

*The Events of the Year One Thousand Three Hundred and Nine Lunar Hijri,  
Corresponding to the Twelfth Year of the Awe-inspiring and Mighty Reign of His  
Highness Amir ‘Abd al-Rahman Khan*

On the first day of Muharram/7 August 1891, A. W. Walsh and F. A. Martin, two English representatives of Mr. Thompson of the Ikwan (*Īkwān* Acorn?) Martin-Walsh-Lovett Company arrived in Kabul at the request of the government—mentioned above under the events of 1308—were received in audience, and it was agreed that they would take charge of Afghanistan trade goods in lapis lazuli from the Badakhshan mine, wool (*pashm*), rubies (*yāqūt*), and hard woods (*chub-i archah*)<sup>1</sup> and *nashtar* (?) wood from the mountains of Jalalabad, as well as other trade goods. Of every one hundred rupees net fetched by the company for these goods, five rupees would be paid in cash to officials of the government as its profit. This contract and other terms were signed, a written document was drafted, they received permission to leave, and the two men went (back) to India. In the end, as was already indicated, the agreement led to loss, no profit was forthcoming, and commercial ties with that company were severed. From this point on, the trade goods of Afghanistan which belonged to the government were exported from the kingdom without [the use of] foreign middlemen.

*A Solicitous Manshur is Issued to the Hazarah Leaders Who Were Fortunate To  
Be The First (of the Hazarah Leaders) to Present Themselves Before Sardar  
‘Abd al-Quddus Khan*

Also during these days, through a letter from Sardar ‘Abd al-Quddus Khan, it came to royal comprehension that some Hazarah leaders of the unpacified areas (*yāghistān*) like those of Hajaristan and some of those from Uruzgan and other places had come to offer their submission to the sardar without putting up a fight and as a result of the letters of counsel which His Majesty had issued in their names on the thirteenth of Zi’l-Hijjah of the previous year. So His Majesty, on the eighth of Muharram/14 August wrote the following words and sent them to those men:

To the sincerity-showing minds of the people of the Hazarahjat who have come and are coming in peace to Sardar ‘Abd al-Quddus Khan and have made evident their friendship and obedience to me who is their padishah and their sovereign may it be absolutely clear that I ask of the Lord of the World that having taken the path of obedience in truth and sincerity, no signs of duplicity or hostility should appear on the face of the situation of all of you people, and as long as I live, I will view you with the eyes of love and kindness. After me, my children

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<sup>1</sup> RM: Afghani Nawis says “a kind of wood from which utensils (*asbāb*) are made” possibly cypress?

and grandchildren will be your close friends just like me. Now that you have presented yourselves and continue to present yourselves before Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan in peace and obedience, I had ordered him, before sending out this farman, to disarm you of your rifles and keep them in escrow (*amānat*). /735/ He was not [ordered] to take your side arms, such as swords, daggers, and knives but to let you keep them. This is because if rifles are not confiscated it would be necessary, after the army has passed through, to leave either a few or many soldiers of the regular army behind in every place while the rest advanced. You would be unhappy and resentful if soldiers were billeted in every village and town. I don't want to make you unhappy and resentful nor do I want to scatter the army around, for even though, through the grace of God, the army is large, still, breaking it up and scattering it about would be difficult for me to do and unpalatable to you and a cause of distress and harm. With this concern in mind, I ordered that your rifles would be confiscated and kept in escrow and then once affairs have all been settled and well-organized, they would be given back to you. This confiscation of your rifles and holding them in escrow will last until the business of the Hazarahjāt has been completely resolved. Afterwards, you may collect your rifles. The test of your friendship and sincerity was that you came to Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan peacefully and now you must hand over your guns because you are firm friends, not enemies whose rifles are not going to be returned. After several days during which peace of mind is obtained about you, then those rifles are yours, because why wouldn't a gun be entrusted to a servant, friend, and subject of the government? Moreover, if during that period, you should suffer any loss of weapons, gunpowder, and lead, it will be necessary for me to make it all good. And if in fact, it should be unpalatable and impossible for you to hand over your rifles, that would have to introduce suspicion into my heart about your friendship and obedience. There is no place in the business of government for suspicion and doubt. Whatever there is [in the business of government] should be clear, straightforward, and unambiguous. I have written this so that you know that I have a use for you people and am putting your rifles in escrow and will give them back to you. There's no other agenda [on my part] and nothing else to say. So don't worry. The end.

Thanks to this solicitous letter and the earlier advisory letters which had arrived, as well as to the distribution of *khil'ats* and the giving of reassurances by Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, all the people of the *Hazārah-i yāghistan*, by the example of those who had gone first, were imbued with the hope of royal favors, and the people of Hajaristan and Sih Pay of Hazarah-i Day Zangi as well as all others who up until this time had gone into the wasteland of opposition and hypocrisy now began coming to see Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan. They

were given reassurances and then returned home. The sardar assigned Ghulam °Ali Khan Hazarah and his son Muhammad Nabi Khan, along with the sons of Jars °Ali Khan Malistani, to supply the tribal force with provisions and ordered them to go with the force and its provisions to Zawuli whose people had not submitted as required after Colonel Farhad Khan marched through there. So once again they headed for Zawuli district and were en route when °Ali Naqī Sultan, Shah Muhammad Yusuf Beg, °Ali Akbar Beg, °Ali Muhammad Beg, and °Abbas Beg, (all) the chiefs and leaders of Uruzgan except for the leaders of Darrah-i Pahlawan who—as was mentioned above—had come to Kabul and been placed under house arrest, as well as Kalb Husayn Khan, °Ali Shifa Beg, Bakhsh °Ali Beg, Shayr °Ali Beg, Muhammad °Aziz Beg, and the notables and heads of the people of Sultan Ahmad together wrote a letter expressing their obedience and submission and sent it to the throne by the hand of Sayyid Husayn the son of Sayyid °Ata Muhammad, one of the sayyids of Uruzgan. His Majesty referred their affairs to Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan and gave their emissary permission to return home.

During this time, nine wild men of Uruzgan who were ignorant of royal power and might sent Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan a letter which said:

With the help of the five members of the ‘family of the cloak’ (*āl-i °abā*), [the *ahl al-bayt*, i.e. the family of the Prophet], we humble people consider ourselves the ‘government of the five’ [lit: the “fifth government”] and with the aid of the King of Saints [°Ali b. Abi Talib] we will make the fame of this ‘government of the five’ echo throughout the world and will never place the command of the padishah of the Afghans on our necks.

He forwarded this letter on to the throne and from His Majesty a letter was sent which told him to seize these nine stupid and despicable men with their absurd remarks, whether they come peacefully or not, make them repent and disavow their unworthy words, and give them the punishment they deserve. He also wrote these two quatrains describing the situation of those nine wild men:

We nine who are brothers of the cloak/ the sea and the sun are our heart  
and mind,  
If the wheel (of fortune) should not turn for our success/then we will  
break the wheel and change reality.

And when they are beaten down, exhausted, and done in, they will say;

We nine who are brothers of the cloak/we suffer from famine and want  
If the shah of the world does not provide for us/we are poverty-stricken  
and utterly destitute.

As required, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan set in order and rationalized the

affairs of a number of polaces such as the Hajaristan district and Sih Pay of Day Zangi, confiscated all their firearms and despite the fact that His Majesty had written that these would be held in escrow /736/ and then returned to them after matters had been resolved, since he was in the midst of things and did not see this as being in the best interests of the government, he had the weapons collected by agents deputized by Colonel Farhad Khan and by the leaders of the Afghan nomadic tribe of the Mulla Khayl who had suffered at the hands of the Hazarabs and whose hearts were filled with resentment and then sent the weapons to Kabul. But at the time of the confiscation of the weapons, they inflicted various kinds of torture and pain which were unendurable and—as will be seen—drove [the Hazarabs] again into the valley of rebellion.

During this time, Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan, the governor of Qandahar fourteen days after his arrival, on the thirteenth [of Muharram]/19 August wrote a letter to the throne with a request saying,

Since the Qizilbash belong to the same sect and drink from the same well as the Hazarabs, their weapons should also be confiscated and given to the Afghans so that the Afghan people living in Qandahar will be well-armed and the Hazarabs, hearing of this, will know that they can hope for no assistance from the Qizilbash and thus will not take the path of resistance.

His Majesty did not assent to his request and wrote back saying,

When the Qizilbash were taking arms from the rebel nomad Afghans and the desert-dwellers and during the occupation of the English also managed to find weapons, what was the story with the Afghans, who didn't manage to get any weapons? No one has any right to interfere with the arms of the Qizilbash of Qandahar or to confiscate the weapons of those people.

Also at this time, Ghulam Rasul Khan, known as Rasul Khan, a Hazarah of Shuy and Bubash, sent a letter to the qazi of Kalat out of obedience with a message saying that he should send someone to him so that he (the emissary) could take a covenant of his submission to the governor of Qandahar. [The qazi] sent Mulla Habib Allah and °Ata Muhammad Khan to him and he then placed the collar of putting his head beneath the farman's writ around the neck of submission and goodwill and wrote out a covenant and sent it to the governor there [Kalat] accompanied by his son, two of his *nawkars*, and the qazi of Kalat's emissaries. He in turn sent all three men on to Qandahar with the covenant they were carrying. Since he had written in the covenant and in a letter that whenever the people of Uruzgan and others do not walk the path of obedience, they should send the men of the Tukhi and Hutaki by way of Hazarah-i Shuy and Bubash so that together and arm in arm they could destroy the Hazarabs who do not submit. The governor of Qandahar bestowed a

valuable *khil'at* on his son and gave him permission to return home. After concluding this pact, he (Ghulam Rasul Khan) cinched the belt of service tightly to the government.

During this time, seventy-five leaders of the Muqbil tribe whom Sardar Shirindil Khan had wooed away from the other Mangal evildoers and sent to Kabul were honored with a royal audience. His Majesty gladdened them all with a gift of 300 Kabuli rupees for food, gave them leave, and on the twentieth of Muharram/26 August, they were sent home from Kabul.

On the twenty-second of Muharram/28 August, Malik Sa'id Ahmad Khan Dih-i Yahya'i was appointed governor of Lahugard to replace Khwajah Sultan Muhammad Khan, went there from Kabul, and devoted himself to the business of government.

During this time, Husam al-Din Khan was named *mīr shab* of Qandahar by His Majesty and on the twenty-second of the month/28 August reached Qandahar and took up the duties entrusted to him.

Also in these times, the daughter of Mir Abu Talib Khan became the consort of glory and privilege thanks to her contracting marriage with His Excellent Majesty and became a companion of the chaste ladies of the royal harem. Her father, Mir Abu Talib Khan, who had served for a time as chief steward (*sar-rishtah-dār*) of the financial affairs of the mother of Prince Sardar Muhammad 'Umar Khan and after fulfilling that responsibility had then been appointed chief financial officer (*sar daftar*) and governor of Aqchah. He had accompanied His Majesty to Kabul (from Mazar-i Sharif) and undergone an audit of the accounts of the time of his tenure (as steward). On the last day of Muharram/5 September he received permission from His Majesty to return to Aqchah. He was also entrusted with the assignment to audit the *mulki* (civil/financial) affairs of Shibarghan and Andkhud and at his request Mirza 'Abd Allah Khan, the brother of Mirza 'Abd al-Latif Khan and private secretary (*munshī*) to His Benevolent Highness—the noble prince Sardar Habib Allah Khan; Mirza Yusuf 'Ali Khan Murad Khani; and Mirza Hasan 'Ali Khan Hazarah, were assigned as his subordinates and they all left Kabul for Turkistan.

Also on this day, Kalb Husayn Khan, the son of Jamshid Khan Hazarah-i Jaghuri, who was serving as a *pīshkhidmat* at the sublime court, was appointed by His justice-administering Majesty as an arbitrator (*mumayyiz*) for the people of Tashqurghan whose written petition for redress had reached the throne.

On the second of Safar/7 September, 'Ali Muhammad Khan who had been honored with promotion to the rank of brigadier, /737/ was named by His Majesty to oversee the operations of the lapis lazuli and lead mines and went off to Badakhshan.

Also at this time, Muhammad Karim Khan Qubadyani, a resident of Hazrat-i Imam in Qataghan who had at one time been an intimate friend of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan, was assigned by His Majesty to go to Trans-Oxania in order to keep officials of the throne informed about the plans, desires, activities, and behavior of that noble sardar who had fled to trans-Oxania out of enmity to the government so that they might take steps to counter any harm caused by

him.

During this time, fifty-five kafirs, using five Muslims from Panjshir as mediaries, presented themselves at the sublime throne and were graced with an audience with His Majesty. They converted to Islam (literally, chose the clear Muhammadan religion and the firm Ahmadan ordinances), were given 393 rupees for travel provisions, and with joyful hearts, saying "there is no god but God, Muhammad is the Prophet of God" they returned home. They had come with black hearts and on the sixth of Safar/11 September, they went home with white faces.

Also at this time, thirty-five men from Urya Khayl living in Biyaktut, because of the loss they had caused the government, at the order of His Majesty, they were expelled (from Biyaktut) and ordered to take up residence in Balkh where they were to pass their days farming.

*The Outbreak of Cholera (marz-i wabā) in Qandahar and the Submission of the Entire Hazarahjat*

During the month of Safar, all the people of the Hazarahjat peacefully placed their heads beneath the writ of the farman and submitted to the "commands and prohibitions" of the regime, with the exception of a light resistance which occurred in Murwarid and the pass at Zawuli—as mentioned earlier. Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan ordered a number of troops from the victorious army to station themselves in various strategic spots sufficient to deal with any problem that should arise. Having established these garrisons, he himself set out for Uruzgan by way of Gizab. He wrote a declaration of victory (*fath-nāmah*) over the Hazarahjat and sent it to the governor of Qandahar with one of his attendants, Darwish °Ali. To celebrate the glad tidings of this bloodless victory, the governor had a twenty-one-gun salute fired and delighted Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan's emissary with the gift of a piece of Kashmir-weave shawl cloth and a broadcloth cloak (*chūkhah-i mähūt*) and then gave him permission to return. He also sent the glad tidings of this victory from Qandahar to Kabul by the hand of Ishik Aqasi Dust Muhammad Khan. In the meantime, Sergeant Muhammad Husayn Khan of the °Abbasi Cavalry Regiment, °Ata Muhammad Khan Lahugardi, and Sayyid Nabi, [the latter] a resident of Shashpar-i Ghaznin, had already brought the glad tidings of the victory to Kabul and to each of the three gifts were given.

Also during this time, Ahmad °Ali Khan, a *pīshkhidmat* of the former treasurer of Herat was named to the post of *mīr-shab* of the capital, Kabul, in place of Ghulam Riza Khan.

Also [at this time], cholera broke out in Qandahar and a number of children and the aged, the cup of whose appointed time had been filled to the brim, departed this transient world at the command of the Eternal Lord.

In the midst of all this, on the fourteenth of Safar/19 September, Fazl Ahmad Khan, the son of Sardar Ghulam Muhyi al-Din Khan, was named governor of Andarab to replace Siraj al-Din Khan. On this same day, Shayr

Muhammad Khan, the son of Muhammad °Umar Khan Muhammadza°i, was named to replace °Ali Muhammad Khan as governor of Kunar.

Also in these times, thanks to reports from news writers on the border of Turkistan and in Jalalabad it reached the justice-perceiving ears of His Majesty that most of the pilgrims from Trans-Oxania, before going to perform the circumambulation of the Holy Ka°bah, would enter Afghanistan as spies, obtain travel documents (*tikat-i rāhdāri*), go to places where people thought they were pilgrims, inform themselves about the conditions of the people in those places, then return and notify officials of the Russian government. His Majesty [thereupon] issued a farman to the border guards of Turkistan, Jalalabad, Qandahar which ordered them not to prevent pilgrims from Trans-Oxania, who were subjects of the Russian government, from going to make the circumambulation of the sacred House of God but rather record in writing the day and month of arrival on Afghan soil name by name, along with their place of residence and occupation (*maqām*) and send that to the provincial governors so that the governor of each town (along their route) could examine how long they had been in Afghanistan at the time they issue their travel documents and if there should be anything in writing indicating they are spies they could be arrested. Otherwise, (the pilgrims) should register these travel documents with officials in the capital which would clarify when they arrived [in the country]. In addition, /738/ on the day the hajji arrives on Afghan soil, the border guards, without making a big to-do about it should put in the hands of each hajji a document with the date he arrived so that should he not be able to produce this document (when asked) that would be a reason for detaining him so that he causes no trouble and in fact, it would be clear that he was a spy for the Russian government.

Meanwhile, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan who, as mentioned above, had set out for Uruzgan, reached Churah district, and there his victory-related army was joined by a force loyal to the government raised from the people of Bamyan, Hazarah-i Day Zangi and Day Kundi. Each of them took up stations in accordance with his order. The sardar then turned over to Muhammad Husayn Beg the son of Yusuf Beg La°l the wives and children of the rebellious mirs who had clashed, as was noted above, with Ghulam Husayn Khan the quartermaster, been taken prisoner, and come to Kabul. Some of the people of Day Kundi, having turned their faces from felicity and fortune because of the pain they had endured from this affair which could be ascribed to the activities of their mirs, had bribed Ghulam Husayn Khan with several thousand rupees and not provided a tribal force. (The sardar) therefore seized all their weapons and kept them with the army so that in time of need he could assign them to mud construction and building guard posts and other structures.

After making order in the district of Churah, (the sardar) assigned two hundred Sakhlu infantrymen to be stationed in Hazarah-i Day Kundi and sent a letter to Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan who was in Hajaristan with regular infantry regiments and artillery. The message instructed him to stay in Hajaristan and with the help of people there raise a strong breastworks around

the perimeter of his camp. He used this order of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan's to act arbitrarily and forced the people there to build a breastworks. Those people, who had recently put the cord of obedience around their necks and had never experienced the "collector's stick," preferred death to life and sought the first opportunity to rise up. Their revolt will be recorded in its proper place, God willing.

Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan now departed the district of Churah and reached the manzil of Chinar Tu. On the seventeenth of Safar/22 September, a number of the people there, who had placed their heads beneath the writ of the farman, heard of Colonel Farhad Khan's taking people prisoner from Pashah-i and Shayr Dagh, and, fearing that Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan also, like the colonel, would arrest them, ascended into the region of folly and opened fire on the royal regiments under the sardar's banner. This lasted until vengeance-minded braves of the army, aroused by the disgraced Hazarachs firing at them, attacked and killed ten of those who had climbed the mountain of waywardness without an order from the sardar. Disturbed by this impetuous assault by army braves, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, in harsh terms, strictly forbade all of the army from making such attacks on their own initiative. He summoned 200 Sakhlu infantry and 600 Afghan and Hazarah *mulki* troops from Dihrawad district and ordered them to occupy the forts of those who had fled into the hills, and appointed Sartib Mirza Muhammad Khan as their commander. They then went to the forts of those barbaric people. Thinking them obedient and submissive, they set up camp outside those forts. The foolish Hazarachs who had no regard for chivalry and aggrieved at the death of ten of their men, attacked in the night. Twelve of them were killed while one Sakhlu infantryman was killed and two others were wounded. In the end, the Hazarachs slunk back into hiding but under cover of night managed to make off with twenty of the camels which carried the supplies of the army.

Meantime, Colonel Farhad Khan who as previously noted had set off for Uruzgan after his victories over the Chahar Burjah and Shash Burjah forts belonging to the people of Zawuli, reached Ab Paran and there was attacked by some evildoers who had drawn their heads through the collar of rebellion at a place called Zardak. But ultimately, lacking the strength to resist, they were routed. Several were taken captive by braves of the triumphant army and Colonel Farhad Khan dispatched all of them—nine in number—to oblivion. Of another 150 of their captive men and women, the men were put in shackles and turned over to soldiers of the regular army. Having purged the districts of Zawuli and Sultan Ahmad of evildoers, he assigned a part of the army to garrison those two districts and he himself continued on towards Uruzgan.

During this time, a document of a fraudulent character issued by Mulla °Abd al-Majid, the qazi of the Shari°ah Court of the district of Ghuri, fell into the hands of officials of the throne and was presented for the lustrous perusal of His Majesty. /739/ On the twenty-fifth of Safar/30 September a farman went out to the governor there, Sayyid Ja°far Khan, telling him to arrest the qazi and send him to Kabul. The grounds were that the qazi was not acting to resolve litigation



in accordance with the legal “commands and prohibitions.” One of his decisions concerned someone’s sale of land held in the form of a communal partnership. The qazi had failed to heed the claims of the other partners and ruled that the sale was valid. This (document) had reached His Majesty and so he (the governor) was to consider him unqualified as a (legal) scholar, arrest him, and send him to Kabul so that he could be properly punished. After his arrival in Kabul, he experienced what he experienced. To replace him, Mulla °Abd al-Wahid Kulangari was appointed by His Majesty to the post of qazi.

*Confiscating the Weapons of the People of Uruzgan and the Favors Bestowed on The Hazarah Leaders*

Meantime, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan who had left Chinar Tu, as mentioned above, and set out for Uruzgan, entered the district of Uruzgan without resistance and in the last days of Safar/early October, Colonel Farhad Khan joined the sardar with the regular and *mulki* regiments and artillery under his command. As late as the first day of Rabi° al-Awwal/5 October, although the regular and *mulki* forces were still on the move, they had yet to enter Uruzgan when 20,000 armed fighters arrived from there. In light of the inadequacy of his supplies, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan gave two-thirds of the *mulki* force leave to return to their homes and with the remaining one-third ordered a ten-day halt to collect the weapons of those people thinking that if the regular army soldiers set about collecting the weapons they might cause harm to those newly obedient people. The leaders of the tribes who had come to assist the royal army were all favored with the bestowal of *khil°ats*. At the sardar’s order they tore down the walls of all their forts, making them level with the roofs of the interior structures. As quickly as possible, they gathered all their weapons and handed them over to the sardar. They carried the stones and wood from the demolished forts on their shoulders to a central point in the district of Uruzgan, there to build a royal fort to house a regular regiment, a storehouse, stable, and arsenal.

During these goings-on, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan bestowed favors on ten of Uruzgan’s leaders—Sayyid Yusuf, °Ali Madad, Isma°il Khan, °Ali Husayn, Muhammad °Ali, °Ali Naqi, Fayz Allah *mihtar*, Muhammad Aslam, Khudadad, and Jum°ah °Ali—along with five notables from Dayah—Muhammad Safa *zuwwār*, Payandah Muhammad, Kalb Husayn the son of Jum°ah, Tilla *mihtar*, Kuch Ran *zuwwār*, and °Ali Shayr *zuwwār* the son of Farz °Ali—one other man, Mulla °Ali Naqi, *ra°īs* of the Pashtan clan; Zafar Bahadur, chief of the Hashtu-yi Sih Pay people; Shayr °Ali Beg the son of Kalb Riza Beg, leader of the Nur Beg Sih Pay clan; Muhammad Safa son of Husayn, *mihtar* of the Kurak clan of the Sih Pay; Kalbi Beg, chief of the °Adil Beg clan of the Sih Pay; Qazi Muhammad °Askar the son of °Ali Riza, *ra°īs* of the Fuladah clan; Fayz Allah and his son °Abd Allah, leaders of the Haydar clan; Mulla Najat son of Mulla Ghulam Husayn, leader of the Basi clan of the Fuladah tribe; Mulla Muhammad Husayn the son of Ghulam Husayn leader of some of the Sih Pay people. Some of these men had presented themselves before Sardar °Abd al-

Quddus Khan and offered their allegiance prior to the arrival of the royal army in the mountains of the *yāghistān* area; some at the time of the army's arrival but before the outbreak of the minor skirmishes mentioned above; and some in the course of the fighting. In accordance with a conciliatory letter that he had sent them at the outset and in which he told them that the first ones to offer their allegiance would be rewarded at the highest level, the second group at a more middling level, and the third group at the lowest level, he now handed out *khil'ats* and manshurs to the tribal leaders and then gave them leave to return to their homes

During this time, via letters from news writers with the royal army marching with Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, it reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty that the sardar had taken several lovely daughters of Hazarah leaders as concubines. Similarly, a number of high-ranking army officers took girls in ones and twos for pleasure and were spending their days enjoying themselves with wine, women, and song. His Majesty sent the sardar a farman telling him to choose, with the consent of their fathers, a few of the daughters of the leaders of those people /740/ who would be suitable for the esteemed chaste royal harem and send them to the throne. Concerning the virgins whom he and other army officers had taken (as concubines) he wrote:

Why are you perpetrating such a business? Although those people may outwardly give in to this, inwardly they will be deeply offended and hate the government.

The sardar who had been the perpetrator of this business was heedless and wrote to the throne saying,

What one observes about Hazarah girls is that they are nothing more than animals—monkey-like and bearish. No human being nature would ever want to live with them whether as married women or concubines.

After sending this letter, in accordance with a farman which was earlier issued to him regarding the arrest of nine Uruzganis who had named themselves the "fifth government"—as described above, he took into custody seven of the nine—Sayyid Yusuf the son of Sayyid Ja°far, a resident of Qaghtah; Fayz Allah the son of Zuwwar, who lived in Darrah-i Pahlawan; Muhammad °Ali the son of Muhammad, a resident of Shaykhah; Khudadad, the son of Mawla Dad a resident of Nik Ruz; Jamak the son of Jamshid, dwelling in Siyah Qul; Isma°il Khan the son of Barkhurdar who lived in Shaykhah; and °Ali Naqi Sultan the son of Bahadur Sultan [the latter of whom], before the arrival of this farman, had been granted a *khil'at* and permission to return home. He then sent them to the throne along with some people whom Colonel Farhad Khan had taken from Zawuli and Sultan Ahmad and twenty-four others from Uruzgan who had been taken prisoner by force. They were escorted by Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan the son of °Ali Zahid, a Hazarah of the Sih Pay of Day Zangi. After their arrival,

all were imprisoned. The wives and children of the seven, twenty-two people in all, were ordered to Kabul. Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan himself, at the order of His Majesty, collected an assigned stipend of 1,666 and two-thirds rupees in cash from the public treasury ((*khizānah-i °āmīrah*). He spent a few days more in Kabul then rejoined Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, having also been favored with a *khil°at*.

*The Esteemed Arrival of a Letter from the People of Tirah and Its Privileged Consideration by His Majesty*

Also during these times, a letter reached His Highness from the people of Tirah district with the following words to the effect that as they were mountainfolk and did not have the advantage of knowing the epistolary arts (*kitābat wa imlā wa inshā*) required for addressing the royal durbar, therefore their letter had been taken down by dictation. If the style was wrong, nonetheless the contents were what counted. The letter was honored by illustrious royal consideration. It said:

May it be known to the world-possessing Lord of Kabul that we are people spending our lives with the sect of foreigners. This is because of the lack of attention paid to us by the Amir-Sahib not because we spend our days in loyalty to the foreigners. If the padishah should cast his benevolent gaze in our direction, we would definitely sever the cord of association with the English government and those people of Tirah who are in service to that government will decamp with their weapons and serve the government of Islam. This too will be known to the world-adorning mind that the district of Tirah is the impregnable bulwark and the mighty fortress of Kabul. Therefore it is incumbent that he keep it strong and open the path of consultation and conferral with its notables and leaders so that they may accept obedience to the amir, which, after obedience to God and the Prophet, is an obligation on all Muslims, offer the hand of fealty, and place themselves beneath his protection, for safeguarding the honor and jealously guarding individual souls is an obligation of the padishah. In this regard, every matter which the royal mind deems critical he should convey to Gul Andaz Afridi, the bearer of this letter, and instruct him to carry it out. As we entrust the reins of “loosing and binding [Arabic]” and “loosing and binding [Persian]” to the discretion of the locus of beneficence, we leave the protection of our wealth, lives, and honor in his capable grasp, and we harbor in our hearts as strong a desire to set eyes on and meet the royal person as pilgrims have to set eyes on Mecca. Therefore it is incumbent upon the Amir-Sahib to take care of us.

On the third of Rabi° al-Awwal/7 October, in reply to their letter, His Majesty wrote:

What was written naturally is out of sincerity, certainty, true faith, and sound intention. However, during the years when I was in Jalalabad, a few of their leaders along with the son of Mulla Wali Allah were honored with a royal audience. /741/ They expressed their obedience and extended the hand of fealty. They were then given leave to return home with every sign of honor and esteem possible. but after that, nothing came of the declarations they made. Therefore I too withheld my hand from righting their affairs. Now, regarding this matter that they've written about, several of their leaders should present themselves at the throne because this sort of business can't be worked out from afar by exchanging correspondence nor will it turn out right. Once they've arrived in Kabul, their affairs will be arranged in ways befitting the situation.

An account of the leaders of those people coming to Kabul and their return will be explained in its proper place—God willing.

During this time, at the request of the government, Mr. Cameron, a mechanical engineer for the steam-powered machinery in the Government Workshop, set out from India for Kabul. But when he reached Peshawar he came down with a fever which afflicted this professional person. It delayed him for a while but once he recovered he set out again and, gladdened with the honor of kissing the sublime threshold, at the order of His Majesty he undertook the work that he was skilled at.

Also at this time, a letter (dated) the eighteenth of December 1891 on the Christian calendar corresponding to the fourteenth of Safar 1309 [sic! the 14th of Safar was actually the 19th of September] from the Foreign Secretary reached the throne and attained the illustrious perusal of His Majesty. It was written there that:

By telegraph the viceroy of India informs (me) that he is seeking information from officials of the government of Afghanistan concerning an incident caused by officials of the government of Russia and which lately he has informed me of. It was that a group of regular army officers of the Russian government with a few armed soldiers from the eastern side of the district of Wakhan, Badakhshan crossed the river which flows towards Chitral and then withdrew. By their crossing and then withdrawing it is understood that they were crossing onto land belonging to Afghanistan and Chitral and it is also understood that the Russians' object in this crossing over was to annex the Pamir (Pamhir) region and bring it under their control. No information has been received from the Amir of Afghanistan as to whether his border guards have informed him of this or not. Russian forces are also active in patrolling the northern bank of the Oxus River as far as Kilif and upstream beyond that. But because of the long distance from India the

news of those regions is always late and can't be verified. In any event, it is absolutely necessary that as long as the Russians frequent the southern part of Trans-Oxania there should be correspondence between the British agent of Gilgit, who is an official of the English government, and the governor of Badakhshan, who is an official of the Afghan government, so that General Sayyid Shah Khan could inform Colonel "Dafrand" (*d-f-r-n-d*—D. Ferrand? Durand?) about Russian movements. And he should also inform him of any communications of His Highness which are relevant to this matter and which he issues to the general. Likewise Colonel "Dafrand" will keep General Sayyid Shah Khan informed about any Russian movements that he hears about from other sources. It wouldn't be unwise if His Majesty were to agree to involve himself in the correspondence and reports about the doings of the Russian and issue as a set of instructions to the governor of Badakhshan (to this effect). Likewise he should keep the government of India informed of any news of activity on the border of Wakhan which reaches him. It goes without saying that that the Government of India will set His Majesty's mind at ease and similarly inform him of any news of Russian activities. At the moment one British officer is assigned to reside in Chitrar and others with a British force will join Colonel "Dafrand" in Gilgit. The end.

On the ninth of Rabi<sup>o</sup> al-Awwal/13 October, His Majesty sent copies of intelligence reports which had reached him from Na<sup>o</sup>ib <sup>o</sup>Ashur Wakhani and Aqsaqal <sup>o</sup>Ubayd Allah Khan, the governor of Shughnan, to the Foreign Secretary and also wrote:

This side of the Panj River, belonging to the district of Badakhshan and Wakhan, belongs to Afghanistan. The other side of the river, land occupied by the Russians, has not been demarcated. When the Anglo-Russian commission were assigned to demarcate the borders of the Oxus River, our royal person did not want them to cut the cord of demarcating (at that point). (We wanted them) to ascertain and resolve the parts of Badakhshan, Wakhan, and Shughnan and the dependencies of those which belonged to Afghanistan and where part of the Pamirs also belong to Afghanistan so that the Russians would stop invading places inside the kingdom of Afghanistan and we would be secure from their occasional trespassing. But the English commission was negligent in defining the borders and put off finalizing the task to a future time so that now the province of Darwaz /742/ which is definitely within the territory of Afghanistan is now under Russian control. If the demarcation of the border had not been suspended, then aside from Qal<sup>o</sup>ah-i Kham and Khalasak with their dependencies and the lands of Sughra Dasht which are located on the other side of the Panj River, no other places would belong to the Russians. The territory of Shughnan

which lies this side of the river is in our possession and the territory on the far side is under Russian control. This exchange of places (*tabādul-i mawāzi*<sup>c</sup>) has happened due to the failure to define the borders. Were this not the case, then 1,000 households from Shughnan would belong to the Russians and 8,000 would be our share. Moreover, these incursions and advances by the Russians would not have been possible were the border demarcated. Notwithstanding (the fact that the border is not demarcated), Afghan border guards have resisted their coming and going and have said to them when stopping them, 'What business do you have on our territory?' In reply, after asserting they are not intruding, they have withdrawn.

With regards to your request to open (direct) correspondence with General Sayyid Shah Khan and the governor of Badakhshan, no permission is given for this sort of correspondence with officials of the government without our knowledge unless we are first apprised of all the details. Then in accordance with the orders and instructions issued to the relevant person, he may do (whatever is specified). Without such permission on our part, he and other officials of the government are forbidden to conduct negotiations with neighboring governments. With specific regard to the regions and places which are under the control of officials of the government and the border guards of the kingdom of Afghanistan, they (the English) should rest assured that short of going to war, the Russians cannot have any designs on occupying those (regions). You ought to fortify the borders of Gilgit and Chitral which are not secure, for if the Russian government should decide to invade India it will be through those regions because up to those places which have been established as the borders of Afghanistan and China, the Russian government cannot make incursions without permission. I don't allow them to wander about for I don't think it is good for our people to have numbers of Russian officials wandering about (on Afghan territory).

Concerning the negotiations (*muzākarah-i*) of the British Captain Younghusband who was sent to Chinese Turkistan and at the instructions of the governor of Chinese Kashghar asked the governor of Afghan Shughnan to remove the Afghan guard post located in Sarmah Tash near Saman Yayashil, the request of this captain was motivated by the fact that there was no Afghan force stationed at the guard post. The captain also forwarded his request in a letter to the throne accompanied by his servant, Muhammad 'Ata, and a Qirghiz guide named Haydar. We consulted a good deal with some experienced Qirghiz and Khuqandis who are here in Kabul about the situation and know that Sarmah Tash is part of the territory of Afghanistan. The Chinese government has no rights there. More to the point, all of this kind of discussion is just a consequence of that negligence on the part of British officials in demarcating the border. Because the Chinese and the

Russians are arrogant and delude themselves about their power and capability, naturally they will think about making incursions onto the territory of Afghanistan. What the officer of the force stationed in Badakhshan tells me is that the guards and patrols of our borders go as far as Murghabi. That is a place which is located in the middle of the river. I consider this side of the river to rightfully belong to Afghanistan and that side of the river to rightfully belong to Russia. Therefore I will not let the Russians wander on this side. Moreover, there is no map of the borders. English officials who are working diligently in India for their own government have sent no map based on which one could give an answer to the question posed by the captain to the (Afghan) border guards at Shughnan. I am now asking for an accurate map on which surveyors for the great English government have demarcated and accurately defined the borders so that it would be clear to me where Afghanistan's territory extends and from which place to which place does the land belong to the Chinese and the Russians. I could then give the border guards of Shughnan and elsewhere a set of instructions by which they could accurately respond to the captain and others like him. Up until now, the Afghan border guards have behaved in a sincere and disinterested manner towards the Chinese government and I will act in a similar way. The end.

Also at this time, it came to the benevolent ears of His Majesty in a letter from the Army, Navy, and Civil Service Cooperative Society of the India Company that it would give him a contract (*sar-rishtah*) for the buying and selling of the goods of Afghanistan, like wool, raisins, wood, lapis lazuli, rubies and other things. It was proposed that (the Afghan government) should (also) buy a diamond which was worth four laks of English *kallah-dār* rupees and which was in the company's possession. /743/ His Majesty, who had already agreed to the Walsh-Lovett Company's (exclusive rights to) buying and selling Afghanistan's goods, as mentioned above, and had exchanged written contracts (with it) wrote in reply to this company,

Until such a time when the concessionary, Walsh-Lovett Company, annuls the agreement and stops paying its fee, there will be no commercial deals struck with anyone else. The government of Afghanistan will not buy the diamond. It cannot buy it because no revenue of the kingdom of Afghanistan remains to spend on baubles after the expenditures on the army, on the borders, and on armaments. If the diamond is bought, then it would follow that other such ornaments would also be bought but this is not possible with the revenues that Afghanistan has.

*His Majesty Resolves to Conquer Kafiristan and the Sending of a Farman to Sayyid Shah Khan*

On the sixteenth of Rabi<sup>o</sup> al-Awwal/20 October a farman went out from the felicitous court to General Sayyid Shah Khan, stationed in Badakhshan telling him to take one or two of the regular infantry regiments under his command and march from Badakhshan to Munjan. He was to repair the road to Munjan, clear it of rocks and debris, and level its high and low spots. At Munjan he should assemble and station there as many troops as he needs and prepare provisions for the army. He was also to erect a fort for the garrison and appoint a proper supervisor for work on the fort and for taking care of army matters so that after wintering there, a campaign to conquer Kafiristan could be launched in the spring from Panjshir, Kunar, and Munjan and the darkness of unbelief could either be washed away with the water of the sword or by good policies and arrangements and so removed from the face of the kingdom. It is possible that, like the Hazarah tribes of the *yāghistān*, those people would put their heads beneath the writ of the farman just by the sending of the army and without any fighting.

Also at this time numerous proclamations were issued concerning His Majesty's traveling to London as a way to deal with government affairs and he sought advice from the leaders of all the tribes as to whether to go or not. Since none of the tribal leaders were happy about his going and sent letters to the throne telling him not to go, His Majesty, who always sought advice from the people on matters of national interest and carried out any matter which the general populace considered good for the nation, said no to the English who had issued this invitation using the answer of the tribes in which they expressed their will. He thus abandoned the (idea of a) trip to London.

Also during these times, a number of Qirghiz tribal leaders residing this side of the Murghabi River wrote a covenant expressing obedience and allegiance, and sent it to General Sayyid Shah Khan saying that with heart and soul they accept obedience to the padishah of Islam and are free of and renounce any obedience and allegiance to any other government or nation. The general sent on to the throne the letter of those people, who were turning their faces from the government of China and seeking allegiance to this government. Then in accordance with an order issued to him by His Majesty, he sent a letter to those people with a message that said that they should choose a few of their most trustworthy leaders and send them to him. He would give them supplies out of government stores as well as transport from Badakhshan and send them on to kiss the sublime threshold of authority. They would agree to whatever His Majesty commanded of them and then return to their homes. But fearing investigations by Russian officials, who had yet to clearly demarcate the border at this time, they resisted coming and put it off to a more opportune time.

Also in these times, Mulla Muhammad <sup>o</sup>Ali Qizilbash the nephew (on his brother's side) of Hajji Akhund Qandahari despite the fact that he claimed to be a person of integrity and devoutness (*sar pārsā<sup>2</sup>i mījunbānid*) wrote a letter to a number of the Qizilbash leaders of Qandahar inviting them to a meeting with Mirza Taqi Khan Qizilbash, who was the news writer in Qandahar for the



English government. The letter fell into the hands of Sada Nand the brother of Narinjan Das, a Hindu, who (Sada Nand) was the administrator of the Qandahar finance office (*daftar*) and had the full confidence of the government. At the urging of °Abd al-Shukur Khan the son of (Qazi) Sa°d al-Din Khan, the governor of Herat, who was honored with the *qazi*-ship of the Shari°ah Court of that region (Qandahar), (Sada Nand) sent the letter of Mulla Muhammad °Ali to Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan, the governor of Qandahar. The letter said:

May God and His Majesty protect the excellent Mirza Riza Quli Khan!  
We are several people who have come as strangers amongst these people and for most of the time we have remained destitute at their hands of those. /744/ We should think about our situation in order to come up with a solution. Today Aqa Sayyid Mu°min Khan, Muhammad Nabi Khan, Mirza °Ali Gawhar Khan, Janu Khan and others, a number of good sympathetic men, promised to meet at 10 o'clock tonight at the home of Mirza Taqi Khan. You too should come at 10 tonight to Mirza Taqi Khan's home. The end.

The governor of Qandahar sent the letter on to the throne. His Majesty was angered by it and sent a farman of summons to Mulla Muhammad °Ali and Mulla °Ali Khan and ordered their property confiscated. Moreover, those whose names were listed in the letter, Mirza Amir Muhammad, Mirza Wali Muhammad, Mirza Riza Quli, Mirza °Ali Gawhar, Mirza Haydar Quli, and Sayyid Mu°min—the latter of whom had been appointed postmaster-general of Qandahar to replace Mirza Muhammad Akbar—Captain Janu, Muhammad Nabi Khan *ajīdān*, and others were all summoned. When the (first) two arrived in Kabul, Mulla °Ali Khan was put to death at Pamqan at the order of His Majesty who was relaxing there for the summer. Mulla Muhammad °Ali was hanged on a gibbet in the maydan next to Qal°ah-i Mahmud Khan. A copy of the letter was also sent by His Majesty to the viceroy of India along with a letter which said:

Mirza Taqi Khan is only a salaried employee of the British government. He's been assigned no other work than reporting on the news of Qandahar. Should his presence there become a focal point for the ambitions of people outside the country, it will quickly lead to lighting the fires of evil. Therefore, someone must be sent by the British government to serve as news writer in Herat and Qandahar who is not a Qizilbash and the skirts of whose life are not polluted by personal ambition. He should not mix with these people and naturally should not be involved in any way with them.

*The Death of Amir °Alam Khan Qa°ini and the Events of Rabi° al-Sani/November*

At the time of His Majesty's exile (*safar-i ghurbat*) and arrival in Sistan, Amir °Alam Khan Qa°ini had shown every regard and esteem for the noble

personage. In addition, from time to time, letters and gift from him would reach the throne, as has been mentioned above. His Majesty considered him a friend of the government. Without failing to mention this awful event, it is here recorded in writing that he departed this mortal coil the month of Rabi<sup>c</sup> al-Sani and when the news reached the truth-perceiving ears of His Majesty in letters from the news writer in Chakhansur, it was the occasion of much regret and sorrow for the royal mind.

Similarly, on the sixteenth of Rabi<sup>c</sup> al-Sani/19 November, the goblet of life of Sardar Muhammad <sup>c</sup>Ali Khan, governor Qandahar, was filled to overflowing with death's toxin. He turned his face from this transient world to the eternal paradise of God's blessings, and was buried in the grounds around [the shrine of] the Blessed Cloak of the "caravan-leader" of the prophets—the prayers and peace of God be upon Him and upon His Family and His Companions.

During this time, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, who had ordered the mighty regular forces back into summer quarters because of the outbreak of cholera (*wabā*) in Jalalabad in Safar/September, and had stayed away from Jalalabad and its environs until the outbreak subsided on the eighth of Rabi<sup>c</sup> al-Awwal/12 October, on the twenty-first of Rabi<sup>c</sup> al-Sani/24 November received 200 men from Tirah who had sent a letter to the throne, as was mentioned earlier, and been issued and sent a farman of advice. He sent them all on to the threshold where the world takes refuge. When they entered Kabul, they were assigned a per diem as guests of the government and eventually, when they were granted the honor of an audience, His Majesty counseled and advised them in the same manner as he had in the farman which he had issued to them and then gave them leave to return home.

Meanwhile the cholera epidemic, which had disappeared from Jalalabad, broke out in Kabul, caused many deaths, but quickly passed. However in the last days of Aries (Hamal/March-April) in the following year (1892) it recurred—as will be recorded in its proper place—and lasted for six months during which it forced a vast multitude of people to taste death.

On the twenty-third of Rabi<sup>c</sup> al-Sani/26 November, Sardar Shirindil Khan, the governor of Khust, who had been summoned to Kabul, obtained the honor of an audience with the crown-bearing sovereign. His Majesty affianced a ten-year-old well-favored daughter of his to the noble prince, Sardar Hafiz Allah Khan, and a two-year-old daughter of his to Sardar Amin Allah Khan. The attendants at court were treated to various sorts of sweets [in celebration] and as a result of these ties, the sardar arrived at the pinnacle of glory. Sardar Shirindil Khan **745** remained for a while in Kabul in a pleasurable state and departed for Khust after receiving permission to leave.

Meantime, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Charkhi, who had been ordered to conquer Kafiristan and—as was mentioned above—had requested 400 pack ponies from His Majesty to transport the supplies of the army which lacked a full complement of transport animals, on the first day of Jumadi al-Awwal/3 December, at His Majesty's order the transport arrived and he made his plans for the conquest of Kafiristan. In Shinwar he stationed a force

comprising the regular infantry regiment of the Khugyani tribe, an infantry regiment under the command of Babu Jan Khan, an artillery unit commanded by °Abd al-Karim Khan, and two hundred regular cavalry under Colonel Muhammad °Ali Khan's banner. He himself paid all the soldiers half a year's salary and thus filled the purse of their goodwill with gold coin, gladdened their hearts and pleased their minds. Taking with him the regular infantry regiment of the Wardak tribe, the regular infantry regiment under the command of Colonel Baha al-Din Khan, the artillery unit commanded by °Abd al-Rashid Khan, and 200 regular cavalymen, he raised his banner for the conquest of Asmar, Shaygul, Darrah-i Pich, and Kafiristan, parts of which were had just embarked on the path of disobedience and parts of which had been proceeding along the path of rebellion for some time.

Meanwhile, on the sixth of Jumadi al-Awwal/8 December His Majesty sent Ghulam Haydar Khan from Kabul to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan. he was the grandson of Rajab °Ali Khan, Hazarah of Ghaznin and had been honored by the government with the rank of *ṣad-sawārī*, a drum, and a banner. His Majesty ordered him to place himself under the command (of the field marshal) and to do whatever he said. The field marshal was then marching from Shinwar towards Asmar, had crossed the Jalalabad River with the army, and camped at Shiwah.

*The Behavior of the Regular Army Officers and Soldiers towards the Newly-Obedient Hazarahs*

Meantime, following the submission of all the Hazarahs of the unpacified areas, the demolition of (their) forts, and the confiscation of their arms, the army leaders and individual soldiers of the royal lashkar cast the eye of greed on the property of those people and proceeded to take their daughters and sons by force. Using as a pretext for searching their houses, the claim that they were looking for weapons and that the Hazarahs had not handed all of them over, they proceeded to do whatever it was possible to do (lit: began to bring into being what was potentially there). Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan wrote the throne about this and informed officials of His Just Majesty:

the regular and militia soldiers who were and are assigned to disarm the newly obedient Hazarahs have insolently taken it upon themselves to go to every valley and kill Hazarahs by the dozens ("by the twos and tens"), to rob them, enslave them and bring them to the army base with shackles and fetters on their necks and feet. In order not to upset the mighty regiments and cause a mutiny to break out, I haven't raised any objections but every day I take guarantees from the captive dihqans and release 500 of them.

When the sardar's letter reached His Majesty and was honored by being read, instructions from His majesty (immediately) went out telling him to release

(all) innocent and helpless people but not to allow any on whose countenances the signs of evil and wickedness were evident to remain free and to send them to Kabul.

During this time, without a proper order from His Majesty they also seized by force the weapons belonging to the people of Jaghuri and Malistan who had trod and were treading the path of service to the government. They collected them all at Uruzgan where they stored them in a house and a fort and assigned a guard to watch over them, intending to send them on to Kabul. They also set about demolishing the forts of those two groups of people, tearing down the outside walls of each to the level of the roofs of the interior buildings.

After organizing matters in the districts of the previously unpacified Hazarah region at Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan's order, Colonel Farhad Khan went with his regiment to garrison Sangmashah in Jaghuri. He was ordered as well to confiscate the weapons of the people of Bubash, Shuy, Qalandar, Pashah-i, and Shayr Dagh and collect them at Sangmashah. House by house, he seized all the weapons of those districts and on the tenth of Jumadi al-Awwal/12 December with the Hazari Infantry Regiment, four cannons, and 100 regular cavalry he entered Sangmashah in Jaghuri and took up station. Similarly, Commandant °Abd al-Samad Khan was assigned to garrison Malistan with the Buhluli Infantry Regiment, two cannons, and Uzbek Gushadah cavalry and took up his station there.

During these times, the brothers and sons of Bunyad Khan Malistani obtained a certificate from Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan attesting to their loyal service and they came to Kabul with the leaders of Malistan and Muhammad Nabi Khan Malistani (all of whom) were treading the path of service, to pay homage at the most sublime threshold of authority. When they were honored with an audience, /746/ because of a statement by Muhammad Nabi Khan, who was an enemy of Bunyad Khan and his sons and who had told His Majesty that if it weren't for the mighty royal regiments they would never have set foot on the path of obedience, they were ordered to stay in Kabul and a farman went out that their wives and unmarried daughters and infant children should come to Kabul. Their elderly women, however, were to stay in Malistan and from the income of their lands they (the elderly women) should send annually an amount sufficient for all their living expenses. Muhammad Nabi Khan was honored with the governorship of Malistan, given leave to return there with its leaders, and went to Malistan. The brothers and sons of Bunyad Khan took up residence in the small saray of °Ali °Askar Khan Qart and there awaited the arrival of their wives and children.

Meanwhile, on the sixteenth of Jumadi al-Awwal/18 December Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, who had camped at Shiwah with the victory-consorting army, decamped from there and set off on the road to Kunar. Having reached Chaghtan Saray, better known as Chaghan Saray, he again halted.

Also during these days, General Sayyid Shah Khan, who at His Majesty's command, as was previously discussed, had set off for Munjan from Fayzabad, arrived in Khinjan with his battle-winning army. There twenty Kafir leaders

from Darrah-i Wayran came to greet him and place the cord of obedience around their necks. He showed them every regard and then gave them leave to return home. Having advised and counseled them, he ordered them to bring to obedience other unbelievers living in those mountains so that matters could be resolved by diplomacy rather than by the sword.

Also at this time, Colonel Muhammad ʿUmar Khan who had taken the precaution of stationing himself in Parwan, now known as Jabal al-Siraj, with a victory-consorting force in order to punish the people of Kuhistan who were always causing trouble, (now) set off for Andarab at his Majesty's order and on the eighteenth of Jumadi al-Awwal/20 December arrived there and camped, to prepare for the conquest of Kafiristan.

During this time, Sayyid Ismaʿil Khan, the son of Shah Sulayman the nephew of Shah Yusuf ʿAli Khan Badakhshi, who had taken the path of misbehavior, been detained by the people of Rawshan, turned over to General Sayyid Shah Khan and been sent by him to Kabul, was ordered to Herat by His Majesty and a farman was sent to the governor there telling him to lodge him in the citadel and make sure that he does not escape.

Also during these days, the world-adoring mind decreed that he would expand trade to benefit the government and its subjects. In every city of the kingdom of Afghanistan, he would appoint as 'chief merchant' (*tājir-bāshī*) someone on whose countenance the signs of integrity were evident. Moreover, (His Majesty) ordered that (the chief merchant) should give anywhere from 5,000 to 50,000 rupees in cash from the government treasuries which are in every city to appropriate people who had no capital of their own or means for trade and were of good birth and character. (The chief merchants) should get them to provide a guarantor (*zāmin*) so that in the event of the loss of their money, there would be no loss to the government. The guarantors should then monitor the situation (of the recipient of the funds), realize that the funds were his (the guarantor's) responsibility and so keep (the recipient) from any lavish expenditures or wasteful use of the money. After this order was issued on the twenty-fourth of Jumadi al-Awwal/26 December and the gate of benefit opened before the people of Afghanistan through the grace of God and the generosity of the padishah, the affairs of the people of this kingdom progressed and improved and their food and clothing attained the highest refinement and gentility. In addition, for a period of ten years, income from (such) commercial investments (*māl al-tijārah*) equaled the funds disbursed by the public treasury and still do. Profit accrues to the government and the original capital remains in the hands of the businessmen so that whenever the government needs it they can deliver it to the treasury. Up to now, this situation prevails and this profit continues to accrue.

*The Situation of Safdar ʿAli Khan Nawagi and His Cinching the Belt of Service to the Government*

Meantime, Safdar Khan Nawagi had learned of Field Marshal Ghulam

Haydar Khan's departure for Asmar and his camping at Chaghan Saray. As he had been at odds with °Umra Khan Bajawuri for a long time, he hoped that this campaign of the field marshal's would work to his own benefit and so he cinched the belt of service tightly and with his two sons, 110 cavalymen, and 300 infantry he took the path of assisting the government. On the first of Jumadi al-Sani/1 January 1892, he forded the Kunar River to join the army of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and serve the government. Learning of this, the field marshal sent Colonel Baha al-Din Khan and °Ali Jan Khan-i Bishbulaqi / 747/ to welcome him and bring him to the army camp with full honors. With his arrival, (the field marshal) ordered bread baked twice a day in the government workshop and given to him and his companions as a show of respect. He also erected a large tent and canopy for him and his followers. The following day, (the field marshal) assembled the mighty regiments on the parade ground, then, following the usual drill, reviewed them and fired a number of guns at the shooting range to demonstrate to Safdar °Ali Khan the might of the royal army. After conferring a magnificent *khil'at* on him, he gave him leave to return home. Regarding his desire to serve the government and his expressing (his wish) that °Umra Khan be punished, saying that without the sending of a royal army, he would not become obedient and would continue to be recalcitrant and wayward and would bring the people of Bajawur to the brink of destruction, (the field marshal) promised to abide by any order of His Majesty and wrote the throne seeking permission from His Majesty to conquer Bajawur. The order which was issued from the amirate throne with regard to this matter will be recorded in its proper place—God willing.

During this time, due to a letter and request dated the sixth of Jumadi al-Sani/7 January from the loyal field marshal, 3,000 Kabuli sheepskin jackets were sent to the army assigned to conquer Kafiristan and (His Majesty) wrote that "if they do good service, the cost of those (jackets) will be treated as a gift from the government. Otherwise, the cost should be deducted from the soldiers' wages."

Also at this time, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan Taymuri was appointed governor of Qandahar by His Majesty, left Kabul for that region, and there set about bringing order to its affairs.

Also during this time, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan's letter concerning the conquest of Bajawur, which he had sent to the throne—as was mentioned above—and which requested permission to launch a campaign, arrived and when it had attained the honor of the lustrous perusal of His Majesty, on the eighteenth of Jumadi al-Sani/19 January a manshur was drafted in (the field marshal's) name which said that he should deem which of these two—the conquest of Kafiristan or the punishing of °Umra Khan—to be more appropriate and desirable, provide evidence and proof of the desirability of it (over the other) and notify the throne so that in accordance with what was expedient, permission to campaign in one of the two places, whichever is better, would be given. However, before the arrival of this manshur, sixty Kafirs came to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and placed the cord of obedience around

their necks. The field marshal pleased them all with the bestowal of *khil'ats* and allowed forty-five of them to return home, ordering them to counsel and advise the other people of Kafiristan and guide them to obedience. This so that they would place their heads beneath the writ of the farman without a fight, the plundering of their property, the enslavement of their wives and children, and the killing of their men and thus not subject themselves to wretchedness and degradation. He kept the other fifteen with the army as hostages.

Similarly, the Shinwaris living in Shaygul district came to the field marshal to offer their obedience and they agreed to abide by the commandments and proscriptions of the Holy Law and of the government. When the field marshal had observed matters to reach this point, he also opened correspondence with the people of Darrah-i Pich and began to try to win them over, thinking that perhaps they would offer obedience without fighting and remove their feet from the path of waywardness.

Also at this time, the son of Nazir Nasir Khan, who had been appointed by the government to be governor of Andkhud on account of the services performed by his late father, because of his own malfeasance grew apprehensive and decided to flee to Trans-Oxiana. Through letters from news writers there, His Majesty learned of his treachery and on the twentieth of Jumadi al-Sani/21 January he wrote Mir Abu Talib Khan, the governor of Aqchah, instructing him to send (the son of Nazir Nasir Khan) to Kabul and to assign the government of Andkhud to one of his own followers. He sent Mirza °Abd Allah Khan the son of Mirza °Abd al-°Aziz to Andkhud as governor and dispatched the son of Nazir Nasir Khan to Kabul under guard. The latter perished under the worst conditions appropriate to his situation and carried with him from the world the burden of the wrongdoing which he had committed against his benefactor (His Majesty).

During the aforementioned events, it reached the benevolent ears of His Majesty in a letter from the viceroy of India that a map delineating the borders of Hashtadan district between Afghanistan and Iran as clarified by General Maclean had been published and that one of these printed maps would reach His Highness, the Shah of Iran, through the English minister plenipotentiary there. On the twenty-first of Jumadi al-Sani/22 January, His Majesty wrote back and expressed his satisfaction with the viceroy of India and his friendship for Afghanistan. At the end he wrote:

(Concerning) the demarcation of the border and the delineation of the line and the boundary markers which through the verification and attestation of English officials has been finalized and accepted, it is essential that a document signed and sealed by the Shah of Iran be obtained which would constitute written proof for Afghans. /748/ It should also be embellished with my signature and seal and sent to the government of Iran as (decisive) proof so that under no circumstances would disputes arise.

Ultimately, this was carried out as His Majesty demanded.

*His Majesty's Farman Reaches the Field Marshal and Other Events of That Region*

Meantime, when the farman issued to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan concerning his choosing the options of either conquering Asmar or Bajawur reached him, on the twenty-second of Jumadi al-Sani/23 January he wrote to the throne saying that he preferred the conquest of Bajawur and the punishment of °Umra Khan over the conquest of Asmar and offered some supporting evidence.

During this time, and before this letter arrived (at the throne) and obtained the honor of a lustrous reading by His Majesty, on the twenty-eighth of Jumadi al-Sani/29 January, Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan the son of Sardar Shams al-Din Khan was given the title "viceroys (*nā'ib al-hukūmah*) of Turkistan" by His Majesty and was (thus) ennobled amongst his peers and equals. God willing, an account of his departure from Kabul and arrival in Mazar-i Sharif will be recorded by the pen of exposition in its proper place.

Also on this same day, Mulla Muhammad Ghulam, of the Tajik tribe of Pashah-i, was appointed *qazī* of the Shari°ah Court of the city of Taluqan to replace Qazi Mulla °Abd Allah who had become a source of treachery, been summoned by farman to Kabul, and imprisoned.

Also on the twenty-eighth of the month/29 January, Ghulam Hasan Khan Afshar, who because of some matter<sup>2</sup> was subjected to royal punishment and imprisoned, was banished from the country with seventy-six of his dependents, young and old alike. An order was issued by His Majesty concerning him and his dependents that they be taken across the border and released on Iranian territory. Also, (another) four of their men were to be taken in shackles and chains up to the border and freed so that they would return to the land of their forefathers and not be "transients" on the soil of Afghanistan.<sup>3</sup>

Meantime, the letter from Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan mentioned above arrived (at the throne) and obtained the honor of a lustrous reading by His Majesty. On the third of Rajab/2 February an order was issued to him which said that although the punishing of °Umra Khan and the conquest of Bajawur is considered preferable, he should first take care of matters in Darrah-i Pich, then turn his attention to the conquest of Bajawur and wreak destruction on the livelihood of °Umra Khan. If in choosing one of the two courses of action, he should then vacillate between advancing or delaying or taking the initiative on one and postponing the other, (whatever the case), he was to keep His Majesty

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<sup>2</sup> FM: And that issue was that Ghulam Hasan Khan had said, 'We people are aliens and transients in this country.'

<sup>3</sup> FM: From the drops of the pen of His Highness (Amir Habib Allah Khan) comes this explanation: 'At the time of the conquest of Afghanistan Nadir Shah brought the Afshar people from Iran and settled them. If during all these years, they thought of themselves (only) as transients, they should have gone back to their original homeland, Iran, in order to be saved from being aliens.'



informed so that the world-adorning mind is always notified as to which of the two he is engaged with. (His Majesty) also sent two infantry regiments from Kabul and wrote him that if another regiment were required for the conquest of Bajawur he should ask for it to be sent.

During this time, Sardar Shirindil Khn, who, summoned by farman, had come to Kabul from Khust, and as was mentioned earlier had affianced two of his daughters to the princes Hafiz Allah Khan and Amin Allah Khan, was now given leave by His Majesty to return and on the third (of Rajab)/2 February having reached Khust, the place of his residence and his governorship, he dispatched mighty regiments from Khust and Chamkani to campaign from those two directions against the evil people of the Jadran tribe, who had drawn their heads through the collar of mutiny, and to forcibly give them their just desserts. On learning of the movements of those victory-conjoined forces, those people took all their belongings and their women and children up into the mountains, and prepared themselves for battle. They gathered at Almarah and stood ready for a fight. Their subsequent setting forth on the path of obedience will be recorded in due course, God willing.

During these times, /649/ as a result of the replacement of Sardar Jahandil Khan, the youngest son of Sardar Shirindil Khan, as governor of Gardiz and Zurmat, Muhammad Aslam Khan the son of Mir Akbar Khan Kuhistani was honored by appointment as governor and went there from Kabul.

Also at this time, Dr. John Gray, who had been given leave from his Majesty to return to his own homeland, the time of his leave now being up, entered Peshawar intent on kissing the sublime threshold in service. It reached the benevolent hearing of His Majesty via a letter from him that he had arrived there and farmans went out to the caravan chief (*qāfilah-bāshī*) of Peshawar, Muhammad Husayn Khan; the guard at Dakkah; and the governor of Jalalabad. They provided him with provisions and mounts and conveyed him from one to the next until he reached Kabul. (There) he rubbed his head on the celestial threshold and busied himself in service (to His Majesty).

Also at this time, an epidemic of cholera which had been endemic in Kabul for a long time also broke out in Herat.

During this time, a stipend of 833 and one-third Kabuli rupees was granted by His Majesty to Ishik Aqasi Dust Muhammad Khan who had brought news of the victory of the Hazarahjat to the throne at the order of the late governor of Qandahar, Sardar Muhammad °Ali Khan, as was mentioned earlier. He was then ordered to go Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan and stay with him and carry out whatever duties he instructed him to do.

Also at this time, it reached the deaf-to-falsehood ears of His Majesty through a letter from Sayyid Muhammad Shah Khan, the son of the late Sayyid Nur Muhammad Shah Khan Fushanji prime minister (*ṣadr-i a°zam*) during the amirate of His Highness the late Amir Shayr °Ali Khan, that at the time of the arrival of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan in Qandahar the sayyid had put forward the foot of service to the sardar but only superficially, out of fear of his life and to protect his wealth. After the flight of that noble and excellent sardar

to Iran, with the alighting of the sovereign sun of perfection and justice (His Majesty) in Qandahar he became fearful, entered the valley of anonymity, and returned to the district of Fushanj, his native land and the land of his forebears, and live inconspicuously. He now requested permission to return to Qandahar and Kabul. The answer which His Majesty wrote, in which he did not agree to his wish, will be recorded in its proper place, God willing.

*Discussions of English Officials Concerning Bajawur and the Activities of the Field Marshal*

Meanwhile, officials of the English government learned of His Majesty's plans to conquer Bajawur, destroy °Umra Khan and—as was mentioned— his ordering Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan to conquer it, as well as Asmar, Kafiristan, and other mutinous places. So, setting their feet on the plain of deterrence, they wrote and sent a cordial missive to His Majesty saying:

The English government requests of the friendship and amity of His Caesar-like Majesty that although Bajawur is a dependency of Jalalabad and (part of) the territory of Afghanistan, in view of the friendship and best interest which the two governments share, he should change his mind and not send an army there.

On the tenth of Rajab/9 February, His Majesty, whose brilliant mind polished the tarnish from the mirror that reflects the world, wrote to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan telling him to go to Darrah-i Pich with the force he had with him and there untwist the wickedness of its people with the finger of good policy. He was to disarm them, then occupy Asmar, and regulate the affairs of the people of those mountains (but) postpone the conquest of Bajawur until the hidden agenda of the English officials became evident and, through the discussions which they had now opened, it was revealed what their wishes were in having (the Afghans) abandon the conquest of Bajawur; that is whether it was just a ploy or was really out of friendship. After the arrival of this farman, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan ordered the abandonment of the conquest of Bajawur and undertook to win over the people of Darrah-i Pich and Asmar which he was (already) in the process of doing, and turned his hand to punishing the wicked.

Also during this time, a letter reached the throne from Ghulam Khan the son of Sabiqah, Khan of Asmar and whose brother a certain Jallad Khan had murdered and he (Ghulam Khan) had taken the reins of leadership into his own hands. But then °Umra Khan had (then) seized control from him. His letter was subjected to the luminous consideration of His Majesty. Since (Ghulam Khan) requested (in it) the necessary means to go on living, on that same tenth of Rajab/9 February His Majesty wrote and told him to go to the field marshal and do whatever he said, /750/ and so obtain for himself the wherewithal to live. (His Majesty) also wrote to the field marshal and told him to summon the Khan

of Asmar's son, watch over him, and send someone else on his (the field marshal's) behalf to Asmar for if someone had straightaway been appointed to that region representing the (Afghan) government, it would not have been easy for °Umra Khan to bring Asmar under his control.

Meantime, because of a letter from the field marshal, twenty of the leaders of Darrah-i Pich came to tender their obedience. He rewarded them all with *khil'ats* and instructed them to win over other recalcitrant people. He also told them they should bring some armed people and the rest of their leaders to enter royal service and remain with the army. Placing the finger of obligation on the eye of deceit, when they returned (home), as will come below, they turned their faces from felicity and hastened into the valley of error. After their return, the people of Divgul and Badil, of whom some one hundred households had fled to a valley located near Darrah-i Pich, attacked 200 hundred Sakhlu infantry who, at the field marshal's orders, were diligently guarding the roads of Darrah-i Pich and the two sides fought a pitched battle. Learning of this, the field marshal sent 200 other Sakhlu infantrymen from the army camp to help those under attack. They reached the combatants in the nick of time, and drove the evildoers away. Descending from the heights in force, they killed ten (of the attackers), wounded seven, took two prisoners, and raised the victory banners. As booty, they captured 120 goats and sheep, and fifty cows. Four of the Sakhlu infantry were slain and seven were wounded. They then went (to the army camp) and (eventually) returned to the spot where they had been stationed to guard the roads and there raised the banners of relaxation.

Learning of the tendering of obedience by the Shinwaris of Shaygul, the donning of robes of honor by the leaders of Darrah-i Pich, which was just recorded, and the triumph of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar and his intention to march on Bajawur, °Umra Khan, unaware that he (the field marshal) had been told by His Majesty to call off the conquest of Bajawur, became apprehensive, assembled fellow-travellers on the road of foolishness as quickly as he could, and along with the Salarza'i men of the Mamund tribe, dispatched them to guard his forts which stood opposite and facing the forts belonging to Safdar Khan of Nawagi. At the time of an attack by the royal army, they were to make every effort to keep the army from destroying those forts. They were also to obstruct the army's route to Bajawur. Since he imagined that this secured the route against the passage of the royal army, he himself with a large force from Bajawur and other places and raising the cry of holy war, took the path of disrupting (the lives of) the Kafirs living in Kamdish. He seized several houses of Kafirs who had scattered and run far away and, in accordance with the plan he had in mind, he began to incite the people of the mountainous region to the east and to the distant northern corner of Jalalabad to provoke them to rise up and attack the royal army and thereby secure himself and Bajawur from the assaults of the royal forces.

One of the leaders of that mountainous region, whom (°Umra Khan) invited to rise up was Ghulam Khan, the leader of Asmar who had accepted (°Umra Khan's) taking the leadership from him. But because of the arrival of the farman

from His Majesty issued in his name Ghulam Khan was now emboldened and refused to join °Umra Khan and instead raised the banner of opposition to him. Three times, °Umra Khan sent a group from his force to force him to come but each time he repelled them, prevented them from entering Asmar and kept the field marshal notified of what was going on. The field marshal, who had been ordered by His Majesty to call off the conquest of Bajawur, sent Ghulam Khan encouraging replies and eased his mind so that °Umra Khan, perplexed and confused and fearing for his life, running around like an animal in the death throes of being slaughtered, was unable to lay claim to Asmar and make a move towards it.

Among the people of the mountain region, those of Darrah-i Pich paid no heed to the kindness of the field marshal who had given *khil'ats* to twenty of their leaders or to their undertaking to provide armed men and bring the rest of their leaders, and instead listened to the provocations of °Umra Khan, drew their heads through the collar of recalcitrance and rebelled. Through a report from a news writer of that region, His Majesty was apprised of the trouble caused by that tribe and sent a manshur to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan to destroy the evildoers of Darrah-i Pich and, after exterminating them, to turn the face of conquest in the direction of the mountains of Asmar and give the people there the punishment they deserve so they would not be deceived by /751/ Ghulam Khan for he would take any opportunity to speak the words of friendship with the tongue of deceit in order to cause harm to the royal army.

Before the arrival of this manshur, he (the field marshal) captured °Abd al-Wahid Khan, the *kūtwāl* of the district of Pashad, a man who had turned his face from felicity and the government and misguidedly joined the people of error of the unpacified area (*yāghistān*) of that mountain region. He sent him to Kabul, his feet in chains and his neck in shackles. After arriving in Kabul, he was imprisoned and ultimately experienced the just reward for his actions.

After dispatching him to Kabul and after the manshur reached him, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan turned the face of retribution in the direction of Darrah-i Pich. A sharp battle was fought but in the end the royal army emerged victorious and the evildoers were defeated. Of the rebels 200 were slain and many others were taken prisoner by members of the army. The army's share of the booty came to 3,000 goats, cows, sheep, and riding horses. After winning this victory, (the field marshal) wrote a letter relaying the good news of the victory and on the fifteenth of Rajab/14 February sent it to the throne. Learning of the killing and plundering of the people of Darrah-i Pich, the people of Nankalam and Sham°un (better known as Shamun), Sandari, and Miyanuki, (better known as Manuki), taking the Glorious Qur'an and the Blessed Furqan as their intercessor, sent it with several mullas to the field marshal and declared their obedience in the humblest of terms. The field marshal was pleased by this declaration, mobilized the mighty regiments, and entered Darrah-i Nankalam and camped there. Here the people of Achah Lam also presented themselves and tendered their submission, presenting tokens of their obedience.

The men of Darrah-i Pich, who saw no good coming out of anything but

obedience, had no choice but to come to the field marshal in repentance and rub the forehead of powerlessness and humility on the ground of submission. At his command, they brought their wives and children down out of the mountains of rebellion, returned them to their homes, and asked permission to bury their dead. (The field marshal) ordered them to bury the slain and after they had concealed those killed beneath the earth, the illustrious field marshal kept forty-two of their leaders with the army as hostages, and appointed surveyors to measure their lands and fields so that they would be held accountable for land taxes in accordance with the cadastre. Thus each one would pay the land tax (*kharāj*) according to the amount of land he owned and no one's (tax) burden would fall on the shoulders of another.

Meanwhile, on the twentieth of Rajab/21 February a proclamation was issued by His Majesty concerning all the moveable property in cash and kind belonging to Mulla °Ali Jan, Mulla Muhammad °Ali, and another nine individuals from the Qizilbash of Qandahar which had been confiscated by the Diwan-i A°la—as was discussed above. An order went out to Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qandahar, to post the proclamation in the Char Suq of Qandahar, so that whoever might have concealed any of the property, furniture, utensils, and furnishings of those eleven evil Qizilbash and, subsequent to the posting of this proclamation, do not hand them over to officials of the government and this should become evident after the twentieth of Sha°ban/20 March, the deadline for disclosing those things, then all that that person owns is deemed forfeit as well.

At the same time that the royal proclamation was being sent to Qandahar, the *ra°īs* of the district of Dir, Muhammad Sharif Khan, presented himself before Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan on the twenty-first of that month (Rajab)/22 February in support of the government along with forty local leaders and 200 horse and foot soldiers. He professed his obedience and asked for the opportunity to serve. The field marshal kept him, his friends, and his horse and foot with the army and assigned them a place to set up camp. He himself was engaged in the process of assessing the taxes and disarming the people there. He levied the land taxes of the people of that mountain region and confiscated 1,268 rifles, 568 *silānah*,<sup>4</sup> 267 swords, three pistols, one blunderbuss (*qarah būnah*),<sup>5</sup> and two daggers (*katārī*) along with the 500 rifles which had fallen into the hands of soldiers of the army on the day of the battle. All were confiscated for the government arsenal. Detaining fifty-one people from that tribe as hostages, (the field marshal) then raised the banners of march out of that valley due to a shortage of food and forage, and camped the army at Upper Chaghan Saray. Here, 300 leaders from seven Kafir tribes who had learned of the field marshal's plan to conquer Kafirstan and were seized by fear and terror approached him humbly and offered their obedience. After rubbing the forehead of humility on

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<sup>4</sup> Afghani Nawis defines it only as "a kind of weapon/*silāh*)

<sup>5</sup> Afghani Nawis defines it as an antique rifle with a short barrel and wide mouth (*tufang-i kūtāh-i dahān-gushādah-i qadīm*).

the ground of repentance they were ennobled with the religion of Islam and by saying the good words ("there is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God") they embarked on the straight path of the law (*ā'in*) of Islam. /752/

Meanwhile, the proclamation which was issued and sent concerning the disclosure of the property of several of the Qizilbash living in Qandahar arrived in that land on the first day of Sha<sup>°</sup>ban/1 March and the governor of Qandahar posted it in the Char Suq. Nothing more emerging from anyone (of concealed goods), all that had been confiscated from those eleven men was sold and, except for gold items, silver utensils, women's jewelry, and precious gems which were placed in three small iron boxes and sent to the throne, the sum of one lak sixty-four thousand, six hundred and nineteen rupees was deposited in the public treasury of Qandahar, but most (of this) was expropriated by those confiscating the property.

During this time, Hazrat-i Khan, an Achakza<sup>°</sup>i resident of the Kuhistan region of Farah, from the seal (impression) on a farman copied the seal of His Majesty that was used for farmans and *hukms* and inscribed a (counterfeit) seal from it. He then wrote out a farman to the governor of that region for an extravagant sum for himself and impressed it with the seal. He took it to the governor to collect the sum with the idea that afterwards he would leave the country and live a life of ease abroad. However, the governor, realizing that paying such a sum was not appropriate to the wretched circumstances of that treacherous fellow, was suspicious and sent the farman to the throne. When it was not authenticated by the royal bureaus (*dafātir*), His Majesty sent an order to the governor of Qandahar telling him to send twenty riders to arrest that fraud along with his son Yasin and any other sons and brothers he might have and send them to Kabul for punishment. A corroborating farman was also sent to Muhammad A<sup>°</sup>zam Khan Mohmand and Mirza <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Samad Khan, officials of the Kuhistan region of Farah, concerning the arrest of that traitor. Ultimately, he experienced the just reward for his actions but caused a loss of trust (in the farmans) by the people living in the kingdom of Afghanistan and caused farmans without the seal and verification from His Majesty's munshis to lose the people's confidence.

During these events, Mirza Muhammad Taqi Khan, an employee of the English government who was stationed in Qandahar as news writer, had provided living expenses to the wives and children of the eleven Qizilbash whose property was confiscated because of his intrigue and because of the document of Mulla Muhammad <sup>°</sup>Ali referred to earlier. (He was also supporting) the wives of Muhammad Akbar Khan "Badami" whose treachery and dishonor have also been explained above. He also had reported the arrest (of the eleven) to the (Political) Agent of Baluchistan and wrote him that his friends and brothers will be subjected to confiscation, plundering, and arrest because of his being in Qandahar. Therefore he wanted to leave Qandahar for Shalkut so that no further harm would befall the Qizilbash because of his being there. Thanks to a letter from Sardar <sup>°</sup>Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qandahar, news of what was going on reached the justice-perceiving ears of His Majesty

and on the fourth of Sha<sup>°</sup>ban/4 March a farman went out to him telling him to ask Mirza Muhammad Taqi Khan if he had permission from the English government to look out for criminals and enemies of the government and provide for their wives and children. If he should have some document to this effect from that government (the governor) should tell him to show it so that discussions about it could be opened with officials of the English government. If he did not (have such a document), then he should tell why he was forming such attachments and befriending traitors and prisoners of the government. (His Majesty) ordered this inquiry to be in writing and a written transcript taken so it would be known what he said and why he had embarked on such a perilous path. From this letter of His Majesty and other proofs which came out about his culpability in this matter, in the end the English replaced him and sent someone else to Qandahar.

*The Arrival of Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan, Governor of Turkistan, in Mazar-i Sharif*

Meanwhile, on the fifth of Sha<sup>°</sup>ban/5 March, Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan, whom His Majesty had named to the governorship of Turkistan and sent from Kabul, approached Mazar-i Sharif, the capital of Turkistan. Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Urakza<sup>°</sup>i rode out to Takiyah-i Habash to welcome him, accompanied by all officers and holders of military rank. There they performed the ceremony of welcome and conducted him into the city of Mazar with all pomp and dignity. As a sign of his respect for authority, he first went to pay respects to the noble prince, Sardar Ghulam °Ali Khan, who was the fortunate son of the Pleiades-dwelling sovereign and only recently had been weaned from his nurse. He kissed his luminous, felicity-consorting forehead, and then ended his journey at the governor's residence. /753/ Then he got down to the business of governing, after collecting the seal of the government of Turkistan, which had been entrusted to Mirza Muhammad Mirza Khan Qizilbash at His Majesty's order at the time of Ishik Aqasi Muhammad Sarwar Khan's coming to Kabul, as was previously recounted, and up to this point had remained in his possession. As soon as he occupied the seat of government, he dismissed Mirza Muhammad Zaman Khan, chief of the accounts bureau (*sar daftar-i hisāb-gīrī*) because of some malfeasance on his part, put his accounts under investigation and sent a written report of his offenses to the throne. A farman was issued by His Majesty and (Mirza Muhammad Zaman Khan) was imprisoned. While in prison, he answered the accusations against him but lacked evidence and so remained in jail.

During this time, as a result of a written request from Shaykh Muhammad Taqi, a well-known scholar of Mashhad, whose letter, along with one from Mirza Yusuf Khan, the news writer there, reached the luminous consideration of His Majesty on Monday, the seventh of Sha<sup>°</sup>ban/7 March, Sayyid Muhammad Isfahani, who had been jailed as a spy in Kabul, was released. (His Majesty) sent a letter to the shaykh which said that he had freed him because of the testimony

(*shahādat-nāmah*) of the shaykh saying that he was innocent and had given him permission to return to his homeland. The sayyid left Kabul for Mashhad and from there went to Isfahan. The shaykh offered his prayers to this government [in thanks].

*Punishing the Rebels of the Recalcitrant Jadran Tribe and Other Things*

Meantime, Sardar Shirindil Khan, as was mentioned earlier, had sent out the mighty regiments from two directions to punish the Jadranis who had moved their wives and children up into the mountains for safety, had themselves gathered at Almarah, and stood ready for a fight. During the abovementioned events seven leaders of that wicked group came to Sardar Shirindil Khan’s camp, apologized, asked forgiveness, declared their obedience, and on behalf of (all) the Jadranis sought a pardon saying that because of their lack of capability, they were unable to stay where they were for they feared that the royal army would demand food and supplies from them which they could not provide. So they had taken their wives and children up into the rocky fastnesses of the mountains. Had it been otherwise, they would never have turned away from the prescriptions and proscriptions of the sovereign.

In response to this excuse of theirs, Sardar Shirindil Khan said that if they were (really) Muslims, following the path of God and the Prophet, they would henceforth always be obedient. Otherwise, should they follow their own whims and inclinations, then they would see what reward they got for their behavior. Having told them this, and dismissed them, he set out in their wake with an army, heading for Almarah. Learning of the mighty regiments’ marching in their direction, the Jadranis dispersed from Almarah where they had assembled and took flight. Sardar Shirindil Khan entered that place and as it is the border and the entryway to the homeland of the Jadranis, he asked permission from His Majesty to erect a strong fortress there. After receiving permission, he built a fort of extremely stout construction and large enough to house a 400-man garrison of cavalry and infantry.

Meanwhile, Mu<sup>°</sup>az Allah Khan *sartīb*, who had been sent to Farmal and Jawanah Khwah with 250 Uzbek cavalry and 780 *mulki* cavalry and foot, when he arrived devoted himself to the duties he had been assigned.

On the twelfth of Sha<sup>°</sup>ban/12 March after the Jadrani emissaries brought back the news to their tribe—as mentioned above— thirty leaders from the Paki and Kabri tribes, and from the people living in Almarah, Darrah-i Shamil, and Darrah-i Tangi together with a thief named Babrak, through the mediation of Malik Khan Gul Khan came to Sardar Shirindil Khan at Du Mandah, a place located in Almarah. They rubbed the forehead of humility on the ground of submission and again accepted the responsibility of bringing the Jadran people who had fled up into the mountains back to their homes. Consequently, thanks to their advice and persuasion, most of the Paki and Kabri people and others returned to their homes with their wives, children, and possessions. Sardar Shirindil Khan comforted and encouraged them and alleviated the fears they



harbored in their hearts. From Almarah he (now) marched the army to the mouth of the Darrah-i Tangi Shamil<sup>6</sup> where he camped. (There) he kept Malik Landi Khan with him in the urdu along with fifty of the 250 Mangal men whom he had brought to serve in support of the government. /754/ The other two hundred he dismissed to return to their homes. En route home they stole flocks of sheep and goats belonging to the Dari Khayl people of the Jadran. Jadranis were assigned to retrieve these and the two groups met and clashed in a fierce fight. The outcome was that four Jadranis were killed and one of the Mangals was wounded but (the Jadranis) recovered all of their sheep and goats.

During this time, the *mulki* lashkar of the men of Gardiz which was headed from another direction for the land and homes of the rebels entered Shawak. From his base Sardar Shirindil Khan came there to review them; one by one he inspected their weapons and other combat gear, found them all well-outfitted and equipped, and commended them. He then returned to the camp of his urdu and sent a letter to Habib Allah Khan of the Kharuti tribe and his people. Its message was that they should head for the mountainous region of the Jadran with the force of tribal infantry and cavalry which they had assembled at Wazhranah.

The affairs of the Jadran people and of Asmar and its environs which Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan was busy working to settle had yet to be straightened out when an account of the corruption and evildoing of Shah Nazar, Mirza Khan, and Lid Khan, leaders of Chahgi, came to the benevolent ears of His Majesty in a letter from a news writer in that region. He wrote and instructed Mawla Dad Khan, the governor of Farah, to invite all three malefactors, who are lighting the flames of trouble and evil, to Farah on the pretext of some service then keep them there with him. He was also to move all their dependents and relatives—wives, sons, and daughters—from Chahgi and have them reside in Farah. The governor sent Muhammad Karim Khan Farahi with some Kushadah horsemen to Chahgi but the three malefactors, in view of the bad things they had done, were suspicious about the coming of that khan to Chahgi and before his arrival they took the path of flight with all their wives, children, and belongings and took refuge in the Kharan Mountains (Kuh-i Kharan). Muhammad Karim Khan arrived in Chahgi, saw no sign of those three individuals, turned back empty-handed, told (the governor) what had transpired, and he sent a report to the throne. On the 14th of Sha<sup>c</sup>ban/14 March, a royal *hukm* was issued to him which told him to assemble the Kushadah and *mulki* horsemen of Farah, Garmsir, Palalak and other places, form an army, and with this force head for the Kuh-i Kharan, which is located in Baluchistan. After the arrival of this manshur, Mawla Dad Khan sent out a letter to the men of Garmsir to assemble and he himself began raising cavalymen from Farah and its environs. His leaving Farah for Kuh-i Kharan will be recorded in its proper place, God willing.

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<sup>6</sup> FM gives variants sometimes as though there were two valleys, Darrah-i Tangi and Darrah-i Shamil and sometimes as if there were only one Darrah-i Tangi Shamil.

*The Field Marshal Falls Ill, the Letter of Condolences on the Death of the Prince of England, and the Victory at Asmar*

Also during these events, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan was felled by a severe fever and he took to his bed. Through a letter from a news writer at the urdu, his condition was made known to His Majesty who sent his physician, Mirza °Abd al-Samad Khan, from Kabul to Chaghan Saray to attend the field marshal. When the physician arrived he began treating the fever of the illustrious field marshal.

Also at this time, Prince Albert, son [sic] of the Prince of Wales, the heir-apparent of the government of Great Britain, passed away. As was the custom and tradition for sultans of the time, His Majesty composed a letter of condolences to Her Majesty Queen Victoria in which he recommended patience and endurance at the death of an illustrious son. He also sent a letter to the Viceroy of India, speaking feelingly about this sad circumstance and sent it to Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan, the Afghan ambassador. He in turn sent the viceroy's letter to the viceroy and that of Her Majesty to the queen in London.

Meanwhile, the boon of good health was restored to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and he marched from upper Chaghan Saray intending for Shaygul and camped at lower Chaghan Saray. From there he set off and when he arrived in Shaygul learned that Ghulam Khan, the Khan of Asmar, /755/ having turned his face from the government and felicity at the instigation of °Umra Khan and gone to °Umra Khan on the path of waywardness, wanted to bring the people of Bajawur to Asmar to resist the royal forces. Having brought most of the veteran fighters of Bajawur to Asmar, he made it his business to make every effort to prepare for battle. When the field marshal set out on the road to Asmar with his forces and straightaway occupied a fort situated beside a bridge, the rebels tried to remove the bridge hoping to make things difficult for the royal army. But the field marshal did not give them the opportunity, taking control of both ends of the bridge, and so thwarted the plans of the Bajawur and Asmar rebels.

The Khan of Asmar, Ghulam Khan, seeing what was happening realized he did not have the power to make a stand and fled. Learning of that treacherous one's retreat, the field marshal first sent Jallad Khan and Sahibzadah Muhammad Sa°id Khan to Asmar as a precaution lest the evildoers have laid some trap that would inflict damage on the royal army. Once they ascertained that Ghulam Khan was truly in flight, he gave the mighty regiments orders to march, they entered Asmar, and so attained what was fervently desired. By letter, he informed His Majesty what was going on and a farman was then issued to him telling him to construct guard posts and a fortress (*qal°ah-i jangī*) at strategic places there so that with the garrisoning of soldiers in each place as guards it would prevent troublemakers from doing mischief. The field marshal erected numerous guard posts in Asmar and its environs and put the affairs of that region in order.

On the twenty-sixth of Sha°ban/26 March Muhammad Yusuf Khan the son

of Nazir Mahmud Khan was dismissed from the governorship of Mohmand Darrah at His Majesty's order and ʿAbd Allah Khan Barakzaʿi was named governor in his place.

Also at this time, on the twenty-seventh of Shaʿban/27 March, Sardar Shirindil Khan, who was dealing with the refractory people of the Jadran tribe, left the army camp with 100 riders to reconnoiter the difficult terrain of the Jadran and their settlements and villages. He noted the likely spots of ambush and marked the places where the army could maneuver as well as camp and then returned to base. He ordered the *mulkī* lashkar of Gardiz to establish a base at Zi Lala located on the boundary of the (territory of the) Safir Khayl which is at the edge of the homeland of the Minzaʿi people so that should fighting break out they could provide security in that direction. The following day (the 28th), having ridden to the head of the Almarah Pass, he designated a spot for a guard post, assigned a number of men from Darrah-i Wal to guard the top of the pass, and stayed there for two or three days. That illustrious sardar's efforts and his winning over the Jadran will soon be recorded by the reed pen of exposition, God willing.

During this time, while the disturbances in the Asmar region were going on, while Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan—as was mentioned above—was busy trying to sort things out, and negotiations with the English government over Bajawur were also going on, the people of Mamund and Kakazaʿi living in Bajawur, who were unaware of the government talks going on about that district and, moreover, English officials had deliberately misled them, encouraged them to prevent the army of this government entering (Bajawur), and made them afraid of the control of the Amir of Islam, were frightened by the (Afghan) victory at Asmar and a great multitude of them gathered to stop the mighty regiments in order to thwart the abovementioned plan to conquer Bajawur. They assembled at Darrah-i Shartan and sent a message to ʿUmra Khan saying he should come to aid them with his forces so that together they could fight the royal army, make the passage of the regiments occupying Asmar very difficult, and make plans to expel them from that district.

Safdar Khan Nawagi learned of the plan of these people, who were oblivious to the consequences, and as a service to the government sent a man to them with the message that they should give up the idea they had and return to their homes. Otherwise, should they persist with this foolishness and fail to disperse, they should expect his attack and “whomever God befriends his horoscope's sign will be in the ascendant.” Those people had yet to respond with either a yea or a nay to Safdar Khan when His Majesty learned in letters from Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and news writers of the mountain region what was going on and became angry. He sent a farman to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan which said that he should watch out for the actions and behavior of the people of Bajawur, whenever they advance the foot of impetuosity, and begin to fight, he should harshly retaliate. But in the event that they are in retreat and since negotiations are going on with the English government over Bajawur district, he should not pursue them into Bajawur so

that prior to /756/ the resolution of the dispute over that district, the government does not become the object of criticism. The illustrious field marshal (therefore) undertook to secure the roads over which the Bajawuris might travel and ordered 800 Sakhlu infantrymen along with all the *mulki* lashkars who were in the urdu offering their services to the government to station themselves at strategic spots between Asmar and Chaghan Saray and diligently safeguard [their areas]. He stationed himself in Asmar with the artillery and the regular army and, turning his eye to watch for any movements by the Bajawuris and attuning his ear to any sounds of opposition, sat there in a state of readiness.

Also at this time, Muhammad Akbar Khan Gardabi bade farewell to the world.

Meantime, officials of the English government, with their plans for country-conquering and kingdom-seizing, seeing the people of the Jadran, Mohmand, and Bajawur hostile to the government of Afghanistan, and acknowledging the occupation of Asmar by the field marshal, marched a large army from India towards the border of Afghanistan, camping and setting up fortifications at all the strategic spots along the way from Tirah to near Bajawur. Through reports from the border guards in that region, this reached the percipient ears of His Majesty and he issued farmans to all the border guards in which he reassured them that the English government through this mobilization is (simply) demonstrating its power and strength to its rival, the Russian government to make that government aware that it is capable of dispatching this number of troops to the border. But also they are thinking about the conquest of Tirah and Bajawur so that if the people there turn their faces from the government of Islam, they are prepared to bring them under their jurisdiction. Also they frighten the people of the Khaybar from joining forces with the men of Tirah. They speak to the people of Bajawur hypocritically and want to bring that district under their control. Aside from these issues they have nothing else in mind because they know that if they attack Afghanistan and make the people living there their enemies, they will bring disaster down on themselves and give rise to great dangers. Therefore, supporters of this government should be reassured and enjoy peace of mind, for God safeguards the religion and protects all Muslims, most especially those dwelling in Afghanistan.

Also during this time, officials of the English government due to their habits and ideas and their thinking that it would be good policy to win over those people who opposed their government, began to encourage the Mir of Chitrar to feign friendship towards Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan and by whatever ploy he knew and could use, to keep them informed of (the field marshal's) plan regarding Bajawur so that by neutralizing any direct confrontation, he could bring matters to pass in Bajawur in accordance with their wishes and they would draw that district into their orb. Through reports from secret news writers His Majesty heard of this and sent a farman to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan telling him that he should not fall into the trap of (the mir's) trickery but anticipate that the people of Bajawur intend to fight, be immediately ready for battle, and allow them no advantage by delay. Otherwise, he should do nothing

of a hostile nature as long as the two countries continue to negotiate over Bajawur. So (the field marshal) spent his days in a high state of readiness.

Meantime, on the first day of Ramazan/30 March, Sardar Shirindil Khan, camped at the narrow mouth of the Darrah-i Shamil as was noted above, marched the army from there and then (stopped at) Sang and camped at Zi Lala. From there he sent a man to some of the leaders of the Shamil tribe who had refused to come see him and pledge obedience and (the man) brought them all to the army camp where they were put under watch. Similarly, he sent someone to the leaders living in Darrah-i Tangi and (Darrah-i) Shamil who up to now, out of impudence, had not set foot on the path of obedience. He summoned them all to the camp and placed them under guard.

A man from Almarah named Khatmir, who had fled due to the evil (he had committed) and had attached his hand to the cord of waywardness, was captured with two of his friends and thrown in prison. Also, (the field marshal) summoned six men of Sayyidagi who came out of the hills and shot at a *jam<sup>o</sup>ah-dār* of the regular cavalry who had been assigned to pick out a camping place for the army but they were driven off. The field marshal then summoned them along with Malik <sup>o</sup>Abdal, a troublemaker and an igniter of the flames of enmity, and had them imprisoned, and then devoted himself to winning over the other evildoers and putting the affairs of that mountain region in order. /757/

*Mawla Dad Khan Marches from Farah to Kharan and the Rebellion of the Baluchis of Chakhansur*

Meanwhile, Mawla Dad Khan, the governor of Farah, at the order of His Majesty—as previously mentioned—assembled the men of Garmsir and the environs of Farah and on the third of Ramazan/1 April left Farah for Chahgi to annihilate the Baluchis Shah Nazar, Mirza Khan, and Allah Khan, residents of Chahgi who, as previously mentioned, had fled from there to the Kharan Mountains. He was still en route when (there arrived) a roll of the taxes owed from past years and the return of the robes of honor of the khans and leaders of Farah and the arbabs of the district of Chakhansur who had come to Kabul with Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan the son of the Amir-i Kabir (Dust Muhammad Khan) been honored by the gift of robes of honor and then returned.

Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan and his five friends—Mirza Muhammad Qasim Khan, Mirza Sayyid Mahmud Khan, Mirza <sup>o</sup>Abd al-Ra<sup>o</sup>uf Khan, Mirza Shayr <sup>o</sup>Ali Khan, and Mirza Ghulam Hasan Khan—had claimed that they could perform an audit on the royal bureaus and create a (fiscal) summary and a budget for the country—as was previously alluded to—and His Majesty had accepted their claims and agreed to let them do it. They had compiled “notices of arrears” sealed them with the seal of His Majesty and (consequently) invoiced the leaders of Farah and Chakhansur for a staggering sum (of back taxes). they had given that invoice to Sayyid <sup>o</sup>Ali Khan *risālah-dār* and sent 100 regular cavalymen with him to collect that sum. In a similar fashion, (Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan) had sent invoices for comparable sums throughout

the country and so earned himself a good name.

The abovementioned collector (Sayyid °Ali Khan) was sent from Qandahar to Farah and Chakhansur and when he reached there, the governor and border guard of Chakhansur, Akhundzadah Faqir Muhammad Khan was frightened by the arrival of the 100 riders and the invoice for so much money. He secretly sent his brother, Muhammad Akram Khan, and his brother's son, Sa°id Muhammad Khan, to Laftan-i Lash wa Juwayn and instructed them to remove his money and belongings from there on the pretext that these were trade goods and move them to (the part of) Sistan belonging to the government of Iran. Once they reached there he too would escape to Sistan. But subjects in Chakhansur found out about this and notified Sartib Muhammad Hasan Khan who was stationed in Lash and he quickly dispatched some infantrymen under his command to arrest the brother and nephew of Faqir Muhammad Khan and incarcerate them in the prison at the citadel of Lash. When Akhundzadah Faqir Muhammad Khan heard they had been imprisoned, he summoned the Baluchi *nā°ibs* and *kadkhudās* of Chakhansur and alarmed them with the news of the bill for the return of the salaries, robes of honor, and tax arrears dating to the governorship of Sardar Muhammad Yusuf Khan in Farah. Throwing them into a panic, he said that everyone is getting a bill to the tune of thirty or forty thousand *qirān* rupees from the Bureau of Audits in Kabul and no one is in a position to be exempt from this burden. Hearing these words from Akhundzadah Faqir Muhammad Khan they anxiously sought his advice as to the best thing to do. He first demanded oaths from them, placed a Qur'an before them, and had them all swear together that they would flee to Iranian Sistan. Afterwards, they told him that it was incumbent that he summon Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan of the Parsi tribe and get his cooperation in order that all the Parsi people through his mediation would join and cooperate with them. Otherwise, he might offer his services to the royal force and do them all in. Agreeing to this, the akhundzadah sent a man to see Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan and invited him to come see him on the pretext of (his doing) some government service. But knowing about the pact of the Baluchi leaders with the akhundzadah, he refused to come see him. The Baluchi leaders, disappointed by his not joining them, went to see Akhundzadah Faqir Muhammad Khan at Dih-i Zaynal where his home and wives were and renewed their pact with him, agreeing to abandon their homes, cross the Hirmand River, and flee to the land of Iran. As for Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan, if he fell into their clutches, they said they would kill him. Having made such a pact, they swore a solemn oath and all prepared to move their residences. The akhundzadah went to see Na°ib Ahmad Khan along with Kadkhuda Yar Muhammad and Kadkhuda Malik Muhammad Rakhshani to get him to agree to join them and the other Baluchi leaders in decamping (to Iran). /758/ But he and Na°ib Bunyad Khan imputed treachery and wrongdoing to the akhundzadah and, as a service to the government, arrested him, carried him off to the fortress at Chakhansur and handed him over to the *şadbāshi* and the *khāşşah-dārs* stationed there.

Meanwhile, Sartib Muhammad Hasan Khan, stationed at Lash, who had

arrested the brother and nephew (of the akhundzadah), since Mawla Dada Khan, the governor of Farah, had gone off to Chahgi and Kharan district to punish the Sanjarani Baluch evildoers—as was already mentioned—and was therefore not in Farah, he (the *sartīb*) notified Colonel Muhammad Khan, the garrison commander, and Mirza °Abd al-Rasul Khan, the *sar daftar* of Farah of his arrest of those two men and of their plans, and asked permission as to what to do with them. The colonel wrote a report of what was going on and sent it to the throne. He also dispatched Muhammad Sharif Khan Ishaqza<sup>°i</sup> to Chakhansur with orders to keep the akhundzadah under close watch until the arrival of instructions from His Majesty so that he does not manage to free himself by some ruse. When (Muhammad Sharif Khan) reached Chakhansur, Sartib °Abd al-Rahim Khan brought the akhundzadah out of the fort where he was being held, escorted him to the fortress of Kunak Dizh, and put a close watch on him. Because of the pact they had made with the akhundzadah, the Baluchis now attacked Kunak Dizh Fort in order to forcibly free him and escape with him to Iranian Sistan.

In the meantime, the akhundzadah had bribed Muhammad Sharif Khan and made him an ally. When the Baluchis arrived and realized they didn't have the power to forcibly release him, they began pleading, saying that he was innocent and should be freed. Because of the bribe he had taken, Muhammad Sharif Khan let the words of the Baluchis sway him and though outwardly he appeared to question them sternly he then asked that Na<sup>°ib</sup> Ahmad Khan and Na<sup>°ib</sup> Bunyad Khan either prove the akhundzadah's guilt or justify why they were accusing and imprisoning a royal governor. Thinking that by these words he had done enough to earn the bribe, for all intents and purposes, he frustrated the Baluchis in their plan of freeing the akhundzadah. The two kadkhudas who had detained the akhundzadah were upset by Muhammad Sharif Khan's words, sought refuge with Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan hoping for some remedy to the affair and a resolution of their circumstances. They declared to him that they would have no recourse but to run away because of their concern about an inquiry into this unfortunate case.

He did not counsel them but took thirty men on horse and sixty-nine men on foot of the Parsi people, which was his tribe, and went to see Sartib °Abd al-Rahim Khan and Muhammad Sharif Khan Ishaqza<sup>°i</sup>. Having informed those two men about the determination of the Baluchis to decamp, all three, having assigned someone to guard the akhundzadah, went to Nad °Ali with his (the kadkhuda's) horse and foot and eighty Sakhlu infantrymen from the Kunak Dizh fort. They spent the night there and in the morning again set out and when they neared the place where the Baluchis were assembled the ever-bellicose Baluchis saw them and came out with some 12,000 men to fight. Sartib °Abd al-Rahim Khan, Muhammad Sharif Khan, and Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan sent a man to them with the message that they had come to talk with those people and alleviate their concerns and that they wanted only to distinguish truth from falsehood and to keep them from decamping (to Iran). They had not come to fight with them and so they (the Baluchis) should refrain from any violence. If,

they could not keep themselves from believing what was foolish and untrue, then (at least) they should stay until Mawla Dad Khan's return to Farah from Chahgi and Kharan and not be the source of any incident. Then if he did not act in accordance with what they claimed and what they wanted, then they should certainly take off to wherever they wished.

Because of the fear which had gotten the better of them, the Baluchis replied with a request for guarantees that they would be secure from any harm until the return of Mawla Dad Khan and would be protected from any punishment. Sartib °Abd al-Rahim and Muhammad Sharif Khan heard the request with the ear of agreement and consulted with Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan about going together, concluding a pact with the Baluchis and keeping them from decamping. Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan, who was well aware of the bad faith and untrustworthiness of the Baluchis, refused to go to the Baluchis. He also feared they would kill him because (the Baluchis)—as was mentioned above—had already agreed together to do so if he fell into their clutches. But the kadkhuda told the other men it was all right to go and conclude a pact with the Baluchis and so they went to a spot halfway between the two forces. From the Baluch side, Na'ib Ahmad Khan and Na'ib Bunyad Khan came forward and they all sat down together. Placing a Noble Qur'an /759/ in their midst, they swore an oath and agreed that until the arrival of Mawla Dad Khan they would not take the path of flight but would stay in their homes and not perpetrate any kind of opposition. The two Baluchi na'ibs agreed to this, put their hands on the Qur'an, concluded the pact by swearing solemn oaths with the condition that if Mawla Dad Khan did not agree to their wishes and they fled at that very moment, they (Sartib °Abd al-Rahim and Muhammad Sharif Khan) would not stop them.

After the conclusion of this agreement, Sartib °Abd al-Rahim Khan and Muhammad Sharif Khan returned to the army camp in an easy frame of mind. From there, with Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan, they set off on the road of return and when they reached Nad °Ali, the perfidious Baluch let their herds of cows and flocks of sheep and camels loose on government pastures, carried all their belongings across the Hirmand River, and made for Sistan. Sartib °Abd al-Rahim Khan with Muhammad Sharif Khan and Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan learned of this trouble and quickly moved out with their horse and foot. When they neared the Baluchis, the savage Baluchis sent 15,000 armed men to attack them without any warning. Paying little heed to this great multitude, Sartib °Abd al-Rahim and Muhammad Sharif Khan put the eighty Sakhlu infantry they had with them on their right flank and sixty Parsi infantry who had come to serve the government with Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan on their left flank. They themselves, with thirty horsemen of the kadkhuda, took their position in the center. They stressed to all the infantry and cavalry that until the Baluchis fired their rifles three times they were not to return fire for it was possible that because they violated the pact that they had made by placing their hands on the Qur'an something truly awful would happen to them and the pure Book of God would seize hold of that bloodthirsty tribe. Consequently, that



miserable group fired three volleys at those who uphold the Qur'an at which point they responded by loosing the strong right arm of battle and a fierce struggle was joined. In the midst of the fight, Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan pushed bravely forward with twenty of his men and, charging three hundred paces ahead of his companions, he neared the Baluchis and engaged them with ferocity. Of the Baluchis, Na'ib Bunyad Khan was killed and Ghulam Jan, the brother of Na'ib Ahmad Khan, along with a number of others also sipped the unwholesome draught of death poured out by the remorseless blade and the bullet. Because of this bold sally by Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan and the efforts of other braves who only numbered some 200, through the aid of God and royal fortune, despite their overwhelming numbers, the Baluchis turned their backs on the fight and their faces towards flight. The supporters of the government pursued them as far as the Hirmand River. Terrified, two thousand of the Baluchis threw themselves into the water and were submerged in the whirlpool of annihilation. The survivors made their way to (the) Hamun and so escaped perdition. The government supporters took possession of the abandoned livestock. Six of the Sakhlu infantrymen who had gotten separated from the army encountered the fleeing Baluchis and were killed. On the battlefield itself, aside from Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan's horse which was felled by an enemy bullet, there were no other casualties and they returned in triumph to the fort at Nad °Ali. From there they went on to Kunak Dizh fort where they camped. The property and booty taken from the Baluchis was given to whoever had possession of it. Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan obtained leave from the sartib (°Abd al-Rahim Khan) and Muhammad Sharif Khan and with the mounted and foot soldiers he had brought to serve the government he returned to his own fort. The Baluchi evildoers left behind their women and children and they too, with a thousand difficulties, fled to Iranian Sistan. There the Baluchis out of tribal solidarity tied tightly the belt of mutual aid and turned the face of vengeance towards Chakhansur. The Parsi people of Chakhansur, along with others who were government supporters there, had angrily plundered the property and belongings left behind by the fugitives as well as the clothing of their women (before departing). Na'ib Ahmad Khan and the followers of (the slain) Na'ib Bunyad Khan and the Baluchis of Sistan surrounded the fort of Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan and besieged him. For three whole days they kept him under siege. He sent a man to Sartib °Abd al-Rahim Khan and Muhammad Sharif Khan and no matter how he implored their help, they demurred and sent no assistance until such time as the Baluchis, unable to muster the force to take /760/ his fort, retreated in frustration. Once the environs of his fort were free of the wicked Baluchis and Sartib °Abd al-Rahim Khan and Muhammad Sharif Khan perceived that these people were no longer around, the two men came to see Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan and apologized for not sending help. They then brought back to Farah Akhundzadah Faqir Muhammad who was the cause of this trouble. There he was kept in prison until, through a letter from Colonel Muhammad Khan, his innocence became known to the royal mind and he issued an order to release him, whereupon he left for Chakhansur

free of any constraints and again took up the job of governor and border guard. He remained there in these capacities for many years.

After the end of this affair, Mawla Dad Khan, the governor of Farah, arrested all the evildoers of Chahgi, where he had gone at His Majesty's order—as was recounted earlier—and brought them back to Farah.

During this time, Sardar Ibrahim Khan Baluch gathered together the Baluchis who had fled to Sistan and were experiencing the pain of being in an alien land (*dard-i ghurbat*) and came with them right up to the border separating Iran and Afghanistan. There he sent a message to officials of this government which said:

Since the district of Chakhansur is the place of burial and the homeland of our fathers, forefathers, as well as the living, it ought to be given to us.

He also addressed a letter to Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan which said that all the people of Chakhansur are with us and are opposed to the government of Afghanistan, except for him. If he were to remove his hand from the Afghan and join them, that is what is desired. If not, then (eventually) he will be cast to the wind and it will be by their hand. He brought Sardar Ibrahim Khan's letter to Sartib °Abd al-Rahim Khan and Muhammad Sharif Khan and they sent it on to the throne enclosed in a letter of their own. Instructions went out from His Majesty to them which told them that Sardar Ibrahim Khan for many long years has been consorting with swine and as a result of their contamination has come to be one with them in degradation. He lives in the wild and a piggish nature has taken root in him. They should drive from his head any thoughts of his (forefathers') burial ground and hit him in the mouth with the fist of punishment so that he won't even dream in his sleep of this graveyard of his. Before the arrival of this order, Kadkhuda Muhammad Jan Khan with 300 horse and foot from his tribe raised the banner of fighting Sardar Ibrahim Khan and set forth along with Sartib °Abd al-Rahim Khan, Muhammad Sharif Khan, and the Sakhlu infantry to drive him off. They went as far as the border and stood there ready for a fight. When the governor of Sistan learned of this, he dispatched one of his *yāwars* (commandants) with some cavalry. They moved Sardar Ibrahim Khan and his force far away from the border and dispersed them.

Although the people of Farah and other provinces sent petitions, complained, and sought redress from the revenues (arrears) which were billed by the Bureau of Audits (*daftar-i sanjish*), when officials of His Majesty asked Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan and his colleagues the reason for the bills they responded with written justification (*dalā'il*) and would not relent. This situation continued until little by little due to the excessive funds being billed and the limited capability of people to pay their liabilities, the actual yield from these bills was worked out through tribal ties (*qawmdārī*) and preemption (*shuf' adārī*). Very few people did not pay (something). If a person did not have a tribal tie or a preemptor for his land and residence (*sarāy*), all that he owned was

confiscated by the Bureau of Audits and he himself was imprisoned. As a consequence, thriving places turned into ruins.

*The Uprising of the Recently Obedient Hazarāhs and Their Being Cast to The Wind*

Since the officers and soldiers of the regular army were behaving tyrannically and oppressively as Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan had recounted in a letter to the throne—mentioned above—and an order from His Majesty was issued to him about sending to Kabul the wicked Hazarah miscreants whom soldiers of the regular army had seized on their own initiative in every valley and wood, brought to the urdu, and held prisoner. Prior to the arrival of this manshur the sardar moved to Churah and made camp and immediately after receiving this farman sent (those Hazarahs) one after another. Regarding the tyranny and oppression of the soldiers of the army, no farman ordering them to cease and desist was ever issued. This was because of an oversight on the part of the court clerks. Nor did the sardar ever say anything to any of them about their oppression and so they became even more brutal and aggressive and oppression and injustice became widespread. This eventually gave rise to things which the Holy Law warns against. For example, one night in Darrah-i Pahlawan in Uruzgan, on the pretext of searching for weapons, three soldiers /761/ entered the home of a man who had a beautiful wife, bound the husband hand and foot and then carried out an act (on the woman) which, according to the law, should never be perpetrated. The brother of the man learned what had happened, informed several other oppressed and downtrodden Hazarahs and together they swore an oath saying,

Death one hundred times over is preferable to enduring such things, which should never occur in a humane world and one in which the excellent Shari°ah prevails. Should we simply excise the sighs of grief and regret from our hearts, wrap the foot in the skirt of disgrace, and suffer patiently?

In short, because of the occurrence of such things and because of the errors and failings of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan which emerged because of the lack of any sense of how to govern, the Hazarahs began to rebel. This started when His Majesty, by farman, requested that the sardar send to Kabul the Karbala°is, the *zuwwārs*, and the elders (*aqsiqālān*) of the newly obedient Hazarahs so that those individuals who had done well and behaved excellently could be employed in government service while those who were of evil disposition and bad behavior could be ordered to stay in Kabul or some other place so that they would not be the cause of any future trouble. But Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan filed this order away in the corner of forgetfulness and negligence and failed to carry it out. Nor did he bother to inquire about the tyranny and oppression which the Hazarahs had received and were receiving from a number of soldiers under

his command. This went on until people reached the end of their rope and nurtured an intention to rise up. Another thing is that most of the rebel Hazarabs had come into the talons of obedience without putting up a fight—as was already mentioned. The sardar had failed to garrison and protect the guard posts and fortresses (of their regions) as well as take care of other matters there as he could have and should have. Instead he had made light of these things so that because of his not taking the matter seriously, most of the garrison abandoned the places where they should have stayed and billeted themselves in the homes of the Hazarabs.

Because of all these factors, the Hazarabs (who took the above oath) resigned themselves to death, their wives and children to being made captives, and their possessions plundered, and killed those three soldiers. Fearing investigation and royal punishment and seeing themselves now subject to annihilation, all the people of Darrah-i Pahlawan, plunging into the sea of dread, fell upon the fortress where the weapons of the men of Uruzgan had been placed, killed all the men guarding the fort and watching over the weapons, soldiers from the regular army, and made off with all the arms that were in the fort.

The details of this are as follows. The Hazarabs now rose up (en masse) and put to death most of the men who were supposed to be garrisoning the guard posts and forts but had moved into the homes of the Hazarabs. They assaulted (as mentioned) one of the Uruzgan forts in which weapons taken from them were stored. One hundred regular infantrymen had been assigned to guard the fort and the weapons and had set up their tents around the fort. When the Hazarabs attacked during the night and overran the fort, of the 100 infantrymen only twenty-eight were actually present and in their tents, some awake, and the rest asleep. The other (seventy-two) were absent when the Hazarabs arrived. The Hazarabs collapsed the tents on top of the guards and snared them like fish caught in the net of annihilation. They secured the edges of the tents and then proceeded to martyr all those trapped inside by stabbing them to death. They retrieved all the weapons which the servants of the government had confiscated but, fearing lest the other guards be alerted, they did not fire any of their guns, but obtained what they wanted with those very knives.

This uprising, which occurred because of the factors mentioned above, was actually due to the fact that Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, using the cold weather as a pretext, had gone to one of the Hazarah wintering places (*garmsir*), and taken several daughters of Hazarah leaders as concubines and handmaidens (*khidmatgār*). Other officers had also followed his lead, each one taking a concubine and a handmaiden to his own place and giving themselves over to pleasure. A serious problem was thus created because while they treated the tribe and family of their wives and handmaidens as their own families, they embarked on the path of tyranny and oppression of other Hazarabs. On the other hand, the families of those women who had been forcibly taken and married, one could say outwardly they were of like family but inwardly they were like a snake full of venom, keeping all the other Hazarabs informed about

the innermost secrets of the sardar's affairs and those of the officers of the entire army. Thus, well-informed of the circumstances of the the army and its leader, the Hazarahs could act (accordingly) and be (effective) perpetrators of trouble and wickedness. As a result of this outbreak, the people of Uruzgan, Zawuli, Sultan Ahmad, and Hajaristan and others who over the course of six months and some days had put their heads beneath the writ of the farman but had been tyrannized and oppressed, all at once ignited the flames of (a widespread) uprising as will be recorded and so totally consumed their own households in those flames.

After arrival in the capital of the news of this outbreak, on the third of Ramazan/1 April on which day, as mentioned above, Mawla Dad Khan had set out from Farah to the wicked Baluch of Chahgi, His Majesty ordered 100 regular cavalymen, who were stationed in Muqur to take care of certain matters, to ride as fast as possible /762/ to Commandant °Abd al-Samad Khan in Malistan and join him in putting out the flames of tumult and revolution. In addition, separate farmans were also sent to the leaders of the Wardak, Andari, Taraki, °Ali Khayl, Hutaki, and other Afghan tribes; to (the leaders of) the Muhammad Khwajah, Jighatu, Chahar Dastah, Jaghuri, Malistan, Bihsud, and other Hazarahs; and to the Tajiks of Ghaznin. He ordered them to turn the face of campaigning with their men in the direction of the homes and lands of the evil Hazarahs, who were perpetrating trouble and tumult, and visit destruction on their livelihoods. An order went out to the Tajiks and the Sihganah Hazarah tribes of Ghaznin, along with the Wardaks to travel through Sarab, Nahwar, and Malistan. The regular Panjshayr Infantry Regiment, which was stationed in Muqur, was ordered to march to Sangmashah by way of Jaghuri along with 200 regular cavalry and there join Colonel Farhad Khan.

After dispatching the separate farmans in the name of each of these tribes, on the sixth of Ramazan/4 April, a felicitous manshur was sent to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan who was stationed in Mazar-i Sharif in Turkistan ordering him to march to Uruzgan via Yakah Awlang of Hazarah-i Day Zangi with two regular infantry regiments, six pieces of artillery, and one regular cavalry regiment. As a result of the issuance of this manshur, instructions went out to the mirs of Day Zangi and Day Kundi, who lived on the route over which Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar would march, to prepare provisions for his army, assemble their own horse and foot prior to his arrival, and join him for the march to Uruzgan. These mirs included: Muhammad Amir Beg Ilkhani, Muhammad Husayn Beg the son of Yusuf Beg La°l, and Ibrahim Beg of Sar Jangal; Muhammad Akbar Beg, Riza Quli Beg, °Ali Husayn Beg, Muhammad Muhsin Beg, mirs living in Surkh Juy; Muhammad Akbar Beg of Nawi Taq; Mahdi Beg of Sar Jangal; Mahdi Beg of the Atah tribe; Sayyid Husayn the son of Sayyid Riza Bakhsh; Qasim °Ali Beg the son of Bayram °Ali Beg; Husayn °Ali Beg the son of Ghulam °Ali Beg of Sar Jangal; Riza Quli Beg the son of Isma°il Beg; Qasim °Ali Beg the son of Fazli Beg of Shinah (Shinyah?) Takht; Muhammad Baqir Beg the son of Murtazi Beg; and others. Colonel Farhad Khan learned of the Hazarah uprising and disobedience and, without waiting for a farman to be

issued to him and before the arrival of the soldiers from Muqur who had been ordered by royal farman to join him, accompanied by the soldiers and artillery under his command, raised the banners from Sangmashah-i Jaghuri to annihilate the evil people of Uruzgan, and gave the orders to march.

Meantime, before the arrival in their territory of the victorious forces sent to the Hazarahjat, the rebellious group in Mir Adinah besieged Muhammad Nabi Khan Malistani, who was treading the path of service to the government. Commandant °Abd al-Samad Khan who was stationed in Malistan with 200 men of the Buhluli regular infantry regiment, and a single cannon, set out for the fort where Muhammad Nabi Khan was encircled in order to relieve him. No sooner did he arrive than Muhammad Nabi Khan scattered the refractory Hazarahs besiegers with cannon and rifle fire. Several were captured and the rest fled into the valley of disgrace. (Muhammad Nabi Khan) torched the forts of Mir Adinah district, burned them all to the ground, and then returned to Malistan.

During this turmoil, the *Kitābchah-i Hukūmatī* which Mawlawi Ahmad Jan Khan at the order of His Majesty had compiled and organized in the form of sixty-three rules during the year 1301 and His Majesty had signed his blessed name after each rule and which up to this time had remained in abeyance was now, at His Majesty's command printed and published and, in order that the commandments and prohibitions of authority be carried out, one copy was sent to all the governors of towns and provinces so that they would execute all affairs in accordance with the rules which were recorded in this booklet and are given below and would not exceed these rules nor have to refer matters back to His Majesty before taking action, so that His Perfect Majesty, Shadow of God, would not be distracted from dealing with great matters of state by the kinds of minor issues (covered in the pamphlet). And these are (the sixty-three rules):

**Rule 1:** It is incumbent upon the governor, the secretary, maliks, and collectors (*ṣāhib-i jam'ān*) in accordance with the ordinance (*qānūn*) which is enacted by royal command that they do not collect a single seed or dinar of the land taxes (*mālīyāt*), subsidiary fees (*furū'āt*), and miscellaneous taxes (*sāyir-i jihāt*) without providing an official document (*sanad-daftar*) or personal receipt (*rasīd*). It is incumbent on the governor that he make this rule known throughout his jurisdiction and clearly ascertain that the subjects under the administration of his governorship do not pay one seed or one *fulūs* to anyone **/763/** and that maliks and tax collectors (*'āmilān*) take nothing from the subjects without documentation and a receipt.

**Rule 2:** It is incumbent upon the governor that whenever one of the subjects comes to him and declares that "such-and-such a person has taken *furū'āt* taxes, land taxes, or any other government revenues from me without documentation" or even if no one makes such a declaration

but it is evident to the governor himself that someone has collected revenues from subjects without documentation or a receipt he must immediately summon that person, get a receipt for the taxes from him and give it to the subject. He should (also) fine the offender one *shāhī* (FM: in the usage of the people of Afghanistan a *shāhī* is five *fulūs* which is one-twelfth of a rupee) for the Bayt al-Mal treasury for every rupee and every *mann* of grain which is collected without documentation in violation of *qānūn* and farman, so that transactions (giving and taking) without documentations will be banished from the country and individual rights will not be lost and destroyed.

**Rule 3:** For the sake of the peace of mind of the subjects, a farman is issued in the case of such funds as those (for) the arrears of past years or which exceed the final assessments (*farāghat-khṭṭ-hā*) for coming years—all of which are the obligations of tax collectors, tenants, and the subjects of the province—other funds which appear as a result of uncovering the property of people who have absconded, or from other incidental transactions and (which funds) are unfairly (*bī iʿtidālī*) adjudicated in the Shariʿah courts of those places because of their leaders not being present. This (farman) is to the effect that the officials of the Shariʿah court should leave the collection of such tax and miscellaneous funds as the responsibility of the governor and write giving him a detailed memorandum (on these funds) and make them his duty to collect. He in turn must declare whether these collections are to be made or not so that collectors will not be assigned from different directions and no one will suffer the affliction of (repeat) collectors.

**Rule 4:** People who have to settle accounts or have other dealings with government bureaus or the Kutwali Court and have to come to the capital to do so, in accordance with Rule 3, they must first notify their own governor and then come to the capital under his auspices. They should not send their collectors anywhere without a royal farman.

**Rule 5:** In accordance with Rule 4, whenever a governor receives a note or letter from any royal bureau or from the *nāʾib* of the Kutwal Court regarding the summoning of someone, it is incumbent upon him to be perfectly diligent in complying with that request and display no negligence or indifference which would introduce delay into a governmental (*sarkārī*) matter. The governor also must notify the bureau chiefs and the *nāʾib* of the Kutwali Court about Rule 3 and Rule 4 so that, the true circumstances being made clear, they would put off sending out collectors.

**Rule 6:** Fees (*marsūmāt*) which prior to this (time) a governor, a fiscal

official, or a collector of confiscated property would demand from tenants or maliks or *raʿīses* as a customary "gift," or the governor would collect as "meal money" (*nān-khwārah*), at the time of leasing out (property), in order to eliminate accusations against officials (of corruption) these reprehensible acts must cease. Therefore it is incumbent that the governor not allow either himself to perpetrate such things nor any other person to engage in this kind of activity. Should anyone do so, after investigation, he must be held to account.

**Rule 7:** The governor must make the contents of Rule 6 known to all his subjects and maliks and notify all *taʿalluqdārs* and collectors about (this) royal farman, so that in the event of an investigation they could not claim that they were unaware of this and there would be no excuse.

**Rule 8:** In the case of persons who, in accordance with the dictates of the Holy Shariʿah or the edicts of the sovereign, become liable to confiscation of their money and belongings because of a crime against the state or a sin against religion, it is incumbent upon the governor to go with the qazi-judge and the secretary of the chancery (*nawīsandah-i daftar*), and draw up a detailed written inventory of the person's possessions and keep it in his own charge (the qazi's). The qazi should send a list (of the inventory) to the Khan-ʿUlum (chief magistrate of the country) and the governor should send one to the bureau (chancery) chief for his region (in Kabul).

**Rule 9:** Whenever a subject under the jurisdiction of another governor files a complaint against someone and asks the governor to send him the accused person before the qazi, the governor must send that person (the plaintiff) to the qazi there so that having gone before the qazi (in his own jurisdiction), the latter would give a court order (*īʿlām-nāmāh*) for the appearance of the absent party (the defendant) in accordance with Rule 14 of the manual *Asās al-quḏāt*. Once he appears (before the qazi) and the case is stated, there is no need for the governor to send out a bailiff (*muḥaṣṣil*) to summon the absent person.

**Rule 10:** Anyone who obtains a court order from the qazi to bring the defendant to court, and takes it to him but he (the defendant) then refuses to comply with the qazi's order, disobeys it, /764/ and does not come with him to the Shariʿah Court, the qazi must report this to the governor and then it is incumbent on the governor to send a bailiff after that person and bring him in forcibly, so that in accordance with Rule 15 of *Asās al-quḏāt* whatever the qazi's decision is, the recalcitrant person would be punished in accordance with the qazi's discretionary powers (*taʿzīr*). The wages of the bailiff who has gone after him should



be collected from the disobedient one in accordance with Rule 18 of the *Asās al-quḏāt*.

**Rule 11:** In the case of anyone deserving imprisonment for any reason under the law or according to the dictates of the Divine Book, and the qazi, in accordance with the Book, passes judgment that the person should be imprisoned, it is then incumbent on the governor to take that person into custody, get a written order from the qazi for his imprisonment, and then, in accordance with what the qazi thinks appropriate and the term of imprisonment he specifies, enter him into the prison population. In accordance with Rule 91 of *Asās al-quḏāt* he should give the qazi a receipt for the prisoner as documentation.

**Rule 12:** It is incumbent on the governor to handle the incarceration of people who are prisoners because of crimes they have committed and are handed over to the governor by the Shari<sup>h</sup>ah Court according to the qazi's sentence and the applicable rules of the *Asās al-quḏāt*. Releasing them is according to the rules of the Holy Law and the qazi's order and he (the governor) is to observe and implement Rule 98 of *Asās al-quḏāt* in this.

**Rule 13:** In the case of persons who are within the jurisdiction of any governor and have forged coins and it is attested in the presence of the qazi by witnesses that counterfeiting has taken place or that counterfeiting tools are found in his house or adulterated rupees in his possession, it is incumbent on the governor to immediately arrest that person, take a full inventory of all that person's possessions and tools in the presence of the qazi there, and keep that person in custody. He then should draft a detailed report of the circumstances and send it and him to the kutwal of Kabul. The chief of the *kūtwālī* should then send him to the royal court and execute whatever farman is issued concerning the person and his property.

**Rule 14:** In the case of anyone who tampers with Shari<sup>h</sup>ah Court documents, official drafts or vouchers (*barāts*), court correspondence (*nāmah-jāt-i sarkārī*), or the depositions (*hujaj*) of individual persons by erasing and altering something (in the document) or should forge a document, take it with the hand of deception, and try to get it accepted as valid before a qazi or fiscal official, the governor must arrest such a person and after proving his fraud before the qazi or other notables, send him to the capital, draft a detailed report of his case, inventory all his possessions before the qazi and other responsible persons, and send that (inventory) to the capital as well. He is then to execute whatever order is issued (in the matter).

**Rule 15:** In order to eliminate forgery and fraud from the kingdom of Afghanistan it is decreed and ordered that all manufacture of seals in the far corners and the villages, excluding the cities of Afghanistan, cease. Moreover, no seal maker or engraver in the cities of Afghanistan is permitted to make a seal for anyone without getting a government license and giving an oath (*'ahd-nāmah*). If anyone in the countryside in territory under the jurisdiction of a governor should venture to perform such an act, even if no fraud or harm results, for every name he has engraved on seals, he should pay a fine of 100 Kabuli rupees. But if it comes out that he engaged in fraud, (the governor) should immediately arrest him and send him to the capital along with an account of his case.

**Rule 16:** It is incumbent upon the governor that he obtain from all the maliks, kalantars, and ra<sup>3</sup>ises of villages under his jurisdiction a binding oath and an affidavit bearing the qazi's seal to the effect that they will allow no fugitive, exile, rebel, or dissident against the sublimity-twinning government to enter their villages without an official document (*sanad-i sarkārī*). At the very moment (such persons) arrive, they are to inform their governor.

**Rule 17:** It is incumbent upon the governor to arrest any person who, after giving a sworn undertaking (*iltizām*), then allows fugitives and banished persons as well as those who have been the accomplices of rebels, have raised their weapons against the royal army, or have helped them in other ways or people who have come as spies and to gather intelligence on behalf of traitors to stay (in his village), and so violates his sworn oath, should be arrested after establishing (his culpability) and sent to the world-refuge threshold along with an account of his case.

**Rule 18:** Whenever the welfare of the kingdom requires that the confiscated property of a criminal be sold to those with rights of preemption (*shuf<sup>c</sup>ah-dārān*), the governor must not allow anyone to sell this property against the will of the subjects as long as he has not received a royal farman in regards to it. Naturally, it is in accordance with a rule that if a farman /765/ should be issued to officials in the capital, this may then be carried out. And it should be understood that the sale of confiscated properties in every district is within the power of the governor there and no one else has any right to do so.

**Rule 19:** Anyone who, out of support for the government, in sympathy for the affairs of the nation, or desiring a reward or some emolument,

presents himself to the governor and states, “the property of a fugitive or traitor to the government is in the possession of so-and-so” the person making the accusation must establish through the testimony of witnesses before the qazi whether or not the alleged property is in (the accused’s) possession or the matter may be established by the evidence of the accused’s signature or seal (on incriminating documents). After that the governor may arrest that person with a qazi’s written order and with the seals of notable persons and demand the property from him.

**Rule 20:** (In the case of) a person who comes to the governor and states with regards to another person that the latter knows and corresponds with fugitives and aids and abets traitors to the government, the governor should not arrest the accused merely on the basis of hearsay. Rather he should first demand hard evidence from the accuser, secondly, he should thoroughly investigate and if he should then find documentation and evidence pertaining (to the accusation), he should then testify to his crime before the qazi and (other) notables. Then he should punish him as is appropriate and in accordance with whatever His Majesty orders.

**Rule 21:** People who out of hostility and enmity accuse innocent people of holding the property of fugitives or of friendship towards them or of corresponding (*kāghaz-rawī*) with them yet cannot provide evidence as required by the Holy Law nor produce their seals and signatures (on incriminating documents) and it becomes clear to the governor that this person, out of enmity for that (accused) person, is introducing dissension and wickedness between the sovereign and his subjects and that he (the accuser) is spreading this rumor out of self-interest, it is incumbent on the governor to arrest people like this and send them to the capital with an account of their case so that a fitting punishment may be applied, as determined by the right-thinking mind of the padishah, and so that subjects may be secure from his evildoing and troublemaking and dwell peacefully in the shade of the sovereign’s protection.

**Rule 22:** Since the sun-like opinion of His Highness, Shadow of God, determines it to be in the best interests of the people living in the kingdom and to make financial accounting easier and to facilitate commerce that the weights and measures of the countryside and the capital be equalized and standardized and not be all at odds with one another, therefore it is incumbent upon every governor of the provinces and the outlying districts to proclaim this order throughout the inhabited regions under his jurisdiction. They are to get depositions (*iltizām*) from the people that they will not (henceforth) buy or sell

weighed goods by any other weight than the Kabul *mann*. It is (also) incumbent upon the governors of every district to provide the people of every village with an iron one-*mann* weight made in the presence of the qazi and bearing the government's seal. It should then be established that everything is to be weighed by this *mann*. Then, as other *mann* weights are made corresponding to this weight, variation in weight will be eliminated from among the subjects and commerce will not suffer losses when it comes to things which are weighed.

**Rule 23:** Regulation of the Kabul *mann* and the determination of its value and size as designated by His Majesty is standardized to the (weight of the) Kabul rupee to ease the governors' understanding so that the governor may provide a weight (*sang*) corresponding to that to the people in his jurisdiction. (He is) to make his subjects understand that one Kabul *sīr* is sixty-four *khūrds* which is equal to 768 Kabuli rupees, half of which is thirty-two *khūrds* equivalent to 384 (Kabuli) rupees. A quarter of it, i.e. a *chārak*<sup>7</sup> is sixteen *khūrds* equivalent to 192 Kabuli rupees. One *pāw* which is four *khūrds* is equivalent to forty-eight Kabuli rupees. One *khūrd*, which is twenty-four *misqāls*, is equal to twelve Kabuli rupees (in weight).

**Rule 24:** When after the dissemination of this proclamation and the giving of a solemn undertaking (to follow it), any rural subject should deviate from the straight path and conduct business with different weights, it is incumbent upon the governor that, after establishing proof of this, he confiscate from him 100 rupees for the treasury of the Muslims.

**Rule 25:** Anyone who is an employee of the government or is an ordinary subject and at night is apprehended either making a hole or a breach in the wall of a building, or has burglar's tools on his person, since, according to the Shari'ah, he is not guilty of anything, (nonetheless) whatever order is issued by His Majesty with regards to him will be carried out. His Highness Lantern of the Nation and the Religion (Habib Allah Khan), who is the (real) author of this book, after coming to the throne, wrote in his own hand that in such cases the person should be sentenced to a fine of thirty Kabuli rupees and one month in jail after which, having provided a guarantor, he was to be released.

**Rule 26:** Anyone whom the owner of a house /766/ notices inside his dwelling preparing to burglarize it and apprehends him, he must immediately alert his neighbors and then come morning turn the man

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<sup>7</sup> FM: an abbreviation for *chahār yak*.

over to the governor. Since it is not required by the Holy Law to cut off the hand of someone unless he has actually stolen something, it is incumbent upon the governor to impose the jail time and discretionary punishment that His Majesty has determined to be the right thing in such cases. This rule, too, His aforementioned Highness, (Lantern of the Nation and the Religion, Habib Allah Khan) has elaborated in his own hand saying that (the burglar) is to be fined one-fifth of whatever he owns and is to be incarcerated for three months.

**Rule 27:** If someone accuses someone else saying, “This person stole my property” or he finds some of his stolen property in the other’s possession, it is incumbent upon the governor to send both parties to the qazi at the Shari‘ah Court. If, under the ordinances of the Holy Law, theft is established and the qazi finds that he is the thief and cutting off his hand is obligatory, then it is necessary that the qazi write up a record (*sijill*) of his decision and submit it to the governor. The governor is then permitted to cut off (the offender’s) hand.

**Rule 28:** If, in accordance with the previous rule, theft is proved against a person under the law but he was not a known thief, during his life had never been convicted of theft, and he repents of this act and accepts as his responsibility the payment of 1,740 sound (pukhtah) Kabuli rupees—which under the Holy Law is the price of a severed hand (i.e. the liability for severing someone’s hand)—the governor is permitted to free that person after the restoration of the stolen property to its owner and the receipt by the treasury of the above sum as that person’s bond. But if it turns out that he is a known thief, then cutting off his hand is obligatory.

**Rule 29:** Should anyone entice a male or female slave or a son into running away and so cause them to run away or, by threats and blows, forcibly kidnap them, as soon as the governor learns of this, he must immediately inform people living in villages located nearby and along the route (they are taking) of what has happened and urge them to be vigilant and watch the roads. This also applies to governors of nearby districts, that they be vigilant about watching their byways.

**Rule 30:** When, through the efforts and exertions of the governor, one of these persons mentioned in Rule 29 is taken into custody that male or female slave or son must be returned to their owner. Their chastisement with whip or stick is left up to their owners or parents to carry out as appropriate, short of beating them to death. Since, according to the Holy Law, the punishment for the person who incited them to run away is left to the discretion of the sultan of the time, then

he (the governor) is to execute whatever His Majesty, Shadow of God, orders as being in the best interest of the time. This rule too, His Highness, Lantern of the Nation and the Religion (Habib Allah Khan) elaborated in his own hand, imposing a fine of 200 rupees, two months in jail, and a punishment of sixty blows with a piece of wood whose thickness is that of the thumb and whose length is one *gaz-i shāh*.

**Rule 31:** For anyone who entices or forces by threats the wife or the daughter of another to run away with him and is arrested through the efforts of the governor and the subjects, it is incumbent upon the governor to imprison that crafter of evil and send him to the capital. He should also write and send an account of his case with the seals of the qazi, mufti, and the notables of (his) tribe so that he may be appropriately punished in accordance with divine ordinances and royal justice (*siyāsāt-i pādshāhī*) as a warning to others.

**Rule 32:** Those who, through fraud and deceit, get others to ingest or taste things which cause them to hallucinate or lose consciousness because they want to steal their wealth while they are unconscious, or have other evil purposes in mind, and evidence of this is laid before the qazi and the governor, they must immediately subject such persons to discretionary punishment (*ta'zīr*), take them into custody, and send them to the capital.

**Rule 33:** It is incumbent upon governors of the countryside to get solemn undertakings from the maliks and ra'ises of the villages under their jurisdiction that they will not allow bands of thieves and highwaymen to come into their villages nor keep stolen goods in their homes. And should a band of thieves by chance enter their village or bring stolen property there for safekeeping, they must immediately detain them and report them to the governor and the qazi.

**Rule 34:** People who let bands of thieves and highway robbers spend the night in their homes or bring stolen property for safekeeping after the issuance of this proclamation and the giving of solemn undertakings and proof of this is established, they must hand over those thieves and highwaymen and their stolen property when inquiries are made. If they don't, they will receive the same punishment as the thieves, because, in the books of the Holy Law, giving aid to a thief is in fact just like **1767** theft.

**Rule 35:** For the security of the roads and road junctions and for the peace of mind of travelers and merchants, it is incumbent upon maliks and subjects living along the roads or near them to guard the roads

which pass through their territory and not allow evildoers and thieves to operate with a free hand on their territory and they must provide travelers with a safe place to spend the night. If the property of anyone should be stolen within the territory of a village it is incumbent upon the governor to get compensation for that property—subject to a number of conditions—from the people of that village and give it to the owner of the stolen property. The first condition is that if the lost property is property on which some fee has been levied en route, that should have been recorded in the records of the customs officers (*bandar-dārān*) through whose jurisdiction that property has passed. And if it has not been recorded in the inventories (*siyāhah*) of the tax collectors and that person has not paid the taxes then the villagers are not obliged to pay him compensation. Instead, his case is turned over to the Shari<sup>h</sup>ah (Court) and then if anything is ever proven against anyone, well and good. If not, they (the villagers) are not liable. The second condition is that if the said property is not trade goods, and no taxes have been levied on it, at least the people living along the two or three stages over which the traveler has passed must have seen it and the governor must ascertain that the plaintiff verifies he had it in his possession. The third condition: if the said person had companions, his companions must have been aware of that property and can attest that at such and such a place it was with this person and in such and such a place it was lost or stolen. The fourth condition: in any event, the owner of the property himself must swear a solemn oath before the qazi saying “such and such a property of such and such a description, the value of which was such and such an amount, was taken from me at such and such a place by force or stealth and so was lost.”

**Rule 36:** After ascertaining that the preceding conditions have been satisfied, and after further inquiries it has been proven to the governor and the qazi that the property of the said person has been lost and after the people of that village which is located near that vicinity (where the property was lost) have been summoned for an allocation (of the liability), the money for the lost property should then be collected in accordance with the allocation (of liability), turned over to the owner of the (lost) property, and a receipt gotten from him. It is incumbent on the governor that he make very effort to see that at the time of the allocation, the maliks do not collude in tyrannizing helpless subjects.

**Rule 37:** Should the subjects of that village lay hands on the thief before paying the owner the compensation, and bring him to the governor, and the property is discovered on him, naturally the governor should cause no further trouble to the people of that village and instead concentrate his investigation, according to the commandment of the Divine Book, on the thief himself. If after paying compensation, the

people of the thief’s village find the person who stole the property and prove he is he thief, the governor must collect the compensation amount from the thief and give it to the people of the village in accordance with the way in which the allocation of the liability payment had been made. In accordance with the foregoing rules, the thief should be arrested and punished.

**Rule 38:** Since a farman—to which obedience is obligatory—has been issued concerning the need for certainty and being cautious in cases involving the killing of a person, and which says that governors in the countryside have no discretion when it comes to executing someone deserving capital punishment and for whom an execution order is in effect, and must put the person to death, let it be recorded that should a man with a wife and a woman with a husband within the jurisdiction of any governor commit adultery or commit intentional homicide and that is proven before a qazi and the qazi issues an order of capital punishment, it is incumbent upon the governor to send a full account of the case along with the defendant in chains to the capital so that after verification, they would receive their just desserts.

**Rule 39:** When such persons arrive in the capital and are stoned and put to death, it is forbidden to collect fines from their heirs and survivors. The stoning and execution is sufficient. The governor must not trouble them further.

**Rule 40:** When someone is arrested for intentional homicide, it is proven before the qazi, and the qazi sentences him to the law of retaliation (*qiṣās*) but the heirs of the murder victim renounce killing the murderer and are satisfied with collecting the legal bloodwit instead, the governor must collect the legal bloodwit from the murderer and give it to the heirs of the victim, or he should get the bloodwit from the notables who are the murderer’s guarantors. Also a sum equal to one-half the legal bloodwit should be extracted from the murderer for the treasury of the Muslims. This is an obligatory thing which His Majesty instituted in order to safeguard the lives of the people of the kingdom.

**Rule 41:** In the case of manslaughter (accidental homicide) or homicide with the appearance of intent<sup>8</sup> the same rule applies. After the qazi’s ruling, the governor collects the legal bloodwit from those responsible for paying it and gives it to the heirs of the victim. He

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<sup>8</sup> FM: “appearance of intent” (*shibh-i ‘amd*) is a technical term in the Holy Law for when someone kills another with intent but not with a lethal weapon such as a sword, spear, etc., but with a rock or piece of wood.



(also) takes half the legal bloodwit as a fine for the treasury of the Muslims and deposits it in the treasury.

**Rule 42:** Having paid the heirs of the victim the bloodwit which the governor has collected for both intentional and accidental murder in accordance with Rules 40 and 41, /768/ the governor is permitted to assess them ten per cent of the total, which would be two rupees in a *tūmān*, as compensation for the trouble of collecting. The governor himself may use this for his own expenses. Those who pay the bloodwit should not be bothered for this sum, since paying half the bloodwit amount as a fine is sufficient.

**Rule 43:** Persons, the shedding of whose blood is deemed lawful under the Holy Law and who are not entitled to the bloodwit or retaliation, for example, people who brandish a rifle, sword, or other weapon in the face of another person and show intent to kill and the other person kills in self-defense, or a person who is not *mahram* enters the harem of another person intending to lay a hand on his wives or slave girls, or a thief who has stolen something and does not halt when he is told to, and other types of cases like this detailed in the books of jurisprudence, and the governor hears of it, it is incumbent upon him to arrest anyone who is the perpetrator of the murder of someone like this, take him before the qazi, and keep him under guard like a prisoner. When the lawfulness of shedding the blood of the slain person is established before the qazi, he (the governor) should get a written decision (*sijill*) (to this effect). Naturally, (the one under guard) should then be released without further ado.

**Rule 44:** In the case of a deceased person who is found in a quarter, village, or a serai, with signs of wounds or strangulation, and blood issuing from his eyes, ears, and nose, the residents there must immediately notify the governor of that district or his deputy or the qazi and the mufti who are in that region so that they may go, inspect the deceased, and, in the presence of the notables, write a report of the circumstances, fully describing the corpse, the nature of the wounds, the blood, and other particulars. After that they can give permission for burial of the deceased. But without the presence of these people and the people of the village it is not permitted to bury the deceased.

**Rule 45:** Should the attorney (*walī*) for the deceased accuse the entire village of (responsibility for) the murder, and in accordance with the administration of oaths, fifty oaths are administered to the people of that village, and the attorney for the deceased is found to deserve the legal bloodwit, then the governor must collect the bloodwit from the

people there in accordance with a legal division (*bi-qarār-i qismat-i shar<sup>c</sup>i*) and give it to the attorney for the deceased. In addition, he should also collect one-quarter of the legal bloodwit from the people there for the treasury of the Muslims. He should pay a collector in accordance with the previous rule from the funds which he gives to the attorney of the deceased and should not bother the people of that place with regard to the money for the costs of collecting.

**Rule 46:** In every case where the killer is liable for the bloodwit, a government fine (*jarīmah-i sarkārī*) is also obligatory which should be collected in an amount equivalent to the bloodwit from the property and possessions of the murderer. Supposing that the murderer, because of impoverishment, is unable to pay the money and asks the governor to grant him more time, after providing the governor with a responsible guarantor (a notable), it is permitted that he (the governor) postpone the collection. But if he has no guarantor, then it may be postponed for a (specific) time period which His Majesty would write down in his own hand, as set forth in Rule 63.

**Rule 47:** In every case of murder in which, according to the regulations stipulated by the Brilliant Law, the murderer's paternal relations (*‘āqilah*) are (equally) liable for the bloodwit, then the *‘āqilah* should be equally liable to pay the (government) fine in an amount equal to the bloodwit. When it comes to collecting the fine, the governor is permitted to collect in installments up until New Year's Day of that same year when the accounts of the provincial tax collectors are finalized (i.e. the end of the tax year) so that the subjects could easily pay the money.

**Rule 48:** In the case of persons who sustain wounds, broken teeth, and other injuries the governor must bring them to the Shari<sup>c</sup>ah Court, before the qazi, and sit them down with the accused before the Shari<sup>c</sup>ah. If the crimes are proven under the law, retaliation should be prescribed. In accordance with the qazi's decree, the retaliation will be a hand for a hand, an eye for an eye. After retaliation has been carried out, the one who inflicted the injury should not be fined; the retaliation alone is sufficient.

**Rule 49:** In the case of wounds and injuries for which the assessment of bloodwit is specified in the books of jurisprudence, the qazi and the governor should naturally take into account those rules in the books of jurisprudence and assess the bloodwit accordingly. In cases where, by the book(s), the assessment of the bloodwit is left to the opinion of five just men, the governor must name five comprehending, pious, and

intelligent men and in their presence must weigh whether the wound is minor or serious, have them put their seal to a written affidavit of his evaluation of the gravity of the wound and then together with the qazi in accord with that affidavit assess the amount of the bloodwit. The government fine should also be collected from (the perpetrator) as punishment in the same amount as the bloodwit.

**Rule 50:** Concerning minor transgressions and fist fights which the common people often inflict on each other, and for which no bloodwit or retaliation is required, the royal farman is that in such cases no fine should be collected /769/ and if the two parties have exchanged equal blows, the governor has the discretion to jail both for a short time, not to exceed three days. But if one side has inflicted the preponderance of blows, the one who landed the blows must somehow mollify and satisfy the one struck in order to be released from jail.

**Rule 51:** It is incumbent upon the governor in the district under his jurisdiction to spread the word that people should not insult or swear at other people nor use language which in the Holy Law is liable to discretionary punishment (*ta'zīr*). It is also incumbent upon qazis and muftis to translate from books of jurisprudence into Persian and Afghani those expressions which are subject to discretionary punishment in the Shari'ah and include them in their own proclamations so that the common people will know those expressions which are sinful and banish them from their vocabulary.

**Rule 52:** When, after the issuance of (such) proclamations and the rules are known and in effect, someone engages in such activity and insults and curses another person and this is brought before a qazi, proven, and (the offender) becomes subject to a beating with the canonical whip, the governor must collect a fine of five “cooked” rupees for every lash of the whip.

**Rule 53:** In the case of persons caught drinking or drunk or committing any other crime and the Holy Law prescribes a discretionary number of lashes, it is also incumbent upon the governor to collect five sound rupees as a fine for every single lash.

**Rule 54:** In a number of instances, the governor is permitted to arrest a person in his jurisdiction prior to notification and the signed order of the qazi and only after jailing him provide the facts of his case to the qazi. The first instance is of a criminal who has escaped from a government jail and the governor or his employees discover him, it is necessary that he be imprisoned and he and an account of his case be

sent to the capital. The second is when a person is known as a thief and cutpurse or a highwayman and the governor or his employees suddenly encounter him; he must be immediately arrested. Third is when a person pulls his sword from its scabbard and brandishes it at another person or brandishes another lethal weapon intending to strike that person. The arrest of such a person is also obligatory on a governor and his employees should they encounter him. Fourth, any person who has committed some crime and for whom the death penalty is required or has stolen someone's property or is an accomplice to someone who runs away (*gurikhtāndah*) and proclamations regarding such persons have been issued in the capital or in the districts of the countryside and the governor sees and recognizes this person, he must arrest him. Fifth, any person whose breath smells of alcohol and is found wandering intoxicated around the streets and alleys must be arrested and brought before the qazi. Sixth, anyone who is caught at night trying to breach or climb over the wall of a house or someone apprehends him, should be brought to the qazi and whatever the qazi rules, (the governor) should execute. The same thing for a person who sets fire to someone's harvest and home or is the perpetrator of other property or bodily harm and falls into the hands of the governor's people. Seventh, a person who in the presence of the governor's retainers or the governor himself curses someone else such that he becomes subject to discretionary punishment, he must be arrested, brought to the qazi and be dealt with according to the commandment of the Holy Law.

**Rule 55:** Aside from the abovementioned situations detailed in the preceding rules, the governor is not permitted to arrest anyone without an order from the qazi, If sometimes out of personal whim he should arrest a subject in a situation comparable to those described above and the (account of the) imprisoned person should reach the blessed ears of His Majesty either from the qazi or a letter from a news writer or in a letter from the prisoner himself, the governor will be held strictly to account.

**Rule 56:** For the wellbeing of the subjects and the contentment of the people it is His Majesty's order that no one other than the governor is permitted to imprison people. So if a notable, a malik or a kalantar should imprison someone in his house and the case against him (the unauthorized jailer) is proven before the qazi, the governor must collect a fine of 500 Kabuli rupees from him.

**Rule 57:** In the case of someone who, on a personal whim and to fulfill his own aims, should threaten and instill fear in another telling him to do such and such a thing otherwise he would tell the governor that he is

hiding the property of fugitives in his house or that he is helping rebels and exiles, it is incumbent upon the governor to immediately put such wicked people in jail after establishing (this happened) and then send them to Kabul with a report of their case so that whatever should be issued by His Majesty concerning that person would be sent as a written farman (along with that person) to that governor and he would carry it out.

**Rule 58:** Governors of the countryside are permitted in cases involving minor issues (*furū'āt*) among the subjects themselves where resolution is through the governor's mediation /770/ and the rights of the person in the right are established through (the governor's) efforts, to deduct as a fee two sound rupees for every *tūmān* from any sum which goes to the person in the right.

**Rule 59:** When a person kills another person, the government fine is equal to the bloodwit but if it is a matter of retaliation so that the bloodwit is moot, the fine is also moot. If the bloodwit to which the *āqilah* is subject is collected in whole but the government fine is not paid in full from the property of the murderer, then the rule is that it is to be collected from the property of his brother, sister, father, mother, brother's child, sister's child, maternal and paternal uncles and maternal and paternal aunts, and paternal and maternal cousins. And if a person should forgive the whole bloodwit or a part or two parts of it or more or less, the government should not forgive the fine but demand all of it until the gates of murder and bloodshed are closed and no one ventures to kill anyone else freely and with impunity.

**Rule 60:** Whenever some incident, case, or claim in form and appearance comes before the governor for resolution and closure and it is contrary to these rules and does not conform to any of them and the governor is perplexed and is faced with resolving it on the basis of his own opinion, it is affirmed that this kind of case for which no rules have been set out and which take place before any governor should be explained in detail to his Majesty so that instructions may be issued for dealing with it. The final ruling is that governors who are confronted with matters which are contrary to the rules given here should not try to resolve them on the basis of their own judgment nor do anything at all without a farman and instructions.

**Rule 61:** Whenever a person of a large (and important) tribe (*qawm-dār*) or a possessor of rank kills someone, the legal bloodwit and a large fine should be collected from him and from his tribe because these kinds of persons act with impunity (*tāzīdah*) because of the size

of their tribe and their own stature and they unjustifiably make the outsider despair for his life. Whenever an outsider kills someone it is as prescribed in the Holy Law that bloodwit is collected from him. Whenever something remains unpaid of the bloodwit, it should be collected from his blood relatives and (other) close relatives (*aqārib*), in accordance with Rule 59.

**Rule 62:** Whenever a person is required to swear an oath but refuses and instead gives (pays) something as "ransom" (*fidyah*) for the oath, in such a case, His Majesty's order is that a person of whom an oath is required and who refuses to give one is considered convicted and guilty. Either he swears an oath or (he is treated) as if the crime had been committed.

**Rule 63:** With regards to a person who commits murder, is subject to the bloodwit, has no connection to his *‘āqilah* and himself has no capability of paying it, it is ordered that he be jailed, that he be made to work as a mudder (*gilkārī*) or in some other craft, and that whatever he earns over and above his expenses he pay to the recipient of the bloodwit. If all that he earns in his craft just covers the costs of living and there is nothing over and above that then he'll remain a prisoner working at that trade. If his pay should ever increase he'll pay the recipient of the bloodwit. If not he'll remain a prisoner. If the recipient of the bloodwit should forgive him it, he should work for one year for the Bayt al-Mal and then be released for the fine for the Bayt al-Mal is this for such individuals. The end

The just and righteous padishah, by whom I mean His Highness Lantern of the Nation and the Religion (Habib Allah Khan) added other rules as a codicil to these (preceding rules).

**Rule 64:** Whenever someone is killed in a quarter, a village, or a serai, and his heirs do not know who the murderer was nor do they accuse the malik of the place where he was killed, after the qazi of the Holy Law and the governor have inspected the victim and his wounds, His Majesty's edict with respect to deterring bloodshed is this: as a fine and as bloodwit 7,000 Kabuli rupees should be collected from the people living on all four sides of the place where the killing occurred but only in this fashion—five rupees from every male who has reached the age of maturity until the amount totals 7,000 but not from frail old men (*shaykh-i fāni*), women, and children. The collection should begin with a person from the village nearest to the spot of the murder and so forth until the full sum is collected. Should those liable for the fine hand over the murderer, then the bloodwit and fine will not be collected from the

surrounding (villages). Regarding these bloodwit and fine monies which are collected, half of them by rights belongs to the heirs of the victim and half is the government fine.

**Rule 65:** (which Sardar Nasr Allah Khan, the Vice-Regent [*nā'ib al-saltānah*] has added and issued in his name) If someone is killed and his heirs file a lawsuit in the Shari'ah Court against a specified person for killing the one who made them inheritors, and if, before the murder is legally proven, they settle for a specific sum, in view of the fact that they have reached a mutual agreement, it is understood that they (the heirs) are accomplices to the killing of the deceased since how could they reach a settlement prior to proof (of the murder) if there were no (proven) murderer. But the government (*sarkār-i wālā*) does not relinquish (its right to) a fine and the fine must ~~771~~ be collected by the government. The sole reason for levying a fine is to close the door of murder and assault.

**Rule 66:** (This was also created and appended to the above rules by the Vice-Regent) There are two types of ordinances governing people who, by order of His Sovereign Majesty, are banished to the provinces or rural districts for some crime or misdeed: First, persons who have been or may be exiled to the provinces within the God-given government, i.e., Qandahar, Herat, Turkistan, or Qataghan and Badakhshan, must reside in whichever village or qishlaq the governor (*nā'ib al-hukūmah*) of the province assigned or assigns for them. The malik and arbab of that village or qishlaq will take note of their presence on a daily basis. Once a week the head of the military unit there (*fawjdār*), once a month the sub-governor, and three times a year the provincial governor will all assign someone to ascertain that they are present there. If any exile is not present, the malik or arbab should report this to the head of the military unit, he should report it to the sub-governor, and he in turn to the provincial governor. The provincial governor should launch an investigation and if the person is not found, His Majesty should be notified so that a farman could be sent to the governor of the exile's original home so that if he should go back there, he was to arrest him and send him to the throne so that an inquiry could be undertaken. Second, persons who have been or will be banished to places like Farah, Pusht-i Rud, Maymanah, etc are to reside in whichever village or qishlaq the governor there has assigned or will assign. The malik and arbab of that village or qishlaq will note their presence on a daily basis. Once a month, the head of the military unit there (*fawjdār*) will report their presence. The governor of the region, if the exile's place of residence is within six kuruhs of the governor's residence and his court, will ask him to present himself three times a year and the governor can

then can see that he is there. If distant (more than six kuruhs away), (the governor) will assign a man to verify the presence of the exiles. If an exile is not where he is supposed to be, they should act in accordance with part one of this rule.

In 1320, His Highness Lantern of the Nation and the Religion (Habib Allah Khan), because of a letter and request from Qazi Sa°d al-Din Khan the governor of Herat, decreed another four items which were not included in the above rules and sent them to him. Although this is not the place to mention the issuance of this order and it should necessarily be recorded among the political farmans and hukms of (His Highness's) own reign, and since he followed all the above rules of his noble father and did not order the writing down of laws (*qawānīn*) and political instructions (specifically) as codicils to these, nonetheless one cannot fail to record here the blessed edicts (*ahkām*) and to embellish and ornament these rules (of his father) with those (he added).

**Item 1:** With regards to setting fire to and burning up harvests in villages and rural locales, if the perpetrator is unknown, the order of His Majesty is that any harvest in any place that is consumed by fire and the perpetrator is unknown, it is incumbent upon the people living in the vicinity to pay compensation of an equivalent amount to the owner of the harvest after he swears an oath (about the amount of his loss).

**Item 2:** Concerning the property of a person who is the victim of theft and the footprints of the thief lead to a village and a specific place in the village, but it is not known who the thief is, the order of His Majesty is that, after the owner of the property swears an oath, and there is verification that the footprints of the thief are of a person of the village to whom the footprints lead, either they (the villagers) should show that the footprints go past the village (without stopping), or they should arrest the thief, or they should fulfill the obligation (to pay compensation).

**Item 3:** If one, two, or more people have a dispute with someone and enter his house intending to quarrel with or assault him or His Majesty's order is that this should be investigated just like the rule (Rule 26) concerning an armed person who enters someone's house at night to burglarize it.

**Item 4:** Concerning a woman whom two or three men file a claim saying that a contract exists, that she herself or her father or brother have agreed to her marriage to them, have given her away, and each of those (two or) three considers that woman their wife and their right,



after verification and establishment of proof that each of them is truthful in his claim that (she herself or) the father or brother has made an oral contract for her marriage (to each of them) and neither of them knew of the others, it is therefore His Majesty's order that in the case where a woman's father and mother have given her to two or three men and the three all provide proof then whichever of them has the prior claim should produce a witness and then take her. A fine of 500 rupees should be levied on the father and mother for each instance in which they have profited from affiancing their one daughter. If indigent, they should be sentenced to a year in prison and a thrashing with 100 stripes of a cane.

*His Majesty Dispatches a Force to Destroy The Wicked Hazarahs and Annihilate That Ill-disposed Tribe*

Meantime, with regards to the Hazarah people who had drawn their heads through the collar of disobedience and concerning whom His Majesty had sent out separate farmans to the governors of provinces and the people of the countryside around the mountains /772/ of the Hazarahjat as well as to the officers of the regular army everywhere—as mentioned above—ordering them all to march (to the Hazarahjat), on the thirteenth of Ramazan/11 April he ordered Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qandahar, to have the regular infantry regiment stationed at Shinkay (Shingay?) march towards the district of Chillah Kur as quickly as possible but to leave the regular cavalry in Shinkay. (Sardar °Abd Allah Khan) then ordered Sardar Faqir Muhammad Khan, the governor of Kalat, to march to Chillah Kur with the regular infantry stationed in Shinkay along with Commandant °Abd al-Samad Khan and a tribal force (*lashkar-i mulkī*) of Afghans living in the districts (*julgā*) of Arghistan, Ma°ruf, Jaldak, Hutak, and other places. Immediately upon arrival there, they commenced killing and looting the Hazarahs who lived there, making no distinction between the loyal and the disloyal. Every day, by the tens and twenties, deserving and undeserving alike were put to the sword. Then they decided to attack the Hazarahs of Day Chupan, whose leader and mir, Girdi Shah Sultan, and his nephew, Rahm °Ali Khan, were *pishkhidmats* at the court. They rode the horse of assault onto the heads of the Patan people of that tribe, put 100 of those people, who had committed no sin, to death, and took ten men alive. They also captured fifty of their wives, sons, and daughters and put them in chains and sent them to Kalat. They strapped four of their prisoners to cannons (and blew them to pieces). As a result of this slaughter and assault, they spread terror and panic through the mountains of the Hazarahjat. Even though those unfortunate people had yet to rebel outwardly, secretly they sympathized with the rebels of Uruzgan and that is why the braves of the army attacked them. Had they occasionally shown some service or once in a while proven loyal, they would not have experienced such misfortune. Indeed,

Think of the consequences of your actions/  
Wheat comes from wheat and barley from barley.

During this time, the cup of mortality touched the lips of Sardar Muhammad Hasan Khan, the governor of Ghaznin and on the fourteenth of Ramazan/12 April he bade farewell to this mortal coil, passed gracefully from the anteroom of this world to the sublime palace of eternity, and entered the corps of recipients of divine mercy.

Also at this time, twenty-two of the leaders of the °Ali Khayl came in obedience to the *sartib* of the Sakhlu infantry and to Habib Allah Khan, the grandson of Khanagi Khan of the Sulayman Khayl. (These two men) offered kind and encouraging reassurances and sent them on to Kabul.

Similarly, Muhammad Aslam Khan, the governor of Gardiz, gave reassurances to twenty leaders of the Firuz Khayl, as well as to the leaders of Sharah, Zard Ghar, Mut, and other places and sent them to Kabul, in accordance with a letter which he received from Sardar Shirindil Khan, the governor (*hukumrān*) of Khust. They entered Kabul on the eighteenth of Ramazan/16 April and, at His Majesty's order, were kept in custody. After the arrival in Kabul of hostages from the Jadran and others, Sardar Shirindil Khan, introduced proper procedures into the affairs of the mountainous area of Khust (Kuhistan-i Khust) and put all affairs of that region in the requisite order.

During this time, two regular infantry regiments that were stationed in Mazar-i Sharif, the Qandahari and the Kabuli, attacked each other over a cock-fight (*murgh-bāzī*). Since they had no weapons, they used sticks and rocks in the fray. Eighty men were injured and finally Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan came to put a stop to the fighting. Using every method he knew, he put out the flames of trouble. Since he planned to march for the Hazarahjat, he did not blame either side and on the eighteenth of the aforementioned month of Ramazan, in accordance with a farman which—as already mentioned—was issued to him, he set off for the Hazarahjat from Mazar-i Sharif with those two infantry regiments, a regular cavalry regiment, and six pieces of artillery.

Also in these days, Shayr Muhammad Khan Andari, who because of his dispute with General °Ali °Askar Khan had been sent to live in Kabul where His Majesty let him keep his rank of general, was now ordered to march to Hajaristan by way of Hazarah-i Bihsud with three (regular) infantry regiments, one regular cavalry regiment, and six pieces of artillery.

At this time, the sons and brothers of Bunyad Khan Malistani who were ordered to live in Kabul learned of the uprising of the ferocious and evil Hazarahs. Their wives and children also had been summoned to Kabul—as was mentioned above—but not yet having arrived when they (the sons and brothers), notwithstanding the fact that Bunyad Khan himself was under house arrest (*naẓar-band*) in Ghaznin, escaped during the night from their place of residence which was the small saray of °Ali °Askar Khan Qart and set off for the wadi of adversity. The men of Chandawul pursued them, /773/ but returned home empty-handed once they made their escape.

Meantime when Colonel Farhad Khan, who, as was previously indicated, had moved from Sangmashah and was en route to Uruzgan, reached the district of Qalandar the unworthy people there threw up road blocks. In advance of the regular force, the tribal force of the Chahar Dastah Hazarahs of Jaghuri attacked the Hazarahs of Qalandar. Four of their men and four of the men of Qalandar were killed. In the end, terrified at the sight of the royal regular army which came up to do battle with fire-belching cannons on the heels of the Jaghuri Hazarah force, the despicable evildoers turned their backs to the fight and their faces towards flight. The government supporters were victorious. As soon as the regular army entered Qalandar, it triumphantly made camp there. News of this battle and victory reached the ears of His Majesty in a letter from Mulla Muhammad Mishkin, the qazi, and ʿAbd al-Ghafur Khan, brother of the governor of Muqur, both of whom were with the royal army. His Majesty issued a favor-bestowing manshur to the leaders of the Hazarahs of Jaghuri which said:

It has become clear and evident to the luminous mind that you people have tied the belt of service with sincerity and loyalty, stage by stage have provided the mighty forces with supplies requisitioned (*suyūrsāt*), have prepared everything well, have gone ahead of the regular army to give the just desserts to the impious men of Qalandar, and four of your men having been killed in the fight, you yourselves have performed what good service requires, and have given and are giving yourselves preeminence in the retinue of (your) governor. Our luminous mind is especially pleased by two things you have done: first you have good sense and piety and have not wrapped yourselves in the coverlet of those diseased rebels and have not been infected with their fatal illness. Secondly, you have remained steadfastly loyal to the pact and covenant which you concluded in the capital with our government, for which you invoked the names of God, His Messenger, and the 'five people of the cloak' as guarantors, and have not forgotten it. Because of this, it is known that your religion is the religion of Islam and that you do not speak with prevarication to the adherents of the religion. We are very content and pleased with you. How wonderful for you that the qazi of the law has borne and bears witness to your Muslim-ness and your loyalty! The end.

During this time the people of Dayah and Fuladah of Hajaristan, who had heard the sound of the uprising of the people of Uruzgan and had themselves risen up, directed the face of combat towards the army of Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan, and emerged from the breastworks they had erected to repel the colonel's regular infantry, cavalry, and artillery forces. There was a sharp engagement with the evildoers and in the end, seeing no capacity to continue the fight, they retreated to their (own) sangars. The Hazarahs arrayed themselves in a circle around the sangar and made things very difficult for the colonel and his army. Caught in the grip of this siege, neither by day nor by night were they able

to raise up their heads up, let alone emerge from the sangar. (This was the case) until General Shayr Muhammad Khan reached the manzil of Farakh (Ulum) on the 23rd of Ramazan/21 April.

The cholera epidemic, which at this time had reached its height in Kabul and as many as 800–1,100 infected people were dying from it every day, now broke out among (General Shayr Muhammad Khan's) his troops and felled five of the regular soldiers at this manzil. Two of them bade farewell to life and passed from this world; the other three recovered. The general then marched his army from that manzil taking that disease with him and joined forces with Muhammad Nabi Khan, the governor, and the tribal force of the Hazarachs of Bihsud. They marched with all due speed and as soon as they arrived, attacked the Hazarachs who had placed Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan under tight siege. Shedding the blood of many Hazarachs, they drove them away from around the sangar and released Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan from the bonds of the siege. They also pursued the Hazarachs, carrying the fight to a fort to which 100 of the Hazarachs, after abandoning the siege, had now repaired. At the height of the fighting, while capturing the fort, an unlucky blow befell the victory-conjoined hand of General Shayr Muhammad Khan. The governor of Bihsud, Muhammad Nabi Khan the son of Muhammad °Ali Khan Hazarah, was also severely wounded, gave his life in service to the government, and departed this world. Seventy-three regular soldiers were killed and 197 were wounded. The fire of battle raged until the Hazarachs had used up all the bullets and powder they had for defending their lives. The regular soldiers then attacked and seized the fort. All one hundred Hazarachs were put to the sword and victory was obtained. The other forts of Hajaristan, whose people had fled in disobedience to the district of Chaqmaq, were put to the torch and burned to the ground, the district of Hajaristan was cleansed of the filth of the misfortunate Hazarachs' bankrupt existence, /774/ and the army established itself there. The Hazarachs who fled to Nawah-i Chaqmaq erected strong breastworks and barricades against the royal regiments and awaited the onset of battle.

Meantime cholera broke out among the Hazarah rebels and without a fight thousands of them gave up the means of life, and the cord of hope was cut. In this way, the rope of Hazarah unity was severed and that was the cause of their community being dispersed.

During this time, on the twenty-fourth of Ramazan/22 April, Ja°far Khan Kunari was dismissed as governor of Ghuri and came to Kabul under a farman of summons. He was sent to Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan at the Bureau of Audits (*daftar-i sanjish*) who, with his colleagues, examined the accounts of his time as governor.

At the order of His Majesty a tribal force from Ghaznin heading for Malistan by way of Sarab and Nahwar and made up of the Wardak, Andari, Tajiki, Muhammad Khwajah Hazarah, Chahar Dastah (Hazarah), and Jighatu (Hazarah) tribes as well as regular cavalymen under the command of Ghulam Husayn Khan son of Gulistan Khan of the Muhammad Khwajah Hazarachs and other leaders of these tribes, had arrived there (Malistan), joined forces with

Commandant °Abd al-Samad Khan and Muhammad Nabi Khan Malistani, and set off together for Mir Adinah. At this time, they reached (Mir Adinah) and camped.

From Kalat, its governor Faqir Muhammad Khan, with Sakhlu infantry and a tribal force of men of the Tukhi, Hutak, and others, who at the order of His Majesty had traveled from Kalat to the district of Chillah Kur, arrived there and joined the earlier force who, as already mentioned, had attacked, plundered, and made captives of the Hazarabs of Day Chupan and established themselves there.

Similarly, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qandahar, assigned his brother, Muhammad Yusuf Khan, who had just arrived from Herat and had meetings with him, and Muhammad A°zam Khan Barakza°i and Muhammad °Azim Khan Al(i)kuza°i to round up all the tribal horse and foot of Qandahar and its surrounding area and go to Chillah Kur. He also moved a large stock of ammunition to Uruzgan since the Hazarab rebels had looted the ammunition supplies there. In addition, Colonel Nur Muhammad Khan set out for the Hazarabjāt with 400 men of the regiment remaining in Shinkay and ordered 200 of the infantrymen of the regiment still in Shinkay to garrison Kalat. He himself entered the unpacified area (*yāghistān*) of the Hazarabjāt and joined Colonel Farhad Khan at Qalandar.

Meantime, Muhammad °Azim Khan Sih Pay, who had drawn the head through the collar of disobedience, fortified the Kashkul Pass with a huge multitude of evil Hazarabs intending to block the path of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan who was in Gizab. He waited vigilantly there until the sardar turned the face of punishing in the direction of Churah and the homes of the wicked Hazarabs. When the illustrious sardar reached and passed the (head of the) pass the Hazarabs of Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan who had blocked the road attacked the (advance) portion of the troops under Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan's command and a fierce fight ensued. They killed and wounded a few of the royal troops, threw the regiments of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan into disarray, captured some government supporters, and prevailed, taking possession of many horses and weapons of the royal regiments by force. Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, having arrived in Churah, and without a fight having brought the people there who had rebelled into the bonds of obedience, took one fort by force and made it his residence and remained there in a state of readiness.

During this time Brigadier Zabardast Khan, who had set out from Herat for the Hazarabjāt with regiments of regular and irregular infantry and artillery reached Uruzgan, stationed himself there, and fought with the people of the Uruzgan district who had begun to rebel. Casualties were suffered on both sides but in the end the Hazarabs were overcome, and nine of their strong forts were occupied by the victorious army and Brigadier Zabardast Khan. The triumphant army of Zabardast Khan captured and made prisoners of 250 men, women, boys, and girls of that wicked tribe. The victory of the supporters of the government was complete. The brigadier himself was wounded and (soon) thereafter the Hazarabs surrounded and laid siege to him.

During this tumult and strife, because of a report from Munshi Muhammad

Hasan Khan, supervisor (*nigarān*) of Afghan government purchases, His Majesty was informed about twelve cannons which the government of Afghanistan had purchased from Europe (*Firangistān*) and which had been sent to the port of Karachi. /775/ On the twenty-eighth of Ramazan/26 April he sent the munshi a farman telling him, as was the precedent, to inform the throne how the cannon were going to be sent, then to send them in accordance with the instructions issued—which will be recounted in due course, God willing.

During this time five large-bodied horses of strong constitution (Clydesdales or Percherons?), which an Englishman had purchased at His Majesty's order, arrived in Peshawar. Through Muhammad A<sup>c</sup>zam Khan and Muhammad Ghaws Khan, horse dealers, who wrote and sent a description of these horses to the throne, His Majesty approved (the purchase), and after a few days, when they reached Kabul, they met the not-easy-to-satisfy approbation of His Majesty. Each was purchased for from four to five to six thousand rupees and the price was paid.

Also on the same day, the twenty-eighth (of Ramazan/26 April), a farman of summons was issued to Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan, the ambassador (*nā'ib sifārat*) of the Government of Afghanistan. In his place, Ghulam Rasul Khan, the Government Commercial Agent, was promoted to honorary (or brevetted) colonel in his absence and a farman naming him to the ambassadorship was issued. After the arrival of this manshur, Ghulam Rasul Khan moved from Bombay to Calcutta, and assumed the duties of ambassador. Colonel Wali Ahmad Khan came to Kabul.

During this time, the crescent of the new moon of Shawwal showed itself over the horizon and, as was the custom, a cannon was fired to celebrate the (commencement of) the holiday (°Id al-Fitr). On the day following this auspicious night, which was both a Friday as well as the holiday, joyful celebrations took place and the populace was treated to all kinds of foods and delicious sweets.

On the eve of the fifth of Shawwal/3 May, Commandant °Abd al-Samad Khan and Muhammad Nabi Khan Malistani, along with Ghulam Husayn Khan the son of Gulistan Khan, 200 infantry, and 100 cavalry from the regular army and a piece of artillery, all commanded by the commandant, as well as the tribal force comprised of the Malistan, Muhammad Khwajah, Chahar Dastah, and Jighatu Hazarahs, and the Wardak and Tajiks of Ghaznin, launched a night assault on the evildoers of Zawuli and others who had assembled to fight at Qushunak, the checkpoint (*sar-band*) leading to the district of Mir Adinah. They threw the Hazarahs (of Mir Adinah) into a panic and held their battle formation from the night until daybreak and then through the day until evening. Three of the Tajiks of Ghaznin and one of the Hazarahs of Malistan were killed, three others of these Tajiks and one of Muhammad Nabi Khan's men were wounded but they seized Qushunak. The (defeated) Hazarahs went to Nawah-i Chaqmaq and Zawuli district and there became the consorts of fear and desperation both because of cholera and the awesome might of the army which aimed the face of retribution at the misbehaving and rebellious Hazarahs from every side.

During this clamor of weeping and gnashing of teeth by the turbulent Hazarāhs, on the eighth of Shawwāl/6 May, farmans of dismissal were issued and sent by His Majesty to Hajji Firuz al-Din, an undercover news writer in Peshawar with a monthly salary of 100 English rupees, Hasan, a news writer in Calcutta who received thirty (English) rupees, and Pir Bakhsh, an undercover news writer in the port of Karachi who received twenty *kalah-dār* rupees a month. They were dismissed because of misleading information they had reported. Therefore they had taken government funds illegitimately.

During this time, on Thursday, the 14th of the month (Shawwāl/12 May) through eternity's decree, the cup of mortality came to the lips of Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan, personal secretary (*dabīr*) to His Majesty, and he bade farewell to this world. By order of His Majesty, his body was carried from Pamqan and buried on the southwestern side of the walls of the Bagh-i Aqa, now called the Government Guest House (*mihmānsarā-yi dawlatī*). On Friday, the fifteenth, His Highness, whose eyes were always open to the wellbeing of the servants of the throne, whose hands were always extended to servitors of the court, and who was always soothing the wounded hearts of supporters of the government and their families with royal favors, drafted a letter of condolences in his own hand and sent it to his (Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan's) mother which said,

May God be merciful to that mother who brought such a son into the world and nurtured him from infancy with such pure milk. I was very pleased with him. May God and His Prophet also be pleased with him. In view of his loyal and faithful service, the noble office which he held in the government has been granted to his son, Mirza Ghulam Husayn Khan, and will never be given to anyone else.

But within a short space of time, Mirza Muhammad Da'ud Khan who was a clerk (*muḥarrir*) in the Royal Secretariat (*dār al-inshā*) of His Majesty as well as the assistant to the late *dabīr* with close tribal and personal ties to him and felt that he had precedence over Mirza Ghulam Husayn Khan (managed to get the position). Because of this major claim which he harbored, he caused something to happen—as 1776/ will be described below. (Then) with his (Mirza Muhammad Da'ud Khan's) dismissal, this important office was entrusted to Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan, the former *mustawfī*. He too, due to senility (*ẓa'f-i dimāgh-ash*) was replaced and named to be Chief of the Bureau of Assessments (*sar-daftar-i tashkhīs*). His brother, Mir Abu'l-Qasim Khan who had been chief (of that bureau) up to that point, was named Chief of the Royal Secretariat.

During these events, a letter from the Sakhlu infantry stationed at a guardpost in Rakhkhah in the Panjshayr (Valley) reached the justice-perceiving ears of the noble prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan. Since they wrote about the injustice and tyranny of Muhammad Zaman Khan, (their) *sartīp*, the prince issued a farman to Parwanah Khan, the deputy field marshal, to inquire of the *sartīp* what was going on. The latter then embarked on the path of retaliation

against those Sakhlu who had complained about his oppression. He wanted to accuse them of something and have them punished. But before he could deploy his trickery, they sent a letter to the throne. His Majesty, who was aware of the truth of all matters pertaining to the administration of the country and who knew that as long as those with the upper hand did not subject the powerless to injury nor cause them harm, then those underlings would not have the power and capability to attach their talons to the skirts of the powerful (and drag them down), on the fifteenth of Shawwal/17 May sent a farman to Parwanah Khan telling him to summon Sartip Muhammad Zaman Khan and the *dahbāshīs* of the Sakhlu infantry from Panshayr to Kabul and bring them to court. Consequently he presented them all (at court) and there the formalities of an inquiry were conducted, using torture (*zajr wa tawbīkh*) as a warning to others.

Also at this time, Shayr Muhammad, Gul<sup>°</sup>izar, Najm al-Din, Muhammad Karim, and Ghulam Nabi, men of the Jamshid Khayl living in Qal<sup>°</sup>ah-i Buland and Bayan in Kuhistan-i Kabul who were among the khans of Kushadah horse units assigned to collect customs dues at the ports of entry (*banādir*) of Chakhansur, Garmsir, Kadni, and Panch Wa<sup>°</sup>i, skimmed off 10,000 rupees of government money, went to Shalkut, and sought asylum with the English. In a letter from Sardar <sup>°</sup>Abd Allah, the governor of Qandahar, this was brought to the attention of His Majesty and he issued an order for the collection (of that sum) from the relatives and kin of those perfidious traitors who were still in Kuhistan and its deposit in the public treasury.

Meantime, on the twentieth of Shawwal/18 May, at an order which was issued in their names, Colonel Muhammad <sup>°</sup>Umar Khan and the commandants of the regular army stationed in Andarab, <sup>°</sup>Abbas Khan and <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Ahmad Khan, along with Muhammad Sarwar Khan, the governor of Khinjan, and the mighty regiments and artillery unfurled the victorious banners from Andarab toward Bamiyan to wreak retribution on the wicked Hazarachs. Marching by way of Ghuri, when they reached the foot of the Chardar Pass, they saw that passage would be very difficult if not impossible due to the amount of snow and severe cold, and so they turned around. They then crossed the Badqaq Pass by way of Dushi, Gilagi, and Dahanah-i Ghuri and after traveling the many stages, arrived in Bamiyan where they made camp. When news of this reached the blessed ears of His Majesty, he sent Sultan Jan *daf<sup>°</sup>ah-dār*, with two other regular cavalymen, to travel through the night to Ghuri. (With them) he sent a farman to Ishan <sup>°</sup>Aziz Khwajah, the governor there, to use these three men to conscript and assemble the people of Ghuri first to remove the snow from the Chardar Pass and then clear the road of stones and debris. Afterwards, he should send the *daf<sup>°</sup>ahdār* and his two men (*yāwarān*) back to Kabul. In accordance with the royal order, he cleared the road of snow, rubbish, stones, and debris.

During this time, leaders of the Malik Din Khayl, Zakhah Khayl, and <sup>°</sup>Andbar Khayl living in Tira like Mulla <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Halim Chawkani, Qazi Sulayman, Qazi Mubin, Qazi Muhammad Mir, Qazi Gulfaraz, Qazi Nur Ahmad, Qazi Majid, Qazi Gul Hasan, Mir Bashir Padishah, Mir <sup>°</sup>Azim, Mulla Nur Gul, Bahram, Akbar, Sa<sup>°</sup>id Nazir, Mulla Shayr Gul, Mulla Hamid, Hazrat Shah,



°Alim Khan, Shayr °Ali, Salam al-Din, Alif Khan, Samandar, and others, had set out (for Kabul) out of obedience, intending to kiss the sublime threshold of authority and wanting to see the affairs of the region in which they lived put in order. When they reached the manzil of Butkhak, six kuruhs from the eastern edge of the city of Kabul, due to an outbreak of a life-destroying epidemic of cholera which had hit the city and its suburbs and had become the occasion for tumult and turmoil in the families of the sick and dying, they stayed at that manzil and notified His Majesty, who was summering in Pamqan, of the purpose of their journey. His Sovereign Majesty, in his reply to their unsealed letter, their seals having been stamped on a separate piece of paper, wrote:

When there is such deceit and duplicity in their letter, what reliance or faith should be placed in their words and deeds? This action of theirs (i.e. not putting their seals directly on the letter) is an indication that they also have a tie of friendship with the English government and keep taking sums of money from that government by promising obedience / 777/ and when they are disappointed in their desires, then they turn to (this) government. That is why they send a letter without seals on it so that should their letter fall into the hands of officials of the English government, it would not be proof of their obedience to this government and would not close the avenue for their schemes with regards to that government (the English). Thus it was that in the previous year the leaders of the tribes dwelling in Tira district were honored by reception at the sublime durbar and His Majesty with those leaders and also with those who were now coming had resolved and settled that they would cease the pointless talk and meaningless words which over and over have been heard from them and from which nothing has ever resulted up to now. They should let bygones be bygones and never mention these things again. Now, if the people of the tribes of Tira are asking His Majesty for instructions concerning the conduct of their lives and affairs and they understand that His Majesty will act in their affairs out of (feelings of) tribal solidarity then what they should do is go to the Commissioner and other officials of the English government and explain to them what is on their minds and speak to them about their situation and their lives and livelihoods as they think about these things in their innermost thoughts so that the commissioner and other officials of that government can then begin talks with this government concerning their requests and wishes and then His Majesty can begin to deal with the affairs of the people of that place in accordance with their wishes, not by this type of communication (i.e. by letters without seals). The cord of friendship should not be cut with the English government which is a friend of this government and with whom the gates of friendship have long been open so that up until now neither side has witnessed or experienced any harm from the other. Likewise the officials of that government will

never think about cutting the rope of amity.

Having heard these wise words of His Majesty and accorded them the place of acceptance, when they received permission and went home, they failed to act on the insistent words of His Majesty, and made no declaration of any kind to English officials, for if they had begun talks, then servants of this government who were stationed in that kingdom and charged to provide information about matters like this, would have notified the throne if any such talks had occurred. Since negotiations of this type never took place, it became well-known and understood that all their declarations were lies and unworthy of credence. The Creator of all creatures said, "May God damn all those who tell lies." After this, there was nothing more for His Majesty to say to those people, who are nothing but liars, and they are not permitted to come to the court. This was his order and he also instructed Parwanah Khan, the deputy field marshal, to turn them away from Butkhak (should they ever try to come again).

Meantime, Mirza Muhammad Yusuf Khan Ghaznavi, who at His Majesty's command had gone to Ghazni from Kabul on the third of Shawwal/1 May to raise a force to send to the Hazarahjat from among the Tajiks of Ghaznin, had very quickly assembled a force of 1,100 men of a total of 2,000 men-of-arms whom he had assigned his tribe to raise, and dispatched them by way of Nahwar and Sarab to Malistan. He ordered them to link up with 400 other men who earlier, at the order of the governor of Ghaznin, had set out for that land and to stay together. He took another 500 men with him, and for the 2,000 men total, at His Majesty's order he paid a salary for two months of eight rupees each for a total of 16,000 rupees (per month). This money was (taken) from the subjects whereupon he set off for Malistan on the heels of those who had already gone.

At the order of the governor of Ghaznin, Shahbaz Khan *risālah-dār* also raised a force of 500 horse and foot from the Hazarahs of Jighatu and sent them off. On the ninth of Shawwal/7 May, they joined up with the assemblage of Tajiks, Khugyani, Wardak, and Hazarahs of Muhammad Khwajah—a total of 3,900 men—who had set out before and already fought a number of skirmishes with the Hazarah evildoers. Together they now formed a large force.

Also during this time of turmoil, Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan was dispatched by His Majesty to patrol the border of the mountainous region in the southeast and to demarcate the boundary between the governments of Afghanistan and England. He set off for the border with the Waziri, Mandu Khayl, Nasiri, and Sulayman Khayl leaders who had come to Kabul in obedience to a farman of summons, realized the honor of kissing the sublime threshold of authority, and were favored with Caesarean kindness. He reached Wanah and made camp there.

Also during these times, a great plague of locusts descended on Kabul, Ghaznin, and their environs. The locusts stripped every tree of leaves, branches, and bark, and decimated and destroyed all the crops. /778/

Also at this time, before the settlement of the boundaries, in an act of hostility the English government audaciously dispatched a force towards the

border and occupied Gul Kichah (FM note: “originally Kuhchah”), on the banks of the Gumal River, to a distance of twelve kuruhs from Gardab-i Nasiri, Sarah-i Turi, Kuli Sanak, and Sulayman Khayl. His Majesty published and issued under his name a treatise containing advice and counsel in both Afghani and Persian. He sent it to the people living in the mountainous region of the border and to Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan to deliver to those people so that having read it they would turn their faces from dissension, take the path of unity, and not be fooled and deceived by the English officials’ threats and promises.<sup>9</sup>

Also during these aforementioned events, at the suggestion of Payandah Khan and Ghaffar Khan, men of the Jaji tribe, a man from Kurram named Haydar, along with his brothers, went to the people of Aka Kul Patan belonging to Chamkani and stirred up trouble. Having then carried and spread the news of those people to the Turis [RM: spelled here with “tā” not “ṭā”] and having incited evildoing, they brought great wickedness into being. Having heard of his (Haydar’s) deceitfulness and trickery, some Mangals killed him and his brothers. After their murders, following the fire of *fitna* which he had ignited, the Jajis rallied, attacked Qal‘ah-i Paywar of the Turis. Four men on each side were cast to the ground of destruction, and one man was wounded. After this fight, everyone went home. Through letters from news writers in that region, His Majesty learned what had happened and sent a farman to Muhammad Haydar Khan, the governor of Chamkani, ordering him to quench the fire of *fitna* with the water of good judgment (*āb-i tadbīr*), identify both the culprits and their victims, and so inform the throne so that the process of investigation and punishment might be carried out. In accordance with the royal order, (Muhammad Haydar Khan) excised the evil malignity and eventually, through negotiations at the government level, the trouble was eliminated.

Also in these days, Muhammad Haydar Khan Herati, who a long time before had been sent to garrison Khust, according to a farman issued in his name set out for Ghaznin from Khust with the Herat and Uzbek Kushadah cavalry and the *mangbāshīs* who were the officers of the Uzbek cavalry, in all 1,000 riders. From Ghaznin, he headed for the Hazarahjat, riding with General Mir ‘Ata Khan and the regular army and artillery and they joined up with a tribal force (*lashkar*) which had gone there earlier.

Meantime, Sardar Shirindil Khan, who was busy dealing with the Jadran rebels, in accordance with a farman issued to him, intended to erect a strong fort as a garrison for a powerful force in the midst of the lands and mountains of the Jadran at a place which would be adjacent to the homeland of the Waziri people so that those wicked people would not again rise up, nor rebel (against legitimate authority). Then, after the cholera epidemic eased, he sent a letter from his headquarters at Shamil among the Jadran with a message to

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<sup>9</sup> The treatise may well be the *Risālah-i maw‘īzah*, edited by Gul Muhammad Muhammadza‘i and also published in Pashto with translation by Mulla Ghulam Jan A’Afghani-Nawis.” (Note: Is Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan the same as Gul Muhammad Muhammadza‘i?)

Commandant Muhammad Hasan Khan and Adjutant Najm al-Din Khan to take the force from Miza<sup>3</sup>i and join the army stationed at Du Mandah. He also dispatched to Likah Tasharah and Darrah-i Surkazh 100 Sakhlu infantry under the banner of Sadbashi Ahmad Khan along with 100 *mulkī* horse and some tribesmen from Zurmat to garrison the forts of Malik °Abdal and Malik Mir and he ordered another 100 tribesmen to guard Bandar-i Khu<sup>3</sup>i Khayl. He also sent a letter to Muhammad Aslam Khan telling him to station a militia (*mulkī*) force of men from Zurmat at Waziri to put an end to the affair of the evil Jadran there. After fortifying those places, he wrote His Majesty and told him of some ancient ruins which he had seen in the mountain of Surkazh telling him:

On the mountain are the ruins of buildings from ancient times such as the remains of gates and walls and iron foundries and blobs of smelted copper, lead, zinc oxide (*tūtiyā*), gold, and silver, all of which are indications of there being deposits of some of these minerals in this region and in these mountains. If a geologist is sent from the capital, then undoubtedly numerous deposits will be emerge and come to light.

His Majesty, who was frustrated by the people of Afghanistan in terms of their familiarity with the arts and sciences (*ma<sup>c</sup>rīfat-i ṣanāyī<sup>c</sup>*), wrote in reply to his letter,

There are no geologists in Kabul or in any other province and unless some pregnant woman gives birth and her child grows up and becomes a geologist, then sending a geologist is quite out the question, without the help of God, Most Glorious.

With regards to this, Most High Sovereign, the Knowledge-strewing One, Lantern of the Nation and the Religion (Habib Allah Khan), in accordance with the saying "The son should complete what the father can't," opened various schools for the new sciences in the capital in order to achieve that very goal of his great crown-wearing father so that sons of the sacred nation become geologists /779/ and fully-qualified artisans (*ṣāni<sup>c</sup>ān-i kāmīl*) and this—God Most Noble willing—will be recorded in its proper place.

After the dispatch of this royal letter, which was to inspire all the Afghan tribes to acquire practical skills (*ma<sup>c</sup>ārif*), the leaders of the Ziruk tribe, fifty-two of whom had come to Kabul to tender their obedience and press the forehead of humility in the dust at the threshold, two of them bade farewell to this world because of cholera while the other fifty, ennobled by the bestowal of the kingly favors of His Highness and the giving of *khil<sup>c</sup>ats*, were given leave to return to their homes.

Meantime, Sardar Shirindil Khan sent Khuday Nazar Khan to Ziruk to choose a place to build a fort. He went there and gave orders to begin work on a strong fort, assigning the construction of the walls of the interior buildings of the fort as the responsibility of the tribal force from Argun and the Kharuti men. He

appointed one of the *hawālah-dārs* of the regular army to supervise the work on the fort and he himself returned to Sardar Shirindil Khan.

In these days, approximately one lak of armed men making up the *mulkī* force, forty regular infantry and cavalry regiments, and 100 pieces of artillery which, in accordance with an order and farman of His Majesty—as will come—from every side was heading for the mountains where the savage Hazarabs dwelled, all had reached one of the strategic spots and opened the campaign. Of them, the leaders of the Taraki and °Ali Khayl who lived adjacent to the Hazarabs of Qalandar-i Jaghuri on their east side now advanced ahead of all the rest, and with 2,400 mounted braves and warriors on foot, setting out on the path of annihilating the wicked tribe of the Hazarabs of Qalandar, readied themselves for battle. The two sides clashed at Ichah and spent the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third of Shawwal/19–21 May fighting. 180 of the bold and battle-hungry Taraki and °Ali Khayl were killed or wounded by bullets from Hazarab rifles. Casualties on the Hazarab side could not be discerned. Despite this number of killed and wounded, the Afghans did not pull back nor retreat and kept on fighting bravely as long as they had bullets and powder. Emboldened, the Hazarabs, made off with thirty-two camels, twenty of which belonged to the government and the other twelve to a subject named Dust Muhammad of Ghaznin—all of which were loaded with government supplies—and boldly continued to attack until Colonel Farhad Khan arrived in the nick of time with the regular regiment and artillery which he had with him to relieve the Afghan braves. Together, they drove (the Hazarabs) aside and triumphantly entered Qalandar and made camp. Defeated and routed, some of the Hazarabs holed up in their own forts, their movements now limited, while others headed for the hills to evade the blows of the blood-shedding swords of the government army. For awhile, the flames of trouble in Qalandar subsided. When His Majesty learned in a report from Colonel Farhad Khan that the Taraki and °Ali Khayl were completely out of bullets and powder, he sent a farman from Pamqan to Parwanah Khan, the deputy field marshal, who was in Kabul, ordering him to deliver there ten *kharwārs* of bullets and five *kharwārs* of powder by Kabul weight from the capital.

During this time, in a letter from the leaders of the Durranis of Qandahar—men like Muhammad A°zam Khan, Amir Khan, Muhammad Siddiq Khan, Shayr Ahmad Khan, and others—which they had sent to the throne, it came to the royal attention that:<sup>10</sup>

As soon as we were notified by the arrival of farmans and royal proclamations of the rebellion and disobedience of the Hazarabs we went to see Sardar °Abd Allah Khan and, young and old alike, implored him to take up jihad and embark on the path of holy war (*ghazā*). But despite our assembling and turning our faces towards

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<sup>10</sup> Although the text of this letter actually shifts back and forth between direct and indirect speech, It has been treated here as direct quotation.

destroying the evil tribe of Hazarahs, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, with no fault or misdeed on our part will send a report to the throne of His Majesty containing carpings and complaints about us. Therefore our hope is that we will be told what our sin is and be pardoned for it.

On Tuesday, the twenty-sixth of Shawwal, His Majesty wrote in reply:

Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan's complaint arises from the fact that although the Durrani number one hundred thousand households, nonetheless only five or six hundred men have actually gone to the Hazarahjāt in a show of tribal solidarity while all the rest sit at home. If they are really men and have any sense of tribal honor, one man from every two households would buckle up the belt of war in aid of the government and this would amount to fifty thousand warriors who would destroy the wicked Hazarahs and eliminate them entirely from the kingdom of Afghanistan. And if they had done that, they would have been informed of what was concealed in the royal mind and what had suggested itself to the luminous soul, that is that he wanted to give the Durrani the lands and properties of the Hazarahs. This is because the English government having advanced the foot of occupation, /780/ has made an incursion as far as Jabal Kuzhak, has built up Chaman, which is the land of the Achakza'i tribe of the Durrani, and made it a place of residence (regarding) a place of residence. It has now come about that this occupation and control by that government on the land of the Achakza'i will cause the ruin of the Durrani. So, if they join in now, they will be secured and protected from (such) ruin by seizing ownership of the Hazarah lands. The Durrani presently sleep on the bed of neglectfulness and don't know what is good or bad, profitable or harmful, for themselves.

During this time of turmoil and mutinous behavior on the part of the beastly and ill-disposed Hazarahs, when the fires of combat had not yet been properly lit, a man named Guldad from the Taraki Afghan people residing in Zaranay in the district of Nish came to Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qandahar and stated that two Hazarahs of Miyan Nishin, Gilu Zuwwar and Shadi Beg, ten years earlier, had killed a relative of his but up to this time no investigation had been conducted to hold them liable either for retaliation or for the bloodwit for his life. The governor sent out some regular cavalry to bring in those two murderers. Kurdi Shah Sultan, the *ra'īs* of Hazarah Miyan Nishin, seeing the land in turmoil and the Hazarahs in a state of unrest, sent the envoys of the governor of Qandahar back empty-handed. Angered, the governor assigned another ten regular cavalymen, who brought Kurdi Shah Sultan and the two murderers to Qandahar and threw them all in prison. Immediately afterwards, the governor sent a certain Mulla °Abd al-Rahman from Qandahar—in such a time (of unrest)—to survey, record the acreage, and increase the taxes on the

lands of the Hazarāhs of Miyan Nishin. The mulla arrived and began to measure the lands of those people. While he was surveying the land some ignoramuses from those people heard the mulla speak of an increase in their land taxes and they began shouting imprecations and directing vile language at him. Wanting to accuse them of associating with the rebels he sent a note to the governor of Qandahar saying that the Hazarāhs of Miyan Nishin have set their minds on rebellion and their hearts are full of rancor. Soon, they would be raising the flag of rebellion and devoting their minds to war.

Attributing his letter to self-interest, the governor of Qandahar sent out Sayyid Najaf, one of the Qizilbash sayyids of Qandahar, to find out what was true and what was untrue in the letter of Mulla °Abd al-Rahman. When he returned, he brought word that those people were loyal and obedient. On his heels, a cavalryman from the Royal Troop (*risālah-i shāhī*) who had been sent there on some errand, at the instructions of Mulla °Abd al-Rahman sent to the governor of Qandahar a letter along the same lines as the mulla's so that (the governor) would believe the mulla. But before his tales of fancy and fiction could be accepted, Mirza Ghulam °Ali, a Qizilbash from Qandahar, (who had also gone there at the order of the governor (of Qandahar), spoke with Ghulam Shah Sultan, brother of the imprisoned Kurdi Shah (Sultan), about the letters of Mulla °Abd al-Rahman and the member of the Royal Troop, and (Ghulam Shah Sultan) who had no thought whatsoever of causing trouble, came to Qandahar, bringing with him two horses as a gift for the governor and trumping the Afghan schemers (*gharaḏ-jūyān*). He presented himself to the governor, declared his loyalty, and denied any disobedience, and told a story of the tyranny and oppression of the governor there (Miyan Nishin).

Because he sought redress and demanded justice, the governor of Qandahar replaced the governor there and appointed (in his stead) Amir Muhammad Khan Fufalza<sup>2</sup>i and named Ghulam °Ali as his personal secretary (*nawīsandah*). Through the intercession of his brother, Kurdi Shah Sultan was freed from prison and released to his charge. As compensation for this boon, he (Kurdi Shah Sultan) made it his responsibility to win over the Hazarāhs of Bubash and the Suhbat Khan tribe and bring their leaders to Qandahar in submission. Having accepted this obligation, he returned (to Miyan Nishin) with the governor and secretary who had been (newly) appointed, and went to his own home. He had not yet gone to see the leaders of those two tribes nor said anything to them when the Hazarāhs of Gizab<sup>11</sup>, Kijran, Askah, and Tamizan drew their heads through the collar of disobedience, (attacked and) injured °Abd Allah Khan, the tax collector (*°āmil*) there and a few of the regular cavalymen (stationed there), and made off with government funds in cash which they were carrying. This incident was disclosed to the governor of Qandahar in a letter from Mirza Ghulam Siddiq Khan, the tax collector for Tirin. He then appointed Mirza Karam °Ali, a Qizilbash of Qandahar, to put out the flames ignited by the

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<sup>11</sup> The name is alternately given Gisab and Gizab here and presumably only one place is intended.

evildoers and sent with him three *tughrā*-farmans adorned with the governor's seal which told them not to perpetrate *fitna* and evil but instead rally their individual tribesmen and destroy the (other) evildoing Hazarahs. Also a number of their leaders should present themselves in Qandahar to arrange preparation of the supplies needed for the mighty forces in that region. But those people paid no heed to the farmans sent by the governor of Qandahar nor did they draw back from their disobedience.

This was because Mir Muhammad °Azim Beg, an evil Sih Pay (Hazarah), had come to the region of Gizab and led a large uprising. In a report from the governor of Qandahar, this incident was brought to the attention of the sovereign of celestial authority /781/. Scolding him, he wrote,

When were the Hazarahs of Churah ever government supporters and loyal so that one could expect the Hazarahs living in Gisab (Gizab), Kijran, Askah, and Tamizan to have been obedient? All of this was due to his negligence which has come to light. If he had prepared the supplies and organized the militia force and sent it to Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan along with the ammunition and pack animals and other necessary equipment in accordance with the sardar's wish and the evil Hazarahs of Uruzgan had been appropriately punished, how would the Hazarahs of Qandahar have found the means to act with such audacity? All of this has come about because of his laziness. It is well-known that what a man really is is revealed on the day of battle and so what he really is is now well known. You've served the religion and the government well and you've really earned yourself a great name!

In short when the fires of the Hazarah rebellion were in full flame, and their evildoing was in the ascendant, strange things happened to supporters of the government. One of these was that Mir Ahmad Shah Khan took up the pen of service to the government with the fingers of exposition and exactly like this drafted these words and expressions and sealed them with the sunlike royal seal and distributed them throughout the provinces.

Since the unbelief (*kufir*) of the Hazarahs of Dayah, Fuladah, Zawuli, Sultan Ahmad, Uruzgan and other places has reached such a point that they are declaring all ghazis and Muslims as unbelievers and in order to extirpate these irreligious people so that not a trace of them remains in those places and throughout the mountains and their properties be distributed among the Ghilja'i and Durrani tribes, the royal court (*sarkār-i a'ālā*) has approved as policy that a triumphant army made up of regular and tribal forces from every part of the kingdom of the God-given government descend upon the soil of the rebel tribes of the Hazarahjat so that not a soul of those wayward tribes be safe nor escape and that the boys and girls be taken captive (and made slaves) by every member of the tribes of the *mujahidīn* of Afghanistan. Therefore there



will be a system of conscription imposed on the tribes of Afghanistan which will be detailed in proclamations. The quota for the part of Qandahar which is under the governorship of Sardar °Abd Allah Khan is set at 10,000, some of whom will be cavalry and the remainder infantry. They are obliged to come with two month's provisions (in food grains) for each man, according to the number of men conscripted. The way to organize the conscription into cavalry and infantry is as follows: (the governor) should assemble the maliks and notables of the tribes and the mullas of the mosques who have done a census of the tribes and should tell them what the allocation for conscription and for providing the two-month's worth of provisions is. Then after (announcing) the allocations, he should appoint collectors and should have them assemble the conscripts at one place or at two or three places convenient to the tribes. He should make sure they are all well equipped and then under his (Sardar °Abd Allah Khan's) command, he should march them to the boundary of his jurisdiction near the edge of the lands of the evil infidel Hazarahs and then wait there. Having then notified His Majesty of his arrival on the borders of the evil infidels, whatever the order is regarding moving and marching, he is to do straightaway because the royal court has firmly laid it down that after reporting the (completion of the) conscription and the supply of provisions by (all the) governors to His Majesty, at that point the fortunate royal entourage will also set forth in felicity on a direct route to the Hazarahjat. At that time, a farman will be issued to each governor for the tribal forces to march so that (everyone) marches in a coordinated way. It is ordered of Sardar °Abd Allah Khan that after arrival of this auspicious farman and proclamation he first post the proclamation in the bazaar and then gather the maliks, worthies, elders of the tribes (*ulūsāt*) and the imams of the mosques of every tribe, give them their conscript allocations, and appoint a recruiter (*hawālah-dār*) to supervise and assemble the conscripts and the food grains for each recruit and then send a report from each *dāk* (postal) station on the number of conscripts and the amount of foodstuffs assembled. As for the allocation to the tribes of conscription quotas, if it should happen that (even) one grain or one dinar is taken as a bribe or as *muhlatānah* (NB: money paid to get a delay in carrying out some obligation), any person who takes a bribe and then gives special consideration because of it or gives some one more time to comply will be held to the strictest account. Nor should it be allowed to happen in the process of conscription that a person be able to pay money so that someone else is taken in his place. This is because that evil tribe of infidels is incited by religious solidarity (*ham millatī*) and plundering and killing them is therefore an obligation which should also be based on religious solidarity. In holy war, repelling and killing infidel evildoers conforms to the Pure Noble Law and it is incumbent upon every individual

Muslim to make it his own duty to fight them. The quotas for conscription are as follows: Qandahar is responsible for providing 10,000 men, Pusht-i Rud and Farah are responsible for 10,000, Herat for 10,000, Balkh for 10,000, Qataghan for 3,000, Badakhshan for 2,000 horsemen, Kahmard and Siqan for 2,000, the capital and its dependencies of course is responsible for 10,000<sup>12</sup> /782/, and Maymanah for 3,000. This is the arrangement for tribal conscription. The arrangement of the regular forces will be different. All the mighty regular forces, the artillery, and the arsenal (*jubbah-khānah*) from Turkistan will be under the command of the brave Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, those of Badakhshan under the command of General Kuttal Khan, those from Maymanah under the command of Brigadier Rahmat Khan, those from the capital under the command of the illustrious General Mir °Ata Khan and General Shayr Muhammad Khan. In all, this means nearly one lak of infantry and twenty thousand horsemen from the tribes, and from the regular army nearly forty *paltan* (of infantry), ten thousand *risālah* cavalrymen, one hundred cannons, and innumerable arsenals. The evildoing infidel Hazarachs have been extremely defiant and anathematized Muslims as infidels and therefore severe retribution and a well-deserved punishment is required so that it will long be remembered in pages recounting the inflicting of reprisals. The end.

Individual farmans and proclamations were issued with these very same words pronouncing the *takfīr* (anathematizing as infidels) against the rebel Hazarachs and proclaiming *jihād* against them to the governors (and other officials) of Qataghan, Badakhshan, Turkistan, Maymanah, Herat, Farah, Pusht-i Rud, Siqan, Kahmard, Ghaznin and other places to people like Mirza Ghulam Husayn, the *sar daftar* of Badakhshan; Mirza Aqa Jan, the *sar daftar* of Qataghan; Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan (governor of Turkistan); Muhammad Sharif Khan (governor of Maymanah); Sa°d al-Din Khan (governor of Herat); Governor Mawla Dad Khan (governor of Farah and Pusht-i Rud); Mirza Aqa Jan Khan, *sar daftar* of Farah and Pusht-i Rud; and Munshi Muhammad Yusuf Khan and Ghulam °Ali Khan (no identification given). As a result of this order and proclamation, the reasonable person (*°āqil-i kāmīl*) knows that what the wayward Hazarah sect experienced, how they were plundered, killed, and enslaved, and what fate had in store for them was a result of their own disgusting behavior which was written on their foreheads, as will be recorded in due course, God willing. Indeed:

Whoever fights with someone who has arms of steel // Only damages his own silver (weak) forearm.

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<sup>12</sup> The Tehran edition says 2,000.

Meantime, in the course of these doings and before the issuance of this proclamation, Mawla Dad Khan, the governor of Farah, who in accordance with the farman of His Majesty had gone out to arrest the evildoers of Chahgi like Shah Nazar, Lalah Khan, and Mirza Jan,—as was already recounted under the events of Ramazan—captured Mirza Jan. But Lalah Khan who had no wives or children escaped to Kharan. Mawla Dad detained Mirza Jan and the tenants (*dihqānān*) of Shah Nazar who numbered some seventy-eight men, women, and children, confiscated all their property, including 702 head of livestock, all of which he took back to Farah and then sent off to Qandahar. Shah Nazar and the brother of Lalah Khan, Kuhandil Khan, who had come to Qandahar on some business, were arrested as a result of a letter sent to the governor of Qandahar by Mawla Dad Khan telling him of their presence (in Qandahar), and were imprisoned along with the others. After a time, as will be recounted below, they were sent to Kabul from Qandahar and along the way some of them escaped. The rest arrived in Kabul and were ordered to go and live in Qataghan. Ultimately, two of the escapees were re-arrested and were hanged in Kabul.

Baluchis of Chakhansur whose rebellion was recounted earlier, incited by Bunyad Khan the brother of Na<sup>ib</sup> Ahmad Khan, once again set forth on the path of fitna and sometime after midday, attacked servants of the government such as Sartib °Abd al-Rahim Khan and Muhammad Sharif Khan Ishaqza<sup>i</sup>. The majority of the fractious Baluchi evildoers were injured or drowned in the Hirmand River, and seven were captured. Six supporters and servants of the government were killed, thirty wounded, and a group of people from Sistan who were in league with the rebels were also killed. In the end, at His Majesty's order, the Baluchi prisoners were turned over to the relatives of the slain in reward for their services to the government and were put to death in recompense for their deeds. After killing these prisoners, Maqam Khan and Arbab Ghulam Muhammad went off to Sistan under instructions from Muhammad Sharif Khan to reassure and win over the Baluchi elders who had picked up and gone to Iranian Sistan. They reassured all the elders, reconciling them with abundant assurances, and agreed with them that they would move back to their homes with wives and children, some by way of Shindah and some by way of Minu. Heading back for their home territory, they had yet to reach their homes and dwelling places when, at the village of Kadah, Arbab Ghulam Muhammad collected from them the diwani tax arrears which Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan, chief of the Bureau of Audits, and his assistants had assessed and for the collection of which regular cavalrymen had been sent out. He (Arbab Ghulam Muhammad) sent the money to the Farah treasury escorted by Shah Karam and his own (Arbab Ghulam Muhammad's) brother, Dust Muhammad. The people of Kadah who considered (the collection of) those funds illegal and theirs by right /783/ killed the two men, took the money, turned their faces from happiness, and hastened into the valley of waywardness. Seeing this, Arbab Ghulam Muhammad was frightened and ran away. Consequently, killing and injuring became widespread among the subjects of the government, whether

good or evil, friend or foe. The flames of fighting had yet to die down and nothing had yet been settled when the sons of °Ali Khan Baluch, with a group of quarrelsome evil people from Iranian Sistan, rose up to assist those despicable and fractious folk. Muhammad Sharif Khan Ishaqza'i, growing apprehensive and fearful, asked for help from Colonel Muhammad Khan and °Abd al-Rasul Khan, the *sar daftar* of Farah. They sent off to Chakhansur thirty Sakhlu infantrymen with a little ammunition and ordered them to assist him with a surgeon and other necessary things.

Meantime, Na'ib Ahmad Khan Baluch, some fractious mutineers, and the Sistanis who were Iranian subjects entered Chakhansur district in force and began to raid and plunder the subjects of this government, taking as booty large numbers of livestock from the villages of Nad °Ali, Dih Dadi, and Dih Zaynal. At every village they came to, they encountered no hindrance to its destruction and so brought harm to many people. Muhammad Sharif Khan, Sartib °Abd al-Rahim Khan, and a sizeable force set off in pursuit to recover the stolen property. The two sides fought, sixteen of the mutineers were bloodily cut down, and ten others were made captive. But the booty was taken and they were unable to recover it. All (the plundered property) was taken to the district of Maylak which belonged to Khan Jahan, the son of Ibrahim Khan, and was kept there. Muhammad Sharif Khan and Sartib °Abd al-Rahim Khan wrote to the governor of Sistan telling him to stop these crafters of corruption and conceivers of conflict from perpetrating this sort of unacceptable behavior and to return the subjects' livestock forthwith so that the cord of friendship between the two governments would not be severed by their actions and by the shears of hostility. Because of the rancor he had in his heart and the (evil) thoughts which he harbored in the pavilion of his mind, he paid no attention to what was in their letter and replied with rude words. They sent his reply to the throne and sought permission to go to war. His Majesty, however, because of the ignition of the flames of fighting which he was in the midst of with the despicable Hazarahs dwelling in the mountains, sent the following letter (*musawwadah*) telling them to write to the governor of Sistan saying, 'Since the cord of unity and friendship between the two sublime governments of Iran and Afghanistan is tied and bound fast, no matter should occur between the subjects of the two sides which could occasion such hatred and hostility as to lead to war between the two governments.'

(Even) with the dispatch of their letter (to this effect), the governor of Sistan still did not refrain from boasting and vainglory and—as will come—this became a cause for discussions between the two countries. His Majesty conducted talks with the wali of Khurasan through the governor of Herat, held talks and (eventually) settled this dispute and obtained the return of the stolen livestock.

Meanwhile, during the turmoil of these times, Russian officials established a large ammunition dump at Panjdih and they encouraged Shihab al-Din Khan Afghan who had long been friendly with the governor there to stir up the Hazarahs of Qal°ah-i Naw and Panjdih. He thereupon began to have frequent

contacts with the Hazarachs and at the encouragement of a Russian colonel (*polkovnik*), began to advise them to offer their allegiance to that government. At the command and farman of His Majesty, Field Marshal Faramarz Khan sent a letter to *Sadbashi* °Abd al-Rabb Khan, the border guard at Maruchaq, ordering him to block the Hazarachs from crossing the border and going to see Shihab al-Din Khan. He was also to dispatch a large group of horsemen to block the travel of Hazarachs coming (back) from Shihab al-Din Khan. Due to this closing of access to the Hazarachs and seeing the arrow of his intention fall far short of his desire's target, the *polkovnik* put a letter in the hands of a Turkmen named Nawruz under the pretext that he (the *polkovnik*) was owed 100 tangahs and an overcoat by Allah Wirdi a man from Shakiban. But actually he was sending him (Nawruz) as a spy. He sent him (Nawruz) to Sarhang Mahmud Khan with a message that said he was to help him (Nawruz) get to Shakiban, one of the villages of Herat, where he would collect what he (the *polkovnik*) was owed and then return. But he (Sarhang Muahmud Khan) could see the signs of espionage on his face, forbade him from going to Shakiban, and said that if Allah Wirdi himself attests to this debt of his he will send those things (the money and the overcoat) to him. Otherwise, he would summon him (Allah Wirdi) and have him answer for himself. The Turkmen (Nawruz) now abandoned the pretext (that he was just collecting a debt), gave up his attempt at spying, and headed back. After his return, the *polkovnik*, with five Qazaq and two Turkmen riders, set out to on the path of flaunting himself (showing off, proving he wa scock of the walk) and went to a point opposite and facing the tent of Sarhang Mahmud Khan and his men. He put on a show (of force), blocked up the canal (*jūy*) of the village of Qarah Tapah, turned towards Chihil Dukhtaran and stopped up the canal of Chap Qul and the canal of Khwajah Jir. Entering /784/ Chihil Dukhtaran, he told the governor there that the subjects of Afghanistan have (only) one-sixth of the rights to the water of the canal. Therefore these three canals either must be shut down or (the Afghans) should stop using their waters for none reaches Chaman Bid and Muri because they are taking the water, and the crops of those two places are dried out. For this reason, those three canals were closed off so that subjects of the government of Afghanistan would not be tempted to take the water.

Learning what had happened, the governor of Herat sent a letter to Sarhang Mahmud Khan telling him to make the *polkovnik* understand, but to do it courteously, that at the time of the demarcation of the border an inter-governmental (bilateral) decision was reached and finalized that the Afghans had a right to make the waters of all the pre-existing canals flow to irrigate their crops and to make use of them. And in order that surplus water flows to the lands of the subjects of the Russian government, Afghans living between Chil (sic) Dukhtaran and Qarah Tapah would not dig new canals. Therefore two new canals which were dug after the conclusion of the border demarcation and the bilateral agreement and put into operation were blocked up by the government. Regarding the Russian government's saying that Afghans have a right to one-sixth of the water, when talks are held, the *polkovnik* should be asked 'who has

made such an agreement with the Russian government concerning the shares and what proof and documentation does he have?' If water is not reaching Chaman Bid and Muri, the government of Afghanistan is not the guarantor that water reaches those two places. The Afghans are not preventing any excess water from flowing. Sarhang Mahmud Khan made the polkovnik understand and acknowledge that his behavior was uncalled for. He put an end to the discussions and to (the polkovnik's) arrogance.

Also in these days, the Bagh-i Jahan-numa of Tashqurghan, the foundations of which, at His Majesty's order, were laid during 1307, one thousand three hundred and seven—as mentioned earlier, reached completion through the engineering, handiwork, and architectural skill of Ustad Muhammad Shah and all the pavilions, walls, and avenues were finished.

Meantime, Brigadier Muhammad Sadiq Khan, in accordance with a farman—mentioned above—that was issued to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, the commander of the army (*sipahdār*) of Turkistan, marched out of the army base at Dih Dadi near Balkh with six cannons, two infantry regiments, and 400 regular cavalry to smash the evil group of Hazarachs. When he reached the manzil of Ruhi at the mouth of the Suf Valley (Darrah-i Suf) he camped there and awaited the arrival of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, who had set out in his wake.

Meantime, the men of the Sih Dastah Hazarachs of Jaghuri such as (the people of) Gari, Izdari, and Baghuchari, having cinched the belt of service to the government, marched to punish the people of Qalandar at Colonel Farhad Khan's order. When they neared Qalandar and chose a halting place, the people of Qalandar attacked them at night and killed four of the Sih Dastah. Several of the rebels were also killed. Unsuccessful, the rebels returned to their homes and safe places. The supporters of the government set up their base at the place they had reached (when attacked) and remained fully prepared for a fight.

During this time, 3,000 Andari tribesmen assembled because of the proclamation given above. The governor of Ghaznin ordered that since most of them had no weapons due to the rebellion which they had raised in 1304, one thousand three hundred and four, and for which, at royal command, their arms had been confiscated from them, those who did have weapons would have a combat role, while those who had no arms would transport the army's food and supplies from Ghaznin to Hajaristan. For this they would receive monetary compensation from the government. In addition, the royal farmans which had been sent to the governor of Ghaznin to be forwarded to the five Afghan nomad tribes—Kandi, Mati, Kharuti, Mati Khayl, and Daftani— regarding holy war (*ghazā wa jihād*) against the Hazarachs, along with the proclamations anathematizing the Hazarachs as infidels, were delivered to the aforementioned tribes and incited them to fight the Hazarachs. Also (the governor) showed a copy of the oath of loyalty of the Andaris, Tarakis, and °Ali Khayl which they had given the government after their rebellion to their (the five Afghan nomad tribes') leaders and afterwards sent it to Mansur Khan, the governor, and Mulla Muhammad-i Mushkin, the qazi of Muqur, with a message to rouse the people to fight. Also

he (the governor of Ghaznin) distributed and sent fifteen *kharwārs* of various kinds of bullets and seven *kharwārs*, forty *sīr* of powder by Kabul weight to the tribal force. This was powder and shot which Parwanah Khan, the deputy field marshal, had delivered to Ghaznin from the capital.

During the tumultuous events of the early stages of this episode, when the conflagration of evil of the Hazarah tribes flared up, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, having marched from Churah to destroy the evil folk of Uruzgan and reached the manzil of Marabad, sent a letter to Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qandahar, and asked for two cannons, one breech-loading (*dunbulah-pur*) and one muzzle-loading (*dahan-pur*), along with ammunition and fuses, cartridges for breech-loading rifles, and lead. Having loaded up ammunition (for the artillery) and many cartridges but as there was no ammunition for the breech-loading cannon, /1785/, he sent off to Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan two other guns, a five-pounder and a three-pounder, both horse-drawn (*jalwī*), along with ammunition.

Meantime Ghulam Shah Sultan, Hazarah of Miyan Nishin, who had the responsibility to reassure the Hazarahs of Bubash and Suhbat Khan who had fled up into the mountains in fear of the royal army—as was mentioned above—did win them over with reassurances and got them to return to their homes and dwellings.

Also, the governor of Qandahar, in accord with the urgent farmans which had been issued in his name, assigned a thousand camels and a thousand donkeys to transport foodstuffs and sent them off straight away to Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan. These were over and above the thousand camels which had already been dispatched to carry supplies. He also put a levy on the people of Qandahar and its environ for 2,700 *kharwars* of wheat and barley and ordered them to deliver it to the royal army. This was in addition to the (already-issued) government (requisition) of food and provisions (*taghār*).

Meantime, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, en route to Uruzgan, having reached Marabad, as was already mentioned, sent °Aziz Allah Khan to Kamsan with two cannons, 600 regular infantry, and 1,200 horsemen from the Hazarahs of Day Zangi and others who had joined him and were commanded by Mir Ilkhani, Muhammad Riza Beg Ilqani, Muhammad Husayn Beg La°l and others, telling them that since the Uruzganis have blocked Darrah-i Pahlawan Pass and fortified it, they should enter Uruzgan by way of Kamsan. He also dispatched Sardar Muhammad Anwar Khan with two cannons, one regular infantry regiment, and 300 Sakhlu infantrymen to march to Uruzgan by way of Chinartu. He himself decided to make for Uruzgan by way of Qul Khar.

Also at this time, Mirza Amir Muhammad Khan Afghan was honored by His Majesty with the office of superintendent (*sar kardagi*—postmaster-general) for all post offices (*pust-khānah-hā*) and took up his duties at the (central) post office (*dāk-khānah*) in Kabul.

Meanwhile, during these tumultuous times when fighting was going on with the evildoing Hazarahs, a Chinese officer with 100 regular soldiers and supplies arrived at Saman, better known as Samah, on the border of Badakhshan. He met

with Captain Ghulam Haydar Khan and °Ubayd Allah Khan, the governor of Shughnan and Wakhan, who were stationed there guarding the border with twenty-one men. When General Sayyid Shah Khan learned of this, he sent a man from Fayzabad to find out (the officer's) purpose in coming there. His man then returned to Sayyid Shah Khan with two letters in Turkish. The contents of both letters of the Chinese officer were that the Murghabi River was the border between the governments of Afghanistan and China. Having obtained this same information from the talks held by two sides at the time of the meetings, he (the emissary sent from Fayzabad) also told (General) Sayyid Shah Khan that the Chinese officer had asked the Afghan border guards what region belonged to their government and they had told him that "this side of the Aq Tash Mountain along with the Murghabi River belongs to Afghanistan and what lies beyond those two places belongs to China."

The general informed the throne and himself went to Rustaq with 200 regular infantrymen from the Tikabi Infantry Regiment and 200 regular cavalrymen in order to reinforce some of the border points. After assigning the infantry and cavalry he had brought with him to man strategic places, he also inspected the guards along the edge of the Chah River, verified the security of that region, and then, taking 100 regular infantry and 100 regular cavalry from the garrison at Rustaq, returned to Fayzabad. At His Majesty's order, he assigned Fath Muhammad Khan to Munjan to build a fort there large enough to house 400 regular horse and foot.

Meantime, Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan, because of the torments and oppression he had inflicted on the newly-obedient Hazarachs of Hajaristan caused them to rebel. His Majesty, through letters from new writers there, learned of his violence and injustice and sent a farman of reprimand, summoning him to Kabul. Consequently, the colonel left Hajaristan for Kabul and reached Malistan. From there General Shayr Muhammad Khan sent him on to Ghaznin escorted by eight regular cavalrymen. On the twenty-fourth of Shawwal/22 May, the governor of Ghaznin sent him on to Kabul escorted by another eight cavalrymen. When he was received in audience, he was punished and stripped of the rank of colonel.

During this time, Mulla °Abd al-Samad Khan, the qazi of Kalat, sent forty-nine Hazarachs from Miyan Nishin to Muqur. These were men whom Sardar Faqir Muhammad Khan had captured and sent (to the qazi) along with another fifty-two people who had been made captive prior to this. There a per diem was allotted to each prisoner from government stores of one *pāw* of wheat. When His Majesty learned in a letter from the qazi what was happening, on the twenty-sixth of Shawwal/24 May he sent a farman ordering him /786/ to distribute the captured wives, daughters, and sons to the people there as male and female slaves. He was to choose five of them as "what the right hand owns" (i.e. slaves) for Muhammad Siddiq Khan Tukhi who himself was in Kabul attending court and hand them over to Muhammad Kabir Khan, his (Muhammad Siddiq's) brother. He was also to put to death all the men who he thought had mutinied and rebelled. As soon as this royal order arrived, in accordance with the



proclamation that had been published anathematizing the Hazarahs as infidels, he put all the men to death and distributed the wives, daughters and young sons to the Afghans as slaves.

During this time, Muhammad Yusuf Khan, °Azm al-Din Khan, and Amir Muhammad Khan, who were stationed in Tamizan district with a large number of cavalry and infantry to fight the evil Hazarahs, set out for Gizab because of a letter from Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan. At Kashkul Pass which the evil Hazarahs had fortified and where they stood ready for battle, they clashed with the Hazarahs. Eventually, realizing they did not have the strength to force the pass, they returned to Tamizan. At Ashtarlay, they were prevented from moving forward and camped there in a state of helplessness and vulnerability.

Also in these days, it came to His Majesty's attention in a letter dated the twenty-sixth of Shawwal from the leaders of the Tira'i, Urukza'i, and Qanbar Khayl, and the ulema of the Afridi, Adam Khayl, Masuza'i, °Ali Shayrza'i, Musaza'i, Zakhah Khayl, Amr Khayl and other tribes living in the mountains of the eastern border region which they had written and in which they expressed obedience and allegiance to this government that they wanted to perform some service to the sovereign. In reply he sent out numerous farmans all with the same words, one to each of the tribes:

In the month of Tir of this year (i.e. in July 1891) separate letters were sent to all the people living in those mountains. Those people did not act in accordance with the instructions written therein. As it was said there, they were to enter into talks with officials of the English government and were to say that they were neither at war with that government nor were they obedient to it. Whenever that government might perpetrate some injury on them they would leave their land and take refuge with the government of Afghanistan. Those people neither held talks with English officials nor (even) sent a letter. Now what they're writing to this government is wholly beyond the pale of the rules of manliness (*muruwwat*) and impartiality for if those people had allowed the guidance and request of this government to find a place in the ear of acceptance and had so acted, then they would have discussed things with the English government, officials of that government would have opened talks with this government about what they said, and a proper accommodation for their lives and livelihoods would have been reached. The fact of the matter is that it is incumbent upon (all) Muslims that when they give their word they are obliged to keep it. No matter what those people say, they didn't do it, and they concealed everything. So one might say that the disparities in what they say have become so obvious that (it is clear) that the objective of those people is to create dissension and conflict between the governments of Afghanistan and England. It is indeed strange that from the present and future circumstances of those people that (what) they want is for feelings to become troubled and vexed between those two

governments. What will it gain them, this object and purpose of theirs? Other than loss and sorrow, what benefit will accrue? These words were written as good advice and as the final word so that if they would always tell the truth and would cease harboring the desire to get money from both governments and would not even think about violating what they have written, then they would hold talks with that government, as they have been advised, so that as a result of their talks with them (i.e. the English), that government would sketch out a plan for discussions with this government. If God wills it, some good arrangement with respect to those people will result. If not, there will be no word spoken about, or answer given to, anything they write after this.

Meanwhile, on the 29th of Shawwal/27 May, Sardar Shirindil Khan, at the farman of His Majesty, sent Commandant Muhammad Hasan Khan from Khust towards the Hazarahjat with an infantry regiment, two mountain guns, and fifty regular cavalymen.

During this time, on Monday, the third of Zi Qa°dah/30 May, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qandahar, set off to destroy the evil Hazarahs accompanied by Mirza °Abd al-°Aziz Khan, the secretary at the government court (*maḥkamah-i ḥukūmatī*), regular and *mulkī* forces, and artillery. He appointed his son, Muhammad °Usman Khan, as deputy governor of Qandahar and marched to crush the evildoing and ill-natured Hazarahs.

Also on this day, a farman was issued to confiscate the property and wealth of Fath Muhammad Khan Baluch, the governor of Churah, and that of the *ṣad-bāshī* Ghulam Muhammad Khan Hazarah both of whom had joined forces with the Hazarah evildoers, been summoned to Kabul, and put to death (*bi-yāsā rasīdand*) /787/. It was the royal order that their wives and children should be sent from Qandahar to Kabul so that they could be given to servants of the government as slaves. Eventually, after the passing of many days, the noble celestial-dwelling prince, Sardar Habib Allah Khan, who looked upon young and old alike with the gaze of kindness and mercy, took them out of the house of slavery (*jāriyah-khānah*), and gave them back to their own people.

During this time, in a letter from Sayyid Murtazi, Sayyid Isma°il, and Sayyid Habib, three men living in Wakhāl in the district (*julgā*) of Herat it came to the benevolent ears of His Majesty that since the days of former sultans, their land taxes had been registered in the royal account book as a salary-grant (*wazīfah*) for their forebears. They had been exempt from paying taxes and sending them to officials of the state. But at this moment tax collectors from the diwan were demanding they pay their land taxes. Therefore it was their request that a new order be issued, exempting them from paying the diwani land taxes. On the fourth of Zi Qa°dah/1 June, His Majesty, who day and night was preoccupied with carrying out the divine commandments and spent no money from the Bayt al-Mal of the Muslims except what was necessary to protect the honor and dignity of Muslims, guard the borders, and pay the salaries and other expenses of the army, wrote in reply to them saying,

According to the commandment of God—Praise and Exalt Him—who has said, ‘Perform the prayer and pay the alms-tax (*zakāt*)’ I can neither overlook the land tax nor exempt anyone. If I act this way (that is demand the taxes), they should consider my royal person as their friend for I forbid and prevent them from consuming what is illicit wealth. By not paying the zakat, what these people want is to deliberately disobey God. And by rejecting God’s commandment they themselves know what the people of Islam will say about them. Now, regarding that very zakat that they say is licit (for them) to consume from the income, produce, and yield of their land, don’t they know that not paying the zakat makes the yield (*manfa‘ah*) utterly illicit (*ḥarām*). Our royal person can’t bear the thought of their consuming what is forbidden and thereby committing sin and does not want them to turn their faces from the commandment ‘to enjoin the good and forbid the evil,’ hasten into the valley of error, and be punished for their own acts in this world and the next because of what they’ve done. If they say they are spending it on a hostel or feeding the poor, the indigent, and guests, this is in a time when the infidels on all four sides are turning the face of violence and conquest in the direction of the kingdom of Islam and the expenses of the army have not been reduced but are even greater. In the face of such a complex situation (lit: knots which cannot be untied), it is necessary above all that land taxes come into the Bayt al-Mal, that they be available for the expenses of war in defense of the bastion of religion, and that sayyids and Muslims exert every effort to protect the community (*bay‘ah*) of Islam. Even if they don’t see themselves as having the strength to withstand the infidels coming from all four sides, they should at least barricade the road in one direction. At such a time, the diwani land taxes are permissible (*ḥalāl*) to them (to consume for the costs of defense in their area). Otherwise they are absolutely forbidden. Moreover with respect to extending rights of exemption to two crore (twenty million) people, then our royal person, knowing itself accountable and answerable to the All-Knowing Lord, must not overlook anyone’s taxes. Whether a learned man (*‘ālim*), a scholar (*fāzil*), a sayyid or shaykh, everyone must pay their taxes.

During this time, via a letter from the wife of Hazrat ‘Ali Khan, *ra’īs* of the people living in Asmar who had fled to Chitrar and settled there, it came to His Majesty’s attention that Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan gave refuge to enemies of his (Hazrat ‘Ali Khan’s) and treated them with dignity and honor and to spite him (Hazrat ‘Ali Khan) has continued to favor and show kindness to them. Because of this behavior on the field marshal’s part, he was much aggrieved and took refuge with the Mir of Chitrar who is a supporter of this government. She also wrote that (His Majesty) should invite one of his (Hazrat ‘Ali Khan’s) daughters to Kabul and affianc her to a prince or extend to him

himself the favor of permission to bring his daughter to Kabul. On the fourth of the aforementioned month/1 June, His Majesty wrote this manshur:

If the field marshal has given (Hazrat °Ali Khan's) enemies sanctuary with him when he (Hazrat °Ali Khan) considers himself a supporter of the government, then why has he gone to Chitrar and not come to this threshold? Now, notwithstanding this mistake on his part, if, again, he is telling the truth and considers himself a friend and supporter of the government, he should rise, put on the pilgrim's garb (*ihrām-band*) and head for the *qiblah* of security and hope so that through kissing the sublime threshold of authority, he will find true happiness. Also if his daughter should be seen as appropriate to one of the princes, she will be enrolled in the veiled corps of the estimable harem. If he should imagine that Asmar will be returned to him as his government, this is out of the question because Asmar is the gate between the Pamirs, Chitrar, and Afghanistan and can't be left to friend or foe. It is absolutely necessary that mighty regiments be permanently stationed there. If he is not a friend and supporter (of the government) then it is inappropriate that a personal tie (*waslat*) be forged by bringing his daughter into the bonds of marriage with a prince.

Ultimately, as will be recounted below, (Hazrat °Ali Khan) came to Jalalabad /788/ and a place of residence and living allowance were granted to him by the government.

Also at this time, the wives and children of Sardar Muhammad °Azim Khan, son of the Amir-i Kabir (Amir Dust Muhammad Khan) who—as was noted earlier—had been banished to Peshawar and, after a long time, as a result of his letter and petition had been pardoned along with his family and given permission to return, entered Jalalabad from there, came to Kabul and was the object of royal favors. This was in contrast to Muhammad Rahim Khan, the son of Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan the son of the late Sardar Sultan Muhammad, whose father (i.e. Sardar Muhammad Sarwar Khan) had come to Kabul having obtained permission. He too (i.e. Muhammad Rahim) had petitioned for permission (to return) but it was not granted. Subsequently, His Majesty wrote him and said that his father who was at the court, was asked to be his guarantor on behalf of the government, but he had refused. So there could be no permission for him to return to Kabul.

Meanwhile, during these events, the Hazarabs of Bubash and Day Chupan who up to this time had not been the source of disobedience, because of the arrest of most of their leaders whom Sardar Faqir Muhammad Khan, as was mentioned above, had sent to Kalat where Qazi °Abd al-Samad Khan, at the order of His Majesty, had killed them and distributed their wives, sons and daughters to Afghans (as slaves), were deeply troubled and rebelled. Thus, on the seventh of Zi Qa°dah/4 June, they attacked the army under Sardar Faqir Muhammad Khan from four sides. He ordered the regular and *mulki* armies to

repel the attack and with rifle and cannon fire they kept the Hazarahs from prevailing and forced them to flee into the mountains. Similarly, the Hazarah evildoers of Uruzgan, Bay Timur, and Sharah clashed with the government force at Bughra and much blood flowed. Ultimately, the Hazarahs were overcome and routed and crept back helpless into the natural caves of the mountains and to their own forts.

Meantime, in the course of this tumult, many copies of a booklet containing a map and a sketch of the land both inside and outside the southeastern border, as well as the border points dividing the governments of Afghanistan and England, including road distances and where (the roads were) easy (to travel) and where they were difficult, and (such places as) Kul Kachah, Kutaki, and others which, at His Majesty's order had been printed and published under his name, were sent to Sardar Shirindil Khan and he in turn distributed them to Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan who was stationed at Wanah so that he would be fully cognizant of where the border was. If he had to deal with English officials who might transgress in some fashion, he could negotiate from a position of knowledge and put an end to any conflicts so that no loss would occur with respect to the border. On the ninth of Zi Qa'dah/5 June, he himself (Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan) set out from Du Mandah on an inspection tour of Darrah Tangi and other places in the Jadran mountains with a force of one (regular) infantry regiment, 100 regular cavalrymen, four cannons, and 500 *mulki* infantry and cavalry. He went as far as Ziruk and Nakah, reinforced and re-organized the guards of customs stations (*banadir*) and strategic spots as well as taking care of other matters. He took hostages from the people of those mountains who had lifted up their heads and unfurled the banners of rebellion, and, taking with him a sketch of the mountains, valleys, and plains, he then returned (to Du Mandah).

During this time Mirza Muhammad Husayn Khan, Chief of the Bureau of Audits (*Daftar-i Sanjish*), with the advice and approval of his colleagues, drew up a plan to increase taxes on the lands and estates of all the subjects of the kingdom and by letter requested permission from His Majesty to survey and measure farms and sown fields. His request meeting with royal approval, numerous farmans went out from the Bureau of Audits to provincial governors with the order that they should send to Kabul whoever in their administration knew or was learning the art of surveying so that after being assigned salaries, they would go out and measure the properties of the subjects and write down and register in the name of every individual (owner) the extent of his land and send it to the Bureau of Audits so that no one's burden should fall on the shoulders of anyone else. In addition, the (tax) yield from those lands and estates on which taxes were low would be increased in accordance with the survey and the commands of the Holy Law. Thus everyone would pay to the government on an equitable footing and no one would pay more or less (than their fair share). Eventually, as a result of this order, because of the fact that in most places, they were registering lands of dried up and silted-up canals, which at one time had been cultivated but at this point were not farmed but considered "dead land," a very heavy burden fell on the shoulders of the subjects. Most moaned and cried

out at the increase in taxes and they (the tax collectors) delivered up for sale under the provision of pre-emption (*shuf'ah*) some of the lands of those who sought redress in lieu of the increased taxes of a certain number of years. They (the collectors) asserted that this was a service to the government (to put the lands up for sale)./789/

**(This is where the Tehran edition comes to an end.)**

*The Trouble Caused by the Evildoers Living in the Mountains of the Border and Their Reconciliation*

Also during these aforementioned times and amid the turmoil and tumult of the Hazarahs, Muhammad Haydar Khan, the governor of Chamkani, had arrested and imprisoned Lunak and Dawar two leaders of the evil Hazar Buz along with several others because of their evildoing and corruption. Dawur's people, girding their loins to free him and his colleagues, came against Muhammad Haydar Khan in force and released and made away with them all. Not long after, Muhammad Haydar Khan, in accordance with a farman which His Majesty had issued responding to his report (of the incident), sent those wretched truculent people a letter that said that if they did not bring back the prisoners and hand them over, they should expect the arrival of a mighty force and be prepared for their own total destruction. Frightened by this letter, they returned the prisoners Muhammad Haydar Khan. But in view of their evildoing, he was no longer satisfied with their just surrendering the prisoners and seized one household each from the people of Andiwan, Ghandi, and Hazar Dirakht, handed them over to the leaders of the Ahmad Khayl, Hasan Khayl, and Jaji, and obtained a receipt accepting responsibility (*zamānat-nāmah*) for the prisoners. Then in response to a farman of summons, he sent the prisoners off to Kabul, reassured the evildoers, and put an end to the trouble.

Meantime, Akhtar Muhammad Khan Barakza'i and Taj Muhammad Khan Fufalza'i, cavalymen in the Shahi Troop who had been assigned to take a census of the flocks of the nomad Ghilza'i Afghans, went off to the Hazarahjat with a tribal force of men from Nawzad, Nawah, Musa Qal'ah, and Zamindawar which they had gathered together at the order of Sardar 'Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qandahar, and joined up with the regiments under the banner of Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan. At this sardar's direction, together they assaulted the wicked Hazarahs and occupied their sangars. Of this (attacking) force, Muhammad Ayaz Khan of the Shahi Troop was wounded and 'Abd al-Wahhab Khan, a *ṣad-bāshī*, was killed. A number of the evil Hazarahs were killed; some were wounded and taken prisoner. After this victory, these two men (Akhtar Muhammad Khan Barakza'i and Taj Muhammad Khan Fufalza'i), with the permission of Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan, resumed their duty of the livestock census and left the force they had raised with Sardar 'Abd al-Quddus Khan.

During this turmoil, Fayz Allah Khan *daf'ahdār*, who had undertaken to

collect the taxes of the Hazarabs of Dahrawad with three regular cavalymen, entered Gizab district where 800 Hazarab evildoers fell on him and bound him fast with the rope of subjugation. They pillaged his equipment and possession and intended to kill him but Sayyid Shams al-Din, one of the Hazarab sayyids, along with a few of the leaders of that evil-twinning tribe, interceded and freed him and his companions from captivity and saved them from being killed.

During this time, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, who had set out for Uruzgan—as was mentioned above, on the eleventh of Zi Qa°dah/7 June reached Shuy, which belonged to the Hazarabs of Day Chupan, and there joined the army of Sardar Faqir Muhammad Khan, the governor of Kalat, who was already there. (Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan) wanted to summon Colonel Farhad Khan who with the force of regular troops and a *mulki* force of the Sih Dastah Hazarabs of Jaghuri under his banner was engaging the Hazarabs of Qalandar indecisively so that with suitable power and capability he could go on to Uruzgan via Hazar Buz and Darrah-i Bubash. He had still not revealed the plans he was pondering nor raised the banners of his intentions when a *mulki* force of Hazarabs from Gizab and Tamizan and a force of regulars who had been dispatched towards Uruzgan—as was earlier mentioned—reached the Kashkul Pass, which had been fortified by a rebel band, forced its way through, and arrived in Uruzgan. The force which was there and under siege by the Hazarabs was unable to assist them or provide them with supplies nor were they able to reinforce those who were besieged so that they were all at the ends of their ropes, reduced to eating grass, and had no choice but to surrender to the evildoing Hazarabs, hand over the fort which they had occupied to the Uruzganis, obtain bread and some provisions from them, and withdraw towards Gizab and Tamizan, their home territory. Taking Mir Muhammad °Azim Beg Sih Pay, the one who had ignited the fire of this trouble, with them to Gizab in order to send the flames of trouble even higher, they handed over to him the wives and handmaidens of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan, women whom he had taken from the virgin (daughters) of the Hazarab mirs and whom he had made share his bed. (Mir Muhammad °Azim Beg) protected and looked after them with all due regard and respect. The Day Zangi and Day Kundi Hazarab force / **790**/ which had entered Gizab in service to the government and taken up station there, seeing this situation, now imagined that the Hazarab rebels were prevailing and that the supporters of the government were in disarray and defeated. Consequently they all dispersed and each one returned to his own home.

During this time, Sardar °Abd Allah Khan, the governor of Qandahar, who was heading out to crush the evil Hazarabs, reached Khakriz, hurried on from there, and camped at Baghak.

At this time, Ghulam Nabi Khan, governor of Tirin, who had engaged the fitna-choosing Hazarabs with a vengeance but whose position was weak to the point of utter exhaustion, begged Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan for help. Ordering 100 Sakhlu infantrymen to go to Churah to help him, the sardar also sent a message telling him to hold fast until the arrival of the vengeance-minded

force and use every trick he knew to maintain his position. The sardar himself headed for Churah on the heels of the Sakhlu infantrymen and camped at the manzil of Kajur. On the twelfth of Zi Qa<sup>o</sup>dah/8 June, the Hazarah rebels of Churah attacked the Fufalza<sup>o</sup>i force of the *mulki* army of the Durrani tribe. Three Hazarahs were killed and (the rest) turned their faces from the fight and scurried off to the mountains of misfortune. The day after this day which was the thirteenth of the month/9 June, the corruption-twinning Hazarahs again attacked and waged a pitched battle with the Fufalza<sup>o</sup>i from eight o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon. Seven of the Fufalza<sup>o</sup>i were killed, several Hazarahs were also killed, and in the end, they were routed. Victorious, the government supporters seized the forts of the Hazarahs, set them ablaze, and burned them to the ground.

During this time, the *mulki* force from Zamindawar under the command of <sup>o</sup>Abd al-Rahman Khan and <sup>o</sup>Abd al-Hakim Khan entered Tirin district. Sardar <sup>o</sup>Abd Allah Khan ordered 800 Sakhlu infantry who were in his army along with 100 Durrani horsemen under the command of Ghulam Sarwar Khan, the former governor of Kalat, also to go to Tirin.

During this turmoil, the Hazarahs of Qal<sup>o</sup>ah-i Naw, a dependency of Herat, also rebelled and joined the evildoers of the Firuz Kuh tribes and clans, who were always looking for some opportunity. Out of wickedness and waywardness, they attacked <sup>o</sup>Ali Mardan Khan of the Shahi Troop of regular cavalry who was engaged in taking a livestock census. They seized his mount and his government-issue weapons as well as 1,740 rupees of government funds which he had with him, and three horses and the weapons of his followers. They also harassed Jamal Khan, a member of the Shahi Troop, who was in that region on government business. He managed to escape first reaching Qadis, then going among the people living in the Firuz Kuh mountains. Since those hostile hypocrites were in league with the Hazarahs of Qal<sup>o</sup>ah-i Naw, they relieved him of his horse and weapons and 3,000 rupees of government funds which he had with him. Destitute, he managed to make his way to Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan in Turkistan and at his order, as will come below, he undertook the disarming of the Hazarahs of Yakah Ulang, La<sup>o</sup>l, and Sar Jangal.

Learning of the evildoing of the Hazarahs of Qal<sup>o</sup>ah-i Naw and Firuz Kuh, Field Marshal Faramarz Khan sent one (regular) infantry regiment and 200 regular cavalry along with four cannons under the command of Brigadier <sup>o</sup>Abd al-Ahad Khan and Commandant Nizam al-Din Khan from Herat toward Qal<sup>o</sup>ah-i Naw. Qazi Sa<sup>o</sup>d al-Din Khan, the governor there, with the intention of quelling the flames of fitna of these Hazarahs also struck his tent from Herat and reached the manzil of Chahardah Bagh of Qal<sup>o</sup>ah-i Nariman where he waited for three days to get information about the Hazarahs of Qal<sup>o</sup>ah-i Naw, Qadis, and Langar. There he was fully informed of their wickedness and corruption and that they were doggedly holding to their errant ways. Those people, by the guidance of vigilant fortune, learned of the campaign of Brigadier <sup>o</sup>Abd al-Ahad Khan, and so they all came together at Qal<sup>o</sup>ah-i Nariman and waited for him, ready to repent and ask for pardon. Thus when the governor of Herat having reached



Armaliq from there went on to Tikab Ramat, they presented themselves before him and in humble and repentant tones begged for forgiveness. He gave them all abundant reassurances and assuaged their fears. He then camped near a small rivulet at the edge of Qal°ah-i Nariman and there all the leaders of the tribes and clans of the Hazarahs and others of those regions, through the mediation of Mirza Muhammad °Umar Khan Karakhi, stood up to greet him and performed the welcoming ceremonies. He spent several days there straightening out the affairs of those people /791/. He also sent 100 regular cavalymen from the army under his banner along with all the *mulki* horse and foot of the Afghans and of the people of Ubah and Shafilan to the governor of Qadis and Langar with a message telling him to deal with the evildoers of that region with the strong right arm which this force will provide him. He also arrested several mountain-dwelling evildoers of the Firuz Kuh people who were extending the hand of pillage to the property and furnishings of the subjects and threw them in prison. He also arrested and imprisoned the brother of Qazi Jalal along with Mirza Shakur and two kadkhudas of the Hazarahs of Qal°ah-i Naw and others, twenty-five people in all. They were related to persons who had turned their faces from the government and felicity and had misguidedly hastened to the land of the Russian government. These people escaped and went back to Qal°ah-i Naw and once again became the wellsprings of fitna. At the order of the governor of Herat, Mirza Muhammad °Umar Khan set out after them to try and conciliate them. When he got to Qal°ah-i Naw at first he threatened them and then gave them the glad tidings of the favors they could expect from the government and so reconciled them. But not yet having put their affairs in order, nor having properly shored up the foundations of reconciliation, he was deeply engaged making good arrangements and exerting worthy efforts when 300 Hazarah and Turkmen horsemen appeared at the top of a hill and called him to prepare to fight. Though he had no more than fifty horsemen himself, he left the fort, advanced the foot of bravery toward battle, and intended to fight. But his companions lost heart and headed for Qadis in defeat. Because of this Mirza Muhammad °Umar Khan realized he did not have the capability of fighting and turned towards Zih Taw.<sup>13</sup>

At this time, the governor of Qal°ah-i Naw, because of fear, was stricken with fever. Anxious that the Hazarahs (of Qal°ah-i Naw) not pillage his possessions, his horse, and his weapons, he sent them all to Zih Taw. But despite what he thought, the Day Zangi Hazarahs living in Qal°ah-i Naw looted it all. However, one of them, Rustam Bahadur, raised the hand of cease and desist and stopped them from plundering the property of other servants of the government who lived in that region.

Meantime, the Hazarah leaders who had presented themselves before the governor of Herat as was previously recounted, and had sought forgiveness for their sins and were forgiven, presented as gifts sixty horses, sixty camels, 800

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<sup>13</sup> FM: "It's possible that this is Zih Tāb, because in colloquial the people of Herat pronounce *tāb* as *tāw* with a *fathah* on the double-dotted letter *tā*²."

sheep, and other valuable things of that region such as *kurk* (a thick kerchief [*patī*] cloth) and *barak* (a bulky woolen cloth made in the Hazarahjat), large and small carpets as well as things, and willingly placed the cord of obedience around their necks. The gifts were given to forestall their being plundered.

During this, a Russian colonel (*palkūnak/polkovnik*) found an opportunity to create trouble, entered Qal°ah-i Naw from Panjdih with 400 regular horsemen and tried to incite the people there, giving them the glad tidings of favors (awaiting them) from the Russian government. He said that from Badghis up to that place (Qal°ah-i Naw) was part and parcel of the Russian government and they should have no fear of the officials of Afghanistan. Because of this provocation of his, the Hazarachs of Qal°ah-i Naw moved against those of their own people whom they considered rivals and supporters of the government of Afghanistan and also sent a letter to the people of Firuz Kuh and the *uymāqīyah* (Chahar Uymaq) with a message saying that they had brought and welcomed the Russian colonel and his 400 regular cavalymen to Qal°ah-i Naw. He (the colonel) also promised them the glad tidings that for three years they could consider themselves exempt from and not have to pay any taxes. Therefore it was incumbent on them to renounce their obedience to the government of Afghanistan and turn their faces towards the Russian government. On hearing of this foolishness, the governor of Herat undertook to snuff out the flames of dissent and immediately dispatched 150 regular cavalymen stationed at Tikab Ramat and fifty Sakhlu infantry to Qarah Tapah and ordered them to keep those evildoers away from the herd-owners (*māldārs*) of Badghis until the arrival of the victorious forces so that they would not raid and plunder them. He also ordered Brigadier °Abd al-Ahad Khan to go to Qal°ah-i Naw and sent Mulla Husayn and Sahibzadah-i Siyahusahani as well as the Mir of Gazurgah to Hazrat-i Sahib, the spiritual guide (*murshid*) of the people of Qal°ah-i Naw with a message telling him to advise and counsel those people to put an end to the disturbance.

Meantime, Mirza Muhammad °Umar Khan having learned of the trouble caused by the colonel from Panjdih sent a letter to the (Russian) colonel at Tanurah telling him to end his (the other colonel's) corruption-seeking and trouble-making so that no bad feelings would arise between the two governments. The (Tanurah colonel) ascribed the Panjdih colonel's reckless behavior to drunkenness and stupidity and he denied any official Russian hand in this unpleasantness. Consequently, Yarum Padishah learned of his audacious activities, was angered, and wrote to the colonel of Tanurah and told him to order him to return to Panjdih from Qal°ah-i Naw and prevent these kinds of incidents which are contrary to the exigencies of the time and opposed to what everyone has agreed to. He promptly carried out Yarum Padishah's order, frustrated the subjects of this country regarding what they were planning (i.e., the renunciation of Afghan allegiance) and they all became obedient and allegiant (once again). At the time of the arrival of the colonel from Panjdih at Qal°ah-i Naw with the *khāsshah-dārs* under his command, one of the border guards, Ahmad Gul Khan /792/ *sartīp* who had voluntarily abandoned the fort at

Maruchaq on his own accord and out of fear of a Hazarah uprising at Qal'ah-i Naw and had gone to Murghab, was only chastised for his cowardice and was not subjected to punishment or held accountable for his sins. Thus His Majesty sent a farman to General Ghaws al-Din Khan who was stationed in Maymanah and told him not to rely on Sartib Ahmad Gul Khan and to reinforce the fortress at Murghab with men from the regular army. At His Majesty's command, he sent 300 regular infantrymen there and they reinforced it well.

*The Evildoing and Corruption of Sa'id Ahmad Jamshidi*

Also during this turmoil, Sa'id Ahmad Beg Jamshidi, at the instigation of Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, the governor of Herat, used to drop innuendoes about the malfeasance of Mirza Jilani (Jaylani) Khan the *sar daftar* of Herat when people got together and would say that if the government would appoint him to the post he would uncover laks of rupees which (Jilani) had misappropriated. Mirza Jilani Khan heard what he was saying and in the manner and way of people of the diwan who silence their enemies by issuing bills to them for the re-payment of government funds, issued such a bill (to Sa'id Ahmad Jamshidi) for 2,000 *qirān* rupees on which he was in arrears and sent out collectors to get it by force if necessary. Although he protested on the grounds that he had a salary of 2,500 *qirān* rupees at the royal daftar and that they should not treat him with such contempt but count it as compensation for his debt, Mirza Jilani Khan refused and humiliated him. He then wrote a letter to the throne about what had happened. On the fourteenth of Zi Qa'dah/10 June, His Majesty sent him a farman written in his own hand asking him what gives you the authority to say the *sar daftar* is engaged in fraud and who is really behind this accusation?

It is well-known that the *sar daftar*, the governor, and he have stupidly and foolishly caused this kind of business to happen. They have incited each other so that having made those two men (Sa'id Ahmad and Jilani) enemies, he (the governor) harms the affairs of the government. Wake up and know full well that if after today there should be any further thing like this or he should provoke and stir up someone else, I swear by God, that if anyone involves himself with those two men (Sa'id Ahmad and Jilani) and by subterfuge and insinuation makes those two men enemies of each other, he will not escape the most severe punishment.

Ultimately, this Sa'id Ahmad was summoned to Kabul because of his wickedness, His Majesty pardoned him his mistakes, and favored him with the bestowal of a salary (*tankhwāh*) and other royal munificence. In particular, His Highness, Lantern of the Nation and the Religion (Amir Habib Allah Khan), to whom he should have been indebted for the favors done him, stripped him of everything. (Despite all these favors), he squandered and trampled on them, fleeing from Kabul with °Abd al-Rahman Khan the grandson (*nabīrah*) of Khan

Aqa-yi Jamshidi as will be recounted in volume four of this book. Then, having killed Nazir Karim, a servant of the government, in Herat, he went to Russia and there turned to a life of thievery.

Meanwhile, Mirza Jilani Khan having learned of Sa'id Ahmad Beg's letter from one of his (Sa'id Ahmad's) hypocritical friends and intuitively understood that he had authored this letter manipulated and pressured by Qazi Sa'd al-Din Khan, the governor, himself now wrote a letter to the throne saying that a lak of rupees had been squandered from the taxes of Herat (*'amal-i sār-i-i Harāt*). His Majesty, the mirror of whose mind was the looking-glass showing the whole world, and who could (easily) distinguish the good from the bad, was angered and wrote him a strong reprimand saying that he and the governor are each filing complaints about the other and each has accused and is accusing the other of treachery. It appears that as regards the situation of the officials of the government of Afghanistan you could say that, from top to bottom, the basic elements (*akhshijān*) that make them up are hypocrisy and naked ambition. Due to their pursuit of hypocrisy and their trotting along the path of ambition the affairs of the country, the religion (*millat*), and the government will be ruined and they themselves no longer trusted or respected and their end will be disgrace. Consequently for several years now His Majesty has been writing the governor and him by way of advice and counsel to give up their hypocritical ways and their pursuit of ambition, join together in the work of government and the protection of the honor of the religion and the wellbeing of the subjects, choose courtesy and truth, and cease acting in such a despicable fashion. But they haven't listened at all and because of the hypocrisy and ambition they harbor in their hearts, have forgotten (all the advice). What has happened to them? How much have avarice and Satan gained control over them that they no longer fear God nor worry that His Majesty will hold them to account. /793/ Indeed, they should know for sure that they will receive the rewards of this hypocrisy and their villainy are such that will remain on the horizons of memory. How long do they want to ignore and how long do they want not to listen to the advice that is given to them to abandon hypocrisy in regards to their personal ambitions and individual aims. May God damn them!

Also at the end of these admonishing words, he addressed Mirza Jilani directly writing in his own hand,

Hey, you coward! No one in the alleys or bazaars of Kabul knew you you are. (You were nothing!). You imagined yourself like a jackal which falls into a dyer's vat, then claims to be a peacock but eventually was recognized by a lion for what he really is and faced with a horrible fate and he then regretted what he had done. Having made this kind of inadmissible and wholly unacceptable thing your specialty, may you receive your just reward. Although I painted you to be a peacock, you know full well that when the people of Herat call you "master, master"

it's out of fear and hope for the padishah, not because they fear and have hopes of you. Having lost your asshole, what used to come out of there now comes out of your mouth. Think of the day of your dismissal and prepare to be held accountable before God. What sort of cotton boll of negligence have you stuffed in the ear of trickery and duplicity? Have you forgotten God or do you imagine in your own mind that He is the Sublime, the Merciful and Compassionate, the Forgiving and the Veiler (of sins) and you don't take note of the fact that among the adjectives for Him are also 'Avenger' and 'Wrathful.' I therefore give you this fatherly advice.

I did my job. I told you what you were supposed to do// Either you learn from my words or be unhappy. (Sa°di)

Eventually, as will come, after his death more than thirty laks of rupees misappropriated by him and the tax assessor and collector (*°āmil wa žābīṭ*) whom he had appointed were brought to light through the diligent efforts of Hajji Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan one of the Qizilbash of Herat and were collected. But at this time, because of another letter which he had written (and sent) to the throne on the heels of the previously mentioned one saying that the wife of Wali Muhammad Khan Jamshidi had several times asked him to take her daughter for his son but he was awaiting the permission of His Majesty, a farman was issued dismissing him with an order that he should not request the daughter of the aforementioned woman for his son but rather should clean up his accounts so that when he presented himself in the capital they would not be the cause of embarrassment and the occasion for his punishment.

*The Establishment and Distribution of a Seal for Envelopes for Government  
Farmans and Hukms; also the Exemption of the Wakil of Siqan*

During these events at the order of His Majesty, several seals were distributed according to the number of (people in?) the secretariat (*dār al-inshā*) of the throne and the number of noble princes and provincial governors (engaged in) administration of the kingdom. These (seals) had the form of a *miḥrāb* and *minbar* engraved on a cornelian (*°aqīq*). They were sent out on the eighteenth of Zi Qa°dah/14 June with a farman saying,

It accords with royal approbation that the glory and dignity of the God-given government be manifest in the eyes of friend and foe alike and that it possess a signatory emblem (*tughrā*) and sign (*nishān*). As the sign of every court of government of every province where governmental farmans are issued in the names of individual subjects and others, a special seal for the outside of the envelope (*sar-i pākat*) has been made and its use has been ordered so that, effective immediately, sealing wax and a seal impression should be put on all

governmental correspondence.

On this same day, because of his letter and petition, Muhammad Aslam Khan was pardoned and through the mediation of Parwanah Khan, the deputy field marshal, representations were made (on his behalf) before His Majesty along with an inventory of his belongings. He became the object of royal favors, was pardoned, and was put in charge of government documents (*ṣukūkāt*) of a fiscal nature. He was the brother of Muhammad °Ali Khan "Wakil-i Siqani," who out of loyalty to the late Amir Shayr °Ali Khan had fled and then gone into the service of Sardar Muhammad Ayyub Khan, son of the deceased amir, in exile and was in India. The mother and daughter of Muhammad °Ali Beg (sic-Khan), three of his sisters, and his wife who were in the "slave-house" (*jāriyah-khānah*) with other relatives of his, were handed over to Muhammad Aslam Khan and he was granted one of the confiscated houses as a place where they could live. Their monthly living allowances, which had been fixed by the government for male and female slaves—in the case of Muhammad Aslam, five rupees, nine for his mother, and three each for the other six people—were increased. His mother was given twelve rupees and, like her, the others were given twelve rupees a month except for Muhammad Aslam Khan and his sister who had five rupees a month as a living allowance and they were left with that. Eventually, this Muhammad Aslam Khan was honored by appointment as head huntsman (*mīr shikār*) to His Highness, Lantern of the Nation and the Religion, and so found dignity and respect and, as will come, /794/ he became the recipient of a very large salary.

During this time, on the twentieth of Zi Qa°dah, the Englishman, Mr. (Salter) Pyne, an employee of this government who had been entrusted with responsibility for the steam workshop where cannons, rifles, cartridges, and other things were manufactured, having been given leave to go to India, arrived at Dakkah with six other English engineers, whom he had been hired at His Majesty's order to serve this government. There Colonel Muhammad °Ali Khan sent twenty-four regular cavalymen from those stationed in Shinwar, sixty-four infantrymen, and sixteen other horsemen to escort him and the funds of the permanent (English) subsidy. The escort safely conducted them all to Kabul and returned to Shinwar.

*Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan Battles With Evildoers at Sharin*

Also in this period, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan set out to fight the evildoers of Shartan-i Bajawur with three regular infantry regiments, 300 Sakhlu foot, a *mulkī* lashkar, and artillery. Beating the drum of attack, he cast many of the evildoers to the ground of destruction, wounded many, and was victorious. Of the government army, Colonel °Abd al-Karim Khan sustained a wound and two soldiers were killed. Leaving six of the slain evildoers where they lay on the battlefield, (the field marshal) carried off the other dead and wounded. The army braves burned all the weapons and effects (*salab*) of the dead and took as booty

the belongings left behind by those who escaped. Those people fled into Bajawur and there the drum of muster having been beaten, a large army assembled but remained where it was paralyzed by fear of attack from the royal regiments. At the order of His Majesty, the field marshal abandoned the campaign and busied himself with other matters concerning the border and frontier, and—as will be seen—began to put the affairs of that region in order.

During this time, Turah °Abd al-Malik Khan, the son of the Amir of Bukhara who, as was mentioned above, was aggrieved by his father, had run away to Peshawar and made his home there. He had 6,000 rupees from this government as the allowance for a prince (*waẓīfah-i shāhzādagī*) and now was 20,000 rupees in debt. By letter, he petitioned (His Majesty) to discharge this debt. On the twenty-first of Zi Qa°dah/17 June His Majesty sealed his letter and, reminding him of the 6,000-rupee allowance and the fact that he had paid for his son's circumcision ceremony, wrote that if he had not let his expenses exceed his income, he would not have become a debtor. He also wrote down this verse:

At his circumstances, a person must weep plenty//  
When his income is nineteen and his expenses twenty. (Sa°di?)

He gave him nothing so that he would bring his expenses under control and stop spending money the way he was.

Similarly, Lady °Uzra Begum, daughter of the late Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, who was living in Peshawar, was faced with great hardship after the death of her husband, Sardar Madad Khan. The brothers and sons of her late husband, violating Afghan honor (*nang-i Afghānī*) ignored their blood tie and left her in the most desperate circumstances. That chaste woman crept into the corner of exile and the niche of hardship with an eighteen-year-old son and the daughter of her sister, who was also once-married but now husbandless and had a seven-year-old son. She was living like this until the vicissitudes of a cruel fate made her life so difficult that she wrote to the throne seeking help and asked for permission to come (back) to Kabul so that perhaps after her arrival in the capital her brother, Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan and others, might provide a sufficient allowance for daily sustenance. But on the twenty-fifth of Zi Qa°da/21 June, His Majesty, who could easily tell those who wished the government well from those who wished it ill, and who dealt with everyone be they from a group (*band*) or a tribe (*tā°ifah*) either rewarding (the well-wishers) or punishing (the ill-wishers) according to their circumstances, wrote her,

The government is not concerned with her difficult straits and desperate condition. She knows best what is better or worse for her life. Although it might be imagined that the government could easily give her enough to live on, it's out of the question, for the funds of the Bayt al-Mal of the Muslims are not to be spent on anything other than protection of the kingdom, the safeguarding of the honor of the religion (*millat*), and the

protection of the borders. To spend on other things would be the occasion for the wrath of the Most Merciful God for all these things are made obligatory in the Holy Law and foreswearing them is absolutely forbidden. The end.

*The Situation of the People Living in the Mountains on the Border*

Meantime, thanks to the advice and counsel of Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan and the arrival of /795/ letters (*rasāʾil*) containing admonitions which they read, the people living in the mountains, valleys, and deserts along the border were moved to tender their obedience to the government of Islam and so accepted all the obligations of (its) authority in accordance with the divine commandments and prohibitions and following the Holy Shariʿah of the Prophet —peace be upon him. The first to offer their obedience were the leaders of the Zali Khayl, Saraki Khayl, Taji Khayl, Kanaki Khayl, Khajal Khayl, °Idi Khayl, and Safarki Khayl. They sent an account of their oaths and covenant with the government of Islam to the throne and on the twenty-fifth of the aforementioned month/21 June, His Majesty sent a manshur to these tribes saying:

Our purpose and aim in appointing Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan to that region are nothing other than because we consider them part of our *qawm* and don't want them to be destroyed by unbelief (*kufṛ*). Being degraded (by the infidel), the dust of dishonor would settle on the skirt of the chastity and purity of their wives and children who have the religion and who follow and are of the community of the Holy Prophet and would rend their honor (*ḥurmat*). Should those people imagine that as they are the lords of their lands and property and we have sent that sardar to that region because we want their land, wealth, and belongings, this is not the case; nor do those people have so much wealth and power that the government wants to take it. Quite the contrary: the circumstances of their life is clearer than the sun. In the course of the twelve months of the year, they spend two months bread made from wheat and four months eating bread made from other grains. (The other) six months they live off grass and plants of the mountains and lowlands. If they didn't have the plant called *mazar*, which is (normally) used to weave mats, their men and women would go around barefoot both at home and away their whole lives through. Therefore, there is no other aim than this (protecting them from unbelief) in sending Sardar Gul Muhammad Khan there and bringing those people under the banner of oath and obedience to the government of Islam, which in reality and point of fact is their own government. (The government) (only) wants to keep the glass (filled with) the good wine of the protection and preservation of their honor and dignity (*ʿirz wa nāmūs*).



Eventually—as will come, they did not support, in a suitable way, good fortune and felicity but were two-faced and underhanded. After the demarcation of the borders, they became loyal and obedient according to whichever side of the dividing line between the two governments that they fell on.

Also during this time, Brigadier Rahmat Khan, in accordance with a farman issued to General Ghaws al-Din Khan, set out from Maymanah to destroy the evil Hazarachs with the Ardal Infantry regiment, two horse-drawn (*jalwī*) guns, and two mountain guns. Munshi Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the governor of Siqan and Kahmard also turned the face of battle in the direction of the Hazarachs of Day Zangi with 850 infantry and 250 *mulkī* horsemen, riding with Colonel Muhammad °Umar Khan. General Mir °Ata Khan who, having reached Malistan had camped there, marched with the mighty regiments and artillery from there and planted the banner of his camp at the foot of the Khun Pass. Here, fifty of the Hazarah evildoers from Hajaristan who had been captured by General Shayr Muhammad Khan and sent by him to (General) Mir °Ata Khan's *urdū* arrived at his camp. He freed five of the captives who were subjects from Malistan and had gone to Hajaristan on some business of their own and the rest he sent to Kabul where they were put to death (or merely punished? *bi-yāsā rasīdand*).

During these goings-on, the *mīr-shabb*, Mir Sultan Khan, who had been replaced by Ahmad °Ali Khan, a courtier (*pīshkhidmat*) and he in turn replaced as *mīr-shabb* of the capital by Ghulam Riza Khan, came from the city to Pamqan at His Majesty's order and there received the due reward of his abominable actions and was hanged from a tree. He had spilled the blood of many innocent people such as Mulla Abu Bakr who was one of the most pious people of the time and had many disciples but at the time of the rebellion of of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan had been (falsely) accused (by Mir Sultan Khan) of inciting and provoking the people of Wird Kash—as was noted earlier—and (Mir Sultan Khan) then killed him. Earlier, a summary of his despicable activities has been given as was an indication of his being put to death.

During this time, Colonel Babu Jan Khan, who was stationed in Shinwar, seized 200 rupees from the daughter of a certain influential muleteer<sup>14</sup> of Rud-i Mohmand Darrah. She was a widow possessed of goodness and beauty. His pretext for taking the money was that her (late) husband had borrowed it from him. Then, hoping for the answer “yes,” he invited the woman to be his wife. But fearing that he would actually make her his concubine (“what the right hand owns”) and would put the label “slave girl” (*kanīz*) and “mistress” (*surrīyat*), she refused his invitation. The colonel then threatened the father of this helpless woman and instilled the fear of God in him, telling him that if he didn't give him his daughter /796/ he would imprison and destroy him. That oppressed one (the father) wrote to the throne and asked for redress. His Majesty, who was the protector of the religion and the champion of the oppressed, was enraged and in his own hand wrote the colonel warning him in the strongest language:

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<sup>14</sup> Afghani-Nawis defines *kharkār* as *nigahbān wa yārānandah-i khar*.

Hey! You lustful idiot! I made you a big dog (*sag-i buzurg*). But because of your lusts overwhelming you, you've perpetrated something obscene and forced your will on a woman. Far better than this obscene act which you have committed by being such a bastard and behaving like a dog, is to control your lust and stop wanting women in this way so that the fire of your lust which is raging on the hearth of your disgusting existence will die down. I swear by God that if you extend your hand to the daughter of this muleteer, I will cut off your hand and tie it between your legs. I've written this short note so that you'll read it and fully understand your situation.

The issuing of this kind of justice-instructing manshur was so that the wolf and the lamb, the oppressed and the tyrant, will dine at one table and lie down together in one bed and one will have no fear of harm from the other.

Also at this time, His Majesty sent 10,000 Kabuli rupees to Colonel Ghulam Rasul Khan, the ambassador in Calcutta of the God-given government. These were the legal portion and (inheritance) share of Lady Jan Bibi, the daughter of the late gentleman (*janāb*), Mir Hajji Sahib. She herself had put on pilgrim's garb for the Ka'bah of mankind and the *qiblah* of the community (*ummah*) of the Best of Mankind. After performing all the rites of the pilgrimage to the Holy Sanctuary, she had gone to Medina, the Illumined—May God increase its nobility—and decided to live there. By order of His Majesty, the ambassador, in the presence of Muhammad °Azim Khan Kabuli and Najm al-Din Khan *munshī* gave the money to Sayyid Husayn, the imam of the Isma'īl Habib Mosque in Bombay. He in turn sent it to Medina, had it delivered to the aforementioned woman, and obtained a receipt for it, notarized by people of the government administration there, with her own acknowledgment (of receipt). He then sent (the receipt) to the representative (*wakīl*) of the Ottoman government in Bombay. He in turn sent a letter expressing pious sentiments as well as the fulfillment of the obligation which (fulfillment of obligations) was central to the essence and nature of His Majesty. He wrote of the beauty of the solidarity and unity of the community of Islam and of (its) carrying out the commands and prohibitions of the Shari'ah of the Best of Mankind and sent it to the throne from Bombay on the twelfth of Zi Qa'dah, equivalent to the seventh of June [sic] in the Christian year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-two. On the sixth of Zi'l-Hijjah/2 July, His Majesty wrote to that representative saying,

It is incumbent upon all the people of Islam and the entire community of the Best of Mankind to always pray for what is best regarding the rights of their brothers in the religion and their friends in the faith. Therefore, our royal person constantly prays for His Sublime Highness, the Great Eternal Sultan and for the Islamic people of those realms—May God protect them from all harm—. He asks God Most high to grant them the good things of this world and the next and, being pleased with the advancement and good regulation of the affairs of

religion and government and with the improvement of the condition of the community of Islam, he offers thanks to the threshold of the Creator to which the needy turn. The end.

During this time, it having been ordered that (people) set out for the Hazarahjat on the path of conquest, His Majesty promoted Captain Hafiz Allah Khan who had performed outstanding services at the battles of Darrah-i Nur, Saw (and) Kalman, Arit, Shammas, and Shar Tan under the banner of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan to a higher grade within his same rank and assigned him to the artillery. This was the result of a letter (of commendation) from the field marshal and an attestation (*ishihād-nāmah*) from other regular officers who were in (his) infantry regiment. His Majesty also wrote,

God Most High Willing, he will continue to perform requisite services on behalf of the religion and government of Islam and thus be the object of royal favors.

This particular case is recorded here simply as a lesson to superiors (*farmādahān*) who in most places make their decisions (either to give honor and promote or to put in a bad word) about their subordinates. (The usual case is that) for one good word they hand out robes of honor and for one bad word they demote so that no rank or honor is given to anyone and the due rewards of service are completely lost. This (example) is so they learn how they (should) raise their men slowly to the pinnacle of glory.

During this time, Muhammad Husayn Khan the son of Sardar Muhammad Siddiq Khan, resident in Peshawar, and Muhammad Sarwar Khan the son of Sardar Muhammad °Aziz Khan, residing in the port of Karachi, at wit's end because of their destitute circumstances wrote to the throne and petitioned (His Majesty) saying,

Muhammad Husayn Khan was banished to India because of a tainted act by his brother Sardar Shayr Muhammad Khan. Similarly Sardar Muhammad Sarwar due to his being his (Sardar Shayr Muhammad's brother-in-law, (was forced to flee) into the valley of misery. Both are now consorts of sadness and grief and are spending their days in hardship and degradation. They hope for forgiveness and permission to return to Afghanistan.

His Majesty wrote both men saying that they were not permitted to return to Afghanistan for if they had been well-behaved and well-wishers of the government they would not have been expelled. /797/ Their being afflicted by such dire circumstance and humiliation is because of their lack of gratitude for divine favor and their ill will for the Islamic government. As a result of the issuing of this order, these two men wrapped the foot in the skirt of patience and had to be content to remain in those degraded circumstances.

Also in these times, Safdar °Ali, a sayyid from Noble Jiddah, motivated by “the promotion of virtue and the prohibition of vice” entered Bombay intending to preach. he began to do so but the people there, as the saying goes “people are influenced by whom they associate with” were more accustomed to associating with Zoroastrians and Englishmen and so accorded him no respect and did not listen to him with the ear of agreement. Quite the contrary, they insulted and demeaned him and (even) tried to murder him. Thinking that English officials were the cause of his humiliation and the contempt shown him, he sought refuge in the direction of the source of government so that perhaps he could obtain some order that would prevent those who were provoking the people there, i.e. the officials of the aforementioned government, from putting obstacles in his way. He wrote to the throne of the sublime Queen Victoria, the Empress of India, and requested a professorship in a madrasa and a Shari°ah court appointment. His petition was granted and a diploma with the personal seal of the queen was issued in his name. Then, intent on obtaining a leaven of respect among the people of that country prior to his beginning his duties and before the robe of honor of this appointment from the queen was draped on the shoulders of his life, he wrote to the throne of this government (Afghanistan) and requested the honor of a professorship (there) saying that perhaps before the arrival of the robe of honor from that country (England), his being ennobled and honored by the bestowal (of a professorship) by this country would raise the banner of regard for him. But His Majesty, whose truth-perceiving ear was attuned to the news of the activities in the kingdoms of the Ottomans, Iran, and India of scholars of evil like Shaykh °Abd al-Wahhab, Ghulam Ahmad Qadiyani, °Ali Muhammad “Bab”, and others and of their introducing conflict into the True Community of Islam, on the twenty-fourth of Zihijjah (sic)/20 July wrote him saying,

Our royal person does not recognize him, either personally or from hearsay, and doesn't know what his nature, his customs, or his religion are. Is he actually a Kharijite, a Shi°ite Refuser, a full Zoroastrian, or is he a true Muslim? Or is he in fact a Christian, a Jew, or a Naturalist or a philosopher? Does he practice as a follower (*muqallid*—of someone else's teachings) or does he pursue independent reasoning (*ijtihad*) and teach others? Indeed, despite all this, to come from Mecca to India could be proof of where he was on the scale (*mizān*) of religion and unbelief and a test of the level of (his) veracity or duplicity. So, in the realm of ignorance (i.e. where this person is unknown) how can the honor of a professorship be given to him and how can the cape of authority and respect be draped over his shoulders?

As a result of the issuance of these words, the sayyid, whatever his beliefs and religion were, never again directed a request to this government and recognized that the people of Afghanistan, with such a padishah in whom religion takes refuge, would not be deceived by idle talk. Never deviating from

the path of truth, they would not follow any other doctrine.

During this exchange, despite their professions of friendship towards and expressions of unity to this government, when English officials learned of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan's arrival at Shartan, his fight with the people there, and his victory—as was mentioned earlier—they sent an arsenal (*qūrkhānah*), rifles, and other weapons from Peshawar to °Umra Khan in Bajawur, and urged him to resist the field marshal. His Majesty found out about this in a report from the news writer in Peshawar, Mulla Shams al-Din, and wrote him, with the pen of regret:

Our disintegration unites the infidels//our destruction builds the idol  
temple,  
Islam itself is not to blame//All blame lies with the Muslim.

If those people and other Muslims read the Qur'an, they wouldn't be  
defeated by an enemy or insulted by a friend. let it be this way so that  
they learn.

In the end it turned out just as His Majesty had written.

*Battle of the Regular and Mulki Troops With the Hazarachs of Hajaristan*

During this time, °Abd al-Ghafur Khan, the brother of Mansur Khan, the governor of Muqur and the leaders of the Taraki and °Ali Khayl such as Dad Muhammad Khan, °Abd al-Qadir Khan, Sar Buland Khan, Muhammad Afzal Khan, Muhammad Akbar Khan, Mir °Alam Khan, Majid Khan, Sayyid Nazim Khan, Yar Muhammad Khan, Sultan °Ali Khan, Jahangir Khan, Muhammad Rafiq Khan, Ahmad Khan and others, along with the tribal army from those two tribes which had, until this point, been busy confronting (*masāff*) the Hazarachs of /798/ Qalandar-i Jaghuri, seeing the affair of those people now virtually defeated with the arrival of Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan in Shuy and figuring that the *mulki* army of the Hazarachs of Jaghuri was enough to destroy them (the Qalandar Hazarachs), with Colonel Farhad Khan and the regular army and artillery left their position near the Qalandar Hazarachs and marched to reinforce the regiments under the command of Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan who himself—as was previously noted—had been dismissed for malfeasance and his army had come under siege from the evildoing Hazarachs in the breastwork fortifications (*sangar*) at Dayah. When they entered Malistan, they ordered a few men of the tribal force along with 100 regular cavalry and 300 infantry to station themselves there to protect the army's rear and then, with the tribesmen of the Andar, Wardak, Tajik and Hazarachs of Ghaznin, (the rest) joined the army corps (*urdū*) under General Mir °Ata Khan which was camped at the foot of the Khun Pass. They (all) crossed the pass and, in a joint operation, launched a night attack along the Day Barakah road on the evildoing Hazarachs of Dayah and Fuladah who had put the sangar of Colonel Muhammad Allah Khan under a

tight siege and had made the day of the besieged men like the darkest night, and they shed the blood of many of the Hazarahs. Ultimately, they won out and drove the evildoing Hazarahs away from the sangar. Twenty soldiers of the royal army were killed and twenty Hazarah forts were torched and burned to the ground. Eight soldiers were wounded. The army camped near the fort of Qazi °Askar and made it the headquarters. Most of the evildoing Hazarahs retreated to Nawah-i Chaqmaq and there erected strong breastworks. Both sides lying in wait for each other in whatever place they had chosen now sat prepared to fight.

*The Situation of the Jadran People and the Arrangements Made by Sardar Shirindil Khan*

Also during this turmoil, Sardar Shirindil Khan, who had penetrated deep into the Jadran Mountains to punish and chastise the disobedient people dwelling there, worked hard to win over those wild-natured people. From Du Mandah where he made his headquarters— as was mentioned earlier—he toured as far as Janah Khwah, inspected the lands of the Kharuti of Sar Rawzah, established administrative control, and took as hostages sons and brothers of leaders from the Ahmad Khayl and Mizabī peoples and others dwelling in Nakah, °Ali Khan Khayl, and Ziruk, and from the Sultan Khayl, and Firuz Khayl living in Tangi and Lakah Dahanah. When he left Ziruk, reached Kutaki, and from there came to Aspar, prior to his arrival there, Hawl Khan and Jakat of the Babari Khayl, who were twinned with stupidity and evildoing, urged sixty-five households from Aspar to retreat into the Jar Khayl Mountains with them. Sardar Shirindil Khans sent a man to give them a message of reconciliation in the language of good advice and called on them to return to their homes. Some subsequently did return, and some were prepared to return but had yet to do so when the people of Ziruk, who one day fearing the pressure and squeezing of the royal army would choose obedience and the next day when they had the opportunity would begin to mutiny and revolt, learning of the trouble caused by Hawl Khan and Jakat, drew their heads through the collar of rebellion. Muhammad Nasir Khan and Commandant °Ali Khan entered Ziruk to punish the mutineers with regular forces and artillery, took up station there, and were joined by 100 regular cavalry under the *risālah-dār*, Muhammad Sharif Khan, who had set off after them. The *mulki* force with Sakhlu infantry under the command of Sartib Mu°az Allah Khan which was already there welcomed them and fired joyful cannon salutes by way of celebrating their meeting. They began to punish the evildoers and together with Habib Allah Khan Zurmati, they forcibly rounded up the leaders of Ziruk and Firuz Khayl living in Tangi. They divided up the individual members of the infantry force of the Jadrani tribe as hostages and ordered that they be sent as a group to Kabul. Apparently at that time, they were enrolled in the regular army. Also they arrested the malefactors of that mountain region and sent them to Sardar Shirindil Khan. He transferred them all to Kabul. Having scattered the people of Aspar about, Hawl Khan and Jakat, who became fearful because those people chose the path of obedience,

took the path of anonymity and were never brought to hand. The sardar built a strong fortress there capable of housing two hundred soldiers and ordered a regular infantry regiment under the command of Commandant Khuday Nazar Khan with two cannons, /799/ fifty regular cavalry and 100 Sakhlu infantry to garrison that place until the fort was completed. He also surveyed the lands of those people (lit: brought them into the bonds of the *jarīb*) and registered the assessment of the land taxes in the royal register in accordance with his survey. Then with the Pamqani Infantry Regiment and the regular cavalry under his command he returned to Du Mandah. He sent to Kabul a map he had drawn of of the mountains and plains that he had toured and he sent the hostages he had taken. He made His Majesty satisfied and pleased with what he had done.

Also at this time, at Ghazi, a place in the mountains where the Mangal lived, a treasure was found. Its discoverers found a quantity of gold, silver, and copper coins all from Hindu mints. Sardar Shirindil Khan got a hold of several pieces and sent them to the throne. His Majesty added these to other antiquities which were in the treasury and issued no other order regarding those who found the treasure.

*The Situation of the People of Chakhansur, the Hazarah Mirs, and the Evildoers of Qal<sup>o</sup>ah-i Naw, Qadis, Langar, and Other Places*

Also during these events, at the order of His Majesty, Mawla Dad Khan, the governor of Farah, sent out Na<sup>o</sup>ib Khan Nurza<sup>o</sup>i intending to banish to India from Khashrud <sup>o</sup>Abbas Khan the son of Darwish <sup>o</sup>Ali Khan Baluch along with his wives and children. His father, because of his betrayal (lit: being untrue to the salt—*namak-ḥarāmi*) of Sardar Sa<sup>o</sup>id Khan, had been expelled from Kabul to India—as has been previously mentioned. However, Na<sup>o</sup>ib Bunyad Khan and Na<sup>o</sup>ib Ahmad Khan Baluch, who had fled to (Iranian) Sistan and taken refuge there, blocked Na<sup>o</sup>ib Khan who was taking <sup>o</sup>Abbas Khan and his relatives with him and heading for Shalkut. He relieved him of <sup>o</sup>Abbas Khan and his relatives and took them to (Iranian) Sistan. As soon as His Majesty learned what had happened through letters from officials there, he sent the governor of Farah a farman writing,

since the goal was <sup>o</sup>Abbas Khan's not being on the soil of Afghanistan, this has been accomplished so there's no need to get into discussions with Iranian officials about him.

Mawla Dad Khan, the governor of Farah, who had intended to open talks with the governor of Sistan, gave up the plan with the arrival of this manshur.

Meantime, the son of Sardar Shayr Muhammad Khan along with Muhammad Riza Khan who in service to the government had assisted Muhammad Sharif Khan Ishaqza<sup>o</sup>i and Sartib <sup>o</sup>Abd al-Rahim Khan at the time of the uprising of the Baluchis of Chakhansur, came to see the governor of Farah, enjoyed much honor and regard and were very gratified. He (the

governor) arrested Muhammad Shah Khan the son of Sar Faraz Khan whose brothers, Mirza Khan and Nadir Khan, were already in prison in Farah with other Baluchi evildoers because of their evildoing. Despite his trusting them, he did not accept the intercession of the son of Sardar Shayr Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Riza Khan who had helped him. After a short time, because of a farman of summons, he sent all the detainees to Kabul.

Meantime, (Qazi) Sa<sup>c</sup>d al-Din Khan, the governor of Herat, as previously recounted, had gone to Qal<sup>a</sup>h-i Naw to quell the flames of the fitna and corruption caused by the people there. Having brought order to bear, he restored to their owners the money stolen from the shopkeepers in the bazaar of Qal<sup>a</sup>h-i Naw by the Hazarahs and for which he had fined their leaders. Having snared the artisans of evil and the architects of loss in the chains of punishment, he sent them to Herat. He appointed as heads of the tribes the rivals of those leaders who had been the perpetrators of corruption; he garrisoned strategic places along the border and elsewhere and left the area completely secure. The people of Firuz Kuh, Qadis, and Langar who had been sources of trouble and evil came forward in repentance and rubbed the forehead of humility in the dirt of submission. The governor of Herat reassured them all, selected the evildoers among them for punishment, placed the necklace of retribution around their necks, and sent them to Herat.

During this time, a dispute arose among the ulema of the capital concerning the congregational (Friday) prayer. Some asserted that its occurrence was confined to a city or large town. Others argued for its (legality) in villages and the countryside. The debate raged and in the end, numerous proclamations were issued to all cities and towns on behalf of the government saying,

Anywhere there is a large population and the people can't get to a city /  
**800/** the congregational prayer may be conducted and this ordinance  
 should not be ignored.

From then on, the congregational prayer was performed in accordance with this order and there were no more arguments among the ulema.

Meantime, Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan, who in accordance with a farman issued in his name, had dispatched the regular army, artillery, and *mulkī* lashkar of Turkistan from Mazar-i Sharif to destroy the Hazarahs, from Chashmah-i Shifa he sent a letter to the corps (*urdū*) under Brigadier Rahmat Khan which was marching from Maymanah telling them to join him at Balkhab and ride with him from there. Also, by letter, he ordered 200 Sakhlu infantrymen from Ay Bik to garrison Qal<sup>a</sup>h-i Dawlati in Darrah-i Suf. When he reached Buyinah Qarah and was slowly moving along in hopes of the arrival of some of the lashkaris who had remained behind, Muhammad Sharif Khan, the son of the *wālī* of Maymanah, drew his head through the collar of disobedience, sent letters to the rebel Hazarah leaders encouraging them to keep up the rebellion, and himself rebelled. This became the cause of Field Marshal Ghulam Haydar Khan's turning back towards Maymanah, as will come.



At this time, 219 Hazarāhs of the Sultan tribe of Day Zangi, whom Sardar °Abd al-Quddus Khan had arrested and sent to Bamyan, were sent to Kabul by Qazi Ghulam Siddiq Khan at a farman of summons and most were put to death.

Also in the month of Zi Hijjah of this year, Mirza °Ali Asghar Khan, the Amin-i Nizam (army inspector general) of Turkistan departed this earthly coil.

Also His Majesty issued a farman concerning 17,644 rupees cash of the estate of General Katal Khan, who had passed away and was without heirs. The farman was issued to Commandant Shah Muhammad Khan telling him to spend the money for the expenses of the army dispatched to the Hazarāhjat.

Also in this month, Mirza Ghulam Husayn Khan the son of Mirza Muhammad Nabi Khan, the royal personal secretary (*dabīr*), due to the previously indicated malfeasance of Muhammad Da°ud Khan, was dismissed from his father's job which had been entrusted to him and Mirza Mir Muhammad Husayn Khan the former *mustawfi*, who at this time had been honored by the government (with the post of) *sar daftar* of the Bureau of Assessments was now named head (*sar kardah*) of the secretariat (*dār al-inshā*).

From the Hazarāhjat, Muhammad °Azim Beg Sih Pay who had entered Gizab, because of the swelling of the ranks of Hazarāh evildoers gained power and used it to blockade all the roads in the face of the mighty regiments wherever they were stationed and so closed off the routes.