicious book.

Elsewhere, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, as was also earlier mentioned, was victorious (against the insurgents of Kulman and Saw in the Lamqan region) and after collecting the land taxes, organizing the affairs of those people, and taking hostages from the people living in the Niyazi valleys and other places, finished up his business there and erected a strong fort in Kazhuk-i Kulman to station /490/ troops to guard that region. Moving his army group (*urdū*) from the mouth of the Kulman Valley he camped at Sultan Ghazi.³¹ He stayed there awhile to deal with affairs in Najil Valley (Darrah-i Najil), to take some hostages, collect the land taxes, and then withdraw. So it was that he realized 40,000 rupees from the sale of property and livestock of those who had fled, along with some gold and silver jewelry; 59,000 rupees levied as a fine and in the form of land taxes collected from the people of the insurgent region, 97 volumes of books and Qur'ans, 230 rifles, nine pistols, sixteen swords, 66 *silābah* (a kind of sword) and other things. All of this he sent to His Majesty. He then moved on and camped at Dih Ziyarat. Then at a summons from His Highness, he himself left for Kabul and had his army stay at Chahar Bagh-i Lamqan under the command of General Mir 'Ata Khan. When he entered Kabul, he was honored with an audience and praised for his good services. He remained for awhile in Kabul to take care of some matters regarding the border and other things on which His Majesty had given him instructions.

³¹ FM: Sultan Ghazi is a spot in Lamqan where His Highness Siraj al-Millah wa'l-Din erected Siraj Fort (Qal'ah-i Siraj). An account of this will come in due course—God willing.

In Rajab 1303/April-May 1886, the esteemed mother of His Highness departed the transient world for eternal paradise. She was buried in the tomb of her royal husband next to Hushmand Khan Fort. As His Highness himself was stricken with a malady of the eye he ordered his eldest son, the royal prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan, to conduct the ritual of reciting the Fatiha and conducting the rituals of a royal funeral, including the distribution of alms and presents and the full recitation of the Qur'an and other things. He also commanded silver-tongued memorizers and reciters of the Qur'an to stand by her tomb.

Meanwhile after Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan set off for Kabul, Muhammad Khan, in accordance with the letter Ghulam Haydar had written set off with his followers for the district of Saw on the 1st of Rajab/5 April to capture the other insurgents who had taken refuge there with wives and children and refused to appear before the field marshal. Having traveled through the night, he (Muhammad Khan) reached Qal'a-i 'Alawi just as morning was breaking. He fell upon those people and took 102 of those wicked people, young and old, infants and the elderly. He also seized as booty 320 goats and 65 cattle and sent them to the royal army camp.

During this time, because of the excessive assessment of land taxes that had been forcibly added on top of the (regular assessment) of the people of Darrah-i Nur, the son of Hajji Malik Tatar Mazari with his men began to cause trouble. He invited their governor, Muhammad Yusuf Khan, as well as with Fayz Talab Khan, the officer in charge of collecting the *jizya* tax on the Hindus, and three of their servants (*nawkar*) as guests to his house. There he took them all prisoner and carried them off to Ludlam whose people also joined him and together attacked Qal'ah-i Shahi. They wounded Malik 'Arab, a subject (*ra'iyatī*) as well as five Sakhlu infantrymen. They occupied the fort and captured all of the *khāṣṣahdārs* who were stationed there to protect the region. But because of a fusillade of bullets fired by three *khāṣṣahdārs* manning two towers on hills overlooking the fort, they realized that staying in the fort would be difficult and so they made off with all the livestock belonging to the garrison both inside and outside the fort and left, taking the prisoners with them. Mirza Ahmad 'Ali Khan, the *sar-daftar* of Kunar, reported this incident to this Majesty and then set out to punish the miscreants with his own officers (*mansabdārs*), the people of Kunar and 200 Sakhlu infantry 70 of whom were Khugyani, 70 from Lamqan, and 70 from Kunar, 210 people in all. When he entered the district of Nuyr Gul, an order arrived from His Majesty, which had been issued in response to the report he had sent, now arrived. It said that if it was difficult to eliminate this problem with the men accompanying him, he should ask for help from the governor of Jalalabad. His Majesty also sent a farman to the governor of Jalalabad to render assistance. In the meantime, at the intercession of the Hindus living in Mazar, the evil-natured rebels handed over Fayz Talab Khan along with the *jizya* funds which he had collected from the Hindus and which he had with him. They brought to Mazar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and the *khāṣṣahdārs* whom they had captured and brought to Ludlam and there distributed them

among their own forts and kept them under lock and key. Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan summoned 100 men from Kashkut and had them man strategic places and checkpoints (*banādir*). At this moment, the Safi tribe living in Chuki sent a message to the rebels saying they were disposed to help fight whenever needed, along with the men of Divgul.

Meantime, a group of insurgents from Siyah Sang attacked a caravan of from Bajawur which was carrying animal feed. The Lamqani and Sarkani *khāsshādārs* along with the tribal people of that region learned of this attack and, without asking Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan's permission or informing him, set out for the Dasht-i Siyah Sang intending to drive off the attackers. The mirza also / **491**/ sent off to the Dasht-i Siyah Sang Jan Muhammad Khan Badyali. At this time he had returned from Lamqan with the cousin (son of the uncle) of Sayyid Ghulam Padshah and 80 tribal infantry and had come to him. Both parties arrived at the *dasht* and fought the people of Mazar, Ludlam, and Ghaziabad who had made off with the cattle of the caravan and their loads. They laid into each other from noon until sundown (literally, from the beginning of the noon prayer until the time of the evening prayer). °Azamat *dahbāshī*, one of the Lamqani *khāsshādārs*, was killed and three of the wicked bandits were wounded. Twenty-eight cattle were retrieved and returned to their owners. At sunset the group of insurgents drove off Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan's men and were emboldened by their victory and for a time would launch attacks during the day and retreat to their mountain fastnesses at night. This went on until Qazi Mulla Amir Allah Khan sent a group of right-minded and pious ulema to Mazar to preach to and counsel the people and through the proofs found in the Qur'anic verses, the irreproachable laws of the Musulmani religion, and the noble hadiths of the Prophet until the End of Time, they convinced their ulema that this was rebellion against legally constituted authority (*baghy*). Because of this, their limbs now began to tremble and they were deeply worried that because of this they would merit a fatwa of retaliation, they would be properly punished, and their faces would be blackened for all eternity. So they sought to make their way to the path of obedience and, in repentance, they took the road of self-abasement and looked for someone to intercede on their behalf. But the ones who had stirred up trouble and incited others to rebel, fearing the condign punishment (*siyāsat*) that might await them, mouthed deluding and baseless words, led them set foot down the road to the desert of the lost, and would not let them set foot on the path of obedience.

Meantime, His Highness sent a farman to the royal officials in that region to exert themselves to use every means they knew to destroy the foundations and the ill-starred existence of that wicked group. They were to spare nothing in shedding the blood, plundering the property, and capturing the women and men of those misguided people. General Mir °Ata Khan was instructed to raise and send from Lamqan a number of men from the regular army sizeable enough to punish the people of that place and whatever Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan asks for in the way of support. His Highness also issued a manshur in the name of those people which said if they stay their hands from uproar and tumult, place the

necklace of obedience around their necks, accept the divine commands and prohibitions and the Way (*sharīʿat*) of the illustrious Refuge of Prophecy i.e. the Prophet Muhammad), allow a royal governor to reside among them, erect at strategic places guard posts for stationing government guards, and free the *khāṣṣahdārs* they had taken prisoner, then assuredly they would be safe from death and despoliation. If not, they should prepare themselves, like the rebels of Kulman for being slaughtered and plundered. Mirza Ahmad ʿAli Khan sent this document (*raqīmah*) accompanied by Malik Jan Muhammad Badyali and Mufti Ghulam Muhammad Nurguli to those people but due to the dictates of the Eternal the Omnipotent, things fell awry and the aforementioned terms were not accepted by those foolish people. General Mir ʿAta Khan in accordance with the royal command and with the wish of Mirza Ahmad ʿAli Khan sent as reinforcements to the latter one regular infantry regiment and four mule guns under the command of ʿAbd al-Karim Khan *karnayl* and Firuz Khan *kumidān*. Meantime, the people of Mazari sent a man to Mirza Ahmad ʿAli Khan with a message saying he should send Qazi Amir Allah Khan so that they might obtain reassurances through him that the government would not inflict a condign punishment on them, after which they would come forward on the feet of obedience. Their aim with this message was to have a pretext for seizing the qazi because he had declared them insurgents (*bughāt*) and had issued a fatwa declaring licit the (shedding) of their blood and the (seizing) of their property. But Mirza Ahmad ʿAli Khan knew intuitively that they were up to no good and sent not the qazi but a message telling them to come to the fort of Saʿd Allah after which the qazi would come there and talk to them. The Mazari men, seeing the arrow of their deceptiveness miss duplicity's target, attacked the fort of Mufti Muhammad Naʿim Khan and put it under siege. The besiegers made things very difficult for Mufti Muhammad Naʿim Khan and he agreed to abandon the fort, go to Nurgul, and link up with royal officials there. Since he had no other option, he had to hand his fort over to these people and set off for Saʿd Allah Fort with his wives, children, and entourage. Once there he made it his home. Due to this rebel attack on Mufti Muhammad Naʿim Khan's fort, Malik ʿArab Barizaʿi Mazari, who was on the path of service to the government and, as was mentioned above, was wounded at Qalʿah-i Shahi, grew apprehensive and reinforced his defenses and sent his wives and children to a safe place. Then himself wounded, he and his followers prepared to defend his fort.

At this time, Mughal Khan, an account of whose corrupt and evil ways and flight has already been given above, learned of the uproar and tumult and went among the Mohmand people as an enemy of the government and incited the Mohmand. His idea was to attack and free by force nineteen of the Mazari insurgents who were imprisoned in a private fort in Kunar and held by government people. Mirza Ahmad ʿAli Khan /492/ learned of this and ordered the Shinwari Sakhlu infantry to send those prisoners, with the infantry who were guarding them, to Jalalabad by way of Shiwah. Thus Mughal Khan's plan was frustrated.

During this time, many of the evildoers of Mazar robbed the (loyal) subjects of their grain and seeds and carried these off along with their own provisions. Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan sent a force of 170 Sakhlu infantry to head them off. The infantry went to the mountain heights (overlooking) the defiles, took control of the routes over which those people had to pass, and laid an ambush. When the evildoers, all unawares, came opposite the ambush, the infantry suddenly raised their weapons, targeted them with murderous fire, and a fierce battle was joined. At the height of the fighting, two hundred tribal (*ulūsi*) infantry and all the *khāsshādārs* serving under Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan heard the sound of gunfire, set out to provide support and as they approached, the rebels who were engaged in heated battle, saw them, withdrew their hands from combat, and turned the face towards flight. The reinforcements joined up with the Sakhlu and set out in pursuit. They set fire to two of the rebel forts and burned them to the ground. They took possession of two other forts and stayed there until sunset. Then, because of a shortage of bullets and gunpowder, they left the two forts and withdrew. In this fight, two Sakhlu infantrymen were killed and six wounded. Six of the rebels were killed and three wounded. Following this victory, the Sakhlu regiments and the artillery which general Mir °Ata Khan, as mentioned above, had sent as reinforcements from Chahar Bagh in Lamqan arrived in Nurgul and then reached Mazar. At the time they arrived, there was a skirmish and one of the royal artillerymen and two of those who had set out on the path of depravity were killed. After the troops had settled down and pitched their tents, the marketplace of audacity was open and the merchandise of plundering was set out. From the rising of the sun until one hour past midday, the blaze of battle continued to flare but in the end the evildoers turned their faces to flight and the breeze of victory blew the royal *lashkar*'s banners. They drove off five thousand of the evildoers and following that entered the district of Ludlam. All their forts were torched and burned to the ground. The insurgents, routed, entered Ghaziabad and halted their flight there. When through reports of officials of that region news of these events reached the omniscient ears of His Majesty, in accordance with the brilliant and wisely foresightful mind a farman went to General Mir °Ata Khan telling him to move his entire army and artillery from Char (sic) Bagh-i Lamqan, go to Sitan in Darrah-i Nur by way of Shiwah and from there take the road to Ghaziabad where he should punish and chastise its people. Then he should similarly march to Arit and Shammās and there root out the causes of corruption. When General Mir °Ata Khan, having set out at the order of His Majesty and drawing near to those people, made camp, a group of four wizened white-haired women sent by the rebels of Mazar, Ludlam, and Ghaziabad arrived at the army camp holding Qur'ans on their heads as a way of expressing humility and repentance. They presented the Qur'ans as mediation and asked for peace. On behalf of the aforementioned men, they stated,

We will agree to (pay) more than double the annual seventy-five *kharwārs* of land taxes assessed by the government chancellery and will accept the burden of 160 *kharwārs*. We will also pay the land taxes

of 40 *kharwārs* from the land of Ludlam which would be a total of 200 *kharwārs*. We also will return the government weaponry which has come into our possession in the course of fighting with the regular infantry and the *khāṣṣahdār(s)*. Whoever should be appointed governor of Nurgul, we will make sure his authority is in effect by respecting his status and by a pledge and through him (bring into being) the dicta of the ‘prescriptions and proscriptions’ of sacred authority (*sharī‘at-iu salṭanat*). But because of the lack of means (*bīsārī*) and uncivilized nature of (our) tribe, we cannot provide a place for a governor in our district because something might happen at the hands of ignorant persons, which would lead to difficult times. Regarding the eighteen Mazari hostages who are held by government officials, since their being hostages made no difference to us and we rebelled anyway, we will undertake now to give some other bond in exchange for them.

Thanks to a letter from General Mir ‘Ata Khan their representations were comprehended by the regal mind and a noble order was issued that said that he should not be deceived by these disingenuous words and by whatever means possible, he should disperse this lot from Ghaziabad then assess their taxes, take hostages from every occupation (*sinf*), and send them to Jalalabad. The cost of the army’s operations should be forcibly extracted from them and a guard post should be constructed on their land so that they do not cause any further trouble. They should be warned that if they don’t agree to these terms then he should not restrain from killing and plundering them.

General Mir ‘Ata Khan sent out messages through the maliks of that region informing all the people who were gathering in Arit and Shammās unambiguously of these terms and telling them either to agree to them or prepare for slaughter and plunder. They replied,

/493/ We won’t come and offer our salaams nor will we ever accept any other burden than our land taxes and that only through Sayyid Ghulam Padshah, who has come to us to collect the diwani tax, and then leave.

Their answer angered General Mir ‘Ata Khan and he placed all the army’s equipment in Qal‘ah-i Shahi and with his soldiers at his side marched via Sitan. From Sitan, he sent the army, along with several officers, in somewhat scattered fashion (*jā bi-jā*) back to camp. In order to scout out a passable road, he got far away from the main force but saw that the way was going to be very difficult for the army and artillery to traverse and so he too turned back. He assigned the tribal forces, which out of feelings of kinship and friendship had come to reinforce and support the royal regiments, to build a traversable road, and ordered 400 regular infantry to ascend to the heights so that if any group of the evildoers should assault the road workers they could defend them and not allow any harm to come to them. Since prior to the ascent of the troops a group of

evildoers had already seized the heights and fortified their positions there, as soon as the soldiers began to climb the inferno of war flared, both sides fought fiercely, but in the end, the insurgents fled and their fortified positions were occupied by the government troops. Afterwards, militia men from Darrah-i Nur, Amlah, and Qal'ah-i Shahi ascended the heights and took up positions. The (government) troops then came down from the mountain tops and returned to their base, bringing along the heads of the two rebels slain. Aside from these two, no other enemy dead or wounded were seen. Of the regular infantrymen, two men from the Wardaki Regiment were killed and two others wounded. Baha al-Din Khan *kumīdān* suffered a minor wound to his thigh but all the others returned safe and well.

During this time, thirty leaders of the Shaluti tribe presented themselves before Mirza Ahmad 'Ali Khan to express their obedience and to request a governor saying that he should appoint one (to go back) with them. At this point he did not consider it advisable to send a governor, putting it off until the rebels of Ghaziabad were eliminated. He gratified them by paying the expenses of their journey and then gave them leave to go home. Meantime, General Mir 'Ata Khan informed the mirza that on the day the victorious government forces reach Ghaziabad he too will arrive there. After dispatching this message, he marched the army to Anagul and camped. The people who lived in the valley grabbed their weapons as soon as the royal army camped and shot and killed one of the regular infantry men. General Mir 'Ata Khan "opened the mouth" of the mortar and also ordered 400 regular infantrymen to open fire. The people there, unable to resist, fled to Arit. After this victory several hundred regular infantrymen ascended the mountain heights and took up positions at a number of strategic places. The following day, the general marched the whole army to the top of the Arit Pass where it camped. The people there were very apprehensive about the arrival of the army at that spot which overlooked them and they sent someone to General Mir 'Ata Khan with a message to express their repentance. They asked forgiveness for any shortcoming and sought peace. They asked him to send Malik Jan Muhammad Badyali to them so that, relying on his assurances, they could then present themselves at the general's headquarters. He sent the malik along with Mulla Raz Muhammad and two maliks from Darrah-i Nur to the people of Arit. The emissaries reassured them and so a number of their leaders, accompanied by several ulema and a number of white-haired women bearing Qur'ans on their heads as tokens of intercession, entered the army camp. Putting the necklace of obedience around their necks, they begged pardon for their sins, with the exception of Malik 'Azim who at this time had not come down from the mountain ignorance. After a time, however reason showed him the way and he came to pledge his loyalty before officials of the government. Through the aid of God and the might of the victorious army braves, the districts of Arit and Shammās came into the possession of government officials. The mighty regiments, for whom 800 kharwars of grain were their monthly expenses, entered Arit together. When General Mir 'Ata Khan's report of events reached the ears of His Majesty, he issued a *ḥukm* telling him to be wary and not put

stock in those people's use of the Qur'an as intercession . When things were settled he should remove all their leaders and let not a single person of influence remain in authority.

During this, as Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan, who at the suggestion of General Mir °Ata Khan, as mentioned above, took the road from Ludlam to Ghaziabad, approached Ghaziabad, 200 armed men from its residents presented themselves and asked to be allowed to serve him. He assigned all of them to repairing and leveling all the roads over which travel was now difficult.

During this time, sixteen other elderly men and women /494/ of those people, all with a Qur'an on their heads, came forward in penitence and, making the Qur'ans their intercessors, sought peace and forgiveness for their misdeeds. He (the mirza) gave them reassurances and relieved their anxiety and entered Ghaziabad with them. There he made covers and slipcases for their Qur'ans and had their leaders don robes of honor. From there he headed for Arit. He ascended the Arit Pass with two of the cannons which General Mir °Ata Khan had sent him along with an infantry regiment and its commander °Abd al-Karim Khan *karnayl* (whom the general had also sent) and there fired several artillery rounds to impress (*tar°ib*) the people living in the mountains. He then continued on to Bandah. As its people had fled, the soldiers set fires in Bandah and burned it to the ground. They then turned to another eighty households which had sought refuge and were living near the army camp and seized a man and nine cows. They slaughtered the cows and divided up the meat. Similarly, all the dwelling and cultivate places of those people all the way to Arit were torched. When the whole army had reached Arit, a message came from General Mir °Ata Khan to Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan telling him that the people of Arit had come before the servant of the government in obedience and he should keep his army from any further killing and plundering.

In accordance with General Mir °Ata Khan's message, he stopped the braves from plundering, fortified strategic spots with resourceful men, and kept his ears attuned for the sound of the general and the army that was under him until matters were properly arranged. Likewise, winding the foot of indecision in the skirt of patience, he then, at the general's order, entered Shammas and began collecting the taxes of those newly obedient. He was deeply engaged in straightening out the affairs of that region when the Safi people and the residents of Divgul and Badil laid in wait beside (*ghur°z-i*) the road and stole the local qazis' and muftis' holiday robes of honor which had been sent from Kabul escorted by regular police (*k°utwāl-i ni°zām*) riders. They killed one of the police escorts and also made off with a quantity of barley which they were carrying to feed their mounts. The government forces in the area heard of this incident and set off in pursuit of the thieves and caught up with them at Kuh-i Shammas where the fire of battle flared up. Many of the foe were killed while destruction was the fate of nine government soldiers and another twenty-nine were wounded. In the end, unable to do a thing (against the foe), they retreated to their base. When this episode reached the ear of His Majesty via a report from General Mir °Ata Khan, in annoyance he issued a *hukm* telling him that despite

seeing what happened to their neighbors who were lost and destroyed, they obviously didn't see it as a warning and so it was essential that after straightening out the affairs of the people of Arit, Shammās, Mazar, Ludlam, and Ghaziabad who have put their heads under the writ of the farman, he should head for that place by way of Chuki and deal those people a fitting punishment. So he and Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan worked on organizing the (fiscal) affairs of those places as quickly as they could, appointed Sayyiud Ghulam Padshah governor there, and then set out intending to inflict punishment on the people of Divgul and Badil. But when they made camp at Ludlam, of the 1,226 Khugyani tribal fighters (*mardum-i iljārī*) (only) 326 men were left, the other 900 having headed home. The same was true for the 1,500 Kamah and Jabbar Khayl men who had all headed for their own homes (and thus the royal force was depleted). Therefore the task of punishing those people was postponed to a later date, as will come in due course—God willing.

Those people who had become fugitives, their service was deemed of no importance and they were not the objects of any further punishment (*siyāsāt*). They were not asked to explain themselves and no blame was attaché dto their behavior.

The Russian and English Commissioners, Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan and the Governor of Herat All Move from their Bases and Begin the Job of Demarcating the Borders

Meanwhile, following up on the promise given earlier of a forthcoming account of this, answers to the letters of Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan and the Russian and British commissioners, which each had referred to his own government—as has already been recorded—concerning the dispute which had arisen, now arrived from the rulers of the three countries. On Tuesday, the 8th of Rajab 1303 (7 April 1886), the Russian commissioner left the place where he was staying transferred all his commission's equipment across the Murghab by boat and camped at Maruchaq. On Friday the 11th, (10 April), the Russian Gawnsarj (?) also crossed the river and went into the border post. Afghan officials extended a respectful and dignified welcome /495/. At the end of the majlis, he presented to the governor of Herat a (pocket) watch (*dastgāh-i sā°at*) with the figure of a man and his own portrait on it as an offering in the way great men do. The governor at first refused to accept it but after much insistence did take it and the majlis went on. In return for his gift, the governor of Herat sent to the place where he was staying his own portrait, one piece of Kabuli blanket cloth, two bolts of *kurk-i shakari*³² cloth, one bolt of Herati *barg* cloth (see above), and one bolt of Day Zangi *barg*. He (the Russian) also gave two pocket watches to the attendantss who delivered the allotted provisions to the people of his commission but they would not accept them. On Saturday the 12th of Rajab (11

³² RM: *Kurk* is a coarsely woven (blanket?) cloth . *Kurk-i shakarī* is "a kind of white or off-white *kurk*." See Afghani Nawis, s.v.

April) Gawnsarj suddenly and without notice entered the governor of Herat's tent with an interpreter and after the formalities of the meeting returned to his own tent. On Sunday the 13th of the month, they all moved together from Maruchaq and made camp at Bukan. The governor of Herat assigned several cavalymen to show them respect and ordered that to accompany them as far as Qal'ah-i Wali and then return. He himself set off for Murghab to give some of the Afghan people residence and asylum there and to direct them to start cultivating the land. From there, in accordance with His Majesty's instructions which he had been issued, he informed Field Marshal Faramarz Khan by letter that he should arrest Yalang Tush Khan, Niyaz Bik, Muhammad Jan Bik and other Jamshidi leaders who in violation of the tri-governmental agreement were secretly communicating with the Russian and British commissions and uttering words that created confusion. Until now no order had been issued about them due to the exigencies of the time. The governor himself took Amin Allah Khan into custody and sent him to Herat. On Wednesday, the 23rd of Rajab (27 April) Field Marshal Faramarz Khan imprisoned Yalang Tush Khan, Niyaz Bik, Muhammad Jan Bik, Mahmud Khan, and Muhammad Wali Khan in the citadel in Herat. From Qal'ah-i Naw, he turned back Nasr Allah Khan, the first cousin (*'ammzādah*) of Yalang Tush Khan who had set off from Herat for Murghab with the wives and dependents of Amin Allah Khan and sent all the wives of the aforementioned detainees to Kabul, along with Nasr Allah Khan before sending the detainees themselves. They were sent to Kabul after settling the accounts of the time when they were governing and were escorted under guard by Kumidan 'Abd al-Wahhab Khan, twenty-one regular infantrymen and twenty-one regular cavalry. He (the field marshal) also dispatched General Ghaws al-Din Khan with 200 Sakhlu infantry and 100 regular cavalry from Herat to Murghab and ordered him to station himself there in order to put the fear of God into the people of that region and also to put (governmental) affairs there on a sound footing. At the request of the governor of Herat, he also sent Haydar Quli Khan to reassure the people of Murghab. He appointed Rasul Khan Nurza'i as governor of Kushk in place of Muhammad Wali Khan who had been arrested and sent to Kabul and sent with him a company (*dastah*) of Gushadah and regular cavalymen.

During this time, Fayz Muhammad Khan *ajīdan* who a little while before had been ordered by the governor of Herat to go to Tigab-i 'Alam and Kuchah and punish Qarar Bik Firuzkuhi, inflicted an appropriate punishment on him and on the Zay Hakim tribe which had supported him in his evildoing. He arrested Qara Bik along with others responsible for the corruption and delivered them, their feet in shackles, to the governor of Herat who was in Murghab and he sent them all to Kabul in chains. Meantime, the governor (of Herat) moved the Jamshidi and the Zay Hakim tribe from their original lands and sent them to greater Herat (*julgā-yi Harāt*). Two thousand four hundred households from Farah, Isfizar, Pusht-i Rud and greater Herat who were in the Badghisat region were all moved from there. Five hundred Farahi households were re-settled in Qashan district and the remainder in Murghab.

Meantime, (with regard to) the officials of all three governments who had gone to demarcate the borders of Turkistan, in the last part of Rajab there were talks held by the Russian and British commissioners. The Russian commissioner stated:

It is necessary that the line dividing Russia and Afghanistan should be drawn from the edge of the land of Qaysar and Maymanah and it should be fixed so that the pastureland of the people of those places will be located in uncultivable areas (i.e. land only good for pasture).

Colonel Ridgeway responded:

The dividing line should be placed in the wasteland fifteen to thirty miles from any cultivated land so that the area on both sides of the line falls between cultivable and waste land. This so that the livestock of the tribal subjects of both sides would have adequate pasture..

The Russian commissioner objected to Colonel Ridgeway's words and said:

We should refer this issue to the ministers of the Russia and England and we should survey from here to the banks of the Oxus (Jayhun) but put up no markers. Then from there, having determined the measurements we will send them to our two governments so that the issue will be resolved to everyone's satisfaction.

Colonel Ridgeway said:

If we're going to refer clarification of the borders to the government, then the English commission should go back to the land which is attached to Afghanistan and the Russian commission should withdraw to the land under the jurisdiction of its government until news is learned about the demarcation of the borders /496/ from the ministers of our respective governments.

At first the Russian commissioner agreed to what Colonel Ridgeway said but then, thinking of something, he changed his mind. Colonel Ridgeway opened his mouth to respond and said:

If the discussion could be resolved here, there would be no need for anyone to move anywhere.

The Russian commissioner agreed with the idea of a buffer zone of ten miles distance from the cultivated lands of every place so that an area of five *kurūhs* for the pastureland of the people of Maymanah, Andkhud, and Dawlatabad would be beyond the margins of the cultivated land in the steppe.

Colonel Ridgeway turned to Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan with this idea of the Russian commissioner to get his view. He also said,

If these words of the Russian commissioner do not strike the ear of acceptance then of course this then is a pretext to move back and camp on the banks of the Oxus and send the matter to the government. Thus the whole business will be much protracted.

Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan gave some excuses and reported the issue by letter to the throne. His Majesty issued a response saying instructions have already been given to Colonel Ridgeway that whatever he (the colonel) thinks best, he can put his signature to.

During this time, from the commission Colonel Ridgeway sent a sum of money totaling 14,000 *kallah-dār* rupees to Colonel Lockhart who was traveling about in Badakhshan. The money was accompanied by Shir Ahmad Khan,³³ the son of Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, governor of Qandahar, and Capt. Ney Elias. Shir Ahmad Khan worked for the English government. He (Ridgeway) got a letter of recommendation from Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and he gave it to these men so that (the sardar) would appoint a cavalry escort for them and see them safely to Khanabad so that after handing over the funds to Sardar ʿAbd Allah Khan, the governor of Badakhshan and Qataghan, they would get a receipt from him and then return. He would deliver the funds to Colonel Lockhart. In accordance with the letter of recommendation from Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan delivered those two men safely to Khanabad along with the funds they had with them. They delivered the money and returned to Mazar-i Sharif.

Meantime, on the first of Shaʿban/5 May 1886, the Anglo-Russian commission and Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan arrived at Qasābah. Before this, there had been some give and take on the question of whether the pasturelands along the banks of the Murghab and the irrigation of the meadows (*kishtzār*) of the people of Khwajah ʿAli belonged to the Russian government and two surveyors, one from each of the (Russian and British) commissions, were assigned to verify the facts of those two places. They (now) rejoined the commission at this place (Qasabah). In light of the facts they uncovered, the Russian commissioner lost the water rights and the pastures of those two places and requested of the English commissioner that an amount of for a distance of five miles along the

³³ FM: During the amirate of Amir Muhammad Yaʿqub Khan, when the English army occupied Kabul, this Shir Ahmad Khan had chosen to work as a spy and accused many of his own tribe and other Muslims of fighting in those places where the English had encountered resistance. They thus became subject to martial law (*mārshil lā*), i.e. military law which comes into effect at the time of mobilizing an army in a country. That law sets justice aside and something based on the slightest personal evidence (*taḥqīq-i shakhṣī*) becomes a matter for capital punishment. Thus because of his actions he was repudiated by his tribe and went to India to join the English army. He lived there awhile and died in 1329 (1911). His heirs (*akhlāf*) are still there as of the writing of this book.

Murghab River and one mile in the vicinity of Qashan determined to be part of Afghanistan be given out of consideration for the subjects of the Russian government. The fixed markers should be moved so that no loss would befall the agriculture of the people of Khwajah °Ali due to lack of water and control (*sarband*) of the lands of the Sariq would not be in Afghan hands lest at some point they might cut off the water and cause a conflict. The English commissioner agreed to the request but Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan rejected it and between Colonel Ridgeway, Mr. Mark, and Qazi Muhammad Aslam and him there ensued much discussion and argument. In the end, the matter was referred for resolution to the lustrous mind and the far-sighted wisdom of His Majesty. In reply to the letter from Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan in which this issue was set out, he wrote,

We cannot give up the half (sic) mile of the land of Qashan and the five miles along the banks of the Murghab River and the relocating of the boundary markers from one place to another after they have been finalized, decided upon, and erected for this would wrong the people of Afghanistan and sully the honor of the nation. But because of the Russian commissioner's plea to Colonel Ridgeway and his (Ridgeway's) asking Afghan officials for approval, out of consideration, we should not block the water to the people of Khwajah °Ali. This is conditional on it being /497/ registered and written down in the treaty document that this clarification and definition of the borders is (only) out of consideration for the plea of the Russian commissioner and Colonel Ridgeway about the lack of water rights of those people, so that at no point does the Russian government consider (this land) its right and its property.

So they all entered Dawlatabad and an order was given to relocate a half mile of the boundary markers of Qashan from those places where they had been erected. At sunset (the time of the evening prayer) on Friday, the 9th of Sha°ban/ 13 May 1886, Colonel Ridgeway and the Russian Colonel Goldberg agreed on the line separating Russian and Afghanistan from the border of Char Shanbah to the banks of the Oxus River (and) that there would be pastureland for all the places from Char Shanbah to Dawlatabad that would be sixteen miles wide along the edge of the Qaysar River, in the district of Dawlatabad twenty miles wide, and in the district of Andkhud from 22 to 24 miles wide through the Chul Steppe.

So the border was drawn for so many miles in accordance with these distances, from the furthest limits of the cultivated lands of these places, and the order was given to erect the boundary markers. In late afternoon on Monday, the 12th of Sha°ban, they reached Andkhud where, after making camp, Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan at the suggestion of Colonel Ridgeway met alone with Colonel Goldberg, the Russian commissioner. Afterwards, Colonel Ridgeway asked Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan to suggest to the governor of Andkhud, °Abd al-Hamid

Khan, that he come and meet the (Russian) colonel. The colonel would then pay a return visit to °Abd al-Hamid Khan, who would offer his respects and fire a welcoming cannon salute. Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan agreed to his request and so the governor went to see the two commissioners, then returned home, and afterwards, the Russian commissioner went to see him and a salute of welcome was fired. At the time of the formal talks, °Abd al-Hamid Khan presented the Russian commissioner with a horse, eleven qarakuł skins, two ermine pelts, two bolts (*tūp*) of Bukharan *abr*³⁴, three of *shāhī* (cloth), one piece (*tāqah*) of Khalil Khani shawl cloth, and four boxes of rock candy (crystalized sugar). The commissioner accepted this show of kindness. Talk turned to the courage and rectitude of the people of Afghanistan, something which both commissioners affirmed. When the meeting ended each returned to his own place of residence. The next day they set off from Andkhud for Khamyab. One of the English, Capt. Peacocke, set off alone for Fayzabad via Mazar-i Sharif without escort, his goal being to survey Badakhshan. At Mazar-i Sharif he was met by Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan who stopped him from going on to Badakhshan telling him that it was very imprudent to go there without an escort, lest some harm befall him and the Afghan government get a bad name as a result. He considered it would be wise to accept the words of the illustrious sardar and so diverted his course, choosing to go instead to the Oxus River littoral.

At this time the supervisors and laborers assigned to erect the boundary pillars completed the work from the border of Char Shanbah to Dukji. Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan handed over to Colonel Ridgeway all the written affidavits and testimonies taken from the leaders and notables of those places whether subjects of Bukhara or subjects of Afghanistan regarding Khamyab and other places which had earlier been asked for by the Russian commissioner. Colonel Ridgeway translated them from Persian into English and took them with him and went from Andkhud to Khamyab.

Meantime, the son of the governor of Karki was summoned by letter and presented himself before the Russian commissioner with a group of experts (*ahl-i khibrah*) on that place and on the people of Busaghah and accompanied by the elders of Karki and Busaghah. On the 28th of Sha°ban/1 June 1886, a negotiating session devoted to Khamyab was held in Colonel Ridgeway's tent. The Russian commissioner with three members of his commission—Chuaym Yassar (P. M. Lessar?), Capt. Kaydunov and an interpreter. Colonel Ridgeway had Major Durand, Mr. Merk, and Qazi Muhammad Aslam, the interpreter, with him in his tent while the rest (of the commissions' members) were taken outside. Facing the English and Russian commissioners inside Colonel Ridgeway's tent were three individuals—°Abd al-Ghani Khan, the governor of Aqchah, an official for Khamyab, and Nazir Nur al-Din Khan—along with Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan. The session of negotiation and the assembly of debate was ornamented with these nine (sic) men.

³⁴ RM: According to the 1994 edition, *abr* is a kind of very fine and thin (*ẓarīf wa nāẓik*) white silk."

An Account of the Negotiations and Discussions of the Officials of the Three Governments Concerning Khamyab and Its Dependencies

When the above-named representatives of the three governments—the English, Russian, and Afghan—had sat down together, leaders from Bukhara and the headmen of subjects from places belonging to Afghanistan were gathered in a separate tent in order to give testimony. /498/ The session began and the evidence accorded with the claim of the representative of Afghanistan. The Russian commissioner and all the leaders of Karki and Busaghah testified that for thirty-eight years Khamyab had been and is now under the control of officials of Afghanistan. After this testimony and acknowledgement, the Russian commissioner sent a full report of the proceedings, without any additions or omissions, by telegram to inform the ministers of his government. Then, through his interpreter, he asked ‘Abd al-Ghani Khan, the governor of Aqchah, “How many locales does Aqchah encompass?” The governor turned to Superintendent (*nāẓir*) Nur al-Din Khan, who was better informed, to answer the question. He responded and enumerated five places: 1) Ishaqabad, 2) Fathabad, 3) Khanabad, 4) Khwajah Salih, and 5) Sayyidabad.” He then added, “Each of these places comprises many irrigation districts (*bulūkāt*).” The Russian commissioner posed a second question, “Of those (five) how many irrigation districts does Khwajah Salih have?” In reply he said, “Four such districts—the first is Khamyab, which has four canals (*jūys*): Chakash, Dani, Islam, and Juybar and of these Juybar itself has five canals. The second of the irrigation districts is Firqayn which includes six canals. The third is Aqjuyah and the fourth Datmarsī. These last two *bulūks* each have three canals. After hearing about these four *bulūks* (of Khwajah Salih) the Russian commissioner called for Pir Nazar Khan *mingbāshī* and asked him about his seal which he had impressed on the affidavit, “Is this your seal?” He replied, “Yes.” He was then asked, “How many horsemen do you have at your command?” He responded, “I have fifty-four riders. and I’m assigned to guard the borders of Busaghah, Jarqadaq, Qarah Tapah, and Alqadim. I’ve held this post for thirty-six years. I guard the borders on behalf of the government of Afghanistan.” After him, the commissioner summoned Alti Bay and Salih Sardar two of the leaders of Karki and Busaghah and asked them whether Mingbashi Pir Nazar Khan was telling the truth or not. They both confirmed the truth from beginning to end of what he said. After this verification, he again asked, “Which side do the pastures belong to?” From them he heard the answer, “The pastures belong to both sides because our district has a shortage of grass and our animals go as far as the region of Tashqurghan to graze. And people belonging to Afghanistan also come to many places that belong to us to graze and they pay the per capita tax on their flocks (*sar ramagī*) to Bukharan tax collectors. We don’t pay the *sar ramagī* tax for our animals which go to Qarah Tapah, Qaq Tali, Alqadim, and Jarqadaq to graze. But if we go beyond those places then we pay the tax to Afghan tax collectors.” It seemed from what they said that in these regions it was as if they shared these places

with the Afghans and that is why they do not pay the tax on flocks. Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan, realizing that silence would be taken as confirmation of what they said, began to try to clarify the issue, “You have had and have no right to interfere in or to have any association with this region because Bukharan scouts and border guards have never set foot in these places. If this were not so, then, like the Afghans who built and maintained a fort at the edge of Jarqadaq for their border guards, there should also be some fort or guard post for the Bukharans. Your livestock which come to graze in these places would pay the *sar ramagi* were (you) not sharing the land with Afghans.” As a consequence of what Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan said, the Russian commissioner thoughtfully posed the question, “How long has it been since the Afghans built the fort at Jarqadaq?” “Six years,” he answered adding, “Since Jarqadaq is a gathering place for the Sarii Turkman, there were always one hundred cavalymen posted there for protection. Now that the fort has been built and is well-maintained, forty or fifty horsemen provide all the protection needed. Jarqadaq is also a prison for criminals (sentenced by) the Afghan government. In earlier times, the government sent low-level rebels and evildoers to Khamyab. The more serious ones we have been sending to Jarqadaq in chains and leg-irons.”

The words of Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan made an impression on the attentive ear of the Russian commissioner and he asked the two leaders from Karki and Busaghah, “How long has Khamyab been in the possession of the Afghans?” They answered, “It’s been thirty-eight years since the Afghans took possession of Aqchah and also Khamyab and it has remained in their hands ever since.” Hearing this, Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan said, “There’s no need to ask because the delineation of our border with the Bukharans from here is quite clear for it was clarified thirteen years ago. A ditch (*jari*) was dug as a border separating the two sides.”

The Bukharans testified to the truthfulness of Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan’s statement and the Russian commissioner said, “Up to now I had imagined that that Afghan border guards were (originally) stationed at Khwajah Salar and only very recently had been assigned to this region because there is the saray of a guard post (*qarawul-khānah*) there.”

Superintendent Nur al-Din Khan, in response to the /499/ Russian commissioner’s statement, said, “Our guard(s) have always been in this region and were not once stationed at Khwajah Salar. Concerning what you’ve heard, there is a “saray” but there are no walls or a place where a cavalryman could be stationed in order to undertake the guarding of that region. “Saray” is actually just the name of a canal which flows there.”

When the discussion had reached this point, Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan turned to Colonel Ridgeway and said, “Even with all these documents, affidavits, and testimony, is Colonel Goldberg still in doubt?” Ridgeway translated Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan’s words into English for Goldberg and Goldberg said, “I don’t doubt that Khamyab is in the possession of the Afghans but they have improperly occupied it.” Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan replied, “It is properly in our possession but Colonel Goldberg has decided in his own mind that (our

possession of it) is improper." When these words had been translated by Colonel Ridgeway and Goldberg understood what Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan was saying, he responded, "There is no doubt that Khamyab is part of and belongs to Afghanistan but Colonel Ridgeway is a forceful man and whatever he says, that's the way it is. The reason for my attempts to ascertain the truth of the matter is that in 1873, in the treaty which was signed in London between Russia and England, Khwajah Salih was fixed as the border of Afghanistan. Khamyab was a generous present from the English which they removed from the land of Afghanistan." To this Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan responded,

"The English government is a friend of the government of Afghanistan but not in the sense that it can decide to give away its territory. If, as Colonel Goldberg says, it did give away (Khamyab) then the Amir of Afghanistan must have agreed to it. This could not be the case because no one has threatened to attack Afghanistan, which threat would have resulted in his giving up Khamyab in order to repel the attack and keep himself i.e. India) from harm. Nor has the Russian government solicited the English government and through its mediation demanded Khamyab from the Amir of Afghanistan who out of regard for the English, has not rejected its request. Or, Khamyab is a barren sandy place which for the Amir of Afghanistan brings nothing but loss and harm and for this he would have given it up. In any event, if either of these possibilities is written into the treaty, then certainly what Colonel Goldberg says will be closer to the truth. If not, how can Khamyab, one of the dependencies of Khwajah Salih, be separated (from Afghanistan) and joined to Bukhara? It was absolutely clearly understood, known, and (publicly) declared that Khwajah Salih comprises four *bulūks* and one of those four is Khamyab. Reason also demands to know this: If the amir of Afghanistan had let it go and thought it part of Bukhara, why was it occupied and guards stationed there?"

The Russian commissioner, acknowledged what Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan said, and spoke. "There is no evidence of such things being listed in the treaty." When the thread of negotiations had reached this knot, the Russian I. M. Yasar (Lessar?) was a bit put out, turned to the Englishman Durand, and said,

The English government has been fooled here, and has ignored the matter at hand and based on the treaty in question has ignored our interest in Shughnan and Wakhan and has placed both those districts inside the territory of Afghanistan and established the Panjah River as the border. Now those regions were not occupied by the Afghans, indeed, each has its own mir and rai's. Besides, At the time of drafting the treaty in London, we agreed to a straight line because we thought that the pastures and meadows of the Sariq Turkman would be put

under our jurisdiction. But due to our misunderstanding, we were deceived and most of the lands which that tribe farms has fallen outside our borders. Thus, they used to cultivate as far as the village of Bab-i Allahi and the two canals (*nahr*) of Khwajah ʿAli and Husayn ʿAli belonged to the Sariq tribe. Look, you admit your error in Khamyab. We, too, regret our error.

Major Durand opened his mouth and responded to I. M. Yassar (Lessar?),

What you just said is not written down anywhere in our records. The actual treaty is here and available. If it's in your records, then that is what you wanted to write there.

When the talk had reached this point, the argument ended, and they turned their attention to eating. After dining they bade each other farewell. Colonel Goldberg asked Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan for more meetings, and his requests was accepted. They met again and conducted official talks. After both the Russian and English ministers had been informed about the abovementioned negotiation and argument through letters from their own delegates, the lords of Parliament notified their officials in India. With Mr. Gladstone's approval it was decided that a letter would be written in India to His Highness and sent to the court and through that letter they would do what they could to get his approval to relinquish the abovementioned watercourses and locales /500/ to the Russian government so that (the Russians) would say nothing further on the subject of Khamyab, Khwajah Salih, and Khwajah Salar. From India they responded to the ministers of Parliament,

We will write this for the amir of Afghanistan but he doesn't consider what we say to be reliable and he will reply with reasonable and adequate replies in such a way that there will be nothing to object to. He will never be forced to relinquish those places and watercourses to the Russian government.

In any event they wrote the letter and heard a proper and sufficient response. His Majesty wrote and informed Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan of the letter from the British to him and the reply he had written and telling him to be careful not to let go of the waterways which were under discussion. He was to place in the treaty document (*wasīqa-nāmāh*) (terms covering) the water (essential) for the agricultural needs of the Turkman belonging to Bukhara as an interest-free loan (*ʿāriya*), a friendly subsidy, and the kindness of a neighbor. It was to be a favor on the part of the government of Afghanistan to the Russian and English governments. Because of the sending and receiving of letters and the rejection and acceptance of the abovementioned words, the thread of negotiation and the fixing of the border dividing Turkistan was delayed for a while. God willing it will all be dealt with in due course.

An Account of the Violence and Rebellion of the Pashah-i and Shir Dagħ Hazarāhs which Was Promised Earlier

During the events of the early part of this year, the men of Pashah-i and Shir Dagħ as earlier indicated, had drawn their heads from the pocket of rebellion at the instigation of Sultan °Ali khan, the son of Sardar Shir °Ali Khan Jagħuri and had strayed into the valley of error. The governor of Ghaznin, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, at the order of His Majesty, dispatched cavalry and infantry from the tribes of the Muhammad Khwajah, Jighatu, and Chahar Dastah Hazarāhs to go to Jagħuri and there punish those people who out of ignorance had dared rise up. From Ghaznin he also sent with them 100 Sakhlu infantry, two horse-drawn cannons (*tūp-i jalwī*), and Sad Bashi Muhammad Nazar Khan Wardak, all under the command of Mir Imam al-Din Khan regular army commander (*kumīdān-i nizāmī*). The three hundred and fifty cavalry and infantry from the aforementioned tribes, among whom the author of this book was also present, took their places beneath the banner of this *kumīdān* and reached Sangmashah by way of Tamki and Luman. They stopped there for a day on account of the Jagħuri foot and horse who were joining them but had not yet arrived. The following day, with the Chahar Dastah Jagħuri men, the force marched on. They crossed a very difficult pass where the barrels, carriages, and wheels of the cannons had to be carried piece by piece by camels. They camped at Judri and went from there to Chil (sic) Bagħtu. Here, which was the homeland of the rebels and whence they had left their homes to climb up into the mountains, eleven cannon salvos were fired to frighten the insurgents. For several days the force remained at Chil Bagħtu and the tribal (*īljārī*) men of Ghaznin spent the day riding about on their horses. While camped there, Ibrahim Sultan Pashhah-i twice sent the Holy Word to Imam al-Din Khan *kumīdān* to serve as intercession for his sins and sent a message to him and to Pir Muhammad Khan, the governor of Jagħuri and to the Pashah-i Hazarah leaders which said,

I will place the royal commandments and prohibitions on my neck and pay the diwani taxes.

They thought his message duplicitous in light of the fact that for three years he had turned his face away from the government and refused to obey its orders and so they did not give the required response. They were thinking that should they seize him, so as to dampen the flames of insurrection, the government army would also then be enveloped in the embrace of tranquility. Therefore on each of the two occasions (that heenbt the Qur'an) they sent back his emissary and a message saying, "As long as he himself does not come humbly to the army camp and there put the thread of obedience around his neck, he won't get a message of personal security and the end result will be his destruction." His affair had yet to be put aright when Sultan °Ali Khan and °Abd al-°Ali Khan the sons of Sardar Shir °Ali Khan and Haydar °Ali Khan, his grandson, entered the

army camp to seek forgiveness for their sins. They were reconciled and at the order of Mir Imam al-Din Khan they came from the army camp to Sangmashah. A manshur instructing conciliation was issued by His Majesty for their wives and children who had sought refuge in those mountains and would not come down out of fear of what they imagined would happen to them. Sayyid Muhammad Tahir Khan Sarabi delivered the mansur to them, they were then reconciled and requested that Ghulam Muhammad Khan the son of the governor Pir Muhammad Khan be sent to them. With him they set off for Sangmashah. From there they came to Kabul. Since Safdar °Ali Khan and Ahmad °Ali Khan had fled, been captured at Kuh-i Biyak Tut, and been executed, these people were kept under surveillance for several days and then were made the objects of royal favors. Lodging, money, and sufficient provisions from the table of royal favors were bestowed on all of them.

Ibrahim Sultan, witnessing the proffering of obedience to the royal court by the sons, grandsons, and collateral relatives (uncle's sons) of Sardar Shir °Ali Khan /501/ believing himself on the edge of the whirlpool of destruction once again made the Divine Qur'an his intercessor and sent one of his men, °Ali Riza Mihtar with it to the leaders of the army. °Ali Riza took the Qur'an to the tent of Kumidan Imam al-Din Khan and presented it to the sayyids at the army camp and the Hazarah leaders to each one separately, apologized, asked forgiveness for any shortcomings, and requested security for life and property. He stated, "We will deliver the diwani revenues as we did during the reign of the late Amir Shir °Ali Khan and we will not stray again from the highway of governmental authority." The Ghaznin and Jaghuri Hazarah leaders were impressed by the apologies and pleas of Ibrahim Sultan's emissary and were moved by respect for the sanctity of the Qur'an. So they conferred with Pir Muhammad Khan, the governor of Jaghuri, and decided to send a man back to Ibrahim Sultan along with his emissary in order to find out how bad or good his true state of affairs was. Then they would act knowing what he was concealing in his heart. Therefore, with the approval of the leaders of the royal army, several individuals including Sayyid Muhammad Qasim and Muhammad Tahir, sayyids of Sarab; Ghulam Riza Khan, the grandson of Gulistan Khan Hazarah; Malik Jum'ah; and the author of this auspicious book went to the foot of the Shah Mansur Pass which the rebels had fortified and where they were sitting ready. At the time of the evening prayer, Ibrahim Sultan came down from the mountain of ignorance and approached them on the foot of submission over the road of obedience. They sat down together and at the time of their talks, because of the extreme cold, they made a fire and sat down beside it for their talks. Since day had become evening and nothing had been decided, they went their separate ways with a promise to meet on the morrow, each going to his own place. The next day the two sides met as agreed, they reassured him that he would suffer no further loss or injury, they obliged him to remit the diwani revenues, and eased his concerns. Having obtained this reassurance and peace of mind, he entered the army camp with them. He solemnly agreed to pay two years of revenues of the three year total which remained the obligation of his people, but due to the

inability and lack of means that would have allowed them to pay the full three years, he asked forgiveness for one year's taxes. With one of the leaders of Sangmashah, he returned to his own people from the army camp. The army then moved on from Chihil Baghtu and camped at Qaf Zar. From there they went on to Ushtur Sang in the district of Pashah-i. From there they sent one of Ibrahim Sultan's sons with his mother to Sangmashah as a hostage there to reside with Najat Uqi. They took two of the leaders of the Shir Dagħ tribe as hostages and put them in the custody of Khuda Bakhsh Khan Qalandar and appointed a collector to gather the tax revenues. When matters had reached this point, snow began to fall and the Hazarah horse and foot from Ghaznin were dismissed to return to their homes. The Sakhlu infantry with the two cannons and the Jagħuri tribal (*iljārī*) men were stationed with Mir Imam al-Din Khan *kumīdān* among the Pashah-i people in order to collect the taxes. Pir Muhammad Khan went to the people of Maskah to collect the fines and blood-wit owed for the murder of a Sakhlu infantryman which was recounted under the events of the previous year. There he collected the back taxes and the fines.

During this time, a world-obeying edict was issued to Hazarah Jagħuri officials telling them to collect from the people of Maskah, Pashah-i, and Shir Dagħ as a fine (*siyāsatan* under the rubric *naʿl-bahā* (money paid to keep occupying troops from plundering) 10,000 rupees above and beyond the tax and blood-wit revenues they owed.

The Rebellion of the Jaji and Jadran and the Punishment of those Evildoers

During the unfolding of these events, the Jaji and Jadran men rebelled, turned their heads away from the royal command, and set out on the road of insurrection. The subjects of Khust and its environs resolved to punish those evil-natured people. The governor of Khust notified Sardar Shirindil Khan of their intent and asked him to assemble the men of Zurmat and prepare them for battle. (Shirindil Khan) therefore assembled three thousand fighting men and twenty donkey loads (*kharwārs*) of provisions (*ʿulūfah*) from the district of Zurmat. Then those two forces (of Khust and Zurmat) sent each other messages and agreed to meet at Kut, located two *kurūhs* from where the rebels of Ismaʿil Khayl lived, and attack them from there. They also agreed that they would begin the fight with the men of Dar(rah-i?) Najil because from there to Du Mandah was a distance of six *kurūhs* and the road was easy. Therefore, after those two forces reached this agreement, Sardar Shirindil Khan out of concern not to destroy the lives and livelihoods of the Mizaʿi, Ghalak, Sahhak, and Ibrahim Khayl sent a letter to the people who lived near Zurmat with an ultimatum either to put their heads beneath the farman and take the path of obedience or prepare the instruments of war and be ready for the arrival of fighters (*mardān-i kār*) and for battle. /502/ When this declaration of Sardar Shirindil Khan came to the royal attention through a letter which the Sardar himself had sent, His Majesty issued a decisive order to him that said that he should postpone the chastisement

of those tribes until they had harvested their crops so that the army would not be weakened by a shortage of supplies.

During this time several leaders of the Jadran living in Shaml came to Sardar Shirindil Khan on the path of obedience and agreed to give hostages as was obligatory. They were reconciled and returned home in an easy state of mind.

Meantime, the governor of Khust, ʿAbd al-Wahid Khan; Mulla Aqa Muhammad Khan, the *qazi*; and other local leaders like Sayf al-Din Khan, Sahibzadah Zaki Allah Khan, Mulla Sayyid Amin Khan *mufī*, and Muhammad Husayn Khan; and officers of the artillery, the regular army, and the Sakhlu infantry and Gushadah cavalry leaders, as well as the leaders of the region around Khust and the tribal fighters from the Manduzʾi and from other tribes, all of whom were unaware of the issuance of the royal order and the postponement of fighting set out to punish and chastise the Jadran rebels and opened the market of combat and strife. In the first skirmish, three Jadranis were killed or wounded. Since they were inside a fort and the royal force was in the open field the royal force could not make headway and drew back until two mule guns and eight hundred Sakhlu infantry, who to this point had not been engaged in the fighting but were at the army camp, rose up to help out of a sense of pride. Together with the regular infantry and the Gushadah cavalry, they set their faces for the battlefield.

At this time, the men of the two newly built forts which commanded the road and were located near the Manduzaʾi and Ismaʿil Khayl people, came forward in obedience and took the path of service. The leaders of the army not considering these two forts suitable for the status of subjects, destroyed them. Afterwards, they fell upon the rebels and from sunrise until evening they strove valiantly and conquered the district of Ilmar which was home to seven hundred households and contained many pomegranate orchards. Witnessing this, a group of the enemy turned their backs to the fray and fled. (The royal forces) were victorious, burned and destroyed twenty forts, and seized all the livestock. In this battle forty of the rebels were killed and one hundred were wounded. Of the royal forces, six of the tribal (*iljārī*) men were killed or wounded. After the scattering and flight of the rebels, the royal army left Ilmar and directed the fight towards the Jadran of Zani Khayl. When they arrived they occupied all the strategic heights which overlooked that evil-natured group and secured them with brave fighters. The men of Zani Khayl believing themselves caught in the clutches of death and plundering, made the Noble Qurʾan their intercessor and sued for peace. (The royal force) out of respect for the Qurʾan relinquished the places which they had taken and fortified. That trouble-seeking group, seeing themselves spared the blow of the murderous bullet because of the relinquishing of those strategic sites, launched an assault. The braves of the victory-marked army rolled up the sleeve of courage and with one sudden attack drove out the evil ones. They then captured two of the forts, set them ablaze and burned them to the ground. They seized all the livestock and were still engaged in plunder when once again, women were sent with Qurʾans on their heads to the army,

tasking for peace and saying they would be obedient. The army, again out of regard for the great Qur'an, stayed their hands from further plundering but still burned all their forts. They took four of the leaders as hostages and took the return route to Chahawuni-yi Khust. In this conflict, twenty Jadranis were killed and forty wounded while one *dahbāshī* from the royal force and two Sakhlū infantry from the unit (*dastah*) of Sadbashi °Abd al-Hamid Khan were wounded and two killed. One *dahbāshī* from the unit of Sartip Arsalah Khan and two *khāṣṣahdārs* along with a standard bearer (*bayraqchī*) sustained wounds. Two of the tribal levies (*īljārīs*) from the Manduza'i and Lakand tribes were killed. After this business was over, the survivors of those who were killed were granted permanent annual pensions from His Majesty of twenty rupees cash and twenty Kabul *sīr* of grain (corn? *jawārī*). For the heirs of the wounded, ten rupees cash and the same amount of grain were allocated. Prior to the outbreak of the fighting and its successful conclusion officials of the government had secured the roads and junctions with numerous men to block the escape route and they captured eighty-five men and sixteen women of those evil-natured people. At the moment when their tax revenues with fifteen men and women and a Noble Qur'an reached °Abd al-Wahid Khan, the governor, and they asked for forgiveness in a spirit of repentance, their imprisoned fellow tribesmen were released. Of the total, fifteen people from Ilmar and Kari along with four hostages from Dar Najil and forty-two Mamuza'i Jadran were sent to Kabul with Sad Bashi °Abd al-Hamid Khan and thirty Sakhlū foot soldiers as escort. The others were reconciled and restored to their homes. They turned to collecting the taxes (they owed) and, in the same way as the people of Khust, they registered the yield of their lands in the registry books at the royal diwan.

Also at this time /503/ a copper mine was discovered in one of the mountains of Michalghu located in Khust district but since it was reckoned that the expense of working it was greater than any income it would produce, it was abandoned.

Also at this time, many people were being arrested and put in government jails on the basis of counterfeit seals and forged handwriting. His Highness himself turned his attention to investigating this matter and brought perfect justice and impartiality to bear on the matter. Thus Mulla Ahad the son of Mulla Bidak of the Akhand Khayl who had given a counterfeit seal of the troublemaker Sa°du to Muhammad Rahim Khan *kabṭān* and attested that:

Harif, a man of the Timur Khayl who has fled with Sa°du encountered me unexpectedly at Ghaza'i and I said to him, 'There are two or three people that are enemies of mine. If you had a piece of blank paper with the seal impression of Sa°du and gave it to me I would certainly make it worth your while. So he handed over this seal of Sa°du which he had carved out in Peshawar for deceitful deeds of this nature and which he had with him. I put it to good use and so caused my enemies to be subjected to royal punishment.

The captain brought the seal to Sardar Shirindil Khan who fined the mulla 300 rupees and reported the matter to His Majesty. His Majesty was thus apprised of the affair and instructed Sardar Shirindil Khan by manshur:

In the normal process of government, one should be very harsh when holding people accountable in such cases. It is not a matter for a fine of a (mere) 300 rupees because shiftless mullas are Satan's apprentices not mentors of the worshippers of the Divine Creator and they cause much trouble and bring great injury to God's creation. Arresting and sending him to Kabul is an obligation required by (the principle of) "seeking what is best"³⁵ for his remaining alive will cause people distress a group and be harmful to the law of government (*qānūn-i siyāsat*).

As a result of the issuance of this unambiguous *ḥukm* he was arrested, shackled, sent to Kabul, and put to death as repayment for his deeds.

During this time, according to a farman which His Majesty had issued through the people of the diwan, the governor of Ghaznin sent a bill (*ḥawālah*) to the Andar people for the sum of sixty-two thousand rupees, for the poll tax revenues (*sar-i mardah*), which were two years in arrears. They were angered by this bill and intended to refuse it and cause trouble. News of this reached the percipient ears of His Majesty thanks to the reports of the news writers of Ghaznin and he notified and instructed the governor of Ghaznin that "whatever cash has been collected should be given back to the Andar that amount and instead he should take from them for service in the regular army that same number of soldiers (*nawkar*) as designated in the registers and in lieu of which they had agreed to pay that amount of cash as poll-tax." The governor of Ghaznin summoned the leaders of the Andar, informed them of the exalted order, they agreed to provide soldiers, and he returned the funds which they had given. This affair, which transpired as it did because there was little alternative, rankled the prideful nature of His Majesty and he summoned the constructors of corruption to Kabul and jailed them. The Andar people, because of this affair and because of other matters which will be recounted in due course, rebelled and chose disobedience—as will come, God willing.

*Also at this time the esteemed royal harem which had been ensconced in the palace (saray) of Mirza Muhammad Hasan Khan, munshi to the late Amir Shir ʿAli Khan located in Murad Khani, in this year (1303) were moved into the Blessed Arg, built in 1299, and some of its structures, including the women's quarter, were built in 1301 and so made the arg the nest of glory and honor.*³⁶

³⁵ RM: The Hanafi legal principle of *istiḥsān*.

³⁶ RM: This paragraph in Fayz Muhammad's manuscript was censored from the published edition.

*The Inception and Implementation of the Demarcation of the Borders of Turkistan
which the Russian and English Commissioners and Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan had
Cut Short and Referred Back to their Three Countries*

On the ninth of Ramazan 1303 (11 June 1886), Colonel Ridgeway went to Goldberg, the Russian commissioner, and said to him, "I presented sworn statements (*istishhādāt*) and documents (*sanadāt*) to you a long time ago and I have not yet had an answer. Have your doubts been satisfied or does some uncertainty still remain?" (The Russian) replied,

One representative from each of the three countries—a Russian, an Englishman, and an Afghan—should go to Kilif, cross the Oxus there and interview people living on both sides of the river from that point to here about the truth of the situation so that if their testimony corresponds with what the affidavits and sworn statements of those people say then the work can be carried out. But if not, then something else should be done; but this is on condition that the people on the other side of the river be interrogated by a Russian, while on this side an English representative be the one to carry out the inquiry.

Colonel Ridgeway acceded to his demand and Mr. Merk of the English commission and Captain Komarov (*Kāmrūf*) of the Russian prepared to set out. They informed Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan that he too should appoint someone. So he gave instructions to Superintendent Nur al-Din Khan and assigned him to go with them providing His Majesty as well, a picture of what was going on.

During this time, on Wednesday, the 14th of Ramazan (16 June) /504/ Colonel Lockhart, who had entered Badakhshan intending to make a tour of Kafiristan, now known as Nuristan, and been prevented by Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Badakhshan from entering Kafiristan, made for Chitrar by way of Zibak. Mr. Ney Elias also was traveling with him and he headed for his own country. When the aforementioned report of Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan reached the foot of the throne of authority and was ennobled by the reading of His Majesty, on the 17th of Ramazan (19 June) a manshur was issued in his (the qazi's) name which said:

"since the whole process of this matter (*madār-i kār*) and the foundation of the negotiations (*mabnā-yi kuftār*) rest on sworn statements and other documents, these things indicate that the authority of the Russian government does not extend to land belonging to the Afghan government nor should it. No loss or disadvantage has befallen the Afghan government in the demarcation of borders from the very beginning until now and it is hoped that henceforth no loss will happen either. Regarding the contentions and claims which Colonel Goldberg has stated vis-à-vis Khamyab and Mahall, he wants us to think that the issue of the Murghab and Qashan Rivers which are inside Afghanistan

are not important and we could give them up. You should know full well that there is a big difference between holding on to Khamyab and giving up the waterways of those two rivers. Even if he should manage to get bits and pieces of Khamyab after lots of negotiating, the Oxus River would still be a barrier between us and the hand and foot of the foreigner cannot therefore be extended onto the soil of Afghanistan. But if they get the Murghab and Qashan waterways, they (the Russians) would have an open route for intervention in any direction. So, concerning these waterways, you must be very firm and unshakeable and make sure that they not be lost to us. Despite the fact that the English commissioner, with the approval of Mr. Gladstone, has promised to give those two rivers to the Russians and (despite the fact that) these discussions have been transmitted to Mr. Gladstone in London by telegraph from Iran from Colonel Ridgeway and he in turn has given Colonel Ridgeway instructions that the result of this will be completely to the advantage of the Russians, members of Parliament as well as the consuls of India are united in and have expressed their opposition to Mr. Gladstone saying that the surrender of these two rivers to the Russian government would occasion much injury to the frontiers of Herat. Also, after having erected boundary markers and each side having acknowledged his own area, to throw open the whole matter again and to turn the headwaters of those rivers over to the Russian government is utterly contrary to the good arrangements (*tadbīr*) and violates the status (*kasr-i sha'n-i*) of the English government and will necessarily cause the Russians to be bold and aggressive in intervening on Afghanistan's soil. You must be unyielding in making your point. The end.

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An employee ("salary-eater") in the service of the government of Afghanistan conveyed from members of Parliament these words and phrases to His Exalted Majesty which he then wrote to Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan.³⁷

During this time the Foreign Secretary (*fārin sakritar*) by letter requested of His Majesty two laks of rupees for the salaries and expenses (*mawājib wa maṣārīf*) of the English commission. This was agreed to and two laks of rupees from the Kabul treasury were sent through Mulla Uways al-Din Khan, the caravan-master, to Turkistan a sum which was then refunded from India on the basis of a receipt from Colonel Ridgeway.

On the 15th of Shawwal (17 July 1886) the Russian and English commissioners held a negotiating session and discussed the demarcation of the border. After much talk back and forth, the Russian commissioner said, "Aside from the fact that we have agreed to the border at the place of residence (*sukūnat*) of Muhammad Tahir Khan, the Russian government agrees to no other

³⁷ RM: This paragraph was censored from Fayz Muhammad's manuscript. (See Tehran 1994 edition, p. 239, and note)

place." Since this claim of the Russians would have meant enormous loss to the government of Afghanistan, if this declaration of his had been accepted in the meeting and certainly the locales of Khamyab, Wali, Islam, Chakas, Juybar, and some of the watercourses of Qarqin would have gone out of the hands of the Afghans, the English commissioner had no choice but to reject what he said and so they referred the matter to their respective governments.

During this time several leaders of the Turks of Khuqand who had close ties and kinship with the Qibchaq people and also were allies of the Qirghiz people there entered Khanabad seeking assistance. They declared to Sardar °Abd Allah Khan what was on their minds which was to get his help to gain admittance to court, to seek help from His Majesty and thereby to create turmoil in Russia. He sent all of them on to the threshold where the world seeks refuge. When they experienced the favor of kissing the throne whose domes are the heavens they laid their petition before His Majesty saying,

Having sought the shelter of the God-given government, we hope for its help and assistance so that with the aid of that pious government, having attacked the Russians we may achieve peace and security under the shadow of the protection of the padshah of Islam and be rid of the oppression and tyranny which the Russian government visits on us. In this all the Islamic people of Mawarannahr are united with us. To this end some of the leaders of Andijan and Yarkand also accompanied us as far as the manzil of Quqar but out of fear of the Russian government lest it find out and cause them harm and also because of the extreme cold and excess of snow they turned back from there.

His Highness, realizing that any insurrection by the Islamic people of Mawarannahr would cause embarrassment to the English government /505/ whose commission had entered the territory of Afghanistan out of friendship as a fair and impartial mediator, resolved to transform conflict into peace, did not want to see it discomfited and shamed before the great nations of the world. So he advised them in (vague) terms appropriate to the occasion to be obedient to the Russian government and not to turn their faces away from its authority. He honored them by bestowing *khil°ats* and gave them leave to return home.

As several days had now passed since the interruption in the demarcation of the Turkistan border and no letter had arrived from Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan about it, on Friday, the 5th of Zi'l-Qa°dah (5 August 1886), a note went out from His Majesty to Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan saying,

We don't know how the discussion about Khamyab has turned out. What did the Russian and English commissioners say to each other? And what have they done and what have they agreed to? In fact, what are you doing? And what are you saying? And why is it that there isn't a continuous stream of (even) a couple of lines and a few words coming to me from you? You're giving me no information about the

rules(*qawā'idī*) which they're setting dow. What is the Russian commissioner's view today and do the English disagree with him or do they agree? And your own views, what are they, are they this or that? You have got to record and send to me everything that you observe, whether it is agreeable or disagreeable to you or to the Russian and English commissioners.

Since a copy (*rū-yi nawishtah*) of Colonel Ridgeway's letter had reached the throne at this time by way of the viceroy of India, (His Majesty) (also) wrote,

From the letter of the viceroy which has come to my attention and in which he expresses some of the things that he has been thinking about, thus he has written that agents of the Russian government have won officials of Afghanistan to their point of view with enticements and allurements and with deceit and artifice. From the letter of the viceroy it seems that the friendly overtures which the Russians have made to you and the meetings you have had with them have been distasteful to the English nature and something of a hardship for them to bear. Therefore I have to tell you that these people, in protesting and finding fault, don't want other nations to hold Afghanistan in high regard or be inclined to befriend Afghanistan or be cautious about provoking its people. In such circumstances it is incumbent for you to be exceedingly circumspect in, and keep a tight rein on, your own affairs. Also, it would be height of prudence if you were to have a general idea of the contents of my answers to the viceroy's questions. And another thing: what we have learned from Parliament and the declarations of the ministers of the English government is that our esteemed friend, the prime minister, Mr. Gladstone, is now an ally and advocate of the government of Afghanistan. He recognizes our royal person as a true friend and he knows that our unity and friendship will be the occasion of the strength and perpetuation of his government. The truth is that he knows this well while Colonel Ridgeway thinks us friends of the Russian government and ill-wishers of the English government because whatever he writes to the officials of his government is always to the detriment and injury of our affairs. The English whose views are opposed to those of their prime minister give preference to the words of Colonel Ridgeway and adduce proofs and evidence (in support of him). Since he is the brother of the foreign secretary, through him he makes other officials ally with him. Whatever he writes and informs his government about will be agreed to by others who have embarked on the path of opposition to the prime minister. Thus the contents of Colonel Ridgeway's letter dated the 19th of Shawwal which was read in Parliament the circumstances of which have reached us is this:

'the Russians have claimed Khamyab and Prime Minister Gladstone has given a worthy answer to the Russian government saying, 'this

place which for thirty-seven years has been in the possession of Afghanistan will not be surrendered to the Russian government.' What has that excellency noticed that he would give the Russians such an answer? What benefit does Afghanistan derive from this land which is summer quarters for five thousand Turkmen nomadic households? This will be some twenty miles of both desolate and arable land of Khamyab. If we oppose the Russians on this kind of thing, we will regret it.' The end.'

So, from these words of Colonel Ridgeway which were written down and sent to Parliament, it is clearly understood that he wants Afghanistan's affairs to be so ruined and disgraced that it would cede its own land to Russia and involve its people in enmity and war. You must be very wary of him because he will never be a true friend (of Afghanistan). Concerning Khamyab, consider the words of Prime Minister Gladstone to be the binding ones (*manūt wa marbūt*), hold fast to them, and never surrender a single *gaz* (of land), for any relinquishing or surrendering of this place is a hardship and will be a cause of malfeasance. Also, from these recorded words of his letter / **506** it was discovered that this fellow has made a gift to the Russian government of every place along the border of land belonging to us on account of the (Russian) claim that was indicated above thus throwing us into conflict with it (the Russian government). You should display towards the Russians the kind of behavior and demeanor, that, although we have no treaty, pact, or agreement with them nor any inherent fondness for them, still we have no thoughts of treading the path of enmity towards them nor of contending with them in violation of the norms and rules governing neighborly relations. You should declare to them that we will be good neighbors to them for many years to come and that we hope that they too, considering the status and greatness of their government, will resolve in their hearts to cause no embarrassment, discomfort, trouble, or injury to their good neighbor. If others wish to embroil us in hostility with them, because of their own aims and schemes, we will steer clear of their stratagems as long as reason remains in our head and as long as we sit on the throne of kingdom and kingship . In this way, similarly sound thoughts and ideas will not desert them so that they leave the path of what is good and choose the road of what is bad. The end.

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Also during the unfolding of these events of the month of Shawwal of this year, the first-born jewel of noble degree and the brilliant star of highest apogee, the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan was contracted in marriage to the moon of chastity's and purity's sphere, the good-natured daughter of 'Abd al-Majid Khan, brother of the martyr, Muhammad 'Usman Khan (an account of whose martyrdom was given at the end of volume two) and a royal festive celebration was held the like of which no one alive had ever seen. That banu of

the apartments of honor and respect was deserving of the bridal bower of esteem and veneration.

Meanwhile, Colonel Ridgeway, who because of the aforementioned correspondence had been chastised and admonished by the viceroy and been ordered to return to India, notified Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan by letter that he had been summoned to India with the surveyors. He also wrote that he would go to India by the fastest and most direct route because having referred clarification of the matter of Khamyab to the ministers of the two governments who were in London it would be a lengthy process. His first thought was to go via Kabul, have the pleasure of a meeting there with His Majesty, gain an understanding of His Majesty's view on the demarcation of the borders and the erection of boundary markers, and then, with his permission, continue on to India. Then after meeting with the viceroy, he would go on to London. Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan wrote an answer contrary to these declarations of his saying,

Letting Khamyab slip from our hands means losing Aqchah, and the loss of Aqchah will lead to the loss of all of Turkistan which belongs to Afghanistan, indeed it may lead to the loss of Hindustan. It was good that you rejected what the Russian commissioner wanted.

Regarding his return (to India) he wrote,

You should inform His Majesty and whatever route he designates, whether it be through Iran or Afghanistan, that is the one you should take.

After this reply of Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan's, Colonel Ridgeway again sent a message saying,

What is it that the people of Afghanistan imagine about the erecting of boundary markers? Won't they consider these markers a barrier that prevents the Russians from advancing against Afghanistan? Although the boundary markers themselves obviously can't block the path still implicitly the erecting of the boundary markers is a way to prevent the Russians from rashly advancing for once the boundary markers are fixed, the towers are erected, the maps are drawn and are sealed by the governments and all the people of London see that and are made aware of it, any time the Russian government transgresses the border no nation or government in Europe will tolerate it. They will see it as a rending of the veil of their own integrity if they don't stand up to the Russians. Thus a Russian advance beyond the towers and markers delimiting the border would be a declaration of war against the whole of Europe. Therefore completing the business of the border is a guarantee of all this. The Russians have thrown up all kinds of

objections and difficulties and their aim is that the work not be finished and the border affairs not be completed.

Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan met with Colonel Ridgeway and responded to his rejoinder saying, "That's true. In fact, if our government didn't understand these benefits, then why would it have decided to use representatives of the English government as fair and impartial arbiters to clarify border affairs?" Changing the subject, Colonel Ridgeway said,

The reason for our government's assigning engineers to Badakhshan was to map the borders and survey strategic places so that should the enemy ever indicate an intention to violate (the borders), the place would be known and clear to representatives of the English government and what points of the border would be best to defend. There was no other object in mind than this, because the English government considers the kingdom of Afghanistan a strong barrier and an iron wall between India and Russia and has no intention of ever occupying it. (But) if the Russian government should ever harbor the wish to occupy Afghanistan for the reason of conquering India, it will.

Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan gave good answers to his words and the two then parted.

Also during the evening of this day, he met with the Russian commissioner Goldberg /507/ who declared to the qazi, "The investigations which we were responsible for here are finished, the rest will be referred to the government for resolution." Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan replied, "Everything will turn out for the best." The Russian commissioner then said, "The issue here will be resolved by winter." The qazi replied, "It is fine whenever it happens." Concerning the conveyance of his letters which had been via Afghan officials, the Russian commissioner asked that they now be allowed to go back and forth through Charjuy. The qazi agreed, the commissioner was pleased, and expressed his satisfaction with the government of Afghanistan. The qazi said, "It is due to your own humanity (i.e. you are much too kind) that you make such a big deal as to express gratitude for so trivial a thing." Regarding these discussions, Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan said,

I reported to the throne all the amicable and friendly issues (*faqarāt*) which you, on behalf of your government, represented to me vis-à-vis the government of Afghanistan at the meetings we held about the locales of Dawlatabad, Andkhud, and Khamyab. I am now privileged to present to you the answers to those issues in these words: 'Today every leader of a great nation who is wise and able wants to witness the improvement and betterment of the conditions of all God's creatures and they bear in mind the (importance of) preserving their own governments and kingdoms. Of these great leaders, it is worthy of His

Highness, the Wise Ruler, the Emperor of Russia that he should devote his attention to providing security and safety to the worshippers of the Eternal Lord and to eliminating disturbances and tumults of the time so that the friendship of friends and the neighborliness of neighbors is preserved. Of these, Afghanistan should have a permanent right to neighborliness because of the fact that after knotting the thread of amity, the reproach of the Panjdeh incident which had taken root in the minds of the people of Afghanistan has been entirely removed and now there is no dust of resentment for that government on the mirror of their hearts that would lead them to seek revenge. It is hoped that the thread of neighborly rights, the friendship for the neighbor, and the preservation of the status and dignity of the great emperor are strong and unbreakable and will remain so for many years.

Colonel Goldberg, the Russian commissioner, expressed his happiness and pleasure and through his interpreter asked Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan to give him a draft of these declarations of friendship so that he could copy it and return the original. After saying this, he left the meeting. Later, after copying the words, he sent the original back to Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan adding,

The leaders of the God-given government of Afghanistan should not think that the Russian government intends, through these delays and inquiries, to seize two or three farsangs of territory from the periphery of the country of Afghanistan nor to violate Afghan rights. Rather this all has to do with our struggles with the English government.

Replying to what he said, Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan offered soothing words, the meetings came to an end and all further discussion and conversation was concluded.

Afterwards, Colonel Ridgeway first moved his commission from Khamyab to Mazar-i Sharif and then he himself, on Tuesday, the 9th of Ziqaʿdah (9 August 1886) set out for Shadyan. At his request, Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan accompanied him to Shadyan. The commission, which had gone on ahead, entered Mazar-i Sharif on the same day (the 9th). The people of Mazar and its environs, without permission brought sheep, chickens, and vegetable oil to the commission's camp. The English paid four tangahs for things which were worth one tangah and the merchants did a booming business in overpriced goods. When Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan, who at His Majesty's order was obliged to pay the commission's expenses under the rubric of hospitality, became aware of what was going on, he assigned a cavalry guard posted around the commission, stopped the sale of foodstuffs, and jailed seven of the vendors. Colonel Ridgeway went to Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan and complained about Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's action (*muʿāmalah-i* and protested it. This was all reported by Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan to His Majesty and on Tuesday, the 16th of the month, he instructed the qazi in a manshur,

Colonel Ridgeway's agenda makes his impartiality suspect. He thinks that no one can see through his posturing. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan is just fulfilling the responsibility that the government requires of him and the reason for his posting guards around the commission is to protect it and keep people from selling foodstuffs to it directly.. Also it is his responsibility that no financial loss should befall the commission from thieves and others so that the reputation of our government is not sullied and demeaned and so that whatever the *British party* (*urdū*) requires is provided by the government. If we didn't do this, first the enws of the (English) coming and then of their giving away the borders (*hadd-bakhshi*) would have caused much unrest. The tongue of his complaining and the rope of his unhappiness stretches all the way from Mazar and Shadyan to Ireland, but who cares? Everyone knows his own affairs best. The end.

On the 29th of Ziqāḍah (29 August 1886) which was the day of the arrival /508/ of Colonel Ridgeway at Mazar-i Sharif, Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan in accordance with the instructions (*dastur al-ʿamal*) which had been issued to him by His Majesty, undertook the formalities of receiving him (the colonel) and assigned Colonel Afrasiyab Khan to welcome him with two hundred regular cavalry from the Haydari Regiment. Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan who had entered Mazar-i Sharif ahead of Colonel Ridgeway went out as far as Sar-i Nahr to welcome him with Sardar Sultan Ahmad Khan and a contingent of Turkman Gushadah cavalry and other officers and rank-holders. (From there) he escorted him with due honor and respect through the Tashqurghan Gate and into the city along with his companions Captain Yate, Major Durand, Nawab Hasan ʿAli Khan Shirazi, Baha al-Din Khan *risālah-dar*, and Qazi Muhammad Aslam Khan and led them to the Public Audience Hall (*dīwānkhānah-i ʿāmm*). All of them amicably exchanged greetings with Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan and sat down on chairs. At the moment of seating, a seventeen-gun salute was fired to celebrate Colonel Ridgeway's arrival. After the formalities of welcoming were concluded, they all retired to their (assigned) places. The next day Colonel Ridgeway invited Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan to meet him at his own place but because Muhammad Ishaq Khan was not feeling well he sent his son, Sardar Muhammad Ismaʿil Khan, instead. He met with Colonel Ridgeway and they exchanged gifts and sat and talked, and then Sardar Muhammad Ismaʿil Khan returned home.

During this time, Saʿid Nazar Khan the son of the late Mir Hakim Khan was promoted by His Majesty to the rank of colonel in the regular Turki (or Taraki?) Cavalry Regiment. A farman was sent to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan telling him that he should consider his military and civil (*niẓāmi wa mulkī*) salary and stipend (*tankhwāh wa mawājib*) to be still authorized and that his civil stipend (*mawājib-i mulkī*) should be paid to his wives (*īyāl*). He should consider his

military salary to be for his own maintenance so that he would not spend his (last) days in any hardship.

The further adventures (*baqīyah-i aḥwāl*) of Colonel Ridgeway, including his return to India by way of Kabul, will be related in due course, God willing.

The Attack of the Infidels of Kambir on the Muslims There, the Insurgency of the People of Najil, and Other Events

During these events, after the punishment of the people of Arit, Shammās, and other places, which has already been recounted, seven hundred infidels living in Kambir who had fled from their homes before the might of the royal army joined forces with infidels of the locale of Wamah and launched an assault on the Muslims of Kambir. Warned of the attack, the Muslims with fifty Sakhlu infantrymen who were garrisoned there to protect the region under the command of Sad Bashi Muhammad Hasan Khan jointly with the men of Utah Pur and Chaghan Saray met and fought the infidels at Rāwan. They dispatched nine of the infidels to the “house of perdition” and wounded Malik Sur, a Katari. Mulla Muhammad Siddiq captured a certain Saʿdik and turned him over to the Muslims of Katar. The mulla insisted that they would keep him from harm. But since in the previous year he had chosen the religion of Islam and during the days of his being an infidel had martyred two sayyids from the Sakhlu infantry, Mahmud Khan, the nephew of Malik Muhammad Akram Khan killed him and wounded two of his brothers who had secretly come to find out what had happened to him. The kafirs of Katar learned of this and three hundred men prepared to avenge it. With the help of the people of Mamund they attacked the Islamic people of Kambir and killed five men and one woman of the Muslims living in Rawan and then withdrew.

During this time, a regular infantryman from the Miyan Rahim Khan Regiment who had set out from Lamqan for the army camp (*urdū*) stationed in Kunar, was shot and killed by two bandits from Divgul in the vicinity of Islampur. Guards posted there on hearing the shots quickly jumped up and went to the spot of the murder. The bandits had fled but they pursued them. When they ascended Kuh-i Kandir, they killed the son of a certain Nuran from Divgul and one of the robbers and wounded his companion. The wounded bandit joined up with fifteen friends who were on the mountaintop and all managed to get to safety.

Meanwhile, the people of the mountains of Najil, Atub, Jilgah, and Darrah-i Mil, due to the fact that Sahibzadeh Gulab Shah had spread a rumor of the death of His Majesty rebelled and withdrew their heads from the writ of the farman. They entered Najil on the path of rebellion and insurrection and seized three or four forts which they destroyed by fire. Because of this outbreak, the men and women living in Tah Gul out of pride rose up to defend themselves and killed or captured seven of the rebels. News of this reached the percipient ears of His Majesty from officials there /509/ and he sent instructions to Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan to speedily go from Lamqan to Najil and crush the rebels.

Similarly, he told the governor of Jalalabad to dispatch the tribal levies (*mardum-i ulūsi*) of that region to punish the evildoers. He summoned the sahibzadeh to Kabul to give him what the fruits of his wickedness deserved. Sardar Gul Muhammad, as quickly as he could, set the tribal levies of Lamqan to the task, drove out the rebels, and seized the forts which they had taken, killing one of the rebels and capturing six others. The rest fled into the mountains of misery. At the order of His Majesty, Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, the governor of Lamqan brought the prisoners to the gallows of justice (*bi-dār-i siyāsat kashīdah*) and executed them.

Also during this time, Malik Ghulam Siddiq Najili who at first was a leader of the tribal *lashkar* and an ally of the sovereign, but at the height of the conflict turned his face away from the government and joined forces with the rebels, with a group of seditious people and Muhammad Akbar Khan Najili, after the flight of the rebels to Badyalah, went against Darwish ʿAli Khan, a retainer (*mulāzim*) of Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan and asked the people there to hand him over so that he could kill him. But they refused and attacked him. Two of the evildoers and one of the government well-wishers were killed and one (of the latter) was wounded. Now the flames of insurrection flared up and the rebels were emboldened. They seized the area around the quarters of Malik Laʿl Muhammad Khan who had stationed himself in Qalʿah-i Kasuk (Kasuk Fort) with two hundred and fifty men, his intent being to punish the rebels, and laid siege to it. Two hundred and fifty tribal levies in Kutah, three hundred at the mouth of the Kupnan Valley, and two hundred at the mouth of the Mil Valley who were stationed there battle-ready, along with a thousand men assigned to Mandul learned of the attack, fell upon the rebels who were seven thousand strong and had surrounded the (Kasuk) fort, and shed the blood of many. Three of the royal tribal force were killed and nine wounded. Ultimately, the group of evildoers put their backs to the fray and turned their faces towards flight. As they fled they made off with the livestock of the people of that region. As the news of this uprising spread, the people expelled from Kulman who, had been resettled in Badakhshan, as a consequence of their own insurrection which was related above, left there and joined the evil-doing group and in a short time assembled and attacked the people of Saw. They put Malik Ilyas and his wives and children to the sword and then headed towards the government garrison (*qalʿah-i sarkāri*). They trapped Muhammad Shah Khan *kūmidān* in the fort with the regular and Sakhlu infantry that he had with him and laid siege to it. Just before they were besieged they clashed with the rebels and twenty-one regular infantrymen were killed or wounded. Captain Mir ʿAlam Khan with three regular infantry was captured by the wicked group, Sad Bashi Sikandar Khan was also killed and another *ṣadbāshī* along with six Sakhlu infantrymen went missing and whether they were dead or alive was unknown. The survivors then retreated into the fort and fortified themselves against the siege.

At this time, the people of Niyazi and others who had approached that place to aid and support the besieged were blocked by those evildoers who

commanded all the strategic spots (the high and the low areas) and so were prevented from assisting the besieged in time.

Meanwhile, thanks to the bolstering of the confidence of that savage group, the people of Saw also rose up and became one with them in wickedness. Then too, the residents of Waygul, Janishah Gul, Chatla, and Lach Darak broke out in revolt. General Mir ʿAta Khan learned of the flaring up of this conflagration and assigned fifty Niyazi men to assist the besieged. They too were unable to reach those in the fort because the rebels prevented them. General Mir Ata Khan, angered at the number of the evildoers and the size of the throng of wicked people, now sent one hundred regular infantry and one hundred Sakhlu infantry, under the command of a captain, to go help the besieged and ordered them to recruit tribal levies from the valley and elsewhere and however they could to link up with the people inside the fort. Through the reports of General Mir ʿAta Khan and other royal officials, the whole tumultuous series of events reached the justice-perceiving ears of His Majesty. He gave Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, who, as recounted above, had been summoned by farman to Kabul and granted the happiness of an audience with His Majesty, leave now to return with two regiments of regular infantry and six artillery pieces. He also sent General Mir ʿAta Khan a farman to leave one of his regular infantry regiments in Kunar under the command of Muhammad Amir Khan /510/ *karnayl* along with four pieces of artillery and he himself with the rest of the army march against the rebels and crush them. Since prior to this he had sent this colonel with a regular infantry regiment and two artillery pieces from Kunar to Lamqan, as soon as the order of His Majesty arrived he stopped the regiment and its two cannons from proceeding to Lamqan, stationed them in Kunar and he himself left Kunar for Saw and Kalman by way of Waygul. Meantime, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan reached Lamqan and there began preparing the means to punish and crush the rebels—as will come—God willing.

The Rebellion of the People of Baghran

Also during the tumultuous events of this year, the people of Baghran, at the instigation of a certain Mir Khan refused to sell their grain to the government stores and set out on the road of rebellion. Mawla Dad Khan learned of their insurrection from a letter written by Naʿib Najib Allah Khan and reported it to the throne. No order had yet been issued by His Punishment-Instructing Majesty when those people turned to the path of repentance and placed the rope of obedience around their necks. After they submitted and agreed to be compliant, a royal order (*ḥukm*) was issued in the name of the abovementioned governor (Najib Allah Khan). It said, “This matter should not be treated lightly, as something trivial. The people of Baghran themselves should hand over to government officials those people who were the architects of corruption and led people onto the path of error, along with Mir Khan so that they could be put hard up against the just recompense for their deeds, as an example to others.”

Consequently Mawla Dad Khan, in accordance with the royal order, assigned a group of khans of that region along with their men to pursue the evildoers of the Khaluza'i and Pirza'i tribe who had taken the path of deviancy. They took into custody four men from the Khaluza'i and one of the sons and nephews of Mir Khan—a total of six people—and brought them to Mawla Dad Khan. He removed them all from Zamin Dawar and imprisoned them, along with the wife of Mir Khan and two other sons of his whom he had had by this woman. Mir Khan, having learned of the detention of his wife and children, asked a group of ulama to intercede on his behalf, proceeded to the manzil of Dahanah-i Du Ab on the road of humility seeking forgiveness for his crime, presented himself before Mawla Dad Khan and begged pardon for his failings. The latter, ordered on behalf of the sublime royal personage to seize him and other troublemakers, put him under arrest and handed him and the other captives, all in chains, over to Muhammad 'Umar Khan, the governor of Baghran, and instructed him to send them to the prison in Qandahar. Consequently (Muhammad 'Umar Khan) dispatched them all to Qandahar under the escort of Taj Muhammad Khan 'Aliza'i and the Gushadah cavalry who were his followers. (Taj Muhammad Khan) took them under guard as far as Musa Qal'ah, where he abandoned them, and himself chose to run off. Those prisoners, in the talons of government punishment, released the shackles that bound their feet and scattered. Mawla Dad Khan learned what had transpired and, with great effort, he again rounded them up, one by one, and dispatched them to Qandahar. He also sent a bailiff (*muhaṣṣil*) to the house of Taj Muhammad Khan who had decamped, abandoning the prisoners, so that he himself should be taken into custody. Realizing that his wives and children were now subject to punishment, (Taj Muhammad) in order to preserve his (male) honor (*nāmūs*) came to Mawla Dad Khan and was cuffed and shackled. After a royal order was issued, he was brought to the gallows of justice as a lesson to others.

During this trouble, a dispute broke out between the Barakza'i and 'Aliza'i over underground irrigation channels (*qanāts*) located in Nawzad in Pusht Rud and they fought with each other in particular over the water rights (*haqqābah*). His Majesty having obtained information (*istiḥṣār*) thanks to the letters from the two sides, simply to put an end to the tribal dispute which otherwise would lead to internal trouble, bought the canals himself from his own pocket. He deputized Mawla Dad Khan, the governor of Pusht Rud, to act as his attorney in the transaction and paid the sum of seventy-six thousand rupees, the value set by two arbitrators. The money was sent from the Qandahar treasury, along with a mufti from the qazi's office there and one cashier (*taḥwīldār*), to Mawla Dad Khan in order for him to disburse the funds to all those people, young and old, whether as principals or as attorneys (for others), and to collect the deeds and send them to His Majesty. The people there dispatched a few of their leaders to the throne of world refuge out of repentance and abasement and after they obtained the exquisite delight of kissing the sublime threshold and receiving the honor of an audience expressed their abject apologies for the dispute and

together vowed unity. They acknowledged that if His Majesty should give up his plan to purchase their lands and canals and forgive them, they would consider his blessed personage to be the cause of ending the conflict and they would never again get into a fight. And should they fail to live up to this promise, they would turn over to the public treasury the sum that had been fixed for the purchase of their canals and lands as a fine. His Majesty who would always freshen the face of agreement with rouge and make the plantation of harmony verdant with water from the canal of justice /511/ agreed to this and gave up his plan to purchase the lands and underground canals of those two tribes.

During this time, through the following proclamation from His Majesty it was announced to the nomadic Durrani people that they were to go and settle in the Badghisat and Murghab. This was the proclamation:

At this time an idea that has been on my mind for seven years and would benefit my tribes is this: I want to fill Murghab and Badghis, dependencies of Herat with my people, and make them prosper so that they would gain surcease from the hardships of life. Therefore, those places which the Turkmen have raided and plundered and thus left ruined and arid, now that those people have placed the rope of obedience to Russia around their necks, the lands which are in the Badghisat and are pastureland for livestock and watered by the Murghab River and are fine pastures for animals and attractive places for people to reside have been clearly separated from lands subject to Russia by virtue of the demarcation of the borders. For livestock owners (*mardum-i māldār*) and farmers it is an open land (*ṣaḥrā*) attractive and providing forage and it is a heart-stopping and mind-astounding haven. For landless folks, it is a heavenly place for earning a living. For livestock owners it is a pasture full of herbage and a wide variety of flowers which the Lord, out of His limitless care, has granted us. So, you nomadic maldars of Pusht Rud and Qandahar are hereby notified that you should go there in search of profit and stay and live there. Advances to you like cows, seed, travel expenses, and rental costs for pack animals, all of this will be given to you by the government. You should consider other expenses to be covered by (royal) generosity. Beginning with the third year you will repay the advances and then from the fourth year on you will pay the (usual) land taxes year after year in accordance with bills (*hawālah*) issued by the diwan people and (be taxed at the rate of) twenty-five percent on income on irrigated land and ten percent on dry-farmed land. On this issue (of moving to the Badghisat), consult among yourselves and if you decide to do that, you should go to the governors near you and collect the travel expenses, set off, and take up the business of cultivation. The end.

They did not, however, agree to this and rejected this brilliant idea of the far-seeing mind of His Highness. Taju Khan Ishaqza'i, who had been summoned by farman on this matter and was in the royal presence, accepted the obligation to move those people and so became the object of royal favor. His Majesty gave him instructions saying that he should first go to the governor of Qandahar who would summon the leaders of all the tribes and exhort them (to move). If some people with their own agendas make trouble he should notify the throne so that punishment could be meted out and no one be outside the tribal group. Then he should give for every tribe an order concerning how they would be divided up for the move.

A farman went to Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor of Qandahar and Sardar Muhammad Yusuf, the governor of Farah about these instructions. It said that they should extend help and support to Taju Khan. Likewise, a farman went out to the leaders of all the tribes, such as Allahdad Khan, Qamar al-Din Khan, Muhammad °Uthman Khan, and Shah Pasand Khan of the Chukaza'i tribe (*qawm*) a branch of the Mandinza'i living in Farah; Mir Afzal Khan, Shindu Khan, Muhammad A°zam Khan, Muhammad Hakim Khan, and °Ata Muhammad Khan of the Nurza'i; Buland Khan Kakari, Saydal Khan Bakhtiyari, Shir Muhammad Khan, Nazar Khan Sini, Mulla Rahman, Munaris Khan, °Azamat Khan, and Nur Muhammad Khan Ghilja'i, graziers of the Zamindawar district; Mulla Tuman, Sayf al-Din Akhundzadah, Mulla Hamid, Muhammad °Azim, Nur Muhammad, Mulla Mihrdil, Muhyi al-Din, Mulla Za°faran, Fath Khan, Mubin Khan, Sarwar Khan, Muhammad Ayaz Khan, °Ata Allah Khan, and Fayz Talab Khan Mandinza'i who made their winter quarters in Pusht Rud. The farman said that if they went to Murghab and Badghis as advised by Taju Khan, that would be the desired thing. If not, they would be forcibly sent there.

With the issuing of this farman of His Majesty, after receiving permission to (leave Kabul and) return and after reaching those aforementioned places, Taju Khan moved 1,363 households as an undifferentiated mass (not dividing them up as the amir intended) from where they were residing, moved them towards Badghis, and reached Herat. From Herat, Col. Dust Muhammad Khan of the °Abbasi Regular Cavalry Regiment was assigned to escort them with several guard units of regular infantry and see that they reached the Badghisat and were settled. When they crossed the Chaghcharan River and entered Aq Gunbad, Muhammad Akram, a retainer of Mir Afzal Khan arrived with a farman he had received from the scribes of the court concerning the return of sixteen households of landholders (*zamindārs*). He read the farman to the people in charge of the move and it was recorded there that there was no order for the nomadic zamindars to settle in Murghab and Badghis and Taju Khan without ascertaining who was a landholder and who was landless, had forcibly moved everyone and on his own initiative and with the encouragement and instigation of Akhundzadah Muhammad °Umar Khan °Aliza'i, Muhammad Shah Khan, Nizam al-Din Khan Barakza'i, Mulla Fayzawi Ghilja'i, Samandar Khan Ishaqza'i, Mir Ahmad Khan °Aliza'i Muhammad Akbar Khan Nurza'i and Ghulam Muhammad Khan °Aliza'i (had moved the sixteen families of

zamindars with everyone else). /512/ Now, they returned to Pusht-i Rud after plundering the property and livestock and trampling the crops of the people of Chaqcharan. His Majesty, informed in letters from officials at Herat, sent farmans to the governors of Qandahar, Pusht-i Rud and Farah and to Taju Khan telling them to detain the (eight) named evildoers and stop harming and troubling (the sixteen families of landholders). As a result of this order from His Royal Highness, these people (the named eight) considered themselves guilty of acting contrary to tribal ways and against national unity, were ashamed of their behavior, and through the mediation of Mawla Dad Khan, the governor of Pusht Rud asked forgiveness and headed for Badghis where they settled.

Meantime, leaders of the Sharah Hazarahs, located in the area of Tirin, took the path of obedience thanks to the wise efforts and judicious counsel of Mirza Haydar Quli Khan of the Qizilbash of Qandahar, who held the post of clerk in the diwan and daftar of the district of Tirin. Three thousand households voluntarily placed the rope of obedience around their necks, left their original homeland and chose to reside in the regions of Ayl Gur, Zafar °Attar, and Qasim Bik located at the end of the Hazarahkat. There they built a qal°ah and settlements and occupied themselves with farming. At the order of the governor of Qandahar, Mirza Haydar Quli Khan sent khil°ats to three of their leaders—Hasan Khan, Mumi Uqi, and Mir Muhammad Husayn Beg as well as a letter of conciliation. They in turn sent two horses to the mirza in acknowledgement. Similarly, the Pahlwan Hazarah tribe began a correspondence with the same mirza over their allegiance and placed their heads under the writ of the farman. Because of this, His Majesty made Mirza Haydar Quli Khan the object of his favors and congratulated him and told him “job well done.”

Also at this time, Muhammad Akbar Khan, an almond-seller in Peshawar, received a farman and established a government bureau (*kūṭī*) and an Islamic Post Office (*dāk-khānah-islāmīya*).

During this time a Frenchman Jerome (*Shūram*) Krishgar,³⁸ an expert at manufacturing cannons, rifles, and other armaments, reached Peshawar. His job was to put into operation the steam-powered workshop which was set up this year in Kabul and the various machines which this “mister” had been sent to Calcutta at his Majesty’s request to buy from Europe and which had arrived in Kabul. As he had chosen to serve this government, Muhammad Akbar Khan, the almond-seller, as ordered by His Majesty, provided for his expenses. The Peshawar commissioner stopped him from proceeding on to Kabul however and together with Afghan officials, asked the viceroy for permission to let him proceed to go to Kabul. Once it was received it, he was sent on. After kissing the sublime threshold and receiving the honor of an audience, he was diligent in serving the government.

Also in these times, Mir Sana Gul Khan was sent to Peshawar by His Most Just Highness to settle issues of dispute between the Afghan Shalmani and

³⁸ RM: H. Kakar and Angus Hamilton both identify this man as M. Jerome. The word “Krishgar” or “Krishkar” is completely unknown to me.

Atmanza'i tribes, subjects of the English government and of Afghanistan. When he arrived, as a sign of hospitality, a monthly stipend was fixed for him of fifty rupees bearing the royal likeness. At first he refused to accept the stipend but then did so after obtaining an order and permission from His Majesty through the English official Barbatten (?) who came to Jamrud to meet and greet him. Also, at the request of Barbatten, who delivered and unloaded his baggage at his place, he met with the Peshawar commissioner who provided a place inside the city for him to stay. He then resolved the issues in conflict between the two tribes to his own satisfaction and that of the English officials and returned to Kabul.

Also at this time, English officials moved Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan at the order and direction of His Majesty to Haripur from Peshawar where he lived. He was the son of His Highness the Amir-i Kabir, the late Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, and had turned his face from the government of Islam.

During these events which have been recounted there was a Frenchman, G. B. Demon (**check**) an expert in mineralogy whom Muhammad Isma'il Khan, a munshi, had requested His Majesty by letter to employ in government service. This was agreed to and an order was issued for him to come to Kabul where he was honored with an audience and granted a large salary. But no minerals were found as a result of his explorations and investigations in the mountains of Afghanistan. Moreover, he mapped the extent of the country, its rivers and mountains, but took the map with him. No other benefit reverted to the government.

During this time, the sons of Mahmud Khan Muhammadza'i living in Tajaw in Arghistan who had turned their faces from the government and from felicity, headed for Kadani in ignorance, found sympathy from Rahim Khan and Salu Khan two Achakza'i, and took refuge with the Achakza'i people. They turned Tubah which is located on the banks of the Kadani River and belongs to the English government, into a center for thievery and /513/ banditry and with several miscreants of the Muhammadza'i tribe began to pillage and plunder. Consequently they injured the son of Shams al-Din Khan Muhammadza'i along with four of his relatives and stole two of his mares. They also seized control of the road to Shalkut which is a thoroughfare for all classes of people and a place over which merchant caravans and other people travel back and forth and thus caused serious disruption. Several times the governor of Herat expressed himself on this issue to Mirza Muhammad Taqi Khan, the news writer for the English government who was stationed in the "city of Ahmad Shah" (Qandahar) requesting he inform English officials so that this problem would be eliminated. But he would say neither yes nor no to the governor until the latter, fed up, sent from Qandahar 150 Sakhlu infantry under the command of Muhammad 'Isa Khan *sartip* to Kadani to patrol the highways and byways and defend against the highwaymen. En route they entered the *khayl* (tribal land) of Rahim Khan, and seized the two mares belonging to the son of Shams al-Din Khan. When the thieves heard of their coming they fled, escaping capture. The infantry contingent took Rahim Khan and his son with them and entered the *khayl* of

Salu Khan. They arrested a grandson of his, Malik Dust Muhammad, along with six Achakza'i thieves. Of the Muhammadza'i thieves residing in Arghistan, they put two of his (Salu Khan's) sons, Shahjahan and Pahlawan, in shackles and fetters and sent all the captives to Qandahar. The governor there imprisoned them and notified the throne.

Because of his letter, His Majesty assessed a fine of 10,000 rupees on the Shirza'i and Angiza'i, branches of the Barakza'i who gave a promissory note (*iltizām-nām,ah*) to pay the ten thousand rupees and pledged to hand over to royal officials their troublemakers but did not do so and even worse had stolen 200 head of sheep. He then sent the governor of Qandahar a farman telling him to execute the thieves (who lived in) Afghan territory and to send those from territory under English jurisdiction to Kabul as prisoners. In accordance with the royal order, the governor forcibly took the 10,000-rupee fine, along with compensation for the 200 stolen sheep, plus six mares and in compensation for the rest (of the thievery?) he confiscated the real estate of them all as property of the state. The thieves from Afghan territory he executed, along with those evildoers whose tribes had handed them over. The thieves who were subjects of the English he sent to Kabul. The Englishman Mr. Barnes sent a letter to Mirza Muhammad Taqi Khan, an employee of his government, with a message that said he should address the governor of Qandahar and request the release of the prisoners who are subject to the English government. Several other similar letters (*chakāmah*) by the pen of the Baluchistan (political) agent and St. John to the governor of Qandahar soon followed. Since he had already sent the thieves to Kabul he kept referring the matter of answering the letters to His Highness until the wishes of the aforementioned officials of the English government became clear in the royal mind. At that point he ordered the governor to answer those letters saying the thieves would not be freed. In like manner, if English officials arrest any thieves from Afghanistan they should not release them either. After much discussion, negotiation, and correspondence they were sent back to Qandahar, they gave guarantees (of good behavior), and were freed.

Also in these times, a regular infantry regiment of the Durrani of Qandahar was assembled at His Majesty's order and was summoned to Kabul with Mirza Sayyid °Ali Khan. In the vicinity of Ghazni they were attacked by some Andar people who had drawn their heads from the pocket of rebellion as will be recorded in due course, God willing.

His Majesty Goes to Kuhdaman, the Princes Travel toward Lahugard, and Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and Col. Ridgeway Set out from Turkistan heading for Kabul

In Zi'l-Hijjah 1303 His Royal Highness unfurled the victorious banners intending on an outing to Kuhdaman and Kuhistan of Kabul and the sublime royal princes Sardar Habib Allah Khan and Sardar Nasr Allah Khan touched the skies with their glorious banners, heading to Lahugard for the hunt. At Sapid Sang, Sardar Muhammad °Umar Khan, the governor of the Lahugard district, came out to welcome them and received the honor of kissing the stirrups of both

princes. Then they all rode together to the Qal'ah-i Malik Hamid where they stayed. They made that *qal'ah* the landing place of light for three nights and then brought their light and luster to Muhammad Aghah. They spent two nights there then camped on the lands of Moghul Khayl. After two nights there, spent in conviviality and enjoyment they arrived in Barki Rajan where they stayed awhile. /514/ During the days of their stay, Muhammad 'Umar Khan, the governor of Lahugard, presented the princes with six Herati horses, one bolt (*tūp*) of Turkistani *qāqmah*, two of *kurk*,³⁹ a three-piece set of glasses (? *yak 'adad-i gīlās-i sih tikkah*), and seventy sheep. They gave five of the horses (back) to him and the rest of the gifts they turned over to officials of the court and by accepting lifted the head of Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan's pride to the zenith of glory.

Meantime, the felicitous retinue of the imperial star, the justice-dispensing, tour-making, and hunt-mounting party, arrived in Bagram where the royal party honored the place with a stay of several days. An account of His Majesty's and the royal prince's return to Kabul will come in due course.

Meanwhile, on Sunday, the sixth of Zi'l-Hijjah 1303 (5 August 1886), a telegraph message from Lord Eadsley (?) reached Col. Ridgeway telling him that Russia and England are agreed that the two governments' commissioners cannot resolve between themselves the line and points of demarcation at Dukji and the Oxus River. Therefore the commissioners must return and the resolution of the matter, with the approval of His Majesty, will be by a direct writ (? *bi-khaṭṭ-i mustaqīm*). After receiving this news, Colonel Ridgeway informed Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan of it in writing and also wrote

In this case, the present situation will stand and I have been ordered to return to India by the nearest route. The viceroy has also informed His Highness about this and so I want to return home next week.

Consequently, on the 16th of Zi'l-Hijjah, after meeting Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan he moved from Shadyan and reached the shrine (*mazār*) of Baba 'Ali Shayr where he stayed four days. On the 20th he left and reached the halting place of Qal'ah-i Tall, thence on to Tashqurghan and Aybak where he assigned two of his staff engineers and someone from Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan's staff to prepare a map of the borders of Tashqurghan and Aybak. On Sunday, the 21st of Zi'l-Hijjah, he reached Bukah with the qazi. They stayed two days there and then together went on to Kurmar. On the 25th of the month they rejoined the commission. When they entered Tashqurghan its governor and the governor of Aybak performed the rites of welcome, presenting gifts and whatever was necessary. They moved on from there and at Ghaznigak Colonel Ridgeway, at Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan's request, stopped Muhammad Husayn Khan *risālah-dar* the son of Rajab 'Ali Khan Hazarah from leaving the commission and holding

³⁹ RM: The editor of the 1994 edition says *qāqmah* is a kind of cloth. See above for *kurk*. (fn. ?)

talks and negotiating with the Hazarahs and others. Prior to this he had met and talked with the mirs of Hazarah-i Day Zangi.

The account of their arrival in Bagram and the honor of meeting with His Highness in Kabul, God willing, will come in its proper place.

Various Events Which Occurred in the Course of this Year

During the course of the events of this year—1303— the Frenchman, Mr. Jerome Krishgar, who had sought employment and service with the government of His Most Esteemed Majesty and had been sent to Frangistan to buy equipment and machinery for the steam workshops which was newly built by royal command, bought all the basic equipment and delivered it. So began the manufacturing of weapons like cannons, rifles, cartridges, and other implements of war useful for a government. Things little by little progressed to the point that a textile factory and other (manufacturing establishments) came into existence and are operating as will be mentioned in due course, God willing. All this through the wonderful efforts of His Highness, the one who wishes to elevate the nation (*millat*), I mean the “Royal Lamp of the Nation and the Religion,” the producer (*bānī*) of this book.

During these events, Mir Abu'l-Qasim Khan who, after the dismissal of Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, his brother, from the office of *mustawfi* of the Central Diwan (*dīwān-i a'la*) had come to Kabul with family and relatives from Mazar-i Sharif because of a farman of summons, as was already recounted, was appointed to the office of chief of the bureau of audits for those who receive government salaries. Mirza °Abd al-Rashid Khan was named by His Majesty *sardafar* (bureau chief) of the Northern Department (of the Central Diwan), Mirza °Abd al-Ra'uf Khan, the nephew of the late Mirza °Abd al-Razzaq Khan *mustawfi*, was appointed head of the Western Department, Narinjan Das Hindu as bureau chief (*sarrishtahdār*) of the Southern Department, and Mirza Muhammad Zaman Khan as *sardafar* of the Eastern Department so that not a single one of the three groups (*tawā'if-i sihgānah*)⁴⁰ would be disappointed in the government and turn away from it.

Also at this time, His Majesty issued an order concerning °Abd al-°Ali Khan Hazarah-i Malistani and his nephew, Muhammad Nabi Khan, both of whom were enemies of Bunyad Khan and had been assigned a salary as well as the leadership /515/ of the Malistani people. (It was ordered that if Bunyad Khan would not surrender to them leadership of the tribe, he would annually have to pay them a supplement of 1,000 rupees over and above the salary already fixed for them. Bunyad Khan refused to pay this sum and wrote to the throne saying the people of Malistan have no means to pay any sum beyond their land taxes. At his urging the people also petitioned His Majesty in the same terms as his. Since the Malistan revenues were annually 400 head of sheep, and a sheep at

⁴⁰ RM: Whom exactly Fayz Muhammad meant by the “three groups” is not wholly clear. Certainly Qizilbash and Hindu are two of them and perhaps the name of one of the other appointees would imply a third group to a knowledgeable reader.

that time was valued at two rupees, the total tax thus being 800 rupees, and since °Abd al-°Ali Khan and Muhammad Nabi Khan had pledged (to collect) more than that, His Majesty was angered and ordered the governor of Ghaznin to collect from Bunyad Khan and the people of Malistan two thousand rupees—the arrears of the prior two years—along with 1,000 rupees and four hundred sheep for a total of 3,800 rupees. He also ordered that this 1,000 rupees (in compensation for Bunyad Khan keeping the leadership) should not be assessed on the subjects but Bunyad Khan himself should pay it out of his own pocket. The governor of Ghaznin sent Sayyid Muhammad Tahir Sarabi to Bunyad Khan and told him about the royal order, saying that if he should refuse, an army would be assigned to crush and annihilate him. Frightened, he agreed to the 1,000 rupees in addition to (the annual levy of) the four hundred sheep. After learning what had transpired, His Majesty sent a farman to the governor of Ghaznin and told him to summon Bunyad Khan to Ghaznin and put him under watch.

After this, at the order of His Majesty, Pir Muhammad Khan Baluch, the governor of Jaghuri was also dismissed, and Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan was appointed to take his place. Six mule guns were sent as a precautionary step to Jaghuri so that if the people of Malistan should raise the head of rebellion they could be quickly crushed. A regiment of infantry was also dispatched from Kabul to take up station in Ghaznin. Because of the good fortune that had smiled on them before the arrival of the collectors from the governor of Ghaznin, the people of Malistan had sent 2,000 rupees and 400 sheep to Sarab to Sayyid Muhammad Tahir Khan and they were now returned. The governor of Ghaznin summoned their leaders and derived an inventory from their own testimony of the division of tax payment in Malistan. It came out that every year Bunyad Khan would collect 660 sheep, 110 *sīr* of oil (*rawghan*), 137 *kharwār* and four Kabuli *sīr* of wheat, and five and one-half *sīr* of wool from "red-haired" lambs. Of the total, he would give four hundred sheep to government officials. The governor of Ghaznin demanded all of it and, not being satisfied with that, he assigned Mirza Fayz Allah Khan, Jan Muhammad Khan, and Rahmat Allah Khan with several of their men to Malistan to conduct an investigation. Four (Malistani) men were kept in Ghaznin as bond. Consequently, after the investigation, the people of Malistan willingly accepted 12,000 rupees as their assessment and pay it annually.

Also at this time, the people of Sulayman Khayl, who harbored an ancient enmity towards the Kharuti and Nasiri people, violated the treaty which His Majesty, as was mentioned above, had extracted from them in 1303 in Jalalabad to end their feuding, and attacked the Nasiri, killing twelve, and stealing ninety-two camels and plundering two households. Royal officials in Kalat and Muqur retrieved sixty-seven of the camels and restored them to their owners. His Majesty was informed of the incidents through reports from his news writers in the region and ordered Sardar Shirindil Khan to collect 63 men from the three tribes who had put their seals to the treaty and hand them over to royal officials to be sent to the throne so that the violation of the pact could be investigated.

This farman was sent accompanied by horsemen from the *kūtwālī* as bailiffs. The Nasiri refused to comply with the royal order, drew their heads from the pocket of rebellion, and did not pay the *zakāt* on their camels to Ghulam Haydar Khan Hazarah who was sent by the diwan to collect it. The *zakāt* was formerly four *‘abbasis* a head but at this time, in accordance with the canonical share, was increased by two *‘abbasis* so that now the total was two rupees. They refused to pay either the original amount or the increase and thus put themselves in a state of rebellion. Ghulam Haydar Khan seized thirty-nine of their camels by force and handed them over to the qazi of Muqur who looked after them until they could be added to the government camel herd (*ushtur-khānah-i dawlatī*). The leaders of the other two tribes (the Kharuti and Sulayman Khayl) came to Ghaznin with the *kūtwālī* cavalymen thence to Kabul where they received the honor of an audience. Since the Nasiri tribe had withdrawn its head from the halter of obedience, His Majesty offered some advice regarding the violation of the pact and offered no other chastisement (to the Kharuti and Sulayman Khayl) giving them all leave to return home. He also ordered that that savage tribe (the Nasiri) not be allowed to enter Afghanistan. As a result of the issuance of this edict and their ugly behavior, the Nasiri people were fearful and went to Daman which is their winter quarters. His Majesty was angered by their action and sent a farman to the governor of Ghaznin which said, “outwardly and inwardly, they have put the rope of censure of the government and the religion (*millat*) around the necks /516/ of the Nasiri tribe. In the spring, it would be proper for you to inform the throne when that tribe leaves Daman for Afghanistan and to prevent them from entering territory which belongs to this government.” If they are obstinate, there was no need for him to hold back in killing and pillaging them. An account of preventing the entrance of that tribe into Afghanistan will be given later, God willing.

Also at this time, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Farah made an effort to occupy the district of Chahgi and sent five hundred horsemen from Chakhansur and five hundred more from Garmsir to that district. As soon as they arrived, they attacked and seized the fort of Chahgi. *‘Ali* Khan, the son of Sar Faraz Khan Baluch who had been inside the fort and had repeatedly inclined the head towards rebellion, escaped to the Khan of Kalat-i Nasir and sought asylum. Mustafa Khan and the leaders of Chahgi went to Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan in Farah to express their obedience and were reconciled and received robes of honor. Mustafa Khan was appointed head of the *khayl* of those people and it was agreed with them that they would give to officials of the Afghan government the revenue from the tax on merchants (*māl al-tijāra*) who traveled back and forth to Sistan in Iran or Shalkut in English territory by way of Chahgi and which to this time *‘Ali* Khan (Baluch) had unjustly appropriated. The camel and the goat which they used to pay to *‘Ali* Khan under the rubric “head of household” (*sar-i khānah*) they would not give to Mustafa Khan. Of the leaders who came to Farah, Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan detained Lallah (sic) Khan whose visage revealed traces of wickedness and told him to summon his family and retainers from Chahgi to Garmsir. Once

they were there he was to go and make that place his home. He gave the others leave to return to Chahgi. After the arrival of Lallah Khan's family in Garmsir, the governor gave him permission to leave as well. He bestowed on him enough land to sustain him, so that he would spend his time tending his crops. After organizing matters in Chahgi, Nizam al-Din Khan with twenty Gushadah cavalry was sent from Farah and assigned to protect the borders of that district.

Also in these times, Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Herat who as previously noted had been appointed governor there as deputy to the prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, wrote the throne and asked permission to pay a visit to the sublime threshold, a request that met with the approval of His Majesty. Shortly after the arrival of the royal order in Herat he suffered epileptic seizures (*marḡ-i ṣarʿ*) which kept him immobile until the 27th of Zi'l-Hijjah when he put on pilgrimage dress (*iḥrām*) for the qiblah where needs are met. He was accompanied by a number of ulama and sayyids of Herat like Miyan Muhammad ʿUmar Khan Sahibzadah, Mir Murtaza Khan, the Mir of Gazargah, Mirza Muhammad ʿUmar Khan the son of Hazrat Sahib Karrukh and others who had been summoned to Kabul because of their positions (*wazāʿif*) in order to have their knowledge (*faqāhat*) examined by Mulla Saʿid Muhammad Khan—better known as Kusaj, Mulla Dad Muhammad Khan, Mulla ʿAbd Allah Khan, and Mulla Qutb al-Din Khan who were assigned by His Majesty to perform this duty. Then they would be given a position commensurate with their comprehension, acuity, knowledge, and intuition.

Also in the month of Zi'l-Hijjah, Andari tribes such as the Marjan Khayl, Lakand Khayl, and others, because the bill for the *sharʿī* tithe on their land had become greater than the land taxes which they paid to the government, they rebelled and made ʿAbd al-Karim, the son of Mulla Din Muhammad, known as Mushk-i ʿAlam ("Fragrance of the World") their leader. His father had departed this world on Thursday night, the 10th of Rabiʿ al-Awwal of this year, i.e. 1303 (7 December 1885). In fact they went so far as to call ʿAbd al-Karim "padshah" and headed for Ghaznin, intending to seize it. The governor of Ghaznin locked the gates of the city and with cannon fire prevented the Andaris from taking it. Going to the forts of the Tajiks living around the city, they gained their friendship and support. The Tajiks did not bar their gates to them, but gave them food and lodging and offered their services. This lasted until a royal army under the command of General Ghulam Haydar Khan Urakzaʿi (Urukzaʿi?) was assigned to march on Ghaznin from Kabul and from the region around Ghaznin tribesmen of the Hazarah-i Muhammad Khwajah tribe, the Chahar Dastah, and Jighatu were ordered against the city and crushed the Andaris. The Tajiks gave as their excuse to government officials, as will be detailed soon, God willing, that the Andaris had taken their forts and seized their provisions and fodder by force.

The Events of One Thousand Three Hundred and Four Hijri Nabawi

On Thursday, the first day of Muharram 1304 (30 September 1886), every city, town (*mīṣr*, pl. *amṣār*), district, and locale with a governor received a

written proclamation from His Majesty regarding the blood-wit and fine for murder. /517/

All should know that from the first of Muharram of the year one thousand three hundred and four Hijri, equivalent to the Turkish Year of the Dog (It Yıl) whenever someone intentionally murders another and the murderer is convicted, retaliation should be in accordance with the Holy Law. Should the heirs of the victim be numerous and one of them wants the blood-wit (rather than retaliation) or forgives the murderer, then, since according to the Book there should be no retaliation and killing and (only) the blood-wit is required, therefore it is decreed that the blood-wit must be immediately collected in the same year and delivered to the heirs of the murder victim. Whenever death is caused by negligence or accident, the blood-wit for that may be collected over three years. When a person on military duty is killed by another person and the judgment of the blood-wit is against fellow unit members (people under the same banner) or a craftsperson kills another in his trade, then for a period of three years the sum of 1,166 rupees and two ‘*abbasis* is collected annually, in the first case from the members of the killer’s unit and in the second from his fellow craftsmen who, from a holy law standpoint, are liable (‘*āqila*). If a fine (*jurm*) is necessary, then it should be set according to the ability of the killer to pay and should be collected from him as what is due to the state (*siyāsatan*) rather than what is due according to holy law (*shar‘an*), after the full payment of the blood-wit. If a person is evil and wicked and murders someone else, then a fine equivalent to the blood-wit should be collected from him. If he should be even more wicked, then a fine two or three times the blood-wit should be collected from him, his tribe, his followers, and his relatives. On this matter it is decreed that from the standpoint of political law (*siyāsatan*), having accepted responsibility for the fine, they should pay so that innocent people (*nīkān*) residing in the country will feel secure and the hands of bad people (*badān*) will be prevented from threatening their livelihoods. These few words have been recorded and distributed simply as a means of putting the people of the kingdom of Afghanistan on notice.

Also during this time, the *Rasā’il-i Nājiyah*, *Asās al-quṣāt*, *Hidāyat al-shuj‘ān*, *Naṣā’ih al-ṣibyān*, and *Shihāb al-ḥisāb* were written and printed and distributed throughout the country so that people would know of the requirements of religion, jihad, an ethical education, good manners (*adab*), and geometry (*handasah*), and true belief, and the stupid and the intelligent, the wise and the ignorant all would advance in harmony and be able to tell the good from the bad. Each one of these treatises was presented in a bound volume by His

Majesty to Lieutenant-Colonel Sardar ʿAta Allah Khan, the English emissary, who was appointed to reside at Kabul.

Elsewhere, Qazi Saʿd al-Din Khan and Colonel Ridgeway who with their followers on the twenty-fifth of Zi'l-Hijja of the previous year, as was earlier recounted, had come to Ghaznigak, had left there and on the first of Muharram (30 September 1886) arrived at Chashmah-i Shir and from there had reached Dahanah-i Ghuri. On the third of the month (2 October), because of the difficulty of the road, Colonel Ridgeway himself along with the regular (Afghan) infantry and seven hundred camel loads of the commissariat camped at Dahan Kiyan and waited there. On the fourth, Captain Cotton (? *Katan*) who for the reason recorded (i.e. the difficulty of the road) had been prevented (from joining Col. Ridgeway) now joined the colonel.

On this same day, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Charkhi who as previously written had been given permission to return on account of the rebellion of the people of Saw and Kulman and had marched to Lamqan, camped on the land lying between Badiʿabad and Basram. Having prepared the means of battle on Monday, the fifth (4 October), on Friday, the ninth, he attacked and slew eighteen hundred of the rebels.

On this same day, the Englishman, Colonel Maclean, after parting with Mr. Merk and Captain Delassou⁴¹ at the border of Kushk when they set off for Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar, with the aim of seeing Herat reached Ribat-i Ghuriyan one farsang from Herat. To welcome him, Field Marshal Faramarz Khan sent Rustam ʿAli Khan, his brother-in-arms (? *barādar-i ḥasbī*) with 100 regular cavalry. They escorted him with full honors to the Bagh-i Shahzadah Malik Qasim and there feted him and provided every kind of hospitality.

Elsewhere, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan (Charkhi) having won the day, on Sunday, the eleventh of Muharram rejoined the troops in the Nur Valley (Darrah-i Nur) and Lamqan with the regiments and artillery he had with him and all made camp in one place. They took prisoner forty men and women from Kulman. The rest fled and regrouped in the Pich Valley (Darrah-i Pich). At the orders of the field marshal, tribal militiamen (*mardum-i iljārī*) from the vicinity of Jalalabad and Lamqan went into the mountains, killed several of the rebels, severed their heads, and brought them to the army camp. From there, (the field marshal) marched with the whole force to Najil. En route between those two places, they captured another hundred men and women and killed one hundred more rebels encountered on the heights and in the canyons *and most of the children of these benighted people died of hunger in the mountains.*⁴² A group of frightened people had taken refuge in their darkened houses and were all burned to death and buried beneath the ashes when the regular soldiers torched their buildings. When the soldiers began throwing aside the debris to get at anything

⁴¹ RM: The editor of the 1994 edition (p. 264, n) notes that earlier Fayz Muhammad had spelled this name "Walisu."

⁴² RM: In the 1994 edition. This was deleted from the Kabul edition..

valuable, their corpses started showing up. Also /518/ Qadir Khan, the cousin (on his father's side) of Sayyid Ghulam Padshah, captured ten of the seditious people and sent them to the field marshal from Kuh-i Kishtmand. In addition, another fifty people were taken prisoner from here and there by individual soldiers.

In Herat (meantime), on Monday the twelfth of the month (October 11, 1886) Colonel Maclean, who as was mentioned above had been put up at Bagh-i Shahzadah Malik Qasim, met with Field Marshal Faramarz Khan and official courtesies were exchanged by the two sides. At the conclusion of the meeting (*majlis-i mulāqāt*) the colonel presented the field marshal with a breech-loading double-barreled (shot) gun, a telescope, and a “*fit kampās*.”⁴³ He in turn, at the time of parting, gave the colonel as a gift a horse, a piece of Kabuli double-weave (*tāqah-i patū-yi Kābulī*), a robe of coarse Herati cloth (*kurk*), one piece of Day Zangi *kurk*, and a Kabuli sheep skin (*jild-i pustīn*). On the thirteenth of the month, the colonel left Herat on his return journey. At the manzil of Muzyak, he dismissed Mirza Ya‘qub ‘Ali Khan, the English government news-writer stationed in Herat, who had been at his side up to that point.

Since Mr. Merk's money for expenses had been exhausted, he sent a letter with the mirza to Field Marshal Faramarz Khan and asked for a loan of 4,000 rupees. The field marshal disbursed the money as he had asked and after Colonel Maclean arrived in Mashhad the loan was repaid.

Colonel Ridgeway, meanwhile, en route to his destination, camped with Qazi Sa‘d al-Din Khan at Charikar on Wednesday, the fourteenth of Muharram (13 October). In accordance with His Majesty's order, which the dabir (Mirza Muhammad Hasan Khan?) had written for him, Qazi Sa‘d al-Din Khan turned around and went back to Bagram and was honored with the privilege of kissing the (royal) hand. After enjoying the honor of the meeting and stopping for one night he was given leave to set off after Colonel Ridgeway who was en route to Kabul and at Ribat he rejoined his companions and then with Colonel Ridgeway entered Kabul. Colonel Ridgeway dismounted at the Qal‘ah-i ‘Aliabad which had been prepared for his stay at His Majesty's order. When His Majesty entered the city, the colonel was permitted, through Qazi Sa‘d al-Din Khan, to meet with him at the Bagh-i Babur Shah and again in Kuti Baghchah-i Arg-i Mubarakā. After spending several days, he received leave from His Royal Majesty and set out for India by way of Jalalabad and Peshawar.

Also during these days, the princes of lofty rank who had gone to Lahugard to enjoy themselves and hunt—as was recorded above—settled at Bargi Rajan and there witnessed the crescent moon signaling the first day of Muharram. They stayed ten days and then rode to Mughul Khayl where a beneficent feast for ‘Ashura was laid on for the poor and needy by order of the great princes. In the requisite manner, they sweetened the mouths of the hopeful with the food of their benevolent spread and provided sustenance for many people. Afterwards, they unfurled the loft banners signaling their return to Kabul and in the final

⁴³ RM: “A foot compass. The phrase suggests a transit.

days of the middle ten days of Muharram they alighted at the *dār al-salṭana*, Kabul, and washed off the dust of travel.

*A Detailed Account of the Rebellion of the Andari People
Which was Promised Earlier*

During the events of the previous year and those recorded for this year, there arose a dispute over the assessment of canals belonging to the Andari people, the assessment of the taxes on their tillable lands, and the irrigation (*musāqāt*) of their fruit trees. At His Majesty's command, the governor of Ghaznin endeavored to ascertain the truth of the matter and requested from the Andari leaders a detailed breakdown of the tax on their lands. He compared that with the royal tax register and found a tremendous discrepancy. They were collecting only a tiny fraction of the tax and not registering it with the royal diwan. So the governor of Herat obtained affidavits and promissory notes from them and it was agreed that if the amount they owed was more than ten percent greater than what they had sworn to and set their seals to, they would pay the full amount to government officials and a fine besides. They now were frightened because they knew that what they owed was four or five times greater than what they had declared and rebelliously, they departed Ghaznin without leave and returned to their homes to ready their arms for a struggle. When the governor of Ghaznin, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, learned of their duplicity he sent in their wake one of his people carrying conciliatory letters and asked them all to return to Ghaznin. When the messenger and the letters reached them, their khans and leaders gathered to confer but since their minds were set on disobedience they refused to return to Ghaznin and sent a message back to the governor with his envoy which said,

“We are unable to pay the canonical tithe and if there is any attempt to collect it we will flee. /519/ However, if officials of the diwan don't change the former system (*baṣṭ*) but add a little more in the tax register, we will of course pay it on condition that they don't ask for the canonical tithe.”

From this message and the letters of the (government) news-writers, the governor of Ghaznin recognized the signs of rebellion and sedition on the countenances of the Andaris and sent a report to the throne. Before an order from His Majesty came in response to his report, he dispatched Muhammad Akram, a retainer of his, with a message of counsel to those people and, offering thoughtful, conciliatory, and well-intended words of advice, invited them again to come back to Ghaznin. As the saying goes, “the traitor lives in fear” and their fear was that he would arrest them. So they sent his messenger back empty-handed with a message that stated,

We will go to Ahmad Khan and send him to Ghaznin so that he can put our affairs to rights. If he agree to go, then we will turn to °Abd al-Karim Khan the son of Mushk-i °Alam Akhundzadah, designate him to act on our behalf, and dispatch him to Ghaznin.

This was what they said outwardly, but inwardly they wanted to rise up and whichever of the two men agreed, they wanted to make him the leader of their rebellion. After sending the message, they went to Ahmad Khan but he and °Ali Muhammad Khan would not associate with them and rudely rejected their overtures. Then they approached °Abd al-Karim Khan. Since he was the son of a mulla and had considerable influence in society, with honeyed words and promises of kingship they made his thoughts swerve from the right path of obedience to “the first in authority” (*ūlā’l-amr*). When they had led him up the ladder of provocation, he ordered Fazil Khan Andari to levy one of every two men of his qawm as either a cavalryman or an infantryman and together with others to send three riders to the Sulayman Khayl, to the people living in Zurmat and to the Taraki tribe and invite them to join in the rebellion. Meanwhile Akhundzadeh °Abd al-Karim wanting to mislead government officials so as to get the uprising off to a good start, sent a letter to the governor of Ghaznin saying,

A stone from heaven has fallen on our head and we have not been able to recover from it. So if I say I am just a poor man without tribal connection (*bī-qawm*), sitting with a few students in the corner of the mosque and praying for the long life of the government, and the Andaris whose wickedness is now widely known don’t listen to my words of advice and counsel and ignore what I say, His Majesty and officials of the government will say ‘What does this mean? He is the teacher and the one the people follow. All the people of Islam living in Afghanistan gathered around him to fight the English government so how is it now that the Andari in spite of his preaching and advising or friendship and kinship with him are not obedient and are unwilling to pay the canonical tithe?’ Indeed, I can say in response that at this time there is no regard paid to what is due me as teacher and this is because the padshah has little regard for me. My prestige has been cast to the wind. All eyes are turned to the padshah and I know that whatever I might want is of little consequence. If I advise and exhort the people, it will have no effect, but I will exert myself to the extent I can. This too I know: if the burden reaches such a point that it can no longer be borne, then how can I put the subjects’ minds at ease that the padshah will not harm them? Presently, the enemies of Islam from east to west are in full cry to bring Islam down. We the people, in our own house, are making destruction and distress our full time occupation. What sort of state of affairs is this? The end.

The governor of Ghaznin forwarded the letter on to the throne and then summoned him to Ghaznin by letter telling him to come, arrange things, and then go and give the Andari people good instructions and guidance. When the errant ways of the Andari had been widely bruited about and the reports of the governor and the letter of Mulla °Abdal-Karim Khan were read by His Majesty, on Thursday the 15th of Muharram (14 October 1886) a farman was issued to the governor of Ghaznin which said,

Take care that you don't fail to collect the ten percent which is commanded by God and the Prophet for if they do not agree (to pay it) by the commandment of God and the Prophet they will be censured, and made miserable."

Also, as an ultimatum (*itmām-i ḥujjat*), a letter in His Majesty's radiant hand was written and sent to the Andari leaders. It said,

I hear that you have chosen a path in violation of the Holy Law, that you won't accept the burden of the canonical tithe, and that you want to drive the subjects into the abyss of total destruction. You have no fear of God or His Prophet by allowing these ideas to take root. I write you, is such wickedness true or not? For if it's true, I will order an army readied and will send forces down on you from every direction. If it isn't true, then send an answer quickly and tell me what you're thinking. The end.

Meantime, before the arrival of the honor-conferring manshur, the Andari evildoers who had been preparing the implements of war and engaging in the sending of deceitful letters and messages began open rebellion. At Nani, one manzil from Ghaznin, they attacked a new regiment raised from the Durrani tribe which had been mustered without /520/ weapons⁴⁴ and was traveling from Qandahar to Kabul. The Andari plundered everything they had in the way of clothing, personal effects, bedding, utensils, and baggage (*bārgīrī*) and took prisoner some individuals as well whom they carried off to Mulla °Abd al-Karim, in whose name the sultanic *khutba* was now recited. They killed two men and wounded Ghulam Haydar Khan, a grandson of Rajab °Ali Khan Hazarah, who had been sent at the orders of the governor of Ghaznin with 100 of his horsemen and Sakhlu infantry to help the beleaguered regiment and drive off the Andari rebels. He received three sword wounds, fell from his horse, and was taken prisoner. After a while, through the intervention of Na'ib Karim who was

⁴⁴ FM: The explanation of His Highness for their being weaponless is that they were supposed to come to Kabul, be reviewed by His Royal Majesty and afterwards be inducted into the regular army at which point they would be given weapons. All were fresh-faced youths.

acquainted with the Andari chiefs from before, he was freed and returned to his home where he tended to his wounds. His brother Muhammad Akbar Khan strove valiantly and through his efforts most of the members of the ill-fated regiment were released from Andari captivity and escaped, some to Ghaznin while the majority returned by way of (the territory of) the Ra'na Khayl qawm and entered (the territory of) of the Muhammad Khwajah Hazarah. Then, on feet of flight, they were going to Qandahar when the sons and grandsons of Gulistan Khan Hazarah who were strong supporters and stipendiaries (literally, "eaters of the salt of the favors") of the mighty government, mounted the steed of service and sent back the soldiers from the borders of Zardalu in the Hazarah Char Dastah district, showing them every sign of respect and giving them bread, water, and clothing, replenishing their personal effects and clothing which the rebels had made off with, and with all the horse and foot of Muhammad Khwajah took these people to Ghaznin via Sarab. In similar fashion, the horse and foot of the Hazarah of Char Dastah and Jighatu were assembled and set forth on the path of service to the government. On Tuesday, the 20th of Muharram (19th of October 1886), having proceeded together with the soldiers of the plundered regiment, they camped at Jarmtu. Since at this time, the Andari had occupied all the forts of the Tajiks of Ghaznin, laid siege to the city and had blocked the three Hazarah tribal forces (Char Dastah, Jighatu, and Muhammad Khwajah) from reaching the city, a letter came to the Hazarah leaders from Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, and so they waited at Jarmtu. Also on the 20th, His Majesty learned of the wounding of Ghulam Haydar Khan and the service of the grandsons of Gulistan Khan Hazarah via a report from the governor of Ghaznin and he wrote a letter over his seal that said, "God willing, favors and benefits from the government will be bestowed on the sons and family of Ghulam Haydar Khan and the lineage of Gulistan Khan. Royal favors bestowed on those two families" will be described in due course, God willing.

Also a farman went out to the Tukhi, Taraki, 'Ali Khayl, and Sulayman Khayl people, as well as those of Khust, telling them to assemble under the banner of Sardar Shirindil Khan and to attack from whatever direction Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan should order and disgrace those Andaris who have raised the son of Mushk-i 'Alam to rulership, in opposition to God and His Prophet, have raised the banner of rebellion, and plundered the new Durrani infantry regiment which was coming to the capital to serve God and country. One of them, La'l Gul Khan Gardizi, with 1,500 battle-ready cavalry and infantry, joined Sardar Shirindil Khan. But other tribes joined the rebellion and turned their faces from the welfare of the government and service to it, as will be recorded below, God willing.

On Wednesday, the 21st (of Muharram/22 October), General Ghulam Haydar Khan, with three infantry regiments, one cavalry regiment, six horse-drawn cannon, and Turkistani Gushadah cavalry at His Majesty's order set out for Ghaznin from Kabul.

Meantime, the Andari rebels with °Abd al-Na°im Khan, °Abd al-Zahir Khan, Rahim Khan the brother of Jabbar Khan, and °Abd al-Rahman Khan whom they (the Andari rebels) had established as the commanders of their misguided army sent a man to °Ali Muhammad Khan, chief of the Marjan Khayl qawm who was in Ghaznin and invited him out of kinship to make common cause with them in their evildoing. But since his brother, Shir Muhammad Khan, was in Kabul and another brother, Dad Muhammad Khan, was in Farah with Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and both were serving the government he would not join them, moreover had no wish to associate or join forces with the Andari evildoers, and so he excused himself from any connection with the rebels.

Also during this time, Munshi Muhammad Nadir Khan Hindi who had gone at His Majesty's order to assess, measure, and survey the lands of the °Ali Khayl people, learned of the Andari uprising and hastily departed Dih-i Kajah. He sent a message to the chiefs of the °Ali Khayl requesting protection and assistance and they gave him sanctuary.

During this time the Taraki, to whom His Majesty had sent a farman (telling them) to wreak havoc on the Andari, /521/ withdrew their heads from (obedience to) the farman and at the instigation of Shir Jan Khan, the son of Mir Ahmad Khan, Mamu Khan, Sa°id Muhammad Khan, Shir Muhammad Khan, and Malik Kuk Kuchi robbed the royal governor and carried off as booty all the government money and goods which were in his charge as well as his own money and property. In a similar fashion, the men of °Ali Khayl agreed among themselves that if the Andari were victorious they too would assault and plunder their governor. But if not they would stay quiet. Nonetheless, ultimately they did rise up but before they did they craftily sent a pact (*°ahd-nāmah*) to the throne. It was sent through Munshi Muhammad Nazir Khan; the governor °Abd al-Rashid Khan; the *qazi*, Mulla Muhammad Sa°id Khan; the *mufti*, Mulla Muhammad Mushkin Khan; and the *risālah-dār*, Amir Muhammad Khan Wazirabadi each of whom notarized it. His Majesty, withholding judgment as to whether they were good or bad and vicious or virtuous, said nothing, until their wickedness revealed itself, as will come.

The vile Andari now set their sights on Ghaznin. One of them, Amin Khan Lakand Khayl intended to block government communications for the governor of Ghaznin and the city of Qandahar (with Kabul). With 200 horsemen he rode via Zanjan, Qawl-i Sabzi, and Kharwar in order to stop government letters both from arriving in Ghaznin and going on to Qandahar. He also intended to incite the Wardak people. But the people of those places and others warned him off with rifle shots. He did enter Wardak and met with all leaders of the seven Wardak tribes in Qal°ah-i °Aziz, Darab, and Kamal and after meeting and negotiating with them, he invited them all to join the rebellion. The Wardaks reached agreement with him that whenever the Andari were victorious and occupied Ghaznin, they would turn the face of revolt towards Kabul and bring turmoil to the capital. Until then, they would just wait and see. Ahmad Khan spent the night at the *qal°ah* (-i °Aziz), enjoyed Wardak hospitality and in the morning set off on the route home. Behind them, the Wardaks who had gathered

at the *qal'ah* fired a salvo of shots into the air so that strangers would think that they were firing at the Andaris to keep them from coming among them.

In the course of these events, Andari horse and foot had drawn near Ghaznin to create trouble. They seized Dih-i Khwajah and Dih-i Mirza and began to cause commotion both inside and outside the city walls. They took cover behind the walls surrounding the gardens near the city and, cutting niches in them, began to shoot at the city and its inhabitants. The people inside the city also began firing back from the towers and parapets of the walls. In short, when the Andaris placed the city under siege, a group of Andaris was assigned to Dahanah-i Shir (Lion's Mouth), to the heights overlooking both sides of the gorge, in order to cut off the army which, as was noted earlier, had marched from Kabul to punish the Andaris on the 21st of Muharram.

Meanwhile, General Ghulam Haydar Khan reached the manzil of Shash Gaw with the vengeance-seeking army on Tuesday, the 27th of Muharram (26 October 1886). After casting a baleful eye at the Andaris who were well entrenched on the heights on both sides of Dahanah-i Shir in order to block the road, he made camp.

Meantime, foot and horse soldiers from Hazarah-i Muhammad khawjah, Chahar dastah, and Jighhatu, at the governor of Ghaznin's order had marched from Charmtu and camped at Qiyaq and Gulbwari near the forts of the Khugyani who were allied with the Andari. The Andari men seeing themselves now trapped from two sides and checkmated found themselves helpless. So when the royal army arrived near Dahanah-i Shir, in fear of their lives in the face of the awesome might of the victory-twinning army, they gave up holding the road and chose to flee to Tasin. Some who were on the Dasht-i Talkhak Zar, ascended the mountain to the east of it and sent a Qur'an to General Ghulam Haydar Khan as intercession and begged pardon and asked that their lives be spared. But he refused and sent this message;

You make this Qur'an a shield for your evildoing, intending thereby to deceive Muslims and the followers of the Prophet of the End of Time [Muhammad], and drawing them to rebellion. Yesterday, you gulled a Durrani regiment with this same Qur'an, then plundered it, and took away several of its members as captives. What is there to say about your mulla, the son of of Mushk-i Alam who, after swearing an oath of obedience to the amir of Islam and becoming a subject and a government stipend-recipient, became the source of sedition? Because of him, lots of people perished and, if that were not enough, by what right does he have the *khutba* of amirhood recited in his name? Since you became disciples and followers of this mulla, this is proof that you've entered a state of rebellion against duly constituted authority.

After sending this message, he ordered thirty infantrymen from each of the three regiments with him to pursue those who had gone up Zanzan Mountain. / **522/** They climbed the mountain and killed fifteen of the evildoers and captured

one and brought him back to the army camp. Those who escaped the sword fled via Kawiyan toward Tasan.

On this same day, the Andari evildoers withdrew from around the walls of Ghaznin and the mighty regiments entered the city. The next morning, General Ghulam Haydar Khan sounded the trumpets of battle and before the sun rose attacked the deviant group and was camped in large numbers near the villages of Urzu and Shalij. One thousand of the rebels were felled by cannon, rifle, and sword and victory was won. The heads of the slain were cut off and on Thursday, the 29th of Muharram (28 October) they were sent to Kabul. As a memorial, His Royal Highness ordered a tower erected of these heads on an elevation located northeast of Chaman-i Daraz Pushtah.

Jum'ah Khan Andar and many other Andaris were wounded; the rest escaped. Ghulam Jilani, who was the field marshal of the evildoers and a grandson of Mushk-i 'Alam, and other perfidious Andari leaders fled through Nani Ghund with their wives and children.

On this same day, Hazarah cavalry leaders, whom this humble author also was accompanying and in service to, arrived at the royal army camp near the villages of Arzu and Shalij to offer felicitations on the victory. They congratulated Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, and General Ghulam Haydar Khan, were given leave to return to their homes. Their leaders stayed on in Ghaznin to obtain a certificate attesting to their service. The regular army soldiers along with the Uzbeki cavalry burned down the forts of the Andaris. Some of the Andaris, in fear of their lives, had taken refuge in the irrigation canals. These were flooded and some drowned while others were dragged out and killed. Ten other leaders of the rebellion fled to the Kakari district. After the victory was won, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan and General Ghulam Haydar Khan went as far as Sardah and Giru, reconciled the Andari refugees with letters and messages and got them to return with their wives and children to their homes. These two men then returned to Ghaznin.

During the Andari rebellion, 130 evildoers from the Mangal tribe also joined forces to create trouble and made their headquarters in Kukan, Michalghu, and Rah Ati located between Ab Chakan and Michalghu and there they began robbing people who traveled back and forth through that region. When His Majesty learned of their thievery and banditry he sent a farman to the governors of Khust and Lahugard and to the leaders of the subjects of those two places to take control of the places where these vile people were, capture them, and purify the area of their existence. The people of those two places thus seized control of the area surrounding the places where the Mangal thieves had established themselves. The latter got wind and fled in the night and the banner of security was again planted solidly in the ground.

*Events in Lamqan and the Punishment of the Rebels
In the Vicinity of Kulman*

Meantime, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Charkhi, who after the killing and routing of the people of Kulman—as was earlier recorded—camped and waited at Najil in Lamqan, on Thursday, the 7th of Safar 1304 (5 November 1886)—the events of Muharram of which year have been given—together with Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, the governor of Lamqan, marched out (*bar dāshtah*) from the army camp with three tribal (*iljārī*) regiments of horse and foot. He (also) assigned 500 men from Uzbin, Lamqan, and Najil to Jabal Anjun (Anjun Mountain) and ordered 500 hundred other men to ascend Usstur Bala Mountain. Their tasks were to capture and hold any of the rebels they found. They climbed those two mountains and several cows and some goats belonging to the rebels fell into their hands. But of people they saw no one and so returned in the night to Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan and Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who were camped inside Najil Valley with those three regiments. This same night, which was Friday the 8th of Safar, the mighty regiments and the tribal (militia), seeing the fires lit by the rebels, turned their faces towards the brightness, and covered the mountain summits like clouds. When the rebels realized this, they abandoned property and livestock, and fought themselves away from the brink of the abyss (of destruction). Seventy men were killed and and 100 of their men and women were taken prisoner. Four thousand cows, sheep, and goats fell into the hands of the heroes. Babu Jan Khan *kumīdān* from the royal army was wounded, one man from the tribal force was killed and six wounded.

When it was day, /523/ eight of the infidel leaders from Pashakar, who had learned of, and been frightened by, the arrival of the mighty regiments, presented themselves before the field marshal and informed him that the people of Darrah-i Mil had left their homes in fear of the royal army and had taken refuge in Pashakar. The field marshal gave them leave to return home by way of Kutal-i Patah Kal (Patah Kal Pass) and assigned Sayf Allah Khan, governor of Darrah-i Niyazi to attack the rebels from the direction of Darrah-i Niyazi. He did so, fell upon the rebels, shed the blood of twenty-four of them and took prisoner sixty men and women of those virtueless people. The rest took flight for the valley of perdition. Sayf Allah Khan, marching the prisoners with him, returned to the army camp with the banner of victory raised high.

During this time, three of the children and grandchildren of Brigadier Mu‘azz Allah Khan, the son of Aرسالah Khan Jabbar Khayl, who were enemies of the government and allies of the “people of ignorance,” were captured by Colonel Muhammad Amir Khan when they were crossing the Kunar River, and joined others incarcerated.

During the battles and skirmishes which have been elucidated here, His Majesty, with the aim of winning over the Hazarahs of the ungoverned areas (*yāghistān*) by farman summoned the following people to Kabul: Mir Yusuf Bik, Ibrahim Beg, Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani, Muhammad Karim Beg, Yazdan Bakhsh Beg, °Ali Beg, Riza Quli Beg, Murtaza Beg, Sayyid Riza Bakhsh Khan—all mīrs of the Hazarahs of Day Zangi. He loaded them all down with robes of honor and despite the fact that the fires of war and conflict were raging in

Ghaznin, Jalalabad, Lamqan, and other places as has been recorded, he did not let this bother him. On the 8th of Safar (6 November 1886), farmans of wise counsel were sent to Mir Muhammad °Azim Bik, Kalbi Bik, and other subjects of the Sihpay Day Zangi tribe, Mulla °Ali Shir, °Ali Nazar Uqi, Qazi Muhammad °Askar, and °Abd Allah, better known as Abul, the leder (*mihtar*) of the Dayah tribe and the Fuladah of Hajaristan; the leaders of the tribes of Zawuli and Sultan Ahmad, the people of Uruzgan, Shawi, Bubash, and others of "Hazarah-i Yaghistan." These farmans said:

As we consider you people Muslims, disciples of the Qur'an and the community (*ummat*) of the Prophet of the End of Time [Prophet Muhammad], we are letting you know, by way of good advice and counsel, that Mir Fayzak Beg, Iqbal Beg, and Muhammad Riza Beg of the Sihpay, living in the mountains northwest and southeast of the Hirmand (Helmand) River, through the good fortune that comes from the Lord's favor and the help of good fortune, have placed the rope of obedience to the government around their necks and have become the consorts of happiness. But from you nothing which expresses obedience and loyalty has so far been forthcoming. Therefore we are writing and the reason we are writing is so that you too, in the same way as those three individuals, will place the halter of submission on the bowed neck of compliance and so come to enjoy peace and security. At this time, we summoned the mirs of Day Zangi merely to put your affairs into good order, and we wrote down (only) those words which we deemed necessary. Whatever we wrote, we submitted to them and we imparted instructions and advice which were appropriate to the time and pertinent to your circumstances. We gave orders that that they too would write you and offer direction and guidance saying that since we consider you people Muslims and since it is a duty of all Muslims to obey the amir of Islam and refusal to do so, according to the commandments of God and the Prophet, is necessarily rebellion and insurrection, so you should not remove the head from beneath the farman nor pin on yourselves the label "rebel against legally constituted authority" (*baghi*). (Instead) like other Hazarah tribes, you should accept the farman and not let the matter reach the point that you take the path of submission (only) under the duress of an army (sent against you). At that point we will see what's what (the veil over the matter will be pulled back). Now, we have sent the mirs of Day Zangi to provide you with a last chance (or ultimatum—*itmām-i ḥujjat*) so that having spoken to you with the tongue of friendship, love, admonition, and good counsel, and having made you perfectly comprehend the favor and kindness which we feel for you they will ask you for an answer. Naturally, out of reason and farsightedness you will bring to pass that which occasions reward in this world and the next so that there will be no need to send an army. You yourselves should be the

army of the government of Islam and any treaty or covenant which the mirs conclude with you, you should consider effective and backed by the government because they have been given the discretion to make an agreement and treaty with you and have been advised to treat you with kindness. We should approve and accept what they agree to that is good for both the government and for you and will consider it confirmable and ratifiable. But if you don't agree to submit and you reject their words, without question they themselves by violent means will force you to submit and obey. We will never let go of this issue until we have made you subjects and taxpayers. You should consider this an opportune time, while we are (still) speaking kindly to you. The end.

These farmans, all of which were issued with the same contents, were given to the mirs of Day Zangi. They swore to win over, guide, and make the people of the ungoverned Hazarah areas obedient either peacefully or by war and so were given leave to return home. They did so and—as will be seen—delivered the farmans to the people they were supposed to.

On the very day the farmans to the Hazarahjats were issued, His beneficent Majesty sent an order and a directive to the governor of Ghaznin to send to Kabul the Durrani infantry regiment which had entered Ghaznin after being savaged by the Andaris. /524/ Meantime, until they arrived in Kabul, officials of both places (Ghaznin and Kabul) should prepare bread and meat for them and give it to them on the government's account. The Jaghuris, by letter had asked permission to take a force against the Andari, and their letter was read out by His Highness at a public audience in the hearing of noble and commoner alike. He maligned and cursed the Andaris and praised and congratulated the Jaghuri tribes and promised them favors..

During this time, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan and General Ghulam Haydar Khan had assigned Dust Muhammad Khan Katawazi to carefully secure and guard the roads of Katawaz and seize any Andari fugitives who might pass that way. Thus it was that he brought to the governor and the general Baz Muhammad Khan, the son of Mir Ahmad Khan Taraki, who had fled Kabul and gone and sought refuge with him. They in turn took him into custody and sent him to Kabul.

Also at this time, Mirza °Abd al-Rahim Khan, Mirza °Abd al-°Ali Khan, and Mirza Sikandar Khan, the *sar daftars* of Badakhshan, Khanabad, Rustaq and other places, as a result of the auditing of their accounts were summoned to Kabul. Since they had acted improperly, they were dismissed and in their stead, on Friday, the 15th of Safar, Sayyid Khalil Shah Khan and five clerks (*nawīsandah*) subordinate to him were sent from Kabul to take over the office of the *sar daftar* in Khanabad; Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was sent to Badakhshan with four clerks; and Mirza Buland Khan to Rustaq. Both of the latter also had the title *sar daftar*.

Meantime, on Sunday the 17th of Safar (15 November 1886) Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, whose arrival in the Darrah-i Najil was earlier recorded, moved his troops from the middle of the valley to its end and to the mouth of the Darrah-i Farajghan and camped at a place called Timur Hisar. Here, people from Darrah-i Nuya came to see him and express their obedience. At the request of the field marshal they handed over their arms and instruments of war to the royal officials and placed their heads under the writ of the farman.

Also at this place 130 households of infidels (kafirs) who were living in Shama presented themselves at the army camp and were privileged to accept the honor of the religion of Islam. Similarly, seventy households of kafirs living in the Zhina Valley opted for the clear religion of Islam and placed the rope of submission around their necks.

Meanwhile, the Taraki people, as recorded above, had robbed their governor, °Abd al-Majid Khan, of his own property as well as cash belonging to the government which was in his charge. Muhammad Akbar Khan, the son of Mahmud Khan, decided to support the governor, rescued him from the clutches of the Taraki evildoers and from Muhammad Na°im and Sad-bashi Muhammad Nazir Khan Andari, and took him to the fort of Bahlul Khan. The Taraki evildoers sent a force after him which arrived at a point some distance from the fort and there it remained, intent on evildoing, until Ahmad Khan and Pir Muhammad Khan, two Taraki men, came with a body of men in support of the governor despite the contingent of evildoers. At that point, the rebels, frustrated, withdrew. °Abd al-Majid Khan with his supporters, took prisoner the wives and children of Shir Jan Khan and Baz Muhammad Khan, the sons of Mir Ahmad Khan, and Sa°id Khan, Sultan Khan, and Shir Khan of Nawruz Khayl and sent them to Ghaznin. Seeing this, Sad-bashi Muhammad Nazir Khan Andari with the *khāṣṣah-dārs* under his command, went to °Abd al-Rashid Khan, the governor of °Ali Khayl, stayed with him for eight days and, since the latter had no information about his rebellion, he said nothing to him about it nor did anything. Later he linked up, in flight, with the Andari leaders who had already fled. The governor of Ghaznin, after their arrival in Ghaznin, sent on to Kabul twelve wives, children, daughters, and female slaves of the sons of Mir Ahmad Khan.

At this time, the people of °Ali Khayl, an account of whose rebellion (*baghāwat*) has come previously, revealed their true colors and made a secret pact with the Taraki. Their governor, °Abd al-Rashid Khan, through intuition (*bi-firāsat*), figured out what was going on and informed Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan, the governor of Hazarah-i Jaghuri, of his suspicion that there was some kind of pact between the two tribes and that he should be prepared to help him. Because of his suspicions, the governor of Jaghuri sent two men as spies among the °Ali Khayl people and discovered that in fact the men of those two tribes had concluded a pact to rebel and had agreed to try by any means possible to get the Jaghuri and the Tukhi people to support them. The governor of Jaghuri, Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan, now convinced of the wickedness of those people, readied for battle a force of 12,000 Jaghuri foot and horse, even though he had no order

from His Majesty. He sent them off under the command of Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and Jamshid Khan, the son of Baqir Sultan Hazarah, ordering them to go to the Darrah-i Mizan which was located facing and connected to (the land) of the Taraki, Tukhi, and °Ali Khayl and there make camp so that should trouble arise from them, they could stamp it out. /525/ He sent a letter to those tribes telling them that if they should stray from the path of obedience to the king onto the path of rebellion they would be plundered and killed. After the arrival of the Jaghuri force in Darrah-i Mizan and the governor's letter, the Tukhi, °Ali Khayl, and Taraki leaders were disappointed in their hope of an alliance with the people of Jaghuri; indeed, they now saw them as threats to their lives and (potential) despoilers of their wealth and so the thread of their evil was snapped in two.. So it was that they came apologetically to their governors and begged pardon for their misdeeds with the tongue of self-abasement. They gave a promise to send their diwani taxes which they had not paid, from the time when they assaulted °Abd al-Majid Khan, the governor of the Taraki (explained above), until now, instead offering evasions and excuses. They (now) put their heads under the writ of the farman. When, through reports from royal officials, His Majesty became apprised of this, on Thursday, the 21st of Safar, with the issuance of the (following) farman the people of Jaghuri were glorified and their fame spread:

Through their loyalty and fidelity, the people of Jaghuri have brought great pleasure and deep satisfaction to our royal person. The end.

After the three tribes of Taraki, °Ali Khayl, and Tukhi had tendered their submission and allegiance, the governor of Jaghuri gave the Jaghuri tribal (militia) troops permission to return home.

During these events, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin had marched as far as Qal°ah-i Jahangīr in the district of Gilan, and there reconciled the ordinary Andari people (who had not rebelled) and other people who, fearing royal punishment, saw themselves caught in the whirlpool of calamity. He gathered intelligence and found out where the corrupt Andaris had found safe havens and he secured the places where they might try to settle in or to enter or leave. He then instructed (the people of Qal°ah-i Jahangir) that if they should find any Andaris they should arrest them. He then headed back and on Saturday, the 25th of Safar (23 November) returned to Ghaznin.

Meanwhile, Fazl al-Din Khan, the governor of Kalat, ordered Husam al-Din Khan *ṣad-bāshī* with several Sakhlu infantrymen to pursue the Taraki evildoers and others. In Khakah district, he captured wives and children of the rebels and brought them to Tazi and stopped with the *khayl* of La°l Gul Khan. Evildoers attacked in the night trying to retrieve their families and fell upon Husam al-Din Khan. He killed two of the attackers and wounded several more, while one Sakhlu infantryman was wounded. The rest of the troublemakers fled empty-handed. Sad-bashi Husam al-Din Khan then took the prisoners to Kalat.

The leaders of the Andari, Taraki, and other troublemakers who had gathered at Marghah in Hutak district incited the people and fanned the flames of trouble. The grandson (by a daughter) of the late Mushk-i °Alam Akhundzadah; Shir Jan Khan, the son of Ahmad Khan Taraki; and Qubi Khan fanned the flames even more. The governor of Qandahar, apprised of their evildoing, dispatched Sikandar Khan *sarhang*, the father of General Ghulam Haydar Khan, with two squads (banners-*bayraq*) of Sakhlu infantry from Qandahar, one bayraq of *khāsshādārs* stationed in Hutak district, two squads of *khāsshādārs* stationed in Kalat, one hundred regular cavalry and six mule guns to eradicate those ill-disposed men. This incident came to the all-hearing ears of His Majesty through reports from the governor of Qandahar and on Friday, the 29th of Safar he sent a farman to General Ghulam Haydar Khan who had stopped in Ghaznin to prepare for war against the evildoers. His march from Ghaznin on receipt of a second farman from His Majesty will be mentioned below. Meantime Sikandar Khan *sarhang* entered Kalat, Muhammad Akbar Khan, Qubi Khan, and Muhammad Zaman Khan of the Shah °Alam Khayl backed away from joining the rebels and went in repentance to the governor of Hutak, Muhammad Akbar Khan, and humbly sought forgiveness for their failings. Similarly, Aqa Jan Khan Ishaqza'i turned back from the path of error and with several other men also came to the governor. In this way dissension was sown amongst the people of discord and the group which had gathered in Marghah split up and scattered. Some of the men of Taghar, who had gotten themselves involved with the others in causing disturbances, left for their homes. Mir Hasan Khan of the Ma°rufza'i who was the ringleader of those who had taken the path of errancy, was captured and imprisoned by the governor of Hutak. Muhammad Ghiyas Khan with Khwajah Muhammad Khan and one thousand horse and foot, as a service to the government, attacked the rebels of Marghah and fought a fierce battle with them until a letter arrived from the governor of Qandahar urging reconciliation with the evildoers of Marghah at which point they ceased fighting. The leaders of the uprising came in repentance to the governor of Qandahar and sought forgiveness for their failings. They blamed their wrongdoing on the oppression and tyranny of /526/ Mulla Najib, the qazi of Hutak district. They claimed that he had first handed over to royal officials the fees he collected for conducting marriages. But later, when he heard the noise of the Andari uprising, he withheld the funds and went to Marghah district. There he joined forces with Muhammad Shah Khan Hutaki and made trouble. (Mulla Najib) gave some of the government's money to him to mobilize the people of Marghah. Then he himself went to Suri and incited the people there against the government. To feed the rebels, he levied a tax of one *mann* of wheat on every house and so brought great trouble to pass. (Muhammad Shah Khan) wrote to the governor of Qandahar and told him what was going on and the governor passed this information on to the throne. The hukm which was consequently issued will be mentioned in due course—God willing.

Also during the events of Safar (October–November 1886), the governor of Herat, who had set out to pay homage at the sublime threshold, entered Kabul

and was honored with an audience, along with the scholars and sayyids from the “Abode of Victory” Herat and its environs who had accompanied him to Kabul, some because they had been summoned and some who had come to have their knowledge and competency tested in hopes of securing a salaried post. (In the former group were) Miyan °Umar Jan Sahibzadah, Hajji Hawz Karbasi, Muhammad Yusuf Khan Barakza°i, Muhammad Jan Khan son of Zardad Khan *sarhang*; Fayz Muhammad Khan the son of Taju Khan Ishaqza°i, Hajji Mir Yusuf, Lalah Ya°qub with two of his brothers, Nur Allah Khwajah Chishti; Mir Sayyid Muhammad, Mir Murtazi, and Mir °Abd al-Rasul, the nephews (sister’s sons) of Mir Hamid; Maqsud Bik and Karimdad Bik, the sons of Fath Allah Beg Firuzkuhi. Stories of their disloyal activities had reached the justice-hearing ears of His Majesty from his news writers there, they were put under surveillance by the *kūtwālī* court (in Herat), and they were ordered to present themselves at the court three times a day so that after investigation and determination of the truth or falsehood of the reports of the news writers they should either be punished (if the reports were true) or be the object of royal favors (if the reports were false).

After this hukm was issued, on Tuesday, the 4th of Rabi° al-Awwal 1304, one thousand three hundred and four Hijri (1 December 1886), General Ghulam Haydar Khan, who, as previously indicated, had been ordered to Marghah, received a farman from His Majesty telling him to march from Ghazni to Hutak district and Marghah and to give the evildoers their just desserts. He was to do his best to capture Muhammad Aslam Khan Tukhi, the grandson of Mushk-i °Alam; Shir Jan Khan, the son of Mir Ahmad Khan Taraki; and others who had incited the people of Marghah. He was also to punish the people of Nawah who had paid heed to the mischievous noises of those people. He also should find out about the situation of Sikandar Khan, his father, who had set off for that region to punish the evildoers, and, once he knew what it was, to join him and together root out the source of corruption.

General Ghulam Haydar Khan therefore set out from Ghaznin, arrived in Nawah-i Gilan with his mighty forces and halted. Meantime, the leaders of the people of Marghah who had gone to see the governor of Qandahar, as was previously mentioned, and begged forgiveness—which was reported to the throne, sent a second letter to Sikandar Khan *sarhang* expressing loyalty to the government. He accepted their declarations in writing with this condition: if they were truly obedient and loyal, they would detain the leading Taraki and Andari evildoers who had taken refuge in Marghah and turn them over to royal officials. If not, they must realize that they stand on the very brink of destruction. When the leaders of the evildoers learned of this letter, of the message of Sikandar Khan and of the Marghah people’s choosing the path of allegiance (to the government), once again they took flight to Kakari district. When they joined up with the wives and retainers of Muhammad Shah Khan who had fled to Tukhi district, the people of Tukhi blocked their way and made it clear they wanted to detain them and fighting broke out. One of Muhammad Shah Khan’s nawkars was killed and four others wounded and three of the Tukhis were wounded. The

Banuza'i men took the side of the wives of Muhammad Shah Khan, and saved them from the clutches of the Tukhi braves.

Also during these events, Niyaz Muhammad Khan Ababakr Khayl, who had fled to the jurisdiction of the English because of some improper actions on his part, hearing of the uprising of the Andari, Taraki, °Ali Khayl, Hutak, and others—mentioned above—let a desire to cause trouble take up lodging in the apartments of his mind and went to see Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan. He asked him for funds to return so that he could enter Afghanistan, create a disturbance in the land of the king of the time and so obtain sovereignty for Sardar Wali Muhammad. Because it would have been easier to turn a mountain into level ground than to create trouble in the land of the king of the age, he deemed this wish of his a mere fantasy and refused. Disappointed, Niyaz Muhammad Khan turned to Sardar °Abd al-Khaliq Khan, better known as Khalu Khan, in Peshawar in hopes of gaining his ends. But he too knew that the request was foolish and also refused to fulfill his hope. A report of this came to the truth-seeking ears of His Majesty from his news writers and vis à vis all trouble-making fugitives /527/ and especially the leaders of the Andari, Taraki, and Hutaki, on the 6th of Rabi° al-Awwal, he sent a written statement to Sardar °Ata Allah Khan, the British envoy resident in Kabul, the contents of which he shared with General Mir Ahmad Khan, Afghanistan's envoy resident in Calcutta. The letter said:

Since the Kakari people consider themselves related to the subjects of the government of Great Britain and consider themselves to belong to that government and therefore officials of that government, in accordance with their thinking, patrol and make their presence felt (in Kakari territory). It is therefore a prerequisite for the friendship and unity of the English government with Afghanistan that they arrest Andari and other troublemakers who reside in that district and turn them over to officials of this government. Otherwise the Afghan government is compelled to send an army there and root out the sources of corruption. It is will not be a good thing to dispatch an army and raise the battle flags against those corrupt people for the Afghan people will then mistakenly believe 'how is that our enemies can go to a district believed to be under British control, reside there, and cause trouble?' The end.

In addition to the contents recorded above, he said that whether English officials answer this request (favorably) or not, in either case it would be known that the object of sending the letter is to present an ultimatum that the Afghan government will be forced to put a stop to the authors of corruption who set foot in that region. If it doesn't, trouble and harm will continue coming to the people of Afghanistan from them. For example, Muhammad Shah Khan Ghilja'i after igniting the flames of disturbance in the Taraki, °Ali Khayl, and the Hutak region, went to Mu°adh Allah Khan in Paywar and Kurram, incited the people

of Zurmat and Jaji, and sounded the drum of disobedience. In the event that the English government does not hand over these kinds of people then of course an Afghan army will have to be sent to those places to root out the sources of corruption. He also wrote that he (General Mir Ahmad Khan) should let English officials see this letter and report back whatever they had to say. The end. He also sent a list of the names of the corrupt ones to Calcutta wrapped in the letter so that the English would know who they were and take steps to remedy the matter.

During this time, Sardar Muhammad °Umar Khan and Sardar Ahmad Khan, the sons of the Amir-i Kabir [Dust Muhammad Khan] and Sardar Muhammad Aman Khan the son of Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan, on the foreheads of whose dispositions the marks of opposition to the government had become evident, were expelled by order of His Majesty with wives, retainers, and relations, and arrived in Peshawar.

Also two thousand English rupees bearing the royal likeness and an ermine-skin coat were sent as a gift via Muhammad Akbar Khan, the almond-seller resident in Peshawar, to assist °Abd al-Malik Khan, the son of the Amir of Bukhara.

Also at this time Allah Yar Sultan, elder (*kadkhudā*) of the Hazarāhs of Qal°ah-i Naw; Hasan Bahadur *wakīl*, Babah Bik, Jahan Bik, Shah Nazar Bik, and Baqi Bahadur who had all been summoned to Kabul, obtained the honor of an audience. Of the group Muhammad Khan Nizam al-Dawlah who had (already) been imprisoned for his disloyalty remained under the “superintendent of punishment” (*shaḥmah-i °itāb*) while the rest were the recipients of royal favors. They were granted (stipends for) 200 Gushadah horsemen, corresponding to the (stipends of) the Gushadah cavalry of Herat. It was ordered that for every 100 households one person would be designated as an “elder” (*kadkhudā*) and for every ten households one Gushadah horseman would be supported.

During this time, an inventory of the peculations and treachery (*khasārat wa khiyānat*) of Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Herat, who at his own request as mentioned earlier, had come to Kabul and been received at court, was put before His Majesty’s eyes by the people of the diwan, and he was chastised, dismissed from the governorship of Herat, and given a bill for the entire amount (he had misappropriated).

On the 7th of Rabi° al-Awwal (4 December 1886) a farman went from His Majesty to General Ghulam Haydar Khan telling him that since the evildoers had fled from the district of Marghah and gone to the valley of misery, after straightening up affairs there he should move his mighty regiments and billet them for the winter from Rawzah up to Kushk and other places in the forts of the Tajiks around Ghaznin who had not resisted the Andari but had given them lodging. He himself should come to Kabul where he would be given instructions on certain matters and then go and put them into effect.

Meantime, after 130 kafirs living in Shama had presented themselves before Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Charkhi as was earlier recounted, the

people of Darrah-i Mil also came to him expressing their regrets and humbly begging forgiveness for their failings. He accepted their apologies and on the 8th of Rabi^c al-Awwal he moved the army (*urdū*) from Timur Hisar and camped at Rayn. He confiscated 1,000 rifles from the people living in the valleys of Lamqan who until the time of the battles that were described above had not put their heads beneath the writ of the farman and sent the guns to the capital. He devoted himself to exterminating the evildoers who had ascended into the mountains of ignorance, captured many people /528/ thanks to information provided by people who had been won over, and sent them to Kabul in shackles and leg irons. He occupied his time reorganizing the affairs of that region, brought good order into all matters, and then returned to Jalalabad.

During this time, from the reports on the tribes sent by General Ghulam Haydar Khan and Sikandar Khan *sarhang*, the situation of the fugitives, those craftsmen of corruption, was brought to His Majesty's attention and on the 11th of Rabi^c al-Awwal a written order went to Sikandar Khan to take severe reprisals against the Banuza'i who had made common cause with the wives and dependents of Muhammad Shah Khan and had prevented their capture. Meantime, General Ghulam Haydar Khan had moved the mighty regiments from the middle of the Darrah-i Gilan and camped at the valley's mouth. He assigned two men as spies to go to the Kakari district and find out about the desires, intentions, words, and activities of the corrupt ones who had fled and settled there and then inform him so that whatever the circumstances deemed best could be brought to pass. He stayed eight days at Qal^ah-i Taj which is located at the mouth of the valley and after that he set off with his battle-hungry troops and eventually halting in the Ab district made camp there where he spent several days putting the affairs of the Taraki and others in order.

During this time, the people of Qalandar of Jaghuri who prior to the Andari uprising had paid half of their land taxes and had promised to pay the other half, did not. Therefore, Mirza Ahmad ^cAli Khan, the governor, sent a man to collect the money. They told him that until Khuda Bakhsh Khan and Lala ^cAli Mardan Khan, two of their leaders whom Pir Muhammad Khan, the governor of Jaghuri, had sent to Kabul, returned, the balance of their taxes would not be remitted. As a result, those two men received leave to return from His Majesty. When they arrived in Sangmashah, Mirza Ahmad ^cAli Khan gave them two riding horses and permission to go home and remit the balance of the taxes. But those people still refused to hand over the funds and the two men sent someone to the governor with the message that unless force is brought to bear and an army is sent these people will not put their heads beneath the writ of the farman. On the 12th of Rabi^c al-Awwal, the governor sent a man of the Babah tribe named Isma^cil with his men to Qalandar district. In his wake, the governor himself, with two hundred Sakhlu infantry and a troop of cavalry that he had, set off, reached Gulzar, and halted. When the Chahar Dastah people of Jaghuri heard this, they came on horse and foot to serve, swelling the governor's party to a large force at Gulzar. Later, Khuda Bakhsh with Lala ^cAli Mardan and Bakhtiyari came to Mirza Ahmad ^cAli Khan bringing a message from their

people that said that he should send Jamshid Khan and the leaders of the Chahar Dastah so that they could give them the balance of their taxes. The governor agreed to their request, sent Jamshid Khan and the Chahar Dastah leaders and kept the three men with him. The Qalandaris had agreed among themselves that they would make these men (Jamshid Khan and the Chahar Dastah leaders) side with them and also strike an agreement with the °Ali Khayl and Taraki who had not as yet obliged by putting their heads beneath the writ of the farman and thus begin an uprising. They had the idea to divide the party of Jamshid Khan and the other emissaries of the governor and lodge them one by one in their miserable forts so that they could speak to each one separately and so obtain their ends. If they refused to agree to their evil scheme, they would kill them all. But, thanks to one of the men of those malignant people, the emissaries learned of the plan and, using every trick and stratagem they could, managed to free themselves from the clutches of those evil people and get back to the governor. He thereupon arrested the three leaders of those “twinned-with-evil” people whom he had kept with him and sent them to Sangmashah. When the people of Qalandar received word of the imprisonment of their leaders, taking the road to perdition, they entered the °Ali Dad fort and fortified it, intending to fight off the royal army. During the night, Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan ordered the Chahar Dastah Jaghuri men with his Sakhlu infantry to attack the fort. There was a brief skirmish, the people inside the fort realized they did have the strength to resist, abandoned the fort and escaped in the darkness. The force sent by the governor seized the fort and torched it along with all the provisions and fodder inside and outside it. As fate would have it, two feet of snow fell and the governor and his forces were prevented from further activity and had to forego punishing the rebels further. They then returned via Sangmashah, the governor dismissed the Chahar Dastah to return to their homes, and the destruction of this evil group was put off to another time.

Meantime, on the 21st of Rabi° al-Awwal (18 December 1886) /529/ via reports from Muhammad Akram Khan, the governor of Hutak and Sikandar Khan *sarhang*, His Majesty was apprised of the evil and incitement of Qazi Mulla Najib whose rebelliousness and corruption have been previously recorded, and he ordered the the governor and the *sarhang*, in conjunction with the governor of Kalat, Fazl al-Din Khan, to send horse and foot to seize that corrupt evil one along with his wives and dependents wherever they found him and put him in chains. Also, regarding the people of Marghah whose coming forward in repentance has been dealt with previously, he wrote that they should not let them off lightly but should seize the evildoers amongst them and assess and collect a fine so heavy that it will be fifty years before they recover from it. They were also to confiscate one rifle and one sword from every house and if someone did not have a sword or rifle they should force them to buy it elsewhere and turn it over. From the people of Taghar who have been circumspect and have trod the path of good guidance and obedience without having to be shown the way, they should also collect one rifle, one sword, but

only five rupees as a fine. They carried out the royal order, assigned strict collectors, and commenced to inflict a harsh retribution on those people.

The Issuing of an Attention-Demanding Proclamation Addressed to the Durrani Tribes and the Rebellion of the Ghilja'i of Tirin

When the plundered Durrani regiment entered Kabul, was honored by a review before the excellent prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, and was enrolled in the regular regiments, because of the uprising of the Ghilja'i tribes, which was discussed above, a proclamation was issued by His Royal Majesty on the twenty-eighth of Rabi' al-Awwal (25 December 1886) to the Durrani tribes:

Anyone who wants to perform military service, inspired by sentiments of tribal loyalty (*az rāh-i qawmī*) and civic and Islamic duty (*khidmat-i dawlat wa millat-i Islām*), should report in Qandahar to Mirza Muhammad Ja'far Khan, a clerk of Mirza Sayyid 'Ali Khan, the Comptroller of the Regular Army (*amīn-i nizām*) and have his name put on the register. (Mirza Sayyid 'Ali Khan) himself has had a royal audience (before Sardar Habiub Allah Khan) with the regular Durrani infantry regiment.

During this time, the Ghilja'i living in the district of Tirin hearing of the uprising of other Ghilja'is—which has been recounted—out of feelings of tribal solidarity refused to pay their diwani taxes and rebuffed Muhammad Amin Khan, the governor. Each one of the group prepared forty-eight *misqāl* of powder equivalent to what was in the royal armoury and rolled up the sleeve of evildoing. However much the governor admonished and advised them to foreswear their errant ways, he witnessed nothing from this evil-seeking group except their casting the dust of sedition on the mirror of the minds of the well-wishers of government. Finally, the governor, losing hope that they would obey him, was compelled to send a letter to the Hazarabs residing in that region and ask for their help. Thinking that this would lead to their betterment and be the occasion of their good fortune, the Hazarabs readied a tribal force (*lashkar-i ulūst*) and responded to the governor, "We dedicate our thoughts, money, and lives (*sar wa māl wa jān*) to serving the government and Islam and we are on our way to that place on the heels (*aḡr*) of this message."

On hearing this sad and woeful news, the people of Tirin wrapped their feet in the skirt of fear and trembling and waited quietly, anxiously turning eyes to watching and ears to listening for further news. His Majesty, having been apprised of the evil and wickedness of the Ghilja'is of Tirin by reports from his officials in that region sent a farman to the governor of Qandahar telling him to use any means he knew to seize the fomenters of the disturbance and corruption of those devious people, clap them in irons and send them to "the throne where truth resides." In view of the fact that the governor of Tirin was a Qizilbash, (the governor of Qandahar) asked that on this point those people be excused saying,

“Since the governor there is a Shi‘a he wants to give the Hazarahs a good name and the Afghans a bad one and to lay the blame on noble and commoner (of the Afghans) alike.”

Also he reported that he had summoned before him the Durranis of that region, took an affidavit (*shahādat-nāmah*) from them, and sent it to His Majesty. The affidavit said, “The uprising of the Ghilja‘i of Tirin is a lie and what the governor there says is baseless.” After sending this report he (the governor of Qandahar) summoned the governor (of Tirin) and the leaders of (the Ghilja‘i) to Qandahar in order to “water” the affairs of the Ghilja‘i (i.e. help them) and to make his report (to the throne) be treated as truthful. Because of the report, His Majesty summoned the governor (of Tirin) and those tribal leaders to Kabul so as to sort out what was true and what was false. The veracity of the governor (of Tirin) and the rank partisanship of the Qandahar governor soon became apparent and will be recorded in due course.

During this time there was trouble from the Hazarahs of Miyanah Nishin. Half of them lived in the flat valleys along the riverbanks and paid their land taxes, but the other half lived in the mountains and, thinking the mountains protected them—but that was a mountain of ignorance, refused to pay their diwani taxes. /530/

Similarly, the Alikuza‘i of the Shamalza‘i branch living in Arghistan rebuffed Muhammad ‘Isa Khan (the governor) and the clerk (*nawīsandah*) of their district, wounded one of their retainers, and drove the two men out from their midst under a hail of sticks and stones. The governor and the clerk went to the governor of Qandahar and demanded justice. He dispatched fifty regular cavalymen and ordered them to seize the (Shamalza‘i) leaders and bring them to Qandahar. When the troopers arrived, the Shamalza‘i beat the war drums and showed every intention of fighting. However, the cavalry gave them no opportunity to assemble and lay hands on their weapons but seized their leaders and carried them off to Qandahar. After they confessed that they had erred, Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor of Qandahar, levied a large fine on that tribe and by order of His Majesty sent those who had fomented the trouble in chains to Kabul where they were imprisoned for a time.

*The Negotiations of an Official of the Government of Iran Concerning
Establishment of a News Writer of Afghanistan in Holy Mashhad and Other
Events of This Time*

During these aforementioned events of the latter part of the month of Rabi‘ al-Awwal, by order of His Highness Nasir al-Din Shah, the governor (*kārguzār*) of Khurasan dispatched a servant of his, Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan, to Mirza Yusuf Khan, the news writer for the sublime government of Afghanistan who was resident in Holy Mashhad. He carried a message which said that he should leave Mashhad and go to Afghanistan. Or, as long he was in Mashhad a news writer for the government of Iran should reside in Afghanistan. This all

came to his Majesty's justice-hearing ears via a report from Mirza Yusuf Khan and he wrote,

"since there are a number of people who have been given refuge (in Mashhad) and elsewhere in the country of Iran in opposition to this country's wishes and who wish the government of Afghanistan ill, it is absolutely necessary that we be kept apprised of what they say, what they do, their behavior, and their intentions and wishes. We have no business with the internal affairs of Iran that would permit the government of Iran to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan by placing a news writer in Herat.

Because of this proper response from His Majesty, the government of Iran was silenced and said nothing more on the subject.

During this time, in accordance with the farman issued on the 7th of the month as previously noted, General Ghulam Haydar Khan moved from the Qal'ah-i Taj with his victory-producing regiments and entered Ghandi Shihab al-Din. From there he halted at Qal'ah-i Zarikhan of Churi Khayl then on the last day of Rabi' al-Awwal (December 27, 1886) arrived in Ghaznin. In accordance with the orders set out in the farman he stationed two infantry regiments inside the city and ordered the remaining cavalry and infantry to station themselves in the forts of the Tajiks. He himself then came to Kabul and obtained the honor of kissing the royal hand. Since he had been summoned to receive instructions on certain matters, he remained for a time in the royal presence.

Also at this time several kafirs from Mashu who lived in the deep mountain recesses attacked the people of Mashaffa (Mashaqqa?), one of the valleys of Lamqan, killed a Muslim and made off with two hundred goats. Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan learned of this audacious act of the kafirs and ordered the men of Islam living in Mashaffa to attack the people of Mashu in retaliation. So in accord with his order, the people there prepared for war and attacked. They killed thirty-two of the kafirs and took prisoner eight women, daughters, and sons of the kafirs. They seized many valuables and livestock and returned home. They sent the prisoners as a present to Ghulam Haydar Khan. He in turn dispatched the eight prisoners along with another young slave girl (*kaniz*) whom the kafirs of Bandul had brought as a gift to His Majesty, escorted by one of his retainers named 'Azim.

On Monday, the first of Rabi' al-Sani 1304, one thousand three hundred and four Hijri, (Ghulam Haydar Khan) moved the victorious regiments which, after the victories of Kulman, the Najil Valley, and elsewhere as previously recorded, he had assembled and brought to Jalalabad, and stationed them in a *chahāwunī* located south of the city. On Tuesday, the second of the month, he informed the throne about the question of collecting the canonical tithe and returning the valuables and livestock of the people of those regions whom the Shinwari had robbed and who also had not paid their land taxes. He sought

permission to collect the taxes and return the stolen property. When he received permission for this from His Majesty, first he asked the people of Dih-i Bala to come see him in Jalalabad, then he put their affairs in order and sent Gul Muhammad Khan, the governor of Mazinah, with them to collect the taxes and restore the plundered property.

During this time /531/ thirty-one of the thirty-three wicked people from the valleys of Lamqan whom the field marshal had captured and sent to Kabul were put to death (*bi-yāsā rasīdah*) at the order of His Majesty. The other two, who claimed they were innocent were spared and an order to investigate was issued. When their claim proved true, they were released.

Also at this time, the Khan of Asmar was killed by a pistol shot from one of his own servants. The bullet was fired by the hand of fate and divine decree. He made no apparent move to avoid it and it hit him. His Majesty sent to Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan (the governor) in Kunar one piece of Khalil Khani shawl cloth of Kashmiri weave, a long-sleeved Gujarati embroidered garment, ten pieces of Peshawari gold *lungī* cloth, another ten half-gold pieces of cloth, ten long-sleeved garments of nine-*misqāl* broadcloth, and ten other plain gold *pahmak* garments as condolence and as *khil°at* for Tahmasp Khan, the son of the late khan, and for the leaders of the Asmar Valley along with a deed of investiture naming Tahmasp Khan to the office of khan. He also sent a written order to Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan telling him first to be sure that the people of Asmar have submitted to the khanate and leadership of (Tahmasp) and afterwards to send these things to him. Otherwise he wasn't to give them. The mirza made certain that, in accordance with the royal order, (Tahmasp) had been recognized as leader and then sent off the ceremonial gifts to Tahmasp in Asmar accompanied by Ghulam Riza Khan, his uncle, and Muhammad Hasan Khan, his brother. (Tahmasp) adorned himself from head to toe (with these gifts) as well those leaders of his people whom he considered worthy of royal favor.

During this time Bunyad Khan Hazarah who, at His Majesty's order, was lodged with his dependents in Ghaznin, after paying eleven thousand fifty rupees as the new land tax for the district of Malistan, when, as was noted earlier, he had formerly paid (only) eight hundred rupees, through the governor of Ghaznin he petitioned the throne and requested a stipend and permission to return to Malistan. His petition was not accepted and a farman was sent saying that his son is in Malistan and whenever his service to the government becomes evident, a stipend will be fixed that will be enough to sustain him and permission to go home will be given. But if (the son) does not perform such (service), then he can stay in Ghaznin for now just as he is.

Meantime, on the twelfth of Rabi° al-Sani, (the amir) honored General Ghulam Haydar Khan with the following paragraphs of instructions which were written in the blessed (royal) hand and then gave him leave to return to Ghaznin:

First, the Andari people should turn in their weapons on the basis of one rifle and one sword per household and should get no compensation for this;

Second, if the men of Khwajah Khayl living in Zurmat were colleagues of the Andari and Taraki in insurrection and corruption, after investigation and establishing this, their weapons should be seized;

(3) Third, the weapons of the men of Qul Sabzi, about whose collaboration with the Andari there is not a shred of doubt, should be confiscated.

(4) Fourth, provisions for the army should be purchased from the Andari at a rate of three *pāw* a rupee. From the Tajiks who lodged and fed the Andari force in their forts provisions should be purchased at a half a *chārak* above the market (i.e. the Tajiks would have to give half a *chārak* more for the same price); other goods should also be similarly priced above the market so that pinched by a shortage of money, they won't rise up again or have any wish that another army be sent.

(5) Fifth, whatever the salaries of the Andari and Taraki ulama are, all should be taken back. Thirty of them (now) are consuming a government salary.

(6) Sixth, the private lands and canals belonging to those who have fled should be sold to their fellow tribesmen and the money placed in the treasury.

(7) Seventh, they should not consider the fine for each one of the however many of their men who were captured in the course of the fighting to be any less than one thousand rupees, and even more should be collected from those who can afford it;

(8) Eighth, as compensation for the services they rendered to the government the lands of Hazarah-i Qara Bagh should be given to them (i.e. the Hazarahs of Qara Bagh). However, for every thousand rupees (of the land's income) they should pay to the government fifty rupees as the gift (traditionally) given to the bearer of "good news" and "glad tidings". They should pay this fifty rupees after gathering in the harvest prior to which no burden should be placed on them;

(9) Ninth, whatever land in Qara Bagh-i Hazarah belongs to the Luhani, the Kharuti, and Andari should be confiscated, and the tenant farmers (*dihqānān*) on it should be Hazarahs. No one else should be allowed (on those lands).

(10) Tenth, General Ghulam Haydar Khan himself should go to Taghar and build a strong fortress in the very heart of that district.

(11) Eleventh, the Andari and the Taraki must pay compensation in full for government property, for the Durrani infantry regiment, for Mirza Sayyid ʿAli Khan, for their pack camels which the Andari have plundered and the revenues from the district of Taraki which the Taraki people stole from the governor of Ghaznin. The end.

General Ghulam Haydar Khan was dismissed from His Majesty's presence with the set of instructions and permission to return to Ghaznin.

On the sixteenth of Rabi^c al-Sani two letters which uncovered the rebelliousness of the Ghiljaⁱ and evidence of their evildoing reached the throne through servants of the government. Since the governor of Qandahar, as was previously recorded, /532/ had thrown a veil over their activities and had protected them from a royal inquiry, His Majesty was furious. He instructed the governor of Qandahar in no uncertain terms saying,

the enmity and rebelliousness of that tribe has been proven and if they hadn't seen the readiness of the Hazarabs to move against them or the vigilance and protectiveness of the Durrani people they would have created many disturbances and provocations. You wrote that their governor was slandering them (but) the governor understands well what's what. The Lord has shamed them. Now you are to summon the leaders of those people along with some of the Bamizaⁱ and confront them with the governor. Afterwards you are to send them to me so that they can be given their just desserts. Then they will see what they will see.

Also at this time Qazi Sa^d al-Din Khan was honored with appointment by His Majesty to the governorship of Herat. He traveled to Herat with the Hazarah elders (*kadkhudāyān*) of Qal^ah-i Naw who, as previously mentioned, had been distinguished and honored with (assignment of) salaries and cavalry. An account of his entrance into Herat—God willing—will come.

Also at this time, leaders of the Barakzaⁱ tribe, the deeds for whose appanages and fiefs (*jāygīr wa suyūrghāl*) had been sent to the royal chancery, came to the presence of the sublime threshold seeking justice. Because of the revolt of such Ghiljaⁱ as the Andari, Taraki, ^cAli Khayl, Hutaki, Nasiri and others which has been mentioned here little by little, their coming was taken as a sign of tribal solidarity and of sharing the same lineage (with His Majesty), they were the objects of royal largesse and their *jāygīrs* were restored to them under the former terms. In view of this bounty and favor, it behooved them to pledge their lives and fortunes as ransom to this gracious padishah. As a mark of devotion, they pledged to enroll 1,200 of their sons, brothers, brothers' sons, and (other) relatives, name by name, to serve in the regular army and on the 27th of Rabi^c al-Sani they presented an affidavit (*waṣīqa-nāmah*) to this effect to officials of the government. It said they will deliver a full 1,200 individuals and will pay indemnity for the death or desertion of any one of them. Afterwards, Hajji Gul Khan who had been promoted to the rank of colonel was given permission to recruit and raise these people and so set off for Qandahar.

On the 28th of Rabi^c al-Sani (24 January 1887), General ^cAli ^cAskar Khan, whose nickname (*laqab*) was “Sarkar” and who was stationed in Qandahar, departed this world. At the order of the governor, 500 rupees were provided from the government treasury for the preparation of the body and for the shroud. His corpse was transported to Ghaznin and buried there.

Also during these days, five of the kafir leaders of the Ura tribe living near Paryan in the district of Panjshir, with names like Shawiyat, Shatwā, Dālī, Awtā, and Darī, presented themselves voluntarily at the royal darbar, whose axis is justice, and placed the rope of obedience around their necks. They declared that they would not be forced to accept the religion of Islam, the payment of *jizya* should suffice, and nothing beyond their land taxes and the *jizya* would be collected from them. His Majesty, out of kingly mercy, agreed with them on this and wrote,

Since the income from their land (*dukhl-i zamīndārī*) cannot satisfy both their subsistence needs and the royal chancery, they should be exempt from taxes. They should not pay a dot more than the *jizya* of four rupees per household. They may also substitute kind for cash should it please them to do so on this schedule: a good-looking male or female slave of noble birth is worth 400 rupees; (a girl or woman) of middling appearance of middling birth is worth 240 rupees; a milk cow, ten rupees; a bull (*nargāw*), twenty rupees; a large milk goat, two rupees; a small (goat) and a two-year-old (goat), one rupee.

They (the five kafir leaders) gladly agreed to these terms. Since there was no census of their households, an arbiter (*mumayyiz*) was sent with them (to make a census). They were given leave to return home and they carried out what they had been instructed to do.

Similarly, several of the kafirs of Wazir Khayl, intending to accept the *jizyah* as well as allegiance to the padishah of Islam, put on "pilgrimage garb" (*ihrām*) for "circumambulation" of "the *qiblah* of those in need" and set out for the capital. The men of Panjshir ambushed them en route and captured four. The rest managed to escape and headed home. His Majesty learned of the incident from his news writers in that region and sent a farman to the leaders of Sapid Chihir and Paryan—men like Mir Khan, Sultan Muhammad, Muhammad °Usman of Khusraw Khayl and Faqir Muhammad and Babah Shah—who had instigated the incident. The farman told them to send the kafir captives to the capital without a hint of harm or trouble to them so that an agreement can be worked out with them in accordance with the Divine Law. Since the Panjshiris, as was their custom with the kafirs, had already collected ransom for them and released them, they could not fulfill the order which had been issued.

Also at this time, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, by royal order, assigned Muhammad Akbar Khan Gardabi and an appropriate number of men to arrest /533/ the group of evildoers who had assembled at Matay and wanted to incite sedition—men like Musa Khan, Mudassir Khan, and the son and retainers of Sayyid Mahmud Khan. (The field marshal) also sent Malik Qasim Khan and Malik Muhyi al-Din Khan along with (Muhammad Akbar Khan). In addition, he sent a letter to the khans of the Mohmand tribes and the leaders of Kuh Band ordering them to head for Matay with their own men to root out the corrupt elements there. When those people appeared *en masse*, Musa Khan and

Mudassir Khan were frightened and saw no recourse but to submit. Using Malik Muhyi al-Din Khan as intermediary, they sent a message to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan which said,

We will withdraw the hand of unity from Sayyid Kazim Khan the son of Sayyid Mahmud (Khan) and attach it to the skirt of the government. We will expell him from our tribe as well as the ignorant Mughul Khan, who has been spreading the fires of sedition and corruption for a long time now.

When Sayyid Kazim learned of their message, on Thursday, on the first of Jumadi al-Awwal of the year 1304, one thousand three hundred and four (26 January 1887), he fled from Matay with 150 households of his tribesmen and retainers (*‘ashā’ir wa ta‘alluqāt-ash*) heading for the Ba‘iza’i people. He was unable to stay there and went on to Peshawar and stopped at the house of Mirza Michlah Chāy Kānā. From there he went on to Hasan Abdal to his father (Sayyid Mahmud Khan) who prior to this had fled there and settled as was earlier recounted, and this is where he (Sayyid Kazim) chose to settle. After his deciding to flee, the Mohmand people who had turned the face of contention towards Matay, decided to eliminate Mughul Khan and so made life difficult for him. Humbly, he sent a Qur’an as intermediary to the Mohmand leaders with a message saying that they should turn their faces away from the government and befriend him in his misfortune. They rejected his message and took up their weapons. A brisk fight was going on between them when Malik Musa Khan who had sent (his) message of obedience to the field marshal as noted above but had yet to receive an answer concerning it, on the feet of obedience along with Malik Jāfat went to the leaders of the Mohmand who were the engaged in their heated fight with Mughul Khan. They sent these two men and a companion (*hamdast*) Ahmad Jan Khan, the physician (*ṭabīb*) to the field marshal in Jalalabad. (Dr. Ahmad Jan Khan now holds the rank of honorary brigadier and steward to the illustrious prince Aman Allah Khan “‘Ayn al-Dawla” on behalf of His Highness Lamp of the Nation and the Religion [Habib Allah Khan].) At the order of His Majesty, the sipahsalar honored these two and elevated them above their peers by the assignment of a salary. Because of this, Mughul Khan realized resistance was futile and decided to flee. His wives and children who remained behind were expelled by order of His Majesty.

Meantime, General Ghulam Haydar Khan who had marched to Ghaznin, reached it on the sixth of Jumadi al-Awwal and on the seventh a farman was sent to him and the governor off Ghaznin telling them to summon all the leaders of the Taraki to Ghaznin so that the business of that region could be brought under control. They should place all of them under surveillance lest they become the sources of sedition or of some incident. They carried out His Majesty’s order and began to collect the money for the fine as well as the weapons of the Andari people in accordance with the set of instructions which His Majesty had given to General Ghulam Haydar Khan.

During this time, since Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan, the governor of Jaghuri, had taken a married girl by force along with another fair-faced girl and had engaged in an act with them that he should not have, fifteen male relatives of that (married) girl led by Haydar Ikhtiyar resolved to kill the governor. They conspired with ten guards from the Hazarahs of Jaghuri who protected the governor's place at night, and one night attacked and killed him and his clerk, Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim. They also released from prison Shayr °Ali, *mihtar* of Shughlah and his son, who had been arrested for other reasons of corruption, along with several wicked *qalandars*. Other Jaghuri leaders like Mirza Husayn *mihtar*, Mir °Ali Daryab, Khuda Rahm Sultan, Karim Bakhsh Sultan, Dust Muhammad Uqi, Muhammad Husayn *mihtar*, Sulayman *wakīl*, °Ali Zafar Ikhtiyar, Muhammad Akbar *mihtar*, and others informed the *kūtwālī* of Ghaznin, Muhibb °Ali Khan, of what had happened and expressed their ignorance of and non-involvement in (the whole episode). This incident reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty via reports from the *kūtwālī*, from Ghulam Husayn Khan, the son of Gulistan Khan Hazarah of the Muhammad Khwajah (tribe), and from the governors of the Taraki and °Ali Khayl people. He sent a farman to the leaders of the Jaghuri tribes which said that if they were truthful in saying that they were both ignorant of and not involved in the killings of Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan and his clerk, they should certainly be vigilant lest the murderers of the two men escape. Thus it could be investigated whether the two (slain) men had violated the honor (*nāmūs*) of another and had gotten what they deserved or those killers in fact were serving the people of Jaghuri and, seeking our approval, wanted to give that tribe a bad name. /534/ An inquiry should thus be carried out.

At the order of His Highness, the governor of Ghaznin ordered Ghulam Husayn Khan the son of Gulistan Khan to go to Sangmashah and discover whether the Jaghuri people were telling the truth or not, acting in accordance with justice and foresight. But he was reluctant and his nephews Muhammad Rahim Khan and Shayr Muhammad Khan went instead to Jaghuri to investigate the circumstances. At the request of the people there, they stopped in the district of Luman until Sayyid °Ali Naqi Khan the son of Shah °Ali Akbar who at this time was in Kabul was instructed by His Majesty to accompany Ghulam Husayn Khan and ascertain the truth of the aforementioned matter. So it was that they (Ghulam Husayn and Sayyid °Ali Naqi) went there and discovered that the petition and information given by the people of Jaghuri was true. Thus the investigation of the murder of the governor and his clerk was suspended and no further order was issued by His Majesty. In fact, Qazi Mir Ni°mat Allah Khan arrived there with the men sent by the governor of Ghaznin and from there, with a letter from all the people of Jaghuri came to Kabul and was received in audience at the time of the second insurrection (*baghī*) of the (people of) Taghar—as will come God willing—and the people of Jaghuri were the objects of favors and felicitations.

Also at this time, a letter dated the 29th of December 1886—one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six A.D.—from the Frenchman Mr. Jerome Krishgar

(*shūrm krīshkar*) was subjected to the luminous attention (*muṭālaʿah-i sāṭiʿah*) of His Majesty. Krishgar, as earlier noted had been ordered by His Highness to purchase things (*asbāb*) and had gone to Calcutta and from there to Paris. It read, “I have hired five capable engineers along with (my) brother to serve the government of Afghanistan and would like permission to bring them.” This was agreed to and on Thursday, the eighth of Jumadi al-Awwal (2 February 1887), a farman was sent to Muhammad Akbar Khan, the government’s almond-seller stationed in Peshawar telling him to draw 12,000 English “face” rupees from the Bank-i Dawlati and make sure they were transferred to Mr. Jerome Krishgar in Paris to pay his travel expenses back to Kabul. He also was to commission the “mister” to bring a doctor with him who was expert in the art of medical treatment (*fann-i ṭabābat*) to attend His Highness.

Also at this time, His Majesty appointed Mir Ahmad Shah Khan governor of Fayzabad and Mashhad-i Badakhshan, and Muhammad Aʿzam Khan governor of Rustaq, and sent Mulla Abu Bakr Khan Dih Afghani along with Darwish Muhammad Khan Qassab-Kuchah-i to Bombay as government purchasing agents (literally: to purchase various things useful to the government) in place of ʿAbd al-Samad Khan the brother of Hajji Asad Khan. Each was assigned a salary of 2,000 rupees from the table of the savvy king’s favors and set off to undertake their assignments.

On the twenty-first of Rabiʿ al-Awwal (15 February 1887), forty-eight leaders from Charmangi which is located in the Bajawar district who had a dispute and were at odds with Safdar Khan Nawagi came to Mirza Ahmad ʿAli Khan in Kunar on the path of obedience, continued on, and on the twenty-fourth reached Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan in Jalalabad where they spoke with him of their obedience, placed the necklace of loyalty around their necks, and vowed to send their land taxes to the royal diwan. As soon as this reached the royal eyes through a letter from the field marshal, His Highness sent to the field marshal in Jalalabad a piece of Khalil Khani shawl cloth and a long-sleeved gold brocade robe (*chūghah-i kimkhwāb*) for Fath Allah Khan, the brother of Safdar Khan Nawagi, whom the people of Charmangi had chosen as their leader along with forty pieces of gold *lungi* and forty broadcloth long sleeved robes (*chūghah-i māhūt*) for the leaders who had come to the field marshal. He also wrote the field marshal to send a letter to Safdar Khan to tell him to relinquish leadership of those people and recognize Fath Allah Khan’s right to lead. Meantime Safdar Khan, after the Charmangi leaders who had made Fath Allah Khan their leader, arrived in Jalalabad before the field marshal, seized the opportunity and, out of jealousy and spite attacked Charmangi and killed seventeen people. Four of his own men and one horse were slain and he was unable to do anything more and returned, frustrated. The rest of the events there will be recorded below—God willing.

Meantime, General Ghulam Haydar who along with the governor of Ghaznin was busily engaged in carrying out the instructions which he had been given by His Highness when the Andari people arrested twelve of their own rebellious members because of whom they had (all) been put in harm’s way, and

turned them over to government officials. His Highness, as a reward for this service from people of the same tribe as the Andari corrupt ones who had fled and who had also instigated the others, knowing they were blameless, on the 28th of Jumadi al-Awwal made the Andari subjects the objects of his royal favor and wrote:

Having cast a merciful eye on you and having made you the object of royal favor, I hereby declare absolutely that the properties of the troublemakers /535/ and of those who incited you should not be sold to you but should be conveyed to the category of *khālīṣah* (state) land. As for those persons who were faithful to the government and served it and at the time of the trouble did not join the crowd of the enemy, the government should not demand their weapons. The end.

Muhammad Shah Khan Ghilja'i's Uprising in the District of Marghah

On another front, Muhammad Shah Khan Ghilja'i who, as was earlier noted, had fled after the crushing humiliation of the Andari tribe, incited people here and there, and among those who paid him heed were the Taghar tribe. He once more pulled them off the straight path of obedience along with the Nawah-i Taraki people. On the first day of Jumada al-Thani 1304, one thousand three hundred and four A.H. (25 February 1887) he along with those two tribes attacked the *khaṣṣahdārs* whom Sikandar Khan *sarhang* had dispatched to collect the fine and weapons. They routed the *khaṣṣahdārs* and took back all the money and weapons they had thus far gathered. The governor of Qandahar was informed and speedily dispatched two hundred regular infantry with an arsenal. They went to the district of Hutak and at the order of Sikandar Khan *sarhang* they put their minds to battling the rebels.

During this time, Mr. [Salter] Pyne, two Chinese geologists (or mineralogists—*ma'dan-shinās*), and one Indian who with the approval of officials of the High Government of India, at the request of His Highness, had been selected to serve the government of Afghanistan, were brought to the royal attention thanks to a letter from the ambassador, General Mir Ahmad Khan. On Tuesday, the fifth of Jumada al-Thani, a farman went out to the official almond-seller in Peshawar, Muhammad Akbar Khan, telling him to provide them with travel expenses and riding camels from there to Kabul, in accordance with the letter from of the general which would reach him. Their coming will be recorded in due course—God willing.

Meanwhile, guidance-giving and advice –dispensing farmans, which, as was noted earlier, were sent accompanied by the mirs of Day Zangi from His Majesty to the Hazarah leaders who had not put their heads into the shackles of obedience to the king, arrived at this time. Those who wanted to behave foolishly, put on the cloak of deceit. Instead of honoring and esteeming the bearers of those farmans of good advice whom the mirs of Day Zangi had sent, and, in respect to the favor and compassion of His Highness, instead of being

thankful and grateful, they displayed fear and loathing. They paid no heed to the royal words nor to the intimations of royal justice which were written down and gave themselves over to speaking ignorantly and foolishly except for °Ali Naqi and °Abd Allah *mihtar*, two leaders of the Fuladah-i Hajaristan tribe who set forth on the path of humanity and expressed their obedience to the messengers sent by the mirs of Day Zangi and said,

Our brothers and sons have been killed by the swords of this ill-omened tribe, much blood has flowed between the two, and we have become sick to death of it. Unless the victory-marked banners of the mighty royal regiments cleave the rotting field of this odious tribe and the two of us prepare our forts and provide a place for the triumphal army, these rejects from the divine threshold will never put their heads beneath the farman's writ. So the commendable thing is for the royal army to come up to this region and then if they don't submit together, we will lay them waste with killing and plundering.

Muhammad °Azim Beg the son of °Ali Zahid Sih Pay of Day Zangi wrote words similar to this in a letter expressing his loyalty and obedience and it was sent through the mirs of Day Zangi to His Majesty. It said,

Whenever the people of Dayah and Fuladah set out on the road of good fortune and place the thread of obedience around their necks, His Majesty should also count me as one of his loyal subjects. Also if it were in the tribe's best interests, at the beginning of spring having crossed the Hirmand River, having seen the mirs of Day Zangi who are the bearers of the letter and message of wise counsel from His Highness, and having willingly accepted the command to be a subject, I will attach the ring of obedience to my ear and place the cloth of worship on my shoulder. And I hope for a robe of honor from the regal compassion because I am the gate to the homes and dwelling places of the people of Dayah and Fuladah for the gate to the conquest of the Hazarah *yāghistan* can be opened with just one word. I consider myself the slave to, and follower of, the order and command of the padishah of Islam and the community of the Messenger—on him be peace—and of Muslims, but due to the fact that my fathers and forefathers turned their faces from the *qiblah* of obedience to rulers of the past and allowed the murmuring of disloyalty to take up lodging in the structure of their beliefs, much trouble and harm came into being for young and old, Afghan and Hazarah alike. I too following in their footsteps have brought trouble to every one and I do not dare put foot on the path of service without assurances of royal reconciliation. If my king makes me his slave, places the robe of honor of a good name on my faithful shoulders, thereby delivering me from the abyss of fear and trembling / **536**/ and raises me to the rank of a sardar, my fervent hope is that I will

not fail to sacrifice myself at the triumphant stirrup. And that wherever some need arises, with the aid of other subjects of the foot of the throne, I will take care of it for perhaps it may happen that some matter which arises may be handled by a mere needle where a proud spear fails and some affair a simple pen-knife can set aright where a shining sword is unable to cut through. No servant however powerless or humble is not beyond (aiding) in driving away trouble and bringing some benefit. Thus even a dry twig which is generally discarded because of its insignificance, may sometimes be of use as a toothpick or to remove dirt from the ear. The end.

An account of this letter's achieving the honor of royal consideration and the committing of an answer to writing will be given in due course—God willing.

Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan Arrival in Herat and other Events

Meantime, Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, who had been honored by His Highness with the governorship of Herat as was earlier discussed, had set out there. On the 14th of Jumada al-Thani (10 March 1887) he arrived in Farah and on Thursday, the twenty-first of the month (17 March) he reached Herat. At the order of His Majesty, the friend-flattering enemy-scattering padishah, Field Marshal Faramarz Khan sent the city leaders and officers of the Gushadah cavalry along with Rustam 'Ali Khan his half brother (*barādar-i ḥasabī*) to the border of the *manzil* (halting place) of Mir Da'ud to welcome him. He himself with officers of regular regiment and army, the ulama, sayyids, the artillery, and the humble and noble alike of the city went to the banks of the Hari Rud and there fired a twenty-one gun salute. Following his arrival in the city, in accordance with a farman that had reached Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan while he was en route and that instructed him to arrest Ghulam Jan, the *sandūq-dār* (treasurer) of Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the former governor of Herat, he informed Field Marshal Faramarz Khan who put Ghulam Jan under surveillance and seized records (*sanadāt*) from him and from his house. Then after an audit by Mirza Jilani Khan, he collected from him and from Fayz Muhammad Khan one lak of Kabuli rupees of government funds which (Ghulam Jan) had embezzled.

Also at this time, at the request of Field Marshal Faramarz Khan, His Highness pardoned Muhammad Amin Khan, the son of Haydar Khan Bayat, who had fled and issued a farman saying he should provide him with travel provisions and a mount (a riding camel) and send him to Kabul so that whatever he wanted he would not be denied. Thus the aforementioned had the honor of an audience before His Highness and he spent his life in Kabul invoking blessings on the government of mighty power.

During this time, His Majesty Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar entered the telegraph office in Tehran himself and sent an order to the governor (*wālī*) of Khurasan which said that he should expel the Afghans from the locale of Hashtadan if they

had settled in it. Earlier, the English had prevented the Iranian government from occupying it and resolution of the issue had been postponed to the time of the the renewal of the border demarcation between Afghanistan and Russia. He should ready the necessities for war and prepare for battle so that if the Afghans turn their faces towards fighting he could repel them. This affair was transmitted to the all-hearing ears of His Majesty thanks to a letter from Mirza Yusuf Khan, the (Afghan) news writer in Mashhad. He in turn notified the viceroy of India to inform the English minister plenipotentiary stationed in Tehran to respond appropriately to the Iranian government, with knowledge, deliberation, and thoughtfulness. Whether through war or negotiation he should resolve the matter so that whatever would be decided would indeed come to pass. In the end, negotiations settled it that as long as the borders between Iran and Afghanistan were not fixed neither side should interfere in Hashtadan. Munshi Allah Bakhsh, the secretary to the Englishman Colonel Maclean, intending to find out who from either side was residing there, came to Hashtadan. Since Field Marshal Faramarz Khan had expelled several nomad families from Afghanistan who pastured their flocks and herds there, the munshi saw no one from Afghanistan in that place and removed several Iranian nomad households who were there and resettled them on land belonging to the kingdom of Iran. He then returned to Mashhad.

Also during this time, it reached the omniscient ears of His Highness via letters from servants residing in the kingdom of the Mighty Ottoman Turkish Government that because of the enmity of the Russian government toward the Sublime Turkish Government, all the subjects living in the pious kingdom of the great sultan, whether adherents of the true sect of /537/ the Sunnis or Shi'ite or of the other miscellaneous sects, in harmony and solidarity have embarked on the path of preserving the kingdom, and their own honor and good name and protecting the great government. Voluntarily they increased payment of their land taxes by ten percent. The entire regular army has sworn an oath to take no salary from the treasury at the time of a jihad and leave it for other costs of war. In addition, all military and civilian personnel wrote out a contract binding it with the most fearsome oaths and handed it to the sultan saying they would spare no expense and sacrifice themselves to serve the religion and the government and to protect the kingdom. Thanks to this show of unity and solidarity by the people, living in the great Turkish nation, the Russian government which was bent on creating strife was in the end forced to the knee of vain hopes and embarked on the path of friendship and amity with that nation instead.

Consequently, His Highness informed the people of Afghanistan, through numerous proclamations, about this unity and also put into print and published emergency proclamations (*rasa'il-i intizāmīyah*). In addition, due to the political disinformation (*akhbārāt-i pūlītīkāl-i kāzībānah*) which was reaching the throne that the Russians would attack Afghanistan, as a precaution, in those same proclamations, he urged and exhorted the people of the pious kingdom to a jihad. The people of this kingdom, like those of the Ottoman kingdom, fastened

the belt of courage and solidarity and sent affirmations to the throne. The fitting response to these which he issued will be discussed in due course—God willing.

Meantime, the people of Taghar who, as earlier reported, had joined with the Hutak people in Murghah (Marghah) under the incitement of Muhammad Shah Khan Ghilja'i, expelled the Sakhlu infantry who were engaged in collecting weapons and a fine and retrieved the weapons and cash already confiscated and the governor of Qandahar sent reinforcements and ammunition to Sikandar Khan. At this moment, His Highness was informed by a letter from the governor and on Thursday the 21st of the month on the same day Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan entered Herat as was previously noted, he sent the governor of Qandahar a farman instructing him to send all the Qandahari regiments—recently arrived from Herat and a number of whom had already been sent to help Sikandar Khan—to the Hutak district now to aid Sikandar Khan. Putting His Highness's command into effect, on the 24th of Jumada al-Thani prior to the Qandahar regiments actually joining Sikandar Khan, he moved from Nawah-i Suri to the locale of Dab where he camped so as to enter Marghah the following day. Some of the insurgents learned of his arrival at Dab and then through the mediation of Mulla Amir, one of the maliks of Suri, turned their backs on foolishness, set forth on the path of obedience, and put the rope of loyalty around their necks.

Similarly, the governor of Kalat, Fazl al-Din Khan, mollified the Taraki rebels, led them out of the wadi of waywardness onto the highway of obedience, and returned them all to their homes and dwelling places. Sikandar Khan *sarhang* set his mind to fighting those people who did not accept this guidance and refused to come down from the mountain of stupidity, attacked the locale of Sartur in Suri district, seized six hundred head of sheep and five cows, and gave the cows to the infantrymen. He held on to the sheep, awaiting an order from the governor of Qandahar.

Meantime, Muhammad 'Isa Khan, the governor of Arghistan entered Taghar in accordance with a directive (*qarār-nāmah*) and message which Sikandar Khan *sarhang* had sent him ordering him to go there with the Sakhlu infantry he had and the horse and foot soldiers from the people under his jurisdiction in order to punish the evil-minded rebels. But seeing neither friend nor foe there, he was somewhat perplexed and so made camp in Taghar district. At his arrival and camping there, several women and frail elderly (*zamīngīr*) men who had stayed behind, now also fled, stumbling and crawling up into the mountains.

Muhammad 'Isa Khan spent one night there. Seeing no sign of Sikandar Khan *sarhang* nor hearing any word that he was there and what he was supposed to do, he went ahead and erected a breastworks (*sangarī*) around his force. The next day at daybreak, some spies from the Hutak tribe approached the breastworks and the Sakhlu infantry rose to fight them. The sound of the guns firing on both sides reached the ears of the Taghar people who had taken refuge in the depths of the mountains and like ants and locusts they swarmed down from the mountains and surrounded the breastworks. Both sides now intensified the

struggle but in the midst of the fight the foot and horse soldiers from Arghistan who had accompanied and supported Muhammad °Isa Khan turned their backs on the battle and their faces towards flight. Muhammad °Isa Khan too with his Sakhlu infantry was forced back into the breastworks where he put up a fierce resistance until he himself was killed with six Durrani of Arghistan who had not decamped with the rest but had retreated into the breastworks with him, as well as many of the Sakhlu infantry. The survivors abandoned the breastworks and fled. Fifteen of the rebels were killed. /538/

As word of this spread, a farman from His Majesty was sent to the people of the Barakza'i tribe living in the vicinity of Hutak district and the Hutak tribes telling them to surround the whole mob of evil rebels, annihilate them, and make their forts and dwelling places level ground. His Royal Majesty also sent a farman to the governor of Qandahar ordering him to dispatch the following force from Qandahar to the dwelling places of the group of evildoers: two hundred men from the regular infantry regiment of the Durrani tribes which the Durrani people as previously noted had promised and which had been assembled by Colonel Hajji Gul Khan; fifty more men from the Second Regular Durrani Infantry Regiment; twenty men from his own Ardali (unit); fifty Sakhlu infantrymen from the unit (*dastah*) of Muhammad Husayn Khan *ṣad-bāshī*, all to be under the command of the abovementioned Colonel Hajji Gul Khan and Captain Mawla Dad Khan of his Ardalis. On their heels, Colonel Ghulam Hasan Khan Qizilbash with six hundred regular cavalry and infantry and one breech-loading gun left Qandahar for the Hutak district.

During this time, a sense of pride and protectiveness aroused the Durrani and Qizilbash of Qandahar and without the government imposing on them group after group presented itself to the governor of Qandahar and by way of helping the government forces offered their services and requested permission to march against the seditionists. But in light of the fact that no royal order was as yet forthcoming to mobilize civilians he stopped them from marching (against the rebels) and told them to wait until such an order was issued. A farman which was issued to this effect—God willing—will be recounted in due course.

Also at this time Sardar °Ata Allah Khan, the representative (*wakīl*) of the English government stationed in Kabul, in accordance with a letter from the Foreign Secretary, was given several days leave by His Highness and traveled to Peshawar in order to meet with Durand and then, either with Durand or another person representing Durand, to return to Kabul.

During this time, Mirza Mir °Abd al-Samad Khan, Military Secretary for Turkistan (*lashkar-nawīs-i Turkistān*), who had come to his home in Kabul on leave, because of the death of his brother, Mir Abu'l-Qasim Khan, who was Keeper of the Roll (*chahrah-nawīs*) of the army of Kabul, was honored by His Highness by appointment as Military Secretary for the capital, and a younger brother, Mirza Mir Ibrahim Khan, was singled out for appointment as Military Secretary of Turkistan in his stead. In view of the integrity and faithful service of the late Mirza, his salary was conferred on his brother and his salary in turn was passed on to the younger brother.

Meanwhile, leaders of the Mohmand and Musa Khan and Jafat Khan, who prior to this as was earlier noted had taken on the responsibility of dealing with the retainers of Mughul Khan, on the night of the 25th of Jumada al-Thani (21 March 1887), accompanied by the men of Miru Khayl and Barah Khayl of Shamsha and the people of Darrah-i Turah-Khwah, took a force and attacked the people of Band and Mati who were supporters and retainers of Mughul (Khan). Six of the partisans of Mughul Khan were killed or wounded and three of the government supporters were slain. Ultimately, the government backers prevailed, the supporters of Mughul Khan were routed and driven out of the kingdom.

In the meantime, Mr. Pyne, two Chinese geologists, and one Hindu—an account of whose being selected for employment by the government of Afghanistan was given above—arrived in Peshawar and on the 25th of the month—on the night of which there was an incident described above—they set out on the road to Kabul. They were given the honor of an audience by His Highness and then each devoted himself to his job.

Also at this time, the Taraki and °Ali Khayl people learned of the uprising of the people of Taghar—which has been mentioned and in a show of enmity to the government sent a man to the people of Jaghuri, of whose killing their governor they had also heard, with a message saying that they should join forces and light the fire of insurrection. In reply, the Char Dastah people of Jaghuri, who as was previously mentioned had had no part in the killing of their governor, said that if they (the Taraki and °Ali Khayl) were to withdraw their heads from beneath the farman's writ, they should know that the people of Jaghuri will come to the district of the Taraki and the °Ali Khayl to plunder and kill them. When His Highness learned of what was going on via a letter from the governor of Ghaznin and °Abd al-Rashid Khan, the governor of the °Ali Khayl tribe, on Friday night, the 29th of the month of Jumada al-Thani (25 March 1887), he sent a farm,an to General Ghulam Haydar Khan, who was busy collecting the fine and weapons from the Andari people, telling him to go to Muqur district with a vengeance-minded army so that the Taraki and °Ali Khayl due to the might of the royal force will not be able to set foot on the road of error. He also dispatched two Pamqani foot regiments and Rahmat Khan to Ghazni from Kabul ordering these two regiments to link up with and offer their services to the two hundred men of the regiments stationed in Ghaznin who are under General Ghulam Haydar Khan's banner and stay in Ghaznin. All the rest (of the regiments in Ghaznin) should march to Muqur. It was also written in the blessed hand (of His Highness himself)

most of the people who are between Ghaznin and Qandahar are off the avenue of obedience /539/ to God and the Prophet and with us and with you the banner of holy war (against them) is always with us and cleaving the air. These people are without question the aiders and abettors of the enemies of the religion and they hand victory to the infidels because by their disobedience they give comfort to the enemies

of the religion who say, ‘the people of Afghanistan are (always) fighting amongst themselves and now is the time to attack and seize Afghanistan.’ I am perturbed by what the infidels are saying. When will these people become Muslims? The end.

Also on Friday, the 29th of Jumada al-Thani an answer was sent to the letter of Qazi Mir Ni‘mat Allah Khan, the qazi of Jaghuri, which came to the throne and said, “aside from the few individuals who murdered the governor, Mirza Ahmad ‘Ali Khan, some of whom the people of Jaghuri captured and have in custody, all of the Jaghuris are loyal servants of the government. (But) certain men from Taraki and ‘Ali Khayl come and go here and though they have tried to incite the Hazarahs of Jaghuri, they have heard only rejection and been disappointed.” The answer from His Highness was,

the felicity and good fortune of the people of Jaghuri will result from this: They have already arrested some of the killers of their governor. They must also bring to hand the remaining ones. Otherwise they will be accomplices to the governor’s murder and partners in the corruption of the Taraki and ‘Ali Khayl.

When this felicitous letter arrived, the Char Dastah Jaghuri (Hazarah) leaders set out for Ghaznin with Sayyid ‘Ali Naqi son of the late Shah ‘Ali Akbar and Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Khan Marquli to turn over the governor’s killers whom they had arrested to the governor of Ghaznin. When they reached the district of Luman, they heard of the Taraki and ‘Ali Khayl uprising. Of the one hundred and fifty men who were on their way to Ghaznin, they sent ahead the two sayyids and four other men. Because of the uprising of the Taraki and ‘Ali Khayl and the Qalandar-i Jaghuri who had joined them in their evildoing, the rest of the party turned around in order, with the men of the Char Dastah to punish the Qalandar, Taraki, and ‘Ali Khayl insurgents. The governor of Ghaznin warmly received the four leaders who presented themselves before him, then gave them leave to return with orders to prepare a Char Dastah Jaghuri tribal force for battle and put it at the command of General Ghulam Haydar Khan who himself was marching to punish the tribes of the ‘Ali Khayl, Taraki, and Hutak. Likewise, a letter was sent to the son of Bunyad Khan whom the governor of Ghaznin had himself made reside in Ghaznin—as was previously recounted—and had prevented from going to Malistan. The letter, also sent to (Bunyad Khan’s) brothers, said that they should go to Zardak and stop there with a militia force (*iljārī*) from Malistan and Mir Adinah to assist the Char Dastah Jaghuri men so that the men of Pashah-i and Shayr Dagħ of Jaghuri do not give aid to the Qalandar evildoers. He also sent orders to the people of Hazarah-i Muhammad Khwajah, Char Dastah, and Jighatu to go to the district of Luman-i Jaghuri, be on the lookout for any sign of enemy movement and to remain vigilant.

The men of Malistan, under the leadership of the son and brothers of Bunyad Khan and the Sihganah Hazarah tribes of Ghaznin, under the command of Ghulam Husayn Khan the son of Gulistan Khan, Muhammad °Ali Khan the son of Rajab °Ali Khan, and Muhammad °Ali Khan, the nephew of Fayz Muhammad Khan went to Zardak and Luman as ordered by the governor of Ghaznin and remained there prepared for battle.

In the meantime, Muhammad Shah Khan Ghilja°i who had taken the road of waywardness was making even greater efforts to incite the people of those regions with eighteen cavalry and several foot soldiers who had lit the flames of insurrection in Taghar district. Similarly, Shayr Jan Khan the son of Mir Ahmad Khan Taraki, and Muhammad Aslam Khan of Shah °Alam Khayl, and forty cavalry had set out to light the fires of insurrection on the Nawah-i Taraki and Band Sih Gar⁴⁵ road and to incite the people there.

During this time the leaders of the Tukhi people like °Ali Khan, Muhammad Ghafur Khan, Muhammad Akbar Khan, Qudrat Khan, Muhammad Iyaz Khan, Fayz Muhammad Khan, Mu°min Khan, La°al Muhammad Khan, Muhammad Sharif Khan, Muhammad °Alam Khan, Shams al-Din Khan, Marjan Khan, Badr al-Din Khan Mir Gul Khan, Shayr Ahmad Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan Shayr Gul Khan, Yar Muhammad Khan, Mulla Salih Muhammad Khan, Kaka Khan, Muhammad Akbar Khan, Lala Khan, Malik Muhammad Khan, Jalal Khan, Khwajah Buland Khan, Amir Muhammad Khan, Muhammad °Uthman Khan, Rahmat Khan, Mulla Muhammad Khan, Akhtar Muhammad Khan, Iyaz Khan, and Gul Khan sent a letter to the throne expressing their loyalty and support and requesting the right to provide some service and the institution of some sort of order amongst themselves. From His Highness was issued a farman of consent and, corresponding to an order which he had issued in their name earlier, he instructed them to take their tribal army and annihilate the seditionists.

Meantime the Taraki and °Ali Khayl incited the people of Maskah, Dah Mardah, and Hut Qul of the Hazarahs of Jaghuri and with the men of the Qalandar-i Jaghuri Hazarahs erected two strong *sangars* at the mouth of the Darrah-i Akhir in the district of Nayran-i /540/ Hazarah, at a place called Rasanah, one occupied by the two Afghan tribes (Taraki and °Ali Khayl) and the other by the Qalandar Hazarah rebels.

Meantime, on Sunday, the second of Rajab 1304 one thousand three hundred and four Hijri (27 March 1887), General Ghulam Haydar Khan left Ghaznin. On the fourth of the month (29 March) he camped at the *manzil* of Mushki and then spent the sixth of the month at the *manzil* of Kuy A°in.

On this same day the two infantry regiments which as previously mentioned had set out for Ghaznin from Kabul arrived there and joined the two hundred regular infantrymen whom General Ghulam Haydar Khan at the order of His Highness had left behind in Ghaznin.

⁴⁵ FM: It is possible that in Pashtu (*lafz-i Afghānī*) it is Band Sih Ghar, i.e. "three mountains."

During this time, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, concerned lest the four nomadic tribes of the Nasiri, Kharuti, Daftani, and Maʿi Khayl, should be incited to rise up by the Taraki, ʿAli Khayl, and Andari evildoers wrote separate letters to the leaders of each of the four tribes saying not to stray from the high road of loyalty at the instigation of the evildoers nor become an accomplice of the foolish people of tyranny against the word of God and the Prophet and sent them to Sardar Shirindil Khan. Sardar Shirindil Khan sent these letters of his brother on to Dust Muhammad Khan of the Sulayman Khayl and he delivered them to the four tribes—the Nasiri, Kharuti, Daftani, and Maʿi Khayl. While the others did not turn their faces from the highway of good guidance, the Nasiri tribe, as was previously noted, had refused to hand over their taxes (*bāj wa kharāj*), had been forbidden to enter Afghanistan, and made common cause with the rebels. Since they had now committed three sins: 1) violating the agreement they had made with His Highness in Jalalabad; 2) not paying the *bāj* (customs duties) and the legal *zakāt* (the canonical tax on livestock), as was mentioned earlier, and had gone on the road of rebellion to the land of the English, and 3) allying with the Taraki, ʿAli Khayl, and Hutaki evildoers, on the seventh of Rajab (1 April) a farman went out from His Highness to all the governors and leaders of the provinces telling them not to allow those evil men into the country to make use of the water and pasturage of Afghanistan as was the case in the past. Moreover if they managed to enter in secret, they were to be arrested and their property seized wherever they were found.

On this same day, the Chahar Dastah Hazarabs of Jaghuri who were fearful because of the murder of their governor and whose fear was conveyed to the luminous attention of His Highness by a report to the throne were told in a letter from His Highness:

What solicitousness haven't we shown you people since our arrival in Afghanistan right up until now and what favors haven't we done for you? The Afghans used to consider you all evil people and looked on you as fair game. They imagined they could take your property, women, and children and divide them up among themselves. I stood up for you and in such a fashion became your protector and advocate so that the Afghans did not torment your people, who worked as laborers and shepherds. The Hazarabs also served the nation of Islam so that leaders of the Day Zangi and Day Kundi at my command and with the charge I had given them went off and captured Herat. Now if I were to order it, do you think that the Hazarah men of Day Zangi, Day Kandi, Bihsud and the Ghaznin district will let you raise the head of enmity? And if you do, your own Hazarah people will finish you off. Since on my part I hold no ill-will towards you nor do I attribute to you any deficiency in service, the fact that some individuals (amongst you) have dared to kill the governor, all of you herefore should not be distressed or fearful. When my letter arrives you should disassociate yourselves

from the Taraki and °Ali Khayl rebels and present yourselves to General Ghulam Haydar Khan so that he may straighten things out with you and you should act in accordance with whatever he says. You should not allow the killers of the governor and his secretary to escape. In any event, we don't hold you all responsible for the few individuals who have actually acted hostilely. We don't want you to be vilified, ruined, and annihilated. The end.

He also wrote and instructed Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, and General Ghulam Haydar Khan saying,

The people of Jaghuri will come and see you you should summon the Jaghuris. Don't be harsh with them and don't force them to hand over all the murderers of the governor immediately because, of course, five individuals from every clan (*dastah*) will have ties and tribal connections to the murderers of the governor. In this delicate situation, they are not able to hand over to you the evildoers with their hands bound. It's sufficient at this point that you drive a wedge between this tribe and the Taraki and °Ali Khayl however you can and create discord between them because when the Jaghuris turn away from the Taraki and °Ali Khayl and they find themselves alone they will be annihilated. If this doesn't turn out to be the case, and they unite, the matter will be extremely difficult.

/541/ Also in the course of these events, due to the arrival at the throne of letters expressing the harmony and unity of all the people of Afghanistan and the part of Turkistan belonging to it which were sent in response to the proclamations calling for unity, the following manshur was issued by His Majesty. It was sent to all the provinces and towns (*amṣār*) in the form of a proclamation and said:

Through God's help, we want to keep your religion firm, your faith pure, your government strong, your community venerated, and the grasping hand of foreigners and enemies away from your property and money, and from your wives and children. We favor some "striving in the way of God" (*mujāhadah*) on your part so that the rectitude of your affairs in this world and the next will be fulfilled as long as problems don't begin to accumulate (literally "narrow the way") and difficult situations arise and we haven't spent what is in the treasury of the government of Islam. I wouldn't want anyone to have to give his own wealth to the treasury or burden him with an increase in taxes. To fight with the Russian government which outwardly lays claim to Afghanistan but the real object of whose gaze is India will not be possible except by sacrifice, involvement, courage and bravery. Therefore, this is what I have in mind today: out of every twenty men

of Afghanistan, one will be designated as a soldier and servant of the nation (*millat*) and be sent to a border post. The other nineteen will pay the living expenses of his family and also set aside a small amount for him. On the frontier, the government will provide him with flour. Then every year, another person will be chosen by lot and go to the frontier to take his place and the previous fellow will return home. In this manner, in the twenty-first year, the turn will come again to the first person, if he is still among the living. In this way, unity will emerge from the nation and the government and will deter enemies from attacking, God willing. The end.

Meanwhile, General Ghulam Haydar Khan, with his vengeance-seeking army, departed Muqur on the 8th of Rajab/2 April 1887 and camped at Zabit. There he set fire to the houses and winter quarters of some of the evildoers who had turned their faces in flight to the valley of misfortune and burned them to the ground. He dispatched letters of reconciliation to those who had blundered into the alley of befuddlement and in complete sincerity invited them to submit. Some, whose evildoing was of a lesser degree, were guided to the right path by his letter, set forth on the path of obedience, and returned to their homes. Of that group, the Jaghuri, due to the handwritten letter from His Majesty which was mentioned above and which was delivered by the hands of Sayyid °Ali Naqi, Sayyid Qasim, Ghulam Husayn Khan the son of Gulistan Khan to Ghulam °Ali Khan Jaghuri and he in turn had conveyed it to the people of Maskah, Hut Qul, and Dah Murdah who had allied themselves with the Taraki and °Ali Khayl—as was also mentioned above—and chosen to man the “breastworks of rebellion.” As soon as the Hazarahs saw and read the tender (*marḥamat-āyāt*) expressions contained therein they set their hearts on obedience and sent a message to the Jaghuri people who were serving and loyal to the government saying they should send to the breastworks two men from the Anguri who held a high status among the Jaghuri people, so that keeping them as bond they would send two of their own people to the government supporters, obtain reassurances, and then ally themselves with the supporters of the government.

As requested (those loyal to the government) sent two men to the *sangar* and on Thursday, the 13th of Rajab (7 April), while negotiations were still in progress, General Ghulam Haydar Khan, assigned the army’s pack animals (*bārgīr*) to Commandant (*kumīdān*) °Abd al-Ghani Khan with two hundred regular infantry and one hundred regular cavalry to forage for straw in the forts of the enemy which were in the vicinity of the victory-marked army and which had been vacated by the group of misfortune-seekers. They set out and were busy gathering straw when suddenly the wicked Afghan and Hazarah rebels attacked them. A fierce fight ensued and one hundred and seventy of the insurgents were slain by the swords of the battle-tested braves. The heads of three were cut off and brought back to the army camp. They were impaled on spears which were planted in the ground at the edge of the army camp. Both Malik Fath Khan of the Manjar Khayl and Malik Mihr °Ali of the °Ali Khayl

were taken prisoner in the battle and at the order of General Ghulam Haydar Khan were tied to the mouths of cannons and executed. The roar of the cannons which blew those two men to bits struck fear and grief into [the hearts of the people of] those regions.

Two soldiers from the regular army sustained minor wounds; one of the cavalrymen was struck in the finger by a bullet and one of the infantrymen was hit in the thigh. Otherwise there were no casualties. After this victory, General Ghulam Haydar Khan sent a letter to the Hazarahs and Afghans manning the breastworks saying that in two days the affairs of the ʿAli Khayl and Hazarahs who are not in the breastworks will be dealt with. They should be aware that on the third day the mighty regiments will be at the breastworks. Discouraged and frightened by this message, they forced Shayr Jan Khan the son of Mir Ahmad Khan Taraki, who was the cause of the evil, to leave the sangar and he fled under cover of night /542/. Two riding mares belonging to his companions fell into the hands of pickets (*kashakchiyān*) of the victory-signed army. Finding no escape route, he was forced to return to the breastworks and rejoined its defenders.

At this time Sar Buland Khan, Shahsawar Khan, and other leaders of the Tukhi tribe, who have already been individually named, came to the victory-signed army to serve bringing with them 120 horsemen and 600 foot soldiers.

Meantime on Tuesday, the 19th of Rajab/13 April 1887, Sikandar Khan *sarhang* who, having learned of the killing of Muhammad ʿIsa Khan—mentioned above—had set out for Marghah, reached Sar Nawah-i Taghar and encountered a group of enemy numbering 9,000 armed men whereupon the marketplace of fighting opened for business. Fifteen hundred of the evildoers were killed and the heads of all were cut off and sent to Qandahar. The governor there erected a minaret of them as a warning to the insurgents. Eighty of the men in the army with Sikandar Khan were killed or wounded. Breaking the gun carriages the evildoers who survived turned their backs on the battle and their faces towards flight. With their wives and children, they sought refuge in the mountains located in Nawah-i Suri and Marghah. Sikandar Khan *sarhang* and Ghulam Hasan Khan *karnayl* informed the governor of Qandahar of this and requested a large army saying they could not secure the whole perimeter of the mountains where the enemy were now lodged with a small force. If they were to go up into the mountains to engage the enemy from one direction, they would be able to escape in three other directions and go into other mountain areas. In this way the affair would be long and drawn out.

Also on this day, which was the 19th of Rajab, the Gargari people rejected the demands of the governor of Mazinah district and refused to pay their diwani taxes. He went to see Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan in Jalalabad told him what had happened and the field marshal sent him back with an order to collect the taxes owed using moderation and benevolence and not deal harshly with nor speak impolitely to the people. He also apprised Muhammad Gul Khan who was a well-wisher of the subjects and a servant of the government about the circumstances of the people there. Notwithstanding the fact that neither the field

marshal nor anyone else had instructed him to placate those people, he went to Mazinah in hopes of doing some good and there, by letter, summoned people in order to counsel them and give them good advice. But they paid no heed to the words of his letter and did not go to see him.

He then went to a local headquarters fort (*qal'ah-i tahānah*) and there detained Malik Madad and Malik Shah Rasul who were of those people and had gone there on some business or other. Taking with him ten of the guards assigned to the fort, their captain (*ṣadbāshī*), and three other infantrymen, he wanted to take the two prisoners to Mazinah. En route Hasan Khayl Shinwari men living in Gargari got wind of this and attacked. Muhammad Gul Khan and the horse he was riding were both wounded as were some of his companions. Injured and having lost the two prisoners, he set his face for Mazinah. Flushed with victory, the enemy laid siege to the headquarters fort and a battle raged from sunrise until noon. They killed four of the fort's guards and wounded two. Then they broke through the walls of the fort and forced their way in. The fort's defenders escaped through an opening in another wall and fought their way towards Shah 'Ali in the Khugyani district. Several of their rifles fell into Shinwari hands but they continued on until the people of Shah 'Ali Khugyani came out to assist them and brought the fort's wounded and exhausted guards into their homes.

That afternoon Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan learned of this incident via a letter from Muhammad Gul Khan and immediately dispatched Muhammad Shah Khan *kumīdān* in that direction with 200 regular infantry and two guns commanded by 'Abd al-Karim Khan and Bahawul Khan from Jalalabad. He gave the order that if the headquarters fort had fallen into enemy hands they should not camp in Gargari but go on to Mazinah. Otherwise, they should camp in Gargari. Marching at night, they reached the heights overlooking Mazinah when morning came. Seeing the fort in the hands of the foe, they went to Mazinah where they stayed. The place for recording the retribution and punishment of those wicked people will come later—God Most High willing.

Issuance of a Benevolent Manshur to Mir 'Azim Beg Sih Pay, 'Ali Naqi Mihtar, Abul Mihtar, and the Qazi 'Askar of Fuladah

During the above-mentioned fighting and strife, letters from Mir Muhammad 'Azim Beg, 'Ali Naqi, and Abul Mihtar of the Hazarabs of the *yaghistan*—an account of these letters has already been given—were honored by the luminous reading of His Majesty. /543/ Notwithstanding the fact that the flames of war still blazed in the Taraki, 'Ali Khayl, Taghar, and Shinwar districts and most of the forces of Kabul, Ghaznin, Qandahar, and Jalalabad were engaged in the struggle, no anxiety beset the firm intent and resolute outlook of His Majesty and on Thursday, the 20th of Rajab/14 April 1887 he wrote to Mir Muihammad 'Azim Beg:

For whatever past wrongdoings you have recalled and said, "judgement is on my head" that is correct. But you must have heard and many people must have said that I would not and will not render judgement against any tribe which was perpetrated before my auspicious enthronement because if such talk (to the contrary) becomes current then, after the establishment of legal proof, several thousand murderers will be killed in retaliation at the hands of the heirs of the victims. Therefore our agents do not prosecute prior deeds and in future you will not perpetrate any evil and your forthcoming service will wipe away past misdeeds. The position and title of "sardar" which you ask the government to give you is connected to your own work, service, and integrity. I constantly ask God to make apparent to me men like you who will serve the religion and my government and who, having gained a good name with God, the Prophet, and all mankind, will acquire high rank and status from the royal darbar, if you recognize the path of devotion and servitude. You write that a slender needle can accomplish things which a mighty spear is unable to do and from the humblest dry twig you perhaps can fashion a toothpick which when needed can remove a seed from the teeth or wax from the ears. We too—praise be to God Most High—well remember the ways and customs of renowned kings so that we instruct and promote friends and servants so that they are able to serve and, with the polo stick of integrity, take the ball of precedence away from all others. Today the religion and government of Islam are badly in need of advancement. There is work for the honorable man of action who is able, as people say, to "carve a man from dry wood." What a place there is for people of action like you who enter the assembly of service on the feet of obedience. Food and drink, honor and esteem will naturally be theirs for free. If you rebel or rise up then it is indeed clear that the enemies of religion who lurk in ambush will, when the opportunity arises, annihilate the glory and fortune of you all, all the people of Islam. In any event, know full well that we will keep you busy and give you good instruction. We won't fail to notice whatever you deserve and will make sure you get it because anyone who acknowledges himself as the leader (*amir*) of Islam, mentor of the people, and protector of the religion and the holy law of the Prophet—on whom be peace—naturally thinks first of good Muslims like you and of doing good and makes his business the doing of what is good and appropriate and teaching that which is obligatory. What you have heard of my cruelty and punishment, of harshness and retribution is only against those who rebel against the government and against enemies of the nation, those who deem disunity better than unity, call you a tribe of infidels, and reckon the kidnapping and sale of your daughters and sons to be permissible and legal. In any event, you should go to Mir Yusuf Beg with easy minds and tranquil hearts and ask for Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani and arrange with them the matter

of obedience and service and send (them) to my presence. God willing, in accordance with the acceptability of the agreement with those two men a “robe of honor” of kindness will be sent to you and thenceforward you may go back to your own places, act with integrity, and go forward on the path of service. The end.

A farman also went out to Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani and Mir Muhammad Yusuf Beg saying,

You should warn the leaders of the Hazarahs of the *yāghistan* of the consequences of their actions and make them understand and be well-apprised of internal and external enemies. That their external enemy is clearly whoever is so bold as to interfere in Afghanistan and the internal enemy are the evildoers of Afghanistan who don’t want us to make ties to and trust the Hazarah people although we consider them to be of our tribe and people and would make them partners in government. That is why they are constantly disobedient, doing evil here and there, and meeting with misfortune and adversity (i.e. because of internal enemies stirring them up). Therefore, it is necessary that at their own (the Hazarah leaders’) volition they take the path of service, take up arms, and be men. Don’t be too harsh with them so that they don’t think that we have put a harsh burden on them.

Also in response to the letters of Abul Mihtar, °Ali Naqī Mihtar, and the *qazi* °askar, the leaders of the Hazarahs of Hajaristan, he wrote:

Naturally, you will be firm and steadfast in the religion, faith, and words that you wrote and of course you will think it necessary to be obedient. Whatever Mir Muhammad °Azim Beg decides, you will agree with him so that the external enemy will know that the hand (*panjah*—the five fingers⁴⁶) of Islam is strong and their forearm is as one.

Meantime, through letters from General Ghulam Haydar Khan, Sikandar Khan *sarhang*, and Ghulam Hasan Khan *karnayl* the trouble and evil caused by the Taraki, °Ali Khayl, Taghar, and Hutak tribes reached the discerning ears and on the twenty-/544/ first of Rajab/15 April 1887 he sent a farman to the governor of Qandahar telling him to not to dissuade the Durrani and Persian (*fārsī*) people who have tied the belt of support for religion and the government from what they want to do so that 50,000 armed men can be sent to the homeland of the wicked Hutak and Taghar to kill and pillage. One of his orders was that every man of the Durrani force, each of whom has a tribal tie to His

⁴⁶ RM: The hand or “five” (i.e. fingers) symbolizes the family of the Prophet (Muhammad, his daughter Fatima, her husband °Ali and their sons Hasan and Husayn).

Majesty, from the day they leave until the day they return should be paid from the treasury a per diem of one °abbasi which in a month amounts to 10 Kabuli rupees. In addition, 2,000 fierce horsemen from Qataghan and Badakhshan were summoned to Kabul to be sent out as a plundering force wherever there was work for them to do. The Hutak people were stricken with terror and fear at the size of the force arrayed against them and on Thursday, the 26th of Rajab/20 April 1887 they sent to Sikandar Khan *sarhang*, Colonel Ghulam Hasan Khan, and Nur Muhammad Khan Achakza'i three frail old women holding three copies of the Word of God on their heads to ask forgiveness for their sins and security for their lives. Showing deference to the sanctity of the Qur'an, they offered those wicked people security for their lives and wrote a letter of reconciliation telling them to come down from the mountain of stupidity, return to their homes, and hand over the people behind the evildoing to officials of the government. [The Hutak people] were relieved by the letter and leaders of the Ba'iza'i tribe presented themselves before Colonel Ghulam Hasan Khan by way of submission to the royal command. he gave all of them reassurances and asked them to return to their homes. To his satisfaction, they all returned to their homes and settled down.

On this same day, i.e. Wednesday, the 26th of Rajab/20 April 1887, a farman went out from His Majesty to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan with regard to the rebels of the Shinwar who had, as was previously recounted, forcibly occupied the fort of the local royal headquarters. He was ordered to send General Mir °Ata Khan with a regular force from Jalalabad to Shinwar to bombard the evildoers with artillery after linking up with the previous regiment of the garrison.

During this time, several Afghans of the °Ali Khayl and Taraki and Hazarahs of Jaghuri who had turned their faces from the government and from happiness, and were barricaded behind a breastworks at Rasanah as was previously discussed, used the Qur'an as an intercessor for their misdeeds and crimes, repentantly presented themselves before General Ghulam Haydar Khan at the army base, and pressed the forehead of abasement into the dust of absolution. He gave them security for their lives and with the sleeve of reconciliation wiped the dust of sin from their countenances. He also sent a letter perfumed with consoling words to the °Ali Khayl and Taraki people. It was carried by Baz Muhammad Khan, Akhtar Muhammad Khan, Amir Muhammad Khan and others who had come to him and said they should turn their faces from the vale of error with minds at ease and return to their homes on the road of obedience. Similarly, Mulla Muhammad Riza of the Uqi tribe and other leaders of the Patun and Hud Qul Hazarah tribes who had come in repentance to see General Ghulam Haydar Khan at the advice and good counsel of Mir °Abd al-°Ali the son of Muhammad Taqi Shah were also reassured and returned home.

Again, several Jaghuri leaders who were treading the path of service to the government—such as °Ali Riza *mihtar*, Zardad Khan *jamā'ahdār*, Kalb Husayn of Maskah, Kalb Riza of Chub Badrah Zar, Sulayman *wakīl*, Mulla Muhammad °Ali Da'ud, Ghulam Riza of Zirak, Salih *mihtar*, all of them from the Payah,

Masakah, Hayjah, and Khurdak-i Za'idah tribes—respectfully escorted Mir °Abd al-°Ali to see General Ghulam Haydar Khan and requested that the royal commands be implemented. He honored all the Hazarah government well-wishers and gave them leave to return home. In deference to their views, he made an extra effort at reconciling those who had gone into the wasteland of error and brought their hearts to the right place.

During this time Haydar Ikhtiyar, Sharbat *mihtar*, Ghulam Husayn of Khushah, Abul *mihtar*, and Na'ib Khudadad of Sangmashah, who, as previously recounted, had murdered the governor, Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan, taken refuge behind the breastworks of the °Ali Khayl and Taraki rebels and joined forces with them, now seeing their peers given honor and distinction, sent a Holy Qur'an to General Ghulam Haydar Khan by the hand of Sayyid °Ali Naqi Shah and asked forgiveness. Honoring the sanctity of the Qur'an, he gave them security for their lives and sent a letter of reassurance to them. At the order of His Majesty, he also appointed Mir °Abd al-°Ali as governor of Jaghuri and sent him to Sangmashah in Jaghuri accompanied by Wali Muhammad Khan *ṣad-bāshī*, Sayyid °Ali Khan and Shuja° Khan, both *ṣad-bāshīs*, with 300 Sakhlū infantry and an ammunition supply (*qūrkhānah*). After Mir °Abd al-°Ali's arrival, notwithstanding the fact that General Ghulam Haydar Khan had sent a conciliatory letter by the hand of Sayyid °Ali Naqi and had reassured them, the killers of the former governor, in view of the enormity of their crime, fled, some to seek refuge in the Chihil Baghtu mountains and others in the Magu mountains. General Ghulam Haydar Khan dispatched several people to arrest those evildoers but /545/ they were unable to find and bring them to hand and so returned home without achieving their goal. All the rest of the °Ali Khayl and Taraki people and the Jaghuri Hazarah rebels were given reassurances by General Ghulam Haydar Khan and bit by bit returned to their homes in obedience. Having finished up the business of these tribes, the general sent home the Afghan and Hazarah volunteers (*īljārī*) from Ghaznin who were with him and he himself with the regular army and artillery set out from Zabit for Nawah-i Taraki, camping at Shinkai on the 29th of Rajab/23 April 1887.

The Disturbance Caused by Nur Muhammad Khan the son of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan

During the tumultuous events of this year, Nur Muhammad Khan, son of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, and Baz Muhammad Khan, son of the late Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan, with several other troublemakers of Afghanistan who had fled into the valley of adversity, heard of the rebellion of the Ghilja'i people, escaped from Peshawar, and entered Tirah district during the month of Rajab bent on inciting the people living in the mountains along the border and fanning the flames of disturbance in Afghanistan. Consequently, they went to Mulla Wali Allah Tirahi, and in league with him sent a man to the Mangal people with a message saying they should rise up in rebellion and attack Khust. They also gave fifteen rupees to each of two men, Tirin and Pir, men of the

Waziri tribe who lived in Buland Khayl and had come on the path of evil-doing to see Nur Muhammad, and the rumor went out through Tirah that Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, his father, and Shayr °Ali Khan, his uncle, in conjunction with Niyaz Muhammad Khan Babakr Khayl had sent [Nur Muhammad] from Peshawar to rally the tribes of the border to make common cause and throw a wrench into the works of the government of Afghanistan.

In support of his claims (Nur Muhammad Khan) went around showing letters which were (supposedly) written by these men (Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan and Shayr °Ali Khan) and drawn up in the names of all the leaders of the mountain region visiting them one by one. He [Nur Muhammad] also let it be known that whatever funds were needed his father Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan would send them forthwith. He deceived Mulla Wali Allah Khan with these empty words and managed to get the mulla to give him a grandchild (of his daughter—*nawāsah*) in marriage and to marry his own daughter to a grandchild (*nawāsah*) of the mulla's. He also sent a man from Tirah to Kurram to Malik Dar and Hasan °Ali of the Turi tribe, the same tribe as the mother of his father, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, and solicited the support of the people there. It was agreed that whatever he needed in the way of weapons (*asliḥah wa ālāt-i ḥarb*) would be sent from Kurram to him in Tirah. After a few days of observing Nur Muhammad Khan's words and behavior, Mulla Wali concluded that he was foolish and stupid and his general demeanor and forced his granddaughter to divorce him and told him to leave Tirah and take his friends with him.

Seeing the field of opportunity narrowing, he consulted with the son of Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, Baz Muhammad Khan, Muhammad Shah Khan Ghilja'i, and Sa°du-yi Karukhayl, who were with him and were treading the path of enmity towards the government. They all agreed that some would go to the Waziri district and some to the Shinwar mountains and incite the people in those two regions to rise up. °Abd al-Wahid Khan, the governor of Khust who knew of their arrival in Tirah and had informed the throne by letter, in accordance with an order issued to him by His Highness, sent Malik Amr al-Din and Malik °Azamat, residents of Landar and Sadiq in Khust, to Tirah and Mirza Muhammad Hasan to Buland Khayl as spies to bring back news of the intentions of Nur Muhammad Khan and his friends. Subsequently they did and °Abd al-Wahid Khan, through a letter, brought it to the illustrious attention [of His Highness]. Nur Muhammad Khan left Tirah headed for Shinwar and the Waziri district on the path of error. Their evil-doing and troublemaking will be mentioned [in due course]— God Most High willing.

During these aforementioned events, His Highness sent a farman to Muhammad Akbar Khan [the government] almond-seller resident in Peshawar telling him to come to Kabul and open his books for auditing. In his place, °Abd al-Khaliq Khan was appointed almond-seller and went to Peshawar. Muhammad Akbar Khan who had embezzled the sum of 50,000 rupees, was afraid, did not go to Kabul, and fled. Out of fear he left behind a nephew (brother's son) and went to Calcutta. The foot *pūlis*, that is the kutwali of Peshawar, entered his

residence and inside his private quarters saw two pair of trunks (*yakhdān*),⁴⁷ a four-legged chair which they call a “chawki,” a wooden table, and an old carpet. He then padlocked the room. When this matter reached the truth-discerning ears of His Majesty via letters from officials of Afghanistan resident in Peshawar he wrote this verse for his officials in Peshawar and sent it to them:

The hypocritical tears of ascetics pour down in the House of God,
The whore drops her bastard child in a mosque.

[Muhammad Akbar Khan] having reached Calcutta through the mediation of General Mir Ahmad Khan, the ambassador, /546/ petitioned the throne for forgiveness. His Majesty summoned [Muhammad Akbar’s] brother from Qandahar and sent him to him. He [also] assigned General Mir Ahmad Khan to audit his accounts and left it up to him whether he would come to Afghanistan or not. His Majesty wrote a letter laying out one after another the actions and behavior of his that had happened in Samarqand and other places between them and all the good things he had done for him. He also spoke in the letter about the bad things that stupidity could lead to. Ultimately, based on his own representations and confession in Calcutta, five thousand *kaldār* rupees were fixed [as what he had embezzled] and these were collected in Qandahar from his relatives and tribe and deposited in the public treasury.

During this, when the Ba’iza’i—as was recorded above—had presented themselves before Colonel Ghulam Hasan Khan and put their heads into the shackles of obedience, also Mulla Khan Jahan, who was a troublemaker, seeing them [make their peace], felt duly warned and through the mediation of Yasin drafted a message to Colonel Ghulam Hasan Khan expressing his obedience and on the second of Sha’ban in the year 1304, one thousand three hundred and four, (26 April 1887) went to the Tunza’i and Ishaqza’i tribes and spoke with their leaders about the Ba’iza’i tribe obtaining security and placing their heads under the farman and just as he had (once) begun urging the tribes to take the path of error and deviation, he now advised them to be obedient. He hoped that perhaps by his guiding [them to obedience] he would render a service to government officials that would expunge his own sins. But these people deemed his words to be tainted by ulterior motives and they told him in response that if they were to take the path of obedience and loyalty they would go of their own accord in repentance not because of his advice and admonishments. He was thus disappointed of what he imagined he would achieve and fearing the consequences of his acts was unable to go to General Ghulam Hasan Khan thus it was that he wandered off into the valley of the lost, as will come.

During these events, on the third of Sha’ban (27 April), Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan, the grandson (son’s son) Na’ib Amin Allah Khan Lahugardi was

⁴⁷ RM: Hinged trunks that open separately, hence the use of the term “pair” (*zawj*) to refer to one.

appointed by His Majesty to the governorship of Kishm in Badakhshan and went there. Also, Sayyid Ja'far Khan Kunari was appointed governor of Khanjan.

On the same day, Shinkay who had been sent to Maymanah as a precaution because of false rumors of the Russian government's moving against Afghanistan, rumors which were circulated and published, now received an order (farman) to come to Kabul. Also instructions were sent to Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan, telling him,

to strengthen the frontier and border points and be on guard against a Russian move so that if they should dare make such a move and turn the face of attack in the direction of Afghanistan he would exert every effort to prevent them and not allow them any movement forward. Then God willing if that government makes a move we would be able to send immediately from this side two laks of armed and battle-ready holy warriors and regular soldiers in fighting trim to reinforce the men guarding the borders. But he should keep an eye on the consequences[of reinforcing the borders]. He should put the word out that because of the heat, he is moving from Balkh and other cities for four months to summer quarters so that the troops don't suffer from the heat. He too should head for the border on the pretext of going into summer camp so that the Russian government doesn't think that we are moving our forces in order to reinforce the border. Because even if they didn't intend to attack, they would consider the moves a sign of fear on the part of Afghanistan and they will then get the idea that they didn't have before, that is to attack, and thus take steps to mobilize. We should not initiate anything that would cause this to happen and then if Russia attacks and we fight them and blood flows we won't be held responsible by the great governments. At that time, we won't be blamed by the people of the world if we urge the Islamic people of Trans-Oxiana to undertake holy war, those whose appeals are always coming to my attention, who are always petitioning to rise up and we are always preventing them from doing so. The end.

Also at this time, Shahsawar Khan Qandahari Kashani, who had gone at the orders of His Majesty to Kirman and the Qa'inat in the kingdom of Iran to buy wool and felt caps for the regular army, sent a letter as a mark of service and sign of sincerity for the English government and as an expression of gratitude to that government. His letter was enclosed in a letter from Mirza Mir Hashim, an employee of that government, to officials resident in Shalkut. As the letter was en route through Qandahar, it came into the hands of the governor from the post office (*dāk khānah*) and he sent it to the throne. On Friday, the fifth of Sha'ban/29 April, His Majesty wrote the governor of Qandahar saying,

From lack of capital, the ascetic pawns his religion in a hundred places
The religion which Satan has already taken

At the end of this verse he wrote that he should appoint someone else to buy hats /547/, audit the accounts for the shawl and hats that he buys, and send him (Mirza Mir Hashim?) to Shalkut so that he would not be disappointed in his hopes.

So [the governor] appointed Qudrat Allah, an employee of his to do this job, and brought His Highness's order from the realm of potentiality into that of actuality.

Meanwhile, General Ghulam Haydar Khan who had straightened out the affairs of the ʿAli Khayl and Taraki along with the Hazarah rebels of Jaghuri as noted above and reached the manzil of Shinkay (but see above where the names is given as Shangi), now marched the army from there and on the aforementioned Friday arrived in Nawah-i Gilan and camped at the fort of Murtaza Khan. Because they found themselves in close proximity to him, the evildoers now fled to the district of Tarwah. General Ghulam Haydar Khan departed the fort of Murtaza Khan with the army on Sunday, the seventh of Shaʿban and made camp at a place called Jaʿfar.

On this same day [5 Shaʿban] a large number of proclamations in Afghani (Pashto) and Persian were issued by His Majesty in regard to the rebellion and insurrection of some of the Ghiljaʾis and sent to every town and province saying:

all people, nobles and commoners alike, should know and recognize the insurrectionists and rebels against the religion of the Lord of the Prophets and be aware that the punishment of these people is in the works and that by the grace of Inimitable God the instruments of their destruction are being prepared and made ready. Things have gone beyond the point where the path of moderation can be taken with that malevolent group because from now on if moderation is shown, it will lead to the sundering of the nation and the detriment of the government. Therefore, I take it as my personal duty to so thoroughly remove the seeds of corruption from the land of Afghanistan that for many years to come no pigeon will be able to find a single sesame seed (of corruption) in the grass and no one will ever associate the word "rebellion" with the name Afghanistan. The end.

Meanwhile, General Ghulam Haydar Khan, on Wednesday, the 10th of Shaʿban/4 May 1887 entered the district of Ahmad Shah Khayl with his mighty forces and when the army was camped here and there, he himself with a group of regular cavalry set off for Darrah-i Suri where some hapless people had taken up positions on heights overlooking the valley. He seized some of the livestock of the rebels as booty and took prisoner a few men and women and brought them to the camp. He then wrote a conciliatory letter, freed the prisoners and sent it with them to the evil-consorting insurgents. It told them to abandon the

path of foolishness and misguidedness, obediently return to their homes, and not be so stupid as to be content with the destruction of lives and property. Seeing no way out except through humility and repentance, they were forced to take the path of obedience, descended from the mountain of wickedness, and returned to their homes.

Also during this disturbance, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, through letters from his spies in the districts of Zurmat, Katawaz, and other places, was informed about the activities of Andari evildoers, the associates of Nur Muhammad Khan the son of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, and their inciting the people of those regions and set out from Ghaznin for Zurmat and Katawaz to arrest the evildoers. He was accompanied by two hundred regular cavalry and Gardizi Sakhlu infantry, who were garrisoned in Ghaznin at the order of His Majesty, as well as by Commandant Haydar Khan and fifty regular infantry. He traveled through the mountain regions of the Sulayman Khayl and Waziri but when the evildoers got wind of his heading toward that region they fled elsewhere. Without spotting a single enemy of the government, he entered the district of °Ali Shayr Khayl Taraki on the 14th of Sha°ban/8 May 1887 and stopped there in order to win over the Taraki people and do other government-related business.

Meantime, when the Hutak people settled back into their homes, the Taghar people became agitated, fearful, and frustrated, as will be recorded below.

Elsewhere, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar, who, as was previously mentioned, had sent General Mir °Ata Khan with a vengeance-seeking army to Shinwar, afterwards, as a result of an order from His Majesty went to Mazinah from Jalalabad with a regular army force and artillery. Being extremely reluctant to shed blood and kill and take males (*°abid*) and females (*imā°*) captive as slaves, he did not want to cause bloodshed without pondering the matter so at first sent a conciliatory letter and advised the rebels to submit. After sending the letter, he moved from Mazinah and camped at Dih-i Bala. There the tribal fighters (*lashkariyān*) began to pillage the crops of the locals who had ascended the mountain of foolishness turning them into fodder for [their own] livestock. At the command of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, the regular cavalry attacked the insurgents, who had responded rudely to his letter, and brought back nine prisoners and a flock of sheep. The field marshal locked up the prisoners and added the flock to royal (government) flocks.

During this time, a letter arrived at the throne from Amani al-Mulk, *mihtar* of Chitrar, and was honored with royal acceptance. It expressed humility and submission, obedience and loyalty and was brought by one of his retainers, Nasab °Ali Khan. Along with it he sent gifts: one falconer's glove, fourteen slaves, and one Kashghari shawl. /548/ The messenger was accorded a fine place to stay and as a guest his expenses were covered.

Also at this time, Nur Muhammad Khan the son of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan who had entered the mountainous border region to make mischief as was earlier mentioned began to agitate and cause mischief. learning of the insurrection of the Shinwar he sent the Shinwaris a letter telling them to keep up

the insurgency and rebellion and in two or three days they should know that he would be there on the battlefield with a group of Mamuza³i and Afridi men. His letter fell into Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan's hands, he sent it to the throne, and then wrote a letter to the Shinwaris which said,

Beware that you are not deceived by the nonsense and futile words of Nur Muhammad Khan for he is the son of the same man who despite the backing and support of the English army is unable to advance his own cause. He has sullied the name of the "royal tribe" for he is remembered as one of the uncles of the royal family, once removed. He has left behind his own bad acts as a reminder of him. Since he fled to India and tied the belt of destroying the government of Islam, there is no reason for concern about him, wherever he may be. Any tribe that gives him an opening and associates with and assists him, throws itself, one might say, down the well of contempt and will be visited by misfortune. The Tirahi people expelled him from their midst and all he got for his pains was a blackened face.

After sending this letter, at the orders of His Majesty he undertook the task of building a strong fort at Dih-i Bala and made it ready for the stationing of a permanent garrison in a short time. On Tuesday, the sixteenth of Sha⁶ban/10 May 1887, at the request of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, a hukm wa issued by His Majesty saying:

Give the lands and pastures of the Shinwar evildoers to the Khugyani, Mohmad, and Tirahi living in Rud-i Kut and in three or four places build fortified guard posts (*qarāwul-khānah*) in which one hundred regular infantry can be stationed for the purpose of punishing the Shinwari [whenever necessary]. You should inform the people who take over the Shinwari lands that they don't have to pay the land taxes for two years and after that, they will pay two-thirds of the assessed taxes to government officials in accordance with the survey of the lands of Rud-i Khugyani, and be exempt from the other third.

Also on this day, that is the sixteenth of Sha⁶ban, the envoy of the Mir of Chitrar received permission to return home and was deeply honored by His Majesty's bestowal of an expensive *khil⁶at*. His Majesty also sent through this envoy as gifts to the Mir of Chitrar (Aman al-Mulk) two pieces (*dū ṭāqah*) of Khalil Khani shawl cloth, two of gold *langī* cloth, one long-sleeved robe the outer part Kashmiri wool, one long-sleeved robe of Gujarati brocade, four long-sleeved royal (*shāhī*) robes, and four long-sleeved Bukharan robes. He also sent to Shah al-Mulk, his son, one piece of Khalil Khani shawl cloth, one piece of gold *langī*, one long-sleeved robe of Gujarati brocade, and two royal robes. Concerning his request for the contracting of a marriage tie between one of his

two children with the prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan, since they were only two and three years old, this was not accepted.

During this time, a letter from Barbatten, the commissioner of Peshwar reached Sartip Muhammad Husayn Khan, the border commander (*sarḥadd-dār*) stationed at the fort of Dakka regarding the lack of security in the Khyber Pass (*darrah-i khaybar*). He forwarded it to the field marshal who ordered fifty horsemen and one hundred foot soldiers, followers of Muhammad Akbar Khan La[°]lpurah, to go to the sartip, put themselves under his command and be sent out as escorts for caravans and travelers as far as the edge of the territory belonging to the English government so that they would suffer no harm from thieves and highwaymen. He also sent with them a pair of camels and three packhorses to carry their water. But since no one, whether of high or low rank, could act on any matter without an order from His Highness and since His Majesty himself had to ordain and decree all matters in whole or in part pertaining to government, after [the field marshal's] above dispatching of the horse and foot, he sent His Majesty a letter on the eighteenth of Sha[°]ban/12 May 1887 and received the honor of an endorsement.

On the same day, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin who had entered the district of [°]Ali Shayr Khayl Taraki, gave the people of that region good advice and guidance, and emphasized the need to seize the evildoers. He sent letters to Ahmad Khan of Badin Khayl and to the leaders of the Mal Khayl of the Taraki and stressed that they should safeguard well the locale of Ushalan which is located below Ab Band and is a favorite haunt of the evildoers and prevent any of them from frequenting that region. He himself set off and on the 18th of this month entered Shal Khayl. On the 19th he reached the fort of Miri Bayazid Khayl, gave the people there good advice, counsel, and instruction on putting into effect the arrest of the evildoers and barring them entry into the kingdom. He then set out for Ghaznin.

Also at this time the Nasiri people, who out of foolishness had entered the valley of obstinacy and with the Taraki, [°]Ali Khayl, Hutaki, and other rebels had raised the cry of opposition to the government, [now] /549/ felt repentance and shame and wrote letters to Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin and General Ghulam Haydar Khan, sought forgiveness for their misdeeds and asked permission to enter the kingdom of Afghanistan. Each sent their letters on to the throne, by way of information. On the 19th of this month [Sha[°]ban] the following manshur was issued to the Nasiri:

Since I have never avoided speaking candidly and truthfully nor have I ever addressed any people or tribe with words of expedience or opportunism, so therefore I tell you concerning your circumstances and the thoughts you harbor that if you were a people grateful to the padishah of Islam and you were sympathetic to the Muslims of Afghanistan you would never have gotten yourself into the position where I consider your entering Afghanistan good neither for governing the tribes living in Afghanistan nor for your own good. When I first

entered Afghanistan I had at the forefront of my mind the welfare of the government and nation of Islam and my first priority was to unify and bring into harmony the peoples and tribes of Afghanistan who were at each other's throats. I gave several tribes a common purpose and tied the thread of unity between them until the turn came for the Kharuti, Sulayman Khayl, and you. In the month of Shawwal 1300 [August 1883], one thousand three hundred, I summoned the leaders of all three tribes to Jalalabad and with the limpid pure water of amicable counsels I washed the dust of longstanding feuds from the skirts of their minds. Consequently they drafted treaties between themselves and gave them to each other and to me. And you swore solemn oaths by God and the Prophet and the Holy Qur'an that you would not violate these undertakings. You gave an affidavit that any violation would be tantamount to a crime. And in the treaty which you gave to me you wrote that 'whoever, whether an individual of ours or a group, ever steals, commits a misdeed, or harbors illwill towards the government and does not heed our advice, we will hand him over handcuffed and in neck irons to any governor appointed on behalf of the king, so that the flame of the fire of his evil actions does not spread to the skirt of regard for us.' After [receiving] this treaty and covenant I was happy, content, and my mind was at ease because the thread of peace and friendship had been knotted between three Afghan tribes who had killed many people and destroyed thousands of animals. For a year you were quiet and we were content. Then, you got involved in some inappropriate activities and violated the treaty in all ways imaginable until, in the Year of the Dog (It Yil) 1303 one thousand three hundred and three, [21 March 1886-20 March 1887] you refused to pay the canonical tax (*zakāt-i shar'ī*) [on your livestock], told off the zakat-collector, and rose up and fought with him. But you weren't satisfied with that and you attacked the Sulayman Khayl, killed fifteen of them, and made off with sixty of their camels. As a result of that incident, a letter dated Dhi Qa'dah 1303, one thousand three hundred and three, [August 1886] arrived [from the Sulayman Khayl] seeking redress. I forbade them from taking revenge and I summoned some of your and their leaders to present each side's case to the other in such a way that the friendship and peace between the two parties would not be breached but remain secure. At the farman of summons, the leaders of the Sulayman Khayl responded promptly and came. But you disobeyed and did not come and through these two great missteps [of attacking the Sulayman Khan and then not obeying the summons] and several lesser mistakes, a violation of the treaty and a breaking of the pact has become evident. The Andari and Taraki people, seeing and hearing of your gratuitous behavior, began to resist the government. Engaging in foolish moves and thinking evil thoughts, they have done what they have done and experienced what they've experienced [as a consequence]. And now,

although you foreswear any involvement and association with those misguided people, either because of the spread of rumors about them or because of what you yourselves have done, all the people of Afghanistan now widely believe that the Nasiri have made common cause with the Taraki, Andari, and Hutaki evildoers and this news has lit the fire of pride in the hearth of the minds of all the people of Afghanistan and they say to each other, 'what are these nomads thinking, people who spend eight months of the year as the subjects of another government and then for four months come to pasture their flocks in this region. Do they think that they can behave in a friendly fashion with our internal enemies?' Now that things have come to this pass, what good is it to let you into Afghanistan? And for us, what do we get other than loss? The best thing is not that you enter the kingdom or pass our borders and not that these people (the people of Afghanistan), who consider you evil, rise up against you and blood flow for no reason. Today your situation has passed the point where we can trust any demonstrations of repentance on your part. The people of the regions and areas where you go are prepared to oppose you so that should you venture even in the slightest way to set foot on the soil of Afghanistan /550/ they will fight you. We have also sent them farmans concerning your movements and promised to send an army (*lashkar*) to help them. Having sent an army to every border we asked them to wage war on you and that a padishah by way of keeping his promise would send them help because breaking a promise is a mistake especially by a padishah who by breaking just one promise will bring much shame on himself and be remembered for it. If I put aside my royal reputation and break a promise, I will be alienating several tribes. Alienating them is difficult, but stopping you is easy. The profit from you, even if you pay the zakat, is small but the damage you cause is great. I can imagine a number of dangers in your coming to Afghanistan and I don't want my peoples to suffer loss or for you to be robbed and plundered of wealth and livestock. I therefore consider the best thing to be for you not to come to Afghanistan and that you not have to be on guard every moment against evil and trouble coming at you from every nook and cranny. Another thing is that there are a lot of owners of herds (*māldār*) in Afghanistan itself who use the country for pasturage themselves and will not let you have it. And therefore it is forbidden for nomads to enter Afghanistan. If their [the Nasiri's] merchants come from Peshawar to Kabul, that isn't forbidden. Others however should beware of coming. If they should ever try to force their way in they should know that whatever they get from the government is what they deserve. The end.

On this same day, i.e. the nineteenth of Sha^cban, General Ghulam Haydar Khan who had arrived in Ahmad Shah Khayl Hutaki district and, as already

discussed, had won over the Hutaki people and settled them down, then left there and entered Marghah district and sent a message to the Ishaqza'i and Tunza'i people telling them to release the fourteen government officials whom they had taken prisoner, themselves descend from the mountain of foolishness and go back to their homes on the path of obedience. Otherwise they should get ready to be killed and plundered. Having no way to save themselves except through submission, they considered his message to be divinely inspired and without question a great favor and immediately sent to General Ghulam Haydar Khan eight Barakza'is, three mirzas, two regular army cavalymen and another militiaman who at the time of the previously mentioned attack on and killing of 'Isa Khan the governor of Hutak, had been taken prisoner and held until now. Then they themselves with wives and children abandoned the path of misfortune and returned to their homes.

In similar fashion, 'Abd al-Majid Khan, the governor of the Taraki, sent three men—Ahmad Gul Mama, Malik Ghaffar, and Malik Guli—to the Qajar Khayl, Muhammad Khayl, and Khwajah Khayl tribes who resided in Nawah and won them over. Worn out and exhausted, they too abandoned the path of error and returned to their homes in obedience. Shayr Jan Khan Taraki sent someone to guide them from the path of obedience into error but Malik Guli, envoy of the governor, 'Abd al-Majid Khan with his two companions drove [Shayr Jan Khan's] emissary off with two sword wounds. The people of Gilan, without anyone coming to counsel and instruct them, obediently returned to their homes.

On the twentieth of Sha'ban/14 May, Malik Ghawsu Ba'iza'i who had put his head into the wasteland of error and joined forces with the evildoing Andari, Taraki, and others, now abandoned the wicked ones because of the submission of his people and came to General Ghulam Haydar Khan. [The general] kept him under surveillance. Similarly, every day, four or five persons from the tribes of Ghulam Qadir Khan and Khan Jahan Khan were captured by the army braves.

On this same day, i.e. the twentieth of Sha'ban, regular army soldiers captured a flock of sheep and twenty cows belonging to the Ishaqza'i Hutaki who had refused to return to their homes but headed into the mountains of foolishness. They also captured two young girls from the khayls of Ghulam Qadir and Khan Jahan. General Ghulam Haydar Khan turned the two young girls over to Akhtar Muhammad Khan the son of Rafu Khan and ordered him to keep them with his wives so that the veil of their chastity was not rent.

Also during this time, leaders of the Waziri people and of the district of Dawur came to the governor of Khust, 'Abd al-Wahid Khan on the path of obedience. He informed the throne and on the aforementioned day a farman was issued to him telling him to organize the matter of obedience with their leaders and keep him informed. Since those people thought only of getting robes of honor and gifts while deceiving the government, after obtaining what they sought being what they were, they once again set forth on the path of misfortune and were not obedient. In short, when the people of the districts of Gilan, Nawah, and Suri had set out on the path of obedience, as was mentioned above, and put their heads under the farman, the rabble-rousing leaders of the

Andari, Taraki, Hutaki, and others making trouble, were now frustrated and fearful. With other evildoers, such as the three sons of Muhammad Afzal Khan, six /551/ ill-starred maliks, °Abd Allah Khan the son of Mir °Alam Khan, two of his sons, Muhammad Shah Khan, Mulla Din Muhammad Khan Ahmadza°i, three companions of his, Ghulam Qadir Khan Taghar, and four hundred households of his tribe, all fled to the district of Kakar. His Majesty wrote to General Ghulam Haydar Khan saying:

Any of the rebel leaders who have not fled but remained behind in their homes, since [their] chiefs have lost control over the affairs of the local society and its property and all the people's houses are destroyed, it is necessary not to let them flee but to arrest and imprison them all. After detaining them, all weapons should be confiscated and no weapons left in the hands of those people, not even a jackknife (*chāqū*⁴⁸) or knife with a fixed blade (*kārd*).

During this time, when not three days had passed since the people of Gilan had tendered their obedience, Andari evildoers, Nawah-i Taraki crafters of wickedness, and Shayr Jan Khan the son of Mior Ahmad Khan stirred up the people of Gilan once again and they turned the face of looting and pillaging towards °Abd al-Rashid Khan and °Abd al-Majid Khan, the Taraki and °Ali Khayl governors. On the way, they learned that °Abd al-Rahman Khan the son of Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan with his wives and servants had left Kabul on his way to Qandahar and was in their vicinity. So first they spread across his path and attacked him, taking him, his wives, and servants captive and sent them to Nawah so that perhaps some of their wives who were held in Kabul would be freed because of their taking him and his wives and later they would free him. They then continued on to attack the place where the governors were staying. They killed Mirza °Ala al-Din Khan, the assessor (*°āmil*) for the °Ali Khayl district and forcibly seized two thousand two hundred rupees cash, in compensation for the two mares belonging to Shayr Jan Khan which had been taken by regular forces under the banner of General Ghulam Haydar Khan at the time [Shayr Jan Khan] was traveling through Rasanah towards the breastworks manned by the rebels of the Taraki, °Ali Khayl and some Hazarabs of Jaghuri, as was recounted above. They also set out on the road to Muqur district. Taking the opportunity to save their own lives, the two governors escaped to Ghaznin. After this incident, on the twenty-fifth of Sha°ban/19 May 1887 sent a farman to General Ghulam Haydar Khan saying:

Don't take things lightly. You are to confiscate all the weapons of those evil people, in accordance with the hukm which was previously issued, levy and collect a large fine, and send all the maliks in chains to Kabul

⁴⁸ RM: Afghani-Nawis defines *chāqū* as a knife in which the blade is secured in its own handle.

because all the Ghilja'i leaders will harbor the thought of kingship and will never tender their obedience until their mouths and teeth are smashed in. If the Kakar people don't hand over °Abd al-Karim the son of the mulla (Mushk-i °Alam) with other artisans of evil to whom they have given refuge then when the regiment which has gone to that region from Herat arrives, the Kakar will also be annihilated.

In his own handwriting, he also added that in the Taghar district he should build a large and strong fort sufficient in size to house four infantry regiments, eight hundred regular cavalymen, twelve artillery batteries, two hundred Sakhlu infantry, a storehouse for grain, an arsenal, and a dispensary. Its rooms (*khānah-hā*) should be of brick (*khisht-i gunbad*). He also wrote:

You want to excuse those people and throw a veil over their misdeeds. I don't accept this feeble way of handling things. For that reason I summoned the army from Herat to smash those people's mouths and teeth. As long as the Kakari people hold the son of the Mushk-i °Alam and other evildoers and don't hand them over I won't hold back from killing and plundering them. What has happened to you, men, that you treat [my] demand for retribution lightly? Whatever number of soldiers is needed, I will forthwith summon from all over and send because should war break out between Russia and us these internal enemies will destroy everything. They should not have even a fingernail left with which to cause any trouble. Use your head and don't take this task lightly. Gather all your officers and have them read these lines of mine and then write me an answer. The end.

Also during the aforementioned events, seven regular cavalymen, one artilleryman, and one captain had fled the battlefield and gone to Kalat. The captain had escaped but the governor there, Fazl al-Din Khan, had taken the others into custody and ordered them held pending orders from His Majesty. Then, as His Majesty ordered, the eight, accompanied by Colonel Hajji Gul Khan who had raised a second regular infantry regiment from the Durrani tribes after this time were sent from Qandahar to Kabul. There they were executed. Muhammad Afzal Khan, a *risālah-dār*, who had [also] abandoned the battlefield and joined up with Muhammad Shah Khan and Amir Khan, leaders of the evildoers, left no tracks, and was never caught.

After the abovementioned murder of Mirza °Ala al-Din Khan [the °Ali Khayl district collector], Ahmad Jan Khan brother of the late Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Tukhi /552/ —discussed earlier—having fled from Kabul entered the district of Shah Juy which lies across the road between Muqur and Qandahar bent on inciting the people of that region and stirring up trouble. General Ghulam Haydar Khan found out about his coming and as a result sent Colonel Ghulam Hasan Khan to Shah Juy with four hundred regular cavalry from the force under his banner. When Ahmad Jan Khan learned of the colonel's

march he quickly decamped. General Ghulam Haydar Khan himself, because of the murder of Mirza °Ala al-Din and the disturbance caused by the people of Nawah, mentioned earlier, left the place he was camping and marched to Manzilgah with his victory-accompanying army. Setting forth from there, he mustered all the mighty regiments which had taken the path of service from many places, at his order had gathered at Lawargi in Ghandan and at Shingay which is the border of the Hutak, the market center (*bandar*) for the Tukhi and a main thoroughfare for the Nasiri and Kakari [nomads], and there they all camped.

During these disturbances, Nur Muhammad Khan and his companions who, as mentioned above, had split into two groups after Tirah, some towards the Waziri to stir up troubles and others heading for Kurram and the Shinwar and Mangal people, at the end of Sha°ban they entered the districts of Buland Khayl; Waziri and Kurram. They found the Aspin Gand Waziri people particularly susceptible to being stirred up and one hundred and fifty men from the tribe of Malik Rahmat Shah Khan Waziri bound themselves to them with the belt of evil and, taking their weapons of war, joined Nur Muhammad Khan. The governor of Khust, °Abd al-Wahid Khan learned what was happening in a letter from Mirza Muhammad Hasan Khusti whom he had assigned to spy on Nur Muhammad Khan and his companions. Consequently, he sent Malik Qayyum, Shaykh Amir Khan, and other Waziris who were in Khust at the time with a message to the tribal leaders in the Waziri district inviting all of them to come see him in Khust. As a result forty Waziri leaders on horseback and fifty on foot presented themselves. He paid their travel and living expenses as guests of the government. They placed their heads beneath the writ of the farman and gave a treaty and affidavit that a government collector would be sent to the Waziri district to collect the canonical tithe and the revenue from the iron mines. They would also send hostages (*yūrghumāl*-sic) to Khust as guarantees [of the pact]. Similarly, the people of Dawur agreed to the terms of the Waziri treaty and all were of one accord to expel Nur Muhammad Khan and his associates from their land and not join them in causing trouble.

Meantime, °Abd al-Rashid Khan and °Abd al-Majid Khan, the governors of the Taraki and °Ali Khayl who had fled toward Ghaznin because of the threat of the posed by the Andari, Taraki, and people of Nawahgi—as was mentioned, on Friday, the third of Ramadan 1304, one thousand three hundred and four/26 May 1887 reached Ghaznin and a farman dismissing them from their governorships was issued by His Majesty as well as a manshur appointing Mirza Muhammad Isma°il Khan, the tax recorder for the Taraki who had had shown courage at the time the rebels had attacked the governors, to the governorship. On Saturday, the fourth of Ramadan/27 May, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin with four hundred men from the Charyari Infantry Regiment, Colonel Rahmat Khan, Gardizi Sakhlu infantrymen, one hundred of the infantrymen from the New Regiment, two hundred regular cavalrymen, and four horse-drawn guns set out for the Nawahgi district. He took with him the two dismissed governors who were well aware of the good and evil of those people

to help him distinguish between the good and the bad of them. But because of an onset of dysentery he had to stop for nine days on the road because he was so ill.

Nur Muhammad Khan's Attack on the Khust Fort

Meanwhile, on Tuesday, the seventh of Ramadan/30 May 1887 Nur Muhammad Khan the son of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan, Baz Muhammad Khan the son of Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan, Sa°du-yi Karukhayl, a thief named Chak, and several others who had entered the mountainous region along the border and incited the people there attacked the governor of Khust with a large force and blocked the water going into the fort where the governor was. Thinking himself defeated, he escaped to Ghalang-i Mangal and there took refuge. The Khust fort, two royal gun carriages, and other weapons and supplies which were inside it were all taken by Nur Muhammad Khan and his companions. When Sardar Shirindil Khan learned what had happened, he ordered La°l Gul Khan with two hundred Gardizi horse and foot to reinforce strategic points and guard the headquarters (*tahānah*) located in Mirzakah.

Also at this time, Pir Dust Khan Ahmadza°i who had at first traveled the path of waywardness with Sa°du and then after a time fortunately awoke /553/ (now) renounced his friendship and offered his services to the government. Because of this, without anyone from the government so ordering him, he sent his nephew, Dust Muhammad, with a force of one hundred armed infantrymen to guard the headquarters [at Mirzakah] as a service to the government.

During these events, the evildoers came face to face with servants of the auspicious government at the fort of Mihrdil Khan and a fierce fight ensued. Seventy followers of °Abd al-Wahid Khan and six of Nur Muhammad Khan's were slain. Eventually, the force of °Abd al-Wahid Khan, governor of Khust, was overcome and since they were tribal fighters they fled to their own homes. °Abd al-Wahid Khan, also fleeing, entered among the people Isma°il Khayl but was unable to stop there and again went to Ghalang (-i Mangal) and took refuge. Sa°du and the other despicable evildoers pursued him, drove him from Ghalang and he entered among the people of Matun. He also fled there too, since he had lost heart, and took refuge among the people of Mahmud Khayl. Sa°du likewise kept after him intending to capture him and entered Baqir Khayl and Sabri. At the request of °Abd al-Wahid Khan, all the Isma°il Khayl and Mahmud Khayl people rose up to repel Sa°du and the two sides fell upon each other. Sa°du won the fight, drove back the governor's supporters, and triumphantly marched towards Qal°achah Bagh where the Shaml men stood ready to defend it. Immediately besieging the fort, from early morning till late at night he kept the market of fighting waxing hot. When the defenders' bullets and powder ran out, Sa°du's men were able to breach the walls of the fort in the night with no shots fired to drive them back. They forced their way in, put all two hundred of the defenders to the sword and seized all their weapons. The next day, °Abd al-Wahid Khan, exerting every effort, rose to the fight with the Isma°il Khayl men who were with him and the Manduza°i men of the Tani tribe who had just

arrived intent on helping him. The two sides began playing the music of war and sixty of his followers and thirty of Sa'adu's died by bullet or sword, their blood mixed with the soil. Ultimately, the foot of 'Abd al-Wahid and his supporters' resolve slipped, they withdrew the hand from battle, turned their backs on the fight, and set their faces for flight. On their escape, they reached the locale of Darak of the Tani tribe and there caught their breath. They rested in the mountains of the Tani and reached agreement with the people there, four hundred in number and all of whom were armed, that they would await the arrival of royal regiments and when they approached they would attack from two sides, catching the evildoers between them. But things went contrary to their plans. Nur Muhammad Khan and Sa'adu learned of the march of 'Abd al-Wahhab Khan *sartip*, Shahdad Khan, and 'Abd al-Hamid Khan *ṣadbāshī*, who were coming to help 'Abd al-Wahid Khan, and they aggressively attacked and when the reinforcements neared the place of ('Abd al-Wahid's) refuge Sa'adu and Nur Muhammad Khan immediately came on the scene and the market of battle was opened for business. 'Abd al-Wahid also joined in and the flames of battle raged on two sides. The fighting lasted four days and on the fifth day Mir Muhammad Khan and Sa'adu with the Mihr 'Ali Khayl Mangal, Waziri, and Tirahi men whom they had incited and who were with them were routed and fled towards Sabri district. Many of them were captured by the supporters of the government. One hundred and sixty of 'Abd al-Wahid's backers were killed or wounded. After the flight of the enemy, 'Abd al-Wahid Khan awarded five rupee for each of the slain to pay for a shroud and two half rupees (*dū nīm rupīyah*) to each of the wounded men for (the cost of) treatment. The dead were then buried.

Via letters from Sardar Shirindil Khan, 'Abd al-Wahid Khan, and other servants of the government resident there, His Majesty was informed of the episode and on Thursday, the ninth of Ramadan/1 June 1887 he ordered Colonel Sayyid Asghar Khan with two infantry regiments and six gun batteries to go to Khust from Kabul. On the 11th of the month he wrote Sardar Shirindil Khan a letter in his own blessed hand which said

You are well aware of the situation of the governor of Khust. You should send him one thousand soldiers as reinforcements to protect him until the arrival of the army from Kabul.

Meantime, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin, who as previously recounted had gone to extinguish the flames of contention and dishonor ignited by the people of Nawagi, been afflicted with a stomach virus and forced to stop, now recovered and on the 13th of Ramadan/5 June 1887 set off again for his destination. On the 17th of the month he reached the fort of Baz Muhammad Khan Taraki and stopped there.

On this same day, Colonel Sayyid Asghar Khan reached Qal'ah-i Surkh with the force and cannons he had with him. Sardar Shirindil Khan, having left his son 'Ata Muhammad Khan behind in Gardiz to re-organize the civilian

affairs there, joined up with the force of Colonel Sayyid Asghar Khan and they marched from Qal'ah-i Surkh to the locale of Shali /554/ Khayl of the Ahmadza'i tribe where they camped. When they set out from there to Mangal, four thousand fighters from Zurmat armed with the weapons of war joined them.

Meantime Nur Muhammad Khan sent a message to the Mangal people to bind 'Abd al-Wahid Khan hand and foot and deliver him up. The Mangalis sent him the following answer

You're a thief whose (only) profit is loss. Up until now, because of our sense of honor when you came among us we gave you hospitality, resisted the government and didn't hand you over. Why do you think we would hand over 'Abd al-Wahid Khan, who serves the religion and the government, to you?

During this back and forth, 'Abd al-Wahid Khan readied 3,000 armed men, intending to attack Nur Muhammad Khan and his followers and destroy them. But the latter became apprehensive at the approach of the army from Kabul and the tribal militia force from Zurmat and at night set fire and burned down the fort of Khust which was on his escape route inside Sabri and which he had returned to a second time. He took all the money and goods which were inside the fort and left with his followers for Tirah. The Tirahis and Waziris who had joined him, were intending to free a certain mulla of the Muqbil people who was imprisoned in Khust, and had gotten caught up in the fighting, deserted him at the locale of Sanadi of the Mangal and dispersed to their own homes. Sixteen mules which Sa'du had carried off from the spoils of the Khust fort were en route to Tirah when they fell into the hands of a certain Gul Nur, Hazrat Nur, and Muhammad Akbar who turned them over to Sardar Shirindil Khan who commended them. Concerned lest Nur Muhammad Khan and his companions, get back to Tirah and again incite and mislead the Mangals, he drafted a letter to all the Mangals on behalf of the leaders of Zurmat who had joined his retinue with 4,000 bloodthirsty men and had them put their seals on it. It advised them to respond truthfully as to what their thinking was and which path they were going to follow, that of obedience or disobedience.

After the arrival of this letter seventeen Mangal leaders of the Khajwari, Ayyub Khayl, Miyaki, and Jani Khayl sent an answer saying, "We obey the commands and prohibitions of the padshah of Islam and will take revenge on the enemies of the government. The end."

Also during this time, a letter from Alikhanov, the governor of Marw, dated the 23rd of May, equivalent to the 13th of Ramadan (sic! the 23rd of May was the 29th of Sha'ban), reached Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, governor (of Herat) concerning complaints from the Jews there. It said,

The Jews of Marw have learned through letters sent them by Jews living in Herat that the governor of Herat has issued an order telling them to notify him of how many Herati Jews are in Russia so that if

they return to their homes within two months, well and good. Otherwise everything they own will be confiscated, their wives and children expelled, and their homes destroyed and plundered. If this is correct and is really the case, then in the sphere of rule and sovereignty, this is an extremely repugnant and despicable business.

Because of the fact that this issue pertained to a "ticket" i.e. a passport document (*ruq'ah-ii rāhdārī*) which was newly printed and issued and up to this point the people of Afghanistan had freely traveled wherever they wanted, they (the Russians) thought this was an unwholesome thing particularly aimed at the Jews and so the governor wrote in his reply

this representation is completely false and is like a lamp casting no light. What has been forthcoming from the government is this: merchants and travelers who go to Russia, Iran, and other places must obtain from the kutwali's court an official document so that if some harm or injury should befall them in a foreign land or at home, there can be redress from the relevant government and they can request that they be granted safety from any harm or injury. Nothing other than this is at issue. The government neither casts a covetous eye on anyone's property nor does it extend the hand of injury to anyone. The end.

During this time, Colonel Hajji Gul Khan with the Durrani Infantry regiment which recently had been formed up to serve as a tribal group and the sum of one lak and 8,000 Kabuli rupees which the governor of Qandahar had given him to pay the salaries of the regular army under the command of General Ghulam Haydar Khan set out from Qandahar and arrived in Kalat on the 18th of Ramadan. Kamal al-Din Khan *risālah-dār* accompanied by 100 regular cavalrymen who had been assigned by General Ghulam Haydar Khan to deliver this sum to army headquarters (*urdū*) left the army camp and arrived in Kalat on the same day. He told Hajji Gul Khan that if he could deliver the money to the army camp by nightfall that would be good. Otherwise he should keep it in kalat lest during the night some wicked people who have lit the fires of evil should cause some incident. Due to the representation of /555/ of the *risālah-dār*, Hajji Gul Khan did not immediately dispatch the money. First, by letter he asked General Ghulam Haydar Khan's advice and then with his approval delivered it to the army camp (himself). He handed it over to the general and then himself set off for Kabul. Entering the city with the new regiment, he obtained the honor of an audience.

The Disturbance Caused by Timur Shah Khan, Vice Field Marshal

Also during these times, Timur Shah Khan, the vice field marshal (*nā'ib sālār*) of the regular army at Herat who harbored the idea of causing trouble, thought the rebellion of the Andari, Taraki, °Ali Khayl, and Hutak, the evildoing

of Nur Muhammad Khan at Khust, and the wicked behavior of the Shinwar and others—all of which have been recounted above and the flames of which were still burning—provided the right opportunity and so he secretly sent a message to Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, son of the late His Highness Amir Shayr °Ali Khan, and to Sardar Muhammad Hashim Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan, who as earlier noted had fled to Iran with a number of other loyalists of the late majesty out of enmity to the government and were residing in Tehran. The message said that they should get themselves to Herat by whatever means they could and indicate their day of arrival, and on that same day he would incite the regular army troops, raise the banner of disobedience, and surrender the city of Herat to them. So they set the 18th of Shawwal/10 July 1887 as the date for their arrival in Herat and sent him a reply saying that if they succeeded in obtaining their goal they would consider him the first field marshal of Afghanistan.

As one of the inimitable decrees of God, Timur Shah misunderstood the date as being the 18th of Ramadan/10 June. Since he had for some time been stirring up the following regular infantry regiments: the Hazari Andari Regiment, the Sa'id Muhammad Khan Regiment, the Khaki Regiment, and the Qandahari Regiment, he had planned with them that they would kill Field Marshal Faramarz Khan, plunder the city of Herat, and then hand it over to Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and offer their services. So on the 18th of Ramadan, thinking that Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan was entering Herat on this very day, he had the Hazari Andari Regiment, which was already in a state of disquiet because of the rebellion of their own tribe, rose in mutiny ahead of the other regiments and attacked Field Marshal Faramarz Khan. The *guards* and the doormen (*ysāwulān wa chub-dārān*) and other retainers of his came to his defense and brought their weapons into play. On both sides a number of soldiers were killed or wounded and in the end, the mutineers were unable to inflict any harm on the field marshal and turned instead to plundering the government arsenal. They stole rifles and ammunition, that is cartridges, and other weapons from the arsenal and turned the eyes of plunder on the city and the markets. The Khaki Infantry regiment who had made a pact with the troublemakers now turned their backs on them and raised the banners of defense against them. They prevented them from (further) plundering and took up the task of fighting them. As a result, the the evildoers were unable to make any progress and returned in fear to a cantonment (*chahāwunī*) where they were barracked. When they saw no sign and heard no news of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan they had no choice but to flee towards Qandahar.

General Allahdad Khan, Brigadier Zabardast Khan, Nizam al-Din Khan, Qazi Mulla Husayn Khan, Khalifah Muhammad Husayn Khan and the khans of the Gushadah cavalry, both Persian and Afghan, exerted courageous efforts (in pursuit of the fugitives). Timur Shah Khan himself fled towards Iran and at Shabash was taken into custody by °Ata Muhammad Beg Shabashi. The latter's riders brought him back to Herat and at the order of Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and Field Marshal Faramarz Khan, they took him past the edge of the city to Ubah

where he was held under guard. Commandant Muhammad Ikhlas Khan along with Sultan Muhammad Khan, the grandson (through a daughter) of Arsalah Khan Ghilja'i who had also fled were captured in the vicinity of Shafilan. Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan and Field Marshal Faramarz Khan sent the people in custody to Kabul escorted by Ghulam Muhammad Khan the son of Wali Muhammad Khan Jamshidi and Mir Yusuf Beg Karkhi. They sent along with them men who had been long incarcerated in Herat because of their evildoing and because of letters written to Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan inviting him to Herat. These were Rahmat Allah Beg and Sayfur Beg, brothers of Fath Allah Beg, and Mir Da'ud, son of Mir Hamid. The party also included twenty-one Turk riders as guards. After they arrived in Kabul, Timur Shah Khan, Ikhlas Khan, and Sultan Muhammad Khan, as army officers, were stoned to death by soldiers of the regular army. Of the thirty-two other rebels whom the regular army soldiers and people from Herat had taken captive, some were imprisoned. The officers of the Qandahari Regiment, in order to remove any suspicion by government officials that they were in cahoots with the rebels, shot one of the Qandahari prisoners. / 556/

Meantime Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan who had gone after the rebels with two gun carriages and some regular cavalry took a number of prisoners. The rest (of the rebels) as a group (? *bi-hay'at-i ijtimā'ī*) directed themselves along the path of waywardness in the direction of the Hutak and Taraki people who were continually adorning the arena of wretchedness and disgrace. Khaliq Dad Khan with the Gushadah cavalry of Isfizar, Ghulam Muhammad Khan with the cavalry of Ubah, Khwajah Muhammad Khan with riders from the nomadic people of Adras Kani, Rahmdil Khan with the cavalry of the Shahrak district, and Isma'il Khan the brother of Sardar Anbiya Khan with the cavalry of Tigab Ashnan who along Hajji Dad Muhammad Khan and all the Gushadah cavalry of the Herat Province (*julgā-yi Harāt*) had ridden in pursuit of the rebels with Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan also captured thirty of the evildoers. The rest made it to Bagharistan where they were surrounded. Taj Muhammad Khan, "Jadid al-Islam" (indicates a convert to Islam but could be simply a family name by this point) was wounded, put in a litter and sent to Herat. Up to this time, the number of captured had reached ninety-eight. A royal farman was now issued to Sardar Anbiya Khan and Isma'il Khan his brother telling them to send (the captives) to Kabul escorted by one hundred and fifty of the horsemen under their command. In accord with the royal command, at each manzil they killed some of the mutineers and scattered dirt and mud on their bodies (as a warning to local observers?) and delivered those who survived to Kabul. There they all were put to death. Others who were caught in a siege in Bagharistan, exerted desperate efforts to extract themselves from the station of destruction and set forth on the path of their hearts' desire (i.e. escaped).

During this time, Colonel Gul Muhammad Khan had set out from Herat with two regiments, the Lahugardi Regiment and Colonel °Abd al-Rashid Khan's Regiment with orders from His Majesty to destroy the Hutaki and Taraki evildoers. On the nineteenth of Ramadan/11 June 1887 at the stopping place of

Khashrud he was notified of the rebellion of the Hazari Andari Regiment by a letter written to him by Field Marshal Faramarz Khan, sent by courier, and instructed them to block the road which he resolved to do. But the group of evildoers who learned that he was on the road leading straight to Qandahar, took a detour and avoided an encounter with him. Mawla Dad Khan, the governor of Pusht-i Rud, who had summoned to Girishk Muhammad °Umar Khan, the collector (*°āmil*) for Baghran in order to examine his accounts, learned of the incident in Herat and without delay sent him to Baghran. As soon as he arrived there (in Baghran) he and the men of Baghran prepared to make passage for the mutineers difficult and both sides intended to fight. Mu°az al-Din Khan and Sa°d al-Din, sons of Mulla Shayr Muhammad Khan Khaluza°i Baghrani, resolute in courage, were killed and two others, Zar Dad and Muhammad Siddiq were wounded. The Baghranis killed five of the mutineers and wounded six others. The wounded and sixteen others were taken prisoner while the rest headed for the mountains of the Hazarahjat and so saved themselves. One of them was captured in Qandahar. Mir Ghulam Riza Beg the son of Isma°il Khan Hazarah captured four of them; three of the wounded men were captured in Tirin district and two in Dihrawad and all were sent to Qandahar along with fifteen muzzle-loading rifles. To the mothers of the Baghrani dead who had given their lives in service to the religion and government, His Majesty awarded a permanent annual stipend of two hundred rupees. For each of the wounded, he designated an annual stipend of three hundred rupees. The stipends were to commence in each case from the day they were killed or wounded. To Sattar al-Din, the brother of °Ala al-Din, who was still a minor, the good news was given that when he reached the adulthood (*sinn-i bulūgh*) he would be received by His Majesty and receive some promising appointment. When the mutineers had passed through Baghran and arrived in Darwan, °Azm al-Din Khan *sartip* stationed in Dihrawad learned of it, assembled the Hazarah and Char Chinah men, ordered them to block the road and not allow them (the mutineers) to escape. He himself headed for Darwan with one hundred Sakhlu infantry, Muhammad Karim Khan Nurza°i, several of the leaders of Dihrawad, and tribal fighters on foot. He also notified the people of tiring and ordered them to guard the road well where the the mutineers might travel, so that they would not cross that region.

Also at this time, the governor of Qandahar ordered to Dihlah two hundred of the regular cavalymen of Mir Aqa-yi Nab, i.e. adjutant (*ajīdan*) and two hundred regular infantry. But all these preparations and precautions did not correspond to what fate had in store. Due to the negligence and partisanship of °Azm al-Din Khan *sartip* who, because of tribal solidarity with the Tukhi living in Dihrawad, did not want the mutineers annihilated and exterminated, consequently he indicated to the mutineers the path of escape, did not block their way, and let them pass safely through the region. They reached the fort of Wali Muhammad Khan of Shah °Alam Khayl and took refuge there. Colonel Ahmad Gul Khan who prior to /557/ their arrival at the fort had assigned two hundred Durrani horsemen along with two hundred regular infantrymen to block their

path did not encounter them but when they entered the fort he was hard on their heels and put it under siege. Wali Muhammad Khan thinking nothing of the four hundred men—the Durrani horse and regular infantry—who had surrounded his fort, sallied forth with seven horsemen, and inflicted a defeat on the besiegers, driving them all before him and forcing them back far away from the fort. He made three (of the besiegers) taste the blade of the sword and returned triumphant to the fort. After the retreat of the Durrani and the regular army, he left the fort with the mutineers and joined forces with the Hutaki, Taraki, and other evildoers. When news of this reached the truth-discerning ears of His Majesty via letters from the governor of Qandahar and other well-wishers of the government, he wrote and instructed the governor to summon ‘Azm al-Din Khan with one of his sons to Qandahar and imprison them. He should also send to prison another of his sons who held the rank of captain in the ‘Abd al-Rashid Khan regiment. Eventually, all three were sent to Kabul where they received the just reward for their actions. The wounded and captured (mutineers) whom the Baghran people had taken into custody and then sent to Mawla Dad Khan in Girishk, at his Majesty’s order he put all of them to death (*bi-yāsā rasānīd*).

Meanwhile, since the mighty royal regiments having pulled back somewhat from the Taraki and Hutaki evildoers as was previously recounted and had gone to Nawagi because of the disturbance caused by Shayr Jan Khan and his associates, Padshahgi Khan now entered Shangi district and devoted himself to stirring up the people there. But its people were not deceived by his overtures and rose up against him. As a consequence, one man of Shingay was killed and six suffered wounds. Of Padshahgi Khan’s associates one man was also killed and seven were wounded. Afterwards, Padshahgi (Khan) withdrew from there in frustration and went to Gilan district.

Meantime Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin and Colonel Rahmat Khan who on the seventeenth of Ramadan as was earlier noted had entered the fort of Baz Muhammad Taraki, marched from there, and on the nineteenth of Ramadan, the second day of the Andari regiment’s mutiny in Herat, reached Muqur district.

During this time, Shayr Jan Khan and Ahmad Jan Khan the brother of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Tukhi once again intending to incite the people in the district of Shah Juy plundered the grain and stores of provisions of the regular army which it had left there when it marched to Nawagi. General Ghulam Haydar Khan heard of this and dispatched Buhlul Khan with regular cavalrymen to punish those two men. When they heard of Buhlul Khan’s assignment they fled before he got to Shah Juy. Buhlul Khan reached the locale of Khakah, heard they had fled, and turned back. En route back, he fell ill and stopped at the fort of Muhammad Afzal Khan and dismissed the regular cavalrymen he had with him and they rejoined the army. As for Buhlul Khan himself, Hutak horsemen seized him and handed him over to Amir Khan who imprisoned him and carried him off with him to the evildoers. General Ghulam Haydar Khan with the consensus of other officers like Sarhang Sikandar Khan, his own father, Colonel Sar Buland Khan of the Ardal Infantry Regiment,

Colonel Ghulam Hasan Khan of the regular cavalry, and two colonels of other infantry regiments, °Abd al-Ghani Khan and Wali Allah Khan, on the twenty-third of Ramadan selected 1,200 of the infantrymen they had with them and taking two hundred regular cavalry, two cannons, two hundred Sakhlu infantry, and some Uzbeki horsemen, set out to find out where the rebels were. When they arrived in the region of Waz Khwah and the road to Daman and on the banks of the Zhizh River which is east of Waz Khwah and south of Tirwah they spotted a group of the Taraki and Nasiri evildoers. They sent two hundred regular cavalry out ahead of their force and followed them. When these advance horsemen approached the evildoers, they rose up to defend themselves and fought them. At the height of the battle, the rest of the cavalry came up and immediately joined in the fight, stoutly wielding their weapons. For three hours they made the market of battle sizzle. They cast three hundred of the rebels down on the ground of destruction and took four prisoners. As booty they seized their flocks of sheep and herds of cows and camels and completely routed the evildoers. When they had won the day and the evildoers turned their backs on the fight, took away most of their dead and wounded and fled, they cut off the heads of sixty of the dead who had been left behind. Of the royal force, six men were killed and thirty wounded. The others returned in triumph and built a memorial tower of the heads of the slain in the locale of Zarin Khayl of Nawah-i Taraki. /558/

Meantime, Muhammad Hasan Khan a tenant (*mustaʿjir*) at Nawah gave thirty thousand rupees for Buhlul Khan whom Amir Khan, as noted above, had taken prisoner and handed over to Ahmad Jan Khan, got his release, took him away with him, and mountain after mountain and ravine after ravine by a roundabout route delivered him to the main army. Of those slain one was °Abd al-Ghani Khan the brother of °Abd Allah Khan, head of the khayl (*sar-i khayl*) of the Nasiri tribe.

On that same day, the twenty-third of Ramadan/15 June 1887, after gaining the victory, General Ghulam Haydar Khan sent to Kabul, under escort and in shackles, Ghuthu, one of the evildoers along with eighty-five Taraki and sixteen Sulayman Khayl and Kharuti, and one Nasiri. They had at different times been taken prisoner in fighting with the army braves. He (the general) then once again set out to give battle and brought the fight to Darrah-i Ni°mati and Shinghar. He killed another thousand of the enemy and took one hundred prisoners. Those who survived fled to the valley of waywardness. When evening came, the general spent the night in the valley (Darrah-i Ni°mati) and the next morning, the 24th of Ramadan, he sent the regular cavalry to sever the heads of the slain of that sordid group and ordered that they both cut off the heads and that they find out where the fugitive evildoers had gone so that they could be attacked, the world cleansed of their filth of their existence and they be brought to summary judgment for their wicked ways. They removed 450 heads from the bodies of the slain. Because of the heat of the sun the stench was overpowering, they were unable to cut off any more heads and returned to the army camp. They also reported to General Ghulam Haydar Khan about the situation of the vanquished

fugitives saying that Muhammad Shah Khan had settled in the district of Kakar, and Shayr Jan Khan, Ahmad Jan Khan, Aslam Khan, Amir Khan and others in the district of Tirwah. At the order of the general they erected a tower of the heads of the slain next to the fort Kutal Khan Tukhi. At this time, Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin set out to conciliate the Taraki and Hutaki and heartened by his comforting words, their anxieties were assuaged and they returned to their homes.

During the reconciling and placating of these people, Muhammad Anwar Khan summoned his brother who was serving (the government) with the Durrani and Persian tribal force (*iljārī*) of Qandahar and was in the force under General Ghulam Haydar Khan. After they met, he gave him leave to return to General Ghulam Haydar Khan. On the 24th of Ramadan, when the regular cavalry were busy cutting off the heads of the slain, the brother of Shayr Jan Khan Taraki who had fled the day before, seeing a thousand of his companions killed and a hundred taken prisoner, put to death ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan the son of Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan whose capture was previously recorded. Shayr Jan Khan made the wives of that luckless man his own concubines. He paid no regard for their waiting period (*‘iddah*) and so blackened his face in the eyes of the Lord of the Holy Law (i.e. the Prophet Muhammad). After violating those poor women, he took them with him to Chashmah-i Bid and from there to the locale of Pangī in the Kakar district. He gave one of (these) slave women (*kanīz*) to Sultan Muhammad of the Na Khayl tribe, another to the brother of Shir of the Nawruz Khayl and another one to Marjan of the Na Khayl tribe. He kept one amongst his own wives and concubines. Ghaffar, one of his retainers, seeing the disaster befall the martyred Sardar with his own eyes, fled and recounted it in detail (*yak yak*) to General Ghulam Haydar Khan. he said, “Even before Shayr Jan Khan killed the sardar, he forcibly slept in the same bed with his wife.”

Also during these time, from the moment of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan’s arrival in Dih Balal-yi Shinwar—recounted above until the 24th (of Ramadan), the day of the martyrdom of the Sardar, twenty-four Shinwar evildoers had been captured at various times and all had been spending their time making mud bricks (*bi-gilkārī*) for a new fort in Dih-i Bala. The field marshal took one of the recently captured men and, because he had injured one of the government men, strapped him to the mouth of a cannon, and, when the powder was ignited, was blown to pieces.

On this same day, some wicked evil-consorting Shinwar attacked *khaṣṣahdārs* at Jaw Darrah under the command of Shahbaz Khan, Khugyani fighters who were on foot, and others all of whom were stationed there to guard the road. They rose and defended themselves and made twelve of the evildoers imbibe the bitter nectar of death and wounded five. They cut off the heads of the slain and brought them to the field marshal. Thy themselves sustained no injuries.

Also during this fighting and strife that occurred in Ramadan, Mir Haydar Khan, one of the chief clerks (*sar-rishtah-dārs*) of the Islamic Post Office in

Peshawar was dismissed and summoned to Kabul. His Majesty appointed Mirza Faqir Muhammad Khan to the position and he went off to Peshawar.

During this time, Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan who for a long time /559/ had lived in Haripur and Peshawar, at the signal and suggestion of His Majesty, officials of the English government moved him with his wives, children, and retainers to Amritsar and there gave him a place to live and kept him under surveillance. This was due to the evildoing of his son Nur Muhammad Khan who, as recorded above, had fanned the flames of trouble in Khust and its environs. Similarly, they moved Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, son of His Highness, the Amir-i Kabir, out of Peshawar with his wives and retainers and gave him a place to stay in Hasan Abdal. Consequently, Sardar Khalu Khan whose wife was a daughter of the late Amir Shir 'Ali Khan and who had fled to Peshawar and there embarked on a course of hostility to the (Afghan) government, grew worried, hid the money and possessions they had with him, surreptitiously departed Peshawar and took refuge with the Yusufza'i lest they be put under surveillance like Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan.

Also during these events, despite the upsurge in fighting, in accordance with the previously noted order of His Majesty issued to General Ghulam Haydar Khan telling him to erect a stout fortress in Marghah-i Taghar district, he and his father Sikandar Khan decided on Shingay (or Shinkay?) as the site for the fort. Shangi was two *kurūhs* from Nawah-i Lawaragi in the Ghandan district of the Tukhi tribe, four *kurūhs* from Nawah-i Suri, seven *kurūhs* from Kalat, one *kurūh* from Kuh of the Taghar district, twelve, thirteen, and twenty *kurūhs* from the beginning middle and end of Nawah-i Taraki, and twenty-five *kurūhs* from the Kakar district. It was also the trading center (*bandar*) for all the end traversed by the Nasiris. After writing His Majesty and receiving his approval, they began work on a fortress in Shangi.

Also in this time, some Turkmen of the Panjdih district, trespassed somewhat the boundary line and set up camp to pasture their flocks and herds at a spring located on the soil of Afghanistan. One of them, Maqsud Bay, began to work on the spring to increase the water flow. When Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, the wali of Maymanah learned of this, he informed the border guards by letter and ordered them to put a stop to the work on the spring and to expel those people from land belonging to Afghanistan. Harshly, the border guards drove them out of the place they had chosen as their summer quarters and sent them back to the land belonging to the Russian government. Maqsud Bay who had spent some money to clean up the spring went to the governor of Panjdih to seek redress and asked to be compensated for his expenses. He in turn sent a letter containing this request and wrote saying, "With regards to friendship and neighborliness, we haven't witnessed and hopefully we won't witness anything bad on the part of responsible people on the Afghan side."

He sent this to Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, the wali of Maymanah, accompanied by two Turkmen and asked that the expenses of Maqsud Bay be reimbursed. He then locked up the two emissaries from the governor of Panjdih and sent a rude response. He also notified Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the

governor of Turkistan, of what had happened and was chided for the rude way he had behaved. At (Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan's) order he released the emissaries of the governor of Panjdih, apologized, and at His Majesty's command repaid Maqsd Bay's expenses.

Meantime, on the twenty-fifth of Ramadan/17 June 1887, several Babakr Khayl leaders who had joined in the disturbance caused by Nur Muhammad Khan and Sa'adu, presented themselves before Sardar Shirindil Khan at the locale of Patan, expressed their repentance and agreed to be obedient. In the course of the discussion they said that two hundred and twenty households belonging to Mihr Dil Khan, a n evil man from the Lakand tribe, five hundred and fifty households from Matun district belonging to Sa'id 'Ali, Muhammad Akbar, Qazi 'Abd al-Rahman, Muhammad Amin, and Surat, five hundred households of the Sabri, Kuh Mil Khayl, and other people, and three hundred households belonging to the son of Hajji all had fled up into the mountains of the Hasan Khayl of the Waziri tribe and Ghalang-i Mangal and taken refuge there.. Sardar Shirindil Khan showered blandishment on the men who had come before him and set their minds at ease. He wrote some letters containing good counsel to the people who had fled up into the mountains telling them to return to their homes and sent them accompanied by these people to everyone in Turgand and Aspin Gand. They had yet to come and tender obedience when Mulla 'Ala al-Din who was the most evil of the evildoers, worried about the conciliatory letters written by Sardar Shirindil Khan lest the people he had incited offer their obedience to the government and hand him over to government officials, fled with his wives and took refuge in the locale of Tang-i Mangal.

During this time, Nur Muhammad Khan, Sa'adu, the thief named Chak, and other evildoers, consorts of wickedness entered Sabri district a second time, got the help and cooperation of several of the Sabri and Mangal thieves and together resolved that after assembling thieves and highwaymen they would launch a surprise night attack on the royal army from one direction and then withdraw in another so that the royal force (thinking it was) engaging with them would shed each other's blood in the dark. Mulla 'Ala al-Din also joined forces with them. From the evildoers, Sardar Shirindil Khan /560/ took into custody the wives and retainers of Timur Shah, made them miserable in neck and leg irons, and sent the males to Kabul in chains. He sent the women to Gardiz. He also arrested Qazi Muhammad Afzal Khan in whom the signs of hostility to the government and support for the evildoers were visible and who was on the path of unity with them and sent him to Kabul. Because of these (pre-emptive strikes by Sardar Shirindil Khan and the steadfastness and alertness of the army, they were unable to mount a surprise night attack, They had to abandon their dens of conspiracy places and they set out with their supporters on the path of disgrace for Tirah. Sardar Shirindil Khan set about reinforcing those places where the evildoers were likely to come and go and fortified every place with a number of soldiers. These included La'l Gul Khan Gardizi whom he appointed to guard the post (*tahānah*) at Mirzakah with two hundred men from the Chapari Regiment and

the tribal men of Gardiz and Zurmat. Through judicious promptings and thoughtful offerings, he reassured all the people of that mountainous region.

An Account of the Detrimental Situation of the Hutaki and Taraki and Others

Also during the abovementioned events, Colonel Gul Ahmad Khan, who at His Majesty's order—as was previously recorded—had set out for the Hutaki and Taraki district with two regular infantry regiments, arrived in Qandahar on the auspicious holiday of the breaking of the fast one thousand three hundred and four/23 June 1887. From there he hastened on to Shankay district. Meanwhile, the men of Nawagi and others who, at the instigation of Andari and Taraki evildoers—as was inscribed among the events of the month of Sha^ʿban—had put their head into the valley of error and at the hands of General Ghulam Haydar Khan had committed themselves to the barren wastes of annihilation and destruction and had placed their heads in the valley of disobedience, once again lit their skirts with the fire of evildoing and turned the face of strife towards Ma^ʿruf, home of the Durrani.

During this time, the mutineers of the Hazari Regiment of the Andari who had fled Herat for the Hutaki district and, as was indicated above, thirty-five of their number had been killed in Herat on the day of the mutiny, sixty had been captured by Herati Gushadah cavalry while escaping, thirty had been killed at a narrow defile (*tangī*) in Bagharistan, twenty-five had been taken prisoner by the people of Baghran and others, and those who survived had gone to Wali Muhammad Khan's fort in Mizan. After the defeat of the Durrani, they made him their leader, left the fort and began to seize the property of people of the neighborhood. Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor of Qandahar became aware of what was going on and informed the governor of Ghaznin by letter. He ordered Colonel Fayz Muhammad Khan to go to the manzil of Ulang Ribat with four hundred regular cavalymen to stay and guard the road there against the passage of the evildoers.

Also in this time, General Ghulam Haydar Khan who, as noted above, had punished the people of Nawagi, introduced some order into the affairs of other people there, learned of the arrival of the mutinous Andari regiment in Mizan district, and set out for Kalat, now arrived there with an army eager for battle. Colonel Gul Ahmad Khan also reached Mizan and camped intending to deal with the evildoers, having set out from Qandahar with two infantry regiments and one cavalry regiment. The leading troublemakers of the Andari, Taraki and other groups like Muhammad Aslam Khan, Ahmad Jan Khan, Wali Muhammad Khan, Muhammad Karim Khan, Shir Jan Khan, Amir Muhammad Khan, and ^ʿAbd Allah Khan joined forces with the officers of the Andari mutineers Muhammad Akram Khan, Muhammad Nazir Khan, ^ʿAbd Allah Khan, Shahazadah, Muhammad Siddiq Khan, and Ahmad Khan and right and left they acted with hostility. But they were frightened by the arrival in Kalat of the mighty regiments and wound the foot in the skirt of hopelessness.

They wrote a letter of apology for their misdeeds and sent it to Colonel Gul Ahmad Khan and Colonel °Abd al-Rashid Khan along with a Noble Qur'an accompanied by Khalifah Mulla °Azim a resident of Khan Khayl, saying "With the intercession of (God) (the Messenger) and (the Holy Word) we request that in whatever way (you) can (you) should reach an agreement with us that would be the occasion of our going on living and turning our night into day." (The colonels) replied that "there is no other alternative with regards to your business other than submission to the padishah, coming to the army camp in full repentance, and then going to see His Majesty." Since the evildoers had no hopes of getting a royal pardon because of their vile behavior, due to this disappointing message they took up the business they had set their minds on, as will come in due course—God willing.

*Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan Escapes Tehran and His Return from Heart
Empty-handed*

Also during the abovementioned events of the month of Shawwal/June-July 1887, in accordance with the promise and agreement Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, the son of the late Amir Shayr °Ali Khan—whose flight from Qandahar to Tehran have been recounted—had already made with Timur Shah Khan, the vice (561) field marshal (*nā'ib sālār*), the latter had assembled the regular regiments and, on the 18th of Ramadan/10 June, in expectation of the arrival of the sardar, began the uprising,. As a result, the dust of disgrace and shame poured down on his head, and he witnessed what he witnessed. (The sardar) believing that (the 18th) was the day he would leave from Tehran, departed with Fath Muhammad Khan Qandahari; Amir Muhammad Khan, his brother-in-law; General Taj Muhammad Khan, the son of Arsalah Khan Ghilja'i; General Wali Muhammad Khan Wardak; Brigadier Ahmad Nur Khan; Muhammad A°zam Khan of the Sahhak tribe; Mir Bachchah Khan Kuhistani, an account of whose troublemaking in the vicinity of Jalalabad and his going to Tehran from there was previously given; Ghulam Jan, a page (*ghulām bachchah*); Colonel Mir °Alam Khan; Sultan Muhammad Khan Abdar; Jum°ah Khan Arghandabi; °Uthman Ghani, a *khāsshah-dār* of the Ahmadza'i tribe; and others, in all nineteen people. Before he reached the border of Heart, Qazi Sa°d al-Khan, the governor, and Field Marshal Faramarz Khan were notified from the letters of newswriters there (in Tehran) and so they assigned Rajab °Ali Khan *risālah-dār* Biktuti with regular cavalry, Salih Muhammad Khan, Na°ib Khudadad, Dawlat Beg Ghuryani, the son of °Ata Allah Khan Saq Salmani, and Ya°qub Beg Hazarah with the Gushadah cavalry of Herat to take control of the roads and stop him. With his cavalry Rajab °Ali Khan *risālah-dār* reached Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's camping place ahead of the others. Seeing the riders, the sardar rode up a hill. When he tried to escape, Rajab °Ali Khan riding up with his horsemen immediately surrounded the hill and stood firm intending to arrest the noble sardar. Realizing his horizons had been narrowed and the foot of escape crippled, he had no choice but to send as intercession a holy Qur'an

which he had with him with a message saying that out of respect for the sanctity of the Glorious Word they should let him get away incognito. Rajab °Ali Khan replied that he should consider himself safe, proceed with him to Herat, go on from there to His Majesty in Kabul, abandon enmity and being an outcast, and pass his days under the shade of royal protection and compassion. Rejecting this answer, the sardar preferred death to submission, opened fire with his rifle, and began to fight.

He battled courageously until night drew the curtain of darkness over his affairs. Three of his men were killed and with the help of night's gloom he managed, though with a hundred difficulties and hardships, to escape and so with his companions hastened into the valley of misery. During the escape, in his confusion, he left behind his sword, sash, and telescope. He found himself separated from his supporters when Ghulam °Ali, a *risālah-dār* caught up with him and out of concern for the prince whose horse was refusing to go on gave him a riding horse of his own instead of doing what he should have done which was to arrest him. He then made up a story that (Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan) had wounded him and taken his horse. In short, the highborn sardar and his companions managed safely to traverse that desolate wasteland with much difficulty and tribulation. Of his companions, Colonel Mir °Alam Khan, Sultan Muhammad Khan Abdar, Sultan Muhammad Khan the son of Muhammad Aslam Khan Arghandabi, and °Usman Ghani were taken prisoner by the Gushadah and regular cavalry while the others escaped the snares of fate. The Herati and regular cavalry brought the sword, sash, and telescope belonging to Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan to Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan and Field Marshal Faramarz Khan. They sent these things to His Majesty in Kabul along with the prisoners and Ghulam °Ali, who had given his horse to the sardar and consequently been arrested.

During this incident, while evil men had been heading for Ma°ruf to plunder it as previously noted, the tribal (*ulūsi*) people of that district who had come to the royal army to offer their services, were given leave to return home in order to keep the plundering hands of the enemy away from their property and goods. Consequently they got into a fight with the Taghar and Nasiri rebels who had entered Ma°ruf district, the blood of many of them (the rebels) flowed and they foiled and frustrated them all. Other than getting more of themselves killed (the rebels) could do no more and turned their faces towards the desert of futility without having achieved their goal.

During this time, at the request of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who had written about the service rendered by the leaders of the Mohmand, His Exalted Majesty sent to Jalalabad ten pieces of gold *lang* cloth, twenty pieces of half-gold (*langī* cloth), fifty plain Ludhiana (*langī* cloth), twenty pieces of *Marinah*⁴⁹ shawl, ten long-sleeved garments of five-*misqāl* broadcloth, forty gold *pahmak* garments, and fifty plain garments accompanied by the Chief

⁴⁹ RM: According to Afghani-Nawis "Marinah" is a kind of woolen cloth made in England.

Caravaneer (*qāfilah-bāshī*) Hamzah Khan along with a royal order to the field marshal telling him on behalf of the government to reward each of the leaders, according to his status, so that having given everyone a "robe of honor" he would make them grateful for the beneficence of His Majesty. /562/

The Flight of Janab Akhundzadah Najm al-Din

Also during these events, Janab Mulla Najm al-Din Akhundzadah who because of his pure character was the person to whom elder and youth alike turned for guidance, being present one day at the court of His Majesty, because of His Majesty's regard for him and at the royal order placed near the royal seat, in the course of some affable discussions which the king was having with him, he was given permission to visit the illustrious and noble princes, Sardar Habib Allah Khan and Sardar Nasr Allah Khan. At this time they were at the Jahan-nama Palace located at the edge of the village of Hindaki, now known (the palace) as Chihil Sutun. It had been built at the order of the excellent prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan and at this time both brothers were spending their summer there. The mulla also requested and was granted permission to go for awhile to Qarabagh in Kuhdaman after meeting with the princes and then return to Kabul. Consequently he left His Majesty's assembly and was granted an audience with the illustrious prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan and the felicitous Sardar Nasr Allah Khan. After meeting the two princes, he set out from there to go to Kuhdaman. On the road between the city and the palace, because some people who were jealous of him led him to believe that His Majesty was going to arrest and imprison him, he decided to flee. Via a mountain route, he made his way to Maydanak-i Shinwar. At this time, Nur Muhammad Khan the son of Sardar Wali Muhammad Khan and Baz Muhammad Khan the son of Sardar Fayz Muhammad Khan who, as previously recounted, had taken the path of flight to the valley of adversity, learned of the uprising of the Shinwar and entered among the Sangu Khayl tribe, realized that the arrival of Janab Mulla Najm al-Din coincided well with their hopes and so Baz Muhammad Khan in a hopeful frame of mind went to see the mulla and asked him to pray for their victory. But the latter, in view of the evildoing of him who was a wanderer in the mountains of hostility to the government, instead of a prayer for the victory of his wickedness, cursed him saying, "God despise and damn you for your hostility to the padshah of Islam." Disappointed, (Baz Muhammad) returned and rejoined his colleague Nur Muhammad Khan.

Mulla Salih did not allow them and their companions to light the fires of trouble, warned and alarmed the Sangu Khayl Shinwar people and they expelled them. From there, without hope, they went to the Sih Pay people. The mulla (Najm al-Din) instructed and counseled the people of Sangu Khayl who had rebelled to be obedient. He brought three of their leaders, Azad Khan, Mustamand Khan, and Kashif Khan with him to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan interceded for them and apologized for their misdeeds and they were

forgiven. Putting their heads beneath the writ of the farman, they took the path of obedience.

During this time, a disastrous cholera epidemic broke out in Peshawar and at His Majesty's order, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan forbade any travelers from Peshawar from entering Jalalabad.

Meantime Mulla Najm al-Din Akhundzadah counseled and advised the evildoing people of the Shinwar who had sought his aid and gathered around him and told them, "Removing the head from beneath the writ of the farman of the padshah of Islam would make you the shame of this world and the next." When they did not listen to this advice that he had given the Shinwar evildoers, he departed from the midst of this contemptible tribe and went to La^clpurah-i Kuchak. The rest of the adventures of that janab and his petition to His Majesty will be discussed in due course—God willing.

During this time Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan, the governor of Lamqan, at the order of His Majesty sent from Lamqan to Kabul the wives and children and all the property and goods (lit: the heavy and the light—*aḥmāl wa athqāl*) of Sardar Muhammad Shu^cayb Khan the son of His Highness the Amir-i Kabir (Dust Muhammad Khan) who himself had recently passed away. His Majesty offered condolences and conciliatory words (to the family.)

The Rebellion of the Wicked People of Firuz Kuh

At this time when the Shinwar uprising, the troublemaking of Nur Muhammad Khan and the Hutaki, Taraki, and Andari people, the mutiny and arrival of the Hazari (Andari) Regiment in Hutak district, the arrival of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan on the border of Herat and the flight of Mulla Najm al-Din from Kabul had not yet been concluded in a requisite manner, the kingdom was not free of strife, and its people not at peace, (at this moment) the despicable people of Firuz Kuh also poked the head through the collar of sedition and rebelled, extending the hand of plunder to the property and livestock of the Durrani nomads who had been ordered to reside in the Badghisat region of Herat. As a result, the sons of Muhammad /563/ Jan Beg and Saydal Beg attacked with five hundred horsemen killing eight of the Durrani nomads and making off with nine thousand sheep, one hundred and fifty camels, sixty riding horses and one young girl. The one hundred and ten Herati and Farahi cavalymen who were escorting them were unable to keep the Firuz Kuhis from pillaging the Durrani. The powerless Durrani crossed the Herat River and settled in the vicinity of Shahrak and the Taymani district. The waters of the Herat River carried off 1,200 more of their sheep and the Firuz Kuhis did not give up and pursued them as far as Shahrak and their stole two more herds. The Afghans rose to defend (the nomads) and killed the son of Muhammad Jan Beg and the son of Saydal beg along with seven others. At that point, the Firuz Kuhis turned their faces from plundering and hurried back to their homes. The governor of Herat was informed of the incident and sent to the rebels Ishan Majnun Khwajah whom those people trusted and whose disciples they were

along with a letter full of good advice and counsel so that perhaps out of regard for him and following his advice they would place their feet on the highway of good guidance and obedience and turn from the low road of waywardness and error. He also dispatched to Firuz Kuh in the khwajah's wake four hundred regular cavalry from the Sa'id Muhammad Khan regiment along with four mule-drawn guns so that if the people of Firuz Kuh disregarded the khwajah's advice to follow the path of obedience, they could give them their just punishment with shot and shell. Behind this regiment, Rustam °Ali Khan the half-brother (*barādar-i ḥasabī*) of Field Marshal Faramarz Khan also set out to annihilate that wicked group with two hundred regular cavalrymen.

Meantime, the Firuz Kūhi evildoers did not accept the advice and stood resolute in their foolishness. At the order of the governor of Herat, two hundred more Hazarah and Afghan cavalrymen were also sent on the heels of Rustam °Ali Khan to reinforce those who had gone before. The impudence of the Firuz Kūhis now increased and the people of Sa'd Allahi and Bab Allahi also joined up to support them in error.

During this time, General Ghaws al-Din Khan, who on another front had marched to punish the evildoers, became anxious that they might attack, let his heart grow fearful, and requested reinforcements from Herat. The governor of Herat and the Field Marshal Faramarz Khan sent to him the rest of the Sa'id Muhammad Khan infantry regiment, as well as one hundred regular cavalry, one hundred Sakhlu infantrymen, one cannon, and two hundred Gushadah cavalry under the command of Brigadier Zabardast Khan.

Also during these disturbances and this turmoil, Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, the governor of Herat, sent to Kabul Muhammad Aslam Khan, the brother of Colonel Muhammad Akram his (the qadi's) brother-in-law because of his brother's troublemaking during the Andari Regiment's mutiny. He also sent Sayyid Dust Muhammad Mashwani, the Herat news writer, because the latter had made an accusation against a servant of the government. At the same time, he had informed His Majesty of the relations and correspondence of °Ata Muhammad Beg Shabashi with enemies of the government. As mentioned above he (°Ata Muhammad) had captured the vice field marshal, Timur Shah Khan at the time he fled towards Iran. (Sayyid Dust Muhammad) was summoned by farman to prove his accusation against the servant of the government. At first he was jailed, but after a while released and honored (with the position of) story-teller to His Majesty. Eventually because of some other fraud which he perpetrated against the government he was again arrested and for his behavior was tortured and died in prison.

Meantime the Firuz Kūhi evildoers seeing the regiments marching to punish them from four directions and drawing near were thrown into turmoil and took the path of flight with their wives and children, taking refuge at Kuchah and Jun. Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, the governor of Turkistan, was informed by the courier from the "House of Victory" (*dār al-nuṣrat*) Herat, Muhammad Karim Khan, that he should send out forces from Mazar and Maymanah to destroy the evil Firuz Kūh group which had taken refuge in those places. With their escape

routes cut off, they would then be inclined to take the path of obedience. The governor of Turkistan therefore ordered up a suitable force. But this had not yet arrived on scene when Ahmad Gul Khan *sartip* who was stationed in Kuchah with fifty Sakhlū infantry to protect that region skirmished with the refuge-seeking Firuz Kuhis. As his men were few, they abandoned their positions, and retreated to Khayr Khanah. Triumphant, the Firuz Kuh evildoers settled in both those now vacant locales (Kuchah and Jun).

At this point, a regiment which had set out from Herat to reinforce General Ghaws al-Din linked up with him. Sardar Bahram Khan with Gushadah cavalrymen /564/ of his own advanced ahead of the rest, entered Kuchah, beat down, crushed, and routed the enemy and forced them out of their place of refuge which he then occupied. In the end, scattered and helpless, the Firuz Kuhis sought amnesty. After obtaining reconciliation and peace of mind, they returned to their homes. Placing their heads beneath the writ of the farman, they accepted the royal “command and prohibition.” Rustam ‘Ali Khan retired with his regiment and took up station at Ubah so that if any problem should raise its head he could put it down.

During this time, at the royal order, the sister of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, who was at the house of the son of the Mir of Gazargah, along with the eldest son of ‘Umar Khan Sahibzadah and the daughter of Sardar Mir Afzal Khan, were sent to their brothers in Iran.

Also at this time, Ghulam Sarwar Khan was appointed to replace Fazl al-Din Khan as governor of Kalat. The latter was dismissed for the following reasons: at the time of the uprising of the people of Hutak and Taghar he had withheld his service; and also he had kept overnight a young female convert to Islam from the Hindus who had come to him seeking redress (for some problem) and this had been brought to the truth-discerning ears of His Majesty in a letter from Qazi of Kalat.

Also on Tuesday, the 4th of Zi’l-Qa’dah 1204 (sic! 1304)/25 July 1887, His majesty promoted Nur Ahmad Khan the son of General Amir Ahmad Khan the ambassador of Afghanistan in Calcutta to the rank of colonel of the Qandahar artillery and dispatched him there where he commenced his service.

On the same day, a letter reached the throne from the governor of Qandahar and was read by His Majesty. Mir Sultan Khan, the *kūtwāl* of Kabul, who was the perpetrator (of the incident described in the letter) was severely punished. This is the letter verbatim:

In fear of the Lord of Might and Faith, by His Exalted and Pleasing Essence, the Intercessor on the day of Judgment, may it be known that people living in the city of Qandahar are tormented and groan beneath the oppression and affliction and the arbitrary persecution of Mirza Sultan Muhammad, clerk of the kutwali court. Morning and evening, they pray to the Creator of heaven and earth for salvation or death. For example, three years ago, a Hindu money-changer named Washa reached his allotted time (and passed away). Someone informed the

kutwal of Kabul that among his possessions were 30,000 rupees of the total value of 18,000 Bukharan gold coins (tillas) belonging to Sayyid Nur Muhammad Shah Khan, prime minister (*ṣadr-i aʿẓam*). During the time of the late Amir Shayr ʿAli Khan he had sold these to him (Washa) but part of the price still remained in (Washa's) hands (at the time of his death). The kutwal of Kabul issued an order that that sum should be collected from the wife, son, and relatives of Washa. Mirza Sultan Muhammad therefore jailed his son and retainers and because of this all the Hindus of Qandahar have come to the audience gate all in an uproar, raising their cries to the heavens. Although the kutwali's collectors have been ordered by the government to desist, they don't listen. All the merchants of the city, both Hindu and Muslim, have testified to the mendacity of this (the Kabul *kūtwāl*'s) order and that there is not an iota of truth in it. But all the goods of the detainees have been sold amounting to ten thousand rupees and this has been deposited in the *kutwāl*'s account (*khizānah*). Similarly, an order to confiscate the money and property of Sayyid Dust Muhammad Shah arrived from the *kutwāl* court in Kabul and officials of the Qandahar *kūtwāl* confiscated everything of his. As if that weren't enough, they pulled the sayyid's wife and daughter and five other women relatives out of his house and took them to the women's quarters of the prison where they tortured and injured his wife. The occurrence of this horrendous incident has terrified the other women and three of them have thrown old chadris over their heads and come incognito to the public audience and, in tears, asked for justice. Hence, (my) writing to His Glorious Majesty.

From His Most Exalted Majesty an order was issued to release the detainees and Naʿib Mir Sultan Khan, the kutwal of Kabul became the object of royal chastisement. These were the kinds of matters which in the end led to his punishing for the behavior which he had shown towards young and old alike. He was hanged from a tree and so earned the reward for his actions, as will come in due course, God willing.

The Andari Regiment Mutineers Reap the Reward of Their Actions

On Thursday, the sixth of Zi'l-Qa'dah/27 July 1887, General Ghulam Haydar Khan, Colonel Ghulam Hasan Khan, and other officers and rank-holders of the victorious regular regiments, as was previously noted, had set out to punish and chastise (box the ears of) the Hutaki, Andari, Taraki, and Nasiri evildoers who had sent a Qur'an and requested amnesty. The two sides met at the locale of Dab and the flames of battle were ignited. Commander Muhammad Akram Khan of the mutinous regiment was killed and the men with him all took to their heels. Sixty of them /565/ were taken prisoner. In victory, the braves of the army, decapitated all the prisoners and sent their heads to Qandahar. They dispatched the commander's head to the *dār al-salṭānah* Kabul. Cleansing that

region of their foul existence, they rid it of tumult and strife. On this battlefield, eleven of the victorious army's numbers sustained wounds and two of the cavalymen from the Taraki (or Turki?) Regiment, along with Muhammad Husayn Khan *ṣadbāshī*, were killed. With the permission of General Ghulam Haydar Khan, Sikandar Khan *sarhang* returned to Qandahar with Colonel Ghulam Hasan Khan and the force under his banner as well as two cannons. There they devoted themselves to the duties to which they were formerly assigned. General Ghulam Haydar Khan, with his triumphant army, also withdrew from Dab to take up station in the new fortress at Shinkay whose construction has been recorded above. The rest of the Andari, Taraki, Hutaki, and Nasiri evildoers, realizing they no longer had the strength to join forces and incite the people, retreated into the valley of anonymity and were dispersed.

Also during the aforementioned strife of this year, at the order of His Majesty sublime palaces, appropriate to the state and status of royalty were constructed over the course of two years in Pamqan under the engineering and architectural supervision of Brigadier °Abd al-Subhan Khan Hindi. At the moment when news of the royal army's victory at Dab reached the royal ears in letters from General Ghulam Haydar Khan and other leaders and officers of the victory-tokened force, he wrote them all in his own hand expressing concern and kindness saying,

May all members (*barkhūrdārān*) of the army, whether officers or enlisted men, be under the protection of God. God and the Messenger are well-pleased with you for these services because in foreign lands, thanks to your efforts, the decent people of Afghanistan will acquire a good reputation. You also have given me a good name. I ask the Lord who has no peer or equal, for nothing more than a good name for you in this world and the next. The end.

After the victory, another 82 Nasiri, Kakari, and Tukhi evildoers who had been taken prisoner and were held by the army were sent to Qandahar.

During this time, Colonel Sar Buland Khan who was stationed in Ma°ruf district with the regular infantry regiment under his command along with Captain Muhammad Siddiq Khan and Akhundzadah °Abd al-Karim Khan, summoned the leaders of the Hutaki and Taghar evildoers to ease their minds and reconcile them. Winning them over, they got them to agree to hand over all the money they had stolen from the Durrani people and to agree that if they ever again they were the source of error, they would pay officials of the government a 70,000 rupee fine. They gave a written affidavit to this effect, returned home, and put their heads beneath the writ of the farman.

Emissaries of the leaders of Bunir District are Received in Audience

On Saturday, the twelfth of Zi'l-Qa°dah/2August 1887, three men—°Alim Khan, Hashim Khan, and Suhbat Khan, emissaries from the leaders of Bunir

district—presented themselves at the world-refuge court with a letter from Jabbar Khan, Amir Khan, and twenty-eight other leaders of the people there. As their letter contained a request for an army and artillery to punish the people of Bajawur and others and make them obedient to the government of Afghanistan, His Majesty gave them leave to return and wrote a letter to the leaders of Bunir which said:

Until all the people of Islam of those regions place a covenant in my hand, their business will not be straightened out just by intention (rather than action). Absent a treaty and covenant, since the government of England is a friend of this government, it won't pay any attention to their interests. Whenever we want we could interfere in the affairs of those people. [In other words, we don't need your help or suggestions.] The end.

Also in these times, the son of Gul Muhammad Khan Jalalza'i Andari, the son of Gulzar Khan Mir Khayl, and Mulla Muhammad Sa'id Khan the Qazi of Kalat were arrested by officials of the government and His Majesty dispatched thirty regular cavalymen to bring those three men in chains to the throne where they were turned over to "prosecutor of punishment" and the "prison of chastisement."

On the 20th of Zi'l-Qa'dah/10 August, the Mangal people living this side of the Mirzakah guardpost (*tahānah*) whose wickedness and evildoing were noted above, attacked a tribal force and from noon till night the bazaar of battle was active. At night fall, when the gloom of darkness interrupted the blood-swilling of sword's edge, they withdrew leaving two of their men dead and two captured. The tribal force from Tangi Bagh, Mahmud Khayl, Garbaz, Tini, and Darak lost forty-five men killed and forty-six /566/ wounded. Eventually, because the victorious royal forces had the Mangal mountains completely surrounded, had blocked all routes of escape for the Mangalis, and an order had been issued by His Majesty that they (the army) should not relax the fighting until the harvest of (the Mangalis') existence is thrown to the wind of annihilation and they have been utterly destroyed, for the Mangalis, escape was becoming increasingly difficult and they were compelled to submit and forswear further fighting. The people of Khust, who were like two kernels in one shell with enemies of the state, thanks to the good advice and conciliation of Sardar Shirindil Khan, came down from the mountain of foolishness, took the path of obedience, and returned to their homes to stay.

Sardar Shirindil Khan held a brother and son of every one of their leaders, ostensibly as soldiers (*nawkar*) but actually as hostages (for the leaders' good behavior), and gave them the glad tidings of serving His Exalted Majesty and the good dews that he would send them to the *dār al-salṭānah* Kabul. Seeing and hearing of the good fortune of these men, (other) Mangal leaders like Malik Qazi, Gul Amir, Wazir, Sahib Khan, and La'l Mir, through the mediation of Qazi °Abd al-Rahman and Sa'id °Ali Matuni, humbly approached Sardar

Shirindil Khan with thirty leaders from Ghalang-i Mangal to offer their obedience. One by one each gave to Sardar Shirindil Khan one of their brothers or nephews as the people of Khust had. They also presented a Qur'an as testament to their abandoning hostilities to the government and produced a pact and a treaty in the same way the leaders of Khust, Jadran, Waziri and others had swearing they would not perpetrate any act which was contrary to the commands and prohibitions of the state. They also gave an affidavit that if any other Mangalis ever refused to obey a royal order and would not hand over the sons and brothers of their leaders for government duties and service, they would be the first, with the royal army behind them, to make life difficult (for the recalcitrant) and would acquaint them with the point of the sword. Sardar Shirindil Khan won their hearts with gentle and sweet words and gave them leave to go home. He himself turned his attention to putting the affairs of the people of that region in order.

*The Arrival in Peshawar of Dr. O'Meara a Dentist and an Account of Mulla
Najm al-Din Akhundzadah (God Have Mercy on Him)*

On Sunday, the 23rd of Zi'l-Qa'dah, Dr. O'Meara, a dentist employed by the government of Afghanistan and en route to take up his duties, arrived in Peshawar. At His Majesty's order, Mirza °Abd al-Khaliq Khan, the government almond-seller, made travel arrangements for him, and sent him on to Kabul with all due regard. He was honored by being received by His Majesty and took up the duties assigned to him.

Also, a letter dated that same day from Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan reached the penetrating consideration of His Majesty. It concerned Mulla Najm al-Din Khan and wanted to know whether he had fled or been given permission to enter there (Jalalabad?). An order was drafted that said the mulla had entered that region without leave or permission and he should keep a watchful eye on him and take care that he not be the perpetrator of an uprising and cause some disaster to occur.

During this time, Nur Muhammad Khan who, as previously noted, had turned the face of troublemaking towards the Sih Pay people, arrived in the locale of Ladam located at the end of the Niyaziyan Valley (Darrah-i Niyaziyan). The Sih Pay, Shah Khayl, and °Abd al-Khayl there gathered around him. Each day he would give every five men one English rupee and presented the leaders of each of the three tribes a gift of one hundred rupees. He kept giving them the glad tidings and telling them, "I have hired a group of the Afridi and I would like to employ you as well. I will pay everyone (who joins me) a monthly salary of twelve English rupees. I have thirty laks of rupees with me."

Deluded by this nonsense, they did not give a thought to the fact that such a sum would have been difficult if not impossible to transport without hundreds of camels. And had it been English paper notes and Russian rubles, no one would have accepted even a single one in those mountains. In any event, those people who had gathered around him believed his lies and resolved to enlist the three

tribes of °Abd al-Rahim Khayl, °Abd al-Khayl, and Sangu Khayl to join them and to light the fires of sedition. But Mulla Muhammad Rasul, a Shinwari, out of piety went among those tribes and with the limpid waters of the springs of good advice and admonishment kept them from joining forces with Nur Muhammad Khan and his supporters. Because of the auspicious words of the mulla, dissension broke between those whose hearts were inclined to go along with Nur Muhammad Khan /567/ and those who would not join their circle and they fell to fighting. The words and deeds of Nur Muhammad Khan were revealed to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan in a letter from the mulla and he in turn wrote to the throne. The rest of Nur Muhammad Khan's affairs and the hukm of His Majesty which was issued with regard to him will be recorded in the proper place.

During this time, it reached the ears of His Majesty in a letter from Taju Khan Ishaqza'i, chief (*ra'īs*) of the nomads sent to Badghis of Herat who, as was previously recounted, had had their property and livestock looted by the people of Firuz Kuh, that:

In spring and summer, there is no potable water in Badghis except the water of the Murghab by which man and beast can sustain life. Also, gnats and flies decimate the camels as a result of which no owners of livestock can live there under any circumstances. The border (*sarḥadd*) of that place which is good pasturage cannot support more than two hundred households. It's best if this place is given to people who don't own herds and, since they have few livestock and can keep them in their houses, they won't collapse and die in summer from flies and in winter from snow and ice.

In reply His Majesty sent this letter saying

If the nomads can't stand up to four Firuz Kuhi bums (*bī sar wa pā*) on the battlefield how are they ever going defend that region when the Russian government invades? So owners of herds should not be settled in Badghis. Let them go wherever they go so that their livestock don't attract flies and they themselves don't attract fleas. The end.

From that day on, in winter those people move to summer quarters in Maymanah and Turkistan and in spring and summer frequent the Hazarahjat and are the occasion of much harm to the subjects of those two provinces because of their theft of property, destruction of agriculture, killing of people, and other things. When the government responds to appeals for redress, because of the fact that they are nomads and can move from move from one place to another (with their homes on their backs), they elude capture. If sometimes they are caught, they give the governors a lot of money and so extricate themselves.

The Rest of the Affairs of Janab Mulla Najm al-Din Akhundzadah and Nur Muhammad Khan

On Tuesday, the 3rd of Zi'l-Hijjah one thousand three hundred and four Hijri/23 August 1887 after the arrival at the throne of the letters of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and their perusal by His Majesty an order was issued saying, regarding Nur Muhammad Khan and Mulla Wali Allah Tirahi, he should do whatever he deems proper. Regarding Mulla Najm, al-Din who is (now) in La'lpurah-i Kuchak and certainly will incite Nur Muhammad Khan to come from Tirah to Shinwar, it is necessary to send cavalry and either drive him from the soil of Afghanistan or arrest him and keep him incarcerated.

During this time, a letter from the aforementioned mulla reached the penetrating consideration of His Majesty. It said,

I was forced to flee lest the Sultanic Majesty, heeding the words of the envious and those with an agenda (*ahl-i gharaḡ*), think that I was like other evildoers and have me killed or imprisoned. Those people have falsely accused me of having a desire to claim kingship and taking the path of rebellion against the ruler whom one must obey. But after sixty years of life, having no children or wives, how could I not have recognized the loathsomeness of such things and taken such steps? The end.

His Majesty wrote and sent the following letter to him:

You certainly didn't and don't merit such rank and status (of having people say this about you). Whatever 'people with an agenda' might say, they don't attribute to you any leadership, headship, preeminence or superiority. And if in the event that this status did accrue to you, why wasn't this cloak draped on your frame when the amirate of Afghanistan was vacant, the throne was without an heir, and the people of Afghanistan were without a chief and an amir. Now that I'm here and thanks to the favor of the Exalted One Who Decrees Fate the thread of the amirate has become strong and the business of governance has become well-ordered, from where do 'people with an agenda' get the idea that this garment goes well on your body. It's not the business of every weaver and cotton-ginner. If you attribute this idea to yourself, there will be no place for doubt. Your flight is clear proof that something is bothering you (i.e. that there's something in this charge). You fail to heed the words:

If Abu Musaylimah claimed to be the Prophet/the only outcome was that the people called him a liar.

Let us imagine a glow worm glowing/How do you equate that to moonlight? [i.e. Who would ever take you for a king?]

You've drawn these veils and this idea over your eyes for I know that you don't have the capability and capacity to do these things. But when you came to my audience I spoke to you in amiable and pleasant terms. You yourself cursed and reviled those who rebelled against my authority. Then what happened that what you said did not accord with what you did? /568/ You stopped acting in accordance with the word of God—May He be honored and glorified who said, 'Why don't you practice what you preach. (*limā taqūlūna mā lā taf'alūna*).' This wrong idea that I would kill or imprison you would only be reasonable if I couldn't have put my hands on you. But for a while you were in the city and came at times to see me. You asked permission to go from my assembly to the place of the lights of my eyes, Sardar Habib Allah Khan and Sardar Nasr Allah Khan. Arising respectfully, you received permission. Was some army of jinns or angels guarding and looking out for you so that officials of the God-given government either before or after your meeting (the princes) could not have arrested you? Nothing at all occurred to me or to those around me and there was no cause to arrest or detain you. If there are 'people with an agenda' you are responsible for them and if there is a wrong idea, then it arises in your head. You who claim to be mystically endowed (*ʿarīfī*), a holy man (*pārsāʿī*) and a divine (*ahl-i illahī*), you were the one who ran away and turned your back on the royal audience. Well done! Following your 'intuition' and 'certainty' and boasting of 'good guidance' and 'righteousness' you went to the disloyal Shinwari tribe and did what you did. It is now revealed to the whole world that your imaginings are wrong. God protects me from any reproof connected with you that without outward proof I would be the cause of harm or loss to you. It was good that we recognized who you were because of your taking to your heels and also the people recognize who you are. We don't think your general welfare lies in your being inside Afghanistan. It's better that you go abroad. You should know that it is no longer permitted for you to stay another night in that region. For if you're inside Afghanistan members of the army or some subjects might get bad ideas about you and cause you harm. Your being there will bring harm and loss to your own situation. So wherever you are, in the name of God, remove your foot from there and then you will give both of us peace of mind. For the rest, whatever activities and deeds you have in mind, God is aware of them and polices the market (*shihnah dar bāzār ast*). The end.

After the arrival of this manshur, he left La^clpurah-i Kuchak and went to Swad, better known as Swat.

Meantime Nur Muhammad Khan had gone among the Sih Pay as was noted above. Mulla Muhammad Rasul kept the people there from joining him,

dissension arose amongst them, and Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, informed by a letter from the mulla of what had happened undertook to reinforce some strategic places there, and immediately sent from Dih-i Bala to Bishbulaq one hundred Sakhlu infantry who along with the regular army were under his command as well as two cannons. He also sent along with them two hundred regular cavalrymen. On their heels, he dispatched two hundred more Sakhlu infantry and one hundred tribal (*iljārī*) foot soldiers to guard the junctions and the roads and watch for Nur Muhammad Khan and his companions so that if he should enter that region bent on causing trouble they could engage him and stop his evildoing or capture him. He also assigned to go to Dakkah two hundred Mohmand men who belonged to Muhammad Akbar Khan La^clpurah-i to link up with three hundred Sakhlu infantry stationed there and watch for the arrival of Nur Muhammad Khan.

Nur Muhammad Khan and his companions who, because of the dissension that had arisen among the three tribes of ^cAbd al-Rahim Khayl, ^cAbd al-Khayl, and Sangu Khayl saw no future in further incitement, quickly set out for Tirah. But there, because of rivalry and domestic squabbling the people of Tirah no longer responded to the instigation of Mulla Wali Allah and had given up their befriending and supporting him, fearful he again headed for Shinwar with Sa^cdu and eighty evil-minded thieves.

There they went among the ^cAdil Khayl. The Shinwar, who had besought God for just this kind of despicable activity and behavior, gathered around him and resolved to light the flames of strife. Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan was informed of his arrival there and ordered Commandant ^cAbd al-Karim Khan, who was stationed in Mazinah, and the two hundred regular infantry who were stationed with him and a group of tribal people to go to Bishbulaq and join up with those who had gone there earlier. He also sent Mulla Muhammad Rasul again to the Sangu Khayl and using every device he knew and could bring to bear to prevent those people from joining forces with Nur Muhammad Khan. The mulla went to the Sangu Khayl and together with Malik Azad Khan counseled and gave good guidance to those people who only a few days before had expelled Nur Muhammad Khan, his hopes dashed, from their midst and resolved that as a service and duty to the government they would extract Nur Muhammad Khan by force from the midst of the ^cAdil Khayl tribe. Making a pact to do this, they tied the belt of expelling him from the Shinwar region—as will come in due course, God willing.

During this time, on the eve of the tenth of Zi'l-Hijjah/30 August 1887, the wives of the the Mandinzaⁱ men whose lands had been given to the Khugyani at His Majesty's order, as mentioned above, came to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan in supplication. /569/ They humbly asked the field marshal for forgiveness for their husbands misdeeds and sought an amnesty. He refused to accept the cows they had brought with them as sacrifice (*qurbānī*) (for the tenth of Zi'l-Hijja the Festival of the Sacrifice—^cId-i Qurban) but they did receive encouraging and conciliatory words from him before returning home. On the day of the joyous holiday, their men also presented themselves and humbly and

repentantly offered their services so that the dust of oppression and tyranny which they had raised would be washed away with the water of sincerity and integrity. The field marshal heard their request with the ear of acceptance, and soothed their fears with hopes of royal beneficence and forgiveness. He and they resolved that their homeland, dwellings, and farms would be returned to them when they attacked those who had assisted Nur Muhammad Khan, shed their blood, and so rendered a service to the government. Like the people of Sangu Khayl, they agreed to these terms and in joy and satisfaction were given leave to return home.

Meantime, His Majesty, according to long-standing practice (*bi-qānūn-i mustamirrah*), performed the holiday prayer on the field at the northeast corner of the Bala Hisar along with all the residents of the city and those of the surrounding region who had come to the capital. After the firing of a celebratory 101-gun salute, he retired to the public audience hall (*salāmkhānah-i ʿāmm*) where he directed all the high and low-ranking officers of the regular army and the leaders of the people to partake of the licit food and drink, of the delicious fruits and tasty sweets. After withdrawing to the private reception hall (*diwānkhānah-i khāṣṣ*), he filled the purses of hope of the children of the leaders of the city and of the faithful employees (of the government) with gifts of five, ten, and twenty tillas and candy and no one turned away disappointed from the table of unending bounty.

During this time, forty of the Sangu Khayl leaders whom Mulla Muhammad Rasul had counseled and advised to take the path of obedience to the government presented themselves before Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan along with half the men of Haydar Khayl, Rahimdad Khayl, and four of the leaders of the ʿAdil Khayl, among whom Nur Muhammad Khan now was residing. With sincerity and integrity, they asked (to perform) some service for the government. As was the case with the Mandizaʿi, the field marshal offered to forgive their misdeeds on condition that they expel Nur Muhammad Khan from the midst of the ʿAdil Khayl. And he made a pact with them to the effect that they would (also) burn down the houses of those who aided and abetted Nur Muhammad Khan. Sincere in their wish to serve the government, they swore a solemn oath to kill Nur Muhammad Khan and promised the field marshal to assassinate him on the night (eve) of the sixteenth of Zi'l-Hijjah.

Also during these same days, Miyan Gul, the eldest son of Ahmad Gul, the Lord (*ṣāhib*) of Swat died of cholera. In Hasan Abdal, as a result of the same epidemic, the appointed hour of Sayyid Kazim, the son of Sayyid Mahmud Kunari, also arrived. His body was transported to Mati district and, in the cemetery of his forefathers, it was committed to the ground.

After Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan had won over the leaders of Haydar Khayl, Sangu Khayl, Rahimdad Khayl, and ʿAdil Khayl with robes of honor, received their promises to assassinate Nur Muhammad Khan and torch the houses of his accomplices, and had granted permission for them to return home, he sent with them Gul Muhammad Khan, the governor of Mazinah, and

Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan, the brother of Sardar Shams al-Din Khan, who had also asked him to allow them to serve.

They left and camped at the locale of Chil Gazi at the place of the sons of °Umar Khan and there watched and waited for the opportunity. When the appointed night (the 16th) came, Shirzay of the °Adil Khayl, one of the leaders who had promised the field marshal they would assassinate Nur Muhammad Khan, girded himself with a few others to kill him and on Tuesday eve, the sixteenth of the Zi'l-Hijjah they bravely set out to do the job. Approaching the fort where Nur Muhammad Khan was ensconced, they made their way to where he was sleeping and twelve of them opened fire on him with rifles. As fate would have it, not a single bullet struck him and he was unharmed. At the sound of the guns, the °Adil Khayl men, except for the four who had gone to the field marshal and accepted obedience, rose to defend Nur Muhammad Khan whose accomplices they were. At his instructions, they set fire and burned down Shirzay's house. Shirzay himself escaped, went to Dih-i Sarak, and took refuge. Thanks to the people he was saved from any injury at the hands of Nur Muhammad Khan and his supporters. Ultimately, the men of °Ali Shayr Khayl, in support of Nur Muhammad Khan, fought with the Mandinza'i, two men on both sides were killed, and the flames of trouble flared up—as will come, God willing.

Also in these times, infidels near (the valley of) Panjshayr launched a surprise night raid and stole eighteen cows belonging to some Hazarachs living there. Khwajah Muhammd Khan, the commandant (*fawjdār*) of the valley, set out on the path of retaliation with men under his jurisdiction, killed eleven infidels, took six of their sons and daughters prisoner, and brought them back. Siraj al-Din Khan, the governor of Panjshayr bought the four girls and two boys from the *ghāzis* and presented them as a gift to the royal harem. Similarly, the men of Safid Chir of Panjshayr attacked the infidel village of Li Nar and made off with booty of three hundred goats and sheep, thirteen cows, two virgins who had reached puberty, and two old men. /570/ They killed fifteen people. They gave one of the girls as a presentation gift (*bi-rasm-i sūghāt*) to Governor Siraj al-Din Khan. He had come to Kabul on some matter and presented her to His Lustrous Majesty.

During this time when the flames of trouble had flared up in Shinwar, several thieves and highwaymen of the Karu Khayl at the order of Sa°du who with Nur Muhammad Khan was the leader of the rebellion came to the vicinity of Tirin to rob and plunder. The people of Babakr Khayl learned of this and set forth to stop them. They in turn hearing of (the Babakr reaction) left the vicinity of Tirin and, taking to their heels, ran to Sa°du.

Also at this time Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan who had come from Herat, as was previously described, and had been kept waiting at home, was eventually the object of royal favors and was put in charge of the “box of justice” (*ṣāndūq-i °adālat*) by His Majesty. He was ordered to present to His Majesty the petitions of the people of the provinces and distant cities which twice a year would arrive at the throne in the boxes of justice and then carry out whatever should be

decreed (concerning these petitions). As a result, little by little he regained respect and eventually was greatly honored with promotion to the rank of chamberlain (*īshīk aqāsī*) of that justice-axised court and of the crown-wearing royal majesty.

*Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan Escapes a Second Time from Tehran and Puts
Himself in the Hands of the English Government*

Also in these times, through the information provided by news writers stationed in Tehran and serving the government of Afghanistan, word reached officials of the auspicious government of the intent of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan. As soon as this report reached him, Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan sent to Mashhad Darwish Muhammad Khan the son of Lalah Isma°il Khan with a horse, two bolts of *kurk* cloth and one of Herati *barak* material. Ostensibly, this was in response to the gift of a rifle which Colonel Maclean had earlier given him. But secretly, he instructed Darwish Muhammad to go to Mirza Yusuf, an employee of the government of Afghanistan, and get information about the intentions and wishes of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan and the other fugitive Afghan leaders who were in Iran and let him know.

After he had left for Mashhad, Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan's escape from Tehran with a few of his retainers became general knowledge. Colonel Maclean wrote Mirza Ya°qub °Ali Khan, the news writer for the English government who was stationed in Herat, about the sardar's heading towards Afghanistan and he in turn informed Qazi Sa°d al-Din, who immediately began to beef up the border patrols to block the sardar's path towards Afghanistan, sending confidential letters to Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Farah, and Sardar Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor of Qandahar, telling them to pay special attention to the protection of their borders and not be negligent about letting Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan arrive on Afghan soil.

Meantime, the noble sardar (Muhammad Ayyub) entered the district of Khwaf and the news of his arrival there (soon) reached the governor of Herat. As fast as he could, he sent Fayz Muhammad Khan with one hundred regular and fifty Gushadah cavalrymen and Mir Isma°il Khan to stop him. Mir Isma°il Khan went to the vicinity of Khwaf and set up an ambush. At the locale of Minu General Allahdad Khan was ready for the arrival of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan. From there to Dahanah-i Zu'l-Faqar and Pul-i Khatun, he patrolled the whole area well. Khaliqdad Khan was dispatched to the region of Isfizar to patrol from there to the province of Qa°in. Haydar Quli Khan Jamshidi patrolled Qal°ah Gah and Anar Darrah while General Ghaws al-Din Khan kept guard over Badghis and other areas under his jurisdiction. Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan had entered Khwaf but did not dare set foot on Afghan soil and because of the reinforcement of all the crossing points realized he did not have the power to proceed. He was forced to go to Colonel Maclean in Mashhad, hand himself over to the English government, and agreed to go to Hindustan. By letter, the colonel brought these glad tidings to the attention of the governor of Herat and

he in turn sent a letter to the throne. On Thursday eve, the nineteenth of Zi'l-Hijjah/8 August 1887 while His Majesty was being entertained at Biktut as a guest of the noble prince, his illustrious son, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, the letter was brought to his exalted attention and concern about the troublemaking of the sardar was lifted from his mind.

During this time Brigadier Ahmad Nur Khan of the Babari tribe who had gotten separated from Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan reached the province (*julgā*) of Herat hoping for the imminent arrival of the sardar and in the village of Baghni, Ghulam Muhammad Khan the son of Wali Muhammad Khan Jamshidi made an attempt to arrest him and they clashed. Ghulam Muhammad Khan was killed by the brigadier but in the end he himself was killed by /571/ Rajab °Ali Khan *risālah-dār* and the regular cavalry under his command. They hanged his body from the center of the ceiling of the Charsuq of Herat as a warning.

Also in the course of these events, conciliatory *manshurs* from His Majesty were issued to Mir Muhammad °Azim Beg Sih Pay Hazarah of Day Zangi and others, as was noted earlier, and reached them by the hands Mir Yusuf Beg, Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani, and Ibrahim Beg Sar Jangal. Mir Muhammad °Azim Beg, one of the people of “yaghistan” to whom these *farmans* had been addressed, sent a letter to these abovementioned *mirs* with a message saying,

I will certainly agree to be obedient and embark on the path of loyalty to the government if mighty regiments are sent to punish those Hazarahs who up to now have not put their heads beneath the writ of the *farman* and have refused obedience to the king. I will make common cause with the triumphant army and as long as there is life and breath in my body will make every effort to humble those (recalcitrant) people.

The *mirs* sent that letter along with letters of their own to the throne. His Majesty, as a form of compliment and condescension responded in his own hand (*bi-qalam-i khāṣṣ*), declaring to the *mirs* who were serving as intermediaries:

You're hereby appointed by me to deal with him, to make him hope for the favor of the government, to reassure him and to put his mind at ease by telling him that he will be rewarded with a robe of honor and the title 'sardar' on condition of service and outward loyalty. You (lit: 'they') must obtain a pact and covenant of obedience from him with his sworn oath before God, the Prophet and the Twelve Imams and send it to me. God Most High willing, a diploma (*raqam*), and a sardar's robe of honor will then be granted to him. Your being the intermediaries in this will also be the cause of your elevation and good name (simply) because we use you as our servants. Of necessity, servants derive their dignity from service well done. The end.

After the arrival of this felicitous letter, Jan Muhammad Khan, the governor of Day Zangi and the three abovementioned Hazarah mirs, with the handwritten affection-exuding (*mihr-lam'ān*) farman of His Majesty, set out for the Sih Pay district. Mir Muhammad °Azim Beg heard they were coming and went out to welcome them, meeting Jan Muhammad Khan and his companions at the top of Charkh Pass which is where the Sih Pay district begins. There in the name of God, the Prophet, the Holy Qur'an and the Twelve Imams—May God be pleased with them— he wrote out, swore an oath, and attested to a pact of obedience and gave it to them as His Majesty had ordered. He declared that first, a diploma and the title of sardar should be issued by His Bountiful Royal Highness. Also, the lady, Shah Naz Aghah, daughter of Muhammad °Azim Beg the son of Aqa Husayn Beg [another Muhammad °Azim Beg] whose brother at this time was imprisoned in Kabul for some reason or other would be granted the boon of being joined in marriage to him. Afterwards, out of respect, His Majesty would dignify and favor him with the diploma and title of sardar and he would tread the path of service. They agreed to his request and told him that he should either take the path of going to see His Majesty or should hand over to officials of the government the revenues from his lands. He agreed that after the thirteenth of Muharram he would put on the pilgrim's garb (*iḥrām*) and head for the *qiblah* of safety and hope, rub the temple of humility on the sublime threshold, and kiss the luminous portal.

When negotiations had reached this point and the talks came to an end, the governor, Jan Muhammad Khan, gave him and his companions garments of his own as robes of honor and they said their farewells. On the 29th of Zi'l-Hijjah/18 September 1887, the throne learned what had transpired. What was then put into effect by His Majesty will be recorded in its proper place, God willing.

The Issuance of a Gracious Manshur to the Jaghuri Hazarah Leaders

Also during these times a letter from the Jaghuri Hazarah leaders giving news⁵⁰ of the declaration of service and their non-involvement in the murder of Mirza Ahmad °Ali Khan, their governor, reached the throne, received the honor of His Majesty's consideration, and from the light-refulgent presence a farman went out saying

You expressed your discipleship and patriotism (*irādat wa dawlatkhwāhī*) ever since the beginning of the rebellion of the Andari, Taraki, and other tribes. As witnesses to your services you have

⁵⁰ FM: The word *manbī* with the letter 'n' preceding the 'b' is derived from *nabā'* meaning "news," i.e. providing news. To read it here with the 'b' preceding the 'n' is a mistake. RM: Apparently in the editing Amir Habib Allah Khan must have crossed out *manbī* and replaced it with what he thought would have been more appropriate, i.e. *mabnī* meaning "based on." Fayz Muhammad here responds and tells us something about the editorial process.

mentioned General Ghulam Haydar Khan, Qazi Mir Ni‘mat Allah Khan, Sayyid ‘Ali Naqi Shah, Sayyid Qasim, Ghulam Husayn Khan, and Nur Muhammad Khan (the latter two) the son and grandson of Gulistan Khan, (all of whom are) serving the government. You represent yourselves as different from the three other tribes who were the perpetrators of disturbance and evil. We understand this completely. Although attesting to your services is conditional upon the verification and testimony of those named above, and I would have asked for it, but since you have sealed your words by oath, swearing by God and the five members of the Family of the Cloak saying ‘We, the men of the Char Dastah, consider it our solemn duty to sacrifice our lives and shed our blood in the cause of religion and the government’ this provides us with complete reassurance and we consider your oath valid, /572/ truthful, and certain because you have established the lights of the Five Chaste Ones as the guarantors of your patriotism and loyalty. We believe that even if you have to lose your lives you will not relinquish the guarantees of service, integrity, patriotism, and sympathy for the government. By swearing such a great oath you have made guarantors of your (good) behavior the ‘people of the house’ whose justice and integrity have twice been attested to in the “Verse of Execration” (*āyat mubāhalah*) and the “Verse of Purification” (*āyat taṭhīr*).⁵¹ Therefore you should certainly know that I have a very strong trust in you, and you (in turn) should more and more have faith in the God-given government. The end.

He also released from jail several of their leaders who had been accused in the murder of the governor, gave them all robes of honor and leave to return home.

During this time ‘Ali Khan the son of Sar Faraz Khan Baluch, whose flight from Chahgi was described earlier, and Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Farah, had dispatched Nizam al-Din Khan with twenty cavalymen to protect that place (Chahgi), had taken refuge with the Khan of Kalat-i Nasir (sic Kalat-i Nasiri). Out of tribal feelings, (the khan) through the agreement which he had recently concluded with the English gave him help to retrieve Chahgi. He (‘Ali Khan) sent a letter to Colonel St. John stationed in Shalkut, requesting that Chahgi be taken from the Afghans and handed over to him and in return he would be obedient to and as servant of the English government. Colonel St. John wrote to Mirza Muhammad Taqi, who was employed by the English as a news writer in Qandahar, telling him to ask Afghan officials to surrender Chahgi to ‘Ali Khan Baluch. Should they refuse he would inform the viceroy of India that he should negotiate with the amir-sahib of Afghanistan to return Chahgi. Mirza Muhammad Taqi sent St. John’s letter to

⁵¹ RM: *Qur’an*: Surat ‘Imran: verse 61 and Surat Aḥḏab, verse 33.

Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and he in turn sent it on to the throne. His Majesty, in responding, wrote

ministers and officials of the government of Afghanistan cannot comply since Chahgi is on the soil of Afghanistan nor is Colonel St. John prevented from notifying the viceroy of India, for if he has any disagreement it will be better cleansed from his mind once he sees the fraud and deceit of others.

The Issuance of a Diploma Concerning Khanagi Khan

Also during the aforementioned events, His Exalted Highness, who would not let the reward for service (*ḥaqq-i khidmat*) of anyone be overlooked and would reward in accordance with the status and dignity of the person, ennobled the household of the late Khanagi Khan and the deceased Mihtar Musa of the Sulayman Khayl with this dignity-bestowing diploma.

Since my illustrious grandfather, the Paradise-dwelling Amir-i Kabir, His Highness Amir Dust Muhammad Khan had ties of blood and marriage to you, we therefore consider you all, both old and young, to be our dear close ones and you are. The glory, esteem, stipends, and salary which has been fixed for you from the God-given government we want to make permanent and eternal. Therefore we write that we bestow on Mirza Muhammad Khan the position of his father, the late Dust Muhammad Khan, as khan. And although he is still quite young, having bestowed high rank on him, we choose and appoint his paternal uncle, Muhammad °Azim Khan, to be his regent and deputy in matters concerning the government. Therefore it is requisite and necessary that you should not consider him of no account and insignificant because, in the eyes of the bounteous favor-strewer (His Majesty) he is noble and we are concerned with his upbringing as if he were our own child. For him and his regent it is also incumbent that they consider the men of he family such as Pahlawan Khan, Mihtar Idris Khan, Mihtar Khizr Khan and others to be of one being with them and to be in utter sympathy so that between them, not even one atom of the dust of antagonism and hostility should creep in. Because if there is hostility and they should turn away from the path of unity, then their services to the government will lapse and one will be consumed by enmity and another by jealousy. At that time, we will not keep the title and honor there if we find that your lineage and family is incapable of rendering service to the religion and government. Should brother fight cousin then the only reasonable order would be that you won't be useful to us either.. So we command all of you to unify and work together. We want your honor to continue so that you will have a good name among all the tribes. The end.

Praise God that this year has ended and most of those who wish the government ill and would do harm to the community have been smashed and crushed and received their just rewards.