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AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

KINGDOM OF CAUBUL,

AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

IN PERSIA, TARTARY, AND INDIA;

COMPRISING

A VIEW OF THE AFGHAUN NATION,

AND

A HISTORY OF THE DOORAUNEE MONARCHY.

BY THE HON. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE,

OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE; RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF POONA; AND LATE ENVOY TO THE KING OF CAUBUL.

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PREFACE.

As I have seen but a part of the countries which I am about to describe, it is necessary that I should give an account of the sources from which I have drawn my information; and I take the opportunity, thus afforded, of acknowledging my obligations to the gentlemen from whom I have received assistance.

I was engaged for a year on my journey to the King of Caubul's court, and another year elapsed before the mission was finally dissolved. The whole of that period was employed in such enquiries regarding the kingdom of Caubul as were likely to be useful to the British government. The first part of the time was spent, by all the members of the mission, in the acquisition of general information; but during the remainder, a precise plan was arranged among the party, and a particular branch of the investigation assigned to every gentleman who took a share in it.

The geography was allotted to Lieutenant Macartney, (Mr. Tickell, the other surveyor, having been sent back to India on duty;) and he was assisted by Captain Raper, already known to the Public by his account of a Journey to the Sources of the Ganges. The climate, soil, produce and husbandry were undertaken by Lieutenant Irvine, and the trade and revenue by Mr. Richard Strachey. The history fell to Mr. Robert Alexander, and the government and the manners of the people to me.

We had abundant opportunities of enquiry while in the Afghaun dominions; and, after our return we continued to examine the numerous natives of those countries that accompanied us, and those whom we could meet with at Delly and in its neighbourhood. We

also went to the fair at Hurdwar (the great rendezvous for natives of the countries north-west of India) and into the Afghaun colony of Rohilcund. By these means we completed our reports, which were transmitted to Government in the end of 1810; at which time I set out for the Deckan, and considered my share in the transactions of the Caubul mission as at an end. Mr. Irvine had then thoughts of writing an account of the Afghauns, for which, from the diligence and extent of his researches, he was well prepared; but, as it had from the first been less his object to describe a particular people, than to enlarge his acquaintance with the history of human society, his investigations soon led him to some general views, which he thenceforth determined to pursue. For this purpose he has been occupied, during the last three years, in laborious enquiries into the condition of different oriental nations, and his account of Caubul has in consequence been abandoned.

I was first determined to undertake the task by the suggestion of Sir James Mackintosh, whose zeal for the promotion of knowledge has been felt even in these remote countries. He strongly recommended that the geographical information collected by the gentlemen of the mission should in some shape be communicated to the Public; and his kindness in offering, on his departure for England, to superintend the printing of what I might prepare for publication, removed the greatest obstacle to my entering on the design. About the same time, accidental circumstances brought a number of Afghauns from the parts of the country with which I was least acquainted, to Bombay and Poona: I accordingly renewed my investigations with their assistance, and I now lay the result before the Public.

What I have already said has in some measure explained my obligations. By the kindness of the other gentlemen of the mission, I was allowed the use of their reports, of which I have often availed myself, both to direct my enquiries, and to supply the deficiences of my information.

I am indebted to Mr. Strachey for many materials relating to the royal revenue, the tenures of land, the price of commodities, and

the trade of the kingdom. Mr. Strachey had, besides, the goodness to allow me the use of his journal to correct my own, in drawing up the narrative of our proceedings. The history of the three last reigns is taken from Mr. Alexander; but it by no means gives a just idea of the interesting details which his work contains.

I find some difficulty in explaining my obligations to Mr. Irvine. I have drawn from him most of the facts relating to the rainy seasons of Afghaunistaun, much of the slender account I have given of the animals, minerals, and vegetables; a large portion of my information on the husbandry and produce, and some facts in the geography and statistics; but I have left the greater part of his valuable report untouched; and although I have always had the respect for his opinions which is due to the care and accuracy of his researches, yet I have, in many cases, had opportunities of investigating myself the subjects to which they relate, and of asserting, on my own authority, the facts he has recorded. On the other hand, the constant communication I had with Mr. Irvine, till the final dissolution of the mission, gave me opportunities of deriving much information from him on subjects unconnected with his own branch of the inquiry, and renders it impossible for me to discriminate the ideas I owe to him from those which occurred to myself.

From the late Lieutenant Macartney I have taken the direction of the mountains, the course of the streams, the relative position of the towns, and, in short, almost the whole of the information contained in the map. I have also obtained from that officer's memoir many particulars which I have used in my descriptive and statistical accounts of the country. The zeal and abilities of the late Mr. Macartney are well known to the government which he served; and his frank and disinterested liberality in communicating his information, will long be remembered by all who were interested in the geography of those countries to which he had at different times directed his attention. I could not refrain from this tribute to the merits of this much regretted officer; but it would ill accord with the modesty and aver-

sion to display for which he was himself distinguished, to indulge in any further panegyric. *

I take this method of returning my best thanks to Mr. W. Erskine at Bombay, for his readiness in replying to my references on many points connected with the geography and history of Asia. The Public will, I trust, ere long be enabled to judge of the value of the time which he sacrificed from so kind a motive.

It will be sufficiently obvious that I have not had any professedly literary assistance in the composition or correction of my book; but I have not neglected to avail myself of the advice of my friends, by which many imperfections have been removed.

Mere faults of style would be of little consequence, if the substance of my account were free from error. From the nature of my undertaking, many mistakes will doubtless be discovered, when our acquaintance with the countries I treat of is increased; but in the present state of our knowledge, no attempt to elucidate them can be reckoned presumptuous, and whatever errors I may be found to have committed, will not, I trust, be ascribed to want of industry, or to indifference about truth.

Among those to whom I am most indebted for advice, I may take the liberty of naming Mr. Jenkins, resident at the court of Nagpore, and Captain Close, assistant to the residency at Poona. To the latter gentleman, indeed, I am bound to acknowledge my obligations, as well for the aid he afforded in collecting and arranging some parts of my materials, as for the benefit I derived from his judgment in the general execution of my work. I believe I have now noticed all the favours I have received, which are not adverted to in the places to

* The western part of Mr. Macartney's map is already, in some measure, before the Public, the first draft of it having been introduced, with some variation, into the map prefixed to Mr. Macdonald Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire. The eastern part also is probably published before this, as when I last heard from England, it was about to appear in a map of India which Mr. Arrowsmith was preparing for publication.

which they refer. I am indeed afraid that I have said more on this subject than the importance of the whole production will be thought to justify.

I have a few words to say on the spelling of the proper names. It is always difficult to represent Asiatic words in our characters, and this is increased in the present instance by the want of a uniform system. Lieutenant Macartney had adopted Dr. Gilchrist's orthography, which is perhaps the best extant for the accurate expression of Asiatic sounds, and which is also by far the most generally current in India; but as it is little known in Europe, I have given a table of the powers it assigns to the letters; which will enable the reader to pronounce all the words where it is made use of *. I myself used no particular alphabet, but endeavoured to express all words in our letters without altering the sounds which they usually have in English. This plan, however, has led to some inconvenience, for, as I was guided entirely by my ear, and as the same sounds can be expressed by different letters, there was nothing to fix the scheme I had adopted in my memory; and, in consequence, when a word recurred after a long interval, I frequently changed the spelling without designing it. This evil was increased by the many interruptions I was exposed to, which at different times obliged me to suspend my proceedings for many months together; and my attempts to reconcile the inconsistencies thus produced, have rather increased than

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* Dr. Gilchrist has given the following table for the vowels, each of which is *invariably* to be pronounced as it is in the English words written over it:

Ball	Sun	There	Beer	Bill	Poll	Poor	Our	Dry.
A	U	E	Ee	I	O	Oo	Ou	Y.

The consonants are, I believe, pronounced as in English, except C and G, which are always hard.

The signs Gh and Kh are added, and represent, the first, the sound of the Persian Ghine, which is nearly the same as a Northumberland man would give to R; and the second represents the Persian Khe, and has a resemblance to the Scottish and Irish ch in loch (a lake). It is to be observed, that when a consonant is repeated it is to be pronounced double. Thus dd is not to be pronounced singly as in paddock, but doubly as in mad-dog.

removed the confusion. The most material words, however, are pretty uniformly spelled, and I hope no great embarrassment will arise from the irregularity of the others.

The engravings are all portraits, except numbers III. XIII. and XIV., which, though accurate representations of the dresses and equipments they are designed for, are not likenesses of individuals. They are all done by Indian artists, except numbers, V. VI. VII. and VIII., which are sufficiently distinguished by the superiority of their execution: for them I am indebted to Lieutenant R. M. Grindlay of the Bombay establishment, who drew them from Afghauns just arrived from their own country.

Poona, June 4. 1814.

NOTICE REGARDING THE MAP.

I INTENDED in this place to have given an account of the mode adopted by Mr. Macartney in the construction of his map, and to have shewn in detail what part of my geographical information was borrowed from him, and on what points his opinion and mine disagreed; but, on consideration, I think it better to give the most important part of Mr. Macartney's memoir in an Appendix, and to it I beg leave to refer my reader: he will there find, besides the matter to which I principally allude, good accounts of the Oxus, the rivers of the Punjaub and other interesting subjects. I have still, however, some observations to offer. Mr. Macartney's design in forming his map was to embody all the information he had himself collected, and to leave the task of comparing it with the opinions of other geographers, to those who had more leisure and better opportunities of consulting printed authorities. It is not, therefore, to be understood when he differs from his predecessors, that he had examined and reversed their decisions, but merely that the accounts he had received differed from those already in the possession of the public. Of the value of his accounts, it may be well to say a few words. The foundation of the whole rests on the lines formed by the route of the mission, where the bearings and distances were taken by three different gentlemen, each of whom had a perambulator of his own. The latitude of the halting places was also ascertained by observation, as was the longitude of the principal points on the route.

Mr. Macartney has himself explained (Appendix D.) the manner in which he laid down the country beyond those lines, by means of native information. It is obvious that this part cannot be so accurate as the former, and can scarcely hope to go beyond an approximation to the truth; but it ought to be much more exact, as well as more full, than any thing we already possess on the subject. The surveyed line is advanced many hundred miles beyond what it was when the last map was made, and the number of routes collected from the people of the country give a great advantage over the slender materials before obtained: nothing indeed gives a higher idea of the genius of Major Rennell than a comparison of the materials he possessed with his success in settling the geography of the countries in question. A good deal might be said to prove that the new information is not to be disregarded

because it is procured from the natives; and it might be urged, that the Afghauns are remarkable for observation and veracity, and that it is common among them for a man to repeat a route after a long interval, without varying either in the distance or direction of a single stage; but this question is of the less consequence, as nothing is known of the geography of the countries in question that is not derived from the natives. Mr. Foster, it is true, has published his route through the Caubul dominions, but he gives the number of *farsangs* in each stage, according to the information he received, and not the number of *miles*, as he would have done had his distances been the result of his own observations. I consider this preference of Mr. Foster's as a proof of his judgment, for he had no instruments, and, however superior he was to the natives in all the other requisites of a traveller, he could not be so good a judge of the length of a stage as a person who had often travelled it, and was besides accustomed to estimate the rate at which camels move.

The principal alterations I have myself made in the map lie to the south of Ghuznee, and to the north of Hindoo Coosh. Mr. Macartney possessed fewer routes in the south of Afghaunistaun than in any other part of the kingdom, and the information I obtained in the Deccan referred principally to that quarter; I therefore constructed the southern part of the map anew, and am answerable for as much of the tract between the parallels of Ghuznee and Shikarpoor, as lies west of the range of Solimaun, and south of the river Turnuk. In framing this I derived great advantage from using Kelauti Nusseer Khaun (the position of which has been ascertained by Messrs. Christie and Pottinger) for one of my fixed points, as well as from the means I possessed of settling the position of Dauder with tolerable precision. It still stands nearly where Lieutenant Macartney put it; but his judgment has been confirmed by many routes of mine, and by a map drawn up by Mr. Pottinger, in which it is placed within a few miles of its position in Mr. Macartney's map. All to the south of the parallel of Shikarpoor will be found in the printed maps: I have nothing to add to the public information. In the south west I have availed myself of Mr. Christie's route, (published by Mr. Macdonald Kinnier) for fixing the position of Jellallabad in Seestaun. I have made but a slight deviation from the printed route, and that for reasons which appeared to justify the change; but I have retained Furrah and Heraut in the situations assigned to them by Mr. Macartney. No other position of Heraut would agree with Mr. Macartney's routes, or my own information. I have not indeed been able to ascertain

the authority on which it has been placed in the position now generally adopted. Major Rennell proceeded on the information of Mr. Foster; but that traveller observes that the road from Gimmuch (Dimmuk) to Heraut has nearly a northern course (Vol. II. Page 115), and if such a direction were given from the point fixed for Gimmuch in Major Rennell's Map, it would bring Heraut nearer to the position assigned to it by Mr. Macartney than any other that has yet been thought of.

Mr. Macartney had placed Bokhara in latitude 37° 45′ north, and longitude 63° 10′ east, which was so contrary to received opinions, that I was induced to examine it particularly; and I soon found it equally inconsistent with my own information. I have no doubt Mr. Macartney was under a mistake; and that he was led into it, partly by a very erroneous route (the only one he possessed between Heraut and Bokhara), and partly by his overlooking the proverbial length of the marches in Toorkistaun. My information confirms his positions on the roads to Bokhara, south of Hindoo Coosh; but from that mountain I find many of them too short. I am not satisfied with my own position of Bokhara, which is in 39° 27′ north latitude, and 62° 45′ east longitude. Anthony Jenkinson, who took an observation in 1558, declares the latitude to be 39° 10′; while Mr. Thomson, who visited Bokhara in 1740, asserts it to be in latitude 39° 30′, though without saying whether he had observed it or not. Major Rennel places it some minutes to the south of 39° 30′: but the greatest variation is in the longitude, which Major Rennel fixes upwards of forty minutes further west than I have done. I should have been inclined to adopt his account from respect for his authority, but it could not be reconciled to my information.*

On the whole, I cannot hope for much accuracy in my share of the map, having never before attempted any thing of the kind; but I hope it may be useful till something better is brought forward, and that, even after the principal points are fixed with more accuracy, the intermediate routes will be found of some service.

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* The route from Bokhara to Chushmeh Moree, and that from Bulkh to the same place were taken down from the information of a very intelligent native of the last named city: they were then protracted without the least alteration in the distances or directions, and agreed within a mile or two in the position of Chushmeh Moree. I was obliged to alter the direction of my only route from Chushmeh Moree to Heraut. The former direction would have placed Heraut twenty miles west of its present situation, which could not have been reconciled to the route to the same city from Merochaak. The third route from Kubbermauch was taken from Mr. Macartney's map, without any alteration in the distances. It was inserted into mine after all the adjoining positions had been fixed, and fitted its place with the utmost exactness. It is worth while to observe that the place where Mour or Merve falls in these routes, is nearly the same as that assigned to it by Mr. Macdonald Kinnier on grounds entirely distinct.

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ERRATA.

Page 58. line 4. for *Teringee* read *Feringee.*
—— 74. — 31. for *Tutteh* read *Futteh.*
—— 75. — 3. for *Tutteh* read *Futteh.*

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INTRODUCTION.

NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MISSION.

IN the year 1808, when, from the embassy of General Gardanne to Persia, and other circumstances, it appeared as if the French intended to carry the war into Asia, it was thought expedient by the British Government in India to send a mission to the King of Caubul, and I was ordered on that duty. As the court of Caubul was known to be haughty, and supposed to entertain a mean opinion of the European nations, it was determined that the mission should be in a style of great magnificence; and suitable preparations were made at Delly for its equipment. An excellent selection was made of officers to accompany it; and the following was the establishment of the embassy.

Secretary, Mr. Richard Strachey.

Assistants, Mr. Fraser and Mr. Rt. Alexander. } Of the Honorable East India Company's Civil Service.

Surgeon, Mr. Macwhirter. Bengal Establishment.

Commanding the Escort,

Captain Pitmain, 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry.

Surveyors,

Lieutenant Macartney, 5th Regiment, Bengal Native Company, (commanding the cavalry of the escort,) and

Lieutenant Tickell, Bengal Engineers.

Officers attached to the Escort.

Captain Raper, 1st Battalion, 10th Regiment.
Lieutenant Harris, Artillery.
Lieutenant Cunningham, 2d Battalion, 27th Regiment.
Lieutenant Ross, 2d Battalion, 6th Regiment.
Lieutenant Irvine, 1st Battalion, 11th Regiment.
Lieutenant Fitzgerald, 6th Regiment, Native Cavalry.
Lieutenant Jacob, 2d Battalion, 23d Regiment.

The escort was composed of a troop from the 5th Regiment of Native Cavalry and a detail from the 6th (making one hundred men), two hundred infantry, and one hundred irregular cavalry.

All things being prepared, the embassy left Delly on the 13th of October, 1808. From that city to Canound, a distance of about one hundred miles, is through the British dominions, and need not be described. It is sufficient to say, that the country is sandy, though not ill cultivated.

On approaching Canound we had the first specimen of the desart, to which we were looking forward with anxious curiosity. Three miles before reaching that place, we came to sand hills which at first were covered with bushes, but afterwards were naked piles of loose sand, rising one after another like the waves of the sea, and marked on the surface by the wind like drifted snow. There were roads through them, made solid by the treading of animals; but off the road, our horses sunk into the sand above the knee.

We set off from Canound on the 21st of October, and in the course of the march we quitted the dependencies of our own Government, and entered the district of Shekhawuttee (so called from a predatory tribe of Raujpoots who inhabit it), the country becoming more and more desart as we advanced. On the 22d, we reached Singauna, a handsome town, built of stone, on the skirts of a hill of purplish rock, about six hundred feet high. I was here met by Raja Ubhee Sing, the principal chief of the Shekhawut tribe. He was a little man with large eyes, inflamed by the use of opium: He wore his beard turned up on each side towards his ears, which gave him a wild and fierce

appearance; his dress was plain; and his speech, and manners, like those of all his countrymen, rude and unpolished. He was, however, very civil, and made many professions of respect and attachment to the British. I saw him several times, and he was always drunk either with opium or brandy. This was indeed the case with all the Shekhawuttee Sirdars, who are seldom in a condition to appear till the effect of their last debauch is removed by a new dose; consequently it is only in the interval between sobriety and absolute stupefaction that they are fit for business. Two marches from Singauna brought us to Jhoonjhoona, a handsome town, with some trees and gardens, which look well in such a desart. Each of the Chiefs, who are five in number, has a castle here; and here they assemble when the public affairs require a council. At this place, I saw the remaining four Shekhawut chiefs; they were plain men. One of them, Shaum Sing, was remarkably mild and well behaved; but some of the others bore strong marks of the effects of opium in their eyes and countenance. They were all cousins, and seemed to live in great harmony; but scarcely had I crossed the desart, when I heard that Shaum Sing had murdered the three others at a feast, stabbing the first of them with his own hand.

After another march and a half over sand, from Jhoonjhoona towards Chooroo, we quitted the Shekhawuttee. This country extends about eighty miles from north to south, and less from east to west. It has the extensive dominions of the Raja of Jypoor on the south; on the east the dependencies of the British Government; and on the west the territories of Bikaneer; on the north-west it has the barren country of the Battees, a plundering tribe, remarkable for carrying on their depredations on foot, and still more so, for the length and rapidity of the incursions thus made: on the north is Hurreeana, the scene of the exploits of George Thomas, which, though on the borders of the desart, is celebrated for the verdure * from which it

* Hurya is the Hindostanee for green. This verdure probably only lasts during the rainy season.

derives its name, for the herds of cattle that are pastured on it, for the lions that it produces, and for the valour and independence of its inhabitants. It now belongs to the British. The Shekhawuttee itself is a sandy plain, scattered with rocky hills, ill watered, and badly cultivated; yet it contains several large towns, of which the chief are Seekur, Futtehpoor, Khetree, and Goodha: the sands are sprinkled with tufts of long grass and bushes of Baubool *, Kureel †, and Phoke, which last is peculiar to the desart and its borders ‡.

The Shekhawuttees owe tribute and military service to the Raja of Jypore; it was by the assistance of that government that they were enabled, at no very remote period, to wrest their present territory from the Kyaunkhaunees, a tribe of converted Hindoos.

A few miles beyond the Shekhawuttee border, we entered the territories of the Raja of Bikaneer. This Raja is perhaps the least important of the five princes of Raujpootauna. Those of Jypoor and Joudpoor, are at the head of considerable states; the reduced power of the Raja of Ondipoor is kept from insignificance by his high rank and the respect which is paid him; but the territories of the Rajas of Jesselmeer and Bikaneer, are merely the most habitable parts of the desart, and, consequently, have little to boast in population or resources. The Raja of Bikaneer's revenue only amounts to £50,000, but, as his troops are paid by assignments of land, he was able to keep up 2000 horse, 8000 foot, and thirty-five pieces of field artillery, even after the defeat he had suffered previous to my arrival at his capital. The style of his court also was very far from indicating the poverty of his government. His frontier place towards the Shekhawuttee, and consequently the first part of his territories which we approached, was

* Mimosa Arabica. † Capparis. The caper tree.

‡ It is a plant from four to five feet high, quite green, although it has no leaves. Its branches run into tender twigs, which terminate in bunches of the same material, but still softer and fuller of sap. It bears clusters of flowers, which are eaten by the natives, and has its seed in a pod. It is the favourite food of the camel, whom it in some measure indemnifies for the long privation of water which he is often obliged to suffer in the desart. It was first seen to the west of Canound, and continued throughout the whole of the sands.

Chooroo, which may be reckoned the second town in his dominions. It is near a mile and a half round, without counting its large but mean suburbs; and, though situated among naked sand hills, it has a very handsome appearance. The houses are all terraced, and both they and the walls of the town are built of a kind of lime-stone, of so pure a white, that it gives an air of great neatness to every thing composed of it. It is however soft, and crumbles into a white powder, mixed here and there with shells. It is found in large beds in many parts of the desart. The chief of Chooroo is a dependent rather than a subject of the Raja of Bikaneer.

The Shekhawuttee country seems to lose its title to be included in the desart, when compared with the two hundred and eighty miles between its western frontier and Bahawulpoor, and, even of this, only the last hundred miles is absolutely destitute of inhabitants, water, or vegetation. Our journey from the Shekhawut frontier to Pooggul, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles, was over hills and valleys of loose and heavy sand. The hills were exactly like those which are sometimes formed by the wind on the sea shore, but far exceeding them in their height, which was from twenty to one hundred feet. They are said to shift their positions, and to alter their shapes, according as they are affected by the wind; and in Summer, the passage of many parts of the desart is said to be rendered dangerous by the clouds of moving sand; but when I saw the hills (in winter), they seemed to have a great degree of permanence, for they bore a sort of grass, besides Phoke, and the thorny bushes of the Baubool, and the Bair, or Jujube, which altogether gave them an appearance that sometimes amounted to verdure. Among the most dismal hills of sand, one occasionally meets with a village, if such a name can be given to a few round huts of straw, with low walls and conical roofs, like little stocks of corn. These are surrounded by hedges of thorny branches stuck in the sand, which, as well as the houses, are so dry, that if they happened to catch fire, the village would be reduced to ashes in five minutes. These miserable abodes are surrounded by a few fields, which depend for water on the rains and dews, and which bear thin

crops of the poorest kind of pulse, and of Bajra, or Holcus Spicatus, and this last, though it flourishes in the most sterile countries, grows here with difficulty, each stalk several feet from its neighbour. The wells are often three hundred feet deep, and one was three hundred and forty-five feet. With this enormous depth, some were only three feet in diameter; the water is always brackish, unwholesome, and so scanty, that two bullocks working for a night, easily emptied a well. The water was poured into reservoirs lined with clay, which our party drank dry in an instant after its arrival. These wells are all lined with masonry. The natives have a way of covering them with boards, heaped with sand, that effectually conceals them from an enemy. In the midst of so arid a country, the water-melon, the most juicy of fruits, is found in profusion. It is really a subject of wonder to see melons three or four feet in circumference, growing from a stalk as slender as that of the common melon, in the dry sand of the desart. They are sown, and perhaps require some cultivation, but they are scattered about to all appearance as if they grew wild.

The common inhabitants are Jauts. The upper classes are Rathore Raujpoots. The former are little, black, and ill looking, and bear strong appearances of poverty and wretchedness. The latter are stout and handsome, with hooked noses, and Jewish features. They are haughty in their manners, very indolent, and almost continually drunk with opium.

The stock consists of bullocks and camels, which last are kept in numerous herds, and are used to carry loads, to ride on, and even to plough. Of the wild animals, the desart rat deserves to be mentioned for its numbers, though not for its size; the innumerable holes made by these animals where the ground is solid enough to admit of it, are indeed a serious inconvenience to a horseman, whom they distress even more than the heavy sand. It is more like a squirrel than a rat, has a tuft at the end of its tail, and is often seen sitting upright, with its fore-feet crossed like a kangaroo. It is not unlike the jerboa, but is much less, and uses all its feet. It is not peculiar to the desart, being found in most sandy places on the west of the Jumna.

Antelopes are found in some parts, as is the goorkhur, or wild ass, so well depicted in the book of Job *. This animal is sometimes found alone, but oftener in herds. It resembles a mule rather than an ass, but is of the colour of the latter. It is remarkable for its shyness, and still more for its speed: at a kind of shuffling trot peculiar to itself, it will leave the fleetest horses behind. The foxes may also be mentioned; they are less than our fox, but somewhat larger than the common one of India; their backs are of the same brownish colour with the latter, but in one part of the desart, their legs and belly up to a certain height, are black, and in another, white. The line between those colours and the brown is so distinctly marked, that the one kind seems as if it had been wading up to the belly in ink, and the other in white-wash.

The rest of the desart for about one hundred miles from Pooggul to Bahawulpore, was a flat of hard clay which sounded under our horses feet like a board. In some places small hills were formed by sand apparently blown over the clay; on these were some bushes of Phoke, and some little plants of wild rue, and of a kind called Laura, which bears a strong resemblance to everlasting, and which is said to yield abundance of alkali when burned. The clay was destitute of all vegetation, and in this tract, excepting the fort and pool of Moujgur, and two wells about sixteen miles from Bahawulpoor, there is neither water nor inhabitants to be found; yet, as we travelled from the first on the road adopted by all caravans, it may be presumed that we saw the most habitable portion of the whole.

It is obvious, that a desart, such as I have described, could not be passed without preparation; camels had accordingly been hired at Canound to carry water and provisions, which completed the number

* Who has sent out the wild ass free? or who has loosed the bonds of the wild ass? whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings: he scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver. The range of the mountains is his pasture, and he searches after every green thing. Job xxxix. 5, 6, 7, and 8.

of our camels to six hundred, besides twelve or thirteen elephants. Our water was carried in leathern bags, made of the skins of sheep, besides some much larger ones, made of the hides of oxen, and twenty-four large copper vessels, two of which were a load for a camel. These were made for the Hindoo Sepoys, and proved the best contrivance, as the skins gave a great deal of trouble, and spilled much water after all. In providing water for the animals, we took no account of the camels, that creature bearing thirst for a period which is almost incredible.

The women who had accompanied the mission were sent back from Chooroo with a guard, and many of our servants were allowed to return by the same opportunity, but this did not secure us the services of the remainder; for such was their dread of the desart, that men of all descriptions deserted by twenties and thirties till we were so far advanced as to render their return impossible. As there was a war in Bikaneer, and as the road was at all times exposed to the depredations of the Bhuttees and other plunderers, we engaged one hundred horse and fifty foot in the Shekhawuttee, to assist our regular escort in protecting our long line of baggage.

All these arrangements being completed, we marched from Chooroo on the 30th of October. We marched in the night as we had done since we entered the Shekhawuttee; we generally began to load by two or three in the afternoon, but it was long before we were able to proceed; and the head of our line never reached the encamping ground till twelve or one. On many occasions we were much later; and once or twice it was broad day before we arrived at our stage. The marches were seldom very long. The longest was twenty-six miles, and the shortest fifteen; but the fatigue which our people suffered bore no proportion to the distance. Our line, when in the closest order, was two miles long. The path by which we travelled wound much to avoid the sand hills. It was too narrow to allow of two camels going abreast; and, if an animal stepped to one side, it sunk in the sand as in snow; so that the least obstruction towards the head of the line stopt the whole, nor could the head move on

if the rear was detained, lest that division, being separated from the guides, might lose its way among the sand hills. To prevent this, a signal was past along the line by beat of drum, when any circumstance occasioned a stoppage in the rear, and a trumpet, sounded from time to time at the head of the line, kept all informed of the direction in which the column was proceeding. The heavy sand made marching so fatiguing that we were obliged to allow camels for half the infantry Sepoys, that they might ride by turns, two on a camel; we had besides cajawas (or large panniers on camels), for the sick. The annoyance of the march was greatly increased by the incredible number of a sort of small burs, which stuck to every thing that touched them, and occasioned great uneasiness. They are however useful, inasmuch as they form a favourite food for horses, and the seed is eaten even by men. The want of water, and the quality of that which we met with, was also a great hardship to our men and followers; and, though the abundance of water melons afforded occasional relief to their thirst, its effect on their health was by no means salutary. Such were the combined effects of fatigue, bad water, and the excessive use of water melons, that a great proportion of the natives who accompanied us became afflicted with a low fever, accompanied by a dysentery; and to such a degree did this extend, that thirty Sepoys, without reckoning followers, were taken ill in the course of one day at Nuttoosir, and forty persons of all descriptions expired during the first week of our halt at Bikaneer. The great difference between the temperature of the days and nights no doubt contributed to this mortality. Even the English gentlemen used to suffer from cold during the night marches, and were happy to kindle a large fire as soon as we reached our ground; yet the sun became powerful so early in the morning, that we always woke with a feverish heat which lasted till sunset. The Europeans, however, did not suffer any serious illness. Some instances of violent inflamation in the eyelids were the only disorders of which we had to complain.

Our march to Bickaneer was attended with few adventures. Parties of plunderers were twice seen, but did not attack our baggage. Some

of the people also lost their way, and were missing for a day or two, during which time they were in danger of being lost in the uninhabited parts of the desart, and were fired on by all the villages which they approached in hopes of getting guides or directions for their journey.

At last on the 5th of November, in the midst of a tract of more than ordinary desolation, we discovered the walls and towers of Bikaneer, which presented the appearance of a great and magnificent city in the midst of a wilderness. Even after we reached our ground there were disputes in camp whether it or Delly was most extensive; but a little farther acquaintance removed this impression. The town was surrounded by a fine wall, strengthened with many round towers, and crowned with the usual Indian battlements. It contained some high houses, and some temples, one of which had a lofty spire, and at one corner was a very high and showy fort. It was distinguished by the whiteness of all the buildings, arising from the material already described at Chooroo, and by the absence of trees, which give most Indian towns the appearance of woods rather than of inhabited places. The beauty of Bikaneer however was all external. On entering the gates most of it was found to be composed of huts, with mud walls painted red. It was exceedingly populous, perhaps from the number of people who had fled to the capital in consequence of the state of the country.

Bikaneer was at this time invaded by five different armies; one of which belonging to the Raja of Joudpoor, and 15,000 strong, had arrived within a few miles of the city. Another smaller force was equally near, while the rest were endeavouring to reach the same point by different routes*. A number of predatory horse had also been let loose to cut off the supplies of provisions from the surrounding countries, on which a city situated like Bikaneer, must obviously depend for existence. The Raja, on the other hand, filled up all the

* This invasion was occasioned by the interference of the Raja of Bikaneer, in a war between the Rajas of Joudpoor and Jypoor, for the hand of the princess of Oudipoor.

wells within ten miles of his capital, and trusted for deliverance to the desolation which surrounded him.

This state of affairs was not very favourable for supplying the wants of the mission, and we thought ourselves lucky in being enabled to renew our march within eleven days. During this time military operations were carried on between the parties. The smallest of the armed bodies near Bikaneer was obliged to fall back a march. A convoy from the eastward also forced its way into the town; and another going to the enemy, was cut off by the Raja's troops. Many men were killed on this occasion, and much plunder was taken by the victors. Their appearance, as they passed near our camp, was well described by one of the gentlemen of the mission. In one place was seen a party driving in oxen, in another some loaded carts, here a horseman pricking on a captured camel with his long spear, and there a gun dragged slowly through the sand by fifteen or twenty bullocks. Disorderly bands of ragged soldiers were seen in all directions, most of them with plunder of some kind, and all in spirits with their victory.

In the meantime, I was assailed by both parties with constant applications, the Joudpoor general urging me to come to his camp, and the Raja desiring me to take part with him. The former could only throw out hints of danger from omitting to comply with his wishes, but the Raja could at pleasure accelerate or retard the provision of our cattle and supplies; and by placing a guard over the well which had been allotted to us, he one day shewed to our no small uneasiness how completely he had us in his power. The restriction however was removed on a remonstrance, and might have been occasioned by the water being required elsewhere; for while we were taking in water for our journey, we were ourselves obliged to place guards over the well, and to withhold water entirely from our camels for the two or three last days of our stay.

The time of our residence was variously occupied. At first there was some novelty in observing the natives, with whom our camp was crowded like a fair. Nothing could exceed their curiosity; and when

one of us appeared abroad, he was stared at like a prodigy. They wore loose clothes of white cotton or muslin, like the people of Hindoostan; but were distinguished from them by their Raujpoot features, and by their remarkable turban, which rises high over the head like a mitre, and has a cloth of some other colour wound round the bottom. Some of our party went into the town, where, although curiosity drew a mob round them, they were treated with great civility: Others rode out into the desart, but were soon wearied with the dreary and unvaried prospect it afforded; for within ten yards of the town was as waste as the wildest part of Arabia. On the northern side alone there was something like a woody valley. The most curious sight at Bikaneer was a well of fine water, immediately under the fort, which is the residence of the Raja. It was three hundred feet deep, and fifteen or twenty feet in diameter. Four buckets, each drawn by a pair of oxen, worked at it at once; and, when a bucket was let down, its striking the water made a noise like a great gun.

Great part of our time was taken up with the Raja's visit, and our attendance at his palace. The Raja came to my camp through a street, formed by his own troops and joined by one of our's, which extended from the skirts of the camp to the tent where he was received. He was carried on men's shoulders in a vehicle, like the body of an old-fashioned coach. He was preceded by a great many chobdars, bearing slender silver maces, with large knobs at the top, which they waved over their heads in the air, and followed by a numerous retinue. He sat down on a musnud (a kind of throne composed of cushions), under a canopy, or rather an awning of red velvet, embroidered and laced with gold, and supported by four silver pillars, all of which he had sent out for the purpose. We conversed on various subjects for an hour. Among other topics, the Raja enquired about the age of the King, the climate of England, and the politics of the nation. He showed a knowledge of our relation to France; and one of the company asked, whether my mission was not owing to our wars with that nation. Presents were at last put before him and his courtiers, according to the Indian custom, after which he withdrew.

Raja Soorut Sing is a man of a good height, and a fair complexion, for an Indian. He has black whiskers and a beard (except on the middle of his chin), a long nose, and Raujpoot features: he has a good face, and a smiling countenance. He is reckoned an oppressive prince. It is strongly suspected that he poisoned his elder brother, whom he succeeded; and, it is certain, that he murdered an agent sent from the Vizier of Hindostan to the King of Caubul. Yet, as he is very strict in his devotions, and particular in the diet prescribed by his religion*, his subjects allow him the character of a saint.

I returned his visit on the next day but one, having been invited by his second son, who, though an infant, was sent for that purpose with a great retinue. The fort looked well, as we approached. It was a confused assemblage of towers and battlements, overtopped by houses crowded together. It is about a quarter of a mile square, surrounded with a wall thirty feet high, and a good dry ditch. The palace was a curious old building, in which, after ascending several flights of steps, we came to a court surrounded by buildings, and then had one hundred yards to go, before we reached a small stone hall, supported by pillars, where the Raja took his seat under his canopy. The court was different from any thing I had seen, those present being fairer than other Hindostanees, and marked by their Jewish features and showy turbans. The Raja and his relations had turbans of many colours, richly adorned with jewels, and the Raja sat resting his arms on a shield of steel, the bosses and rim of which were set with diamonds and rubies. After some time, the Rajah proposed that we should withdraw from the heat and crowd, and conducted us into a very neat, cool, and private apartment, in a separate court; the walls were of plaster, as fine as stucco, and were ornamented in good taste; the doors were closed with curtains of China satin. When we were seated on the ground, in the Indian way, the Raja began a speech, in which he said he was a subject of the throne of Delly, that Delly was

* It is whimsical that the Hindoos of the sands of Bikaneer should particularly object to eating fish.

now in our hands, and he seized the opportunity of my coming, to acknowledge our sovereignty. He then called for the keys of his fort, and insisted on my taking them, which I refused, disclaiming the extended rights ascribed to us. After a long contest, the Raja consented to keep the keys; and when some more conversation had passed, a mob of dancing women entered, and danced and sung till we withdrew.

We at last marched from Bikaneer on the night of the 16th of November. The country we passed on the two first nights, was like that already described, and our people were so fatigued after the second march, that we intended to have halted a day to refresh them, when the Dewaun of the Raja of Bikaneer acquainted us with some movements of a certain partizan, and of some of the predatory tribes of the desart, which induced us to move in the day instead of the night, to enable us the better to protect our baggage.

In consequence of this change, the generale beat at two o'clock in the morning (November 19th), but it was day-light before our water and all our other loads were prepared, and it was dark before we reached our ground at Pooggul, after a march of twenty-four miles. The whole was wavy sand-hills, some of them of an astonishing height. Our people were in great distress for water during the whole day. At Pooggul, however, we found abundance of good water for sale. It was rain-water preserved in small reservoirs, vaulted over with brick and mortar. There was well-water also, which was brackish, but not noxious. The wells were not more than half as deep as those of Bikaneer.

We halted on the 20th of November, to take in water, and I had a good opportunity of examining the place. If I could present to my reader the fore-ground of high sand hills, the village of straw huts, the clay walls of the little fort going to ruins, as the ground which supported them was blown away by the wind, and the sea of sand without a sign of vegetation, which formed the rest of the prospect, he probably would feel as I did, a sort of wonder at the people who

could reside in so dismal a wilderness, and of horror at the life to which they seemed to be condemned.

On the 21st, we marched at day-break, and for the first ten or twelve miles were in sand as above described, after which we reached the hard plain. No sooner were we clear of the sand-hills, than our camels moved up into a line of twelve or fifteen abreast, and the whole of our caravan began to move with tolerable speed. The contrast between this and the sand-hills was very exhilarating, though even those had not been unpleasing, while they had novelty to recommend them. In the course of the day we were overtaken by a subject of Bahawul Khauns, who had lost his way in tracking some camels carried off in an excursion of the Raujpoots, had exhausted his skin of water, and had tasted no food for two days. We fed and put him on a camel. Before dark, we met a party of one hundred and fifty soldiers on camels, belonging to Bahawul Khaun, the chief of one of the king of Caubul's eastern provinces. There were two men on each camel, and each had a long and glittering matchlock. They advanced and saluted in three or four very good lines. Their camels seemed as manageable as horses, and their appearance was altogether novel and striking; their commander had a long beard, and was dressed in a Persian tunic of buff broad cloth, with gold buttons, and a low cap like the crown of a hat. He was mounted on an excellent, light, speedy, and easy camel, with a very showy saddle and two reins, one passing through a hole in each nostril of the camel. His language was scarcely intelligible to any of our party. He brought us one hundred camels, carrying four hundred skins of water from Moujghur. He had also four brazen jars of water from the Hyphasis, which was intended for our own drinking, and was sealed up with the Khaun's signet. We soon after encamped in the midst of the desart, about twenty-six miles from Pooggul. We enjoyed the water of the Hyphasis extremely, and were all delighted with the new people we were getting among, and the new scenes we were approaching.

On the 22d, we made a march of thirty miles to Moujgur; the heat of the afternoon was intense, while we halted as usual in the naked plain, to give our people some water, and to take some refreshment ourselves. In the course of the day several hundred skins of water came to us from Moujgur, where Bahawul Khaun had sent his principal officers to receive us. Towards evening many persons were astonished with the appearance of a long lake, enclosing several little islands; notwithstanding the well known nature of the country, many were positive that it was a lake; and one of the surveyors took the bearings of it. It was, however, only one of those illusions which the French call *mirage*, and the Persians *sirraub*. I had imagined this phenomenon to be occasioned by a thin vapour (or something resembling a vapour), which is seen over the ground in the hot weather in India, but this appearance was entirely different, and, on looking along the ground, no vapour whatever could be perceived. The ground was quite level and smooth, composed of dried mud or clay, mixed with particles of sparkling sand: there were some tufts of grass, and some little bushes of rue, &c. at this spot, which were reflected as in water, and this appearance continued at the ends, when viewed from the middle. I shall not attempt to account for this appearance, but shall merely remark, that it seems only to be found in level, smooth, and dry places. The position of the sun with reference to the spectator, appears to be immaterial. I thought at first that great heat always accompanied its appearance; but it was afterwards seen in Damaun, when the weather was not hotter than is experienced in England.

About sun-set we descried the high wall and towers of Moujgur, with a conspicuous mosque which stands over the gateway, and a tomb with a cupola, ornamented with painted tiles, resembling, as I was told, the tombs of Imaumzaddahs in Persia. We arrived a little after dark, and encamped near the fort, which is small and weak. We remained here two days, taking in water. Bahawul Khaun's Dewaun, and another of his officers, who joined us here, were Hindoos, the third was a Moullah of Moultaun, whose dress, language,

and manners, were very like those of Persia. Even the Hindoos sometimes used the Persian idom in speaking Hindostanee, and the Dewaun looked and spoke more like a Persian Moollah than a Hindoo. On the 25th of November, we marched twenty-seven miles to two wells in the desart. In the way we saw a most magnificent mirage, which looked like an extensive lake, or a very wide river. The water seemed clear and beautiful, and the figures of two gentlemen who rode along it, were reflected as distinctly as in real water. A small but neat tower was seen in this march, and we were told it was a place of refuge for travellers, against the predatory hordes who infest the route of caravans. There were some stunted bushes of the Mimosa Arabica on the march, and at the ground was something that might be called a tree.

On the 26th, we marched at day-light, and passed over low and bare hills of loose sand, and bottoms of hard clay, till after travelling twelve miles, we perceived something stretched across in front of us, which soon after appeared to be trees. We then pushed on with increased alacrity, and soon reached a place where the desart and the cultivated country were separated, as if by a line. A long row of trees ran along the edge of the sands ; and, beyond it, were clumps of trees, green fields, and wells of abundant and clear water, with houses, and every sign of fertility and cultivation. One of the first things we saw was a well, worked by a Persian wheel, which was pouring out water in the greatest abundance. The trees, though only low tamarisk, seemed enchanting to us ; and every thing was welcome after our five weeks sojourn in the desart. We past for a mile and a half under the walls of Bahawulpore, which, as well as the roads, were crowded with spectators, who, in their turn, afforded no uninteresting spectacle to us. A striking difference was observable between them and the people on the east of the desart. Those we now saw, were strong, dark, harsh featured ; had their hair and beards long ; wore caps oftener than turbans ; and spoke a language, entirely unintelligible to our Hindoostauny attendants. The better sort wore the dress, and affected the manners of Persia. After crossing a small canal, and passing

through some fields, we left the woods, and at length reached the banks of the Hyphasis. I was much disappointed in the breadth of the river, as well as with the appearance of its shores; but it was impossible to look without interest on a stream which had borne the fleet of Alexander.

On the next day but one, Bahawul Khaun arrived, having come forty miles on purpose to shew attention to the mission. Indeed his whole conduct from the time we approached his frontier, shewed a spirit of kindness and hospitality which could not be surpassed, nor did it cease when we left this country; for, even after we had passed the Indus, he continued to send us intelligence, and to take every opportunity of showing us attention. In our first intercourse with him, we began to determine the presents to be made, expecting to have a long struggle against his rapacity, as is usual on such occasions in most parts of India; but we soon found we had to encounter a difficulty of another kind. Bahawul Khaun would take nothing without a negotiation; while he was anxious to shew his own liberality to an extent which we were unwilling to admit.

On the day of his arrival, he sent eighty sheep, one hundred maunds of flour, and other articles of the same kind. Next day, he sent one hundred pots of sweetmeats, a vast number of baskets of oranges, ten bags of almonds and raisins, and five bags, each containing 1000 rupees (equal to 120*l.*) to be given to the servants. I was a little embarrassed by this last piece of hospitality; but was obliged to submit, on condition that the Khaun's servants should accept a similar donation from me.

On the 29th, Mr. Strachey and Captain Raper paid a visit to the Khaun, and returned charmed with the polite and cordial reception he gave them. Among other conversation, he praised the King of Caubul highly; but said he had never seen him. "He feared the "snows of Caubul, and was besides a dweller of the desart, and un-"worthy to appear before so great a monarch." On the 1st of December, he came to my tent. He was a plain, open, pleasant man, about forty-five or fifty years of age: he had on a white tunic, with small

gold buttons, over which was a wide mantle of very rich and beautiful gold brocade: on his head was a cap of brockade, and over it a lougee (or silken turban), twisted loosely. About six of his attendants sat, the rest stood round, and were well dressed, and respectable. Our conversation turned on India and England, and lasted till the Khaun remarked it was getting late.

On the 2d, I returned his visit. The streets were crowded to an incredible degree, and the terraced tops of the houses were covered with spectators. They left the part of the street through which we were to pass quite clear; and, except now and then an exclamation of surprise when we came in sight, they kept a profound silence. The Khaun received us in a handsome room with attic windows, round which a neat and orderly company were seated on a Persian carpet. He conversed freely on all subjects: said he had never seen the King, and please God he never would; he could live in his desart and hunt his deer, and had no desire to follow courts. He shewed me a curious clock, made by one of his own people. The works seemed very good. The bell was below the works; and the whole was in a case of gold, with very thick chrystal sides. He also shewed an excellent gun lock, made at Bahawulpoor. He gave me two fine hawks, some grey hounds, two horses (one with gold, and the other with enamelled trappings), a very beautiful match-lock, richly enamelled, with a powder flask in the English model, and some trays of cloths of the place.

On the 4th, we marched. Bahawul Khaun sent out a tent into the neighbourhood of ours, where we had a parting-meeting while our last baggage was crossing the river. He introduced the mechanic who made the clock, and presented me to several persons, who he said were Ulema (or Mahomedan school divines). Afterwards, he retired to a carpet at some distance from the tents with Mr. Strachey and me; and there spoke fully on all subjects, giving me all the advice and information in his power. He ended, by saying, that, as he was the first subject of Khorassaun with whom we had met, he hoped we would preserve the remembrance of him after we had extended our acquaintance. We took leave of him with great regret. He had been

liberal and kind to us during our stay, without over civility or ceremony; and, he had an appearance of sincerity in every thing he said, which made his shew of friendship the more agreeable.

We rode out often during our halt at Bahawulpoor, and saw the town and its environs. The town is about four miles in circumference; but there are gardens of mangoe trees within the walls. The houses are of unburnt bricks, with terraces of mud: The city wall is of mud, and very thin. Bahawulpoor is remarkable for the manufacture of lougees, or silken girdles, and turbans. The inhabitants of this, and all the neighbouring countries on the west and north, are principally Juts and Beloches, who profess the Mahommedan religion. There are more Hindoos at Bahawulpoor than any of the other provinces the mission passed through: Afghauns are foreigners there. The country, for four or five miles on each side of the Hyphasis, is formed of the slime, deposited by the river. It is very rich, and often so soft that it cannot be ridden on. Some parts are highly cultivated, and others are covered with coppice of low tamarisk, in which are many wild boars, and hog deer; wild geese, partridges, florikens, and other game are also abundant on the banks of the river.

The river winds much at this place, and is very muddy, but the water, when cleared, is excellent. It is here called the Gharra, and is formed by the joint streams of the Hyphasis, or Begah, and Hysudrus, or Sutledge.

The mission marched on the 5th of December from the right bank of the Hyphasis, and reached Moultaun on the 11th, a distance of near seventy miles. After the first five or six miles, the country was in general dry, sandy, and destitute of grass, but scattered with bushes. Immediately round the villages, which were pretty numerous, were fields of wheat, cotton, and turnips, in a thriving condition. There were so great a number of large and deep water-courses throughout the whole journey, that judging from them alone, one would have supposed the country to be highly cultivated.

Before we reached Moultaun, we were overtaken by twenty-five camels, sent us by Bahawul Khaun. That chief is famous for his

camels, some of which he keeps for his own use, and always hunts upon them. They are very generally used in all the desart country, and are admirably calculated for long journeys. An elderly minister of the Raja of Bikaneers, whom I met at Singana, had just come on a camel from Bikaneer (a distance of one hundred and seventy-five miles) in three days. Several of our party liked them so well, as to continue to ride them for pleasure, after we had crossed the Indus. Their walk and trot are far from being very uneasy.

The city of Moultaun stands about four miles from the left bank of the Chenaub, or Acesines. It is above four miles and a half in circumference. It is surrounded with a fine wall, between forty and fifty feet high, with towers at regular distances. It has also a citadel on a rising ground, and several fine tombs, particularly two, with very high cupolas, ornamented with the painted and glazed tile already noticed, which altogether give it a magnificent appearance. These tombs are seen from a great distance all round the town. Moultaun is famous for its silks, and for a sort of carpet, much inferior to those of Persia. The country immediately round the city was very pleasing, fertile, well cultivated, and well watered from wells. The people were like those at Bahawulpoor, except that there were more men who looked like Persians mixed with them; these, however, were individuals, and chiefly horsemen.

The mission remained for nineteen days in the neighbourhood of Moultaun, and as most of the party were out almost every day from seven or eight to three or four, shooting, hunting, or hawking, we had good opportunities of observing the country. The land was flat, and the soil excellent, but a large proportion of the villages were in ruins, and there were other signs of a well cultivated country going to decay; about one-half was still cultivated, and most abundantly watered by Persian wheels: the produce was wheat, millet, cotton, turnips, carrots, and indigo. The trees were chiefly neem * and date, with here and there a peepul † tree. The uncultivated country near

* Melia Azadarachta.

† Ficus Religiosa.

the river was covered with thick copse-wood of tamarisk, mixed with a tree like a willow, about twenty feet high: at a distance from the river, it was bare, except for scattered tufts of long grass, and here and there a date tree. The country abounded in game of all kinds. The weather was delightful during our stay; the thermometer, when at the lowest, was at 28° at sun-rise: there were slight frosts in the night, but the days were rather warm.

We were detained thus long at Moultaun by the necessity of purchasing and hiring camels, and of obtaining correct intelligence of the King of Caubul's motions, as well as of waiting for a Mehmandaur * from His Majesty, to accompany the mission after it entered the lands of the Afghaun tribes. We were also occupied in changing the camels which we brought from Hindostan, for those of the country, in making warm clothing for the Sepoys, and in procuring horses to mount many of our attendants, according to the custom of the country we were about to enter.

The principal events of our stay were our meetings with the governor of the province. The name of this personage was Serafrauz Khaun, and as his government was in India, he had the title of Nabob. He was of an Afghaun family, of the royal tribe of Suddozye, but his ancestors had so long been settled in Moultaun, that he had lost most of the characteristics of his nation. He seems to have been seized with a panic as soon as he heard of the approach of the mission, and the whole of his behaviour to the end, was marked with suspicion and distrust. He shut the gates of the city against us, and allowed none of our men or followers to enter, without express permission. He also doubled his guards, and we heard from good authority, of debates in his council, whether it was most probable that we should endeavour to surprize the city, or that we should procure a cession of it to us from the King. He, however, agreed to visit me on the 15th of December, and a very large tent was pitched for his reception. One end

* An officer appointed to receive and do the honours to such guests as the King wishes to shew attention to.

of it was open, and from the entrance two canvass skreens ran out, so as to form an alley about twenty yards long, which was lined with servants in livery, other servants extending beyond it. The troops were also drawn up in line along the road to the tent.

Mr. Strachey went to meet the governor, and found him mounted on a white horse, with gold trappings, attended by his officers and favourites, surrounded with large standards, and escorted by two hundred horse, and three thousand foot. The dust, crowd, and confusion of the meeting, are represented by Mr. Strachey, as beyond all description. The governor welcomed Mr. Strachey according to the Persian custom, after which they joined, and proceeded to the tent, the pressure and disorder increasing as they went. In some places men were fighting, and in others people were ridden down; Mr. Strachey's own horse was nearly borne to the ground, and only recovered himself by a violent exertion. When they approached the tent, they missed the road, came in front of the line of troops, and rushed on the cavalry with such impetuosity, that there was barely time to wheel back, so as to allow a passage. In this manner the tide poured on towards the tent: the line of servants were swept away, the skreens were torn down, and trampled under foot, and even the tent ropes were assailed with such fury, that the whole tent was nearly struck over our heads. The inside was crowded and darkened in an instant. The governor and about ten of his companions sat, the rest seemed to be armed attendants; and, indeed, the governor seemed to have attended to nothing but the number of his guards. He sat but for a very short time, during the whole of which he was telling his beads with the utmost fervency, and addressing me with "You are welcome, you are very welcome," as fast as he could repeat the words. At last, he said he was afraid the crowd must annoy me, and withdrew. Surafrauz Khaun was a good looking young man, he wore the Persian dress, with a cap and a shawl turban over it, and spoke very good Persian. His attendants were large, fair, and handsome Afghauns, most of them very well dressed, but in no sort of order or discipline. On the same evening I returned his visit, and

found him sitting under an awning, on a terrace, in one of his gardens. He had a large company sitting with him in good order. They differed greatly in appearance from the natives of India, but were neither so handsomely dressed, nor so decorous as Persians. The Nabob being now free from alarm, was civil, and agreeable enough.

While at Moultaun, and in the neighbourhood, I received visits from Molla Jaffer Seestaunee, from the king's deputy Hircarra Baushee, or Newswriter, and from various other persons. My intercourse with one person deserves to be mentioned, as characteristic of the government of Moultaun. Secunder Khaun, the Nabob's uncle, being once hunting near my camp, sent to me, to say that he had enclosed three wild boars within his nets, and to beg I would come and join in the chace of them. I thought it prudent to excuse myself, but I sent a native gentleman with a civil message, some fine gunpowder, and a spy-glass. Secunder Khaun returned me an indifferent horse, and sent a boar to be hunted at leisure. Thus far all was well, but two days afterwards, he sent back my present, and desired to have his horse back, as he was in danger of being confined, or put to death for intriguing with the English.

On the 16th of December, we moved to the banks of the Acesines, here called the Chenaub. It has received the waters of the Hydaspes and Hydraotes, before it reaches this place.

We passed the river on the 21st of December (our baggage having taken some days in crossing before us), and we pitched about three miles from the right bank of the river. From this ground we first discerned the mountains of Afghaunistaun. They appeared at a great distance to the west, and must have been the part of the range of Solimaun, which is to the north-west of Dera Ghauzi Khaun, and, consequently, seventy or eighty miles from Mooltaun. At length our preparations were completed, and, after many projects for overcoming the difficulties of a journey through the snow to Candahar, we had the satisfaction of learning that the King had set out on the road to Caubul. We, therefore, renewed our march on the 29th of December, and began to cross the little desart, which extends from north to

south upwards of two hundred and fifty miles, but the breadth of which was so little in this part, that we crossed it in two marches. It fills up all that part of the country between the Hydaspes and Indus, which is not inundated by those rivers, and extends from the latitude of Ooch, where the inundated lands of both join, to the Salt range. It seems to be a part of the great desart cut off from the main body by the rivers and their rich banks. We entered it a few miles west of our encampment near the Acesines. The line between the cultivated country and the desart, was marked and decided, and we found ourselves at once among sand hills, stunted bushes, burs, and phoke: yet those were not so common as to preclude the necessity of carrying forage for our cattle. The sand-hills were lower than those of the great desart, and here they were grey, while those had been reddish yellow. The water was brackish. At the end of our second march, we were within the limits of the inundation of the Indus; and on the morning of the 31st of December, Mr. Strachey, Lieutenant Macartney, and I, set out for the banks of that celebrated river. We had a guide on a camel, some troopers, and three or four servants on camels and horses. We passed over a rich soil, covered with long grass, in which were mixed many trees of the kind like willow, and here and there patches of cultivation. The day was cloudy, with occasional drops of rain, and a very cold wind blew till after noon. The hills were distinctly in sight during the whole of our ride. Their appearance was beautiful; we clearly saw three ranges, the last of which was very high, and we often doubted whether we were deceived by the clouds, or really saw still higher ranges beyond. While we were looking at the hills, a mass of heavy clouds rolled down those most to the north, so as entirely to conceal them from our sight, and a line of clouds rested on the middle of those to the west, leaving the summits and the bases clear. On the next day, these clouds had passed away, and had left the hills covered with snow. We were anxious and happy as we approached the river, and were not a little gratified when at last we found ourselves upon its banks.

The Indus, besides its great name, and the interest it excites as the boundary of India, was rendered a noble object by its own extent, and by the lofty hills which formed the back ground of the view. We were however a little disappointed in its appearance, owing to an island, which divided it, and impaired the effect of its stream. There were other islands and sand banks in the river; but near the side where we stood, it came up to the edge, and seemed deep and rapid. While on the banks of the river, we met a native, to whose conversation, and that of the guide, we listened with great interest and curiosity. The plains on the opposite shore we found were inhabited by Beloches, and the mountains by the Sheeraunees, a fierce and turbulent tribe. On the other side of the range were tribes and places, of which we had never heard the names; while those we had learned from our maps, were equally new to our informants. All we could learn was, that beyond the hills was something wild, strange, and new, which we might hope one day to explore.

From Oodoo da Kote, near which we first saw the Indus, to the ferry of Kaheeree, where we crossed it, is about seventy-five miles. It is a narrow tract, contested between the river and the desart. If in hunting, we were led many miles to the west of the road, we got into branches of the river, and troublesome quicksands, among thickets of tamarisk or of reeds; and, if we went as far to the right, the appearance of sand, and even in some places of sand hills, admonished us of the neighbourhood of the desart. Many parts, however, were cultivated, with great pains and method, and produced good crops of wheat, barley, turnips, and cotton. The fields were always enclosed, either with hedges of dry thorn, with hurdles of willow, or with fences, made of stiff mats of reeds, supported by stakes. The houses were often built of the same material. We were struck with the neatness of the farm-yards, so unlike those of Hindostan. They were regularly enclosed; had gates of three or four bars; and contained sheds for the cattle, dung-hills, &c. It was also new to us to observe hand-barrows, and to see oxen fed with turnips. Some of the houses near the river attracted our attention, being raised on platforms, supported

by strong posts, twelve or fifteen feet high. We were told they were meant to take refuge in during the inundation, when the country for ten or twelve coss (twenty or twenty-four miles), from the banks were under water.

The people were remarkably civil and well behaved. Their features were more pleasing than those of the people at Bahawulpore and Moultaun; and their appearance and complexion continued to improve as we got northward, till we reached the ferry: their dress improved in the same manner. Even towards the south, the men were all dressed in gowns of white or blue cotton, and had no part of their bodies exposed, which, with their beards, and the gravity and decency of their behaviour, made them look like Moulavees (or doctors of Mahommedan law), in Hindoostan. Even there, they wore brownish grey great-coats of coarse woollen cloth; and that dress became more common towards the north, where all the people wore coloured clothes, blue, red, or check: the turban also is there exchanged for caps of gilted silk, not unlike Welsh wigs, and certainly not handsome. Our halting places were generally at large villages. One was at Leia, which although it gives its name to the province, is a poor place, containing about five hundred houses.

At many of these villages are tombs, like those already noticed. The handsomest is that of Mahommed Raujun, at a village that bears his name. It is an octagon buildiug, three or four stories high, and covered with painted tiles. At each corner of the lower story is a small round tower, surmounted by a little minaret, which has a good effect. These tombs are conspicuous objects, being generally seen from stage to stage.

I ought also to notice a high bank, which ran to the right of our road, from the march north of Leia to the ferry; though now seven miles from the Indus, it is said to have been the eastern bank of that river at no very remote period, and its appearance is favourable to the story. At Leia, I was joined by two Dooraunee horsemen, the first I had an opportunity of observing. They were sent by the governor of the province to accompany me to his limits. They both wore large

red mantles, lined or edged with fur. One was fair, with a high nose, and a pleasing countenance: he wore a silken turban over a small cap. The other was dark, with coarse blunt features, and a hardy look: he wore a sheep-skin cap, like a Persian, but lower. Both were civil and attentive. At Leia, also, I was visited by a Persian attendant of the King's, and by a young Hindoo, a brother of Muddud Khaun's Dewaun, who, though dressed like a Dooraunee, still bore strong traces of his origin. I was a good deal surprised at the freedom with which all my visitors spoke of the Government; and of the civil wars. Besides those persons whom we met in towns, and the common labouring people, the general desire to see us gave us opportunities of observing almost all descriptions of men. Sometimes a number of horsemen would join us on the line of march, two or three sallying from every village we passed: they were often on mares, with the foals running after them, and armed with long spears. They were always very civil. The notions entertained of us by the people were not a little extraordinary. They had often no conception of our nation or religion. We have been taken for Syuds, Moguls, Afghauns, and even for Hindoos.

They believed we carried great guns, packed up in trunks; and that we had certain small boxes, so contrived as to explode, and kill half a dozen men each, without hurting us. Some thought we could raise the dead; and there was a story current, that we had made and animated a wooden ram, at Mooltaun; that we had sold him as a ram, and that it was not till the purchaser began to eat him, that the material of which he was made, was discovered.

At the ferry on the Indus, we met some silk-merchants, who had gone as far as Demaun to purchase madder. They described the Afghaun tribes as generally kind to travellers, and honest in their dealings; but one tribe (the Vizeerees), they said were savages, and eat human flesh.

We crossed the Indus at the Kaheree ferry, on the 7th of January. The main stream was there 1010 yards broad, though its breadth was diminished by several parallel branches, one of which was two

hundred and fifty yards broad. We passed in good flat-bottomed boats, made of fir, and capable of carrying from thirty to forty tons. Our camels had their feet tied, and were thrown into the boats like any other baggage; our horses also crossed in boats. The elephants alone swam, to the great astonishment of the people of the country, who, probably, had never seen an animal of the kind before. From the ferry to Dera Ismael Khaun was thirty-five miles. The country was covered with thickets of long grass and thorny shrubs, full of game of all kinds, from partridges to wild boars, and leopards.

The cultivation was flourishing, but was not extensive, though water is abundant; and the soil to appearance, enjoys all that richness and fecundity, for which inundated countries are so famous.

We reached Dera Ismael Khaun on the 11th of January. Before we entered Dera, we were met by Tutteh Khaun, a Beloche, who governs this province as deputy for Mahommed Khaun, to whom it, as well as Leia, is assigned by the King. He was splendidly attired, and accompanied by a few infantry, and a troop of ill dressed and ill mounted horse, armed with long spears. He and his companions expatiated on the greatness of their master; on the strength of his twenty forts, the number of his cannon, the forty blacksmiths who were employed night and day to make shot for them, and other topics of the same kind. In the course of the day, Tutteh Khaun sent us a present, including six bottles of Caubul wine, and two of the essence of a plant, much vaunted in the East, and called the bedee mishk or musk willow.

We remained near a month at Dera Ismael Khaun, waiting for a Mehmaundaur.

The town is situated in a large wood of date trees, within a hundred yards of the Indus. It has a ruinous wall of urnburned bricks, about a mile and a half in circumference. The inhabitants of the town were chiefly Beloches, though there were also some Afghauns, and Hindoos: the latter have a temple in the town. The country people are Beloches and Juts, resembling those on the opposite bank of the Indus. We saw many Afghauns from Demaun, who differed

much from the Beloches. They were large, and bony men, with long coarse hair, loose turbans, and sheep-skin cloaks: plain, and rough, but pleasing in their manners. We had often groupes of horsemen round our camp, who came from a distance to look at us, and visitors who were prompted by curiosity to court our acquaintance.

There were several hordes of wandering shepherds encamped in different parts of the vast plain where we were. We went on the day after our arrival to examine one, which belonged to the Kharotees, the rudest of all the pastoral tribes. We rode about ten miles to this camp, over a plain of hard mud, like part of the desart, but covered with bushes of jaund and kureel, and evidently rich, though neglected. On our way, we saw some Afghaun shepherds, driving a herd of about fifty camels, towards Dera: one of the camels was pure white, with blue eyes *. The Afghauns spoke no Persian, nor Hindoostanee. They were very civil; stopped the white camel till we had examined it, and shewed us their swords, which we were desirous to look at, because the hilts differed from those both of Persia and India: they were most like those of the latter country, but neater. At last, after a ride of ten miles, we reached the camp. It was pitched in a circle, and the tents were coarse brown blankets, each supported by two little poles, placed upright, and one laid across for a ridge pole. The walls were made of dry thorn. Our appearance excited some surprise; and one man, who appeared to have been in India, addressed me in a kind of Hindoostanee, and asked what brought us there? whether we were not contented with our own possessions, Cawnpore, and Lucknow, and all those fine places? I said, we came as friends, and were going to the King. After this we soon got intimate; and, by degrees, we were surrounded by people from the camp. The number of children was incredible; they were mostly fair, and handsome. The girls, I particularly observed, had aqui-

* It was afterwards bought by a gentleman of the mission, who gave it away in India; and it is now, I understand, exhibited in London.

line noses, and Jewish features. The men were generally dark, though some were quite fair. One young man, in particular, who stood, and stared in silent amazement, had exactly the colour, features, and appearance of an Irish haymaker. They had generally high noses; and their stature was rather small than large. Some had brown woollen great-coats, but most had white cotton clothes; and they all wore white turbans: they were very dirty. They did not seem at all jealous of their women. Men, women, and children, crowded round us, felt our coats, examined our plated stirrups, opened our holsters, and shewed great curiosity, but were not troublesome. Scarce one of them understood any language but Pushtoo; but, in their manners, they were all free, good humoured, and civil. I learnt that they had been there three months, and were to return in two more, to pass the summer near Ghuznee. They said, that was a far superior country to Demaun. I could make out little even of what the linguist said, and there were too many, both of English and Afghauns, to admit of any attempt at a regular conversation.

Before we left Dera, two of our party, Mr. Fraser and Lieutenant Harris, set out on an expedition of considerable hazard and difficulty. Their object was to ascend the peak called Tukhte Solimaun, or Soliman's throne, where the people of the country believe the ark to have rested after the deluge. After two day's march over a naked plain, they came to an ascent, and, four miles further on, to the village of Deraubund, the chief place of the little tribe of Meeaunkhail. It is a neat little town on a fine clear cold stream, six miles from the hills. They were received by the chief's brother, who had just come in from hunting. He was a fair good looking young man, with a rude but becoming dress, a bow and quiver at his back, a hare's scut in his turban, and two fine grey hounds following him. His reception of the strangers was kind: he ordered dinner to their tent, and proposed that his brother should wait on them, but did not press the visit on their excusing themselves. For dinner they had a good pilow, and a plate of the fat of the tail of the Doomba sheep to steep their bread in. Next morning Omar Khaun, the chief, came while

the gentlemen were dressing; he waited without the tent till they were ready, and then entered. He was an uncommonly handsome fair man, under thirty years of age. He wore a black shawl turban, and a light blue cloak, ornamented with black silk frogs at the breast. His manners were very pleasing, and his demeanour dignified and easy. After they became acquainted, he told them that he was in much distress at that time, owing to factions in his tribe; asked their advice, and even begged them to give him a talisman to secure his success. While at Deraubund, the two gentlemen were riding out with two or three Hindoostanee horsemen behind them, when the latter were mobbed, and a stranger of the tribe of Solimaun Khail, struck one of them thrice with the flat of a naked sword. The cause could not be discovered, as the Afghauns spoke nothing but *pushtoo:* Omar Khaun alone having been at Caubul, spoke Persian, of which some Moollas also knew a few words. Omar Khaun endeavoured to dissuade the gentlemen from their enterprise, as being too dangerous; but finding that vain, he contrived to procure safeguards from his own enemies the Sheeraunees, in whose country the mountain lay; he also made the gentlemen cover themselves up, so as to look as like natives of the country as they could, and he advised them to leave all their Indians behind. They then set off into the hills. They found the north side sloping, covered with fir trees, and abounding in rocks of a kind of pudding stone; there were many valleys divided by narrow ridges, and each watered by a clear brook. So circuitous was the road by which they travelled, that after they had advanced about twelve miles, they found they were still three days journey from the top; they also learned that the upper part of the mountain was rendered inaccessible by the snow; and these considerations, with the intended departure of the mission, rendered it necessary for them to return. They slept that night in a Sheeraunee village, lodging in a low hovel, partly sunk in the ground. They were offered bread and meat boiled in small lumps, but so bad that they could not eat it. They were lighted by pieces of a kind of deal, so full of turpentine, that they burned like torches. They then returned to Deraubund,

and after giving presents to the chief and his brother, they set out for camp. They both spoke highly of the kindness of Omar Khaun, and were also pleased with the attentions of one of the leaders of the party opposed to him.

On their way back, as they approached a ruined village, they saw spears rise, and seven horsemen issue forth; the gentlemen had but one man with them, but fortunately he was the guide furnished by Omar Khaun: the party in ambuscade was commanded by that chief's nephew, who, though he probably was as hospitable as the rest, while the gentlemen were his guests, thought himself at full liberty to plunder them after they had quitted the lands of his tribe. He was, however, persuaded by the guide to go away without injuring them. Soon after, they were called to by a man on foot, and desired to stop; on their disregarding him, the man lay down, and, fixing his matchlock on its rest, took a very deliberate aim at Mr. Harris. Here, however, the guide again interposed, and they reached camp without any farther adventures. Some of the people of Deraubund afterwards came to our camp, and received ample returns of hospitality from the gentlemen who had visited them.

Near the end of January we received intelligence from Mahommed Khaun, that the King was certainly coming to Peshawer, and that Moolla Jaffer Seestaunee was appointed to attend us till some person of rank could join us. After the passage of several chuppers, or couriers, on horseback, from the court, Moolla Jaffer joined us, and we began to get ready for our march. Moolla Jaffer had been a schoolmaster in his native country of Seestaun, but had afterwards come to court to better his fortune: he had some success in commerce, and had an opportunity of obliging the King, and enriching himself at once, by purchasing some of His Majesty's jewels, during his misfortunes, and flight to the mountains. He was now in great favour, though he maintained the style and manners of an ordinary merchant. He was a grave old gentleman, shrewd, sensible, and good humoured, but blunt, and somewhat passionate. Under his guidance we set out from Dera Ismael Khaun on the 7th of February.

Our road lay through thickets, as above described on the river side. When we got near the end of our march, we discovered a party of Persian or Dooraunee horse, drawn up across the way, and soon learned they were one hundred horse who had come from the King, and brought me a letter. The whole of the troops were dressed like Persians, with coloured clothes, boots, and low sheepskin caps. They had very neat housings of leopard skin and other materials. They wore Persian hilted swords, and had generally matchlocks; some had very short blunderbusses, with very small stocks, and barrels of exceedingly thin iron, tied to their girdles. They had small, but light and good horses. They were, on the whole, a very neat and orderly party. After we came to our ground, they sent us twenty mule loads of the fruits of Caubul, apples, grapes, &c.

In the evening, I went to a tent pitched about one hundred yards from my camp, to receive a dress of honour sent me from the King. I found the tent filled with the principal people from the King, standing with the same respect as if His Majesty had been present. I was instructed to bow to the dress, and was afterwards invested with a large flowing robe of gold cloth, lined with satin, which I was told the King himself had worn: a shawl was wound round my hat, and the King's letter was stuck in it; another shawl was given to me for a girdle, and all present said a short prayer. The dress was rich, and the shawls costly.

Next day, after passing through a country like that of the last day, we came to sand, and soon after reached the village of Paharpoor, which is scarcely less than Dera. We had heavy rain that night, and at day-break we were struck with the appearance of the mountains of Solimaun, which had been concealed for a week or more, by thick vapour, and now stood forth in new splendour; the pureness of the air, and the great addition of snow making them seem higher and nearer than ever. Our march lay over sand, but before the end of it, we reached scattered hills.

Our camp was pitched near the village of Puneealla, in a cheerful and beautiful spot, such as one would figure a scene in Arabia Felix.

It was a sandy valley, bounded by craggy hills, watered by a little stream, and interspersed with clumps of date trees, and with patches of green corn. The village itself stood in a deep grove of date trees, on the side of a hill, from which many streams gushed through little caverns in the thickest part of the wood. The inhabitants were Beloches and Shaikhs, of Arabian descent. They plundered some of our people, and made others prisoners; and though this was made up, and we hired a strong safe-guard from them, we still lost some camels, and had stragglers plundered after we had left the place.

The next forty miles of our journey were up the valley of Largee, which, though only separated by a ridge of hills from the Indus, was so dry and sandy, that we were obliged to carry water as in the desart; yet even there we saw some camps of shepherds of the Afghaun tribe of Murwut, to whom the country belongs. After two dreary marches through the valley, we came into a rich and beautiful plain thirty-five miles in diameter, encircled with mountains, and divided by the Indus. We encamped that day on the river Koorrum, then shallow, though broad, but in Summer a deep and rapid river. From this we made three marches across the plain to Callabaugh, or Karra-baugh. The country belonged to the tribe of Esaukhail. It was naturally fertile, highly cultivated, and watered by canals four feet broad, and as many deep. The people were more swarthy than we expected to see men of their nation, and looked more like Indians than Persians; they were, however, easily distinguished from the former people, by their long and thick hair, their beards, the loose folds of their turbans, and a certain independent and manly air, that marked them for Afghauns. They are notorious robbers, and carried off some of our camels, and of the King's horse; but their ordinary behaviour was civil and decent. I was surprised at their simplicity and equality: though they are a wealthy and flourishing tribe, their chief, who accompanied me through the whole of their lands, was as plain in his dress, and as simple in his manners, as the most ordinary person in the tribe.

While in the Esaukhail country, we were met by Moossa Khaun Alekkozye, the Dooraunee nobleman who was sent by the King to conduct us to court. He was a tall man, rather corpulent, but of a good figure. He had a fine beard, and was handsomely dressed in cloth of gold, with fine shawls; his sword, and other accoutrements, were mounted in gold; his horses were good, his trappings handsome, and he had good pistols in his holsters, with lions' heads in gold upon the butts. Though he scarcely looked forty, he was near sixty, had been engaged in civil and foreign wars, and had been raised by his party, during a rebellion, to the high rank of Sirdar. He had travelled in his own country, and had long been stationed in Cashmeer, in praise of which country, or rather of its licentious pleasures, he used often to enlarge. Altogether I found him very lively and entertaining, and perfectly gentlemanlike in his manners. He was accompanied by a party of four or five hundred horse, who belonged to a Calmuk Dusteh, or regiment, though I saw no Calmuks among them. He was also accompanied by the chiefs of the Afghaun tribes of Bungush and Khuttuk, and by the chief of the town of Karra-baugh, plain men like Arabs, who accompanied us as far as the plain of Peshawer, each bringing a strong body of militia as we entered his lands.

Calla-baugh, where we left the plain, well deserves a minute description. The Indus is here compressed by mountains into a deep channel, only three hundred and fifty yards broad. The mountains on each side have an abrupt descent into the river, and a road is cut along their base, for upwards of two miles. It had been widened for us, but was still so narrow, and the rock over it so steep, that no camel with a bulky load could pass: to obviate this inconvenience, twenty-eight boats had been prepared, to convey our largest packages up the river. The first part of this pass is actually overhung by the town of Calla-baugh, which is built in a singular manner upon the face of the hill, every street rising above its neighbour, and, I imagine, only accessible by means of the flat roofs of the houses below it. As we passed beneath, we perceived windows and balconies

at a great height, crowded with women and children. The road beyond was cut out of solid salt, at the foot of cliffs of that mineral, in some places more than one hundred feet high above the river. The salt is hard, clear, and almost pure. It would be like chrystal, were it not in some parts streaked and tinged with red. In some places, salt springs issue from the foot of the rocks, and leave the ground covered with a crust of the most brilliant whiteness. All the earth, particularly near the town, is almost blood red, and this, with the strange and beautiful spectacle of the salt rocks, and the Indus flowing in a deep and clear stream through lofty mountains, past this extraordinary town; presented such a scene of wonders, as is seldom to be witnessed. Our camp was pitched beyond the pass, in the mouth of a narrow valley, and in the dry bed of a torrent. Near it were piles of salt in large blocks (like stones at a quarry), lying ready for exportation, either to India or Khorassaun. It would have taken a week to satisfy us with the sight of Calla-baugh; but it threatened rain, and had the torrent filled while we were there, our whole camp must have been swept into the Indus.

On the 16th of February we marched up the valley, which became narrower as we advanced. After proceeding about seven miles, we entered a winding passage, so narrow that in many places our camels could scarcely pass: the rock rose some hundred feet on each side. This passage continued with a gentle ascent for three or four miles, during which time we saw nothing but the rocks on each side, and the sky overhead; at length the ascent grew more sudden, the hills on each side became gradually lower, and more sloping, and after going over some very rough and steep road, we reached the top of the pass. The view that now presented itself was singularly wild and desolate. We were on the highest part of the mountains, and beneath us were the bare, broken, and irregular summits of the rest of the range, among which we saw several valleys like that we had ascended. There were also still higher mountains to the north, covered with snow. We were shown what seemed a little brook for the Indus; and some smoke on its banks, was said to mark the site

of the town of Muckud. Many other places were pointed out, but in such a confusion of hills and valleys, nothing made a distinct impression. From this point we descended a steep and rugged road, where, for the first time, we saw the wild olive. We encamped in a hollow in the face of the mountains, eighteen miles from our last ground. This place was called Chushmeh (the spring), from the rare circumstance of its having fresh water; it had also some deep soil, and had been cultivated by the Bauriks, a wild tribe, to whom these mountains belong. It rained hard before we got to our ground, and in the midst of it I observed Moolla Jaffer trotting on, sheltered by a cloak of stiff felt, which came to a point over his head, and covered him and all the hinder part of his horse, like a tent; behind him was his servant, with a cullean packed into boxes, which were fixed to his saddle like holsters, and a chaffing-dish of burning charcoal swinging from a chain beneath his horse's belly, and sparkling in spite of the rain.

The rain continued all night, and next morning we found it almost impossible to move. It was necessary, however, to try, as our provisions were likely to run short; and, accordingly, we began our march, amidst a dismal seene of high mountains, surrounded with clouds, flooded valleys, and beating rain. Our road lay down a steep pass, and then down the channel of a salt torrent, which was running with great force. Though we began to load the cattle at noon, it was late at night before any of us reached a recess between the torrent and the rocks, only a mile and a half from the place we had left. Many of our people wandered about all night in the rain and cold; and all were not arrived by two on the afternoon of the next day. Some of our camels died during the march, and the Bauriks took advantage of the confusion and disorder, to plunder some of our baggage. The rain fell heavily during the whole of the next day.

On the morning of the 19th, it was fair when the day broke, and at seven we proceeded on our journey. The torrent had run off, and its bed was now an excellent road. The air was clear, and the mountain scenery picturesque and agreeable. In the course of the march

we had more than once to cross a rapid torrent, as deep as could well be forded. On its banks, we met Moosa Khaun, who we found had marched forward on the 16th, and was soon unable either to advance or return: his provisions had run out; and there had been a battle in his camp, and several persons wounded. Some of his men had been carried down in endeavouring to swim the torrent; but they had regained the shore, and no lives were lost. We afterwards went on through the hills, and crossed two cotuls or passes; from the last and steepest of which, we descended into Malgeen. This was a green and pleasant valley, about twelve miles long, and five broad, surrounded by mountains, of which the most remote (those on the north and west) were covered with snow. The troops, and part of the baggage had arrived by sunset, when a report was brought that our rear was attacked. Our own cavalry, and some of the Calmuks, were sent back, and arrived in time to prevent any serious loss. It was however too late for the rest of the baggage to cross the cotul; and a company of Sepoys was sent over to protect them. Next morning we were all assembled, and enabled to enjoy a day's rest, which was much required after the distresses of the journey. Our Sepoys and followers had not had a regular meal for three days, during which time they were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. It was surprising how well they bore the cold, which (although there was no frost) was so severe, that some even of the European part of the mission were glad to wear a fur pelisse and over-alls night and day, during the rain.

We marched again on the 21st of February; and, after crossing a low rocky pass, descended into the country of the Shaudee Khail, whose principal village we passed. It was very pleasingly situated among trees, on the banks of the Toe, a deep and clear stream, flowing rapidly through a picturesque valley, the view up which was terminated at no great distance by snowy mountains. The roads near this were crowded with Afghauns, some of whom welcomed us, while all behaved with civility. At our encamping ground, near the very large village of Dodeh, we were met by Omar Khaun (the son of the

Bungush chief), with seven or eight hundred match-lock men, dressed in blue. This place was in the plain of Cohaut, which is a circle of about twelve miles in diameter. The hills around were varied and picturesque; and those above the town of Cohaut were covered with snow. The plain was green, and well watered, and there were little groves up and down its face. The climate was delightful. Snow never lies long on the lower hills about Cohaut, and had not fallen in the plain for some years: the fruits and flowers of all climates were said to be produced in the plain. We reached Cohaut on the next day. It was a neat town, and had a little fort on an artificial mound, which had been ruined in a struggle for the chiefship, that was scarcely settled when we were there. Near the town runs a stream, as clear as chrystal, which issues from three fountains, and is first collected in a reservoir, not far below. It is hot in winter, and cold in summer. The chief accompanied us to see these springs; and then left us to breakfast, on excellent butter, milk, eggs, and honey, which he had provided in great plenty. He also presented me with a box of moomeed or mummy, made at Cohaut. It was of the kind called moomeea maadenee or mummy of the mine. It is made from a sort of stone, which is boiled in water; after being reduced to powder, an oil floats on the top, which hardens into a substance of the appearance and consistence of coal. It is a famous medicine throughout all the East, and is said to operate almost miraculous cures of fractures. Here we found a garden, which afforded us great delight, though perhaps a portion of its charms consisted in its abounding in English plants, from which we had been long estranged in the climate of India. Their beauty was rather augmented than diminished in our eyes, by their being out of leaf, and putting forth new buds. The garden spread along the bank of the stream I have described. It was enclosed by a hedge, full of wild raspberry and blackberry bushes, and contained plum and peach trees in full blossom, weeping willows, and plane trees in leaf, together with apple trees, and many others that could not be distinguished from having lost their foliage. There were also numerous fine vines, as thick as a man's leg, twisted round

the trees, as if they were wild. The walks were covered with green sod, which looked the more English, because some withered grass was seen among the full, soft, and fresh verdure of the new year. There was also clover, chick-weed, plantains, rib-grass, dandelions, common dock, and many other English weeds. We saw here a bird, very like a goldfinch, and another of the same size, remarkable for the beauty of its plumage, which was of the finest crimson, except on the head and wings, which were black. Some of the gentlemen thought they saw and heard thrushes, and blackbirds. The celebrated Bedee Mishk was among the plants of this garden; and I was surprised to find it was a sort of willow, with sweet scented yellow flowers, of which the bees are very fond, and well known in Britain, by the name of Palm.

On the 23d of February, we marched from Cohaut; and, in about three miles, came to the foot of a tremendous cotul. The road up was only a mile and a half long, although it wound much; but it was exceedingly steep, and often went over large pieces of rock, which it was surprising that any animals could surmount. We went up with Moosa Khaun; and, when we reached the top, we sat down to wait till the camels should pass. We were joined by the Bungush chiefs, and some Dooraunees of Moosa Khaun's party, and spent two hours in conversation. After this, the Khauns proposed some luncheon, and we assenting, they produced a napkin with some cold fowls, and bread, of which we all partook very sociably, sitting in a circle, and eating with our hands. When we had finished our luncheon, and smoked a culleaun, which passed round the company, we proceeded on our journey. We then descended into a valley, about five hundred yards broad, belonging to the tribe of Kheiber, whose predatory character is so well described by Mr. Foster*. We saw many of

* To shew the dread entertained of the Kheiberees, Mr. Foster mentions an Armenian, who, after he had reached Peshawer on his way to Caubul, was so terrified at what he heard of them, that he went round by Moultaun, a journey of nine weeks, instead of one of eleven days, rather than venture into their haunts.

these marauders in the course of our march; but our baggage was too well guarded to allow of their attacking it. We halted that day at Zerghoon Khail; and it is remarkable that the hills were so high, and the valleys so deep in this march, that the Surveyors could not see the sun to take an observation at noon day.

We marched early next morning; and, after some fine views in the valley, we reached its mouth, when a vast range of snowy mountains began to appear, and soon disclosed a spectacle of unequalled magnificence. We learned from our guides that it was part of the chain of Hindoo Coosh (the Indian Caucasus), and that, immediately beyond it, were Cashgar, Budukhshaun, and Tartary. By this time we had approached a little ruined tower in the mouth of the valley, and discovered a great many armed Kheiberees, sitting on the hills, looking wistfully at the camels passing. Moosa Khaun immediately halted the few horse he had with him, and proposed that we should stay in the tower till all our baggage was past: thither we went, and presently were joined by all the Kheiberees in a body. The chiefs only came up to us, and asked for a present; but Moosa Khaun told them to come to our camp after every thing was past, and we would consider of it, an arrangement they did not seem to approve. It gave me a strange notion of the system of manners in Caubul, that these avowed robbers should come up and ask for a present; and that Moosa Khaun, in his rich dress, and golden arms, should sit almost unattended in the midst of their matchlocks, and refuse them. We were now entered on the plain of Peshawer, over which we continued to march till three in the afternoon, when we encamped at the village of Budabeer, six miles from the city.

Though I do not intend to touch on my negotiations, it will elucidate my intercourse with the people at Peshawer, to state the manner in which the mission was regarded at Court. The news of its arrival reached the King while on his way from Candahar, and its object was at first regarded with strong prejudice and distrust. The King of Caubul had always been the resource of all the disaffected in India. To him Tippoo Sultaun, Vizeer Ally, and all other Mahom-

medans, who had a quarrel either with us or the Marattas, had long been in the habit of addressing their complaints; and, in later times, Holcar, himself, a Maratta, had sent an embassy to solicit assistance against us. Runjeet Sing, the Rajah, or as he calls himself, the King, of the Punjaub, took a great alarm at the opening of a communication between two powers whom he looked on as his natural enemies, and did all he could to convince the Court of Caubul of the dangerous nature of our designs. The Haukims of Leia, of Moultaun, and of Sind, (each imagining that the embassy could have no other object but to procure the cession of his particular province), did what they could to thwart its success; and, at the same time, the Dooraunee Lords were averse to an alliance, which might strengthen the King, to the detriment of the aristocracy; and the King himself thought it very natural that we should profit by the internal dissentions of a neighbouring kingdom, and endeavour to annex it to our empire. The exaggerated reports he received of the splendour of the embassy, and of the sumptuous presents by which it was accompanied, seem more than any thing to have determined the King to admit the mission, and to give it an honourable reception. When the nature of the embassy became known, the King, without laying aside his distrust, appears to have entertained a hope that he might derive greater advantage from it than he had at first adverted to; and, it then became an object with each of the ministers to obtain the conduct of the negotiations.

There were two parties in the Court, one headed by Akram Khaun, a great Dooraunee lord, the actual prime minister; and the other, composed of the Persian ministers, who, being about the King's person, and entirely dependent on his favour, possessed a secret influence, which they often employed in opposition to Akram Khaun: the chief of these was Meer Abool Hussun Khaun. This last party obtained the earliest information about the embassy, and managed to secure the Mehmaundauree; but it was still undetermined who would be entrusted with the negotiation. The Persians took pains to convince me that the King was jealous of Akram Khaun, and the great

Dooraunees, and wished to treat with us through his personal and confidential agents; and Akram sent me a message by an adherent of his own, to say that he wished me well, and desired to be employed in my negotiations, but that if I left him out, I must not complain if he did all in his power to cross me. From that time his conduct was uniformly and zealously friendly, nor did he expect that any reserve should be maintained with the opposite party, a circumstance in his character that prevented much embarrassment. He had however marched for Cashmeer when I arrived, and to this I attribute many altercations to which I was at first exposed.

On the morning of the 25th, after some confusion about the mode of our reception, we made our entry into Peshawer. There was a great crowd all the way. The banks on each side of the road were covered with people, and many climbed up trees to see us pass. The crowd increased as we approached the city, but we were put to no inconvenience by it, as the King's horse, that had come out to meet us, charged the mob vigorously, and used their whips without the least compunction. One man attracted particular notice: he wore a high red cap, of a conical shape, with some folds of cloth round the bottom, and a white plume; he had a short jacket of skin, black pantaloons, and brown boots: he was an uncommonly fine figure, tall, and thin, with swelling muscles, a high nose, and an animated countenance: he was mounted on a very fine grey horse, and rode with long stirrups, and very well. He carried a long spear, without a head, with which he charged the mob at speed, shouting with a loud and deep voice. He not only dispersed the mob, but rode at grave people sitting on terraces with the greatest fury, and kept all clear wherever he went. His name was Russool Dewauneh, or Russool the Mad. He was well known for a good and brave soldier; but an irregular and unsettled person. He afterwards was in great favour with most of the mission; and was equipped in an English helmet, and cavalry uniform, which well became him. By the time we had entered the town, the roads were so narrow that our progress became very slow, and we had time to hear the remarks of the spectators, which

were expressive of wonder at the procession, and of good will towards us; but the crowd and bustle was too great to admit of any distinct observations. At length we reached the house prepared for us, and were ushered into an apartment, spread with carpets and felts for sitting on. Here we were seated on the ground in the Persian manner, and trays of sweetmeats were placed before us. They consisted of sugared almonds, and there was a loaf of sugar for making sherbet in the midst of each tray. Soon after, our conductors observed that we required rest, and withdrew.

We had now time to examine our lodging, which had been built by the King's Aubdaur Baushee (chief butler), not very long before he went into rebellion. It was large, and though quite unfinished, it was a much more convenient house than could have been expected, at a town which is not the fixed residence of the court, and where many of the principal nobility were forced, during their stay, to put up with very mean dwellings. The whole of our premises consisted of a square, enclosed by a rampart of earth, or unburned brick, within which was another square, enclosed by high walls. The space between the walls and the rampart was divided into many courts, in one of which was a little garden, where there were small trees, rose bushes, stock gilliflowers, and other flowers. The inner square was divided by a high wall into two courts, and at one end of each was a house, containing two large halls of the whole height of the building: on each side of the halls were many smaller rooms in two stories, some of which looked into the halls. One of the courts contained no other building; but the three remaining sides of the other court were occupied by apartments. All the windows in this last court were furnished with sashes of open wood work, which, while they admitted the air and light, prevented the room from being seen into from without; and there were fire-places in several of the rooms in both courts. What struck us most, was the cellars intended for a retreat from the heats of summer. There was one under each house: one was only a spacious and handsome hall of burned brick and mortar; but the other was exactly of the same plan and dimensions as the

house itself, with the same halls and the same apartments in two stories, as above ground. The whole of this subterraneous mansion was lighted by broad but low windows near the top. The one I am speaking of, was unfinished; but when complete, the cellars are painted and furnished in the same manner as the rooms above, and have generally a fountain in the middle of the hall. These apartments are called Zeerzemeenes and Tehkhaunehs. Even the poor at Peshawer have them under their houses, but they are not required in the temperate climates further west. I always sat in mine in the hot weather, and found it equally agreeable and wholesome.

On the day of our arrival, our dinner was composed of the dishes sent us by the King, which we found excellent. Afterwards we had always our English meals; but the King continued to send breakfast, luncheon, and dinner for ourselves, with provisions for two thousand persons (a number exceeding that of the embassy), and two hundred horses, besides elephants, &c. nor was it without great difficulty that I prevailed on His Majesty, at the end of a month, to dispense with this expensive proof of his hospitality.

I received visits after my arrival from many persons of rank, who came on the King's part or their own. I had much intercourse with Sheer Mahomed Khaun, the brother of Akram Khaun, and Meerzanee Khaun, the Dewaun of the same minister, who had both been left on purpose to receive the mission; I also saw a good deal of Mehmaundaur, Meer Abool Hussun Khaun, a Persian, whose family had long been settled in Caubul, and who had himself risen from the humble rank of a private soldier (report said even from that of a taylor), to be Sundookdaur Baushee (keeper of the wardrobe), Kooler Aghassee (commander of the guards), and Governor of Peshawer. He had a very fair complexion, and red cheeks, but his person was small, his voice feeble, and his manner timid, so that our first impression of him was unfavourable: he, nevertheless, turned out to be one of the best of his nation, and to have a degree of simplicity about him, seldom met with in a Persian.

The first week after our arrival past without our being introduced to the King, in consequence of a dispute about the forms of our presentation. The common forms of the court, though the ministers alleged that they had been conformed to by ambassadors from Persia, and Uzbek Tartary, and even by the brother of the latter Monarch, appeared to us a little unreasonable. The ambassador to be introduced, is brought into a court by two officers, who hold him firmly by the arms. On coming in sight of the King, who appears at a high window, the ambassador is made to run forward for a certain distance, when he stops for a moment, and prays for the King. He is then made to run forward again, and prays once more; and, after another run, the King calls out "Khellut," (a dress,) which is followed by the the Turkish word "Getsheen," (begone,) from an officer of state, and the unfortunate ambassador is made to run out of the court, and sees no more of the King, unless he is summoned to a private audience in His Majesty's closet.

Every thing, however, was in the end adjusted, and, on the morning of the 5th of March, we set out in procession for the palace. We passed for about three quarters of a mile through the streets, which as well as the windows and roofs of the houses, were crowded with spectators. At length we reached an open space under the palace, or castle, in which the king resides: this space was filled with people, who covered the side of the hill on which the castle stands, like the audience at a theatre. When we reached the gate, over which the King's band was playing, we were requested to leave the greater part of our attendants behind, and here our drums and trumpets were required to cease playing, Some time after we entered this gateway, we dismounted, and, after walking about one hundred yards, we ascended a flight of steps, and entered a long narrow room, where about one hundred and fifty persons were seated in great order along the walls. This was called the Kishik Khauneh, or guard-room. It had never been handsome, and was now out of repair. It was spread with carpets and felts. We were led straight up to the head of the room, where several men, richly dressed, rose as

we approached, and we were received by a fair and portly personage, whom I afterwards understood to be the King's Imaum, and the head of the religious establishment. He bowed as I came up, took my hands between his, and placed me by him, after which he went through the usual forms of welcome and inquiries. Opposite to me were many of the chief lords of the court, some of whom had their caps ornamented with jewels, and surmounted by plumes: lower down were many persons, some like Persians, and some like Dooraunees; and still lower, were some of the chiefs of the hill tribes near Peshawer; at the bottom were several persons in the strange fanciful caps which are employed to distinguish the officers of the household. They are generally black and red, but their variety and their whimsical shapes baffle all description: little taste is displayed in them, and the effect is not good.

The Imaum was a ruddy, good-humoured looking man, about forty, dressed in a shawl mantle, lined with fur, and in all respects like a layman. He, however, soon cleared up his character, by beginning a discourse on religion. He inquired respecting the different sects among Christians, and explained those of his own religion. A good looking and well dressed man, who sat on the opposite side of the room, at some distance, then inquired into the state of learning in England, the number of universities, and the sciences taught at those seminaries; when these questions were answered, the same person desired an explanation of our astronomical system; but at this time, the Chaous Baushee entered, and called out some words, on which all present, except Meer Abool Hussun, and his son, rose and followed him. We had before this, more than once, heard a noise like a charge of cavalry, which was occasioned by the iron heeled boots of the guards and others, who were introduced by divisions to salute the King, and who retired at a run, after the ceremony was over.

We were now left for some time in the Kishik Khauneh, during which Meer Abool Hussun conversed with us, and discovered a most extraordinary ignorance of every thing concerning us. He had at first thought that Calcutta was in England, and now discovered his

belief that the gentlemen of the embassy were born in India though of English parents. At length the Chaous Baushee came to us: he had been labouring hard at a list of our names, and gave it up with the appearance of extreme vexation, in despair of mastering such a collection of strange words. He now explained the ceremonies to be observed, in a very courteous manner, and then entreated us severally to whisper our names to him, when he should touch us. He then conducted us up a sloping passage, and through a gate, after which we passed behind a sort of screen, and suddenly issued into a large court, at the upper end of which we saw the King in an elevated building.

The court was oblong, and had high walls, painted with the figures of cypresses. In the middle was a pond and fountains. The walls on each side were lined with the King's guards three deep, and at various places in the court, stood the officers of state, at different distances from the King, according to their degree. At the end of the court was a high building, the lower story of which was a solid wall, ornamented with false arches, but without doors or windows; over this was another story, the roof of which was supported by pillars and Moorish arches, highly ornamented. In the centre arch sat the King, on a very large throne of gold or gilding. His appearance was magnificent and royal: his crown and all his dress were one blaze of jewels. He was elevated above the heads of the eunuchs who surrounded his throne, and who were the only persons in the large hall where he sat: all was silent and motionless. On coming in sight of the King, we all pulled off our hats, and made a low bow: we then held up our hands towards heaven, as if praying for the King, and afterwards advanced to the fountain, where the Chaous Baushee repeated our names, without any title or addition of respect, ending, "They have come from Europe as ambassadors to Your Majesty. "May your misfortunes be turned upon me *." The King answered

* Some form of prayer like this is always used on addressing the King. It corresponds to the "O king live for ever," of the ancient Persians.

in a loud and sonorous voice, "They are welcome;" on which we prayed for him again, and repeated the ceremony once more, when he ordered us dresses of honour. After this, some officer of the court called out something in Turkish, on which a division of the soldiers on each side filed off, and ran out of the court, with the usual noise of their boots on the pavement, accompanied by the clashing of their armour. The call was twice repeated, and at each call a division of troops ran off: at the fourth, the Khauns ran off also, with the exception of a certain number, who were now ordered to come forward. The King, in the mean time, rose majestically from his throne, descended the steps, leaning on two eunuchs, and withdrew from our sight. The Khauns who were summoned, ran on as usual, while we walked on to the foot of a stair-case, covered with a very rich carpet: we paused here till the Khauns had run up, and were arranged; after which we ascended, and entered the hall, where the King was now seated on a low throne opposite the door. We stood in a line, while the King of Caubul asked after the health of His Majesty and the Governor General, inquired into the length of our journey, and expressed his wish that the friendship betwixt his nation and ours might be increased; to all which I made very brief replies. The gentlemen of the embassy now retired, leaving me and Mr. Strachey, who were desired to seat ourselves near His Majesty. The Imaum and the Moonshee Baushee (or head secretary), stood near us, and the other Khauns stood along one side of the hall. The Governor General's Persian letter was now opened and read with striking distinctness and elegance, by the Moonshee Baushee, and the King made a suitable answer, declaring his friendship for the English nation, his desire of an intimate alliance, and his readiness to pay the utmost attention to any communication with which I might be charged. After I had replied, His Majesty changed the subject to inquiries respecting our journey, and questions about our native country. When he understood that the climate and productions of England greatly resembled those of Caubul, he said the two kingdoms were made by nature to be united, and renewed his professions of

friendship. I then inquired whether it was His Majesty's pleasure to enter on business at that time? To which he replied, that I might consult my own convenience respecting the time, and might communicate with his ministers, or with himself, as I chose. I then explained the objects of my mission at length; to which His Majesty made a very friendly and judicious reply, and soon after I withdrew. The King of Caubul was a handsome man, about thirty years of age, of an olive complexion, with a thick black beard. The expression of his countenance was dignified and pleasing: his voice clear, and his address princely. We thought at first that he had on armour of jewels, but, on close inspection, we found this to be a mistake, and his real dress to consist of a green tunic, with large flowers in gold, and precious stones, over which were a large breast-plate of diamonds, shaped like two flattened fleur de lis, an ornament of the same kind on each thigh, large emerald bracelets on the arms (above the elbow), and many other jewels in different places. In one of the bracelets was the Cohi Noor, known to be one of the largest diamonds in the world *. There were also some strings of very large pearls, put on like cross belts, but loose. The crown was about nine inches high, not ornamented with jewels as European crowns are, but to appearance entirely formed of those precious materials. It seemed to be radiated like ancient crowns, and behind the rays appeared peaks of purple velvet: some small branches with pendants, seemed to project from the crown; but the whole was so complicated, and so dazzling, that it was difficult to understand, and impossible to describe. The throne was covered with a cloth adorned with pearls, on which lay a sword and a small mace, set with jewels. The room was open all round. The centre was supported by four high pillars, in the midst of which was a marble fountain. The floor was covered with the richest carpets, and round the edges were slips of silk, embroidered with gold, for the Khauns to stand on. The view from the hall was

* See a print of it in Tavernier's Travels.

beautiful. Immediately below was an extensive garden, full of cypresses and other trees, and beyond was a plain of the richest verdure: here and there were pieces of water and shining streams; and the whole was bounded by mountains, some dark, and others covered with snow. When I left the King, I was reconducted to the Kishik Khauneh, where all the gentlemen of the mission received rich dresses of honour. In the above description, I have chiefly confined myself to what was splendid in the ceremony. I must however mention, before I conclude, that, although some things (the appearance of the King in particular) exceeded my expectations, others fell far short of them, and all bore less the appearance of a state in prosperity, than of a splendid monarchy in decay. *

Such is the public ceremonial of the Court of Caubul. I had afterwards an opportunity of seeing the forms observed by the King in more familiar intercourse. His Majesty had expressed a desire to see Mr. Strachey and me in private, in an apartment, belonging to the Seraglio; and, as this was not a place to which strangers were usually admitted, we were requested to come slightly attended, and in the night. Accordingly we were conducted by the son of our Mehmaundaur, to the side of the Balla Hissaur, opposite to that where our public reception took place. When we reached the foot of the hill, we left the few attendants that had accompanied us, and clambered up with some difficulty to a narrow flight of steps, which our conductor could scarcely find in the extreme darkness of the night. At the head of these steps, a small door opened into the castle; and we found

* Our presents for the King were carried into the palace while we were in the Kishik Khauneh. Nothing could exceed the meanness and rapacity of the officers, who received charge of them. They kept the camels on which some of them were sent, and even seized four riding camels, which had entered the palace by mistake. They stripped the elephant-drivers of their livery; and, gravely insisted, that two English servants, who were sent to put up the lustres, were part of the present. Of all the presents made to him, the King was most pleased with a pair of magnificent pistols (which had been made for the Grand Signior), and with an organ. He had taken notice of our silk stockings; and sent a message, desiring that some might be given to him; and with them also he was much pleased.

a guard of Indians, dressed like English Sepoys, a sight which we never saw again. We were then conducted in silence through various courts, filled with guards, and up several flights of steps scarcely lighted, till we came to a small lobby almost dark, at the foot of a long and narrow staircase. Here we found a few persons, among whom was Meer Abool Hussun Khaun, some sitting, and some standing, like servants in their master's lobby. After some time, a man, very richly dressed, came to summon us to the King. We ascended the narrow stair-case, entered a small room, neatly painted, and spread with a very fine silken carpet, and went on through several rooms of the same kind, and through several passages. The doors of all were closed by curtains of embroidered silk or brocade. All the rooms were badly lighted, and all were empty but one, where the King's calleaunchee sat in a niche in the wall. At length, on raising a curtain, we discovered a room well lighted up, where the King was seated. It was a small but very neat and comfortable apartment, with a recess or bow window, a few inches higher than the rest of the room, from which it was divided by two or three painted pillars. The King sat back in the middle of the recess, and a eunuch stood in each of its six corners with his hands crossed before him. We sat in the lower part of the room, close to the pillars. The Imaum stood by us, and Meer Abool Hussun, with three other persons, stood behind us against the wall. The King wore a mantle of shawl, embroidered with gold, which had a very handsome border wrought with jewels. His crown was quite different from that we first saw: it was a high red cap, round the bottom of which was a broad border of jewels, fixed on black velvet, with a magnificent ornament in front; from this border rose two narrow arches of gold and jewels, which crossed each other, like those of an European crown. The whole had a fine effect. On entering, we made a bow, and sat down. The King welcomed us; and said he had sent for us that we might converse without reserve. He afterwards expressed his hope that we did not find our residence at Peshawer unpleasant, and his regret that he was not at Caubul when we arrived. He said something in favour of that country, which was ta-

ken up by the Imaum, who enlarged on its beauties, and then enumerated every province in His Majesty's extended dominions, praising and magnifying each, but giving Caubul the preference over them all. The King smiled at the Imaum's harangue, and said it shewed his partiality for his native country. He then said he hoped we should see Caubul and all his territories, which were now to be considered as our own. He then made some enquiries respecting the places I had seen; after which, he told Mr. Strachey, he understood he had been in Persia, and asked him some questions respecting that country. During this conversation, a eunuch brought in His Majesty's culleaun. I never saw any thing more magnificent: it was of gold, enamelled, and richly set with jewels. The part where the tobacco was placed, was in the shape of a peacock, about the size of a pigeon, with plumage of jewels and enamel. It was late at night when the Imaum gave us a hint to withdraw. We were let out as we came in; and returned through the town, which was now quiet and silent. This interview with the Shauh, made a very favourable impression on us. It will scarcely be believed of an Eastern monarch, how much he had the manners of a gentleman, or how well he preserved his dignity, while he seemed only anxious to please.

Till our presentation to the King was over, none of the gentlemen of the mission went out, except once to an entertainment; but after that time we generally rode about the country for some hours in the mornings and evenings; and, as we also went to different parts of the town to wait on the great men who had visited me, we soon became well acquainted with Peshawer and its environs.

The plain, in which the city is situated, is nearly circular, and about thirty-five miles in diameter. Except for a small space on the East, it is surrounded with mountains, of which the range of the Indian Caucasus on the north, and the Peak of Suffaidcoh on the south-west, are the most conspicuous. The northern part is divided by three branches of the Caubul river, which unite before they leave the plain. It is also watered by the rivulets of Barra and Budina, which flow from the mountains to the river of Caubul.

When we entered Peshawer in March, the upper parts of the mountains around were covered with snow, while the plain was clothed with the richest verdure, and the climate was delicious. Most of the trees were then bare, but enough were in leaf to give richness and variety to the prospect; and, in the course of a fortnight, the numerous gardens and scattered trees were covered with new foliage, which had a freshness and brilliancy, never seen in the perpetual summer of India. Many streams ran through the plain. Their banks were fringed with willows and tamarisks. The orchards scattered over the country, contained a profusion of plum, pleach, apple, pear, quince, and pomegranate trees, which afforded a greater display of blossom than I ever before witnessed; and the uncultivated parts of the land were covered with a thick elastic sod, that perhaps never was equalled but in England. The greater part of the plain was highly cultivated, and irrigated by many water courses and canals. Never was a spot of the same extent better peopled. From one height, Lieutenant Macartney took the bearings of thirty-two villages, all within a circuit of four miles. The villages were generally large, and remarkably clean and neat, and almost all set off with trees. There were little bridges of masonry over the streams, each of which had two small towers for ornament at each end. The greater part of the trees on the plain were mulberries, or other fruit trees. Except a few picturesque groupes of dates, the only tall trees were the Ficus Religiosa or peepul, and the tamarisk, which last grows here to the height of thirty or forty feet. Its leaves, being like those of the cypress, and very thick, the groves composed of it are extremely dark and gloomy. The town of Peshawer itself stands on an uneven surface. It is upwards of five miles round; and contains about 100,000 inhabitants. The houses are built of brick (generally unburnt), in wooden frames: they are commonly three stories high, and the lower story is generally occupied by shops. The streets are narrow, as might be expected, where no wheeled-carriages are used: they are paved, but the pavement sloping down to the kennel, which is in the middle, they are slippery, and inconvenient. Two or three brooks run through

different parts of the town; and, even there, are skirted with willows and mulberry trees. They are crossed by bridges, none of which, however, are in the least remarkable.

There are many mosques in the town; but none of them, or of the other public buldings, deserve notice, except the Balla Hissaur, and the fine Caravansera. The Balla Hissaur is a castle of no strength, on a hill, north of the town: it contains some fine halls, commands a romantic prospect, and is adorned with some very pleasing and spacious gardens; but, as it is only the occasional residence of the King, it is now much neglected. On the north it presents a commanding aspect; but, a view of it from the side nearest the town, discloses strong signs of weakness and decay. Some of the palaces of the great are splendid, but few of the nobility have houses here.

The inhabitants of Peshawer are of Indian origin, but speak Pushtoo as well as Hindkee. There are, however, many other inhabitants of all nations; and the concourse is increased, during the King's visits to Peshawer. We had many opportunities of observing this assemblage in returning from our morning rides; and its effect was heightened by the stillness and solitude of the streets, at the early hour at which we used to set out. A little before sunrise, people began to assemble at the mosques to their morning devotions. After the hour of prayer, some few appeared sweeping the streets before their doors, and some great men were to be seen going to their early attendance at Court. They were always on horseback, preceded by from ten to twelve servants on foot, who walked pretty fast, but in perfect order, and silence: nothing was heard, but the sound of their feet. But, when we returned, the streets were crowded with men of all nations and languages, in every variety of dress and appearance. The shops were all open. Dried fruits, and nuts, bread, meat, boots, shoes, saddlery, bales of cloth, hardware, ready-made cloaths, and posteens, books, &c. were either displayed in tiers in front of the shops, or hung up on hooks from the roof. Amongst the handsomest shops were the fruiterers, (where apples, melons, plums, and even oranges, though these are rare at Peshawer, were mixed in piles with some of

the Indian fruits); and the cook-shops, where every thing was served in earthen dishes, painted and glazed, so as to look like china. In the streets were people crying greens, curds, &c., and men, carrying water in leathern bags at their backs, and announcing their commodity by beating on a brazen cup, in which they give a draught to a passenger for a trifling piece of money. With these were mixed, people of the town in white turbans, some in large white or dark blue frocks, and others in sheep-skin cloaks; Persians, and Afghauns, in brown woollen tunics, or flowing mantles, and caps of black sheep-skin or coloured silk; Khyberees, with the straw sandals, and the wild dress, and air of their mountains; Hindoos, uniting the peculiar features and manners of their own nation, to the long beard, and the dress of the country; and Hazaurehs, not more remarkable for their conical caps of skin, with the wool, appearing like a fringe round the edge, and for their broad faces, and little eyes, than for their want of the beard, which is the ornament of every other face in the city. Among these, might be discovered, a few women, with long white veils, that reached their feet, and some of the King's retinue, in the grotesque caps, and fantastic habits, which mark the class to which each belongs. Sometimes a troop of armed horsemen passed, and their appearance was announced by the clatter of their horses hoofs on the pavement, and by the jingling of their bridles. Sometimes, when the King was going out, the streets were choaked with horse and foot, and dromedaries bearing swivels, and large waving red and green flags; and, at all times, loaded dromedaries, or heavy Bactrian camels, covered with shaggy hair, made their way slowly through the streets; and mules, fastened together in circles of eight or ten, were seen off the road, going round and round to cool them after their labour, while their keepers were indulging at an eating-house, or enjoying a smoke of a hired culleeaun in the street. Amidst all this throng, we generally passed without any notice, except a salaum alaikum from a passenger, accompanied by a bow, with the hands crossed in front, or an application from a beggar, who would call out for relief from the Teringee Khauns, admonish us that life was short, and

the benefit of charity immortal, or remind us that what was little to us was a great deal to him.

It sometimes happened, that we were descried by a boy from a window; and his shout of Ooph Teringee would bring all the women and children in the house to stare at us till we were out of sight.

The roads in the country were seldom very full of people, though they were sometimes enlivened by a groupe of horsemen going out to forage, and listening to a Pushtoo or Persian song, which was shouted by one of their companions. It was common in the country to meet a man of the lower order with a hawk on his fist, and a pointer at his heels; and we frequently saw fowlers catching quails among the wheat, after the harvest was far enough advanced. A net was fastened at one corner of the field, two men held each an end of a rope stretched across the opposite corner, and dragged it forward, so as to shake all the wheat, and drive the quails before it into the net, which was dropped as soon as they entered. The numbers caught in this manner are almost incredible. *

Nothing could exceed the civility of the country people. We were often invited into gardens, and we were welcomed in every village by almost every man that saw us. They frequently entreated the gentlemen of the embassy to allow them the honour of being their hosts; and, sometimes would lay hold of their bridles, and not permit them to pass till they had promised to breakfast with them on some future day, and even confirmed the promise, by putting their hands between theirs †.

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* The passion of all the Afghauns for hunting and hawking is prodigious. The King, himself, sometimes went out hawking, in the disguise of a common Afghaun, with a falcon on his fist, and accompanied by only one attendant.

† The following account of an entertainment of this sort, which was accepted, appeared in the Calcutta newspapers, and is evidently written by some gentleman of the mission.

"The appointed day having arrived, we went to the village, in conformity with our engagement, and were received most kindly by the chief man and his people, in a delightful grove of mulberry trees, skirted on one side by a running stream. Couches, spread with cool mats, were laid out for us, in such numbers, that they formed a large circle, within

From the nature of the country, the charms of which were heightened by novelty, and by the expectations we formed of the sights and incidents which we should meet with among so wild and extraordinary a people, it may be supposed that these morning expeditions were pleasing and interesting. Our evening rides were not less delightful, when we went out among the gardens round the city, and admired the richness and repose of the landscape, contrasted with the gloomy magnificence of the surrounding mountains, which were often involved in clouds and tempests, while we enjoyed the quiet and sunshine of the plain. The gardens are usually embellished with buildings, among which the cupolas of Mahomedan tombs make a conspicuous figure. The chief objects of this nature are a lofty and spacious building, which ends in several high towers, and, at a distance, has an appearance of grandeur, which I believe it does not preserve on a nearer view; a garden house, which has once been splendid, erected by Ali Merdaun Khaun, a Persian nobleman, who has filled the country from Meshhed to Dehli with monuments of his taste and magnificence; and some considerable tombs and religious edifices, more remarkable from their effect in enlivening the prospects of the groves, with which they are surrounded, than for any merit of their own.

" which the greatest part of the village was assembled. We sat, and conversed for about " an hour, respecting the King, the country, the crops, &c. They invited us to go out, " and hawk with them; but it was then too hot for such an amusement. When conver- " sation began to flag, the Schoolmaster and Priest of the village, alternately chaunted the " verses and odes of Hafiz. The scene was altogether most interesting, novel, and amusing. " The Schoolmaster was a wit and a punster, and the Priest, not disdaining a jest, they cut " continually at each other. When breakfast was ready, we went into the house to eat it. " It consisted of excellent pillow, and delicious milk; and we made a most hearty meal. We " returned to town very much pleased with our entertainment, the place, and the people; " having left them, with a promise to return again some morning early to amuse ourselves " with their hawks: and to teach them to shoot birds flying. In the course of this visit, I " met an old man, who was with Ahmed Shah at the battle of Panniput. He boasted of " having plundered Dehli, Muttra, and Agra. He was ninety-five years of age; could see " perfectly, and had still an excellent recollection."

The Emperor Bauber speaks in raptures of the country round Peshawer, and paints, in the most glowing colours, the anemonies and other wild flowers, that cover the meadows in the neighbourhood. With all my respect for the accuracy of this illustrious author, I must confess I saw nothing to justify his descriptions; but the want of those rich prospects was compensated in our eyes by the dandelion and other weeds, which are common in England. I must, however, mention the abundance of roses, which struck me much towards the beginning of summer; at that time, scarcely a beggar or a ragged boy was to be seen, whose hands were not filled with those flowers.

In the gardens, indeed, flowers are abundant, and disposed with considerable taste. A description of one of them that belonged to the King, and is the finest at Peshawer, will give a true, though favourable idea of the rest.

It is called the garden of Shauh Lemaun. Its shape is oblong. Some handsome structures belonging to the Balla Hissaur, from the southern side; and, part of the hill on which that castle stands, is included in the garden: the other sides are inclosed with walls. The northern part of the garden, which is cut off from the rest, is laid out irregularly, and is full of trees. The remainder forms a square, divided by avenues, which cross each other in the middle of the garden. That which runs from east to west, is formed by stately rows of alternate cypresses and planes; and contains three parallel walks, and two long beds of poppies. At the east end of this walk is the entrance; and, at the west, a handsome house, containing a hall, and two other apartments. The space from north to south is also bordered by cypresses and planes, beneath which are bushes, planted very thick, of red, white, yellow, and China roses; white and yellow jasmine, flowering cistus, and other flowering shrubs, of which I have seen some in England or India, and others were entirely new to me. At the north end of this opening is a house, such as I have already described. The space between the walks is filled up by six long ponds, close to each other; and, so contrived, that the water is continually falling in little cascades from one to another, and ending in a bason

in the middle of the garden. In the centre of this bason is a summer-house, two stories high, surrounded by fountains; and there are fountains in a row up the middle of all the ponds: there are sixty-nine fountains altogether, which continued to play during the whole day we spent at the garden, and were extremely agreeable, as the summer was then far advanced. The rest of the garden was filled up with a profusion of the fruit-trees, which I have mentioned, as growing at Peshawer. Some of them were so thick that the sun could not penetrate them at noon, when they afforded a dark, cool, and picturesque retreat. We passed the forenoon either here or in the summer-house, where we had a luncheon of bread, and plain roast meat, at noon; after which, we retired to one of the houses, which was spread with carpets and felts. Here fruit was brought to us, and we spent our time in reading the numerous Persian verses that were written on the walls: most of them alluded to the instability of fortune, and some were very applicable to the King's actual condition. About three, we went out to walk. The views up the east and west walks were beautiful, and each was closed by high mountains; but that of the space, which runs from north to south, far surpassed every thing that I have seen in an Asiatic garden. We stood under the Balla Hissaur, which on this side is very handsome. The fountains were sparkling with the sun, whose rays shone bright on the trees, shrubs, and flowers on one side, and made a fine contrast with the deep shade of the other. The buildings looked rich, light, and suited to a garden. The country beyond was green, and studded with clumps and single trees; and the mountains, which are there very high, gave a fine termination to the prospect; and, being in several ranges, at different distances, displayed the greatest variety of tint and outline. After rambling over the garden, we joined the gentlemen, who were appointed to entertain us, whom we found sitting by one of the ponds, and cooling themselves, by steeping their hands in the water. After some conversation with them, we left the garden, a little before sunset.

It would be endless to recount the visits we received, and tedious to mention those we paid. The result of my observations on those

occasions, will be seen in another place. Two of the most remarkable of our ordinary visitors, were Meerza Geraumee Khaun, and Moolla Behramund. The former, who was the son of a Persian nobleman of high rank, had been in India, and had observed our customs with great attention and acuteness. His exile to India, was occasioned by his family's and his own attachment to Shauh Mahmood. He was now enabled to return by the protection of Akram Khaun, and was obliged to steer a cautious course, being still suspected of favouring his former party, to which he was in reality attached. The information he had acquired during his residence in India, was surprising, when it is considered that the division of Europe into nations, is known to few in Afghaunistan, and that none of the events in our European history have been heard of even in India. I had one day been mentioning, to the amazement of some visitors, that there had not been a rebellion in our nation since 1745, and had afterwards alluded to our power at sea: when the rest of the company were gone, Meerza Geraumee told me with a smile, that I had forgot the American war; and then asked seriously, the reason why the insurance of ships should be raised so high by the success of the French privateers, when we had so manifest a superiority at sea. This gentleman is now Moonshee Baushee, or secretary of state at Caubul. Moolla Behramund was a man of retired and studious habits, but really a man of genius, and of insatiable thirst for knowledge. Though well versed in metaphysics, and the moral sciences known in his country, his passion was for mathematics, and he was studying Shanscrit (a language of which none of his countrymen know the name), with a view to discover the treasures of Hindoo learning. We had many other Moollas, some learned, and some worldly, some Deists, others rigid Mahommedans, and some overflowing with the mystical doctrines of the Sofees. We were also entertained by poets, who would come with panegyrics on the Eelchee (ambassador), and other Khoauneenee Fereng (European Khauns); and who would follow up those addresses with endless quotations and specimens of their own works. Among our visitors,

were also the chiefs of the tribes about Peshawer, some respectable Dooraunee and Persian merchants, the lower class of courtiers, and the agents of the great lords; most of them were agreeable and conversible people, from whom much local information was to be gained. The general curiosity to see us, the distinction of being received by us, and the hope of profiting by our liberality, indeed, brought many more visitors than we could admit, and our gates were always surrounded by numbers of the lower orders, whom it required the vigour of two of the King's Caupoochees, or porters, to keep from forcing an entrance. Among the visits I paid, I must not omit one to a celebrated saint, named Shaikh Ewuz, who was often visited by the King and prime minister, neither of whom ever would be seated in his presence, till repeatedly commanded. I paid my visit to him in his little garden, where I perceived a number of well dressed people approaching at a distance, and was going to salute them, when somebody close to me bade me welcome, on which I looked, and saw an old man dressed like a labourer, who seemed to have been digging in the garden: this was the saint, and the others were men of high rank, who stood at a distance from respect: among them was a young man, who was brother to the Queen, and son to Wuffadar Khaun, formerly Vizier. The Shaikh made us sit down upon the clods which had just been turned up, and began to converse very agreeably on all subjects, except religion; he said he heard the people about Peshawer, had been mean enough to importune me for presents, and said that the Afghaun chiefs had become such a set of scoundrels, that he was ashamed of them. He, however, praised the King. He talked readily and fluently, gave himself no airs of a holy man, and showed no affectation, except in lamenting that he had nothing in the house to offer us, and proposing to send to a cook shop for a dinner to entertain us with. There was another celebrated dervise, who declined my visit, saying that he had renounced the world, and was entirely engaged in prayer and meditation. I sent him a large present in money, begging him to give it in charity, and to pray for the

King. He peremptorily refused the money, but prayed for the King and for me, and sent a grateful message for my attention.

I have now come to a point in my narrative, where some account of the state of affairs at the court is necessary, to explain my own proceedings.

Shauh Shujau ool Moolk had succeeded to his half brother Shauh Mahmood, who was deposed in consequence of a popular insurrection. He had reigned about six years, when I entered his kingdom, and as he had quashed an unexpected rebellion of his own Vizier about a year before, he was considered as very firmly established on the throne; and shortly before my arrival, Shauh Mahmood, assisted by Futteh Khaun, head of the clan of Baurikzyes, had made a feeble attempt to recover the crown. The King had, however, succeeded in repressing his first attempt at insurrection in the west, and felt so secure from his designs, that he moved east to Peshawer, whence he immediately despatched Akram Khaun, with all the force he could collect, against Cashmeer, then held by a son of the rebellious vizier.

Not long after their march, news arrived of the capture of Candahar by Shauh Mahmood, which at first occasioned some depression, but that was removed by favourable reports from the west. At the same time, news daily arrived of Akram Khaun's successful progress, and all Peshawer was in daily expectation of the fall of Cashmeer, and the return of the army, which would have been attended with the immediate dispersion of the rebels in the west. All these hopes were quashed by intelligence which was received on the 23d of April, of the entire defeat and destruction of Akram Khaun's army.

That minister had reposed great confidence in Motawully, the hill chief of Mozufferabad, and had depended on him for supplies and guides; at the same time, his ungovernable pride and avarice led him to offend this very man, in whose hands he had put the safety of his whole army. The effect of these mistakes was soon felt in the want of supplies, but Akram had now arrived at the last pass, which though defended by a wall and towers, would, probably, have soon

been carried, had the assailants been animated by that spirit which has always enabled the needy armies of the west to force the entrance of this rich valley. Akram, however, lent an ear to the persuasions of Motawullee, who undertook to shew him a pass, by which he might turn the flank of the enemy's work. Accordingly the army marched off from the front of the entrenchment, and moved up a valley, securing the mountains on each side by parties of Khyberee and Chiljie infantry. Its march was, however, soon discovered, and its infantry out-numbered and driven in; in addition to which, it was ascertained or rumoured, that the upper part of the valley was choked with impassable snow. Akram Khaun now lost all confidence: he remained for a day in the valley without supplies, and exposed to the fire of the enemy's infantry, which was disheartening to his troops, though too distant to be injurious. This situation produced many desertions, which, added to the perfidy of Motawullee, completed Akram's alarm, and, knowing how unpopular he was in the army, he began to fear that he would be seized and delivered to the chief of Cashmeer, the disgrace and death of whose father he had occasioned. The result was a resolution to fly; and, accordingly, in the course of the night, all the chiefs abandoned the army, and each separately endeavoured to effect his escape through the passes of the mountains. Most of them were plundered by Motawullee's mountaineers, before they passed Mozufferabad; and Akram himself is said to have been surrounded, and only to have escaped by scattering pieces of gold among the plunderers, and flying during the scramble. At length he crossed the Indus, and reached the town of Acora; where he received those who went to meet him without the smallest abatement of his former pride. The troops, when deserted by their chiefs, for the most part laid down their arms. Some endeavoured to force their way through the hills, but shared the fate of their superiors. Of the whole army, not above two thousand men arrived at Peshawer, dismounted, disarmed, and almost naked. This disaster, great as it was, was exaggerated when first heard of at Peshawer; the whole army was said to be annihilated, Akram Khaun was missing, and Muddud Khaun had

deserted. At the same time, authentic intelligence arrived of the advance of Shauh Mahmood, and of the capture of Caubul, to which a report was added, of the immediate advance of the enemy towards Peshawer. Some of the neighbouring tribes who were inclined to Mahmood, were also said to be armed, and ready to start up at a moment's warning: the troops were represented as on the eve of a mutiny, and the King, it was rumoured, had sent off his most valuable jewels, and was about to fly from the city. Certain it is, that for some time, there never was a night on which one could be confident that there would not be a revolution before morning. Our anxiety on that head was somewhat augmented by the frank avowal of our Mehmaundaur, that in the event of any general confusion, we should be attacked by the Khyberees and other plunderers without delay. Nevertheless the city remained as quiet as on the first day. People talked openly of the state of things, but nobody acted as if a revolution were at hand. This panic at length subsided. The enemy were found to have remained at Caubul, and it was now certain that they were disputing among themselves: Akram Khaun had also returned, and had begun to assemble the wreck of the Cashmeer army, together with such troops as had been left at Peshawer, or could now be raised. The King's situation, however, was still far from promising. Every thing depended on money, with which he was very ill provided. Many of the chiefs with him could at once have remedied this evil, but few were sufficiently zealous to do so: and even Akram Khaun, who had occasioned most of the King's misfortunes, and who knew that he must stand or fall with his master, was so blinded by his avarice, that he refused to give or lend any part of the large treasures which he had inherited from his father, and amassed himself. The character of this minister was one great cause of the King's weakness. Though so deficient in political courage, even his enemies allowed that he was endowed with the greatest personal bravery, and that he was sincere in his attachments, true to his word, a strict observer of justice, and perfectly direct and open in his dealings; but, on the other hand, he was extremely avaricious, and of a haughty,

sullen, and suspicious temper; arrogant and irritable to those around him, difficult of access, and tenacious of respect.

In my own intercourse with him, however, I found him to possess all the good qualities ascribed to him, without any one of the bad. Akram Khaun was a very strong man, upwards of six feet high, with a sullen countenance, and an apparent disposition to taciturnity; this however wore off, and he talked without reserve of his defeat, which he ascribed to treachery in his army, and of all other subjects which were likely to interest. His dress was very simple, and his manners plain. With Akram Khaun all the Dooraunee Khauns who had been with the army had returned, and I now exchanged visits with them all. I found their society very pleasant; they generally talked of hunting and hawking, horses and arms; asked questions about the climate and productions of England and India, and explained those of their own country: they also sometimes told little anecdotes, or recounted events in which they had been engaged. Presents were always interchanged after the visits. I sent the Dooraunees articles of European or Indian manufacture, and they gave me horses, dogs, and hawks.

Soon after the arrival of these Khauns, and before the first alarm created by the bad news was over, a Hindoo was seized in one of the passes on the way to Caubul, and a report immediately spread through Peshawer, that he was a servant of mine, charged with letters to Shauh Mahmood, begging him to push on to Peshawer, and engaging for the capture of the Balla Hissaur, and the seizure of Shauh Shujau. This story was accompanied by a rumour, that the King was on the point of giving up our property to plunder. The whole town was, in consequence, in a ferment; people were running up and down in all directions, getting their arms in order, and lighting their matches, and a great mob soon assembled at our gates. All the gentlemen of the embassy were sitting at this time in the hall, receiving company; but Captain Pitman quietly doubled the guards, and took other measures of defence. In the mean time, Moolla Jaffer and another of our friends arrived in much alarm, and there was a great deal of

whispering and agitation; but when things were at their height, Akram Khaun happened to come in on a visit, and it may be supposed that the crowd did not remain long after.

Nothing else took place that need be mentioned here, except that on the 4th of June, the party of troops with the mission was exercised in honour of His Majesty's birth day. Akram Khaun and many other persons of all ranks were present. The spot was admirably calculated for a small body, being a green plain, confined by hillocks. The Dooraunees were greatly delighted with the exhibition, and even the King viewed it through a telescope from the top of the Balla Hissaur.

During this time, the King was exerting himself to get together an army. Many of the troops who had been taken in Cashmeer, were allowed to return, but half of them were dismounted and disarmed, and the rest were full of gratitude to the governor of Cashmeer, and more inclined to him than to the King. The army, indeed, was generally disaffected: the chiefs were disgusted with Akram Khaun, and the soldiers enraged at their disgraces and disasters, and distressed for want of pay. They scarcely attempted to conceal this disposition, but openly accosted gentlemen of the mission in the streets, abusing Akram Khaun, and not even sparing the King. Akram's weight had indeed declined even with His Majesty, and Abool Hussun Khaun used sometimes to express his hopes of being able to get him removed, and the direction of affairs given to Muddud Khaun. The effect of this change was felt in the King's council, where the opinions of the chiefs of clans were at all times treated with great attention, but where, at present, nobody had a preponderating influence; consequently, nothing was ever brought to a decision at their debates, which often ended in mutual reproach and recrimination. It was at length determined to march for Caubul, and the King's tents were ordered to move out. A gun was fired at an hour fixed by the Imaum, and at the same time the King's munzilnoomau was erected. This was a kind of obelisk formed by canvas fixed in a particular manner round a pole about thirty feet high,

at the top of which was a large silver ball. The canvas itself was red. Its use was to mark the encamping ground. The King's tents were afterwards sent out. The finest was about thirty feet broad, and very long. It was formed of wooden frames, in which were placed canvas pannels in compartments of various colours. The roof was pink, and was supported by four poles, each of which had a silver ball at the top. Behind this were many other tents of a smaller size, and the whole was surrounded by a wall of cotton skreens. Two sets of tents like this always accompany the King, and with each is a wooden house two stories high, which one hundred workmen can pitch in an hour. The town was full of bustle; a number of troops were encamped under the Balla Hissaur, and the streets were crowded with horsemen; but the tranquillity of the city was not otherwise disturbed. At length the King moved out to his camp, and as it was not the policy of the British government to take any share in the civil war; it became necessary to fix on a spot to which the mission should retire. All the ministers agreed in representing that Peshawer was an unfit place to remain in during troubled times: and Akram Khaun, after considering and rejecting a plan for our retiring into the mountains of the Eusofyzes, offered to allow us to occupy the fort of Attock, which would be perfectly safe in all extremities. This was declined, and it was fixed that we should go to the eastern frontier, whither the King's family was also to be sent. This being arranged, we went on the 12th of June to the King's camp to take leave. The streets were more crowded than ever, and we saw many parties of cavalry, and some excellent horses.

The King's tents were pitched in a garden on the banks of a pond, round which was a terrace of masonry. The great tent occupied one side of the pond: on two of the other sides were the Khauns of the court, the greater on the King's right, and the lesser on his left; the fourth side was open, so as to allow of the King's seeing down a street formed by two ranks of guards, which extended from the pond to the principal gate of the garden. We were introduced by a side gate, and led up to the right hand, where we stood with all the great

Khauns. While we were there, several parties who had come over from the enemy, were successively introduced. They entered by the gate opposite the King's tent, where they were drawn up in a line, their names were announced, and they went through the usual form of praying for the King, after which they retired. At the end of each prayer, the whole of the guards called out Aumeen (Amen). When this was over, we were requested to go up close to the King, accompanied by Akram and Muddud Khaun. The King then addressed me, saying, that we must be unaccustomed to so unsettled a government as his was at present, and that although he parted with us with reluctance, yet he was unwilling to expose us to the inconvenience of a campaign, and he therefore wished us to retire to some place on the frontier, from which we could either join him, or return to India, as suited our convenience. In the course of the conversation which followed, His Majesty spoke in high terms of the British nation, and hoped he should be able to carry us with him to Candahar and Heraut. When he had concluded, Akram Khaun, Muddud Khaun, and the King's Imaum, severally made speeches addressed to the King, commenting on what His Majesty had said, and enlarging on the justice, good faith, and military reputation of the British, and on the advantages to be derived from an alliance with such a people. At this audience, the King wore a high cap of plain red cloth, with a black velvet band round the bottom. He had no jewels on: a mace, a sword, and a carbine, lay before him on a cushion. Several persons were in the tent with him, fanning him by turns, and among them was Meer Abool Hussun Khaun. The King looked ill and haggard, as if exhausted by the heat, and by anxiety of mind.

On the two next days, we had farewell visits from Akram Khaun and many other persons; and on the 14th, in the evening, we commenced our march for the Indus. The King's affairs were now in a highly prosperous condition. He had equipped a tolerable army, and was ready to move against the enemy, whose dissensions had come to such a pitch, that Futteh Khaun had seized his rival in the midst of the court, and had thus occasioned the defection of two of the great

Dooraunee clans. Accordingly all parties seemed to look forward with certainty to the success of Shauh Shujau's cause, an event which was called for by the prayers of the people, to whom the Shauh's moderation and justice had greatly endeared him.

Our first march was to Chumkuny, a village only four miles from Peshawer. The country was now becoming a little unsettled, and, instead of a few foot-pads who used to plunder single men when we first arrived, there were now bands of robbers who carried off several loaded camels that were going to camp without a guard. The accountant of the mission allowed a mule of his own, loaded with rupees to the value of £1000, and also with fine shawls, to loiter behind: the mule having thrown the muleteer, and laid him senseless on the ground, ran through the crowd, and shook off its valuable burden, which was instantly pillaged by the bystanders.

On the 15th we continued our march. The appearance of our line was now much altered by the great proportion of mules and ponies employed in carrying the baggage, by the number of good horses which were to be seen mounted or led, by the use of Persian and Uzbek saddles and bridles, as well as of boots and mantles among the upper classes of our Indian attendants, and by the number of Peshawerees and other people who spoke Persian, that now accompanied us in various capacities. A number of persons followed us from the city as far as this day's march, some to show their attention, but more to importune us for presents, of which all the people at Peshawer, except the highest classes, were inordinately greedy. Our march on this day lay through a good deal of wood of tamarisk trees.

On the 16th we left the wood, and marched over an extensive plain of green turf, only varied by the low plant called Jouz by the Afghauns, and Khauree Shooturee by the Persians, and by a plant

very common about Peshawer, which much resembles that in English gardens called Devil in the bush.

We encamped on a very agreeable spot, where a point covered with green sod, and shaded by some trees, projects into the deep, clear, and rapid stream of the Caubul river, here about four hundred yards broad; on the opposite shore is the village of Noushehra. Many Eusofzyes crossed the river to see us. I was much struck on this day with the long duration of the twilight, which, with the length of the day, is novel to a traveller from India; day broke (on the 16th June) at a quarter after three, and the sun did not rise till within ten minutes of five.

Our next march was along the Caubul river to Acora, the principal town of the Khuttuks, where we saw Asoph Khaun, the chief, and many of the principal men of the tribe. Asoph Khaun was a very respectable looking man, very handsomely dressed, and well attended. The others were mostly elderly men, dressed in dark blue, or black, with fair complexions, long beards, and reverend countenances.

The whole of our march had hitherto been between a range of hills on the south, and the Caubul river on the north, which had approached each other at Noushehra, so as only to leave room to encamp between them.

On the march of the 18th, which reached to the Indus, the hills came close to the river of Caubul, so that we were obliged to cross them. They belong to the same range which we passed near Cohaut, and we were reminded that they contained the same inhabitants, by finding Khuttuk guards posted in the pass to protect our baggage from the Kheiberees.

From the top of the pass we saw to the north the Indus issuing in a vast number of channels from a mass of thick vapour, that scarce allowed us to see the mountains through which it had flowed. It, however, formed but two channels when it reached

the hill where we stood, at the foot of which it was joined by the Caubul river. There were numerous rocks at the point of junction, and as both rivers ran with great impetuosity, the sight and the sound, produced by the dashing of their waters, were very noble. After this the rivers were collected into one channel, and ran through the mountains in a deep but narrow stream between high banks of perpendicular rock. The fort of Attock was also plainly seen from this, and on descending, we encamped on a spot opposite to that place.

The Indus was here about two hundred and sixty yards broad, but too deep and rapid to be correctly sounded. Its banks are of black stone, polished by the force of the stream, and by the white sand which it carries along with it, so as to shine like black marble, and always to look as if it were wet.

In the midst are the famous rocks of Jellalleea and Kemalleea; but the whirlpool of which we had heard so much, did not rage at the season when we passed.

The fort of Attock stood on a low hillock on the left bank. It is a parallelogram, of which the shortest faces (those parallel to the river) are about four hundred yards long, the others are of twice that length. The walls are of polished stone, but though the place makes a handsome show, it is commanded by a rough hill, only divided from it by a ravine; and being on a slope, almost the whole of the interior, and the reverse of the walls on three faces, are visible from the opposite bank. The town, though now decayed, was once very considerable.

The village, at which we encamped, was a small one, distinguished for a sort of fort, said to be built by Nadir Shauh, and for a fine aqueduct made by some former chief of the Khuttuks, to water the neighbouring lands.

Notwithstanding the violence of the stream, the boats passed quicker here than at any river we had yet crossed. We also saw many people crossing, or floating down the river, on the skins of oxen

inflated, on which they rode astride, but with most of their bodies in the water. This contrivance is also made use of in the Oxus, and appears to be as ancient as the days of Alexander. *

We crossed on the 20th, passed through the fort, and were welcomed to India by all the Afghauns of our party. We halted for two days at Attock, and were visited by the chiefs of the neighbourhood.

The Governor of the province was a respectable Dooraunee, with the complexion and dress of Khorassaun; but the people of the country, whether Eusofzyes or Dooraunees, (for many of that tribe have been settled here for seven generations,) had a dress and appearance resembling those of Indians. One man struck me particularly, who belonged to the Kautirs, an Indian tribe, who inhabit the almost inaccessible hills to the south-east of Attock. He was very black, with a long beard; and had the shy look of a savage, without any appearance of ferocity: he had dirty clothes, with a small turban, strangely put on, and clutched his beard as he sat, like the picture of Judas Iscariot in Lavater.

The heat, during the last night of our stay at Attock, was extreme. A strong hot wind blew all night over the low hills to the south of our camp; and the thermometer was at 96° between three and four in the morning.

From Attock, the mission made three marches to Hussun Abdaul. The first was over the plain of Chuch, which was entirely covered with wheat, and nearly flat, except for a hillock here and there, on which was always a village. The other two were through a country, which rose into high waves, with deep ravines in the hollows. It was generally dry, and uncultivated. The country began to resemble Hindoostan, although a willow was still now and

* See Arrian.

then observed. The people partook of the change; not a villager in a hundred could speak Persian, and the Afghauns had lost the use of the Pushtoo language. They struck me, as the rudest, and most ignorant people I had yet seen. I was accompanied from Attock by Hubeb Khaun, the chief of Booraun, and Hussun Abdaul. He had about one hundred horse, all dressed in the Indian way, with white turbans, white coats of quilted cotton, Indian hilts to their swords, Indian furniture on their horses, and no boots; but they all wore either cuirasses of leather, or shirts of mail, and carried long spears. Their long beards, and wild air, distinguished them at once from Hindostaunees; and their appearance was altogether peculiar. Amidst all these signs of India, the valley of Hussun Abdaul recalled to our recollection the country we had left. It had indeed been famous in all ages for its beauty, and had been a favorite resting place of the great Moguls, on their annual migrations to Cashmeer; nor could there have been a scene better fitted for the enjoyment of their easy and luxurious grandeur. The influence of the rains of Hindoostaun, which now began to reach us, had cooled the air, and given it a peculiar softness and pleasantness, which disposed us to a more perfect enjoyment of the beauties of the place. There also was a garden, which resembled, and almost equalled, that of Cohaut. Near this, was the tomb of Hussun Abdaul, from which the place is named. It is partly composed of marble, and stands in a square enclosure, within which are two very fine old cypresses, of remarkable height. Hussun (whose surname *Abdaul* is the Pushtoo for *mad*,) was a famous saint of Candahar, where he is known by the name of Babba Wullee. About two miles off, was a royal garden, now gone to decay. There was something melancholy and desolate in every thing about it, which was scarce less impressive than its original splendour. It contained some deep and extensive basons, filled with the pure water of these hills, some ruined buildings (one of which was remarkably elegant); and, here we, for the last time, saw the plane-tree, which forms the favourite ornament of all the gardens of the West.

It was at Hussun Abdaul that the mission was to have remained till the fate of the kingdom of Caubul was decided; but, before it reach-

ed that place, I had received orders to return to the British provinces, and had announced my recall to the King. It was, however, necessary to wait His Majesty's answer, and also to settle with the Siks about a passage through their territories, which, at first, they positively refused. This occasioned a halt of ten days; during which time, I was visited by some chiefs of the neighbourhood, and received a letter from the Sultan of the Guckers, accompanied by a vast quantity of grapes, which grow wild in his country. The Guckers are well known for the trouble they used to occasion to the great Moguls. They once possessed the whole country between the Indus and Hydaspes, but have been driven out by the Siks. They have still a high military reputation.

I also received a visit from Moolla Jaffer, who had come with the King's haram to Attock, whence they were to fly to the Sik country, if the King's affairs took an unfavourable turn.

Soon after, I received my answer from the King; and, every thing being settled with the Siks, I was preparing to commence my march, when one night I was surprised to hear that the peesh khauneh or advanced tents of the haram had arrived close to camp. This boded no good, and reports were soon circulated that the King had been defeated.

The next day showed a great change in the state of affairs, the report being now generally believed. All the King's partizans were depressed, while some adversaries of his started up where they were little expected.

Moolla Jaffer arrived in the course of this day, and produced a letter from the King; in which, he said, that his troops had behaved with fidelity, but that he was defeated; that such and such chiefs were safe; and that no expense was to be spared in conveying the haram to a place of security. It turned out, that the army was attacked by a small force under Tutteh Khaun, as it was straggling on, mixed with the baggage, after a very long march through the mountains. The King and Akram Khaun were in the rear; but the latter, who had his armour on, rode straight to the scene of action. He had not above one or two hundred men when he set out, and most of

these were left behind as he advanced. The day was decided before he arrived; but he, nevertheless, pushed on, and had penetrated to the place where Tutteh Khaun was, when he was overpowered and slain, after a very brave resistance. The King fled to the mountains, from whence he soon after issued to take Candahar. That enterprise was also ultimately unsuccessful. He has made two more attempts since then; and has twice taken Peshawer, but is now once more in exile.

On the morning after the bad news (July 4th,) we set out on our march, as had been previously settled; we first went to the camp of the haram to take leave of Meer Abool Hussun Khaun. The camp contained numerous enclosures of serrapurdahs or canvas screens, and a vast number of cajawas or camel panniers, in which women travel, and we wandered long through them before we could find the Khaun. He was much less depressed than I had expected; but talked without reserve of the hopelessness of the King's affairs, and of the uncertainty of the reception the haram would meet with from the Siks. We took a melancholy leave; and, crossing the hills to the south of the valley, we quitted the King of Caubul's dominions.

We were received by a party of Siks soon after we passed their frontier; and, from this time, we met with no trace of Dooraunee language or manners among the people. Though pleased with the Siks on the borders, we could not but be struck with the rough manners, the barbarous language, and the naked bodies of the people, among whom we were come; nor was it with any partiality that we perceived an increased resemblance to the customs of Hindostan. In three marches we reached Rawil Pindee. The country was uncultivated, and much intersected by deep and extensive ravines. In the course of the second march, we passed a ridge of hills, which would have been difficult to cross had not the Mogul emperors, with their wonted magnificence, cut a road through the solid rock. This road is about three-fourths of a mile long, and paved with great masses of a hard blue stone, well fitted in, and still in good repair.

The town of Rawil Pindee is large and populous. It is a pretty

place, is composed of terraced houses, and is very like a town west of the Indus. The country round is open, scattered with single hills, and tolerably cultivated. We halted here six days to get Runjeet Sing's leave to advance. We now saw a good deal of the Siks, whom we found disposed to be civil, and by no means unpleasing. They were manly in their appearance; and were tall, and thin, though muscular. They wore little clothes, their legs, half their thighs, and generally their arms and bodies, being bare; but they had often large scarfs, thrown loosely over one shoulder. Their turbans were not large, but high, and rather flattened in front. Their beards, and hair on their heads and bodies, are never touched by scissars. They generally carry matchlocks, or bows, the better sort generally bows; and never pay a visit without a fine one in their hand, and an embroidered quiver by their side. They speak Punjaubee, and sometimes attempt Hindostaunee, but I seldom understood them without an interpreter. Persian was quite unknown. They do not know the name of the Dooraunees, though that tribe has often conquered their country. They either call them by the general name of Khorassaunees, or by the erroneous one of Ghiljee. Jewun Sing, the chief of Rawil Pindee, and one of the greatest in the Punjaub, visited me here. He was a plain, civil man, only distinguished from his followers by his decent appearance and manners. His numerous companions and attendants sat down promiscuously in a circle, and seemed all on a footing of equality. A Sik in my service, once dined with this Sirdar, and found at least two hundred and fifty guests, all the soldiers in his immediate employ partaking of his fare every day. When we wished to return his visit, we found that he and all his attendants were drunk; but, about four in the afternoon, he was reported sober, and received us in a little smoaky hovel, in a small garden, his people in confusion as before. Most of them continued to sit, while he got up to receive us. While we were at Rawil Pindee, the haram overtook us, and with it came Shauh Zemaun. We visited him on the 10th of July, and were not a little interested by the sight of a Monarch, whose reputation at one time spread so wide both in Persia and India. We

found him seated on a plain couch, in a neat, but not a large tent, spread with carpets and felts. We stood opposite to him, till he desired us to be seated. His dress was plain; a white mantle, faced with Persian brocade, and a black shawl turban; but his appearance was very kingly. He looked about forty when we saw him. He had a fine face and person. His voice, and manner, strongly resembled Shauh Shujaus; but he was taller, and had a longer, more regular face, and a finer beard. He had by no means the appearance of a blind man: his eyes, though plainly injured, retained black enough to give vivacity to his countenance; and, he always turned them towards the person with whom he was conversing. He had, however, some appearance of dejection and melancholy. After we were seated, a long silence ensued, which Shauh Zemaun broke, by speaking of his brother's misfortunes, and saying they had prevented his showing us the attention he otherwise would. He then spoke of the state of affairs, and expressed his hopes of a change. He said, such reverses were the common portion of Kings; and mentioned the historical accounts of astonishing revolutions in the fortunes of various princes, particularly in that of Tamerlane. Had he gone over all the history of Asia, he could scarcely have discovered a more remarkable instance of the mutability of fortune than he himself presented; blind, dethroned, and exiled, in a country, which he had twice subdued.

We marched from Rawil Pindee on the 12th of July, and reached the Hydaspes in ten marches. The first six, were like those already mentioned, uncultivated country, much cut with deep ravines and torrent-courses, and (like the whole country between the Hydaspes and Indus,) pastured on by droves of horses of a very good breed. The part most to the east was better cultivated than the rest. In the first of these marches, we crossed the Swan, a large rivulet, which, though only up to our horses girths, was so rapid as scarcely to be fordable. Several of our camels were swept down by the stream. The last four marches were among hills, interspersed with country like that already described. The high hills on the north were generally concealed by fogs, but sometimes we saw them rising to a

great height above the clouds. The whole of our journey across the tract between the Indus and Hydaspes was about one hundred and sixty miles; for which space, the country is among the strongest I have ever seen. The difficulty of our passage across it was increased by heavy rain. On one occasion, the rear guard, with some gentlemen of the mission, were cut off from the rest by the swelling of a brook, which had not been a foot deep when they began to cross. It came down with surprising violence, carrying away some loaded camels that were crossing at the time, and rising about ten feet, within a minute. Nothing could be grander than this torrent. Such was its force, that it ran in waves like the sea, and rose against the bank in a ridge, like the surf on the coast of Coromandel.

While in the hilly country, our road sometimes lay through the beds of torrents like this, between moderately high hills, which, though by no means so striking as the passes of the same sort in Afghaunistaun, were no less dangerous. In one of these defiles the mission was stopped by a body of Siks, who occupied the hills, and commenced an attack on us; first, by rolling down large stones, and, at last, by opening a fire, which was immediately returned. Their fire was at length put a stop to, by the interposition of the Siks, who attended the mission on the part of Jewun Sing, unfortunately not till one man had been killed in the valley, and Captain Pitman shot through the arm, while ascending the hill, at the head of a party of Sepoys.

The most remarkable sight we met with in this part, and perhaps in the whole of our journey, was an edifice about fifteen miles from Banda, our second march from Rawil Pindee. The heaviness of the rain prevented our marching from that place on the day after we reached it; and as we were near the place which Major Wilford supposes to have been the site of Taxila, a party determined to set out in quest of the ruins of that city. In the course of a circuit of about forty miles, we saw the ruins of some Gucker towns, destroyed by the Siks, and those of some others still more ancient, which had suffered the same fate from the Mussulmans: we also saw one or two caravanseras, here called Rabauts; and we heard of an obelisk of a single

stone, fifty or sixty feet high, at a place called Rawjee, which was too distant to visit: but we met with no ruins of such antiquity as to have any pretensions to a connection with Taxila. We, however, at length discovered a remarkable building, which seemed at first to be a cupola, but when approached, was found to be a solid structure, on a low artificial mound. The height from the top of the mound to the top of the building was about seventy feet, and the circumference was found to be one hundred and fifty paces. It was built of large pieces of a hard stone common in the neighbourhood (which appeared to be composed of petrified vegetable matter), mixed with smaller pieces of a sandy stone. The greater part of the outside was cased with the first mentioned stone, cut quite smooth, and the whole seemed intended to have been thus faced, though it had either been left incomplete, or the casing had fallen down. The plan of the whole could, however, be easily discovered. Some broad steps (now mostly ruined) lead to the base of the pile: round the base is a moulding, on which are pilasters about four feet high, and six feet asunder; these have plain capitals, and support a cornice marked with parallel lines and beadings. The whole of this may be seven or eight feet high, from the uppermost step to the top of the cornice. The building then retires, leaving a ledge of a foot or two broad, from which rises a perpendicular wall about six feet high: about a foot above the ledge is a fillet, formed by stones projecting a very little from the wall, and at the top of the wall is a more projecting cornice, from which the sphere springs. The stones of the facing are about three feet and a half long, and one and a half broad, and are so put in, that the ends only are exposed. The top is flat, and on it the foundations of walls are discoverable, enclosing a space of eleven paces long by five broad; a third of this area is cut off by the foundation of a cross wall. There was nothing at all Hindoo in the appearance of this building; most of the party thought it decidedly Grecian. It was indeed as like Grecian architecture as any building which Europeans, in remote parts of the country, could now construct by the hands of unpractised native builders.

The natives called it the Tope of Maunicyaula, and said it was built by the gods. *

Many bushes, and one pretty large Banyan tree, grow out of the building.

Before we reached the Hydaspes, we had a view of the famous fort of Rotas, but it was at a great distance, owing to our having left the main road, and crossed fifteen or sixteen miles lower down than the usual ferry at Jailum. Rotas we understood to be an extensive but strong fort on a low hill.

We crossed the Hydaspes at Jellalpoor, in the course of five days, from the 22d of July to the 26th inclusive. I was greatly struck with the difference between the banks of this river; the left bank had all the characteristics of the plains of India, it was indeed as flat and as rich as Bengal, which it greatly resembled: the right bank, on the contrary, was formed by the end of the range of salt hills, formerly seen at Calla-baugh, and had an air of extreme ruggedness and wildness, that must inspire a fearful presentiment of the country he was entering, into the mind of a traveller from the east. The hills still retain the red colour for which they were so remarkable, where we crossed them before. They came to the edge of the river, which being also divided by islands, presents exactly the appearance one expects from the accounts of the ancients. So precisely does Quintus Curtius's description of the scene of Porus's battle correspond with the part of the Hydaspes where we crossed, that several gentlemen of the mission who read the passage on the spot, were persuaded that it referred to the very place before their eyes.

After passing the Hydaspes, we continued our march across the Punjaub, which occupied from the 26th of July till the 29th of Au-

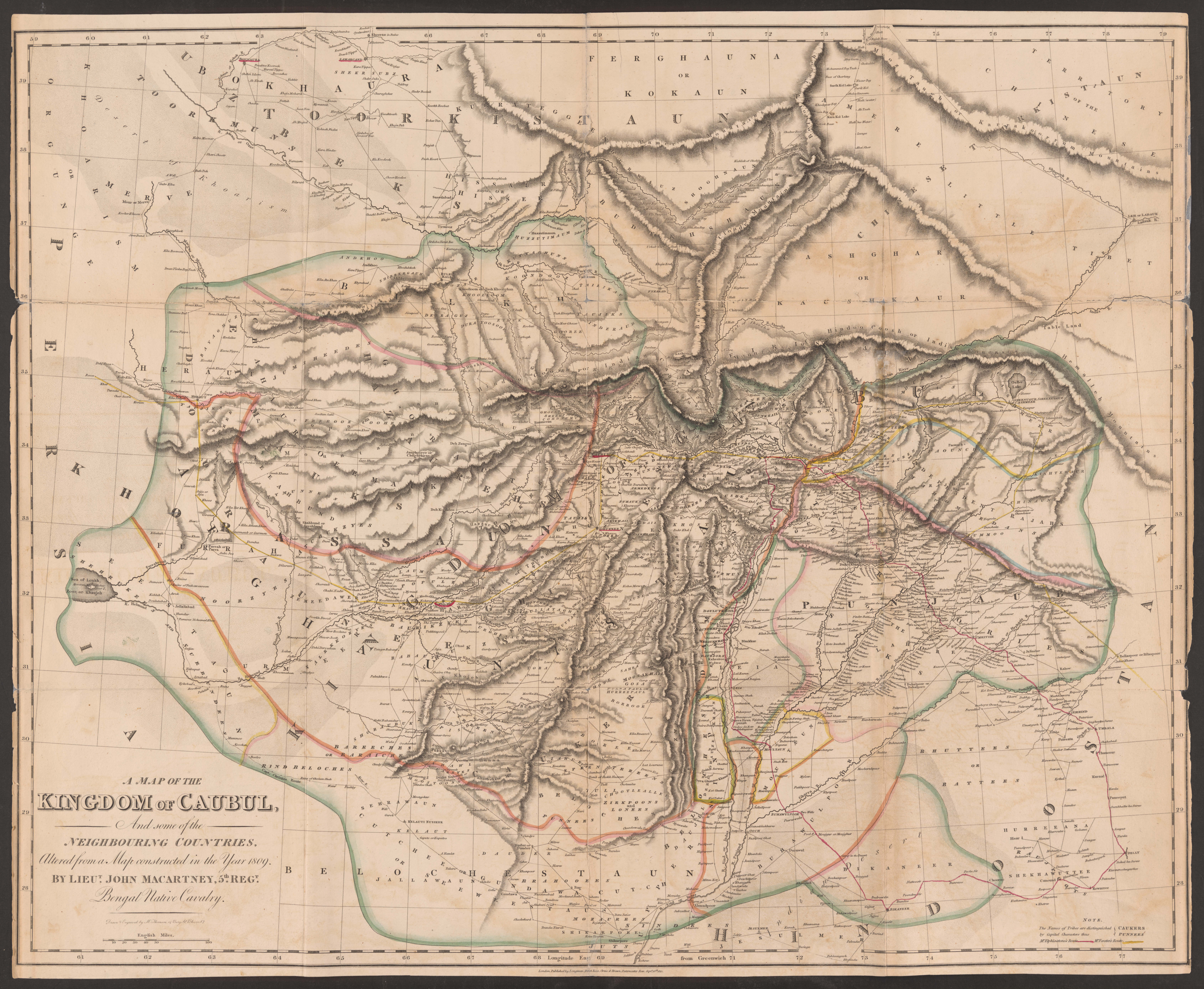
* Tope is an expression used for a mound or burrow as far west as Peshawer, and Maunicyaula is the name of an adjoining village. The drawing was made at Poona under my direction, from sketches made by different gentlemen on the day after our visit to Maunicyaula. In such circumstances, minute accuracy cannot be expected, but the general idea conveyed by the drawing is I think correct.

gust. My account of this part of the journey need not be long: as far west as Lahore has been visited by English gentlemen; and Sir John Malcolm has already given all that is desirable to know respecting the Siks, the most remarkable part of the population.

The fertility of the Punjaub appears to have been too much extolled by our geographers: except near rivers, no part of it will bear a comparison with the British provinces in Hindostan, and still less with Bengal, which it has been thought to resemble. In the part I passed through, the soil was generally sandy, and by no means rich: the country nearer the hills was said to be better, and that further to the south, worse. Of the four divisions of the Punjaub east of the Hydaspes, the two nearest to that river are chiefly pastured on by herds of oxen and buffaloes: and that most to the east, towards the Hysudrus, or Sutledge, though most sterile, is best cultivated. The two former are quite flat; the latter is wavy, but there is not a hill to the east of the Hydaspes, and rarely a tree, except of the dwarfish race of Baubool. On the whole, not a third of the country we saw was cultivated. It, however, contained many fine villages, and some large towns, but most of the latter bore strong marks of decay. Umritsir alone, the sacred city of the Siks, and lately the seat of their national councils, appeared to be increasing; on the contrary, Lahore is hastening fast to ruin, but the domes and minarets of the mosques, the lofty walls of the fort, the massy terraces of the garden of Shaulimar, the splendid mausoleum of the emperor Jehangeer, and the numberless inferior tombs and places of worship that surround the town, still render it an object of curiosity and admiration.

The inhabitants become more and more like the natives of Hindostan, as we move towards the east: the most numerous class were the Juts, and next to them the Hindoos: the Siks, though the masters of the country, were few in number; we often made a whole march without seeing one, and they no where bore any proportion to the rest of the population. After crossing the Hydaspes, we found the Siks unmannerly and sullen, probably from political causes, for they are

naturally a merry people, careless, childish, and easily amused, fond of hunting, and given up to drinking and debauchery. Almost the whole of the Punjaub belongs to Runjeet Sing, who in 1805 was but one of many chiefs, but who, when we passed, had acquired the sovereignty of all the Siks in the Punjaub, and was assuming the title of King. Towards the east, his territories are bounded by states under the protection of the British, but on all the other sides he is busied in subjugating his weak neighbours, by the same mixture of force and craft that he so successfully employed against the chiefs of his own nation. On crossing the Sutledge, we reached the British cantonment of Lodeeana, from whence the mission proceeded straight to Delly, a distance of two hundred miles.


A MAP OF THE
KINGDOM OF CAUBUL,
And some of the
NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES,
Altered from a Map constructed in the Year 1809.
BY LIEUT. JOHN MACARTNEY, 5th REGT.
Bengal Native Cavalry.
English Miles.
Longitude East from Greenwich
NOTE.
The Names of Tribes are distinguished by Capital Characters thus
CAUKERS
PUNNERS
M'Phinstone's Route
M'Forster's Route
London, Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row.

BOOK I.

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

CHAP. I.

SITUATION AND BOUNDARIES OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

IT is difficult to fix the limits of the kingdom of Caubul. The countries under the sovereignty of the King of Caubul, once extended sixteen degrees in longitude from Sirhind, about one hundred and fifty miles from Delly, to Meshhed, about an equal distance from the Caspian sea. In breadth they reached from the Oxus to the Persian gulph, a space including thirteen degrees of latitude, or nine hundred and ten miles.

But this great empire has, of late, suffered a considerable diminution, and the distracted state of the government prevents the King's exercising authority even over several of the countries which are still included in his dominions. In this uncertainty I shall adopt the test made use of by the Asiatics themselves, and shall consider the King's sovereignty as extending over all the countries in which the * Khootba is read, and the money coined in his name.

In this view the present kingdom of Caubul extends from the west of Heraut in longitude 62°, to the eastern boundary of Cashmeer in longitude 77° east, and from the mouth of the Indus, in latitude 24°, to the Oxus, in latitude, 37° north.

The whole space included between those lines of latitude and longitude, does not belong to the King of Caubul, and it will hereafter

* The Khootba is a part of the Mahommedan service, in which the king of the country is prayed for. Inserting a prince's name in the Khootba, and inscribing it on the current coin, are reckoned in the East the most certain acknowledgments of sovereignty.

appear, that of those which may be considered as annexed to his crown, many owe him but a nominal obedience.

This kingdom is bounded on the east by Hindostan, in which it however comprehends Cashmeer, and the countries on the left bank of the Indus. On the south it may be coarsely said to have the Persian gulph; and on the west, a desart extends along the whole of the frontiers. Its northern frontier is formed by the mountains of the eastern Caucasus, which are, however, included within the western part of the boundary there formed by the Oxus.

According to the nomenclature of our latest maps *, it comprehends Afghaunistaun and Segistan, with part of Khorasan and of Makran; Balk, with Tokarestaun and Kilan; Kuttore, Caubul, Candahar, Sindy, and Cashmeer; together with a portion of Lahore, and the greater part of Moultan.

The whole population of the kingdom cannot be under fourteen millions. This was the number fixed by one of the gentlemen of the mission, on a calculation of the extent and comparative population of the different provinces. All extensive desarts were excluded; no greater rate of population than one hundred to the square mile, was allowed to any large tract except Cashmeer, and sometimes (as in the whole country of the Hazaurehs) only eight souls were allowed to the square mile.

The different nations who inhabit the kingdom of Caubul were supposed to contribute to the population in the following proportions:

Afghauns, - - - - - - - - - - -	4,300,000
† Beloches, - - - - - - - - - -	1,000,000
† Tartars of all descriptions, - - - -	1,200,000
Persians (including Taujiks), - - - -	1,500,000
Indians (Cashmeerees, Juts, &c. &c.) - -	5,700,000
Miscellaneous tribes, - - - - - -	300,000

The principal part of my account of Caubul, will be occupied by the Afghauns, but I shall first give a sketch of the whole kingdom;

* Arrowsmith's Asia, 1801.

† I conceive the Beloches and Tartars to be much under-rated in this table.

and, as the surrounding countries may not be sufficiently familiar to my readers, to enable them to understand the limits of the kingdom, or the frequent allusions to its neighbouring states, I shall begin with a slight account of the part of Asia in which it is situated.

If we traverse the kingdoms of Hindostan and Caubul, from the east of Bengal to Heraut, we shall find them every where bounded on the north by a chain of mountains which is covered with perpetual snow, for almost the whole of that extent, and from which all the great rivers of both countries appear to issue. This chain commences near the Burrampooter, and runs nearly north-west as far as Cashmeer: during this part of its course it is called Hemalleh by the natives of the neighbouring countries. From Cashmeer its general direction is a little to the south-west, as far as the high snowy peak of Hindoo Coosh, nearly north of Caubul. From this peak its height diminishes, it no longer bears perpetual snow, and is soon after lost in a groupe of mountains, which stretch in length from Caubul almost to Heraut, and occupy more than two degrees of latitude in their breadth. Some ranges issue from this mass on the west, and extend so far into Persia, as to justify, if not completely to establish, the opinion of the ancients, which connected the range I have been describing, with mount Caucasus on the west of the Caspian sea. *

From Cashmeer to Hindoo Coosh, the whole range is known by the name of that peak. From thence to the meridian of Heraut, the mountains have no general name among the natives, and I shall call them by that of Paropamisus, which is already applied to them by European Geographers. But, although the chain of mountains which I have described, appears from the south to form the natural boun-

* The following passage in Arrian (book iii. chap. 28.) will show the extent attributed by the Greeks to this mountain. It is introduced when Alexander arrives at the foot of mount Caucasus at a point which all geographers have placed in the neighbourhood of Candahar. Ὁ δὲ ὄρος ὁ Καυκασος ὑψηλον μὲν ἐστι, &c. &c. &c. "The mountain of Caucasus is said by "Aristobulus to be as high as any in Asia, but it is bare in most parts, and particularly in "this place. It stretches for a great extent, so that mount Taurus, which divides Pam-"phylia from Cilicia, is said to be part of it, as well as other high mountains, distinguished "from Caucasus by various names, arising from the different nations to whose country "they extend." A more detailed account of this mountain will be found in the same writer, book v. chap. 3 and 5. and in Pliny's Natural History, book v. chap. 27.

dary of Hindostan and Caubul, we must look farther north for the ridge that terminates the natural division, in which those countries are situated, and contains the remotest sources of their greatest rivers.

Our geographers lay down a range of mountains under the name of Mus Tag, which seems to commence to the north of the eastern extremity of Hemalleh, and to run parallel to that mountain on the north, as far as the sixty-seventh degree of east longitude.

The inquiries made on the Caubul mission, have traced but a small part of the extent of this chain. Lieutenant Macartney could follow it with certainty no farther than from Auksoo to the west of Leh, or Ladauk, but the remaining part of its alleged course is probable, and though I have not access to the proofs of its existence, I have no reason to doubt it; I shall, therefore, take that part of the chain for granted, and include it in the name of Mooz Taugh.*

Though this mountain stands on higher ground than Hindoo Coosh, its height from its base, and perhaps the absolute elevation of its summits, are inferior to those of the latter mountain.

It is in the southern side of Mooz Taugh, that the Indus appears to have its source, and on the opposite side the waters run north into Chinese Toorkistaun.

The slope of the countries on each side of the mountains, is pointed out by the direction of the streams; but on the north, the descent, as far at least as my information goes, is generally gradual and uninterrupted: while, on the south, there is a table land beneath Mooz Taugh, which is supported by Hemalleh and Hindoo Coosh, and from which the descent is comparatively sudden into the plains of Hindostan, and of the north-eastern part of the Caubul dominions.

The medium breadth of this Table Land may be about two hundred miles, but I have before said that I have no information about it east of the meridian of Ladauk. The eastern part of it is occupied by the extensive country of Tibet; west of which are Little Tibet

* This term, which in Turkish signifies ice-hill, is applied to one place in the range at least, where it is occasioned by a glacier near the road from Yarcund to Laudauk. This range, or a particular pass in it, near the road just mentioned, is well known in Toorkistaun by the name of Karrakoorrum.

and Kaushkaur, mountainous countries of no great extent. To the north-west of the last mentioned country, is the plain of Pamere. Kaushkaur and Pamere are bounded on the west by a range of mountains, which runs from the chain of Mooz Taugh to that of Hindoo Coosh, and which supports the western face of the Table Land.

This range, though inferior in height to that of Hindoo Coosh, has snow on its summits throughout the most part of the year, at least as far as its junction with Mooz Taugh. It leaves the range of Hindoo Coosh in longitude 71° east, and runs in a direction to the east of north, till it meets Mooz Taugh: a range of mountains running also north and south, is crossed further north by the road from Kokaun to Cashgar, and may be considered as a continuation of this chain. It is there lower than before; so that it is only in severe seasons that it retains its snow longer than the beginning of summer: a little to the north of this road, it gives rise to the Jaxartes; and beyond this my information ceases. Our maps, however, continue it towards the north, till it reaches a range of mountains which divides Chinese Tartary from Siberia, and separates the waters of the former country from those that flow into the Arctic Ocean.

Our maps call the range which runs from Mooz Taugh to Hindoo Coosh, Belur Tag, which is evidently a corruption of the Turkish words *Beloot Taugh*, or Cloudy Mountains; as I know of no general name applied by the people of Toorkistaun to this range, I shall use the term Beloot Taugh for it, on the few occasions I shall have for mentioning it.

Beloot Taugh forms the boundary between the political divisions of Independent Toorkistaun and Chinese Toorkistaun. It also forms these two countries into two natural divisions, since it separates their streams, and gives rise to rivers which water both countries.

I know of no branches sent out by Beloot Taugh towards the east. To the west it sends out several branches, which, with the valleys between them, form the hilly countries of Kurrateggeen, Shoghnaun, and Durwauz. The most southerly of them bounds Budukhshaun on

the north, as Hindoo Coosh does on the south. I know little of the extent or direction of these branches, but one of them seems to stretch westerly to near Samarcand. These are the principal ranges of mountains north of Hindoo Coosh; but a few words are required respecting the rivers and countries between that range, Beloot Taugh, and the Caspian sea.

I have already mentioned the source of the Jaxartes. It holds a course to the north of west, till it falls into the Lake of Arul.

The Oxus rises in a glacier near Pooshtee Khur, a lofty peak of Beloot Taugh, in the most northerly part of Budukhshaun. Its general course is west as far as the sixty-third degree of longitude, from whence it pursues a north-westerly course, through a desart, to the lake of Arul. The rough country about the source of the Jaxartes, is inhabited by wandering Kirghizzes; but, from the place where it leaves the hills to longitude 66° or 67° east, both banks are occupied by the Uzbek kingdom of Ferghauna, called also Kokaun from the residence of the sovereign. To the west of longitude 66° east, the northern bank is inhabited, first by Kirghizzes, and then by Kuzzauks, both rude and pastoral nations. On the southern bank, to the west of longitude 66° east, is a desart, which extends in a south-westerly direction to the inhabited country of Khorassaun. Its breadth varies, but in latitude 40°, it is seven days journey broad, and it there separates the Uzbek kingdoms of Orgunge and Bokhaura; the first of which lies on the Caspian, and the other between the Oxus, the desart, and the mountainous countries under Beloot Taugh. The character of these kingdoms, or at least of Bokhaura, is that of desart, enclosing oases of various size and fertility. All the country west of Beloot Taugh, and north of the Oxus, is called Toorkistaun, a term which may be extended to the east of Beloot Taugh, as far as there is reason to think the Turkish language is spoken; but when I have occasion to speak of that division, I shall call it Chinese Toorkistaun, and the other Toorkistaun alone. The name of Tartary is unknown in those regions. There remains a tract, between the Oxus

and the Paropamisan mountains, which ought to be mentioned with Toorkistaun (as its principal population is Uzbek), though it is a province of Caubul. It has Budukshaun on the east; and the thinly inhabited country, which joins to its west, about Shibbergaun, is included in Khorassaun. The country slopes towards the Oxus. Small as it is, it includes several principalities; and is diversified with hill and plain, marsh and desart. Our geographers commonly call the whole division Bulkh, from the principal city it contains. This name is inaccurate; but * as I know no other general name for the whole tract, I shall continue to apply it to this division, with which I shall close my account of the country north of Hindoo Coosh.

The countries immediately to the south of Hemalleh and Hindoo Coosh are rendered rugged by lower mountains, which run parallel to the great range, and by branches which issue from it. In the hilly regions thus formed are Assam, Bootaun, Nepaul, Kamaoon, and Sireenuggur; all under Hemalleh. Where the great range turns to the west, these lower mountains are more remote from it, and the high valley of Cashmeer occupies the interval. To the south and south-west of Cashmeer, is a mountainous country, which bounds the Punjaub on the north, and supplies its streams with water; for, of the five rivers, which intersect that country, the Hydaspes alone comes through Cashmeer, and has its source in the more remote mountains on the north. This mountainous country is inhabited by different rajas of Indian descent. The plains of the Punjaub, with some trifling exceptions, belong to the Siks; and, from the southern frontier of that country, there extends a sandy desart, almost to the gulph of Cutch.

This desart, which is about four hundred miles broad from east to west, is in some places entirely uninhabited, and, in others, thinly scattered, with villages, and cultivation. The greater part, if not the

* It might perhaps have been preferable to have used the name of Bactria, though that of Bulkh, from which it is derived, is now out of use, except in books.

whole of it, is composed of sand hills, or still more barren plains of hard clay. The edge of it on the north is moderately fertile, and forms the banks of the Acesines. On the east, it runs gradually into the well cultivated parts of India; and on the south, it is separated from the sea by part of the country of Cutch. Its western boundary will appear when I have described the Indus, which divides India from the countries which I am next to sketch.

The Indus issues from the mountains of Hindoo Coosh, in lat. 35° long. 73°; and runs south-south-west to the sea. It forms the natural boundary of Caubul and Hindostan; but, is in reality included, during the whole of its course in the provinces or dependencies of the former monarchy. As far as Caulabaugh in lat. 33°. 7′. it may be said to run through mountains; but, from that point to lat. 29°, it divides a fertile, though ill cultivated, plain; bounded on the east by the desart, and on the west by the mountains of Solimaun. Where the range of Solimaun ends, about lat. 29° north, the plain extends to the westward, and has new boundaries. On the north it has hills, which stretch east and west at right angles to the range of Solimaun. On the west it has the table land of Kelaut; on the south, the sea; and on the east, the Indus. The part immediately adjoining to the river, is included in the province of Sind, (which occupies both banks of the Indus, from lat. 31° north to the sea). The western part of the plain forms a geographical division, which, in Akber's time, was called Seeweestaun. It would now be better known by that of Cutchee, or Cutch Gundawa; but, as either of those names would lead to mistakes, I shall adhere to the ancient term. It is a low and hot plain, fertile in many places, but in others destitute of water.

The * range of Solimaun commences nearly to the south of the point where Beloot Taugh is joined to Hindoo Coosh, and is connect-

* The natives, as usual, have no name for this range; at least, none that would be everywhere understood. It is called the Cohee Solimaun, or mountains of Solimaun, in books, though the term is there made to comprehend some of the hills to the west of it.

ed with the southern branches of the latter mountain. Its general direction is southerly, as far as lat. 29° north.

It sends three branches to the east, between lat. 34° and lat. 32°, and two of them cross the Indus.

From its termination in lat. 29° a chain of hills runs nearly west to the table land of Kelaut.

That table land is of considerable elevation; and fills up the space between long. 64° east and long. 67° 30′ east, lat. 26° 33′ north and lat. 30° 15′ north. It comprises the provinces of Jallawaun and Sehrawaun, and the district of Kelaut, which, with Seeweestaun, form the dominions of a Beloche Prince, dependant on Caubul, and are chiefly inhabited by Beloches. The Table land is every where hilly and barren. The highest part of it is towards the north, where Kelaut, the capital of the principality, is situated. A narrow tract of the same level with Seeweestaun, lies between the foot of this Table land and the sea. On the south-west the table land has lower hills and plains included in Mekraun; and extending in lat. from 26° north to 28° north. On the north of Mekraun is the Salt Desart, the eastern extremity of which lies under the western rampart of the Table land.

The north eastern edge of this desart, may be loosely said to lie between the 64th and 65th lines of east longitude, till it reach 30° north, from which latitude it becomes difficult to fix. It, however, encloses the small country of Seestaun, and bounds the Afghaun country up to near Heraut, where a habitable tract commences, and stretches like an Isthmus between this desart, and that which extends to the Jaxartes. This tract is in some parts hilly, and in others so sandy and arid, that it can scarcely be said to separate the desarts.

The edge of the desart will appear hereafter to be ill defined. In some places it runs into the habitable country; and, on the other hand, the banks of the Helmund, which flows through part of the desart into the lake of Seeweestaun, are everywhere fertilized by that river.

I am now enabled to describe the complicated limits of the country of the Afghauns. On the north, it has Hindoo Coosh, and the Paroamisan range. The Indus is its boundary on the east, as long as that river continues near the hills; that is, as far as lat. 32° 20′. The plain on the right bank of the Indus, south of lat. 32° 20′, is inhabited by Beloches; but the chain of Solimaun, with its subordinate ranges, and the country immediately at their base, belongs to the Afghauns. The hills, which have been mentioned, as bounding Seeweestaun on the north, form the southern limits of the country of the Afghauns. The Afghaun country immediately to the north of these mountains, does not at first extend so far west as to reach the Table land of Kelaut; but it afterwards shoots past it on the north, and reaches to the desart, which is its north-western boundary. It is difficult to render this irregular boundary intelligible; but, it is still more so to give, in a general description, a notion of the countries which it comprehends. They are so various in their level, climate, soil, and productions, that I shall not attempt at present to distinguish them; but, shall only remark, that the whole of Afghaunistaun, west of the range of Solimaun, is a Table land, lying higher than most of the neighbouring countries. Hindoo Coosh, which is its northern bulwark, looks down on the low lands of Bulkh. On the east, it is equally elevated above the still lower plain of the Indus. On the south, it overlooks Seeweestaun; and, the deep valley of Bolaun, on the south-west, runs between it and Belochistaun. On the west, indeed, it slopes gradually down to the desart; and, on the north-west, it loses its appearance of elevation before the Paropamisan mountains. The Table land of Kelaut, ought perhaps to be considered as a continuation of that I have just described; but, the low country, extending to the desart, and the valley of Bolaun, so nearly divide them, that it will be convenient to treat them as separate. The Afgnauns have no general name for their country; but, that of Afghaunistaun, which was probably first employed in Persia, is frequently used in books, and is not unknown to the inhabitants of the country to which it applies. I

shall, there.ore, use it in future to express the country, of which I have just described the limits. As much of the Afghaun country as lies to the west of the parallel of Mookloor, in longitude 68° 30′, is included in the celebrated and extensive province of Khorassaun. The remaining part of Khorassaun, (the boundaries of which may be loosely fixed by the Oxus, and the desart, through which that river runs; the Salt Desart; and the Caspian Sea), belongs to Persia. Kermaun is said to have been once included in Khorassaun, as Seeweestaun frequently is still.

CHAP. II.

MOUNTAINS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

I HAVE already described the general course of the great ridge of Hindoo Coosh, and have traced the lower ranges on its southern side as far east as the Indus. I shall now proceed to a particular description of the part which bounds Afghaunistaun on the north.

From the Indus to longitude 71°, it pursues a westerly course; but, from that point, its direction becomes uncertain. To a person viewing it from the south, the snowy ridge appears to make a considerable curve towards him: but, our information leaves it doubtful, whether it does make such a curve, whether the principal range continues its westerly course, and sends out a branch towards the south, or whether it is crossed by Beloot Taugh, which joins it at the point opposite to the place where the mountain appears to bend.

From the Indus to this curve is the part of these mountains with which I am best acquainted, having seen it for some months from Peshawer; and, a particular account of it, may serve to give an idea of the rest of the range.

On entering the plain of Peshawer, on the 24th of February, 1809, four ranges of mountains were distinctly seen on the north. The lowest range had no snow. The tops of the second were covered with it, as was the third, half-way down.

The fourth was the principal range of the Indian Caucasus, which is always covered with snow, is conspicuous from Bactria, and the borders of India, and is seen from places far off in Tartary. We first saw these mountains at the distance of one hundred miles; but, they would have been visible long before, if the view had not been shut

out by the hills through which we travelled *. In appearance, however, they were very near. The ridges and hollows of their sides were clearly discernable; and, this distinctness, joined to the softness and transparency which their distance gave them, produced a singular, and very pleasing effect.

The snowy range is by no means of equal elevation, being in some places, surmounted by peaks of great height and magnitude, which do not taper to a point, but rise at once from their bases, with amazing boldness and grandeur.

The stupendous height of these mountains; the magnificence and variety of their lofty summits; the various nations by whom they are seen, and who seem to be brought together by this common object; and the awful and undisturbed solitude, which reigns amidst their eternal snows; fill the mind with admiration and astonishment, that no language can express. The height of one of these peaks was taken by Lieutenant Macartney, and appeared to be 20,493 feet. If this measurement be correct, the peaks of Hindoo Coosh are higher than those of the Andes. † The measurement made by Lieutenant Webb, in the eleventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, gives a still greater height to those of Hemalleh. The height of Hindoo Coosh, is undoubtedly very great; since we could perceive no diminution in

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* I have seen the ridge of Imaus (or Hemalleh), at a distance of 150 miles; and, I believe, they were to be seen at 250.

† (The following is Lieutenant Macartney's account of the operation, which he gives with considerable distrust). "I took the distance of some of the most remarkable peaks, in "the ridge, by cross bearings, with the theodolite; and found, at the distance of one hundred "miles, the apparent altitude of some was 1° 30', which gives a perpendicular height of "20,493 feet. But, of course, this could not be positively depended on for so small an angle, "and so great a distance. The most trifling error, which might not appear in the correc-"tion of the instrument, would here make a great difference. It was, however, so correct, "that I have taken the sun's altitude, and the latitude came out within two of the latitude "taken with the sextant; and, the distance may be depended on, for I had a base line, mea-"sured of forty-five miles, which gave a good angle."

the snow on any part of the range in the month of June, when the thermometer in the plain of Peshawer was at 113°.

The inferior ranges decrease in height, according to their distance from the principal chain. The tops of the highest are bare; but their sides, and the whole of the lower ranges, are well wooded. Though three lower ranges only are distinguishable when seen from the plain, many more are probably passed before reaching the snowy ridge. There is a plain between the first and second ranges; and, it is probable, that narrower and more elevated valleys separate the higher ranges, till the increasing roughness of the country makes them scarcely observable; and, that the distinction between the ranges, is at length lost in a confused mass of mountains.

There are three branches, which stretch from the great ridge at right angles to the inferior ranges. The first is close to the Indus, and ends at a point opposite Torbaila.

The next, which is called Ailum, and is of considerable height and breadth, is divided from the former by the valley of Boonere. The third is divided from Ailum by the valley of Swaut, into which another valley, called Punjcora, opens from the north-west. The last branch is much broader than either of the others, and extends so far to the south as to join the roots of Suffaid Coh, the most northerly point in the range of Solimaun. Though not high, it is steep, and rugged. It is covered with pine forests, and inhabited by the Afghaun tribe of Otmaunkhail. Between it and the southern projection, is the low and hot plain of Bajour.

The lower hills may be imagined from a description of those in the district of Swaut. In that district snow lies on them for four months in the year. Their tops have but few trees, but their sides are covered with forests of pine, oak, and wild olive; lower down are many little valleys, watered by clear and beautiful streams, and enjoying a delicious climate. Their sides afford a profusion of European fruits and flowers, which grow wild in the utmost variety and perfection. The hills bear many pretty sorts of fern and similar

plants, with several elegant shrubs, and even the rocks are rendered beautiful by the rich verdure of the mosses with which they are covered. In the midst of the principal valley, is the river of Swaut, watering a rich though narrow plain, which yields two harvests, and produces most sorts of grain: on the plain, besides cultivated fruit-trees, are numerous mulberry trees and planes.

The hills of Boonere greatly resemble those of Swaut; they enclose many little valleys, all opening on one great one, which runs south-east, and contains the brook of Burrundoo. These valleys are narrower, and worse watered than those of Swaut, and are consequently less fertile.

I have now come to the seeming curve, which is observed from the south of Hindoo Coosh, and which rises over Bajour on the west. That projection, with the nearest parts of Hindoo Coosh, and some of the neighbouring branches, is inhabited by the Seeapoosh Caufirs, a strange and interesting people.

The ascent to their country leads along frightful precipices, and through deep and narrow hollows, where the traveller is exposed to danger by the pieces of rock that roll from the mountains above him, either loosened by rain and wind, or put in motion by the goats and wild animals that browze on the cliffs which overhang the road. The Caufirs inhabit narrow but rich and pleasant spots, producing abundance of grapes, and for the most part surmounted by snowy summits. The country of the Caufirs extends beyond the western angle formed by the curve, and the ridge then pursues its course westward, until it is lost in the Paropamisan mountains.

The hilly tract formed by the inferior ranges, is narrow and rugged in this part of the chain; and particularly at the point of the southern projection, where the snowy mountain descends abruptly into the low plain of Jellallabad. When the range resumes its westerly course, the hills at its foot recover their extent and their character; they then form the Cohistaun, or High Lands of Caubul, a country watered by many streams, and described as even more delightful than Swaut.

The nature of the valleys in this part of the range cannot well be understood until I have described the space into which they all open. This is the valley of the Caubul river, which separates the southern projection of Hindoo Coosh from the mountains of Solimaun, and seems to be a breach in a continued chain once formed by those ridges. The breadth between them is now in some places twenty-five miles.

It is occupied towards the east by hills, which stretch from mountain to mountain, though, from their very inferior height, they cannot be said to preserve the continuity of the range. West of those hills is the plain of Jellallabad, and still farther west the country rises so much, that although Gundamuk be in a valley with respect to the southern projection, or to the hills of Solimaun, it is on a mountain when compared with Jellallabad. The river of Caubul flows through the centre of the space which I have been describing, and into it, as I have already mentioned, all the valleys in this part of Hindoo Coosh open. The first of these to the west of Bajour is Coonner, through which the great river of Kaushkaur runs to join that of Caubul. The climate of the lower part of Coonner is very hot. The upper part terminates in long glens, many of which point north-west towards the high snowy peak of Coond, which is probably the point of the southern projection. Coonner is inhabited by a peculiar people called Deggauns, who will be mentioned hereafter.

At Mundroor, about twenty miles to the west of Coonner, the water of Alingaur joins the Caubul river. It comes down a valley, at the upper part of which two others join, and form a figure like the letter Y; the eastern one is called Alingaur, and the western Alishung. Each of them runs into the mountains for about twenty miles. These valleys, with the plain of Jellallabad, and the surrounding mountains, form the district of Lughmaun. Alingaur is a wide valley inhabited by Ghiljies. Its head inclines north-east towards Coond. It produces all sorts of grain, and many glens open into it on the right and left, some of which are only separated by narrow summits from those

of Coonner. Alishung is narrower, has fewer glens, and is chiefly inhabited by converted Caufirs.

The short valley of Oozbeen, inhabited by Ghiljies, lies next on the west, after which that of Tugow opens on the river of Caubul, at its junction with that of Punjsheer. Tugow is considerably longer than any of the valleys yet mentioned. The lower part is inhabited by the Saufees (an independent Afghauun tribe, whom I may not have occasion to mention again); but the upper part, which is narrower and less fertile, belongs to Cohistaunee Taujiks. *

The mouths of these valleys are higher in proportion as they are further west; but those of Oozbeen and Tugow are very sensibly elevated above the others, and have the climate of Caubul. For this reason they are sometimes included in the Cohistaun of Caubul, which, in strictness, only consists of the valleys of Nijrow, Punjsheer, and Ghorebund, with the minor valleys which open into them. Of these, the most remarkable are Sunjeer (between Nijrow and Punjsheer), and Doornaumeh, and Sauleh Oolung (between Punjsheer and Ghorebund). South of the Cohistaun is the Cohdaumun, a country formed of little fertile plains among the skirts of Hindoo Coosh.

The Paropamisan chain, which bounds the Cohistaun on the west, extends three hundred and fifty miles from east to west, and two hundred from north to south. The whole of this space is such a maze of mountains as the most intimate knowledge would scarcely enable us to trace; and, though it affords a habitation to the Eimauks and Hazaurehs, it is so difficult of access, and so little frequented, that no precise accounts of its geography are to be obtained.

It is certain, however, that the range of Hindoo Coosh is no longer so lofty, as to be conspicuous among the mountains by which it is surrounded, and that no continued line of perpetual snow can any

* This term is applied to all people of Afghaunistaun, whose vernacular language is Persian.

more be traced. The eastern half of this elevated region is inhabited by the Hazaurehs, and is cold, rugged, and barren: the level spots are little cultivated, and the hills are naked and abrupt. The western part, which belongs to the Eimauks, though it has wider valleys, and is better cultivated, is still a wild and poor country. The northern face of these mountains has a sudden descent into the province of Bulkh: their acclivity is less on their other extremities, except perhaps on the west or south-west. On the north-west they seem to sink gradually into the plain which borders on the desart.

The slope of the whole tract is towards the west.

The range of Solimaun commences at the lofty mountain which has derived the name of Suffaid Coh, or White Mountain, from the snow with which it is always covered *. Suffaid Coh stands to the south of the projection of Hindoo Coosh, and is only separated from it by the valley of the Caubul river, from which it rises with a very steep acclivity. It is connected with Hindoo Coosh by the hills of the Otmaunkhail, and other subordinate ranges extending across the Caubul river, in which they cause numerous rapids, in some places almost amounting to cascades. On these grounds, the range of Solimaun ought, perhaps, to be regarded as a branch of Hindoo Coosh, and even as a continuation of Beloot Taugh, but it will, nevertheless, be convenient to consider it separately. From Suffaid Coh, the highest ridge of the range runs south south-east, and passes through the Jaujee country near Huryoob, twelve miles south of which it is pierced by the river Koorrum. It then proceeds in a southerly direction, and forms the mountainous country of the Jadrauns, which extends to the southward of latitude 31° north. Thus far the course of

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* The Afghauns more frequently call this mountain Speenghur than Suffaid Coh. The former has the same meaning in Pushtoo that the latter has in Persian. I may here remark that as Persian was the language in which I communicated with the Afghauns, I have often made use of Persian words and phrases, where they would have used Pushtoo ones.

the ridge is subject to little doubt. From the Jadraun country, its direction, and even its continuity become more questionable; but, as it is certain that high hills, which it takes two days journeys to pass over, are crossed by travellers from Kauneegoorrum to Oorghoon, we may safely conjecture that this is the ridge in question, and may presume that the hills which we find still farther south, on the left of the river Gomul, are a continuation of it: certain it is, that from the Jaudraun country to the Gomul, is a mountainous country, shaded with pine forests, which shelters the wild hill tribe of Vizeeree. From the Gomul the course of the hills again becomes certain, and is continued through the country of the Sheeraunees, and that of the Zmurrees, from whence it extends to latitude 29°, where it seems to end.

The height of the Solimaun range, though much inferior to that of Hindoo Coosh, is still considerable. Its highest part is undoubtedly near its commencement. Suffaid Coh is covered with snow throughout the year, but I believe no other part of the range has snow after the end of spring; some, however of those, as far south as latitude 31°, have snow upon them in winter, which is a proof of no inconsiderable altitude in so low a latitude.

The part inhabited by the Wuzeerees, is probably as much raised above the surrounding country, as that which belongs to the Jadrauns; but its absolute height is inferior, as the country at its base slopes much to the southward. In the southern part of the Wuzeeree country, where this range is passed through by the river Gomul, it is low in both senses, but it rises again in the Sheeraunee country, and forms the lofty mountain of Cussay Ghur, of which the Tukht Solimaun, or Solomon's Throne, is the highest peak; snow lies on this peak for three months in the year, and on the surrounding mountains for two. The country of the Zmurrees is certainly as high as most parts of Cussay Ghur, but I have not the means of judging of the height or character of the range to the southward of this point.

From the southern boundary of Afghaunistaun, as far north as the

river Gomul, the descent from the Solimauny range into the low lands on the right bank of the Indus, is deep and sudden: on the opposite side, the descent seems to be as abrupt, though by no means so considerable, the country to the west of the range being more elevated than that on the east.

To the north of the Gomul, both sides of the range become perplexed by the numerous minor hills which it sends out to the east and west; but, as far as I can conjecture, the descent becomes more gradual on the east, as it certainly does on the west; where the plain country rises to meet it, and is perhaps as high to the east of Ghuznee, as many parts of the range itself to the south of that point.

There are two minor ranges parallel to the range of Solimaun, which accompany it on its eastern side from the southern borders of Afghaunistaun, as far at least as Rughzee in latitude 32° 20′. The first of these ranges is lower than the principal ridge. The second is still lower, and between it and the first is a country which I imagine is rugged, but cultivated by the Sheeraunees. All of these ranges are pierced by valleys which run from the high country on the west, and send out streams into Damaun: other streams rise in the principal range, and run through valleys which cut the lower ones.

The Solimauny range is described as being composed of a hard black stone. The next range is a red stone equally hard: but the lowest range consists of a friable grey sand stone. The tops of all these mountains are bare; the sides of the high range are covered with pines; and those of the next with olives and other trees: the lowest range is entirely bare, except in the hollows, which contain some thickets of brush-wood.

I shall now mention the minor hills, which run east and west from the great chain just described. The first that occurs, proceeding from the southward, is a range which seems to commence to the north of Rughzee, and extends to Punniallee.

This branch is steep, craggy, and bare, and can scarcely be crossed except in one place, where there is a breach in the hill. It ends in

an abrupt cliff, about nine hundred feet high, opposite the village of Punniallee. Its whole length is not above sixty miles, but it deserves to be mentioned, as it marks the boundary between the plain of the Indus and the hilly country which I am next to mention.

The next branch, which may be called the Salt Range, shoots out from the south-eastern side of Suffaid Coh, and extends in a south-easterly direction, by the south of Teeree to Calla-baugh. It there crosses the Indus, stretches across part of the Punjaub, and ends at Jellaulpoor, on the right bank of the Hydaspes. It becomes lower as it gets farther from the mountains of Solimaun. This range is both higher and broader than the last. It abounds in salt, which is dug out in various forms at different places. To the eastward, it yields a rock salt of a brownish colour, which is imported into Hindoostan, and known by the name of Lahore salt.

The third range, to the northward, extends from the eastern side of Suffaid Coh, straight to the Indus, which it crosses, but does not reach far beyond its eastern side. As it lies during the whole of its course between the thirty-third and thirty-fourth lines of latitude, I shall call it the range of 34° north latitude. It is much higher than any of the other ranges, and, though its valleys are wider, its ridge is more difficult to pass. Like those ranges, it decreases in height as it runs eastward, but as far east as Cohaut, the snow lies on its summits till the spring is far advanced, and a little snow falls in winter even on the parts towards the Indus. The highest parts of it bear pines, and the lower olives.

Between the Range of 34° and the Salt Range, lie some plains and valleys, belonging to the tribes of Bungush and Khuttuk. They slope towards the Indus, but are separated from the river by a low range of hills running north and south. In the northern part of the space between the Salt Range and that of Punniallee, the valleys of Dour, Bunnoo, Shutuk, and Esaukhail, descend like steps from the Solimaunee ridge to the Indus. In the southern part of the same space are the hills and valleys of the Murwuts, and the desart valley of

Largee, which last is separated from the Indus by a hill about thirty miles long.

These three branches are crossed by low ranges running north and south, two of which may perhaps be considered as continuations of those already mentioned as parallel to the mountains of Solimaun. They divide Dour from Bunnoo; Bunnoo from Esaukhail; and Largee from the Murwut country, which is itself so crossed by different ranges, that it resembles a network of hills enclosing cultivated plains. None of the intervals between the three great branches are indeed to be considered as uninterrupted valleys; besides the ranges which cross them at right angles, they are roughened, particularly towards the west, by minor projections from the principal chain, none of which, however, are deserving of much notice, even if it were possible to acquire accurate notions regarding them. As the Salt Range, the Range of 34°, and the low ridges which run across the valley of the Caubul, all issue from the eastern side of Suffaid Coh, and gradually diverge from that mountain, the country near the point of their separation is, of course, very mountainous. It is inhabited by four tribes, who are comprehended under the general name of Khyberee.

The branches which issue from the Solimauny range to the westward, are more difficult to treat of, than those I have just mentioned. I shall, however, give such conjectures as my information has led me to, which although they will probably not be correct, may be near enough the truth to assist in forming a general idea of the conformation of the country.

The space included between the valley of the Caubul river, the parallel of Ghuznee; the meridian of Caubul, and the Solimaunee range, appears to be a mountainous region, containing some large valleys. I cannot discover by how many branches it is formed, or whether, as is probable, they are crossed by ridges parallel to the principal chain: but the mountains certainly extend nearly to the road from Ghuznee to Caubul, and leave but a narrow valley between them and the Paropamisan hills. Their streams flow towards the west, into the valley just mentioned.

The first branch of which I have any distinct information, leaves the great chain to the east or north-east of Sirufza, passes to the north of that place, runs in a southerly direction along the western bank of the Gomul, passes to the west of Mummye, and separates that small country from Kuttawauz. Beyond this, its course becomes uncertain, and I believe it sinks into low and scattered hills.

There are three branches more to the south, which scarcely deserve to be mentioned, one of them separates Sirufza from Oorghoon, another passes to the north of Wauneh. None of these ranges extend further west than the Gomul.

I have no distinct accounts of any hills issuing from the range of Solimaun to the south of the Gomul.

I am still less acquainted with the hills in the west of Afghaunistaun, than with those I have been describing.

A chain of hills, which commences at the northern extremity of the Table Land of Kelaut, appears to extend to the north-east as far as the Ghiljie country in latitude 32°. It at first separates Shoraubuk from Pisheen, being called the hill of Speen Taizheh in this part of its course. It then, under the names of Kozhuk and Khojeh Amraun, forms the northern boundary of Pisheen, and afterwards takes the name of Toba, from a country through which it runs. The most northerly part of it is a pass called Gul Narrye, east of the valley of Urghessan, and not far from the range of Torkaunee.

I shall call the whole range I have been describing, by the name of Khojeh Amraun, for the convenience of a general name. It is broad, but not high nor steep: snow only lies for a short time on Speen Taizheh, but further to the north-east, it lies for three months in the year.

Another range appears to leave the Table Land, nearly at the same point with that I have just described. It runs east, and forms the southern boundary of Pisheen, which it divides from Shawl. The part nearest the Table Land is called Musailugh, and towards the centre, it is called Tukkatoo, which being the highest part of it, may

give its name to the range. I can only trace this range about fifty miles to the east of the place where it leaves the Table Land, but it is not improbable that it may be connected with one of those ranges which will be hereafter mentioned as crossing the country of the Caukers, and, in that case, its length will be much more considerable than I have stated.

It seems to be steep and high in proportion to the neighbouring hills, as snow lies on it as long as on any of those before mentioned.

Another range called Khurleekkee, leaves the Table Land of Kelaut nearly in latitude 30 north, and extends to the east, as far as the 67 of east longitude, separating the high plain of Bedowla from the low and hot country of Seeweestaun.

A range of hills, rising over the latter country nearly in latitude 29' north, has already been mentioned as forming the southern boundary of Afghaunistaun. The space, extending from the sixty-eighth degree of east longitude, to the range of Solimaun, and lying between the twenty-ninth and thirty-first degrees of north latitude, is full of hills, chiefly in ranges running east and west. It also contains many plains, particularly in the eastern part of the division. The west is the most hilly, and there are even traces of a very high range in that quarter, which seems to run north and south, and to connect all the minor ranges just mentioned. The existence of such a range is founded on the facts, that Leona Daugh and Toba are separated from Zpope by a range of mountains, which is known to be continued to Tubbye, the source of the river Loca. Still further south, in the same line, is a high mountain called Kund, which is said to run north and south; similar ridges, running in the same direction, are met at Chirry (south of Kund), and at Isupper (south of Chirry), and a high range continues to the left of the road from Shawl to Dauder, nearly to the last mentioned place. The line I have marked out, whether occupied by a range of mountains or not, certainly divides the waters of this part of Afghaunistaun, some of the streams which rise in it running east, and others west. There only remain to be mentioned

two ranges of hills, one of which commences to the south of Karrabaugh, at no great distance from the Paropamisan mountains, and runs parallel to the left bank of the Turnuk, almost to the 67° of east longitude: the other range begins nearly where the first ends, and runs east. This range is called Soorghur to the west, and Tore Kaunee to the east; and with it I believe I have completed the mention of all remarkable ranges of hills in Afghaunistaun.

CHAP. III.

RIVERS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

AFGHAUNISTAUN has few large rivers for a country of such extent. Except the Indus, there is no river in all the country which is not fordable throughout its course for the greater part of the year. The largest partake of the character of torrents, and though they often come down with great force, they soon run off. Their importance is diminished by the drains which are made from them for the purpose of irrigating the fields, by which a large stream is sometimes entirely consumed, before it reaches any other river. It may be observed of all the rivers in Afghaunistaun, that their size at their mouths is never equal to the expectations they raise when they first issue from the mountains.

The supplies which they yield to the cultivation, and the interruption they occasion to travellers, are the only considerations which make them of importance. The Indus alone is always navigable, and little use is made even of its navigation.

The Indus, from the length of its course, and the volume of water which it carries to the ocean, must be reckoned among the first rivers in the world. The distance from its head to the sea, cannot be exactly ascertained, but it has been traced for 1350 miles, and there is reason to suppose that its whole length is much greater; many of its tributary streams are themselves little inferior in extent to some of the most considerable rivers of Europe*. The source of this noble

* In length of course, though not in depth or permanence, the Hydaspes, the Hydraotes, and the Hysudrus, are superior to the Rhone; the course of the Hyphasis is

river is not yet exactly ascertained. The stream is traced with certainty only to the neighbourhood of Draus, a town in Little Tibet, which Lieutenant Macartney places in longitude 76° 48′, and latitude 35° 55′. The main stream comes to this point from the north of east, but its course higher up is unknown. At the point above Draus just mentioned, the main stream is met by a smaller branch which has been traced from Rodauk in Tibet, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles. It passes near Ladauk, the capital of Little Tibet, from which it is called the river of Ladauk. It is joined near that city by another stream from the north-west, which Mr. Macartney conjectures to issue from the lake of Surickol. I have, however, been informed by an Uzbek of Ferghauna, that a stream issued from a glacier in Mooz Taugh, on the road between Yaurcund and Ladauk, and that he followed it from the glacier to near Ladauk, without noticing the junction of any considerable stream from the westward; by his account, therefore, the river has its source in this glacier; and though I do not think his information to be compared to that acquired by Lieutenant Macartney, yet it may be useful to state it on so obscure a point.

It occasioned great regret to Mr. Macartney, that he was not able to fix the sources of the Indus; but if we consider the desolate character of the country through which that river runs, before it enters Afghaunistaun, we shall find more reason to be surprised at the success with which he has traced the early part of its course, than at his failure in discovering its remotest spring.

His discovery regarding the course of the river of Ladauk is a point of great interest, and the coincidence between his information

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forty miles longer than that of the Elbe, and only sixty less than that of the Rhine. Even the river of Kashkaur is eighty miles longer than the Po; and the Abbaseen, the Koorrum, the Gomul, and the Swan, are none of them much inferior in length of course to the Thames, though they are among the smallest of the rivers that contribute to the stream of the Indus.

and the survey of the Ganges made by Lieutenant Webbe in 1808, serves to strengthen the authority of both.

It was formerly believed that the river of Ladauk was one of the prlncipal streams of the Ganges, and that opinion was supported by the high authority of Major Rennel; but that eminent Geographer seems to have been led to this conclusion by the erroneous accounts of the Lamas, and of P. Tiefentaller. Captain Raper and Mr. Webbe were sent on purpose to ascertain the source of the Ganges, and found it to be in the south-eastern side of Hemalleh; far to the south of what was formerly supposed *. It was now proved that the river of Ladauk did not flow into the Ganges, but its real course remained unknown, till Mr. Macartney ascertained its junction with the Indus near Draus †. From Draus, the Indus pursues its solitary course through a mountainous country, little visited by travellers. Mr. Macartney had information to which he gave credit, that a branch separated from the Indus below Draus, and passing through Cashmeer, formed the principal stream of the Hydaspes. Though such a separation often occur in champaign countries, as in the instance of the Ganges; there is some improbability in its taking place in a rapid river, and in a mountainous country: yet even in such situations we sometimes see rivers divided by rocky islands; and, when the separation is once made, there is no difficulty in supposing the nature of the country to be such as to continue it. At Mullau, after it has passed through the range of Hindoo Coosh, the Indus receives from the north-west the Abbaseen, a small river which rises in that range about one hundred and twenty miles off, and which the neighbouring Afghauns seem falsely to have imagined to be the principal stream of the Indus. It then proceeds for fifty miles, through the lower hills of Hindoo Coosh, to Torbaila, where it issues into an open country,

* See an account of their journey in the eleventh volume of the Asiatic Researches.

† It is possible that the streams which are said to issue from the lake Mansaroor to the south of the river of Ladauk, may be the main stream of the Indus.

and immediately spreads itself over the plain, and encloses innumerable island.

Forty miles lower down, and near the fort of Attok, it receives the rapid river of Caubul, and soon after rushes through a narrow opening into the midst of the branches of the Solimauny range. Even when the water is lowest, the meeting of those rivers, and their course through the rocks before they are buried in the mountains, is full of waves and eddies, and produces a sound like that of the sea. But, when they are swelled by the melting of the snow, they create a tremendous whirlpool, the roaring of which can be heard at a great distance, and which often swallows up boats, or dashes them against the rocks. The Indus, which is so widely spread in the plain, is contracted at Attock to the breadth of about three hundred yards. It becomes still narrower where it enters the hills; and at Neelaub, a town fifteen miles below Attok, it is said to be no more than a stone's throw across, but exceedingly deep and rapid. From Neelaub, it winds among bare hills to Carrabaugh, where it passes through the salt range in a deep, clear, and tranquil stream. From this to the sea it meets with no interruption, and is no longer shut in by hills.

It now runs in a southerly course, and is poured out over the plain in many channels, which meet and separate again, but seldom are found all united in one stream.

Near Ouch, it receives the Punjnud, a river formed by the junction of those of the Punjaub, which, though a great body of water, is much inferior to the Indus above the junction. The river then runs south-west into Sind, where it is discharged through many mouths into the Gulph of Arabia. In the part of its course, south of mountains, it frequently eats away its banks, and gradually changes its course; and, at its annual rising, it inundates the country for many miles on each side of its bed *.

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* Since the account of the source of the Indus was written, I have received a highly interesting journal from Meer Izzut Oollah, a very intelligent native of Delly, who was

I shall say nothing in this place of the rivers which join the Indus from the east, which are fully described by Lieutenant Macartney.*

Of those which join it from the west, I have already mentioned the Abba Seen. The next river is that of Kaushkhaur, which rises in

* See Appendix. D.

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induced by Mr. Morecroft, superintendant of the Company's Stud, to undertake a journey into Tartary, for the purpose of ascertaining the possibility of getting horses for the Bengal Cavalry in that country. He went from Cashmeer to Ladauk, and from thence to Yarcund; and the following information, respecting the rivers which he passed, is found in different parts of his journal. At Mutauyen, (a place about forty coss from the city of Cashmeer, in a direction to the north of east), the waters run partly to Cashmeer, and partly to Tibet. The stream, which goes to Cashmeer, is called the Sind, (which name it retains throughout the valley). The other, is called the water of Tibet: it flows north-east as far as Pishkum, (a village on Izzut Oollah's route, about thirty coss north-east of Mutauyen); and, from that place, it takes a westerly direction, passes through Little Tibet, and flows under Mozufferabad, where it takes the name of that town. A coss below Mozufferabad, it is joined by the river of Cashmeer, (the Sind above mentioned), and flows through the Punjaub, where it is called the Jelum or Behut, (Hydaspes). This, therefore, is the Kishen Gunga, which Mr. Macartney supposes to have separated from the Indus, a notion by no means surprizing, considering how near the head of the former river is to the course of the latter. About twenty coss from Pishkum, in a direction to the east of north, is the village of Khillich, where Izzut Oollah first met the river of Ladauk, on which he makes the following observations. "Two coss before you come to Khillich, the road goes along the left "bank of a river, which flows into the river of Attok (the Indus). It comes from the "north-east, and flows towards the south-west; and, it is said, that this river joins the "river of Shauyook, (the source of which is between Tibet and Yarkund), and, passing "through the country of the Eusofzyes, and Bheer, and Turnoul, joins the river of "Caubul above the fort of Attok. This river has here no proper name; but is called "San Poo, which, in the language of Tibet, signifies great river." From Khillich, Izzut Oollah accompanied this river to Ley or Ladauk, which stands on its right bank. His route to Ley would make that city more to the south, and, consequently, nearer to the common position than Lieutenant Macartney has done; but, by an observation which he took with a very coarse instrument, "for want of an astrolabe," he makes the latitude 37° 40′ north, which is still farther north than Mr. Macartney's. From Ley, Izzut Oollah proceeded to Yarkund; and, about eighteen coss to the east of north from Ley, he met the river Shauyook, which he accompanied beyond the Glacier of Khumdaun to its source under the ridge of Carrakoorum, nearly due north of Ley, at the distance of fifteen marches by the road. Izzut Oollah does not describe the Glacier, as forming part of the range of mountains, but as a separate mountain of ice, seen on the left of the road, two marches before reaching Kurrakoorrum, and extending two hundred coss from Tibet of Balti to Surrik Kol. Though Izzut Oollah does not speak of the range of mountains at

Pooshtee Khun, the peak in Beeloot Taugh, which contains the source of the Oxus. The Kaushkaur river issues from the opposite side of the peak, and is divided from the Oxus by the chain of Beloot Taugh, which runs along its right bank as far as Hindoo Coosh; and on its left, is the country of Kauskhaur, from which it derives its name. After passing Hindoo Coosh, it has on its right the projection from that mountain, so often mentioned before. On its left, it has mountains parallel to that projection, of great height, but not bearing perpetual snow. It then passes through the hilly country beneath the great ranges, and rushes, with surprizing violence, into the valley of the Caubul river. I give that name, in conformity to former usage, to a river, formed by different streams, uniting to the East of Caubul. Two of the most considerable come from Hindoo Coosh, through Ghorebund and Punjsheer, and derive their names from those districts. They join to the north of Caubul; and pursue a south-easterly course, till they reach Baureekaub. A stream little inferior to those just mentioned, comes from the west of Ghuznee, and is joined to the east of Caubul by a rivulet, which rises in the Paropamisan mountains in the hill, called Cohee Baba. This rivulet alone passes through Caubul, and may be said to have given its name to the whole river.

Karrakoorrum as exceedingly high, he gives a frightful picture of the cold and desolation of the elevated tract, which extends for three marches on the highest part of the country between Yarkund and Ley. The source of the river of Yarkund is divided by the ridge from the Shauyook, and distant eighteen marches from Yarkund, in a direction to the east of south. It is obvious that this account of the Indus agrees entirely with Mr. Macartney's, except that it makes the Shauyook have its source in Mooz Taugh, and not in the lake of Surik Kol. There is another apparent disagreement, which it is not difficult to remove. Izzut Oollah passed through Draus, about six coss north-east of Mutauyen; but heard nothing of the junction of the river of Ladauk with the Indus, stated by Mr. Macartney to take place near the town of Draus. It is however evident from Izzut Oollah's account of the river of Ladauk, that, unless that stream alters its course after passing Khillich, it must flow at no great distance to the southward of the point where he crossed the district of Draus; and it is, therefore, more probable than ever that the junction stated by Lieutenant Macartney takes place in the south of that district.

All the streams I have mentioned unite at Baureekaub, and form the river of Caubul, which flows rapidly to the east, increased by all the brooks from the hills on each side. It receives the river of Kaushkaur at Kaumeh, near Jellallabad; and, thence runs east, breaks through the minor branches of Hindoo Coosh, and forms numerous rapids and whirlpools. *

After entering the plain of Peshawer, the Caubul river loses a good deal of its violence, but is still rapid. It breaks into different branches, which join again after they have received a river, formed by two streams, which come from the valleys of Punjcora and Swaut; and, having now collected all its waters, it enters the Indus a little above Attok.

The Caubul river is very inferior to the Indus, being fordable in many places in the dry weather. The Indus, indeed, was forded above the junction by Shauh Shuja and his army, in the end of the winter of 1809; but, this was talked of as a miracle, wrought in the King's favour; and, I never heard of any other ford in the Indus, from the place where it issues from the mountains to the sea.

Below Attok, the Indus receives the Toe and other brooks; but, nothing deserving of the name of a river, till it reaches the southern part of Esaukhail. It is there joined by the Koorum, which rises near Huryoob, beyond the ridge of the Solimauny mountains, and runs east through a very deep valley in that ridge, as far as Burrakhail, where it turns more to the south, and enters the Indus, near Kaggalwalla. Its bed is there broad, but very shallow.

The only river which runs into the Indus, south of this, is the Gomul; and, even it can scarcely be said to do so, since its waters are spent in the cultivation of the north of Damaun, and never reach the Indus, but when swelled with rain.

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* Dangerous as such a navigation must be, people often descend it from Jellallabad on rafts, which shoot down the stream with incredible velocity: but not without considerable danger from the rocks, and from the violence of the current.

The Gomul rises at Doorchelly to the south of Sirufza, and seems first to run south-west. It soon turns south, and continues in that course to Domundee. It there receives the stream of Mummye, and the Coondoor, which rises in the neighbourhood of Teerwa. From this place, the course of the Gomul is easterly to Sirmaugha, where it is joined by the Zhobe, a stream little inferior to the Gomul itself, which rises in the hill of Kund, east of Burshore, and runs through a country, to which it gives its name. A little to the east of Sirmaugha, the Gomul pierces the mountains of Solimaun, passes Rughzee, and fertilizes the lands of Doulut Khail, and Gundehpoor tribes.

All the former part of its course is through uninhabited mountains. The stream is everywhere fordable, except when swelled with rain, and even then the water soon runs off.

Different streams issue from the mountains at Zirkunee, Deraubund, Choudwa, and Wukwa. They all run through valleys; and, the two last, completely pierce the range of Solimaun; one rising in Spusta, and the other in the Moosakhail country, both west of the range. The two last reach the Indus, when swelled with rain.

The greatest of the rivers, which run through the west of Afghaunistaun, is the Helmund, or Etymander. It rises at Cohee Baba, twenty or thirty miles west of Caubul, on the eastern edge of the Paropamisan range. It runs through those mountains for upwards of two hundred miles, and then issues into the cultivated plains of the Dooraunees. This tract, however, is not at the place alluded to, of any great breadth; and the Helmund soon enters a desart, which extends to its termination in the lake of Seestaun. The immediate banks of the Helmund, and the country within half a mile or a mile of them, are everywhere fertile, and, in most places, well cultivated. The whole length of the course of the Helmund is about four hundred miles. Though fordable for most part of the year throughout the whole of its course, the Helmund is still a considerable stream: even in the dry season, it is breast deep at the fords nearest to the place where it leaves the mountains; and, at the time of the melting of the snows, it is a deep and rapid river. Besides the rivers which will be

hereafter enumerated, it receives a stream from Seeahbund, which reaches it fourteen miles above Girishk, after a course of eighty miles.

The Urghundaub rises at a place in the Hazaureh mountains, eighty miles north-east of Candahar, and considerably to the south of the source of the Helmund. Its course lies to the southward of that river, which it joins below Girishk, after passing within a few miles of Candahar, and watering the richest part of the Doorraunee country. It is a small stream in winter, but deep and rapid when swelled by the melting of the snow. It is never more than one hundred and fifty yards broad.

The Khashrood rises at Saukhir, ninety miles south-east and by south from Heraut; and, after a course of one hundred and fifty miles, joins the Helmund, near Khoonnesheen in the Gurmseer. It is a rapid river, and larger than the Urghundaub.

The Furrah-rood rises near that last mentioned, and is a much more considerable stream. It is uncertain whether it reaches the lake of Seestaun or is lost in the sands; but, in either case, its course is not less than two hundred miles long. The Turnuk rises near Mookkoor, and at first pursues a south-westerly course along the road to Candahar. It then turns west, passes to the south of Candahar, and joins the Urghundaub, about twenty-five miles west of that city. The Turnuk, generally speaking, runs through a plain country, and is not remarkable for rapidity. To the south of Candahar, it receives the Urghessaun, which rises near Caufirchauh, and waters a country which is known by its name. It is a rapid torrent, never remains deep for more than two or three days, and leaves its bed dry for a great part of the year. Still lower down, the Turnuk receives the Shorundaum, a petty rivulet, and the Doree, which rises in the neighbourhood of Rabaut. Notwithstanding these additions, it seems rather to decrease in size from the losses it suffers from the dryness of the country, and the demands of the cultivation; so that, after a course of two hundred miles, it is still a small stream when it joins the Urghundaub.

The Lora rises at Tubbye, in the mountain of Kund, and runs through Burshore into Pisheen. It there receives as much as escapes

from the cultivation, of the Soorkaub, a rivulet, which rises in the hill of Kund, near the source of the Zhobe. It afterwards runs through a narrow defile in the hills of Speen Taizeh into Shoraubuk, where it breaks into two branches. They unite again to the west of that country; and the whole is lost in the neighbourhood of Choghye in the Gurmseer. The length of Lora is near two hundred miles, and it is of a considerable breadth; but never too deep to be forded, for more than a week at a time. Its banks are so high in Pisheen, as to prevent its being employed for irrigation; but in Shoraubuk they are lower, and it supplies almost all the water used in agriculture.

The river, which was anciently called the Orchus, can scarcely be reckoned to belong to Afghaunistaun. It rises at Oba in the Paropamisan mountains, and runs past Heraut. It continues to run westerly for a short distance, through Afghaun and Persian Khorassaun; after which, it runs north, and enters the desart on the left of the Oxus. It is said formerly to have reached the Caspian Sea; but I believe, it is now lost in the desart. It is crossed between Merve and Meshhed; but I have no particular information regarding its lower course. It was anciently called Herirood; but is now known to the Persians and Afghauns by the name of Poollee Maulaun, and to the Uzbeks by that of Tejend.

Though there are many streams in Afghaunistaun as large in themselves as some of those I have mentioned, I need take no notice of them, unless their importance is raised by their contributing to a great river, or by some other circumstance of that kind. It therefore only remains to mention the streams, which form the only lake of which I have heard in Afghaunistaun. The Pultsee, the Jilga, and another rivulet, issue from the mountains of Solimaun, north of the range of Sirrufza, and flow west into the lake, which is situated to the south-south-west of Ghuznee, and about two marches south-west of Mybolauk.

It was on one of these streams that Sultaun Mahmood built his famous embankment, which supplied the city of Ghuznee, and its neighbourhood, with water; and which was destroyed by one of the

early Afghaun kings, before he had succeeded in overturning the empire of Ghuznee. Besides other little streams, the lake receives a rivulet from the south, which rises near Gwaushta; and, the whole united, make a piece of water, which in the dry weather is only three or four miles in diameter, and about twice as much after floods. The water of the lake is salt, as is that of some of the rivulets which join it. It is called Aubistandeh, which, in Persian, means standing water.

CHAP. IV.

NATURAL AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

THE plain of the Indus from the sea to Sungur, is included in Sind. Of this division, the part which extends from the sea to Shikarpore, is inhabited by Sindees, under a native prince, but tributary to Caubul. This is now generally called Sinde, by the English; but, may with more propriety, be termed Lower Sind. From Shikarpoor, inclusive to Sungur, may be called Upper Sind. The part of it which lies to the west of the Indus, is chiefly inhabited by Beloches; and, with the exception of a small tract north of Shikarpoor, is directly under the government of Caubul. Above Sungur, as far as the eastern branches of the Solimaun range, is Damaun. The hills south of the salt range, and the plains and valleys which they enclose, are also generally included in Damaun. The plain, immediately on the right bank of the Indus, and north of Sungur, is inhabited by Beloches; and is sometimes distinguished from Damaun, and called by the Beloche or Hindoostaunee name of Muckelwaud. Damaun is then only applied to the skirts of the hills, which indeed is the original meaning of the word. In this sense, the southern part of Damaun is inhabited by the Stooreeaunees, after whom, to the north, are the Bauboors, Meeaunkhails, Gundehpoors, Doulutkhails, and Murwuts; all Afghaun tribes. To the north of the latter, and along the utmost boundary of Damaun, in this extended sense, are the Afghaun tribes, who inhabit Khost, Dour, and Bunnoo, and that of Esaukhail. In the same extent of the range of Solimaun, live the Zmurrees, Sheeraunees, Wuzeerees, and Jadrauns.

The Jaujees and Torees inhabit a deep valley, which appears to be cut by the Koorrum in the Solimauny range: between the salt range and that of 34°, are hills and valleys, inhabited by the tribes of Bungush and Khuttuk. The latter, in some places, extends to the south of the salt range, and even crosses the Indus about Muckud. To the north of the range of 34°, is the rich and extensive plain of Peshawer, watered by the river of Caubul, and bounded on the east by the Indus. The Khuttuks extend over the south-eastern part of this plain. The northern part belongs to the Eusofzyes, who inhabit also the country among the hills, which I have mentioned, under the names of Boonere, Swaut, and Punjcora. Some of the Eusofzye tribes extend to the east of the Indus. The rest of the plain of Peshawer belongs to certain tribes, often comprehended in the name of the tribes of Peshawer.

The plain of Peshawer is bounded on the west by the subordinate range, which crosses from Hindoo Coosh to Suffaid Coh. The southern part of these hills, which is naked and barren, belongs to the upper Momunds. The northern part is covered with pines, and belongs to the Otmaunkhail. To the west of this range of hills, is the spacious valley of Bajour, which runs into that of Punjcora, and which is surmounted on the west by the southern projection from Hindoo Coosh. West of the plain of Peshawer is the valley of the Caubul river, the eastern part of which is little higher than Peshawer; but the western is elevated to the level of the countries west of the range of Solimaun. The countries on the left bank of the river have already been described, owing to their connection with Hindoo Coosh. On the right bank, there is first the country of the Khyberees; and, farther west, the rich plain of Jellallabad. West of Jellallabad, are Gundamuk, and Jugdilluk, which, with all the high country, extending from the plain of Caubul to the hills of the Khyberees; bounded on the south by Suffaid Coh, and on the north by the plain on the Caubul river, is called Nimgrahaur or * Nungnehaur. The Cohistaun of Caubul has

* From the nine streams which issue from it; Nung, in Pushtoo, signifying nine; and Nehaura, a stream.

been described: south of it, is the plain of Caubul, which is spoken of as enchanting by all who have seen it. It has the Paropamisan mountains on the west, part of the Cohistaun on the north, the valley of the Caubul river, and the hills of Ningrahaur and Logur, connected with the range of Solimaun on the east. To the south, it opens on a long valley ascending towards Ghuznee, the greater part of which is inhabited by the Afghaun tribe of Wurduk. On the west, this valley has the Paropamisan range; and on the east, it has different branches of the range of Solimaun, including vallies, of which the principal are Logur, Speiga, Khurwaun, and Zoormool. The three first slope towards the river of Ghuznee; but the water of Zoormool runs into the Aubistaundeh. All the streams west of the range of Mummye, north of Ghwaushteh, south of Ghuznee, and east of the parallel of Mookkoor, run into the same lake; so that the country within those limits, forms a bason free from hills, and moderately fertile, on the highest part of an elevated plain. This natural division includes many little districts, of which the principal, beginning from the south, are Ghwaushteh, Kuttawauz, Mybolauk, Shilgur, Ghuznee, and Naunce.

There is no marked limit between the bason of the Aubistaudeh, and the country west of the meridian of Mookkoor; the latter, however, has a western inclination.

It is included between the Paropamisan mountains and the range of Khojeh Amraun, and may be divided into the valley of the Urghessaun, that of the Turnuk, and the high country between those rivers. The former is not broad, nor remarkably fertile: it slopes to the north-west. It is inhabited by Doorraunees; and the mouth of it extends to the neighbourhood of Candahar. To the south-east of it, is a hilly and pastoral country, extending to Shoraubuk. The country between the Urghessaun and Turnuk, is composed of the ranges of Mookkoor and Torkaunee, and the plains which they enclose.

The general slope of the valley of Turnuk, from Mookkoor to Kelauti Ghiljie, is to the south-west. It also shelves towards the river from the Paropamisan mountains, and from the high land before men-

tioned, in the parallell of Kelloce Abdooreheem. But, except in the most northerly part of this natural division, these slopes are so moderate that the tract may with propriety be described as a wavy plain, scattered with hills. It is not infertile, and in many places it is well cultivated; but, in general, it is dry, and a large portion of it is left waste for that reason. It is destitute of trees. The uncultivated parts abound in bushes, which serve for fuel and for the food of camels, but which do not form continued tracts of brushwood, such as are common in India. The breadth of this valley is about sixty miles, and the length of the part I have described is very little more. It is inhabited by Ghiljies.

The Urghundaub issues from the mountains to the north of Kelauti Ghiljie. From that river to the Helmund, is a hilly country, connected on the north with the Paropamisan mountains, and reaching nearly to the parallel of Candahar on the south. The southern part of this tract is unfertile. The rest, in which are included the districts of Khaukraiz, Laum, and perhaps some others, contains some fertile plains, among hills, which bear almond and other trees.

The country round Candahar is fertile, and highly cultivated. Still farther south, it is poor, and becomes more so as it extends west; so that, for many marches towards the left bank of the Helmund, it is a complete desart. Both banks of the Helmund, however, are fertile, and compose the country of Gurmseer. Its limits on the east and west are formed by the desart; on the south it has Seestaun, and on the north the part of the Doorraunee country, lower down the Helmund than Girishk. This, and the country round Girishk, are fertile, near the Helmund. At a distance from the river it is sandy, but not a desart. Still further up the river, on its right bank, lies the rich country of Zemeendawir, which has the Paropamisan mountains on the north, and some hills connected with that range are found within its limits. This fine country extends for forty or fifty miles to the west of the Helmund. To the north-west of Zemeendawir, lies the country of Seeahbund, along the foot of the Paropamisan mountains. It is natu-

rally fertile, and well watered; but it is little cultivated, and chiefly used for pasture.

To the south-west of Seeahbund, and east of Furrah, the country becomes more and more arid as it recedes from the hills, till it ends in the desart.

Furrah is a considerable town, and the country round it is fertile, but it is of no great extent; so that Furrah itself, and some other tracts to the north and south of it, seem rich islands in the midst of a waste, approaching in appearance to a desart. Yet, this land does not appear to be naturally incapable of cultivation; and, it is probable, that wherever there is water it is productive.

About twenty miles to the north of Furrah, we meet the mountains, which stretch across from the Paropamisan range into Persian Khorassaun. Among these mountains, which are covered with forests, we find the extensive and fertile plain of Subzaur or Isfezaur.

Some more barren country intervenes before we reach Heraut, which is situated in an ample plain of unequalled fertility, and surrounded by high mountains.

The whole of the country I have been describing, from Kelauti Ghiljie to Heraut, except Seeahbund and Subzaur, is inhabited by the tribe of Dooraunee, which is the greatest among the Afghauns. Its general slope is to the south. Candahar, and the country to the west of it, are the lowest of all the tracts I have yet described west of the range of Solimaun; but, even they are much more elevated than the plains on the east of those mountains.

Returning to the neighbourhood of Ghuznee, we find Zoormool divided from Sirufza on the south, by a branch from Cohee Solimaun.

Sirufza, Oorghoon, and Wauna, have been described as descending in stages to the Gomul, which bounds them on the south, and as sloping from the mountains of Solimaun westward towards the upper course of the same river, which forms their western boundary. They are divided from each other by branches of the Solimaunee mountains, and are all little cleared plains among mountains, covered with forests of

pines. They are high, and cold countries; but all these qualities are found less in the southern parts than the northern. Sirufza belongs to the Kharotee tribe of Ghiljies, as does the southern part of the plain of Oorghoon, under the name of Seroba. Ooorghoon itself belongs to the Fermoollees, a Persian tribe. Wauneh belongs to an Afghaun tribe called Dumtaunny. To the west of Wauneh, beyond a range of hills, is the mountainous country of Mummye, the slope of which is east towards the Gomul. Mummye is divided on the west by the same branch which passes to the west of Sirufza, from the bason of the Aubistaudeh.

In the mountains to the south of Mummye, are the valleys of Oozdeh, Coondoor, &c. and the plains of Docheena, Turrukghuz, &c. all sloping east to the Gomul.

To the west of these is a high table land, sloping west, supported on the north-west by the range of Khojeh Amraun, and containing Cauferchauh, Sauleh Yesoon, Seeoona Daug *, and Toba. The valley of Burshore descends from this table land into Pisheen, which also lies south of Toba. Burshore is a fertile valley, watered by the Lora. Pisheen is low, but higher than Candahar. It is a plain not remarkably fertile. To the south of Pisheen is Shawl, divided from it by the range of Tukkatoo. It is higher than Pisheen, but lower than Moostoong, a plain to the west of it, under the table land of Kelaut. Shawl and Moostoong both belong to the Beloche Prince of Kelaut, though the former is chiefly inhabited by Afghauns. Both are fertile, but from Shawl the land rises gradually to Khurlukkee, and gets more dry and barren as it approaches that range; a proof that the range is not high, though it rises so much above Sweestaun on the south.

The barren country between Khurlukkee and Shawl, is called the Dushti Bedowleh, or *The Unhappy Plain.*

To the east of it and Shawl, are the mountains which I suppose to form a continued range from Khurlukkee, by Tsupper and Chirry, to

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* Daug is the Pushtoo for a plain, Seeoona is the name of a tribe of Caukers who inhabit this space.

Kund. East of those mountains, I have described different ranges of hills, as running east towards the range of Solimaun. The most southerly of these bounds Afghaunistaun on the south. Between that range and the next, lie the valley of Zawura and the plain of Tul and Chooteeallee. The latter places are in one plain of considerable extent, of hard clay like that of the Indus. Zawura is much narrower than Tul-Chooteeallee, but both are fertile, and inhabited by Speen Tereens, a division of the Afghaun tribe that possesses Pisheen.

To the north of these, and divided from them by hills, is Boree, a more extensive plain than either of the former, and rich and well watered. Other hills, some of which appear to be a continuation of Tukkatoo, bound Boree on the north, and separate it from other districts less level and less fertile.

North of this tract, is Zhobe, so called from the river which waters it. It is a diversified country, but the whole is ill cultivated: some parts are hilly: in others are open plains; and on the river are plains covered with Tamarisk trees and bushes. To the north-west of Zhobe is Khyssore, which seems to be a valley under the hills which support the table land of Seeoona Daug: on the north-east Zhobe opens on the valley of the Gomul, and on the east it has the hilly countries under the range of Solimaun, the most northerly of which belong to the Hurrepaul division of the Sheeraunees, to the south of whom are a division of the Bauboors, and then Caukers, in some places mixed with Beloches. I conceive Boree and Tull-Chooteeallee to be about as high as Candahar: from Boree the country rises to the northward, as far as the borders of Zhobe; and then descends towards the Gomul. The narrow valley of the Gomul, though sunk among the surrounding hills, is much more elevated than the plain of the Indus, and probably even than Candahar; the parts near the mountains, to the east and west, are higher than those in the centre, but the greatest elevation is towards the west.

CHAP. V.

OF THE CLIMATE OF AFGHAUNISTAUN. RAIN.

AS the occasional showers which fall throughout the year in England, are unknown in most Asiatic countries, the first particular to attend to in examining their climate, is the season and the quantity of the periodical rains. It is this which regulates husbandry, and on which in many countries the temperature and succession of the seasons in a great measure depend.

The most remarkable rainy season, is that called in India the south-west monsoon. It extends from Africa to the Mala peninsula, and deluges all the intermediate countries within certain lines of latitude, for four months in the year. In the south of India this monsoon commences about the beginning of June, but it gets later as we advance towards the north. Its approach is announced by vast masses of clouds that rise from the Indian ocean, and advance towards the north-east, gathering and thickening as they approach the land. After some threatening days, the sky assumes a troubled appearance in the evenings, and the monsoon in general sets in during the night. It is attended with such a thunder-storm as can scarcely be imagined by those who have only seen that phenomenon in a temperate climate. It generally begins with violent blasts of wind, which are succeeded by floods of rain. For some hours lightning is seen almost without intermission, sometimes it only illuminates the sky, and shows the clouds, near the horizon; at others it discovers the distant hills, and again leaves all in darkness, when in an instant it re-appears in vivid and successive flashes, and exhibits the nearest objects in all the bright-

ness of day. During all this time the distant thunder never ceases to roll, and is only silenced by some nearer peal, which bursts on the ear with such a sudden and tremendous crash as can scarcely fail to strike the most insensible heart with awe *. At length the thunder ceases, and nothing is heard but the continued pouring of the rain, and the rushing of the rising streams. The next day presents a gloomy spectacle: the rain still descends in torrents, and scarcely allows a view of the blackened fields: the rivers are swoln and discoloured, and sweep down along with them the hedges, the huts, and the remains of the cultivation which was carried on, during the dry season, in their beds.

This lasts for some days, after which the sky clears, and discovers the face of nature changed as if by enchantment. Before the storm the fields were parched up, and except in the beds of the rivers, scarce a blade of vegetation was to be seen: the clearness of the sky was not interrupted by a single cloud, but the atmosphere was loaded with dust, which was sufficient to render distant objects dim, as in a mist, and to make the sun appear dull and discoloured, till he attained a considerable elevation: a parching wind blew like a blast from a furnace, and heated wood, iron, and every other solid material, even in the shade; and immediately before the monsoon, this wind had been succeeded by still more sultry calms. But when the first violence of the storm is over, the whole earth is covered with a sudden but luxuriant verdure: the rivers are full and tranquil: the air is pure and delicious; and the sky is varied and embellished with clouds. The effect of the change is visible on all the animal creation, and can only be imagined in Europe by supposing the depth of a dreary win-

* To persons who have long resided in India, these storms lose much of their grandeur, yet they sometimes rise to such a pitch, as to make an impression on those most habituated to them. I have been told by a gentleman who had been for some time in Malabar, the province most distinguished for the violence of the monsoon, that he there heard a clap of thunder which produced a silence of a minute in a large party of officers, and made a great part of the company turn pale.

ter to start at once into all the freshness and brilliancy of Spring. From this time the rain falls at intervals for about a month, when it comes on again with great violence, and in July the rains are at their height: during the third month, they rather diminish, but are still heavy: and in September they gradually abate, and are often entirely suspended, till near the end of the month; when they depart amidst thunders and tempests as they came.

Such is the monsoon in the greater part of India. It is not, however, without some diversity, the principal feature of which is the delay in its commencement, and the diminution in the quantity of rain, as it recedes from the sea. In the countries which are the subject of the present inquiry, the monsoon is felt with much less violence than in India, and is exhausted at no great distance from the sea, so that no trace of it can be perceived at Candahar. A remarkable exception to this rule, is, however, to be observed in the north-east of Afghaunistaun, which although much further from the sea than Candahar, is subject to the monsoon, and what is equally extraordinary, receives it from the east.

These anomalies may perhaps be accounted for by the following considerations. It is to be observed, that the clouds are formed by the vapours of the Indian ocean, and are driven over the land by a wind from the south-west *. Most part of the tract in which the kingdom of Caubul lies, is to leeward of Africa and Arabia, and receives only the vapours of the narrow sea between its southern shores and the latter country, which are but of small extent, and are exhausted in the immediate neighbourhood of the coast. India lying further east, and beyond the shelter of Africa, the monsoon spreads over it without any obstruction. It is naturally most severe near the sea from which it draws its supplies, and is exhausted after it has past

* The causes of the south-west wind require a separate discussion, unconnected with my object, which is to explain the summer rains of the Kingdom of Caubul. It is sufficient for my purpose that the prevalence of this wind to the extent alleged, is universally acknowledged.

over a great extent of land. For this reason, the rains are more or less plentiful in each country, according to its distance from the sea, except in those near high mountains, which arrest the clouds, and procure a larger supply of rain for the neighbouring tracts, than would have fallen to their share, if the passage of the clouds had been unobstructed.

The obstacle presented to the clouds and winds by the mountains has another effect of no small importance. The south-west monsoon blows over the ocean in its natural direction; and, though it may experience some diversities after it reaches the land, its general course over India may still be said to be towards the north-east, till it is exhausted on the western and central parts of the peninsula. The provinces in the north-east receive the monsoon in a different manner: the wind which brings the rains to that part of the continent, originally blows from the south-west, over the Bay of Bengal, till the mountains of Hemalleh, and those which join them from the south, stop its progress, and compel it to follow their course towards the north-west. The prevailing wind, therefore, in the region south-west of Hemalleh, is from the south-east, and it is from that quarter that our provinces in Bengal receive their rains. But when the wind has reached so far to the north-west as to meet with Hindoo Coosh, it is again opposed by that mountain, and turned off along its face towards the west, till it meets the projection of Hindoo Coosh and the range of Solimaun, which prevent its further progress in that direction, or at least compel it to part with the clouds with which it was loaded. The effect of the mountains in stopping the clouds borne by this wind, is different in different places. Near the sea, where the clouds are still in a deep mass, part is discharged on the hills and the country beneath them, and part passes up to the north-west; but part makes its way over the first hills, and produces the rains in Tibet. In the latitude of Cashmeer, where the hills are considerably exhausted, this last division is little perceived: the southern face of the hills and the country still farther south is watered; and a part of

the clouds continue their progress to Afghaunistaun; but few make their way over the mountains, or reach the valley of Cashmeer. The clouds which pass on to Afghaunistaun are exhausted as they go: the rains become weaker and weaker, and at last are merely sufficient to water the mountains, without much affecting the plains at their base.

The above observations will explain, or at least connect the following facts. The south-west monsoon commences on the Malabar coast in May, and is there very violent; it is later and more moderate in Mysore; and the Coromandel coast, covered by the mountainous countries on its west, is entirely exempt from it. Further north, the monsoon begins early in June, and loses a good deal of its violence, except in the places influenced by the neighbourhood of the mountains or the sea, where the fall of water is very considerable. About Delly, it does not begin till the end of June, and the fall of rain is greatly inferior to what is felt at Calcutta or Bombay. In the north of the Punjaub, near the hills, it exceeds that of Delly; but, in the south of the Punjaub, distant both from the sea and the hills, very little rain falls. The countries under the hills of Cashmeer, and those under Hindoo Coosh, (Pukhlee, Boonere, and Swaut) have all their share of the rains; but they diminish as we go west, and at Swaut are reduced to a month of clouds, with occasional showers. In the same month (the end of July and beginning of August) the monsoon appears in some clouds and showers at Peshawer, and in the Bungush and Khuttuk countries. It is still less felt in the valley of the Caubul river, where it does not extend beyond Lughmaun; but in Bajour and Punjcora, under the southern projection, in the part of the Caufir country, which is situated on the top of the same projection, and in Teera, situated in the angle formed by Tukhti Solimaun and its eastern branches, the south-west monsoon is heavy, and forms the principal rains of the year. There is rain in this season in the country of the Jaujees and Torees, which probably is brought from the north by the eddy in the winds; but I have not in-

formation enough to enable me to conjecture whether that which falls in Bunnoo and the neighbouring countries is to be ascribed to this cause, or to the regular monsoon from the south-west.

The regular monsoon is felt as far west as the utmost boundary of Mekraun; it is not easy to fix its limits on the north-west with precision, but I have no accounts of it beyond a line drawn through the northern part of the table land of Kelaut and the northern parts of Shoraubuk, of Pisheen, and of Zhobe, to the source of the Koorrum; it falls, however, in very different quantities in the various countries south-east of that line. The clouds pass with little obstruction over Lower Sind, but rain more plentifully in Upper Sind and Domaun, where these rains, though not heavy, are the principal ones in the year. On the sea-coast of Luss and Mekraun, on the other hand, they are arrested by the mountains, and the monsoon resembles that of India. In Seweestaun the monsoon is probably the same as in Upper Sind and Domaun: in Boree it is only about a month of cloudy and showery weather: it is probably less in Zhobe: and in the other countries within the line it only appears in showers, more precarious as we advance towards the north. *

The second rain to be noticed, is that which falls in Winter, and which assumes the form of rain or snow, according to the temperature of the place; it extends over all the countries west of the Indus, as far as the Hellespont, and is of much greater importance to husbandry than the south-west monsoon, except in the few districts already specified; it is indeed the most considerable rainy season in all the countries I have to mention, excepting those included in India; it even appears in India, but only lasts for two or three days about Christmas, and though of some importance to the cultivation, cannot always be relied on.

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* I hope all the above information will be found correct; but I am not sanguine about the theory, which I should have suppressed, if I had not thought it useful in connecting the facts.

Where it falls in the form of snow, it is the most important to agriculture, but where it falls as rain, it is less so than that of the Spring; the inferiority of the quantity of the latter being more than compensated by the opportuneness of its fall.

The Spring rain generally falls at different times during a period extending in some places to a fortnight and in others to a month; it extends over Afghaunistaun, Toorkistaun, and all the other countries which I have to mention. In most parts of India, some showers fall at the same season, and delay the approach of the hot winds, but have little effect on the cultivation. In all the other countries, it is of the utmost consequence to husbandry, as it falls at the time when the most important crop is beginning to appear above the ground. Both this and the winter rain are said to come from the west.

The climate of Afghaunistaun varies extremely in different parts of the country. This is in some measure to be attributed to the difference of latitude, but still more to the different degrees of elevation of different tracts. The direction of the prevailing winds also materially affects the climate; some blow over snowy mountains; others are heated in summer, and rendered cold in winter, by their passage over desarts, and other arid tracts of great extent; some places are refreshed in summer by breezes from moister countries, and some are so surrounded by hills as to be inaccessible to any wind at all.

I shall begin with describing the temperature of the plain of Peshawer, which, from the length of our residence there, is better known to me than that of any part of the Afghaun dominions. When it is described, I shall have a standard with which the temperature of the rest of the country may be compared.

Peshawer is situated on a low plain, surrounded on all sides except the east, with hills. The air is consequently much confined, and the heat greatly increased. In the summer of 1809, which was reckoned a mild one, the thermometer was for several days at 112° and 113°, in a large tent artificially cooled, which is as high as in the hottest parts of India. The duration of this heat is not, however, so great as that

of an Indian Summer, and it is compensated by a much colder Winter. The following is an account of the progress of the seasons at Peshawer.

The mission arrived in the plain of Peshawer on February 23d, 1809. The weather was then cold at night, but perfectly agreeable in the day, and not hot, even in the sun, at any part of the twenty-four hours. The ground was frequently covered with hoar-frost in the morning, as late as the 8th of March, but by the middle of that month the sun was disagreeable by eight in the morning. The weather after this became gradually hotter, and the heat of the sun grew more intense, but the air was often refreshed by showers, and it was always cool in the shade, till the first week in May, when even the wind began to be heated. At the time of our arrival, the new grass was springing up through the withered grass of the last year; some of the early trees were budding, but all the other deciduous plants were bare. The approach of the Spring was however very rapid. In the first week in March, peach and plum trees began to blossom; apple, quince, and mulberry trees were in bloom in the course of the second week; before the end of March the trees were in full foliage, early in April barley began to be in ear, and it began to be cut down during the first week in May. From that time the heat increased, and was often very severe, even in the night, till the beginning of June, when a whole night of strong hot wind from the north-west was succeeded by such a coolness in the air as was uncomfortable in the morning, but pleasant during the rest of the day. This coolness was not of any great duration, and the heat was at its utmost height by the 23d of June, when we crossed the Indus. Violent hot winds from the south blew all night, till the last day we were in the plain of Peshawer, when the wind came round to the north-east, and was delightfully cool. From that time we understood that the heat would again increase till the middle of July, when a cold wind would set in from the east, and be succeeded by cool and cloudy weather. The last half of September we understood was always so cold, as to be

counted in winter, and the succeeding months were said to become colder and colder till February. The cold even in Winter is not very severe, though frost is frequent in the nights and mornings, it never lasts long after the sun is up, and snow has only been once seen by the oldest inhabitants. Some of the Indian plants remain in leaf all the year. From the remoteness of my station, I have not now access to the diaries of those gentlemen of the mission who kept an account of the thermometer, but I imagine that its greatest height in the shade is about 120°, and its greatest depression in the course of the year about 25°. It is to be observed that the Summer of 1809, was reckoned very cool, but there can, I think, be no doubt that in every year the Summer of Peshawer is more moderate than that of Hindostaun, while the Winter is much colder. The favourable opinion which I have formed of the climate of Peshawer, from a comparison with that of India, by no means occurs to a person accustomed to the coolness of the western part of the Afghaun dominions. The natives of Caubul and Candahar, who were at Peshawer with the King, concurred in exclaiming against the intolerable heat; and verses, epigrams, and proverbs, without number, were quoted to shew the bad opinion which was generally entertained of that climate.

The temperature of the other countries, in the north of Afghaunistaun, is as various as might be expected from the difference of their elevation and circumstances. The low parts are hot, the middle temperate, and the high cold; but, generally speaking, the average heat of the year does not reach that of India, nor the cold that of England.

The extremes will be shown by examining the climate of Lughmaun west of Peshawer. There is not, indeed, in the whole kingdom of Caubul, so remarkable for the variety of its climate, a more surprising instance of great difference of temperature in little space, than is exhibited in the tract I have selected. In the height of Summer, while the plain of Jellallabad is intolerably sultry, and while the very wind is so hot as often to occasion the death of persons exposed to it,

the mountain of Suffaid Coh lifts its head, crowned with perpetual snow, immediately from the plain. The nearest northern hills are cold, and the more remote covered with snow; and the table land of Caubul, to the west of Lughmaun, enjoys the coolness and verdure of a temperate summer. This contrast is a constant theme of wonder to travellers from more uniform climates. The Emperor Bauber, gives the following account (in his commentaries) of the impression made on him by this sudden change, on his first journey to the east of Caubul. "I had never," says he, "before seen the hot climates, or the "Indian country. When I reached the pass, I saw another world. "The grass, the trees, the birds, the animals, and the tribes of men: "All was new! I was astonished."

Returning to the south of the Berdooraunee country, Bunnoo appears to be as hot as Peshawer, and the Esaukhail perhaps hotter. Khost and Dour, as they are higher than Bunnoo, are probably cooler.

The Murwut country is made up of hills and plains, and consequently has not a uniform climate. The plains, at least, are very hot, and parched up, by the heat of summer. Largee was far from cool, even in January.

The winter of Damaun is very agreeable, being colder than any part of Hindostaun. Frost is common in the morning; and, the thermometer, in 1809, was generally some degrees below the freezing point at day-break. The summer is intolerably hot. I have heard inhabitants of Damaun say, that they have never experienced in India any weather so oppressive as that of Damaun. The heat of the nights is scarcely inferior to that of the days. The inhabitants are obliged to wet their clothes before they can go to sleep; and, every man places a large vessel of water by his bed to relieve the thirst, with which he is sure to be tormented during the night. The climate of the countries in the range of Solimaun, varies of course with their level. In general they are cold, and most so towards the north. The valleys between the parallel ranges are little cooller than Damaun. The heat of Sind is at least equal to that of Damaun; and, probably, increases as we go towards the south, till it is moderated by breezes from the sea. See-

weestaun is a very hot country; and Sewee is proverbially the hottest place in the kingdom of Caubul. *

Tul, Chooteeallee, and Zawurehare, are by no means so hot as Sewee; and the climate of Boree is temperate throughout the year; the winter seems to be as cold as that of Peshawer, and the summer less hot. I can only speak of Zhobe by conjecture, but I should think it was cooller than Boree. If we ascend from Seweestaun into Khorassan, at a point to the westward of the countries I have just described, we find the Dushti Bedowleh, the cold of which is described as being very severe in winter; in Shawl, it is more moderate; and in Pisheen still more so than in Shawl; yet, even in Pisheen, standing water freezes, and snow sometimes lies for a fortnight. Burshore is still colder than Pisheen; but Shoraubuk, lying lower than Pisheen, and bordering on the desart, has a hot climate; snow never falls; the edges and surface of standing water freeze in winter; but, in summer, the sand is heated to such a degree as to render it impossible to walk on it bare footed. North of Pisheen are the hills of Toba, in which was situated the summer retreat of Ahmed Shauh. Of them, and of the other mountains about Pisheen, and those in the west of the Cauker country, which adjoin to them, I can only make the same obvious remark which I have applied to other mountains, that the climate of places in them varies with the elevation. Going north from Pisheen, the heat increases till we reach Candahar. The Dooraunee country is generally temperate towards the north, and hot towards the south, but, probably, in no part so hot as Peshawer; where it includes part of the Paropamisan range, as to north of Candahar, the cold in winter and heat in summer are both severe. Zemindawer, which lies immediately to the south of those mountains, is described as a temperate and agreeable climate. In the most northerly part of the Dooraunee country, near

* I have heard a saying about Sewee, which, however, is applied by the Persians to many other remarkably hot places. "Ai Khooda Choon Seewee daushtee chera Dosukh Saukhtee." O God, when you had Seewee, why need you have made Hell?

Heraut, the cold of winter is very severe; but the summer would be hot, were not the air refreshed by a permanent wind from the north-west. In the high lying district of Subzaur or Isfezaur, south of Heraut, snow is said to lie for five months; and all the water is frozen, except that of the river which is then swollen and rapid. Yet the heat of summer is described as oppressive, and even the wind is sometimes heated.

The Gurmseer on the lower Helmund, receives its name from the heat of its climate. Candahar has a hot climate. No snow falls in winter; and, the little ice that is formed on the edges of the streams, melts before noon. The heat of the summer is great: hot winds are not unusual; and, even the fatal simoom has been known. Yet the heat is said not to be disagreeable to the feelings, and the climate is famous for its salubrity.

In proceeding east from Candahar, the cold of the winter increases at every stage, and the heat of the summer diminishes in the same proportion. Even at Kelauti Ghiljie, snow falls often, and lies long, and the Turnuk is often frozen so as to bear a man. The summer also is cool, and hot winds are unknown. It is to be remembered that Kelaut is in the lowest part of the valley of the Turnuk. In the high tract to the south of that valley, the cold appears to be as great as in any part of Afghaunistaun; at Kelaee Abdooreheem, the snow lies for three or four months, and all that time the streams are frozen so as to bear a man on horseback. Ascending the valley of the Turnuk, we at last reach the level of Ghuznee, which is generally mentioned as the coldest part of the plain country in the Caubul dominions. The cold of Ghuznee is spoken of as excessive, even by the inhabitants of the cold countries in its neighbourhood. For the greater part of the winter, the inhabitants seldom quit their houses; and, even in the city of Ghuznee, the snow has been known to lie deep for some time after the vernal equinox. Traditions prevail of the city having been twice destroyed by falls of snow, in which all the inhabitants were buried. The climate of the flat country to the south of Ghuznee, seems little more mild than that of the city itself. In Kuttawauz, the

snow is very deep for upwards of three months; and is frozen over so, that men can travel on it without sinking. The streams are frozen; and, for part of the winter, will bear even loaded camels. The summer is scarce so hot as that of England, and only one harvest is reaped in the year. In the country of the Kharoties, the cold is still more severe. It is considerable in the other districts among the branches of Solimaun, but diminishes as we get towards the south. To the north of Ghuznee, the cold diminishes as we recede from that city till we reach the Cohdaumun and Cohistaun, north of Caubul, where the cold increases, and continues to increase as the country rises towards the ridge of Hindoo Coosh. Caubul itself, being lower than Ghuznee, and more enclosed by hills, appears not to suffer so much from cold. The cold of the winter, if not greater, is more steady than that of England; but the summer is hotter than ours, so much so that the people are unwilling to expose themselves to the sun in that season. The great difference between the seasons, and the quickness with which they change, has a striking effect on the customs of the inhabitants. In winter, the people are all clad in woollen garments, and, in some places, in clothes of felt; over which they universally wear a large great-coat of well tanned sheep skin, with the long shaggy wool inside. They have fires in their houses; and often sleep round stoves, with their legs and part of their bodies covered by large pieces of tanned sheep skin, which are thrown over the stove, so as to confine the heat. They seldom leave their houses, unless when urgent business requires, or when the young men go to hunt wolves in the snow. But, when the vernal equinox is past, the snow suddenly disappears, the country is covered with young grass, the buds burst forth, and are soon followed by a profusion of flowers. The inhabitants leave their towns, and spread over the country on parties of business or pleasure. They change their winter raiment for a thin dress of chintz or cotton; and, often sleep at night under trees, or in the open air. The nourooz or vernal equinox, has always been a time of great rejoicing in these countries; but, the Persians, having engrafted some fable about Ali, the patron of their religious sect, upon this

ancient festival, it has fallen into disrepute with the Mussulmauns of the opposite belief; and the observance of it is only preserved by its conformity to nature, and by the arrival of the joyous season, which it was intended to celebrate. *

I can say little of the winds of Afghaunistaun. A strong northerly or north-westerly wind blows through the whole of Toorkistaun and Khorassan, for a period of one hundred and twenty days. It begins about the middle of summer; and its commencement and duration are counted on by the natives with the greatest confidence.

The prevailing winds throughout the Afghaun country are from the west. It is a general remark among the natives, that westerly winds are cold, and easterly winds hot. It is also said, that easterly winds bring clouds, and westerly winds shed the contents of them. A pestilential wind, called Simoom, is known in some of the hot parts of the country. It sometimes blows on the plain of Peshawer, in Bajour, and in the valley of the Caubul river. It is known in the south of the Doorraunee country, and even in Shawl; but, in general, it is unknown in the cold climates. It is said never to blow, except in bare countries, and never to last above a few minutes at a time. Its approach is discovered by a particular smell, which gives sufficient

* I cannot refrain from adding an account of the climate of Caubul, from the commentaries of the Emperor Bauber, a work not more remarkable from the character of its author, and the simplicity and spirit of its style, than for the accuracy with which it describes the countries which were the scenes of the Emperor's conquests.

"The cold and hot countries are very near to each other at this place. One day's journey "from Caubul, you may find a place where snow never falls; and, in two hours journey, "a place where the snow scarcely ever melts. The air is delightful. I do not believe "there is another place like Caubul in the world. One cannot sleep there in summer "without a posteen. (*a*) In winter, though there is so much snow, the cold is not excessive. "Samarcand and Tauris are famous for their climate; but they are not to be compared to "Caubul. The fruits of cold climates; grapes, pomegranates, apricots, apples, quinces, "peaches, pears, plums, almonds, and walnuts, are abundant. (*b*) I planted a cherry tree "myself at Caubul: it grew very well, and was thriving when I left it. Oranges and "citrons come in plenty from Lughmaun. I caused sugar cane to be planted at Caubul, &c."

(*a*) A sheep-skin cloak. The Emperor seems to have a little exaggerated the coolness of the nights at Caubul. (*b*) Cherries are now common at Caubul.

warning to a person acquainted with it, to allow of his running into shelter till the simoom has passed over. When a man is caught in it, it generally occasions instant death. The sufferer falls senseless, and blood bursts from his mouth, nose, and ears. His life is sometimes saved, by administering a strong acid, or by immersing him in water. The people in places where the simoom is frequent, eat garlic, and rub their lips and noses with it, when they go out in the heat of summer, to prevent their suffering by the simoom. This wind is said to blast trees in its passage; and, the hydrophobia, which affects the wolves, jackalls, and dogs, in some parts of the country, is attributed to it.

To sum up the character of the climate of the whole country, Afghaunistaun must be pronounced dry, and little subject to rain, clouds, or fogs. Its annual heat on an average of different places, is greater than that of England, and less than that of India. The difference of temperature between summer and winter, and even between day and night, is greater than in either of those countries. Judging from the size, strength, and activity of the inhabitants, we should pronounce the climate favourable to the human constitution; and many parts of the country are certainly remarkable for their salubrity. But, on an inspection of facts, it appears doubtful whether the diseases of Afghaunistaun are not more fatal than those of India. Yet, those diseases are not numerous, and few of them are of those descriptions which make most havock in other countries. Fevers and agues are common in autumn, and are also felt in spring. Colds are very troublesome, and sometimes dangerous in winter. The small-pox carries off many persons, though innoculation has long been practised by the Moollahs and Syuds in the most remote parts of the kingdom. Opthalmia is common. These are the principal disorders of Afghaunistaun.

CHAP. VI.

ANIMALS, VEGETABLES, AND MINERALS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

I CAN by no means pretend to give a full account of the animals of the countries I am describing. I shall only mention a few that I have heard of, without taking it upon me to say that I have not omitted more than I have stated.

The lion, though so common in Persia, and lately found in such numbers in Guzerat and in the Hurriana, north-west of Delly, is very rare in Afghaunistaun. The only place where I have heard of lions, is in the hilly country about Caubul, and there they are small and weak, compared to the African lion. I even doubt whether they are lions.

Tigers are found in most of the countries east of the range of Solimaun, and it is there that leopards are most common. They are, however, to be met with in most of the woody parts of Afghaunistaun.

Wolves, hyænas, jackalls, foxes, and hares, are common every where. The wolves are particularly formidable during the winter in cold countries, when they form into troops, frequently destroy cattle, and sometimes even attack men. Hyænas never hunt in bodies, but they will sometimes attack a bullock singly; and both they and the wolves always make great havoc among the sheep. Hares are kept for the market at Caubul, and two sell for a rupee.

Bears are very common in all the woody mountains, but they seldom quit their haunts, except where sugar-cane is planted, which tempts them into the cultivation. They are of two kinds, one of

which is the black bear of India, the other is of a dirty white, or rather of a yellow colour.

Wild boars abound in Persia and India, but are rare in Caubul; and the wild ass appears to be confined to the Dooraunee country, the Gumseer, and the sandy country south of Candahar. Many kinds of deer, in which the elk is included, are found in all the mountains; but antelopes are rare, and confined to the plains. The wild sheep and wild goat are common in the eastern hills. The most remarkable of the deer species is one which I think is called *Pauzen* in Persian. It is remarkable for the size of its horns, and for the strong but not disagreable smell of its body. The vulgar believe that it lives on snakes; and a hard green substance, about the size of a Windsor bean, is found in some part of it, which is reckoned an infallible cure for the bite of a serpent.

The only wild animals that I have heard of, besides those already mentioned, are, porcupines, hedgehogs, and monkies, (which last are only found in the north-east part of Afghaunistaun). Mungooses, ferrets, and wild dogs. Moles are only found in Cashmeer. The King has a few elephants, but they are all brought from India; neither that animal nor the rhinoceros, being found in any part of his own dominions.

The horse claims the first notice of all domestic animals. A considerable number are bred in the Afghaun dominions, and those of Heraut are very fine. I have seen one or two that had the figure of the Arab with superior size. A good breed of the Indian kind called *Tauzee*, is also found in Bunnoo and Damaun; and excellent horses of the same sort are bred between the Hydaspes and Indus; but in general, the horses of the Afghaun dominions are not remarkably good, excepting in the province of Bulkh, where they are excellent and very numerous. A very strong and useful breed of ponies, called *Yauboos*, is however reared, especially about Baumiaun. They are used to carry baggage, and can bear a great load, but do not stand a long continuance of hard work so well as mules.

Mules are little used in India, and are most wretched where they do exist. In the west of the Punjaub however, are some better mules: those west of the Indus are better still, and they continue to improve as we get westward, though they never equal those of England. The same observations apply to the asses, and these animals are of much importance, the mules being much used in carrying the baggage of armies, and the asses being the principal means of carrying manure and other articles from one part of a farm to another, as well as of transporting the produce to market.

Camels are, however, on the whole, the animal most employed for carriage. The dromedary is found in all the plain country, but most in sandy and dry parts; this is the tall, long legged animal common in India. The Bactrian camel (which I understand is called *Uzhree* in Toorkee) is much more rare, and I believe is brought from the Kuzzauk country beyond the Jaxartes. He is lower by a third at least than the other, is very stout, and covered with shaggy black hair, and has two distinct humps, instead of the one bunch of the dromedary. The Boghdee camel, in the south-west of Khorassaun, is shaped like the last mentioned, but is as tall as the dromedary. Even this last varies, the dromedaries of Khorassaun being lower and stouter than those of India.

Buffaloes, which affect hot and moist countries, are naturally rare; they are however to be found in many parts of Afghaunistaun.

The ox is used to plough all over the Caubul dominions, unless, perhaps, in Bulkh, where horses are so common. The species resembles the ox of India, in having a hump; but it is inferior in most respects. Oxen are imported from the Rajpoot country, where there are the best in India, except perhaps Guzerat. No herds of oxen are kept except round the lake of Seestaun, and according to some accounts, in part of the Cauker country.

The great stock of the pastoral tribes is sheep, and those of the kind called in Persian *Doomba*, and remarkable for tails a foot broad, and almost entirely composed of fat. This kind in other respects re-

sembles the English sheep, and is both handsomer and better than that of India. The Indian species, which has not the fat tail, is the only sort in Sind and Seweestaun.

Goats are common in all the mountainous parts of the country, and are by no means scarce in the plains. Some breeds have remarkably long and curiously twisted horns.

The dogs of Afghaunistaun deserve to be mentioned. The grey-hounds are excellent; they are bred in great numbers, particularly among the pastoral tribes, who are much attached to hunting. What is more remarkable, pointers resembling our own in shape and quality, are by no means uncommon, though I cannot ascertain from whence the breed was procured. They are called Khundee. I had two, one of which was a very fine one; and another gentleman had one that would have been much admired in any country.

The cats must also be noticed, at least the long-haired species called Boorauk, as they are exported in great numbers, and every where called Persian cats, though they are not numerous in the country from which they are named, and are seldom or never exported thence.

A simple enumeration may suffice for the few birds I can remember. There are two or three sorts of eagles, and many kinds of hawks; among which are the gentle falcon, which is the best of all; the large, grey, short winged bird, called *Bauz* in Persian, and *Kuzzil* in Turkish, which I believe is the goshawk; the shauheen, which is taught to soar over the falconer's head, and strike the quarry as it rises. The chirk, which is taught to strike the antelope, and to fasten on its head, and retard it till the grey-hounds come up: and several other kinds. Nor is there any want of game for hawking; herons, cranes, and storks are common, as are wild ducks and geese, swans, partridges, quails, and a bird which is called Cupk by the Persians and Afghauns, and the hill Chichore by the Indians, and which I understand is known in Europe by the name of the Greek Partridge. There is a smaller bird called Soosee, which has a resem-

blance to that last mentioned, and which I have never heard of but in Afghaunistaun. Pigeons, doves, crows, sparrows, &c. are common to all countries; cuckoos, which are rare, and magpies, which are unknown in India, are abundant in the cold climates of Afghaunistaun, while peacoks, so common in India, are there only to be found domesticated as in England; and parrots and nynas (Coracias Indica) are only found in the east.

The reptiles do not call for much notice. The snakes are mostly innocent; the scorpions of Peshawer are notorious for their size and venom, yet their bite is seldom or never fatal. I have not heard much of the fishes of the country. There are no crocodiles. Turtles are common, as are tortoises.

Great flights of locusts are not of frequent occurrence, yet the few famines that have been felt in Khorassaun, were occasioned by their devastations. Bees are common in these countries, especially to the east of the range of Solimaun, but are domesticated in Cashmeer alone. Mosquitoes are less troublesome than in India, except in Seestaun, where they are very formidable: the inhabitants are there obliged to have mosquitoe curtains, as in Bengal; and either these animals, or a sort of gad-fly, often harrass horses till they pine and die.

It is still more difficult to give an account of the vegetables than of the animals, when neither have been examined by any person conversant with natural history. Of the great number of trees unknown in Europe, which are common in India, very few are to be found east of the range of Solimaun, and perhaps none west; on the other hand, many of our own European trees are common in Afghaunistaun, and most of our finest fruits grow wild in different parts of that country. These are also common in gardens and orchards. The commonest trees in the mountains are pines of different kinds, one of which, the Jelgoozeh, is remarkable for cones larger than artichokes, and containing seeds resembling pistachio nuts. Two kinds of oaks (one of which is that called by botanists Quercus Beloot *); cedars,

* I have taken all the botanical names I have had occasion to use from Dr. Hunter's Hindoostaunee Dictionary.

and a sort of gigantic cypress, are also among the natives of the mountains; as are the walnut and the wild olive. The western hills abound in a tree called *Wunna* (a word also used generally for a tree), which bears an eatable berry, known by the name of *Shnee*. I believe some of the hills also produce the birch, the holly, and the hazle; as they do mastich, a tree called *Khunjud*, and one called *Ooloohtye* in Pushtoo, and *Wisk* in Persian. The pistachio tree also grows wild in Hindoo Coosh. On the plains, the commonest wild trees are the mulberry, the tamarisk, and the willow (of which we may distinguish the weeping willow, the palm, and two sorts called by the natives the red and the green willow). The plane and the poplar are also common on plains; as are the trees called *Seeahchob*, *Purra*, *Bulkhuk*, and *Zurung*, which I have never seen, and have not been able to recognise from description.

Many bushes may also be mentioned. The barberry, the *Kurounda* (Carissa Carounda), and other bushes, which bear eatable berries; such as the *Umlook*, the *Goorgooreh*, &c. are common in the hills, as are wild grapes; but of all the shrubs, the most celebrated is the Arghawaun, which, though it bears the same name with the anemone, grows to such a height as almost to entitle it to the name of a tree.

The English flowers, roses, jessamines, poppies, narcissuses, hyacinths, tuberoses, stock, &c. &c. are found in gardens, and many of them wild. Other vegetables will be mentioned hereafter, in describing the places where they grow.

I need scarcely give a separate chapter to the minerals, concerning which I only possess a few particulars, picked out of Mr. Irvine's report, to which also I am much indebted in the two last heads.

Gold does not seem to be found in Afghaunistaun, except in the streams that flow from the Hindoo Coosh range. The fable which is current respecting vegetable gold, said to be produced in the country of the Eusofzyes, no doubt arises from the particles washed into the fields by those streams. Silver is found in small quantities in the country of the Caufirs. Rubies are found in Budukhshaun, but not in the Afghaun side of Hindoo Coosh: whole cliffs of lapis lazuli,

however, overhang the river of Kaushkaur, between Chitraul and the Eusofzye country.

There are mines of lead and antimony mixed in the country of the Afreedees, and in that of the Hazaurehs; and of lead alone in Upper Bungush, and in the countries of the Shainwaurees, Kaukers, Hazaurehs and Eimauks, as well as in the province of Bulkh. The country of the Vizeerees abounds in iron, as does Bajour and the adjoining hills, where there are also indications of copper. Sulphur is found in Bulkh and in Seeweestaun. The greatest place for salt has been mentioned: rock salt is also found in Bulkh, and salt is made from springs and ponds in Khorassaun. Saltpetre is made every where from the soil. Allum is got from the clay at Calla-baugh, and orpiment is found in Bulkh and in the Hazaureh country.

BOOK II.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION, ORIGIN, AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE AFGHAUNS.

THE description, which I have attempted, of the country of the Afguauns, has been rendered difficult by the great variety of the regions to be described, and by the diversity even of contiguous tracts. No less a diversity will be discovered in the people who inhabit it; and, amidst the contrasts that are apparent, in the government, manners, dress, and habits of the different tribes, I find it difficult to select those great features, which all possess in common, and which give a marked national character to the whole of the Afghauns. This difficulty is increased by the fact, that those qualities which distinguish them from all their neighbours, are by no means the same, which, without reference to such a comparison, would appear to Europeans to predominate in their character. The freedom which forms their grand distinction among the nations of the East, might seem to an Englishman a mixture of anarchy and arbitrary power; and the manly virtues, that raise them above their neighbours, might sink in his estimation almost to the level of the opposite defects. It may, therefore, assist in appreciating their situation and

character to figure the aspects they would present to a traveller from England, and to one from India.

If a man could be transported from England to the Afghaun country, without passing through the dominions of Turkey, Persia, or Tartary, he would be amazed at the wide and unfrequented desarts, and the mountains, covered with perennial snow. Even in the cultivated part of the country, he would discover a wild assemblage of hills and wastes, unmarked by enclosures, not embellished by trees, and destitute of navigable canals, public roads, and all the great and elaborate productions of human industry and refinement. He would find the towns few, and far distant from each other; and, he would look in vain for inns or other conveniencies, which a traveller would meet with in the wildest parts of Great Britain. Yet, he would sometimes be delighted with the fertility and populousness of particular plains and valleys, where he would see the productions of Europe, mingled in profusion with those of the torrid zone; and, the land, laboured with an industry and a judgment no where surpassed. He would see the inhabitants, following their flocks in tents, or assembled in villages, to which the terraced roofs and mud walls give an appearance entirely new. He would be struck at first with their high, and even harsh features, their sun-burned countenances, their long beards, their loose garments, and their shaggy mantles of skins. When he entered into the society, he would notice the absence of regular courts of justice, and of every thing like an organized police. He would be surprised at the fluctuation and instability of the civil institutions. He would find it difficult to comprehend how a nation could subsist in such disorder; and would pity those, who were compelled to pass their days in such a scene, and whose minds were trained by their unhappy situation to fraud and violence, to rapine, deceit, and revenge. Yet, he would scarce fail to admire their martial and lofty spirit, their hospitality, and their bold and simple manners, equally removed from the suppleness of a citizen, and the awkward rusticity of a clown; and, he would, probably, before long discover, among so many qualities that excited his disgust, the rudiments of many virtues.

But, an English traveller from India, would view them with a more favourable eye. He would be pleased with the cold climate, elevated by the wild and novel scenery, and delighted by meeting many of the productions of his native land. He would first be struck with the thinness of the fixed population, and then with the appearance of the people; not fluttering in white muslins, while half their bodies are naked, but soberly and decently attired in dark coloured woollen clothes; and wrapt up in brown mantles, or in large sheep-skin cloaks. He would admire their strong and active forms, their fair complexions and European features; their industry, and enterprise; the hospitality, sobriety, and contempt of pleasure, which appear in all their habits; and, above all, the independence and energy of their character. In India, he would have left a country where every movement originates in the government or its agents, and where the people absolutely go for nothing; and, he would find himself among a nation where the controul of the government is scarcely felt, and where every man appears to pursue his own inclinations, undirected and unrestrained. Amidst the stormy independence of this mode of life, he would regret the ease and security in which the state of India, and even the indolence and timidity of its inhabitants, enable most parts of that country to repose. He would meet with many productions of art and nature that do not exist in India; but, in general, he would find the arts of life less advanced, and many of the luxuries of Hindostan unknown. On the whole, his impression of his new acquaintances would be favourable; although he would feel, that without having lost the ruggedness of a barbarous nation, they were tainted with the vices common to all Asiatics. Yet, he would reckon them virtuous, compared with the people to whom he had been accustomed; would be inclined to regard them with interest and kindness; and could scarcely deny them a portion of his esteem.

Such would be the impressions made on an European, and an Indian traveller, by their ordinary intercourse with the Afghauns. When they began to investigate their political constitution, both would be alike perplexed with its apparent inconsistencies and con-

tradictions, and with the union which it exhibits of turbulent independence and gross oppression. But, the former would, perhaps, be most struck with the despotic pretensions of the general government; and, the latter, with the democratic licence, which prevails in the government of the tribes.

Let us now try whether, in a particular examination of the history and present condition of the Afghauns, some of the features exhibited in these two pictures will not be softened down, and some apparent inconsistencies reconciled; but, throughout the whole, let it be borne in mind, that although I have endeavoured to measure them by the scale which will be applied in Europe, yet the first and most natural process by which I estimated their character was a comparison with their Indian and Persian neighbours.

The origin of the name of Afghaun, now so generally applied to the nation, I am about to describe, is entirely uncertain; but is, probably, modern. It is known to the Afghauns themselves only through the medium of the Persian language. Their own name for their nation is Pooshtoon; in the plural, Pooshtauneh. The Berdooraunees pronounce this word Pookhtauneh; whence the name of Pitan, by which the Afghauns are known in India, may probably be derived.

The Arabs call them Solimaunee; but, whether from their possessing the mountains of Solimaun from the name of some chief who may have headed them, when first invaded by the Arabs, or from some circumstance connected with their supposed descent from the Jews, is entirely uncertain. They have no general name for their own country; but sometimes apply the Persian one of Afghaunistaun. Doctor Leyden has mentioned the name of Pooshtoonkhau, as bearing this sense; but I never heard it used. The term Sirhud is sometimes made use of, but excludes the plains on the eastern side of the range of Solimaun; and is, in fact, nothing more than the Persian word for a cold country. The name most generally applied to the whole country by its inhabitants is *Khorassaun*; but this appellation is obviously incorrect. For, on the one hand, the whole of the Af-

ghaun country is not included within the strict limits of Khorassaun; and, on the other, a considerable part of that province is not inhabited by Afghauns. *

I know very little of the early history of the Afghauns. Their own accounts of their origin, appear to me to be fabulous; and, I shall therefore state the few facts to be found in foreign historians, before I proceed to those recorded or invented by themselves. †

All accounts agree that they inhabited the mountains of Ghore at a very remote period, and they seem early to have possessed the mountains of Solimaun; which term, in its most extended sense, comprehends all the southern mountains of Afghaunistaun. They also appear by Ferishta, to have been established in the north-eastern mountains of Afghaunistaun, in the ninth century. At that period, the greater part of the nation is said by the same author to have been subject to the Arabian dynasty of Samaunee. The Afghauns seem to have furnished a large part, and probably the principal part, of the army of Mahmood, and the other Ghuznevide kings; but, those who inhabited the mountains of Ghore, retained their independence, and were governed by a King of their own, who drew his descent through a long line of Sovereigns, from Zohauk, one of the earliest kings of Persia. This genealogy, though asserted by Meer Khonde, and confirmed by Ferishta, may be considered as doubtful at least; but, it is certain, that the princes of Ghore belonged to the Afghaun tribe of

* In some English books, I have seen the Afghaun country called Roh; a word, which I understand, means a hill in Punjauby, and which is only known to some of the Afghauns through the medium of books, written In India.

† A diligent search into the Persian and Arabian histories would probably furnish more information concerning the antiquities of this people, and would, at least, enable us to trace the history of their country from the time of Mahmood of Ghuzni; but the necessary books are difficult to be procured, and would take a long time to explore. As I may have to refer hereafter to many facts in Asiatic history, I take this opportunity of acknowledging that I have scarcely any acquaintance with the writers on that subject but what I have derived from a few of those which have been translated into English or French, and a still smaller number in Persian and Pushtoo, which relate exclusively to the Afghauns.

Sooree, and that their dynasty was allowed to be of very great antiquity even in the eleventh century. Their principal cities seem to have been Ghore, Feerooz Coh, and perhaps Baumeean. *

There are different accounts of the religion of the Afghauns of Ghore. Some say they were converted to the Mahomedan faith soon after the prophet; while others maintain that they were idolaters in the tenth century. The idols and caves of Baumeeaun appear to establish that the inhabitants of that country were at one time worshippers of Boodh.

This people was governed in the reign of Mahmood of Ghuzni, by a prince named Mahommed, who was defeated and taken prisoner by that conqueror. His descendants suffered many injuries from the House of Ghuznee, till the middle of the twelfth century, when they at last took up arms, defeated and dethroned the King of Ghuznee, and burnt that magnificent capital to the ground. They afterwards continued to extend their empire, and by degrees reduced under their government, the whole of the present kingdom of Caubul, India, Bulkh, Budukhshaun, and a great part of Khorassaun.

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* The last of these places is still the seat of a government to the north-west of Caubul. Feeroozcoh may be presumed to have given its name to the Emauks of Feeroozcohee; and, from the position of their residence, we should place it to the east of Heraut. But, there are three Ghorees, all within the borders of the Paropamisan mountains: and, it is not very obvious, which of the three was the seat of the Ghoree kings. The first is to the south-east of Bulkh; the second, north-west of Ghuznee; and the third, east of Furra. The few native opinions I have heard fix on the last mentioned place; and, I am strongly inclined to agree with them, from the consideration of a passage in D. Herbelot (Article Gaiatheddin), where one of the kings of Ghore is said to have reduced "Raver and Kermessir, which separate Ghore from Hindostan." These countries must, therefore, have lain to the east of Ghore. As *k* and *g* are expressed by the same letter in Persian, there can be no doubt that Gurmseer or Gurmeseer is meant by the second of these words; and Raver, probably means the adjoining district of Dawer, or Zemeen Dawer (the land of Dawer). The close resemblance between the Persian *d* and *r*, may have led to this mistake, which has been carefully copied by other orientalists. Certain it is, that the names of Raver and Kermessir are not now to be found. Now of the three Ghorees, that near Furrah alone is to the west of Gurmseer and Dawer, and, consequently it alone can be said to be separated from Hindostan by those districts.

From that time till the invasion of Bauber, a period of three centuries, different dynasties of Afghauns reigned, with some interruptions, over India; but the other dominions of the House of Ghore were early wrested from them by the King of Khwarizm, from whom they were conquered by Jengheez Khaun; and the tribe of Sooree is now reduced to a few families in Damaun.

During the government of the descendants of Jengheez, and of Tamerlane, and his offspring, the Afghauns appear to have maintained their independence in the mountains; and at the time of Bauber, they seem to have been unconnected with all foreign powers. Bauber, the descendant of Timour, and the ancestor of the Great Moguls, began his career by the conquest of Caubul, which was his capital till the end of his reign. On his death, Caubul remained subject to one of his sons, while the other was expelled from India by Sheer Shauh, who founded another Afghaun dynasty, of no long duration. At last the House of Timour was firmly established in India: the capital of their empire was transferred from Caubul to Delly; and the plains of Afghaunistaun were divided between the empires of Hindostan and Persia; but the mountains were never subjected to either.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Afghaun tribe of Ghiljie founded an empire which included all Persia, and extended on the west to the present limits of the Russian and Turkish empires. Part only of Afghaunistaun, however, acknowledged their dominion. Naudir Shauh overthrew this dynasty, and annexed most of Afghaunistaun to Persia; and, on his death, the present Afghaun monarchy was founded; which at its height extended from the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea, to that of the river Jumna, and from the Oxus to the Indian ocean.

After this cursory notice of the facts relating to the Afghauns, which are ascertained by authentic history, we may now examine what they say of themselves. The account they give of their own origin, is worthy of attention, and has already attracted the notice of an eminent orientalist. They maintain that they are descended from

Afghaun, the son of Irmia, or Berkia, son of Saul, King of Israel; and all their histories of their nation begin with relating the transactions of the Jews from Abraham down to the captivity. Their narrative of those transactions appears to agree with that of the other Mahomedans; and though interspersed with some wild fables, does not essentially differ from Scripture. After the captivity, they allege that part of the children of Afghaun withdrew to the mountains of Ghore, and part to the neighbourhood of Mecca in Arabia.

So far this account is by no means destitute of probability. It is known that ten of the twelve tribes remained in the east after the return of their brethren to Judea; and the supposition that the Afghauns are their descendants, explains easily and naturally both the disappearance of the one people, and the origin of the other. The rest of the story is confirmed by the fact, that the Jews were very numerous in Arabia at the time of Mahomet, and that the principal division of them bore the appellation of Khyber, which is still the name of a district in Afghaunistaun, if not of an Afghaun tribe. The theory is plausible, and may be true; but when closely examined it will appear to rest on a vague tradition alone; and even that tradition is clouded with many inconsistencies and contradictions.

The Afghaun historians proceed to relate, that the children of Israel, both in Ghore and in Arabia, preserved their knowledge of the unity of God, and the purity of their religious belief, and that on the appearance of the last and greatest of the prophets (Mahomet), the Afghauns of Ghore listened to the invitation of their Arabian brethren, the chief of whom was Khauled (or Câled) the son of Waleed, so famous for his conquest of Syria, and marched to the aid of the true faith, under the command of Kyse, afterwards surnamed Abdoolresheed. The Arabian historians, on the contrary, bring the descent of Khauled from a well known tribe of their own nation, omit the name of Kyse in their lists of the prophet's companions, or allies, * and are entirely silent on the subject of the Afghaun suc-

* Ansaur "Assisters."

cours. Even the Afghaun historians, although they describe their countrymen as a numerous people during their Arabian campaign, and though it appears from a sarcasm attributed by those historians to the Prophet (who declared Pushtoo to be the language of hell), that they already spoke their national and peculiar tongue, yet do not scruple in another place, to derive the whole nation from the loins of the very Kyse who commanded during the period of the above transactions.

If any other argument were required to disprove this part of the history, it is furnished by the Afghaun historians themselves, who state that Saul was the forty-fifth in descent from Abraham, and Kyse the thirty-seventh from Saul. The first of these genealogies is utterly inconsistent with those of the Sacred Writings, and the second allows only thirty-seven generations for a period of sixteen hundred years *. If to these facts we add, that Saul had no son named either Irmia or Berkia, and that if the existence of his grandson Afghaun be admitted, no trace of that Patriarch's *name* remains among his descendants; and if we consider the easy faith with which all rude nations receive accounts favourable to their own antiquity; I fear we must class the descent of the Afghauns from the Jews, with that of the Romans and the British from the Trojans, and that of the Irish from the Milesians or the Bramins. †

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* This number is from the Taureekhee Sheer Shauhee. The Taureekhee Morussa gives a much greater number, but then it introduces forty-five generations between Abraham and Jacob.

† This subject is briefly discussed by Sir William Jones, in a Note on a Translation by Mr. Vansittart (Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. Article IV.) That elegant scholar is inclined to believe this supposed descent, which he strengthens by four reasons.

His first argument is drawn from the resemblance of the name of Hazaureh to Arsareth, the country whither the Jews are said by Esdras to have retired; but this reasoning, which was never very satisfactory, is destroyed by the fact, that the Hazaurehs are a *nation* who have but recently occupied and given their name to a part of Afghaunistaun. The second argument is built on the traditions examined in the text, and on the assertion of Persian historians, probably derived from those traditions, and at no time very deserving of faith.

The third is founded on the Jewish names of the Afghauns; but those they probably have derived from the Arabs, like all other Mahommedan nations. Their most ancient names have no resemblance to those of the Jews.

The last argument is founded on a supposed resemblance between the Pushtoo and Chaldaic languages; of which the reader will hereafter be enabled to judge. Many points of resemblance between the manners of the Afghauns and those of the Jews might be adduced, but such a similarity is usual between nations in the same stage of society; and if it were admitted as a proof of identity, the Tartars and the Arabs, the Germans and the Russians, might be proved to be the same. It is also maintained by more than one European writer, that the Afghauns are a Caucasian tribe, and particularly that they are descended from the Armenians. In the extent sometimes allowed to the name of Caucasus, the Afghauns still inhabit that celebrated mountain; but if it be meant that they ever lived to the west of the Caspian Sea, the assertion appears to be unsupported by proof. Their Armenian descent is utterly unknown to themselves, though constantly in the mouths of the Armenians; and the story told by the latter people, of the Afghauns having become Mussulmans to avoid the long fasts prescribed by their own church, is too inconsistent with history to deserve a moment's consideration. I may add, that I have compared a short Armenian vocabulary with the Pushtoo, and could perceive no resemblance between the languages; and that I once read a good deal of a Pushtoo vocabulary to a well informed Armenian, who, though he strenuously asserted the descent of the Afghauns from his countrymen, yet owned that he could not discover a word common to their language and his own. I have not had the same advantage with the languages of other Caucasian tribes, but I compared about two hundred and fifty Georgian words with the corresponding ones in Pushtoo, and nothing could be more different; and I know no ground for connecting the Afghauns with the western Caucasus, except the assertion of a German traveller, whose name I forget, that he saw Afghauns there during the last century, which proves too much.

CHAP. II.

DIVISIONS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE AFGHAUN NATION.

WHATEVER doubts may be entertained of the pedigree, and even of the existence of Kyse Abdooresheed, it is to him that all the Afghaun genealogies refer, and on those genealogies the whole of the divisions and interior government of the tribes depend. As each tribe has a government of its own, and constitutes a complete commonwealth within itself, it may be well to examine the rise and present situation of those commonwealths, before we proceed to consider them as composing one state, or one confederacy, under a common sovereign.

From the four sons of Kyse, Serrabun, Ghoorghoosht, Betnee, and Kurleh, sprung the four great divisions of the Afghauns, which still bear their names. The Afghaun tribes are the families of the descendants of these four, and each bears the name of its immediate progenitor.

Taking the descent of the Afghauns from one ancestor for granted, it is probable that, as long as the number of families was small, they were all under the direction of their common progenitor: that as they grew more numerous, the four great divisions separated, and were each under the head of its eldest branch, but that when the nation spread over an extensive country, and the tribes of the same division began to be remote from each other, their connection loosened, and each tribe at last remained under its own hereditary chief, entirely independent of the common head of the race.

The four original divisions are now disused, and are only mentioned in the genealogies of the tribes.

The tribes continue, in a great measure unmixed, (each having its territory compact). They still retain the patriarchal government I have alluded to, and the operation of the principle which I suppose to have separated them, is still very observable. Each tribe has branched into several divisions, and in the more numerous and the more scattered tribes, those branches have separated, and are each governed by its own independent chief; they, however, retain the common name, and an idea of community of blood and interests.

The name of Oolooss is applied either to a whole tribe, or to one of these independent branches. The word seems to mean a clanish commonwealth. An Oolooss is divided into several branches, each under its own chief, who is subordinate to the chief of the Oolooss. These branches are again divided, and this operation is repeated (more or less often according to the size of the Oolooss), till the last subdivision contains but a few families. Each subdivision has its chief man, subordinate to the chief of the division in which it is comprehended.

Each of these branches has its own immediate ancestor *.

The Chief of an Oolooss, is called Khaun. He is always chosen from the oldest family of the Oolooss. In most cases, the selection rests with the King, who can remove a Khaun at pleasure, appointing one of his relations in his stead. In some Ooloosses, the Khaun is elected by the people. In both cases, some attention is paid to primogeniture; but more to age, experience, and character. This unsettled succession occasions many disputes. When the Khaun dies, two or more of his sons or nephews endeavour to make parties in the tribe; to conciliate the King, by promises of contributions or attachment; and, to bribe his ministers. The unsuccessful party continues his exertions after the successor is chosen. Sometimes, but rarely, part of the Oolooss secedes with him. More frequently, he continues his intrigues at Court, or stirs up open war in the Ooloos, in which

* This will be made more obvious by a tree, representing the descent of a division of the Ghiljies, with their government as it actually exists. It is however to be observed, that although the head of the oldest family is still chief of the Ghiljies, and, though the

he is sometimes supported by a hostile tribe. During civil wars in the nation, the unsuccessful candidate for the command of an Oolooss, joins the pretender to the throne, and is brought into power on the success of his party.

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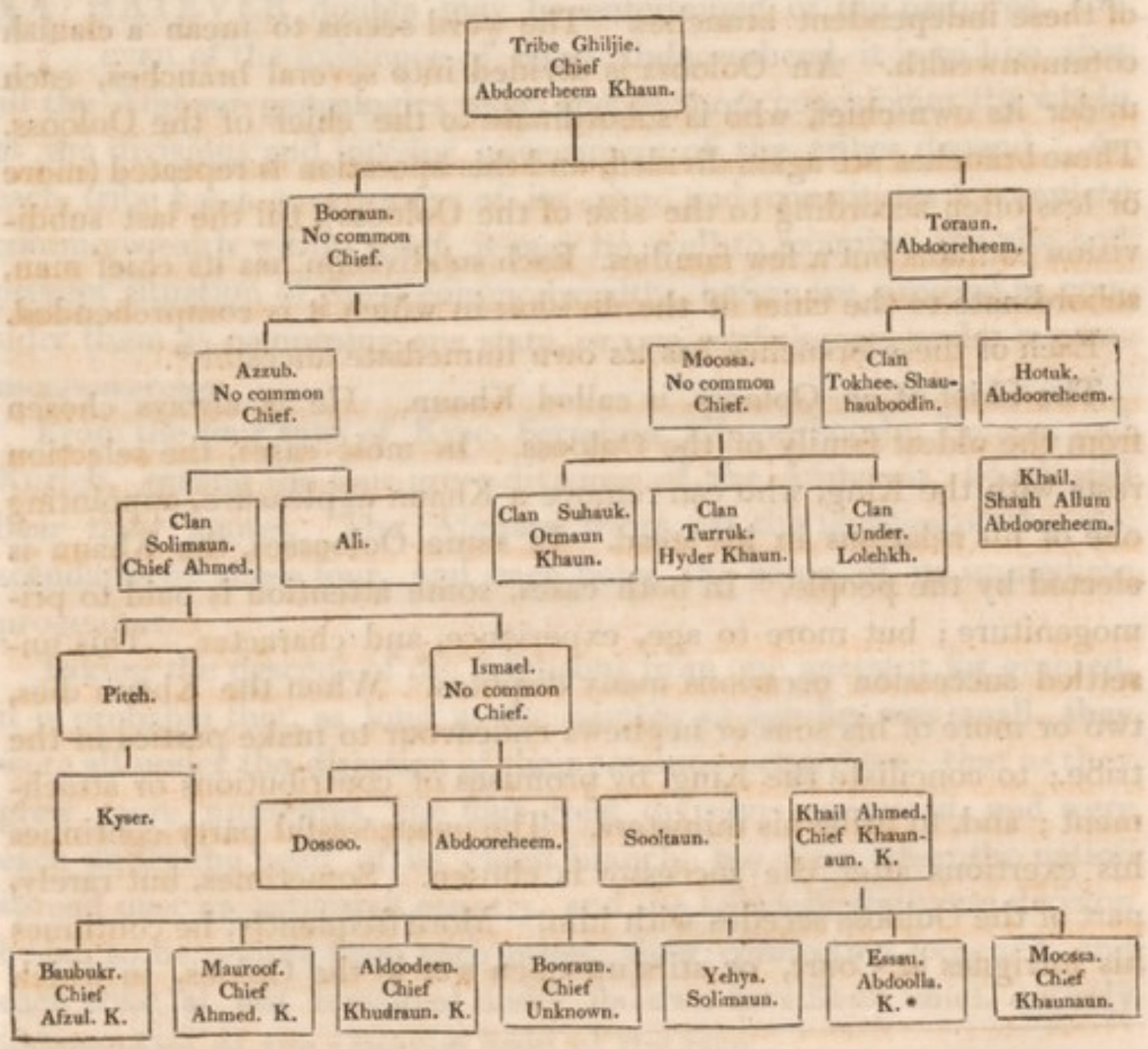
smallest and most recent divisions have all their chiefs, yet the members of some of the intermediate branches have separated from each other, and have now no common head, as in the divisions of Booraun and Izzub.



Each of these again branches out into subdivisions under separate heads, subordinate to their immediate chief.

The head of a subordinate division is always elected by the people from the oldest family in it; except in the lowest subdivision, where the superiority is often natural, as when an old man is head of the ten or twelve families, formed by his sons, nephews, and grand-children.

The internal government of the Oolooss is carried on by the Khauns, and by assemblies of the heads of divisions. These assemblies are called Jeergas.

The Khaun presides in the principal Jeerga, which is formed by the chiefs of the great branches of Oolooss. Each of these holds his

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The Government will be best illustrated by an example; and I shall take that of the Esaukhail division of the Solimaun Khail, (see * in the tree). Every family in the Esaukhail is, of course, governed by its immediate head. Every ten or twelve families are governed by their common ancestor if he be alive, or by his representative if he be dead; and these heads of a few families are called Speen Zheras or Elders, (literally, white beards). Every ten or twelve Elders are subject to a Cundeedaur, or head of a Mehel, Mohulla, or Quarter, who is the representative of their common ancestor. A certain number of these compose a subdivision, ruled by the representative of the ancestor of all its members, who is called Mullik or Mooshir: several subdivisions form a division governed as before; several divisions compose the Khail, which, in the case alluded to, is under Abdoolla Khaun. The Esau Khail, and six other Khails, compose the clan of Ahmedzye, which is governed by Khaunaun Khaun, the representative of Ahmed, their common ancestor. The Ahmedzye, and three other clans, compose the Ismaelzye; but they are not under the authority of any common chief, and the head family of the Ismaelzye is extinct or neglected.

The sons of Ismael and those of Pitch, form the Solimaun Khail, the chief of which is Ahmed Khaun, the representative of Solimaun. There is now no head to the house of Boorhaun, composed of the Solimaun Khail and the Ali Khail; but the chiefs of those two clans, and those of seven other clans similarly composed, all acknowledge the supremacy of Abdooreheem Khaun, the head of the eldest branch of the tribe of Ghiljie. I beg my readers to remark, that hereafter, when I speak of the great divisions of the Afghauns, I shall call them *tribes*; and, when the component parts of a tribe are mentioned with reference to the *tribe*, I shall call the first divisions *clans*; those which compose a clan, *Khails*, &c. as above. But, when I am treating of one of those divisions as an independent body, I shall call it Oolooss, and its component parts *clans*, *khails*, &c. according to the relation they bear to the Oolooss, as if the latter were a tribe. Khail is a corruption of the Arabic word Khyle, a band or assemblage; and Zye, so often affixed to the names of tribes, clans, and families, means *son*, and is added as *Mac* is prefixed by the Highlanders. The term Mullik, which is applied to the head of a subdivision, means King, in Arabic; and Mushir is, I apprehend, a corruption of the Arabic word Moosheer, (a Counsellor).

own Jeerga of the heads of divisions: these again hold their Jeergas; and the members of the lowest Jeerga are either acquainted with the sentiments of the individuals under them, or are able to persuade them to adopt their own.

In cases of little consequence, or on an emergency, the Khaun acts without consulting the Jeerga, who on similar occasions give their opinion without consulting the Jeergas below them; but, in matters of importance, when circumstances will admit, the sentiments of the whole tribe are ascertained before any thing is decided.

The system of government, which I have described, is so often deranged by circumstances like the following, that it is seldom found in full force; and must, therefore, be considered rather as the model on which all the governments of tribes are formed than a correct description of any one of them. There is probably no case where some link is not wanting in the chain of authorities, which ought to descend from the Khaun to the heads of families. * A clan, khail, or other branch, often becomes independent in all internal affairs, without throwing off all connection with its superiors; so that it is neither subordinate as a branch of an Oolooss, nor independent as an Oolooss.

The whole constitution is also sometimes overturned. In some rare cases, the Khaun establishes arbitrary power, and acts without consulting any of the Jeergas under him; and his example is followed by the subordinate chiefs. But more frequently, the chiefs are neglected, and every subdivision, every quarter, and even every family, throws off its dependence on its superiors, and acts according to its own interest or inclination. This last evil is remedied in some cases by the appointment of a temporary magistrate, chosen on account of his abilities. A sort of Dictator, who has great powers during the war or other occasions, for which he is appointed; but, who returns

* Thus the heads of the sons of Booraun, and of those of Izzub, are wanting in the tree.

to the situation of a private person when the period of his office has expired.

It may be worth while to remark the circumstances on which the extent of the power of the chiefs depends. In tribes that are obedient to the King, the Khaun derives much influence from his employment of collecting the royal revenue and raising the militia, and indirectly, from the emoluments attached to those duties. His personal character materially affects his power and influence. The possession of wealth, by enabling him to keep numerous retainers, and to confer obligations on the heads of his Oolooss, greatly strengthens his power. On the other hand, where the tribe is small, or its inhabited lands very compact, the heads of all the divisions, great and small, often meet in one Jeerga, which, uniting the whole strength of the Oolooss, can never be controuled by the Khaun. The Khaun's having a powerful rival in his family, the facility which a discontented division may possess of seceding and joining some other Oolooss; and, any circumstance which disposes the people to contentiousness and jealousy, always tend to limit the Khaun's authority. On the whole, it is generally observable that the tribes most under the King's influence are most obedient to their Khaun, though there are some striking exceptions to this rule.

Throughout all the tribes, the clannish attachment of the Afghauns, unlike that of the Highlanders, is rather to the community than to the chief; and, though in their notion of their Khaun, the idea of a magistrate set up for the public good is certainly mixed with that of a patriarchal and natural superior, yet the former impression will always be found to be the strongest. Accordingly the power of life and death, so commonly exercised by chiefs in the Highlands when clanship was in its vigour, is scarcely ever possessed by an Afghaun Khaun; and it is but rarely that the personal interests of the Khaun would lead a tribe to take any step inconsistent with its own honour or advantage.

The western Afghauns, with the exception of the Ghiljies in the south-east, have no quarrels with their countrymen *, but there is scarcely any tribe among those of the east, that is not in a state of actual war, or suspended hostility. Most of them have lasting enmities with each other, but do not break out into open violence, unless when some circumstance has inflamed their animosity; and this sometimes does not happen for several years. A few (as the Eusofzyes) are never at peace.

Those who have only occasional wars (which happens oftenest in Damaun), join in temporary confederacies, and the Jeergas of all the allied tribes meet in one assembly to concert plans of operations, or to consider terms of peace. Those most engaged in war, often have permanent alliances, like those of Garra and Saumil, among the Burdooraunees, and the black and white leagues in Khost. These wars are sometimes confined to predatory incursions of small parties on each side, but when the occasion is important, the Khaun and the Jeerga call out all the fighting men of the Oolooss. The tribes who engage little in wars, call on volunteers, and every man who has arms comes. Those who have occasional wars, make every grown up man serve; and the Eusofzyes, whose continual strife has made them systematic in war, require the service of a foot soldier for every plough, or of a horseman for every two. Shame is in general powerful enough to prevent non-attendance, but a fine is also prescribed to punish it, among the tribes which have frequent wars. Large but undisciplined bodies are thus assembled: a tumultuous conflict takes place: one party is defeated without any great slaughter: the victors waste the lands of their enemy; and the war is then suspended, till the vanquished is able to take the field again, or, perhaps, till a new provocation is given. The troops are almost all foot. The chiefs retain the same stations of command in war as in peace.

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* The war for sovereignty between the Ghiljies and Dooraunees, is obviously of a different nature from the continued petty warfare here alluded to.

The fighting men receive no pay; but in some tribes, if a horse is killed, the owner receives the price from a fund formed by fines, and by a tax on the tribe.

This practice is confined to the north-eastern tribes, who indeed are the only ones that have any revenue at all. Even with them, taxes are only imposed, when money is necessary for some purpose of public utility. Their amount depends on the sum required, and the money collected is strictly applied to the public service. I do not know two instances of a Khaun taxing his Oolooss for his own benefit; but the regular tax on Humsauyas, the infidel tax on Hindoos, and the customs collected on merchandise passing through the lands of the Oolooss, are, in several cases, appropriated by the Khaun. The two first of these imposts will be explained hereafter. They are generally collected by individuals; but the customs, though sometimes divided among the Oolooss, are more frequently received by the Khaun: they are only levied by Ooloosses, a little under the King, who sometimes have fixed rates, and sometimes make a bargain with the merchant; in which case the merchant may either be considered as paying duties, or as compounding with the Oolooss, to prevent being plundered.

There is scarcely a subdivision throughout the nation, which does not make its own arrangements to provide for the maintenance of Moollahs (Mahommedan priests), and for the reception of guests, but the manner in which those funds are provided, will be fully explained hereafter.

The general law of the kingdom is that of Mahomet, which is adopted in civil actions in the Ooloosses also; but their peculiar code, and the only one applied to their *internal* administration of criminal justice, is the Pooshtoonwulle, or usage of the Afghauns; a rude system of customary law, founded on principles such as one would suppose to have prevailed before the institution of civil government.

The opinion that it is every man's right and duty to do himself justice, and to revenge his own injuries, is by no means eradicated from among the Afghauns; and the right of the society even to re-

strain the reasonable passions of individuals, and to take the redress of wrongs, and the punishment of crimes, into its own hands, is still very imperfectly understood; or if it is understood, is seldom present to the thoughts of the people. This practice must have had its origin at a time when the government afforded no protection to individuals, and in such circumstances, it must be allowed to be beneficial, and even necessary; but it has taken root in the habits of the Afghaun nation, and although in most parts of their country, justice might now be obtained by other means; and though private revenge is every where preached against by the Moollahs, and forbidden by the government, yet it is still lawful, and even honourable, in the eyes of the people to seek that mode of redress. The injured party is considered to be entitled to strict retaliation on the aggressor: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and so on. If the offender be out of his power, he may wreak his vengeance on a relation, and in some cases, on any man of the tribe. If no opportunity of exercising this right occur, he may defer his revenge for years; but it is disgraceful to neglect or abandon it entirely, and it is incumbent on his relations, and sometimes on his tribe, to assist him in his retaliation.

Retaliation thus exercised, of course leads to new disputes; the quarrel becomes inveterate, and in serious cases, it is often transmitted from father to son for several generations.

The remote effects of this system, in encouraging assassination with its attendant habits of dissimulation and cruelty, and in unsettling the society, and accustoming its members to scenes of tumult and blood, are probably not discovered by the rude legislators of Afghaunistaun; but the alarms and disorders which it immediately produces, must be felt by all, and accordingly we find in every tribe, some measures adopted for repressing its activity. In a few Ooloosses, the adjustment of disputes is left to mediation and persuasion, to which the chief and elders always lend their weight, but if these means are insufficient to prevail on the aggressor to offer compensation, or the injured person to forgive, the society leaves the latter to pursue his

own revenge. In other tribes, and indeed in most tribes, the society interposes with more vigour, and compells the obstinate party to submit to its decision, or to quit the Oolooss; but in many, even of these cases, the sole object is to reconcile the parties, and to prevent present disturbance, nor is it thought that the society is injured, or that it has any right to punish for the sake of example, after the actual sufferer has been satisfied *. In some cases, however, the Khaun or the Jeerga, but more particularly the Khaun (for it is commonest in Ooloosses where the chief is powerful) not only compels the offender to satisfy the injured party, but levies a fine for the state besides.

All criminal trials are conducted before a Jeerga, which is composed of Khauns, Mulliks, or elders, assisted by Moollahs, and even by grave and experienced persons of inferior rank to those. Petty offences are settled by the Jeerga of the village, or subdivision in which they occur; but cases are referred to higher authorities, in proportion to their importance, so that, in well regulated Ooloosses, the more serious ones are tried before the Khaun, and the heads of clans: but in very loosely governed tribes, every subdivision acts for itself. †

A Jeerga is generally assembled by the local chief, but in most tribes, any man who is fit to be a member, may summon a meeting; and in many tribes, non-attendance is punished by a fine.

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* This view of the case is taken even by the Mahometan law, as Mahomet, in compliance with the prejudices of his countrymen, and perhaps with his own, has left the punishing of a murderer, and even the choice of punishing him, or pardoning him, for a fixed compensation to the relations of the deceased; while he wisely took the right of judging of his guilt out of their hands, and transferred it to the Cauzy.

† The Pooshtoonwullee acts on the same principle in enforcing civil rights, with that which it observes in criminal offences. If one man has a claim on another, his only remedy is to seize on an ox, a horse, or some other property of his debtor's, which he retains as a pledge for the liquidation of his demand; but the Pooshtoonwullee is now almost entirely discontinued in civil causes. Where there is a Cauzy, or a Cauzy's Deputy within reach, the dispute is referred to him; and in places at a distance from the seat of those royal officers, it is determined by an assembly of Moollahs, on the principles of the Mahometan law.

When the members are assembled, they all take their seats on the bare ground, and the principal person present, after a short prayer, repeats a Pushtoo verse, importing that "Events are with God, but deliberation is allowed to man." The accuser's story is then heard, and if the defence is at variance with it, witnesses are called, and examined till all the facts are ascertained. If (as it is most common) the accused admits the facts, but pleads circumstances in his justification, the Jeerga inquires into the matter, and decides according to its merits. There is a penalty fixed for each offence; except among the Berdooraunees, where it is determined by the Jeerga.

It always includes a public and humble submission and apology, and in serious cases, a certain number of young women from the family of the criminal, are given in marriage to the person aggrieved and his relations. *

A shew is always made of delivering up the criminal to the accuser, and of giving *him* the choice of retaliating, but it is well understood that he is to comply with the desire of the Jeerga, and to accept the compensation decreed to him. After which the parties are made to salute each other with the usual address of Salaum alaikum, Peace be unto thee, and to partake of each other's hospitality; and in most tribes, this reconciliation is cordial and permanent. If the accused refuse to attend, some tribes proceed with the cause, and decide ex-parte; but others either drag the refractory person to the Jeerga, or send Moollahs to curse him, give up his property to plunder, and ex-

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* This practice originates in the expence of purchasing a bride from her father on ordinary occasions. Among the western Afghauns, the expiation of a murder is made by giving twelve young women, six with portions, and six without. The portion of each among the common people, is sixty rupees (£7 : 10), partly in goods. For cutting off a hand, an ear, or a nose, they give six women: for breaking a tooth, three women: for a wound above the forehead one; a wound below the forehead (unless it take a year to heal), or any other small offence, is expiated by apologies and submission. Among the eastern Afghauns, fewer young women are given, and more money; and on the whole, the penalty is lighter. There are equivalents for the women fixed in money, which the person to whom compensation is awarded, may take if he please.

pel him the Oolooss. The same is done to any one who refuses to abide by their decree, and they often empower the accuser to execute exact retaliation on the defendant, if he refuses to pay the compensation decreed. Where the compensation is fixed, or when it has been settled at a high rate by the Jeerga, they always intercede with the offended party to forgive part of it.

I was at first surprised to find that Jeergas were more rarely employed in ascertaining the guilt of an accused person, than in judging of the circumstances which justified his alleged offence, and in determining the compensation which he was to make to the injured party; but by degrees, reasons appeared why acts of violence should seldom be concealed. The Pooshtoonwullee gives a man a right to revenge his own injuries, and the opinion of the Afghauns makes it a point of honour to assert that right: all motive for concealment is, therefore, withdrawn, unless the party is sensible that he is in the wrong; and on the other hand, publicity is necessary to clear his honour. The Afghaun notions on this subject are illustrated by those of our own nation on the practice of duelling, which is only a generous and well-regulated mode of private revenge.

On the whole, these judicial Jeergas are useful institutions. In most cases they conduct themselves with tolerable impartiality, although they cannot be exempt from the influence of friendship and enmity, and may perhaps, in some instances, be accessible to solicitation, and even to corruption. One naturally imagines their debates to be tumultuous and disorderly, but I understand that this is not often the case; and in some tribes, the Jeergas are remarkable for order and gravity, and for a rude kind of eloquence, much admired by their countrymen.

The Jeerga is rendered unnecessary in some cases by the extensive powers of the Khaun, and in others it is rendered nugatory by the unruliness of the people. The most powerful Khaun, however, is glad of the countenance of a Jeerga, when he has to deal with a powerful offender; and among the Dooraunees, where the chief acts by the King's authority, and is supported by his power, he still finds

it convenient to avail himself of the advice of a Jeerga: this last observation applies to deliberations on all subjects, as well as to the trial of offences. Even where Jeergas are in use, all crimes are not brought before them. It is always reckoned an admission of weakness to complain to a Jeerga, and consequently less honourable than to obtain justice by force; accordingly men of rank in the Oolooss, and powerful people (that is, people who have many relations), are always unwilling to compromise an affront, and to agree to a reconciliation, till the injuries on both sides are equal. This is carried so far, that the injured party affects reluctance to be reconciled, even when the affair has been brought to the Jeerga at his own request. In many tribes, the Jeerga does not interfere, until a complaint is made to it; and in some, not till both parties are persuaded to submit to its award; but in others, the local chief assembles a Jeerga whenever he hears of any serious offence, and brings the parties before it.

In serious cases, such as murder, the offender often flies the country, but if he is unwilling to leave his tribe, he is sensible of the danger he incurs by remaining, and determines to submit and obtain forgiveness from the person he has injured. In that case, he goes as a suppliant to the house of some considerable man, and begs him to intercede, and procure his pardon. By the custom of the Afghauns, a suppliant can seldom be refused, and the person applied to, is obliged to agree. He assembles some other respectable men, some Moollahs and Syuds, and proceeds with the offender to the house of the injured person. The whole of the party are now suppliants; and, as they cannot be refused, the person offended, if unwilling to make up the quarrel, leaves his house before they arrive, or endeavours to conceal himself. When he is found, the criminal appears dressed in a shroud, puts a naked sword into the hand of his enemy, and tells him that his life is in his power. At the same time the chiefs and Moollahs put themselves in an attitude of entreaty, and beg forgiveness for the suppliant. It ends in the injured person pardoning the offence, and receiving a compensation.

The above statements have been confined to an unmixed community, the component parts of which are classed according to their descent; but, though this is the commonest form of the society, it is not without variations and exceptions. Parts of two subdivisions may inhabit the same village, and in that case, though each has a head of its own, they hold their Jeergas in common, and act exactly as if they were one subdivision.

A division which quits its own Oolooss, may be adopted into another. It is part of the Afghaun rules of hospitality, to treat strangers in such circumstances with particular attention. They are assigned lands by the tribes which they join. Their chief has a seat at the principal Jeerga, his people retain their internal government, and are exactly on a footing with the original members of the Oolooss: they are subject to the same laws, enjoy the same privileges, enter into the wars and alliances of the Oolooss which they have joined, and though they retain the name of that from which they are sprung, they, for the time, lose all connection with it. They do, however, sometimes return to their original Oolooss, and in the event of a war between it and that which has adopted them, they would not, among the western tribes, be expected to take any part. Among the eastern Afghauns, they would be obliged to assist the Oolooss with which they lived.

These adopted divisions are much inferior in numbers to the rest of the Oolooss.

Individuals who leave their tribe from disgust, without selling their lands, are in many cases received into the Oolooss which they join, and have lands assigned them; but persons who sell their lands, and leave their tribe from poverty, are placed in the class of denizens, which is next to be mentioned.

Every Oolooss has many people attached to it, who are not Afghauns. These are called Humsauyahs. *

* The original meaning of the word Humsauyeh is *neighbour*. As it is used in this place, it has exactly the force of our word denizen.

They have no place at the Jeerga, but their interests are watched over by the division to which they belong, and by the individuals to whom they have attached themselves.

It is a point of honour for every man to protect his Humsauyehs; and, consequently, their condition is little inferior to that of the members of the Oolooss. *

Afghauns who join an Oolooss, after quitting their own from poverty, are considered as Humsauyehs, but are treated with more regard than the rest of that class. In one tribe, the Gundehpoors, the numbers of Humsauyehs, of the Beloche and other nations, greatly exceed those of the Oolooss; and there, I believe, they take the name, and enjoy all the privileges of members of the Oolooss, which is constantly reproached with this corruption. In general, they are very inferior in numbers to the Oolooss, and in some of the tribes at a distance from the great roads, there are scarce any Humsauyehs at all. Humsauyehs have not in general landed property.

An assemblage of many commonwealths such as I have described, composes the Afghaun nation, and the whole, or nearly the whole, is formed into one state by the supreme authority of a common sovereign.

The King is the natural head of the tribe of Dooraunee, the greatest, bravest, and most civilised in the nation; but his paramount authority over the other tribes, has been superinduced by causes which will hereafter be explained.

That authority extends to a general superintendance over the whole kingdom, and to the levying fixed proportions of troops or money, or both, from each tribe, for the common defence. The whole

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* One of the few quarrels I have heard of among the Dooraunees, originated in an injury offered to a Humsauyeh. A Hindoo Humsauyeh of one Noovzye chief, had gone to the village of another; while on his return, he was seized by a third, on pretence of his owing this chief money. The two other chiefs joined, and attacked the one who had seized the Humsauyeh, blood was shed, and it required the interposition of the Naib of Candahar to compose the quarrel.

nation, however, is seldom animated by one spirit, and the individual interests of each Oolooss attract more of its attention than the general welfare. Some of the plains round towns, much of the portion of Afghaunistaun, which is exclusively inhabited by Taujeks, and all the foreign provinces of the state, are entirely under the authority of the King, who is thus enabled to collect a revenue independent of the tribes, and to maintain an army without their assistance.

In consequence of these circumstances, there is some distinction of interests between the King and the nation, and a still greater difference of opinion regarding his legal powers; the King, the Courtiers, and the Moollahs, maintaining that he has all the authority possessed by Asiatic despots; and the people in the tribes considering him as a monarch with very limited prerogatives. This produces a good deal of diversity in the actual exercise of the royal authority.

The government of the tribe of Dooraunee centres in the King, though even there, he is generally obliged to attend to the wishes of the heads of clans. He also interferes in the interior management of the tribes on the plains, and near great towns; but he contents himself with levying his supplies of men and money from the rest, without any further interference in their affairs, than is occasionally required to preserve the public tranquillity. One or two tribes are independent of his government. This is not the place to enter into a detailed account of the royal government, but a loose reference to a monarchy which is better known, may serve to render the subsequent account intelligible to the reader, till he arrives at the information which will enable him to form a judgment for himself. With the exception of the republican government of the Ooloosses, the situation of the Afghaun country appears to me to bear a strong resemblance to that of Scotland in ancient times: the direct power of the King over the towns and the country immediately around; the precarious submission of the nearest clans, and the independence of the remote ones; the inordinate power and faction of the nobility

most connected with the court; and the relations borne by all the great lords to the crown, resemble each other so closely in the two states, that it will throw light on the character of the Dooraunee government to keep the parallel in view.

The defects of this system are obvious, and when we come to observe in detail the anarchy and disorder which so often arise under the republican government of the tribes, we might be induced to under-rate the quantum of happiness it produces, and to suppose that the country would derive more advantage from the good order and tranquillity which an absolute monarchy, even on Asiatic principles, would secure; but the more I have learned of the actual state of the Afghauns, the stronger is my conviction that such an estimate would be erroneous.

We may easily appreciate the benefits of an exemption from the vexatious interference of the officers of a distant King, and from the corruption and oppression with which such interference is always accompanied in Asia; nor must we, amidst the alarms and confusion which will be forced on our attention, overlook the partiality of the Afghauns for their present constitution; the occupation and interest, the sense of independence and personal consequence which result from a popular government, however rudely formed; and the courage, the intelligence, and the elevation of character which those occupations, and that independence can never fail to inspire. *

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* The Afghauns themselves exult in the free spirit of their institutions. Those who are little under the royal authority, are proud of their independence, which those under the King (though not exposed to the tyranny common in every other country in the east) admire, and fain would imitate. They all endeavour to maintain, that "all Afghauns are equal," which, though it *is* not, nor ever was true, still shews their notions and their wishes. I once strongly urged to a very intelligent old man of the tribe of Meeankhail, the superiority of a quiet and secure life, under a powerful monarch, to the discord, the alarms, and the blood, which they owed to their present system. The old man replied with great warmth, and thus concluded an indignant harangue against arbitrary power, "We are content with discord, we are content with alarms, we are content with blood, "but we will never be content with a master."

Another incalculable advantage of the present system is, that although it encourages *little* disorders, it affords an effectual security against the general revolutions and calamities to which despotic countries in Asia are so frequently subject. In Persia or India, the passions of a bad king are felt through every part of his dominions; and the civil wars which occur almost as often as a King dies, never fail to throw the kingdom into a state of misery and disorder: part of the inhabitants are exposed to the licence and cruelty of the contending armies, and the rest suffers, nearly in an equal degree, from the anarchy that follows a dissolution of the government which has hitherto maintained the public tranquillity. The consequence is, that a tyrant, or a disputed succession, reduces the nation to a state of weakness and decay, from which it cannot wholly be retrieved, before its recovery is checked by the recurrence of a similar calamity. In Afghaunistaun, on the contrary, the internal government of the tribes answers its end so well, that the utmost disorders of the royal government never derange its operations, nor disturb the lives of the people. A number of organised and high-spirited republics are ready to defend their rugged country against a tyrant; and are able to defy the feeble efforts of a party in a civil war. Accordingly, if we compare the condition of the two kingdoms, we find Persia in a state of decay, after twenty years of entire tranquillity; while Afghaunistaun continues the progressive improvement, which it has kept up during twelve years of civil warfare. New aqueducts are constantly made, and new lands brought into cultivation: the towns and the country round them, indeed, as well as that on the great roads, are declining; but the cause is obvious, in their being immediately exposed to the power of the competitors for the crown, and to the pillage of their armies.

But even if we admit the inferiority of the Afghaun institutions to those of the more vigorous governments of other Asiatic countries, we cannot but be struck with the vast superiority of the materials they afford for the construction of a national constitution. The other

nations are better adapted to a bad than to a good government. They can all be brought to contribute their whole force to the support of a despotism, within the time that is required to over-run their territory; and ages must pass away, before the slaves of India or China could be made capable of taking a share in the government of their country; but if a King, of sufficient genius to form the design of cordially uniting his subjects, should spring up among the Afghauns, he would necessarily fall on a beautiful form of government, as the only one by which he could possibly accomplish his design. An ordinary monarch might endeavour to reduce the tribes to obedience by force; but one Afghaun King * has already had the penetration to discover that it would require a less exertion to conquer all the neighbouring kingdoms, than to subdue his own countrymen. A monarch such as I have supposed, would therefore be obliged (as the King is at present †) to concert his measures with the hereditary Khauns; and the necessity of consulting the interests of the whole, would induce them to carry on their debates in a general assembly: such an arrangement would be congenial to the habits of their internal government, and conformable to the practice which the King now observes with the Dooraunee Sirdars; and it would form a council of the nobility, connected both with the King and the people, though more immediately with the King. In most Ooloosses, the Khauns can levy no taxes, and can take no public measures, without the consent of the *elected* Mulliks, who are obliged, in their turn, to obtain the consent of their divisions. The King might try to strengthen the Khauns, and by their means to draw a supply from a reluctant people, but unless he began with greater means than the Kings have yet possessed, his attempt would probably be attended with as little success; and if

* Ahmed Shauh.

† No measure was determined on in Shauh Shuja's time, without a council of the Dooraunee lords.

he wished for general and cordial aid, it must be procured by adherence to the present system, and by obtaining the consent of the nation. Thus the Khauns would be sent, as they now are, to persuade their tribes to contribute to the general revenue. They would find the people's ignorance of the national exigencies, a bar to their granting any addition to the established supplies; and it surely would not be an unnatural expedient to prevail on them to depute one or two of the wisest of their Mulliks, to ascertain at the court the real state of the public affairs. An elective assembly would thus be formed, of which every individual would be closely connected with his constituents, and would be regarded by them as their natural and hereditary head; they would represent a people accustomed to respect their chiefs, but as much accustomed to debate on, and to approve or reject, the measures which those chiefs proposed. The militia of the tribes would constitute an army which would be invincible by a foreign invader, while the King would be without any force that could offer a moment's resistance to a general combination of his subjects.

The slightest alteration would form a combination between the Jeergas and the Cauzees appointed by the King, which would be admirably adapted to the administration of justice, and a government would thus be established, as well suited as any that can be imagined for promoting the greatness and happiness of the nation.

Such are the pleasing reveries to which we are led by a consideration of the materials of which the Afghaun government is composed, but a very little reflection must convince us, that these speculations are never likely to be realised. The example of neighbouring despotisms, and the notions already imbibed by the court of Caubul, preclude the hope of our ever seeing a King capable of forming the design; and there is reason to fear that the societies into which the nation is divided, possess within themselves a principle of repulsion

and disunion, too strong to be overcome, except by such a force as, while it united the whole into one solid body, would crush and obliterate the features of every one of the parts. *

* There are traces in the village government of India, of the existence of a system resembling that of the Afghaun Ooloosses; the remains of it, which have survived a long course of oppression, still afford some relief from the disorders of the government, and supply the solution of a difficulty, which must be experienced by all travellers in the centre of India, respecting the flourishing state of parts of the country, from which all government appears to be withdrawn.

CHAP. III.

MARRIAGES. — CONDITION OF WOMEN. — FUNERALS, &c.

THE Afghauns purchase their wives. The practice is recognised by the Mahometan law, and is followed in most parts of Asia, even among nations like the Chinese, where the Mussulman religion is unknown. The price varies among the Afghauns, according to the circumstances of the bridegroom. The effect of the practice is, that women, though generally well treated, are in some measure considered as property. A husband can divorce his wife without assigning any reason, but the wife cannot divorce her husband; she may sue for a divorce on good grounds before the Cauzy, but even this is little practised. If the husband dies before his wife, his relations receive the price that is paid for her, in case of a second marriage; but among the Afghauns, as among the Jews, it is thought incumbent on the brother of the deceased to marry his widow, and it is a mortal affront to the brother, for any other person to marry her without his consent. The widow, however, is not compelled to take a husband against her will, and if she have children, it is thought most becoming to remain single.

The common age for marriage throughout the Afghaun country is twenty for the man, and fifteen or sixteen for the woman. Men unable to pay the price of a wife, are often unmarried till forty, and women are sometimes single till twenty-five. On the other hand, the rich sometimes marry before the age of puberty; people in towns also marry early, and the eastern Afghauns marry boys of fifteen to girls of twelve, and even earlier when they can afford the expense. The western Afghauns seldom marry till the man has attained his

full strength, and till his beard is grown; and the Ghiljies have still later marriages. In all parts of the country, the age at which every individual marries, is regulated by his ability to purchase a wife, and to maintain a family. In general, men marry among their own tribe, but the Afghauns often take Taujik, and even Persian wives. These matches are not at all discreditable, but it is reckoned a mark of inferiority to give a daughter in marriage, and, consequently, the men of rank, and the whole of the Dooraunees, refuse their daughters to men of any other nation.

In towns, men have no opportunities of seeing the women, and matches are generally made from considerations of expediency. When a man has thought of a particular girl, he sends a female relation, or neighbour, to see her, and report on her: if he is pleased, the same lady sounds the girl's mother, and discovers whether her family are disposed to consent to the match: and if the result be favourable, she makes an offer in plain terms, and settles a day for a public proposal. On the appointed day, the father of the suitor goes, with a party of his male relations, to the girl's father: while a similar deputation of women waits on her mother, and makes the offer in form. The suitor sends a ring, a shawl, or some such present to his mistress, and his father begs the girl's father to accept his son for his servant; the girl's father answers *Mobaurik baushud*, "May it be auspicious;" upon this, sweatmeats are brought in, of which both parties partake, after solemnly repeating the Fauteheh, or opening verse of the Koraun, and praying for a blessing on the couple: the girl's father makes some trifling present to the lover, and from this time the parties are considered as affianced. A considerable time elapses before the marriage is celebrated. It is employed by the relations of the bride in preparing her dowry, which generally consists in articles of household furniture, carpets, plates, brazen and iron vessels, and personal ornaments. The bridegroom in the mean time, is collecting the price of his wife, which always greatly exceeds her dower, and in preparing a house, and whatever else is necessary for setting up a family. When the bridegroom is poor, these prepara-

tions sometimes occupy a year or two; but when he is rich, the period is not above two or three months. The ceremonies of the marriage are so exactly the same with those of the Persians,* that a a short account of them here will suffice.

The marriage contract is drawn up by the Cauzy, and formally agreed to by the woman as well as by the man, (the consent of relations being of no avail). The articles stipulate for a provision for the wife, in case of a divorce, or of her husband's death; and are signed by both parties, as well as by the Cauzy and competent witnesses. Soon after this, the bride and bridegroom dye their hands and feet with portions of the same henna, (a plant used for this species of ornament by women and young men in most Asiatic countries). On the next night, the bride goes in procession to the house of her future husband, attended by a band of music and singers, by the relations of both, and by parties of the neighbours, wheeling in circles on horseback, firing their matchlocks, and flourishing their swords. When the bride reaches the house, she is presented to her husband, and the whole concludes with a wedding supper.

A marriage is conducted in the same manner in the country; but, as the women there go unveiled, and there is less restraint in the intercourse between the sexes, the match generally originates in the attachment of the parties, and all the previous negociations are saved. It is even in the power of an enterprizing lover to obtain his mistress without the consent of her parents, by seizing an opportunity of cutting off a lock of her hair, snatching away her veil, or throwing a sheet over her, and proclaiming her his affianced wife. These proceedings, which are supposed to be done with the girl's connivance, would prevent any other suitor proposing to her, and would incline the parents to bestow her on the declared lover; but, as they would not exempt him from the necessity of paying some price, and, as they might be taken up as an affront by the relations, they are not often resorted to;

* See Franklin's Tour to Sheerauz.

and, when the consent of the parents cannot be obtained, the most common expedient is to elope with the girl. This is considered as an outrage to a family, equal to murdering one of its members, and is pursued with the same rancour, but the possession of the girl is secured. The fugitives take refuge in the lands of some other tribe, and are sure of the protection which the Afghaun customs afford to every guest, and still more to every suppliant.

Among the Eusofzyes, no man sees his wife till the marriage ceremonies are completed; and with all the Burdooraunees, there is great reserve between the time when the parties are betrothed and the marriage. Some of them live with their future father-in-law, and earn their bride by their services, as Jacob did Rachel, without ever seeing the object of their wishes. But, all the rest of the Afghauns, the Eimauks, the Hazaurehs, the inhabitants of Persian Khorassaun, and even the Taujiks, and many of the Hindoos in those countries, have a far different practice, and permit a secret intercourse between the bride and bridegroom, which is called naumzud bauzee, or the sports of the betrothed. With them, as soon as the parties are affianced, the lover steals by night to the house of his mistress. The mother, or some other of the female relations, favours his design; but it is supposed to be entirely concealed from the men, who would affect to consider it as a great affront. He is admitted by the mother, and conducted to his mistress's apartment, where the lovers are left alone till the approach of morning. The freest intercourse, the most unreserved conversation, and even kisses, and all other innocent freedoms, are allowed; but, the last favour is always to be withheld, and the strongest cautions and prohibitions are used by the mother to both parties separately. Nature, however, is generally too strong for injunctions, and the marriage begins with all the difficulty and interest of an illicit amour. There have even been cases where the bride has brought her husband two or three children when she was formally received as his wife; but, this is very scandalous, and seldom happens. The custom prevails even among men of rank; and the King, himself,

sometimes exposes his person alone in the midnight adventures of naumzud bauzee.

Polygamy is known to be allowed by the Mahommedan law; but, the bulk of the people, cannot afford to avail themselves of the permission. The rich, indeed, exceed the legal number of four wives, and keep crowds of female slaves besides. But the poor content themselves with one wife; and two wives, with as many concubines, is reckoned a liberal establishment for the middle classes.

The condition of the women varies with their rank. Those of the upper classes are entirely concealed; but are allowed all the comforts and luxuries, which their situation admits of. Those of the poor, do the work of the house, and bring in water, &c. Among the rudest tribes, they have a share in the work of the men out of doors; but, in no part of the country are they employed as in India, where half the hired labourers in building, &c. are women, and where there is scarce any difference between the work done by the two sexes. The Mahommedan law allows the husband to beat his wife; but it is reckoned discreditable for a man to avail himself of this privilege.

The ladies of the upper classes frequently learn to read, and some of them shew considerable talents for literature. At the same time, it is thought immodest in a woman to write, as she might avail herself of her talent, to correspond with a lover. I have known several families, which were principally guided by women of more than ordinary talents; and, in those cases, they never hesitated to correspond on any business that concerned their sons. These are chiefly the mothers of families, but the wives also often gain a great ascendant; and all the advantages given by the Mahommedan law are not always sufficient to prevent the husband's sinking into a secondary place in his own house. Women of the lower orders have all the domestic amusements of their husbands; and none, that I know of, peculiar to themselves. Those in towns, are always wrapped up in a large white sheet, which covers them to their feet, and completely hides their figure. They are enabled to see by means of a net-work in the white hood, which covers their head. Women of condition also wear this

dress, when they come out; and, as they are then generally on horseback, they wear a pair of large white cotton boots, which hide the shape of their legs. They also travel in cajawas (or hampers, one on each side of a camel), which are long enough to allow a woman to lie nearly at length; but, as they are covered with a case of broad cloth, they must be suffocating in hot weather. The women are allowed to go about the town veiled in the manner I have described, and they form a considerable part of all the crowds that gather to see spectacles. They also make parties to gardens; and, though more scrupulously concealed, are not much more confined than women in India. On the whole, their condition is very far from being unhappy, compared with that of the women of the neighbouring countries.

In the country they go unveiled, and are under no other restraint among people of their own camp or village, than what is imposed by the general opinion, that it is indecent to associate with the men. But they immediately cover their faces, if they see a man with whom they are not intimate; and seldom come into the public apartment of their houses, if there is a stranger there. They do not, however, stand on this ceremony with Armenians, Persians, or Hindoos, whom they count for nothing. They receive guests when their husbands are from home, and treat them with all the attention that is required by hospitality; but, the chastity of the country women, and particularly of those of the shepherds, is a theme of praise to all people acquainted with their manners. There are no common prostitutes except in the towns, and very few even there, particularly in the west. It is reckoned very disreputable to frequent them; but, their knowledge of the world, the polish of their manners, and the arts they use to attract admiration, afford so much interest and variety, that all the latitude allowed in wives and concubines, is insufficient to prevent rich men from seeking their society.

I am not sure that there is any people in the East, except the Afghauns, where I have seen any trace of the sentiment of love, according to our ideas of the passion. Here it is very prevalent. Besides the numerous elopements, the dangers of which are encountered for love,

it is common for a man to plight his faith to a particular girl, and then set off to a remote town, or even to India, to acquire the wealth that is necessary to obtain her from her friends. I saw a young man at Poona, who was in this predicament. He had fallen in love with the daughter of a Mullik, who returned his attachment. The father consented to the marriage; but said his daughter's honour required that she should bring as large a fortune as the other women of her family. The two lovers were much afflicted, as the young man had nothing but some land and a few bullocks. At last, he resolved to set off to India. His mistress gave him a needle, used for putting antimony on the eyelids, as a pledge of her affection; and, he seemed to have no doubt that she would remain single till his return. These amours are generally confined to the country people, where great ease and leisure are favourable to such sentiments, particularly when combined with the partial seclusion of the women, (which renders them sufficiently inaccessible to excite interest, while they are seen enough to be admired). They are sometimes found even among the higher orders, where they are less to be expected. It was a love affair between the chief of the Turcolaunees and the wife of the Khaun of a division of the Eusofzyes, that gave rise to the war between the Ooloosses, which lasts to this day.

Many of the Afghaun songs and tales relate to love, and most of them speak of that passion in the most glowing and romantic language. A favourite poem, which tells the story of Audam and Doorkhaunee, is known to most men in the nation, and is read, repeated, and sung, through all parts of the country *. Audam was the handsomest and bravest young man of his tribe, and Doorkhaunee the most beautiful and most amiable of the virgins; but a feud between their families long prevented their meeting. At last an accidental rencounter took place, which ended in a mutual and violent passion. The quarrels of the families, however, still kept the lovers separate,

* I once possessed a copy of this poem, of which I should have been glad to have translated some extracts; but I have since lost it, and the abstract I have given, was repeated to me in Persian by an Afghaun of Deraubund.

and perhaps in ignorance of each other's sentiments, till Doorkhaunee was compelled by her relations to marry a neighbouring chief. The affliction of her lover may be imagined, and his lamentations, and the letters that passed between him and Doorkhaunee, fill a large part of the poem; till at last, after overcoming numberless obstacles, Audam succeeded in prevailing on his mistress to see him. They had several meetings, but Doorkhaunee still preserved her purity, and rejected alike the importunities of her lover and her husband.

Audam's visits did not long escape the husband, who was filled with jealousy and desire of vengeance. He took the opportunity of his rival's next visit to way-lay him, at the head of several of his own relations: and though his attack was bravely repelled, and his opponent escaped with a desperate wound, he resolved to try if Audam's suit was favoured, by observing the effect of a report of his death on Doorkhaunee.

Doorkhaunee's only pleasure, during the long intervals of her lover's visits, was to retire to a garden, and to cultivate two flowers, one of which she named after herself, and the other after the object of her affection. On the day of the ambuscade, she was watching her flowers, when she observed that of Audam languish from sympathy with his recent misfortune; and before she recovered from her surprise, she was accosted by her husband, who approached her with a drawn sword, and boasted that it was wet with the blood of Audam. This trial was fatal to Doorkhaunee, who sunk to the ground, overwhelmed with grief and horror, and expired on the spot. The news was brought to Audam, who lay wounded near the scene of the ambuscade, and no sooner had he heard it, than he called on his mistress's name, and breathed his last. They were buried at a distance from each other; but their love prevailed even in death, and their bodies were found to have met in one grave. Two trees sprung from their remains, and mingled their branches over the tomb.

Most people will be struck with the resemblance of this story, and particularly of the conclusion, to many European tales. It is, indeed,

remarkable how many stories are common to Europe and Asia, and that, not only in works of imagination, but in facts attributed to real personages, and recorded in history. One example may suffice out of many which might be brought forward. The stratagem of turning loose oxen, with torches on their horns, by which Hannibal is said to have escaped from Fabius, is attributed by the Afghauns, with all its particulars, to one of their own chiefs; and the scene of it is fixed in the neighbourhood of Heraut. In the same manner, a vast number of our jests are told in Asia, and half of Joe Miller might be disputed between "the facetious Tom Killigrew," and "a certain scholar," of some city in the east.

The funerals of the Afghauns do not differ from those of the other Mahommedans; a man in his last moments is attended by a Moolla, who admonishes him to repent of his sins; the sick man repeats his creed, and appropriate prayers, and expires with his face to Mecca, proclaiming that there is no God but God, and that Mahomet is his prophet. When he is dead, the corpse is washed, wrapped up in a shroud, and buried, after the usual prayers have been said by a Moollah, and joined in by the numerous relations and neighbours, who attend the funeral. If the deceased was rich, Moollahs are employed to read the Koraun for some days over his grave.

The ceremony of circumcision is the same in all Mahommedan countries. It is attended with a feast and great rejoicing.

CHAP. IV.

EDUCATION, LANGUAGE, AND LITERATURE OF THE AFGHAUNS.

ALL the Afghauns are sent in their infancy to a Moollah for education. Some learn no more than their regular Namauz, and other occasional prayers and passages of the Koraun, with the ceremonies of their religion, and the duties of a Mussulman. About Peshawer, and among the Dooraunees, the next step is to learn to read the Koraun in Arabic, often without understanding it; but in other tribes this study is reserved for a more advanced stage. This is the education of the lower orders, of whom not a quarter can read their own language.

The rich keep Moollahs in their houses to teach their children, but allow them all the power of a common schoolmaster. The Moollah who had charge of the prime minister's son (a boy of sixteen when I saw him), told me that he kept him to his book for almost the whole day.

There is a schoolmaster in every village and camp, who is maintained by a piece of land allotted to him, and by a small contribution which he receives from his scholars. His office is sometimes united with that of the priest of the village; but it is oftener distinct, especially in large places. In towns there are regular schools, like those in European countries, where the master is maintained by his scholars alone. The sum commonly paid to a schoolmaster in Peshawer, is about fifteen pence a-month; but the payments are in proportion to the circumstances of the boy's father. In most parts of the country, the boys live with their fathers, and only attend the school during the day; but among the Berdooraunees, a boy is sent at a

very early age to a distant village, where he lives in the mosque, subsists by alms, and has little or no intercourse with his parents, but is taken care of by the schoolmaster under whom he has been placed.

The following is the course of study pursued about Peshawer: a child begins its letters (in conformity to a traditional injunction of the Prophet) when it is four years, four months, and four days old; but its studies are immediately laid aside, and not resumed till it is six or seven years old, when it learns its letters, and is taught to read a little Persian poem of Saadis, which points out the beauty of each of the virtues, and the deformity of each of the vices, in very simple, and not inelegant language. This takes from four months to a year, according to the child's capacity. After this, common people learn the Koraun, and study some books in their own language; people of decent fortune proceed to read the Persian classics, and a little of the Arabic grammar: boys who are to be brought up as Moollahs, give a great deal of their time to this last study, which, as the Arabic grammars are very elaborate, and comprehend a great deal of science, that we do not mix with the rudiments of a language, sometimes occupies several years. When a young Moollah has made sufficient proficiency in this study, he goes to Peshawer, Hushtnuggur, or some other place famous for its Moollahs, and begins on logic, law, and theology. No further knowledge is required to complete a Moollah's education, but many push their researches into ethics, metaphysics, and the system of physics known in the east, as well as history, poetry, and medicine, which last is a fashionable study for men of all professions. For those studies, and for the more advanced branches of theology and law, they often travel to distant cities, and even to Bokhaura, which is a great seat of Mahommedan learning; but Peshawer seems, on the whole, to be the most learned city in these countries, and many more students come thither from Bokhaura, than repair to that city from Peshawer. India has not a great reputation for learning, and the heresy of the Persians makes all Soonnees avoid the infection of their colleges.

It is reckoned a good work in the sight of God to promote learning, and, consequently, besides the King's colleges, there is an establishment in every village for maintaining students. The consequence is, that the country is over-run with half-taught Moollahs, who rather impede than promote the progress of real learning.

Before saying more about the learning of the Afghauns, it will be well to give some account of their language, which, as I have already mentioned, is called Pushtoo. Its origin is not easily discovered. A large portion of the words that compose it, spring from some unknown * root, and in this portion are included most of those words which, from the early necessity for designating the objects they represent, must have formed parts of the original language of the people; yet some of this very class belong to the Zend and Pehlevee; such as the terms for father and mother, sister and brother. This seems also to be the case with the numerals; though the Zend and Pehlevee numerals bear so strong a resemblance to the Shanscrit ones, that it is difficult to distinguish them. Most of the verbs, and many of the particles again belong to the unknown root. The words connected with religion, government, and science, are mostly introduced from the Arabic through the Persian.

Of two hundred and eighteen hundred words which I compared † with the corresponding ones in Persian, Zend, Pehlevee, Shanscrit, Hindostaunee, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, Hebrew, and Chaldaic, I found one hundred and ten that could not be referred to any of

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* It is probable many of these words might be traced to a known source, if diligently sifted by an Oriental scholar. I have explained, in the next note, the process they have undergone in my hands.

† The comparison was made in the following manner:—I drew up a Pushtoo vocabulary, which I believe was correct, and which had the advantage of being compared with one compiled by Mr. Irvine: similar vocabularies of the Zend and Pehlevee languages were made for me by a friend to whose kindness I have often been indebted. They were taken from two learned Parsees, and compared with Anquetil du Perron's lists. The same friend procured the Georgian, Armenian, Hebrew, and Chaldee vocabularies. My own acquaintance with Persian and Hindostanee was sufficient, with the help of diction-

those languages, but seemed distinct and original. Of the remainder, by far the greater part were modern Persian; but some of these were introduced into the latter language from the Zend, and many more from the Pehlevee, while a good number were words of those languages not employed in modern Persian. Some of these Zend and Pehlevee words are, however, common to the Shanscrit, the three languages having a great affinity; and some words also occur, which are to be found in Shanscrit alone, as do five or six words of the Hindostaunee language. It is probable some Punjaubee words would also be detected, if the list were compared with a vocabulary of that language. Not one word of the two hundred and eighteen has the smallest appearance of being deducible from the Hebrew or Chaldaic, Georgian or Armenian.

The Afghauns use the Persian alphabet, and generally write in the Nushk character. As they have some sounds, which are not represented by any Persian letters, they express them by adding particular points or other marks to the nearest Persian letter. *

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aries, for the purpose I had in view; and for the Shanscrit, each word was compared with all the numerous synonyms in the Amercosh, which were read to me by a Pundit. I have given part of my vocabulary in the Appendix (E).

Since I wrote the above, I have had an opportunity of examining a list of about one hundred Curdish words, and I find among them five of the hundred and ten which I have mentioned as original Afghaun words, besides several common to the Curdish and Persian both languages. I regret that I have not an opportunity of following up the investigation.

* These sounds are the hard *D*, *T*, and *R*, and the *Csh* of the Shanscrit. The favourite letters in Pushtoo seem to be the *Ghain* (the sound of which cannot be expressed in English characters, but which has a resemblance to the Northumberland *Beer*), and *Zhay*, which has the power of *Z* in azure, or *S* in osier. Such is the fondness of the Afghauns for these letters, that they often change the *Gs* of words adopted from the Persian into *Ghains*, and the *Zs* (and even the *Shs*) into *Zhs*. They also often change *F* into *P*, *D* into *T*, and even *D* into *L*; and they frequently turn *O* into *Wu*, as Roz (day) Rwuz. The eastern Afghauns again have some permutations peculiar to themselves, thus they change *Zh* into *G*, and *Sh* into *Kh*. These changes sometimes disguise a word in such a manner, as to render it a matter of difficulty to discover its etymology. Nobody would suspect that *Ghzug*, the eastern Afghaunee for

The Pushtoo, though rather rough, is a manly language, and not unpleasing to an ear accustomed to oriental tongues. The dialects of the East and West, differ not only in the pronunciation, but in the words they make use of, to a degree at least equal to the difference between Scots and English. None of the famous Pushtoo authors are of more than a century and half old; and, I should imagine, that there were no books in the language that can pretend to more than double that antiquity. What literature there is, has been derived from that of the Persians; and their compositions would resemble that model, but for their greater rudeness and superior simplicity. I have the names of eight or nine Afghaun poets, besides translators from the Persian.

The most popular of all the poets is Rehmaun, whose works consist of odes, exactly like those of the Persians. I can perceive no merit in those of his poems, which I have had explained to me; but this is no proof that he is unworthy of his reputation. Most Persian odes are very unequal; and, even in Hafiz, the beautiful and sublime passages, which excite so much admiration, are almost lost in a mass of verses that are far below mediocrity.

Khooshhaul appears to me a far superior poet to Rehmaun, and his productions are highly characteristic of himself and his nation. They are more than ordinarily rude, and are often intolerably flat and prosaic; but they are often inspired with the unconquerable spirit of their author; and glow with the noblest sentiments of liberty and independence. Khooshhaul was Khaun of the Khuttuks, a tribe, situated to the east of Peshawer. His life was spent in struggles against the great Mogul. Aurungzebe, and many of his poems, are intended to animate his countrymen to the defence of their independence, and

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an ear, could be derived from the Persian *Gosh*, from which however it is clearly deducible by the foregoing rules. The Pushtoo is distinguished from Persian and Hindostanee by its fondness for the letter *S*, preceded or followed by a consonant at the beginning of a word; a combination unknown to the other two languages. Of this nature, is *sturgee*, an eye, and *speen*, white, as well as *pshee*, a foot, and *shpee*, night.

to persuade them to concord and combination, as the only means of success. His works contain a full account of himself, and his proceedings. One poem begins thus:

"Come, and listen to my story,
In which both good and evil are displayed.
It contains both precept and example,
Agreeable to the understanding of the wise.
I am Khooshhaul, the son of Shahbauzkhan;
Descended from a race of warriors.
Shaubauz was the son of Yeheia Khaun,
Like whom there never was another youth,
Yeheia Khaun, of Acora,
Who was a Sultan at the sword.
He was both gallant at the use of the sword,
And a master of archery with his bow.
Any enemy that appeared against him
Soon found his place in the tomb.
He had both the sword and the board;
Both courage and courtesy.
* * * * * * *
His companions
Were men of spirit, who sported with their lives;
And in all transactions they were sincere.
They went to their graves dyed with blood.
Such heroes were they all.
The family became numerous;
And most of them turned out worthy men.
United in every undertaking.
Honour and reputation were dear to them all.
It was in the year of the Hejra 1022,
That I came into this world."

He then goes on to tell, how on his father's death, he became the great Khaun of his tribe; how he ruled over 30,000 Khuttuks, and lived in greater splendour than any of his ancestors. He enumerates his horses, his hawks, and his hounds; and boasts of the thousands that had partaken of his hospitality. He then alludes to his misfortunes; and bursts into invectives against the Moguls, and into bitter

reproaches against some of his sons, who had been seduced by the prospect of advancement to join the enemies of their country.

> "I am the enemy of Aurungzebe, the King;
> Though my head be on the mountains, and in the wilderness.
> I am for the honour of the Afghaun name;
> And they have taken part with the Moguls.
> They always prowl about, like hungry dogs,
> After the soup and the bread of the Moguls,
> In hopes of an increase of their rank.
> They are always in pursuit of me.
> My hand could reach them, even now:
> But, I will not destroy my own soul."

He long continued his exertions, with the courage and patriotism of a Wallace; sometimes succeeding in destroying royal armies, and sometimes wandering almost alone through the mountains. He at one time fell into the hands of Aurungzebe, was carried to India, and was confined for three years in a dungeon in the hill-fort of Givalior, the great state prison of those days. *

During this imprisonment, he composed an elegy; in which, after lamenting his own misfortunes and those of his country, he concludes with this spirited declaration.

> "But, in all these misfortunes, I still thank God for two things.
> One that I am an Afghaun; and the other, that I am Khooshhaul Khuttuck."

He was at length released, I know not by what means, and once more returned to his native country, where he published a vast number of poems, and a history of the Afghauns, from the Babylonish captivity to his own time.

The following poem was composed at a time when Khooshhaul and his few confederates had gained many brilliant victories, but had been intoxicated by their success: had engaged in separate attacks on the enemies forces; and, in consequence of this want of co-ope-

* See Bernier.

ration, had all been defeated. At this time, Khooshhaul set out for the country of the Eusofzyes, and left nothing unattempted to stir up that powerful tribe to join in the war. There appears to have been an inclination for peace even among his own friends, which this poem seems designed to counteract, by reminding them of their victories, by pointing out Aurungzebe's vindictive disposition, and his habitual perfidy, and by convincing them that their only resource was in war, and their only safety in union. It is but justice to Khooshhaul, to mention that it is one of the only three poems, which were read to me with little or no selection, from his very voluminous works.

Poem of Khooshhaul.

" Whence has this spring appeared again,
Which has made the country all around one rose garden.
The anemone is there, the sweet herbs, the iris, and the basil,
The jasmine, the daffodil, the narcissus, and pomegranate flower.
The flowers of the spring are of all colours;
But the cheek of the red tulip glows most among them all.
The maidens have handfuls of roses in their bosoms.
The youths have bunches of flowers in their turbans.
The musician applies his bow to his cheghauneh,
And searches out the melodies of every string.
Come, O cup bearer, bring full, full cups:
Let me be satiated with wine and revelry. *

* The description of the spring reminds one of the old English romances, which sometimes open with a prelude of the same kind, unconnected with the subject of the poem. Thus in the romance of Merlin.

" Mirie, it is in time of June,
When fenil hangeth abroad in town.
Violet, and rose flower,
Woneth then in maiden's bower.
The sonne is hot, the day is long,
Foulis maketh mirie song.
King Arthour bar Coroun,
In Cardoile, that noble town." &c.

Ellis's Specimens. Vol. I.

The Afghaun youth have reddened their hands,
As a falcon dyes its talons in the blood of its quarry.
They have made their white swords rosy with blood,
As a bed of tulips blooming in summer.
Amail Khaun and Derry a Khaun were the heroes.
Each emulous of the other.
They stained the valley of Kheiber with blood;
And poured the tumult (of war) on to Currupa.
Up to Currupa, and to Bajour, the mountains, and the plains
Trembled, as with an earthquake, again and again.
It is now five years, that in those quarters,
Every day has been heard the clashing of bright swords.
Since I left that country, I am annihilated.
Am I dead, or are those around me dead?
I call aloud for troops till I am weary:
But those around me are deaf both to complaints and reproaches.
Had I known the state of the Eusofzyes, *
I should have preferred flying to Dumghaur.
The dogs of the Khuttuks would be better than the Eusofzyes,
Even if the Khuttuks themselves were no better than dogs.
The whole of the Afghauns, from Candahar to Attock,
Rely openly or secretly on each other's honour.
Yet, see how many battles have taken place in all quarters,
And yet the Eusofzyes have shewn no sense of shame.
The first battle was behind the hills,
Where forty thousand Moguls were cut to pieces.
Their wives, and their daughters, were the prisoners of the Afghauns
And strings on strings of horses, camels, and elephants were taken.
The second was fought by Meer Hossein, in the Dooaub,
When his head was crushed like that of a snake.
After that, was the fight of the Fort of Nonshehra,
Which removed the intoxication from the head of the Moguls.
After it, came Jeswunt Sing, and Shoojaut Khaun,
Whom Amail defeated at Gundaub.
The sixth battle was with Mookurrum Khaun, and Shumsheer Khaun,
Whom Amail cut up to his heart's content.
We have always hitherto been victorious in battle;
And therefore, henceforward, let us trust in the Lord.

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* I suspect some mistake in this verse.

Aurungzebe, for the last year, has been encamped against us:
Disordered in his appearance, and perplexed in his mind.
All his nobles have fallen in battle;
And, the soldiers who have perished, who can number?
The treasures of Hindostaun have been scattered abroad.
The red gold Mohurs have been sunk in the mountains.
No man would have found out, in eighteen guesses,
That such transactions would have taken place in this country.
Yet, the King's malignity is not diminished;
Which formerly drew down the curse of his own father. *

No dependance can be placed on the King,
For he has ill designs, and is false and treacherous.
No other issue can be discovered in this affair;
Either the Moguls must be annihilated, or the Afghauns undone.
If this be the course of the spheres which we see;
If it be God's pleasure (that we perish), let this be the time.
The heavens do not always revolve in the same manner.
They are sometimes suited to the rose, and sometimes to the thorn.
This time (of danger) is the time for honour.
Without honour, what would become of the Afghauns?
If they harbour any other thought, it is destruction.
There is no deliverance, but in the sword.
The Afghauns are better than the Moguls at the sword.
If the understanding of the Afghauns was awakened;
If the Ooloosses would give their support to one another,
Kings would soon be prostrate before them.
But, dissension and concord, rashness and prudence,
Are all in the hand of God, who assigns to each man his share.
You will see what the Afreedees, Mohmends, and Shainwarrees, will do,
When the Mogul army has encamped in Ningrahaur.
I alone feel for the honour of our name;
While the Eusofzyes are cultivating their fields at their ease.
He that now is guilty of such want of spirit
Will see in the end the result of his conduct.
To my mind, death is better than life;
When life can no longer be held with honour.
We are not to live for ever in this world:
But the memory of Khooshhaul Khuttuck will remain."

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* Shauh Jehaun, whom Aurungzebe deposed and imprisoned.

Among the Pushtoo poets we must not omit the name of Ahmed Shauh, who composed a book of odes in that language, on which there is a laborious and voluminous commentary by the Khauni Ooloom.

Besides their original poetry, the Afghauns have translations of many of the best Persian poets.

Their prose authors are chiefly writers on theology and law; but they have also several histories of particular periods in their own transactions. The books written in Pushtoo, are not to be relied on as giving any standard of the learning of the nation; for Persian still continues to be the language of composition, and in it almost all books of science are written. It is not easy to fix the number of their writers in this language: if we count all those who have written in Afghaunistaun, we shall include some of the greatest Persian authors; but if we confine ourselves to those who belonged to the Afghaun tribes, the list will be brought within very narrow bounds. This much is certain, that all the Persian authors are familiarly read in Afghaunistaun, but the learning and accomplishments of the people are inferior to those of the Persians. The sciences are the same as those to which the Persians apply themselves. The way of studying them is as methodical as in other Asiatic countries. A learned man of those countries, meeting another with whom he is not acquainted, will ask him what sciences he has studied (a question which would puzzle most well informed Englishmen), and then ask, what books he has read: to which the other will answer, "up to so and "so," which will be at once understood, as they read all books in a fixed order like school-boys. This practice prevents their having much of the miscellaneous knowledge of European gentlemen, though, on the other hand, they generally know what they have learned, well. It seems likely to damp curiosity, and to check all excursions of the mind; and, accordingly, there is generally a want of ardour in pursuit of knowledge among the Asiatics, which is partaken by the Afghauns, excepting, however, in the sciences of dialectics and metaphysics, in which they take much interest, and have

made no contemptible progress. The degree of encouragement which learning has received from the Afghaun Kings, deserves to be remarked. Ahmed Shauh was very fond of letters, and used to have once a week a Mujlissee Oolima (or assembly of the learned), the early part of which was devoted to subjects of divinity and law, but which always concluded with conversations on poetry and science, and were often prolonged till near morning. Timour Shauk retained these meetings, and used to have his own compositions read at them; nor has the practice been laid aside to this day. Timour Shauh published a book of odes in Persian, which is highly spoken of, but is said to have been corrected and improved by Feroghee, a celebrated poet of Timour's court. Ahmed Shauh also wrote several poems in Persian, and I am in possession of a poetical epistle in that language, from Shauh Zemaun to his brother Shuja, which (though the person who gave it to me, pretended that he had greatly embellished it at Zemaun's desire), is still a very poor performance. Shauh Zemaun, indeed, is said to be the most illiterate of his family. He was at one time persuaded by his Moollahs to issue a proclamation, forbidding the study of logic, as dangerous to the Mahommedan faith; but his edict had no effect, except occasioning great merriment among those to whom it was addressed. I have not heard of any works of Shauh Mahmood; but Shauh Shuja is an Arabic scholar, makes tolerable verses, and is reckoned learned and accomplished for a King.

CHAP. V.

RELIGION, SECTS, MOOLLAHS, SUPERSTITIONS, &c.

THE Mahommedan religion is so well known, and all details regarding it are to be found in so many books, that it is quite unnecessary to mention any of its forms or tenets, except such as are particularly observed by the nation which I am describing. The Afghauns are all of the sect called Soonnee, which acknowledges the three first caliphs as the lawful successors of Mahomet, and admits their interpretation of the law, and their traditions of the Prophet's precepts. They are opposed to the Sheeahs, who reject the three first caliphs, as rebels and usurpers of an office which belonged of right to Ali, the nephew of Mahomet, and the fourth of his successors. This last sect is confined to the Persians and their descendants; all the other Mahometans being Soonnees. The difference between them, though I do not believe it is sufficient to affect any serious part of their conduct, is enough to create a bitter enmity between the two sects. The unlearned part of the Afghaun nation certainly consider a Sheeah as more an infidel than a Hindoo, and have a greater aversion to the Persians for their religion, than for all the injuries the country has suffered at their hands. The feelings of the Afghauns towards people of a religion *entirely* different from their own, is however free from all asperity, as long as they are not at war. They hold, like all other Mussulmans, that no infidel will be saved, that it is lawful, and even meritorious to make war on unbelievers; and to convert them to the Mussulman faith, or impose tribute on them; and, I imagine, to put them to death, if they refuse both of those conditions. It is true, that Shauh Zemaun, in his two conquests of the Punjaub, allowed the Siks entire

toleration, and forbade them to be molested, unless they appeared as enemies; yet that prince himself was induced by a bigotted Moollah to endeavour to convert two Siks, and to put them to death for their obstinate rejection of his arguments*; and the Hindoo historian of the battle of Pauneeput describes a most inhuman massacre of the unresisting fugitives, and even of the prisoners, which he attributes entirely to the religious fury of the Mussulmans. Whatever may be their conduct in war, their treatment of men whom they reckon infidels, in their own country, is laudable in Mahomedans. Their hatred to idolators is well known; yet the Hindoos are allowed the free exercise of their religion, and their temples are entirely unmolested; though they are forbidden all religious processions, and all public exposing of their idols. The Hindoos are held to be impure, and no strict man would consent to eat meat of their dressing; but they are not treated with any particular contempt or hardship: they are employed in situations of trust and emolument, and those who reside in Afghaunistaun, appear as much at their ease as most of the other inhabitants †. The best proof of the toleration practised by the Afghauns, is the good report of the Siks who have travelled among them. The Siks are accus-

* The Afghaun who told the story, expressed a proper sense of the cruelty of this proceeding, and mentioned the firmness of the Siks with applause.

† I do not know whether the greater part of the Afghauns would scruple to eat food prepared by a Hindoo. From the conduct of the great Dooraunee Lord, Ahmed Khaun Noorzye in the following instance, one would think they would not; but I must confess that the Persian who told me the story, seemed to think it put Ahmed Khaun's coarseness in a strong light: it is also to be remembered, that Ahmed Khaun affects to keep up the genuine manners of the Afghauns, and to despise all modern refinements. He was one day riding out near Peshawer, with Kefauyet Khaun, a Persian nobleman: they alighted at a village not far from the city, and while they were seated there, a Hindoo brought them a large plate of curds, which it may be supposed was not dished out with the neatness that would be seen in a nobleman's palace. Ahmed Khaun, however, began on it with a good appetite, and when the Persian pointed out that the curds were dirty, and were besides impure, as being made by a Hindoo, he only answered, "Hindoo che sug ust keh Nidjis "baushed?" "What sort of dog is a Hindoo, that he should pretend to be impure?" and went on with his mess till he had emptied the platter.

tomed in their own country to treat the Mussulmans as inferiors, and would therefore be particularly sensible of any insult or contempt from people of that persuasion; yet they always speak well of the usage they receive, and one Sik Goldsmith in particular (who was a very intelligent man, and had travelled over great part of Afghaunistaun, Persia, Khorassan, and Tartary), always spoke of the kindness and hospitality he received in the former country, which he contrasted with the contempt with which he was treated by the Persians, who would not allow him to draw water, for fear of polluting the well, or to walk in the streets during rain, lest he should splash some Mahomedan, and thus render him impure. The Uzbeks used him well. It must however be admitted, that the Hindoos are obliged to pay a light tax, from which Mussulmans are exempt, that they are considered as an inferior race, that they are particularly exposed to the tyranny of the Moollahs. That tyranny must, however, be exercised under colour of law, and the following case, which took place in the Berdooraunee country (where the people are a thousand times more bigotted and intolerant than in any other part of Afghaunistaun), will shew the means made use of on those occasions. A Moollah, having been crossed in some love adventure by a Hindoo, gave information to the Cauzee that his enemy had embraced Islaum, and had relapsed into idolatry. The Cauzee, after examining witnesses (who swore to the Hindoo's conversion, and to his having repeated the Mahomedan creed), ordered the prisoner to be circumcised against his will. The sentence required to be executed by the civil magistrate, and the Dooraunee governor of Peshawer could not be prevailed on to carry it into effect. On this the Moollah assembled some others of his order, and by degrees was joined by some thousand Moollahs (who swarm about Peshawer); he marched to the principal mosque, stopped the usual call to prayers, and suspended all the ceremonies of religion, as if the country were under an interdict, till at last the governor was compelled to give way, and (after fruitless attempts to make the witnesses contradict themselves), he ordered the Hindoo to be circumcised. The operation was performed with much harshness, and the new convert im-

mediately fled to Lahore, where he returned to his former faith. It is probable that, among the Burdooraunees, any Mussulman would assume a superiority over a Hindoo of equal rank; at least I remember a Burdooraunee camel-driver in my service, who had some dispute with a Hindoo, and ran to my tent, exclaiming, with every appearance of surprise and indignation, "Justice! Justice! Here is "a Hindoo reviling a Mussulman in the very midst of the camp!"

In the West, however, a Mussulman has no such advantage; and Mr. Durie relates, that he has seen many disputes between Hindoos and Mussulmans in Candahar, in which the Hindoos were quite as violent as their opponents, without giving the least offence to any of the other Mahometans.

I must own that I am somewhat at a loss respecting the treatment of Christians. There is no doubt they enjoy a free toleration throughout the kingdom, but Mr. Foster (whose authority is not to be disputed), represents the usage he received while in the character of a Christian, to have been contemptuous and degrading. My own experience would lead me to a very different conclusion; but, from the situation in which I was placed, it was not likely that I should meet with any slight. I have, however, had many opportunities of hearing of the treatment of Christians from a native of Constantinople, who professed the Catholic religion; and, as he had resided from ten to twenty years in the country, he could scarcely be supposed to be ill informed. He sometimes complained of the Afghauns in other respects; but always said, that they had not the smallest aversion to a Christian. He took care never to attack the Mahomedan doctrines, unless he was well assured of the free sentiments of his company; but, in all respects unconnected with religion, his conduct, and the treatment he received were those of a foreign Mussulman. I have had opportunities of witnessing the fidelity of his Mahomedan servants, to whom he sometimes entrusted secrets which would have cost him his life. He was always treated with respect by men of all ranks; and, among others, by the King's Imaun, the head of the Mussulman religion in Caubul. What proves the general toleration is, that he

was very obnoxious to the Prime Minister for his attachment to Mokhtaur Oodoula (on whose ruin the other had risen), and was for some time in a state of confinement within the Balla Hissaur on that account; yet his religion never was thought of as a pretence for injuring him. There is a Catholic priest of Greek descent at Caubul, who seems to be well treated, as he is mentioned with respect in a letter from the Vizier to me; and I have seen an Armenian soldier, who, though very debauched and often intoxicated, seemed to be exactly on a footing with the Persians, with whom he served. But the best evidence on this head is that of Mr. Durie, who travelled through the Afghaun country as far west as Candahar, in the disguise of a Mahommedan; and, though his real religion was often suspected, and several times discovered, he never observed any change in the behaviour of the people. I refer to his journal for particulars *; but I cannot refrain from inserting two passages, the first of which I took down from his own mouth, and the second was contained in the papers he wrote before I had conversed with him. Both relate to the subject of toleration: but the first also gives a striking picture of the impression, made by the mixture of hospitality and rapacity, so remarkable in the Afghauns.

"One day some people at Candahar, asked whether I was a Sunnee "or a Sheah? and, I said, I was of the religion of Shumsee Tubree-"see, who was a kind of a free thinker. But, one said, we know you "are neither a Sunnee nor a Sheeah, but a Feringee, (a Frank); and "many people know that as well as us, but do not like to mention it, "because it might be of annoyance to me. They are a kind people. "If they thought I was rich, they would not treat me ill, they would "only take my riches; and, if I would not give them, they would "make me." The following is extracted verbatim from Mr. Durie's written paper: "They imagine their religion to be the best, and "most true, consequently they consider all others to be misled or

* See Appendix, B.

" erroneous, hoping on account of the superior truth thereof, to van-
" quish all in the end. Being Sunnee Mahomedans (in conformity
" with the Turks, and Tartars, and Arabs, and holding the Persians
" as misled), they refrain from such degrees of animosity as might
" urge them to their own destruction or extirpation. That they hold
" their religion to be the best is undoubtedly not their fault, they being
" strictly initiated to imagine so. However, the spirit of toleration,
" owing to philanthropy, does not a little actuate them, (though at
" first they might wish to Mahomedanize all men), for many of them
" are certainly free, liberal, and tolerating." *

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* Mr. Durie was a native of Bengal, the son of an Englishman, by an Indian mother. He had been employed as a compounder of medicines, in different dispensaries; but, some years ago, he was seized with a great desire of travelling, and (after wandering some time in India), he crossed the Indus, without a farthing in his possession; and travelled through the Afghaun country in the character of a Mahomedan, with the intention of proceeding to Bagdad. He went by Caubul to Candahar, resided some months in each of those cities, and at length returned by the same route to India. He came to Poona in 1812, and presented himself at my door in rags, and with little about him that promised much information. I had, by this time, finished my collections, and made up my mind on most subjects relating to the Afghauns. But I had not seen the west of the country; and, though I had received detailed accounts of the whole of Afghaunistaun from natives of that kingdom, yet their notions were likely to differ from mine. It was probable, that they might consider that as refined, which I should have thought rude; and I was in want of some scale to which I might refer their pictures. A man, who had seen Afghaunistaun, with the notions of an Englishman, was therefore a great acquisition, and one which I scarcely hoped to have obtained.

With all Mr. Foster's merit, his account did not answer my purpose. He travelled with caravans during the night; saw little of the country he passed through; and had no communication with the inhabitants, except in towns; and, even there, his intercourse was restrained by the alarm so natural to a man who has entered on an untried adventure. The same uneasiness may, perhaps, have given a colour to the objects which he saw; and his views must no doubt have been affected by the hardships of the mode of travelling he undertook, to which, from his rank in life, he could have been but little accustomed.

Mr. Durie, on the other hand, had been used to poverty; and, as he travelled leisurely and almost alone, and lodged everywhere with the people of the country, he could scarce fail of knowing their real character and situation. As soon as I had discovered his story, and before I had any conversation with him on his travels, I requested him to commit his adventures and opinions on the Afghaun country to writing. It gave me real satisfaction to find them entirely coincide with my own; and, I cannot but consider the agreement between the views of two persons, who saw a country in such different circumstances, and

The Sheeahs are more discountenanced than any other religious sect; yet, all the numerous Persians in the country are Sheeahs, and many of them hold high offices in the state and household. Their religion allows, and even enjoins them to dissemble, when in heretic or infidel countries; and, consequently, they are put to no inconvenience by the restrictions imposed on them. Those restrictions prevent their praying in the attitude peculiar to their sect. Their cursing the three first caliphs, and their exhibiting public processions, and other representations, during the Mohurrem; but do not oblige them to renounce their faith, or to submit to any inconvenience or degradation. The Sheeahs, however, (perhaps because they are the depressed party), are far more bigotted than the Sunnees, and never scruple to attack the opposite sect when they think they have favourable or neutral hearers. From a story of some Christian ambassador, under the fifth Calif, who declared for the sons of Ali, and suffered martyrdom for his zeal, they have a notion that all Christians are convinced, by the force of natural reason, of the justice of Ali's claims. I have often been asked, with great earnestness, to give my real sentiments on the case; and, it was only by saying that I was not a Moollah, and could not pretend to give an opinion on such subjects, that I evaded so embarrassing a question. I had a good opportunity of seeing the spirit of toleration, or at least of forbearance, of the Afghaun govern-

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with such different views, as a strong confirmation of the accuracy of both. I afterwards made him write out his journey in detail, and took down information on other topics, which he gave on being questioned. His education must have been that of the lower order of half casts in India; and he spoke English ill. But he had read several of our best classics; and, though his language was incorrect, it was sufficient to express his thoughts fully and clearly, and even on some occasions with a good deal of vigour and eloquence. Though he never shewed the least incoherency in his discourse, and though he was possessed of natural talents very surprising in his situation, he was nevertheless subject to partial derangement of his understanding, the strongest symptom of which was his impatience of any long continuance in one place. I offered him 150*l.* a year to stay with me as a clerk; but, though he was actually in a state of beggary, he refused the offer; and set off to Bombay to embark in the first Arab ship, which should afford him an opportunity of accomplishing his long projected journey to Bagdad.

ment, in consequence of a mistake of some of my retinue. It is customary in India, where the Sunnees are not strict to carry about highly ornamented biers (in commemoration of the death of the sons of Ali), during the first ten days of the Mohurrem; and, these processions are very obnoxious in Afghaunistaun, both as belonging to the Sheeah worship, and as being idolatrous. I had, in consequence, forbidden the Mussulmans with the embassy to carry out their biers. They misunderstood the order, and went out in procession with flags, and all other symbols used on the occasion, except the biers. This flagrant affront to the religion of the country, excited much surprise, but no opposition, till the next weekly assembly of the Ulima took place at Court; when, one of the Moollahs, harangued for a long time on the occasion, and endeavoured to persuade the King that the Sunnee religion was in danger. The King, however, replied, that we were honoured guests, and that our practice should never be interfered with. The behaviour of the Siks on the occurrence of a similar circumstance, in the camp of the envoy to Lahore, during the very same month, formed a striking contrast to the moderation of the Afghauns. Without a word of explanation to the Envoy, a numerous band of fanatics attacked his camp; and, though they were soon repulsed by the escort, and afterwards repressed by the chief of the Siks, they wounded an officer and some men, and lost several of their own body in the course of their outrageous attempt.

Another sect in Caubul is that of the Soofees, who ought, perhaps, to be considered as a class of philosophers, rather than of religionists. As far as I can understand their mysterious doctrine, their leading tenet seems to be, that the whole of the animated and inanimate creation is an illusion; and, that nothing exists except the Supreme Being, which presents itself under an infinity of shapes to the soul of man, itself a portion of the divine essence. The contemplation of this doctrine raises the Soofees to the utmost pitch of enthusiasm. They admire God in every thing; and, by frequent meditation on his attributes, and by tracing him through all his forms, they imagine that they attain to an ineffable love for the Deity, and even to an

entire union with his substance. As a necessary consequence of this theory, they consider the peculiar tenets of every religion as superfluities, and discard all rites and religious worship, regarding it as a matter of little importance in what manner the thoughts are turned to God, provided they rest at last in contemplation on his goodness and greatness. This sect is persecuted in Persia, and though not discountenanced by the government in Caubul, is held in great aversion by the Moollahs, who accuse its followers of Atheism, and often endeavour to entrap them into some doctrines which are liable to punishment by the Mahomedan law; but these attempts are seldom successful; one obstacle to their accomplishment, is that many of the Soofees are sincere Mahommedans, notwithstanding the inconsistency of the two doctrines. I have heard a man expatiate with rapture on the beauty of the Soofee system, and on the enlarged and liberal views of human actions to which it leads; who has soon after, in the same company, stickled for every tenet of Islaum, and rejected with horror the idea of doubting the eternity of hell fire: when the difficulty of reconciling this doctrine with the belief that nothing existed, but God was pointed out; he said that the system of the Soofees was certainly true, but that the eternity of hell was proved by the word of God himself.

The sect, however, is gaining ground, particularly among the higher orders, and such of the Moollahs as apply themselves to general literature and its obscure sublimity, is admirably suited to the taste of that class. The love of mystery, indeed, which is so remarkable among them, induces them to form the highest notions of every thing that is concealed, and has even occasioned a lively curiosity about free masonry. I have often been questioned regarding it, and have heard the opinions which have been formed of its nature. All that is known of it was communicated by a certain Dervise, who travelled into European countries, and who gave this account of his initiation in the mystery. He was directed to enter a particular building, and after passing through winding passages, and crossing several courts,

he reached an apartment where eight persons were seated. They seemed all transported and disordered by their own reflections, and their countenances bore the marks of inspiration. The Dervise there learned unutterable things, and acquired more knowledge on the most sublime subjects from a moment's intercourse with those sages, than could have been gained by years of laborious study.

Another sect, which is sometimes confounded with the Soofees, is one which bears the name of Moollah Zukkee, who was its great patron in Caubul. Its followers hold, that all the prophets were impostors, and all revelation an invention. They seem very doubtful of the truth of a future state, and even of the being of a God. Their tenets appear to be very ancient, and are precisely those of the old Persian poet Kheioom, whose works exhibit such specimens of impiety, as probably never were equalled in any other language. Kheioom dwells particularly on the existence of evil, and taxes the Supreme Being with the introduction of it, in terms which can scarcely be believed. The Soofees have unaccountably pressed this writer into their service, they explain away some of his blasphemies by forced interpretations, and others they represent as innocent freedoms and reproaches, such as a lover may pour out against his beloved. The followers of Moollah Zukkee are said to take the full advantage of their release from the fear of hell, and the awe of a Supreme Being, and to be the most dissolute and unprincipled profligates in the kingdom. Their opinions, nevertheless, are cherished in secret, and are said to be very prevalent among the licentious nobles of the court of Shauh Mahmood.

The Roushumeea sect made a great noise among the Afghauns in the sixteenth century; but it is now almost extinct. It was founded in the reign of the Emperor Acbar, by Bauyazeed Ansauree, who was called by his enemies the Peeree Taureek (or Apostle of Darkness), in derision of the title of Peeree Roushen (or Apostle of Light), which he had himself assumed. He held the same tenets with the Soofees, but as he added a belief in the transmigration of

souls, it is probable he derived his creed from the Yogees, a sect of Hindoo philosophers, who add some of the dogmas of the religion in which they were educated, to those of the Soofee school. On this, however, he ingrafted some doctrines of his own, the most remarkable of which were, that the most complete manifestations of the Divinity were made in the persons of holy men, and particularly in his own; and that all men who did not join his sect, were to be considered as dead, and that their goods, in consequence, fell to the lot of his partizans, as the only survivors: these self-created heirs were entitled to seize on their inheritance when they pleased, without any regard to the dead proprietors, who might affect to be alive in spite of the Peere's decision.

Bauyazeed was a man of great genius, and his religion spread rapidly among the Berdooraunees, till he was able to assemble armies, and to enter on a regular contest with the government: he was however at length defeated by the royal troops, and died of fatigue and vexation. His sons attempted to support his sect, in which they were long successful, but most of them were cut off; and two black rocks in the Indus are pointed out as the transformed bodies of Jelalloodeen and Kemaloodeen, the sons of the Peere Taureek, who were thrown into the river by command of Aukhoond Derwezeh. Those rocks are still called Jellalleea and Kemanleea, and being situated near the whirlpools made by the junction of the river Caubul, they furnish a figure to the orthodox, who say that it is natural that boats should be dashed to pieces against the bodies of those heretics, who had already caused the shipwreck of so many souls. The great opponent of the Peeree Taureek was Aukhoond Derwezeh, a Saujik of Boonere, who is now the greatest of all the saints of Afghaunistaun. He has composed many voluminous works, which enjoy an extensive reputation among his countrymen: but judging from what I have seen of them, the Peere Taureek would long have remained unconfuted, if the arguments of Aukhoond Derwezeh had not been supported by the arms of the Mogul emperors.

There are at this day some adherents of this sect about Peshawer, and still more in the mountains of Upper Bungush. *

There are doubtless many other sects among the Afghauns, the names of which have escaped my observation, or are not present to my memory; but the nation is still exempt from the influence of their example. They are all strict Soonnee Mahomedans, and as they are occupied about their own faith and observances, without interfering with other people, their religious spirit is far from being unpleasing, even in followers of Islam. From their conversation, one would think the whole people, from the King to the lowest peasant, was always occupied in holy reflections: scarce a sentence is uttered without some allusion to the Deity, and the slightest occurrence produces a pious ejaculation. For example, they never speak of any future event, however certain, without adding "Inshaulla," (please God.) They even apply this phrase to past time, and will answer a question about their age, "Please God, I am forty-five years old." Many people have always a rosary hanging round their wrist, and begin to tell their beads when ever there is a pause in the conversation; they are supposed to repeat the name of God when ever they drop a bead, but they often go on while they are listening attentively to what is said, and even while they are speaking themselves. They are always swearing, and their oaths are uttered with as much solemnity as if they were before the gravest tribunal. "I swear by God and "by his prophet." "May I go an infidel out of this world, if it is "not true." "May my wife be three times divorced, if I lie." One of their most solemn oaths is by the name of God (Allah), three times repeated in three different forms, "Wullah, Billah, Tillah." It may be well to mention here a custom they have in common with all Mussulmans, which they call imposing an oath ("Kusm Daudun"). This is a species of adjuration, by which the person to whom the

* Most of this account of the Roushumeeah sect is abstracted from an excellent essay of Dr. Leyden's in the 11th volume of the Asiatic Researches.

oath is recited, is supposed to be bound, whether he consents or not. Thus a man will tell another, " It is an oath by the Koraun, if ever " you reveal what I have told you." " It is an oath by Jesus Christ, " the soul of God, that you grant my request."

I do not know that people often do things disagreeable to them when thus conjured; but it is a common apology for consenting to any improper request, to say " I should never have done it, if he had " not imposed an oath on me."

The Afghauns never enter on any undertaking without saying the Fauteheh; a custom, I believe, peculiar to themselves. The Fauteheh is the opening verse of the Koraun, and is often used as a prayer by all the Mussulmans. *

One person may say it aloud, and all the rest say Amen. They hold up their hands before them, with the palms upwards, during the prayer, and stroke their face and beards when it is concluded. This ceremony is gone through on all important occasions, on beginning a journey, on concluding an agreement, on marriages, and in short on the commencement of most acts in life.

No people can be more regular in performing their devotions. Their prayers begin before day, and are repeated five times; the last of which falls a little after the close of the evening twilight. The hour of prayer is always announced by the Muezzins (from the tops of the minarets, or from some other high place), by the shout of Allaho Akbar, " God is most great," which is repeated till it may be supposed to have reached the ears of all the faithful. It is a solemn and pleasing sound. When it is heard, the people repair to the mosques, but those who are otherwise occupied, do not suffer that interruption. A man who hears the call in company, remarks it, and withdraws to pray; but when I was in company, some persons always continued to

* Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures, the Most Merciful, the King of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship, of thee do we beg assistance; direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious: not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray. (Sales' Koraun, page 1.)

sit with me; the rest retired to another part of the room, spread out their girdles on the ground, began without any ablution, and said their prayers without regarding who might be observing them: when all was done, they returned to the company immediately, and joined in the conversation as before. Every Mussulman faces to Mecca when he prays, and the better classes carry a compass (particularly when they are travelling), which has one bar pointing north and south, and another, which has a pigeon at the end, and which points to the direction in which Mecca is situated, from the country where it is made. The first part of the prayer is performed standing, after which the devotee seats himself on his heels, in the usual Persian manner, and continues his devotions in this attitude, often bending forward so as to touch the ground with his forehead. Regular performance of prayer is not only enjoined by the religion, but in most parts of the Afghaun country, it is inforced by the municipal law, and there is a regular officer, called the Moohtesib, who punishes the omission of it, or the breach of any other religious precept. The fast of the Ramzaun is enforced in the same manner, and strictly observed; and as it prevents a man from drinking water, or even smoking tobacco between sunrise and sunset, it is felt as a real hardship. Foreigners, however, are not molested on this account. The pilgrimage to Mecca is incumbent on every Mussulman once in his life. It is performed by many of the Afghauns. The commonest route is by Sind, where the pilgrims embark for Muscat or Busora, and travel by land to Mecca. Those of the north-east go down the Indus by water, and their holy design secures them respect, even from the most predatory tribes. Most of the pilgrims support themselves by alms during their journey; and at Mecca they are maintained by a foundation instituted by Ahmed Shauh, who ordered a mosque and some sort of a caravansera to be erected at that city for the use of his countrymen. When there are few Afghauns, the surplus of this charity is distributed among the Arabs, who are therefore little pleased with the influx of Afghaun pilgrims. They take every opportunity of plaguing these interlopers, particularly by representing them as Sheeahs, because they generally

use the language of Persia. All the Afghaun pilgrims speak with horror of the barbarism and rapacity of the Bedouin Arabs, and say that the most desperate man of the most predatory Afghaun tribe, is but a child among them.

The Mahommedan religion requires that every man should give a portion of his income in charity. All presents to holy men, and even the regular stipends of the Moollahs are included under this head, besides alms to beggars. In places distant from towns, where there are no beggars, they reckon money spent in hospitality, as charity; and, in this interpretation, they simply fulfil the injunctions of their religion. Dice are forbidden, as are all games of chance played for money. This prohibition is not strictly attended to; but the Afghauns are little given to gambling. Wine is known to be forbidden, and is in fact only drank by the rich; but, an intoxicating drug, called *bang*, though equally unlawful, is used by the debauched in most parts of the country. The people, however, are among the soberest that I have heard of; and very far surpass the Indians, both Hindoo and Mahommedan, in that particular. Men, reeling drunk about the streets, such as one often sees in this Bramin city (Poona), would be a prodigy in Afghaunistaun.

The office of the Moohtesib, whose duty it is to superintend the public morals, is very invidious; and he is often accused of taking bribes to let off the guilty, and even of levying contributions by intimidating the innocent. His power extends to inflicting forty blows, with a broad leather strap, (made on a pattern prescribed either in the Koraun or the traditions), and to exposing offenders to public shame, by sending them round the town on an ass or a camel, with their faces to the tail. I often saw the Moohtesib of Peshawer, who, though above the ordinary rank, always wore his thong in his girdle, as a mark of office: he seemed a moderate and sensible man; but he was very generally ill spoken of.

The Moollahs, and all the religious, even if they have no offices, are fond of preaching up an austere life, and of discouraging the most

innocent pleasure *. In some parts of the country, the Moollahs even break lutes and fiddles, wherever they find them. Drums, trumpets, hautboys, and flutes are exempted from this proscription, as being manly and warlike; but all other music is reckoned effeminate, and inconsistent with the character of a true Mussulman. This austerity, however, is little practised by the people. The Moollahs are generally restrained to censuring the more important breaches of religion and morality; and, in many parts, they have no power at all.

The Moollahs are very numerous, and are found in every rank, from the chief courtiers and ministers to the lowest class in the poorest and wildest tribes. They are most numerous in proportion to the body of the people about towns. When mentioned as a body, they are usually called the Ulima (or learned).

They are generally active, and comparatively able men, much attached to the interests of their own body, and careful to maintain its ascendancy. They are in possession of the greatest part of the learning of the country. The education of the youth, the practice of the law, and the administration of justice in all parts of the country, completely under the royal authority, are entirely intrusted to them; and these advantages, together with the respect which their superior knowledge commands among an ignorant and superstitious people, enable the Moollahs in some circumstances to exercise an almost unlimited power over individuals, and even over bodies of men; to check and controul the governors and other civil officers; and sometimes, to intimidate and endanger the King himself. This power is employed to punish practices contrary to the Mahommedan law, when they occur among its orthodox professors; to repress Sheeahs, and other infidels; and, at least as often, to revenge the wrongs or forward the interests of individuals of the religious order. The influence

* Ahmed Meer Wauez, of whom a full account is given in the history, obtained by this strictness, very great popularity with the bulk of the Afghauns, which he used to dethrone Shauh Mahmood.

of the Moollahs is often more beneficially exerted in reconciling quarrels, in parts of the country where there are no other means of preserving the public peace. Troops of these holy personages often come with their flowing robes into the midst of two ooloosses, drawn out for battle. They hold out the Koraun, repeat Arabic prayers, exhort the people to remember their God, and their common religion; and, seldom if ever, fail to disperse them for the time, if they do not bring about a permanent reconciliation.

The Moollahs are particularly powerful about Peshawer, and through all the Berdooraunee country. In the city of Peshawer, the King's authority keeps them in some restraint, and obliges them to seek redress for private injuries from the civil power, or to wait an opportunity of fastening on their enemy some charge of heresy or infidelity, which may expose him to the bigotry of the people or to the legal persecution of the Cauzy; but, in the remote parts of that country, an injury or an insult to a Moollah would itself be sufficient to raise a tumult. On those occasions, the Moollahs send round to their brethren to assemble, suspend the public worship, and the ceremonies of burial, pronounce their antagonists infidels, and formally excommunicate and curse them. If this fails in forcing their enemies to submit, they parade the country with the green standard of the prophet, beating drums, and proclaiming the Selaut (or war-cry of the Mussulmans). They announce, that all who fall in their cause will be martyrs, and that all who fail to join them are excommunicated. By these means, they soon assemble a mob (or as they call it themselves, an army); and, as the Afghanns are more afraid of their anathemas than their arms, they generally bring their adversaries to their terms, which include the right to plunder and burn the houses of the chief offenders, and to impose a fine on their abettors.

Stories are told of the walls of towns falling down at the shout of an army of Moollahs; and swords are blunted, and balls turned aside when aimed at the life of these holy personages. Yet, a stand was once made against them, even near Peshawer, when the Haukun of Hushtnugger, resisted an army of them who came to enforce an

usurious contract, and beat them off with loss, to the great joy of the neighbourhood. Though treated with great respect in this part of the country, I believe they are more feared than loved. In the west, their power is much more limited, and their character much more respectable. They are, in consequence, generally popular, particularly in the country: but, even there, they are complained of for the vices of their order, and for their intrusive and insatiable demands on the hospitality of the inhabitants *. Even in the West, their power has sometimes been felt in the towns, particularly during the reign of Timoor Shauh, whose Prime Minister was a Moollah. At that time, they carried their insolence to such a pitch at Candahar, that a band of them attacked Kefauyet Khaun, (a Sheah nobleman of Persian descent, who had held some of the highest offices in the state), and rushed into his haram, insisting on a present, and protesting against the injustice of his eating rich pilaws, while they had only dry bread. It was with difficulty, and by the King's interposition alone, that the tumult was appeased. Their peculiar vices are hypocrisy, bigotry, and avarice. Their lives are sanctimonious in public, but some of them practise all sorts of licentiousness that can be enjoyed without scandal; and many are notorious for the practice of usury. Lending money on interest is expressly prohibited by the Koraun; and few decent Mussulmans openly infringe a prohibition which it is so easy to evade. Most men content themselves with lending their money to merchants, stipulating for a share of the profit derived from the use of it, or with placing it in the hands of bankers, who profess to employ it in commerce, and to secure the owner a certain gain; but, many Moollahs lend avowedly on compound interest and with good security, by which they multiply their wealth to an incredible extent, and have got possession of a considerable share

* It is curious to observe the similarity of manners in countries in the same stage of civilization, though far removed from each other both in place and time. Chaucer's Sompnours tale, exactly describes the importunity of the mendicant Moollahs, and the mixture of respect and aversion with which they are regarded.

of the landed property of the kingdom. But, as all do not practise usury, it may excite some curiosity to know how so numerous a body can be maintained.

Besides those who have ecclesiastical offices, or pensions from the crown (who will be mentioned in another place), and the more numerous class of village Imauns, who receive a certain share of the produce of the crops and flocks in their districts, many have grants of land from the King and from heads of villages; and some have received legacies of land from individuals. Some subsist by teaching and practising the law; others teach schools, or are tutors to the sons of rich men; some preach, and are paid by their congregations; some live by the charitable allowances granted by the crown, and by villages to students, or by the alms and hospitality of people, through whose country they travel; and others, follow trade or farming, or live on their own means, and pursue their studies and amusements at leisure.

The character of a Moollah is conferred by an assembly of members of that order on persons, who have gone through the proper course of study, and passed the requisite examination. The admission of a candidate is attended with a prescribed form; the chief part of which is investing him with the turban of a Moollah, which is bound round his head by the principal person in the assembly.

The Moollahs are distinguished by a particular dress, consisting of a large loose gown of white or black cotton, and a very large white turban of a peculiar shape.

There are no corporate bodies of Moollahs as there are of monks in Europe, nor is the whole order under the command of any chief, or subject to any particular discipline, like the clergy in England. All, except those who hold offices under the crown, are entirely independent; and, the co-operation among them is only produced by a sense of common interest. They all marry, and live in other respects like laymen. I do not know that they have any peculiar manners, except an affectation of strictness. Some of them affect great gravity, and others take pleasure in frequenting all companies, and meddling in all

affairs. One of these may often be seen, with a large turban, and a blue handkerchief, a couple of yards long, over his shoulder, parading the streets at the head of a dozen of his disciples, with a long staff in his hand, and a large law book under his arm; or sitting in the houses of the rich, haranguing the company, enforcing his doctrines with his fore finger, and shaking his wide sleeve, or amusing the master of the house with his jokes and stories, and handing round his enormous snuff-box among the rest of the party. Moollahs of this sort are reckoned very pleasant companions; they are great frequenters of Jeergas, where indeed their knowledge gives the whole order much weight in civil matters.

One would expect that the Moollahs would be great enemies to people of other religions, or at least would shun their society (as I believe they do in Persia), but this is by no means the case: I have had a great many acquaintances among the Moollahs, and found some of them very intelligent and agreeable. I was particularly well acquainted with two Moollahs, who were the sons of the Khaunee Ooloom (or lord of the learned), one of the greatest of the Ulima of his time; and I found them the best informed and most liberal men I ever met, either in Afghaunistaun or in India.

It is not easy to say whether the Moollahs are, on the whole, a useful body, or otherwise. They are of eminent utility in most parts of the country, from their effect in moderating the violence of an ungoverned people, by the morality which they inculcate, and from the tendency of their habits to keep up the little science and literature which is known: I believe the existence of their order is beneficial in the present situation of the Afghauns; but it is more than probable that it obstructs the transition to a better state of things, and it is certain that neither they nor their religion are at all adapted to a high stage of civilization, though well suited to the rude Arabs, for whom that religion was first invented.

Besides the regular clergy, there are many persons who are revered for their own sanctity, or that of their ancestors. Among the latter, the most famous are the Sijuds, or descendants of Mahomet; and the

former are called by the different names of Derweshes (Dervises), Fuheers, &c. either arbitrarily, or from some little difference in their observances; one set called Kulunders (Calenders), for instance, are remarkable for going almost naked; others wander from place to place, and visit all resorts of pilgrims; while some live abstemious and religious lives in the midst of towns, and some retire to practise their austerities in solitary places. These ascetics have been esteemed in Afghaunistaun in all ages, and half the histories of that country are filled with the legends of the numerous male and female saints whom it has produced. The places where such devotees are interred, or which have been distinguished by remarkable actions of their lives, are still considered as sacred, and each of the most celebrated is a safe asylum even from revenge for blood. The reverence in which these sanctuaries are held, is shewn by the practice of the Eusofzyes, the most lawless of all the tribes, where a clan going out to battle, places its women in one of them, and relies on their security in case of a defeat.

Many such saints are now flourishing, and the ignorance of their countrymen ascribes to them the gift of prophetic dreams and visions, and the power of working miracles. Even the higher classes have faith in their predictions, and the King often consults them on the most momentous affairs of his government.

Some of these must have engaged in voluntary imposture *, but the three most eminent at Peshawer, when I was there, disavowed all pretensions to supernatural powers. They were treated with the highest respect, even the King refusing to be seated before them till he was pressed; but they did not seem to solicit these honours, and they discussed the conduct of government, and reprehended its vices

* I have in my possession a book of miracles, wrought by the famous saint of Chumkunnee, the spiritual director of Ahmed Shauh. It contains accounts of many miracles performed within these fifty years. It was given me by the son of the saint, and as it was written in his life time, and attested by many of his scholars, it is difficult to acquit him of fraud or falsehood.

and those of the nation with great freedom: the only art they seem to resort to for maintaining their high reputation, was great austerity of life; they are seldom very learned, and the two eminent saints that I saw, were free from every kind of affectation and grimace, and only distinguished from other people by the superior mildness of their manners. *

The belief in these false saints is not the only superstition of the Afghauns: many instances of their credulity appear in my journal, but I may mention some here, which I have not noticed in that place.

All the Afghauns believe in alchymy and magic, in which arts they think the Indians great adepts. The King's Imaum was continually in pursuit of the philosopher's stone; and when I was at Peshawer, he was diligently engaged in search of it, assisted by an Indian Mussulman who had lately returned from Mecca. Many invectives are levelled at this art in the Koraun, yet the Imaum spent part of every day in superintending it, wasted a good deal of money on the preparations, and treated his coadjutor with the utmost confidence and attention.

A native of Peshawer of about sixty years old, who is now in my service, fell in love some time ago with a girl of Poona, and he was discovered within this week by some of his countrymen, closeted with

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* Haujee Meean, one of the greatest saints at Peshawer, sent to me to beg that I would tell him what severities were practised by the godly in Europe; his message was unluckily entrusted to a Persian who attended the mission on the King's part, and who from his religion, could have no great reverence for devotees of the Soonnee persuasion. Accordingly, when I told him that our clergy performed no austerities, but thought they recommended themselves to God by leading a virtuous and religious life: he begged me not to disappoint the holy man, but to favour him with a few penances in which he might indulge his zeal. I then said that there were other parts of Europe where the devout exposed themselves to great sufferings, and mentioned all I could recollect of hair shirts and flagellation. The Persian thanked me with a mischievous smile, said he was sure the Haujee would be sensibly obliged to me, and took his leave, evidently pleased with the amusement he had procured for his employer.

an Indian, and performing a variety of incantations for the purpose of fascinating the affections of his mistress.

Near Candahar is a cave called the cave of Jumsheed, to the end of which it is impossible to penetrate, apparently on account of a torrent which obstructs the passage; but the Afghauns relate, that after advancing a certain distance, one hears the roar of winds and the rushing of waters, and that all progress is soon stopt by a wheel armed with swords, which is whirled round with such force and velocity as threatens to annihilate every thing that approaches it. Some bold adventurers, however, have overcome these obstacles, and reached a most enchanting garden in the bowels of the earth. They describe the verdure of this delicious region, its bowers, woods, and lawns; its transparent streams, and its flowers of a thousand brilliant hues, as far surpassing any scene that the human imagination can figure; while the exquisite fruits, the perfumed breezes, and the ravishing music which for ever resounds, are equal to the warmest pictures of the Mahommedan paradise.

The Afghauns believe each of the numerous solitudes in the mountains and desarts of their country to be inhabited by a lonely dæmon, whom they call the Ghoollee Beeabaun (the Goule or spirit of the waste); they represent him as a gigantic and frightful spectre, who devours any passenger whom chance may bring within his haunts. It is to this spirit that they ascribe the illusion by which travellers are often led to believe that they see sheets of water in the midst of the desart, and they figure him watching near, to seize the unhappy wanderer who may be misled by his artifice, and tear him to pieces. *

They haveall a great reverence for burial grounds, which they sometimes call by the poetical name of *cities of the silent*, and which they people with the ghosts of the departed, who sit each at the head of

* From this popular superstition, they often illustrate an account of the wildness of any sequestered tribe, by saying that they are Ghoolee Beabaun (wild as the dæmons of the waste).

his own grave, invisible to mortal eyes, and enjoy the odours of the garlands which are hung on their tombs, and of the incense which is burned by their surviving relations. They believe in many other kinds of genii and spirits; but I do not think I have ever heard of the apparition of the ghosts of the dead. The glorified spirits of the four first Caliphs, however, were seen clothed with fire, on a hill over Caubul, during the battle between the Sheeahs and Soonnees.

They believe in dreams, in which a sufficient latitude of interpretation is allowed, to admit of their easy application to any event. A man of some consequence told me, that at one time while he was flying from the persecution of Waffadar Khan (then Grand Vizier), he dreamed that he saw the Vizier dressed entirely in black, with a melancholy countenance, and with his hands shrivelled, and so weak that he attempted in vain to untie his own girdle. Soon after the dreamer woke, a man broke in on a private interview between him and another great man, with intelligence that the Vizier was deposed and taken prisoner.

They also pry into futurity by astrological and geomantic calculations, and by all sorts of divination and sortilege. Their commonest method of divination, is by examining the marks in the blade bone of a sheep, held up to the light, which, though practised by people of education, is no better calculated to work on the imagination, or dazzle the understanding, than our own discovery of future events from coffee grounds. They also form presages from drawing lots, from the position assumed by arrows poured carelessly out of a quiver, and above all, by touching their rosaries, while they think of the design which they project, and judging its favourable or unfavourable result, as the number of the bead they happen to touch, turns out to be odd or even, in counting from the top of the string. I remember a conversation which I had (immediately before Shauh Shooja's great struggle against his competitor in 1809) with one of that Prince's Persian ministers, who told me that he had now good reason to rely with certainty on his master's success. I listened with attention, expecting to hear of a correspondence with some of the great lords of

the other party, and I was a good deal surprised to find the minister's confidence arose entirely from the result of some augury from the position of arrows. The minister observed my disappointment, and proceeded to remove it, by assuring me that he had as little faith as I had in the vulgar methods of divination, but that this particular mode was one recommended by the prophet, and never known to fail.

The Afghauns (though as great diviners in other respects) do not think these appeals to Providence so necessary before they commence any undertaking, and make a merit of their Towukkul beh Khooda, or reliance upon God. They not unfrequently begin a journey by a short prayer, which commences, " I place my reliance " on Almighty God," &c. &c. It is common with them to encourage a man to embark in a difficult adventure, by saying " Towuk- " kul be Khooda Khoona boorow," " Put your trust in God, and " go on."

The most elegant means employed to prognosticate future events, is one which answers to our Sortes Virgilianæ. It is performed by opening a book at random, and applying the first verse that meets the eye, to the subject of the inquiry: the best book for the purpose is the Koraun, and the trial ought to be preceded by fasting and prayer, which indeed are necessary in all attempts at divination: other books are, however, employed, and the poems of Haufiz are perhaps as much used as the Koraun. The following happy coincidence occurred to a person at Lahore, who consulted Haufiz at the beginning of the troubles produced by the deposition of Shauh Zemaun, which ended, after three years of confusion, in the elevation of Shauh Shooja. His object was to ascertain which of the sons of Timour Shauh would obtain the throne in the end, and the verse that met his eye was the following:

" Seher ze hautifee ghee bum reseed mozh deh begoosh,
" Keh Douri Shauhi Shobjau ust mye dileer be noosh."

"At the dawn a voice from the invisible world brought these glad tidings to my ear,
"It is the reign of Shauh Shoojau *, drink wine and be bold."

The Afghauns believe in the power of talismans, in the possibility of acquiring a controul over genii and dæmons, and have numberless other superstitions; but I have already given a sufficient specimen of their nature.

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* Shauh Shoojau means a brave king in Persian, in which sense it seems to be used by Haufiz.

CHAP. VI.

HOSPITALITY. — PREDATORY HABITS, &c.

ONE of the most remarkable characteristics of the Afghauns, is their hospitality. The practice of this virtue is so much a national point of honour, that their reproach to an inhospitable man, is that he has no Pooshtoonwullee, (nothing of the customs of the Afghauns). All persons indiscriminately are entitled to profit by this practice; and a man, who travelled over the whole country without money, would never be in want of a meal, unless perhaps in towns. It is the greatest of affronts to an Afghaun to carry off his guest; but his indignation is never directed against the guest who quits him, but the person who invites him away. All the details of the practice of hospitality will appear in the particular account of the tribes; but I shall here mention some customs connected with that principle.

The most remarkable is a custom peculiar to this people, and called Nannawautee, (from two Pushtoo words, meaning "I have come in"). A person, who has a favour to ask, goes to the house or tent of the man on whom it depends, and refuses to sit on his carpet, or partake of his hospitality, till he shall grant the boon required. The honour of the party thus solicited will incur a stain if he does not grant the favour asked of him; and, so far is the practice carried, that a man over-matched by his enemies, will sometimes go nunnawautee to the house of another man, and entreat him to take up his quarrel; which the other is obliged to do, unless he is utterly unable to interfere with effect, or unless some circumstance render his interference obviously improper. *

* It appeared to me at first that there was some resemblance between nannawautee and the well known Indian custom of Dhurna. They are, however, entirely unlike. In

A still stronger appeal is made when a woman sends her veil to an Afghaun, and implores his assistance for herself or her family. It was by this expedient that Timour Shauh's queen prevailed on Sirafrauz Khaun, (the father of the present Grand Vizier), to afford his assistance in the elevation of Shauh Zemaun to the throne; an event, chiefly brought about by his influence.

This last custom is not connected with the laws of hospitality; but it is those laws alone which protect every individual who has entered the house of an Afghaun. A man's bitterest enemy is safe, while he is under his roof; and a stranger, who has come into an Afghaun's house or tent, is under the protection of the master as long as he stays in the village. From this principle, arises the obligation of protecting and defending a fugitive, whatever may be his crime; and hence the frequency of elopements with women from one Oolooss to another, and of the refuge found by murderers in a similar flight.

The protection, which the rights of hospitality confer, does not, however, extend beyond the lands of the village, or at most, of the tribe; and, there are undoubted testimonies of Afghauns, of predatory tribes entertaining a traveller, and dismissing him with presents, and yet robbing him when they met him again, after he was out of their protection. *

It seems astonishing to an European, that the reciprocal good offices, which must pass between the host and the guest, should not

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Dhurna, both parties fast; and it is hunger which enforces a compliance with the demand. In Nunnawautee, on the contrary, there is no restraint on either party's eating, and the force of the practice bears on the honour alone of the person to whom it is directed. It is something like the custom of the Romans, by which a suppliant entered a house, and seated himself in silence, with his head veiled, on the hearth. The custom of the Greeks also resembles that now alluded to; and the behaviour of Ulysses to Circe, when he refuses to partake of her banquet, till she has disenchanted his friends, (Od. K. verse 375, &c.) is exactly in the spirit of nannawautee.

* A most remarkable instance of this spirit has been mentioned, in describing the journey of two gentlemen of the Mission, who went to Deraubund.

soon form a connection sufficiently strong to prevent their injuring each other after the rights of hospitality have ceased; and, in fact, there is no point in the Afghaun character of which it is more difficult to get a clear idea, than the mixture of sympathy and indifference, of generosity and rapacity, which is observable in their conduct to strangers. In parts of the country where the government is weak, they seem to think it a matter of course to rob a stranger, while in all other respects they treat him with kindness and civility. So much more do they attend to granting favours than to respecting rights, that the same Afghaun who would plunder a traveller of his cloak, if he had one, would give him a cloak if he had none. If these inconsistencies only appeared in their own country, their behaviour might be owing to their natural love of gain; and their point of honour, with respect to guests. But, how are we to explain the same conduct, when their meeting in a foreign country gives the stranger no claims on their hospitality? All the authentic accounts I have of the treatment of strangers by Afghauns, either in their own country or elsewhere, give an impression of philanthropy and politeness, when there was no temptation to depart from those principles. But, where there was any inducement to plunder the stranger, and even sometimes when much was to be gained by deceiving him, there was no great appearance of justice and good faith. The truth is, those virtues are not necessary concomitants of general kindness, nor ought we to infer the want of the one from the absence of the other. Justice and good faith, cannot perhaps subsist, unless they are supported by laws and government; while the very circumstance of the public's leaving men to themselves, obliges individuals to assist and to depend on each other. It is probably to this last cause, that we are to attribute the superiority of most Asiatics in the minor points of general humanity over Englishmen of the same rank in life, to whom they are far inferior in all other good qualities.

The frequency with which travellers are plundered, appears to originate in the defects of the Pooshtoonwullee. That law relies on the exertions of the injured person, his relations, and his tribe, for

obtaining him justice; and, as a stranger has neither relations nor tribe, no provision is made for his security. In proof of this proposition, it may be observed, that the Afghauns do not in general plunder the lands of their neighbours, or rob individuals, who reside in their part of the country, and that it is only travellers who are liable to this oppression. This habit of rapine prevails in very different degrees, at different times, and in different parts of the country. The King's government protects people of all descriptions alike, as far as its power extends; and, in consequence, when the government is established, a man runs little risk, except among the tribes, whose situation enables them to set the King at defiance. During civil wars, on the contrary, the whole kingdom is let loose; and a traveller may be plundered with as much impunity within sight of Caubul as in the mountains of the Vizeerees. The habit of good order, however, prevents the inhabitants of the parts of the country which are usually settled, from running into these excesses, and it is probably only the worst individuals among them who betake themselves to habitual rapine.

The tribes most addicted to rapine in the West, are the Atchukzye branch of the Dooraunees, and those of the Noorzyes, who inhabit the desart country on the borders of Persia and Belochistan, and that part of the Tokhee branch of the Ghiljies, which occupies a portion of the Paropamisan mountains. The lands of the rest might be passed with tolerable safety, unless in times of great confusion; but the long disorders of the government are perhaps altering their character in this respect for the worse. The pastoral tribes in the West are said to be more given both to robbery and theft, than those who live by agriculture. All the tribes of the range of Solimaun, especially the Khyberees and the Vizeerees, are notorious plunderers, and rob under the express direction or sanction of their internal government. The other Eastern Afghauns are all disposed to plunder when they dare. When quite free from all apprehension of th e roya power, they openly rob on the highway. When their security is not so great, they levy exorbitant customs, or beg in a manner that is not

to be refused, and steal when they dare not rob; but, for a considerable extent round the towns, a traveller is tolerably safe under the protection of the royal authority.

It is possible, in all tribes, except the Khyberees, to obtain a secure passage through their territories by a previous agreement with the chiefs, who, for a small present, will furnish an escort, under whose protection a stranger may travel with perfect safety. A single man is a sufficient escort in most tribes; but where the internal government is very weak, or where there is much fear of theft, it is usual to give a party proportioned to the quantity of property to be defended. It is remarkable that these arrangements are most effectual with the tribes who, having least connection with the King, have usually most predatory habits. In those tribes it seems to be thought that the Oolooss having no relations with a stranger, is at liberty to attack him, and that such an attack is to be considered as honourable war *, but that when they have promised protection, they are bound in good faith to afford it: the people of the subject tribes, on the other hand, are well aware of the guilt of robbery, and when any of them are depraved enough to practise it, little sense of honour is to be expected of them.

In all cases, it must be observed, to the honour of the Afghauns, that their robberies are never aggravated by murder: a man may be killed in defending his property, but he will not be put to death after he has ceased to resist.

I say nothing of the plunder of whole caravans by the leaders of parties during civil wars. This is acknowledged to be an expedient only justified by necessity, and a promise of repayment in better times is always held out to the sufferers.

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* For a similar state of manners and opinions in ancient Greece, see Thucydides, Book i. chap. 5.

CHAP. VII.

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CHARACTER OF THE AFGHAUNS.

THE manner of life of the Afghauns is by no means uniform throughout the country, and for varieties I must again refer to the detailed accounts of the tribes, but I shall adhere to my plan of mentioning in this place all that is common to the whole. One great cause of diversity it is necessary to mention even here. This is the division of the nation into inhabitants of tents and of houses. Those who live in tents are chiefly to be found in the West, where they probably amount to one half of the population; but as all over the East the people live in houses, the proportion of that last class must greatly preponderate in the nation. It is probable that the number of those in tents has diminished, and I am of opinion that it is still diminishing. The facility with which tribes changed their residence in former times, appears to countenance the belief, that most of them were shepherds, and lived in tents; though it cannot be denied that great emigrations of agricultural tribes have also taken place.

The movement of the Eusofzyes from the frontiers of Persia Proper to those of India is related in another place. The other tribes round Peshawer are also traced from the east of Khorassaun of their present seats: at a still later period, the Ghiljies moved from a great part of their lands, at the command of Naudir Shauh, and made room for a portion of the Dooraunees. This, however, was a compulsory removal, enforced by a powerful conqueror, and no voluntary emigration is known to have occurred within a century; a proof, as it appears to me, that the people have betaken themselves to agriculture, a pursuit which naturally attaches themselves to the soil. It

is not, perhaps, so evident that this disposition is still increasing, but we find numbers of people, who, though they still live in tents, yet are employed in husbandry, and never move from their fields; and this seems very obviously to be a stage in their progress from moving with the seasons, and cultivating a spot of ground at their summer station, to building houses for permanent residence. A recent example is found in the Stooreeaunees, of a tribe which has abandoned pasturage for tillage, but on the other hand, there do not want examples of people who have exchanged a fixed for a wandering life.

One of the most judicious of modern travellers has observed, that though habit may render a wandering life agreeable, yet there are only two causes which can originally have induced men to adopt it. 1st. The badness of the soil of their country, which obliges them to wander far in search of subsistence; and, 2d. The operation of the bad government under which they live, compelling them to elude its oppression by a frequent change of abode *. I must confess the example of the Afghauns does not lead me to agree with this theory. Among the Afghauns, a pastoral life appears to me to be the most popular, men enter on it with pleasure, and abandon it with regret, and it is to habit chiefly that we are to attribute the rareness of examples of tribes relinquishing their fields, to betake themselves to pasturage. Besides exemption from the oppression of the royal government (an exemption by no means peculiar to shepherd tribes), the pastoral life has many advantages to recommend it. It is easy, careless, and secure, supplying plenty without demanding labour, uniting the advantages of various climates, and affording a relief from the

* Voyage par Volney, chap. xxiii. sect. 3. I cannot mention this writer without offering my slender tribute of applause to his merits. Among many other talents, he possesses in a remarkable degree, that of pointing out what is peculiar to the manners and institutions of the East, by comparing and contrasting them with those of Europe: so far does he excel all othe writers in this respect, that if one wishes thoroughly to understand other travellers in Mahommedan countries, it is necessary to have read Volney first.

listlessness of idleness, in frequent change of scene, and in the never-failing resource of field sports. The shepherds are also in a great measure emancipated, even from the controul of their internal government, by their dispersion for the greater part of the year. A few families closely connected by blood, and enjoying an extent of country far beyond their wants, need no magistrate to preserve their peace, and although the state of a freeman under the limited authorities of an Oolooss, may be independent, it cannot be compared with that of a society alike exempt from the restraint of government, and the disorders of anarchy. The principal motive I can discover for the relinquishment of so enviable a way of life, is the same which M. Volney has assigned for its adoption: the difficulty of procuring subsistence. This difficulty must be experienced in a much greater degree by a given number of shepherds, than by an equal number of husbandmen, and accordingly it is only while the population is very confined in proportion to the country, that a pastoral life can be agreeable. The increase both of men and flocks soon occasions disputes about the right to pasture on particular tracts, and each shepherd finding his limits narrowed as his wants extend, is compelled to add to his means of support by tillage, a change by which ten acres is made to maintain more men than ten miles could do before. I am far from denying that there are countries, the unfitness of which for agriculture, obliges the inhabitants to adhere to pasturage; or that the badness of a government may drive people into this mode of life; but I contend that there are other inducements arising from the nature of that life itself, and I object to the extension of a theory which is true of Syria, to all wandering tribes.

The tents of shepherds will be described hereafter, as will the various sorts of houses in use in Afghaunistaun. The commonest house by far is built of unburned brick, one story high, and roofed either with a terrace supported by beams, or with low cupolas of the same material as the walls. As tables and chairs are unknown, there

is little or no furniture, except a coarse woollen carpet, and some pieces of felt * to sit on.

The Berdooraunees, indeed, sit on low beds, with bottoms of leather or of cord, and the people in towns have often broad benches raised round the room (which they call sopha or sufeh), but the general practice is to sit on the ground. When men are at their ease, they sit cross legged, or put their legs into any attitude that is agreeable to them; but when there is the least ceremony, they sit in a more formal position, which is assumed by the person's kneeling, and then sinking back on his heels, so that his legs are tucked under him, and completely concealed by the skirts of his tunic. This way of sitting is intolerable to an European, but the joints of Asiatics are so supple, that although their legs are pressed quite flat on the ground, yet they remain in this posture without inconvenience for whole days.

Their ordinary employment, when seated, is conversation, and every now and then a culleeaun is passed round for smoking, and after a whiff or two, is sent away. The common culleeaun in Afghaunistaun is made of earthen ware, and shaped like a very broad bottle with a wide neck. People in better circumstances have them of various shapes, made of glass, or more frequently of pewter, ornamented with flowers, &c. in brass. This is filled with water, and two ornamented wooden pipes are introduced into it, one of them is perpendicular, and has at the top a cup containing tobacco and charcoal; the other is the mouth-piece from which the smoke is inhaled, after

* As I shall have frequent occasion to mention this sort of felt, it will be convenient to describe it once for all. It is made of wool (generally of that which is shorn off the camlet, carpets, and other woollen manufactures). It is made by the women, who wet the wool, and then work it up, rolling it over and kneading it with their hands, till it assumes a consistency: it is then spread out to the size required, and when finished, is from a quarter to half an inch thick, and is soft and pliant: that worn by the people is much thinner. The common colours are grey and black, but those used in the houses of the rich, which are of a close texture, are of a light brown, ornamented with peculiar patterns of flowers in faint colours.

passing through the water, by which it is cooled and cleared of some oily particles which would otherwise accompany it. All the Persians use this pipe at short intervals throughout the day. They are much more particular about the elegance of their culleeauns than the Afghauns, and the latter, to ridicule the importance attached to them by the Persians, tell a story of some men of that nation, who, on being asked at the end of a long journey, whether it had been a pleasant one, replied, that the only serious inconvenience they experienced, was from the want of a culleeaun, there being only eleven among the twelve persons who composed the party.

The Afghauns are by no means so much addicted to smoking: many people never use tobacco in that form, and in the country there is often no culleeaun in a village, except a very large one which is kept for the use of the whole at the public apartment. The Afghauns indemnify themselves for their moderation in this respect by the use of snuff, to which they are all much addicted. Their snuff is a dry and fine powder like Scotch snuff, and it is not kept in flat boxes like ours, but in round or oval ones, formed of the shell of a fruit (which they call Balaughoon, and the Indians Bail), and which is imported in great quantities from Hindoostan for this purpose. These boxes have no lids, but there is a small hole at the top for pouring out the snuff. They are sometimes carved over with exquisite workmanship.

When a visitor comes in, he salutes the party by saying Assalaum Alaikoom, "Peace be unto you," to which they answer, O Alaik Assalaum, "And unto thee be peace." The master of the house then rises, takes the stranger's hand between his own, and addresses him, "Shu Raughlee, Hurcul Rausheh," &c. "You are welcome, may "you often come," &c. The stranger replies, "Shupukheiree," "May you prosper." The master of the house then points out a seat to his guest, and when they are seated, inquires after his health, and enters on conversation. These ceremonies are always performed even by the poorest Afghauns, but when they are over, no people are less ceremonious; a certain degree of gravity generally prevails,

but it never excludes free and cheerful conversation, and is sometimes broken in upon by a hearty laugh.*

They are a sociable people: Besides the large entertainments which are given on marriages and similar occasions, they have parties of five or six to dine with them, as often as they can afford to kill a sheep. The guests are received with the ceremonies I have described, and when all have arrived, the master of the house or some of his family serves every one with water to wash his hands, and then brings in dinner. It generally consists of boiled mutton, and the broth in which the meat is boiled, with no addition but salt, and sometimes pepper. This soup, which they generally eat with bread soaked in it, is said to be very palatable. Their drink is butter milk or sherbet. In some places, they drink a liquor, made from sheep's milk, which has an enlivening, if not an intoxicating quality. During dinner, the master recommends his dishes, presses the guests to eat, and tells them not to spare, for there is plenty. They say a grace before and after dinner; and, when all is done, the guests bless the master of the house. After dinner, they sit and smoke, or form a circle to tell tales and sing. The old men are the great story tellers. Their tales are of Kings and Viziers, of genii and fairies; but, principally of love and war. They are often mixed with songs and verses and always end in a moral. They delight in these tales and songs. All sit in silence while a tale is telling; and, when it is done, there is a general cry of "Ai Shawash!" † their usual expression of admiration. Their songs are mostly about love; but they have numerous ballads, celebrating the wars of their tribe, and the exploits of individual chiefs. As soon as a chief of any name dies, songs are made in honour of his memory. Besides these songs, some men recite

* Mr. Durie says of the Western Afghauns, "They are a sober people, and do not laugh much; but they talk a good deal, and seem familiar amongst themselves. At times they are as merry as any people in the world."

† "Ah, well done!" Perhaps the original words are "Ai shauh baush," Ah, be a King! At pueri ludentes rex eris aiunt.

odes, or other passages from the poets; and others play the flute, the rubaub, (a sort of lute or guitar), the camauncheh and sarindeh, (two kinds of fiddles), or the soornaun, which is a species of hautboy. The singers usually accompany their voice with the rubaub or the fiddle. Their songs are often made by the husbandmen and shepherds; oftener by professed Shauyers, (a sort of minstrel, between a poet and a ballad-singer); and, sometimes by authors of reputation, of past or present times.

The favourite amusement of all the Afghauns is the chace, which is followed in various modes according to the nature of the country, and the game to be pursued. Large parties often assemble on horseback or on foot, and form a crescent, which sweeps the country for a great extent, and is sure to rouse whatever game is in their range. They manage so as to drive it into a valley or some other convenient place; when they close in, fall on it with their dogs and guns, and often kill one or two hundred head of game in a day. Still more frequently, a few men go out together with their greyhounds and their guns to course hares, foxes, and deer, or shoot any game that may fall in their way.

In some parts of the country, they take hares, or perhaps rabbits, with ferrets. They shoot deer with stalking bullocks and camels, trained to walk between them and the game, so as to conceal the hunter. In winter, they track wolves, and other wild animals, in the snow, and shoot them in their dens. In some places, they dig a hole in the ground near a spring, and conceal themselves there, to shoot the deer and other animals that come at night to drink. They also go out at night to shoot hyænas, which issue from their dens at that time and prowl about in the dark for their prey. They never shoot birds flying; but fire with small shot at them, as they are sitting or running on the ground. They have no hawking, except in the East; but they often ride down partridges in a way which is much easier of execution than one would imagine. Two or more horsemen put up a partridge, which makes a short flight and sits down; a horseman then puts it up again. The hunters relieve one another, so as to allow the

bird no rest, till it becomes too much tired to fly, when they ride it over as it runs, or knock it down with sticks.

Though hunting be a very popular amusement throughout the whole kingdom, it is most practised by the Western Afghauns; among whom also the songs and tales before described are found in most perfection, and to whom the amusements I am about to mention are in a great measure confined. Races are not uncommon, especially at marriages. The bridegroom gives a camel to be run for; twenty or thirty horses start, and they run for ten or twelve miles over the best ground they can find. They have also private matches; but no plates given by the King, as is usual in Persia. It is a common amusement with the better sort to tilt with their lances, in the rest, at a wooden peg, stuck in the ground, which they endeavour to knock over, or to pick up on the point of their spears. They also practise their carbines and matchlocks on horseback; and, all ranks fire at marks, with guns, or with bows and arrows. On these occasions, there are often from ten to twenty of a side, sometimes men of different villages, or different quarters of the same. They shoot for some stake; commonly for a dinner, but never for any large sum of money. Their amusements at home are also very numerous, though cards are unknown, and dice hardly ever used. The great delight of all the Western Afghauns, is to dance the Attum or Ghoomboor. From ten to twenty men or women stand up in a circle, (in summer, before their houses and tents, and in winter, round a fire); a person stands within the circle, to sing, and play on some instrument. The dancers go through a number of attitudes and figures; shouting, clapping their hands, and snapping their fingers. Every now and then they join hands, and move slow or fast, according to the music, all joining in chorus. When I was shewed this, a love song was sung to an extremely pretty tune, very simple, and not unlike a Scottish air.

Most of their games appear to us very childish, and can scarcely be reconciled to their long beards, and grave behaviour. Marbles are played by grown up men, through all the Afghaun country and Persia, and, I believe, in Turkey. A game very generally played,

Doorannee Shepherds.

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is one called *Khossye* by the Dooraunees, and *Cubuddee* by the Taujiks. A man takes his left foot in his right hand, and hops about on one leg, endeavouring to overset his adversary, who advances in the same way. This is played by several of a side, and is more complicated than I have made it, but still a strange game for grown up men. Prisoners' base, quoits, (played with circular flat stones); and a game, like hunt the slipper, (played with a cap), are also very common, as are wrestling, and other trials of strength and skill. Fighting-quails, cocks, dogs, rams, and even camels, are also much admired. I have seen camels matched; and, during their rutting season, they fight with great fury. When the battle ends, the spectators had need to clear the way, for the beaten camel, who runs off at his utmost speed, and is often pursued by the victor to a distance from the field of battle. All these games are played for some stake; sometimes for money; sometimes the winner takes the beaten cock, ram, or camel, but the general stake is a dinner.

The dress of the men varies; but, that now used in the West, appears to me to be the original dress of the whole nation. It consists of a pair of loose trowsers of dark coloured cotton; a large shirt *, like a waggoner's frock, but with wider sleeves, and only reaching a little below the knee; a low cap, (shaped like a Hulan's cap), the sides of which are of black silk or satin, and the top of gold brocade, or of some bright coloured cloth; and a pair of half boots, of brown leather, laced or buttoned up to the calf: over this, for a great part of the year, is thrown a large cloak of well tanned sheep-skin, with the wool inside, or of soft and pliant grey felt. This garment is worn loose over the shoulders, with the sleeves hanging down, and reaches to the ancles †. In the cities and more civilized parts of the country, the dress generally worn resembles that of Persia; and, along the eastern borders of Afghaunistaun, it in some respects approaches that of India.

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* They call this shirt Cameess, which, I believe, is also the Arabic for a shirt. The Italian is camiscia, and the French, chemise; but, as it was not till after the Crusades, that this garment was worn in Europe, the term must have originated in the East.

† See Plate II.

The women wear a shirt like that of the men, but much longer. It is made of finer materials, and generally coloured or embroidered with flowers in silk: in the West, it is often entirely of silk. They wear coloured trowsers, tighter than those of the men; and have a small cape of bright coloured silk, embroidered with gold thread, which scarcely comes down to the forehead or the ears; and a large sheet, either plain or printed, which they throw over their heads, and with which they hide their faces when a stranger approaches. In the West the women often tie a black handkerchief round their heads over their caps. They divide the hair over their faces, and plait it into two locks, which fasten at the back of their heads.

Their ornaments are strings of Venetian sequins, worn round their heads, and chains of gold or silver, which are hooked up over the forehead, pass round the head, and end in two large balls, which hang down near the ears. Ear-rings and rings on the fingers, are also worn, as are pendants in the middle cartilage of the nose, which was formerly the custom in Persia, and still is in India and Arabia. Such is the dress of the married women, the unmarried are distinguished by wearing white trowsers, and by having their hair loose.

The conveyances of Afghaunistaun are so different from our own, that it is necessary to say a few words regarding them: those used in commerce and agriculture, will be mentioned elsewhere, I here speak of those employed by travellers. There are no wheel-carriages in the country (or in any part of Persia), and palankeens, are not used: the common way of travelling for both sexes, is on horseback. The ordinary pace is a very long walk, which carries a horse on at the rate of five or six miles an hour. Couriers and people going long journeys, trot; but that is not a common pace for travellers, and it is reckoned a proof of levity in a man of the upper classes to gallop, unless on some occasion that really requires speed. No man thinks of trotting or galloping when he is riding for pleasure, or going from one house to another. *

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* See Plate III.

There are two sorts of furniture for horses, the Persian and the Uzbek; of which the latter is most used. The Persian bridle is a sort of snaffle, which instead of cheeks, has two (or four) large rings passed through holes in the ends of the snaffle, to receive the reins. The snaffle itself has sometimes sharp points to prick the horse's mouth when he pulls. This bridle is adorned with silver chains and other ornaments. The saddle sits near the horse's back, but rises much both before and behind, so as to give the rider a strong seat; but the peaks are generally so close, as to make it extremely uncomfortable to those who are not used to it. The peak in front is the highest of the two, and is composed of painted wood, gold and silver curiously embossed, or gold enamelled, according to the circumstances of the owner. The Uzbek snaffle is exactly like our own, except that the cheeks are larger in proportion. The head-stall is ornamented with a few gold or silver studs at the joinings, and there is an ornament like a flower de luce of the same material in the angle between the nose-band and the cheek-band. There is no band across the forehead. The reins both of the Uzbek and Persian bridles are narrow, and very neat. They are made of good brown leather, and sometimes, but rarely, of green shagreen leather. Martingales are not much worn, when they are, they are very loose; they divide like our martingales, but do not run on the reins, being fastened to the cheeks of the bit. The tight standing martingale, with which the natives of India tie down their horses' heads, and cramp their action, is not known. There is also a breast band, with a large silver or gold knob in front, shaped like the cupola of a mosque, and they generally use cruppers. The whole, particularly the Uzbek bridle, is very handsome, and shows a horse off even better than our own. The Uzbek saddle is raised high above the horse's back, by the shape of the tree. It is much larger and more commodious than the Persian, and not so high either behind or before. The peak in front is divided and turns down, so as to form two curls like Ionic volutes. Neither of these saddles is stuffed below, both are placed on two or three thick blankets or felts, and tied on by a girth which passes through two

holes in the lower part of the tree. The Persian saddle, indeed, is often merely a tree, like those of Hussars. People who carry pistols have holsters, and those who do not, have two bags in place of them, for carrying a spare horse shoe, or any other little thing they want. These bags have a large flap of embroidered cloth, and with common horsemen, of carpeting, which looks very well. The poor have the ornaments I have described, made of tinned iron, instead of gold or silver. There are different kinds of stirrups; the commonest is like our own, except that the ends of the arch are prolonged beyond the bar on which the foot rests; another, not uncommon, has a flat plate of iron nine inches long, and four or five broad, for the foot to rest on instead of a bar. Their housings are confined to one piece, which reaches from the saddle almost to the horse's tail, and hangs down a good way on each side. The common people have it of coarse black cloth, wrought all over with worsted of different colours, or of the skin of a leopard, or other wild beast, but the great have them of velvet, with the richest embroidery, and sometimes of cloth of gold, ornamented with jewels, and with pearl fringe. The great also have the pommels of their saddles set with jewels, and have all their trappings adorned with gold and precious stones, but this is on occasions of pomp: in ordinary times they are very plain. Horses are always led by mounted grooms, not by men on foot as in India, and when the master dismounts at a strange house, the groom mounts his horse till he has finished his visit: this they think good for the horse.

Women often travel in cudjawas (the sort of hamper already mentioned), a few of the King's go on elephants, and others in a kind of litter.

The King himself has been known to travel on an elephant, and more frequently in a kind of litter, called in India a Nalkee, which is borne on men's shoulders by poles which pass beneath the bottom. This is peculiar to the King, but some few of the nobles are entitled to ride in a conveyance called a Jaumpaun, which is like a short palankeen, with an arched top, slung on three poles (like what is called

a Tonjon in India), and carried high over the shoulders of the bearers. There are also little inconvenient litters in use in the East, for sick people. These are all carried by men, I believe by Hindoos, though their long beards and sheep-skin caps give them an appearance very different from the Hindoos of India.

The baggage of travellers is carried on camels or mules. The commonest of the first sort are those used in India, which though always called camels, are the dromedary of natural historians. Mules are the best carriage, as they will nearly keep up with a horse at his full walk; but they are expensive, and are, therefore, only used by the rich.

There are no posts in Afghaunistaun. The King sends his dispatches by mounted couriers, called Chuppers, who make surprising journies, and who are supplied with fresh horses by the chiefs of the places where they happen to require them. It is astonishing what exertions these men will go through, without any preparation but that of wrapping cloths round their bodies and limbs, as tight as possible, to diminish the soreness of their muscles in the course of a fatiguing journey. The King's Chuppers do not carry letters for other people; they are indeed rather a superior class of men, and are often entrusted with important messages; other people, however, hire Chuppers when they want them, and great men keep them in their constant employ. The bulk of the people send their letters by Cossids (or foot-messengers), who travel at a great rate, and often reach Caubul from Peshawer, two hundred and ten miles, in four days.

There are slaves in Afghaunistaun, as in all Mussulman countries, and I shall now give a short account of their situation.

By far the greater part are home-born, but some supplies are received from foreign countries. Abyssinians and Negroes are sometimes brought from Arabia; the Beloches sell Persians and other people whom they seize in their forays; and a good many Caufirs are purchased from their own nation, or made prisoners by the Eusofzyes on their border. This, however, is the only instance of the

Afghauns carrying off slaves, a practice which they hold in detestation. The Caufir captives are generally women, and they are greatly sought after on account of the remarkable beauty of their nation. The other slaves are generally employed in menial offices, but, in the country, and particularly among the Dooraunee farmers, they are also greatly used in agriculture. They are not, however, required to supply the place of cattle, as in our colonies, but do the same work as the freemen. Their treatment in other respects is suitable to this practice; they eat with their masters, when in the lower walks of life, and are clad in the same manner; they are allowed to have property, and their masters make them presents, buy wives for them, &c. They marry the daughters of other slaves, and the owner of the girl is entitled to her price; but I am told that he generally gives it up to her father, or bestows it on the girl herself; I suppose this must be the price of a wife, which is paid on the part of a husband, and does not impair the master's rights over his slave; for I cannot suppose that the owner would consent to lose her services, without being paid for her, particularly as marriage would increase her value, since her owner would be entitled to her offspring.

I can see no signs of the condition of the slaves employed in agriculture improving into villanage. They, for the most part, live in their master's house; but even when the field on which they work is so distant, as to require their having a hut or a tent there, they are not at all attached to the soil, and are moved from field to field as occasion requires; they are not, indeed, in sufficient numbers to allow of their being attached to particular spots. They have no share in the produce of their labour, and are kept to work by the attention of the owner alone, or of some freemen interested in the work. They are seldom beaten. Grown up slaves belonging to people in moderate circumstances, consider themselves as part of the family, and perceive that they must labour in order to enable their master to support them, as well as to maintain himself. Female slaves are kept as concubines, are maids to the mistress of the house, or in poor families assist her in her domestic labours.

Among the Uzbeks, the master often agrees to enfranchise his slave, when he can pay a certain sum; or promises to do so, if he will serve well for a certain number of years. The magistrate enforces these engagements. The Afghauns and Persians, on the contrary, think it a disgrace to release a slave for money, but they often give them their liberty for good service, or emancipate them on their death-beds. I have heard of a great Khaun who thought he was dying, and desired all his slaves who had any dislike to his son, to come and receive from him a paper, setting them free in the legal forms. The Afghauns have always a great horror at making people slaves; they revile the Uzbeks for this practice, and apply to them with great disgust, the appellation of Audam farosh, or sellers of men.

An author, by no means partial to the Afghauns, bears testimony to this way of thinking among them; but as the bulk of their slaves are descended from captives taken in their early campaigns against the Hindoos, I suspect that their barbarous religion encourages them to practise towards idolaters the very crime which they so much abhor when the sufferer is a true believer. *

The Afghaun women are described as large (compared to those of India), and very fair and handsome.

The men are all of a robust make, and are generally lean, though bony and muscular. They have high noses, high cheek bones, and long faces. Their hair and beards are generally black, sometimes

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* The following passage from Pere Krusinski, is that alluded to in the text. "Le "traitement qu'ils (les Agvans) font a ceux qui deviennent leur captifs par le droit de la "guerre ná rien de la barbarie de la plupart des autres nations de l'orient. Ils regardent "comme une inhumanité atroce, et dont ils ont horreur, l'usage de ceux qu'iles vendent "pour esclaves. Il est bien vrai qu'ils se font servir par eux; mais outre que dans le tems "même de leur servitude, ils les traitent avec bonté et en ont du soin; ils ne manquent "jamais pour peu qu'ils en soient contents, de leur rendre la liberté au bout d'un certain "tems: autant differens des autres peuples de l'Asie a cet egard qui'ls le sont du côte des "bonnes mœurs."

Histoire de la derniere Revolution de Perse, tome i. page 166, 167.

brown, and rarely red. Their hair is always coarse and strong: they shave the middle part of the head, but wear the rest of their hair. The tribes near towns wear it short, but the rest have long and large locks hanging down on each side of the head. They wear long and thick beards. Their countenance has an expression of manliness and deliberation, united to an air of simplicity, not allied to weakness. The eastern Afghauns have the national features most strongly marked; though they have least of the expression above alluded to. The lineaments of the western tribes are less distinct, and exhibit a much greater variety of countenance, some of them having blunt features, entirely different from those I have described; their high cheek bones, however, never leave them. The western Afghauns are larger and stouter than those of the east, and some Dooraunees and Ghiljies are of surprising strength and stature; but generally speaking, the Afghauns are not so tall as the English.

The eastern Afghauns have generally dark complexions, approaching to that of the Hindoostaunees; while those of the west are olive, with a healthy colour and appearance; but among them, as among the eastern Afghauns, men as swarthy as Indians, and others as fair as Europeans, are to be met with in the same neighbourhood: the fair are by much the most common in the west, and the dark in the east.

Besides this difference, which is created by climate, the eastern and western Afghauns are distinguished by other peculiarities, which appear in general to arise from the different quarters from which the two divisions have acquired their manners.

Those of the west have derived their civilization from the Persians, and those of the east from the Indians, and each resembles in dress and manners the people with which it is thus connected; while the inhabitants of the central part of the south, equally remote from both of the great empires to which I have alluded, and at a distance from great roads, appear to have retained the original habits of their own nation. From the superior extent of the country inhabited by the western tribes, and from the supremacy which two of those tribes

have at different times maintained over the whole, the Persian dress, manners, and language decidedly prevail in the nation, and are recognised even in those parts where the Indian customs have acquired most force. It is to be observed, that every thing borrowed from the Persians and Indians, is preserved as it was at the time when first adopted, and consequently varies considerably from the actual practice of both countries in these days. The Indian dress and customs are those of Shauh Jehaun's days; and the Persian, those of the time of Naudir Shauh. Though the latter period is by much the shortest, the great change which has taken place in Persia, makes the contrast more striking than in the other case. *

The manners of the Afghauns are frank and open. Though manly and independent, they are entirely free from that affectation of military pride and ferocity, which is so conspicuous in their descendants the Pitans of India. When their address is bad, it is rustic, but never fierce or insolent: the Indian Pitans seem to have copied the peculiar manners of the Eusofzyes, to whom a haughty and arrogant carriage is natural. About towns the Afghauns are in some degree polished, and shew respect to superiors, but in many parts of the country they are plain, and make little distinction of ranks; they all, however, shew great reverence for old age.

Though the Afghauns have that ease of manner which strikes every observer, in comparing the behaviour of Asiatics with that of Europeans, yet it is not uncommon to find them bashful; a defect which

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* There cannot be a greater mistake than to suppose that eastern nations never change their fashions. Our present dress is at least as like that of Charles the Second's reign, as the present dress of the Persians is to that worn when Chardin travelled. No less a change has taken place in India: the jokes of the young courtiers of Delly on the old fashioned dress and manners of Nizam Ool Moolk, had effects that make a figure in history: and as the dress of the Mogul noblemen at Delly, and in the Deccan, must have been the same eighty or ninety years ago, and are now quite different, it is evident one or other must have changed, if not both. The truth is, European travellers do not perceive slight changes in a dress entirely different from their own.

I have never witnessed in any other Asiatic. Except on formal occasions, they use a good deal of gesture, but it is always of a grave kind, such as stretching out the arm, and bending forward the body. They have, perhaps, more of this kind of action than the Persians, though not near so lively a people; but they by no means equal the gesticulation of the Indians.*

They are also free from that puerility which is, perhaps, the distinguishing characteristic of the last-mentioned people. I found their conversation and their inquiries, though not enlarged, always rational, and they did not seem much delighted with those baubles which generally form the most acceptable presents in India.

The Afghauns are accused by the Persians of ignorance and barbarism; stupidity is indeed the proverbial reproach of all Khorassaun. They certainly have neither the refinement nor the subtlety of their western neighbours, and their want of much intercourse with foreign nations, undoubtedly narrows their views, and, on some subjects, contracts their understandings; but from their state of society, in which every man is obliged to protect his own rights, and where he is, at the same time, of some importance to the community, their faculties must be a good deal exerted and improved; and accordingly the bulk of the people are remarkable for prudence, good sense, and observation. They have also a degree of curiosity which is a relief to a person habituated to the apathy of the Indians. They always shewed a desire to be informed about the state of countries at a distance from their own, and some were very anxious to improve themselves by acquiring a knowledge of our sciences. I gave a short account of the Copernican system (which was published in

* I may be allowed, in comparing them with a foreign nation, to speak of the inhabitants of this vast empire as one people; but it must not be forgotten that there is a great diversity among the Indians themselves: thus the tall and well made Hindostaunee speaks extremely slow, and, though he uses a good deal of gesture, does not approach to the violence of action employed by the small, black, and shrivelled inhabitant of the Carnatic, who speaks on the most trifling subject with a degree of volubility and eagerness to which no occasion could rouse an Englishman.

Persian by Dr. Hunter), to a Moollah who accompanied me to Calcutta, and two years after his return I received a list of queries addressed to the Newtonianaun English (English Newtonians), requiring an explication of some parts of the system which had embarassed the learned at Peshawer. *

While in Calcutta, I carried a great many Afghauns, of all ranks, from Moollahs to grooms, to see the arsenal, to visit ships, and to some other sights which were new to them, and it was extremely pleasing to see the interest they took in every thing, and the gratification they received. One of the Moollahs, however, was greatly disappointed in not finding the wheel used for boring cannon turned by steam, as he had read in the travels of Meerza Aboo Taulib, was the case in England. I have often seen natives of India at spectacles of the same nature, and though they always were polite enough to express much admiration, they did it with a calmness that showed how little they were interested, while the questions which they sometimes asked, were of such a nature as to leave no doubt that their only object was to keep up conversation. †

All communication with the Afghauns is rendered agreeable, by the dependence which can be placed on what they say. Though they are far behind Europeans in veracity, and would seldom scruple to deceive both in statements and promises, if their own interest were to be promoted by their dishonesty, yet they have not that indifference to truth, and that style of habitual and gratuitous falsehood which astonishes an European in natives of India and Persia: a man of the first nation seems incapable of observing any thing accurately, and one of the second of describing it truly; but unless some prejudice can be discovered to mislead the observer, or some motive is

* My own ignorance of the subject, and the difficulty of finding a person here, who is both a Persian scholar and a mathematician, has hitherto prevented my replying to this paper.

† The Persians are too acute and intelligent to have any of this insensibility, but they are too full of themselves to be very curious about other nations.

apparent for misrepresenting the truth, one may generally rely on the Afghauns both for correctness and fidelity.

All the Afghauns are remarkably hardy and active. From the nature of their country, they are exposed to the necessity of enduring cold and heat, and accustomed to the exertion of climbing mountains, making long journies on foot and on horseback, and swimming broad and rapid torrents. Nor is this confined to the lower orders, or to men in the vigour of youth. As there is no easier conveyance in the country than a horse, all ranks acquire these habits: so that old Meerzas (or secretaries), who seem hardly able to sit on horseback, will ride at a good pace up and down the steepest and roughest passes, or along the edge of precipices, where one is almost afraid to walk. Almost all of them are, however, impatient of hot climates; and, when on campaigns in India, the approach of summer used to thin their armies by desertions, even in the vigorous reign of Ahmed Shauh. This is the more surprising, when it is remembered how much of the Afghaun country is in a hot climate.

They are industrious and laborious, when pursuing any object of business or pleasure. No people are more diligent in husbandry, and many of them are indefatigable in the chace; but when not so excited, they are indolent.

The love of gain seems to be their ruling passion; most of the Dooraunee chiefs prefer hoarding up their great but useless treasures, to the power, reputation, and esteem, which the circumstances of the times would enable them to command by a moderate liberality. The influence of money on the whole nation, is spoken of by those who know them best, as boundless, and it is not denied by themselves.

Their love of independence has already been noticed as influencing their government, it appears in some shape in most of their opinions and transactions. Their highest praise, in speaking of a well governed country, is, that "every man eats the produce of his own field," and that "nobody has any concern with his neighbour." *

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* Khood meekaurund, khood meekhoorund. Kussbau kussee ghurruz nedaurud.

This love of personal independence is, however, very remote from selfishness. The nature of their society, where power consists in the number of a man's relations, produces a very strong attachment between members of the same family, and there is no Afghaun who would not shew his devotion to his clan, if he saw it engaged in any contest. I must except from what I say of family attachment, the rivalry which the elections of chiefs occasion in the head families, the force of blood is never much felt among kings; and the chiefship of a little tribe is as elevated a station in the eyes of those who contend for it as a crown among great princes. This does not indeed happen among brothers, but it is so remarkable in more distant relations, that Turboor, which literally means a cousin, is now the common word in Pushtoo for a rival. I have already shewn how their clannish spirit diminishes their general patriotism, but they all take a lively interest in the *Nung du Pooshtauneh*, or honour of the Afghaun name; and they are extremely attached to the country that gave them birth, and to the scenes of their early pleasures. A native of the wild valley of Speiga, north-east of Ghuznee, who was obliged to fly his country for some offence, was once giving me an account of his travels, he concluded by enumerating the countries he had visited, and by comparing them with his own: "I have seen all Persia and India, Geor-"gia, Tartary, and Belochestaun, but I have seen no such place as "Speiga in all my travels."

They are all very proud of their descent; a great part of their histories is taken up by genealogies: they will hardly acknowledge a man for an Afghaun, who cannot make his proofs by going back six or seven generations; and even in their ordinary conversation, they often stop to enumerate the forefathers of any person who happens to be mentioned. *

* I remember a striking instance of this in a Doulutkhail, whom I wished to interrogate about Tuk in Damaun, the chief town of his tribe; he began his answer, "Tuk is "the city of Surwur, the son of Kuttaul Khaun, the son of Seleem Khaun, the son of "Meer Sooltaun Khaun, the son of Shauh Aulum Khaun, the son of Mahommed Ze-"maun Khaun, the son of Zuffer Khaun, the son of Khaun Zemaun, who lived in the "reign of Jehaungeer, the offspring of Timour the Lame."

They are all kind to their immediate dependents, of whatever nation or religion, but the case is different with people who are under their authority, without being personally connected with them. The countries which are completely subdued, as Cashmeer and the provinces on the Indus, suffer much from the rapacity of individuals, and if they do not often undergo the extremes of tyranny, it is only because wanton cruelty and insolence are no part of the Afghaun character.

Their independence and pretensions to equality make them view the elevation of their neighbours with jealousy, and communicates a deep tinge of envy to their disposition. The idea that they are neglected and passed over, while their equals are attended to, will lead them to renounce a friendship of long standing, or a party to which they have been zealously attached. Unless, however, they meet with particular wrongs or insults, they are said to be faithful in friendship once formed, and mindful of favours, if not effaced by subsequent slights. I can answer for this peculiarity in their character, that they will do any thing that is wanted of them with much more zeal, if a present is made to them in advance, than if it is withheld in the hope of quickening them by expectancy.

It may be foreseen from their customs, which make private revenge a duty, that they will long retain the remembrance of injuries; but this is true only of such serious injuries as they are bound in honour to retaliate; in affairs of less consequence, they are neither irritable nor implacable.

I know no people in Asia who have fewer vices, or are less voluptuous or debauched; but this is most remarkable in the west: the people of towns are acquiring a taste for debauchery, and those in the north-east of the country, are already far from being pure. The Afghauns themselves complain of the corruption of manners, and of the decline of sincerity and good faith, and say that their nation is assimilating to the Persians. Their sentiments and conduct towards that nation, greatly resemble those which we discovered some years ago towards the French. Their national antipathy, and a strong

sense of their own superiority, do not prevent their imitating Persian manners, while they declaim against the practice, as depraving their own. They are fully sensible of the advantage which Persia has over them at present, from the comparative union and vigour of her councils, and they regard the increase of her power with some degree of apprehension, which is diminished by their inattention to the future, and by their confidence in themselves. To sum up the character of the Afghauns in a few words; their vices are revenge, envy, avarice, rapacity, and obstinacy; on the other hand, they are fond of liberty, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependants, hospitable, brave, hardy, frugal, laborious, and prudent; and they are less disposed than the nations in their neighbourhood to falsehood, intrigue, and deceit.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE INHABITANTS OF TOWNS.

I HAVE hitherto confined myself to those points of character or manners which apply to the whole, or nearly the whole, of the Afghaun nation. I shall now proceed to describe the peculiarities of the different classes of which it is composed. Enough has been said, for the present, of the difference between the eastern and western Afghauns; some particular orders of men have also been incidentally described; and the pastoral and agricultural classes will be spoken of in great detail hereafter. The first description of people whom I have now to examine, are, therefore, the inhabitants of towns; and here one is struck with the circumstance, that the greater part of this branch of the population is not composed of Afghauns. It may seem strange to a person in Europe, that the towns should not be inhabited by the masters of the country, yet such was the case in England after the Norman invasion, and such it still is in Uzbek, Tartary, and in some measure in Persia; and probably the reason has in all cases been the same; the ruling nation has thought it degrading to pursue the trades which assemble men in towns, and none have resided there but great men and their retainers, who are drawn thither by the court; accordingly, the only Afghauns who reside in towns, are great men and their followers, soldiers, Moollahs, a few who follow commerce (a pursuit not despised among this people), and some of the poorest of the nation, who work as labourers. No Afghaun ever keeps a shop, or exercises any handicraft trade. The greater part of the people employed in these occupations, are Taujiks, a nation who are intermixed with the Afghauns in great numbers, throughout all the western part

of their country, and who are found even in the east; where, however, the trades alluded to, are more frequently exercised by Hindkees, a people of Indian origin, who are scattered over that part of Afghaunistaun, as the Taujiks are in the west. These nations, and the others which contribute to the population of Afghaun towns, will be considered as distinct races, after I have described the Afghauns; at present I have only to speak of the place they occupy as citizens of those towns. In this point of view, we find them divided into bankers, merchants, artisans, and labourers.

The prohibition in the Koraun against Mussulmans taking interest, makes most of the business of banking fall into the hands of Hindoos, whose wary and penurious habits suit them admirably for the trade. They derive their profits from lending money, which they do at an enormous interest, by negociating bills of exchange, and by transactions connected with the fluctuations of the exchange in the place where they reside. They also mix trade and agency with their regular banking business. Another source of profit arises from advancing money to government for bills on the revenue of provinces, and this hazardous speculation is recommended by a premium, always large, and increasing with the risk of non-payment. Some of the bankers are very rich, but there are numberless little shops set up with very small capitals, which practise the same trade as the great ones, among the poor people of their particular neighbourhood.

When I was at Peshawer, the bankers thought it necessary to conceal their wealth; and one, who took up my bills, for the purpose of remitting his property to India, would only make his payments in the night, when he dug up his money, and paid it to my treasurer with the utmost secrecy. But these precautions were not taken from any present danger so much as with a view to futurity, as Peshawer was on the eve of a revolution, which had already commenced in the West. At that very time, the bankers had great confidence in the government of Shauh Shujau, and looked with terror to the prospect of its subversion. No exactions were ever made on them, notwithstanding the King's urgent wants; and, in all transactions with

government, they seemed to have no fears from the King or the Prime Minister, but only from their inferior agents. When any ordinary courtier was employed to negotiate a loan with them, they said he was likely to impose on or oppress them for his own profit; but, when the affair was committed to a man of a respectable character, who would communicate fairly between them and the government, they met with very equitable treatment. The opposite party levied contributions and extorted money by all means, but they were then struggling to overturn the government; and, though their habits are very irregular, it is probable that the secure possession of the kingdom has now improved their character in this respect. The bankers must derive much security from the great Dooraunees putting money into their hands to be employed to the best advantage; a practice, which identifies the interests of the bankers and the nobility. Needy nobles, also afford their protection to bankers, and treat them with great attention, in the hope of being able to borrow money from them; and, like all other classes of industrious people, they derive benefit from the obvious interest which the King has in protecting them against individuals of his own nation.

The merchants are generally Taujiks, Persians, or Afghauns. Though commerce is by no means looked down on in this country, though the merchants are generally reckoned among the upper classes of the society, and though several Khruns of inferior rank, even among the Dooraunees, are merchants; yet, there are none of those large fortunes and extensive concerns among them, which are seen in Persia and India. The long civil wars have occasioned a great decline of commerce, by rendering the roads unsafe, and exposing whole caravans to be plundered by one or other of the contending parties. Otherwise the situation of Caubul, between India, Persia, Tartary, and Belochestaun, together with the possession of Cashmeer, would not fail to give it great advantages.

The merchants are all sober, frugal, unassuming people; and, from the journies to foreign countries which they make in the course of their concerns, they are more polished and enlightened than most

other descriptions of men. They live comfortably, but never ostentatiously. Moolla Jaffer Seestaunee, whose favour with Shauh Shoojan put him on a level with the ministers of state, always dressed like an ordinary merchant; was never attended by more than one servant; and a man, who carried his culleeaun, and never would allow himself to be addressed with any of the titles which are given to people of consequence. It is a proof how much the Afghauns are exempt from the prejudices of India in respect to trade, that no man of any rank would scruple to sell a horse, a sword, or any similar article, which he happened not to require; although regular trade would, of course, be reckoned a very unbecoming employment for the great.

The remaining inhabitants are shopkeepers and artificers. They are divided into thirty-two trades*, each of which has its own Cudkhoda or chief, who manages all transactions between the trade and the government. There are no regular taxes on this class of townsmen, though they are of course affected by the duties collected on all articles imported into the towns. They are, however, liable to exactions more distressing than regular taxation. The principal of these is the obligation to furnish shops for the Oordoo Bazaur or camp market. Whenever the King marches from any city in his dominions, an order is issued to the Cudkhodas to furnish a shop of each trade,

* The number is confined to thirty-two by including several trades in one class. As it will serve to give some idea of the state of civilization, I shall mention some of the trades which actually exist, taken from a list of seventy-five trades, which a townsman of Caubul (from whom I had the list) could remember. Jewellers, gold and silver smiths, booksellers, bookbinders, stationers, makers of kullumdauns, (a sort of ink-stand and pen-case, of which, every man who can write has one), seal-engravers, sellers of armour, sellers of shields, (these shields are of buffaloes or rhinoceros's hides), gunsmiths, sword-cutlers, polishers of steel, sellers of bows and arrows, sellers of glass ornaments for women, three descriptions of shoe-makers, boot-makers, button-makers, silk-thread sellers, gold-wire and gold-thread sellers, saddlers, farriers, painters, fruiterers, cooks, soup-sellers, tobacconists, druggists, perfumers, sellers of sherbet and of fullodeh, confectioners, embroiderers, and people, whose business it is to sew ornaments on clothes of all descriptions, from jewels to spangles. I omit all people who sell the necessaries of life, as butchers, bakers, mercers, &c., and all who may be supposed to exist where the above mentioned trades are found.

to accompany the Court to the next great town, where they are discharged. The artificers suffer most by this regulation, as they are not paid by the work; but are considered as servants of the King, and only entitled to their pay. This pay is not issued regularly, and the people are generally given a sum of money when they are dismissed in lieu of all payments. I do not know whether the sum fixed by the Court is an equitable compensation for the labour imposed; but, the amount which reaches the artificer, after passing through the hands of the courtiers, and of the head of the trade, is very inadequate to the expence and inconvenience he has been exposed to. The other shopkeepers may, perhaps, receive inadequate prices for their goods; but, from the nature of their transactions, the payments made to them cannot be so arbitrary as those to the artificers. This inconvenience falls on a small number of the towns people, as the regular oordoo bazaur is only intended to supply the royal household. There are many other shops which accompany the camp, to supply the Sirdars and the soldiers; and, so great is the distinction between this class and those attached to the household, that the latter endeavour to avoid the duty by bribes to the persons whose business it is to provide them; while the others go voluntarily, and consider the employment as very profitable. No ordinary towns are obliged to supply oordoo bazaurs; and this oppression falls only on the cities of Heraut, Candahar, Caubul, and Peshawer. It can scarcely happen to either oftener than once a year, or last longer than three weeks or a month; but the shopkeepers are always liable to suffer while the King is in their town, by being obliged to furnish articles to his purveyors at their own price. In troubled times, contributions are levied on towns to supply the armies of the competitors. They are generally levied in articles of consumption, but compositions in money are also received.

Perhaps the greatest oppression the townsmen suffer, arises from the strictness of the police. It has been mentioned, that a branch of this department is in the hands of the clergy, and that it watches over the minutest breach of the rules of religion and morality. The con-

sequences are extremely harassing from the pretexts afforded for extorting money; and this evil is increased by the appointments in the police being farmed. The Government can gain nothing by these exactions, since the whole amount paid to the treasury, on account of fines and petty confiscations in the populous city of Peshawer, is only 1500 rupees, (equal to 150*l.*) per annum. The profit to the farmers of the offices of police must, of course, be much greater than this; yet it probably bears no proportion to the vexation and anxiety which it occasions to the people. In other respects, the police is good; and there are few crimes or disturbances. The officers of police go the rounds frequently in the night; and every quarter has gates, which are closed at a certain hour, so that robberies are next to impossible. The people are not allowed to go about the streets for that part of the night during which the King's band ceases to play. It ceases between eleven and twelve at night, and does not recommence till day-break; and, as it is heard over every part of the town, it gives sufficient intimation of the time when communication is allowed or forbidden. If any man is obliged to go about in these forbidden hours, he is liable to be taken up, unless he carries a light to shew that he has no secret design.

It may not be amiss to mention in this place the way in which the day is divided in Afghaunistaun. The day begins at *Sehr*, which is a little before the commencement of the morning twilight, and which is enjoined as the hour of the first prayers. The next marked period is *Aftaub Beraumud*, or sun-rise, after which is *Chausht*, or luncheon time, about eleven o'clock. *Neemrooz* (or noon) is the short period between Chausht and *Awullee Pesheen* (or Zohr), an hour prescribed for prayers, and marked by the first inclination of the shadow towards the east. The next time is about four in the afternoon, when a man's shadow is as long as himself; this is called *Aukhiree Pesheen*, next is *Asr*, or *Deeger*, an hour of prayer about five. *Shaum* is another time for prayer soon after sun-set. *Khooftun* is the last prayer, at the end of twilight; and *Tublee Sehum* (the third drum) is the last time the King's band plays (about half-past eleven). These are the terms em-

ployed to mark time, instead of the hours of the day, which are never mentioned in common discourse. The day is, however, divided into twenty-four hours, which are counted from six in the morning to six in the evening, and then begin again.

The year is divided into four seasons as in Europe, commencing from the vernal equinox, when spring is considered to begin. The Mahomedan lunar months are most commonly used, but as they do not suit the seasons, the signs of the zodiac are very often adopted, and in the east the Hindoo months are better known than the Mahomedan.

To return to the inhabitants of towns, the common people rise at *Sehr*, and repair to the mosque to pray; after prayers, they go to their shops, which are always distinct from their houses. In the west, they take a light breakfast after prayers, which some do also in the east. At eleven, they eat their luncheon of bread, vegetables, curds, and flesh when they can afford it. In summer they sleep for a couple of hours after their luncheon; those who have apprentices to take care of their shops, take their luncheon and nap at home, which others do at their shops. We are apt to consider this habit as a great proof of the laziness of the people in hot climates; but it is to be remembered that they do not go to rest till ten or eleven, and in summer (the only season when they sleep in the day), they rise at half-past three, which does not make their whole sleep, including that taken in the day, more than equal to what the most moderate enjoy in England.

The great meal of all ranks is called *Shaumee*, and is taken after the last prayers. They all bathe, generally twice a-week, but always on Friday. At Peshawer they often merely wash in the open air, but in the towns of the cold country, they always use the Hummaum, or hot bath. These baths have been often described. They contain three rooms heated to different temperatures, and in the hottest the bather is scrubbed by the men of the bath, till every particle of dirt or scurf is cleared off his skin. The entrance money is less than a penny, and all the operations of the bath, including shaving, burning

the hair off the body, and dying the beard, only cost one hundred dinars (three pence halfpenny); an Abassy (less than one shilling) is reckoned liberal payment from a rich man. The baths are appropriated to the women for some hours every day, and during that time no man is allowed to approach them.

The food of the common people is leavened bread, rice, flesh, vegetables, sometimes cheese, and always Kroot or Koroot *. Provisions are cheap, and the people derive a great luxury from the prodigious abundance of fruit. At Caubul, grapes are dear when they sell for more than a farthing a pound; pomegranates are little more than a halfpenny a pound; apples sell at two hundred pounds for a rupee (£1 : 4 : 4); two sorts of apricots are equally cheap, and the dearer sorts are less than a halfpenny a pound; peaches are dearer, but quinces and plums are as cheap, and melons much cheaper; grapes often bear scarce any price, and the coarse sort, which is exported with so much care to India, is sometimes given to cattle. Nuts of all kinds are very cheap, and walnuts, with which the hills north of Caubul are covered, sell at two thousand for a rupee. The price of vegetables is also extremely low. The smallest piece of copper money, much less than a halfpenny, purchases ten pounds of spinage, twenty-five of cabbage, and of carrots, turnips, pumkins, or cucumbers. Coriander seeds, turmeric and ginger also sell extremely cheap. Ice, or rather snow, is to be had in Caubul, during the summer, for a mere trifle. It is dearer at Candahar, but still within the reach of the poorest people. A favourite food at that season is fulodeh, a jelly strained from boiled wheat, and eaten with the expressed juice of fruits and ice, to which cream also is sometimes added. In winter, living is, of course, more expensive, and this is particularly felt in the city of Caubul, where provisions become dearer; it is

* Kooroot is made of dried curds pressed into hard lumps. It is scraped down and mixed with milk, and in this state the Afghauns of all ranks are very fond of it, but it is sour, and to me very unpalatable. It is called "Kooroot," in Tartary, and "Kaishk," in Persia.

necessary to have stoves both in the houses and the shops, and warm clothing is absolutely required; such indeed is the severity of the climate, that many of the poorest people emigrate to the eastward, where they remain till spring.

The people have a great many amusements, the most considerable of which arise from their passion for what they call Sail * (enjoyment of prospects); every Friday, all shops are shut, and every man comes from the bath, dressed in his best clothes, and joins one of the parties which are always made for this day, to some hill or garden near the town; a little subscription procures an ample supply of provisions, sweet-meats, and Fulodeh; and for a small sum paid at the garden, each man has the liberty to eat as much fruit as he pleases. They go out in the morning, and eat their luncheon at the garden, and spend the day in walking about, eating fruit off the trees, smoking, playing at backgammon and other games, and listening to the singing and playing of musicians, hired by a trifling subscription. The people of Caubul even go on parties to the rich valleys of the Cohdaumun, as far as thirty miles from the city; these expeditions take several days, but are repaid by the beauty of the place, the innumerable gardens, and the extreme cheapness of fruit and provisions. In Peshawer, the great resort is to the banks of the Budina rivulet, and there the climate enables them to keep up this practice all the year; but at Caubul it is changed in winter into parties to hunt wolves, or to shoot at marks.

The people of Caubul, though very religious, and by no means relaxed in their morals, are wonderfully fond of all sorts of amusement and recreation; they have often singing and playing in their houses, and delight in fighting quails or cocks, and in all sorts of games and sports.

I have now described the life of the labouring people, and I shall add an account of the life of an elder.

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* Corrupted from the Persian or Arabic word Seir.

When Mr. Durie was at Candahar, he spent a great deal of his time at the house of a Taujik baker, who had made some money, and retired from business. The following is his account of the life which this man led.

Mr. Durie, used to go to the baker's house early in the morning; and generally found him sitting with a kind of Moollah, who lived in the house with him. The morning devotions did not occasion any interruption, as the baker seldom prayed, and the Moollah never. The latter had forsaken the world, and did not observe forms, (I conclude he was a Soofee). Their breakfast was bread and soup, which was sometimes made at home, and sometimes ordered from a soup shop. Mr. Durie seldom breakfasted with them, and seldom met strangers there at that hour. When breakfast was over, they retired into a court-yard behind the house, where they were soon joined by a number of visitors. They sat on carpets, and smoaked tobacco. The Moollah sometimes smoaked the intoxicating drug called Chirs, of which some of the visitors occasionally partook; but most of them preferred plain tobacco. They also used to eat fruit and drink Sherbut occasionally, in the course of the day. The company used to converse soberly and pleasantly; but, as the visitors were generally Afghauns, the conversation was often in Pushtoo, which Mr. Durie did not understand. They used also to play a game of the nature of back-gammon, and to wrestle, and perform the athletic exercises used in their country, as in India and Persia. It would take a great deal of time to describe those exercises, or the innumerable postures which wrestlers are taught to assume. Some of the principal exercises, I may, however, notice. In one of them, the performer places himself on his hands and toes, with his arms stiff, and his body horizontal, at a distance from the ground. He then throws his body forward, and at the same time bends his arms; so that his chest and belly almost sweep the ground. When his body is as far thrown forward as possible, he draws it back to the utmost, straightens his arms, and is prepared to repeat the motion. A person unused to this exercise could not perform it ten times without intermission; but, such is the

strength it confers when often used, that one English officer was able to go through it six hundred times without stopping, and this operation he repeated twice a day. Another exercise is whirling a heavy club round the head, in a way that requires the exertion of the whole body. It is either done with one immense club held in both hands, or with one smaller club in each hand. A third exercise is to draw a very strong bow, which has a heavy iron chain, instead of a string. It is first drawn with the right hand, like a common bow, then thrown over to the right, and drawn with the left hand, and afterwards pulled down violently with both hands till the head and shoulders appear between the bow and the chain. This last exercise only operates on the arms and chest, but the others strain every muscle in the frame. There are many other exercises, intended to strengthen the whole or particular parts of the body, which a judicious master applies according to the defects of his pupil's formation.

The degree to which these exercises bring out the muscles and increase the strength, is not to be believed. Though fatiguing for the first few days, they afterwards occasion a pleasurable feeling, and a sensation of lightness and alacrity which lasts the whole day, and I never saw a man who had performed them long, without a large chest, fine limbs, and swelling muscles. They are one of the best inventions which Europe could borrow from the East; and, in fact, they bear a strong resemblance to the gymnastic exercises of ancient Greece.

The day passed as described till after dark, by which time the company had taken their leave; and the baker had a good dinner of pilaw and other Persian dishes. Mr. Durie did not often dine with him, nor was there ever company; but there always sat down a party of four, which was made up by the Moollah, a young nephew of the baker's, and an old man, on crutches, who was related to him. After dinner, nobody came in but neighbours; and these were generally Mr. Durie, and two petty Dooraunee Khauns, who were not in the army, but had lands and houses, and lived on the rent of them. They both kept horses, and lived in a very respectable way. They were perfectly good natured, and well bred, and always behaved with great

civility to Mr. Durie. These gentlemen, and the people of the house, used to converse on religion and war, repeat odes from the Persian poets, and question Mr. Durie about India and the Europeans. They were particularly delighted with some English songs, which he sung, and afterwards explained in Persian. The whole party used to sing in turn till late at night * "with great glee;" and "when they had music, they used to sing *together* excellent well:" the baker, in particular, seemed quite transported when he was singing. One of the Khauns also played very well on the rubaub. Such are the employments of idle people within doors. They also go out to sit in shops, and hear the news; to talk to their friends in the market-place; to hear tales and ballads in the streets; or to the gardens of Fakeers, which, instead of being places where great austerity is practised, are the resort of all idle people, and particularly of those who smoke intoxicating drugs. They also go out in parties "to gardens, where there are many trees and rivulets for pastime;" a pleasure, of which Mr. Durie speaks in very high terms. To this, it may be added, that persons in easy circumstances, often drink wine in the evening, and have people to dance, sing, and exhibit feats of strength or dexterity. The dancing is commonly performed by boys. Female dancers are not uncommon in Peshawer, but very much so to the west.

The common people in the Afghaun towns wear the dress, and retain the customs of the country to which they happen to belong; and, in consequence, the streets exhibit a curious spectacle in the assemblage of people from the different tribes and nations of the empire, each distinguished by the peculiar dress and manners of his race. Notwithstanding this circumstance, and the diversity of habits, language, and religion, which must be found in such a society, they all seem to mix well, and to live in perfect harmony with each other. The only exception to this, is the enmity between the Sheahs and Soonnees of Caubul, and even they associate and intermarry with each other.

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* The words between commas are Mr. Duries.

From all that I have seen or heard, and particularly from the accounts of Mr. Durie, I should not suppose the condition of the people in towns to be unhappy. But their situation would be dreadful to an Englishman: and, the ease they enjoy, must be attributed to the practical philosophy, which all men acquire in similar circumstances, and which enables them to bear the evils to which they are habituated, without reflections on the past or fears for the future.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE GREAT.

THE only class of inhabitants that remains to be described is composed of the great; under which denomination, I include all the Dooraunee chiefs, and the heads of the tribes, with the principal persons who follow them to Court, and all the Persians and Taujiks who hold offices about the King. The first classes of these nobles, occasionally reside at their castles; but that is only when they are at variance with the King, or during short periods, when the Court is in the neighbourhood; and they can make expeditions to their own castles to avoid the heat of summer, or to enjoy the amusements of hunting. Their permanent residence is always with the Court.

Their houses are on the plan of those which I have seen at Peshawer *; but, their residence at that city being only temporary, they are not so magnificent there, as in other parts of the country.

They are all enclosed by high walls, and contain (besides stables, lodgings for servants, &c.) three or four different courts, generally laid out in gardens, with ponds and fountains. One side of each court is occupied by a building, comprising various small apartments in two or three stories, and some large halls, which occupy the middle of the building, for its whole height. The halls are supported by tall wooden pillars, and Moorish arches, carved, ornamented, and painted like the rest of the hall. The upper rooms open on the halls,

* See Journal.

by galleries which run along half way up the wall, and are set off with pillars and arches. The halls, being only separated by pillars and sashes of open wood-work, can always be thrown into one, by removing the sashes. The back of the innermost one is a solid wall, in which is the fire-place. The upper part of this wall is ornamented with false arches, which look like a continuation of the galleries, and which, as well as the real arches, are filled up on great occasions with paintings in oil, looking glasses, and other ornaments. There are smaller rooms along the other sides of the court yards; and among them are comfortable apartments for the retirement of the master of the house, one of which at least is fitted up with glass windows, for cold weather. There are fire places in many of these different apartments. The walls and pillars are ornamented with flowers in various patterns, painted in distemper or in oil, on a white ground composed of a sort of white wash, mixed with shining particles, which is called Seem Gil, or silver earth. The doors are of carved wood, and in winter are covered with curtains of velvet, embroidered cloth, and brocade. In all the rooms, at a height which is easily within reach, are arched recesses in the walls, which are painted very richly, and by a strange depravity of taste, are thought to be embellished by glass bottles of various coloured pickles and preserves. The poor also have these recesses, which they ornament with China cups, and in which they store their fruits for winter consumption; the curtains in their houses are of quilted chintz, or of canvas painted with birds, beasts, flowers, &c. in oil. The pictures in the houses of the rich are mostly, if not entirely, done in Persia; the figures are old Persian Kings and warriors, young men and women drinking together, or scenes from some of the Persian poems. The principal ornaments of the rooms of the great are carpets and felts, which serve them in place of all other furniture. Persian carpets are too well known in Europe, to require any description, but there is a kind made near Heraut, which excels all others I ever saw; they are made of wool, but so fine and glossy, and dyed with such brilliant colours, that they appear to be of silk: carpets of highly wrought shawl are also used

but this piece of magnificence must be very rare, from the enormous expense. *

There are felts for sitting on, spread close to the wall, all round the room, except where the entrance is, which in the halls is always at one end. They are brownish grey, with patterns of flowers in dim colours; that at the top of the room is broader than the others, which are about three feet and a half, or four feet broad. On the upper felt are smaller carpets of embroidered silk, or velvet, with cushions of the same, for distinguished visitors.

The Haram (or seraglio) is always in the innermost court. It has a separate entrance, but communicates by a private passage with the apartments where company are received.

The palaces even at Caubul or Candahar are probably very inferior to those of Persia; and certainly none of them would bear a moment's comparison with a highly furnished house in England.

The dress of the great is on the Persian model; it consists of a shirt of Kuttaun (a kind of linen of a wide texture, the best of which is imported from Aleppo, and the common sort from Persia); a pair of wide silken trowsers; an under tunic of fine Masulipatam chintz, with some small pattern, which reaches below the middle of the calf, and completely covers the thighs and upper part of the leg, and which is fastened close to the body with strings; an upper tunic of the same kind, but of different materials; a shawl girdle, and an Afghaun cap, with a shawl loosely twisted round it, in the form of a turban: to this must be added, white cotton or shawl stockings, and Persian shoes; and a large mantle thrown over the shoulders. There are rows of buttons and loops down the breast of the tunic, and at the sleeves, and one kind of mantle has a row of immense sugar loaf

* Moollah Jaffer of Seestaun had a shawl carpet of great size, with separate pieces for sitting on, which was bespoke for Shauh Mahmood, and which was bought for a quarter of its price after that prince was dethroned. Moollah Jaffer asked £10,000 for it, which he said was far below its value: he intended to try to sell it at the courts of Persia and Russia, and if he failed, to cut it up and sell it in pieces to the Turks.

buttons, with corresponding loops; the upper tunic is generally made of some costly but plain material: a stuff called Oormuk, made of camel's hair, and generally of some shade of brown, is common; as is cloth of strong dark coloured cotton. Satin, shawl, and Persian brocade are also worn; and for full dress, they have very magnificent tunics of cloth of gold. The shawl round the waist, is of a kind seldom seen either in India or in England, it is long and narrow (about a foot and a half broad), and is wrought all over. As the price of shawls depends on the quantity of work in them, it is of course very expensive; a good one can scarcely be purchased under £150 or £200. The shawl round the head, is the kind worn by ladies in England, and by all rich people in India. The shawls worn for tunics are made for the purpose, and sold in pieces; they are covered with small flowers on a coloured ground. The mantle is of the same kind of shawl, with very large flowers, such as are seen on the borders of Indian shawls. It is also made of all the other materials already mentioned, which vary with the season: in summer a single robe of light silk is enough, and in winter the mantle is often lined and trimmed with expensive furs. When they travel, they generally wear broad cloth, and then they are always in boots, which are of the same kind through all ranks, viz. high, with a peak and tassel in front of the knee, made of very strong brown leather, with narrow heels shod with iron. The rich, however, sometimes have them of green or black shagreen leather.

It was formerly a regulation, that no nobleman should appear at Court, unless in cloth of gold. That form is now dispensed with; but every man must be in boots, and wear a sword; and those on whom the King has conferred the privilege, must wear an ornament of jewels on the right side of the turban, surmounted by a high plume of the feathers of a kind of Egret. This bird is found only in Cashmeer: and the feathers are carefully collected for the King, who bestows them on his nobles. The only other ornaments they wear, either of gold or jewels, are about their swords, daggers, and pistols. The sword is of the Persian form, which is worn all over the west.

The hilt resembles our own, except that it has no guard for the fingers: the blade is narrower, and more curved than ours. Indian steel is the most prized for the material; but the best swords are made in Persia and in Syria. The dagger is often the long Afghaun knife, which has a blade about two feet long, and more than two inches broad at the bottom, and growing narrower till it comes to a point. It has an edge on one side; and the back is very thick to give it strength and weight. The handle is just large enough for the hand; and has no guard, except what is formed by the blade projecting over the hand. When sheathed, the whole sinks into the scabbard, and only about an inch of the handle is seen. The Persian short dagger, with a very thick handle, is also common; but the handsomest kind is, I believe, derived from the Turks. One of this description formed part of the dress of honour conferred on me by the King, and is probably now in the Persian office at Calcutta. It was about fourteen inches long: the sheath and handle were both round, tapering to a point, where there was some sort of ornament: the upper part was set with jewels in rings, and the top was almost covered by a bad ruby, set with diamonds. Nothing could be more elegant than the outside; but, when drawn, a knife was produced, which, though of fine steel, was exactly of the shape of a small carving knife. The great men have swords, daggers, belts, &c. richly embellished with jewels for great occasions; but those they usually wear are plain, and it is not always the best sword that is most adorned. A sword, sent by the King of Caubul to the Governor General, which had belonged to Tamerlane, and afterwards to a succession of the Suffavees (or Sophis) of Persia, and which was taken by the Afghauns at Isphahaun, had no ornament, except some gold about the hilt, and an embossed sheathing of the same material, extending about six or seven inches up the scabbard. Great men sometimes wear a pistol in their girdle, but more commonly have them in their holsters. Those made in Daughestaun (to the east of Georgia) are most prized; but I have seen imitations of them made in Cashmeer, which could not be distin-

guished from the originals. All ranks go unarmed, except at Court, or on a journey.

The ladies wear the Persian dress, and, of course, have an endless variety of clothes and ornaments. The most remarkable parts of their dress are their pantaloons of stiff velvet, or highly wrought shawl, or of silk; and their jackets, of velvet, brocade, &c. which much resemble those worn by our dragoons. They have three rows of buttons, joined by broad lace ornamented with coloured flowers wrought into it. The back part of the sleeve comes down beyond the fingers, and is worn doubled back, so as to shew the lining of tissue or brocade.

The ceremonies of the great are on the same model as those of the common people. The place of honour is in the corner of the room, at the end opposite the entrance. The master sits there, facing the entrance, and with his side to the garden or court-yard. A row of servants is drawn up immediately below him (in the Court); and, from the usual height of the hall above the ground, their heads are not high enough to admit of their seeing the company inside. If the owner of the house is visited by a superior, he advances to meet him, but only rises in his place to receive an equal: to an inferior, he merely rises on his knees. It is a mark of great attention in the master to place a guest in his own seat; and the nearer to him, the more honourable the post. The great maintain households on the plan of the King's. They have porters, called Caupehees *, who stand at the outer gate, with long staves in their hands. A visitor is received here by one or two Ishikaghaussees †, who conduct him through the first court. At the next door are other porters, with ivory-headed staves; and he is there received by officers, who lead him through different courts, always with the same forms, till the Arzbegee presents him to the great man, and points out the proper place for him to take his seat. After this, there are no more forms, and no restraint on con-

* From the Turkish word, for a gate.

† A Turkish word, meaning "Master of the Door."

versation; but what must be imposed in most countries, by the particular temper of the great man, and the degree of dependence of the visitor. The manners of the great are mild and plain, and, at the same time, dignified and manly. The officers I have mentioned are dressed like gentlemen of the country, and their appearance improves as their station is nearer the reception room; but, the other attendants are far from showy: and the great in Caubul, seem to be averse to parade, and to pique themselves more on the order and silence of their attendants, than on their number or the splendour of their appearance. In like manner, when they go out, their followers are by no means numerous; but are marshalled with great regularity, and march in silence and good order. In India, the coming of a great man may be known while he is a mile off, by the shouting of his attendants, the blowing of trumpets, and beating of drums; and, though his retinue is very picturesque, from the number of men on foot and horseback who compose it, the rapidity and confusion of their movements, the lively colours of their dresses, the shining of their arms, and the glitter of the standards of cloth of gold which are mixed with them; yet, nothing can give a less idea of discipline and decorum. In Caubul, on the contrary, a nobleman mounts his horse, and is alighted, and almost in the room, before you have notice of his approach.

The servants in Afghaunistaun are remarkable for activity and fidelity. They do every sort of work with cheerfulness, attend their master mounted and well armed when he travels, and are often trusted with his most important secrets. Their masters send them with the most confidential messages, without taking any precaution, but that of providing for their being believed by the person to whom they are sent. For this purpose, the master gives his ring, or some other article which is generally about his own person, or else instructs the servant to allude to some indifferent matter, that is only known to his master and the person to whom the message is to be delivered. For example, a servant begins his message, with saying: "If you

and my master were sitting by yourselves in such a garden, and he told you that he had counted thirty-four different kinds of flowers within a few yards in the hills of Caubul, that is to be a sign to you that what I say is from him."

The servants are fed in the house, and clothed at their master's expense, besides which they get their wages once a quarter. They are often soldiers in the Dusteh, or regiment, which their master commands.

The life of the great naturally differs from that which I have attributed to the common people. They do not get up till sun-rise, when they pray and read the Koraun, and religious books, for an hour or thereabouts. They then have a breakfast of bread, butter, honey, eggs, and cheese: after this they repair to court, where the officers of the household have assembled at a much earlier hour. They remain at the palace till *Chausht*, and during that period they sit in the apartments allotted to their respective orders, transact business, receive petitioners, and do a great part of their official duty: those who are most employed, have their luncheon brought to them at the palace, and remain there till the c ort breaks up for the day; but the generality go home to this meal, and in summer take their usual nap after it. When they awake, they perform their devotions, and read a little, then receive visitors, and dispatch such business as could not be done at the palace, till *Deegur*, when they again repair to court. At dark they return home, and amuse themselves till a late hour, when they dine, and afterwards many drink wine, when they have private parties. At their great entertainments, of course, nothing of this kind is thought of, but unless on such occasions, they have only intimate friends at dinner, Chausht being the meal to which they usually ask strangers. It is not to be supposed that all the great drink wine; on the contrary, the bulk of the Dooraunee Sirdars abstain from it, and all try to reconcile the practice with decency; but as their debauches are always carried on in company, this seldom can be done. It may be supposed that all great men have not their time so fully occupied as those I have described; they do not, however,

want ways of filling it up agreeably, for though their lives are more austere than those of the common people, they delight in hunting and hawking, and have many resources in reading or hearing books read to them: it is even a profession to read, and the Shauh Naumeh, the great heroic poem of Ferdausi, has a large class of readers, called Shauhnaumeh Khoons, whose business it is to read it, or recite the fine passages with proper emphasis and action. Those who are not disposed to literature, have Persian and Pushtoo singers, and play at chess, backgammon, or cards. The two first games are nearly the same as ours, but the third, which is more rare, is played, as in India, with round cards, and differs in many respects from what we play. They also have gardens near the town, where they retire with a few friends, and where they sometimes give large parties. On the whole, however, their style of living is very inferior to that of the nobles of Persia, and does not correspond with the vast fortunes which some of them are said to possess.

All that I know of their entertainments may be communicated by a description of one which was given to the British mission at Peshawer, by Meer Abool Hussun Khaun, the Mehmaundaur of the embassy. We were first introduced into a large court, in the centre of which was a pond, surrounded by many rows of small lamps, the light of which was reflected from the water, where other lamps floated on boards; many torches were also stuck up round the court, and all together gave a light as strong as that of day, and showed the place filled with attendants and spectators.

We entered through a high gate, on each side of which were some buildings, and over all an open gallery. Opposite to us were the painted pillars and arches of a hall, and on each side were buildings, the lower part of which only contained one or two doors, but which I believe had windows in the upper story. We were received in the hall opposite the gateway, which opened on the court, and partook of the illumination. We entered, as is usual, by a door at the lower end of the room, and took our seats at the top. The floor was covered with a rich and beautiful carpet; along three sides of the room were

felts covered with cloth of gold, for the guests to sit on: those at the upper end were particularly magnificent, being velvet of the brightest colours, richly embroidered with gold. The doors were hung with curtains of cloth of gold, or of highly embroidered silks, and the galleries round the upper parts of the room were closed with Persian pictures, round which appeared a profusion of gold cloth and embroidery. Among other things, I observed with some surprise, a large piece of silver cloth, in which the sun rising over a lion (the royal ensign of Persia), was wrought in gold. There were mirrors in different parts of the room, and we were astonished to observe two of dimensions superior to any of those which we had brought with so much difficulty over mountains and desarts, to give the King an idea of English manufactures. Those in the room, we understood, had all come overland from Europe, through Persia or Tartary. Along the middle of the room was a row of lights: thick candles, surrounded with wreathes of flowers in coloured wax, were placed alternately with artificial trees, in which the lights were disposed among leaves, flowers, grapes, and other fruits, represented in wax in their natural colours. On the gold and velvet, with which the upper part of the room was spread, were placed, with more civility than good taste, a row of plain chairs for our accommodation; and soon after we were seated, trays of sweetmeats were handed round. Soon after a dance of women began, and fire-works were let off in the court; and our attempts at conversation, amidst the din of the instruments, the shouts of a dozen male and female singers, and the noise of the fire-works, were disagreeable and interrupted. Tea was served round, in China cups, without cream, very sweet, and rendered most disagreeable by an infusion of anise seed. When dinner was announced, the dancing ceased, and our entertainer (who was a Sheeah) found some pretence to withdraw *. We sat down on the ground to dinner, which was

* The Sheeahs (in Caubul at least) are very strict in eating with none but Mussulmans, in which they form a contrast to the Soonnees. Colonel Franklin makes the same remark of the Soonees in Persia; and it is probable that the least numerous and most persecuted of the sects, is most scrupulous in each country.

placed before us on trays with lids, wrapped up in white cloth, concealed by brocade covers with gold fringes.

The dishes, according to the Persian fashion, were dyed of all colours, and ornamented with a profusion of gold and silver leaf. They were served in China dishes, and consisted of all kinds of roasted, boiled, and baked meat, pilaws and ragouts, with many things which it would be difficult to describe. We were attended by well dressed servants, mostly Persians, who are reckoned the best servants, and whom the Afghauns employ as cooks, maitres d'hotel, &c. as we do Frenchmen. In the midst of so much magnificence, and really so much neatness and arrangement, it was curious to see the servants snuffing the candles into a tea cup with a pair of scissars, and others jointing the meat with a large penknife, and then tearing it to pieces, and laying it on our plates with their hands. It is however but just to say, that this was not done till they had washed their hands, and tucked their sleeves up to their elbows. The dinner was cold, and consequently not much relished; and the uniform dancing, and indifferent fire-works, which lasted without intermission till two in the morning, deserve but little praise.

The entertainment on the whole was rather splendid than agreeable, (particularly as some hours of the time were spent in a private apartment, discussing the ceremonial of our reception by the King); but one, which we soon after received at a garden, was far more to our taste; and I shall add a description of it to shew the nature of this sort of party among the great. It was given in the garden, which is called after Timour Shauh, who laid it out. It was a very extensive square, enclosed by brick walls, and divided by two very broad avenues of alternate cypresses and planes, crossing each other at right angles in the middle of the square. The open space in the centre of each avenue was filled with a very long and broad bed of poppies, on each side of which was a walk between borders of flowers. In the four squares, into which the avenues divided the garden, were innumerable fig, peach, plum, apple, pear, pomegranate, quince, and mulberry trees, in full blossom: here and there was scattered a high

pepul tree. In some places, the ground below the trees was sowed with beans, which were then in flower. The appearance of the garden, setting aside the recollections of Europe which it excited, was really delightful. The scents, which sometimes came on the wind, were enchanting, and the whole was completed by the singing of the birds, whose notes we thought we recognized; and every one was anxious to attribute them to some of those which he had most admired in England. Tents had been pitched in the garden; and one in particular had a very pleasing effect, in the midst of the whole, at the place where the avenues cross each other. The roof of it was green and red, and the walls were of open work, so as to admit the air, without permitting those in the tent to be seen from without. The interstices were so shaped, and the colours of the solid parts so disposed, as to make the whole very light and elegant. After a long walk, we sat down under a tree, listened to the birds, and talked with the son of our Mehmaundaur about our country and Caubul, of which he gave an enchanting account: that city, and its 100,000 gardens, were indeed a common topic of praise and admiration. When we went to the tent, we found our Mehmaundaur, accompanied by the King's Imaum and some other Moollahs. The Imaum, who was a plain, open, talkative, pleasant man, expatiated on the beauties of Caubul, which, he said, we must see, and launched out in praises of the Afghauns and their country. On this, or some other occasion, he was very inquisitive about the reason of our cropping and docking our horses; laughed heartily at the practice; and said, if ever he had a vicious horse, he would send him to us to be made an example of. After some time, these gentlemen went away, and left us to take some relief from the fatigue we suffered in sitting cross-legged, which, though entreated to sit at our ease, we always continued to do, as we knew how rude any other posture would be thought. After some time our Chausht or luncheon was brought in. Basons and ewers were handed round to wash our hands. After which, they spread a large flowered chintz table-cloth, ornamented with Persian verses on the bounty of God, and other mottos, such as were thought fit for a

table-cloth. Trays, covered with white calicoe, were then put down, and the calicoe, when unfolded, was spread over our knees. Each tray contained fifteen or more dishes, saucers, and cups, large and small, in which were two large pilaws, several little dressed dishes, relishes, pickles, and preserves. A bowl of sherbet was in the middle of each tray. Besides these, there were dishes of the Doomba lamb, dressed plainly; but full of juice, and much improved by the flavour of the sauce and stuffing. There were also flat cakes o leavened bread to serve for plates, besides the bread for eating. When we had done eating, which we did most heartily, warm water was handed round for washing, the dishes and table-cloths were removed, and our culleeauns were brought in. As soon as this was done, three dancing girls were introduced to amuse us with their singing and dancing. They were incomparably superior to those of India in face, figure, and performance. Their dress, though not so rich as is usual in Hindostan, was in much better taste. They wore caps of gold and silver stuffs. Their hair was plaited in a very becoming manner; and little curls were allowed to hang down round their foreheads and cheeks, with a very pretty effect. They had perfectly white teeth, red lips, and clear complexions, set off by little artificial moles like patches. Their complexions, however, were perhaps indebted to art, as rouge is very common among the ladies of Caubul. Their dancing had a great deal of action. The girl scarcely ever stands while she sings, (as those in India do); but rushes forward, clasps her hands, sometimes sinks on her knees, and throws herself into other attitudes expressive of the passions, which are the subject of her song; aud all this action, though violent, is perfectly graceful. Behind, stand a number of well-dressed fiddlers, drummers, and beaters of cymbals, with long beards, and an air of gravity little suited to their profession. All these disturb the concert, by shouting out their applauses of the dancers, or joining in the song with all the powers of their voice. The Moollahs, it appeared, could not properly be present at this exhibition; and I was soon called to join the Imaum, who, with the Mehmaundaur (also an officer of high rank),

had been commissioned to negotiate with me. We sat down on a carpet, under a plum tree, and had a long conversation, which the Imaum, who had no great fondness for business, often interrupted by questions and speeches to Mr. Richard Strachey, the Secretary to the Mission; such as "Strachey, let me look at your seals;" "What the deuce is this figure?" "Have you got such a thing as a Sepoy glass about you?" At last our business was ended, and after some jokes on the dress of our respective nations, we took another walk in the garden, and then went home. *

This garden is close to the balla hissaur, but is divided from it by a public road. The King often retires thither; and sometimes carries some of the ladies of his seraglio along with him. On these occasions, a number of officers, called Koorkehees, are stationed on all the roads which lead to that already mentioned, to prevent any one approaching while the Haram is passing. It only remains to say a few words concerning the character of the great, which terminate my observations on that class.

In examining the conduct of the Afghaun Chiefs, as followers of the Court, we certainly take their character in the most unfavourable point of view. In their behaviour to their tribes, respect for public opinion makes them sober, decent, tolerably just, and always kind and conciliating; but, at Court, they cannot but imbibe the corruption of the atmosphere in which they live; and, even in speaking of the Afghaun courtiers, we may safely pronounce that they are the worst part of the nation. If the Persians be thrown into the scale, the

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* All the men of the guard and retinue of the mission, who had attended me to the garden, were admitted to view it between our walks, and were entertained while we were at our luncheon. The mixture of European and Asiatic dresses, and the inconsistency between the scene and some of the figures that were moving up and down it, amused us all. Among others, we descried my groom, who was strutting about one of the large walks, with his hands in his pockets, apparently recollecting the most knowing of his London airs, when he was accosted by a Persian, in a high skin cap, and a tunic that reached to his heels. This couple conversed for some time by signs; and soon got so well acquainted, that they shook hands, and walked off arm in arm into one of the smaller alleys.

crimes and corruptions of the court would weigh down those of all the rest of the population. As far as my opportunities of observation went, I must own I found the Dooraunee Sirdars sincere and direct, and had every reason to believe them high minded, and as honourable at least as any other nobility in Asia; but the rest of the people about the government were very generally mean, false, and rapacious. Even the Sirdars, when in power, made money by the most disgraceful extortion; numbers of them had deserted from one party to another, with shameless perfidy; and none, however attached to the cause in which he was engaged, was at all inclined to make pecuniary sacrifices to promote its interest. Much jealousy and discord also prevailed among the most powerful Sirdars, and many open or secret acts of enmity were put in practice by them against each other; but on the whole, their character was greatly superior to that of the other classes about the King. Every day furnished some example of the bold intrigues, open falsehoods, and daring forgeries of the Persians; and no experience in India could prepare a foreigner for the impudence and beggarly importunity of most of the lower officers of the state. Even this general fact, however, was not without exceptions; and if the best of the courtiers were not quite exempt from the vices imputed to their order, there were some men of decent character even among the Persians.

The character of the Afghaun chiefs will be in a great measure unfolded in the historical sketch annexed to this account, and in various parts of my journal; but an account of those who were at the court of Shauh Shujau, when I was there, may serve to give a general idea of their disposition and manners. The chief was Akram Khaun, of whom enough has already been said.

The next man was Muddud Khaun, the chief of the Iskhankzyes, whose grandfather distinguished himself greatly in the Persian wars, and is said to have wounded Naudir Shauh in battle; his father was one of the greatest and most warlike of the Dooraunee Sirdars, and Muddud Khaun himself was possessed of great wealth, and was ex-

tremely respected. His manners, dress, and behaviour were always spoken of as particularly decent and dignified, though he lived in no kind of splendour. He was said to be a man of talents, and of a good education; but it gives no great idea of his capacity, that his studies were chiefly in physic and astrology; the first of which was recommended by his weakly constitution, and the second by the unsettled times in which he lived: he was, however, very popular, and had a great reputation for his knowledge of the art of commanding, for his skill and courage in war, and for every thing but liberality. His character for faith was so good, that even in the troubled times he had witnessed, he had never been required to take an oath; and although it could not be concealed that he had given up the city of Heraut, with which he was entrusted by Shauh Zemaun, to that prince's rival, yet from the account he himself gave of the transaction, it appeared that he was driven to it by the suspicions and designs of a son of Shauh Zemaun's, to whom the nominal government of Heraut belonged.

The best of the order was Goolistaun Khaun, the chief of the Atchikzyes, to whose merits the whole country bore testimony. He was brave and sincere, patient in investigation, indefatigable in executing justice, and never was accused of receiving a present. He was absent at his government of Caubul all the time I was at Peshawer.

Ghuffoor Khaun was a man of wealth and consequence, but destitute of firmness and capacity. He had deserted from Mahmood to Shujau, for which he suffered death on the field of battle at Neemla, about a month after I saw him.

Auzim Khaun held the office of Nussukhchee Baushee, answering to that of our Earl Marshal in old times. He was by no means deficient in abilities, but more remarkable for his steadiness and honour; Shauh Mahmood having ordered him to put Waffadaur Khaun, and other Suddozyes to death, contrary to a custom which is almost sacred among the Dooraunees, he refused to obey; Mahmood at first was

enraged at his contumacy, and ordered the guards to fall on him with the butt ends of their matchlocks; but notwithstanding the cruel treatment he received, and Mahmood's threats that he should be put to death if he did not obey, he persevered in his refusal, and in time obtained Mahmood's confidence, by his firm adherence to his principles.

Meer Hotuk Khaun, nephew to the famous Sirdar Jehaun Khaun (the greatest of Ahmed Shauh's generals), was the chief of the intelligence department. He was a good scholar, and an excellent Persian poet, but as his learning lay in poetry, history, and other branches of elegant literature, instead of law, he derived no respect from his acquirements. He was a quiet timid man, not at all disposed to tyranny, but accessible to corruption.

By far the most remarkable of the chiefs of that time, was Ahmed Khaun Noorzye, the head of the great tribe of Noorzye, and one of the few remaining soldiers of Ahmed Shauh. He was a man of prodigious strength and stature; though considerably upwards of seventy, and rather corpulent, he bore the marks of his former vigour, and was still a very handsome man. He had a fair complexion, with a high hooked nose, a stern countenance, hairy cheeks, and a long beard; his manner was very plain, with an affectation of roughness and sincerity, which he prided himself on retaining. He was, however, no pattern of ancient faith; he had twice deserted his party on the field of battle, and was in correspondence with the enemy at the time when I saw him. His clumsy fraud, however, defeated its own object, and he was distrusted by both parties, without ever having gained by deceiving either. He had held the highest commands in the state, and had served with reputation in Khorassaun; he had, however, been beaten by the Uzbeks in Bulkh, and by the Talpoorees in Sinde. It is remarkable that his defeat on the last occasion, was owing to his attempting to practise the Uzbek mode of war, which had been so successfully employed against himself. He was, however, a man of great personal courage and firmness. but avaricious even among Afghaun Sirdars. His consciousness of

treachery during the time I was at Peshawer, made him loud in his zeal for Shauh Shuja's cause; and to draw off the public attention from his own proceedings, he affected great alarm from the English, and harangued against foreigners and their arts on all occasions. His stratagems were, however, unsuccessful: his correspondence was discovered, and he was again thrown into prison about the time I left Peshawer. The success of Mahmood's party procured him his liberty for a time, but his own ill conduct, or his bad character, exposed him again to suspicion, and he ended his days in a prison. Even when I saw him, he had just suffered a long imprisonment, but the King, in his distress, had released him, and endeavoured to regain his attachment. He had been restored to his rank, and had received great honours from the King; but as he was afraid of being called on to contribute to the support of the government, he affected extreme poverty. I found him in a house which had gone to ruin during his long confinement; it was at some distance from the town, and the hall where he received us, opened on a neglected garden; part of the roof had fallen in, and the walls, which seemed to have been well finished, though plain, bore evident marks of decay; there was no carpet, nor even felts to sit on.

We found the Khaun seated, with four or five other persons. He was dressed in the usual manner, and very plain: He rose, and came forward to meet me; and, on my holding out my hands to receive him in the Persian fashion, he declared in a rough voice that he was for no Persian professions, and said something of Afghaun sincerity and true friendship: He then seized me by the arms with a rude gripe, and pressed me with great vehemence to his breast. We then sat down, and the Khaun, after inquiring about my health, and paying the usual compliments, began to declaim against the Persians and Persian refinements; praised his own Ooloos, which he said was 100,000 strong; and talked of the devotion of the Dooraunees to the King and royal family, and of the impossibility of supplanting it. The meaning of this harangue appeared to be, to make a shew of his attachment to the King on so public an occasion; and, also to prove

his patriotism, by impressing me with an idea of the fruitlessness of any designs on the Dooraunee state. I made such replies as were likely to convince him and the by-standers of the vanity of his apprehensions, without appearing to apply what he said to myself. Notwithstanding his affected roughness, his behaviour, and his ordinary conversation, during my visit, were perfectly polite and attentive. He sent me a present next day, as is usual; and, as he was unable to return my visit, I sent him a present, without waiting for that ceremony: He sent a polite message of thanks; and was highly pleased with a pair of spectacles, with which he said he should be able to read the Koraun better than with those of his own country; but he returned a pen-knife with many blades, begging me to give him a larger one instead. And I learned from a by-stander, that when he first saw it, he had said "what am I to do with this thing like a scorpion? I wish the Envoy would give me a knife, that a man could make some use of." When this was related to me, it introduced many stories from my visitors about Ahmed Khaun's manners. All said that he would eat three sheep's heads for breakfast, and the greater part of a sheep for dinner. On another occasion, when Ahmed Khaun's manners were talked of among two or three people whom I knew well, I happened to mention the kind of salute he had given me, which afforded great entertainment to the company. But next day, the story came to Ahmed Khaun's ears; and he thought it necessary to send a formal apology, explaining that the kind of embrace he had given me was really in the old Afghaun fashion, and was his constant practice with people for whom he had a regard.

I cannot give a better idea of the Dooraunee Sirdars, or contrast them more with the Persians, than by relating a part of my own transactions with them both. At a time when Shauh Mahmood was advancing from the west, Shauh Shujau's army, which had been collected at a great expense, was defeated and dispersed by the rebels in Cashmeer, and he was entirely destitute of the means of raising another for the defence of his throne. In these circumstances, it was of the utmost importance to him to obtain pecuniary assistance

from us; but our policy prevented our taking part in the civil wars of the country, and our public declarations to that effect did not leave us at liberty to do so, consistently with good faith, even if we had been so inclined. The ministers, who were employed to persuade me to depart from this line of conduct, were two Persians and a Moollah; but other persons of the same description were employed to influence me in the shape of ordinary visitors and disinterested friends. I frequently found some of these in my hall when I rose; and, although the necessity of retiring to Chausht procured me a respite of some hours during the day, the ministers were often with me till two hours after midnight. There was no argument or solicitation which they did not employ: They even endeavoured to persuade me that our Indian possessions would be in danger if we refused so reasonable a request; but, even *they* never insinuated that I should be exposed to any personal risk. The utmost of their threats, (and those certainly were embarrassing), consisted in assurances that the Queen would send her veil to me; and that, when Akram Khaun returned from Cashmeer, he would certainly come nunnawautee to my house. But these fears were dispelled on Akram Khaun's arrival. At my interviews with him, the same subject was renewed; but all importunity, and even all solicitation, was at an end. Akram proposed, in direct terms, schemes of mutual benefit; which, while they provided for the King of Caubul's wants, undoubtedly appeared to him to offer great and immediate advantage to the British; and, which shewed entire confidence in our sincerity and good faith. When it was obvious that these plans were not acceptable, they were instantly dropt.

The King's difficulties, however, continued to increase. Caubul fell into the hands of the enemy; and his approach was daily expected at Peshawer. The King tried all means of raising money. His jewels were offered for sale at less than half their value; but nobody dared to venture on a purchase, of which the opposite party would have denied the validity. In all his distresses, the King never resorted to violence. He was at one time advised to seize a large sum of money, which some merchants were carrying from Caubul to Cash-

meer on a commercial speculation. He was nearly persuaded to take their money, and to give them jewels in pawn for repayment. The Royal Cauzy had given his fetwa, declaring the legality of the action; but, on reflection, the King determined to maintain his reputation, and rejected the expedient. In this season of necessity, recourse was again had to me; and, as the Persians had exhausted all their arts, I was invited to a Council of the Dooraunee Sirdars. The Persians did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance. They lamented the rudeness and barbarism of the Afghauns; pointed out to me what a difference I should find in treating with military savages, and with polished people like themselves; but told me to be of good courage, for that a little compliance would set all right. They even insinuated that it would be dignified to make a voluntary offer through them, rather than be intimidated by the violence of the Dooraunees. After all this, I went to the Palace to the Council, accompanied by Mr. Strachey and two other gentlemen. We were led, by a private way, into a very comfortable room, close to the presence chamber. On our way, we passed through an antichamber, where some of the principal Secretaries and Ministers were transacting their business. When we had taken our seats some of our acquaintances came in for a few minutes, and we were then left to ourselves, to admire the rich and beautiful landscape on which the windows of our room opened. The curtain, which covered the principal door, was soon gently raised, and several persons in dark dresses entered in profound silence, and without any bustle. They did not at first attract much notice; but, on looking at them, I perceived Muddud Khaun; and, as I rose to receive him, I recognized Akram Khaun, Ahmed Khaun Noorzye, and the four other great Dooraunee Sirdars. They were all in their court dresses, with the red boots on, which are required when they appear before the King; but all quite plain in their attire. They took their seats opposite to us, with Ahmed Khaun, the eldest of the number, at their head. They immediately entered on general conversation, interspersed with many civil and friendly speeches; but they showed an extraordinary reluctance to open the business of the meeting,

and often pressed each other in Pushtoo to begin, before any one could be found to undertake it. At length they began at a great distance, talked of their confidence in us, and their wish to consult with us, and at last delicately hinted at their own wants: in reply to which, I spoke with respect and interest of their nation, and assured them of our sincere wishes for its prosperity, but pointed out in plain terms, the objections which existed to our taking part in their domestic quarrels, and remarked the advantage which an ambitious and designing state might derive from an opposite line of conduct. Ahmed Khaun (whose arrangements with the enemy must now have been completed) could not let slip this opportunity of showing his zeal and his Afghaun bluntness, and he began a pressing and even a sarcastic speech, but he was immediately silenced by the rest, who changed the subject at once, lamented the disorders of the kingdom, which prevented our having been received with all the honours that were due, and our enjoying the pleasures which their country afforded; and this conversation lasted till we broke up. After this I was no longer importuned by any body, but I perceived no diminution in the attention or hospitality of the court. *

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* It may be interesting to know how an European traveller would succeed in this country, and the following is my opinion on the subject. In most parts of the Afghaun country, a poor stranger would be received with kindness and hospitality, but a wealthy traveller, that ventured without proper escorts, into any part out of the immediate superintendance of the King, might lay his account with being plundered. In countries under the King, he would be safe from open plunder, but even in the capital, he might be exposed to the extortion and oppression of the officers of government. His safest way would be to travel as a merchant with a caravan; but the example of Mr. Foster, who neither wanted enterprise nor curiosity, and who was well acquainted with a language spoken over the whole country, will show how little pleasure could be derived from that mode of travelling. The character of an ambassador alone could give a rich stranger a confident hope of safety: and even his security would probably depend on the disposition of the individuals at the head of the government. Experience has shewn that in the reign of Shauh Shujau, and the administration of Akram Khaun, a foreign minister would be treated not only with good faith, but with delicacy; but whether the privileges of a public guest would protect a similar agent from the bold and unprincipled chiefs of the opposite party, remains to be proved, and appears to me very doubtful.

Europeans who settle in the country, seem to be safe enough. The Constantinapolitan whom I have mentioned, made and lost a considerable fortune by commerce in the Afghaun country; but as he was under the Vizier's protection all the time he was rich, he is scarcely a fair example. Padre Petroos appears not to be molested; and an English deserter who gave himself up to me at Moultaun, gave a favourable account of his treatment. He used even to be invited to dinner with the Dooraunee chiefs at Dera Ghauzee Khaun, where he had been employed. The Indian Mahommedans, who sometimes came to that part of the country, used to give him trouble, by telling the Afghauns that they were making a companion of an infidel who would not scruple to eat a hog; but the Afghauns said they saw no harm in his behaviour, and did not seem to care for his religion. For similar good offices of the Indians, see Mr. Durie's Journal: they do not arise from ill will, but from the Hindoo prejudice of cast, with which the Mussulmans in India are deeply infected.

I know of no other Europeans in the country: a single inhabitant of the Russian empire may now and then come down with a caravan (like a man of Astrachan whom I met at Moultaun), but none reside in the country. It seems to be believed in Europe, that the Russians have a factory and some influence in Bulkh; but there is certainly no foundation for the notion; I could hear of no establishment of theirs nearer than Orenburg (to the north of the Caspian Sea), except their conquests in the north-west of Persia.

Before I quit this subject, I may mention the Europeans whom I have heard of as having visited Afghaunistaun in modern times. Besides Mr. Foster, a French gentleman, named M. Massy, went from India to Europe by that route. A German Officer who afterwards had a command in the service of the Indian Begum Sumroo, was for some time in the army of Timour Shauh. Another European died at Bulkh some years ago, on his way from India to Europe. He was described to be a man of a melancholy turn, but mild and well informed; he was called Yar Fauzil (an Arabic name of his own invention, probably intended to mean the friend of learning). While I was in the Caubul dominions, a very intelligent Frenchman who had long resided at Agra, under the name of Jean Thomas, and who had latterly been strongly suspected of being a spy, escaped from India, and passed through part of the Afghaun dominions. He managed his journey with great courage and address, and eluded all the attempts which were made to apprehend him, Two Frenchmen also were stated, in letters from Heraut, to have arrived at that city, not long after I left the country. Considering how long the French had a mission at Teheraun, there can be no doubt that they have good information respecting these countries; but the nature of their government precludes all hope that they will give the world their information, which must be so unfavourable to the hopes of those who count on penetrating to India by that route.

I have heard of no other Europeans in the Afghaun dominions beyond the Indus, but those I have mentioned.

CHAP. X.

TRADE OF CAUBUL.

IN an inland country, destitute of navigable rivers, and not suited to wheeled carriages, commerce must of course be carried on by beasts of burthen; of these, camels are found to be the best, as well from their strength, as their patience of thirst, and the ease with which they are fed on any kind of bush, and almost on any kind of vegetable. The tribes whose country enables them to maintain camels, or rather restrains them to that description of stock, therefore naturally turn their attention to commerce, and often combine it with the migrations which they undertake in quest of forage for their herds, and of an agreeable climate for themselves. When the lands of these tribes, as is generally the case, neither furnish any produce of their own nor afford a market for that of other countries, the owners of camels are chiefly employed in carrying the commodities of one rich country to be sold in another. When they have a little capital, they do this on their own account, accompanying their merchandise, and selling it themselves; but those whose only wealth consists in a few camels, are unable to engage in this traffic, and content themselves with hiring out their camels to the merchants of the richer tribes, and of the cities, who either accompany their merchandise themselves to the place of its destination, or send it under servants (whose duty answers to that of supercargoes), according to their own wealth and habits of life. Some of these merchants also keep camels of their own, which they feed in the wastes near the towns where they reside; and some professed carriers also keep camels in the same manner, which they hire out. Camels hired from a particular tribe, usually make their journey in company with the tribe to which they

belong; and those which belong to merchants or individual carriers, when travelling in the direction of one of these migrations, generally attach themselves to some tribe for safety, and the other advantages of company.

The trade to places out of the haunts of the wandering tribes, is carried on entirely on animals belonging to the merchants and carriers of the cities, which are there formed into caravans, and in this manner all foreign trade is carried on.

The manner in which those are conducted which travel with wandering tribes, will be best illustrated by the example of a tribe which is accompanied by few camels but its own, and that of one which is accompanied by many belonging to other persons. Half the Meeankhail move annually from Damaun to Shilgur and the neighbourhood: they are accompanied by their wives and families, and are commanded by some of their own hereditary chiefs, assisted and supported by Chelwashtees *; and all command and control is in the same hands in which it would be, if they were in their own territory. Any strangers that join them, are obliged to submit to the customs of the Meeankhail.

With the Bauboors, on the other hand, the bulk of the caravan is composed of people not belonging to the tribe; and even the Bauboors who belong to it, are not accompanied by their families, but merely travel as merchants. A Mushir † of the Bauboors always goes with the caravan, and is invested with nearly the same authority which the Khaun has at home, but his power only extends to his own tribe, and it is at the discretion of the rest to obey him or not. In general, the whole elect him Caufila Baushee ‡, which gives him authority over them all; he chooses eighty men to assist him, imposing a fine on any who refuse. He keeps the peace, settles disputes, appoints and posts guards and escorts, fixes on the places of encamp-

* A sort of dictator sometimes appointed in the republican tribes.

† The hereditary chief of a division of the tribe.

‡ A Turkish term signifying Head of a Caravan.

ment, settles the customs with the tribes through whose lands he is to pass, collects the money required to pay them, and makes it over to the tribe to which it is due. But, when the Mushir of the Bauboors is not elected to this office, every man manages for himself, and all is disorder and confusion.

The roads from Damaun to Khorassaun, which are travelled by these tribes, are the most discouraging imaginable. On the way to Caubul, the road, for a great distance, lies through close defiles, and narrow, stony valleys, among bare mountains. Sometimes it runs along the beds of torrents, and, at others, leads over high and craggy passes. That along the Gomul is within the bed of a river; and, if the stream rises, the caravan is obliged to seek shelter in some nook between it and the hills, and there to remain till the water falls. These roads are also infested by Sheeraunees, and still more by Vizeerees, who come from the nearest part of their own country to plunder the caravans. The caravan to Candahar, after passing the mountains, journies over waste plains, divided by rocky ridges, and in some places by mountains. During the whole march, it is obliged to carry provisions, and often water, (that on the road being salt, or there being none at all). Shrubs, which feed the camels and serve for fuel, are the only useful produce of those countries. Small villages are met with rarely on this long march; but, at some seasons, camps of wandering shepherds are more frequent.

While passing the country infested by the predatory tribes, they march in great order, with parties at proper stations for covering their line of march. Even when halted, a party of horse are always mounted, to prevent the enemy from carrying off camels that are foraging. A large proportion of the caravan keeps watch at night. In the rest of their journey, they observe little precaution in the march, and sleep secure at night. In narrow passes, the chiefs fix the order of passing, and sometimes send parts of the caravan by other roads. Their marches are about eight or ten miles a day; and, when they reach their destination, those who have accompanied the caravan disperse, and the people of the tribe send out their

camels to pasture, and remain themselves at ease in their camps, in the midst of a verdant and pleasing country, which enjoys a temperate climate. They do not continue to shift about like the shepherds, whose mode of marching and general habits, are widely different from those I have been describing. One man from every family is however dispatched to the cities to sell the goods that they have brought up, and to provide others for their return. Many merchants of other tribes attach themselves to one of these caravans. They pay a rupee and a quarter for every camel load, to defray the expences of the guards, and the same sum is levied from the members of the tribe to which the caravan belongs.

The arrangement of the caravans, which go to India and Persia, resemble those I have mentioned; but the camels are hired from carriers about towns, and the whole is under a Caufila Baushee, elected by the people of the caravan. This officer, however, is more common with the Taujiks and citizens than with the Afghauns, who often march together without any chief or any regulation.

These caravans generally march in the night. They do not encamp in the country at the end of their journies like those of the tribes, but put up in caravanserais in the towns. These are large squares, surrounded by apartments, and having a mosque, and often a warm bath in the centre, and a common gate-way. They are under the charge of persons, who let out the apartments to the merchants at a very low rate. A common merchant generally hires two rooms, in which he deposits his merchandize and lodges himself, eating, cooking, and sleeping at the place. They sell their own goods, either by wholesale or retail, without the intervention of brokers. The caravans to Toorkistaun are all on horses or poneys, probably on account of the very mountainous roads, which lie in one part over the snowy ridge of Hindoo Coosh. Those which go to Chinese Toorkistaun, set off from Cashmeer and Peshawer: Caubul is the great mart of independent Toorkistaun. Candahar and Heraut, for Persia. The Indian trade is more divided; that of the Punjaub, and the north of Hindostan, comes to Peshawer. That which crosses the desart from

Jypore and the countries still farther south, comes to Shekarpore, Bahawulpoor, and Moultaun; and, that which is carried on by sea, comes to Koratchee, and thence to Shekarpoor and Candahar.

The principal foreign trade of the kingdom of Caubul is with India, Persia, and Toorkistaun. (Independent and Chinese). Some trifling commerce is kept up with Cauferistaun. A sort of cloth, made of shawl wool, called Ussul Toos, is imported from Tibet; and the ports of Sind keep up some intercourse with Arabia.

The trade with Hindostan is by far the most considerable, though it has declined of late years.

The exports to India are principally horses and poneys, furs, shawls, Mooltaun chintz, madder, assa fœtida, tobacco, almonds, Pistachio nuts, walnuts, hazel nuts, and fruits. The fruits are generally dried, (as dried plums, and apricots, raisins, and kishmishes), but a large quantity is also fresh. In that case, it is pulled before it is quite ripe, and carefully packed with cotton in wooden boxes. The fruits exported in this manner are apples, pears, and coarse grapes. Pomegranates require no packing, and no other fruit will stand the journey: even these, lose most of their flavour. The principal export is that of shawls, which are worn by every man in India who can afford to buy them, and which are made in no place but Cashmeer.

The imports from India are coarse cotton cloths, (worn by the common people of the whole kingdom, as well as by those of Toorkistaun), muslins, and other fine manufactories, some sorts of silken cloth and brocade, indigo (in great quantities), ivory, chalk, bamboos, wax, tin, sandal wood, and almost all the sugar which is used in the country. Some little broad cloth is also imported; but most comes by the way of Bokhaura: Musk, coral, drugs, and some other trifling articles, are also imported. A very great branch of the Indian imports are the spices of all kinds, which are carried from Bombay, and other places on the Malabar coast, to Koratchee or other ports in Sind, and thence by land to Caubul and Candahar. Almost all the

spices used in the country come by this channel, as do most of the Cowries. Horses are also exported by this route.

The exports to independent Toorkistaun, consist chiefly of articles previously imported from India, or made in the Indian provinces of Caubul. White cloth of all kinds, shawls, Indian turbans, Moultaun chintz, and indigo, are the chief of them.

The principal of the imports are horses, gold, and silver. The latter, consist of tillas (the gold coin of Bokhara), Dutch ducats, Venetian sequins, and yamboos (or ingots of silver from China). Cochineal, broad cloth, purpet, and tinsel, together with cast iron pots, cutlery, and other hard ware, are imported from Bokhara; to which place they are brought from Russia, either by land from Orenburg across the desart, or by sea from Astrachan to Arul, or Ming Kishlauk in Orgunge. Needles, looking glasses, Russian leather, tin beads, spectacles, and some other trifling European articles, are also brought by the same route. Oormuk, a fine cloth made of camel's wool, a quantity of cotton, and some lamb skins, are imported from the Bokhara country itself; as are a few of the two-humped camels from the Kuzzauk country.

To Persia, are exported shawls, and shawl goods, indigo, carpets of Heraut, Moultaun chintz, Indian brocades, muslins, and other cotton cloths. The shawls exported to Persia are of a pattern entirely different from those seen in India or England. They were universally worn till lately, when the King of Persia forbade the use of them, with a view to encourage the manufactures of his own country.

The imports are raw silk of Gheelaun and Resht, silken stuffs made at Yezd and Kashaun; a sort of strong cotton manufacture of various colours, called Kudduk, (the best of which is made at Isphahaun), and silken handkerchiefs, worn by the women. These manufactures are used in large quantities by all ranks. Embroidered satin, velvet, and Persian brocade, are, of course, confined to the great. Coin and bullion are also among the imports; but the most remarkable is Indian chintz, which is manufactured at Masulipatam, on the coast of Coramandel, and comes by sea to Busheer, in the Persian Gulph. It

is thence carried by land to the Afghaun country, where it is very much used.

The exports to Chinese Toorkistaun are nearly the same as those to Bokhaura. The imports are woollens of a particular kind, Chinese silk, and satin, tea, (in small boxes of thin lead, china, porcelain, raw silk, cochineal, crystal, gold dust, golden ingots, and yamboos of silver, with the Chinese stamp. The trade with Cauferistaun, need scarcely be mentioned. It consists of wine, vinegar, cheese, and clarified butter, which are bartered on the frontier for Indian and Caubul cloth, salt, cowries, pewter, and tin. Some slaves are procured from the Caufers in the same manner. Slaves are also imported from Arabia, Abyssinia, &c. to the ports in Sind.

It is obvious, that in a kingdom so diversified, a good deal of internal trade must prevail. The principal articles carried from the western provinces to those in the east, are woollens, furs, madder, cheese, cooroot, and some manufactures; such as Heraut carpets, and the finer articles of dress or equipment for the great. From the East are carried the Longees, silk, and chintze of Moultaun; the mixed silk and cotton cloths of Bahawulpoor; together with Indigo, and, perhaps, some cotton. Iron is exported from the mountainous countries in Hindoo Coosh and the range of Solimaun; salt from the range, which is distinguished for producing that mineral; allum and sulphur, from Calla Baugh; horses, from Bulkh; and cocoa nuts and dates from Belochestaun.

The horse trade, requires a few words from its importance. A great number of horses are annually sold in the north of India, under the name of Caubul horses, and in the west, under that of Candahar horses; but almost the whole of these come from Toorkistaun. No horses are bred at Caubul, except by men of property for their own use, nor are the horses bred about Candahar exported. Some of the fine horses of the neighbourhood of Heraut are carried to other countries, but few or none to India. A good many horses are exported from Belochestaun, as are some of the fine breed found on both sides of the Indus, to the north of the salt range. But, by far the greatest

breeding country in the Caubul dominions is Bulkh; and it is from that province, and the Toorkmun country lower down the Oxus, that the bulk of those exported are brought. There are two sorts of horses most dealt in: one, rather small, but very stout, capable of much work, and cheap; the other, much larger, and more valued on that account, though not near so serviceable, except for war, where, owing to the Asiatic mode of fighting, size is of importance. The former, though of three sorts, are generally comprehended in the name of Toorkee or Uzbekee, and are bred in Bulkh, and the provinces near Bokhaura. The other is called Toorkmunee, and is really bred by the Toorkmuns on both banks of the lower Oxus. The great marts are Bulkh and Bokhaura. Horses sell there at from *5l.* to *20l.* for a Toorkee, and from *20l.* to *100l.* for a Toorkmunee. The merchants generally buy them cheap, and in bad order, and fatten them in the pasture of Caubul. The most famous place is the Nirkh Merdaun, west of Caubul, where a horse in the most emaciated state can be brought into condition in forty days, at an expense of five or six shillings. They first soil them with trefoil, and then give them lucerne.

Many horses are sold in the country, and great numbers used to be sent on to India. The internal sale is increasing; many of the farmers buying horses now, that formerly never thought of doing so; but the exportation to India has greatly fallen off. Wherever the British dominion extends, large armies of horse are changed for small ones of infantry: and there the gentlemen prefer Arabs. The native armies also have diminished, as the circle of their depredations has been circumscribed; and if the Company's breeding studs are successful, the trade between India and Toorkistaun will be annihilated.

CHAP. XI.

HUSBANDRY OF CAUBUL.

THERE are five classes of cultivators in Afghaunistaun: 1st, Proprietors, who cultivate their own land; 2d, Tenants, who hire it for a rent in money, or for a fixed proportion of the produce; 3d, Buzgurs, who are the same as the Metayers in France; 4th, Hired labourers; and 5th, Villains, who cultivate their lord's lands without wages.

The estates of the proprietors are, of course, various in their extent, but on the whole, the land is more equally divided in Afghaunistaun than in most other countries. There are a great number of small proprietors, who cultivate their lands themselves, assisted by their families, and sometimes by hired labourers and Buzgurs. The reason of the equal division of property will be easily perceived, by adverting to the nature of the government of tribes. That distribution seems to have been general in former times, and to have been disturbed by various causes. Extravagance or misfortune compel many to sell their lands; quarrels, or a desire for change, induce others to part with them, that they may quit the neighbourhood in which they live, and the division of every man's estate among all his sons, which is enjoined by the Mahommedan law, soon renders each lot too small to maintain its proprietor, who consequently either gives it up to one of his brothers, or sells it. Purchasers are found among those who have been enriched by the King's service, by war, and by successful agriculture or commerce. Much has likewise been brought under cultivation by individuals or societies, who have taken measures to procure water for irrigation, on which so much depends

in Afghaunistaun, and the land thus reclaimed, becomes the private property of the adventurers. Finally, some have received great grants directly from the crown.

The value of land in Caubul is stated by Mr. Strachey to be from nine to twelve years purchase.

The number of tenants, in the common acceptation of the word, is not great in this country; and of those who do not rent land, a great portion are middlemen, who let it out again to Buzgurs. The commonest term for a lease, is one or two years; the longest period is five. The rent varies greatly; in the barren country of the Stooree-aunees, it is only one-tenth of the produce; while in the plain of Bajour, it is said to be from one-third to one-half; and in the country round Caubul two-thirds.

All the tenants above mentioned, pay a rent for the use of the land, and are of no charge to the landlord; but where the land is cultivated by Buzgurs, the landlord generally provides the whole of the seed, cattle, and implements of husbandry, the Buzgur supplying nothing but the labour. In some cases, however, the Buzgur has a share in the expense I have mentioned, and in others, supplies every thing but the seed. The share of the Buzgur is not fixed; I have heard of cases where he received no more than one-tenth, and of others where he was entitled to one-half.

Labourers in husbandry are principally employed and paid by the Buzgurs: they are paid by the season, which lasts for nine months, beginning from the vernal equinox. They are fed, and in many places clothed during all this period by their employers, and they receive besides a quantity of grain, and a sum of money which varies from two and a half* Maunds Khaunee and one rupee †, to ten Maunds and two rupees; when paid in money, the commonest rate seems to be thirty rupees, besides food and clothing. In towns, the

* The Maund Khaunee is about eighty pounds.

† About two shillings and fourpence.

common pay of a labourer is one hundred denaurs (about fourpence halfpenny) a-day, with food. In Candahar it amounts to three Shauhees and twelve denaurs, which is between sixpence halfpenny and sevenpence. To shew the real amount of this pay, it is necessary to state, that at Caubul a Shauhee will buy five pounds of wheat flour, and in the country perhaps half as much again. At Peshawer, the price of wheat flour was (even to the British Mission) as low as seventy-six pounds for the rupee; so that the condition of this class of men must be very superior to that of the same class in India, even if the difference of climate be allowed for.

The condition of the villains will be fully explained when we speak of the Eusofzyes, and other tribes where villainage prevails.

There are two harvests in the year in most parts of Afghaunistaun. One of these is sown in the end of autumn, and reaped in summer. It consists of wheat, barley *, Addus (Ervum lens), and Nukhod (cicer Arietinum), with some peas and beans.

The other is sown in the end of spring, and reaped in autumn. It consists of rice, Arzun † (Panicum Italicum, or Millet), Gall (Panicum Miliacum), Jowauree (Holcus Sorghum), Bajreh (Holcus Spicatus), Indian corn and Maush ‡ (Phaseolus Mungo).

The former harvest, which is called the Behaureh §, or spring harvest, is by far the most important in all the west of Afghaunistaun; that is, in the countries west of the Solimaunee range. In the east, the other harvest, which is called the Pauizeh ‖, or Teermauee harvest, may perhaps be the most considerable on the whole; but this,

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* These are called in India Musoor and Chunna.

† Called in India Chena and Cungunee.

‡ Called in India Moong. The grain called Oord in India, is also included under this name.

§ From the Persian word Behaur, "spring." In India it is called the Rubbee harvest.

‖ Pauiz means the fall of the leaf, and Teermau, autumn; this crop is called Khereef in India.

if true, is liable to very important exceptions. In Bajour, Punjcora, the country of the upper Momunds, that of the Otmaunkhail, Chuch and Leia (on the east of the Indus), and Muckelwaud (in Damaun), the most important harvest is that which is reaped in summer; and in all those countries wheat is the chief grain sown. In Peshawer, the Bungush and Jaujee countries, Damaun and Esaukhail, the harvests are nearly equal; but in the rest of the eastern countries, that which is reaped in autumn is most important. In the country of the Kharotees, there is but one harvest in the year, which is sown at the end of one autumn, and reaped at the beginning of another; and this may almost be said of Kuttawauz, and of some high countries in that neighbourhood; but the Hazaureh country, and in general all the coldest parts of Afghaunistaun, and the neighbouring kingdoms, sow their only harvest in spring, and reap it in the end of autumn.

There is another sort of cultivation, to which great importance is attached in Afghaunistaun, and which is always counted for a distinct harvest, under the name of paulaiz. It comprehends musk melons, water melons, the scented melon, called dustumbo, and various sorts of cucumbers, pumpkins, and gourds. It is most abundant about towns. Its produce is every where grown in open fields like grain.

The sorts of corn, which have been enumerated, are used in very different proportions, and are applied to various purposes. Wheat is the food of the people in the greatest part of the country. Barley is commonly given to horses; nukhod, which is used for that purpose in India, being only cultivated in small quantities for culinary purposes, as is the case with most of the other kinds of pulse. Arzun and gall are much used for bread. Indian corn is used for the same purpose at Peshawer and the neighbourhood; but, in the west, it is only planted in gardens, and the heads are roasted, and eaten now and then as a luxury. Bajreh is found in great quantities in Damaun, and it is the principal grain of the mountainous tract south of the countries of the Bungushes and Khuttuk. Neither it nor Jawauree is much cultivated in the west of Afghaunistaun, though the latter is the chief grain of Bokhaura. Rice is found in most parts of the

country; but in very unequal quantities and qualities: it is most abundant in Swaut, and best about Peshawer. It is almost the only food of the people of Cashmeer. Wild oats are found at Peshawer, and, probably, in other places; but they are of no use, and the grain is no where cultivated.

The garden stuffs of the country are carrots, turnips, beet root, lettuce, onions, garlic, fennel, egg plant, spinage, and greens of all kinds, cabbages, and cauliflowers: there are also many of the Indian vegetables. Turnips are cultivated in great abundance in some parts of the country, and are used to feed the cattle. It is not improbable, that the same observation may be true of carrots: In the Punjaub, at least, horses are often fed with this vegetable, which is very wholesome for them. Ginger and turmeric are grown in the eastern countries, particularly in Bunnoo. The same may be said of sugar cane, but the cultivation of it is confined to rich plains. Most of the sugar in Afghaunistaun is brought from India.

Cotton is, with a few exceptions, confined to the hot climates, and most of the cloth of that material used in the West, is imported ready woven from India.

The Palma Christi, or castor oil plant, is common over the whole country, under the name of Budanjeer. I imagine it furnishes most of the oil of the country, though sesamum, mustard, and perhaps some other oil plants, are very abundant. Madder abounds over all the West. It is only found in cold climates, and most of India is supplied from Afghaunistaun. It is sown in summer, on land which has been carefully prepared and manured. Its leaves are cut annually for the cattle; but the root, (which furnishes the dye), is not taken up till the third year.

The assa fœtida plant is found wild in the hills in many parts of the West. It requires no attention, but that which is necessary for extracting the gum. It is a low bush, with long leaves, which are generally cut off near the bottom of the stem: A milk exudes from the part cut, and gradually hardens like opium. It is spoiled by exposure to the sun. The Afghauns, therefore, take care to shelter it,

by placing two flat stones over it, in such a manner that they support each other. Vast quantities of this drug are exported to India, where it is a favourite ingredient in the cookery both of Hindoos and Mahommedans. Tobacco is produced in most parts of the country.

Among the most important productions of the husbandry of the West are Lucerne, and a sort of trefoil, called Shuftut. Lucerne is called Reeshka, in Persian, and Spusta, in Pushtoo. It is generally sown in autumn, and allowed to lie throughout the winter under the snow; but, in some places, it is sown in spring. It takes three months to attain perfection; after which, it may be cut once a fortnight for three months or more, provided it be watered after each cutting. The plant lasts in general five years; but I have heard of its remaining for ten and even fifteen years. It requires a great deal of manure. Shuftul is oftener sown in spring than in autumn. It is ready to be cut in less than two months, and the operation may be repeated once or twice. It never lasts longer than three years, and seldom longer than one. Both these grasses are given green to the cattle, and also stored for hay: more is consumed green than is made into hay. Besides the natural grasses and the two artificial ones just mentioned, there are other kinds of fodder in Afghaunistaun. Arzun and gall, as well as jowauree, are often sown for the sake of the straw, which is very nourishing, and which, when dried, will last all the winter. It is also common to cut down the green wheat and barley before the ear is formed for horses and other cattle, and this practice is thought to be not only safe but beneficial. It is often repeated several times with barley; but, if applied more than once to wheat, it is thought to injure the crop. It is also usual to turn cattle into the autumn-sown grain, to eat down the plants, which have sprung up before winter.

I have now enumerated all the products of husbandry in Afghaunistaun, of which I have information; but, it is certain, that I must have made omissions, and it is by no means improbable that I may have overlooked some very common objects of cultivation. I shall now endeavour to explain the system of farming, by which the crops

are raised; but the great importance of water to success in tillage, renders it necessary that I should first explain how that is obtained.

The most general mode of irrigation is from streams; the water of which is sometimes merely turned upon the fields, but oftener is carried to them by little canals. It is diverted into those channels by dams, which, in small rivulets, cross the bed, and are swept away in the season when the water rises. In larger rivers, a partial embankment is made on one side, which extends for a certain distance into the current, and which, though it does not entirely interrupt the stream, yet forces a part of it into the canal. From the canal, smaller water courses are drawn off to the fields, which are bounded by little banks raised on purpose to retain the water.

The next contrivance for obtaining water is the sort of conduit, which is called a cauraiz or cahreez. It is known by the same name in Persia; but is there most frequently called a Kaunaut. It is thus made: The spot where the water is to issue, must always be at the foot of a slope extending to a hill; and the ground must be examined to ascertain whether there are springs, and in what direction they lie. When the spot is fixed, a very shallow well is sunk, and another of greater depth is made at some distance up the slope. A succession of wells is made in this manner, and connected by a subterraneous passage from well to well. The wells increase in depth as the ground ascends; but are so managed, that the passage which connects them has a declivity towards the plain. Many springs are discovered during this process, but the workman stops them up, that they may not interrupt his operations, until he has finished the last well, when he opens the springs; and the water rushes through the channel, rises in the wells to the height of its source, and is poured out from the lowest into a water course, which conducts it over the fields. When the cauraiz is once completed, the wells are of no further use, except to allow a man to descend occasionally to clear out the channel. The distance between the wells varies from ten yards to one hundred. It is usually about fifty. The dimensions of the channel are generally no more than are necessary to allow the maker to work, but some are

much larger. I have heard of a Cauraiz near Subzewaur in Persian Khorassaun, through which a horseman might ride with his lance over his shoulder. The number of wells, and, consequently, the length of the Cauraiz, depend on the number of springs met with, as the chain is generally continued, either till water enough has been obtained, or till the wells become so deep, as to render it inconvenient to proceed. I have heard of various lengths, from two miles to thirty-six, but I should suppose the usual length was under the lowest of those measures.

It may be supposed that the expense of so laborious a structure must be great, but the rich are fond of laying out their money on those means of bringing waste land into cultivation, and it is by no means uncommon for the poor to associate to make a Cauraiz, and to divide the land which it irrigates, among them.

Cauraizes are very common in all the west of the country, and their numbers are on the increase. I know but of one on the east of the range of Solimaun, which is at Tuttore in Damaun. They are in use over all Persia, as they have been in Toorkistaun, but they are now neglected in the latter country. Even their name is unknown in India.

These are the only important modes of artificial irrigation. Wells and ponds are scarcely used, except to drink from, and there are not many instances of those reservoirs so common in the south of India, where a great body of water is collected by an embankment thrown across a valley. A famous one at Ghuznee will hereafter be mentioned, and there are some of great magnitude in the Paropamisan mountains, but they are not general throughout the country.

At Peshawer, and for a considerable space on the eastern side of the Indus, during the whole of its course, the Persian wheel is used for raising water; in most places from wells, but at Peshawer from rivers, on the banks of which the machinery is erected.

A portion of the land is not watered by artificial means; many spots among the hills in various parts of the kingdom, and even some of the richest parts of the plains, depend entirely on the rain which

falls on their surface: other parts are so situated, from their being in a basin, or on the banks of a river, that they are always moist enough for cultivation. These lands are called Lulm, or Khooshkaubeh, and, with the exception of some tracts in the east, are comparatively unproductive: they are probably inferior to the irrigated lands in extent, and are certainly so in importance.

I am by no means qualified to describe the whole process of cultivation among the Afghauns. I shall, however, give some particulars respecting the culture of wheat, which is the great grain of the country. The land is always watered before it is ploughed, in every situation where water can be obtained. It is ploughed deeper than is usual in India, and with a heavier plough, but still one pair of oxen are found quite sufficient for the labour. The drill plough which is used in India, is not known, and all the sowing is broad-cast. The place of a harrow is supplied by a plank, which is dragged over the field; a man stands on it to guide the cattle, and increase the effect of the harrow by his weight. After this operation, some farmers give another water, but most leave it till the grain has risen to a considerable height, when they turn in cattle to eat it down; after which they water it again, and some give another water in winter; but in most parts of the country it is either covered by the snow throughout that season, or sufficiently moistened by the winter rain. The rains in spring are material to the wheat, but do not supersede the necessity of irrigation; one water at least must be given in the course of the season; but some water three times a month till the corn begins to ripen. It may be remarked in passing, that the spring-sown harvest requires much more water than that of which I am now speaking. The crop is reaped with the sickle, which indeed is the only instrument used for cutting down grass, and all kinds of grain. The use of the flail is unknown for separating the grain from the straw; it is either trodden out by oxen, or forced out by a frame of wood filled with branches, on which a man sits, and is dragged over the straw by cattle. This seems to be the way in Persia also. It is winnowed, by being thrown up to the wind with a large shovel. When cleared,

the grain is generally kept in large round hampers (like gabions), which are supported by wooden feet, and plastered with mud. It is also kept in unburnt earthen vessels, and in coarse hair-cloth bags. The Dooraunees often heap it up in barns; and in towns it is stored in large granaries.

It is ground into flour by wind-mills, water-mills, or hand-mills. The wind-mill is not generally used, except in the west, where a steady wind can be relied on for four months in the year at least. The ruins of old wind-mills are to be seen as far east as Caubul and Ghuznee, but they are certainly not common in those countries at present: one ruined wind-mill is in existence even on the borders of Damaun, where the use of such a machine is now never thought of. Nothing can be imagined more different from our wind-mill than the sort in question; I have examined a model of one, but have not a sufficiently distinct recollection of it to enable me to describe it fully. The sails are enclosed within the building, in which there is an opening to admit the wind. They are square or oblong in shape, are placed upright, and move on a vertical axis: when in motion, each in succession is brought to the opening so as to receive the wind, which presses against each, as the water does against the float-board of a water-mill. The mill-stone is immediately below the sails, which move it without the intervention of machinery.

The water-mills are also exceedingly different from any that I have seen, though I understand a similar kind is used in the Shetland isles. The wheel is horizontal, and the feathers are disposed obliquely, so as to resemble the wheel of a smoke-jack. It is within the mill, and immediately below the mill-stone, which turns on the same spindle with the wheel. The water is introduced into the mill by a trough, so as to fall on the wheel. The wheel itself is not, if I recollect right, more than four feet in diameter. This sort of mill is used all over Afghaunistaun, Persia, and Toorkistaun. It is also used in the north of India, under the Sireenuggur hills, but, in general, no water-mills are known in India, where all grain is ground with the hand.

The hand-mill is used by the part of the population that live in tents, and also in the rudest parts of the country; it is simply two flat round stones, the uppermost of which rests on a pivot fixed in the lowest, and is turned by a wooden peg, which is fastened in it for a handle. Except where hand-mills are used, a miller has a distinct trade, and is paid by a share of the corn which he grinds.

I can say little about the succession of crops adopted by the husbandmen of Afghaunistaun. It seems to be only in the very poorest parts of the country that land is allowed to lie fallow for a year. It is more frequent to cultivate the autumn harvest one year, and the spring one the next, but in some places where manure is in plenty, both are raised in one year. The manure used is composed of dung and straw collected in dunghills, of ashes, the mud of old walls, and various other substances. The dung of camels is carefully avoided, from a notion that it impregnates the land with saltpetre. Lime and marle seem both to be unknown.

Horses are employed to draw the plough in Toorkistaun, and in the Eimauk country, but in no other part of Afghaunistaun, nor in Persia nor in India. That task is generally performed by oxen, but in Shoraubuk and in Seweestaun, it is done by camels (which animal is also used in the kingdom of Cokaun or Terghauna, and in the Indian Desart), and asses are employed in some parts of Afghaunistaun. Grain, manure, &c. are generally carried about the farm by asses or bullocks, and sometimes by camels: carts, as has been observed, do not exist in the country.

CHAP. XII.

TAUJIKS, HINDKEES, AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

IT has been observed, that there is scarcely any part of Afghaunistaun in which the whole population is Afghaun, and that the mixture is composed of Taujiks in the West, and of Hindkees in the East. I now proceed to give an account of those classes, and of the other tribes and nations that are to be met with in Afghaunistaun. *

The situation in which we find the Taujiks is calculated to excite a degree of curiosity, which my information is ill calculated to remove. The Taujiks are not united into one body, like most other nations, or confined to one country, but are scattered unconnected through a great part of Asia. They are mixed with the Uzbeks through the greater part of their dominions, in the same manner as with the Afghauns. The fixed inhabitants of Persia are called Taujiks, in contradistinction to their Tartar invaders; and also to the moving tribes, who seem to have been originally Persian. They are found even in Chinese Toorkistaun; and they possess independent governments, in the mountainous countries of Kurrategeen, Durwauz, Wukkeekha, and Budukhshaun. Except in those strong countries, and in a few sequestered places, which will be mentioned hereafter, they are never

* Bauber enumerates the tribes which inhabited Caubul in his day. In the plain were Toorks, Eimauks, and Arabs. In the towns, and in some villages, Taujiks, Pushauees, and Puraunchehs. In the hills were Hazaurehs, Togderrees, Afghauns, and Caufers. The languages, spoken among these tribes, were Arabic, Persian, Toorkee, Moghoollee, Hindee, Afghaunee, Pushauee, Puraunchee, Gubree, Burrukee, and Deggaunee.

found formed into separate societies, but mixed with the ruling nation of the country they inhabit; and, generally wearing the dress, and practising most of the customs of that nation. In Persia, the plains of Afghaunistaun, and the Uzbek country, they appear to have been settled before the arrival of the nations which are now predominant in those countries.

The name of Taujik is rather loosely used. It is sometimes applied to all persons mixed with the Toorks or Afghauns, who are not sprung from those stocks, or rather whose race is unknown; but it is with more propriety confined to those inhabitants of countries where Toorkhee and Pushtoo are spoken, whose vernacular language is Persian. The names of Taujik and Parseewaun are indeed used indiscriminately both in Afghaunistaun and Toorkistaun. *

Various accounts of the word Taujik have been given; but the best seems to be that which derives it from Tausik or Taujik, the name applied to the Arabs in all Pehlevee writings. This agrees with the interpretation given in many Persian dictionaries, which state Taujik to mean a descendant of Arabs, born in Persia, or any other foreign country †. This account is consistent with the conjectures one would be led to, regarding the Taujiks, from a consideration of their present state, and of the history of the countries where they chiefly dwell. In the course of the first century, after the flight of Mahommed from Mecca, the whole of Persia and the Uzbek country were invaded and reduced by the Arabs, who compelled the inhabitants to adopt their

* The Afghauns also call the Taujiks Deggauns or Dehkauns, and the Uzbecks call them Serds or Serts; but these names are considered as reproachful. Our travellers call those in Toorkistaun, Owkhaurs.

† See the Persian dictionary, called the Burhaun Kataa, in verbo Taujik; and that called Farhang i Ibrahim Shâhi, quoted by Doctor Leyden, in his account of the Roushenia Sect (Asiatic Researches.) I am aware that other books give contradictory explanations of this word; but none seems entitled to equal credit with the one I have adopted, supported as it is by the Pehlevee word above mentioned, which means an Arab, and by the Persian word Tauzee, which has the same meaning. My authority for the Pehlevee word is Moolla Ferooz, a Guebre priest, well known in the west of India, for his intelligence and information.

religion, and along with it a portion of their manners and language. Afghaunistaun was attacked at the same time; but the success of the invaders is known to have been less complete. They succeeded in conquering the plains; but the mountains held out, and repelled the approaches of Mahommedanism for near three centuries. The three countries under discussion formed parts of the Persian empire, and the languages of the inhabitants were probably all derived from the ancient Persian stock. When those inhabitants were subdued and converted by the Arabs, they formed the modern Persian, by a mixture of their former language with that of their conquerors; and, it is probable, that in time the two nations were blended into one, who were the ancestors of the present Taujiks. The facts which are recorded of Afghaunistaun, suit well with this supposition; for in the next accounts which we have of that country after the Arab invasion, we find the Taujiks in possession of the plains, and the Afghauns, (whom we have every reason to consider as the Aborigines), in the mountains. The Afghauns have since descended and conquered the plains, and have reduced the Taujiks into a state of entire dependency, except in one or two strong countries, where these last were enabled to maintain a certain degree of independence. The same mixture of Persians and Arabs formed the Taujiks of Toorkistaun, who retained possession of that country till the invasion of the Tartars, when those of the plains were conquered and reduced to their present state of vassalage, while the Taujiks in the hills maintained their independence, and formed the separate states of Budukshaun, Derwauz, &c.

The Taujiks are every where remarkable for their use of fixed habitations, and their disposition to agriculture, and other settled employments. They still retain some share of the land in the west of Afghaunistaun, of which they appear once to have been sole proprietors; but the most of them have lost their property, and live as tenants or servants in husbandry under Afghaun masters.

Their property is still liable to be encroached on by the powerful men of the tribe in the lands of which they live, though their danger

in this respect is diminished by the protection of the Government, and they are never exposed to the more intolerable evils of personal insult or oppression.

The Taujiks, who inhabit the lands of Afghaun tribes, either live as Humsayahs to those tribes, or in separate villages of their own. Their situation in the former case has been fully explained.

In the other case, the affairs of the village are managed by a Cudkhooda, elected by the people with some regard to a hereditary line, and subject to the King's approval.

The Cudkhooda has no power, but what he derives from the King, and that which he possesses is chiefly connected with the collection of the revenue and the calling out of the militia. He has weight enough to determine trifling disputes; but all of importance are referred to the governor of the province or to the nearest Cauzy. The Taujiks are all peaceable and obedient to the government. Besides the employment of agriculture, they occupy those manufactures and trades which are renounced by the Afghauns. They are a mild, sober, industrious people. They have assimilated, in most respects, to the Afghauns; but they have more of the good qualities of that nation than of its defects. They are of an unmilitary turn, though their character as soldiers has risen of late, and is still rising. They are all zealous Soonnees.

As their situation incapacitates them both from flight and resistance, they are the first on whom oppression falls; and, consequently, they are ill satisfied with the present state of the kingdom, and complain much of the distractions in the government; but, when the country is settled, they are well protected, and, on the whole, they are partial to the Dooraunee monarchy. They are on very good terms with the Afghauns, who, though they regard them as inferiors, do not treat them with arrogance or contempt, but intermarry with them, and associate with them on equal terms.

They pay more revenue than the Afghauns, and they contribute in a respectable proportion both to the army and the militia.

The Taujiks are most numerous about towns. They compose the principal part of the population round Caubul, Candahar, Ghuznee, Heraut, and Bulkh; while, in wild parts of the country, as in that of the Hazaurehs, and those of the southern Ghiljies and Caukers, there is scarcely a Taujik to be found.

I have hitherto been speaking of those intermixed with the Afghauns. Those who live in distinct societies are all in retired and inaccessible parts of the country; and they differ from the rest in many other particulars. The first of those, which I am to mention, is the class who are called Cohistaunees, and who inhabit the Cohistaun of Caubul. This country is surmounted on the north and east by the snowy ridges of Hindoo Coosh, and its southern projection. On the west, it comprehends part of the Paropamisan range, and is bounded by the country of the Hazaurehs: on the south, it sinks into the Cohdaumun, already described. The Cohistaun is composed of three long valleys, Nijrow, Punjsheer, and Ghorebund, into which open innumerable narrow and rocky glens, whence many little streams issue, and uniting in the principal vallies, form the rivers that bear their names. These streams are crossed by wooden bridges; and their banks are naturally the best cultivated part of the country. They bear but a small proportion to the mountains, which are high, steep, and covered with firs. The cultivated parts yield wheat, and some other grains; and, what is surprising in so elevated and cold a region, they produce tobacco, and even cotton. But the great subsistence of the people is derived from their numerous and extensive plantations of mulberry trees. The fruit of this tree is dried in the sun, and then ground into flour, of which bread is made. If we judge from the appearance of the Cohistaunees, the food is wholesome, and, by a calculation of Mr. Irvine's, it can support a far greater number of people in a given space than could be maintained by tillage. Though the population be a good deal scattered, it is considerable, and its numbers are generally stated to amount to 40,000 families. One part of the Cohistaun is to be excepted from this description. It is a little

patch of desart, called Reg Rowaun, or moving sand, which is the scene of some romantic tales alluded to by Aboolf-uzl.

The Cohistaun does not contain many cattle. The wild animals must be numerous. The lion is said to be among them, and the wolf and leopard certainly are common. Many falcons are found in the Cohistaun, which is said also to abound in nightingales.

The strength of this country, gives to its inhabitants a character very different from that of the Taujiks, whom I have already described. They are almost independent of the King, and kept in imperfect subjection by their own chiefs. In their personal character, they are bold, violent, and unruly; and so much given to war, that they reckon it a disgrace for a man to die in his bed. They are excellent infantry, particularly among hills; but their courage is generally wasted in internal dissensions. They have seldom disputes between tribes or villages, but many quarrels and assassinations among individuals. Disputes between villages, when they do happen, are more serious in their consequences than elsewhere, since it is almost as easy to fell a plantation of mulberry trees as to reap a field of corn, and the damage is far more difficult to repair.

The arms of the Cohistaunees are generally a carbine, with a firelock, a pistol, and a short sharp dagger. Some have short pikes, and a few bows and shields.

Their dress is a close jacket, and trowsers of coarse black woollen cloth, a pair of short half-boots, and a small silken cap.

They are all Soonnees, and bear more than ordinary hatred to the Persians and to all other Sheeahs.

They are under different Khauns, of whom the principal is Khaujeh Khanjee; and these chiefs, though they cannot controul their domestic feuds, are able to direct their foreign operations, particularly when assisted by any religious prejudice. The chiefs keep up some little military establishment of their own; but every man in the country is a soldier. They pay some revenue, and furnish some troops to the King; but, in general, it requires great conciliation and manage-

ment to obtain any thing from them. They have, however, been lately subdued. An old enmity to Shauh Mahmood led them to offer a most determined opposition to his restoration; they first supported his brother Prince Abbass, and afterwards continued the contest under a false prophet, who started up to head them. The war was long, obstinate, and often unfavourable to the King's troops, but the energy of the Vizier Futteh Khaun prevailed in the end, and they are now submissive. *

The next class of Taujiks are the Burrukees, who inhabit Logur and part of Boot-Khauk. Though mixed with the Ghiljees, they differ from the other Taujiks, in as much as they form a tribe under chiefs of their own, and have a high reputation as soldiers. They have separate lands and castles of their own, furnish a good many troops to government, closely resemble the Afghauns in their manners, and are more respected than any other Taujiks. Their numbers are now about eight thousand families.

All traditions agree that they were introduced into their present seats by Sooltaun Mahmood about the beginning of the eleventh century, and that their lands were once extensive; but their origin is uncertain; they pretend to be sprung from the Arabs, but others say they are descended from the Kurds or Coords.

The Poormoolees, or Fermoolees, are a division of Taujiks, about equal in numbers to the Burrukees. The bulk of them inhabit Oorghoon in the midst of the Kharotee country, and carry on a bitter and unceasing war with that tribe: the rest live to the west of Caubul. They are chiefly employed in trade and husbandry, but furnish some soldiers to the King, to whom they also pay revenue. †

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* I have heard of a people called Pushye, or Pushauee, among the Cohistaunees, and I regret that I did not investigate their history, as I have since found them mentioned by Bauber, as speaking a peculiar language.

† I am greatly perplexed with their origin, though the source to which the refer it, is not one that might be expected to be obscure. They are said to be descended from the Khullujees, who are well known to have given a dynasty of kings to India, but

The Sirdehees are a small tribe who live at Sirdeh south-east of Ghuznee. The inhabitants of Seestaun may all be counted Taujiks, and that class is common in the north of the Beloche country, but those divisions need not be mentioned here. They are, however, included in an estimate formerly made of the numbers of the Taujiks in the King of Caubul's dominions, which were conjectured to be 1,500,000.

The Hindkees, though much more numerous than the Taujiks, require less mention, as they are all of Indian descent, and retain the well known appearance and manners of their original country; together with a mixture of those which have been attributed to the Eastern Afghauns *. They are worse treated than the Taujiks, and by no means bear so respectable a character. The provinces on the eastern bank of the Indus, are generally peopled by a class of Hindkees called Juts, who also compose the Mussulman peasantry of the Punjaub, form the principal population of Sind, and are found mixed with Beloches throughout all the south-west of Belochestan, and in Mukelwaud. In Belochestan they are called Jugdalls, as well as Juts, and the tribe of them which inhabits Lus, is called by the names of Jokhna and Noomree. The great extent through which the Juts are scattered, excites the same curiosity with the story of the Taujiks, whose situation is very similar to that of the Juts.

Another class of Hindkees called Awauns, live on the banks of the Indus, about Calla-baugh, and the adjoining parts of the Punjaub.

The Puraunchehs, another class of Hindkees, seem to have been

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regarding whom every thing else is uncertain. Ferishta asserts them to be a tribe of Afghauns; and I have heard from other sources, that they are the inhabitants of a city called Khulluch, or Khulluj, which some place on the Oxus, and others to the north-west of Candahar, while others deny the existence of this city altogether, and say that the Khullujees are a religious sect, not peculiar to any nation.

* Plate (V.) shews the appearance of a Hindkee of Peshawer in his winter dress, which, however, happens to approach more nearly to that of the west, than is quite characteristic for a Hindkee.

A Hindkee in the Winter dress of Peshawer.

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considered as a separate people in Bauber's time: they are now only remarkable for being great carriers, and conductors of caravans.

The Hindkees are numerous round Peshawer and in Bajour, and some classes of them are found in the country of the Eusofzyes, and other tribes in the north-east of the Afghaun country. Their language is a kind of Hindostaunee, resembling the dialect of the Punjaub.

The Hindoos ought, perhaps, to be enumerated with this class. They are to be found over the whole kingdom of Caubul *. In towns they are in considerable numbers as brokers, merchants, bankers, goldsmiths, sellers of grain, &c. There is scarce a village in the country without a family or two, who exercise the above trades, and act as accountants, money changers, &c. They spread into the north of Persia, but in small numbers, owing to the bad treatment they receive. They are encouraged in Bokhaura, and other towns in Tartary.

They are all, or almost all, of the military class of Kohetree, but it must not be supposed that they are, therefore, soldiers; on the contrary, the idea of a Hindoo soldier would be thought ludicrous in Caubul. They retain the Hindoo features, and some of them have nearly the Hindostaunee dress; but most allow their beards to grow, and wear a dress nearly resembling that of the country. They have got rid of many of their Hindoo prejudices, so that they do not scruple to eat bread baked at a common oven; still less do they attend to the rule, which enjoins bathing after being polluted by the touch of a Mussulman, an injunction never intended for cold climates. In most respects, indeed, they mix well with the Mussulmans, though their timidity, their craft, and their parsimony, expose

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* They are, indeed, to be found as far west as Astrachan, and they are numerous in Arabia; while on the east, they extend as far as Pekin, where they are said to have a temple. Their religion has spread even beyond these limits. The worship of Boodh, under the name of Fo, is known to be very general throughout China; and in the gods of the Calmucks, as represented by Dr. Clarke, we at once recognise the idols of the Hindoos.

them to ridicule. They are often employed about the court, in offices connected with money or accounts; the duty of steward and treasurer about every great man, is exercised either by a Hindoo or a Persian. There have even been Hindoo governors of provinces, and at this moment the great government of Peshawer has been put into the hands of a person of that religion. The people, however, view the appointment with more surprise than approbation, and the government must be strong to be able to support such an agent.

I have mentioned the degree of toleration which the Hindoos meet with, and have only to add, that many of them are in very good circumstances, and that they possess the best houses in every town, if we except the palaces of the nobility.

The Hindoos represent themselves to be emigrants from India, who settled in Afghaunistaun at no very remote period, and their story appears to be well founded. *

The tribe, or rather the nation of the Deggauns, which seems to have once been spread over most of the north-east of Afghaunistaun, is now confined to the valley of Coonner, and some parts of the neighbouring country of Lughmaun.

It is in Coonner alone that they still form a separate people; they are there under a chief, who is sometimes called the Synd, and some-

* There are, however, some traces of an ancient race of idolaters in Afghaunistaun, such are the colossal idols of Baumeeaun, and the numerous little statues which are occasionally dug up in the country of the Eimauks. Some places have also Hindoo legends attached to them, but none are of undoubted antiquity. The Gorekutty, where the caravanserai at Peshawer stands, was a place of Hindoo worship in Bauber's time. There is a cave of vast extent near Aukserai, north of Caubul, which the Hindoos say was the scene of the Tapasya, or ascetic devotion of Gurug, a Bramin who belonged to the household of Krishna, and which Captain Wilford supposes to be the cave of Prometheus, or rather the cave which the Greeks with Alexander describe as such. Asiatic Researches.

The Mahommedan historians speak of Rajas of Caubul in ancient times, but this proves nothing, for the same writers called the Hindoos Guebres; and Mahommedans are not accurate in their use of the word Raja, as is shewn by Tippoo's calling the King *Raja* of England.

times the King of Coonner. The country is small and not strong, nor are the inhabitants warlike; yet the Synd, by his own prudence, and probably by the respect paid to his origin, maintains a considerable degree of consequence. He pays some revenue, and furnishes one hundred and fifty horses to the King.

The Deggauns speak the language which is mentioned under the name of Lughmaunee in the Commentaries of Bauber, the Ayenee Akberee, and other places. I have a vocabulary of the language, which seems to be composed of Shanscrit and modern Persian, with some words of Pushtoo, and a very large mixture of some unknown root. *

The greater part of the words, however, are Shanscrit, from which we may conclude, that the Deggauns are of Indian origin, though they are distinct from the Hindkees; care must also be taken not to confound them with the Taujiks, whom the Afghauns sometimes call Deggaun, by corruption from Dehkaun, a husbandman.

The Shulmaunees formerly inhabited Shulmaun, on the banks of the Korrum. They afterwards moved to Teera, and in the end of the fifteenth century, they were in Hushtnugger, from which they were expelled by the Eusofzyes. The old Afghaun writers reckon them Deggauns, but they appear to have used this word loosely. There are still a few Shulmaunees in the Eusofzye country, who have some remains of a peculiar language.

The Swautees, who are also sometimes called Deggauns, appear to be of Indian origin. They formerly possessed a kingdom extending from the western branch of the Hydaspes, to near Jellallabad. They were gradually confined to narrower limits by the Afghaun tribes; and Swaut and Boonair, their last seats, were reduced by the Eusof-

* I beg leave to observe, that I know nothing of Shanscrit, but made my comparison with the help of two Marratta Pundits. It is possible that the words which seemed to me to belong to some unknown tongue, may be familiar to a better oriental scholar.

zyes in the end of the fifteenth century. They are still very numerous in those countries.

The Teeryes who live in the Shainwaree country, are a small tribe, only remarkable from their speaking a language distinct from those of their neighbours.

I have not been able to procure a specimen of it, or any information that can lead to a conjecture regarding its origin.

The Kuzzilbaushes are members of that colony of Toorks which now predominates in Persia. I call them by this name (which is usually given them at Caubul), in preference to that of Persian, which might lead to mistakes.

The Kuzzilbauches generally inhabit towns, except about Heraut, where they are also to be found in the villages. There are said to be ten or twelve thousand of them in the town of Caubul, who settled there in the times of Naudir and Ahmed, and who are still in many respects a people entirely distinct from those around them. They speak Persian, and among themselves Toorkee. They are all violent Sheeahs, and their zeal is kept up by the necessity of a certain degree of concealment, and by their religious animosities with the Soonnees, among whom they live.

The Kuzzilbauches in Afghaunistaun partake of the character of their countrymen in Persia; they are lively, ingenious, and even elegant and refined; but false, designing, and cruel; rapacious, but profuse, voluptuous, and fond of show; at once insolent and servile, destitute of all moderation in prosperity, and of all pride in adversity; brave at one time and cowardly at another, but always fond of glory; full of prejudice, but affecting to be liberal and enlightened; admirable for a mere acquaintance (if one can bear with their vanity), but dangerous for a close connection. *

The Kuzzilbauches at Heraut follow all trades and pursuits; the

* I speak from what I have seen of the Kuzzilbaushes of Caubul, and of a good many Persians whom I have known in India. The character, however, is chiefly applicable to the inhabitants of the towns; the country people are not so bad, and the Eliaut, or shepherd tribes, are something like the Afghauns.

rest are mostly soldiers; some are merchants, and these are the best of the class; and many are tradesmen and servants; the Umlah, or bodies of armed men who attend the great, are generally formed of them.

Most of the secretaries, accountants, and other inferior ministers, are Kuzzilbaushes, and almost every man of rank has a Meerza *, a Nazir †, and perhaps a Dewaun ‡, of this description of people. Most of the King's Peeshkhedmuts, and other servants immediately about his person, are also Kuzzilbaushes. Some of these are persons of high rank and office, and some of the military chiefs of the Kuzzilbaushes are also men of consequence, though always subordinate to the Dooraunee officers. Some of the Kuzzilbaushes, particularly those in the Gholauns, or King's Guards, have estates, and even castles, granted by the crown, or purchased; but, except about Heraut, they generally live in towns, and let out their lands to Afghaun or Taujik tenants.

Besides the seven Terehs, or tribes, into which all the Kuzzilbaushes are divided, those of Caubul have other peculiar divisions, as the Chendawuls, or Jewaunsheers (the first of which names means the vanguard, and the second is a title), Moraud Khaunees, so called from the Dooraunee lord who first commanded them, &c. &c.

Besides the Taujiks, who are the original inhabitants of the country, the tribes descended from the Indian stock, and Kuzzilbaushes sprung from the Tartar conquerors of Persia, there are other nations found in small portions in the country inhabited by the Afghauns. It would excite great surprise to find a colony of French or Spaniards settled in a town or country in Great Britain, and remaining distinct from the people of the country, after the lapse of several centuries, but this is by no means an uncommon thing in Asia. The wandering habits of a great part of the population familiarizes the whole to the idea of emigration. It is also frequently the policy of the Asiatic

* A secretary. † A master of the household. ‡ A steward.

princes to move their subjects from one place to another, sometimes with the view of obtaining an industrious colony, or an attached soldiery in a favoured part of the country, and more frequently to break the strength of a rebellious clan or nation. These are the causes of the introduction of colonies from one country into another, and they are kept distinct from the rest of the inhabitants, by the division of the whole into tribes. The emigrants cannot procure admission into the tribes of the country, and single men are under great disadvantages from want of natural allies; they therefore remain united for the advantages of mutual friendship and protection.

The most numerous of this class are the Arabs, who have probably emigrated from Persian Khorassaun. Many Arab tribes are still to be found in great numbers and power in that country, where they have probably been settled since the first period of the Mahommedan conquest, or at least since the time when the Arab dynasty of Samaunee ruled in Bokhaura.

The number in Afghaunistaun may be about two thousand families, some of whom form part of the garrison of the Balla Hissaur at Caubul, and the rest reside at Jellallabad, between Caubul and Peshawer. These last are under a chief of their own, who is of such consideration, that the daughter of one of his ancestors was the wife of Ahmed Shauh, and the mother of Tymoor. They have lost their original language, but they still live in one society, and are all settled and engaged in tillage.

There are a considerable number of Moguls and Chaghatyes, and a few hundred families each of the following nations:—

Lezgees, from Mount Caucasus between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, brought from their country by Naudir Shauh, and now settled about Furrah.

Mookrees and Reekas, two tribes of Coords from Coordestaun (the ancient Carduchia), between the Persian and Turkish empires. *

* Sir John Malcolm, while in Curdistaun, obtained an account of the Mookrees, which mentions the emigration of a part of them to Caubul, but I do not know the

Armenians, a people to be found in almost every part of the east, where there is a prospect of gain.

Abyssinians (who have been bought as slaves, and who now form part of the King's guards) and Calmucks, here called Kullimauks, who are also the King's guards, and who seem to bear a strong resemblance to the people of the same tribe in Russia. Mr. Kerr Porter's picture of a Calmuck in his Travels, is a good caricature of one of those in Caubul. They were brought from Bulkh by Tymoor Shauh, and it is but lately that the natives of Afghaunistaun have become familiarized to their broad faces, their long narrow eyes, and the extreme blackness of their skin. It is a matter of some surprise, that the Calmucks, who are in general inhabitants of the north of Asia, should have found their way to Caubul, but they are found in considerable numbers in the kingdom of Bokhaura, and their erratic habits account for their further advance.

In this list I take no account of the Beloches, Eimauks, and Hazaurehs, who are in great numbers throughout the west, or of the Seestaunees, Kermaunees, Mervees, and people of other towns and provinces of Persia, who are settled in considerable numbers in different parts of the country. The few European Turks, Jews, men of Budukshaun, Cashghar, &c. deserve no farther notice, nor do the more numerous Uzbek travellers, who come to trade, or to study at Peshawer.

æra or the motive of this movement. Some of the old men among the Reekas are said still to speak the Curdish language.

BOOK III.

PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE AFGHAUN TRIBES.

CHAP. I.

EASTERN TRIBES.—THE BERDOORAUNEES.

I NOW proceed to a particular description of the tribes, among which so great a diversity will be observed, that it is necessary to remind the reader, that they are all of the same race, speak the same language, and form one nation.

All the preceding account applies to every tribe, unless where it has been limited at the time, or where it is contradicted in the following description.

I shall begin with an account of the Berdooraunees, and among them of the tribe of Eusofzye. Though the Eusofzyes afford an unfavourable specimen of the character and manners of the Afghauns, yet they display many of the peculiarities of their nation in more perfection than any other tribe. When the whole of their institutions have been explained, those of the other Berdooraunees may be shewn as modifications of the same system, and those of the southern and western tribes may be rendered intelligible, by comparing them with this standard.

The tribes which inhabit the north-eastern part of the Afghaun country, enclosed between the range of Hindoo Coosh, the Indus, the Salt Range, and the Range of Solimaun, are comprehended in the general name of Berdooraunees, first given to them by Ahmed Shauh. They consist of the Eusofzyes, Otmaun Khail, Turcolaunees, Khyberees, the tribes of the plain of Peshawer, and those of Bungush and Khuttuk.

Before I describe each of these tribes, I shall notice the principal points in which they differ from all the other Afghauns.

It has already been mentioned, that the eastern Afghauns appear to have received their civilization from India, and this observation applies particularly to the Berdooraunees. From the early period at which the Kings of Ghuznee and Caubul obtained possession of Hindostan, the north-eastern part of Afghaunistaun has been always the thoroughfare between those empires; and the inhabitants have imitated the manners of the country where the arts of life were probably most advanced, and which was, besides, in general the residence of the sovereign and his court. These habits were probably earliest introduced into the cities, and the tribes upon the great roads, but they have proved most permanent in the more retired parts of the country; the others still continued to be most frequented, after the connection with India was destroyed, and the presence of the Dooraunee court and army has introduced a disposition to adopt the language and manners of Khorassaun. On the whole, however, the manners of India, mixed with those peculiar to the Afghauns, still prevail amongst all the Berdooraunees.

The Berdooraunees are divided into numerous little societies. As they are all agricultural, they are crowded into a less space than could be occupied by any of the tribes, which are in part, or entirely pastoral, and as they continue to increase, each tribe finds itself more and more straitened every day; hence arise disputes and battles about land and water, and constant jealousy of neighbouring tribes. The effects of a crowded population are also observable in individuals. Every man is obliged to pay constant attention to the means neces-

sary for his own subsistence, and has little regard to the convenience or the rights of his neighbours. In consequence, we find the Berdooraunees brave, but quarrelsome; active, industrious, and acute, but selfish, contentious, and dishonest. They are more bigotted and intolerant than the other Afghauns, and more under the influence of their Moollahs. They are also more vicious and debauched, and some among them are, in all respects, the worst of the Afghauns.

These characteristics are variously modified, according to the situations of the different tribes. They are less strongly marked among the scattered inhabitants of the mountains, than among those of the plains and valleys. The free tribes are most turbulent; those under a powerful chief most litigious. The general custom of the Afghauns also modifies the practice of the Berdooraunees. This custom, for example, makes them hospitable, though their own situation has made them selfish; but their hospitality by no means equals that of the western tribes.

The custom of joining in associations for mutual defence, obtains among all the Berdooraunees, except the Eusofzyes. It evidently originates in the continual strife which prevails among them; why the Eusofzyes, who appear to require it the most, should be without it, I confess myself unable to explain; but the fact is corroborated by all the information I possess on the subject.

These confederacies have some resemblance to the Sodalitia of the Saxon times. Individuals enter into engagements to support each other, either in specific enterprises, or in all cases that may arise. These alliances are called Goondees, and they may include any number of persons. The connection between two persons in the same Goondee, is reckoned stronger than that of blood. They are bound to give up all they have, and even their lives for each other. A Goondee between two chiefs, is not dissolved even by a war between their tribes; they may join in the battle, but as soon as the contest is over, their friendship is renewed.

Goondees also take place between tribes. The whole of the Berdooraunees, except the Eusofzyes, Otmaunkhail, Turcolaunees, and

Khuttuks, were formerly united into two great coufederacies, distinguished by the names of Garra and Saumil, and were bound to assist each other in all contests; but the alliance has relaxed of late, and the whole confederates are never now engaged in one war.

The Berdooraunees possess the hills and valleys under Hindoo Coosh, and those connected with the range of Solimaun, together with the plains of Bajour and Peshawer. The ridge of Hindoo Coosh, it will be remembered, is covered with perpetual snow; the hills beneath have bare summits, but their sides are clothed with woods of firs, oaks, walnuts, wild olives, and many other trees; and still lower, it has been observed that all the fruits and flowers of Europe grow wild. The forests on the mountains are full of wild beasts, of which tigers, leopards, wolves, bears, and hyenas, are the most remarkable. The Caufirs occupy the highest of the habitable hills, and those who are near the Afghauns, have been converted to the Mahommedan religion, and pay tribute to the nearest tribe. The lower hills are frequented by Hindoo subjects of the Afghauns, who feed large herds of buffaloes and flocks of goats. The lowest hills are however, in some cases, inhabited and cultivated by the Afghauns themselves. The sides of the valleys, when cultivated, bear wheat and barley, which depend entirely on the rain; but the bottoms are irrigated from the streams by which they are always divided, and yield all the productions of the plains. These are wheat, rice, Indian corn, barley, pulse, sugar cane, tobacco, and cotton; but these are by no means every where in equal quantities. Wheat, maize, and rice, are nearly equal in Peshawer, while the former preponderates in Bajour, and the latter in Swaut.

The commonest animals are oxen, which are every where used for tillage, and in most parts for carrying burdens. Asses and mules are also employed in carriage, but they, as well as horses, are uncommon in the valleys of Hindoo Coosh; and even sheep are rare in Bajour, Upper Swaut, and Boonere.

The climate varies from that of the snowy mountains to that of

the hot plain of Peshawer. Most even of the habitable mountains have snow on their tops, from four to six months in the year. Of the valleys, Upper Swaut has a delightful climate, never hotter than the dog-days in England, and never very cold. Lower Swaut, being confined by hills, is hotter than Peshawer, as is Bajour in summer, for the same reason; but in winter its elevation makes it somewhat colder, and snow lies for three or four days every year.

The Eusofzyes are a very numerous tribe, divided into many little communities, chiefly under democratic constitutions. They possess the extensive country between the Otmaunkhail mountains and the Indus, Hindoo Coosh, and the river of Caubul, composed of the northern part of the plain of Peshawer, and the valleys of Punjcora, Swaut, and Boonere. They also possess Drumtour, on the eastern side of the Indus.

The Eusofzye part of the plain of Peshawer extends along the banks of the Indus, and the river of Caubul, from Torbela to Hushtnugger. The breadth of it, between the mountains on its north and the rivers, varies from two miles to ten. It is all very rich, but less so in the centre than at either extremity. Immediately to the north of this plain is a chain of mountains, beyond which is a broad valley called Chumla, extending from Lower Swaut to the Indus, and bounded on the north by the mountains of Boonere.

The valley of Swaut opens on the plain above mentioned; it is divided through its whole extent by the river Lundye, which at first runs south-west from the mountains to Tootookaun Mutkunee, where the river of Punjcora joins it from the north-west. From this point, its course is southerly. The valley of the Lundye, down to its junction with the river of Punjcora, is called Upper Swaut; and below the junction it is called Lower Swaut. The upper part of Punjcora is mountainous, and thinly peopled, but the lower part of the valley, and generally speaking, all to the south of the river, is rich and highly cultivated. Deer, the residence of the chief, is in the upper part, and contains about five hundred houses.

Upper Swaut is a valley about sixty miles long, and from ten to sixteen broad. The level ground on both sides of the river is extremely fertile.

Lower Swaut has almost all the advantages of Upper Swaut, with the addition of much greater fertility. It is equal in length to the other, but broader; and is watered by the same river, the course of which winds more, and is more favourable to irrigation.

Lower Swaut is highly peopled, and the chief place Allahdund, is a considerable town. Swaut is divided from Boonere by steep hills, thinly inhabited by Baubees, an inconsiderable tribe of Afghauns.

Boonere is a rugged country, composed of a number of little valleys, all opening on the river Burrindoo, which runs through the centre of Boonere, and enters the Indus near Derbend, about twenty miles above Torbela. The banks of the Burrindoo are tolerably fertile, and produce rice; but they are not above a mile broad; some of the wider valleys also produce the better sorts of corn, but the general produce is a small grain called Ghuoosht by the Afghauns, and Cungunnee by the Hindostaunees *. It all depends on rain, and much of it is grown on the slopes of the hills, which are formed into terraces one above another, and are cultivated with the hoe. The hills which bound Boonere on the north-west, fill up the space between that valley, Hindoo Coosh, and the Indus.

The Judoons east of the Indus, possess Drumtore, or Dumtour, a narrow valley along the rivulet of Door, which runs south-west, and falls into the Indus near Torbela. The country seems to resemble Lower Swaut, though it probably is not so fertile.

The mountains are high, and on one side at least, produce oaks, pines, walnuts, wild olives, and other hill trees; but none of the European fruits or flowers are found here, and every thing begins to have some resemblance to the produce of India. The trees on the

* Panicum Italicum.

plain are few. The country is well inhabited, and contains some very populous villages.

The Eusofzyes have possessed these countries for upwards of three hundred years; and though most of them have heard that their origin is from the west, few possess any knowledge of the original residence and former fortunes of their tribe. The following account is abstracted from a history of the Eusofzyes, written in a mixture of Pushtoo and Persian, in the year 1184 of the Hejira (A. D. 1771). The original history is of considerable length, and though mixed with such fables as the superstitious and romantic notions of the country suggest, it has a consistency and an appearance of truth and exactness, which would entitle it to credit, even if it were not corroborated by the Emperor Bauber, who is one of the principal actors in the events which it describes, and is besides one of the most correct historians in Asia.

The original seats of the Eusofzyes were about Garra and Noshky, the last of which places at least is on the borders of the Dushtee Loot, or Great Salt Desart, and now held by the Beloches under Kelauti Nusseer; their numbers at that time must have been very inferior to what they are now, as they only formed a branch of the tribe of Khukkye; the other branches of which were the Guggeeaunees, the Turcolaunees, and the Mahommedzyes. They were expelled from Garra and Noshky, about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century of the Christian æra, and soon after settled in the neighbourhood of Caubul. Before they had been long there, they afforded their protection to Meerza Ulugh Beg, the son of Meerza Aboosaid, of the house of Timour, and were very instrumental in raising him to the throne of Caubul, which had before been held by his ancestors, but which probably was lost in consequence of the calamities which befel the house of Timour, on the death of Meerza Aboosaid *. Ulugh Beg, on his first accession,

* See D'Herbelot, article Abou Said.

treated the Eusofzyes with the greatest distinction; he was, indeed, dependent on their assistance for the support of his throne; but the turbulent independence of the Eusofzyes was not suited to an intimate connection with a sovereign, and their insolence increasing with their prosperity, they insulted Ulugh Beg's authority, plundered his villages, and even filled his capital with tumult and confusion. Ulugh Beg, whose power was now strengthened by the accession of many Moguls, who flocked to his standard, resolved to rid himself of his troublesome allies; he began by fomenting dissensions between the Eusofzyes and Guggeeaunees (for the Khukkyes had now broken into independent clans), and soon after attacked them at the head of that tribe and his own army. He was defeated at first; but having cut off all the chiefs of the tribe at a banquet, during an insidious peace which he had the art to conclude with them, he plundered the Eusofzyes of all their possessions, and drove them out of Caubul. The Eusofzyes, reduced to extreme distress, took the way to the neighbourhood of Peshawer.

That country was then in a very different state from that in which it is at present. The tribes who now possess it, were then in Khorrassaun, and the plain of Peshawer, with several of the neighbouring countries, were possessed by tribes which have since either entirely disappeared, or have changed their seats. Lughmaun was in the hands of the Turkoolaunees, who are now in Bajour; the tribes of Khyber and the Bungushes, had already occupied their present lands, but all the lower part of the valley of the Caubul, all the plain of Peshawer, with part of Bajour, Chuch, Huzaureh, and the countries east of them, as far as the Hydaspes, belonged to the Afghaun tribe of Dilazauk, which is now almost extirpated. The country between the Dilazauks and the range of Hindoo Coosh, on both sides of the Indus, formed the kingdom of Swaut, which was inhabited by a distinct nation, and ruled by Sultaun Oveiss, whose ancestors had long reigned over that country.

On the first arrival of the Eusofzyes, they threw themselves on the generosity of the Dilazauks, who assigned them the Doaubeh for

their residence; but as fresh bodies arrived, they found their lands too confined, and, as their strength increased, they seized on the Dilazauk part of Bajour, and engaged in a war with that tribe, in which they deprived them of all their possessions north of the Caubul river. They also expelled Sultaun Oveiss from his former possessions, and forced him to retire to the Caufir country, where he founded a new monarchy, which was enjoyed for some generations by his descendants.

During these wars, Ulugh Beg had died, and the kingdom of Caubul had fallen into the hands of the famous Emperor Bauber, who was then rising into notice. He several times attacked the Eusofzyes, but made no great impression on them, as they always found a secure retreat among their hills. At last, Bauber made peace with them, and secured them in his interests, by marrying a daughter of their Khaun. Bauber himself describes these campaigns in his Commentaries, and confirms the story of his marriage.

The operations of which I have given a summary, occupy the greater part of a pretty large volume in the Afghaun history; but the details would not repay the room they would occupy, and I can exhibit in a few words the little light they throw on the manners and character of the Eusofzyes.

The whole tribe was under one Khaun during these conquests, and his power seems to have been much greater than what the modern Khauns enjoy. The people, however, seem still to have been turbulent and unruly; their first quarrel with the Guggeeaunees originated in an elopement with the affianced bride of a chief of that tribe, and was pursued by the Guggeeaunees with the same implacable spirit which such an outrage would excite at this day. The customs of Naunawautee, and of respect to guests, seem to have existed then as at present, and to have been sometimes infringed, as they are still. One anecdote may be mentioned, which shows the manners of the times in a strong light.

After a great battle between the Eusofzyes and Dilazauks, Mullik Ahmed, the chief of the Eusofzyes, was deputed to the Dilazauks to

sue for peace. On his arrival among that tribe, they resolved to sacrifice him to their resentment for the loss of their relations, who had fallen in the battle; but Mullik Ahmed's situation, and perhaps the beauty of his person, excited the compassion of the wife of the Dilazauk chief, who informed him of his danger, and concealed him till the indignation of her clansmen had subsided; they then repented of a resolution so much at variance with the respect which the Afghaun customs exact towards a guest and suppliant; and when Mullik Ahmed discovered himself, they received him with distinction, and prepared an entertainment in honour of him. The bard who sung to them while they were seated at the feast, appears to have been less generous than the rest, for, as he sung the wars and victories of the tribe, he introduced the subject of the late battle, and in some extemporary verses, urged the chiefs to put to death their enemy, who was in their power. This advice was now thought so base, that they rose in indignation, and stoned the bard out of the assembly. Mullik Ahmed was allowed to return to his tribe, where being asked his opinion of the Dilazauks, he declared the bard was the only wise man among them.

In their behaviour to other tribes or nations, they appear to have united the ferocity and craft of savages, with the moderation of a more advanced stage of civilization. They are stated to have given quarter to Afghauns taken in battle, through respect to their origin; from whence it may be inferred, that they gave none to Swautee prisoners; yet they treated the inhabitants of the conquered countries with mildness, and they seem to have firmly adhered to the maxim of never engaging in more than one war at a time.

When they had completed their conquests, they proceeded to divide the countries they had acquired. They assigned Hushtnuggur to the Mahommedzyes, who had arrived from Khorassaun about that period; and in their possession it still remains. The Guggeeaunees also had been expelled from the neighbourhood of Caubul by the Emperor Bauber, and had been reconciled to the Eusofzyes, who allotted to them the Doaubeh, which they still hold, and part of

Baujour, from which they have since been expelled. All the rest of the country remained to the Eusofzyes, who, however, engaged to provide for certain inferior tribes; the principal among these, were the Otmaunkhail, to whom they assigned their present territory in the mountains east of Bajour. Punjcora, which seems then to have been part of Bajour, remained to the Eusofzyes, and the rest was some years afterwards occupied by its present possessors the Turkolaunees, or Turkaunees, who probably took it from the Deggauns.

The interior division of the lands among the subordinate branches of the tribe of Eusofzye, and among the individual members of those branches, is not recorded: it may, however, be easily ascertained from the present state of property in the Eusofzye country, and it will be found to involve some very singular institutions. The tribe of Eusofzye is divided into two great branches, Eusof and Munder, the first of which acquired Swaut, Punjcora, and Boonere, and the latter the plain north of the Caubul river, with the valley of Chumla. The Eusof are again divided into three separate, and now independent clans, the Accozyes, Moollezyes, and Lawezyes, of whom the former obtained Swaut and Punjcora, and the two latter Boonere. The complete property of the soil was vested in each clan, and the Swautees who remained, were reduced to the condition of villains, or, as the Eusofzyes call them Fakeers *. This is the state in which things are at this day.

Each of these clans divided its lands among its Khails †, at a general meeting of the clan, and this arrangement was repeated throughout all the subordinate divisions. Each of the Khails received its lands in perpetuity; but a different arrangement was adopted within

* This phrase is used among the Uzbeks for the peasantry. It is used here for the subjects of the tribe, who, in other parts of the Afghaun country, are called Ryots. In Persian they are termed Eel Ryots.

† For an explanation of the divisions of an Afghaun tribe, see the Note and Table in page 160.

itself. The lands of each of its divisions were allotted only for a certain number of years, and were to be changed at the end of that period for those of some other, so that each might share equally in the fertility or sterility of the soil. Thus, each independent division of the Khauzoozyes retains the land assigned to it at the original distribution; but the subdivisions interchange their lands, in a manner which I shall endeavour to illustrate by the example of the Naikpeekhail, a division of the Khail of Khauzoozye, and clan of Accozye, which is now an independent Oolooss, divided into six clans.

The lands of the Naikpeekhail are divided into two parts, equal in extent, but, of course, not exactly equal in fertility; the Oolooss is also divided into two parts, which draw lots every ten years, for the choice of land. If the lot falls on the half, which is already possessed of the best share, it retains its possession; but if it falls on the other half, an immediate exchange takes place. The two half Ooloosses meet every ten years to draw lots, at a village which lies on the borders of the two shares of lands. Vast numbers of people attend to witness the ceremony; but as the exultation of the victors, and the anger of the vanquished party, would produce tumults in such an assembly, the Mulliks put off drawing the lots on various pretences, till the people get impatient, and return to their homes. When the crowd is dispersed, the chief of the whole Naikpeekhail draws the lots, and announces the result, which is received in the victorious party with public distributions of charity, firing of matchlocks, and all other marks of rejoicing. The change of lands is accomplished without much trouble or confusion; each clan of one half Oolooss is paired with a clan of the other, and the two thus paired, cross over into each other's lands.

When the lot has determined that the half Ooloosses are to retain their former lands, the three clans of each cast lots among themselves for a new distribution of their share, which is divided into three portions.

On the two last occasions, when lots were drawn among the Naikpeekhail, the half which had the worst share was successful each time,

and, in consequence, there have been two complete interchanges of land within the last fourteen years. It is impossible not to suppose that the uncertain tenure on which the lands are held under this institution, must be a great bar to improvement; but, in spite of this obstacle, the Eusofzye country is cultivated with great industry and success, and the villages, water-courses, and other immoveable property, are as good as in most parts of Afghaunistaun. It might also be expected, that there would be a civil war in the Oolooss, as often as the land was to be exchanged; and, in fact, at the expiration of the last term but one, the half of the Naikpeekhail which was in possession of the best lands, refused to submit to the usual custom of drawing lots. The Mulliks of the other half complained loudly of this injustice, and called on all the other Accozyes to prevent the subversion of the ancient custom of the tribe; so many Ooloosses declared in their favour, that their opponents were forced to give way, and to draw lots as usual.

This custom is called Waish. It prevails through the whole of the Eusofzyes, and also among the Mahommedzyes. The period for which the lands are to be retained, however, varies throughout. In Boonere, for instance, the Waish is performed annually. Among the Jadoons, a branch of the Eusofzyes, individuals interchange among themselves, but there is no Waish among clans. With the Otmaunkhail, on the contrary, the whole tribe cast lots every twenty years. Among the Gundehpoors in Damaun, also, the lands are divided into six shares, corresponding to the number of clans in the tribe, and all the clans draw lots for the order in which they are to choose their shares. The period at which this ceremony is to be renewed, is not fixed permanently as among the Eusofzyes, but while one Waish is taking place, it is determined in the council of the tribe, when the next is to happen; the term is generally from three to five years. What is most surprising is, that all these transactions take place among the lawless Gundehpoors, without quarrels or bloodshed.

None of the eastern Afghauns but those already mentioned, and two or three clans of the Oorookzyes, have this custom. There are some traces of its having prevailed among some tribes in Khorassaun, but the only remaining instance of its existence that has reached me, is among the Baraiches, where village sometimes draws lots with village, or man with man, but without any Waish among clans. *

What has already been said, will have prepared the reader for the utmost weakness of the government, if not for the absence of all government. A sense of independence, carried beyond the bounds which are essential to order, is characteristic of all the Afghauns; but most of their governments are despotisms, when compared with that of the Eusofzyes. The slender tie which holds *their* societies together, is derived from community of blood, and subordination to the representative of a common ancestor. Their government is patriarchal, but its effects are very different from those which have been attributed to that form of sovereignty. The head of the Khauzoozyes is the descendant of the eldest son of their common ancestor, but the last appearance of his power was in Naudir Shauh's reign, when all the Eusofzyes united to resist that conqueror. The head of the Naikpeekhail derives his authority from the same source. His powers do not require a long enumeration; he commands in war, subject to the resolutions of a council of the Mulliks, who in their turn are influ-

* This custom is stated by Volney to be still practised in Corsica. It appears by the following observation of Tacitus, to have prevailed among the ancient Germans; but whether it was only individuals that moved, or whole societies, depends on the reading of a disputed passage. Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis per "vices" occupantur, quos mox inter se, secundum dignationem partiuntur: facilitatem partiendi camporum spatiæ præstant. Arva peramos mutant. Germania xxvi. If we read "per vicos occupantur," as is recommended by many of the commentators, and as the sense seems to require, we shall have pretty nearly the mode of distribution which I have described. Cæsar also has the following passage:—Neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines proprios habet, sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierunt, quantum eis et quo loco visum est attribuunt agri, atque anno post alio transire cogunt.

enced by the opinion of the members of their clans. He sometimes interferes in disputes between two clans, but his success in accommodating their difference, depends more on his arguments than his authority, and more on the caprice of the disputants than on either. Indeed the whole of his authority arises from his personal weight, and that is derived from his birth and his good conduct; he has no public revenue, and neither more wealth, more immediate clansmen, nor more hired servants than the head of any other clan. The heads of clans have not much more power; they are, however, referred to in disputes between individuals, particularly if they live in different villages; for each clan, instead of being assembled in one place, is scattered through different villages, which it shares with members of other clans, all, however, living in distinct quarters, and under separate chiefs. None of all these chiefs have authority equal to that of a constable in England.

It is hardly necessary to say that the Eusofzyes set the King at defiance; they boast of their independence of him, and scarcely consider the tribes under his government as Afghauns. A famous saint among the Eusofzyes, is said to have left his tribe a blessing and a curse, "That they should always be free, but that they should never be united." Considering the Afghaun notion of freedom, he did not hazard much by the last part of his prediction.

I shall illustrate the above observations by an account of the proceedings of a part of the Ghalleekhail, one of the clans of the Naikpeekhail.

The part of the Ghalleekhail which I am to speak of, inhabits at present the village of Galoche, which is shared by portions of three other clans. Each clan lives separately under its own chief (who is called Mushir, and who is subordinate to the Mullik of his own clan), and these quarters of the village are called Cundys. All the relations of each Cundy are to its own clan, and it does not seem more connected with the other Cundies in the same village, than if they lived in different parts of the country. The Mushir of each Cundy maintains a public apartment, where all councils are held; here also the

men meet to converse and amuse themselves; and here they receive guests, and transact all public business, unmixed with the members of the other Cundies. Such an assembly of discordant materials into one spot, cannot take place without frequent convulsions. Accordingly, scarce a day passes without a quarrel: if there is a dispute about water for cultivation, or the boundaries of a field, swords are drawn, and wounds inflicted, which leads to years of anxiety and danger, and end in assassination. Each injury produces fresh retaliation, and hence arise ambuscades, attacks in the streets, murders of men in their houses, and all kinds of suspicion, confusion, and strife.

As these feuds accumulate, there is scarce a man of any consequence who is not upon the watch for his life. In every village are seen men always in armour, to secure them from the designs of their secret enemies, and others surrounded by hired soldiers, to the number of ten or twelve, and sometimes of fifty or one hundred. *

I have hitherto been speaking of quarrels between different clans, which one would think would unite the members of each more strongly among themselves. No such effect, however, appears. Even within the clans there is nothing like peace or concord; the slightest occasion gives rise to a dispute, which soon turns into an affray. The Mullik, or chief of the Cundy interposes, remonstrates, soothes, threatens, and intreats; but his instances are often disregarded, and the quarrel continues, till one party feels himself the weakest, and leaves the village.

An account of a particular quarrel, which I shall relate almost in

* Anwur Khaun, the Mullik of the Ghalkhail, always sleeps in his Hoojra, or public apartment, away from his women, surrounded by his male relations; his servants all sleep round, except four or five, who keep watch; all have their arms ready by them, and if one of them goes beyond the threshold of the apartment, he must be guarded by four or five armed men. I have been told by Mozirrib Khaun (the nephew of Anwur Khaun, a lad about eighteen years old), that he has seen several attacks on this apartment by one of the Cundies of the same village, but they failed from the alertness of the defendants.

the words of Mozirrib Khaun, will show the nature of the feuds and reconciliations among the Eusofzyes, the weakness of the chiefs, and the turbulence of the clansmen, better than any general remarks I can offer.

Mozirrib's father had a dispute with a man named Sirundauz, about the boundaries of their lands: high words past, and in the end Mozirrib's father was wounded. Anwur Khaun, his brother, and uncle to Mozirrib, is the head of all the Ghalleekhail, yet he had no means of redress beyond those possessed by any other individual. A Jeerga was held on the occasion, which does not seem to have had much effect. A few days afterwards, when Anwur Khaun went to the Hoojra, accompanied by Mozirrib, then only sixteen, and ten or twelve of his relations, some well armed, and others having only their swords, they found Sirundauz there, with twenty of his friends in full armour. This did not deter Anwur Khaun from reproaching him with his behaviour; his attack brought on the usual consequences, a desperate affray took place, in which Mozirrib received a severe cut on his head, and Anwur Khaun was covered with wounds; many of his relations were also wounded. A son of Sirundauz, and another of his partisans were killed. As Anwur Khaun had killed the first man, he was considered to be in the wrong, and was obliged to fly with all his family. At last he was wearied with his exile, and submitted to Sirundauz, giving him his sister and his niece (a sister of Mozirrib's). Sirundauz behaved with courtesy; he said he considered Anwur's sister as his own, and restored her to her relations; but he kept the other without marrying her (for the Naikpeekhail never marry a woman given in price of blood), and from that day Mozirrib saw his sister no more. The pursuit of blood had indeed been put an end to, but no intercourse took place among the families; Sirundauz and Anwur never meet when they can avoid it, and when they do, they turn their heads away. Mozirrib, in answer to a question, what he would do, if he met Sirundauz alone, replied, that he would instantly attack him, that he might anticipate the assault which Sirundauz would assuredly make on him. Such fury after a reconciliation

would be blamed even among the Naikpeekhail, but says Mozirrib, "A man's heart burns for his relation that was killed."

Such is the life of the greater part of the Eusofzyes. Where the chief is powerful, fewer disorders occur, and the Naikpeekhail is among the worst, if not the very worst, of the democratic clans; but similar accounts are given of many other clans, and in most parts of the country, the inhabitants live in perpetual fear, like savages, and plough and sow with their matchlocks and their swords about their persons.

It might be expected that the dangers of this state of anarchy, would force the weak to throw themselves on the protection of others who were stronger than themselves, and that by these means, there would be little real independence left among the people. It is probable that Kaussim Khaun, and such other chiefs (if such there be), as have established their authority over their tribes, may have derived some support from this principle, but, among the Naikpeekhail and other democratic Ooloosses, I can discover no trace of such a system.

The horrors of these domestic feuds are sometimes aggravated by a war with another Oolooss. Many causes occasion these wars, but the commonest are the seduction of a woman of one Oolooss by a man of another, or a man's eloping with a girl of his own Oolooss, and seeking protection from another. This protection is never refused, and it sometimes produces long and bloody wars. I shall show their nature, as usual, by the example of the Naikpeekhail.

The wife of a Fakeer of the Naikpeekhail eloped into the lands of the Bauboozyes. The Fakeer followed with some of his relations to kill his wife; and as he was lurking about for this purpose in the night, he was set upon and killed with one of his relations, by the person who had carried off the girl, and some of his new protectors. When the news reached the Naikpeekhail, their Khaun sent a drummer to summon the Mulliks of the six clans, and consulted with them on the propriety of a war. The Mulliks returned to their clans, and

conversed with the heads of Cundies, who took the sense of the people at meetings in the Hoojra; all were eager for revenge, and in three days the whole Oolooss assembled in arms, and marched on the same night to an embankment which turned part of the river of Swaut into the lands of the Bauboozyes. They broke down the embankment, and erected a redoubt to prevent its being rebuilt.

The Bauboozyes, who saw the water cut off from their cultivation, immediately assembled, and marched against the redoubt. The Naikpeekhail were six thousand, and the Bauboozyes much more numerous. Both sides had some horse, and some hundred Jailumees (champions distinguished by a fantastic dress, and bound to conquer or die).

The rest were a mob, some in thick quilted jackets, some in plate armour, some in coats of mail, and others in leathern cuirasses; all armed either with bows or matchlocks, and with swords, shields, long Afghaun knives, and iron spears.

When the armies came in sight, they at first fired on each other; afterwards the Jailumees turned out, and engaged with the sword; at last the main bodies came into close combat. The brave men on each side were mixed together, and fought hand to hand; the cowards, who were by much the greater number, hung back on both sides, but joined in the general clamour; every man shouted and reviled his adversaries with as loud a voice as he could. Even the women of the Fakeers (for those of the Eusofzyes could not appear in public) stood behind the line, beating drums, and distributing water to refresh the weary. At last both sides were exhausted, and retired to their homes.

Numbers on both sides were killed and wounded. It was, says my informant, a tremendous battle, songs were made on it, and the news went to Peshawer to the King.

It led, however, to no important result, the redoubt remained, the lands of the Bauboozyes were ruined for want of water, the war continued for three years, many other Ooloosses joined each side, and

the whole country up to the mountains was embroiled. At last many Khauns of neutral Ooloosses interposed, and mediated a peace.

Few prisoners are taken in these wars; those who are taken, are at the disposal of the captors, who keep them for some time, and make them labour at their fields, but always release them at last without ransom.

The political state of almost the whole of the Eusofzyes, is shewn by what I have said of one Oolooss. Some, however, are under a more aristocratic government. In those cases, the riches or abilities of the Khaun give him a weight which he does not possess among the Naikpeekhail. I am not, however, acquainted with any instance of considerable power of the Khaun in any of the Eusofzyes west of the Indus, except in Punjcora. The Judoons, a numerous branch of the Eusofzyes, who live east of the Indus, allow great power to their chiefs, and, in consequence, are exempt from the strife and bloodshed which prevails among the other Eusofzyes.

By far the most powerful Khaun among the Eusofzyes, is Kaussim Khaun of Deer in Punjcora, chief of the Mulleezyes. I have not the means of giving the particulars of the policy by which he attained his power. It is, however, certain that he possessed considerable treasures, and acquired large estates by purchase, or usurpation on his own relations. He next set himself to put down private revenge, and its concomitant disorders. He drove many offenders out of the tribe, and appropriated their lands to himself. He connected himself with neighbouring chiefs, and encouraged and assisted them in strengthening their power in their Ooloosses. He also reduced many of the nearest Caufirs, and exacted a tribute for himself; and, by means of these revenues, and the produce of his estates, he entertained men in his own pay, and acquired a decisive influence in the tribe. His greatest exploit, and that which contributed most to raise his reputation and strengthen his influence, was a successful war which he undertook against the Sultaun of one of the four little kingdoms of Kaushkaur. Kaussim Khaun, after surmounting great diffi-

culties in passing over the snowy mountains, took the capital, and, I believe, dethroned the prince; but he did not attempt to retain the country.

The whole of his Oolooss are now completely at his devotion. He can imprison, inflict corporeal punishment, and even put to death. He has extirpated domestic feuds, and has established a good police, so that his government is far from being unpopular even among his Eusofzye subjects. All the Fakeers in Punjcora now belong to him, and pay him a tax, but he derives no revenue from his clan.

Kaussim Khaun has shewn a disposition to encroach on some of the democratic Eusofzyes in his neighbourhood, but as yet without success. On these occasions, it seems to have been his plan to form a party within the tribe.

It is impossible to enumerate all the little republics of the Eusofzyes. I have got the names of at least thirty of them, all as little connected with each other as the Naikpeekhail are with their neighbours; but it is probable the number of independent communities is still more considerable. The whole numbers of the Eusofzyes are reckoned by the Afghauns at 900,000; but on a calculation of the extent and fertility of their country, I should be inclined to conjecture that their numbers, including all their Fakeers and dependants, did not exceed 700,000 souls.

The Fakeers are much more numerous than the Eusofzyes. The greatest part of them are Swautees, who remained in their country after it was conquered, a considerable number of Deggauns, some Hindkees, (who have been driven by famine to emigrate from the Punjaub,) a few Cashmeerees and Hindoos, (classes which are led into all countries by the desire of gain,) and some members of Afghaun tribes (who have migrated into the Eusofzye country in circumstances which have degraded them to the rank of Fakeers), form the rest of that body. Most of the Fakeers work in husbandry, and many feed herds of buffaloes on the mountains.

The Fakeers have no land, they are not considered as members of the commonwealth, nor allowed to be present at Jeergas. Every

Fakeer is subject to the person on whose land he resides, who is called his Khawund, or master. He pays a tax to his master, and is also obliged to work for him gratis, like the villains in Europe. The master can also beat, or even kill his Fakeer, without being questioned for it. On the other hand, the Fakeer is sure of zealous protection from his master, who would enter into the most desperate quarrel rather than suffer another person to injure his Fakeer. The Fakeer is at liberty to pursue any trade, to work as a labourer for his own profit, and even to rent land as a Buzgur or Metayer; his master having no demand on him but for his established tax, some fixed dues, which will be mentioned hereafter, and a share of his labour. The treatment the Fakeers receive from their masters, is generally mild. The master is deterred from severity, by the disgrace which attaches to oppression, and still more by the right of the Fakeer to remove to the lands of another Eusofzye; a right which he can always exercise, as there is a great competition for Fakeers, and many men will always be found ready to receive and protect one who is disposed to change his master. The number of independent communities is also a protection to the Fakeers; as one of them who had received any mortal injury (as the murder of his relation, or the seduction of his wife), could revenge himself by the death of his oppressor, and then secure himself by flying into the country of another Oolooss.

The masters have not the power of extorting money from their Fakeers. They levy fines on the settlement of a new Fakeer in their lands, and on the marriages of their Fakeers, and also as a punishment for murders and other crimes; but the amount, like that of the tax, is fixed by custom, and it would be reckoned gross oppression to levy more than was due. The Fakeers have their quarrels and their bloodshed, as well as the Eusofzyes, but in a far less degree. They are indeed an humble and unwarlike people, and seldom carry arms, though they are not forbidden to do so. Their houses are generally worse, and their dress is plainer than that of the Afghauns. They are all frugal, and often amass considerable sums by the profits

of their labour, particularly when they are artizans, and by the increase of their herds.

Besides the Fakeers employed in husbandry, there are many who work as masons, weavers, dyers, &c. the Afghauns never practising any of these crafts. The situation of some of these tradesmen is peculiar. The blacksmiths, carpenters, and barbers, together with the drummers, are attached to particular Cundies, have a share of land, and work gratis for the Cundy, which they follow when it changes its residence. All the others remain fixed, and are paid by individuals; even the master of an artizan is obliged to pay him for his work. Afghauns who come from distant tribes, and whose connections are not known among the Eusofzyes, are obliged to settle as Fakeers; but Eusofzyes, who move from one Oolooss to another, particularly if they have not been obliged by poverty to sell their lands, are received as equals, and a portion of land is assigned to them on condition of serving in war, like the members of the Oolooss. They are not, however, consulted on public affairs, but are under the protection of some individual who looks after their interests. Some of the Deggauns, who are reckoned a martial people, are also allowed to serve with Eusofzye Ooloosses, and their assistance is repaid by grants of lands, where they live together, under chiefs of their own.

The state of the Fakeers is not exactly the same in all clans; in some they are exempt from paying a tax; and the amount of it, and of the fines, vary in others.

Before I quit the general concerns of the Oolooss, I have to observe, that most tribes levy customs on goods, that enter or pass through their country. The produce sometimes goes to the Ooloosses, but oftener to the chief.

Their trade out of their own limits, is not considerable. They export grain to Peshawer, and import some of the finer manufactures, but those in ordinary use are made at home.

What I have said of their government, has already thrown some light on the manners of the Eusofzyes; what remains, shall be added to a slight account of their customs and habits of life.

An Eusofzye.

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The houses in the Eusofzye country, have generally flat, terraced roofs. They consist of two rooms and an open porch. The inner room belongs to the women; the outer one is used for the men to sit in, and for the reception of visitors, but in hot weather the porch is used for these purposes. They sit on low beds, made of leather stretched over a wooden frame; five or six of which, with some quilts to sleep under, some earthen and wooden vessels, and some trunks for clothes, compose the whole furniture of a house. They have always two meals a-day; breakfast, which consists of bread, milk, and a sort of curds; and a dinner composed of bread, pulse, and other vegetables, with an addition of meat, but very rarely. In summer, when the days are long, they take a luncheon of hot bread at noon.

The ordinary dress of the men is a cotton tunic, made to fit the body down to the waist, and then loose and full down to below the knees; it is either dark-blue, or dyed grey with the bark of the pomegranate tree. They also wear a large, loose, white turban, a pair of cotton trowsers, and a pair of sandals; but their dress is not complete without a Loongee *, which hangs over the shoulder, and reaches below the middle, both before and behind. It is sometimes used for a cloak, and sometimes for a girdle. They have always a better suit of clothes for Fridays and great occasions. The tunic is then made longer and fuller below, and is puckered up about the waist in numerous plaits. The rest of the holiday clothes are of coloured silk, except the turban.

The women wear a gown close over the breast, and very wide below. They wear many gold and silver ornaments, like those used in India. Neither sex wear the long shirt which is so common among the other Afghauns. The women of the Eusofzyes are carefully concealed, and never leave their houses without putting on the cloak called a Boorka, which covers them from head to foot. The women

* A large handkerchief of blue silk and cotton mixed.

do not work out of doors; those of the poorest men bring in water, but they always do so by night.

The villages are built in streets, but without any particular regard to order. They are, however, very neat and clean, and have many mulberry trees, and other fruit trees planted up and down them. Every house has a little garden and a few vines.

Most of the labour being done by the Fakeers, none but the poorest Eusofzyes are obliged to work; the others sometimes take a share in the labours of their own fields, but it is rather for exercise, and to set an example, than to work in earnest. They, however, superintend the cultivation, and direct the operations of their Fakeers and hired labourers. When not so engaged, they go to the Hoojra, where, in winter, they spend the greater part of the day, in conversing and smoking round a fire. Culleeauns are kept there for public use, as few people smoke at home. They have sometimes boys, and sometimes women, to dance, and sing ballads and other songs. The Eusofzyes themselves seldom sing, and never play at any of those active games which delight the simple inhabitants of Khorassaun. Their only amusements are firing at marks with bows and arrows, or matchlocks, and exercising themselves in the use of the sword.

Living among a conquered people, like Spartans among Helots, and enjoying entire independence on all around, every Eusofzye is filled with the idea of his own dignity and importance. Their pride appears in the seclusion of their women, in the gravity of their manners, and in the high terms in which they speak of themselves and their tribe, not allowing even the Dooraunees to be their equals. Their independence and continual quarrels make them suspicious and irritable, render their manners repulsive, and takes away the openness and plainness which pleases so much in the other Afghauns. They are generally stout men, but their form and complexion admits of much variety. In those whose appearance is most characteristic of their tribe, one is struck with their fair complexions, grey eyes, and red beards, by the military affectation of their carriage, and by their haughty and insolent demeanour. They are

all brave and hospitable, though far inferior in this quality to the western tribes. They are, however, liberal to their own clansmen. If a man is reduced to poverty, so as to be unable to hire a labourer, or to be obliged to sell his land, he is observed to fall into low spirits from wounded pride, and, if he is not soon relieved, quits his tribe, and goes on a pilgrimage to Mecca, or sets out to try his fortune in India; but if he be a brave and respectable man, his wants are no sooner known, than a subscription is made for him, and he is placed in a situation which allows him to remain at home without shame. Another mode of obtaining relief is practised, but is rare, because it is considered as degrading. It is brought about by the distressed person going round the villages in his neighbourhood, and stopping outside of each, and waving his Loongee. The signal is immediately understood, and never fails to produce a contribution.

The Eusofzyes of the upper countries are remarkably sober, and free from vices, but those of the plains are notorious for every sort of debauchery; vices which are not to be named, are practised universally with the most disgusting publicity; and gambling, and the intoxication which is produced by opium, bang, and other drugs, are carried to the utmost excess. Nevertheless, these very tribes are remarkable for their religious zeal and intolerance, for their attention to all the forms of devotion, and for the profound respect which they bear for Moollahs. The tyranny of these priests is there carried to an intolerable pitch. They connive at the notorious vices of the people, in which indeed they share themselves, but they abstain from going to the most innocent meetings at the Hoojras, as inconsistent with the sanctity of their character; and they punish an omission of the stated prayers, or a breach of the established fasts by public exposure on an ass, and by severe corporal punishment.

Very different is their condition in the mountains, and particularly in Upper Swaut. They are far more really respectable there than in the plains; but as they are timid and unwarlike, they are held in contempt, and treated little better than Fakeers. Even reading is looked down on there as an unmanly accomplishment. Some men

of the Naikpeekhail found a Moollah copying the Koraun, and not well understanding the case, they struck his head off, saying, "You tell us these books come from God, and here you are making them yourself." The other Eusofzyes of the village blamed the murderers, explained their mistake, and made them own they had been inconsiderate; such is the importance attached to the life of a Moollah among the Naikpeekhail. *

* The numbers of the Eusofzyes that are to be met with in India, recal my attention to the Afghaun emigrations, which I have omitted in the proper place. The frequency with which they emigrate, seems inconsistent with the love of their country, which I have ascribed to them; but the same thing takes place among the Highlanders, whose local attachments are known to be so strong. The cause is the same in both cases; the absence of trades among the Highlanders, and the disgrace of engaging in them among the Afghauns, render land absolutely necessary to the support of each individual, and who ever is without land, must quit the country. In the west of Afghaunistaun, where marriages are late, and land plenty, emigration is rare; but the east has poured out a continued stream of adventurers, for a period of great duration. These have always taken the direction of India. The greater part of that country was many centuries in the possession of Afghaun dynasties, and, even after their fall, the Mogul armies were always recruited by foreigners in preference to natives. These causes filled India with colonies of the descendants of Afghauns, who are now called Patans, and who are found in all parts of Hindostan and the Deccan, sometimes mixed with the rest of the inhabitants, and sometimes collected under chiefs of their own, like the Nabobs of Furrukabad and Bopaul, Curnoule and Cudduppa. The greatest colony is that founded chiefly by Eusofzyes, at no very remote period. I allude to the settlement of the Rohillas, whose wars with us have rendered their name so well known in England. An account of their establishment may be found in Hamilton's Rohilla Afghauns, and of their downfall in the Parliamentary Reports. Their constitution had nothing of the Afghaun democracy; the chiefs were the lords of the soil, and the other Afghauns their tenants, and generally their soldiers; but there, and every where, the common Afghauns showed an independence, and the chiefs a spirit of conciliation, peculiar to themselves. The turbulence and arrogance of these Eusofzye colonists, render them unpopular among the English gentlemen; who, on the other hand, are disliked by the Rohillas for the assistance they gave to the Nabob Vizier, in conquering their country; but all admit that the Rohillas are the bravest soldiers we have ever contended with in India. Their kindness to their Hindoo subjects cannot be denied; and the state of improvement to which they had brought their country, excited the admiration of our troops, and has been displayed with enthusiastic eloquence by Burke. The coldest phrases express that "it was cultivated like a garden, without one neglected spot in it." Even now it is among the richest parts of the British provinces. It consists of vast plains, covered with fields of corn, or

Bajour is bounded on the west by the southern projection of Hindoo Coosh, and on the east by the hills of the Otmaunkhail. These ranges also close it on the north, so as to leave but a narrow opening into Punjcora; on the south it has the hills of the Upper Momunds. It is an undulating plain, about twenty-five miles long from east to west, and twelve from north to south. Several long and wide valleys run down to it from the surrounding mountains, which in other places are inaccessible, not more from their steepnesss than from the thick woods with which they are covered. The plain resembles that of Peshawer, which it equals in fertility; wheat is the chief produce. It is divided by a stream which rises in the southern projection, receives a brook from each of the valleys, and, after joining the Daunishkool, in the country of the Upper Momunds, falls into the river of Swaut above Hushtnugger. The two chief towns, Bajour and Nawagye, contain each about one thousand houses. The plain is connected with Punjcora by a long valley which ascends to the latter district; it is called Berawul; part of it is well cultivated, but the rest is occupied by a deep forest of various trees, among which are the oak, and perhaps the cedar *. The forest abounds in wild beasts, and is in most parts so thick, as to exclude the sun, and almost to keep off the rain. Berawul is distinguished from the rest of Bajour, by its having a separate chief.

Bajour belongs to the Afghaun tribe of Turcolaunee, or Turkau-

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orchards of Mangoe trees, and filled with populous towns and flourishing villages. The city of Barelly is one of the largest and finest in India; and an agreeable little town called Nugeena, where I was encamped for some weeks, contains at least 18,000 inhabitants, although it is in no map, and is scarcely heard of beyond the limits of Rohilcund. The residence of the Nabob is at Rampoor, the manners of which place still resemble those of the Berdooraunees. Pushtoo is the principal language, and one sees in the square before the Nabob's palace, fair, strong, and handsome young men, sitting or lounging on beds, with that air of idleness and independence which distinguishes the Eusofzyes.

* It is called Billundzye, and is said to be a very lofty tree, like a fir, but with red wood.

nee, but it also contains other inhabitants; the upper hills being inhabited by converted Caufirs, the lower by Hindkees, and the plain by a mixture of all tribes and nations, confounded under the common name of Roadbaurees. The number of the Turcolaunees amount to ten or twelve thousand families, and those of the other inhabitants may be guessed at thirty thousand souls.

The Turcolaunees are under the government of a chief, called by the peculiar name of Bauz, who has great power over his tribe. The Caufirs pay him tribute, the Hindkees pay him a tax, and the Roadbaurees rent their land of him for a fifth of its produce. This gives him a revenue of one hundred thousand rupees, by which he is enabled to keep up some hundred horse, and a considerable body of foot, of whom he furnishes five hundred to the royal army. He administers justice in his tribe, with power to banish, beat, or bind. He, however, seldom interposes, unless the public peace is disturbed, and he seldom calls a Jeerga.

This absolute government, and the want of Fakeers, make the character of the Turcolaunees a contrast to that of the Eusofzyes, whom they resemble in their food, lodging, and habits of life. Though brave, they are industrious, but cheerful and fond of amusement. The often meet to converse, sing, and play on the guitar; and they have even some of the active games of Khorassaun. The few I have seen, seemed to bear some resemblance to the Mussulmans of India, particularly of the Deckan: like them they were civil and obsequious, but boastful; and lively, but hurried and confused; like them also they spoke much, and used a great deal of gesture. Their dress is the Afghaun cameess, and a little cap of wrought silk. They frequently invade the Caufirs for plunder, and to carry off slaves; the Caufirs retaliate, but only by ambuscades and surprises, being too weak for open war.

At present the Turcolaunees are broken into two divisions, in consequence of the government's being disputed between the two nephews of the late Bauz.

The hills of the Otmaunkhail separate Swaut from Bajour. They are divided from the lower ranges of Hindoo Coosh, to which they evidently belong, by the valley of Punjcora. They are of considerable but unequal heighth. The snow lies for five or six months on the highest. Their northern face, though steep, has a gradual ascent, but the southern face is abrupt and precipitous; cattle often fall from the cliffs, and are dashed to pieces. The northern side is partially cleared, and cultivated. Almost the whole of the cultivation is carried on on terraces *, rising above each other on the slopes of the mountains.

Besides these hills, the Otmaunkhail have a slip of level country on the skirts of Bajour, and two long but narrow valleys which open into Lower Swaut.

The Otmaunkhails come abroad so little, that I never saw one at Peshawer, and have met but one since I was there. They are on bad terms with their neighbours, who have given them the character of a barbarous and lawless horde; they describe them as tall, stout, and fair, but say that they often go naked from the waist upwards, that the women labour like the men, and that every thing among them shews the absence of civilization.

But the Otmaunkhail whom I have seen, was himself a mild and intelligent man, and gave the following account of his tribe.

They have a Khaun, who possesses great power, and punishes bloodshed by heavy fines, and by awarding compensation to the relations of the deceased.

They have frequent quarrels among themselves, but not so many as the Eusofzyes; and they are at war with the Turcolaunees.

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* I have never seen these terraces in the Otmaunkhail country, but if they resemble those I have seen in the country under Sreenuggur, no mode of cultivation can be imagined that requires greater industry, and makes less returns. In that country, walls are made along the sides of the hills, and filled with soil from the lower part of the hill; the walls are from three to ten feet high, and the terraces about five yards broad. The walls are soon concealed by grass and other vegetation, and as they are never straight, but consult the bends in the surface of the hills, the effect is pleasing and picturesque.

Their dress is like that of Bajour, and in their customs, with respect to women they do not differ much from their neighbours. They are a sober people, and have none of the vices of the Eusofzyes. They live in small villages of from ten to sixteen terraced houses. On the whole, they are probably less civilized than their neighbours, and the strength of their own country may tempt them to plunder, as it secures them impunity.

They are never reckoned at less than ten thousand families, a great number, considering the nature of their country, but rendered more reasonable by the circumstance of their having no other subjects or Fakeers.

The hills of Otmaunkhail turn to the westward when they approach the Caubul river, and stretch in that direction nearly to the river of Kaushkar, where they are joined by other branches from the southern projection of Hindoo Coosh. All this part of the hills belongs to the Upper Momunds, who also possess the plain between their hills and the Caubul river, and part of the nearest hills and plain on the southern side of the same stream. The southern part of their country is included in Khyber, and for this reason, the Upper Momunds are often counted among the Khyberees.

The hills are generally low, but stony and rugged. Snow only lies on them for a few days, except on Caubul Suffer (a hill near the north bank of the river). They are bare, except in some places, where they have thickets and scattered bushes of different kinds, and (in some hollows) the usual mountain trees. Many parts of them are uninhabited.

The wastes are covered with a bush called Murriz, which is like the top of a palm tree, but is no higher than a man.

The climate is cold for four months; but the heat of summer is extreme. The sumoon is often fatal, and the blasts from Maur Coh (one of the hills south of the river), are the dread of all travellers in the hot season.

The Currapa Pass, which leads from Peshawer to Jellallabad, is in the Momund country; it is sometimes travelled, but as it abounds in

rugged ascents and defiles, and as the Caubul river, there stony and rapid, must be often crossed, the southern road through Khyber, is generally preferred.

The numbers of the Upper Momunds are said to be ten thousand families; a population in which I can scarcely believe, as many parts of the hills are uninhabited, and others thinly peopled, while the population of the plains is probably composed in part of Hindkees.

The government is singular. The direct power of the Khaun is small, except in military expeditions, but his influence with the Mulliks is great, and their authority is strong in their clans. The Khaun takes no share in the administration of justice, the Mulliks settle disputes by means of Jeergas. The Khaun derives no revenue from the tribe, and has no greater share in the Momund country than any other individual; but he holds some lands of the King, and receives a pension besides; in return, he is answerable for the safety of travellers in the Currapa Pass, and furnishes from three to five hundred horse for the royal army. Travellers would be plundered who attempted to go through the Momund country alone, but a single Momund will pass a whole caravan.

Their dress and food are like those of Bajour, but their dwellings are hovels made of mats.

They live in very small hamlets, and the shepherds are scattered over the hills in single cottages, which are only inhabited in summer. Their large villages, Laulpoora, Kaumeh, and Goshteh, contain only terraced houses, and are considerable places. The two last are walled. They are inhabited by chiefs and their retainers (who are not generally Momunds), and by Hindkees.

Most of the country people are employed in agriculture, and some in feeding flocks on the uninhabited parts of the hills. In winter, these employments are suspended, and they fill up their time at home, with making mats, sandals, &c. from the leaves of the dwarf palm. They export their mats to Peshawer, and also carry grain to the large villages, receiving returns in salt, cotton cloth, coarse silks, and some other articles.

Two Khails of the Upper Momunds live in black tents, keep camels, and move in spring with their flocks to the upper part of the Heelmund in Khorassaun. These are the only moving hordes among the Berdooraunees.

The Khyberees live among the heads of the numerous branches which issue from the northern and eastern faces of Speenghur, or Sufaid Coh. They derive their name from the valley or pass of Khyber, which extends on the right of the Caubul river, between Peshawer and Jellallabad, and forms the northern border of their possession; they are bounded on the west by the uninhabitable summits of Sufaid Coh; on the south, they have the Bungush country, and on the north-east the plain of Peshawer; but on the south-east they extend along the Range of 34°, nearly to the Indus.

The country is very diversified. The upper part is situated on the steep side of a lofty mountain, and the lower among bare and rugged hills, and rich but narrow valleys.

The climate varies from great cold to excessive heat. In general it is cool, but the lower valleys are hot, from the stagnation of the air occasioned by the mountains which surround them, and the low bare hills are there, as every where, intolerably hot in summer.

The Khyberees consist of three independent tribes, exclusive of the Upper Momunds. These are the Afreedees, Shainwaurees, and Oorookzyes. Altogether they are about 120,000 souls. The Shainwaurees are the least numerous, but they are the best people of the three, and most subject to the King's authority. The others are secured from subjugation by the strength of their country; but the importance of the Khyber pass (the great communication between Peshawer and Caubul), renders it necessary for the King to have some control over their proceedings. They accordingly receive great pensions, on condition of answering for the quiet of the road; but such are their habits of rapine, that they can never be entirely restrained from plundering passengers; and when there is any confusion in the state, it is impossible to pass through their country. The Khyber pass is about twenty-five miles long, over steep ridges, and

through very narrow defiles. The road is often along the beds of torrents, and is extremely dangerous in the event of sudden falls of rain in the hills. In quiet times, the Khyberees have stations in different parts of the pass, to collect an authorised toll on passengers, but in times of trouble, they are all on the alert. If a single traveller endeavours to make his way through, the noise of his horse's feet sounds up the long narrow valleys, and soon brings the Khyberees in troops from the hills and ravines; but if they expect a caravan, they assemble in hundreds on the side of a hill, and sit patiently, with their matchlocks in their hands, watching its approach.

The Khyberees are lean, but muscular men, with long gaunt faces, high noses and cheek-bones, and black complexions. They wear, in winter at least, dark-blue turbans, and long dark-blue tunics, sitting close to the body, but reaching to the middle of the leg. They wear neat sandals of straw, or the leaf of the dwarf palm; carry matchlocks, with a wooden fork attached to the barrel for a rest, swords, and short spears; and have altogether an appearance more strange and uncouth than any other Afghauns I ever saw.

In their valleys they have terraced houses, but in the mountains, which they chiefly inhabit in summer, they have moveable huts of mat, like those of the Upper Momunds. They come down into the low hills in winter, where they chiefly live in caves cut out of the earthy part of the hills. They are extremely impatient of heat.

They are excellent marksmen, and are reckoned good hill soldiers, though of no great account in the plain. They are often employed in this sort of warfare, as far from their country as Kote Kaungra in the eastern extremity of the Punjaub. They are, however, more disposed to plunder than war, and will fall on the baggage of the army they belong to, if they find it unguarded. It was thus they behaved to Shah Shujah in the heat of the battle of Eshpaun, and by these means lost him the day.

On the whole, they are the greatest robbers among the Afghauns, and I imagine have no faith or sense of honour, for I never heard of

any body hiring an escort of Khyberees to secure his passage through their country; a step which always ensures a traveller's safety in the lands of any other tribe.

The plain of Peshawer, which lies immediately to the south of the Eusofzyes, is nearly circular, and about thirty-five miles in diameter. It is surrounded by mountains on all sides, except the east, where a narrow slip of barren country runs along the banks of the Caubul river to the Indus. This slip is about fifteen miles broad, and lies between the mountains of Boonere, and the Range of latitude 34°, which bounds the plain of Peshawer on the south; on the south-west of the plain are the hills of the Khyberees, round the lofty peak of Suffaid Coh; on the west are the hills of the Otmaunkhail and the Upper Momunds, over which are seen far higher mountains.

The soil of the plain is a rich black mould. The surface is wavy, but the whole plain lies so much lower than the surrounding countries, that the water reaches almost every part of it, and secures it a perpetual verdure. This abundance of water is even sometimes felt as an inconvenience in the lower parts of the plain, and particularly in the town, part of which is flooded in the spring rains.

The following are generally called the tribes of Peshawer:

The Mahommedzyes.
Guggeeaunees.
Mehmends.
Khulleels, and
Dawoodzyes.

The Mahommedzyes and Guggeeaunees live on the Eusofzye side of the Caubul river; their settlement has already been related. Their manners resemble those of the Eusofzyes; but they are in obedience to the King, and under strict subjection to their own chiefs. The chief place of the Mahommedzyes is Hushtnuggur, which may either be considered as one very large town, or as eight contiguous villages.

The Mahommedzyes are reckoned at eight thousand, and the Guggeeaunees at five thousand families.

The three others form the Ghoree or Ghoreeakhail. About the middle of the fifteenth century, they were settled to the west of Ghuznee, along the river Turnuk, and in Bauber's time (about A. H. 915), the Mehmends at least seem to have been to the south of Ghuznee. They appear at that period to have been partly, if not entirely pastoral.

They descended to Peshawer in the reign of Caumraun, the son of Bauber, and with the assistance of that prince, drove the Dilazauks across the Indus; of that numerous and powerful tribe, there are now only two or three villages, to the west of the Indus. There are, however, some thousand Dilazauks on the Indian side of the river.

From their residence in an open plain, these tribes must always have been in complete dependence on the King. They are, indeed, the most subject of the Afghaun tribes, and are, in consequence, exposed to oppression, which they bear with a good deal of impatience. The chief injury which they suffer, is from the troops foraging in their fields while the King is at Peshawer. They have twice rebelled, and are said to have had a design of expelling the King's governor, and imitating the independence of the Eusofzyes, which they certainly admire and envy.

The chiefs of the tribes are here called the Urbaubs; their powers vary in the different tribes; they are greatest among the Mehmends. Trifling disputes between individuals are settled by the chief, or by a Jeerga, but all important causes are investigated by the Cauzy, or the Sirdar of the city. In general there is great tranquillity in Peshawer, but in summer, when the King and his troops are absent, strong signs of the turbulence of the Berdooraunees break out, and tribes often fight about water for their fields.

The houses, food, and habits of life of the tribes of Peshawer, resemble those of the Eusofzyes. The dress has also some resemblance, being a mixture of that of the Indians with that of the

Afghauns. In winter they generally wear dark-blue coats of quilted cotton, which are thrown aside as the summer advances, when a large Afghaun shirt, and a white or blue turban, form the dress of the greater number of the people. A Loongee, either twisted round the waist, or worn over the shoulder, is always part of the attire. Though not destitute of the Berdooraunee spirit of contention, their manners are generally mild, obliging, and inoffensive. Their minds are extremely active and acute, and they are less simple, and more given to fraud and chicane, than most of the Afghauns.

I have already mentioned that Peshawer is the favourite winter retreat of the Kings of Caubul. Shauh Shujau was particularly fond of this place and its inhabitants, who repaid his partiality by a strong and steady attachment.

The division of Momunds which resides in the plain, is reckoned to amount to twelve thousand families. It has no connection except in blood with the Upper Momunds. The Khulleels are six thousand families, and the Dawoodzyes ten thousand. The rest of the inhabitants of the plain are Hindkees. The whole population must exceed 300,000 souls.

The slip of barren country between the Indus and the plain of Peshawer, is divided between the Khuttuks and Eusofzyes. The former have the country south of the river of Caubul, which is generally rocky or stony, but is not without some smooth and green meadows, particularly towards the river, where there are some beautiful spots shaded with tamarisk and the Indian tree called Seessoo. The country becomes rougher as one approaches the Indus. The villages are few but large. The chief place is Acora, a large town with a neat mosque, and a handsome Bazar built of stone.

The Khuttuks occupy a considerable extent of country, their lands stretch from the Caubul river to the Salt range, a distance of about seventy miles. The breadth is about thirty-five miles. Their general boundary on the east is the Indus; though a branch of them possesses the town and territory of Mukkud on the Indian side; on the west they have the tribes of Peshawer, the Khyberees of the Range

of 34°, and the Bungushes; on the south they have Bunnoo, and the Lohaunees of Daumaun. They are in two divisions, which are quite distinct, though the chiefs are cousins.

The Khuttuks are probably over-rated by the Afghauns, who reckon the northern division at ten thousand, and the southern at fourteen thousand families. The Khauns in both divisions have great power over their clans, but the northern division is as much subject to the King, as the tribes of Peshawer; while the southern Khaun, secured by his mountains, maintains a greater degree of independence.

The people of the northern clan are praised for their honesty and their orderly conduct. They are tall, well-looking, and fairer than any of the tribes of Peshawer, but in their dress and manners they have a great resemblance to the people of India.

The country of the southern Khuttuks is various, but all mountainous; the southern part is the most so. It consists of stony, barren mountains, separated by deep and abrupt valleys, and is thinly inhabited by the predatory clans of Baurik and Saughur. It is impossible to imagine any thing more dreary than this part of the country; nothing is seen but rude and bare mountains, confusedly heaped together, nothing heard but the salt torrents that rush down the valleys. The scene is not rendered less forlorn by the straw hovels which are scattered by twos and threes on the summits of the mountains, and even these are met with but once or twice in a space of twenty miles. The savage inhabitants either fly from the traveller, or hover on the mountains, watching opportunities to attack him. The sight, however, is sometimes cheered by a patch of corn on the face of a hill, or by a green valley discovered far off from a height: the narrow valleys, though rough and dismal, are romantic; and the banks of the torrents are sometimes rendered pleasing by a clump of wild olives. Further north, the country is still crossed by ranges of high, steep, and rocky mountains; but among them are spacious and well cultivated plains. The principal of these are Maulgeen, Lauchee,

and Teeree, which last place is the residence of the Khaun. They produce wheat and Bajree.

They export a great deal of rock-salt, dug from the Salt range, principally in the neighbourhood of Feeree.

None of our party saw the Bauriks, except at a distance, nor had we any communication with them, but what arose from their attacks on our stragglers. We, however, learned, that though they were Khuttuks, they were independent on both Khauns, and lived in a state of anarchy.

The Khuttuks immediately to the north of the Bauriks, were dark men, dressed like some of the people in Hindostan, but ruder in their manners. In their intercourse with us, they were mild and inoffensive, and such, I hear, is their general character.

The clan of Bungush has the hills of the Khyberees on the north, the Khuttuks on the east and south-east, some of the Vizeerees on the south, and the Toorees on the west.

Their country consists of a long valley widening into a plain about twelve miles in diameter. The valley is called Upper, and the plain Lower Bungush. The plain is fertile and well watered; the uncultivated parts are covered with dwarf palm, but there are few trees, except in some pleasing gardens about Cohaut, the residence of the chief. This has been a neat little town, but has been reduced by the distractions in the tribe, to the size of a considerable village. Upper Bungush is well watered, and productive in the bottoms, but the hills are steep and rugged.

Both the Khuttuk and Bungush countries have great variety of climate. Some parts of the hills are covered with snow, as late as March, while others are scarcely whitened in the depth of winter; and some are never visited by snow. In general, the hills and vallies are colder as they are nearer the Solimauny mountains. The plains, though colder than Peshawer, have seldom, if ever, falls of snow.

The people of Lower Bungush, are very obedient to their Khaun and to the King, those of Upper Bungush less so.

They have something of the appearance of the tribes of Peshawer, but dress like Khyberees. The family of Bungush, which has made so great a figure in India, and from which are sprung the Nabobs of Furrukabad, is descended from a peasant of Upper Bungush.

West of Upper Bungush, are the Toorees, inhabiting a continuation of the same valley. The country and produce are, of course, much the same. The people are independent on the King, and, what is surprising among Afghauns, they are Sheeahs; many of the Upper Bungush also belong to this sect.

Farther up the same valley, which continues to stretch west nearly parallel to the Koorrum, are the Jaujees, the inveterate enemies of the Toorees. Their valley runs up the steep side of the range of Solimaun, and is narrower, poorer, and colder than that of the Toorees. The sides of the valley are covered with pines; the chief animals are goats. The inhabitants live in houses half sunk in the ground, wear Afghaun shirts of blanket, and burn fires day and night for the greater part of the year. One road from the Indus to Caubul runs up this long valley, and after passing the Jaujee country, issues through a defile in the highest ridge of the Solimauny range, into the high countries north-east of Ghuznee.

Neither the Jaujees nor Toorees are included among the Berdooraunees, and the following tribes are generally reckoned amongst those of Damaun; they differ, however, from those tribes in so many points, that it will be more convenient to mention them here.

These are the Esaukhail, the Sheotaks, the Bunnossees, the people of Dower, and the Khostees; the three first lie to the south of the Khuttuk country; and the others to the south of the Toorees; they have Damaun on the south.

The country of the Esaukhail stretches along the bank of the Indus, for upwards of thirty miles. It is about twelve miles broad, and is bounded by high hills on the other three sides. It is a very fertile, well watered, populous, and highly cultivated country. The water-courses are so numerous, and so broad and deep, as greatly to obstruct the roads. The villages are thickly planted, and most of them

very large: most of the houses are thatched. Some large islands on the Indus belong also to the Esaukhail; many of them are under cultivation, and the rest are clearing and improving. The chief produce of the whole country is wheat.

The Esaukhail disregard the royal authority, and have little government within themselves. They plunder weak travellers, and steal from those who are too strong to be plundered.

Beyond the hills on the west of the Esaukhail, lies a plain, cultivated by a tribe called Sheotuk, respecting which I have no information.

Farther west, and higher up is Bunnoo, a very extensive plain, watered by the Koorrum, full of villages, and covered with corn fields. It is hot in summer, but in winter it has ice that will bear a man. It produces rice, wheat, barley, and Indian corn, in abundance, and sugar cane, tobacco, turmeric, ginger, and a few esculent vegetables; there are no fruits but melons, mulberries, citrons, lemons, and limes. The hills are bare, or only covered with bushes; on the plains are very large tamarisk trees, and some of the thorny bushes common in India. Among the wild animals are wild boars, wild sheep, and the animal called Pauzen in Persia; but the most extraordinary are the wild dogs, which exactly resemble tame ones, and go in packs of four or five couple.

The people are of various clans, not connected by blood, and without any common government. They live in perpetual contention. They pay some regard to the King's authority, and a great road passes through their country; but travellers have often a great deal of trouble, from the importunities of the people of every village, which it is not quite safe to reject.

Above Bunnoo, and divided from it by hills, is the long but narrow valley of Dower, which stretches up to the country of the Jadrauns, on the ridge of the Solimauny mountains. It is a populous country, full of walled villages, always at war with each other. There can be little or no government, since a powerful person can seize the children of a weak one, and sell them for slaves. They are remarkable

for their disgusting vices, and indeed there is nothing to praise in their manners. Those of Bunnoo are not much better, and the Moollahs, as usual in such countries, have great power, which they do not fail to abuse.

To the north of Dower, between it and the Koorrum, lies Khost, a small country, peopled like Dower and Bunnoo, by many small clans of various descent. It lies as high as Dower, but is separated from it by hills. It is in obedience to the King, and is governed by one of its own chiefs, who acts as deputy to the King's Sirdar; nevertheless it is torn by internal dissensions. The whole valley is divided into two factions, called the Tor Goondee, and Speen Goondee (*i. e.* the black and white leagues), which are perpetually at war about the quarrels of one or other of their members.

East of Khost is Drugye, a small country inhabited by a tribe called Tunnee, of which I know nothing but the name.

The hills which surround the four last countries, are inhabited by the mountain tribe of Vizeeree.

CHAP. II.

EASTERN TRIBES — CONTINUED.

DAMAUN in its most extended sense, comprehends all the country between the Salt range, the Solimauny mountains, the Indus, and Sungur in Upper Sind. I have already disposed of the part of it which lies to the north of the Koorrum and Gombela, and now proceed to the remainder. This may be divided into three parts. The plain of the Indus, generally inhabited by Beloches, and called Muckelwaud *; the country of the Murwuts; and the plains and low hills (about the roots of the mountains) which constitute Damaun proper.

Muckelwaud extends along the Indus for about one hundred and twenty miles. Its mean breadt h s from twenty-five to thirty miles. It is a plain of hard smooth clay, quite flat, bare of grass, but sprinkled with bushes about a foot high, and still more thinly scattered with separate bushes of tamarisk, and of the thorny shrub called in India Kureel; with here and there a tree of the sort called Jaut, from fifteen to twenty feet high. The soil, when much trodden on, turns into a very minute whitish dust. It seems to be composed of the slime of the river, which in summer inundates this country for a great extent; at the same time the mountain streams, swelled by the melted snow, pour down and cover all the flats with water. It is seldom very deep, but it seems to lie long from the appearance of the ground,

* This is a Beloche or Hindkee name, little used, and perhaps unknown to the Afghauns.

which is like that at the bottom of a drained pond; it is full of holes, and marked with channels by the water in all parts, and near the river these become considerable ravines.

The banks of the river are covered with thick jungle of low tamarisk, sometimes mixed with long grass, and sometimes with thorny bushes: abounding in wild boars, hog-deer, and all sorts of game. Round the villages are often large woods of dates, the only tall trees on the plain. Where there is cultivation, it is rich; but by far the greater part of the plain is waste, owing to the thinness of the population, and the badness of the government. The southern part of the plain has most jungle; the north is sandy. Camels of the same kind with those of India, are bred here in great numbers.

The principal town, Dera Ismael Khaun, is the residence of the governor, a Beloche appointed by Mahomed Khaun, the King's governor of this province, and Sya.

The people are Juts and Beloches, dark in complexion, and lean and meagre in form; their ordinary dress in summer is of dark coloured cotton; and in winter greyish or striped great coats of coarse woollen cloth, and quilted silk caps. They are perfectly submissive and obedient to the King and his representative.

The country of the Murwuts is composed of sandy and arid plains, divided by ranges of hills. It depends entirely on rain for cultivation, and in many parts the inhabitants are even obliged to carry water for several miles to supply their families.

Half the Murwuts are fixed and employed in agriculture. The rest wander about with their herds of camels; living chiefly in temporary huts of branches of trees, with a wall of thorns, and a roof of straw; some few have black tents of the worst description. They are tall, fair men, and wear a pair of loose trowsers, something thrown over their shoulders, and a handkerchief tied round their heads.

Their country is about thirty-five miles square, stretching from Bunnoo to Muckelwaud, and from near the foot of the Solimauny mountains to the short range of hills which separates Largee from the Indus. It is, however, thinly peopled. In the narrow slip be-

tween the short range of hills just mentioned and the Indus, live the small tribe of Khyssore.

Damaun proper, which lies to the south of the Murwuts, and extends along the foot of the Solimauny mountains, there inhabited by the Vizeerees, Sheeraunees, and Zimurrees, is of equal length with Muckelwaud, but of various breadth, from eight or ten miles to thirty and upwards. It is inhabited by the Dowlutkhail and Gundehpoors, the Meaunkhail, Bauboors, and Stooreeaunees, which tribes, with the exception of the Gundehpoor, are included in the general name of Lohaunee. The Esaukhail, Murwuts, and Khyssores also are comprehended under this denomination. Immediately to the south of the Murwuts, are the Gundehpoors and Dowlutkhails, of which the former are most easterly.

Their country is like Muckelwaud, but better cultivated; particularly that of the Dowlutkhail, which in ordinary years employs all the water of the Gomul in its cultivation. The Gundehpoors have several large villages, of which the chief are Colauchee, Tukwaura, and Lowee. Tuck is the chief town of the Dowlutkhail.

West of the Dowlutkhail are the Tuttores, Meeaunees, Bitnees, and some other small tribes subject to the Dowlutkhail; their country resembles that just described, but is more arid, and worse cultivated, and towards the west it is hilly.

The great road to Caubul runs past Tuck. It follows the course of the Gomul for a considerable distance, and is called from one pass in it, The Road of Gholarie.

To the south of the Dowlutkhail, are the Meeaunkhail, whose country is a little less flat than those I have been describing, and whose chief place is Deraubund.

The chief road from Candahar issues from the hills at Zirkunnee near Deraubund. It goes by Zawa, through a mountainous and difficult country.

To the south of the Meeaunkhail, is the country of the Bauboors, resembling that just described. The valley of Deheneh opens on it from the range of Solimaun, and pours out a stream which waters

An Afghaun of Damaun.

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the cultivation; one road to Khorassaun passes through this valley, but it is not so much frequented as that of Gholarie.

To the south the Bauboors have the country of the Stooreeaunees, part of which is in the plain of Damaun, and like that of the Bauboors, but rougher towards the south, and far more dry and unfertile. The rest consists of the low range of grey sandstone, which runs parallel to the range of Solimaun, with part of the mountains and unproductive country beyond it. The chief town of the Bauboors is Choudwa, and that of the Stooreeaunees, Oormuk.

The produce of all these countries is the same as that of India; Bajra, Joarry, and wheat, are the commonest grains. Many dromedaries are bred here, or at least by the tribes whose residence is partly in Damaun. They are much darker in colour than the common camel, have shorter and stronger limbs, and are far better calculated for work among hills. The grass of many parts of Damaun is excellent and abundant, and attracts many of the pastoral tribes during the winter season. The climate is then cool and agreeable, but the heat of summer is extreme.

The peculiarities common to the tribes of Damaun will be best shewn by comparing them with the other division of the eastern Afghauns. They differ from the Berdooraunees in appearance, being large bony men, often fair, and always wearing long hair and beards. They have less of the look of Indians than the others, though their summer dress is nearly the same as that of India. Instead of the long wide shirt and cap of the Afghauns, they wear a close dress of white cotton, tied across the breast, and reaching a little below the knee; even in winter they wear turbans, but they are extremely large and loose, while those of the Indians are rolled close round their head, in a regular shape that has little grace or elegance. At that season, they also wear brown and grey woollen great coats, and posteens. Their houses, food, and habits of life resemble those of the Berdooraunees, but they live more on flesh, croot, and other produce of their flocks, and they have less form than many of the others, playing at all games, and allowing their women to appear in public

without the least restraint. Many of them are pastoral, and almost all are merchants or carriers. Part of every tribe goes up every spring to Khorassaun; from this and other reasons, they have a greater mixture of the manners of that country than the Berdooraunees; though they retain strong marks of their original connection with Hindostan. They are generally simple and honest, less litigious than the tribes with which I am comparing them, less bigoted and intolerant, and less addicted to every kind of vice and debauchery.

Being still more remote from the seat of the royal authority, they are under little control from the government; and some of them seem, till within these fifty years, to have lived in as much anarchy as the Eusofzyes. But this has been corrected in the greater part of them by the election of temporary magistrates, invested with sufficient powers to preserve the public peace, but prevented by the short duration of their office from applying it to any purpose inconsistent with the freedom of the tribe. This magistracy is, indeed, the feature in the tribes of Damaun which most distinguishes them from the other Afghauns. It prevails among all these tribes except two, and also in the neighbouring mountain-tribe of Sheeraunee. It is also in use among the Ghiljies of Kuttawauz, and the Nassers, but among no other people of whom I have information.

These magistrates are in some tribes elected by the Mulliks, in others by the heads of families. They are chosen for their personal qualities, the number of their relations, and their general weight in the tribe, and are armed with power to maintain order, and to punish the breach of it by fines, and in some tribes, even by corporal punishment. They are selected from each Khail in fixed proportions, which were at first designed to make up the number of forty (whence these officers are called Chelwashtees *), and they are under the authority of one chief, called the Meer of the Chelwashtees, who is elected in the same manner as the rest. The duty of the Meer of the Chel-

* Chelwasht, in Pushtoo, signifies forty.

washtees, is to enforce the lawful orders of the Khaun, and to settle disputes by his own authority, and punish disorders even in the person of the Khaun himself. The whole tribe is always ready to support him, to which they bind themselves by an oath, when the Chelwashtees are elected. It is an office of much power, and considerable profit, as all the fines levied by the Chelwashtees are divided among themselves. The power of the Meer is not so absolute over the other Chelwashtees, as to enable him to gratify his own revenge, or pursue his own interest at the expence of any of the members of the tribe *. His office is generally annual, but sometimes he is only elected to preside over a march, or to command in a war, and his power ends with the occasion which gave rise to it. It is sometimes allowed to expire, particularly in times of great tranquillity; but the disorders, which immediately commence again, soon make the tribe regret it, and determine them to restore it.

This magistracy does not exist in tribes where the Khaun has power enough to restrain the turbulence of the people. It is evidently intended to remedy the bad effects of the weakness of the hereditary chiefs, and is the first step from a patriarchal government to a republic in its usual form.

Damaun also furnishes an example of the transition from a patriarchal government to a military despotism; but as this change is not so easy and natural as the other, and as it was partly effected by external causes, it will require to be explained at greater length.

The Dowlutkhail had formerly a hereditary Khaun, who seems to have been held in great veneration by the tribe. By degrees, however, his authority grew weak, and the government fell first into the hands of the Mulliks, and afterwards of the people. The Dowlutkhail were now in the same state of anarchy that I have described

* One tribe, the Meeaunkhail, has four Meers, all of equal power, but the inconvenience of this arrangement is sometimes felt from their dissensions, which it is necessary to remedy by an assembly of the Mulliks, who decide the dispute, and fine the Meer who is most in the wrong.

among the Eusofzyes. They had no Chelwashtees, and all hereditary authority was completely disregarded. They were, however, obliged to nominate some person to manage their affairs with the King's Sirdar, and, although this person had little power, he had more than any other individual, and was called the Khaun. He was chosen out of all the families of the tribe indiscriminately, but the choice sometimes fell on the descendants of the ancient Khauns. This was the case about the beginning of the last generation, when Kuttaul Khaun held the office, and so much ingratiated himself with Muddud Khaun, then Sirdar of Damaun, that he formed the design of making himself master of the tribe, by means of that chief's assistance. He at first assiduously courted popularity, and persuaded the Dowlutkhail to engage in the reduction of some little tribes in their neighbourhood.

He was entrusted with the command, and thus obtained a pretext for raising troops, which the contributions of the Dowlutkhail, and his exactions from the conquered tribes, gave him the means of maintaining. By these means he collected about three hundred Beloches and Sindees, and proceeded to build a fort, after which he thought himself secure, assumed the right to levy a revenue from the public Ryots, and began to tyrannize over his own tribe.

The tribe was at first struck with dismay, and submitted to his oppression, till at length he openly assumed the character of a sovereign, and ordered the people to pay their duty at his court every morning. Two of the Mulliks, to whom he first proposed this homage, refusing to comply, Kuttaul told them, that if they did not attend in the course of two mornings, their heads should be hung up over their own doors by the third.

The Mulliks withdrew, and hastily assembling the tribe and the Ryots, pointed out Kuttaul's designs, and engaged them in a conspiracy against him, which was confirmed by solemn oaths. Next morning the whole assembled in arms, and besieged Kuttaul in his fort. After a siege of three days, in which many people were killed, the water in the fort was exhausted, and the garrison was obliged to

evacuate it; and Kuttaul escaped on horseback, accompanied by some trusty attendants on foot. His flight was soon discovered, his enemies set off in all directions to pursue him, and eight of them took the road by which Kuttaul was flying. His attendants were soon fatigued, and one man alone remained with him. Kuttaul (says one of my informants) at this time wore a robe which was given him by a Dervise, and by the virtue of which he had obtained his present greatness; in the precipitation of his flight, this robe fell off, and immediately his remaining attendant became lame, and lagged behind; soon after his pursuers appeared; Kuttaul's courage had left him with his robe, and he had recourse to humble entreaties for mercy; some of his pursuers answered, that they were sworn, and others that he had never shewn mercy to them, and at last one of them ran him through with a spear. Kuttaul's family were all seized. Gool Khaun, one of the principal conspirators, was put at the head of the tribe, and thus was baffled the first attempt at the subversion of the liberties of the Dowlutkhail.

Surwur Khaun, the eldest son of Kuttaul, was at this time only sixteen, but he was well educated, and endowed with great natural capacity; by the assistance of his mother, he effected his escape from prison, and, by a train of reasoning which could only have occurred to an Afghaun, he was led to go straight to Zuffer, the brother of Gool Khaun, and throw himself on his protection. He reached this chief's house without discovery, and Zuffer, in the true spirit of Afghaun honour, immediately resolved to protect him, even at the risk of his brother's destruction. He accordingly fled with him to the Murwut country, and soon after began to intrigue at Caubul for assistance from the court. Their intrigues were soon successful, and Abdooreheem Khaun * was sent with four thousand men, to restore Surwur to his father's office.

* The same who was afterwards declared King by the Ghiljies.

In the mean time, Gool Khaun had begun to be heartily tired of his magistracy. The tribe had turned into a turbulent democracy, over which he exercised a feeble and precarious, yet invidious authority; a sedition had broken out about the property left by Kuttaul, which Gool Khaun wished to appropriate to himself. The Dowlutkhail began to murmur at his government; and one of them had drawn his sword on him, and asked, if he thought they had killed Kuttaul to make him their master? He was, therefore, equally terrified at the prospect of Surwur's success, and at the continuance of the democracy; and listened with pleasure to an overture which Surwur made to him, and which seemed to present the only safe retreat from his perilous situation. Accordingly, when Surwur approached, Gool Khaun's management, supported by the terror of the royal arms, disposed the Dowlutkhail to submit, and, Surwur taking a solemn oath to forget past injuries, they consented to receive him as their chief. This appearance of forgiveness was kept up till all the leading men had been got together, when eighteen of them were seized and put to death. Gool Khaun was spared, but on a subsequent quarrel, Surwur put him also to death.

His government was now established, all those that could oppose him, had been made away with, and nobody in the tribe had the courage to rebel. He continued to strengthen himself, and to put the murderers of his father to death as they fell into his hands, till twelve years ago, when all his enemies were extirpated, and his power was at its height. Since then he has governed with great justice and moderation; his steady and impartial administration is popular among the Ryots, but odious to the Dowlutkhail, whose independence it restrains.

Surwur now maintains about five hundred soldiers in his own pay, all the customs and the revenue derived from the Ryots are his, but he takes nothing from the Dowlutkhail.

Like Haussim Khaum of Deer, he cannot rest without reducing the free tribes around under his dominion. His chief designs have

been against the Gundehpoors, who are his nearest neighbours. They are little less numerous than the Dowlutkhail, with all their Ryots, but Surwur can always impede their operations, by bribing some of their Mulliks; and even when they engage heartily in a war, there is a great difference between villagers, under the temporary authority of a Chelwashtee, and the troops of an established government like Surwur Khaun's.

The general jealousy of Surwur's designs however, induces the Meeaunkhail and Baubers, usually the bitter enemies of the Gundehpoors, to unite with them in their struggles against that ambitious chief, and these means have hitherto been sufficient to keep his power within due bounds.

The Dowlutkhail, with all their Ryots and conquered tribes amount to eight thousand families.

The Gundehpoors have a hereditary Khaun, and hereditary Mulliks, but their power is very slight, and the tribe lead a lawless life, plundering strangers, stealing from the flocks of the wandering tribes which come into their neighbourhood, and continually quarrelling among themselves. Their weapons on these occasions are sticks of wild olive; so that murders are rare, but when one happens, it entails a deadly feud on the family, as is usual among the Afghauns. Their public affairs are conducted by an assembly of all the heads of families in the tribe, those who cannot attend, sending some of their family to represent them.

When they have a war with Surwur, all disputes are laid aside, a Chelwashtee is named, who sends a drummer round each village, to proclaim the time and place where the tribe is to assemble in arms, and any man that fails to attend, is fined.

The Gundehpoors are great merchants, fifty or sixty go every year to Khorassaun, and four times as many to India; but this circumstance has little effect in civilizing them, and they have a degree of rudeness and brutality in their appearance and manners, which I never saw in any other tribe.

The Meeaunkhail are about three thousand families, of which number a fourth is composed of Bukhteeaurees. Of this tribe, which is said to have come originally from the banks of the Tigris, and which is very numerous in the south-west of Persia, there are about seven or eight hundred families at Deraubund, and about five hundred at Murgha. Those at Deraubund are completely incorporated with the Meeaunkhail. They have a share in their councils, gains, and losses, and are almost identified with the tribe. The others are connected with them, and, though not united with the Meeaunkhail, they send succours to that tribe in its wars in Damaun.

The Khaun of the Meeaunkhail has little power, he has an eighth of all customs collected at Deraubund, but no share in the collections from the Ryots. Public affairs are managed by a number of Mulliks, who take care to consult the interest and disposition of their Khails, but do not refer to them on every question that arises.

The Khaun has lately been endeavouring to imitate Surwur, but with little success; he too entertained some Beloches, built a fort, and began to encroach on his tribe; but he was opposed by the Mulliks, his power was circumscribed, and, by the last accounts, some farther attempt of his, led the tribe to besiege him in his fort; and he may, perhaps, ere now, have shared the fate of Kuttaul.

One half of the Meeaunkhail move every spring to Khorassaun. No entire Khail moves, but half of each; the Mulliks do not often move, but send a member of their family to command the moving division of the Khail. They have also Chelwashtees of their own, who have no authority among the settled people, except in time of war, when the Chelwashtees of both descriptions have a concurrent jurisdiction.

The moving Meeaunkhails, when in Damaun, encamp in the neighbourhood of Deraubund, and send the camels to feed on the shrubby plain of Muckelwaud. They pay a small sum on each camel to Mahommed Khaun, for this privilege.

Their method of distributing the emoluments and duties of the

Tope of Maunikyaula.

tribe among its members, deserves to be noticed, as the same is probably observed by all the tribes of Damaun.

The tribe is divided into four parts, one of which is Bukhteeauree, and three Meeaunkhail. The customs, after deducting the Khaun's share, are divided into four parts, and each division of the tribe gets a share, which is afterwards distributed among the subdivisions; but as the number of persons in each of these is not the same, the division is unequal. The revenue is assessed in the same manner, and eight Chelwashtees are taken from each division.

The Bauboors are a civilized tribe, much addicted to merchandize, and on the whole, the richest and most flourishing of the tribes of Damaun *. Their Khaun has considerable power, and they are reckoned among the quietest and most honest of the Afghaun tribes. Their late chief was raised by Timour Shauh to the high office of Ameen ool Moolk, and enjoyed a large share of the confidence of that monarch. It is rare to see a man of any tribe but the Dooraunees elevated to such a station.

The Bauboors of the plain are about four thousand families.

A large division of the Bauboors lives in Sehra, beyond the mountains of Solimaun. It is contiguous to the country of the Sheeraunees, with whom those Bauboors are much connected, and whom they resemble in their manners and customs.

The Stooreeaunees were, till lately, all pastoral. Their country, indeed, afforded little temptation to agriculture. They conquered it not long ago from the Beloches of Damaun, and used to make it their winter station, and move their camps and flocks in summer to the lands of the Moossakhail Caukers. These migrations were rendered inconvenient or impracticable, by a quarrel which the Stooreeaunees had about twenty-five years ago, with a clan of Caukers, through whose lands they were obliged to pass. Half the tribe on this sold

* There are some persons among them who have fortunes of £30,000, an immense treasure for that country, yet their property is quite secure.

its flocks, and betook itself to tillage. The other half endeavoured to keep up its ancient custom, but was soon compelled to imitate the rest, and after some disputes between the new settlers and the old, the whole tribe became agricultural, except two clans, which still adhere to a pastoral life, and move their little camps in spring to Spusta, on the south western skirts of Solomon's throne.

Many of the Stooreeaunees, however, are still merchants and carriers, a life approaching to that of a wandering shepherd. Their carriage is mostly on bullocks and asses. Their numbers are about four thousand families. Their government agrees exactly with the model of an Afghaun aristocracy. The Cauzy, however, is so important an office, that complaints are made to him directly, in the absence of the Khaun. The Cauzy is appointed by the Khaun, and the Moollah of each village by the Mooshir. The son of the last incumbent is preferred, if he is fit for the employment.

The condition of the Ryots is nearly the same in all these tribes. They are generally Juts and Beloches, with some Hindoos. They have no land, and they are under the person on whose estate they live, in the same manner as the Fakeers of the Eusofzyes. In Damaun, however, they cannot pass from one man to another, without their master's consent, which is generally obtained by a present, either from the Ryot, or from the person who wishes to receive him. They can, however, quit the tribe to which they belong, whenever they please. Surwur alone endeavours to prevent his Ryots from leaving him.

The whole of Damaun is subject to the King, but his authority is loosely exercised, and he seems quite indifferent to every thing but his revenue. The tribes are bound to furnish him with a body of horse, for which he generally takes a commutation in money. He also levies the Jezzeea, or tax on Hindoos, throughout Damaun. The tribes of Damaun seem attached to the King, as long as he does not interfere with them, but they look with horror on the prospect of being brought under his government, and changing their present independence for submission to a master.

An attempt was once made by Mahommed Khaun, to reduce the Meeaunkhail, and he took many of their villages, and forced their Khaun to fly. The fugitive Khaun went to his inveterate enemies the Gundehpoors; and, although the tribes have many wars among themselves, and are all jealous of Surwur, the whole, including the Murwuts and Esaukhail, rose on this occasion as one man, made Surwur their chief, and did not desist, till they had compelled Mahomed Khaun to abandon his design.

There are still to be found in Damaun, some families of the tribes of Sooree and Lodi, to the first of which belonged the dynasty of Ghore, at one time the most powerful in Asia; the second for a long time gave Kings to Hindostaun.

Besides the tribes I have mentioned, all Damaun and Muckelwaud are filled in winter with camps of Solimaunkhails, Kharotees, Naussers, and other wandering tribes, who come there to avoid the rigour of their native climates. Those who have camels, move into Muckelwaud, but those with sheep remain in Damaun.

CHAP. III.

MOUNTAIN TRIBES.

I AM now to speak of the tribes which inhabit the range of Solimaun; and as I propose to begin from the south, I ought first to describe the Zmurrees (who inhabit that part of the mountains which is to the west of the Stooreeaunees), but as that tribe closely resembles the Sheeraunees, I shall proceed to describe the latter, respecting whom I am better informed. I must, however, notice, that the Zmurrees are allowed to be exempt from the habits of rapine for which the Sheeraunees are so remarkable.

The Sheeraunees inhabit the mountains north of those of the Zmurrees. Their country overlooks that of the Bauboors and Meeaunkhails, and they have the Vizeerees on the north; their western boundary will be mentioned hereafter.

Great part of this country is occupied by the lofty mountain of Tukhti Solimaun, and the hills which surround its base. Many parts of it are nearly inaccessible; one of the roads is in some places cut out of the steep face of the hill, and in others supported by beams inserted in the rock, and with all this labour, is still impracticable for loaded bullocks.

The population is scattered in villages of from twenty to forty houses, through the valleys and the lower parts of the mountains. They cut out the sites of their houses in the slopes of the hills, so that on three sides, the earth forms the lower part of the wall. Each cottage contains but one room, and has only one entrance, which is closed at night with a branch of a thorny tree. Even in winter they have nothing to shut out the cold; but sleep on black carpets, round

the fire, wrapt up in their sheep-skin cloaks. Their forests furnish them with plenty of fire-wood, and their houses are lighted with branches of a particular sort of fir which burns like a torch.

The Sheeraunees are generally of middling stature, thin, but stout, hardy, and active. They have bold features, grey eyes, high cheek bones, and their general appearance is wild and manly. The dress of the common Sheeraunees consists of a coarse black blanket tied round their middle, and another thrown over their shoulders. They wear sandals, the soles of which are made of bullock's hides, rudely prepared by steeping in the ashes of the tamarisk tree; and their dress is completed by a few yards of white cotton cloth loosely twisted round their heads. The dress of the richest is not much finer than this. The chief is thought magnificent, because he dresses in Moultain silk.

Their usual food is bread made of Indian corn, butter, and kroot. This last, however, is a luxury seldom enjoyed but by those who keep sheep. Wheaten bread is only produced on festivals. The flesh principally eaten is mutton. They never kill beef, but when a bullock happens to die, they cut its throat with the usual Mahommedan ceremonies, and eat it without scruple, though the flesh of animals that die of disease, be strictly prohibited by the Koraun.

They eat wild olives fresh from the tree, and dried olives, which they are obliged to boil. They also eat wild pomegranates, (though they are very sour and harsh,) the seed of the Julghoozeh pine, and several sorts of berries which grow wild in their mountains.

The Sheeraunees marry late. They differ from the other Afghauns in this respect, that the father of the bride gives a dowry, instead of receiving a price for his daughter. The women only work at domestic employments, and at reaping the harvest.

Money is very scarce among them, their trade being principally carried on by barter.

They have no domestic servants nor slaves, and no artificers; about a dozen of Hindoos keep shops, and sell grain, cloth, treacle, tobacco, clarified butter, and a few of the coarsest manufactures of the plains,

and a small number of settlers from Damaun, practise the trades of smiths and weavers.

The principal employment of the Sheeraunees is agriculture, which is carried on in the valleys; some places under the hills produce grain without watering, but all the rest of their lands are irrigated by means of dams thrown across the hill streams. There is no man in the tribe but the chief (and the Moollahs) who does not labour.

They have two harvests, one of which consists of red rice, Indian corn, Moong, and tobacco. It is sown in summer, and reaped in autumn; when it is off the ground, they sow wheat and barley, which is cut in the beginning of summer.

Their common stock consists of bullocks, but there are some shepherds who live scattered in small hamlets over the summits of the mountains, and some even in tents. Their bullocks are very small, always black, and without humps. They have a few goats, and some asses, but no mules, buffaloes, or camels. There are not twenty horses in the whole country.

The chief of the Sheeraunees is called the Neeka (which in Pushtoo means the grandfather). He has very great authority in his tribe, which is partly derived from his being the chosen head of the oldest family, and partly from the belief of the Sheeraunees, that he is under the immediate guidance and protection of Providence. He has a large estate, and consequently employs many people in husbandry, but he has no domestic servants. He receives a lamb annually from every man in the tribe who has sheep, and a calf from those who have many cattle. No force is employed to realize this tax, but it is readily paid, from the conviction of the people that some great misfortune (the death of a child for instance) will fall on every person who refuses to pay.

Though men often redress their own injuries by mere force, yet the Neeka is the only regular dispenser of justice. He hears the parties, and after saying a prayer, decides the cause by the inspiration of the Divinity. His order is always obeyed from the dread of supernatural punishment.

The Sheeraunees have also Chelwashtees, but they seem intended rather to supply the place of the Neeka in distant parts, than to strengthen his power. They are appointed by the Neeka, and act under his orders. The Sheeraunees have little internal dissension.

There is a Moollah in every village, who receives a tythe of the produce of its lands and flocks. The simplicity of the Sheeraunees is shewn in a strong light by one of the functions of this priest, which is to sew the shrouds for the dead. A great many of the Sheeraunees learn to read the Koraun, though none but Moollahs learn to read Pushtoo, and none Persian. They are very punctual in their prayers, but apparently feel little real devotion. *

The Sheeraunees are at war with all the tribes that pass through their country in their annual migrations. They may, indeed, be said to be at war with all the world, since they plunder every traveller that comes within their reach; and besides, make incursions into parts of Damaun, with the inhabitants of which they have no quarrel. While I was in their neighbourhood, they stopped the body of a Dooraunee of rank, which was going through their country to be buried at Candahar, and detained it till a ransom had been paid for it.

All, however, agree that their faith is unblemished, and that a traveller who hires an escort of Sheeraunees, may pass through their country in perfect security.

The Neeka commands in their wars, and before any expedition, all the troops pass under his turban, which is stretched out for the purpose by the Neeka and a Moollah. This they think secures them from wounds and death; and they tell stories of persons who have lost their lives from neglecting or disdaining this ceremony. Their arms are a matchlock and a sabre.

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* I have seen a Sheeraunee performing his Namauz, while some people in the same company were talking of hunting; the size of deer happened to be mentioned, and the Sheeraunee, in the midst of his prostrations, called out that the deer in his country were as large as little bullocks, and then went on with his devotions.

Among the hills to the west of the range of Solimaun, are Gosa, inhabited by the Moossakhail Caukers, which lies west of the Zmurrees; Sehra, a high barren plain among mountains, inhabited by the hill Bauboors; and still farther north are Spusta, and the country of the Kuppeep and Hurreepaul tribes; on the west of all these countries, are hills which separate them from Zhobe.

Spusta is a wavy plain covered with wild olives. It is high, cold, and barren, and is inhabited in summer by the Murhails, a pastoral tribe, who move in winter into Damaun. They live entirely in tents, and have the manners of the other shepherd tribes. Though poor, they carry on some little trade; their stock is sheep, goats, asses, and a few oxen, used only for carriage. Their Khaun is powerful, though under the Neeka of the Sheeraunees, and their Moollahs have authority enough to punish offences against the Mahomedan ritual. The tribes of Hurreepaul and Kuppeep, resemble the Sheeraunees, of which tribe they are branches; and their residence is in the hills and valleys at the western base of Tukhti Solimaun.

The extensive country of the Vizeerees lies to the north of that of the Sheeraunees, and stretches up to the northward for one hundred miles, till it reaches Sufaid Coh; the low hills which separate the little countries about Khost and Bunnoo, have been mentioned as belonging to the Vizeerees, but, from the parallel of Sirufza to near the source of the Koorrum, they share the mountains with the Jadrauns, the latter having the west face of the range, and the Vizeerees the east.

The greater part of their country consists of mountains covered with pine forests, but containing some cleared and cultivated spots. The lower hills are bare, or only covered with bushes and low trees.

The Vizeeree country is little visited, except by passengers, who shun the inhabitants as much as they can; and I have found it impossible to meet with a Vizeeree out of his own country. The following account is derived from travellers: it is superficial, and may be incorrect.

The Vizeerees have no general government; they are in little societies, some under powerful Khauns, and others under a democracy; they are all remarkable for their peaceable conduct among themselves, and have neither wars between clans, nor much private dissension. Though they are notorious plunderers, the smallest escort secures a traveller an hospitable reception through the whole tribe. They are particularly remarkable for their attacks on the caravans, and migratory tribes to the west of the pass of Gholairee. No escorts are ever granted, or applied for there; the caravan is well guarded, and able to deter attacks, or to fight its way through. No quarter is given to men in these wars; it is said that the Vizeerees would even kill a male child that fell into their hands; but they never molest women, and if one of that sex wanders from her caravan, they treat her with kindness, and send guides to escort her to her tribe. Even a man would meet with the same treatment, if he could make his way into the house of a Vizeeree; the master would then be obliged to treat him with all the attention and good will which is due to a guest. The Vizeerees who are fixed, live in small hamlets of thatched and terraced houses; in some places (about Kannegoorrum for example), they live in caves cut out of the rocks. Some of these rise above each other in three stories, and others are so high as easily to admit a camel. But most of the tribe live in black tents, or moveable hovels of mats, or temporary straw huts; these go up to the high mountains in spring, and stay there till the cold and snow drives them back to the low and warm hills. Their principal stock is goats; they also breed many small but serviceable horses; and, what would not be expected in such a country, they are fond of horsemanship.

The Vizeerees are said to be tall and muscular, of fair complexions and high features. Their whole dress is a high conical black cap, a loose great coat of black blanket, fastened round the waist with a girdle of the same material, and sandals of straw rope, or untanned leather. From this attire, and from the descriptions which are given of their shaggy hair and beards, and their hairy limbs, their appear-

ance may be conceived to be wild and terrible. Their arms are generally an Afghaun knife and a shield; and every man carries a matchlock, at the use of which they are very expert. Their own country affords materials for these arms; it abounds in iron ore, which the Vizeerees work up into arms, and export to the plains. Their manners are haughty, and their voices loud, distinct, and commanding; but they are gentle and good tempered in their intercourse with their guests, and with each other. Such is their veracity, that if there is a dispute about a stray goat, and one party will say it is his, and confirm his assertion by stroaking his beard, the other instantly gives it up, without suspicion of fraud.

Their amusements are listening to songs (for they never deign to sing themselves), and dancing a sort of Pyrrhic dance, in which they go through some warlike attitudes, and leap about flourishing their swords.

The food of the Vizeerees is the flesh of sheep, oxen, or camels, which they eat half raw, with croot and unleavened bread of the worst description.

The women are not required to labour. They wear a long thick shift of red cotton, with sandals like the men, and have as many gold and silver ornaments as their husbands can afford. A most extraordinary custom is said to prevail among them, which gives the women the choice of their husbands. If a woman is pleased with a man, she sends the drummer of the camp to pin a handkerchief on his cap, with a pin which she has used to fasten her hair. The drummer watches his opportunity, and does this in public, naming the woman, and the man is immediately obliged to marry her, if he can pay her price to her father.

The Jadrauns have the Vizeerees on the east, the Kharotees, and the country dependent on Ghuznee on the west, and the Jaujees on the north. Their dress and manners are said to be like those of the Vizeerees. Towards the Koorrum, they cultivate some of the inferior sorts of grain, but towards the Kharotees, they wander with their goats, through the thick pine forests, and are (as a Kharotee

observed of them), in appearance and habits of life, more like mountain bears than men. They are not an extensive tribe, and their country is never visited by travellers. They have wars with the Kharotees, and plunder travellers on the road from Caubul through Bungush, near the pass of Peiwaur. I need scarce say that they are never to be met with out of their hills.

The countries along the western side of Tukhti Solimaun, which accompany those which I have been describing, in their progress towards the north, do not call for any particular notice. To the north of the Hurreepaul is the country near the junction of the Gomul and Zhobe, sometimes pastured on by wandering Caukers. North of it is Wauneh, a low plain situated on the hills that slope down to the valley of the Gomul. It is an open tract, inhabited by a small tribe called Dumtauny, and much frequented in summer by shepherds of the Solimaun Khail and Kharotee tribes; some of the tribes dependent on the Dowlutkhail, also drive up their flocks to Wauneh in winter. North of Wauneh is Oorghoon, the country of the Fermoollees; and then a tract belonging to Kharotees, and other clans of Ghiljies, of all which I shall hereafter have occasion to speak at large.

CHAP. IV.

WESTERN AFGHAUNS, DOORAUNEES, CITY OF CANDAHAR, TEREENS AND BARAICHES.

THE countries hitherto described, consist of flat and low-lying plains, or of strongly marked ranges of mountains. The plains are hot and fertile, generally populous, and almost all inhabited by fixed residents. The mountains are high and rugged, the tops covered with forests, and the sides pierced by deep valleys: inhabited by tribes separated from each other, and only known to the rest of the world by their assaults on strangers who penetrate to their haunts, or by their incursions into the neighbouring plains. Those which we are now to review, have an opposite character. They are mostly high and bleak downs, interspersed with moderate hills, in some places desart, and in others ill-cultivated; bare, open, better fitted for pasturage than for the plough; and much inhabited by shepherds in moveable camps. The characters of the hilly and plain countries run into each other; nor is there any more marked line of separation between the characters of their inhabitants. Both are simple, honest, and peaceable; and though there is a difference in the degree in which those qualities are possessed by different tribes, there are none who would be remarkable among Asiatic nations for the want of them. The western tribes, especially those of Khorassaun, understand Persian much more generally than the Eastern ones do Hindostaunee, and their dress, arms, and habitations, while they retain their national peculiarities, approach to those of Persia. The character of the people, however, is essentially different from that of the Persians; and perhaps the difference is

more striking than that between the eastern Afghauns and the Indians, though that also is great. Scattered over an extensive country, the Western Afghauns are too distant from each other to acquire either the vices or the habits of strife which belong to a crowded population: each horde drives its flock over its extensive lands, or the still wider range of unappropriated pasture; without a rival and often without a neighbour. In the same manner, each society of the fixed inhabitants cultivates the banks of a river, or the ground commanded by a Cahreez, at a distance from all other agricultural people; and individuals of those societies are prevented from quarrelling about their shares, by the abundance of waste land, and the facility with which the surplus of their population can be provided for in pasturage. This thinness of the population, while it retards the progress of the arts of life, is doubtless equally effectual in checking the increase of the vices which abound in populous countries; and accordingly we find among the Western Afghauns, a sort of primitive simplicity, which reminds us rather of the scriptural accounts of the early ages, than of any thing which has been observed by moderns in nations where society is still in its infancy. In some parts of this tract the character of the people seems to have undergone some change, in consequence of the impression made on the governments of their tribes by the neighbourhood of the monarchy. Among the Ghiljies and Dooraunees, the hereditary chiefs of the tribes have successively founded great kingdoms, of which the latter is known still to subsist. Among the Dooraunees, the heads of clans also form the nobility, who enjoy the great offices of the court, the state, and the army; and they appear in the double character of patriarchal chiefs, and of wealthy and powerful noblemen, deriving command and influence from the King's authority, and from their own riches and magnificence. In this situation, many of the republican institutions of the tribes disappear, but other circumstances contribute to preserve the importance of the clansmen, and to prevent their sinking into entire dependence on their lord. A degree of order and tranquillity is secured, superior to what is ever attained in the democratic tribes: at

the same time that all the peculiar virtues of those tribes are preserved; and on the whole, the effect of this kind of government on the people who live under it, appears to be more favourable than any one we shall have to consider.

Though the kingdom has passed away from the Ghiljies, it has still left its traces, and the effect of the former high stations of the Khauns is still observable among them; it is not, however, sufficient to prevent anarchy; and a popular government seems gradually to be forming, which will take the place of the old aristocracy in maintaining the public tranquillity.

The principal feature in which the Western Afghauns differ from the Eastern, is formed by the numerous pastoral tribes. These, though they have all some common points of resemblance, such as their living in tents, and moving with the seasons, differ among themselves in other particulars which will appear in the details. The difference principally relates to the distance between their summer and winter stations, and to the degree in which they combine agriculture with pasturage.

The summer station is called *Eilauk*, and the winter station *Kishlauk*, two words which both the Afghauns and Persians have borrowed from the Tartars. The tents almost universally used among the Afghauns are of a kind of black blanket, or rather of coarse black camlet, such as is used for the same purpose in the greater part of Persia. It is called *Kizhdee* in the Afghaun language, *Seeahchaudur* in Persian, and *Karraooee* in Turkish: both of these last phrases mean "black tents" the term generally given to them by Europeans.

The tents of the tribes that move little are always larger and better than those of the very migratory people.

The latter have often fine tents which they leave at the stations where the climate is most severe, carrying lighter ones on their journeys to the places where shelter is less required.

It must not be inferred that all the Western Afghauns are shepherds: on the contrary, although the space given up to pasture may be much more extensive than that employed in agriculture, yet the

number of citizens and villagers must, I should imagine, considerably exceed that of the wandering hordes.

Many parts of the country, particularly round the cities, are as highly cultivated as any part of the world: in remoter districts some well cultivated tracts are to be met with, and even the most deserted regions afford occasional marks of the industry of the husbandmen.

In treating of this country, I shall begin at the west (where the greatest contrast will be found to what has been already mentioned) and proceed eastward till, as I approach the division formerly described, some traces will appear of the manners already known to the reader as peculiar to the eastern Afghauns. In pursuance of this plan, I shall begin with the Dooraunees and their southern neighbours the Baraiches and Tereens; and then stretch east with the Ghiljies, till I reach the valley of the Caubul river and the mountains of Solimaun. The Caukers, whose lands extend from those of the Tereens to the mountains just mentioned, will end all the part of my account which is connected with geography; and the pastoral and unsettled tribe of Nausser will conclude the description of the Afghauns.

The length of the country of the Dooraunees may be loosely said to be 400 miles, and except in the north-west, the general breadth is from 120 to 140 miles.

It is bounded on the north by the Paropamisan mountains, inhabited by the Eimauks and Hazaurehs; on the west it has a sandy desart of various breadth, beyond which are the Persian dominions: on the south-west it has Seestaun and a desart which separates it from Belochistaun: its southern boundary is formed by Shoraubuk and the hills of Khaujeh Amraun, which separate it from the Tereens and Caukers; and on the east it has no natural boundary, but joins to the lands of the Ghiljies; into which the valley of Urghessaun, part of the Dooraunee territory, runs for a considerable extent. The number of square miles in the Dooraunee country is probably superior to that in England; but it includes some large spaces of desart, and the inhabited country is probably little superior to Scotland in

extent, and inferior in population. The population is by no means evenly spread, nor is the face of the country through all its extent the same. The part which lies west of longitude 63 east (a slip not exceeding seventy or eighty miles in breadth), is situated between the sandy desart already described and the Paropamisan mountains, and partakes of the nature of both of those tracts. In general it consists of arid and uncultivated plains, crossed by ranges of hills running westward from the Paropamisan mountains into Persian Khorassaun; but, though its general appearance be waste and barren, most parts of it supply water and forage to the pastoral hordes that frequent it, and it is not destitute of many well-watered and pleasant valleys, and some fertile plains surrounded by mountains. In those tracts are many villages, but the only town in this part of the country is Furrah, on the river of that name, which was once a place of great extent, and is still a considerable walled town. This appears to be the antient Parra, by which name indeed the Afghauns still distinguish it.

The southern part of the tract I have been describing, is by no means so mountainous as the northern, and it seems not improbable that it may once have been a fertile region, and may have been encroached on by the desart like the contiguous country of Seestaun. This opinion is supported no less by the magnificent ruins which are still to be seen, than by the recorded accounts of the fertility and extent of Seestaun, to which the tract in question is said to have belonged.*

From longitude 63 east, a tract of very considerable extent stretches eastward for upwards of two hundred miles to the meridian of Candahar. Its general breadth is near 100 miles. Its boundaries are ill defined, for, on the north, the hills sometimes run into the plain, and the southern parts of the inhabited country are not easily

* Seestaun is said to have contained 120,000 ploughs. For an account of the ruins seen by Captain Christie, see Mr. Kinneir's Geography of Persia.

distinguished from the desart on which they border. The whole extent approaches to the nature of a desart. The southern parts are sandy, and the northern consist of hard earth, mixed sometimes with rocks and even with low hills; but all is equally unproductive: scarce a tree is to be found in the whole region, but the plains are covered with low bushes; of which the principal are those called jouz and tirkheh by the Afghauns; and two lower bushes from which kali is produced. Yet this discouraging abode is by no means destitute of inhabitants. The banks of the Furrah rood, the Khaush rood, and other streams, are well cultivated, and produce wheat, barley, pulse, and abundance of excellent melons. Even at a distance from the streams, some patches of cultivation are watered by means of Cahreezes, and scarce any part of the country, especially of the north, is so bad as not to afford herbage and water in the cool season to numerous camps of Dooraunees who drive their flocks in summer into Seeahbund, the country of the Tymunees. There are villages among the cultivated lands, but none of them are large, and certainly the mass of the inhabitants are scattered over the face of the country in tents. Some parts of this country also, appear to have lost a great deal of their fertility. The south eastern part of it contains the brooks of Dohree and Cuddunye, which within the last century were considerable streams throughout the year, but which are now dry except in spring.

The banks of the Helmund, though within the tract of which I have described the limits, must be entirely excepted from all the above observations. That river, even after it has left the hills, continues to be accompanied on each side by a stripe of fertile and cultivated land, the southern part of which forms the singular country of Gurmseer. This district occupies a hollow stretching along both banks of the Helmund from the neighbourhood of Girishk to Seestaun. It seems in antient times to have been an extensive territory, and to have been ruled by an independent prince; but it is now confined in general to a quarter of a mile on each side of the river, and its whole breadth no where exceeds two miles, beyond which the

sandy desart extends for many days journey. The Gurmseer itself is moist, and sometimes even marshy; many parts of it are cultivated and afford plentiful returns to the husbandman. In those spots, are castles and fortified villages, but the greater part is covered with herbage, rushes and tamarisk bushes, among which are many camps of shepherds.

To the northward of the desart tract last described is a hilly region dependent on the Paropamisan range. It differs greatly from the countries we have hitherto been considering, being formed of ranges of hills including fertile plains. The hills are covered with woods of the shnee tree, the wild almond, wild fig, wild pomegranate, the oriental plane and the walnut tree. The plains are rich, are well watered by cahreeses and springs, and produce abundance of wheat, barley, and rice, together with madder and the artificial grasses. The wild trees of the plains are tamarisk and mulberry, and a few willows and poplars, but the numerous orchards are composed of all the fruit trees of Europe. Many pastoral camps are also found in this tract, probably in the hilly parts of it; and though it contains many good villages, yet a great proportion even of the agricultural inhabitants live in black tents. The climate is always temperate, but in winter the northern parts suffer from cold. Zemeendawer, the most westerly part of this division of the country, deserves particular mention on account of its fertility. It is joined on the north-west by Seeabund, a mountainous region abounding in cool and grassy vallies, which, though it belongs to the Tymunee Eimauk, requires to be mentioned here, as affording a summer retreat to so large a proportion of the Dooraunee shepherds.

The country round Candahar is level, naturally of tolerable fertility, irrigated both by water-courses from the rivers and by cahreezes, and most industriously cultivated. It in consequence abounds with grain, and its gardens contain good vegetables and excellent fruit; besides melons, cucumbers, &c. which are cultivated in the fields, as is usual in Khorassaun. Madder, assafœtida, spusta (lucerne) and shuftul (a kind of clover) are also abundant. The tobacco of Candahar has

a great reputation. The country near the hills is probably the most fertile, and that round the town best cultivated; the country to the west is sandy at no great distance from the city, and that to the south becomes dry and unproductive within a march of Candahar: that to the east is fertile and much better cultivated than the rest of the valley of the Turnuk, which will hereafter be described.

The principal feature of the south-east of the Dooraunee country, which alone remains to be described, is the chain of Khajeh Amraun. This, though not a mountain of the first rank, is high enough to bear snow for three months, and to be cold all the year. It is chiefly inhabited by shepherds who belong to the Achukzye clan of Dooraunees. Its summits and sides abound in shnee trees and a sort of gigantic cypress, called by the Afghauns obushteh. Judging by the wildness of the inhabitants, and their predatory habits, one would suppose these hills very difficult of access; but, though steep on the south-east side, I believe they slope gradually down to the country on their north-west, and are cultivated in different places from near the summit to the foot. The Dooraunee country, in the direction of this range, begins to the north-east of Shoraubuk, where it is sandy and unproductive. Further north and east, it has well-watered spots among barren hills. Of this nature is Rabaut, a tract, covered with tamarisk, supporting many flocks, and yielding some grain. Still further to the north-east, the sand ceases and is succeeded by a rugged and stony country, in which are some streams and some plains of tolerable fertility. The most remarkable of these is Murgha, where is the castle of Ahmed Khaun Noorzye, and which is watered by the stream of Cuddenye; most of this tract is well adapted to pasture. On the southern side of the range of Khojeh Amraun, opposite to Murgha, lies Toba, an extensive country, the west of which belongs to the Achukzyes, while the eastern part, which extends almost to Zhobe, belongs to the Caukers. To the north of Murgha, lies Urghessaun, so called from the river which waters it. It is a valley of tolerable fertility between high hills. It is full of Tamarisks, is partially cultivated, and contains a considerable number of castles

belonging to Baurikzye Khauns, but by far the greater part of the inhabitants are pastoral. It ends to the east in a range of hills, which separate it from a high plain, still inhabited by Dooraunees, and watered by the upper course of the Urghessaun, and by the Sauleh Yesoon, from which stream the country receives its name. It is well suited to pasture, but little cultivated.

The wild animals of the Dooraunee country are wolves, hyænas, jackalls, foxes, hares, and many kinds of deer and antelope. In the hills there are bears and leopards, and in the Gurmseer (on the Helmund) are many wild boars and gorekhurs or wild asses. The wild birds are eagles, hawks, and some other large birds of prey. Swans (in spring), wild geese, and wild ducks, storks and cranes, owls, crows, magpyes, pigeons, cupks *, soosees †, quails, &c. &c. The tame animals are camels, buffaloes (but not numerous, and chiefly to be found on the Helmund and near Candahar), horses, mules, and asses; black cattle, sheep, and goats, dogs and cats. The tame birds are fowls, pigeons, and rarely, ducks and geese.

Such is the country of the Dooraunees, a tribe which still rules the whole of the Afghaun nation, whose government has been obeyed from the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea to that of the Ganges, and the effects of whose power has been felt over Persia and Tartary, and even at the remote capital from which I write these pages. ‡

The Dooraunees were formerly called the Abdaulles, till Ahmed Shauh, in consequence of a dream of the famous saint at Chumkunee, changed it to Dooraunee, and took himself the title of Shauh Dooree Dooraun. I have been able to learn little or nothing of their early history: some accounts describe the mountains of Toba as their most antient abode: more numerous traditions represent them as having descended into the plains of Khorassaun, from the mountains of

* The same bird which is called chicore by the natives, and fire-eater by the English, in Bengal.

† A bird of the same species with the last, but smaller.

‡ Poona, the capital of the Marattas.

Ghore, which belong to the Paropamisan groupe, but leave it uncertain whether that tract was their original seat, and by what causes their emigration was occasioned *. The tribe is divided into two great branches, Zeeruk and Punjpaw; but those divisions are now of no use whatever, except to distinguish the descent of the different clans: that of Zeeruk is reckoned by far the most honorable. From these branches spring nine clans, of which four belong to Zeeruk, and five to Punjpaw.

Zeeruk.	*Punjpaw*
Populzye,	Noorzye,
Allekkozye,	Alizye,
Baurikzye,	Iskhaukzye,
Atchikzye.	Khougaunee,
	Maukoo.

The Populzye is the most eminent of these clans as it gives a king to all the Afghauns. The royal family is sprung from the little division of Suddozye, which had long been the Khaunkhail, or head family, of the Populzyes, and indeed of all the Dooraunees. It is probable that the Suddozyes were the eldest branch of the Dooraunee tribe, and in consequence possessed their superiority from the first formation of the society; but the earliest testimony of their enjoying it, is a patent from one of the first of the Suffavee kings of Persia, appointing the chief of the Suddozyes to the command of the Abdallees. The privileges they enjoyed were greater than the patent of a king could ever have obtained from such a tribe. Their persons were sacred, no retaliation, nor punishment could be inflicted on any of them, except by a member of their own family; nor could even the head of the Abdaullies himself, pass sentence of death upon a Suddozye. This circumstance, and the kings being the head of them,

* Hanway, with great probability, though I know not on what authority, states them to have been settled to the east of Heraut, early in the ninth century.

have made the Suddozyes be considered as a separate clan, though a branch of the Populzyes.

Their principal residence is in the neighbourhood of Sheher Suffa, in the lower part of the valley of the Turnuk. Some also reside at Candahar, and a considerable colony has found its way to the distant city of Moultan, to which they have probably been driven by some political events in their tribe.

The rest of the Populzyes chiefly reside in the hilly country north of Candahar. They are a numerous clan, generally reckoned by the most moderate natives at twelve thousand families *. Though some of them are shepherds, by much the greater number are engaged in agriculture. They are reckoned the most civilized of the Dooraunee clans. The grand vizier ought always to be a member of the Baumizye division of them, and it is from among the Populzyes that most of the great officers of state were chosen by Ahmed Shah.

The next clan to the Populzye, which it far exceeds in numbers, is the Baurikzyes. This great clan inhabits the country south of Candahar, the valley of Urghessaun, the banks of the Helmund, and the dry plains which that river divides. Those near Candahar, and many of those in Urghessaun, and on the Helmund, are led by the fertility of their soil to agriculture, and the industry of others has even produced cahreezes and cultivation in the midst of the desart; but the greater part of the tribe is composed of shepherds. They are a spirited and warlike clan, and, as Futteh Khaun is now their chief, they make a much more conspicuous figure than any other tribe among the Afghauns. At present, the grand vizier, and almost all the great officers of the state, are Baurikzyes, and they owe their elevation to the courage and attachment of their clan.

Their numbers are not less than thirty thousand families.

The Atchikzyes were a branch of the Baurikzyes, but were separated by Ahmed Shah to reduce the formidable numbers of that clan.

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* I give the numbers of the clans to shew their relative importance, and not from any confidence in their individual accuracy.

They are now under a separate chief, and entirely unconnected with the clan from which they spring. They inhabit the range of Khojeh Amraun, from the Lora to the Cuddenye, together with some of the adjoining plains, and are the wildest of the Dooraunees: their only employments are pasturage and plunder.

The Noorzyes are equally numerous with the Baurikzyes; but, as they are scattered through the hills in the west, and the desert tract in the south, of the Dooraunee country, they by no means make so great a figure in the Afghaun nation. They are however a martial tribe, and those on the frontier towards Seestaun find constant exercise for their courage and enterprize in the mutual depredations in which they are engaged with the Beloche borderers. Almost the whole of them are shepherds, who spend the winter in the grassy spots which are found in the barren region they inhabit, and who retire in the middle of spring to Seeahbund.

The Alizyes inhabit Zemeendawer, and are mostly agricultural. Their numbers are rated at fifteen thousand families.

The Alekkozyes are only ten thousand families. In their country and habits, they resemble the clan last mentioned, from which they are separated by the Helmund.

The Iskhaukhzyes live between Zemeendawer and the desart, and their country shares the characters of those on which it borders; being hilly and fertile on the north, and flat and barren on the south. The people are employed in equal numbers on agriculture and pasturage. Their numbers are about ten thousand families.

The Maukoos and Khougaunees are small clans, who have no distinct lands, many live at Candahar, and some are mixed with the Noorzyes. They used to have separate chiefs, but none have been appointed since the commencement of the present troubles in the state, and the clans are likely soon to be extinguished.

Though the lands allotted to the Dooraunee clans are separated and defined as above described, the clans by no means live unmixed with each other, like different tribes; on the contrary, men of one clan frequently acquire lands by purchase or by grants in the midst

of another; and some countries, as the Gurmseer, and the country round Candahar, are inhabited by almost all the clans in nearly equal proportions.

The whole population of the Dooraunee country may safely be estimated at 800,000 souls. It may perhaps approach to a million, but on such subjects it is difficult to speak with confidence. The Dooraunees themselves must be reckoned considerably more than half. It is universally asserted that Naudir Shauh numbered the tribe, when he was fixing their lands and the proportion of men they were to furnish, and found them to consist of sixty thousand families; but, supposing such a census to have been made, it must have fallen much under the real numbers, as many persons, of the shepherds especially, must have been overlooked. The Dooraunees have certainly been in a flourishing situation since that time, and their circumstances have been very favorable to the increase of their population; so that the number of 100,000 families must now be considered as within bounds.

The government of the Dooraunees differs widely from that of the republican tribes I have already described, though it is evident that it has originally been framed on the same model.

The difference seems chiefly to be occasioned by the more immediate connection of the Dooraunees with the King, and by the military tenure on which they hold their lands. The King is the hereditary chief of the tribe, and this circumstance derives peculiar importance from the veneration in which the Dooraunees hold the house of Suddozye. He is also their military commander, and that more effectually than is the case in the other tribes. With these last, the military service which they owe to the crown is an innovation, introduced after they had occupied their lands, which they had conquered or brought under cultivation without aid from any external power, and without an acknowledgment of dependence on any superior: but the lands of the Dooraunees were actually given to them on condition of military service, and the principal foundation of their right to the possession is a grant of the King. The whole of their own country

had been conquered by Nauder Shauh, and part of it was restored, with a large portion of that of the Ghiljies, on the express condition, that they should furnish a horseman for every plough; and the performance of this engagement to the Persian monarch has ever since been exacted by the Afghaun dynasty which has succeeded to his rights and pretensions.

The officers of the horse thus raised are the civil magistrates of the country allotted to maintain them *, and this system is reconciled to that of the Oolooss government, by making the military divisions correspond to those of the tribe, and by maintaining all the relations

* So far the system resembles that adopted by the emperor for his Hungarian frontier, and thus described by Mr. Townson: "This long tract of land which surrounds Hungary on the south and on the east, has about 520,000 inhabitants, the fifth part of which is military. It is divided into five principal divisions, as those of the Banat, of Croatia, of Dalmatia, of Sclavonia, and of Transylvania: these are again divided into provinces or regimental districts, and these into companies. As this is quite a military government, there are no civil magistrates, but military ones: a regimental district may be considered as a country, and it has, instead of a lord lieutenant, a colonel; and a district of a company, which may be considered as a processus, instead of a judex nobilium, a captain; and so likewise with the inferior officers, who supply the places of inferior civil magistrates." This plan, however, was adopted by the Hungarian government as a check to the encroachments of the Turks. Its object was to secure the zealous service of a warlike body particularly interested in the defence of the frontier. That of the Dooraunee government, on the contrary, was merely taken up as a convenient way of paying part of the army for general service. For these reasons, the government of Hungary is strict in providing for the actual residence of every holder of land: it also provides for the actual service of the holder's sons, and it forbids the transfer of the land without express permission. The Dooraunee government, on the contrary, shews no anxiety on any of these heads, which it leaves to the discretion of individuals. Residence is no object, and transfer does not signify, where all the population is military, and where there is none of that discipline which renders it so desirable to retain an old soldier. The government by tribes among the Dooraunees, constitutes the principal contrast between them and the land-holders on the Hungarian frontier, and, even with them, the character of an officer is not quite sunk in that of a head of a tribe. The heads of Dooraunee clans are called by the military title of Sirdar (general), while those of the other tribes have that of Khaun (chieftain): the former referring to their rank in the king's army, and the latter of their hereditary relation to their tribe.

of the hereditary chiefs; thus the head of a clan commands the troops which it furnishes, and the subordinate officers are the Mulliks and Mushirs of khails and subdivisions under him, each commanding the contingent of his own portion of the Oolooss.

It is obvious that this military command must render the power of the Sirdars greater than that of the chiefs of other tribes, and their authority is further strengthened by the wealth and splendor which they derive from the situations about the court, where all great offices are in the hands of Dooraunees. As these advantages are conferred by the King, it might be expected that the Sirdars would be kept by them in a state of entire subservience to the government; and this is rendered the more natural, as the people hold their lands directly of the Crown, and consequently have not that dependence on their chiefs which characterized the feodal system. The independence of the Sirdars is, however, maintained by the influence over their clans, which they derive from their birth, and from the patriarchal institutions of the Afghaun tribes. This is at once sufficient to establish their importance, for the dynasty of Suddozye is mainly upheld by the Dooraunees, and the crown would be transferred without a struggle from one member of it to another by a general combination of that tribe; consequently the King is in a great measure dependent on the good will of the Dooraunee chiefs, and is obliged to conciliate that order by bestowing on it a large portion of power and honor, though in reality he views it with jealousy, and is continually employed in indirect attempts to undermine it. The powers of the parties are pretty nearly balanced. In disputed successions, the chief may often lead his clan to the candidate for whom he is best disposed, yet no Dooraunee clan has ever risen against the family of Suddozye on account of the personal injuries or disgust of its Sirdar: on the other hand, though the King has been known to exercise the power of nominating men not descended from the head family to be Sirdars, and even of appointing a man of one clan to be Sirdar of another; yet in these cases he seems to have pushed his authority further than the Dooraunees were willing to submit to: chiefs, so appointed, were

obeyed with reluctance, and the clan waited impatiently for a rebellion headed by a Suddozye, to throw off their new chief, and the King who appointed him, and to receive their hereditary Khaun with open arms. The clans near Candahar probably look up most to the King, while those who inhabit remote and unfrequented countries (as the Noorzyes and the Atchikzyes), are more attached to their Sirdars. Even in those tribes, the Sirdar derives a great part of his power from the King, but he exercises it subject to less control, than the chiefs of tribes near the royal residence, and he is less apt to be eclipsed, or set aside, by the immediate intervention of the sovereign.

The effect of this competition is highly favourable to the happiness of the people. It is of great consequence both to the King and the nobles to obtain popularity; and, consequently, although particular circumstances have invested the government of the Dooraunees with powers unknown to those of other tribes, yet there are few communities where the wishes and opinions of the governed are more attended to. Among other privileges, they are exempt from all payment of revenue, itself the great source of oppression in Asiatic nations. No troops are allowed to maraud in their lands, or indeed in any part of Afghaun Khorassaun. The only shape in which they feel the government, is in its demands for the service of their fixed contingent of troops, and in its interposition to preserve the public peace, by which they are themselves the principal gainers.

Each of the great clans of the Dooraunees is governed by a Sirdar, chosen by the King out of the head family. The subdivisions are under Khauns appointed out of their head families by the Sirdars; and the Mulliks and Mushirs of the still smaller divisions are, in most cases, elected from the proper families by the people, subject to the Sirdar's approval; but in others, appointed by the Sirdar, with some regard to the wishes of the people. When different subdivisions live in one village, they have separate quarters, and each lives under its own Mullik or Mushir; but none of the dissensions between quarters, which have been shewn to rage among the Eusofzyes, are

ever known here, and all live in harmony, like people of one family.

The powers of the various chiefs among the Dooraunees, though very efficient as far as they go, are simple, and the occasion for exercising them is limited, compared to those of tribes more independent on the King. There are no wars with other tribes, nor disputes between clans of the same tribe, in which the chiefs can shew their importance by directing the operations of their people; nor have their clans any of those subjects for consultation and debate, in which the chiefs of independent tribes display their policy and their influence. The general tranquillity is secured by the King's government, and the duties of the Sirdars and Khauns are confined to the adjustment of disputes between individuals. When these cannot be made up by the mediation of the elders, they are brought before the Jeerga by the Mullik, and its decrees are, if necessary, supported by the Sirdar. Mulliks of other quarters, and even of other villages, sometimes assist at these Jeergas.

Though the spirit of revenge for blood is no less felt here than elsewhere, yet retaliation is much repressed by the strength of the government. The Dooraunees, however, never put a man to death for killing another in expiation of a murder previously committed; as long as the murders on both sides are equal, they think natural justice satisfied, though they banish the second murderer, to preserve the quiet of their own society. If the offended party complains to the Sirdar, or if *he* hears of a murder committed, he first endeavours to bring about a compromise, by offering the Khoon Behau, or price of blood; but if the injured party is inexorable, the Sirdar lays the affair before the King, who orders the Cauzy to try it; and, if the criminal is convicted, gives him up to be executed by the relations of the deceased. This last mode of adjustment through the Sirdar, is the most usual near towns, and in civilised parts of the country. Private revenge prevails most in the camps of shepherds, who wander in the hills and desarts, remote from all seats of authority and of justice; but even these disputes seldom go beyond regular encoun-

ters with sticks and stones; and throughout all the Dooraunees, blood is scarcely ever shed in domestic quarrels; it is looked on as flagitious to draw on a countryman; and a tradition even exists of an oath imposed on the people of the tribe by the Suddozyes of ancient days, which bound them for ever to abstain from the use of swords in disputes among themselves.

Civil disputes are either settled by the elders of the village, and the friends of the parties, by the arbitration of Moollahs; or by the decision of the nearest Cauzy. When the Sirdar or other chief, is absent from the tribe, his duties are performed by a Naib, or deputy, of his own appointing, generally a brother or a son, but always a near relation. When the King is not in the Dooraunee country, his place is supplied by the prince who has the government of Candahar.

I have mentioned that the Dooraunees are partly pastoral, and partly agricultural; this, of course, makes a difference in the habits and manner of life of different parts of the tribe. I shall first describe those who live in villages, taking my observations generally from the neighbourhood of Candahar.

It is a common form of the Dooraunee villages, to have four streets leading into a square in the centre. There is sometimes a pond, and always some trees in this space, and it is here that the young men assemble in the evenings to pursue their sports, while the old men look on, and talk over the exploits of their youth, or their present cares and occupations.

The houses are constructed of brick, burnt or unburnt, and cemented with mud, mixed with chopt straw. The roofs are sometimes terraces laid on beams, but far more frequently are composed of three or four low domes of brick joining to one another. An opening is left in the centre of one of the domes, and over it is a chimney made of tiles, to keep out the rain. This sort of roof is recommended by its requiring no wood for rafters, a great consideration in a country where timber is so scarce. Most dwelling houses have but one room, about twenty feet long and twelve broad.

There are two or three out-houses adjoining to the dwelling house, built exactly in the same manner, and designed for the sheep and cattle; for the hay, straw, grain, firewood, and implements of husbandry. Most houses have a little court-yard in front of the door, where the family often sit when the weather is hot. The room is spread with Gulleems *, over which are some felts for sitting on. The villages are generally surrounded with orchards, containing all the fruit trees of Europe, and round them are scattered a few mulberry trees, poplars, planes, or other trees, of which the commonest are one called Marandye, and another tree, with broad leaves, called Purra.

The shops in the Dooraunee villages are generally very few, and are never kept by Afghauns. For instance, in the village of Bulledee, near Candahar, which consists of about two hundred houses, there are three shops, where grain, sugar, and other eatables are sold; one fruit shop; and one shop where knives, scissars, combs, looking glasses, and such articles are to be had. There is a carpenter almost in every village, as well as a blacksmith, and sometimes a weaver or two; the nearer to the city, the fewer are the artizans. Cloths are made by the women, who sometimes also weave blankets. There is at least one mosque in every Dooraunee village, and often more; the Moollah who reads prayers in it, receives a portion of grain from every man in the village, besides what he earns by teaching children to read.

In most villages, and generally in the square (where there is one), is a public apartment, where all the men of the village assemble to converse and amuse themselves.

The chief occupation of all the villagers is agriculture. They sow their great harvest (which is of wheat, barley, and some other grains) in November, and reap it early in June; another harvest, chiefly of

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* A kind of woollen carpet without nap, generally striped with different shades of red, or with red and some other colour.

A Dooraunee Villager with his Arms.

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pulse, is then sown, and is reaped in the end of September. Melons, cucumbers, &c. are also sown in June, and the artificial grasses in spring; all is irrigated *.

Their stock is chiefly bullocks for agriculture, of which every family has three or four pair; most men have sheep which supply them with mutton, milk, and wool; they have also some cows for milk. The sheep are driven to the hills or wastes in the morning, and return at night. Some who are more given up to pasturage, go out in summer with their flocks to the hills, where they live in tents; in winter they find abundance of herbage in the plains. The beasts of burden most used are asses, but camels are always used for long journeys, and many are kept to be hired out to merchants. Horses and mules are also bred, particularly in the country of the Iskhaukzyes.

The better sort of Dooraunees have their lands cultivated by Buzgurs, by hired labourers, or by slaves. They act themselves as superintendants, often putting their hand to any work where they are wanted, like middling farmers in England. The poorer Dooraunees are often Buzgurs, but seldom labourers, that employment falling chiefly to the Taujiks, or to the Afghaun Humsauyehs.

A large proportion of the husbandmen live in tents, which are either of black blanket, as will be soon described, or of thick black felt supported by twigs twisted together, and bent over, so as to form an arch. The agricultural families, who live in tents, do not move beyond their own lands, and that only for the benefit of a clean spot, or to be near the part of the grounds where the cultivation of the season is chiefly carried on.

Almost every village surrounds, or joins to, the castle of a Khaun. These castles are encompassed by a wall of no strength, and generally intended more for privacy than defence. They, however, have some-

* The seasons vary with the situation of the lands, those I have mentioned refer to Candahar.

times round towers at the corners; and, when inhabited by great lords, they sometimes mount swivels on the walls, and have a small garrison, besides the relations and immediate retinue of the Khaun, who, in general, are their only inhabitants. They are built in a square, the inside of which is lined with buildings; on one side is the great hall, and other apartments of the Khaun, on the others are lodgings for his relations, his servants, and dependents, store-houses for his property, and stabling for his horses. The open space in the centre is usually a mere bare court-yard, but, in some instances, it contains a little garden. The principal gardens are always on the outside of the castle, and the flocks, and herds of horses or camels, which belong to the Khaun, are kept at distant pastures, and attended by servants who live in tents.

At one of the gates of every castle, is a Mehmaunkhauneh, or house of guests, where travellers are entertained, and where the people of the village often come, to talk with the strangers, and hear the news.

The Khaun's apartments are furnished according to the fashion of the country, and though, as may be expected, the poorer Khauns live in great simplicity, yet the richer have rooms painted with various patterns, and spread with fine carpets and felts.

The Khauns themselves (I here speak of the common run of Khauns over the country) appear to be sober, decent, moderate men, who, though very plain, have still horses and servants, and are superior to the common Dooraunees in dress and manners. They are generally an industrious and respectable set of men, attached to agriculture, and anxious to improve their lands, treating their inferiors with mildness and good-will, and regarded by them with respect and esteem.

The title of Khaun is never given in public documents, but to the nobles who hold it by the King's patent, but the courtesy of the country gives it to the description of men I have been mentioning; as the title of Laird (Lord) in Scotland is given to a class of country gentlemen, who, in their rank in society, and their relation to the

common people, bear no slight resemblance to the petty Khauns of the Dooraunees.

Before I quit the agricultural part of the Dooraunees, I ought to say something of the Taujiks, and other people, not belonging to the tribe who, for the most part, reside with this class of the community.

The Taujiks bear a large proportion to the Dooraunees themselves.

Neither they nor the Afghaun Humsauyehs, pay any tax, or are subject to the servitude to which the Eusofzyes have reduced their Fakeers; they are not considered as equals, but the superiority claimed by the Dooraunees, rests rather on their more noble descent, and superior courage, than on any legal advantage they possess in the society.

The Afghaun Humsauyehs mix well with the Dooraunees, and, as they never come among them overburdened with property, they are in a situation rather to profit by their hospitality, than to suffer by their rapacity.

The pastoral part of the Dooraunee population is chiefly to be found in the hilly tract between Heraut and Seestaun, and in the waste plains of the south. The people to the south-east of Candahar are also much employed in pasturage. There are other shepherds in many of the agricultural parts of the country, as there are husbandmen in those most devoted to pasture.

The moving tribes north of Candahar remain in the plains in winter, and retire to the hills in summer; those south of Candahar find a refuge from the heat in the hills of Toba; but the greatest emigrants are the tribes beyond the Helmund, who almost universally retire to Seeahbund and Bauyaghuz, in the Paropamisan mountains, before the middle of spring. After that period, scarce an inhabitant is to be met with in the plains. This emigration lasts for three or four months.

All the shepherds, with the exception of those on the Upper

Helmund, live in Kizhdees, or black tents, which it is, therefore, necessary now to describe more particularly.

The Kizhdees of the common people are from twenty to twenty-five feet long, ten or twelve feet broad, and eight or nine feet high. They are supported by a row of poles, generally three in number, and are pitched like common tents, in such a manner that the lowest part of the cloth which forms the roof, is four or five feet from the ground. This space is closed by a curtain, which hangs down from the edge of the roof, and is tied to tent pins driven into the ground for the purpose. They are composed of coarse black camlet, sometimes single, and sometimes double, which affords excellent shelter from the weather; the threads of the blanket swell as soon as they are wetted, so that its texture, naturally close, soon becomes impervious to rain.

The tents of Khauns, and of people in good circumstances, are of a superior description to this, being large enough to contain a numerous assembly, and so high, as easily to admit a camel. Many of the Dooraunees line their tents with felt, which makes a much more comfortable residence in winter, and the floors of all are spread with Gulleems and felts. The tents of the common people are divided by a curtain, into an apartment for the men and another for the women; and the poorest Dooraunes have at least one other tent for their sheep. Besides these, the poor erect temporary huts of basket work, plaistered with mud, for their sheep; and some of the Humsauyehs themselves inhabit similar dwellings. A common Kizhdee costs about two tomauns, or four pounds Sterling.

The camps consist of from ten to fifty tents; one hundred is a number very unusually large. They pitch in one or two lines, according to their number, and the nature of the ground. The Mullik's tent is in the middle of the line. To the west of every camp is a space marked out with stones, which serves for a mosque, and at some distance there is often a tent for guests.

A large camp is called a Khail, and a small one Keellee.

The above is their order of encampment in winter, when they pitch their camps around the castles of their chiefs. At that season they drive their flocks to a distance to pasture, and eke out their green forage with hay, straw, vine leaves, and other dry fodder. In the cold parts of the country, they often trust almost entirely to this sort of food, and to such plants as the sheep can browse on among the snow. The greater part of the shepherds of those tracts, however, descend into the plains in winter, or retire into sheltered valleys, and feed their flocks on the sunny sides of the hills.

In spring, when grass is plenty in all places, and the season for lambing renders it inconvenient to drive the flocks far from home, the shepherds break up their camps and disperse over the country, pitching by twos and threes, wherever they meet with an agreeable spot. Many such spots are found in the beginning of spring, even in the worst parts of the Dooraunee country, and the neighbourhood of the high hills especially affords many delightful retreats in sequestered valleys, or in green meadows on the borders of running streams.

The delight with which the Dooraunees dwell on the description of the happy days spent in these situations, and the regrets which are excited by the remembrance of them, when in distant countries, can only be believed by those who have seen them; while the enthusiasm with which they speak of the varieties of scenery through which they pass, and of the beauties and pleasures of spring, is such as one can scarce hear from so unpolished a people without surprise.

Though these camps are so small, and situated in such retired situations, we must not suppose that their inhabitants live in solitude. Many other camps are within reach, and the people belonging to them often meet to hunt, by chance or by appointment. Sheep-shearing feasts and ordinary entertainments also bring men of different camps together; and they are besides often amused by the arrival of an itinerant tradesman, a wandering ballad-singer, or a traveller who avails himself of their known hospitality.

This sort of life is perhaps seen in most perfection in the summer

of Toba, which belongs to the Atchikzyes. That extensive district is diversified and well wooded. The grass is excellent and abundant, and is mixed with a profusion of flowers; and the climate is so mild as scarcely to render shelter necessary either by night or day. This agreeable country is covered in summer with camps of Dooraunees and Tereens, who all live on the most friendly terms, visiting at each others camps, and making frequent hunting parties together. They often invite each other to dinner at their camps, where the strangers repair in their best clothes, and are received with more ceremony and attention than is usual in the more familiar intercourse of immediate neighbours. On these occasions, companies of twelve or fifteen assemble to dine in the open air, pass the evening with part of the night in games, dancing, and songs, and separate without any of the debauchery and consequent brawls which so often disturb the merriment of the common people in other countries. Their fare at that period is luxurious to their taste: lamb is in season, and cooroot *, maust †, curds, cream, cheese, butter, and every thing that is produced from milk, are in abundance. Thus they pass the summer; at last winter approaches, snow begins to fall on the tops of the hills, and the shepherds disperse to their distant countries, to Urghessaun, to Pisheen, to Rabaut, and to the borders of the desart.

Yet this peaceful and sociable disposition must not be imagined to animate the pastoral tribes on all occasions: those who inhabit the frontier towards Persia and Belochistaun, are fierce and active in their border wars. Even the Atchikzyes, whose country is the scene of the tranquil and simple life I have been describing, are the most warlike, and by far the most predatory of the Dooraunee tribe. This may seem inconsistent, but it is by no means the first instance of the union of a predatory and martial spirit with the innocence of a pastoral life, and even with a great degree of sensibility to the charms

* The hardened curd already described.

† A sort of soft curd, which is slightly acid, but very agreeable to the taste. It is called dhye in India, and yourt in Turkey.

of romantic scenery and of social enjoyment. All Greece, in the age of Homer, furnished examples of the same apparent inconsistency. The Scottish border, in modern times, bore the same character, and the songs of its inhabitants, alternately exult in the pillage and havoc of a foray, and breathe the softest and tenderest sentiments of love and purity. Even the Arcadians themselves, from whom we draw all our notions of the golden age of shepherds, were a warlike race, and it was the mutual depredations of the little cantons into which Arcadia was divided, that at length drove her shepherds from their flocks and mountains to the safety of walled towns. *

To return to the composition of Dooraunee camps, each camp is composed of men of one family, but there are in each a number of Humsauyahs, chiefly Caukers and Ghiljies. They have sometimes Taujiks, and more frequently Eimauks, among them, who work as smiths, carpenters, and (metayers) buzgurs. The existence of these last in the camps may seem surprising; but all the moving hordes of Dooraunees cultivate a little ground, and they leave the charge of it to their buzgurs while they are absent from their own country. They even carry on a little husbandry at their eilauks or summer stations, but it does not seem to go much beyond raising melons and a very small quantity of grain.

They all give a share of the increase of their flocks to the person in whose lands they encamp while out of their own country.

Far the greatest part of their flocks consist in sheep. They also keep goats, the numbers of which are great or small in proportion to the sheep, as the country is more or less hilly. In some parts, one third of the flock is composed of goats, in others they only keep a few goats to lead the sheep in grazing. Those near the desart, and those in easy circumstances, have camels on which they carry their tents and baggage: they sell the males and retain the females for breeding. The poor use bullocks and asses. Almost every man has

* I hope I shall not be understood to represent the Afghauns as at all resembling the Arcadians of Pastoral Poetry.

a horse, and a great number of them keep grey-hounds. The men have very little employment: one man, or two at most, are enough to take care of all the sheep of a camp, and even this is often done by a shepherd hired from among the Humsauyahs. Their little cultivation is carried on by Buzgurs, who are generally Humsauyahs also. Their busiest time is in spring: the flocks are then sent out to feed at night, and require twice the usual number of shepherds: it is then also that they have their lambs to take care of, and their sheep to shear; but these labours are of no long duration. They shear the sheep again in the end of autumn. During their marches, which never exceed five or six miles, they have their cattle to load and drive, and their tents to pitch; but all in-door work is done by the women, who also make their clothes, and often weave their gulleems, the camlet for their tents, and a shewy kind of rug which they use for covering horses. Most of their caps, boots, &c. &c. are purchased in the towns, whither some of the shepherds repair occasionally to sell their croot and clarified butter, their felts and blankets, and their lambs and he camels.

Having detailed the points in which the inhabitants of villages and those of camps differ from each other, I resume the description of those which they have in common.

The people about towns, most of those in villages, and all those of the shepherds who are in easy circumstances, wear a dress nearly resembling that of Persia; which, though not very convenient, is remarkably decorous, and with the addition of a beard, gives an appearance of gravity and respectability to the lowest of the common people *. See Plate VIII.

* It consists of a cotton shirt, over which is a tunic sitting close to the body; with skirts reaching half way down the leg, which come quite round and cross each other in front. This is called the ulkhaulik. It is generally made of chintz, and that of Masulipatam, which comes from India by the circuitous channel of Persia, is most admired: over this is a tunic called the kubba, shaped very like the other, and either made of a coarse brown woollen cloth, or of a very strong cloth made of cotton, and called kudduk. This upper garment is sometimes of a bright colour, but generally dark, and bottle green

A Dooraunee Gentleman.

Published by Mess.rs Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, 1818.

The poorer Dooraunees, particularly among the shepherds, wear the wide shirt and mantle represented in Plate (II.)

The poor only change their clothes on Fridays, and often only every other Friday; but they bathe once a week at least, and their prayers require them to wash their faces, beards, hands, and arms, many times in the course of every day.

The little Khauns over the country wear the Persian dress, their cubbas or coats are made of silk, sattin, or a mixture of silk and cotton called gurmsoot, and sometimes of brocade; and they all wear shawl girdles, and a shawl round their cap. Their cloaks also are of broad cloth, often red, or of silk of different colours.

The food of the rich is nearly the same as that of the same class in Persia, fat, highly spiced pilaws, various kinds of ragouts, and joints of meat stewed in rich sauces. Most Europeans, I think, would relish this cookery, but I have heard the mixture of sweet things with all sorts of dishes in Persia complained of, and I suppose the same objection applies here. Their drink is sherbet, which is made of various fruits, and some kinds of it are very pleasant.

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is the commonest colour. It is tied across the breast, but the strings are concealed, and a row of covered silk buttons runs down one side of the front with a row of silk loops on the other, though at much too great a distance to button. The sleeves are closed with a long row of buttons and loops which run up the inside of the arm. They wear wide coloured trowsers of silk or cotton, short stockings in winter, and Persian shoes, which are round and broad at the toes and narrow towards the heels: they are shod with iron like German boots, and the inner part on which the heel rests has a piece of wood to fit it, covered with a thin plate of ivory, in which some figures are inlaid in black. The shoes are made of brown leather well tanned.

The head-dress is a cap, about six inches high, made of quilted silk or chintz: there are two ways of making this cap, one of which is represented in Plate II. and the other in Plate VIII.

A loongee or a coarse shawl is always worn round the waist as a girdle, and the old men often twist another loongee round their caps like a turban.

Many people of the lower order wear the ulkhaulik or under tunic only, without the cubba, and all wear a cloak over the rest of their dress: in summer it is made of some light cloth, and in winter of sheep-skin or felt.

The food of the common people is bread, kooroot, clarified butter, and occasionally flesh and cheese. The shepherds, and the villagers, in spring, also use a great deal of curds, cheese, milk, cream, and butter *. They also eat vegetables, and a great deal of fruit. Those in camps only get melons, but the settled inhabitants have all our best English fruits.

The shepherds eat much more butcher's meat than the husbandmen; even these have it occasionally, and no entertainment is ever given without flesh. Mutton is the kind most generally eaten. They eat it fresh in summer, but in winter they have a sort of smoke-dried flesh which they call Laund, or Lundye. They almost universally boil their meat, and make a very palatable soup, which is eaten with bread at the beginning of their dinner. When they vary from this standing dish, they stew their meat with onions, or make it into pilaw. Some of the shepherds have a way of baking mutton like that used in the south-sea islands. They cut the meat into pieces, and enclose it in the skin of the sheep, which they put into a hole in the earth, and surround with red hot stones. Meat thus dressed is said to be juicy and well tasted.

I describe the dress and food in so much detail, because it is applicable, with some modifications, to all the western Afghauns.

The appearance of the Dooraunees is prepossessing; they are stout men, with good complexions, and fine beards, of which they always encourage the growth, though the young men clip them into shape; they always shave a stripe down the middle of the head, and most men crop the remainder; some, however, wear long curls, and some of the shepherds allow their hair to grow to its full length all over their heads.

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* The clarified butter keeps long without spoiling. The cream is either common cream, or a preparation called Kymauk, which is made from boiled milk, and is something like clouted cream. The bread is generally leavened and baked in ovens, of which there is one in every house and tent. They also eat unleavened bread toasted on an iron plate like what is used for oat cakes in Scotland.

There is great variety of feature among the Dooraunees; some have round plump faces, and some have traits in no way strongly marked; but most of them have raised features, and high cheek bones. Their demeanour, though manly, is modest, and they never discover either ferocity or vulgarity.

They never go armed, except on journeys, when they carry a Persian sword, and perhaps a matchlock; shields are out of use, and bows are only kept for amusement. Those in good circumstances have plate and chain armour, carbines with firelocks, pistols, and lances. They often have a long bayonet, of a peculiar construction, fixed to their matchlocks. *

They have no feuds among themselves, nor with their neighbours, except in the south-west, and, consequently, their only opportunity of showing their prowess is in national wars, in which their reputation has always stood very high. The strongest, and by far the most efficient body in the regular army, is composed of the contingent of this tribe, and in an invasion of their country, the safety of the monarchy would depend on the voluntary courage of the Dooraunees.

The Dooraunees are all religious; there is not a village, or a camp, however small, without a Moollah, and there probably is not a man (except among the Atchikzyes) who omits his prayers. Yet they are perfectly tolerant, even to Sheeahs; except among those very Atchickzyes, who are themselves so indifferent to the forms of religion. The Moollahs in the country are quiet and inoffensive people. Few of the lower order can read, but almost all the Dooraunees understand and speak Persian, and many can repeat passages from the most celebrated poets in that language, and in their own.

Their customs relating to marriage are nearly the same as those of the other Afghauns. They usually marry when the man is eighteen or twenty, and the girl from fourteen to sixteen.

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* See Plate VIII.

The employments of the women have been alluded to. They are almost as regular as the men in their prayers. Their husbands treat them kindly, and it is not uncommon for a woman to have a great ascendancy over her husband, and even to be looked up to in the family for her wisdom. A lady of this kind assumed the absolute command of a caravan with which Mr. Foster * travelled, and that gentleman profited in no small degree by her protection.

The men and women live and eat together when the family is by itself, but at their parties they are always separate. Their visitors, their sports, and all their meetings are apart.

The men often assemble in the mosque, the Hoojra, or the Mehmaunkhauneh, where they smoke, take snuff, and talk of their crops, their flocks, the little incidents of their society; or of the conduct of the great, and the politics of the kingdom. Hunting and shooting are also favourite amusements, and it is among the Dooraunees and other western Afghauns, that the games and sports which have been so fully described, are by far the most practised and enjoyed. They dance the Attunn almost every evening, and they never have a meeting without songs and tales.

From the account I have given, the condition of the Dooraunees must be admitted to be happy, as long as it is not rendered otherwise, by causes foreign to the usual habits of their lives. The present confusions, one would think, must disturb those near the cities and great roads, though it may not reach the inhabitants of retired parts of the country; but the evidence of Mr. Durie, who was at Candahar in 1811, and who chiefly saw the neighbourhood of that city, and the high way from it to Caubul, leads to an opposite conclusion. "The "people of the Khyles," says Mr. Durie, "both men and women are "very happy, as far as I saw, and in the towns too, they appear to "be very happy, only when any kind of contest takes place among "the chiefs, it is then that plunder takes place." In fact, all evi-

* See his Travels, pages 95. 97, &c. vol. ii.

dence represents the Dooraunees in the country to be quite secure from the effects of the struggles among the chiefs, and, in the towns, it is probable that the storm produced by those struggles, passed over the heads of the people among whom Mr. Durie lived, and that it was only when a city was taken almost by assault, that they suffered from the revolutions which surrounded them.

The hospitality so conspicuous amongst all the Afghauns, is particularly so with the Dooraunees. Every stranger is welcome wherever he goes. The smallest and poorest camp has its arrangements for the reception of guests, and the greatest nobleman is not exempted from the necessity of providing food and lodging for all who approach his castle.

In most villages, travellers go to the mosque or Hoojra; and in common times, the first person they meet entertains them. In times of scarcity, they are supplied either by a subscription from the inhabitants, or, much more frequently, by the person whose turn it is to entertain a guest: bread, kooroot, and clarified butter, are always provided, to which flesh and soup are added, if a sheep has been killed in the village. If an entertainment is going on at any house in the village, the traveller is immediately invited to it, and received with the same attention as if he were a friend and neighbour; and when he retires to rest, he is provided with covering by the person who is allotted to be his host.

This hospitality is not limited to Afghauns, or even to Mahommedans; a Hindoo who came into a Dooraunee village, would meet with the same reception, although his religion would not allow him to eat with his entertainers, even if they had no scruples in his company.

Mr. Durie, who passed through the country during a great scarcity, was every where fed, and furnished with tobacco, though it often cost his entertainer a great deal of trouble to procure the last article for him, as the crop of it had entirely failed throughout the country. When his feet were sore with walking, they gave him butter to rub them with, and pressed him to stay a day or two. He was some-

times obliged to go round the camp, and receive the contributions of the inhabitants himself, but, though he was often known to be a Christian, and at all times must have been a foreigner of a very singular appearance and behaviour, he never met with a refusal or a taunt, and nobody ever shewed a disposition to laugh at the oddness of his appearance. Nor did this proceed from dulness or want of observation, for, on the same occasions, the very women used to question him about his travels, and to shew great curiosity about India and the English.

It is strange that the next quality of the Dooraunees I have to mention, should be their love of rapine, but of that defect they are less guilty than most other tribes. Almost all the people I have conversed with, say that none of them plunder the roads, except the Atchikzyes, and some few wretches who take advantage of troubled times, to molest travellers; but some accounts of good authority, contradict these statements. I think it probable that the people of those parts of the country which are out of sight of the government, are always addicted to robbery, and that during civil war, the number of these marauders is greatly increased. It ought also to be observed, that during troubled times the exercise of private revenge, and all other disorders, subsist, with greater chance of impunity, and, therefore, to a greater extent, than when the government is settled. In short, their virtues and vices are those of their country, and they appear to have more of the first, and fewer of the last, than any other tribe.

The Dooraunees are distinguished from the other Afghauns by their consciousness of superiority, combined with a sense of national dignity, which gives them more spirit, courage, and elevation of character than the other tribes, at the same time that it renders their behaviour more liberal and humanized. They are extremely attached to their country, and have a sort of reverence for Candahar, which they say contains the tombs of their ancestors; the bodies of their great men are carried thither to be buried, even from Cashmeer and Sind. They travel little, and always long to return

home; they never come to India as merchants or adventurers, and are seldom found settled out of their native country. They are a great deal more popular with the other tribes, than one would expect among a people so jealous of superiors; the oppressions of their government, and irregularities of their troops, are often felt and exclaimed against; but all acknowledge their natural superiority, and even the tribes in rebellion treat Dooraunees with respect. There is not an inhabitant of the Caubul dominions, who would hesitate between the Dooraunees and Ghiljies, or who does not look with dread to the chance of the ascendancy of the latter tribe.

Even the Ghiljies themselves, though animated by the rancour of unsuccessful rivalry, though inveterate against the government, and though really subject to oppression, acknowledge the merits of the Dooraunees as individuals, and place them above all the Afghauns in hospitality as well as in courage.*

The Atchikzyes differ so much from the other Dooraunees, that I have reserved them for a separate description.

They are by no means a numerous tribe, most accounts fixing their numbers at five thousand families. In my opinion they do not exceed three thousand.

They are all herdsmen or shepherds, and though they cultivate a

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* The following dialogue was taken down almost at the moment when it past between a Ghiljie and me. He had left his country in the mountains of Solimaun, on account of a murder, and had joined a party of banditti, who lived in the south of Seestaun, and used to plunder the Dooraunee country. I asked him if they killed Dooraunees who fell into their hands? He said, "We never let one escape; and now, if I had an opportunity, I would not give one time to drink water;" and after a pause, "Are we not enemies?" I asked him what sort of people the Dooraunees were? "Good people. They dress well, they are hospitable, they are not treacherous; yet we would go among them, and serve them, eat their salt, and then set fire to their houses; our hearts burn because we have lost the kingdom, and we wish to see the Dooraunees as poor as ourselves. They say, 'come let us be united;' you have taken our kingdom, killed our brothers, and led away our women prisoners, and shall we unite with you?"

Other Ghiljies, while they praised their manners, said they were full of dissimulation and guile.

little land, it is not on it that they depend for subsistence. Their flocks are kept in the range of Khojeh Amraun, and the high country of Toba; and their herds of camels in the sandy tract north-east of Shoraubuk. They have also many horses, so that you scarcely ever meet an Atchikzye on foot.

Their Sirdar has more power than most of the Dooraunee chiefs; but even that power, with his utmost exertions, is not sufficient to check the predatory spirit of his tribe. No traveller can enter their country without being plundered, and they often make nightly expeditions into the lands of their neighbours to steal. Skill in theft, and boldness in robbery, are great qualities among them, and a great deal of the conversation of the young men turns on the exploits of this kind which they have performed, or projected. Their robberies, however, are never aggravated by murder.

Their dress is like that of the pastoral Dooraunees; but in winter they make their whole dress, shirts, trowsers, caps, and all, of felt.

They live almost entirely on mutton or goat's flesh. They eat little grain, and they have scarce any black cattle among them.

They wear their clothes unchanged for months, their beards unclipped, and their hair long and shaggy. They are very large and strong men.

Their manners are rough and barbarous, but they are not quarrelsome among themselves. Their cudgelling matches are fierce, when they have them, but they arise in disputes about property, and not in high words or offences to personal pride.

They are not hospitable, they have no mosques, and seldom pray, or trouble themselves about religion; the few Moollahs they have, say their Namauz at home. All tribes are loud in their complaints against them, and the Dooraunees will hardly acknowledge them for clansmen.

They are, however, excellent soldiers. The talents, courage, and fidelity of their late Sirdar, Goolistaun Khaun, were long the support of Shauh Shujau's cause, in defence of which he lost his life; and his justice and moderation are still gratefully remembered by the

inhabitants of Peshawer and Caubul, who have, at different times, been under his government.

The city of Candahar is large and populous. Heraut and Candahar are the only cities in the Dooraunee country; and, except Furra, probably the only places which even merit the name of a town. The ancient city is sometimes said to have been founded by Lohrasp, a Persian King who flourished in times of very remote antiquity, and to whom also the founding of Heraut is attributed. It is asserted by others, with far greater probability, to have been built by Secunder Zoolkurnyne, that is, by Alexander the Great. The traditions of the Persians here agree with the conjectures of European geographers, who fix on this site for one of the cities called Alexandria.

The ancient city stood till the reign of the Ghiljies, when Shauh Hoossein founded a new city under the name of Husseinabad. Nadir Shauh attempted again to alter the scite of the town, and built Nadirabad; at last Ahmed Shauh founded the present city *, to which he gave the name of Ahmed Shauhee, and the title of *Ashrefool Belaud*, or the noblest of cities; by that name and title it is still mentioned in public papers, and in the language of the court; but the old name of *Candahar* still prevails among the people, though it has lost its rhyming addition of *Daurool Kurrar*, or the abode of quiet. Ahmed Shauh himself marked out the limits of the present city, and laid down the regular plan which is still so remarkable in its execution; he surrounded it with a wall, and proposed to have added a ditch; but the Dooraunees are said to have objected to his fortifications, and to have declared that *their* ditch was the Chemen of Bistaun (a meadow near Bistaun in the most western part of Persian Khorassaun). Candahar was the capital of the Dooraunee empire in Ahmed Shauh's time, but Timour changed the seat of government to Caubul.

I am utterly at a loss how to fix the extent of Candahar, or the

* In 1753, or 54.

number of inhabitants it contains. I have always heard that Candahar was larger than Heraut; but Captain Christie, who resided for a month at Heraut, considers the numbers of its inhabitants to be one hundred thousand, a number which I cannot reconcile with the comparison I have heard between Candahar and Peshawer. *

The form of Candahar is an oblong square, and as it was built, at once, on a fixed plan, it has the advantage of great regularity. Four long and broad bazars meet in the middle of the town, and at the place of their junction, there is a circular space of about forty or fifty yards in diameter, covered with a dome, into which all the four streets lead.

This place is called the Chaursoo; it is surrounded with shops, and may be considered as the public market-place; it is there that proclamations are made, and that the bodies of criminals are exposed to the view of the populace. Part of the adjoining bazar is also covered in, as is usual in Persia, and in the west of the Afghaun dominions.

The four bazars are each about fifty yards broad; the sides consist of shops of the same size and plan, in front of which runs an uniform veranda for the whole length of the street. These shops are only one story high, and the lofty houses of the town are seen over them. There are gates issuing into the country at the end of all the bazars, except the northern one, where stands the King's palace facing the Chaursoo.

Its external appearance is described as not remarkable, but it contains several courts, many buildings, and a private garden. All the bazars, except that leading to the palace, were at one time planted

* I feel much greater hesitation in every thing I have to say of towns which I have not seen, than in my accounts of the country; the inhabitants of the country are less given to falsehood, and a comparison with neighbouring regions renders it easier to detect them, when they are disposed to exaggerate; nor is it so easy to invent a consistent account of the produce and character of a country, as to magnify the size, and heighten the magnificence of a town.

with trees; and a narrow canal is said to have run down the middle of each; but many of the trees have withered, and if the canals ever existed, they are now no longer visible. The city is, however, very well watered by two large canals drawn from the Urghundaub, which are crossed in different places by little bridges. From these canals, small water-courses run to almost every street in the town, which are in some streets open, and in some under ground. All the other streets run from the four great bazars. Though narrow, they are all straight, and almost all cross each other at right angles.

The town is divided into many Mohullas, or quarters, each of which belongs to one of the numerous tribes and nations which form the inhabitants of the city. Almost all the great Dooraunees have houses in Candahar, and some of them are said to be large and elegant.

There are many caravanserais and mosques; but of the latter, one only near the palace, is said to be handsome. The tomb of Ahmed Shauh also stands near the palace; it is not a large building, but has a handsome cupola, and is elegantly painted, gilt, and otherwise ornamented within. It is held in high veneration by the Dooraunees, and is an asylum against all enemies, even the King not venturing to touch a man who has taken refuge there. When any of the great lords are discontented, it is common for them to give out that they intend to quit the world, and to spend their lives in prayer at the tomb of Ahmed Shauh; and certainly, if ever an Asiatic king deserved the gratitude of his country, it was Ahmed Shauh.

On the whole, Candahar, though it is superior to most of the cities in Asia in its plan, is by no means magnificent. It is built for the most part of brick, often with no other cement than mud. The Hindoos, as usual, have the best houses of the common people, and they adhere to their custom of building them very high. The streets of Candahar are very crowded from noon till evening, and all the various trades that have been described at Peshawer, are also carried on there, except that of water-sellers, which is here unnecessary, as there are reservoirs every where, furnished with leathern buckets,

fitted to handles of wood or horn, for people to draw water with. Ballad-singers and story-tellers are also numerous in the bazars, and all articles from the west, are in much greater plenty and perfection than at Peshawer.

Contrary to what is the case with other cities in Afghaunistaun, the greater part of the inhabitants of Candahar are Afghauns, and of these by far the greater number are Dooraunees. But their condition here bears no resemblance to that of their brethren in the country. The peculiar institutions of the Afghaun tribes are superseded by the existence of a strong government, regular courts of law, and an efficient police. The rustic customs of the Afghauns are also in a great measure laid aside; and, in exteriors, the inhabitants of Candahar a good deal resemble the Persians; the resemblance is, however, confined to the exterior, for their characters are still marked with all the peculiarities of their nation. The other inhabitants are Taujiks, Eimauks, Hindoos, Persians, Seestaunees, and Beloches, with a few Uzbeks, Arabs, Armenians, and Jews.

There are many gardens and orchards round Candahar, and many places of worship, where the inhabitants make parties more for pleasure than devotion. Their way of life is that of the other inhabitants of towns, which has already been explained.

Shoraubuk, the country inhabited by the tribe of Baraich, is situated between the Dooraunee lands on the north, and the mountains belonging to the Brahoee Beloches on the south; the range of Khojeh Amraun (there called Roghaunee and Speentaizeh), separates it from Pisheen on the east; and the great sandy desart extends round all its western frontier. The south-western part is inhabited by Rind Beloches, to whom Noshky, forty or fifty miles from Shoraubuk, belongs.

It is cut by the river Lora, near which are some trees and bushes, but the rest is a bare plain of hard clay, quite flat, and very arid. The whole country is about sixty miles square. The number of inhabitants is two thousand five hundred, or three thousand families. They are divided into four clans, under four Khauns, who have great

power. The King receives four hundred horse from the tribe, and takes no farther concern in its affairs.

They have many camels that feed on their numerous and extensive wastes, are used to ride on, and are almost the only animal used to draw the plough.

They live in Cooddools, or large arched huts of wattled tamarisk branches, covered with hurdles of basket work, and plaistered with clay. The rich, however, have often houses; and all spend the spring in tents on the borders of the desart, which is their greatest pleasure. Their dress, food, and manners, are like those of the rudest Dooraunees, but they often eat camels' flesh, and even horse flesh. They are a very simple and inoffensive people.

Adjoining to the Baraiches on the east, is Pisheen, the country of the Tereens. That tribe is divided into two great branches; the Tor (or black) Tereens, and the Speen (or white) Tereens. It is the Tor Tereens who inhabit Pisheen.

Pisheen is divided from the Dooraunee country on the north by hills; other hills cut it off from the Caukers on the east; and on the south, it is divided from Shawl by the range of Tukkatoo, which stretches east from the Table Land of Kelaut. Its greatest length is about eighty miles from north-east to south-east, its greatest breadth about forty miles.

Pisheen is much higher than Shoraubuk. Its surface is much more uneven, and it is much better cultivated. It also is divided by the Lora. Bullocks are a great deal more used to plough than camels, though these are numerous.

The principal employment of the people is agriculture, but a great proportion of them is occupied in trade between Candahar and Upper Sinde, and in the business of carriers.

Their manners have a great resemblance to those of the Dooraunees, with whom they are closely connected both by descent and friendship.

The Khaun is on the same footing as a Dooraune Sirdar; but the

King never interferes with him, except to call for the service of his contingent, or his personal attendance at court.

The number of inhabitants of Pisheen may be guessed at eight or ten thousand families.

A great part of the population consists of Syuds, whose habits and employments are the same as those of the Tereens. In common with the whole of the prophet's family, they have the reputation, and, in consequence, perhaps the merit, of courage and good morals. The Tor Tereens, the Syuds, and some Cauker Humsauyehs, are the only people in Pisheen.

The Speen Tereens possess the long valley of Zawura, and the open plains of Tull and Chooteeallee, countries which extend from near Pisheen to the range of Solimaun, within a march or two of Upper Sind. They are separated from the Tor Tereens by a portion of the Cauker country, but they are under the authority of the common Khaun, who makes an annual journey to assemble their share of the Tereen contingent, or to receive the fine which they generally pay in preference to personal service. Their manners are those of the Tor Tereens, greatly mixed with those of the Caukers, in the midst of whom they reside.

CHAP. V.

THE GHILJIES, CITIES OF GHUSNEE AND CAUBUL, WURDUKS, AND CAUKERS.

THE lower part of the valley of the Turnuk has been described as belonging to the Dooraunees; a ruined bridge to the east of Toot, which is called Poolee Sungee (or the stone bridge), lies between their territory and that of the Ghiljies, and the boundary line will not be very incorrect, if it be drawn through that point, north and south, from the Paropamisan mountains, to the hills on the right of the Urghessaun. The north-western boundary may be said to be formed by the Paropamisan mountains, though some hilly tracts dependant on that range, are included in the Ghiljie lands; and, on the other hand, a narrow tract of sixty miles long, is cut out of them between Caubul and Ghuznee, and belongs to the Wurduks. On the north, the river of Pungsheer divides it for some distance from the Cohistaun of Caubul; but after that river has joined the river of Caubul, the Ghiljie country crosses it, and occupies both banks as far east as the heights above Jellallabad, where it meets the country of the Berdooraunees. The rest of its eastern frontier is formed by the mountains of Solimaun. Its southern limits are ill defined; on the south-east it has Wanneh, and some other barren tracts about the Gomul: on the south-west it is divided by hills from Urghessaun, and in the intermediate portion of the southern frontier, the pasture grounds of the Ghiljies are sometimes intermixed with those of the Caukers, and sometimes separated from them by wastes of considerable extent; but as they are desarts for which no one would contend,

there is little reason to regret the impossibility of assigning with precision the shares of the two tribes.

The country comprehended within these limits is various. The valley of the Turnuk, enclosed between the Paropamisan mountains on its north-west, and the hills which run from Mooker to Kellace Abdoo Reheem on its south-east, is a plain diversified by swells and hollows; its length is upwards of sixty miles, and its breadth under twenty. It is high and ill watered, and the last defect increases with its height, so that near Mookkoor, it is scarcely fitted either for agriculture or pasture; of the remainder, the central part on the river is partially cultivated; beyond that, on each side is unfertile; it is covered with bushes alone, has few Cahreezes, and fewer villages, and is only used as pasture land in summer, by tribes who withdraw to other climates when the cold sets in. The villages which have flourished in this district, suffered greatly in the Ghiljie rebellion, and are now in a state of decay; Kelaut, the largest of them, which is considered as a town, and is the residence of the chief of the clan of Tokhee, contains only two or three hundred houses. The northern part under the hills, affords more grass, and is full of camps in the season.

The tract dependant on the Paropamisan mountains, is inhabited by predatory Tokhees, and, from the character of the inhabitants, one would expect it to be rough and poor; it seems, accordingly, to be composed of hills destitute of water, and perhaps of soil, with valleys too narrow to admit of much cultivation. The inhabitants live in tents, and are supported by their flocks.

To the south of the range of hills which runs from Mookkoor to Kellace Abdooreheem, is a tract of country, of which the part to the north of the 32d parallel of latitude, is crossed by hills enclosing plains, which in many places are watered by Cahreezes, and in others support numerous hordes of shepherds. Among the best cultivated spots, are Hullataugh, Ghoondaun, and Puntunye; but Kellace Abdooreheem Khaun alone deserves particular notice, as being the capital of the clan of Hotukee, and the chief fort of the descendants of the

Ghiljie Kings. It is, however, a place of no strength, and is surrounded by black tents, with a few houses. It stands in a small district called Ghwurra Murgha; which is divided by hills from the valley of the Urghessaun, into which the stream that passes Kellace Abdooreeheem, nevertheless makes its way.

The Ghiljie country to the south of latitude 32°, consists chiefly of sandy plains, and high stony tracts, or barren hills: that in the south-east, near the junction of the Coondoor and the Gomul, is of the last description; but there, in the midst of lofty and inaccessible mountains, is the little valley of Mummye, where Abdooreeheem Khaun (the head of the Ghiljies, and their King during the rebellion), has found a secure retreat from the real or imagined resentment of the Dooraunee government. It is inhabited by shepherds in tents, but Abdooreheem has founded a fort, and is making a garden, and, perhaps, introducing agriculture.

From the meridian of Mookoor, to the hills on the right bank of the Gomul, and from Ghwashta to Ghuznee, is the bason of the Aubistaudeh, an open country of various fertility, and in different states of improvement: the districts of Mookoor, Karrabaugh, and Nannee, to the west of Ghuznee, are naturally unfertile, and thinly inhabited: the testimony of the natives assigns one hundred and twenty forts, or castles, to Mookoor, and one hundred to Karrabaugh; and, as almost every village in the Ghiljie country is a fort, and none in this part contains more than five or six families, the account is probably correct.

The country to the south of these districts, and that called Kuttawauz, which extends from Ghwashta, to within twenty miles of Ghuznee, are open, partially cultivated, and watered by Cahreezes, and by some brooks that run into the Aubistaudeh. The borders of that lake are covered with low tamarisks, and a plane tree, a poplar, or a willow, may be found here and there near a Cahreez; but there is no natural wood, and the country is naked and uniform.

Divided from this tract by the Gomul, and the hills on its right

bank, are the woody mountains and narrow plains of the Kharotees; but I shall leave them for a fuller description hereafter.

Immediately to the south of Ghuznee is the rich district of Shilgur, which, with the country round the city, is highly cultivated, and abounds in villages and gardens. Though it has little natural wood, many plane trees and poplars are planted, for the sake of the timber; the want of which article is, however, felt in all this country, and is remedied in building, by the use of the arched roof.

Ghuznee itself, which eight centuries ago was the capital of an empire, reaching from the Tigris to the Ganges, and from the Jaxartes to the Persian gulf, is now reduced to a town containing about fifteen hundred houses, besides suburbs without the walls. The town stands on a height, at the foot of which flows a pretty large stream. It is surrounded by stone walls, and contains three bazars of no great breadth, with high houses on each side, and a covered Chaursoo, besides several dark and narrow streets. Some few remains of the ancient grandeur of the city are still to be seen in its neighbourhood, particularly two lofty minarets, which stand at some distance from each other, and are of different heights, the least, upwards of one hundred feet high. The tomb of the great Sultan Mahmood is also standing, about three miles from the city. It is a spacious, but not a magnificent building, covered with a cupola. The doors, which are very large, are of sandal wood, and are said to have been brought by the Sultan as a trophy from the famous temple of Somnaut in Guzerat, which he sacked in his last expedition to India. The tomb-stone is of white marble, on which are sculptured Arabic verses from the Koraun, and at its head lies the plain but weighty mace, which is said to have been wielded by the monarch himself. It is of wood, with a head of metal so heavy, that few men can use it. There are also some thrones, or chairs, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, in the tomb, which are said to have belonged to Mahmood. The tomb-stone is under a canopy, and some Moollahs are still maintained, who incessantly read the Koraun aloud over the grave.

There are some other ruins of less note, among which are the tombs of Behlole Dauna (or Behlole the Wise) and that of Hukeem Sunauee, a poet still greatly esteemed in Persia; but nothing remains to shew the magnificence of the palaces of the Gaznavide kings (which at one time were the residence of Ferdausee, the Homer of Asia), or of the mosques, baths, and caravanseras, which once adorned the capital of the East. Of all the antiquities of Ghuznee, the most useful is an embankment across a stream, which was built by Mahmood, and which, though damaged by the fury of the Ghoree kings at the capture of Ghuznee, still supplies water to the fields and gardens round the town. The immediate environs of the city are inhabited by Taujiks and Hazaurehs; and the valley which is contiguous to them on the north, belongs to the Wurduks; but the country between the hills which bound that valley on the east, and the mountains of Solimaun is inhabited by the Ghiljies. It is crossed by several high ranges of hills: but among them are found the rich valley of Gurdaiz (which contains a town of many hundred houses); the plain of Khurwaur, and the still more extensive plains of Zoormool and Logur. These districts are surrounded with hills, but are fertile, well watered, and well cultivated: the three first belong to the Ghiljies, though a large portion of the inhabitants are Taujiks: Logur is divided between the Ghiljies and the Taujik tribe of Burrukee, but Altamoor on the east of Logur, and the high cold barren valley of Speiga, which runs up from Logur towards the ridge of Solimaun, afford pasture to the flocks of the Ghiljie clan of Ahmedzye. The highly cultivated lands for twenty miles round Caubul are occupied both by Ghiljies and Taujiks, but the numbers and manners of the Taujiks prevail, and the whole is formed into a separate government distinct from the Ghiljies; I shall, however, notice it in this place, as it is situated in the midst of the Ghiljee lands.

The city of Caubul is enclosed on three sides by a semicircle of low hills, along the top of which runs a weak wall. There is an opening towards the east, which is enclosed by a rampart, and here the principal road enters through a gate, after passing a bridge over the river.

The Balla Hissaur, which stands on the part of the hill north of this entrance, is a kind of citadel, and contains the King's palace, in which are several halls distinguished with the royal ornament of a gilded cupola. There is an upper citadel used as a state prison for princes of the blood.

In the centre of the city is an open square, whence issue four bazars two stories high, arched over like those already mentioned. Most of the buildings of Caubul are of wood, a material recommended by its power of resisting the frequent earthquakes, with which this place is visited.

Caubul, though not an extensive city, is compact and handsome. The descriptions I have given of other towns will suffice for it, if it be recollected that it is the seat of the court and the grand emporium of trade. The abundance and arrangement of its bazars have been already a theme of praise to an European traveller *. The city is divided by the stream which bears its name, and is surrounded, particularly on the north and west, by numerous gardens and groves of fruit trees. The most pleasing spot about it is the tomb of the emperor Bauber, which is situated at the top of a hill over the city, surrounded by beds of anemonies and other flowers, and commanding a noble prospect. The town itself, and the neighbouring meadows, fields, and orchards, watered by streams, interspersed with villages, and encompassed by mountains, all contribute to the grandeur and variety of the landscape.

The charms of the climate and scenery of Caubul have been celebrated by many Persian and Indian writers. The beauty and abundance of its flowers are proverbial, and its fruits are transported to the remotest parts of India.

The four Tuppehson districts immediately dependent on Caubul (Bootkhauk, Logur, Pughmaun, and Cohdaumaun) are all fertile, well watered, and cultivated with great industry and skill. Pughmaun,

* Mr. Foster.

A Taujik in the Summer dress of Caubul.

Published by Messrs. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, Paternoster Row 1815.

which lies to the west towards the Hazaureh country, is least fertile; and Logur to the south, which contains many low hills, has most pasture land; but Cohdaumun, which lies north of the city, is the finest part of these districts, and perhaps of the kingdom. It lies, as its name implies, on the skirts of the mountains, whence it derives an abundant supply of water; and so numerous are the fruit trees produced in it, that the valley of Estaulef alone is reckoned to contain six thousand orchards: the city and its immediate neighbourhood is inhabited by a peculiar class of Taujiks called Exubulees, who are remarkable for their activity and ingenuity, and who have more than once made themselves of considerable importance in the revolutions of the state. The number of the inhabitants of the town may be about eight thousand.

The valley of the Caubul river, till it reaches Jellallabad, and meets the country already described as inhabited by the Berdooraunees, belongs exclusively to the Ghiljies. It would be tedious to describe all the little valleys which run up to Hindoo Coosh and to Suffaid Coh, or to specify the cold and hot plains (above and beneath the mountains) which are cultivated by the Ghiljies, and the rugged summits which are fed on by their flocks; but this very enumeration will suggest the diversity of this abrupt and broken region.

The country of the Ghiljies forms a parallelogram, of which the length is about a hundred and eighty, and the breadth about eighty-five miles. The animals of the Ghiljie country are the same as those of the Dooraunee country.

The climate is every where cold, but least so in the lower part of the valley of the Turnuk: every where else, the winter is severer than that of England, and the summer not much hotter.

The Ghiljies were in former times by far the most celebrated of the Afghauns. In the beginning of the last century this tribe alone conquered all Persia, and routed the armies of the Ottoman Porte*:

* See Hanway's Travels, and Jones's Histoire De Nadir Chah. The first of which contains a very full and interesting account of all the successes and disasters of the Ghiljies

after a hard struggle, the third Ghiljie king of Persia was expelled by Nadir Shah; but some of the tribe remained independent in that country till very lately, if indeed they are even now subdued. They inhabited Khubeess and Nermaunsheer in the province of Kermaun. Some others still remain in Persia mixed with the body of the people. The most famous that has appeared since the downfall of their own monarchy, was Azaud Khaun Solimaun Khail, who set up for King of Persia, and is well known as the most formidable of Kereem Khaun's competitors. It is said, both by the Persians and Afghauns, that their long struggle for the throne ended in a faithful friendship, and that Azaud lived for many years in safety and honour at the court of his successful rival. The fact is consistent with Kerreem Khaun's character; and in a country where there is such a dearth of good faith and generosity, one would fain hope that it is authentic. Azaud Khaun's son now resides in Lughman. There are also many Ghiljies in the Usbec service, who bear a high reputation: they probably were sent to Bokharaby Nadir, or emigrated in consequence of the depression of their tribe. The manner in which they lost their kingdom, and the bold rebellion by which they lately attempted to regain it, will be found in the historical part of this account. Their pretensions to the sovereignty are now laid aside, and the moderation of the Dooraunee Government has in same measure disarmed the resentment which they felt for their reduction; but they still fondly recal the ancient grandeur of their tribe; and the royalty of the Shauh Allum Khail, and the hereditary stations of their Khauns are yet acknowledged and respected by them all.

The character of the tribe is as various as the country it inhabits;

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in Persia. There is also a particular history of the Ghiljie conquest, drawn up from the notes of a Pere Krusinki, who was in Isphahaun at the time; but the easy faith of the good Jesuit, and the lively imagination of his French editor, have produced an historical romance, which, though not destitute of information, requires as much knowledge to distinguish between the truth and the falsehood, as would have sufficed for the production of a correct history.

a summary view of the whole, together with some details respecting the clans which differ most from the western tribes already described will probably be sufficient to communicate all that is interesting of the information which I possess. An examination of the clans into which the Ghiljies are divided, and a statement of the part of the country which each inhabits are however necessary to render this intelligible.

The Ghiljies are divided into the families of Toraun and Boorhaun, which branch into eight clans. Toraun is the eldest family, and consists of the clans of Hotukee and Tokhee; from the first of which were sprung the kings, and from the second the viziers, of the Ghiljic dynasty.

To Boorhaun belong the clans of Solimaun Khail, Ali Khail, Under and Turrukee. It is uncertain even with the Ghiljies, to which branch we ought to assign the remaining clan of Kharotee. To these clans may be added that of Sheerpan, though it is not a clan, but an association formed out of the other eight.

The Hotukees were formerly a numerous clan, but they are now reduced to 5 or 6000 families. They are chiefly employed in agriculture and commerce, yet they generally live a great deal in tents, and feed many flocks: they are mixed with the Tokhees in the tract S. of the range of Mookkoor, in which the castle of Abdoorcheem their chief is situated.

The Tokhees are reckoned 12,000 families. Their principal place is Kelanti Ghiljie. Besides the country which they share with the Hotukees, they have the valley of the Turnuk to themselves. They have also the hilly country on the edge of the Paropamisan mountains.

The Turrukees have Mookkoor and the country around it, extending to the S. as far as the southern border of the Ghiljies. They are called 12,000 families, many of them are pastoral, and of those, some move in winter into the Dooraunee country, while others wander as far as Damaun.

The Unders are also said to be 12,000 families. They cultivate the rich district of Shilgur and some of the adjoining country.

The Kharotees inhabit the hills between the Gomul and the range of Solimaun. They are about 6000 families.

The Alikhails are reckoned 8000 families; a number far too great, since they have little land except the plain of Zoormool, and even there are only half the population.

The Solimaun Khail is much more numerous than any other Ghiljie clan: its numbers are said to amount to 30 or 35,000 families. It is divided into four distinct Ooloosses, but may be taken in two parts, the southern and northern, with reference both to geographical and to political situation.

The Kyser Khail and Summulzye or Ismaelzye form the first of these divisions: they live to the S. and E. of Ghuznee, and it is they who share Zoormool with the Alikhail. They may be about 5000 families each; part of them move in winter to Wanneh. They are very independent both on the King and their own chiefs, as are their neighbours the Alikhail.*

The northern division consists of the Stauneezyes or Sooltaunzyes, and the Ahmedzyes: the former, which are most numerous, inhabit the country north of the Wurduks, and are agricultural.

The Ahmedzyes are pastoral, and live in the E. of Logur, in Altamoor and Speiga, but drive their flocks as far E. as the hills over Jellallabad.

They are obedient to the King, and did not even take part in the Ghiljie rebellion.

The Suhauks are 5000 or 6000 families, one-third lives in Khurwar, and probably bears the same character with the southern Solimaun Khails: the rest are in Pughmaun, west of Caubul, and resemble the other Ghiljies in that neighbourhood.

* Though I have mentioned the chief residence of each clan of the southern Solimaun Khail, it must be observed that they are a good deal mixed.

The Sheerpaws (6000 families) are mixed with the Taujiks in the Cohdamun, and along the northern bank of the Caubul river, as far as the eastern border of the Ghiljies. They are said to be the superfluous population of the other clans which emigrated from Candahar long before the rest of the tribe.

The Ghiljies of the west, as far nearly as to the meridian of Ghuznee, bear a close resemblance to the Dooraunees. This resemblance diminishes as we go eastward. The Hotukees and Tokhees, in dress, manners, and customs, and in every thing which is not connected with their mode of government, exactly resemble the neighbouring Dooraunees. The Turrukees, though more similar to the Dooraunees than to any other tribe, mix something of the manners of the eastern Ghiljies; and this most in the southern part of the Turrukee country. The Unders resemble the eastern clans in every thing but their government.

The eastern Ghiljies differ widely from the Dooraunees, and will require a separate discussion. They even differ among themselves, those around Caubul bearing but a slight resemblance to those in the south, but there are some points in which the whole tribe differs from the Dooraunees, and which I shall state before I proceed to the partial diversities I have been alluding to.

The internal government of the Ghiljies is entirely different from that of the Dooraunees. The chiefs of the former have now lost the authority which they possessed under their own royal government. There is great reason to doubt whether that authority ever was so extensive, as that which has been introduced among the Dooraunees on the Persian model. It is more probable that the power even of the King of the Ghiljies, was small in his own country, and that the tumultuary consent of the people to support his measures abroad, was dictated more by a sense of the interest and glory of the tribe, than by any deference to the King's commands. Some appearances, however, warrant a supposition that his power was sufficient to check murders and other great disorders. Whatever the power of the King may have been formerly, it is now at an end, and that of the aristo-

cracy has fallen with it; and though it has left sentiments of respect in the minds of the common people, yet that respect is so entirely unmixed with fear, that it has no effect whatever in controlling their actions. No Khaun of a tribe, or Mullik of a village, ever interferes as a magistrate to settle a dispute, or at least a serious one; they keep their own families and their immediate dependents in order, but leave the rest of the people to accommodate their differences as they can. This may be presumed not to have been always the case, because it has not yet generally produced the compulsory trial by a Jeerga, (or assembly of elders) which subsists among the Berdoorannees, so long habituated to strife; neither has it exasperated the tempers, nor embittered the enmities of the Ghiljies, as it has with the people just mentioned.

The degree in which this want of government is felt is not the same throughout the tribe; among the people round Ghuznee and Caubul, the power of the King's governor supplies the place of internal regulation. In many tribes more distant from cities, the neighbourhood of one of the King's Cauzees, or the deputy of that magistrate, induces one party to have recourse to the Shirra, (or Mahommedan law) an appeal which no Mussulman can decline. With the Hotukees, the Tokhees, and generally with the Ghiljies on the great roads, the authority which the chiefs derive from the Dooraunee government, and perhaps the respect still paid to their former rank, enables them to prevent general commotions, though they cannot suppress quarrels between individuals; but among the southern Solimaun Khail, these disorders rise to feuds between subdivisions of a clan, and even to contests of such extent as to deserve the name of civil wars: yet, even in the most unsettled tribes, the decision of an assembly of Moollas is sufficient to decide disputes about property, and one great source of quarrels is thus removed.

Among the eastern Ghiljies, and especially among the Solimaun Khails, the power of the chief is not considerable enough to form a tie to keep the clan together, and they are broken into little societies, (like the Eusofzyes) which are quite independent in all internal trans-

actions. Their connection with the King, however, makes a difference between their situation and that of the Eusofzyes, and in consequence each chief has power over the whole of his clan, in all matters connected with the furnishing of troops to the King, or the payment of the royal revenue. This limited authority preserves some connection between the different subdivisions under one Khaun, and often delays the breaking up of a clan, after it has attained the number which naturally requires separate chiefs. It is obvious how great a difference the circumstances I have been stating must make in the lives of the Ghiljies and Dooraunees, but this will be more evident from a description of a village of the southern Solimaun Khail.

The Kalunder Khail live in Kuttawauz, about thirty miles to the south of Ghuznee. They are almost all husbandmen, and scarce keep any cattle, those used in agriculture being generally hired from pastoral hordes, who pass the spring and summer in Kuttawauz. Their country is not rich, it only produces grain where there are Cahreezes, and yields but one harvest in the year: it will not bear wheat two years on the same ground, and even with the proper succession of crops, it requires manure. The climate is very cold. Their village contains about 100 families: some Humsauyahs assist in the cultivation of their fields, but reside in a village at some distance. Their wood and iron work is performed by travelling artizans.

Their land is their own property; or if they have the fiction of a feodal tenure from the King, it does not affect their rights, either in reality or in form: every man disposes of his land as he pleases, and at his death it is divided among his children. Small as it is, their village is an independent republic. It is indeed in the Shummulzye division of the clan of Solimaun Khail, and the Khaun of that division collects the King's dues; but he interferes in nothing else, and were it not for his employment under the royal government, all connection between him and his division would long since have ceased. The village is divided into two Mohullas, or quarters, under two chiefs, Moraud and Tyztullub. Moraud is the head of the whole

village, and is called Mullick. Their authority is entirely confined to external affairs, and they never interfere in the disputes of the people, unless when one of them is armed with the temporary powers of a Chelwashtee. Quarrels are privately made up or allowed to continue till they become troublesome to the community, when one or both of the disputants, are expelled the village: civil suits are settled by Moollas. Public affairs are managed by the Mullik in consultation with Tyztullub; but in any transaction which might lead to war, or otherwise seriously affect the village, the Mullik assembles the elders and takes their advice: no questions of course are put to the vote, but the Mullik gathers the sense of the assembly, observes whether their views agree with his, and judges how far he may rely on their support if he finds that their opinion is different from his own. When a war is resolved on, Chelwashtees are immediately appointed, and the command of them is invariably conferred on Tyztullub, who in consequence is called the Meer, a title which he retains at all times, as Moraud does that of Mullik. He is formally invested with his office by the Mullik, who binds a turban round his head in the presence of the whole village, of which he immediately assumes the control. He calls out the fighting men, posts centinels, and makes all military arrangements; while he prevents internal disorder by imposing fines on all who break the peace. The Mullik loses his importance from the time the Chelwashtee is appointed: he still retains his superior rank and honour, but he interferes in nothing, and would be as liable to punishment as any other individual, if he engaged in any quarrel or disturbance. The custom of appointing Chelwashtees prevails all over Kuttawauz: it seems indeed to be rendered equally necessary in all parts of that country, by the feuds which subsist between neighbouring villages. I am, however, inclined to think that this state of things has not always existed, because the custom of fortifying the villages seems only coming in, and most of those in Kuttawauz are still open.

Notwithstanding their domestic quarrels and feuds with other tribes, they are by no means a violent or irritable people. They

A Khawtee, Ghiljie in his Summer Dress.

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generally live in tolerable harmony, and have their meetings and amusements like the Dooraunees, undisturbed by the constant alarm, and almost as constant frays of the Eusofzyes. They are very hospitable, and have a regular officer whose duty it is to receive and provide for guests at the expence of the village. Instead of the Persian cubba of the Dooraunees, or the original * cameess of the Afghauns, (which is here only worn by old men,) the generality wear the Indian dress of white cotton, which has been described as worn by the inhabitants of Damaun, to whom these Ghiljies bear some resemblance in their appearance and manners. Their dress is also distinguished from that of the tribes farther west, by the use of white turbans which they wear in the manner represented in Plate IX. They also wear a cap like that of the Dooraunees but much higher.

Their arms are the same as those of the Dooraunees, with the addition of a shield of buffaloe's hide, or, when it can be procured, of the skin of a rhinoceros.

Most men have a stripe shaved in the middle of their heads, like the Dooraunees; but those who set up for professed champions let all their hair grow: it is customary with each of those, when he is just about to close with the enemy, to drop his cap, and rather to give up his life than retreat beyond the spot where it has fallen.

I have mentioned that the Kalunder Khail are almost all husbandmen: there are, however, five or six families of shepherds among them, who, like the other numerous shepherds of Kuttawauz, leave their frozen plains during part of the year, for the low and sheltered country among the mountains on the banks of the Gomul. Wauneh in particular, is a favourite retreat, and the small number of its owners, the Dumtaunees, alike prevents their resisting this invasion of their property, and their suffering by such an addition to their population. It is generally thought that men often quit the life of

* The large loose shirt.

a shepherd for that of a husbandman, but never return from an agricultural to a pastoral life. The few shepherds of the Kalunder Khail, however, furnish an example to the contrary. The uncle of a man from whom I had the story, was possessed of land in Kuttawauz, but he married into a pastoral family, and being struck with the pleasures of a wandering life, he laid out a sum of money he had gained by some madder which he had cultivated, on the purchase of sheep, and joined the moving horde with which he was connected. The pleasures which seduced him, must seem great even to the husbandmen, for those of the Kalunder Khail, at least, annually betake themselves to the imitation of a pastoral life. Every summer they pitch their tents at some distance from the fort, which is so entirely abandoned that the gates are locked: they remain in tents during the whole of the summer, moving occasionally within a moderate space round their fort. "The enjoyments of this season are great," (says one of my informants) "but its pleasures are equalled, if not surpassed, by the idleness and repose of winter." Besides the shepherds who only move to the Gomul, there are others who prolong their march to Damaun. These are joined by merchants from the fixed inhabitants, and the whole number is considerable. Such are the manners of the inhabitants of Kuttawauz, and probably of the Alizyes of Zoormool, the Suhauks of Khurwaur, and of all the southern Solimaun Khail: but the interposition of the village in checking disturbances is more marked in many divisions, and in some they even compel the parties to submit to a Jeirga, or to quit the village. In some clans too, the form of government is more decidedly republican, and the sentiments of every individual must be taken before any measure of importance is decided on.

This is the case among the Ahmedzyes who possess the east of Logur, and all the southern part of the valley of the Caubul river as far as Jellallabad. Yet as they are in perfect obedience to the King, the Khaun of the whole division, who is the representative of the sovereign, has much more influence than among the southern Solimaun Khail, and the whole division, though it consists of 12,000 families, looks up to him as its head in all cases.

The Ghiljies in the four Tuppehs of Caubul, are a quiet, orderly, industrious set of people, entirely obedient to the King, and subject to the authority of their own Khauns. In dress, and in some respects in manners, they resemble the citizens of Caubul.

The King derives a moderate revenue from the whole of the Ghiljies; but it has almost all been allotted to different persons, so that little now comes into the royal treasury. Part is granted to the Khauns of the Ghiljies themselves; part to the Dooraunee Sirdar who commands their contingent of troops; and a considerable portion was assigned to Abdoorcheem Khaun, and has not been resumed since his rebellion.

In their character the Ghiljies are confessedly the second tribe in the Caubul dominions. They are more turbulent and less civilized than the Dooraunees, but they are a brave and respectable people. In their persons they are probably the largest, handsomest, and fairest of the Afghauns.

The dissimilarity of their country to that of the tribe they belong to, gives the Kharotees the same claim to separate mention which has been allowed to the Atchikzyes among the Dooraunees. Their manners indeed do not differ so much from those of their brethren, but their interests are more distinct, and they really form a community only connected with the Ghiljies in name.

The Kharotees inhabit the country situated to the east of Kuttawauz, among the branches of the range of Solimaun. They have the principal ridge of that chain on the east; and a branch which it sends out separates them from Gurdaiz on the north; the Gomul is their boundary on the west, as it would be on the south, but for the interposition of the little territory of Wauneh. The Kharotee country encloses the little district of Oorghoon, belonging to the Poormoollees or Foormoolles, an independent tribe of Taujiks.

The Kharotees possess a few narrow plains and valleys, divided by high and inaccessible mountains.

They count four towns, or rather villages, since Sirufza, the largest

of them only contains 500 houses. They amount to 5000 or 6000 families, most of whom follow agriculture.

Their country, though richer than Kuttawauz, produces but one harvest in the year, and is buried in snow for three months every winter. They have bullocks for the plough, but the nature of their country makes them prefer goats to sheep for the remaining part of their stock, yet they have many camels in the plains.

In most particulars they resemble the southern Solimaun Khail, but the whole clan is united under the command of the hereditary Khaun, who has respect and weight, though little or no power. The Mulliks of villages are equally weak; but, as men are obliged to submit their quarrels to a Jeirga, their want of power is not so much felt. One fact is alleged of them on good authority, which is so much at variance with the practice of the Afghauns, that I am almost inclined to doubt its accuracy. It is, that they pay more attention to wealth and popularity than to birth, in the election of a Mullik. I can discover nothing in the situation of the Kharotees to account for this unusual neglect of hereditary superiority.

They are often at war with their rude neighbours the Vizeerees and Jadrauns, and also with the Foormoollees, who are probably much more civilized than themselves. In this last war, which was occasioned by mutual murders, they give no quarter: "Our war," said a Kharotee, "is not for power, nor for glory, but for blood."

The climate compels the Kharotees to be entirely idle in winter: even their fire-wood is stored before the end of autumn, and their only business is to clear away the snow from their roofs, or to make roads through it from house to house. The poorer Kharotees, who cannot afford four months of idleness, are driven to warmer climates, and carry with them the greatest part of the bullocks and camels of the tribe. They only go as far as the southern valley of the Gomul, and return in spring to their own country; but upwards of three hundred families have renounced their share in the land, and have become as thorough wanderers as the Nassees. This has taken place

within no long period of time, and some of the first shepherds are still alive. The Kharotees account for the change very rationally. Their fields (they say) are so closely hemmed in by steep mountains that it is impossible for them to extend their cultivation, nor does the deep shade of the pines with which the mountains are covered, permit the growth of any herbage which might maintain their flocks. The natural increase of their population, therefore, reduced them to distress. The lands of each person were divided, according to the Mahommedan law, among his sons, and the portion which fell to the share of each was soon too small to maintain a man. Many, therefore, abandoned their land to their brothers, and betook themselves to pasturage. They have now no connection with the *country* of the Kharotees, as they spend the winter in Damaun and the summer near Ghuznee; but their separation is too recent to have broken the ties which bound them to their clan: they still acknowledge the common Khaun of the Kharotees, and when they pass their native country in their annual migrations, their relations assemble and bring them berries, the seeds of the Jelghoozeh pine, and other produce of the mountains, for which the shepherds make returns in little presents from Damaun. The manners of these shepherds exactly resemble those of the Nassees, which I shall soon describe, but they are even more destitute of all the comforts of life. *

A few words will suffice for the Wurduks. I have mentioned that they are bounded on the west by the Paropomisan mountains, and on the other three sides by the Ghiljies. Their country is a long hollow between the hills (which separate them from Logur and Khurwar), and the Paropamisan mountains, the latter are penetrated by some deep valleys also belonging to the Wurduks. The river, inaccurately named from from Ghuznee, rises in the south of their lands, and runs through the centre for the whole of their extent.

The Wurduks are all agricultural. They are a quiet, sober people,

* It is one of their camps which is described in the narrative page (30).

perfectly obedient to the King, to whom they pay revenue, and furnish a large portion of troops. They have no wars with their neighbours, and their own Moollahs, or the King's Cauzy at Logur, settle their internal disputes.

What remains unmentioned of the country inhabited by the Afghauns, belongs to the tribe of Caukers. Surrounded by the Beloches, or by remote tribes of Afghauns, it is nearly inaccessible to enquiry; and, though I have obtained particular accounts of some parts of it, and have heard many vague relations from travellers respecting the remainder, my notions on the subject are still indistinct, and I must forego the attempts I have hitherto made at minute description, both with regard to the Caukers and their country.

The boundary of the Cauker country, on the north, is the same as the southern boundary of the Ghiljies: on the north-west it has Urghessaun, the part of Toba which belongs to the Atchikzyes, and Pisheen; on the west, the country of the Beloches; on the south, that of the Speen Tereens; and on the east, the range of Solimaun and some of the little countries at its base, which have been already described. The whole forms a square of about a hundred miles.

The west of the Cauker country is mountainous. Its most distinguishing feature appears to be the range which I have mentioned as running north and south between longitude 68° east, and longitude 69° east. West of that range, the first place in the Cauker country, coming from the north, is Seeoona Daug (a high, cold, and barren plain, suited only to pasturage) and the Cauker part of Toba, which, though more mountainous, probably resembles the part already described as belonging to the Atchikzyes. Further south, this high plain ceases, but there are many valleys in the hills, and Tor Murgha, Burshore, Nareen, Togye, and Hunna, are particularly conspicuous among those which open to the west. Still further south, the hills in question are only separated from the table land of Kelaut by the narrow valley of Bolaun. The valley of Burshore deserves more particular mention.

It commences at the source of the Lora and accompanies that river

till its entrance into Pisheen. The valley is sunk between the high country of Toba on the north, and the mountains on the south. The upper part of it is narrow and filled with thickets, but the lower part is fertile, inhabited by an agricultural people, and abounding in all the produce of Khorassaun: were it not possessed by a different tribe, one would be disposed to consider it as part of Pesheen, from which district it has no natural separation. The valley of Hunna opens into Shawl. Its head is near the Cotul or pass of Chupper, where the road crosses over a very high ridge into Zawura.

Shawl itself deserves some notice in this place, as it is inhabited by a tribe of Caukers called Cassye; but, as it was granted by Ahmed Shauh to Nusseer Khaun the Prince of Beloches, for his service at the siege of Tubbus, it is no longer to be considered as part of the Afghaun country. It resembles Pisheen, but excels it in fertility. The Cassyes are under the Beloche government, but they have a Khaun of their own, and are well treated and flourishing. If any other valleys open to the west, they are neither distinguished for their inhabitants, nor for the passage of roads through them, but only afford a winter retreat to the Cauker shepherds.

To the east, the mountains of 68° longitude send out branches which divide the greater part of the tract situated between them and the range of Solimaun.

One range appears to run to the south of Zhobe, and to divide that country from Boree, but I do not believe it reaches any of the branches of Solimaun. Another runs to the south of Boree, divides it for a certain extent, from Zawura, Tull, and Chooteeallee, and forms the southern limit of the Caukers. To the south of Zawura, Tull, and Chooteeallee, a broad belt of hills certainly stretches across from the range of 68° to that of Solimaun, and forms the boundary of Afghaunistaun on the side of Seeweestaun.

I shall hastily review the districts included between these ranges, beginning from the south, and stretching north till I again meet the known countries of the Ghiljies and Dooraunees. But before I enter the mountains, it will be proper to mention the Cauker clan of Pun-

nee, who inhabit Seewee in the plains of Seeweestaun; divided from the rest of the tribe by mountains and by Beloches, the inveterate enemies of the Cauker name.

Seewee is entered by a traveller from Dauder, in the course of his first march to the northward. It is a flat, dry plain of hardened clay, but in some places its natural defects are relieved by streams from the hills, and round the town of Seewee at least, is highly cultivated. The Punnees still form part of the Afghaun nation, and are under a governor appointed by the King. It would be curious to ascertain the causes which have sent them to this spot, and which have filled the southern provinces of India with men of the Punnee clan, whose emigration (from the period when they figure in the history of the Deckan) must have taken place some hundred years ago.

The mountains to the north of Seewee are inhabited by Beloches (as are the southern parts of the range of Solimaun), but in the hills to the south of Chooteeallee, we find some independent Afghauns, principally composed of the remains of the tribe of Lonee, which at one period made a great figure in the transactions of India. The history of the Dilazauks may throw some light on the fortunes of this tribe, and it is remarkable, that most of the tribes of Afghauns who have anciently been distinguished in India, have nearly disappeared from their native country. It is natural to conclude that they have not merely poured forth their redundant population (as the Eusofzyes have more recently done into Rohilcund), but have been driven from their original seats, and compelled to enter on the adventures to which they owe their reputation abroad.

Zawura, Tull, and Chooteeallee may be considered as one valley widening at last into a plain. Zawura, the upper part of the valley, commences near Chupper and to the north east of Dozhuk. It is at first confined between the mountains, but soon expands sufficiently to admit of a degree of cultivation, and even of one or two very considerable villages.

Tull is still wider, and the cessation of the hills which bounded it on the north, allows the plains of Boree and Chooteeallee to unite.

The soil of Tull and Chooteeallee appears to resemble that of Seewee, but the climate is more favourable, and the cultivation is, perhaps, more extended.

Boree is frequently compared, both in extent and fertility, to the plain of Peshawer: I have no opportunity of judging of the justice of the comparison; but it may be presumed that Boree is fertile and well cultivated, as it is certainly populous, and inhabited entirely by husbandmen. A considerable stream runs through Boree towards the south-west, and the land is watered by some other brooks, and by a considerable number of Cahreezes. The productions of the country, and the manners of the people are still the same as have been described in Khorassaun, though the dress begins to resemble that of India.

Between the hills to the north of Boree, and those on the 68th line of longitude, is Hindoo Baugh, the source of the river Zhobe. From this place the Zhobe pursues a north-easterly course, till it joins the Gomul at Sirmaugha. I imagine the Zhobe to be at first a small brook in a narrow valley; it never becomes a considerable stream, but in an early part of its course it divides an extensive plain abounding in tamarisk, partially cultivated, and producing wheat, barley, rice, and some other grains; but principally given up to pasturage, and scattered with large and numerous camps of shepherds. Some accounts, indeed, represent the whole of the inhabitants as living in tents; while others describe a fertile tract, covered with cultivation and villages; and these apparent contradictions can only be reconciled, by supposing them to apply to different parts of this extensive district.

The lower course of the Zhobe is through the barren mountains which surround the Gomul, and which are all connected with the range of Solimaun. The valley of the Zhobe is probably bounded on the north, by the range of hills which I suppose to form the southern limit of Seeoona Daugh.

The space included between the border of Zhobe, that of Boree, and the range of Solimaun, affords room for the lands of the Hurree-

pauls and Bauboors, and for the wastes pastured on by the Moossakhail and Esote Caukers.

The hills through all the Cauker country are appropriated to the numerous shepherds, and those to the west of the country, so often alluded to, contain many valleys and little plains, of which some are well cultivated, but most are occupied by pastoral camps.

In so large a tribe as the Caukers, we can scarce expect uniformity of manners, and the less so as they are divided into at least ten clans, many of which are again broken into numberless independent societies; and there is no efficient chief of the whole tribe. The Caukers of Burshore so closely resemble the Tereens, that it is unnecessary to make any further observation concerning them; but no other part of the tribe that I know, bears an exact resemblance to any of these which have been described; an account of a district in the west, and another of one in the east, with some observations on the intermediate clans, will, however, give a sufficient idea of their peculiarities.

Cunchoghye is a narrow valley in the western face of the mountain of Kund. The soil is fertile, and in most parts well cultivated. In spring, the whole valley and the adjoining hills are green, and covered with flowers; and the inhabitants are busily employed till the end of autumn, in the cultivation of two harvests, and in the care of their sheep and cattle; but in winter a frost of three months, and an occasional fortnight of snow, oblige them to indulge in the usual idleness of the season.

The little valley of Cunchoghye by degrees expands to a considerable extent, and stretches towards the south-west, for upwards of thirty miles. The wide part of the valley (which is no longer called by its original name), contains some villages of forty or fifty houses, round which there is a good deal of cultivation; but the greater part of it is occupied by shepherds and their flocks.

All the inhabitants form part of the clan of Sunnateea, the possessions of which extend along the western frontier of the Caukers, from Zawura to Seeoona Daugh. This large division is under one

chief, who enjoys a very ample authority over his clan, or at least over the part of it in the neighbourhood of Cunchoghye; his own seat is at Oorguss, two marches from that place, and still nearer to the source of the Zhobe. His powers are principally derived from the King. The grandfather of the present Khaun, being reduced to great distress, from the aggressions of the Tereens, and from the faction and insubordination of his own clansmen, resolved to appeal to Ahmed Shauh, and presented himself before him (as he was hunting on Toba), with fire on his head, the symbol of extreme distress among some Asiatic nations.*

The Shauh instantly listened to his complaint, issued a Rukkum commanding obedience to his orders, and sent a small body of troops into the country of the Tereens. That tribe immediately forbore its attacks, and the Sunnutees, impressed with respect for the royal orders, and perhaps alarmed at the neighbourhood of the troops, submitted to the authority of their Khaun, which his successes have been able to maintain unimpaired to this day. Their power, however, is perhaps confined to the northern part of their clan; for Tahmas Khaun, a subordinate chief in the south, has so far surpassed them in his actions and reputation, that it is improbable that he still submits to dependence on their authority.

This warlike chief principally obtained his distinction by the success of a war with the Beloches, who had been exasperated by the border incursions, which had long subsisted between them and the Caukers, to attack that tribe in a manner which gave the expedition the appearance of a national war. Six thousand Beloches were assembled at Shawl by the orders of Nusseer Khaun, the Prince of the Beloches; and the Caukers, alarmed at this serious invasion, re-

* This practice is well known to all who are acquainted with the customs of Constantinople, as a certain method of procuring an audience of the Grand Seignior. The Afghauns explain it to imply that the misery of the petitioner is as great as if he were actually plunged in fire.

tired with their flocks to Dozhukh, a stony plain, elevated on the highest part of the mountains west of Zawura, difficult of ascent in all places, and on most sides surrounded by inaccessible precipices. The Beloches, aware of the strength of this place on the side of Shawl, proceeded up the valley of Hunna, crossed the ridge of 68° longitude, passed through Zawura, and advanced up a narrow valley, which afforded the only practicable route to Dozhukh. Tahmas Khaun allowed them to advance till they reached the last steep ascent, when they were surrounded, attacked, and cut off almost to a man, with Fauzeb Khaun, their commander.

However he may be regarded by Tahmas, the chief of the Sunnatees exercises great authority over the rest of his clan; he derives no regular revenue from it, but when he comes to a village, he receives presents, which are sometimes valuable; and, as he neither lives in any state, nor has any hired soldiers, these perquisites, with the produce of his own lands, are abundantly sufficient to maintain him. As the Sunnatees have now no foreign wars, and as they pay no revenue, and have not for some years been called on for their contingent of horse by the King, the exercise of their chief's powers is confined to the administration of justice.

The adjustment of the less serious diputes is left to the Mullik of the village, who has here great powers, and can inflict any punishment short of death; but in all his proceedings, he must have the support of the elders of the village; and he never attempts to take any step of consequence, without the concurrence of a Jeirga. The Mullik of Cunchoghye receives a fixed allowance of grain from every man in the village.

Under so strong a government, it is natural that there should be little strife; and the few frays that take place, never lead to the employment of any mortal weapon. Theft and rapine are hardly ever known, the disposition of the people is peaceable, and, (to use the expression of a Cauker to me) they enjoy their own, and are content.

The shepherds near Cunchoghye are scattered in small camps of four or five tents, over the wide valley, and the neighbouring hills. In some seasons, they are compelled by the failure of the herbage to unite into larger camps, and to move to the country of other tribes; while in their scattered state, a whole camp only contains a single family, and they have much leisure, no restraint, no government, and yet no crimes.

The dress, manners, and customs of Cunchoghye differ in no respect from those of the wilder parts of the Dooraunee country; and they are said to be the same which obtain throughout all the western clans of the Caukers. I shall illustrate the state of the eastern Caukers, by a short account of Boree.

The extent and fertility of this plain, and the temperate climate which it enjoys, have already been noticed; and if, as I am informed, even the sheep are fed, not on wastes, but on the fallow lands, cultivation must have made as much progress as it can well attain.

The produce is nearly the same as that of the western countries; European fruits are still common, but madder and clover are not grown, and lucerne is rare.

Except that camels are very scarce, the animals are the same as those of the west.

The inhabitants live in villages of terraced houses, and some move during the summer into Cooddools, pitched at a short distance from their villages; the chiefs live in little castles.

The dress of the men is still a cameess, but they wear a loongee turban, instead of a cap, throw another loongee over their shoulders, and wear pointed shoes, like those of India: sheepskin and felt cloaks are extremely uncommon. Their manners and amusements are those of the west.

There are twelve independent communities in Boree, though the people are all of one subdivision of the clan of Sauraun. Each of these has several villages, which are under separate Mooshirs, and apparently unconnected with the chief of the whole, except when all are united by a war.

The villages are often at war among themselves; they sometimes refer their disputes to an umpire, but oftener to the arbitration of the sword. Even within the village, the Mooshir exercises but little control: he would call a Jeirga to settle a dispute which happened near him, but at a little distance things are left to take their course.

The other divisions of the Caukers probably resemble those of Cunchoghye or Boree, as they are nearest the east or west; but in the central parts of the country, they are much ruder than either. There, they wear a short close jacket, and breeches of felt in winter, and in summer go naked from the middle upwards. This would not be reckoned extraordinary in India, but, as it is contrary to the notions of decency entertained by the Afghauns, it must among them be regarded as a proof of a great want of civilization.

In some places, the Caukers are said to live in caves, like the Khyberees, but even there they are entirely destitute of the predatory spirit of the tribe, which they resemble in the rudeness of their habitations. In most parts, the shepherds, who are far more numerous than the husbandmen, are scattered in little camps, as in the west, but in Zhobe they are said to assemble in camps, large enough to be described as towns of tents. There they are also said to keep almost as many oxen as sheep, and, if so, they are the only instance of wandering herdsmen in Afghaunistaun. On the whole, the greater part of the Cauker country is mountainous and unfertile; and the inhabitants are shepherds, rude in their manners, and ignorant of the arts of life; but simple, peaceable, and inoffensive.

CHAP. VI.

THE NAUSSERS.

ALL the tribes who have as yet been considered, possess some country of their own, the position of which has decided the order in which they were to be mentioned; but the Naussers have no land at all, and we are left at liberty to place them wherever it suits our convenience. They are chiefly distinguished from the other tribes by their wandering life, to which my observations shall, therefore, be confined.

In spring we find them scattered in parties of three, four, or five tents, over the wastes in the countries of the Tokhees and Hotukees. Later in the year, they assemble in camps of one or two hundred tents, move about by short stages in quest of grass for their flocks; and as soon as the autumn begins to close, they hold their councils, strike their tents, and set off on their long migrations to the warm plains of Damaun.

The tribe marches through the hostile country of the Vizeerees, in two divisions; and it is settled by the Khaun, and the Mooshirs, which is to march first. The rendezvous for each division is at Kunzoor on the Gomul, to which place all the hordes direct their march from their different Eilauks in Khorassaun. In the beginning of this march, they pass through barren wilds, where they see nobody but their own companions; but as they approach Kunzoor, the roads are choked with other hordes flocking from various and distant stations, to the rendezvous. Great confusion now arises; two hordes which are at war, are often crowded together in one narrow valley, and new quarrels are also occasioned by the impatience of different par-

ties, to get first through the passes in the hills. At last they join the confused mass of tents, men, and cattle, which are heaped together at Kunzoor.

The whole assemblage amounts to more than thirty thousand people, with all their numberless flocks and herds of camels, and indeed with all their possessions. The bustle and disorder of such a throng may well be conceived.

During the day, they issue forth in swarms to search for forage and fire-wood; and at nightfall, these unfrequented valleys resound with the confused voices of the multitude, the bleating and lowing of their flocks and herds, the hoarse roar of the camel, and the shouts and songs of the Naussers.

When the whole division is assembled, Chelwashtees are appointed, and they renew their progress towards Damaun.

The Vizeerees, in the mean time, are preparing for their reception with all the caution and secrecy of savage war: their clans are assembled in the depths of the mountains, and a single scout, perhaps, watches on the brow of a rock, and listens in the silence of that desolate region, for the hum of the approaching crowd, till, at length, the Naussers are heard, and the valleys are filled with the stream of men and flocks that pours down the bed and banks of the Gomul. The word is then passed round to the Vizeerees, who hasten to the defiles by paths known only to themselves, and attack the disorderly crowd, or lie in ambush to cut off the stragglers, according to the remissness or vigilance they observe among their enemies. During this time of danger, which lasts a week or ten days, the Naussers are in an unusual state of preparation; the power of the Chelwashtees suppresses all feuds, and arranges the order of march, and the means of defence; the whole division moves in a body; parties of chosen men protect the front, the flanks, and the rear, while the other Naussers drive on the sheep and camels, and hold themselves ready to repel any attack that may be made by their enemies. They had need, indeed, to be prepared, for the predatory disposition of the Vizeerees is sharpened by long enmity; and they give no quar-

ter to any Nausser that falls into their hands. At length they reach the pass of Zirkunny, issue out into the plains, and are spread over the whole of Damaun from the frontier of Upper Sind to the hills of the Murwuts. Each horde has a particular tract where it is accustomed to encamp, and round which it ranges as the supply of forage requires. They encamp in circles, within which they shut up their cattle at night. Their life is now idle and unvaried, except when enlivened by hunting, which they keenly pursue, and which is almost their only active employment. The women do all the labour, pitch the tents, gather the wood, bring in water, and cook the dinner: the men only saunter out with the sheep and camels, and for this labour a very few men suffice. The rich hire out their cattle during their long halts, but the owner makes over the duty of accompanying them to some poor man, who gets a third of the hire for his labour.

The women are never concealed; but the same chastity and modesty which distinguish all rude tribes is common among them.

When the snow has melted on Solomon's throne, the chief of the Nauser camps send to the Khaun of the whole, to fix a time for a council: on the appointed day they all repair to his camp, determine their route, appoint Chelwashtees, and soon after break up their camps, and commence their return to Khorassaun.

The Naussers, as has been seen, depend entirely on their flocks and herds: the fleeces of their sheep supply the materials for their tents, their carpets, and the sacks which hold their flour: their posteens, and some other articles are made of sheep-skins: the milk of the ewe affords the cheese, butter, and cooroot, which is their usual diet, and its flesh is their only luxury.

The produce of their sheep, and the hire of their camels, also furnish the means of obtaining the few articles they require from without; and the carriage of their tents and other property, which is so material to wandering people, is entirely performed by the camels. Their sheep and camels are extremely numerous, and every part of their economy is adapted to the moving life which is necessary to

feed such a number of animals: their tents are small and light: their whole property is a suit or two of clothes, a few sacks of flour, with half a dozen earthen pots, and one or two of brass.

Their dress is between those of the east, and the west; but their loose white turban seems to make it most resemble the former.

In their persons they are small, black, and ugly: they are barbarous in their manners, and rude and squalid in their general appearance.

They are, however, a remarkably honest and harmless people.

They are reckoned to amount to 12,000 families. Their government resembles that of the independent tribes, a circumstance which at first excites some surprise in a people entirely pastoral; but which is perhaps to be accounted for by the peculiarity of their situation. The effect of pastoral habits in introducing despotic power, has long been observed by writers on the history of human society, and their opinions have been strengthened by the example of almost all the tribes of ancient Scythia and modern Tartary; but this observation, and the reasonings of the authors who support it, appear to be derived from the practice of countries entirely pastoral, inhabited by several distinct and independent nations, where the simultaneous increase of the flocks of different tribes compels each to extend its limits, and leads to wars, which oblige each tribe to encamp and march in a body, and to secure the co-operation of all its parts by implicit submission to a common head. These reasons do not exist in a tribe placed in a kingdom chiefly inhabited by husbandmen, and feeding its flocks on waste lands at a distance from those adapted to agriculture; and for this reason perhaps it is that we find the Naussers enjoying the same liberty as most of the other Afghauns. The established government, and the habits of the nation secure their peace, so that when stationary they scatter over an extensive tract, according to the inclination of each individual, and live almost entirely free from the restraint of government, while the temporary appointment of a Chelwashtee is sufficient to provide for the order and safety of their marches. The actual situation of the chief of the Naussers appears to

me to afford proofs of the truth of this supposition. When the people are collected into camps, they are governed by their own Mooshirs, without any reference to the Khaun, and when they are scattered over the country, they subsist without any government at all; but when a march is contemplated, they immediately look to the Khaun, and where they have to pass an enemy's country, he is appointed head of the Chelwashtees, assumes an absolute authority, and becomes an object of respect and anxiety to all the tribe. A proof of the importance of the Khaun during a march, is shewn by the conduct of the Naussers at one time when Jurrus Khaun, their present chief, refused to accompany them in one of their migrations. He was anxious to remain in Damaun with 200 or 300 of his relations, to assist Surwur Khaun against the Vizeerees; but his resolution occasioned great distress in the tribe, who declared it was impossible to march without their Khaun. So earnest were their representations, that Jurrus was at last compelled to abandon his former design, and to accompany them on their march to Khorassaun.

The Khaun and all the Mooshirs are elected from the head families, and would be deposed if found unfit for their offices. The Mullik (or Mooshir) settles all disputes, and can expel an offender the camp without a Jeirga: he is also absolute with regard to the movements and stations of the camp; but any four or five people may go and advise him on that head, though, if he is resolved, they must abide by his decision.

The Naussers pay a tax to the King which is at present allotted to Abdooreheem Khaun, and this circumstance appears to countenance a pretension which they often advance to a connection by blood with the Hotukees. The Hotukees say that the Naussers have been their Humsauyahs, but not their kindred: some even represent them as sprung from the Beloches; and though they speak Pushtoo, and strenuously maintain their descent from the Afghauns, their features and appearance certainly indicate a race distinct from that nation.

BOOK IV.

PROVINCES.

CHAP. I.

BULKH OR BACTRIA, AND THE USBEKS.

HAVING completed my account of Afghaunistaun, I shall describe the other provinces and dependencies of the kingdom of Caubul. In this description I shall preserve the order in which they stand geographically, that relation being more permanent and more interesting to the reader than their fluctuating connection with the Dooraunee government. On this principle I shall begin from the north, and after describing Bulkh, shall proceed, by the Eimauks and Hazaurehs, to Herat, from which I shall pursue a south-easterly course, through Seestaun and Belochestaun, to Sind, and thence return towards the north till I reach Cashmeer and the countries which connect that celebrated valley with the lands of the Berdooraunee tribes.

I have before alluded to the difficulty of naming the Afghaun province in Toorkistaun. Nor is it easier to determine the extent of the country which ought to be comprehended within its limits. At present, the only actual possession of the Afghauns in Toorkistaun is the district immediately round Bulkh: but the possessor of that city has always been considered as the rightful master of its depend-

encies; which include the tract having the Oxus on the north, the mountains of Hindoo Coosh and Paropamisus on the south, Budukhshaun on the east, and (generally speaking) the desart on the west. The extent of this tract may be near two hundred and fifty miles in length (from east to west), and from a hundred to a hundred and twenty miles in breadth (from north to south).

The southern part of this country is full of hills, connected with Hindoo Coosh. These are generally stony, but have many good and well watered valleys. The neighbourhood of the hills secures a supply of water to the central part of the country, which is plain and fertile. The north towards the Oxus is sandy and barren. The east of the province, being near a mountainous country, is better than the west, which borders on the desart and partakes of its nature.

The descent from the great range of mountains is very rapid, and the lower parts of Bulkh towards the Oxus are much lower and hotter than those parts of Afghaunistan which lie immediately to the south of the range. The province of Bulkh is famous for a strong and active breed of horses, which are exported in considerable numbers.

The whole province is divided into several districts from various causes. Some, though now united, have formerly been under different governments; and other have lately separated that formerly were one. The existing divisions are as follows (beginning from the west): — Meimuna, Andkhoo, and Shibbergaun; Bulkh Proper, (*i. e.* the country immediately round the capital), Khooloom, Huzrut Imaum, Koondooz, Khost and Inderaub, Taulikaun.

The three first cantons are of small extent and little consequence: though bordering on the desart, and perhaps deficient in water, their soil is good and they might be brought under cultivation, but they are at present chiefly occupied by wandering shepherds of the Uzbek and Toorcoman nations.

Bulkh requires further notice. The city which gives its name to the district is of the highest antiquity. It was known to the Greeks in the time of Alexander by the name of Bactra; but it had been the capital of Persia at a far earlier period, having been fixed on as

the royal residence by Ky Khoosoo, supposed to be the same as Cyrus the Great. All the Asiatics are impressed with an idea of its being the oldest city in the world, and in consequence distinguish it by the title of Omool Belaud, the mother of towns. This antient metropolis is now reduced to insignificance. Its ruins still cover a great extent, and are surrounded with a wall, but only one corner is inhabited. Part of it is occupied by the citadel, where the Dooraunee governor resides, and which is inhabited by a few of the royal troops, and by some Hindoo dependents.

The country round the city is flat, fertile, and well cultivated. It is said to contain three hundred and sixty villages, and is watered by eighteen canals drawn from a celebrated reservoir (called the Bundee Ameer) in the Paropamisan mountains. I can give no particular description of these canals, but they must be considerable, and must water much cultivation, as one of them which has been granted by the King to a son of Meer Killich Ali, is reckoned to produce an annual revenue of seventy thousand rupees, which is nearly nine thousand pounds sterling. The west of this tract is covered with thick and deep woods of reeds, which, though complained of by the traveller, bespeak a rich soil and a well watered country. What I have said must not be extended to the northern part of the country under Bulkh, which is sandy and barren as far as the Oxus.

Khoolloom, which lies south of Bulkh, is much more hilly and barren. Tausk Koorghaun, its capital, is, however, a place of consequence, and contains near eight thousand houses.

Huzrut Imaun, wnich is now annexed to Khoolloom, is a poor and sandy country.

Koondooz is chiefly flat, though the southern part is occupied by hills stretching from Hindoo Coosh, and forming many rich and beautiful valleys stocked with fruits of various kinds. The plain part of Koondooz is also very fertile, and watered by numerous streams from Hindoo Coosh. The country round the town, in particular, is cultivated like a garden, and is subject to inundation. The capital is a good town, and exceeds Taush Koorghaun in extent. Khost and

Inderaub are small and mountainous, but fertile countries, on the northern face of Hindoo Coosh. They are inhabited by Taujiks, and are now annexed to Koondooz.

Jaulikaun is a narrow and hilly country in the north-east of Bulkh, and contiguous to Budukhshaun. It is, however, fertile and well inhabited.

The ruling tribe of Bulkh, and indeed the principal part of the population, belong to the Uzbek nation. I shall, therefore, give some account of that people, without confining my observations to the part of it which inhabits the country under discussion; to whose local peculiarities I shall afterwards return.

The Uzbeks first crossed the Jaxartes about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and pouring on the possessions of the descendants of Tamerlane, soon drove them from Bokhaura, Khoarizm, and Ferghauna, and spread terror and dismay to the remotest parts of their extended empire. They now possess, besides Bulkh, the kingdoms of Khoarizm (or Orgunge), Bokhaura and Ferghauna, and perhaps some other little countries on this side of Beloot Taugh. I am told that they are to be found beyond Beloot Taugh, and as far east as Khoten at least; but of this I cannot speak with confidence. They belong to that great division of the human race which is known in Asia by the name of Toork, and which, with the Moguls and Maushoors, compose what we call the Tartar nation. Each of these divisions has its separate language, and that of the Toorks is widely diffused throughout the west of Asia. The Uzbeks, the natives of Chinese Tartary, as far at least as Khoten, and perhaps as far as Karrakoorrum, the Kuzzauks *, and other tribes beyond the Jaxartes, most of the inhabitants of Kipchak and Crimea, the Toorcauns, and the ruling nations of the Persian and Turkish empires, speak Toorkee

* These Kuzzauks, who are a tribe of Toorks, must not be confounded with the Cossacks of the Don and the Black Sea, who seem to be factitious societies, formed from the neighbouring nations. The Uzbeks, who have heard of these last, call them Kuzzauk-Oorooss, or Russo-Cossacks.

as their vernacular language: it is to be found in scattered words throughout Russia, and in whole classes of terms in the languages of Caubul and Hindoostan. It is thought to be spoken in most purity in Ferghauna. The speech of Turkey is notoriously corrupted by the intermixture of foreign terms; that of Persia has also suffered from the great use of the original language of the country among its Toorkee conquerors; and even the Uzbeks of Bokhaura are supposed to have refined and enriched their tongue at the expence of its purity.

Nothing can exhibit a more striking contrast to the government of the Afghauns than that of the Uzbeks. In Bokhaura and Ferghauna at least, every thing is in the hands of the sovereign; there is no vestige of popular government, and scarcely any trace of aristocracy. The Uzbeks of those kingdoms are every where divided into Oorooghs or tribes, but that division has no relation to the government: no separate jurisdictions exist even in the wandering hordes. There are no assemblies of the tribe, or its elders, as among the Afghauns, either for the conduct of its affairs, or for the settlement of disputes.

The country is divided into districts, under officers appointed by the sovereign. These are subdivided into smaller districts, in which the revenue is collected and justice administered by inferior officers. Subordinate to these are village governments, such as are found all over the east; and here at length some symptoms of popular influence and of attention to birth appear in the appointment of the Auksekaul or head of the village. That officer is named by the sovereign, at the recommendation of the richest people of the village, and though their selection is influenced by the wealth and abilities of the candidates, yet they often continue the office for a long time in one family. The power of the Auksekaul is, however, inconsiderable; he is, indeed, rather an agent employed by the villagers than an officer on the part of the King.

Besides this chain of civil officers, and those who have commands in the army, the only people of consequence among the laity are those called Bauees, whose authority and influence is entirely derived

from their wealth. In like manner, in the army, every thing depends on the appointment of the government. We find Meengbaushees, Euzbaushees, Choraghausees (commanders of a thousand, of an hundred, and of ten), which shews that the division of the army is arbitrary, and does not proceed on the principle of leaving the contingent of each tribe, clan, or village, under its hereditary chief.

In Bokhaura, indeed, the men are said to be told off into messes of ten each, who have a tent, a boiler, and a camel between them, an arrangement in which it is evident that neither family connection nor individual freedom are at all regarded.

The Ulima, or members of the church, alone possess any influence not derived from the government, but their weight is very considerable.

The Uzbeks had probably few laws or institutions of their own at the time of their conversion to Islaum, for they have adopted the provisions of the Mahomedan system in its utmost detail, applying it to every part of their civil government, and even of their private conduct. The revenue is collected exactly in the proportions directed in the Koraun, and one-tenth of its produce is applied to alms. Justice is administered by the Kauzee in strict conformity to the Shirra; and drinking wine, or even smoking tobacco, is as strictly forbidden, and almost as severely punished, as fraud or robbery. The King of Bokhaura's title is Commander of the Faithful; part of every day is spent by him in teaching the Mahomedan religion, and the greater part of every night in prayers and vigils. The same King reads prayers in his own mosque, and often performs the funeral service even for people of low rank; and Killich Ally Beg, the present ruler of Bulkh, always walks in the street; lest, if he rode, his feet might be higher than the heads of other true believers.

The great difference between the government of the Uzbeks, and that of the Afghauns, affords a field for speculation which could scarcely fail to be instructive: my information is too incomplete to allow of my attempting to account for it, even if I were otherwise qualified for such a task. It may, however, be observed that the

causes which have already been alluded to, as conferring so much power on the chiefs of all Tartar tribes, must have operated to render the Uzbek people submissive; and the only difficulty is to ascertain how their obedience was transferred from those chiefs to the general governments. In the case of Bokhaura we find that this was the result of a long exertion on the part of the government, which is stated to have from ancient times practised the policy of dividing and mixing the various tribes under its authority, and of keeping the great men from all employments that might give them influence over the people with whom they were connected by birth. It is probable some such policy was adopted by the other Uzbek governments, and several conjectures may be offered as to the means they possessed for carrying it into effect.

The Uzbeks entered their present seats as conquerors, and the power which their leader necessarily enjoyed while they were an army, continued when they again became a fixed nation. It is probable his power was strengthened by the Moollahs, who are generally the allies of the civil government, and whose aid in this case would be more than usually powerful*: and finally the country possessed by the Uzbeks is generally plain, and consequently unfavourable to the preservation of the independence of small societies. The effect of this last circumstance in establishing the power of the general government is great, as we may judge from the state of the Uzbeks who inhabit strong countries. The hilly country of Hissaur, and the marshy one of Shekr Subz, being equally inaccessible to the cavalry of the King of Bokhaura, have alike defied his power, and remain under the chiefs of the tribes who inhabit them: but in all those states the people are equally enslaved, and among the whole Toorkee race, the Toorkmuns on the Oxus alone enjoy a popular government.

* This alliance with the civil government tends also to increase the power of the Moollahs. It was probably in consequence of a combination of this kind, that the Ulima of Constantinople acquired the great power they possess.

A Khojeh of Uzbek Tartary.

Published by Mess.rs Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, 1816

The Uzbeks of Bulkh, who in all other circumstances resemble those beyond the Oxus, differ in this particular, that they are assembled in tribes under powerful chiefs. This peculiarity is probably occasioned by their being separated by mountains from the kingdom of Caubul, to which they belong, and from their bordering on the rival state of Bokhaura; which circumstances combined have prevented any encroachment by their own sovereign on the rights of the local chiefs: the people, however, are as subservient as elsewhere.

The Uzbeks are generally short and stout men. Their national features are broad foreheads, high cheek-bones, thin beards and small eyes. Their complexion is clear and ruddy, their hair is generally black. The beauty of the Toorks is constantly spoken of by Persian poets, and though that quality does not strike us in their appearance, yet they must be allowed to possess it, when compared with the hideous physiognomy of some of the other Tartars, whose long narrow eyes pointing upwards, together with the blackness of their complexion, gives them an appearance scarcely human.

Their dress is a shirt and trowsers of cotton, a coat or tunic (called chuppaun) of silken or woollen cloth, tied on with a girdle; and over it a gown of woollen cloth, posteen or felt; some wear in winter a little cap of broad cloth, lined with fur, sitting close to the head, and others a pointed silken cap, called a calpauk, alone; but the national head-dress is a large white turban worn in general over a calpauk. All wear boots at all hours; the poor have the same description as that used in Caubul, but those in easy circumstances have a kind called muhusee, for constant use, and only put on the others in winter or on journeys. The muhusee is of thin and light shagreen leather, without heels or soles, so that the wearer is obliged to put on shoes when he goes out. All wear bandages round their legs instead of stockings, and every man has a knife hanging from his girdle, and a flint and steel for striking fire.*

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* The plate represents the dress of the Uzbeks near towns. The face and figure is a good likeness of Mahommed Hussun, a native of Wurdaunzye near Bokhaura, whose

Even the women wear boots. The rest of their dress is something like that of the men, but longer; they tie a silk handkerchief round their heads, throw a sheet of silk or cotton over all, wear golden and silver ornaments, and plait their hair into a long queue, which hangs down from the middle of the head, like those of the Chinese.

The Uzbeks breakfast on tea and leavened bread, which, contrary to the usual practice of Asia, they eat stale and keep for a fortnight. Their tea is made by boiling the leaves: it is mixed with milk and butter, or (more frequently) the oil made from the fat tails of the Doombeh sheep. The rich alone use sugar. The great meal is in the evening, and consists of pilaw, or flesh and broth like that of the Afghauns. The rich of course have a variety of dressed dishes. The Uzbeks are known to be fond of horse-flesh, but as that food is expensive, they are in general obliged to be content with beef. The wealthy indeed fatten horses for the table all the year, and the poor generally get some of the same sort of provisions during winter.

The national beverage is kimmiz, an intoxicating liquor well known to be prepared from mare's milk. The milk is put in the afternoon into a skin, such as is used in India for holding water, and is allowed to remain till within two or three hours of day break, when it is beaten and rolled about, till morning at least; but the longer the better. The liquor thus made is of a whitish colour and a sourish taste: it is only to be had in plenty during the two last months of summer, and those who can afford it are generally drunk for the greater part of that period; but kimmiz is not sold, and those only can enjoy it who have mares enough to make it in the house. Another intoxicating liquor called bozeh is more cheaply procured, but it is far more strictly forbidden: it is a fermented liquor made from different grains, (particularly from Arzun) which resembles water gruel in appearance, and is sour to the taste. It is also known in

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father was an Uzbek and his mother a Syud. An Uzbek of pure descent would perhaps have harsher features, and one who inhabited the desart, ruder garments.

India and Arabia. Notwithstanding the use of these liquors, the Uzbeks are generally a sober people.

Part of the Uzbeks live in houses, and part in camps. Their houses, villages, and towns, exactly resemble those of the Afghauns, but their tents are widely different. The Uzbek tent is of the kind called Kirgah, which appears to be in use over all Tartary, in part of Persia, and even in part of China. It is round, and formed of lattice work of thin laths covered with black or grey felts. The roof is of four stouter laths, bent into the shape of a dome, and held together by a round piece of wood in the middle. The Khirgah far surpasses the black tent of the Afghauns both in warmth and shelter, and it is scarcely more difficult to carry. It is commonly called by the Toorks, Karraooe or black house: a camp is called Onool, and consists of from twenty to fifty tents.

A great part of the people of Bokhaura reside in tents and follow pasturage, to which indeed they are compelled by the unproductive desarts of which so much of their country is composed. Ferghauna, a richer country, which is secure of water from the neighbourhood of mountains, has few wandering tribes. In Khwarizm, and the countries between Bokhaura and the Caspian Sea, the wandering tribes greatly preponderate; but in the province of Bulkh they are very inferior to the fixed inhabitants: they breed sheep, camels and horses; and so numerous are the latter, that there is scarcely a man in Toorkestaun so indigent as to walk on foot: even beggars travel on horseback, or at least upon camels and asses. As might be expected in such a people, the Uzbeks produce swarms of light cavalry, and are renowned for their exertions in predatory war. Their arms are a long and heavy lance and a shield; few have swords, but many long knives or daggers. They charge in a body with shouts, which the Afghauns who have engaged them describe as loud and terrific. They form their armies in three divisions, so that they can rally twice; but the third repulse is entire defeat. They make brave soldiers, and are astonishingly patient of hunger, thirst and fatigue.

The opinion commonly entertained of the ferocity and barbarism

of the Uzbeks, appears to be unjust, and is probably owing partly to our confounding them with the Calmuks, and other rude Tartar tribes between them and Russia, and partly to the channels through which we have received our information regarding them. Their habit of selling slaves might have justified the prejudice against them, but this detestable traffic unfortunately was not confined to the Uzbeks. Their laws of war are certainly most barbarous. They give no quarter to any enemies but sheeahs or infidels, whom they can sell for slaves, and men are sold in Bokhaura like cattle; but in other respects, by all that I can learn, both from Afghaun travellers, and from Taujiks of Bulkh and Bokhaura, I have reason to think the Uzbeks as good a people as any in Asia.

They are said to be comparatively sincere and honest. They have few quarrels among individuals, and scarcely any murders; and there are few countries in the east, where a stranger would be more at ease. Those who imagine the Uzbeks to be savage Tartars, wandering over wild and desolate regions, will be surprised to hear that the city of Bokhaura is equal in population to Peshawer, and consequently superior to any in England, except London. That it contains numerous colleges, which might accommodate from 60 to 600 * students each, and which have professors paid by the King, or by private foundations; that it abounds in caravanserais, where merchants of all nations meet with great encouragement; and that all religions are fully tolerated by a prince and people, above all others attached to their own belief. I now return to the history and present state of the province of Bulkh.

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* The college of Kokul Taush, for instance, has 300 apartments, in each of which two students can be lodged. This account of the colleges, and some other information of which I have availed myself, is contained in an account transmitted by Meer Izzut Oollah's agent at Bokhaura, in a letter dated April 1813. I must, however, guard the reader against imagining that the colleges are at all like those of Europe. The sciences principally studied are theology and Mahommedan law, and in most of those which we value, the Uzbeks are far behind the Afghauns. Medicine, for example, is practised by travelling physicians brought up in other countries, and many people of Bokhaura come to Peshawer for education.

Besides the Uzbeks, there are many Taujiks in Bulkh, and many Arabs, who, though they now speak Persian, are still distinguished from Taujiks. Some few of the Arabs, however, retain their language.

The best accounts I can obtain, assign to the whole of the country to which I have applied the name of Bulkh, a population of one million.

Bulkh was conquered by Naudir Shauh, and seems to have fallen into the hands of Ahmed Shauh with little difficulty, and without the necessity of going against it in person. The city of Bulkh, and the country round it, were the only parts in the King's immediate possession; but all the Uzbek chiefs in the province, were in complete subjection to his authority; and even Budukhshaun is said to have paid him tribute. Before the death of Ahmed Shauh, or early in the reign of his successor, the chief of Koondooz threw off the Afghaun yoke, and successfully resisted three armies that were sent against him, though the last was of considerable strength, and commanded by Sirdauri Jehaun Khaun, the best general of the school of Ahmed Shauh. While Timour Shauh was at Bulkh in 1789, before his campaign against the King of Bokhaura, he compelled the chief of Koondooz to pay tribute, but was prevented effectually reducing him, by the important war in which he was engaged. After this campaign, Bulkh appears to have been neglected, and to have suffered many calamities. The province was invaded, and the capital besieged by Shauh Moraud, King of the Uzbeks, and at one time the whole province, except the city of Bulkh and Khoolloom, was reduced under the authority of Allaverdee Khaun Tauz, the chief of an independent Uzbek tribe, whose original possession was Koorghaun Tippeh, on the northern bank of the Oxus. Bulkh was defended during that period by the Dooraunee Haukim, and Khoolloom, by Killich Ali Beg, who was then beginning to rise to the importance he has since attained.

Killich Ali was descended from the chiefs of Khoolloom, and held the Uzbek title of Ataulik (equivalent to Vizier), from the King of

Caubul; but at his first accession to his government, he found his power very circumscribed. His abilities, however, soon enabled him, first to reduce his rebellious subjects, and afterwards to annex the petty states of Eibuk, Ghoree, Mozaur, Derra Guz, &c. which lay in his neighbourhood, to his own territory. He afterwards took the principal share in the expulsion of Allaverdee Tauz, and acquired the country of Huzrut Imaum, which he delivered from that chief; on the same occasion, he gained an ascendancy in Koondooz, which he helped to deliver. He connected himself by marriage with the chief, and has since managed so dexterously, that Khaul Daud Khaun of Koondooz, though he possesses more power and resources than Killich Ally, is as much under his influence as one of his own deputies. He next made use of his power on the spot, and of all his influence at court, to acquire an ascendancy over the Haukim of Bulkh; and as he had always been a zealous and useful servant of the crown of Caubul, he contrived, by seizing favourable occasions, to procure the transfer of some of the Haukim's powers to himself, and even to obtain the King's countenance, or connivance, in the open resistance which he offered to that officer. At length, in the year 1809, Prince Abbass, the King's nephew, who had escaped from confinement at Caubul, fled to Bulkh, and was received and supported by the Haukim. It may be supposed that Shauh Shujau was ready enough to issue orders to Killich Ally, to act against a pretender to the throne; and, accordingly, Killich Ally attacked and expelled the Haukim; and since that time, he has had more real power in Bulkh than the King. The Dooraunee Haukim continues in possession of the city and its dependencies, but he is chiefly supported by Killich Ally; and all the rest of the province, except Taulikaun, is either under the government, or the influence, of the same chief.

The King derives no benefit from the town, the revenues of which are consumed in grants to learned and religious men, in pensions to persons of other descriptions, in the expences of the Haukim, and in the pay of the Cohneh Nokur, a description of troops peculiar to

this province. They were originally raised at Caubul for permanent service in Bulkh, which, from the vicinity of the frontier of Bokhaura, always required a strong force. Not less than five thousand have been entertained from first to last, but the service was so unpopular, that although a bounty of five tomauns (equal to £10) was given to recruits, none but the lowest orders would enlist; and even of them so many have returned to Caubul, that the number of the Cohneh Nokur is now under one thousand families. They are paid by assignments of land which descend from father to son; and from the interest which this gives them in the country, they have acquired almost all the feelings of the natives. They bear much the same relation to the King that the janissaries of Syria do the Porte; and if Killich Ally Beg were to rebel, they would be more likely to adhere to him than to their own government.

This, however, is not an event very likely to happen, for though Killich Ally may be regarded as an independent prince, he is never deficient in respect to the King; and as the only advantage that monarch ever derived from Bulkh, was the protection of his frontier from the Uzbeks, he is probably not ill pleased to see the control of it in the hands of a chief, so able to maintain its tranquillity, and so willing to acknowledge his dependence.

There are few princes in this part of Asia who enjoy so extensive, and so well merited a reputation as Killich Ally. A traveller towards the west from Hindostan, hears the praises of his good government from the caravans, long before he reaches the Indus; and all merchants who have passed through his country, speak with equal applause of the exemption from duties which he allows, and of the effectual protection he affords.

His army may consist of about twelve thousand horse, of which two thousand are in his own pay, and the rest are furnished by men who hold lands of him, on condition of military service. He could also draw about five thousand men from Koondooz. His revenue, after deducting the expence of his army, may be estimated at a lack and a half of rupees (about £19,000). His eldest son had a grant

of £9000, with the title of Waulee, or Prince of Bulkh, from the King of Caubul. He is the head of the Uzbek tribe of Moocetun, which includes the principal part of the inhabitants of Khoolloom. The following account of his person and manners, was communicated by the Resident at Delly's agent, mentioned in a note on a former page.

Killich Ally Beg is about sixty years old; he is a handsome man, with a red and white complexion. He has a few grey hairs on his chin for a beard, small eyes, broad forehead, and Uzbek attire. On his head he wears a cap, and over it two turbans twisted up together. He wears an Uzbek shirt and a gown, over which is a girdle, wound round his loins, with a long knife stuck in it; and over the whole he generally has a robe of cotton or other cloth of some sober colour, such as ash-colour, or the like. He does not always wear boots, or nuhusees, as the other Uzbeks do, but only when he rides; he carries a short stick in his hand, and takes a great deal of snuff.

He takes his seat in his public apartment every day about two hours after sun-rise. He sits on a carpet, without pillows or cushions; his intimates, and those to whom he wishes to do honour, sit on the same carpet with him; but all other persons who come to him on business sit on the bare ground. Every man, as he enters, says Salaum Alaikoom, before he takes his seat. He inquires into every affair connected with the administration of the government himself; but those which involve law questions, he refers to the Cauzee. He does not put thieves to death, but hangs them up by the hand on an iron pin, fixed in a wall in the midst of the market place. Highway robbers and murderers he always puts to death. He walks on foot through the bazars, and examines them every market-day. He has more than once discovered light weights and overcharges, by means of his own penetration, and he has now made regulations to prevent those abuses in future.

Killich Ally is honest, just, well disposed, kind to his subjects, judicious and discriminating in his treatment of his servants, economical in his expences, vigilant and well informed in the affairs of his

government. He gives bread and broth to a hundred poor persons daily.

Koondooz belongs to the Uzbek tribe of Kuttaghun, the chief of which is Khauldaud Khaun. He could raise fifteen thousand men, and his revenue is about £30,000.

Taulikaun is possessed by a small but warlike and independent tribe of Uzbeks, who molest the neighbouring countries of Koondooz and Budukhshaun, with their incursions. They are too weak to make conquests, and too spirited to submit themselves to a conqueror. Meimuna Andkhoo, Shibberghaun, and some other little districts, are independent, most of them under Persian chiefs, and with Persian inhabitants.

CHAP. II.

OF THE EIMAUKS AND HAZAUREHS.

THE Eimauks and Hazaurehs have been stated to inhabit the Paropamisan mountains between Caubul and Heraut, having the Uzbeks on their north, and the Dooraunees and Ghiljies on their south. Their countries have been stated to be rugged and mountainous. Both united extend more than three hundred miles in length, and about two hundred miles in breadth.

One is surprised to find within the limits of Afghaunistaun, and in that very part of it which is said to be the original seat of the Afghauns, a people differing entirely from that nation in appearance, language, and manners. The wonder seems at first removed, when we find that they bear a resemblance to their Toorkee neighbours, but points of difference occur even there, which leave us in more perplexity than before. The people themselves afford us no aid in removing this obscurity, for they have no account of their own origin; nor does their language, which is a dialect of Persian, afford any clue by which we might discover the race from which they are sprung. Their features, however, refer them at once to the Tartar stock, and a tradition declares them to be the offspring of the Moguls. They are, indeed, frequently called by the name of Moguls to this day, and they are often confounded with the Moguls and Chagatyes, who still reside in the neighbourhood of Heraut. They themselves acknowledge their affinity to those tribes, as well as to the Calmuks, now settled in Caubul; and they intermarry with both of those nations. They do not, however, understand the language of the Moguls of Heraut.

Aboolfuzl alleges that they are the remains of the army of the Mogul prince Manku Khaun, the grandson of Chingheez; and Bau-

ber testifies that many of the Hazaurehs spoke the language of the Moguls up to his time; but he occasions some fresh difficulties by speaking of the Toorkmun Hauzaurehs, and by always coupling the Togderrees with the Hazaurehs in the hills, while he asserts the Toorks and Eimauks to have been inhabitants of the plains *. There seems no reason to doubt that the Eimauks and Hazaurehs are the same people, though separated since their conversion to Mahommedanism by the different sects they have adopted; the Eimauks being rigid Soonees, and the Hazaurehs violent Sheeahs. They are indeed often confounded, notwithstanding this marked distinction, nor will the confusion appear at all unnatural if it be remembered that they resemble each other in their Tartar features and habits, and in the despotic character of their governments, the points in which they form the strongest contrast to the Afghauns. They differ, however, from each other in so many points, that it will be expedient to treat them separately, and I shall begin with the Eimauks who inhabit the western half of the mountains.

The country of the Eimauks is reckoned less mountainous than that of the Hazaurehs; but even in it, the hills present a steep and lofty face towards Heraut: the roads wind through valleys and over high ridges, and some of the forts are so inaccessible that all visitors are obliged to be drawn up with ropes by the garrison. Still the vallies are cultivated, and produce wheat, barley, and millet; and almonds, pomegranates, and barberries are found wild. The northwest of the country, which is inhabited by the Jumsheedees, is more level and fertile, the hills are sloping and well wooded, the valleys rich and watered by the river Margus or Moorghaub. The south of the Tymunee lands also contains wide and grassy valleys. The whole of the mountains are full of springs.

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* I find it difficult to account for the number of Toorkee words which are met with in the language of those tribes. Why, if they be Moguls, should they have spoken Toorkee; and why, if Toorkee was their language, should they have lost it, residing as they do on the borders of Toorkistaun? Why should they have adopted the Persian tongue, while the bulk of their northern neighbours speak Toorkee, and of those on the south Pushtoo.

The Zoorees possess Subzaur or Isfezaur, an extensive plain among mountains covered with pines, situated to the east of the road from Furra to Heraut, and in some measure detached from the other Eimauks.

The word Eimauk, though I do not know that it is used in Toorkistaun, is the common term among all Tartars of the north and east for a division or a tribe *. The nation which I am now describing is correctly called the Chahaur Oeemauk or four tribes, and was in reality formed into so many divisions, although they have now branched out into a greater number.

The original four Eimauks are the Teimunees, Hazaurehs †, Teimoories, and Zoorees.

The first of these Eimauks includes two other divisions, the Kipchauks and the Durzyes; and the second includes the Jumsheedees and Feerooz-coohes. The Keryes, who live about Toorbutee Hyderee, south of Meshhed, are also said to be Eimauks, but I fancy incorrectly.

Some of these subordinate divisions are now as numerous as the Eimauks from which they sprung; and all, like the original Eimauks, have separate lands and independent chiefs. The chiefs inhabit strong castles, sometimes containing spacious palaces, where they maintain little courts of their own, and are attended by splendid retinues. They levy taxes on their tribes, and keep troops in their own pay, and mounted on their own horses. The administration of justice, with the power of life and death, and all the rights of an absolute monarch, are in their hands. They carry on their government in the King's name, but they are never controlled in their management of their own tribes.

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* I learn from my friend Sir John Malcolm, that there was a large tribe called Eimauks in Syria, a colony from which established itself in Lauristaun, and produced the dynasty of Ataubeks so celebrated in Persian history.

† These are not to be confounded with the Hazaurehs above-mentioned, who will be hereafter described.

A Man of the Tymunee Eimauk.

Published by Messrs. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, 1818.

The Eimauks live almost entirely in camps, which they call Oard or Orde *. Each of these is governed by a Cudkhooda, who acts under the orders of the Khaun.

Their tents are almost universally of the kind called Kirgah, which is used by the Tartars; but the Teimoorees, one of the Eimauks, prefer the black tent of the Afghauns. All the Eimauks keep many sheep, and they rear a small but active and hardy breed of horses, of which many are exported to foreign countries. The few villages in their country are inhabited by Taujiks.

An idea of the appearance of the Eimauks may be formed from the Plate (XI), which is a good likeness of a man of the Tymunee tribe, but I have seen others very tall and stout, and some with thick beards. I have also heard that the appearance of the Eimauks often approaches to that of the Persians, though always distinguished by the peculiar features of the Tartar race. Their dress is also represented in the plate, but their head-dress is oftener a cap of black lamb-skin than a turban.

Their food is the same with that of the Afghauns, except that they eat horse-flesh, and that the whole of them make their bread of the flour of an oily sort of nut called Khunjick, mixed with that of wheat.

In all respects not mentioned, they resemble the Afghauns in their manners; but the despotic government makes them in general more quiet and orderly. In their wars, where they are released from this restraint, they shew a degree of ferocity never heard of among the Afghauns. I have authentic accounts of their throwing their prisoners from precipices and shooting them to death with arrows †; and on an occasion at which a Zooree with whom I have conversed assisted, they actually drank the warm blood of their victims, and rubbed it over their faces and beards.

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* This is derived from the Turkish word Oordoo, a camp or army, from which we have formed *horde*.

† This greatly resembles the Moghul treatment of prisoners under their conquerors.

The Eimauks have always been dependent on Heraut, though they were immediately under the subordinate government of Seeah-bund.

The greater part of them are still in obedience to the prince at Heraut, to whom they furnish troops when required, and at whose court they either attend in person or keep a near relation.

Two Eimauks, the Teimooree and Hazaureh, however, are now subject to Persia. This was owing to their position, which is west of Heraut, and within the limits overrun by the Persians. Their lands are excluded from the Paropamisan mountains, and consist of sandy tracts interspersed with barren hills. The Teimoorees under Killich Khaun have long possessed their present country. The Hazaurehs, on the contrary, were only lately moved to their present seats by Shauh Mahmood on account of a quarrel between them and the Teimorees. The family of Mahommed Khaun, their chief, held the title of Beglerbegee from the Kings of Caubul, and he retains it under the Persians. The tribe differs from the other Eimauks in having decidedly the features, dress, and manners of the Uzbeks. They are proud of this resemblance, and their chief carefully keeps up a connection with the court of Bokhaura.

I have mentioned that this Eimauk is not to be confounded with the Hazaurehs who inhabit the eastern part of the Paropamisan mountains; but, although they are now separated, the Eimauks and Hazaurehs are certainly of one descent, and probably the latter derive their name from the same source with this tribe. *

The best accounts I possess of the numbers of the Eimauks, excluding those last mentioned, lead me to guess them at four hundred or four hundred and fifty thousand souls. It is needless to say that those accounts are neither full nor exact.

The country of the Hazaurehs is still more rugged than that of the Eimauks. The sterility of the soil and the severity of the climate are

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* The Tartar army used to be divided into a certain number of Hazaurehs or regiments, and it is possible that some of those bodies originally left to occupy part of a conquered country, may have given rise to the nation of the Hazaurehs.

A Hazaurch.

Published by Rd. Ot. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row. 1826.

equally unfavourable to husbandry; what little grain can be sown in the narrow valleys and reaped before the conclusion of the short summer, contributes to the support of the slender population; but the flesh of sheep, oxen, and horses, with cheese and other productions of their flocks, are more important articles of their food.

The Hazaurehs live in thatched houses, half sunk in the slopes of the hills. The Plate (N° XII. *) shows the dress of the men, which is distinguished by the rolls of cloth which they twist round their legs like the Uzbeks. The women wear long frocks of woollen stuff and boots of soft deer-skin, which reach to their knees. Their cap sits close to their head, and a slip of cloth hangs down from it behind as far as their middle. Both men and women have strong Tartar features, but are stouter and plumper than their neighbours. The women are often handsome, and, what is surprising in a tribe so nearly savage, they have an ascendancy unexampled in the neighbouring countries. The wife manages the house, takes care of the property, does her share of the honors, and is very much consulted in all her husband's measures. Women are never beaten, and they have no concealment. It is universally agreed that they are by no means remarkable for chastity, but I have heard different accounts of their libertinism. In the north-east, which is the most civilized part of the country, the women would prostitute themselves for money, while their husbands were out of the way; but the men, though not jealous, would probably put a detected adultress to death. In other parts of the country, there prevails a custom called Kooroo Bistaun, by which the husband lends his wife to the embraces of his guests †. At all times, if a husband of that part of the country finds a pair of slippers at his wife's door, he immediately withdraws. Both sexes

* It is a good likeness of Kereem, a Hazaureh once in my service, but his face was more cheerful and good-humoured.

† This is Moghul: one of the laws of the *Yasa* forbids adultery. The inhabitants of *Caiader* applied for and received an exemption on account of their old usage of lending their wives to their guests.

spend a great deal of their time in sitting in the house round a stove. They are all great singers and players on the guitar, and many of them are poets. Lovers and their mistresses sing verses to each other of their own composing, and men often sit for hours railing at each other in extemporaneous satire.

Their amusements out of doors are hunting, shooting deer, and racing. They clear a spot of ground for the last mentioned amusement, and ride bare backed, the stake is often a great many sheep, oxen, or suits of clothes. They also shoot at marks for similar wagers. They are all good archers and good shots: every man has a matchlock. Their other arms are a Persian sword, a long narrow dagger in a wooden sheath, and sometimes a spear.

The Hazaurehs are very passionate, and exceedingly fickle and capricious. After conciliating one for an hour, a single word may make him fly out, and break with you. Setting aside their hot tempers, they are a good people, merry, conversible, good natured, and hospitable. Many stories are told of their extreme simplicity. It is enough to mention that they believe the King of Caubul to be as high as the tower of a castle: still, as they are Asiatics, they are not exempt from habits of falsehood. Their irritable disposition involves them in constant broils among themselves. *

The Hazaurehs generally live in villages of from twenty to two hundred houses, though some live in Tartar tents like the Eimauks. Each village is defended by a high tower, capable of containing ten or twelve men, and full of loop-holes. †

There is a kettle-drum in each, and in time of peace, a single man remains in the tower, to sound an alarm if necessary. I have heard

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* The Afghauns tell many stories of the power of fascination possessed by some of the Hazaurehs, who can eat out the liver of any person on whom they fix their eyes. This fable is very common in India and Persia, and is attributed to various tribes. The details of the operation are given with great solemnity in the Ayenee Acberee.

† This building is called Ottopore, or Ortopore, which I believe is borrowed from the Turkish.

a gathering of the Hazaurehs described: one of these drums was beat, and the sound was taken up, and repeated from hill to hill. The Hazaurehs armed in haste, and rushed out, till at last a force of two or three thousand men was assembled at the point of attack.

Each village has a chief called the Hoker, and one or two elders called by the Toorkish word Auksukaul (which, like Speen Zheereh in Pushtoo, and Reesh Suffeed in Persia, means literally white beard), but all entirely dependent on the Sooltaun.

The Hazaurehs are divided into tribes, of which the Deh Zengee, Deh Koondee, Jaughooree, and Polande, are among the most considerable, and each has its own Sooltaun, whose power is absolute in his tribe. He administers justice, imposes fines, imprisons, and even puts to death. Some of these Sooltauns have good castles, fine clothes, and servants adorned with gold and silver. They have constant disputes among themselves, so that there is scarcely a Hazaureh tribe which is not at war with its neighbours. They have also foreign wars; and sometimes two or three Sooltauns unite to rebel against the King: but they have never any solid or useful confederacy. I have been told by a man who had been employed to collect the revenue under Zeinaul Khaun, that he had sometimes been called into an assembly of six or seven of these chiefs, who would inform him that they were determined not to pay the tribute, and that he might go about his business. In the same night, one chief would come and declare that he had no share in this contumacy; next morning, one or two more would come, and the whole confederacy would dissolve. When it once came to blows, they would often hold well together; but they were always quelled in the end. This Zeinaul Khaun was a Mogul of the neighbourhood of Heraut, who was made governor of Baumeeaun, in Shauh Zemaun's reign, and who dragged up a gun into the strongest parts of the mountains, and reduced the Hazaurehs to a degree of order and obedience never equalled.

In general, the Hazaurehs were divided between the government of Ghoraut and Baumeeaun; and at present they are scarcely under

any government at all. They have wars with the Eimauks, and also with Killich Ally Khaun, the great Uzbek chief in Bulkh, who has reduced many of the nearest Hazaurehs under his authority.

The Hazaurehs are all enthusiastic followers of Ali; they hold the Afghauns, Eimauks, and Uzbeks in detestation, for following the opposite sect, and they insult, if they do not persecute, every Soonnee who enters their country. They even distrust such of their own countrymen as have been much among the Afghauns, suspecting them of having been corrupted. *

When this is considered, it is not surprising that there should be no Taujiks settled among the Hazaurehs, and that they should have little trade or intercourse with the rest of mankind. The little trade they have, is carried on by barter: sugar and salt are the foreign commodities in most request.

The above account of the Hazaurehs is not without exceptions. Some of them have democratic governments like the Afghauns, particularly the large tribe of Gurree, which is settled towards Hindoo Coosh, and which, perhaps, differs from the rest in some other particulars. The plains about Mookker, Karra Baugh, &c. to the west of Ghuznee, are inhabited by Hazaurehs, who in their situation, and in every thing but their features, exactly resemble Taujiks.

There are many Hazaurehs in Caubul; five hundred are in the King's guard, the rest gain their bread by their labour; many of them are muleteers.

It is difficult to guess the number of the Hazaurehs: their country is considerably more extensive than that of the Eimauks, but it is less productive, and worse peopled; so that I should not suppose they amounted to more than from three hundred to three hundred and fifty thousand souls.

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* Kereem who is represented in Plate XII. actually was converted, and on his return to the Hazaureh country, he was treated with the utmost contempt: his own relations called him "a hog," and never addressed him but with "Suggau," O dog.

I must not quit the Hazaurehs without noticing the celebrated idols of Baumeeaun, which stand within their country.

I have only heard two idols described, though it is sometimes said there are more: of these one represents a man, and one a woman. The former is twenty yards high, the latter twelve or fourteen. The man has a turban on his head, and is said to have one hand held up to his mouth, and the other across his breast. The surrounding hills are full of caves, but I have heard of no figures or inscriptions which they contain.

The learned in Indian antiquities are of opinion that these idols are connected with the worship of Boodh, and their situation strongly reminds one of the colossal statues at the entrance of the great temple, supposed to belong to the religion of Boodh, in the midst of the city of caves, which is to be seen at Canara in Salsette; but my information on such subjects does not qualify me to form any opinion regarding them.

CHAP. III.

HERAUT.

HERAUT is included within the Dooraunee limits, and ought to have been described with the lands of that tribe, but as it was always a distinct government, and is now almost an independent state, it seemed more suitable to treat of it separately.

Heraut, formerly called Heri, is one of the most ancient and most renowned of all the cities of the east. It gave its name to an extensive province at the time of the expedition of Alexander, and it was for a long time the capital of the empire, which was transmitted by Tamerlane to his sons. From the house of Timour it passed to the Suffarees (or Sofis) of Persia, from whom it was taken by the Dooraunees in 1715. It was retaken by Naudir Shauh in 1731, and it fell into the hands of Ahmed Shauh in 1749, since which time it has been held by the Dooraunees.

The descriptions I have already given of Afghaun cities, leave me little to say of Heraut, which perhaps surpasses them all in magnificence. I must, however, notice the great mosque, a lofty and spacious building, surmounted by domes and minarets, and ornamented with the shining painted tile, which is so much used in all Persian buildings.

The city is surrounded by a broad ditch, filled with water from springs. It has a high rampart of unburnt brick, the lower part of which is strengthened by the earth of the ditch heaped up against it. On the northern side is the citadel, built on a mound which overlooks the town. It has a rampart of burnt brick, and a wet ditch.

Heraut covers a great space, and contains about 100,000 inhabitants*. Two-thirds of that number consist of Herautees, or ancient inhabitants of the place, who are all Sheeahs: a tenth of the whole population may be Dooraunees, and the rest all Moguls and Eimauks, with the same mixture of strangers that is found in all the Afghaun cities. The city stands in a fertile plain, which is watered by a river crowded with villages, and covered with fields of corn. This rich landscape receives additional beauty and variety from the mosques, tombs, and other edifices, intermixed with numerous trees and gardens, with which it is embellished, and from the lofty mountains by which it is surrounded.

The inhabitants of the country round Heraut, are, for the most part, Taujiks, and bear the character already attributed to that respectable race. They are all Soonnees. Among the rest of the inhabitants are to be found Afghauns, Eimauks, and Beloches; and many Moguls and Chaghatyes still dwell in the neighbourhood of a city which was so long the seat of their national greatness.

The revenue of Heraut is reckoned at 1,000,000 rupees, of which more than half is allotted to the payment of troops, or granted to various persons. The remainder is paid into the local treasury; but the amount never sufficed for the expences of the province, and a fixed sum used to be remitted from Caubul till the reign of Shauh Zemaun. One great expence was the maintenance of the provincial army. The Gholaums, or troops in constant pay, at one time amounted to eight thousand men; and the contingents of the Eimauks and some of the Dooraunees, completed the force. Almost the whole of Khorassaun was at one time included in this province.

A government of such importance was naturally considered as a suitable employment for one of the King's sons. It was held by

* In the account which I wrote of this city in 1810, I had greatly under-rated the number of inhabitants, and have taken the present statement from Captain Christie, whose observations tended to confirm the rest of my account.

Timour Shauh in his father's life time. It was, at a later period, conferred on Shauh Mahmood, and is now in the hands of the brother of that monarch, Prince Feerooz Oodeen, who has the usual title of Haujee, from his having made a pilgrimage to Mecca. He holds a court of his own, composed, in general, of the younger brothers of the Dooraunee and Cuzilbaush nobles of the court of Caubul. His officers of state, and all his establishments are on the model of the King's; and as some of the Dooraunee lords, and most of the Eimauk chiefs reside at Heraut, he is enabled to maintain considerable splendour.

He has the reputation of a mild and respectable, though a timid prince; but it appears from Captain Christie's accounts, which are later, and probably more correct than mine, that he has lost much of his popularity, by giving himself up to the councils of a Persian minister. *

The prince at Heraut always exercised an authority almost uncontrolled by the King, and the civil wars in the kingdom have been favourable to the independence of Prince Feerooz. He endeavours to keep as much as possible out of the sphere of these troubles, and I believe he acknowledges the sovereignty of either of the competitors when his power seems well established, but his close connection with Mahmood, who is his full brother, inclines him to that party; and this, together with his fear of Futteh Khaun, has led him more than once to send a force under his son to co-operate with that party.

The siege of Heraut by the Persians is detailed in the history. Feerooz at that time engaged to pay a contribution of 50,000 Rs.

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* Captain Christie states that this preference of a Persian, or, as he calls him, a Mogul, has occasioned great jealousy among the Afghauns; but that the Prince finds the former more adapted to his purposes of extortion than the Afghauns, "who "being accustomed to the free and independent tenure of the land, are not so likely "to assist in a system of plunder, for which the Moguls are proverbial."

(£6,000). He may perhaps have promised to renew this payment annually; and I have heard that a sum of money has since been extorted from him by the fear of an approaching army; but the *tribute* which the Persians represent him to pay, seems to be one of the fictions with which that people are so fond of indulging their national vanity.

CHAP. IV.

SEESTAUN.

THERE is no country to which an admirer of Persian poetry and romance will turn with more interest than to Seestaun, and there is none where his expectations will meet with so melancholy a disappointment. Nor is this to be attributed to the exaggeration of the poets, for the numerous ruins which it still contains, testify Seestaun to have been a fertile country, full of cities, which in extent and magnificence are scarcely surpassed by any in Asia: nor are the causes of its decline less apparent than the proofs of its former prosperity.

Except on the north, where it joins the south-western border of the Dooraunee country, the province is surrounded by wide and dismal desarts, whence every wind brings clouds of a light shifting sand, which destroys the fertility of the fields, and gradually overwhelms the villages.* The only parts which still retain their fertility, are those on the banks of the Helmund and Furra Rood, and of the lake which is formed by those rivers. This celebrated lake is termed by our geographers the sea of Durra or Zereng. In Persian books, it is said sometimes to be called the sea of Loukh, and, by the people of the country, the sea of Zoor or of Khaujek. In truth, I suspect it has no name at all in the neighbourhood, but is merely called the Lake, or the Sea. I have heard various accounts of its extent: the

* The native village of Moollah Jaffer, whom I have so often mentioned, has been deserted since he left Seestaun, from this cause.

best make it at least one hundred and fifty miles round, though they differ about its shape. The water, though not salt, is brackish and hardly drinkable. In the centre stands a single hill, which is called the Copee Zoor, or hill of strength, and sometimes the fort of Roostum: tradition indeed declares it to have been a fort in ancient times, and as it is steep and lofty, and surrounded by water of great depth, it is still a place of refuge for some of the inhabitants of the opposite shores. The edges of the lake, for a considerable breadth, are choaked with long rushes and reeds, the shores also are overgrown with the same sort of vegetation; and being liable to inundation, are full of miry places and pools of standing water. These marshes and thickets are frequented by herds of oxen, which are fed by a description of men distinct from the other inhabitants of Seestaun: they are said to be tall and stout, but black and ugly, with long faces and large black eyes: they go almost naked, and live in hovels of reeds. Besides their occupation of herdsmen, they fish and fowl on rafts among the rushes of the lake.

The country immediately beyond these woods of reeds produces grass, and grain, and tamarisks, as does the narrow valley through which the Helmund flows, and probably the banks of the Furra Rood. The rest of the country is almost a desart: like all desarts, it yields forage for camels, and here and there it affords a well for the wandering Beloches who take care of those animals.

The original inhabitants of Seestaun are Taujiks, but they have now received some additions from other countries. There are said to be two considerable tribes, called Shehrukee and Surbundee, which have emigrated from Persian Irauk to Seestaun, and in much later times, a tribe of Beloches has fixed its residence in the east of the country. The Taujiks and the two first-mentioned tribes exactly resemble the Persians, and have little remarkable in their character. The Beloches are now commanded by an enterprising chief, named Khaun Jehaun Khaun, who is the terror of caravans, and of all the neighbouring countries. They formerly lived in tents, and subsisted by pasturage and pillage; but they have

now applied themselves with industry and success to husbandry, and have adopted the dress and manners of the people of Seestaun.

The nominal chief of all Seestaun is Mullik Behraun Kyaunee, who is descended (or reputed to be descended) from the ancient house of Ky, which reigned long over Persia, produced Cyrus and other great monarchs, and terminated in the death of Darius, and the subversion of his empire by the Greeks. Mullik Behraun is very sensible of the glory of so illustrious a descent: he still assumes the title of King, and maintains, on a small scale, the state and forms of royalty; but his authority is only recognized in a small part of Seestaun, and his whole force is under a thousand men. His capital is called Jellallabad. It now contains a few thousand inhabitants; but the ruins which surround it, for a vast extent, bear witness to its former grandeur.

The family have had a short gleam of prosperity at no very remote period. The head of it, Mullik Mahmood, rose into great notice in the beginning of Naudir Shauh's career, and acquired possession of the greater part, if not the whole, of Khorassaun. He was at last defeated and put to death by Naudir Shauh, who reduced the whole of Seestaun, and who appears to have transferred the government to a brother or a cousin of Mahmood. Solimaun who was chief in the time of Ahmed Shauh, submitted to the Dooraunees, and gave his daughter to their King. The Kyaunees have since paid a light tribute, and furnished a contingent to the King of Caubul, but it has sometimes been necessary to enforce the performance of these acts of submission. There was a body of Seestaunees at Peshawer in 1809, commanded by Mullik Mahmood, a grandson of the famous prince whose name he bore.

I have not heard what relation Mullik Behraun bears to the present government, except that Prince Caumraun is married to his daughter. The Persians, as usual, pretend that he is subject to their King. I cannot hazard a conjecture on the population of Seestaun.

CHAP. V.

BELOCHISTAUN AND LOWER SIND.

BELOCHISTAUN * is bounded on the north by Afghaunistaun and Seestaun, and on the south by the Indian ocean; it has Upper and Lower Sind on the east, and Persia on the west. It is six hundred miles long, and three hundred and fifty broad. The largest division of it is that which belongs to the Khaun of Kelaut, and comprehends the greater part of Seeweestaun, and the whole table land of Kelaut. The first of these tracts is low and hot; the soil is good, but from the want of water, the greater part is a naked and uncultivated plain. Round Gundawa, Dauder, and other towns, however, is well watered and cultivated, and yields the productions of India. It is mostly inhabited by Juts. The table land, on the contrary, is high, cold, rugged, and barren. It affords only the coarser produce of Afghaunistaun.

The people are Brahooee Beloches, mixed with Taujiks, there called Dehwaurs. The former people are like a ruder sort of Af-

* The close connection between Belochistaun and Caubul appears to require a more extended account of the former country, but I trust the geography of that part of Asia is already in better hands. Lieut. Pottinger and Lieut. Christie were dispatched in 1809, by Sir John Malcolm, to explore the Beloche country, and the east of Persia, tracts at that time wholly unknown to Europeans. They performed this enterprising and important journey with complete success, and joined Sir John Malcolm at Maraugha, almost on the borders of the Ottoman empire. The hardships, fatigues, and adventures of such an undertaking, may well be imagined. Lieut. Christie has since fallen, gallantly heading the Persians under his command, in a battle with the Russians; but I hope the particulars of the interesting journey which he and his associate performed with so much perseverance and courage, will, ere long, be laid before the public, by the survivor.

ghauns, barbarous and uncivilized, but hospitable, hardy, laborious and honest. They are divided into Khails like the Afghauns, but the general government has swallowed up the internal institutions of those societies.

All the hilly parts of Belochestaun belong to the Brachooes; the plains are inhabited by another race called Rind, of which numbers reside in Seeweestaun. These two races, though comprehended under the common name of Beloche, are entirely distinct in most respects. Their languages differ entirely from each other, and from all the neighbouring towns. Neither seems to be connected with the Arabs, as has been supposed. The last chief, Nusseer Khaun, had subjected all Belochistaun, but the reigning prince, Mahmood Khaun's possessions, are reduced by rebellions to the districts above mentioned, and some trifling ones on the desart at the western foot of the Table Land. His revenue is only 300,000 rupees (£30,000), but he maintains ten thousand troops, and might, in case of necessity, call out twenty thousand on foot, on horseback, or on dromedaries. He acknowledges the King of Caubul's sovereignty, pays a quit rent for his dominions, and furnishes eight thousand troops to the royal army, on express condition that they are not to be employed in civil wars.

Shawl, with Hurren and Daujil (two districts near Dera Ghauzee Khaun), were granted by Ahmed Shauh to Nasseer Khaun, in reward of his services, and on condition of his permanently supplying one thousand foot to serve in Cashmeer.

I shall say but little of Sind. I made few inquiries respecting that province while in the Caubul dominions, because there was a British mission at its capital; and I have since found that an account will probably be laid before the public by a Gentleman * who has had better opportunities of knowing it than I possess.

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* Lieutenant Pottinger, to whom I am indebted for some particulars respecting Sind. Some others I owe to a manuscript by Lieutenant Maxfield of the Bombay Marine, who accompanied the mission to Sind.

I have here given the name of Sind in compliance with former usage, to the tract which I have elsewhere distinguished by the term of Lower Sind. It is bounded on the north by Shekarpoor and Bahawulpoor: on the east, by the Indian desart; on the west, by the mountains and hills of Belochistaun; on the south-east, by Cutch, and on the south by the sea. The grand feature of the country is the Indus, which divides it into two parts, of which that on the east of the river appears to be the largest.

The resemblance of this country to Egypt, has often been observed. One description might indeed serve for both. A smooth and fertile plain is bounded on one side by mountains, and on the other by a desart. It is divided by a large river which forms a Delta as it approaches the sea, and annually inundates and enriches the country near its banks. The climate of both is hot and dry, and rain is of rare occurrence in either country.

Even the political circumstances of Sind and Egypt have at present an accidental resemblance: in both a submissive people are tyrannised over by a barbarous tribe, who, in both instances, yield a reluctant submission to a distant monarch.

Egypt, however, divides the sea which washes the richest kingdoms of the east, from that which is bordered by the active and wealthy ports of Europe: its own produce is also an object of demand in the latter country; and hence, in spite of all the vices of its government, it still presents populous towns, numerous canals, and plentiful harvests. Sind, which (besides the obvious inferiority of its communications) is placed in the midst of countries destitute of the industry of Europe, and differing little from each other in their produce and wants, is deprived of all the stimulus which commerce can bestow. Hence the rich lands on the river are allowed to waste their fertility in the production of weeds and bushes, while those inland are neglected, and left to their original sterility. The evils of this neglect of agriculture are heightened by the barbarous luxury of the chiefs, who appropriate vast tracts of the land best fitted for tillage, to maintain those wild beasts and birds which afford them the plea-

sures of the chace. Yet there are some parts of Sind to which these observations do not apply; some places in the neighbourhood of the river, or its branches, are cultivated, and the soil there displays its natural fecundity, in bringing forth most of the productions of India; and the whole district of Chaudookee, enclosed between the Indus and a remarkable branch of it, is highly cultivated, and eminently productive. This branch of the Indus runs out to the west, and, after spreading over a wide tract, which at different seasons, is either a marsh or a lake, it again joins the main stream seventy miles below the place of its separation.

Sind is a bare country; the few trees it produces are of the kinds common in India. It has no remarkable animals, but the number of camels which are fed in it, is worthy of remark. They are used to draw water, to turn mills, &c. but the goods of Sind are much transported by water carriage, nor is that much employed, for a few flat bottomed boats are sufficient for the commerce of this impoverished country.

The capital of Sind is Hyderabad, a large fortified town, situated on a rocky hill. I should conjecture it to contain about eighty thousand inhabitants.

Tatta, the ancient Pattala, which was once a flourishing commercial town, is now greatly declined, but still contains about fifteen thousand inhabitants.

Much of the population of these towns is Hindoo; but the bulk of that of the country, is composed of Mahommedans.

At the time when Sind fell under the Afghaun dominions, it was governed by a prince of the tribe of Calhora, which I believe belongs to the south of Persia. Abdoolnubbee, the last prince of this race, disgusted all his subjects by his tyranny and bad government, and embroiled himself particularly with the Talpoorees, a tribe which formed the principal part of the military population of his country. The chiefs of that tribe at length entered on a conspiracy to depose him; but their practices became known to Abdoolnubbee, who put

them all to death. This act of violence, accompanied, it is said, with treachery, produced an open revolt, and ended in the expulsion of Abdoolnubbee from Sind.

Timour Shauh, after some unavailing attempts to restore him, conferred on him the government of Leia, as an indemnity for Sind, and formally invested the chief of the Talpoorees with the government of that province. Abdoolnubbee repaid the Shauh's bounty by rebelling in his new province, was defeated by the royal troops, and ended his days in poverty at Dera Haujie Khaun in Upper Sind. The Talpoorees have remained in possession of Sind ever since his expulsion.

At the time of the last mission to Sind, the government was in the hands of three brothers, who had divided the country into three unequal shares, but who lived in the same house, and transacted all affairs in concert. Meer Gholaum Ali, the eldest of these, in whose hands the chief direction of the state had been placed, has since died, but a new settlement has been effected without any tumult or bloodshed. A small portion of the province still remains in the hands of Meer Tarra, a connection or dependent of the house of Calhora.

The three chiefs of the Talpoorees are called the Meers, or Ameers (commanders), of Sind. They rule in the name of the King of Caubul, and are appointed to their government by his letters patent; but as they are Sheeahs, and as they owe their government more to their own force than to their prince's favour, they are heartily disaffected to the Dooraunee state. They ought to pay a revenue of 1,500,000 rupees annually to the royal treasury, but since the troubles in the kingdom of Caubul, they have generally withheld it, unless when in immediate fear of the royal armies. Shauh Shujau was only able to obtain eight lacks for the revenue of the year before I was at Peshawer; the rest he allowed to be deducted on pretence of bad seasons. Even this sum was not paid till the King reached the frontiers of Sind; but his army, including the Beloches under Mahmood Khaun, did not on that occasion exceed eight thousand men. I imagine that they are more submissive to Shauh Mahmood.

The dress of Sind is a long cotton gown, and a quilted cap of brown cotton cloth, shaped like the crown of a hat, but narrower; they also wear trowsers and a loongee.

The people are generally of the middle size, thin, though not weak, and blacker than most of the people of India. There is little to praise in their character, which is debased and degraded by the oppression of their government. The only thing that struck me in the Sindees with whom I have conversed, is their deficiency of intelligence. Those who know them well, however, add, that they have all the vices of an enslaved people.

The chiefs appear to be barbarians of the rudest stamp, without any of the barbarous virtues.

CHAP. VI.

UPPER SIND, MOULTAN, LYA, &c.

SHIKARPOOR is bounded by the Indus, and the Beloche country on the east and west; on the north it has the Mozaurees, and Sind on the south. The province is fertile towards the Indus, but dry and barren at a distance from that river. The town is of considerable size; it is surrounded by a mud wall, but has no ditch. The inhabitants are almost all Hindoos. They are called Shikarpoorees, and speak a particular dialect of Hindostanee, called by their name. There are many wealthy bankers in the town, and a considerable trade is kept up with the Rajpoot country, Sind, Candahar, and Peshawer. Shikarpooree bankers are to be found in every part of the Dooraunee dominions, and in all the towns of Toorkistaun. There are very few Afghauns (not above two hundred) settled in the town of Shikarpoor. The inhabitants of the country are Juts, Beloches, and a few Sindees.

The revenue paid to the King, is three lacks of rupees. The Haukim keeps up very few troops.

The remarkable fort of Bukkur, situated on an island in the Indus, belongs to this province, but has a separate governor.

The Mozaurees who live to the north of Shikarpoor, are a tribe of Beloches, I believe of the Rind division. They inhabit a woody and ill-cultivated country. They live almost in a state of anarchy, and have made themselves notorious for their robberies on the highway, for their piracies on the Indus, and for their predatory incursions into the country of their neighbours.

Dera Ghauzee Khaun lies between the Indus and Belochestaun, to the north of the Mozaurees. It was conquered by Ahmed Shauh. The country, I imagine, resembles the adjoining tract of Muckelwaud, already described, but is much better cultivated.

The revenue is less than five lacks of rupees. The province is in complete subjection to the King. The town is nearly as large as Mooltaun, but much of it is in ruins. The country suffers much from the frequent change of the governors.

The province of Dera Ismael Khaun is composed of the tract called Muckelwaud. The country and its produce have already been described: its revenues, &c. will be mentioned under Leia, to which it is at present annexed.

I have mentioned in another place, that the north-western corner of the Indian desart is cut off by the streams of the Punjaub; and that the tract thus formed is fertile within reach of the inundation of the rivers, while the rest is sandy and waste. This explains the character of the provinces of Bahawulpoor, Moultaun, and Leia, which are situated on the east of the Indus, and to the south of the Salt range.

The territory of Bahawulpoor extends two hundred and eighty miles from north-east to south-west, and a hundred and twenty miles from north-west to south-east, at the broadest points. It includes, for a certain distance, both banks of the Indus, of the Hydaspes, and of the Acesines. The banks of the rivers are every where rich. To the west of the Acesines, the country at a distance from them is poor, but to the east it is absolutely desart. The principal towns are Bahawulpoor, Ahmedpoor, Jullallpoor, Seetpoor, and Ooch. The strongest place is Derawul, a fort that owes its strength to the desart with which it is surrounded. It was the ordinary residence of Bahawul Khaun.

The inhabitants of Bahawulpoor are Juts, Beloches, and Hindoos. This is the population of the neighbouring provinces also, but Hindoos are most numerous in Bahawulpoor.

Bahawul Khaun was rather a tributary prince than a governor on

the part of the King. His ancestors gained their possessions as early as Naudir Shauh's time; Bahawul Khaun himself succeeded when an infant, and had ruled for upwards of forty years. His family, which is called Dawood-pooter, was from Shikarpoor, and was originally in a low station, but now claims descent from Abbass the uncle of Mahomet. During the life of Bahawul Khaun, the government was mild and well ordered, and though he was said to have collected a considerable treasure, his impositions on the people were moderate.

His whole revenue was 1,500,000 rupees. His army exceeded ten thousand men, including five battalions of matchlock-men, who wore a regular dress. He had a foundery for cannon, as had the chiefs of Moultaun and Leia; but Bahawul Khaun's guns were on good carriages, while all the others in the kingdom of Caubul are exceedingly ill mounted. He only paid 150,000 rupees annually to the King. Bahawul Khaun has been dead three years, and his son and successor is far from being his equal in prudence and good management. He is exposed to great uneasiness and danger from the increasing power of his neighbours the Siks.

The greatest length of the province of Moultaun is a hundred and ten miles, and the greatest breadth seventy. The country near the river is rich, but the rest is poor and thinly inhabited: the whole has suffered much from the incursions of the Siks, and many ruined villages are every where to be seen.

The revenue collected is 550,000 rupees, of which 250,000 goes to the King.

The force, when I was there, was about two thousand men, and about twenty guns; but ten or twelve thousand militia could be called out on emergency. Nothing could be worse than the government: all sorts of direct exactions were aggravated by monopolies, rapacious and ungovernable troops, and every other kind of abuse.

This province has undergone many changes, which do not seem yet to be at an end. It was taken from the great Mogul by the Persians, and fell to Ahmed Shauh on the death of Naudir. It was for a short time in the hands of the Marattas immediately before the

battle of Pauniput, and was recovered on that victory. The Siks had it for two years at a later period: they have since made several attacks on it, and at present are only induced to spare it by the submissions of the Haukim, and by pecuniary payments on his part.

Leia and Dera Ismael Khaun are both under Mahommed Khaun Suddozye.

Leia formerly belonged to the Beloches. I do not know when it was conquered by the Dooraunees.

The banks of the Indus are rich, but the land at a distance from that river is a sandy desart.

Leia is the capital town, but the residence of the Nabob is at Bukhur, a small but flourishing town near the Indus; or at Maunkaira, a strong fort in the most desart part of the province.

Both provinces only yield five hundred thousand rupees, of which three hundred thousand go to the King. Mahommed Khaun has two battalions of matchlock-men, five thousand good horse, thirty guns, and two howitzers. He is on friendly terms with the Siks, probably because his country towards their frontier is particularly uninviting.

Dauira Deen Punnah is a little district enclosed within the lands of Leia. It yields a revenue of a hundred and fifty thousand rupees, and is granted rent free to a Dooraunee lord.

Leia is bounded on the north by the salt range, beyond which is a rugged and mountainous country inhabited by small and fierce tribes, of whom the most conspicuous are the Kautirs, an Indian tribe independent both on the King and the Siks.

To the north of those mountains are the fertile plains of Chuch and Hazaureh, inhabited by Indians converted to the Mahommedan religion, and called Goojers. Among them are many turbulent Afghauns of various tribes, and these last are the masters of the country.

To the north of these plains is Drumtour (the country of the Jadoons), already described as belonging to a branch of Eusofzyes.

North of it is Turnaul, a woody and mountainous country, which

joins on the north to Pukhlee, a country of the same kind, but much more extensive, inhabited by Swautees, and under a separate governor appointed by the King.

All these countries stretch along the Indus; but our progress to the north is now stopped by snowy mountains.

To the east of Pukhlee are the countries of the Bumbas and Cukkas. The former is under two or three chiefs called Rajas, the principal of whom resides at Mozzufferabad: both tribes are Mahommedans. Their countries are composed of vast mountains, difficult passes, and thick forests. They are of importance to the Dooraunees, as forming their only communication with Cashmeer.

CHAP. VII.

CASHMEER.

THE valley of Cashmeer is surrounded by lofty mountains, which divide it from Little Tibet on the north, from Ladauk on the east, from the Punjaub on the south, and from Pukhlee on the west. A branch of the Speen (white) Caufirs approaches Cashmeer on the north-west. There are but seven passes into the province: four are from the south, one from the west, and the remaining two from the north. That of Bember is the best; but that of Mozzyufferabad or Baramoolla, lying towards Afghaunistaun, is now most used. I shall not attempt to describe this celebrated valley after Bernier and Foster: the account of the latter, in particular, cannot be surpassed.

The Cashmerians are a distinct nation of the Hindoo stock, and differ in language and manners from all their neighbours. The men are remarkably stout, active, and industrious. They are excessively addicted to pleasure, and are notorious all over the East for falsehood and cunning. By far the greater part of the population are Mussulmans. Aboolfuzl enumerates a succession of upwards of a hundred and fifty Hindoo Kings, who reigned over Cashmeer before the year 742 of the Hijra, when they were supplanted by a Mahommedan dynasty. This last, after reigning near three hundred years, was subdued by Hoomauyoon the son of Bauber. Cashmeer remained in the hands of the Moguls till the time of Ahmed Shauh, when it was taken by the Dooraunees, who have since possessed it.

The Cashmerians seem to have been rebellious when their country was first occupied by the Dooraunees, but they are now completely subdued by the strong measures of the government. No Cashmerians,

except soldiers in the service of the state, are allowed to wear arms within the city. The same restriction is not imposed in the country, but the power of the native chiefs is annihilated, and a strong force of Afghauns and Kuzzilbaushes is kept up within the valley, which is sufficient to check any disposition to revolt.

The governor is invested with all the powers of a King, and the administration is very tyrannical. From the small number of passes, the government is enabled to prevent any persons entering or quitting Cashmeer without its permission. Its numerous spies pervade all ranks of society, and the inhabitants are harassed by every kind of oppression: this misgovernment increases the depravity of their character, but their natural gaiety prevents its destroying their happiness.

The city of Cashmeer is the largest in the Dooraunee dominions. It contains from a hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand inhabitants.

The gross revenue of the province is said to be 4,626,300 rupees, which is nearly equal to £ 500,000.

The sum due to the King depends on the contract entered into by the governor. When at the highest, it was 2,200,000 rupees, from which a deduction of 700,000 was allowed for the pay of troops, so that 1,500,000 was the whole which reached the royal treasury. Upwards of six lacks are assigned in Teools to the neighbouring rajahs, to Afghaun chiefs, and to moollahs, dervises, and Hindoo fakeers. The rest is charged to the real or alleged expences of collection, and to the pay of civil and military establishments.

The governor has constantly at his disposal a force of five thousand four hundred horse, and three thousand two hundred foot.

The Afghauns, who serve in Cashmeer, seem entirely to alter their character, and to become insolent and luxurious. Most of them are pleased with their situation, but still their fondness for their own country prevents the western Afghauns from remaining long in Cashmeer.

The remote position of Cashmeer, and the absolute authority en-

joyed by the governors, often induces them to rebel; but notwithstanding the strength of the country, they are always easily subdued. The Cashmerians are of no account as soldiers, and the Afghauns and Kuzzilbaushes are enervated by the life they lead, and probably little disposed to act with vigor against the King; while the royal army is composed of poor, adventurous soldiers, who look forward with avidity to the plenty and the pleasures of Cashmeer, and who know the sufferings they must undergo in case of a retreat.

The repulse of Shauh Shuja's troops has been mentioned in another place. Cashmeer has since been reduced by the Vizier Futteh Khaun, who imprudently and unnecessarily called in the assistance of the Siks in that enterprize. The present governor is a brother of Futteh Khaun.

The most remarkable production of Cashmeer is its shawls, which supply the whole world, and which are said to be manufactured at sixteen thousand looms, each of which gives employment to three men. *

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* The following is an extract from the report drawn up by Mr. Strachey, who made many enquiries on this subject, and who had some shawl stuffs made under his own inspection, of wool procured at Umritsir. The manufacturers were pioneers belonging to the embassy, and they worked in a common tent; yet they appeared to find no difficulty in their employment. "A shop may be occupied with one shawl, provided it be a remarkably fine one, above a year, while other shops make six or eight in the course of that period. Of the best and most worked kinds, not so much as a quarter of an inch is completed in one day, by three people, which is the usual number employed at most of the shops. Shawls containing much work are made in separate pieces at different shops, and it may be observed that it very rarely happens that the pieces, when completed, correspond in size.

"The shops consist of a frame work, at which the persons employed sit on a bench: their number is from two to four. On plain shawls, two people alone are employed, and a long narrow, but heavy shuttle is used; those of which the pattern is variegated, are worked with wooden needles, there being a separate needle for the thread of each colour; for the latter, no shuttle is required. The operation of their manufacture is of course slow, proportionate to the quantity of work which their patterns may require.

"The Oostaud, or head workman, superintends while his journeymen are employed near him immediately under his directions. If they have any new pattern in hand,

The mountains round Cashmeer are in many places inhabited by tribes who are in a sort of dependence on the Dooraunees. Their chiefs have Tecools within the valley, which have probably been given to ensure their obedience: they furnish some troops to the Haukim, and pay him revenue when he is strong enough to levy it. Their dependence is, however, very slight.

The following are the only chiefs of this description of whom I have any account:

" or one with which they are not familiar, he describes to them the figures, colours, and " threads which they are to use, while he keeps before him the pattern on which they " happen to be employed, drawn upon paper.

" During the operation of making, the rough side of the shawl is uppermost on the " frame, notwithstanding which, the Oostaud never mistakes the regularity of the most " figured patterns.

" The wages of the Oostaud (the employer furnishing materials) are from six to eight " pice per day; of the common workmen, from one to four pice (a pice in Cashmeer " may be about three-halfpence).

" A merchant, entering largely into the shawl trade, frequently engages a number of " shops, which he collects in a spot under his eye; or he supplies the head workmen " with thread which has been previously spun by women and afterwards coloured, and " they carry on the manufacture at their own houses, having previously received instruc- " tions from the merchant respecting the quality of the goods he may require, their " colours, patterns, &c.

" After the goods are completed, the merchant carries them to the custom-office, where " each shawl is stamped, and he pays a certain duty, the amount of which is settled ac- " cording to the quality and value of the piece. The officer of the government generally " fixes the value beyond what the goods are really worth. The duty is at the rate of " one-fifth of the price.

" Most shawls are exported unwashed, and fresh from the loom. In India, there is " no market for unwashed shawls, and at Umritsir they are better washed and packed " than in Cashmeer. Of those sent to the westward, many are worn unwashed.

" The wool of which the shawls are made is imported from Tibet and Tartary, in " which countries alone the goat which produces it is said to thrive. That which is " brought from Rodauk is reckoned the best. Its price in Cashmeer is from ten to " twenty rupees for a turruk (which is supposed to be about twelve pounds): the whitest " sort is the dearest.

" It would perhaps be difficult to determine with accuracy the quantity of shawls manu- " factured annually; supposing, however, that five of all kinds are on an average made " at each shop or loom in the course of a year, the number would be eighty thousand, " which is probably not far from the truth."

On the north is a chief, whom the people of Cashmeer call the Raja of Little Tibet (Khoord Tibet), or of Tibet i Zerdauloo and Dauro. He has probably only a part of Little Tibet. Azaud Khaun sent an expedition into that country, but I do not know whether he first reduced it.

I have not heard of any inhabitants in the high mountains between Cashmeer and Ladauk.

The southern mountains contain many principalities, of which the chief seem to be Kishtawaur, Chundunee or Chinaunee, Jummoo, Khussiaul and Dung Akhoroor, Rajour, and Proanch. The chiefs of these states retain the old Hindoo title of Raja, though they and their subjects are mostly Mahommedans. Their countries are thinly peopled, as might be expected from their nature; but for a mountainous tract, they are not ill inhabited. The people resemble the Cashmerians in their language and manners, but have a great mixture of those of the countries to the south.

BOOK V.

THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF CAUBUL.

CHAP. I.

OF THE KING.

IN most Asiatic governments, there are no limits to the power of the crown but those of the endurance of the people; and the King's will is never opposed unless by a general insurrection. Among the Afghauns, however, the power of the Dooraunee aristocracy and the organization of the other tribes afford permanent means for the control of the royal authority, and for the peaceable maintenance of the privileges of the nation. But, as they have no statute law (except that of Mahomet), and no public records of the proceedings of their government, it is impossible that any regular constitution should have grown up among them. There are, however, some established customs and opinions respecting their government, which I shall proceed to state.

The crown is hereditary in that branch of the house of Suddozye which is descended from Ahmed Shauh. There does not, however, appear to be any rule fixed for its descending to the eldest son. When a King dies, it has been usual for the great Dooraunee Sirdars present at the court, to meet and consider which of his sons is to succeed. They are determined by the will of the father, and by the age

and character of each of the princes; and their voice secures the possession of the capital, and gives a great advantage to the prince in whose favour it declares; but the practice of conferring the different great governments on the King's sons generally leads to a contest, which is decided by the wealth, abilities, and popularity of the rivals.

The whole of the royal family, except those whom the King particularly favours, are imprisoned in the upper citadel of Caubul, where they are well treated, but closely confined. Those who remain at large are appointed to the government of provinces or the command of armies, where the ostensible authority of a Suddozye is required to secure the obedience of the great, and to sanction capital punishments; they are, however, in general, entirely under the control of a deputy of the King's appointing.

The King's title is Shauhee Doorree Doorraun, but it is only used in treaties and other public instruments. In general, he is merely styled Shauh or Padshauh (the King), and the common people often call him by his name, Mahmood, or Shuja, without any addition at all. The court is called the Derree Khauneh, which, like Durbar in India, and Aulee Kaupee (Sublime Porte) in Turkey, signifies the gate, a form of oriental adulation which implies that a subject ought to intrude no further into the palace even in his thoughts.

The King has the exclusive privilege of coining, and his name is put on all the money in the empire. It is well known what consequence the Asiatics attach to this right, and that they regard the possession of it as the chief test of sovereignty. A similar test is the privilege enjoyed by the King, of being prayed for in the Khootbeh (part of the Mahommedan religious service).

He has the right of war and peace, and can make treaties of his own authority. Notwithstanding the example of Shawl *, it seems

* Part of the country of the Caukers, which was granted by Ahmed Shauh to the prince of Belochestaun.

to be understood that he cannot cede any part of the territory occupied by Afghaun tribes.

All appointments are in his gift; but, in many cases, his choice is confined to particular families; of this description are the chiefships of tribes. Some offices of the state, and many even of the King's household, are also hereditary.

He has the entire control of the revenue, both in collection and expenditure. He cannot, however, increase the settlement of the land revenue, fixed by Ahmed Shauh, which is very light. The only means he possesses of increasing his resources, derived from the Afghauns, are fines, compositions for military service; and, in some cases, arbitrary valuations of the produce, on which the revenue is assessed.

These expedients are not very productive, and the use of them, in cases where the government could easily enforce a new assessment, seems a clear acknowledgment that the prerogative is limited in this respect.

The King cannot resume the grants of his predecessors. In civil wars, the grants of one pretender are resumed by the other, on the ground of their not being the acts of a lawful monarch; but even this is not often done.

The customs have never been altered. I do not know whether the King has the right to increase them; he certainly has the power, as his doing so would not immediately affect any body of men strong enough to question his orders.

The King has the control of military levies, and the command of the army.

A part of the administration of justice has been shewn to be left to the internal government of the tribes; the other branches belong to the sovereign, who appoints all Cauzees; and confirms their sentences in places where they have criminal jurisdiction. In cases where the crime is against the state, the King is the sole judge. His power, however, does not, even in this case, extend to the life of a

Suddozye (the King's tribe). Timour Shauh put the grand vizier to death, and the measure was never blamed; Shauh Mahmood's execution of Meer Allum Khaun (the head of the Noorzyes), was condemned for its injustice, not for its illegality; but the execution of Wuffadar Khaun Suddozye and his brothers, by the same prince, is still universally reprobated, as contrary to the fundamental laws of the state.

The King has the direction of religious affairs, but the national religion being firmly established, he has little room for interference. The rights which the Afghaun nation possess over the conquered provinces and other dependencies of the state, are entirely vested in the crown.

Besides the direct powers thus possessed by the King, it is obvious he must derive much influence from the exercise of them.

In the policy of the Court of Caubul towards its own subjects, the most striking object is the close connection of the King with the Dooraunees, and rivalry between him and the aristocracy of that tribe. It is the King's policy to keep the Dooraunees in subjection to himself, while he exalts them over the other Afghauns.

For this purpose, he protects the Taujiks, and all others whose power he can use to depress the nobles, without endangering the ascendancy of his tribe. His policy towards the Dooraunee lords, the Taujiks, and the Afghaun tribes respectively, resembles that of a King of Scotland towards the barons, the burgesses, and the clans of the Highlands.

The King's object with the Afghaun tribes is, to get men from the western, and money from the eastern; with the provinces also, the practice of the government has been to exact little from those in the west, and use them for defence alone; but to avail itself of the resources of the eastern provinces, and of the means they afforded for further extension of territory.

In like manner in foreign policy the Afghauns have shewn no desire for western conquest. Their views towards Persia and Toor-

kistaun, were confined to the defence of Khorassaun and Bulkh. It was, indeed, a death-bed injunction of Ahmed Shauh to his sons, not to attack the Uzbeks, whom he called a hive without honey.

Another wise precept is attributed to him, which was, to forbear attacking the Siks, till their zeal had subsided, and their manners softened. In fact, the Siks have become attached to agriculture, and have entirely lost their aptitude for the protracted and desultory warfare, which enabled them to withstand the power of Ahmed Shauh.

The Afghaun government has always shewn a good deal of moderation towards its own subjects, its dependent states, and even its enemies. It is mild in punishments, and its lenity is more conspicuous, from a comparison with the severity of the Persians. It is not uncommon for a great rebellion to terminate without a single execution; and when there are punishments for rebellions, they always fall on the chiefs alone. The Persian practice of blinding or maiming the common people is unknown. During the time the embassy was at Peshawer, there was but one execution; it was that of a Sheeah dervise, who was tried on the accusation of the Moollahs, and found guilty of blasphemy.

The Afghaun government, however, like most others in the east, is disgraced by the perfidious means sometimes resorted to by its ministers to seize offenders, and by the use of torture. A temptation to the former practice may be found in the ease with which a criminal can elude the pursuit of government, in a country so full of fastnesses, and where it is a point of honour to assist a fugitive. The use of torture was learned from the Persians: it has long existed, but it is only under Mahmood that it is commonly practised. It is chiefly made use of to extort money, and, consequently, falls oftenest on the rich and great.

The government endeavours to maintain quiet and prosperity among all the Afghaun tribes; but, aware of their having interests

distinct from its own, it does not watch over their welfare with that solicitude which one would expect from a King towards his own nation. The provinces are generally governed with tolerable mildness and equity, in some cases from the weakness, and in others from the wisdom of the government. The eastern provinces suffer most from the rapacity of the government and its agents; seldom from jealousy or wanton insolence. Cashmeer alone suffers every sort of tyranny.

The Afghaun government has little information about neighbouring states. Though its attention was long directed to India, and though its merchants frequently visit that country, the greatest ignorance of its state still subsists. The ministers know that the Mogul empire has declined, but have a very imperfect knowledge of the numerous states that have been erected on its ruins. They are rather better acquainted with Persia and Tartary, but even there they trust to the reports of merchants and travellers. They have no news-writers (as in India). Embassies are rare, and never permanent.

Twelve years of civil war have, in a great degree, altered the government even from what is described above. The King is now more than ever dependent on the Dooraunee lords, and is, in consequence, deprived of all choice in the appointment of his ministers, and nearly of all control over them in the exercise of their powers.

The armies of the state being engaged in wars among themselves, many of the tribes and provinces have become rebellious or refractory, and many of the sources of revenue are, therefore, cut off. Of what could still be realized, great part has been given in Tecools to the principal nobility; what remains, is almost entirely consumed by the embezzlements of governors and ministers, which the King can no longer correct, lest his strictness should deprive him of his adherents.

As the King cannot compel the tribes to send the contingents of

men which they are bound to furnish, his army is composed of soldiers who come for pay, or from attachment to their leaders. The failure of the revenue naturally diminishes this species of army; and the troops who do serve, are more at the disposal of their commanders than at the King's.

As these resources, such as they are, are often divided between two competitors, it is easy to conceive how the power and influence of the crown must have sunk.

CHAP. II.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

THE general administration of the government is conducted by the King, with the assistance of the vizier auzim (Grand Vizier).

This officer has the entire direction of the revenue, and the management of the political affairs of the government, at home and abroad. He has also the control of all the other departments.

The vizier ought to be appointed from the clan of Baumizye, and from the family of Shauh wullee Khaun; but this rule was departed from by Shauh Zemaun, who made a Suddozye * vizier; and by Mahmood, who has bestowed that office on Futteh Khaun Baurikzye.

These innovations give great disgust, and used generally to be avoided, by allowing the office to remain in the hands of the hereditary claimants, but transferring the greater part of the powers to some officer more in the King's confidence; an expedient which

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* The following remark of Sir John Malcolm on this subject, is illustrative of the Afghaun notion of government.

" The appointment of Rehmut Ullah Khaun, commonly called Wuffadar Khaun, was " spoken of with great disapprobation, when I was in Persia in 1800. It was considered " as a departure from all usage; and the ground of objections were: ' that though it " was proper the King should be a Suddozye, and have his person held sacred, from be- " longing to that venerated tribe, his vizier ought not to be of the same tribe, as if he " also was safe from attack, no one would be responsible for the acts of cruelty and op- " pression that might be committed:' others deemed the King impolitic in appointing a " Suddozye to be his vizier, as such an officer might aspire to the crown, on the ground " of being one of that tribe."

The Chaous Baushee in his dress of Office.

Published by Messrs. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, Paternoster Row. 1818.

The Umla Baushee in his Dress of Office.

Published by Mess.rs Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, Paternoster Row, 1821.

occasions much confusion, and renders it almost impossible to know exactly the duty or powers of any officer of government.

Next to the vizier in the general administration, the principal ministers are the Moonshee Baushee (or chief secretary), who manages all the King's correspondence; and the Hircarrah Baushee, who is at the head of the intelligence department, and who has the command of all the Chuppers and Cossids (mounted and foot messengers). Under this head may also be considered the Nusukchee Baushee, whose duty it is to superintend all punishments, and who is besides a kind of earl marischal; and the Zubt Begee, who seizes on all property ordered to be confiscated or sequestrated.

The heads of the revenue and judicial departments, and the chiefs of the army are among the greatest officers of state, but their functions will be more conveniently mentioned, when the branches of the administration with which they are connected, are explained.

The officers of the court and household are very numerous. Their establishment is formed exactly on the model of Naudir Shauh's. Each of the branches belonging to it is distinguished by a particular dress *. The appearance of the court is very regular and decorous, and must have been magnificent before the civil wars, and the plunder of the furniture and decorations of the palaces.

The principal heads of these departments are the following: the Meer-Akhor, or master of the horse, whose employment is hereditary in the head family of the Ishakzyes.

The office of Ishikaghaussee Baushee is a considerable one, hereditary in a great family of Populzyes. The meaning of the word in Turkish is *door-keeper*, but the duty is that of master of ceremonies.

The station of Arz Begee is hereditary in the family of Akram Khaun. The duty is to repeat in an audible voice to the King, any thing that is said by his subjects who are admitted to his presence. It is intended to correct the mistakes which people unaccustomed to

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* See Plate XIII. and XIV.

the court might make in the language of ceremony, and also to avoid the inconveniences arising from the great distance at which strangers are kept from the person of the King. The office is important, as the King often desires the Arzbegee to enquire into representations made through him, and is guided in the decision by his report.

The Jaurchee Baushee and Jaurchees are criers attached to the Arzbegee.

The Chaous Baushee presents persons admitted to pay their respects to the King, dismisses the court, and communicates the King's orders on such occasions, according to set forms in the Toorkee language.

There are many other officers who are at the head of establishments maintained for purposes of state, but none of any weight in the court.

The offices of Sundookdar Baushee (keeper of the wardrobe, or keeper of the jewels), of Hukeem Baushee (chief physician), and the heads of different departments of the household (as the hunting and hawking establishments, the kitchen, the camel and mule establishments, &c.), do not merit much notice, though some of them are filled by people of consequence.

The Peeshkhedmuts deserve, however, to be mentioned; for though they are menial servants about the King's person, they are often men of rank, and frequently of great influence with their master.

The Eunuchs have also a good deal of weight, from their being admitted to the King's presence at all times, and being allowed to be present at the most secret deliberations.

The expences of the household are defrayed by particular funds allotted for that purpose, and managed by a particular establishment, of which the King's private treasurer and the Mooshrif or auditor of accounts are the heads.

CHAP. III.

OF THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM INTO PROVINCES.

THE whole kingdom is divided into twenty-seven provinces or districts; exclusive of Belochistaun, the chief of which country is, except in name, rather a party in an unequal alliance than a subject.

The eighteen most important are each governed by a Haukim, who collects the revenue and commands the militia; and a Sirdar, who commands the regular troops, and whose duty it is to preserve the public tranquillity, and to enforce the authority of the Haukim and Cauzy: when the Haukim is a Dooraunee, he usually holds the office of Sirdar also.

The administration of civil justice is conducted by the Cauzy.

Under the Haukim and Sirdar, the revenue and police are administered by the heads of tribes; and under them, by the heads of the subdivisions of their tribes.

The importance of the heads of tribes is greater or less in proportion to the degree of subjection in which the country is held: where the tribes are powerful, every thing is done through the heads; where they are weak, as at Peshawer, the Haukim and Sirdar send their orders direct to the heads of subdivisions; and in Cashmeer, among the Taujiks, and in the provinces on the Indus, where there are many Hindukees, the Haukims or Sirdars send their officers to individuals, or employ the heads of villages as their instruments.

The eighteen provinces where Haukims reside are, Heraut, Fur-

rah, Candahar, Ghuzni, Caubul, Baumican and Ghorebund, Jellallabad, Lughmaun, Peshawer, Dera Ismael Khaun, Dera Ghauzi Khaun, Shikarpoor, Sewee, Sind, Cashmeer, Chuch Hazaureh, Lya, and Mooltaun.

In all these places, the Haukims are removable at pleasure; except when they contract for the revenue, in which case they ought to be left till the end of the year.

They are still removed in all but Sind (where the King always selected the Haukim from a particular family, and where, since 1790, he has lost all internal control); Mooltaun and Lya (where the King has not been able to remove the governor since Shauh Mahmood's accession); and Heraut, which has been kept by Prince Ferooz since Mahmood's expulsion.

The other nine divisions are generally composed of countries belonging to Afghaun tribes. There is a Dooraunee governor appointed to each, who is called Sirdar. He never resides in his government; but, once a year, goes himself or sends a deputy, with or without a force (according to the necessity of using intimidation), to collect the revenue. At other times, the regulation of the country is left to the heads of tribes, subject to some control in extraordinary cases from the Sirdar. The Sirdar, in most cases, recommends the member of the head family whom he thinks fittest for the chiefship of each tribe under him. There are Cauzees appointed by the King in these divisions, but their authority, if supported at all, is enforced by the head of the tribe.

The governments of this last description are the following: the Ghiljies, which includes the Afghaun parts of Lughmaun and Jellalabad; the Saufees and Tagou; Bungushaut, including the Jaujees and Torees; Damaun, including the Murwuts, &c. up to Bunnoo and Dour; Kuddeh Chuchaunsoor and Kishkee Gundoomee, on the borders of Seestaun; Ghoraut (the Hazaurehs); Leeahbund (the Eimauks); Izfezar, or Subzewar, near Furrah; Araurderreh, and Pooshtee Coh.

The Sirdars are removeable at pleasure, but it seems usual to keep their offices in particular families.

These divisions, as including more unsettled parts of the country, have fallen off from the royal authority, in a greater proportion than those under the Haukims.

CHAP. IV.

THE REVENUE.

THE whole revenue of the Caubul government, in settled times, may be reckoned at something near three crores * of rupees; but of this upwards of a crore is remitted to different half-subdued princes, who are content to hold their revenue as a grant of the King's, but who never would have consented to give it up to him. This description of revenue cannot be considered among the King of Caubul's resources.

The real revenue falls a good deal within two crores.

Of this a great part (about half) is assigned in Tecool (Jageer), most of it was granted on condition of military service, and the benefit which the King derives from it will appear in the account of his army; the rest is allotted to maintain the Moollahs or religious officers, or given in charity to dervises and Syuds.

The remaining sum was received by the King till the breaking out of the present troubles. By the best accounts, it amounted to upwards of nine million of rupees.

The principal source of the King's income is the land revenue, which is assessed on the produce according to fixed proportions, which vary with the nature of the land, and are different in different provinces. Some of the Afghaun tribes, and of the remoter provinces, are not subject to this mode of assessment, but pay a fixed sum annually. The other sources of the revenue are the town duties and

* A crore of rupees is about a million of pounds sterling.

customs; the produce of the royal demesne; the produce of fines and forfeitures; the profits of the mint, and perhaps some other trifling receipts.

The provisions supplied to the King's household, and part of his army, by the people through whose country he passes, even when they are not subject to the payment of revenue, must also be reckoned among the resources of the state.

Besides the above, another less fixed branch of revenue is created by accepting of the commutations in money for the troops which ought to be furnished by particular districts and tribes. Fines were at all times levied from Haukims on their appointment to profitable districts, and in these unsettled times, an unavowed profit is derived from the sale of offices.

The land revenue is collected by the head man of each village, and paid in some cases through the head of his tribe, and in others directly to the Haukim or his agents. The Haukim generally farms the revenue of his province from government, and lets out that of the districts under him. Once a year, he gives in his accounts, which pass through several officers before they receive the King's approbation. The expences of management, the assignments that have been given on the province, the price of articles commissioned by the King, and similar charges, are struck off, and the balance is either sent to the treasury, or more frequently, orders, equal to its amount, are given to the troops, and others who have claims on government.

Both in the course of the collections and of the payments, when they are made in this last manner, great peculation is practised by the Haukim.

The smaller provinces, under military Sirdars, are not farmed.

The King's principal expences are the payment of the army, the household, the court establishment, and the clergy.

The expences of the army are small in comparison to its strength, from the number of Tecools appropriated to maintain it.

The expences of the household are in some measure lightened by the payment in grain, sheep, and cattle, appropriated to that branch.

The pay of the great civil officers is small. They are in a great measure maintained by bribes and perquisites, which, although they have the most pernicious effect on the resources of the state, do not diminish the revenue actually brought to account.

The Moollahs are paid by Tecools, or receive orders on Haukims, or money from the treasury; the expence is said to be considerable.

The whole expence of the King of Caubul, exclusive of that defrayed by Tecools, &c. was not much above half a crore of rupees in quiet years; and what remained of the revenue, used to be kept as a fund for extraordinary expences.

The treasures of the crown have long since been dissipated, and the only wealth the King possesses consists in a very valuable collection of jewels, which, although greatly diminished since Timoor Shauh's reign, has in some measure been preserved by the difficulty of finding purchasers to whom parts of it might have been transferred during the distresses of the government.

CHAP. V.

JUSTICE AND POLICE OF THE KINGDOM.

JUSTICE is administered in cities by the Cauzee, the Mooftees, the Ameeni Mehkemeh, and the Darogha of the Adawlut.

In civil suits, the Cauzy receives complaints and sends a summons by an officer of his own to the defendant. The cause is tried according to the rules and forms prescribed by the Shirra, or Mahommedan law, modified by certain acknowledged parts of the Pooshtoonwullee, or customary law. In doubtful cases, the Mooftees give their law opinion supported by quotations from books of authority.

The Cauzy's orders are never disobeyed; it being reckoned impious to refuse to conform to the Shirra. If he should be resisted, it is the duty of the Sirdar to enforce his decree.

The Ameeni Mehkemeh receives charge of deposits.

The Darogha i Adawlut is supervisor over the whole, and his duty is to see that all proceedings are conformable to law.

In criminal complaints, the rules are nearly the same, but the practice is different. Criminals are generally first brought to the Sirdar, and the Cauzy's sentence, in all important cases, is executed by him: this gives the Sirdar a degree of power, which is particularly felt when he disagrees with the Cauzee.

Where the King happens to reside, criminal complaints are made to him. In trifling matters, he refers them to the Cauzy, or desires the Arzbegee (the officer through whom representations are made to him) to settle them: serious complaints are always referred to the Cauzy, and the King orders the sentence to be executed, after a formal protestation, that the guilt of it, if unjust, is on the head of the judge.

There are Cauzees in all considerable towns in the Caubul dominions, and they have deputies over the whole country, except that of the three or four tribes who are reckoned to be in open rebellion.

The Cauzees no where interpose unless an application is made to them: this happens more rarely in the more remote parts of the country, where they are chiefly appealed to in civil cases. When a crime is not acknowledged by the accused, it is always referred to the Cauzy, but acknowledged crimes are most frequently decided on by Jirgas, in the manner already described.

The usefulness of the Cauzees' courts is in a great measure destroyed by the corruption which prevails in them; and, in towns and their neighbourhood, justice is further impeded by the power and influence of the great.

The Cauzees are appointed by the King, at the recommendation of the Imaum of the household.

A few only have salaries from the treasury. There is, however, in some places, if not in all, a small tax imposed on every family in the district, which goes entirely to the Cauzy. They have also fees on marriages; on affixing their seals to deeds; and perhaps on the causes they decide.

The Mooftees have a fee on every opinion they give; but this cannot by itself be enough to maintain them.

The police of towns is managed under the Sirdar by the Meershub, the Mohteseb, and the Darogha of the Bazars.

The Meershub answers to the Cutwal in India. He has watchmen under him called Kishikchees, who are posted on different guards in the town. In Peshawer, and probably in other towns, there are many other watchmen paid by the people of the ward which they guard. The Meershub goes the rounds at night, and takes up thieves, disturbers of the peace, and offenders against morals. Both the Meershubs and the Mohtesibs are odious and discreditable offices; and they are probably the source of much oppression. In Peshawer, at least, the Meershub paid an annual sum for his office, and extorted fees from gaming-houses, wine-shops, persons whom he took up on

suspicion, and from the few houses of ill fame that are tolerated there.

The Mohtesib inflicts the punishments prescribed by the Mussulman law, on persons who drink wine, or are guilty of similar irregularities: in Peshawer he does the duty of the Darogha of the Bazars.

There are Mohtesibs who go circuits twice or thrice a year in the country, and inspect the conduct of the inhabitants.

The Mohtesibs in towns have pay, and are entitled to a small tax on shops.

Those in the country levy their annual fees when on their circuits. The Mohtesib is always a Moollah.

The Darogha of the Bazars fixes prices, and superintends weights and measures: under him there is a head of each trade, called Cudkhoodah or Reeshsufeed, who is also employed in levying the taxes.

In the King's palaces and in camps there is a Cauzee Asker, or Judge of the army, and Mohtesib of the army, who do the same duties as those in towns.

In the country the people to whom the land belongs are answerable for the police. In cases of robbery and theft, if the chief of the village, or of the division of a tribe, in whose lands the crime was committed, fail to produce the thief, he pays the value of the property stolen, and levies it on the people under him.

In dangerous roads that are much frequented, there are parties stationed to protect travellers; these are provided by the Khaun of the tribe in whose lands the road lies, but are paid by the King.

The police is after all very bad. In many parts of the kingdom, travellers enjoy security by engaging an escort of the tribe, or by paying customs to its chief; but the King can do little to protect them, except by sending troops to ravage the lands of notoriously predatory tribes, and to bring in the chiefs. The police does not interfere in murders for retaliation, except in towns and their vicinity.

CHAP. VI.

THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

THE established army consists of Dooraunees, Gholaumi Shauhs, and Karra Nokur; there is also a sort of militia called Eeljauree, which is called out on extraordinary occasions; and volunteers are entertained in actual war under the denomination of Dawatullub.

The Dooraunee clans are obliged to furnish nearly twelve thousand men, as the condition on which they hold their Tecools, or rent-free lands, granted them by Ahmed Shah and Naudir. In addition to those, they receive three months pay in the year when on actual service. This is a sum equal to £10, which, with their lands, is reckoned to make their whole pay equal to £40 per annum.

They are called out by the King's order, issued to the chief of each clan, and by him notified to the Khauns under him. They assemble the men due by their several subdivisions, and bring them to the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army, where they are mustered and registered before the King.

The men of each clan form a separate corps, called Dusteh, subdivided and commanded according to descent, as in the civil arrangement of the clan.

The greater part of the Dooraunees only attend the King during military operations.

In wars carried on near the Dooraunee country, the King could raise as many Dooraunees as he could pay.

The establishment of the Gholaum Khauneh, or corps of Gholaumi Shauhs, is upwards of thirteen thousand men.

It was first formed by Ahmed Shah, of the different foreigners whom he found established in the Dooraunee country, and of the troops of Naudir's army and other Persians who attached themselves to the Douraunee government.

He afterwards recruited them from the Taujiks of Caubul and the districts round it. An arrangement has since been made with the chiefs round Caubul and Peshawer, for supplying men from their tribes for this corps, and receiving payment by assignments of land.

The Cuzzilbaushes, who form about a third of the Gholaum Khauneh, are the best part of the whole. Though they have been so long settled in Caubul, and have engaged in trades, they still retain their original character of military adventurers; being good troops on service, but more thoughtless and debauched than even their countrymen in Persia.

They are more faithful than the Afghauns in civil wars, knowing that they may at some time be in the power of any prince they offend; and that one party will be less exasperated by their fidelity to its adversaries, than the other would be at their perfidy in deserting it.

The Gholaums suffer more hardship than any troops in the army. They enlist for perpetual service, and they have no means of obtaining redress of grievances, or even of securing their regular payment. If he could pay them regularly, the King could probably raise double the number from the Taujiks round Caubul.

The Gholaums are divided into Dustehs, commanded by officers named Kooler Aghausses. These officers are commonly dependents of the King's, and frequently Peshkhedmuts (personal attendants) and Eunuchs.

The number of Dustehs is generally from eight to ten: their strength is various.

The permanent troops, besides the Gholaums, are the Shaheenchees, men mounted on camels which carry large swivels. They are reckoned at seven or eight hundred.

The King of Caubul is said to have many guns, but Shauh Shuja

had only five, when he took the field at Peshawer in 1809. They were much worse in all respects than any I have ever seen among the native armies of India.

The King has a guard of a few hundred Hindostaunee Sepoys, which mounts at the gate of the Haram. They are dressed in imitation of our Sepoys, but seem to have no discipline.

The irregular infantry, who garrison forts, are paid from the revenue of the province they are situated in. There were only one hundred and fifty at most in the fort of Attock.

The troops kept up by governors of provinces, have been mentioned (where it could be ascertained) in the account of the provinces. They can seldom be employed, except in wars carried on in the province or its neighbourhood.

The Karra Nokur are furnished in time of war by the owners of land, at a rate fixed in former times. The expence of this service was provided for by a remission of revenue at the first settlement. The numbers vary; the courtiers pretend that a man is due for each plough; and the tribes near Caubul, perhaps furnish the number due on that principle: the more powerful, or more remote tribes supply a much smaller proportion, and some none at all. The Taujiks furnish a greater proportion than the Afghauns. On the whole, the number furnished is less than that either of the Dooraunees or Gholaums.

They are formed into Dustehs, and commanded by Dooraunee Sirdars; probably by those who have the government of their tribes. Each division has, besides, a subordinate chief of its own tribe. When they are ordered out, the Mulliks call upon the owners of land to furnish their proportion; and they have their choice to serve or pay for a substitute. The sum to be paid for a substitute, depends on the expected duration of the service, and generally is from five to seven tomans (from £10 to £14); from this the head of the village entertains a horseman, generally at three tomans; and there is no difficulty in procuring a person to serve from among the poorer people in the village or its neighbourhood.

The Dooraunee chief often takes the money instead of insisting on receiving the horseman, and by this means the real strength of the Karra Nokur is generally under what it is rated at.

Besides this, the King not unusually receives payment in money, instead of the number of Karra Nokur required from a particular tribe or district.

The men who go on service, are obliged to remain with the army till they are regularly dismissed, without any allowance from the King, or any further advance from the head of their village. Each division is, however, obliged to give an allowance of grain to the families of the horsemen furnished by it. Since the decline of the monarchy, the King may have been obliged, by the want of power to compel the Karra Nokur to serve, to make them some allowance while on service; but that is no part of the constitution of this body of men.

Except a corps not exceeding two thousand, which is due from the Cohistaun of Caubul, the Karra Nokur are all horse.

The Eeljauree are a militia raised on extraordinary occasions. It seems to be understood that the number to be furnished, ought to be equal to a tenth of the population, but that number probably never has been raised; and, on the other hand, it is admitted that the King may call out a still greater proportion, if he thinks it necessary. The persons who serve in the Eeljauree, are of the poorest classes. They receive a sum calculated to support them during the time for which their services are likely to be required; it seldom exceeds five rupees. This money is paid by the head of each village, and the expence is defrayed by a tax on all the inhabitants of the village (including Humsauyehs, or tradesmen), who do not possess land, Moollahs, and other persons exempt from other taxes. I have heard that the owners of land who pay revenue, are not obliged to contribute to the Eeljauree; and, as the Karra Nokur are raised entirely at the expence of this description of men, the fact of their exemption seems very probable.

From the smallness of their pay, it is found difficult to get volunteers for this service, and compulsion is almost always resorted to. For this reason, it is only among the tribes about great towns, or on the roads made use of by armies, that the Eeljauree can be raised. As in most cases they cannot be kept long together, or carried to any distance from their own neighbourhood, the King makes little use of this force. The Haukims of provinces frequently assemble the Eeljauree, which, indeed, is in general the only description of troops they have to depend on. The Eeljauree of Peshawer has, however, been several times called out by the King, particularly on all expeditions against Cashmeer. That of Caubul has also been called out on military service.

The numbers of the Eeljauree of these two provinces seem to be nearly equal, and have been of different amount from four to six thousand each, according to the state of circumstances. They seem liable to be employed on public works, as well as on military service; those of Caubul, for instance, were once assembled by Timour Shauh to clear a canal near the city.

The Eeljauree are almost all infantry.

They receive no pay whatever from the King, unless they should be kept above three months in the field.

Dawatullub are only raised for particular expeditions.

They receive five tomans (£10) when they enlist, which is sufficient pay for one campaign, and they run the chance of the army's remaining longer in the field, in the hope of providing for themselves by plunder.

This description of troops are always most numerous in expeditions to India. On such occasions people even go without pay, in hopes of plunder.

In foreign invasions, use might be made of the general rising of the people, called in the Afghaun country Ooloossee. This sort of army has been described in speaking of the tribes. Only those of the tribes nearest the scene of action could be expected to rise;

they would be under no regulation on the King's part, and no good could be expected, in regular actions, from so ungovernable a multitude; but if properly applied, this kind of force would not be without its advantages. Important risings have often taken place for public objects, not immediately connected with the tribes which rose. Thus, in the Sheeah and Soonnee fray in Caubul, all the neighbouring tribes, especially the Cohistaunees, came to the aid of their religion.

Ooloossee troops get no pay.

The chief officers of the army are called Sirdars. They have always been few. In Shauh Shujau's time there were only three. This permanent military rank must be distinguished from the office of Sirdar in each province.

There is sometimes an officer called Sirdaree Sirdaraun, who takes rank of all the Sirdars, and commands every army where he is present. Shauh Mahmood has conferred this office on Futteh Khaun.

The Shaheenchee Baushee, or commander of the camel artillery, is a considerable officer. He must be a Baurikzye.

Almost the whole of the regular troops are cavalry. The horses belong to the men. Except about five hundred Peshkhedmuts (personal servants of the King's), there is not one man mounted on a horse belonging to government. The chiefs have each some Peshkhedmuts, mounted on horses belonging to them, and equipped at their expence. These are the best mounted and armed of the whole army. They are generally Kuzzilbaushes.

The horses are mostly from Uzbek Tartary, and the Toorcoman country along the Oxus. They are generally small, hardy, and active, well used to the mountainous country, in which they are employed, and capable of making very long marches.

The arms of the Dooraunees are, a Persian sword and a matchlock; a few of the best men have spears, which they put in the rest when they charge, not having the skilful use of this weapon which is common in India. A few among them have fire-locks. The chiefs

have generally pistols, as have a few of the common men. Shields were formerly in use among them, but are now discontinued.*

The Dooraunees never serve as infantry.

The Gholaums are armed much in the same way, but have more firelocks and spears.

The Ghiljies use the same arms as the Dooraunees, with the addition of a small shield.

The eastern Afghauns wear Hindoostaunee swords, shields, lea-

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* The following description of their troops is by Lieutenant Macartney who was himself a cavalry officer. He is speaking of the Populzyes.

"Their arms and dress are the same as the other Dooraunees, swords, daggers, battle-"axes, short matchlocks, and some with locks (firelocks) not longer than a carabine, but "with a larger bore, and some of them have bayonets to fix on them. They also carry "long horse pistols, but few of them carry spears. They generally carry their arms under "their clogha, or great cloak. Their dress is a pyrahun, or long shirt, over it a kuba, "generally made of silk or chintz, with a kummer bund of shawl or loongee, and over all "is a clogha, or great cloak, which hangs loose over their shoulders and reaches nearly "to the ankle. Their head dress is generally a shawl or loongee put on in the form of a "turban over a cap. They wear boots of the Hussar form made of deer skin. They are "generally cavalry, and are mounted on small horses seldom exceeding fourteen, or four-"teen and an inch high, but remarkably hardy and active, and perform some wonderful "long marches; but as they are in the habit of turning their horses loose into the cultiva-"tion wherever they go, they have not much trouble after reaching their ground. They "use snaffle bridles. Their saddles are of wood, very light, and the seat is covered with "velvet, stuffed with cotton. They have a khogeer (a sort of pad) made generally of "nummud (felt), under the saddle; some of the chiefs have very expensive ones. They "appear far superior to the horsemen of Hindostan, but have not so good management "of their horses, and might not be equal to them single-handed; but they must charge "with much greater velocity, their horses not being checked by martingales or bits, and "consequently they would have the advantage in a body. They appear to understand "charging in line, and go with great speed. I never saw them charge in double line, "but the troops which met the embassy as an escort, marched in divisions, and kept their "regular wheeling distance. I did not see them wheel into line, but they increased and "diminished their front, and also formed line to the front, and kept their files close and "regular, but there is no discipline kept up among them. This party of course were "picked men and horses, and must have received particular instructions to march in "regular order with the embassy, but in general they appear just as irregular as the "armies of Hindostan. They are small men, but stout and active. I have seen them go "at speed over rugged rocky mountains, where if the horse happened to make a false step "they would probably be dashed to pieces."

ther cuirasses, matchlocks, and often spears: the use of the last mentioned weapon is however declining.

Each horseman carries provisions, consisting of bread and Kooroot, (a sort of hard cheese,) and a large leathern bottle of water.

The infantry have generally a sword, a shield, and a matchlock with a rest. Those of the Cohistan of Caubul, who are reckoned the best they have, carry a firelock, a pistol, and a short dagger, but no sword: the Ghiljies near Caubul, the Khyberees, and some other tribes, use a sort of knife about three feet long, instead of a sword.

On a march the men of each party generally keep together, but on the whole they move with very little order; though there are many officers whose duty it is to enforce regularity. They have few camp followers compared to an Indian army, and what they have are mostly mounted. The custom of carrying about women and children on service is not practised among them. They have light tents and little baggage, carried on horses, mules, and camels. A small bazar accompanies the army.

The government appears rarely to take any trouble about providing grain, or making preparations of any sort for their armies; and as the habits of the soldiers adapt themselves to this system, they have less difficulty about supplies than more regular troops.

The usual marches for armies are from twelve to sixteen miles.

The government sometimes gives grain to the troops, and on very particular occasions it sometimes distributes money to purchase provisions. In their eastern possessions, the inhabitants of which have something of the submissive character of the Indians, the Afghaun troops seize on grain, forage, firewood, and every thing else they want, without paying for any thing; and since the confusion in the government these irregularities have seldom or never been punished; but in the whole of the country west of the Khyber pass, they are obliged to pay for every article they require.

When their army is in an enemy's country, they send light detachments to make incursions (which they call by the Turkish name, Chepawul or Chepow) either against particular places which they endeavour to surprise, or to plunder the open country.

They are long detained by sieges, at which, as might be supposed, they are very unskilful, and which are prolonged by the nature of their armies and the badness of their artillery. When they come to a general engagement, their plan is to make a furious charge sword in hand, on the success of which depends the fate of the battle. The Persians appear always to oppose the fire of infantry to this charge, and frequently with success: this was the case in all Naudir's battles, and in the recent one at Heraut.

The conduct of the Dooraunees in their civil wars, gives a very mean idea of their military character. Their armies are very small, seldom exceeding ten thousand men on a side, and these are generally ill paid and disobedient. The victory is decided by some chief's going over to the enemy; on which the greater part of the army either follows his example or takes to flight. Even when the battle is decided by the sword, there is little bloodshed, and that is chiefly among the great Khauns, who are interested in the result, the common soldiers shewing much indifference to the issue.

CHAP. VII.

THE RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT.

THE following are the appointments held by Moollahs, besides the law offices mentioned in the section on Justice and Police.

The Moollah Baushee, who selects the Moollahs proper to be summoned to the Mujlisse Ulima, and is the channel of communication between the Moollahs and the King.

The King's Imaum or Peeshnumauz, who reads prayers to the King.

The Imaum Paurikaub, who attends the King on journies or other occasions, when his ordinary Imaum may be absent.

The above belong to the royal household. The following compose the establishment of the great towns.

The Shekhool Islam: copies of all patents for stipends and pensions in money to Moollahs are deposited with him, he receives the amount ordered in each from the Haukim, and pays it to the Moollahs to whom it is due.

The Sudder of the city. He keeps a register of all church lands, whether granted by the King or left by private persons, and assigns them according to their original destination under the King's direction.

The Imaum of the King's mosque reads prayers there on Fridays, and on the two great festivals called the Eeds.

The second Imaum of the King's mosque reads the Mussulman service on every day but those above mentioned.

The Moollahi Khuteeb: his office is to read prayers at the Edgah without the city on the Eeds.

The Mooderris, or professor of the King's mosque, a Moollah selected for his learning to instruct students at the royal mosque.

There was till lately a great office of Meer Waez, or head preacher, but it has been discontinued since the rebellion of the last incumbent, the famous Syud Ahmed Meer Waez.

Besides the above are the Imaums of the mosques in towns.

The Imaums of towns have fees on marriages, burials, and some other ceremonies, and are maintained by them and the gifts of their congregation.

In the country the Imaums have grants of land from the head man of the tribe, or from the tribe itself, and also receive a tax on the principle of tythes, but by no means amounting to a tythe of the produce on which it is levied: all the other Moollahs, who were first mentioned, have salaries from the King, and some have fees besides.

Many Moollahs who do not hold offices, have pensions from the King, or lands assigned them by the crown, or by the charity of individuals. Lands are also left to mosques, and are managed by the Imaums belonging to them.

Students at the King's mosque have a daily allowance from His Majesty.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF CAUBUL, FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE DOORAUNEE MONARCHY.

LITTLE is known of the early history of the Dooraunees. By the best accounts * I can obtain, they appear to have been entirely independent till the beginning of the seventeenth century, when, being hard pressed by the Uzbeks, they agreed to pay tribute to Persia, as the price of protection. They perhaps remained on this footing till 1708, when the Ghiljies who had been subject to Persia, rose against the Georgian Prince Bagrathion, who was governor of Candahar, on the part of the last of the Sophies. At that time the Dooraunees seem mostly to have been settled in the mountains near Heraut, under the name of Abdaulees, and to have been already long engaged in hostilities with the Ghiljies.

In the year 1716, the Abdaullees, under Abdoollah Khaun Suddozye, invaded the Persian territory, defeated the governor of Heraut in the field, and took that city and many places in its neighbourhood. They were afterwards defeated in a battle with Mahmood Ghiljie, but as that Prince soon after conquered Persia, and, as his dynasty was occupied, during the short period of its dominion, in settling its conquests, and in wars with the Grand Signior, the Abdaullees remained for a long time unmolested. Not long after their defeat, Abdoollah was deposed, and perhaps poisoned, by Zemaun Khaun (the son of Dowlut Khaun and father of Ahmed Shauh), who took the lead among the Abdaullees, defeated a Persian army of double his number, and successfully resisted all attempts of that nation on Heraut. So

* Those of Hanway, who, from the excellence of his history of the Afghaun conquests, is entitled to attention when treating of the more obscure period which preceded those events.

rapid indeed was the increase of the power of the Abdaullees, that in the year 1722 they were able to besiege Meshhed nearly in the north-western extremity of Khorassaun.

A series of revolutions afterwards took place during which the Abdaullees, whose government was at all times democratic, were left for some time entirely without a leader, their affairs being managed most probably by a Jirga, or council of heads of families. At last in 1728, they were for the first time attacked by Naudir Shauh, and, after a short campaign of various success, were reduced to submit to the conqueror.

They rebelled again under Zoolfikaur Khaun (the son of Zemaun Khaun and elder brother of Anmed) who had alternately been in exile, and at the head of the Abdaullees, during the troubles above mentioned. They invaded the Persian territory, and defeated Ibrahim (Naudir Shauh's brother) in a pitched battle. They were besieging Meshhed, when Naudir moved against them in person, and drove them back into their own territory. He opened the siege of Heraut in the beginning of 1731, and took it after a most obstinate and active resistance of ten months, in which the Abdaullees received some assistance from the Ghiljies. He banished the leading Suddozyes to Moultan, and compelled a large force of Abdaullees to join his army.

The city of Heraut never rebelled again, but the Abdaullees in the country kept up the war for some time longer, in conjunction with the Ghiljies and Eimauks.

In the course of the next six years Naudir reduced the Ghiljies and took Candahar. Zoolfikaur Khaun and his brother Ahmed Shauh were prisoners in that city. They were released by Naudir, and sent into Mazenderaun in command of a force of their own tribe. The Abdaullees having in the mean time distinguished themselves in his service (particularly against the Porte), he rewarded them with the lands they now hold in Tecool, removing them from the west of Heraut to their present territory. He appears from this time to have shewn great attachment to the Afghauns. To this partiality, among other causes, is attributed his murder by the Persians in June 1747. On the day which succeeded that event, a battle took place between the Afghauns and Uzbeks under Ahmed Shauh on one side, and the Persians on the other. It is uncertain who began the attack, nor does the event appear to have decided any thing*.

* As far as this I have generally followed Sir William Jones's translation of the Naudir Naumeh.

After this affair Ahmed Shauh fought his way through the greater part of Khorassaun, and passing the fortified places without attacking them, repaired to Candahar, where he arrived with a force not exceeding two or three thousand horse.

He there found that a treasure coming from India for Naudir had just been seized by the Dooraunees, and he immediately claimed it for himself: some of the chiefs at first hesitated to give it up to him, though his authority as head of the Suddozyes was now backed by a military force. He put some of the most obstinate to death, and met with no further opposition in his tribe.

In October 1747 he was crowned at Candahar: Dooraunee, Kuzzlebaush, Beloche, and Huzaura chiefs are mentioned as assisting at the coronation. Ahmed Shauh was then very young: a contemporary historian makes him only twenty-three years of age.

He spent the winter in Candahar, settling the country he had already acquired, and arranging his army for future expeditions. In framing his government he appears to have had the model of that of Persia before his eyes. The forms of his court, the great officers of state, the arrangement of the army, and the pretensions of the crown, were exactly the same as those of Naudir Shauh; but the difference in the situations of the two monarchs was apparent in the manner in which Ahmed Shauh was obliged to modify Naudir's plan, both in the administration of his internal government, and in the order of his measures for advancing his power at home and abroad.

The Persians had long been accustomed to entire submission to a despotic government, and had always been attached to their sovereigns. The dynasty which had long ruled them was overturned by the Afghauns; and in the beginning of Naudir's career, Persia was groaning under a foreign yoke: Naudir took on himself the character of the deliverer of his country, and the restorer of its native kings: he connected himself by marriage with the royal family; and when he had sufficiently secured the affections of the army, and the respect of the people, he confined the lawful King, and transferred his authority to himself.

Succeeding to an established monarchy, he met with no serious opposition in Persia, and was enabled from the moment of his accession, to employ the whole force of the kingdom in foreign conquests.

Ahmed Shauh, on the contrary, had to found a monarchy over a warlike and independent people, by no means attached to that form of government; those most accustomed to be governed by a King, had only felt his power in

the means which were used to compel them to pay tribute to a foreign state, and had ever regarded him as a powerful enemy, rather than a magistrate by whom they were protected, and to whom they owed loyalty and attachment. They had never been united under a native King; and, from the love of equality so conspicuous in their character, they were likely to view the exaltation of one of their own nation with even more jealousy than the tyranny of a foreign master.

This difference of the situation in which Ahmed Shauh was placed, from that of Naudir, made a corresponding variation in his policy. His first object was to secure the affections of his own tribe, on whom he depended for permanent support, as well as for immediate assistance. For this purpose he confirmed the Dooraunees in the possession of their lands, requiring no sacrifice from them, but the attendance of their contingent of troops as fixed by Naudir. He distributed all the great offices of his new state among the leading Dooraunees, and established those offices in particular families, in the same manner in which he fixed the crown on his own; he left the hereditary chiefs in possession of their privileges, and seldom interfered in the internal government of their clans, except in such a degree as was necessary to keep up his army, and to preserve the general tranquillity; which he always effectually maintained. He took pains to improve the advantage he derived from the respect of the Dooraunees for the Suddozyes: although he probably regarded many of that family with jealousy, as his rivals in the attachment of his tribe; he always maintained their privileges, and enforced the exercise of the respect which was due to them. Stories are told of his severely punishing injuries to Suddozyes, even when offered in supporting his own cause.

With the other tribes, except the Ghiljies, his plan was to endeavour to form a spirit of attachment to their native King, which he might hope to accomplish, by delivering them from foreign dominion, and by a moderate and gradual introduction of his own power.

His moderation towards the Afghauns may, however, have been caused in part by other motives, as he either felt, or pretended to feel, a strong attachment to his nation, and often gave as his reason for not attacking refractory tribes, that he was unwilling to bring any calamity upon his countrymen.

For the consolidation of his power at home, he relied, in a great measure, on the effects of his foreign wars. If these were successful, his victories would raise his reputation, and his conquests would supply him with the means of maintaining an army, and of attaching the Afghaun chiefs by favours

and rewards: the hopes of plunder would induce many tribes to join him, whom he could not easily have compelled to submit: by carrying the great men with his army, he would be able to prevent their increasing, or even preserving their influence in their tribes; and the habits of military obedience would prepare them for a cheerful submission to his government at home: the troops also, having the King continually before their eyes, and witnessing the submission of their hereditary chiefs, would learn to regard him as the head of the nation; and he might hope, as the event proved, that his popular manners, and the courage, activity, vigilance, and other military virtues which he possessed, would impress all ranks with respect, and strongly attach his soldiers to his person.

The state of the Afghaun nation and of the surrounding kingdoms, was favourable to the execution of this plan, as promising security to his own dominions, however ill organised, and offering every chance of success in his attacks on his neighbours.

The Dooraunees had acquired experience and discipline by their long and active warfare with the Persians, and afterwards by the employment of a large body of them under Naudir; and the preference shewn them by that great commander, had raised their spirit and confidence; so that they, with reason, considered themselves as the best troops in Asia. Their enemies, the Ghiljies, on the other hand, had been broken and dispirited by a long course of defeat and disaster. The remaining Afghauns had learned by the events of the period which had just closed, to despise the Indians, and to hate the Persians; and were, therefore, more likely, than at any former period, to favour the establishment of a King of their own nation.

The state of foreign powers was equally favourable. The weakness of the Indian and Uzbek empires had been exposed and increased by their contests with Naudir. The Beloches had also suffered from Naudir, and, probably, retained a sufficient dread of the Persians, to be well disposed to submit to a moderate subjection to their old allies, the Afghauns, rather than expose themselves to the severe government and rigid exactions of their other neighbours. Nusseer Khaun (the brother of Mohubbet the Beloche chief) had been a hostage with Naudir, and appears to have fallen into the hands of Ahmed Shauh. The Eimauks and Hazaurehs had never been formidable, and their vicinity to the capital and to the country of the Dooraunees, prevented all apprehension of their endeavouring to assert their independence.

The fate of Persia was as yet unsettled, but the dissensions which had broken out in Naudir's family, promised to disqualify that empire from molesting its neighbours; and subsequent experience shewed, that the chiefs of western Khorassaun took no great concern in the success of the Persians, but were ready to submit to the power which was most able to distress, or to protect them, and which was likely to use its ascendency with the greatest moderation.

Such was the state of affairs when Ahmed began his conquests. He marched from Candahar in the spring of 1748, with twelve thousand men, composed of Dooraunees, Beloches, and others. He soon reduced the Ghiljies, and appointed Dooraunee governors over them on the footing on which they now stand. The governor whom Naudir had left in Ghuznee, fled on Ahmed's approach; but Nausser Khaun, who was governor of Caubul and Peshawer, declared for the great Mogul. He was, however, driven out of Caubul after a feeble resistance, and was already pressed by the Afghaun tribes of Peshawer, when Ahmed's advanced guards arrived, and forced him to cross the Indus.

Ahmed, with undiminished celerity, swam the Indus, and expelled him from Attak and Chuch; after which he proceeded with an army, increased by the Afghauns of Peshawer, to the invasion of Hindostan. The governor of Lahore, aware of his intention, called for succours from Delly; but Ahmed gave no time for preparation. He advanced rapidly through the Punjaub, defeated the Indian troops in sight of Lahore, and entering that city in triumph, prepared to advance upon Delly. In the mean time Mahomed Shauh, the emperor of Hindostan, had sent off a powerful army, under his son and his vizier Cummeroodeen Khaun, to oppose the invaders. This army advanced to the Sutledge, and took post in such a manner as to cover the usual fords. Ahmed, informed of their position, suddenly advanced, crossed the Sutledge at a point higher up the river, and leaving the Indians in his rear, hastened to Sirhind (where they had deposited their baggage and stores), and captured it before the enemy could move to its assistance.

The prince and vizier of Hindostan immediately marched to Sirhind, to attack Ahmed Shauh; but losing courage as they approached, they gave up their resolution, and took post in the neighbourhood of that city. Ahmed Shauh attacked them; and in the course of a canonade which lasted several days, the vizier was killed, and the actual command of the army devolved on his son Meer Munnoo, who conducted himself with so much skill,

that the Dooraunees were obliged in their turn to stand on the defensive, and finally to retreat with precipitation during the night.

Soon after this, when the Indian army had set off on its return to Delly, Mahommed Shauh died, and his son, who had commanded at Sirhind, succeeded him: Sufdur Jung was made vizier, and Meer Munnoo left in the government of the Punjaub, while the new King continued his march to his capital.

As soon as this intelligence reached Ahmed Shauh, he countermanded the retreat of his army, and marched with his usual expedition against Lahore. Meer Munnoo, finding himself opposed to the Dooraunee army, without the prospect of immediate assistance from Delly; and being, perhaps, disgusted with the preference shewn by his new sovereign to Sufdur Jung, submitted to Ahmed, and consented to hold the government of the Punjaub in his name, and to pay him the regular tribute of that province.

The affairs of the Punjaub being thus satisfactorily arranged, Ahmed marched back to Candahar. On his way, he settled the governments of Dera Ghauzee Khaun, Dera Ismael Khaun, Shikarpoor, and Moultaun. It was, probably, at this time also, that the southern Afghaun tribes acknowledged Ahmed for King. The winter of this busy year must have nearly expired before Ahmed reached Candahar.

In the spring of 1749, Ahmed Shauh assembled an army of twenty-five thousand men, from the western part of his dominions. He first marched against Heraut, which surrendered within a fortnight after it was attacked. He then advanced towards Meshhed, reducing all the places on his route.

Shauh Rokh Mirza, the son of Naudir Shauh, was then in possession of Meshhed. He came out to meet Ahmed Shauh, who received him with respect, and left him in possession of his city and territory.

From Meshhed he marched against Neeshapoor, and detached Shauh Pusund Khaun Ishaukzye against Muzeenaun and Subzwaur. Neeshapoor held out obstinately, and, while Ahmed was besieging it, he received intelligence of the failure of his attack on Muzeenaun, and of the defeat of his detachment. Being now apprehensive of an attack from without, he resolved to make a desperate attempt on Neeshapoor. He accordingly directed it to be assaulted by escalade, and was beat off with great loss. Before he had recovered this disaster, a strong force assembled by some other Khauns of Khorassaun came to the relief of Neeshapoor, and, while he was engaged with them, a vigorous sally was made from the place. The result was

very unfavourable to him, and he was compelled to retreat immediately to Mushhed, from whence he retired to Heraut.

In the spring of 1750, Ahmed again marched against Neeshapoor, which he now succeeded in taking. It was probably on this occasion that he reduced the most remote of those parts of Khorassaun that were permanently attached to his dominions.

The Dooraunee empire, I believe, never extended much beyond Neeshapoor on the west. Ahmed returned from this expedition to Heraut.

In the course of the winter, or early in the next year, 1751, Ahmed Shauh was recalled to Meshhed by a rebellion of Meer Allum Khaun, Chief of Kauin, who had seized on the treasure at Meshhed, and blinded and dethroned Shauh Rokh Meerza. Ahmed Shauh restored Shauh Rokh, and soon after took Kauin and put Meer Allum to death. At this time he also made an attempt on Asterabad, which was repelled by the Kudjirs.

In the summer of 1752, Ahmed Shauh marched into the Punjaub, and reduced Meer Munnoo, who had revolted in his absence. During the same campaign, he conquered Cashmeer, and obtained by negociation a cession of the country as far east as Sirhind, from the great Mogul.

After this, Ahmed returned to Candahar, and appears to have spent the four next years in tranquillity: his nephew Lokmaun Khaun, however, rebelled; and the Ghiljies attempted an insurrection during that period, but both were easily quelled.

He probably employed this interval of leisure in settling Afghaunistaun, and the countries in its immediate neighbourhood.

In 1756, Meer Munnoo, the governor of the Punjaub, died. His death was followed by intrigues and rebellions, and the whole province fell into extreme confusion. This state of things induced the court of Delly to send a large force under the Vizier Ghauzoodeen into the Punjaub, for the purpose of annexing it to the Mogul dominions. The vizier succeeded without difficulty, and gave the government to Adeena Beg, who had been deputy to Shauh Nuwauz Khaun, and afterwards to Meer Munnoo; and who was distinguished for his activity and spirit of intrigue. This done, the vizier returned to Delly.

Ahmed Shauh, on hearing of this aggression, left Candahar, crossed the Indus, drove Adeena out of the Punjaub, and marched straight to Delly. The tyranny of the vizier, and the reluctance with which the emperor submitted to his control, had thrown that capital into great confusion; and,

after a faint effort to oppose Ahmed in the field, the emperor submitted, and the Afghauns entered Delly, which suffered severely from the rapacity of the conqueror, and the licence of his troops. After remaining for some time at Delly, Ahmed Shauh sent Sirdar Jehan Khaun against the Jauts. The Sirdar took Bullumgur, and then, advancing by a rapid march on Muttra, surprised the place during a Hindoo festival. A promiscuous slaughter took place on the army's entering the town, and many of the Hindoos were afterwards seized and carried into slavery. Sirdar Jehan Khaun then advanced against Agra, and was repulsed by the Jauts. The Dooraunees had now passed the whole of the summer in India, and as they were becoming extremely sickly, Ahmed found it necessary to retire to his own dominions. During his stay at Delly, he and his son Timoor Shauh married princesses of the royal family of India. Large portions were given with these ladies, and the emperor of India was compelled to bestow the Punjaub and Sind on Timoor Shauh.

Before Ahmed Shauh left Delly, he gave the office of vizier of India to a brother of Meer Munnoo, and that of general in chief to Nujeeb Khaun, the Afghaun chief of Seharunpoor, who had recommended himself to Ahmed by joining him near the Sutledge on his advance against Delly.

He left Timoor Shauh to command the provinces on the east of the Indus, under the guidance of Sirdar Jehaun Khaun. Their force consisted of a few Dooraunees and Persian guards with a body of troops raised in the country. The King wintered at Candahar, and was soon after engaged in settling disturbances which broke out in Persia and Toorkestaun; but of which I can gather no particulars.

He had scarcely left India, when Ghauzoodeen Khaun, who had fled to Furruckabad, then in possession of the Marhattas, returned with an army of that nation to Delly, and laid siege to the city. After some defence, Nujeeb Khaun evacuated the place and retired to Seharunpoor. Nearly at the same time, very serious disturbances commenced in the Punjaub. They were excited by Adeena Beg, who had fled on the Shauh's approach, and who had afterwards instigated the Siks to rebel, and defeated a division of the royal troops at Jalinder. He had also invited the Mahratta army which had expelled Nujeeb Khaun from Delly, to assist in recovering the Punjaub; and a force of that nation now advanced to Sirhind, commanded by Ragoba, the father of the present Paishwa.

On this, Timoor Shauh and Sirdar Jehaun Khaun, who were already

pressed by the Siks, and distrustful of their Hindoostaunee troops, retired to Eminabad. Lahore, which they evacuated, was taken by the Siks.

The Mahrattas soon took Sirhind; and as they continued their march towards the west, Sirdar Jehan Khaun took the resolution of saving the prince and his remaining troops by retiring across the Indus. He effected his retreat in the night, unknown to his Hindoostaunee troops, and with such precipitation, that his own family fell into the hands of the enemy, by whom they were soon after released. The Mahrattas being now unopposed, pushed their conquests beyond the Hydaspes, and sent a detachment which took possession of Moultan.

Timoor Shauh's flight took place in the middle of 1758, and Ahmed Shauh was preparing to march to India, when he was detained by the rebellion of Nusseer Khaun, chief of the Beloches.

The history of Belochistaun is remarkably obscure before this period, but it appears that Mohubbut Khaun, whom Naudir had fixed in the government *, had died, and was succeeded by his second brother Haujee Khaun. That chief appears to have disgusted his subjects by his tyranny, and offended Ahmed Shauh by taking part in Lokmaun Khaun's rebellion. It is certain, that he was deposed and imprisoned by means of Ahmed Shauh, and that Nusseer Khaun, his brother, succeeded him in the government. It is not known what induced Nusseer Khaun to throw off his dependence on the Dooraunee government; but he declared himself independent in the year 1758.

The vizier Shauh Wullee Khaun was first sent against him, and was defeated at a place in the neighbourhood of Shawl. Ahmed then marched in person to Belochistaun, where he probably arrived in autumn or in the end of summer. He engaged and defeated Nusseer Khaun, and obliged him to withdraw within the walls of Kelaut, to which Ahmed laid siege. It is said that the Dooraunee chiefs were by no means disposed to accomplish the entire subjection of the Beloche prince (in whose country they were always secure of a retreat when exposed to the anger of their own King), and that the vizier, in particular, maintained a correspondence with Nusseer and encouraged him to hold out by representing the disposition of the Dooraunee lords, and pointing out the embarrassment which the King would suffer from

* See Jones, Histoire de Nadir Chah. Livre IV. chap. 6.

the advanced season. The siege of Kelaut lasted forty days, during which time the Dooraunee cavalry suffered severely from the scarcity of forage.

The bad aspect of the King's affairs in India, added to his own impatience for a speedy conclusion of the war; and Nusseer having made an overture for peace, a negociation was commenced, and an agreement concluded, which is still the basis of the connection between the King and the Beloches.

When the news of Timoor Shauh's retreat had reached the King, he had sent a small army under Nooroodeen Khaun Baumizye, across the Indus. By this time Adeena Beg was dead, and the whole of the Punjaub to the east of the Hydaspes, was under the controul of the Mahrattas. The Siks however, who had long been a sect of military fanatics, were beginning to aspire to the possession of territory, and the successors of Adeena Beg kept up some consequence by their nominal connection with the government of Delly, though the great Mogul had no real authority in the Punjaub. Nooroodeen advanced with ease to the Hydaspes, the tract between that river and the Indus being at that time held by the Kauters Guckurs, Jouds, and other original tribes of the country, who had embraced the Mahomedan religion, and who were inclined to the Dooraunees; nor did he meet with much opposition on his march to the Acesines, as the main body of the Mahrattas was now withdrawn to Delly, but he did not judge it prudent to advance farther till the King should arrive.

Ahmed Shauh's arrival was from various causes delayed till the winter of 1759, when he crossed the Indus and advanced to the Acesines by the road of Jummoo. From that river he continued his march through the north of the Punjaub, the Marattas retiring as he advanced: he crossed the Jumna, near Seharunpoor, and was joined at that city by Nujeeb Khaun and the Rohilla chiefs.

The Mahratta army, under Datta Patail and Junkojee Sindia, was at that time in his neighbourhood; but it retreated as he advanced, and continual skirmishes took place between the parties, till the Mahrattas reached the neighbourhood of Delly: they then crossed the Jumna, and advanced to Baudlee near Delly, so as to cover that city.

A severe action took place at Baudlee, in which the Mahrattas were totally defeated and Dattajee killed: a detachment was afterwards sent against Mulhar Row Holkar, who was advancing to support the Mahratta interests in that quarter; and Mulhar Row's army was surprised and totally defeated. Ahmed Shauh next took Delly, and forced Ghawzoodeen Khaun, who had

lately murdered the Emperor of India, Allumgeer II. to fly to the Jaut country, where Mulhar Row and the remains of the Mahratta army had taken refuge. Ahmed Shauh afterwards pursued the conquest of the Dooab, and marched as far as Anoopshehr, where he cantoned for the monsoon, and was joined by the Nawaub Shuja Oodoula, vizier of Hindostan.

In the course of this season the Mahrattas * exerted themselves to repair their losses, and a powerful army of their nation arrived from the Decan, commanded by Wisswas Row, the heir apparent of the empire, and Sheddasheo Row, whom the disastrous issue of this campaign has made so famous in India under the name of the Bhow. They besieged Delly, which was surrendered, after a spirited defence, by a small party of Dooraunees.

The Shauh was at this time cut off by the Jumna from assisting his troops on the right bank of that river. The same cause prevented his relieving Coonjpoora, sixty miles north of Delly, which was taken almost in sight of the Dooraunee army, now advanced to the river; but this misfortune exasperated the Shauh so much that he resolved immediately to cross the river at all hazards, and bring the enemy to action. His passage was effected, with some loss; and the Mahrattas, discouraged by the alacrity with which the King sought a battle, retired to Panniput, where they soon after entrenched themselves. With this position, and their vast train of artillery, they were secure from any attack; but the distresses of an army consisting chiefly of horse, cooped up in an entrenched camp, may be easily conceived, and they were augmented by the activity of the Dooraunees, who were unremitting in their exertions to cut off all supplies from the enemy's camp. The Mahrattas, however, remained in this state for three or four months, during which time many partial actions took place, and some indirect overtures of peace were made by them through Shoojaoodoula.

The Dooraunee army also suffered from the want of supplies; but the patience, vigilance, and activity of Ahmed Shauh, enabled him to surmount most of the difficulties that he met with; and the confidence which the troops reposed on him, and the temper and moderation with which he treated his

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* The transactions of this period, and the details of the battle of Panniput, are given with great spirit and appearance of accuracy by a contemporary historian, whose narrative appears in English, in the third volume of the Asiatic Researches. To that account I beg leave to refer my readers; but some passages in it present so lively a picture of the principal actors in these scenes, that I cannot refrain from quoting them in this place.

Indian allies, prevented any discontent or disaffection in his camp; while the sufferings of the Mahrattas were borne with impatience, as they were universally imputed to the errors of their commander. *

At last a large convoy, which was coming from the south of the Dooab, to the Mahrattas, under an escort of ten thousand horse, commanded by Govind Pundit, was surprised and dispersed between Delly and Meerut by Attaikhaun Populzye; and another party, which was escorting treasure from Delly, having fallen into the hands of the Dooraunees, the Mahrattas would no longer submit to a protraction of the war, which was indeed now become impossible.†

They accordingly marched out of their camp to attack the Dooraunees, on the 7th of January 1761. The Dooraunees got under arms, and the battle began a little before day‡. The details of this action need not be

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* "From the day of their arrival in their present camp, Ahmed Shauh Dooraunee caused a small "red tent to be pitched for him, a coss (about a mile and a half) in front of his camp, and he came "to it every morning before sun-rise; at which time, after performing his morning prayer, he mounted "his horse and visited every post of the army, accompanied by his son Timoor Shauh, and forty or "fifty horsemen. He also reconnoitred the camp of the enemy, and in a word, saw every thing "with his own eyes, riding usually forty or fifty coss every day. After noon he returned to the "small tent, and sometimes dined there, sometimes at his own tents in the lines; and this was his "daily practice.

"At night there was a body of five thousand horse advanced as near as conveniently might be, to-"wards the enemy's camp, where they remained all night under arms; other bodies went the rounds "of the whole encampment; and Ahmed Shauh used to say to the Hindostaunee chiefs, "Do you "sleep, I will take care that no harm befals you:" and to say the truth, his orders were obeyed "like destiny, no man daring to hesitate or delay one moment in executing them.

"Every day the troops and cannon on both sides were drawn out, and a distant cannonade, with "many skirmishes of horse took place: towards the evening both parties drew off to their camps. "This continued for near three months: during this time there were three very severe though par-"tial actions. And thus every day were the two armies employed, from morning to nine or ten at "night, till at length the Hindostanee chiefs were out of all patience, and entreated the Shauh to "put an end to their fatigues, by coming at once to a decisive action; but his constant answer was, "This is a matter of war, with which you are not acquainted. In other affairs do as you please, "but leave this to me. Military operations must not be precipitated; you shall see how I will "manage this affair; and at a proper opportunity will bring it to a successful conclusion."

† "In this last extremity, the Bhow wrote me a short note with his own hand, which he sent by one of his most confidential servants. The words of the note were these.

"The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop. If any thing can be done, do "it, or else answer me plainly at once: hereafter there will be no time for writing or speaking."

‡ "The Navab's harearrahs brought word, that the Mahrattas were coming out of their lines, "the artillery in front, and the troops following close behind.

enlarged on here. The King's centre composed of the Rohillas, the Dooraunee Dusteh of Populzye, and a division of half the King's guards, was thrown into confusion by the fire of the enemy's guns, charged by their horse, and almost entirely driven off the field, notwithstanding the exertions of the vizier, who quitted his horse and declared his resolution to die at his post.*

The reserve was then brought up by the King in person, and the Mahrattas repulsed in their turn: at the same time they were taken in flank by the left wing of the Dooraunees; and the consequence was their entire defeat and rout. The general, the heir apparent of the Mahratta empire, and almost the whole of the army perished in the fight or the pursuit.†

"Immediately on hearing this his Excellency went to the Shauh's tent, and desired the eunuchs to "wake his Majesty that moment, as he had some urgent business with him.

"The Shauh came out directly, and enquired what news: the Navab replied, that there was no "time for explanation, but desired His Majesty to mount his horse, and order the army to get under "arms. The Shauh accordingly mounted one of his horses, which were always ready saddled at "the tent door, and, in the dress he then had on, rode half a coss in front of his camp, ordering "the troops under arms as he went along.

"He enquired of the Navab from whom he had his intelligence; and, he mentioning my name, "the Shauh immediately dispatched one on a post-camel to bring me. After I had made my obei-"sance, he asked me the particulars of the news. I replied, that the Mahrattas had quitted their "lines, and would attack his army as soon as it should be light. Just at this time some Dooraunee "horsemen passed by, with their horses loaded with plunder, which they said they had taken in the "Mahratta camp; and added, that the Mahrattas were running away. The Shauh looked at me, "and asked me what I said to that? I replied, that a very short time would prove the truth or "falsehood of my report. While I was speaking, the Mahrattas, having advanced about a coss "and a half from their lines, and got their cannon drawn up in a line, all at once gave a general dis-"charge of them.

"Upon hearing this, the Shauh, who was sitting upon his horse, smoking a Persian kallian, gave "it to his servant, and with great calmness, said to the Navab, "Your servant's news is very true, I "see." He immediately sent for the grand vizier and Shauh Pussund Khaun, &c."

* "The Navab Shoojahoodowlah, whose division was next, could not see what was going on, "on account of the dust, but finding the sound of men and horses in that quarter suddenly diminish, "he sent me to examine into the cause. I found the grand vizier in an agony of rage and despair, "reproaching his men for quitting him. "Our country is far off, my friends," said he, "whither "do you fly."

† It is not easy to determine accurately the force of each party on this occasion. I conjecture Ahmed Shauh's force to have amounted to forty thousand of his own subjects, thirty thousand Rohilla troops, and ten thousand belonging to the Indian chiefs; he had also seven hundred camel swivels, and a few guns. The Mahrattas are generally said to have had three hundred thousand

This battle was fatal to the Mahratta power; they immediately abandoned their designs on the north of Hindostan, and many years elapsed before they resumed their enterprize, under a new leader * and with a new system of war.

After the victory of Panniput, the whole of Hindostan appeared to be at Ahmed Shauh's mercy. He, however, adhered to the plan he had originally professed, and contented himself with the portion that had formerly been ceded to him, together with the pleasure of bestowing the rest of the country on such of its native chiefs as had assisted him; and this done, he returned in the spring of 1761 to Caubul. †

The wisdom of his forbearance was afterwards very apparent; for, far from being able to maintain so remote a dominion, it was with difficulty that he could retain his own province of the Punjaub, where the Siks now became very powerful. The success of this people compelled him to return to India in the beginning of 1762, when he completely expelled the Siks from the plain country; but in 1763, he was obliged to return to Candahar, and in the course of a few years, the country was in greater confusion than ever.

The circumstances of the King's return to Candahar in 1763, are worthy of notice. He was at Sirhind, when the news of an insurrection at Candahar reached him; and, the rivers of the Punjaub being already swollen, he resolved, notwithstanding that it was now the height of summer, to march by the route between the left bank of the Sutledge and the desart, to Moultaun, and from thence to Ghuznee. His army, composed of Afghauns, Uzbeks, Beloches, and other natives of cold climates, suffered great hardships during the first part of this march; and he lost an incredible number of men from heat, before he arrived at Moultaun: nor were his sufferings then at an end, for the winter had set in when he reached the mountains of Afghaunistaun, and many of his troops perished from the cold and snow. The rebellion was easily subdued, as was another raised by Dervish Ali, a

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men: the only creditable account of their force I have seen, is that in the Asiatic Researches, which makes their cavalry seventy thousand, and their infantry fifteen thousand. They had not less than two hundred guns.

* Mahajee Sindia, whose troops were disciplined in the European manner.

† About this time Ahmed Shauh sent an embassy to China, and the envoy on his return wrote an account of his embassy I could not procure a copy of this curious work

chief of the Eimauks in the neighbourhood of Heraut: but Ahmed Shauh's health now began to decline, and a sensible diminution of his activity is observable from this time forward. His complaint was a cancer in his face; it seems to have first afflicted him severely in 1764, and it continued to do so till his death, which it occasioned. He was, however, compelled to exert himself in the course of a few years, by the increased power of the Siks, who seem to have become masters of all the open country as far west as the Hydaspes. Ahmed went in person against them in 1767, and drove them again into the mountains; but this expedition, the last he made in India, was attended by no permanent benefit: as soon as the Shauh had quitted the country, the Siks appeared in greater force than ever, and before the end of the next year (1768), they crossed the Hydaspes, and took the famous fortress of Rotass from the Dooraunees. The Shauh was about to exert himself to wipe off this disgrace, when his attention was called to a rebellion in Khorassaun, occasioned by Naussir Oollah Meerza, the son of Shauh Rokh Shauh.

The Afghauns state that all the chiefs in Persia, except Kereem Khaun Zend, were engaged in this war, and their combined force gave battle to Ahmed Shauh's army, under the command of his son prince Timoor, in the neighbourhood of Meshhed. The battle was well contested, and its issue was more than doubtful, when it was restored by the valour of Nusseer Khaun, the chief of the Beloches, and ended in a complete victory: the Persian army took refuge with Shauh Rookh Shauh, who favoured their escape, and admitted them into Meshhed. It is reckoned impious to fire on that sacred city, which contains the tomb of the Imaum Rezza; and Ahmed Shauh was, therefore, obliged to employ a blockade to reduce it, which succeeded after several months. Shauh Rokh Shauh gave his daughter to Timoor Shauh, and agreed to furnish a contingent of troops to serve with Ahmed Shauh.

During the siege of Meshhed, a detachment was sent to take Tubbus, which held out against the Dooraunees. It was defended by Alli Murdaun Khaun, an Arab chief of the Zengooee tribe. The detachment was under Sirdar Jehaun Khaun, and was in part composed of Beloches under Nusseer Khaun. It was completely successful; Alli Murdaun was killed, and Tubbus taken.

After this expedition, Ahmed Shauh returned to Candahar, where his health continued to decline, and prevented his engaging in any foreign expe-

dition. In the spring of 1773, he left Candahar for the hills of Toba in the Atchukzye country, where the summer is cooler than at Candahar. Here his malady increased, and in the beginning of June 1773, he died at Murgha, in the fiftieth year of his age.

The character of Ahmed Shauh appears to have been admirably suited to the situation in which he was placed. His enterprize and decision enabled him to profit by the confusion that followed the death of Naudir, and the prudence and moderation which he acquired from his dealings with his own nation, were no less necessary to govern a warlike and independent people, than the bold and commanding turn of his natural genius.

His military courage and activity are spoken of with admiration, both by his own subjects, and the nations with whom he was engaged either in wars or alliances. He seems to have been naturally disposed to mildness and clemency; and, though it is impossible to acquire sovereign power, and, perhaps in Asia, to maintain it, without crimes; yet the memory of no eastern prince is stained with fewer acts of cruelty and injustice.

In his personal character he seems to have been cheerful, affable, and good natured. He maintained considerable dignity on state occasions; but at other times his manners were plain and familiar; and with the Dooraunees, he kept up the same equal and popular demeanour, which was usual with their Khauns before they assumed the title of King. He treated Moollahs and holy men with great respect, both from policy and inclination. He was himself a divine and an author, and was always ambitious of the character of a saint.

His policy towards the different parts of his dominions was, to rely principally on conciliation with the Afghauns and Beloches; with this difference between the nations, that he applied himself to the whole people in the first case, and only to the chief in the other. His possessions in Toorkistaun he kept under by force; but left the Tartar chiefs of the country unremoved, and used them with moderation. The Indian provinces were kept by force alone; and in Khorassaun he trusted to the attachment of some chiefs, took hostages from others, and was ready to carry his arms against any who disturbed his plans.

It has before been observed that Ahmed did wisely in choosing to lay the foundations of a great empire, rather than to complete a small one. The countries under his dominion extended, at his death, from the west of Khorassaun to Sirhind, and from the Oxus to the sea; all of which was secured

to him by treaties, or by actual possession: and had his plans been pursued, there is no doubt that a government sufficiently strong to have secured its own stability, would soon and easily have been introduced through the whole of this great empire.

The character of Ahmed's successor was unluckily very different from his, and it was in a great measure owing to the system of policy introduced by Timoor, that the power of the Dooraunees first became stationary, and has since declined.

Timoor Shauh was born at Meshhed in the month of December 1746, He was educated at his father's court, and accompanied him on many of his expeditions.

His situation did not lead him to adopt the character and manners of his countrymen; and he seems never even to have been perfectly familiar with their language. While he was yet a youth, he was stationed in the Punjaub, and afterwards was appointed governor of Heraut, where the bulk of the inhabitants are Persians.

He was at Heraut when Ahmed Shauh's illness became serious, and he set off for the hills of Toba to see his father before he died; and probably to watch over his own interests, when that event should take place. Before he reached Candahar, he received positive orders from the Shauh to return to his government, which he was obliged reluctantly to obey. These orders had been obtained by the vizier Shauh Wullee Khaun, who had before this entered into a conspiracy, with Sirdar Jehaun Khaun and some other Dooraunee chiefs, to set aside Timoor, and secure the crown, on Ahmed's decease, to Prince Soliman, who was married to the vizier's daughter. On Ahmed Shauh's death, the Dooraunee chiefs held a council at Candahar to fix on his successor: the vizier recommended Soliman, but another party, headed by Abdoollah Khaun Populzye (who held the great office of Dewaun Begee), declared for Timoor. After long debates, the council broke up without having come to any resolution; and the vizier, of his own authority, placed Solimaun on the throne. Abdoollah and his partizans withdrew, and raised their clans to support Timoor's claim.

When this news reached Timoor, he marched for Candahar, with the force of his government, and such of the Dooraunees and Eimauks as had adopted his cause. The vizier also endeavoured to collect his army, but his attempt was unsuccessful, and he found he had no resource but in submission; he accordingly repaired to the camp of Timoor, but he was not allowed to see the

prince, and was immediately tried and condemned to death on a charge of murder, brought forward to remove from the government the odium of his execution.

Timoor Shauh, having now obtained undisturbed possession of his father's kingdom, gave way to his natural indolence. His whole policy was directed to secure his tranquillity: he never appears to have thought of aggrandizing himself; and all the operations in which he was afterwards engaged, were intended merely for the defence of his dominions. As he knew that a strong party had been formed against him among the Dooraunees, and that the execution of the vizier had exasperated that tribe, he seems ever after to have regarded them with great distrust. He first shewed this in removing the seat of government from Candahar, in the midst of the Dooraunee country, to Caubul, which is inhabited by Taujiks, the most quiet and submissive of all the subjects of the Afghaun monarchy. His choice of ministers shewed the same disposition. His chief counsellors, during his whole reign, were Cauzy Fyzoollah, a Moollah of the obscure clan of Dowlut Shahee, and Lootfetlli Khaun, a native of Jaum in western Khorassaun. In general, he left the great dignities of the state in the Dooraunee families, on whom Ahmed Shauh had conferred them, but, by instituting new offices, and altering the duties of the old ones, he threw all the government into the hands of his own dependents.

The governments of the provinces, that were not left to their native chiefs, were bestowed on men of little weight or influence; by which Timoor hoped to secure himself from rebellions, and obtained for the present prompt obedience to his orders, and complete control over the revenue.

His finances were well regulated, and he observed a strict economy; by which means he rendered himself independent of military expeditions for the ordinary expences of his government, and was able to lay up a treasure against any unexpected emergency.

He retained the Dooraunee chiefs about his court; but as he had no troops of their tribe at the capital, they were entirely in his power, and had no means of disturbing his government.

The only troops whom he kept at all times embodied, were his own guards, the Gholami Shauhs; which were strong enough to keep the country in order, and being mostly Persians and Taujiks, were unconnected with the Afghaun chiefs or people, and entirely devoted to the King. These troops were well paid, received much countenance from the King, and were invested

with some privileges, of a nature which tended to separate them from the rest of the people.

This policy succeeded moderately well in maintaining internal tranquillity: the provinces immediately under the King remained quiet, and, though there were some conspiracies during this reign, and two rebellions of pretenders to the throne, they were either discovered by the King's vigilance, or defeated by his full treasury and his well appointed guards; but the remote provinces gradually withdrew themselves from the control of the court: the government lost its reputation and influence abroad; and the states which had been obliged to preserve their own territories by submission to Ahmed Shauh, now began to meditate schemes for aggrandizing themselves at the expence of the Dooraunees.

The decay was not severely felt in Timoor Shauh's time; but its commencement was even then observable, and it has advanced by rapid strides under the reigns of his successors.

The first remarkable event of Timoor's reign was the rebellion of his relation Abdoolkhaulik Khaun, which probably happened in 1774-5. Abdoolkhaulik succeeded in assembling a force of Dooraunees and Ghiljies superior in numbers to those the King had embodied; the latter, however, were disciplined troops under experienced leaders, and would probably have been victorious, even if a determined resistance had been offered, but two chiefs, who were supposed to have raised their clans for Abdoolkhaulik, carried them straight to the King, and an unexpected turn of this kind is generally decisive in a Dooraunee civil war. Abdoolkhaulik was defeated, taken, and blinded, and the tranquillity of the Dooraunee country was soon restored. From this till 1781, though there were insurrections of various extent and consequence in Bulkh, Khorassaun, Seestaun, and Cashmeer, yet there is but one which requires particular notice.

It took place in the year 1779, and was undertaken by the Sahebzadda of Chumkunee, a dervise of great sanctity, for the purpose of murdering Timoor Shauh and placing his brother Prince Secunder on the throne. The instrument he employed was Feizoollah Khaun, a chief of the Khulleels, who entered on this conspiracy as the means of revenging his private wrongs.

This man obtained the King's permission to levy troops for an attack on the Punjaub, and soon assembled a considerable number of Afghauns, chiefly of the Khyber tribes. When his plot was ripe for execution, he marched his

troops to the citadel of Peshawer, on pretence of shewing them to the King: when he reached the citadel, he put the guards at the gates to death, and rushed with all his troops into the place. Timoor Shauh had only time to retire to the upper story of one of the buildings of the palace, from whence he made his situation known to his guards. The Gholami Shauhs, and the few Dooraunees who were there, immediately assembled, and made a terrible slaughter among Feizoollah's men. Feizoollah and his son were taken prisoners and put to death, after having endured the torture without discovering their accomplices. Strong suspicions afterwards fell on the Sahebzadeh, and the King was so far convinced of his guilt as to order him to be seized; but the whole of the Afghaun chiefs at court interposing in his favour, no further enquiry was made.

It is not the least remarkable circumstance in this singular attempt, that very few of Feizoollah's troops were acquainted with his design against the King, and, that on discovering his intention after they had reached Balla Hissaur, many of them refused to stand by him. Among these was a nephew of his own, whom he cut down at the gate for refusing to enter the palace. No distinction was made between the innocent and the guilty in the slaughter which followed.

In 1781, Timoor Shauh went in person to recover Moultaun, which had been betrayed by the governor into the hands of the Siks. He sent a light force in advance against a Sik army near Moultaun, which moved on by very rapid marches, surprized the Siks, and totally defeated them. The city was taken after a siege of a few days, and the garrison was ordered to be escorted to their own country; but from want of discipline in the army, they were afterwards attacked and pillaged, and some of them murdered.

About this time, broke out the rebellion of the Talpoorees, which ended in the expulsion of the governor of Sind. In the course of the next year, the King sent a force under Muddud Khaun to reduce the insurgents, which soon overran the whole province. The Talpoorees retired to their original desart, and the other inhabitants appear to have fled to the hills and jungles to avoid the Dooraunee army. Muddud Khaun laid waste the country with fire and sword; and so severe were his ravages, that a dreadful famine followed his campaign; and the province of Sind is said not yet to have recovered from what it suffered on that occasion. At last, Muddud Khaun returned to Candahar, leaving the deposed governor in undisturbed possession of the province; but this quiet was of short duration: the Talpoorees returned as

soon as Muddud Khaun had retired, again expelled the governor, and recovered the whole of Sind.

Timoor Shauh allowed a considerable time to pass before he made any further attempt to reduce Sind, and it was probably as late as 1786 that he sent another army into that country, commanded by Ahmed Khaun Noorzye. This army was inferior to the first in force, and was evidently unskilfully commanded. The Talpoorees did not now fly from Sind, but collected troops and moved against Ahmed Khaun, who suffered himself to be led into an ambuscade, was defeated with great loss, and compelled to retreat to Shikarpoor. The Sindees who had before sent a vakeel to Timoor Shauh, now redoubled their efforts for an accommodation. Their vakeel appeased the King by the most humble professions, secured the ministers by great bribes, and at last, on the Talpoorees agreeing to pay the former revenue to the King, a rukkum was issued appointing the principal of them, Meer Futteh Alli, to the government.

The reduction of Azaud Khaun's rebellion in Cashmeer took place during the interval between the expeditions to Sind and that against Bahawul Khaun, in the beginning of 1788, but nothing of general importance to the kingdom occurred till the summer of that year, when a war broke out with the Uzbek Tartars. Shauh Moraud Bey, King of Bokhaura, had long been encroaching on the Dooraunee dominions, and during the King's expedition to Bahawulpoor, he carried his aggressions so far as to oblige Timoor Shauh to take decisive measures for the defence of his northern provinces. A letter which Timoor Shauh wrote to Shauh Moraud on this occasion, is in many people's hands at Caubul. It contains a distinct statement of the grounds of the war, and gives a clear view of Shauh Moraud's policy at that time. It states "that "Ahmed Shauh had always been on friendly terms with the state of Bok-"haura. That Timoor had maintained the same relations: that Shauh Moo-"raud had for some time been encroaching on the Dooraunee empire, and "had always averted a war by speedy explanations and humble professions; "taking care, however, always to secure the point he had in view: that he "had at last seized Mour * (or Merve), and driven away the Sheeah inhabi-"tants, and had given as a reason, his wish to convert them to the true "Mahommedan faith: it urges, that no state can have a right to interfere

* Called Mour by the Uzbeks, and Merve by the Persians.

" with the subjects of another on account of their religion; and then points " out the inconsistency of Shauh Moraud's zeal on this occasion, with his " detaining Timoor Shauh by his encroachments from clearing India of Hin- " doos, Jews, Christians, and other unbelievers; and with his wars against " the people of Shehr Subz, and Khojend and the Toorcmuns, who were un- " doubted Soonnees." Timoor Shauh says " these nations have appealed to " him, and he has been determined by Shauh Moraud's conduct towards " himself, to take up their quarrel: he then announces his intention of " moving immediately to Toorkistan, and requires Shauh Moraud to come to " him in person to settle their differences."

In the spring of 1789, Timoor Shauh marched from Caubul with an army which his subjects reckon at a hundred thousand men. He went by short marches, to allow time for overtures from Shauh Moraud; and he was delayed for a short time by a march towards Coondooz, after which he advanced to Aukcheh, the nearest town of the territory seized by the Uzbeks. On this, Shauh Moraud crossed the Oxus at Killif, with troops drawn from all parts of his dominions and their dependencies. He sent on his brother Omar Kooshbegee to Aukcheh with a light force; while Allaverdee, Tauz of Koorghan Tippeh, cut off the provisions and foragers of the Dooraunee army. Some partial and indecisive actions took place at Aukcheh, and Shauh Moraud had met with no serious check, when he perceived that it was for his interest to make peace; he accordingly opened a negociation, which he conducted with the skill and address for which he was celebrated, and with complete success.

He was aware that Timoor Shauh entered upon the war with reluctance, and would be happy to withdraw from the fatigue and danger of an Uzbek campaign, if he could do so without losing his reputation. He therefore gave him the credit of a victory and sent the principal Moollahs and religious men of Bokhaura to him to conjure him, by the Koraun, and their common faith, to spare the blood of the Mussulmans by yielding to his supplications for peace. Peace was accordingly made, and Shauh Moraud's son was sent to Timoor's camp, where he was honorably received, and immediately dismissed. Through the whole transaction, Shauh Moraud shewed the utmost respect and submission to Timoor Shauh; but he retained all his conquests at the peace; while the other failed in every object of his expedition, except that of securing his remaining dominions.

The winter was so far advanced before Timoor marched on his return,

that he was forced to leave his artillery in Bulkh, and many of his troops perished from the cold and snow in crossing the Indian Caucasus.

Arsilla Khaun, chief of the Upper Memunds, who had more than once distinguished himself in Timoor Shauh's foreign expeditions, had rebelled, during the war in Toorkistan, and had infested the roads between Peshawer and the capital. *

He afterwards gave himself up to the prince who commanded at Peshawer, and Timoor, without regarding his voluntary surrender, or the prince's solicitation for his pardon, ordered him to be delivered to some of his tribe with whom he had a deadly feud, and by them he was immediately put to death. This circumstance is regarded by the Afghauns as a great stain on Timoor's memory.

In the spring of 1793, Timoor Shauh was taken ill on a journey from Peshawer, and died at Caubul on the 20th of May, 1793.

At the time of Timoor Shauh's death †, nothing was settled respecting the succession to the throne. He had himself named no heir. The eldest and most conspicuous of the princes were absent. Hoomayoon was governor of Candahar, and Mahmood held the same office at Heraut. Prince Abbass was governor of Peshawer, but had joined his father on hearing of his illness. The other princes were all at Caubul, except Ferooz the full brother of Mahmood, who was with that prince at Heraut.

Timoor Shauh was no sooner dead than an intrigue was set on foot to secure the crown to Shauh Zemaun. It was carried on by Timoor Shauh's favourite queen, who prevailed on Sirafrauz Khaun, the head of the Bawrikzyes to join in her scheme, and by his means secured the interest of most of the Dooraunee Khauns.

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* Arsilla Khaun was at one time compelled to disperse his followers and to take refuge in the country of the Otmaun Khail; and the following circumstance of his reception by that tribe is highly characteristic of Afghaun manners.

When Arsilla Khaun approached the first village of the Otmaun Khail, the heads of the village, alarmed at the prospect of drawing the King's displeasure on themselves, went out to meet the fugitive, and told him that their granting him the rights of hospitality would involve them in a contest with the King, to which they were perfectly unequal; and that they had therefore resolved to refuse him admittance into their village. Arsilla Khaun endeavoured to excite their compassion, and, while they were engaged in conversation with him, he sent a part of his baggage into the village by a circuitous route: when the chiefs found that Arsilla's people had entered their village, they immediately acknowledged that he was now under their protection, received him hospitably, and summoned their tribe to defend him.

† The facts contained in the following pages are entirely drawn from Mr. Alexander's history.

The princes of the royal family made an attempt to raise Abbass to the throne, but, though they behaved with much spirit, they shewed little skill: their persons were secured by a stratagem: the gates of the Balla Hissar, or citadel of Caubul, were seized by Zemaun's partisans; and that prince was declared King in a hasty meeting of the Dooraunee chiefs. He was immediately proclaimed, a largess was issued to the guards, the princes were sent into confinement in the upper fort of Caubul; and from that moment Shauh Zemaun entered quietly on the administration of the government.

Means were taken for assembling an army to establish the authority of the new King, and to subdue the rebellions that might be expected from his brothers.

His greatest apprehension was from Hoomayoon, who was certainly entitled to the throne, if primogeniture gave a claim, and who commanded at Candahar, in the heart of the Dooraunee country. He was, however, unpopular; he was deserted by some of his adherents, was defeated by a small force commanded by prince Shoojau (since King), and was compelled to take refuge in Belochistaun. Shauh Zemaun took possession of Candahar, and soon after received the submissions of Prince Mahmood (who as I have mentioned, was governor of Heraut), and then set off for Caubul.

As soon as Shauh Zemaun had secured himself from his competitors for the throne, he appears to have determined on an invasion of India; a measure to which he was stimulated by Merza Ahsun Bukht, a prince of the royal family of Delly, who had fled to Caubul in Timoor's reign, as well as by ambassadors who arrived about this time from Tippoo Sooltaun, and who made great pecuniary offers to the King, on condition that he should attack the British.

In the month of December, 1793, Shauh Zemaun marched to Peshawer, with the intention of immediately invading India; but this resolution was soon dropt, from the Shauh's conviction that his own dominions were not sufficiently settled, to admit of his embarking in foreign expeditions. Great confusion had indeed arisen in the remote provinces immediately on the death of Timoor, when the suspension of the powers of government, and the prospect of a disputed succession, encouraged foreign enemies, and induced ambitious subjects to attempt their own aggrandizement.

The most serious danger, that which threatened him on the side of Toorkistaun, had, however, passed over by this time. Shauh Moraud, who had

been checked in his plans of conquest to the south of the Oxus, by the exertions of Timoor Shauh, invaded Bulkh, immediately on that monarch's death. Mahommed Khaun Seeah Munsoor, the King of Caubul's governor, an officer of great activity and courage, was drawn into an ambuscade, with the greater part of his force, amounting to four thousand men, and was taken prisoner in the defeat which ensued. Shauh Moraud, expecting to profit by the consternation of the remaining troops, immediately advanced against the capital of the province; but the garrison showed a spirit which could scarce have been expected in such circumstances: the principal Dooraunee chiefs took the management of affairs, on the capture of their governor, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The extensive and ruinous city of Bulkh was abandoned; but the fort held out for three or four months, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the enemy. Among other attempts to reduce the place, Shauh Moraud made use of the savage expedient of producing the governor under the walls, and offering to the garrison the alternative of procuring his liberty by an immediate capitulation, or of seeing him put to death, if they refused to surrender. The garrison adhering to their resolution to defend the place, Shauh Moraud's threat was barbarously executed before their eyes. At last Shauh Zemaun arrived at Caubul, after his success in Khorassaun, and Shauh Moraud, who expected that he would immediately march to the relief of Bulkh, sent ambassadors, offering to give up his claims on that province, on condition of Shauh Zemaun's observing the treaty formerly concluded with Timoor Shauh. Shauh Zemaun, who was at that time intent on the invasion of India, readily consented; and peace was concluded about the time of the King's arrival at Peshawer.

The remaining months of 1793, and part of 1794, were occupied in reducing Cashmeer, which had rebelled on Timoor's death; and in settling the southern provinces, whither the King went in person: on that occasion, he compelled the Ameers of Sind to pay two million four hundred thousand rupees, on account of the tribute due from them, after which he returned to Caubul.

He did not long remain at the capital, for Mahmood, who had only submitted from necessity, had now again rebelled, and the King soon after moved out against him, at the head of fifteen thousand men. The princes met at the Helmund, and a well contested action took place, in which Shauh Zemaun, after narrowly escaping a defeat, obtained a complete victory.

Almost all the chiefs of the Eimauks, and many Dooraunees of rank, fell into his hands. These were all pardoned and released: Mahmood fled from the field of battle, and reached Heraut in safety.

The King, after sending a force to take possession of Furrah, returned to Candahar, from whence he proceeded to Peshawer, and again began to collect an army for his favourite project of invading India.

Before he left Candahar, he had dispatched Sheer Mahomed Khaun (son of the vizier Shauh Wullee) to settle the government of Belochistaun. Nusseer Khaun died in the spring of this year, 1794, and was succeeded by his son Meer Mahmood: his claim to the government was contested by Behraun Khaun, a nephew of Nusseer's, who had defeated Mahmood, and made himself master of a large portion of Belochistaun. Sheer Mahommed's mission was attended with success: he defeated Behraun, put all his strong places into the hands of Mahmood, and left the Beloche government, to all appearance restored: but that government had received a shock which it has never since recovered. The tribes in the south-west of Belochistaun had been but lately conquered by Nusseer, and were never perfectly subdued. They seized the occasion offered by these distractions, to throw off their allegiance, and Mahmood, whose spirit and capacity are very inferior to his father's, has never been able to recover much more than a nominal sovereignty over them. Meanwhile Shauh Zemaun's designs against India were again frustrated by fresh disturbances excited by his brother Hoomauyoon. This prince had been confined by Nusseer Khaun, but had effected his escape, and, after a series of adventures, had succeeded in collecting an irregular army. Fortune, however, enabled him to gain an unexpected victory, the result of which was the capture of Candahar; but Shauh Zemaun soon returning to the west, Hoomauyoon's troops deserted him, and it was not without difficulty that he escaped to the hills.

Shauh Zemaun then returning to Peshawer, Hoomauyoon again appeared at the head of a force, but he was defeated by the King's lieutenants, and after a long flight, he was seized at Leia, on the east of the Indus, was blinded, and passed the rest of his life in confinement.

Thus far Shauh Zemaun's government had proceeded with reasonable conduct, and with great success. His claim to the throne was now undisputed, and his authority established over all the country left by Timoor Shauh. The King himself was active and enterprizing, and his capacity seemed sufficient, with the support of those qualities, to have remedied the mistakes of his

father's administration, and restored the Dooraunee affairs to the train in which they were left by Ahmed Shauh.

Notwithstanding some defects in his character, and some erroneous maxims in his policy; Shauh Zemaun would probably have fulfilled these expectations, if he had resolved to govern for himself; but by committing the whole of his powers and duties to an unworthy favourite, he involved himself in a system of measures which was ruinous to his own fortunes and to the prosperity of his nation.

The first object of his attention ought to have been to secure the support of his own tribe, on which so much depended in the original plan of the monarchy: had he succeeded in this particular, the internal quiet of his country would have been at once secured. In his foreign policy, his first object ought to have been to defend Khorassaun. The power of Persia was now consolidated in the hands of an active prince, who had already turned his attention to the conquest of that province; and some exertion on the part of Shauh Zemaun was obviously required to check his progress; such a course was indeed necessary to the success even of his eastern expeditions. India was as much altered as Persia since the time of Ahmed Shauh, and nothing was to be gained there, but by long and uninterrupted operations. There were no longer treasures at Delly to reward a march to that city; and the more desirable object of reducing the Punjaub, was not to be accomplished by a hasty incursion. The plan opposed by the Siks to Ahmed Shauh, which was to evacuate their country on his approach, and return when his army was withdrawn, could only be baffled by keeping a force in the country sufficient to retain possession; and that measure could only be accomplished, when the western frontier was secure.

The plan actually adopted by Shauh Zemaun was almost the reverse of that which has been sketched. He widened the breach between the Dooraunees and the court: he made no serious effort to save Khorassaun; and his ill-directed and ill-timed attempts at Indian conquest, tended only to frustrate that favourite object of his ambition.

The source of all his errors was his choice of Wuffadar Khaun for the office of vizier, and the implicit confidence which he reposed in that minister. Wuffadar was a Suddozye who had gradually gained the King's confidence by his supple and insinuating manners, and had used his ascendancy to overturn the power of Sirafrauz Khaun, and all the great officers of the army and state: he seems to have perfectly understood the disposition of his

master, who, though proud and imperious, was easily led by flatterers, and who, with all his fondness for activity and enterprize, had not patience or application sufficient for managing the details of business. He was ambitious, and haughty to those who might claim equality with him, and jealous of any who could attempt to rival him in power or favour; but his arrogance and confidence in council were equalled by his timidity when exposed to personal danger; a circumstance which added contempt to the dislike with which he was otherwise regarded. His elevation and his subsequent conduct disgusted the Dooraunees, and, sensible of the ill will they bore him, he used every art to infuse jealousy and dissension between that tribe and the King. His avarice was not less hurtful to the state than his ambition: the governments of provinces and other offices were openly sold for his profit; and the decline of the revenue, which was the consequence of his embezzlements and those of his creatures, was severely felt under a Prince whose operations were so expensive as Shauh Zemaun's, and who had no share of the order and economy which distinguished his predecessor.

The rest of Shauh Zemaun's reign was spent in attempts to invade India, from which he was always recalled by the pressure of the dangers which he had left unprovided for in the west. Had he been allowed to have pursued his plan without interruption, its original defects would have been only the more conspicuous: he might have taken Delly from the Mahrattas, but the plunder would not have paid the expences of his advance, and if the invitation of the Rohillas, and the temptation of seizing the wealth of the vizier had led him on towards Lucknow, he would have been opposed by the army then formed for that purpose under Sir James Craig; there can be little doubt, from the Dooraunee mode of war, that he would have engaged in it, and still less that the result would have put an end to his projects in India.

Shauh Zemaun's first invasion of the Punjaub was commenced at the close of the year 1795. He crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats at Attok, and advanced three marches to Hussun Abdaul, from which place he detached a large force under Ahmed Khaun Shauheenchee Bauchee, to take possession of Rotass. This detachment succeeded in its object, and was joined by many Guckers, Juts, and other Mussulmans of the Punjaub; while the Siks fled in dismay to the mountains or beyond the Hyphasis.

Their alarm was however soon dissipated; for the King had only been a week at Hussun Abdaul, when he received intelligence of the invasion of the west of Khorassaun by Agha Mahomed Khaun Kujjur, King of Persia: this attack determined him immediately to return to the defence of his

dominions, and with such precipitation was his resolution executed, that he made but two marches from Hussun Abdaul to Peshawer*, where he arrived on the 3d of January 1796.

The Persian invasion had been designed for the capture of Meshhed, where great discontent prevailed against the family of Naudir Shauh. Naudir Meerza, the efficient ruler of the place, pursued a plan which had succeeded on a former occasion, and fled to Caubul as the Persians approached: his father, Shauh Rokh, was detained by his age and infirmities, and threw himself on the mercy of the conqueror; but his submission did not soften Agha Mahomed, whose disposition, naturally barbarous and unrelenting, was exasperated by the injuries which himself and family had suffered from Naudir Shauh. Shauh Rokh was seized on entering the Persian camp, torture was applied to make him give up his treasures, and after enduring all the torments which the cruelty and avarice of his persecutor could suggest, the old and blind grandson of Naudir Shauh was murdered in the Persian camp. Agha Mahommed then entered Meshhed, destroyed the tomb of Naudir Shauh, dug up that conqueror's bones, and sent them to Teheraun. It is remarkable that Naudir's family should be massacred and his grave dishonoured by Persians, after having been so long protected by the nation from whose yoke he had delivered his country.

As Meshhed had long been dependent on Caubul, this attack gave great cause both of indignation and alarm to Shauh Zemaun, and at first he seems to have been influenced by those feelings: he returned to Caubul prepared for war, and proposed to the Uzbeks to enter into a league against the Persians; but his ardor soon cooled, and an embassy from Agha Mahomed, together with the retreat of that monarch, succeeded in making him give up all fear for his remaining territories, and drop all thoughts of revenging the indignity he had suffered. Shauh Zemaun's infatuation for Indian expeditions seconded the views of the Persians on this occasion, and no sooner had Augha Mahomed withdrawn, than he set out for Peshawer and prepared to return to the Punjaub. He assembled a force of thirty thousand men, of whom one half were Dooraunees, and in the end of November he began his march for India, and advanced unopposed to Lahore, which he entered on the 3d of January 1797.

Shauh Zemaun's general plan for reducing the country was founded on the practice of Ahmed Shauh. He sent frequent Chepawuls (light parties

* Upwards of seventy-seven miles.

moving by rapid marches) to attack the Siks in their retreats, to drive away their cattle, and seize or destroy their grain: he reduced such forts as were within his reach, and at the same time he gave great encouragement to any Sik chiefs who would submit to him. His plan was in some measure obstructed by the persuasions of his bigotted Moollahs, by the rapacity of the vizier, and by the licence of the soldiery; but in spite of those unfavourable circumstances, he made some progress in inducing the Siks to join him, and several of their chiefs attended his court at Lahore.

The advance of the Dooraunee army, and the occupation of Lahore, did not fail in creating a strong sensation throughout India. The weakness of the Mahrattas, the whole of whose forces were drawn to the southward by their own dissensions; the feebleness of the government of the Nabob vizier, and the disposition of the greater part of his subjects to insurrection and revolt; together with the anxiety of all the Mahommedans for the prevalence of their religion, and for the restoration of the house of Timour, had prepared that country for a scene of disorder and anarchy, which would doubtless have opened as soon as the Shauh had advanced to Delly. This state of affairs was early perceived by the powers whose safety was threatened. The Mahrattas indeed were struck with dismay, and made little preparation to defend themselves, except by soliciting the assistance of their neighbours; but the British government adopted more vigorous measures, and sent a powerful army to Anoopsheher to defend the frontier of its ally the Nabob vizier.

Nor were the partizans of Shauh Zemaun more inactive; intrigues were set on foot in many parts of Hindostan for the purpose of co-operating with that prince's invasion: the Rohillas had begun to assemble in arms, and every Mussulman, even in the remotest regions of the Deccan, waited in anxious expectation for the advance of the champion of Islaum. These hopes and these apprehensions were dispelled for the time by the failure of Shauh Zemaun's expeditions; but the impression of his advance was permanent. Some years elapsed before the Marattas were relieved from their expectation of the appearance of another Ahmed Shauh; and the principal object of the British mission to Persia in 1799, was to secure a three years suspension of the threatened attack of Shauh Zemaun.

Shauh Zemaun's retreat in 1797 was occasioned by intelligence which reached him of a rebellion in his own dominions. Prince Mahmood, though still allowed to retain his government of Heraut, had shewn an inclination to rebel before the King set out for India, and, during his absence, he had assem-

bled an army of twenty thousand men, mostly Persians of Khorassaun, with which he would probably have attacked Candahar, had he not been prevented by the King's speedy return.

Shauh Zemaun marched against him from Candahar on the 8th of September, 1797, and although his own injudicious arrangements had nearly exposed him to defeat, yet the effects of his imprudence were counteracted by the treachery of Mahmood's adherents; Killich Khaun Teimoree seized the citadel of Heraut in his name, and was joined by the Dooraunee governor of the city: the army followed the example of disaffection, and Mahmood, reduced to despair, fled to Tooshish with his son Caumraun.

Shauh Zemaun immediately entered Heraut: two of Mahmood's advisers were executed for this rebellion, but no other measures of severity were adopted. These arrangements occupied Shauh Zemaun for some time, but as soon as he had a moment's leisure, he turned his attention to the Punjaub, where his cause had met with some reverses while he was engaged in the west. As soon as he had quitted the country, the Siks returned from their hiding places and began to retaliate on the Mussulmans the oppression which those of their own religion had suffered from the Dooraunees. They had even cut off a party of five thousand eastern Afghauns which had advanced to the Hydaspes under a chief of the King's; and the whole of the Punjaub was as far as ever from being conquered, when the King set out on his third expedition. He set off from Peshawer on the 25th of October, 1798, and advanced without molestation to Lahore. He persevered in his plan for conciliating the Siks, and by all accounts no outrage of any sort was offered to the inhabitants of the Punjaub during this campaign. Many Sik chiefs, and all the Mussulman Zemeendars attended the court, and before the King withdrew, all the chiefs had done homage in person or through their agents; and among the former was Runjeet Sing, now king of the Siks.

About the end of 1798, the Shauh received news of an invasion of Khorassaun by Futteh Ali Shauh, King of Persia, and set out on his return to Peshawer, which he reached on the 30th of January, 1799. His guns were lost in the Hydaspes, on his return, by a sudden rising of the river; but they were afterwards dug out and restored by Runjeet Sing and Saheb Sing.

After a short stay at Peshawer, Zemaun repaired to Heraut, where he resolved to spend the rest of the year; and he now appears at last to have seriously turned his attention to the defence of his western dominions. This disposition may have been produced by the presence of his brother Mahmood in the Persian army, and the fear of his receiving such support from the

Persians as should enable him to retake Heraut; or at least to secure for himself some other part of the Dooraunee dominions in Persian Khorassaun. He had not, however, been long at Heraut, when he received accounts of the retreat of Futteh Alli Shauh, who had failed in all his attempts in Khorassaun: and soon after Shauh Zemaun withdrew to Candahar, where he remained during the winter of 1799.

Not long after Zemaun had arrived at Candahar, an unsuccessful attempt was made on Heraut by Shauh Mahmood.

The flight of that prince to Toorshish, on the taking of Heraut (in 1797), has already been mentioned; he soon after repaired to the Persian court, where he was kindly received.

In the spring of the next year (1798), he left the court and retired first to Cashaun and then to Ispahan. He remained there till the spring of 1799, when he accompanied the King of Persia on the expedition into Khorassaun, which I have just mentioned. He remained in Khorassaun after the King of Persia had retired, and endeavoured to stir up some of the chiefs of that country to assist him in the attack on Heraut. After failing in Toorshish and Tubbus, he succeeded in procuring the support of Mehr Alli Khaun, the ruler of Kauin and Berjend: and he now advanced against Heraut with ten thousand men belonging to that chief. He must have marched from Berjend within a month or two after Shauh Zemaun left Heraut.

At Izfezaur, he was encountered by a force sent by Prince Kyser from Heraut, which he defeated. He then advanced and invested Heraut: his operations were at first successful, but Wuffadar having managed by an artful expedient to render Mahmood suspicious of a design on the part of Mehr Alli to betray him, that timid prince suddenly quitted his camp in the night, and Mehr Alli was obliged to retreat with precipitation to his own territory, which he reached after encountering great difficulties in the desart tract between Heraut and Berjund.

Mahmood in the mean time continued his flight into Tartary, and at last reached the court of Bokhaura. He there met with a friendly and honorable reception, and had remained for some time at one of the King's palaces, when an agent arrived from Shauh Zemaun to remonstrate with Shauh Moraud for granting him an asylum, and to request that the King of Bokhaura would deliver him up to his own sovereign, against whom he had rebelled. The agent is said to have been authorized to promise a large pecuniary gratification to the King of Bokhaura on Mahmood's being delivered up. It is not quite certain how these applications were received: there can be little

doubt that Shauh Moraud replied to Zemaun's demands by very flattering professions. It is commonly believed that he was about to deliver up Mahmood, when that prince declared his intention of making a pilgrimage to Mecca, and, by thus introducing religion into the question of his liberation, interested the Ulima in his favour, and by their influence obtained leave to depart; but a more probable account is, that Shauh Moraud, equally unwilling to offend Shauh Zemaun by harbouring his rival, and to sacrifice his own reputation by betraying a guest, gave Mahmood notice of the machinations that were carrying on against him, and prevailed on him to remove all difficulty by quitting his dominions. On leaving Bokhaura, Shauh Mahmood fled to Khoarizm (or Oorgunge), where he was well received by the King. From Oorgunge he again returned to Persia.

During the time of Mahmood's wanderings, an event took place at Candahar which had a material effect on his future fortunes. Six of the principal Dooraunee and Kuzzlebaush lords, disgusted with the power and insolence of Wuffadar Khaun, had conspired to assassinate that minister, to depose Zemaun, and place his brother Shuja on the throne. The conspirators met often, and notwithstanding the precautions they observed, had at last excited Waffadur's suspicions, who had surrounded them with spies without being able to penetrate their design; when the whole plot was unexpectedly revealed by Mirza Shereef Khaun, the deputy of the Moonshee Baushee, to whom the secret had been disclosed by one of the conspirators.

The principal conspirators were Serafrauz Khaun, head of the Baurukzyes, Mahommed Azeem Khaun, head of the Alekkozyes, and Ameer Arslaun Khaun, head of the powerful Persian tribe of Jewaunsheer.

Mahommed Azeem, the most dangerous of the number, was first seized. An officer was then sent to apprehend Sirafrauz Khaun. On his arrival at the house of that nobleman, he was received by his son Futteh Khaun (the same who has since made so great a figure in the Dooraunee transactions). Without shewing any suspicion of his intentions, Futteh Khaun apologized to the officer for his father's absence, and offered to go and call him: he then repaired to Serafrauz, told him that a guard was come to seize him, and with the same decision and the same indifference to the means which have since characterized him, proposed to assassinate the officer, seize the guards, and fly from Candahar. Sirafrauz rejected these violent counsels, and attended the officer to the King. Ameer Arslaun was at court when the order for seizing him was issued, and the other conspirators were apprehended at their own houses.

Next morning, they were summoned before the King, and all beheaded. A short time after this execution, the Ameenool Moolk and Hookoomut Khaun Alekkozye were also put to death; and the King's and his minister's fears from this conspiracy were entirely removed. But the indignation excited by these sanguinary measures had in reality increased their danger, and it is from this time that the spirit of rebellion which occasioned the downfall of Shauh Zemaun took its rise.

In the spring of 1800, Futteh Alli Shauh a second time invaded Khorassaun. He was accompanied by Mahmood, whom he promised to place on the throne of Caubul. Shauh Zemaun marched to Heraut as soon as he heard of the advance of the King of Persia: he remained there during the summer, and early in autumn he set off, and proceeded with the greatest possible expedition to Caubul. He sent his army by the usual route, and went himself, with two or three thousand choice troops, through the Eimauk country, and the almost inaccessible mountains of the Hazaurehs. He made prodigious marches, and, as the road he chose was quite direct, he reached the capital in less than a fortnight. Futteh Alli Shauh retired from Subzwaur, at the same time that Shauh Zemaun left Heraut.

Shauh Mahmood who was left in Khorassaun, retired to Tubbus in despair of assistance from the Persians, and extremely disgusted with the conduct of their court. He was still attended by Akram Khaun Alizye, and two or three other Dooraunee chiefs, who had shared in all his fortunes: his prospects never wore a worse aspect than at this time; when the arrival of Futteh Khaun Baurikzye gave a new direction to his councils, and engaged him in an enterprize which ultimately led him to the throne. Futteh Khaun had fled to his castle of Girishk on the death of his father, but had been compelled to quit it, from his apprehension of the King's power. He was animated with the spirit of revenge and hatred to Shauh Zemaun and his minister; and his observation of the state of men's minds in the Dooraunee country, was sufficient to determine a man of his sanguine character to make a bold attempt to overthrow the government. His advice to Mahmood was to rely no longer on foreign aid, but to advance on Candahar, and trust to the Dooraunees for supporting his cause. The project must have been received with ardour by the Dooraunees, always disposed to bold enterprizes, and impatient of exile more than of all other calamities.

Shauh Mahmood left Tubbus with no more than fifty horsemen, crossed the desart into Seestaun, and advanced to Jellalabad the capital of that province. He was received with open arms by Behraum Khaun, the chief of

Seestaun; who gave his daughter to prince Caumraun, equipped Mahmood's friends, already worn out with their long march in the desart, and proposed to assist that prince with the force of his province. His offer was rejected, in pursuance of Futteh Khaun's plan, and Mahmood entered the Dooraunee country with the remains of his exhausted party.

His adviser had not misjudged the disposition of his countrymen: the Dooraunees flocked to Mahmood, and on his advance to Candahar, he assembled so great a force as to be able to face the Meer Akhor *, who had been left in command of the province. That officer encamped under the place till he was so much distressed by the partial but frequent attacks of the enemy, that he was obliged to retire within the walls.

The place was then invested by Mahmood, whose army continued to increase till the forty-second day of the siege, when Futteh Khaun contrived to get himself introduced, almost alone, into the town, and immediately threw himself on the honour of Abdoolla, a powerful chief of the garrison. The force of this method of solicitation is explained in another place; it had complete effect in this instance, Abdoolla declared for Mahmood, the Meer Akhor was compelled to fly; and Candahar opened its gates to the rebels.

While these things were passing, and even after accounts of their commencement had reached him, Shauh Zemaun was assiduously employed in preparations for another invasion of Hindostan. It was not till he heard of the fall of Candahar, by which time he had arrived at Peshawer, that he was roused from this infatuation. He then gave up his plans on India, and returned to Caubul.

He did not, however, leave Peshawer without committing some fatal acts of imprudence.

Abdoollah Khaun Alekkozye, the governor of Cashmeer, had come to court, and was seized and tortured; on which his brother Sydaul Khaun who was at Candahar, went over to Mahmood with his whole clan (the Alekkozyes). Zemaun next detached an army of fifteen thousand men against Cashmeer, under Moollah Ahmed and Meer Vise Noorzye. This force which might have been so well employed in quelling Mahmood's rebellion, was dispersed before it reached Cashmeer, by the imprudence of its commander Moollah Ahmed.

Shauh Zemaun left a considerable force at Peshawer, under his brother

* Master of the Horse.

Shujau ool Moolk, and seems to have had no sense of the general disaffection, but to have reckoned on defeating Mahmood without any great exertion. When he reached Caubul, the true state of affairs broke in on his mind, and his security was succeeded by the utmost disquiet and alarm. Aware of the disaffection of the Dooraunee chiefs, he scarcely thought himself safe among them; his guards were doubted, and their customary appearance at the court was changed into constant duty over the palace. The King's distrust of his own tribe was farther marked by his anxious endeavours to gain the Ghiljies; and these precautions, while they gave confidence to the disaffected, disgusted many who were neutral or well disposed. The terrors of the vizier were still more conspicuous; and from his known timidity, it is probable the panic had seized him before it infected the King. He was more difficult of access than ever, his manner was become suspicious and distracted; and his resolutions were hasty and wavering. The distrust which the Court shewed of its own fortune, soon spread to the people, and, in a superstitious nation, omens were not wanting to confirm their expectation of some great reverse.

After some vain negociations, the King marched against the rebels with thirty thousand men: he sent on two parties in front of his army, of which the most advanced was under Ahmed Khaun Noorzye, and the King soon after fell into the rear, and ever after remained a march or two behind the army; a plan probably suggested by the fears of the minister, which added to the alarm of the troops.

Ahmed Khaun had many insults and injuries to revenge on the vizier, and so little was he trusted, that shortly before he got this important command, he was thought to have been marked out for execution by the minister; yet in this extremity Wuffadar Khaun seized on the hope, that by conferring honours and flattering appointments on Ahmed Khaun, he could bring him over to his interests. He was accordingly entrusted with the command of the vanguard; the conduct of which former experience had shewn generally to decide the fidelity or desertion of the army.

Ahmed Khaun was, however, undetermined what line of conduct to pursue when he left the main body; at least Futteh Khaun thought he was so, and the steps he took to secure his co-operation, though perfectly consistent with the headlong violence of Futteh Khaun's character, would be incredible, if imputed to any other person. He seized Abdoollah Khaun, the brother of Ahmed Khaun Noorzye, and threw him into close confinement,

threatening to put him to instant death, if his brother did not come over. Abdoolla had joined Mahmood in an important crisis, and his fidelity was never doubted; but Futteh Khaun knew Ahmed's attachment to his brother, and was very careless about the justice of his measures, if they answered the end in view.

If Ahmed Khaun really wavered, this threat determined him; for, when he met Mahmood's advance at Sirreeasp, he joined it with the whole body under his command.

The main army commanded by prince Naussir was at Aubitauzee, not far from Sirreeasp, when news was received that the advanced guards were near each other, and soon after that they had engaged; on which the army halted and entrenched. The fact of Ahmed's desertion was soon after known, but produced no great sensation in the army. Its effect was different in the King's own little camp, where every decision was influenced by Wuffadar: all was given up for lost, and the King fled with precipitation towards Caubul. It was probably the knowledge of this desertion which first altered the conduct of the troops under prince Naussir: they soon became so mutinous, that the prince was obliged to quit the army, and fly towards Caubul; on which the army fell into entire disorder, and probably broke up.

A party of two thousand men, under Futteh Khaun, was immediately sent by Mahmood to Caubul, and he soon after marched himself in the same direction.

In the mean time, Shauh Zemaun pursued his flight with the utmost precipitation, till he reached the Shainwaree country, worn out with hunger and fatigue. The vizier now proposed that the King should stop and refresh at the castle of Moollah Aushik, a dependent of his: the Meer Akhor remonstrated against the delay; but finding his arguments overruled, he quitted the party, and after many adventures arrived safe at Peshawer. The King, attended by the vizier and his two brothers, the Khauni Moollah, the Shautir Baushee, and a favourite Peshkhedmut, entered Moollah Aushik's castle. The Moolah received them hospitably; but at the same time took measures to prevent their escape, and sent off a messenger to Mahmood, who was now at Caubul, to announce their seizure.

In the mean time, Zemaun discovered that he was under restraint, and tried all means to persuade Moollah Aushik to refrain from an action so full of disgrace as betraying a guest who was at once his King and his benefactor: these arguments failing, he had recourse to force, which also proved ineffec-

tual. He then gave himself up to his fate, and bore his subsequent calamities with patience and firmness. *

Assud Khaun, a brother of Futteh Khaun's, was instantly dispatched to secure Zemaun, and soon after an officer was sent with a surgeon to put out his eyes. The messengers met Zemaun on his way to Caubul, and performed their orders by piercing his eyes with a lancet. He was then carried to Caubul and confined in the Balla Hissaur.

He remained in confinement all Mahmood's reign, but was released on Shuja's accession; he has since lived in comparative ease and comfort. Wuffadar and his brothers were executed soon after their seizure.

Mahmood's accession was at first joyfully welcomed by all ranks of men. Wuffadar had disgusted the great by his systematic depression of their order, as well as the poor by his exactions; and the nation fondly hoped that by a change of government they might recover, if not the glorious and prosperous career of Ahmed, the tranquillity which they had enjoyed under his son. But the character of Shauh Mahmood was calculated to disappoint all their expectations: unprincipled, indolent, and timid, he shared as little in the cares of government as in the toils and dangers of war; and while his own ease and safety were secure, he was indifferent to the conduct of his ministers and to the welfare of his people.

The government of the state was left entirely to Akram Khaun Alizye and Futteh Khaun Baurikzye. The first of these chieftains had all the characteristics of a Dooraunee nobleman. He was proud, high-spirited, and obstinate, frugal but not sordid in expence, steady in his attachment to his party, and strict in conforming to the notions of honor which prevail among his countrymen. Futteh Khaun has since become one of the most prominent characters in the Dooraunee history, and now holds the office of vizier, and enjoys the supreme power under the name of his reluctant sovereign. Excepting the short and turbulent period of Mahmood's success, the early part of his life was spent in intrigues and adventures, sometimes supporting a rebel force by plunder, and sometimes living in jealous and precarious friendship with the King. His character is such as such circumstances might be expected to form. As his misfortunes never reduced him to de-

* During his confinement he secreted the Cohenoor (one of the most valuable diamonds in the world), with some other jewels, in the wall of his apartment, where they were afterwards found on Shuja's accession.

pendence, his spirit remains unbroken, and his activity undiminished. He is acknowledged on all hands to be a man of talents and courage; and by his own adherents, he is greatly beloved. He attaches his followers by the most profuse liberality, and the utmost laxity of discipline. As he is unrestrained by principle, and accustomed to sudden reverses, he employs the opportunities that fortune throws in his way, without discretion or moderation, to enrich his adherents and gratify their passions and his own. Though excessively addicted to wine, he never remits his vigilance over the interests of his party; or if he does, his neglect is compensated by the promptitude of his resolutions, and his vigor and decision in executing them. In his person he is said to be tall and very handsome, though rather thin: his manners are gentle and modest, and form a strong contrast to his conduct, which is equally exempt from the influence of shame, fear, and compassion.

There were many other chiefs at the court of Mahmood, who enjoyed a less share of power derived from their birth or talents; or more frequently from favour and from their tried attachment to the ruling party. In the licence of this reign, each of these was able to indulge his rapacity and satiate his private enmities without any restraint, except such as was imposed by the passions of his rivals. The utmost licentiousness prevailed among the soldiery, on whom the court relied; and from the constant disturbances which lasted till Mahmood's deposition, his reign more resembled the temporary success of a military adventurer than the establishment of a regular government.

Mahmood's government was now fully established in the capital, but the provinces were as yet by no means under his authority.

Heraut had been given up to his brother Ferooz, who acknowledged Mahmood for King, but governed Heraut exactly as if he had been independent.

The north-eastern tribes still held out for Zemaun. The other provinces probably waited the final settlement of the dispute for the crown, without declaring for either party.

The principal opponent to Mahmood who now remained, was Prince Shuja Ool Moolk, the full brother of Shauh Zemaun. This prince, then about twenty years of age, had been left at Peshawer with a small party of guards. Shauh Zemaun's family, and almost all the jewels and other property of the crown had been committed to his charge. After the first panic that followed his brother's defeat, he took the resolution to proclaim himself King and prepare for a regular contest with the usurper. He accordingly

distributed large sums among the tribes round Peshawer, and soon saw the greater part of the Berdooraunees flock to his standard.

A considerable alarm appears to have prevailed at Mahmood's court in consequence of this step: his cause had already become unpopular from the general relaxation of all government, which left the bulk of the inhabitants of the country at the mercy of the courtiers and the soldiery; and a plot in favour of Shoojau was discovered to have been entered on by Mokhtaur Ooddowla. That nobleman was however arrested, and the plot came to nothing.

On the 10th of September, 1801, Shoojaool Moolk marched from Peshawer to attack Caubul. About half way between those cities, he found Mahmood's force, consisting of three thousand men, drawn up at Eshpaun, in a narrow plain surrounded with hills, and having the brook of Soorkhrood in their front. Shuja had at this time at least ten thousand men; but they were Berdooraunees, and though accustomed to the battles of their clans, they were strangers to discipline and to regular war. Shuja's arms were, however, victorious in the beginning of the battle; but his Berdooraunee troops, eager to profit by the confusion, quitted their line as soon as they thought the victory decided, and began to plunder the royal treasures, which Shuja had imprudently brought into the field. Futteh Khaun seized this opportunity, and charging at the head of his Baurikzyes, completed the confusion in Shuja's army. The battle was now decided, and Shuja escaped with some difficulty to the Khyber hills, where he remained till a fresh opportunity offered of asserting his claim to the throne.

The destruction of Shuja's army was far from restoring the quiet of the kingdom, for an insurrection now broke out which threatened to be fatal, not only to Mahmood's power, but to the existence of the Dooraunee government. The Ghiljies had remained in perfect tranquillity since the reign of Ahmed Shauh, and were now to appearance entirely reconciled to the Dooraunees: the descendants of their kings had been treated with kindness, and Abdooreheem, the representative of their royal family, enjoyed a pension from Shauh Zemaun, in addition to his paternal estates. The rest of the Ghiljies might still experience some injustice in common with the other tribes, but nothing done by the Dooraunees shewed any remains of particular enmity to them.

The ancient rivalry of the tribes was, however, still remembered by the Ghiljies, and the weakness of the Dooraunee government gave them a good opportunity of recovering their independence.

The rebellion was first planned at Caubul, where many of the Ghiljie chiefs happened to be. They offered the crown to Abdooreheem; who, though he had lately been injured by the government, was alarmed at the danger of an insurrection, and accepted their proposal with great reluctance. The chiefs then set off to prepare their tribes, and afterwards held other meetings, at which they settled the plan of their operations.

A force was appointed to check the Dooraunees of Candahar, and the rest of the troops were destined against Caubul. This last division moved first towards Ghuzni: they took several small places in their way, and defeated the governor of Ghuzni in the field; but the town held out, and the Ghiljies, after destroying the fields and orchards in the neighbourhood, advanced through Shilgur and Zoormul into Logur: many Ghiljies joined them on their march.

The Dooraunee government was so little on its guard against these preparations, that it was not till the advance of the Ghiljies to Ghuzni, that the King received any information of their intention to rebel. It is impossible to describe the consternation which this unexpected event created at Caubul. The government was new, and the greater part of the kingdom unsettled: the few troops the King had, were detached to Peshawer, and none remained about his person, but some Gholami Shauhs, and the retainers of the Dooraunee Khauns who were at court. The deficiency in numbers was, in some measure, compensated by the alacrity and unanimity which the common danger produced; the Khauns, their relations, and even their menial servants, armed and offered to serve without pay. Such as could not procure arms, were equipped from the King's armoury; and a body was thus formed, amounting to three or four thousand men.

Mookhtar Oodoulah was released from confinement on this occasion, and the chief direction of the King's troops was entrusted to him. They set out from Caubul on the 12th of November, and took the way to Ghuzni, but soon learned that the rebels had passed that city, and were advancing through Logur upon Caubul. On this the King's troops altered their course, and on their arrival at Sejawund, they met the Ghiljie army. This body was at least twenty thousand strong, but was composed almost entirely of infantry, all ill armed, and some with no weapon but a club. It was under little control, and entirely devoid of every thing like order. The Dooraunees drew up in line in three divisions, with their camel swivels in front, and halted in this form to receive the Ghiljies, who rushed on in a confused mass, regardless of the fire that was kept up on them. When they had passed the camel-

guns, they made a furious charge on the Dooraunee line: the division that was opposed to their column gave way, and the victory seemed to be decided in favour of the Ghiljies, till the unbroken part of the Dooraunees wheeling in on the flanks of the enemy, checked their progress, and forced them to attend to their own safety. The Ghiljies, though broken by this attack, were not dispersed, but retreated in a body to Killaee Zirreen, a fort of their own in the hills, about six miles from the field of battle. The Dooraunees followed them for part of the way, but not being able to make any impression on them, they gave up the pursuit.

The Ghiljies received reinforcements in the night; and early next morning they quitted Killaee Zirreen, and marched in the direction of Caubul, leaving the Dooraunees at some distance on their left. They reached Killaee Shauhee, within a few miles of Caubul, in the course of the evening, while the Dooraunees, having no intelligence, remained halted the whole of that day. Next morning they learned the movements of the Ghiljies, and marched in great haste and alarm to Killaee Ameen Ool Moolk, between the enemy's army and the city.

The Ghiljies, who had hitherto behaved with some regularity, now broke out into rapine and violence: they plundered the villages in their neighbourhood during the night, in contempt of Abdooreheem's endeavours to restrain them; and in the morning they marched out to attack the Dooraunees, without orders, and apparently without concert. They were entirely defeated with great slaughter; three thousand men are said to have been killed in the battle and pursuit, and the rest dispersed to their own districts. The Dooraunees then returned to Caubul, where they erected a pyramid of the heads of the enemy that had fallen in the battle.

The setting in of the winter prevented any further hostilities at that time; but, early in the spring of 1802, the Ghiljies rose as suddenly as before, and with more arrangement: almost the whole of the Ghiljie clans were now engaged. Their force is said to have amounted to fifty thousand men.

It was determined that a body under Abdooreheem should attack Caubul from the south, and an equal body, under Futteh Khaun Babukurzye, from the east; while a force of ten thousand Ghiljies should keep the Dooraunees employed within their own boundaries. To each of these divisions a Dooraunee army was opposed, and three actions took place, all of which terminated in the entire success of the Dooraunees.

It is universally said (and the existence of the report, whether accurate or not, shews the state of the country at the time), that these three battles, the

defeat of the Khyberees under Shauh Shuja, and a victory over the Uzbeks in Bulkh, took place on the same day in March, 1802.

After this struggle, part of the King's force was detached to ravage the Ghiljie country, and in the course of its operations, it defeated a body of ten thousand Ghiljies at Moollah Shaudee *, which was the last stand made by that tribe.

The severities of the government ceased with the campaign; and after tranquillity was restored, the Ghiljies experienced exactly the same treatment as before their rebellion.

It has already been mentioned that prince Shujau sustained a defeat on the same day with the three great Ghiljie battles: that prince had advanced against Peshawer at the head of twelve thousand Khyberees, and was opposed by the regular troops of the city: a battle took place, in which the Khyberees were defeated with great slaughter, and the battle happening in summer, vast numbers perished from heat and thirst before they regained their mountains. Shujau, with difficulty, escaped to his former retreat.

The quiet of the kingdom was now entirely restored; but the government was left in a state of deplorable weakness: few of the provinces had been reduced; the Khaun of the Beloches, and many of the Afghaun tribes, refused to acknowledge so unsettled a government; and, as the treasury was empty, the King was destitute of the means of making a vigorous effort to restore the authority of the crown.

The Persians had profited by the distracted state of the monarchy, and had, in one campaign, almost completed the conquest of Persian Khorassaun. The last place they took was Meshhed, in which city Naudir Mirza, and thirty-eight other persons of Naudir Shauh's family, were taken prisoners, and carried to Teheraun, where they were all put to death, except one infant.

A son of Futteh Alli Shauh's was stationed at Meshhed, as governor of Persian Khorassaun; and the conquest of that country by the Persians may be dated from this period, though Toorshish was not reduced till 1810, and Kelaut Naudiree, I believe, still holds out. Meshhed was taken in the summer of 1802.

At the close of the Ghiljie war, and after the defeat of Shujau Ool Moolk, the Court found itself freed from all immediate danger, and at leisure to take

* 11th of May, 1802.

measures for reducing the rebellious provinces; but, as might be expected in such a government, the return of safety from without, was accompanied by dissensions among the chiefs of the ruling party, and particularly between the two great leaders, Akram Khaun Alizye and Futteh Khaun. The latter was, however, at length dispatched with a force to settle the south-east of the kingdom. He first proceeded to Peshawer, where he extorted money from the town, and received fifty thousand rupees from the chief of Cashmeer: he then marched to the south through Cohaut, Bunnoo, and Damaun, levying the revenue as he past: he spent a long time in endeavouring to reduce the Vizeerees, and after plundering their lands, he marched, settling the country as he passed, to Candahar, where he arrived in the summer of 1803.

Several important events had taken place in that quarter during his absence.

Shujau Ool Moolk had remained at Chora in the Afreedee country, from the time of his defeat, till Futteh Khaun's arrival at Peshawer. His former adherents still remained with him, and still treated him as King: but he seems himself to have given up all thoughts of any further struggle, and to have spent almost the whole of his time in reading and conversing with his military adherents, and some learned men, who had accompanied him in his retreat. The arrival of Futteh Khaun with such a force in Peshawer, rendered his residence at Chora unsafe, and he was compelled to retire further south, and take refuge among the mountains of the Caukers, where he continued to wander about, subsisting himself and his followers on the money which he occasionally obtained by the sale of his jewels, and by the casual hospitality of the people whose country he entered. He was in this condition in the depth of the winter of 1802, near the town of Shawl, or Zuetta, in Belochistaun. He sent Meer Abool Hussun Khaun, and the Zubtbegee, into Shawl, to endeavour to sell some jewels; but in such a place no purchaser could well be expected: on their return they met the prince, who, in his anxiety, had left his starving adherents, and rode out to meet them and learn their success. He was in despair when he found they had failed, and immediately assembled his principal adherents, to consult on the course to be pursued. In this extremity, the Zubtbegee mentioned that a large caravan had that day entered Shawl, and, notwithstanding the prince's reluctance, it was soon resolved to plunder it. The prince's troops accordingly surrounded the town, and the

merchants finding their retreat cut off, gave up their property, and received notes in the prince's name promising to pay the value at a future time.*

This caravan was worth more than three lacks of rupees, and not only relieved the prince's present wants, but enabled him to assemble troops for an attack on Candahar, in which he was to be assisted by Muddud Khaun, son of the former chief of that name. The attempt, however, failed for want of concert, and Shuja was compelled to retire into the hills, where his army soon after dispersed.

In the mean time Mahmood's government was hastening to decay. The King's weakness and indolence had drawn universal contempt on his administration; his orders were disobeyed with impunity, and his officers scarcely possessed sufficient weight to maintain ordinary tranquillity in the capital.

The Gholami Shahs (the King's Kuzzilbaush guards), who joined the violence of their military habits to the natural licentiousness of their nation, were guilty of the greatest excesses, and raised the utmost indignation among the inhabitants of Caubul, who were not more irritated by their rapacity and oppression, than disgusted with their contempt for decency and sobriety, and their open profession of the Sheeah religion, which their prejudices led them to look on with peculiar aversion.

These disorders were aggravated, and the discontents they occasioned were rendered formidable by the absence of Futteh Khaun, and the death of Akram Khaun, which deprived the King of his boldest and most powerful ministers.

Frequent complaints were made of the conduct of the Gholams, but were disregarded by Mahmood, whose natural indolence was strengthened by his fondness for the manners which disgusted his subjects, and by the fear of offending those troops whom he considered as the best support of his power. His partiality increased the discontents of the populace, and there were not wanting men of higher rank, who were disposed to foment their disaffection, and to profit by its effects. The most prominent of these, at first, were Ahmed Khaun Noorzye, and Nawaub Khaun the lame, two noblemen of Ahmed Shauh's court, who affected the virtues and prejudices of the Dooraunees of former times; but the real mover of all the tumults which now ensued, was Mookhtar oo-Doulah, a man well calculated to take the lead on such an occasion.

* He paid many of them after his accession.

Under the mask of moderation, and even contempt for worldly honours, he concealed the highest ambition. He had long borne with impatience, his exclusion from the office of vizier, which he considered as his birth-right; and the government, aware of his high pretensions, were induced to withhold the honours and confidence which he had merited by his own great services. His qualities were such as were sure to gain popularity among his countrymen. His bravery was distinguished, and he possessed all the military accomplishments of his nation. He was entirely indifferent about money, except as an instrument of his ambition; he had the utmost contempt for pomp, he even affected the dress and manners of a dervise, and this simplicity in a man of his known rank and reputation as a soldier and a statesman, seems to have greatly endeared him to the people. Even when he was vizier, the meanest person had access to him, either in his house or when he went out, as he often did unattended, and sometimes on foot. He scarcely ever refused a favour, and if he could not tire out his suitors by his patience and composure, his only resource was in promises, of which he made more than he ever cared to perform. He had great good nature and moderation towards his enemies, whom he not only forgave for past offences, but allowed to molest him with impunity when he had them in his power. These qualities captivated the generality of men, who did not so easily perceive his ambition, his want of principle, his fondness for intrigue, and his turn for art and dissimulation. He was singularly qualified for conducting an insurrection in which religion could be brought to share: he had been obliged to fly to Belochistaun on the death of his father (the vizier Shauh Wullee Khaun), and had employed his banishment in study, so that he was now reckoned one of the most eminent Moollahs in the Afghaun dominions. He was more careless in the forms of devotion than Dooraunees generally are, but he had always affected, and probably felt, great zeal for the Soonnee religion. He was assiduous in paying court to men of learning and sanctity, and Syūd Ahmed, commonly called the Meer Waez, who was eminent in both those characters, was his most confidential friend.

This man possessed great natural talents, and by frequent pilgrimages to Mecca, and by the purity and even austerity of his life, had gained the highest reputation and influence in Caubul. His authority was strengthened by the freedom with which he preached against the vices of the court, the general corruption of manners, and the encouragement which was openly given to Sheeahs, against whom, in consistency with the prejudices of the people, he declaimed as blasphemers and infidels. The Meer Waez had

already made himself conspicuous by a formal complaint to the King against the excesses of his guards, and may be considered as the avowed head of the mal-contents during the early stages of the insurrection.

The discontents of the people had risen to a great height, when an incident occurred which gave them an incitement, and a pretence for open tumult. This was the execution of a young man of Caubul, for the murder of a Kuzzilbaush, with whom he had quarrelled: the populace affected to consider his condemnation as dictated by Mahmood's partiality to the Sheeahs, and were marching to inter him with the honours of a martyr, when the procession was fired on by a party of Kuzzilbaushes, and they were obliged to retire with the corpse to the house of the Meer Waez. This fresh outrage raised the indignation of the populace to the highest pitch, and taking advantage of the absence of the Gholaums, who were in attendance on the King, they attacked the quarters of one of their divisions, which, after a short resistance, they forced and plundered.

The battle was renewed with greater fury on the next day: numbers of the people of the country round Caubul, flocked in to assist the Soonnees; and many of the musketeers of the Cohistaun were led by a saint of their country to the aid of the same cause. Mookhtaur Oodowla and other Dooraunee lords were now seen openly exciting the populace to fight for their religion, while the Meer Waez promised the joys of paradise to those who should fall, and sprinkled the leaders of the attack with the waters of the holy fountain of Zemzem *, which he had himself brought from Mecca. Both parties were, however, exhausted by the length of an unusually hot summer's day, and towards evening an apparent reconciliation was brought about by the submission of the Persians. This tumult took place on the 4th and 5th of June. Both parties were now desirous of a temporary suspension of operations: the King wished to wait for Futteh Khaun, who was on his march with an army from Candahar; and Mokhtaur Oodoulah, for prince Shooja, whom he had invited to set up for King. Mahmood's fears, however, precipitated affairs before he was prepared for the crisis; he thought his only safety lay in seizing Mokhtaur, and that nobleman, being apprized of his design, fled from Caubul on the 8th of July, after instructing the Meer Waez to renew the tumults in the city. This was done, and the rage of the populace was dexterously turned from the Sheeahs to the King who patro-

* See Sale's Koraun, Niebuhr's Arabia, &c.

nized them. So effectual were these measures, that when Mokhtaur returned with Shooja ool Moolk, on the 12th of July, he found Mahmood besieged in the Balla Hissaur, which was closely invested by the populace. Neither he nor the prince, however, entered Caubul; both encamped without the town, and busied themselves in collecting troops to oppose Futteh Khaun, who now drew near with an army of eight or ten thousand men. An action took place soon after; Futteh Khaun was at first successful, he routed the part of the enemy which was immediately opposed to him, and was advancing to the city, when the desertion of a great lord to Shooja, threw the whole into confusion: his own party then fell off by degrees, till he found himself almost alone, and was obliged to provide for his safety by a precipitate flight.

Next morning Shauh Shuja entered Caubul in triumph. Mookhtaur Oodoulah walked on foot by the side of his horse, and many other Dooraunee Ameers followed in his train. To keep up the impression of the triumph of the true faith, the heralds who preceded the King, were ordered to announce his approach by the watch-word of the Soonnee sect *, instead of the Toorkee form, which is required by the practice of the court.

The gates of the Balla Hissaur were thrown open on the King's approach; and Mahmood, deserted by all his adherents, suffered himself to be quietly conducted to the upper fort, where the princes of the blood are confined. His eyes were spared, but Shuja has unfortunately had sufficient reason to regret this clemency, of which he probably afforded the first example in his country.

This revolution, though it at the time improved the state of affairs, was not calculated to restore the power of the crown or the importance of the state. The new King, though his good qualities were amply sufficient to maintain the dignity of an established monarch, was deficient in the genius and energy which were requisite to restore a government so far sunk into anarchy and decay.

From what has been said of Mahmood's reign, it may be imagined that the great men were become powerful and unruly, that the army was impatient of discipline, that the government had in a great measure lost the attachment of its subjects, and that both the remote provinces and the neighbouring

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* Dumi char yaur ("the life of the four friends,") an allusion to the four first Caliphs, three of whom are considered as usurpers by the Sheeahs.

powers had changed the awe with which they were used to view the Dooraunees, for a feeling of indifference bordering on contempt. Some circumstances in Shauh Shuja's situation added to his embarrassments, and prevented the government recovering its vigor. The King had been for two years a fugitive in his own dominions, during which time he had made several attempts to expel his rival. He had consequently incurred great obligations to the Dooraunees and other chiefs. These were rendered of the more importance by his own disposition, which was susceptible of gratitude and permanent attachment. His recal by Mookhtar-oo-doulah and his party brought a fresh set of claimants on him, whose services he could not deny, and whose power he was obliged to respect. The consequence was, that all the honours and appointments in the gift of the crown were insufficient to reward the King's adherents, and he was obliged to give away a large portion of his permanent revenue in grants to such as remained unprovided for: thus almost the whole revenue of Peshawer was settled on the Khyberees as the reward of their attachment, and much of the royal dues were alienated in other places in favour of Dooraunee chiefs. What remained of the revenue passed through the hands of the vizier, who, as soon as his interests were separated from those of the King, applied a large portion of the public money to his own use.

Had the King given his confidence entirely to the vizier, many of the inconveniences which were afterwards felt might have been avoided. It would have been the interest of that minister to raise the King's power: and his success in the beginning of Shuja's reign shewed that he had the talents and influence requisite for such an undertaking, This plan, however, was not tried. The King was not disposed to resign his own power into the hands of his minister; and his old adherents, who were anxious to succeed to their share of power, early inspired him with jealousy of the vizier, and induced him to adopt a system of counteraction to his measures; the want of harmony between the King and his minister prevented any vigorous exertion against their common enemy, and obliged each to lavish the resources of the state in securing partizans to himself.

In consequence of this weakness of the government, every nobleman who was discontented with the court, had it in his power to raise a rebellion, and to shelter himself, if he failed, either in the midst of his own tribe, or in some part of the country not easily within reach of the King. Nor was it difficult for him to procure a pardon, if he wished to be reconciled to the court; for the state of the King's affairs rendered it more necessary for the

support of his authority to conciliate friends than to punish enemies. This certainty of impunity gave a peculiar character to the rebellions of this reign, which were raised on the most trifling grounds, and conducted with the utmost levity. The slightest provocation from the court drove a nobleman into rebellion: the slightest offence from one of the rebels sent him back to the court, or led him to set up a new party; and the whole had more the appearance of a game among children than of a civil war.

The jealousies between the King and the vizier, did not, however, shew themselves till some time after Shuja's accession, and the beginning of his reign was quiet and prosperous.

The first step he took was to release his brother Shauh Zemaun; and, soon after, Moollah Ashik, who had betrayed Zemaun, was apprehended, and suffered the punishment of his perfidy and ingratitude. This was the only execution that followed the change of government. All the other measures of Mokhtaur-oo-doulah's internal administration were calculated to conciliate, and to efface the memory of the civil dissensions which had so long prevailed. At the same time, he applied himself with great vigor and success to reduce the rebellious provinces, and to bring the empire into its ancient state.

The first expedition was sent to Candahar, which was still held by Prince Caumraun and Futteh Khaun. The place was taken without difficulty, and what was of greater importance, Futteh Khaun was soon after persuaded to make his submissions to the new King. An opportunity was now offered of securing the attachment of this powerful and active chief; but it was allowed to escape, and hence arose the misfortunes which disturbed the rest of Shauh Shoojau's reign, and which drove him at length from his throne. Futteh Khaun's demands from the court were moderate, and did not extend beyond the offices held by his father; but these were withheld, owing either to the imprudence of the King, or the jealousy of the vizier; and Futteh Khaun, after a short residence at the court, quitted it in disgust, and retired to his castle of Girishk.

The effects of his disaffection were early and severely felt, for in January, 1804, when the King had assembled an army of thirty thousand men at Peshawer, and was on the point of completing the settlement of his dominions, by intimidating the chiefs of Cashmeer and Sind, he received intelligence of a rebellion at Candahar, which obliged him immediately to relinquish his design. The rise and progress of this transaction will serve to illustrate what has been said of the levity and inconsistency which distinguish

the late Afghaun civil wars. The government of Candahar had been given prince Kyser (a son of Shauh Zemaun's), under the guidance of Ahmed Khaun Noorzye, whose desertion of Shauh Zemaun had been effaced by his zeal for the Soonnee religion. Futteh Khaun found means to persuade the young prince to imprison Ahmed Khaun, and endeavour to make himself King. Ahmed Khaun was accordingly seized, but, though he was treated with many insults and severities, and had been chained with the chains of an elephant, in derision of his gigantic stature, yet, as soon as the prince and Futteh Khaun were prepared to move out against Caubul, they released him, and entrusted him with the defence of the city.

The consequences might have been expected; Ahmed Khaun's son went over to Shooja, and occasioned the defeat of Kyser; while he himself, indifferent who was King, if he could but be revenged on Kyser, gave up Candahar to Caumraun, whom he invited from Furrah to occupy it. After the defeat of Kyser's army, the King was about to enter once more on the settlement of his eastern dominions, when he learned that Kyser and Futteh Khaun had recovered Candahar, and were again assembling troops. He then returned towards Candahar, which was evacuated on his approach; and Kyser soon after threw himself on the King's mercy, was affectionately received, and was reinstated in his government. Futteh Khaun, finding his schemes at Candahar defeated, repaired to Heraut, and insinuating himself into the confidence of prince Feerooz, persuaded him to assert his claim to the throne of Caubul. Feerooz appearing in arms, Shuja sent Kyser at the head of an army to oppose him, and at the same time offered terms, which Feerooz, who was naturally cautious, thought proper to accept; while Futteh quitted him in indignation, and again retired to Girisht.

The whole of the west being now settled, the King and the vizier set out from Candahar in the end of September, and marching first to Sind, they compelled the chiefs of that country to acknowledge the new government, and to pay seventeen lacks of rupees; after which the King moved up his eastern frontier, and settled all the provinces in his route. He reached Peshawer in April, 1805, and soon after received an ambassador from the King of Bokhaura, who came to propose a renewal of the alliance concluded by Zemaun, and to negociate the double marriage of Shujau to the daughter of the King of Bokhaura, and of that King to a princess of Caubul. The ambassador was favourably received, but as it is contrary to the Dooraunee custom to give their daughters in marriage to foreigners, the part of the pro-

posal respecting the King of Bokhaura's marriage, was civilly declined: that of Shuja was nevertheless agreed to.

During all this time Kyser continued to serve the King with zeal and fidelity in the government of Candahar; he had even contrived to seize Futteh Khaun, and had nearly been persuaded to gratify the revenge of his father Shauh Zemaun, by putting him to death; but Futteh Khaun, having prevailed on the prince to visit him privately in prison, so far won on him by his insinuating manners, his allusions to former services, and his promises of future attachment, that Kyser not only set him free, but resumed his old connection with him, and began once more to aspire to the throne. Futteh Khaun, on his release, repaired to Girishk, where he began preparations for the intended enterprize; but on his return to Candahar, he found Kyser under the influence of Khojeh Mahomed Khaun, another great nobleman, who had dissuaded him from his design of rebelling. On this, Futteh Khaun, equally incensed at the derangement of his plans, and at the preference of another's advice to his, openly renounced all connection with Kyser, and engaged to deliver up Candahar to Caumraun, whom he invited to occupy it. Caumraun, who was at this time at Furrah, immediately assembled a body of troops, and advanced to Eedgauh, a few miles from Candahar, and Kyser was about to quit the city, when a scene ensued, which is scarcely credible even to persons acquainted with the eccentricity of Futteh Khaun's character, and the sudden changes of affairs so common among Dooraunees. On the night before Kyser's flight, he desired to have a parting interview with Futteh Khaun; and this meeting took place by torch light, on an open terrace in the market-place, which, with the surrounding streets, was filled with horsemen ready for a march. The conference began with mutual reproaches; but the prince gradually softening his tone, reminded Futteh Khaun of his having saved his life, and besought him not to repay his benefits by driving him into exile. Futteh Khaun then recapitulated his designs in favour of Kyser, and complained of the neglect with which his advice was treated: on this Kyser assured him that he was ready for ever after to follow his counsels implicitly, and strengthened his assertions by such solemn oaths, that Futteh Khaun was shaken, and at last dismissed his resentment, and swore to support the prince in all extremities. Next morning the prince and Futteh moved out together to oppose Caumraun. Futteh Khaun advanced with his own division, and calling out to Caumraun, acquainted him with the change in his sentiments, and endeavoured to persuade him to retire. Caumraun was at first astonished at this revolution, but he resumed his courage, and

answered in terms of defiance; on which Futteh Khaun, without waiting for the other troops, charged the Prince sword in hand; and such was the effect of this unexpected attack, that Caumraun's troops broke, and he himself with difficulty effected his escape to Furrah.

Futteh Khaun's plan of placing Kyser on the throne was now resumed, apparently with that Prince's full concurrence; but its execution was artfully delayed by Khojeh Mahommed, who left no means of operating on the passions, the prudence, and even on the superstition of the conspirators, unpractised to defeat the scheme.

Meanwhile the King had prepared an expedition at Peshawer for the purpose of reducing Cashmeer, the only province that remained in rebellion. Abdoola Khaun, the governor, had fomented the troubles at Candahar with the view of diverting the attack on himself, and though that diversion was now at an end, Abdoolla was saved for the present by the dissensions which prevailed among Shuja's own courtiers. The insinuations of Akram Khaun induced the King to refuse the command of the army to the vizier, and even to talk of assuming it himself. On this the vizier discouraged the expedition altogether, and found means to put off the march of the troops till a subsequent period, when the King's views were more accommodated to his own. This opportunity offered at Caubul, and the vizier was about to commence his march, when Akram Khaun prevailed on the King to call on him to pay a sum of money as the condition on which he should have the command. The King accordingly required three lacs of rupees; but about this time the vizier lost his favourite daughter, and was so much affected, that he declared he was resolved never to quit her grave, or to take any further concern in worldly affairs. The King was now reduced to solicit him to resume his office and carry on the war against Cashmeer. He consented with real or assumed reluctance, and the claim for money was no longer mentioned.

At length he set out on his march with an army of ten thousand men. The first opposition he encountered was at Mozufferabad, where he found the high and rocky bank of a rapid branch of the Hydaspes, occupied by the Cashmerian army: he nevertheless effected a passage in four divisions, and drove the enemy from their ground. One of his own sons was wounded in this engagement. The rest of the road to Cashmeer was through steep and barren mountains, and often along the face of precipices. The vizier's advance was consequently slow, and his provisions began to fail him long before he reached the valley. The vizier, however, encouraged his men by sharing their sufferings; he gave up his own store to the soldiers, and is said

to have suffered the extremities of hunger before he was able to procure relief for his army. So great was the distress of his troops, that when he came to a defile beyond which the enemy's army was encamped, he was not able to hold out till he tried the chance of a battle, which might have removed all his embarrassments. He therefore began to treat with Abdoollah Khaun: he told him his difficulties without reserve; and Abdoolla, unwilling to drive him to desperation, listened to the terms which were offered, and agreed to supply him with provisions. Mokhtaur prolonged a delusive negotiation till he had secured some further advantages which he had in view, he then threw off the mask and hostilities were immediately renewed.

The armies, however, were still separated by the Hydaspes. At last Abdoollah threw a bridge over the river in the night, and crossing it without delay, appeared on the vizier's rear when he was entirely unprepared to oppose him; the greater part of his troops were out foraging, and he could not collect above a hundred horse when he first moved out against the enemy. By degrees, however, the whole army was assembled, and was advancing with the vizier at its head, when a party which he had sent in front fell back on them in the greatest confusion. They had been routed in consequence of the cowardice of the vizier's son Atta Mahommed, who fled without striking a blow, and was followed by his disheartened troops. This example had nearly ruined the army, but its courage was restored by the firmness of the vizier, who received the broken troops with great serenity, attributed his son's flight to a concerted feint, and advanced with increased rapidity, as if to take advantage of the success of his stratagem. This onset had a very different issue from the former; for, after an obstinate conflict, in which the vizier's courage was conspicuous, the Cashmeer army was routed and driven back on the river. The bridge was choaked by the crowds of fugitives: great part of the army, among which was Abdoolla Khaun, were forced to swim, and many were cut to pieces by the victors or drowned in the river.

Abdoolla Khaun now took refuge in his fort, where he had made every preparation for a long siege; and the King's troops were prevented by the season and by the fatigues which they had suffered from attempting any operation during the rest of the winter.

Early in spring, the fort was attacked, and had held out for two months, when Abdoolla Khaun died. He was a man of good talents and great courage. He is still spoken of with affection by the Cashmerians, and by the Dooraunees who have served under him. He is commended for his love

of justice and his skill in administering it; for his liberality, his affable manners, and his princely magnificence. He was also a great encourager of learning and poetry. Perhaps no Dooraunee has left a character so generally admired.

The fort was defended for two months after his death, when it surrendered on condition that Abdoollah Khaun's family and the chiefs in the fort should be allowed to reside unmolested either at Caubul or Peshawer. These terms were strictly observed, and Cashmeer was now completely reduced under the King's authority.

The vizier remained in Cashmeer for some months after the reduction of the province: but it is now necessary to turn to the events which took place in the west during the period of this long campaign.

The reconciliation between Futteh Khaun and Kyser was of no long duration: Khojeh Mahommed retained his ascendancy; and Futteh Khaun retired to Girishk, and once more renewed his intrigues with Caumraun.

It might have been expected that this Prince would have been slow to embark in any enterprize with a person who had so lately deceived him; but Caumraun, brought up amidst revolutions, and accustomed to put every thing to hazard, had no hesitation in entering on the project held out to him. He joined Futteh Khaun, and, as they advanced towards Candahar, they were met by part of the garrison, while Kyser fled into the country of the Beloches, where he waited for reinforcements from the King.

The King was at Peshawer when the news of this misfortune reached him. He sent without delay to recall the vizier from Cashmeer; but that minister was unable or unwilling to join him, and he was obliged to command in person against the rebels.

Before he reached Candahar, his troops had been again defeated by Caumraun, who was reinforced by a body of six thousand men from Heraut, under the command of Mullik Caussim the son of Prince Feerooz.

That force was, however, soon recalled to Heraut by an attack of the Persians; Caumraun fled, the King entered Candahar unopposed, and Futteh Khaun was soon after prevailed on to join him.

The attack of the Persians which recalled Mullik Caussim, had been brought on by an offensive operation of Feerooz Oodeens, and had been for some time threatened; yet so secure was Feerooz, that he sent his best troops to the assistance of Caumraun, and made no preparations for his own defence till the Persians were assembled in great force within a short distance of his city. He then found his force confined to seven hundred Dooraunees

and two thousand Persian guards, but he was soon joined by five or six thousand Eimauks, who were raised to great enthusiasm against the Persians and Sheeahs, by the exhortations of Soofee Islaum, an Uzbek Moollah, who had long resided at Heraut, where he enjoyed great wealth and honour.

With this army Feerooz marched out to engage the Persians, who were superior in numbers, as well as in the character of their troops: instead of defending the passage of the Pooleemaulaun (Ochus), he injudiciously left that river in his rear; and no sooner had his army crossed, than the Persians sent a body of excellent infantry to occupy the only bridge. Nevertheless, the seven hundred Dooraunees charged the enemy with the utmost impetuosity: they broke through the first line of the Persians, which was composed of infantry, and threw the centre of the cavalry, who formed the second line, into great confusion; but being greatly out-numbered, they were soon surrounded, and cut off almost to a man. The Eimauks broke as soon as the Dooraunees were surrounded; and Feerooz fled without making any exertion. The slaughter was great: Soofee Islaum fell fighting gallantly at the head of a band composed of his own retainers, and of religious enthusiasts who accompanied him as volunteers. His body fell into the hands of the Persians, who burned it with every circumstance of indignity. The fugitives fared little better: many were drowned in the Ochus, and Feerooz himself escaped with great difficulty, after losing his horse.

The Persians immediately prepared to lay siege to Heraut; but Mullik Caussim was now on his return; the Eimauks and Dooraunees had time to assemble; and the Persians proposed terms to Feerooz, which that cautious Prince accepted. They were that he should pay 50,000 rupees, and give his son as a hostage for the discharge of the sum, and that he should give his daughter in marriage to the Persian Prince at Meshhed: the two first articles were fulfilled, but the third was disregarded.

This success of the Persians at first excited a strong sensation among the Dooraunees, and the King at one time intended to have moved to Heraut in person to vindicate the honour of the Afghaun name; but the internal state of the kingdom at this time was by no means such as to allow of foreign enterprizes.

The chief obstacle arose from the increased disunion between the King and the vizier, which was now rapidly tending to an open rupture. Whatever jealousy the King might have entertained of the vizier's power, he had hitherto been led to respect him by a sense of dependence on his influence and abilities; but he had now been left to quell a serious rebellion without

the advice or assistance of his minister: the success he had met with, encouraged him to place greater reliance on his own resources, and at last to oppose the vizier's wishes, and to treat his advice with contempt.

The vizier's disaffection augmented in proportion as his influence declined; and it has been suspected that he was the author of an attempt which took place at this time, to raise Abbass, one of the confined Princes, to the throne. The plan failed, but was not without serious consequences, as Mahmood effected his escape during the confusion which it occasioned.

Not long after, the vizier arrived from Cashmeer: he found the King resolved to proceed to Sind, a step from which he used all his influence to dissuade him; and having now ascertained that his power over his master was gone, he resolved to lose no time in placing a more compliant prince upon the throne. He accordingly halted at Caubul, and entered into a strict connection with Prince Kyser, whom he persuaded to enter into his design.

In the mean time the King proceeded to Sind, and entered into an arrangement with the governors, which gave so much offence to their determined enemy, Futteh Khaun, that he took the earliest opportunity of quitting the army, with the three thousand troops under his command.

During these transactions, and probably before Futteh Khaun's flight, the King received intelligence that the vizier had proclaimed Prince Kyser King at Caubul; and not long after, he learned that the city of Peshawer had fallen into the hands of the rebels. He resolved to direct his first operations against that city, and he succeeded in recovering it by the end of February.

About the same time the vizier and Kyser arrived in the neighbourhood, with a force amounting to twelve thousand men; and, after a fruitless negotiation, the parties engaged on the 3d of March 1808.

The royal troops were broken at the first onset, and the King himself was about to quit the field, when the vizier, carried on by his natural courage, and by the near prospect of success, imprudently charged him at the head of a handful of men. The Khauns about the King made a desperate resistance, and the vizier was shot in the struggle. The King's troops rallied on this event, and the fate of the battle was soon turned in their favour.

The King entered Peshawer in triumph, the vizier's head was borne behind him on a spear.

This victory entirely restored the King's affairs in Peshawer; but Cashmeer still held out for the vizier's party, under his son Atta Mahommed Khaun; and the King was prevented undertaking any thing in that province by the more urgent difficulties which subsisted in Caubul and Candahar.

The Meer Waez who had remained at Caubul while the vizier marched for Peshawer, no sooner heard of the defeat and death of his friend, than he set all the imprisoned Princes at liberty, and prepared for a vigorous defence of the capital. He was obliged to desert the city on the King's approach, but he retired with Kyser into the strong country of the Cohistaun, where he continued for some time to resist the troops which were sent against him. At length Kyser was persuaded to come in, and was freely pardoned, and the King marched against Mahmood, who had been joined by Futteh Khaun and had taken Candahar. The rivals met on the east of that city, Mahmood was defeated and Candahar fell into the hands of the victor.

The King was now about to move towards Sind, but being anticipated by a payment from that province, he set out for Peshawer, which place he reached on the 10th of January 1809.

The Caubul mission arrived at Peshawer soon after this, and the succeeding events are related in the narrative of its proceedings.

APPENDIX B.

MR. DURIE'S NARRATIVE.

"IN the evening arrived at the stone Mehmaun seroy *, which has a good deal of Persian verses inscribed all about it, — proceeded thence to Atuck, situated a little way off from it on the top of pretty high mountains, below which the river flows down with great rapidity and noise, — not being permitted to get in by the gate, I went to the village on the left hand side, where upwards of twenty Pytans were seated on cots (couches) in the chokee (guard-room), having a flag fixed; they had two or three culleeauns, and were smoking tobacco and talking. Having sullamed, I went and sat, and smoked also. They enquiring whence I came, I told them from Bengal, and was going on a pilgrimage to Bagdad Shurreef, and Mecca Mobaruck. On being told that I had been in the English service, one of them well dressed with a gown and a good redish coloured turban, talked curiously about the battle of Rampore; saying, the English not having fired, they were cut off to a great amount, but when only a few remained, they began to fire, upon which the Rohillas were driven back, killed, and their countries entirely taken. About candle-light almost all of them got out with their cots upon the open plain; about eight one of them observing I was hungry, got me some bread, asking why I had not mentioned it in time, and he would have got me some stuff with

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* I have before mentioned (p. 205) that Mr. Durie wrote a narrative of his journey, and that I also asked him questions, and took notes of his replies. The following is his narrative, and the part within inverted commas is in his own language, except that I have altered the grammar, and sometimes the words, where the sense was obscured by the mistakes which Mr. Durie made in consequence of the hurry with which this was composed. I have not, however, altered much in this way, and the part between commas may be reckoned entirely Mr. Durie's own. The parts where Mr. Durie is mentioned in the third person are either abstracted from his narrative, or taken from my notes above alluded to; even there Mr. Durie's language is generally preserved.

my bread. In the morning crossed the river, having much trouble to cross, owing to the great rapidity of the river."

Mr. Durie then proceeded in four days journey to Peshawer, picking up occasional companions on the road, stopping to smoke in the villages he past through, and getting food, sometimes from the villagers, and sometimes from other travellers. At Peshawer the people complained of the depredations of the Dooraunees and of the King's followers. Mr. Durie had hitherto travelled without any money, but at Peshawer a barber and some others collected some copper money for him, and he set off with a caravan for Caubul. "The next day got some of my money taken slily from me by some boys "who came about me clapping me on the shoulder while I was smoking." On the same day a boy belonging to some Dooraunee was robbed by the villagers, and the Dooraunees contented themselves with causing restitution to be made. He proceeded through the Khyber valley, the caravan being often stopped and harrassed for fees by the Khyberees. "One evening the "caravan was stopped by an old Afghaun with a small stick in his hand; "being vexed, I went up to him, and exerted myself to take his stick; he "pelted me hard with stones, and upwards of thirty came out from the "surrounding mountains. I got off, however; they let us proceed after "some disputation. The route went all the way to Lallpora on the river up "and down. Had much conversation with several of the caravan concern-"ing Europeans and the embassy; they praising them very much, and "holding them to be in every respect very wise, intelligent, and equitable." He was now turned out of the caravan for not being able to pay his fees, but he joined some pilgrims who treated him kindly and gave him bread and fruit. They also picked up a Persian fellow-traveller, "who was very enter-"taining in his discourse and in chaunting of odes." In this way he went on to Caubul, which he reached in fourteen days from Peshawer; most of his fellow-travellers took him for a person of Uzbek descent. They once found out he was not circumcised, and one of the pilgrims offered to perform that ceremony for him, if he chose. Mr. Durie declined, and said he would get it done at Caubul. "There is no fear for a Christian in the towns, nor when "you are on the road after you get to a Khyle, but while you are travelling, "some ignorant people might treat you ill."

On entering Caubul he went to a place belonging to some Fakeers, and helped one of them to draw water till the others told him to stop, as he was tired. "The head Fakeer called in the evening, and the young man called "Aushuk Shah, carried me to a person who gave me a loaf. Fronting the

" Fakea*, stands the King's palace, with three minarets with gilt tops, and " a pretty spacious hall with several columns. These are in the Ballasur, " which is situated on hilly ground, and has a wall communicating from this " side to the other, which leads across to the shore Bazar of the town, " where bakers, cooks, soup-sellers, fruit, green, or † Falooda sellers, Hindoo " shopkeepers, and fine shoe and boot sellers reside. Toward the west from " these Bazars are passages leading to very high Hindoo houses, having " much wood work, and to other square places, having joined apartments two " stories high for merchants to resort to. From the Lahoree gate, one road " leads to these Shore Bazars (the shops having artificers of different denomi- " nations much the same as at Peshour) to Bala choak, where the greater " Hindoo and Mahomedan cloth merchants dwell in joined shops, on both " sides, with a covered roof: having gone through these, we get to a square, " where there are many two story high buildings; in the lower rooms of them " be artificers and sellers of different kinds. This square leads by two or three " passages to other bazars and shops. Going to the bazars, passengers and " others, observing me to be a traveller, gave me pice (copper money), or " bread, so that I got enough of bread, soup, fire, fruit, and falooda, which " last consists of cream, syrup, and snow; of most cool and pleasant taste. " One day I went up to the top of an enormous high mountain, to an enter- " tainment given and exhibited by Fakeers; great numbers of the people went. " The roads leading to these mountains were very excellent, having here and " there very fine places to sit, consequently people sat here and there, dis- " coursing and viewing the town below, having a very great number of fine " gardens, the houses being neatly and cleanly plastered with mud, two or " three stories high; but the Hindoo houses, are much more high; and greatly " consisting of wood work. Around, within the innumerable mountains, in " the pleasant vales, are Killas of moderate size, inhabited by the Afghauns. " In the town the inhabitants are of different kinds; the proper inhabitant is " white enough, the clime being extremely cold; the Afghauns below Caubul " are black, swarthy, yellow, or whitish; but beyond, proceeding towards Can- " dahar, they are all fairer, but by no means white: from Caubul towards " Bulkh, white; and from Candahar toward Heraut, white; and towards She- " carpore, Deyra, &c. swarthy. They are all Mahomedans, but the stuff and " grain shops, also the greatest part of the cloth shops, are held by Hindoos.

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* This name is given to the residence of Fakeers. † See Note, page 257.

"On the south and west side of the town is a river not deep, in which direc-
"tion a very narrow river rushes along, near Caubul, between vast mountains,
"the passage between on both sides most magnificently adorned with large and
"small fruit trees of all sorts, and fields of green. At distances are situated very
"good sets of Killas. Passed the time, twenty days, very agreeably at the
"Fakeer's place, where people of different denominations constantly attended,
"smoking churse or tobacco, conformably to their respective desires, and dis-
"coursed agreeably on various subjects; often concerning the Europeans,
"whom they reckon as very intelligent, and very admirable and good in their
"manners, though in many respects as misled. A baker came from India, who
"had been in the English employ, but, as he said, having once been beaten,
"he had left, and was going to Bagdad: he asserted there, before the com-
"pany, which was pretty numerous, that he had heard many Dooraunees and
"other Moguls declare that the Europeans were as good Mussulmauns as
"themselves, but he reckoned them, and he would have all others to reckon
"them, as infidels."

Many persons used to come and smoke at the Fakea, and Mr. Durie used to sit and talk with them: some discovered that he was not a Mussulman, but did not molest him on that account. In towns they often suspected him of being a spy, and some respectable people told him not to give information about their place, when he went back to his own country.

"The head Fakeer requested of me to tarry at his place throughout the
"cold, and he would get me a poosteen and other clothes; however, I left the
"place without giving previous notice, and arriving at the gate which led to
"Candahar, got some tobacco, and going out, saw some tents of some respectable
"travellers, who were proceeding on a pilgrimage. As they were to tarry a
"few days, I went off; an Afghaun accompanied me to Killa Cazee, request-
"ing I would pray for him on my arrival at Bagdad. On reaching Killa Cazee,
"he sent me some bread, and I went in the dark to a mosque; a Moollah who
"was there, gave me some bread and butter-milk.

"The next day in the evening arrived at Moydan, went up to a Killa *, or
"a raised ground, saw several Afghauns seated, called for a culleeaun, they
"produced it. One of them being sick, requested I would prescribe some-
"thing for him. I told him I could not, as I was ignorant of the names of
"medicines in the country. When candle-light took place, went to a mosque,

* A fort or castle.

" where they were engaged in prayer. Having done, there was rice and " butter-milk in wooden bowls, with wooden spoons brought; they gave some " to me, also to some other travellers who had arrived there. The next day " before twelve, arrived at a place where I saw two or three Dooraunees with " their horses. They gave me to smoke, and dissuaded me from going alone, " saying, the Afghauns were very wicked *, and would cut my head off, or " carry me to slavery even for nothing. A Fakeer going on crutches, happened " to come there, with intention of going to Bagdad and Mecca, with two lads. " I told them I was going also; they were glad, and desired me to follow " them; there was another sick man with them, going to a village not far off. " We proceeded together to a set of Killas, arrived when it became dark, and " with some difficulty obtained bread and rice. The next day a man came up " to us, and compelled the youngest of the two lads (by whose sister he had " been sent) to return to town along with him. Proceeding about evening, " the sick man left us, arrived at a set of Killas belonging to Vurduck Af- " ghauns. Alighted under a shade of newly planted trees. The lame Fakeer " accompanied by the young man, went into three or four Killas, and with " very sonorous calls, demanded bread, which he plentifully obtained. He " wanted tobacco, and several of them saying they had none, he spoke " roughly enough to them. The next day tarried there under the shade of the " trees. At twelve in the evening, the lame Fakeer visited the Killas with " sonorous calls, and got plenty. The next day in our way, the culleeaun we " had, happened to be broke, through good luck it was the lame Fakeer's fault; " on arrival at another set of Killas, he loudly asked for a culleeaun, which " they could not give, and he spoke roughly to them, and was getting ready " to leave them, when some civilly desired him to wait a little, and he should " have meat and bread. In the evening a large bowl of very good soup, with " two pieces of bread, and two pieces of meat for each of us, was produced. " The next day arrived at another set of Killas, the Fakeer forced them with " his noise to give him a culleeaun, tobacco, and bread. The next day at " some Killas, some Moollahs came up to us, and talked on various religious " subjects, and through much request obtained of the young man a small " Persian book on prayer, giving some copper money and some flour for it. " At night sleeping in a mosque, some armed men coming, their noise " made us get up, and we slily left it, and went away to another mosque.

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* These are the predatory Ghiljies mentioned page 422.

" The next day, being sickly and my feet sore, I was not able to keep up " with the other two with the culleeaun in my hand. The lame Fakeer got " vexed, and taking the culleeaun from my hands, they went off quickly; I " went on a little, and beholding a small round room, I went in and lay down, " being affected with an attack of the fever; about dark, a Dooraunee on " horseback, with a foot man, came up, and seeing me, made enquiries, and " wished to carry me on his horse if I could not walk. I told them I was not " able to go any how; they told me there was a fountain on the top of the " mountain there, and gave me half a piece of very thick bread which I could " not then eat. In the morning I went up to the fountain and eat and drank: " another Afghaun coming, I gave him part of the bread and went to the " Rouza, thence to Guznee to the Fakeer's fakea, which was without the " wall, and below, and had a pretty wide stream flowing across. I went into " the town to the bazar, the roads being quite narrow and close; got some " money, bought bread and soup and tobacco, and returned to the fakea. " The lame Fakeer and the young man thought proper to return, and I got " acquainted with a Hindoostaunee Fakeer going on a pilgrimage, who said he " was robbed of some money and a blanket: he behaved very kindly to me, " and two days after, he left the town and went off with a caravan, but I could " not, my feet being quite cut and bruised. The Fakeer of the fakea was a " tall old man of Hindostan, who had visited many parts of Tartary or Turkis- " taun, and had been near China, and had lived very long at Guznee; he was " a kind and civil man; many came to his fakea to smoke churse or tobacco. " The Hindoos have very high houses of wood work, several of them were " kind to me, giving me three or four pice each; one of them, a pair of shoes " and a jacket of coloured cotton. It is a small walled town, about the midst " of which is a covered bazar. I stayed upwards of seven days, and proceed- " ing, went to Nanee in the evening. They talked of a feast, and I went to " it at dark. It was given in the open air; there were upwards of thirty " people: the master sent round when dinner was ready, and all assembled: " they had a large fire where they warmed themselves and danced the attun: " afterwards they sat down to dinner. When I came, they said a few words, " and spoke jovially to me to sit down and eat; a man went round first with " a bason and ewer to wash their hands; they then said bismillah and " began.

" The dinner begun with soup in wooden bowls; they broke their bread " into it, and when it was soaked, eat it with their hands. There were also " wooden spoons, but not one to each man. The soup was very good, there

" were spices in it. There was a bowl for every two or three; meat was " given out into the hands of the guests, who put it on their bread. They " eat heartily, every man had as much as he could eat. After eating, they " all blessed the master and wished him success. I did the same. This was " all the dinner; after dinner they smoked: after this, some went away, and " some stayed. I went away: the party began at nine at night and broke up " about eleven: the light was given by the fire. The women dined in the " tents." Mr. Durie was at other feasts, which were much the same, except that in some places they had wooden platters for their meat; some went away, and others sat late talking; some sung.

" The next day (says Mr. Durie), I went to Carrabaug, thence to Oba, " but arriving at night, the Killas I got to were broken and fallen down. I " suffered much, owing to the sharp cold winds throughout the night. In the " morning, went on, and arrived at a Killa which was inhabited, and got bread " and smoke. Proceeding towards Mookhor, a big strong young man attacked " me with a thick club, and enquired and searched me, not forgetting to see " closely my shoes: not finding ought, he on his knees begged pardon with " folded hands. I muttered a blessing, went to Mookhor, and beheld a cara- " van of camels, &c.; alighted, smoked, and went to the Killas, which not " being well inhabited, I did not get enough of bread; however, returning " to the caravan, one of the women observing, gave me plenty. The next " afternoon they set out, I followed; not being able to keep up, went up to a " set of Killas upwards of a mile distant from the road: arrived at dark, saw " some of them seated by a stream, and told them I was not able, through " sickness and fatigue, to go to the Killas; one of them pointed out the " mosque, telling me he would fetch me bread. I went to it. At past " eleven, a sick man came to pray; observing me, he went and brought " me some bread. At past twelve, the first man recollected and brought me " half a piece of very thick bread, begging many pardons, and requesting " I should pray that his faith might not fail again. The next day, stayed " there, and was invited to a feast of meat, soup and bread. The next day " proceeded; not finding any Killas, was at a loss; saw a man going, asked, " and he said he was going to a camp; he went off quick, I went the same " track and arrived there in the dark, and obtained bread, smoke, and num- " mud (felt) to sleep in. The woman who gave me the nummud, observ- " ing my feet sore, gave me some ghee (clarified butter) to anoint them, and " advised me to wait. I did. A quarrel happened: one of the Afghauns, " a young man, drew his sword; but he was checked, and the quarrel soon

" ended. A dance took place, the Afghauns in a circle holding each other, " singing loudly, and huzzaing, bending their bodies, and clapping their " hands. A great fire was made up, I was of course called jovially. Meat, " bread, and soup, was served in bowls. The next morning proceeded, " lodging in camps, and two days after met with an old Belooch Fakeer; " we went to a camp, where they, having searched us, made us sing, and " gave us bread and butter-milk."

Once some Afghauns enticed the Beloche and Mr. Durie out of their road on pretence of showing them a village: when they got them behind the hills, they searched them carefully, and did not let them go till they found they had nothing of value. The Beloche had some papers, which they returned. " Another time," says Mr. Durie, " having breakfasted at a " khail, we happened to be benighted, and lay down not far from a camp; " being wearied and dark, we could not go to it. Some of the Afghauns " hearing our voices, came to us; two of them supporting me there, and gave " us fire, bread, and quilts to sleep on. The Fakeer wanting milk, they milked " a goat and gave him. The next day, arriving at a water mill, we got some " flour, and went and were closely searched by some; I happened to fall back, " owing to the soreness of my feet, and got to another water mill, where I " stayed the night. The next day crossed the river, went to another mill, " where an Afghaun, who had been at Lahore and Dillie, and talked a little " Hindoostanee, behaved kindly to me, carried me to his khail, and got my " flour baked, and gave me a pair of trowsers. The next morning, set out; " two or three days after, lodging at khails, arrived at Kelaut, on the top of a " high mountain, but ruined and depopulated. As I had several pieces of my " old trowsers packed up round my waist, I was often searched: lodging at " the khails, arrived at Shahur Suffa, which was destroyed and depopulated. " A day or two after, happened to be benighted, walked all night, owing to " the sharp cold winds, not being able to sleep: arrived at Gomana, a ruined " town, in the morning; thence got to a stream and lay down; seeing an " Afghaun, went along with him to a set of killas, met with good treatment " there, and got water-melons and khatucks; thence to Candahar in the dusk " of the evening; went to the Chaursoo (or market-place), and afterwards see- " ing Afzul Mahommed, a baker, an Akhoond Zada, and two or three Fakeers, " sitting near a shop on the road over a fire and smoking, I sullamed: they " asked who I was, I said I was from Hindostan proceeding on pilgrimage: " the Akhoond Zada desired me to sit, giving me a culleeaun, saying Fakeers " of Hindostan are generally respectable. They pointed out a small broken

" mosque to me, and I, after having sat by the fire and smoked, went there " and slept with two or three Fakeers. The next morning, called on them; " they had their fire in the hall, which had a room on the side. Islam Khaun " and another Khaun, with some others, were present; we smoked. I went " to the Chaursoo and got some bread. Thence I went to a Fakeer's fakea, " where I saw many Dooraunees and other Moguls and Afghauns sitting here " and there in the spacious garden, talking and smoking. I smoked, got some " copper money, eat some soup and bread at the Chaursoo, and returned to " the baker's with tobacco. Sat by the fire with the rest, smoked, talked, and " went to rest in the broken mosque. Some days after, the nephew of the " baker, a lad, by the baker's desire, lent me an ink-stand and writing things, " with which I went to an Akhoond, who had his little school in the Shecar- " pooree street, and was a man of Belochistaun. He behaved kindly to me, " and let me sit in his place and write odes, &c.: happening to lay down one " day on a raised spot, the ink-stand was stolen, for which I had to pay the " lad eighteen pice (about nine pence). I suffered near two months in the " cold; however, owing to my passing a great part of the night by the fire at " the baker's, I got on comfortably: happening one day to go to a sadler, and " talking of my journey, he afterward spoke to a respectable Khaun who was " humane, he gave me a poosteen, under which I slept and kept myself warm. " One night coming home too late, some Hindoo dogs fell on me, and tore it " into several pieces; it cost me several pice to get it mended. I passed the " time among many of the people here and there, they often making me sing " English, with which they seemed well pleased.

" The shops of the different Hindoos, Mahomedan merchants, artificers, &c. " are always attended by Afghauns, Dooraunees, or Moguls, frequent and " full. I happened one night to be at a Hindoo's shop when it began to snow. " The Hindoos told me to stay, and brought me fire and bread in the " night. For three nights snow fell heavily. Three or four days after, the " weather began clearing up, and the sun to shine. I then found myself much " better. When the sun was clouded and sharp cold winds blowing, I found " myself unwell and uneasy, unless cheered and warmed by a fire. As soon " as the sun began to shine, the people, Hindoos, and Mahommedans, every " Friday went out to pleasant places of devotion and entertainment. Also on " other days to excellent gardens, cooks, bakers, pasters, (qu. pastry cooks?) " fruit and sweet meat sellers, musicians, &c. &c. attending, more or less, " according to circumstances. I went several times to Khaujeh Khezur, Aba- " sabad, and Baba Wullee, all these being very delightful places and prospects,

" with trees, waters, hills, and mountains. I seldom went about in the houses; " but six or seven times I saw some of the apartments of some of them, which " were curiously and commodiously made. The people passed their time hap- " pily and cheerfully, seldom saw them quarrel with any degree of animosity, " though they are quarrelsome enough; several times saw Hindoos and Mus- " sulmans quarrel, also Mussulmans with Mussulmans; those happened to be " only with words, some blows or wrestling, and terminated without bloodshed, " or loss of any member. Three or four times Afghaun robbers had their " bellies ripped open, and were carried about the streets, hung on the necks of " camels, and a man with a drum telling the cause of their punishment; they " were afterwards hung for one day in the Chaursoo.

" One night, long before the snow had fallen, observing the houses and " shops were somewhat illuminated, I inquired of the cause, and was told " Mahmood Shah had taken Pishour, and Shujaool Mulk fled. On the day of " the Ead, after the Ramzaun, Camran Shahzaada, who generally sequestered " himself in his walled Killa, went through the gate to the right of that called " Cabulee, to a spacious plain, hard by the mountains, with a retinue of horse- " men, who galloped about firing their muskets; great numbers of men and " veiled women having gone to view the show. And at a place not far from " his Killa, he ordered two or three feasts of pilaw to be given to the people, " to which I went, but seeing several beaten, went off. Another day saw his " sawaree (procession); he was at the head of them, and appeared to be a man " of good size and make. They had long ensigns and long spears, and passed " through the Chaursoo, having come from an airing and visit to some places " sacred or recreating. I three or four times beheld a marriage procession of " men, boys, women, and girls, on horses and camels, passing about the streets; " the horsemen accompanying, galloped about backwards and forwards, firing " their guns. While I passed the nights at the baker's, or the broken house, " I heard now and then one of the two Khauns, who daily and nightly came, " play on the Rubaub melodiously, and in company with the baker, sing with " great glee; also some Fakeers and others, came and sang or chanted day or " night, but not always. I also heard Hindoo men or women who lived there- " abouts, very frequently sing, with a variety of music, at nights, and now and " then Mahommedan women or men who resided hard by. When the Hindoos " went to places of entertainment, they sang with music, or had enough of " both, with dancing. They have several Dharum Seroys in the towns to " which they often resorted for purposes of adoration, business, or entertain- " ment.

"When the weather became warm, told Teerut Doss, and the other Hin-
"doos, of my intention of returning. They wanted me to stay, alleging they
"would contribute their assistances to enable me to do something for myself;
"but as I was determined to get away, they gave me some pice, also some
"Mahomedans, upwards of a rupee, and I bought some pepper, brown sugar,
"and dried fruit, and set out from the Caubulee gate; I saw the baker sitting
"as I passed, and he desired me to stop, and not go away, lest I should get
"killed or hurt. He had been for some time out of employ, but had some-
"thing in store, and had some relations also doing business. He was a clever
"man and of a good disposition, but seldom performed his Namauz; the Ak-
"hoond Zadah, and the other Fakeers never did; and during the fast of the
"Ramzaun, in their closets they smoked."

After Mr. Durie left Candahar, he went on for six marches, sometimes searched and sometimes feasted, generally by the common people, but sometimes by the sons and ladies of Khauns. He says but little of the country, except generally, that both in going and returning, he kept off the main road for the sake of camps, which were pitched about the skirts of the northern hills, where there was, he says, "a charming road, and a glorious country." One day he came to a mill, and was advised to go on a little way to a place where there were some petty Khauns. "They pointed out to a place, where were
"trees, streams, and melon-beds, and I there found two young Khauns, tall,
"stout, and well made men, and two Moollahs (one of them an old man
"with a long white beard), with servants and horses. They talked civilly,
"and gave me tobacco to smoke. Soup being ready, the old Moollah gave
"me some meat and soup, the Khaun a large piece of meat, and a few
"minutes after, a large clean loaf baked on purpose. They themselves eat
"no bread with their soup and meat. Having eat, drank, and smoked, they
"sullamed, and went off. I also, proceeding in the dark, arrived at a water-
"mill; the owner shut the door and refused me entrance, desiring me to go
"to another place not far off; but I would not mind, speaking politely and
"persuasively, and saying I must have a lodging; at last I offered a leather
"bag I had, which he took and suffered me to tarry, but gave me plenty of
"fire. The next morning he pointed out to a Khail; I went about three
"coss within the hills, a lad carried me to a large one, where I tarried the
"next day, also very good treatment of bread and butter-milk, and tobacco;
"several saying they would entertain me some days, but the times were
"hard. Thence in the dusk arrived at another Khail, a good way off. Met
"with good treatment. A few days after, from Khail to Khail, arrived in

"the evening at Nanee." From this Mr. Durie went on to Ghuznee, on his road he met his old fellow traveller, the lame Fakeer, who told him he had been near Bagdad, and had returned.

At Ghuznee Mr. Durie remained eight days at a Fakeer's fakea, where he met "a Tartar Fakeer, who said he had travelled to many places of Per-"sia, Syria, Constantinople, Arabia, and Malta, of which, by his conversa-"tion, he gave many proofs. He seemed to be a very good civil man." While at Ghuznee he saw an Afghaun, who had robbed some travellers of a mule, brought in by some Dooraunees, with his hands tied behind him. "I went one evening," says Mr. Durie, "to the governor, who resided in "the citadel; when he came out on horseback, with some horse and foot "attending; I asked him for some assistance. He asked from whence I had "come; I said from India; then says he, joking, you ought to give *me* some-"thing; however, he desired me to wait, and when he returned, an attendant "on horseback gave me some copper money. I went to visit the tomb of "Sooltaun Mahmood, which is a dome-like edifice, with a large door. The "grave of white marble, with Arabic inscriptions. Some Korauns are lodged "upon it, and many continually come to worship. There are many fine "apartments, well and curiously fashioned, connected with the court-yard of "it, where there are several stone images of tigers, &c."

Leaving Ghuznee, he at last reached Killai Shaboodeen, "where were "very fine castles, fine streams of water, and excellent fields of green in the "vales beneath the mountains. Met with a Khaun having a musket in his "hand, he spoke civilly with me to go to Caubul through Tymoor and Lelun-"der; went to Tymoor in the evening; met with good treatment: proceeded "along the narrow river, flowing with rapidity between the closing mountains, "on both sides; below abundance of fruit trees and fields of green: in the "dark arrived to a Killa belonging to an Akhoond (teacher or Moollah) who "was kind."

The following adventure happened on his way to Caubul: "One evening "arrived at a khail, or camp, observed some praying at a place surrounded "with stones (which they in the khails hold as a mosque), I went up and be-"gan as they. They took much notice, and when done, they laughed, as I "performed it incorrectly. I made excuses to the Moollah, who being good "natured, behaved kind, and asked about medicines. Two or three other "times I performed Namauz, and the people coming round, laughed; I told "them I did well enough, as I could."

At a place called Lullunder, he was struck with the beauty and magnificence of some castles, which he never saw equalled; but he says: "they "were of a singular kind, and very hard to describe, unless I could paint them. "Slept at a large mosque; went to other castles, breakfasted, saw on a very "high mountain a small house, which they termed Poytukt Zeman Shauh (or "the throne of Shauh Zemaun), not far from it is Sultan Bauber's small white "stone mosque; (one day I went there; there having come many veiled ladies, "I was not allowed entrance; one of them returning on horse-back, her horse "happening to run swift, she tumbled down, and others went up to her assist-"ance). On my arrival at Caubul, a respectable man invited me, giving me "bread and pilaw. I slept at a mosque in the town: in the morning went to "the fakea at the Lahora gate. They received me kindly. Stayed there up-"wards of twenty days, sleeping at a mosque, though the head Fakeer often "desired me to rest at the fakea; went about the bazars daily; at times saw "several chiefs on excellent horses, having fine coloured garments and turbans, "pass by, with many footmen going before. Discoursing at the fakea, or "elsewhere, they frequently asked if I was a spy; one at the fakea, a sharp "cunning man, discerned that I was not circumcised, but he and some others, "held their tongues. In discourse with some of them there, and at the "mosque, concerning Ferungees (Europeans), it was remarked that many cus-"toms accorded in the Alcoran and Scriptures, but that owing to reason-"able circumstances, reasonable innovations had taken place, to which they "agreed, and gave consent. The head Fakeer one evening, not being in the "way, I sullamed to the others, and was going off, when he happened to come "and called out. I returned, and telling him I was going, he gave me his "blessing. At dark arrived at Bootkhak."

Mr. Durie went on towards Peshawer with some little caravans: once being behind the rest, he met with the following adventure: "When going "alone, I met a young Afghaun having a matchlock, and a large knife; asked "of him how far Gundamuck was, he said one royal munzil, and went off; "but he afterwards holloed after me to stand; I obeyed, he wanted me to go "among the mountains, saying I was a spy, a magician, an alchymist, or a "Persian. I said I was an Hindostaunee: he struck me hard on the thigh "with the back of the knife, and made many thrusts, till he drew some blood, "when he begged pardon, and sheathed his knife." "Another day getting "astray from the main road, I proceeded through the mountains, and became "several times blocked up so, that to extricate myself, I was often obliged to "climb up and get down from high rocks. Slept there in the night, about ten

" in the morning arrived under the shade of a mountain, where several " Afghauns were. They gave me bread, water, and smoke, and pointed out " Lundee Khana, situate aloft." From this he got to Peshawer, and crossed the Indus without any further adventures.

The following is one of three sheets which were written by Mr. Durie before I conversed with him. They contain his general opinions, which seem to me often correct, and sometimes very sagacious for a man in his sphere of life.

" The mountainous districts about Atuk, Peshour, Caubul, and Candahar, " and beyond Caubul toward Bulkh, and beyond Candahar toward Heraut, " comprehend the Afghaun realm, called Khorassaun. The Afghauns being " different tribes, have different denominations, and unless brought under pro- " per subjection, by force or fortune, they are at continual variance with one " another. Ahmed Shah and Tymoor Shah, being fortunate enough to keep " up a great army, which enabled them to subjugate foreign territories, they " all voluntarily submitted to them, (though these chiefs had gained power " enough to humble them in no little degree,) as thereby they acquired advan- " tageous employment. However, it is evident that a regular courageous " army, having provisions, can make them all submit completely. The Mogul " Kings of Tamerlane's race having had them in undoubted subjection, the " surrounding mountains being more favourable than deterring or inimical. " The Dooraunees reside about Candahar, though there be not many of them " there now; in the present times, their Shahs not being able to make foreign " conquests, the name of Dooraunee prevails not, many tribes not sending any " tribute or contribution. The followers of the Shahs and Sirdars are by no " means all Dooraunees, though they may be so denominated; they are fond " of committing depredations in their own territories, as they have not good " luck enough in these times to carry the terror of their sword to foreign " domains. The dominion of Ahmed Shah and Tymoor Shah, had been " extensive, in which they could have prospered well, but they think of nought " but conquering, they look not for the acquisition of riches, of which they " are infinitely desirous, by the gloriously useful arts of industry, they want it " by the smite of the sabre; but, however, there is allowances to be made for " the same, they being pent up and enclosed in the midst of surrounding hills " and mountains, having all around many and inveterate powerful antagonists, " who have often subdued them; their territory having been held as a pro- " vince: they also have extended their arms to distant countries. They ima- " gine their religion to be the best and most true, consequently, they consider

" all others as misled, or erroneous, hoping, on account of the superior truth " thereof, to vanquish all in the end. Though they fight one another, being " Soonnee Mahommedans (in conformity with the Turks, and Tartars, and " Arabs, holding the Persians as misled), they refrain from such degrees of " animosity as might urge them to their own destruction or extirpation. That " they hold their religion to be the best, is undoubtedly not their fault, they " being strictly initiated to imagine so: however, the spirit of toleration, owing " to philanthropy, does not a little actuate them, though at first they might " wish to Mahommedanize all men; for many of them are certainly free, " liberal, and tolerating. The Fakeers, &c. of Hindostan, who go to their " countries, do not fail in their endeavours to make them believe false and in- " credible representations, and they are weak enough to give a good deal of " credit to them. They hold the people of Bengal as perfect magicians, and " the Europeans (whom they reckon as wise, intelligent, and equitable) as per- " fect chemists, well versed in the art of making gold. As I told them often " I came from Bengal, they troubled and questioned me much, imagining that " I must necessarily be acquainted with many such arts; however, repeating " the Mahomedan creed, or culma, though my clothes were torn, and they " often took me to be something of the misled, as I performed not Namauz, " &c. yet they were satisfied with respect to my being a Mahomedan, not pre- " suming to trouble or interrogate beyond moderation. Hindoo or Mahom- " medan travellers pass safely through their countries, receiving victuals from " them; but they cannot pass at all with any thing valuable; as there exists " no discipline or regularity of government among them. They often de- " clared that when the Mogul government had existed there, people might " have carried gold openly, without apprehension or danger, through the " routes of the cities. The government now is in the Afghaunee hands, they " being all Afghauns of different tribes, the Dooraunees being the most " powerful; upon emergencies of good luck, the others willingly attend, being " so denominated, for men of the different tribes attending the victorious " Shahs, or Sirdars, are so called, they being all Soonnee Afghauns of Khoras- " saun. A very great part of the people of the cities, being shop-keepers, " artificers, and such like, are not Afghauns, but spring from other originals. " At Peshour a vast number of Mahomedans talk a kind of Hindostaunee " language, and dress, &c. differently from the Afghauns, though they gene- " rally understand more or less of Pushtoo. The greatest part of the shops " are held by Hindoos, also there are many Sheeah or Persevaun cloth merchants,

" &c. And many of them, called Cuzzilbaush, attending on the Shahs and " chief Sirdars.

" These countries are held now by different Afghaun Sirdars, at variance " with each other, as they are not at first favoured by fortune to invade or " conquer; if they were, they would voluntarily and joyfully attend on the " fortunate leader. They often talk of the English conquering them, and " many of them declare they will; many saying that they would rather " have the Seeks or Mahrattas invade them with half a dozen lacks, than " the English with three or four thousand. The dominion of Khorassan, " which is inhabited by different tribes of Afghauns, more or less strong, all " of them being Soonnees, talking Pushtoo, and in their various manners " agreeing, has been often held by other more powerful empires as a province; " but of their tribes none appear to be manifestly so powerful, as indepen- " dently to hold the rest in complete subjection. And when fortune favours, " they unanimously, without being compulsively called forth, yield their respec- " tive assistances in co-operation with the fortunate tribe. But in these days " they have not any unanimity, nor any kind of regular army, nor ought of " governmental regularity, nor of national industry or exertion, so as to be " accounted a respectable nation; in their own dominion, nevertheless, in " their respective clans, they are very well, happy, and regular.

" They have no regular armies whatever, being all in no good order, and they " are not able to make use of the gun. The routes to Caubul and Candahar, " being without defence, robberies and oppressions are committed by all sorts " and ranks, though the mountains about the road may be rendered inaccessi- " sible. The black tents are set in order, this way or that, but near one " another, in general conformably to the ground.

" Their flour or grain, &c. is kept in bags or packs. They have some " articles and conveniences. They all have iron, and stone plates to place " their bread on for baking, and ovens also. They generally eat bread and " rice with butter-milk, milk, and meat-soup at times, having many dumbas " and goats. Their women cook, bake, bring water, &c. They keep and " bring their water in leather bags. They appeared well clothed and happy. " They are hospitable to strangers. They like tobacco, but they had very " little of it when I went; they only take one strong whiff each, sitting " around. If the time and seasons be good, having plenty, they delight in " manifesting their hospitality. Their being no regularity, of course no one " can pass safely with any thing valuable without being guarded. They are

"regular in their Numauz. In the cities, one might pass long without Nu-
"mauz; but in their khails, or seah khanas, or black tents, or killas, one
"cannot abide any time without being questioned."

Of the remaining two sheets, one contains Mr. Durie's travels through the Punjaub, and the other an account of his journey to Candahar in less detail than what has been given: one or two observations from this sheet have, however, been quoted in my text.

APPENDIX C.

ACCOUNT OF SOME NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

THOUGH they are not included in the King of Caubul's dominions, I make no apology for giving an account of the Caufirs, or for stating the few facts I know about Budukshaun and Kaushkaur, countries of which the names alone are known in Europe.

The following passage is quoted in Rennel's Memoir of a Map of Hindostan.

" There is a certain tribe at this day inhabiting modern Bijore (Bajour), " or at least there was not long ago, who pretend to be the descendants of " certain persons belonging to that conqueror's (Alexander's) army, who they " say, were left there as he passed through the country. Both Abool Fuzl " and Soojun Rae report this tradition without material variation. The latter, " indeed, adds that these Europeans (if we may call them so) continued to " preserve that ascendancy over their neighbours which their ancestors may " be supposed to have possessed when they first settled here." (Kirkpatrick's MSS. quoted in Rennell's Memoir, page 162, Ed. 1794).

It may easily be supposed that this account excited great attention during the journey of the mission to Caubul, and that we were not long at Peshawer before we began to enquire after our Macedonian neighbours. We were soon obliged to give up an opinion, derived from Abool Fuzl, that these colonists were a branch of the Eusofzyes; but we learned that the Caufirs, a people in the mountains north of Bajour, had many points of character in common with the Greeks. They were celebrated for their beauty and their European complexion, worshipped idols, drank wine in silver cups or vases, used chairs and tables, and spoke a language unknown to their neighbours.

It was not easy to gratify the curiosity these descriptions excited, for although I early determined to send a person to make enquiries on the spot, it seemed impossible to prevail on any one properly qualified, to engage in a journey into the country of a people among whom there was no action so

honourable as the murder of a Mussulman. At length the adventure was undertaken by Moollah Nujeeb (a brother of Moollah Behramund already mentioned), a person admirably fitted for the task by his talents and curiosity. He left Peshawer in the middle of May, and penetrated into the country of the Caufirs by the way of Punjcora. The mission set out for India about a month afterwards, at which time no news had been received of him: as long as we continued in the Afghaun dominions, we entertained strong hopes of his return; but when the second month had elapsed, and we had half crossed the Punjaub, we began to be uneasy about him, and his brother who had accompanied me so far, returned to make enquiries concerning him, under a persuasion that he had been murdered by the Caufirs. I had no tidings of him from this time till I had been for some months at Delly, and I had given up all hopes of ever seeing him, when he unexpectedly arrived in Camp, having undertaken this long journey from his own country rather than disappoint our expectations. He had been as far as Caumdaish, a village within three stages of Budukhshaun, had made himself master of every thing relating to the Caufirs, had completed a vocabulary of their language, and brought full answers to a long list of queries with which he had been furnished at his departure. The following account is chiefly abstracted from his report, which was translated by Mr. Irvine; but as I had opportunities of obtaining further information during the Moollah's absence, I have made use of it to check and to illustrate his account.

The principal sources from which this additional information was derived, were, a young Caufir whom I had opportunities of interrogating; a Hindoo clerk of Mr. Irvine, who had visited the country of the Caufirs; the Syud of Coonner's agent, who lived on their border; and an Eusofzye, who had been engaged in a military expedition into their country. The geography is taken as usual from Lieutenant Macartney.

The country of the Caufirs occupies a great part of the range of Hindoo Coosh, and a portion of Beloot Taugh. It is bounded on the north-east by Kaushkaur, on the north by Budukhshaun, and on the north-west by Koondooz in Bulkh. On the west it has Inderaub and Khost, also in Bulkh, and the Cohistaun of Caubul; and on the east it extends for a great distance towards the north of Cashmeer, where its boundary is not distinctly known.

The whole of this Alpine country is composed of snowy mountains, deep pine forests, and small but fertile valleys, which produce large quantities of grapes wild and cultivated, and feed flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, while the hills are covered with goats. Grain is inferior, both in importance

and abundance. The common kinds are wheat and millet. The roads are only fit for men on foot, and are often crossed by rivers and torrents, which are passed by means of wooden bridges, or of swinging bridges made on ropes of withy or some other pliant tree. All the villages that I have heard described are built on the slopes of hills, so that the roof of one house forms the street leading to the one above it; and this is said to be the constant practice of the country. The valleys must be well peopled; that of the Caumojee tribe, at least, contained ten villages, and the chief place, Caumdaish, consisted of five hundred houses.

The people have no general name for their nation. Each tribe has its peculiar name, for they are all divided into tribes, though not according to genealogy, but to geographical position; each valley being held by a separate tribe. The Mussulmans confound them all under the name of Caufir or infidel, and call their country Caufiristaun. They also call one division of them Seeaposh (black vested) or Tor Caufirs (black infidels), and another Speen Caufirs (white infidels). Both epithets are taken from their dress, for the whole of the Caufirs are remarkable for the fairness and beauty of their complexion, but those of the largest division wear a sort of vest of black goat-skins, while the other dresses in white cotton. *

There are several languages among the Caufirs, but they have all many words in common, and all have a near connection with the Shanscrit. They have all one peculiarity, which is, that they count by scores instead of hundreds, and that their thousand (which they call by the Persian and Pushtoo name) consists of four hundred or twenty score. All these observations apply also to the Lughmaunee or Deggaunee language, which seems to be a

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* The following are the names of some of their tribes. The first set were given by the young Caufir of Tsokooee, the second got by Moollah Nujub at Caumdaish, and the third by Dhunput Roy at Kuttaun and on the borders of Bajour.

1. Traiguma, Gimeer, Kuttaur, Bairagullee, Chainaish, Dimdeau, Waillee Wauee, Cauma, Cooshteea, Dhaing, and Wauee, called Puneeta by the Mussulmans.

2. Caumojee, Kistojee (whose chief town is Muncheeashee), Moondeegul, Camtoze (half of whom are towards Budukhshaun and half towards Lughmaun), Puroonee (whose capital is Kishtokee), Tewnee, Poonooz, Ushkong, Umshee, Sunnoo, Koolumee Roose Turkuma (to whom belong Kataur and Guinbeer), Nisha, Chumga, Wauee, Khoollum, Deemish, Eerait, &c. &c.

I must observe that one of Moollah Nujeeb's list is Pusha, which is stated to live towards Caubul, and which I doubt not is the origin of the Pushawees mentioned by Bauber, and still found in the Cohistaun of Caubul.

3. Wauee Daiwuzee, Gumbeer, Kuttaur, Pundect, Khoostoze Caumozee Divine, Tsokooee, Hurunseea, and Chooneea.

Caufir dialect, and gives reason to suppose the Lughmaunees and Deggauns, to be Caufirs, converted to the Mahommedan religion. I imagine the inhabitants of the Cohistaun of Caubul to have the same origin, particularly as the name of Cohistaunee is that applied to all the lately converted Caufirs.

This derivation of their language seems fatal to the descent of the Caufirs from the Greeks, and their traditions do not furnish us with any distinct account of their origin. The most general and the only credible story is, that they were expelled by the Mussulmans from the neighbourhood of Candahar, and made several migrations from place to place, before they reached their present abode. They allege that they consisted of four tribes called Camoze, Hilar, Silar, and Camoje, of which the three former embraced the Mahomedan religion, but the fourth retained its ancient faith, and quitted its native country.

Their religion does not resemble any other with which I am acquainted. They believe in one God, whom the Caufirs of Caumdaish call Imra, and those of Tsokooee Dagun; but they also worship numerous idols, which they say represent great men of former days, who intercede with God in favour of their worshippers.

These idols are of stone or wood, and always represent men or women, sometimes mounted and sometimes on foot. Moollah Nujeeb had an opportunity of learning the arts which obtain an entrance to the Caufir Pantheon. In the public apartment of the village of Caumdaish, was a high wooden pillar on which sat a figure, with a spear in one hand and a staff in the other. This idol represented the father of one of the great men of the village, who had erected it himself in his life-time, having purchased the privilege by giving several feasts to the whole village; nor was this the only instance of men deified for such reasons, and worshipped as much as any other of the gods. The Caufirs appear indeed to attach the utmost importance to the virtues of liberality and hospitality. It is they which procure the easiest admission to their paradise, which they call Burry Le Boola, and the opposite vices are the most certain guides to Burry Duggur Boola, or hell.

This facility of deification must render the number of the gods very great, but many must be confined to their own tribe, since it cannot be expected that those will worship them who have never partaken of their entertainments. Accordingly, the gods of Caumdaish seem to be quite different from those of Tsokooee, though there is one common to both, and there may probably be more who may have been deified before the separation of the Caufir tribes. The chief gods, or heroes, of Caumdaish are, 1st, Bugeesh, who is

god of the waters. 2d, Maunee, who expelled Yoosh, or the evil principle, from the world. 3d, Murrur. 4th, Urrum. 5th, Pursoo. 6th, Geesh. 7th, Seven brothers of the name of Paradik, who had golden bodies, and were created from a golden tree. 8th, Purron, seven golden brothers of the same kind. 9th, Koomye, whom Moollah Nujeeb calls the wife of Adam. 10th, Dissaunee, wife of Geesh. 11th, Doohee. 12th, Surijoo. And 13th, Nishtee.

Those of the Tsookooee, are Maunde, perhaps Maune, before mentioned. Maraist, Murrasooree, and Inderjee, who may perhaps be the Hindoo god Inder, or Indra, with the Indian title of Jee annexed to his name. Dhunput Roy (Mr. Irvine's Hindoo) was indeed positive in stating that the Caufir idols represented the Hindoo god Seddasheo, and always bore a trident, which is the symbol of that god. He also said that they called some of their gods Shee Mahadeo, and that they used the same words as a salutation to each other: but these circumstances are inconsistent with other accounts, and as Dhunput Roy himself admitted that the Caufirs ate beef, it seems improbable that they bear so close a resemblance to the Hindoos. All accounts also represent them as sprinkling their idols with blood, and even with the blood of cows, which cannot be reconciled to the Hindoo religion; and all represent fire as requisite at every religious ceremony.

Moollah Nujeeb was present on an occasion of this kind at Caumdaish; it was a sacrifice to Imra, and was celebrated at a particular place near the village where there was a stone post, which appears, by the Moollah's description, to have borne some resemblance to the Hindoo emblem of Mahadeo: a fire was kindled before it, through which flour, butter, and water, were thrown on the stone; at length an animal was sacrified, and the blood thrown through the fire on the stone; part of the flesh was burned, and part eaten by the assistants, who were numerous, and who accompanied the priest in various prayers and devout gesticulations. One of the prayers was for the extirpation of the Mussulmans *. The worship of idols is performed nearly

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* Some may be interested by the following details of the ceremony. The wood used in the sacrifice, which Moollah Nujeeb calls Kauchur, is named Kesopooree Thoop by the Caufirs, according to Dhunput Roy.

"There is a stone set upright about four feet high, and in breadth about that of a stout man. "This is the Imrtan, or holy stone, and behind it to the north is a wall." This is all the temple. The stone represents God. They say "this stands for him, but we know not his shape." To the south of the Imrtan burns a fire of Kanchur, a species of pine which is thrown on green, purposely

in the same way. These are sometimes in the open air, and sometimes in houses called Imr Umma. Though fire (made of branches of a particular tree) be necessary for all religious ceremonies, yet they seem to have no particular veneration for that element, and keep up no eternal fire.

They have hereditary priests, but they have no great influence. They have also persons who can procure an inspiration of some superior being, by holding their heads over the smoke of a sacrifice, but these are held in no

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to give a great deal of smoke. A person whose proper name is Muleek, and his title Ota, stands before the fire, and behind him the worshippers in a row. First, water is brought him, with which he washes his hands, and taking some in his right hand, throws it three times through the smoke or flame on the Imrtan, saying every time Sooch, that is, pure; then he throws a handful of water on the sacrifice, usually a goat or cow, and says Sooch. Then taking some water, and repeating some words (meaning, "do thou accept the sacrifice!" &c.), he pours it into the left ear of the sacrifice, which stands on his right (Moollah Nujeeb saw two sacrifices, one to God, and one to an idol.) If the animal now turn up its head to heaven, it is reckoned a sign of acceptance, and gives great satisfaction; afterwards in the right ear, and a third time on the forehead, and a fourth on its back. Each time Sooch is once said. Next throwing in some fuel, he takes a handful of dry wheat flour, and throws it through the fire on the stone; and this flour they reckon a part of God; and again he throws both hands full of Ghee *into* the fire; this also is a portion of God. They do not in either of these ceremonies say Sooch, but now the priest says with a loud voice, He! and after him three times the worshippers and he say He Umuch! that is, accept! This they accompany each time with a gesture. They put their palms expanded on the outside of their knees, and as they raise them in an extended position, say, He Umuch! The priest now kills the goat with a knife, and receiving in both hands the blood, allows a little to drop into the fire, and throws the remainder through the fire on the Imrtan (or idol, in case of an idol), and again three "He Umuch!" The head is now twisted off (to the left), and thrown into the fire, but no "He umuch!" Wine is then brought in a bowl, and the priest dropping a little into the fire, throws the rest through it, (the ghee too was thrown out of a bowl), and three He Umuch! The priest now prays God, "Ward off the fever from us! increase our stores! kill the Mussulmans! after death admit us to Burélebóola! or paradise;" and three He Umuch are said. The priest now brings forward and places before himself a Pusha, or person possessed by a spirit, who after stretching forward his head into the smoke, and shaking it in it, turns up his eyes to heaven, and prays as before; the priest and worshippers three times say loudly He Umuch! Next each man puts the fingers of each hand together to his mouth and kisses them, next to his eyes, and lastly to his head; then all retire, and sit or lie down in one place. They now put the blood of the victim, with a little water, on the fire, and after it has simmered a little, put in the flesh, which is soon taken out half raw and eaten. But if the victim be a cow, it is divided, and each man carries his own home. The priest gets a double share in both cases. During the meal they sip some wine, mixed with a deal of water, and furnished by the person who gives the victim. The bones are now burnt. The circumstances are the same when the sacrifice is before an idol, but the only one of this sort seen by Moollah Nujeeb, was to Koomy, an idol some distance to the south of the village, on a height of difficult access, they contented themselves with throwing these things towards it. They had no Kibla, and their *idol's* face always indifferently, but Moollah Nujeeb cannot now tell whether in all the Umrtans and Umrumas, the worshippers face to the north. A cow is struck one blow with an axe on the forehead, of which it dies.

particular reverence. They detest fish, but hold no other animal impure, eating alike beef, mutton, bear's flesh, and any thing else they can get.

Though they have sacrifices on all days when they please, yet there are certain fixed festivals, which prevail among the Caumojes of Caumdaish, and which Moollah Nujeeb thinks may be general. Some of these are remarkable, but none resembles any festival that I am acquainted with, except one, at which the Caufirs throw *ashes* at each other, as the Hindoos do a sort of powder during the Hooly.

The festivals are often accompanied with a sacrifice, and always with a feast; at one the boys light torches of a sort of pine, and carry them before one of the idols, where they throw them down and allow them to burn. At another the women hide themselves without the village, and the men search for them; when found, the women defend themselves with switches, but are finally carried off by the men. Some said that any woman who came to hand was carried off by any man, but Moollah Nujeeb, from modesty, did not question them on the subject.

Their other ceremonies are less connected with religion. At the birth of a child, it is carried with its mother to a house built for the purpose without the village; they remain there for twenty-four days, during which time the mother is reckoned impure; and there is a similar house for other women to inhabit during certain periods, when the Caufirs reckon them impure. At the expiration of the twenty-four days, both mother and child are bathed, and carried back with dancing and music to the village. When the child is to be named, it is held at its mother's breast, while the names of its ancestors are repeated to it, and they give it the name, at which it begins to suck. *

The age of marriage is from twenty to thirty for the men, and fifteen or sixteen for the women. The ceremony begins by the intended bridegroom sending some fine clothes of cotton ornamented with worsted (the manufacture of the Afghaun country), with some ornaments to the proposed bride. He also sends the materials for a feast to the girl's father and her relations; that night is spent in feasting, and on the next, the lover comes for his bride, who is dressed in the finery he has given to her. The father adds a silk

* The common names at Caumdaish were Chundloo, Deemoo, Hazaur Meeruk, Bustee, and Budeei. The names of certain men at Tsokooee were Gurrumbaus, Azaur, Doorunaus Pranchoolla, Gemeeruk, Kootoke, Oodoor, Kummer, and Zore. Those of certain women were Meeankee, Junailee, Maulee Daileree Jeenoke, Zoree Puckhoke, Malkee, and Azauree. The names of four men at Kuttaur were Toti, Hota, Gospura, and Huzaur, and of one woman Kurmee.

handkerchief and some other ornaments and articles of dress for the bride, and gives a cow, and perhaps a slave to the bridegroom. The girl is then led out with a basket on her back containing fruits and walnuts prepared with honey, and (if the family can afford it) a silver cup. In this manner she proceeds to her husband's house, the whole village attending, dancing, and singing. Some days afterwards, the father receives the price of his daughter, which is said sometimes to amount to twenty cows. The priests have no share in the ceremony. The women do all the drudgery of the family. Dhunput Roy states that they even till the land. Polygamy is allowed. There is no concealment of women. Adultery is not thought much of, though there is a punishment for it.

Besides their wives, the rich Caufirs have male and female slaves. These are all Caufirs (for they take no prisoners in their wars with Mussulmans). Some of them are taken in battle from tribes with which they are at war, and others stolen from those with whom they are at peace, but the greater part are people of their own tribe, it being quite common for powerful men to seize on the children of weak ones and sell them to the Mussulmans or keep them for their own use: a person who loses his relations is soon made a slave. The slaves who are retained in the tribe, however, are not ill used, though not exactly on a footing with the free people of the family they belong to.

The funerals of the Caufirs differ much from those of other nations. When a person dies, he is dressed in his best clothes and extended on a bed on which his arms are laid by his side. This is carried about by some of his relations, while the rest sing and dance round it, the men performing a sham-fight, but the women lamenting: from time to time the body is set down, and the women weep over it. At length it is shut up in a coffin and deposited in the open air under the shade of trees, or in some other suitable situation. Every funeral concludes with an entertainment, and once a year a feast is given in memory of the deceased, and some food is exposed for his manes, which are invoked to come and partake. It has been mentioned that some attain to the rank of gods after their death; there is another way of securing posthumous reputation, by the erection of a gate near the way side. It is but a simple structure, consisting of four beams and a few yards of masonry, and is of no use; but it is called after the name of the founder, and the enjoyment of this honour must be purchased by many feasts to the village. A strange account is given by Dhunput Roy of their ceremonies of condolence: a person who visits another that has lost a relation, throws his

cap on the ground when he enters the house, then draws his dagger, and seizing the hands of the afflicted person, makes him rise and join him in dancing for some time about the room.

I can give but little account of the government of the Caufirs. It is uncertain whether there are any acknowledged magistrates; if there are, they have very little power, every thing being done by consultations among the rich men. They seem to practise retaliation like the Afghauns, and I know of no other administration of justice. They have no titles of their own, but they have borrowed that of Khaun from the Afghauns for their rich men. Their property chiefly consists in cattle and slaves; a rich man at Caumdaish had about eight hundred goats, near three hundred oxen, and eight families of slaves.

The whole dress of the common people among the Leaposhe Caufirs, is composed of four goat-skins, two of which form a vest, and two a kind of petticoat. The skins have long hair on the outside. The upper ones do not cover the arms. The whole is fastened on with a leather belt. They go bare headed, unless they have killed a Mussulman; and shave their heads, except for a long tuft on the crown and perhaps two curls over the ears. They also pluck out the hair from their upper lip, cheeks, and neck, but wear beards four or five inches long.

Those in good circumstances and those near the Afghauns wear a shirt beneath their vest, and in summer the shirt forms the whole of their dress, as it always does with the women. The great do not wear goat-skins, but cotton cloth or black hair cloth. Some also wear the sort of white blanket woven in the neighbouring country of Kaushkaur. The blankets are put on like Highland plaids, come down to near the knee, and are fastened with a belt. They also wear cotton trowsers, which, as well as their shirts, are worked all over with flowers in red and black worsted. The trowsers are slit at the bottom, so as to make a sort of fringe. They also wear worsted stockings, or perhaps worsted fillets rolled round their legs; and the warriors wear half-boots of white goat-skin.

The dress of the women differs little from that of the men, but they have their hair plaited and fastened on the top of their head, and over it a small cap, round which is a little turban. They have also silver ornaments and many cowry shells. The virgins wear a red fillet round their heads.

Both sexes have ear-rings, rings round the neck, and bracelets, which are sometimes of silver, but oftener of pewter or brass. These are left off during mourning; and with the men they are assumed, with much ceremony and

expensive feasting, after the age of manhood. The honorary distinctions in the dress of the men will be mentioned hereafter.

The houses of the Caufirs are often of wood, and they have generally cellars where they keep their cheeses, clarified butter, wine, and vinegar. In every house there is a wooden bench fixed to the wall with a low back to it. There are also stools shaped like drums, but smaller in the middle than at the ends, and tables of the same sort, but larger. The Caufirs, partly from their dress and partly from habit, cannot sit like the other Asiatics; and if forced to sit down on the ground, stretch out their legs like Europeans. They have also beds made of wood and thongs of neat's leather: the stools are made of wicker work.

Their food is chiefly cheese, butter, and milk, with bread or a sort of suet pudding. They also eat flesh (which they like half raw); and the fruits they have, walnuts, grapes, apples, almonds, and a sort of indifferent apricot that grows wild. They wash their hands before eating, and generally begin by some kind of grace. They all, of both sexes, drink wine to great excess: they have three kinds, red, white, and dark coloured, besides a sort of the consistence of a jelly, and very strong. They drink wine, both pure and diluted, out of large silver cups, which are the most precious of their possessions. They drink during their meals, and are elevated, but not made quarrelsome, by this indulgence. They are exceedingly hospitable: the people of a village come out to meet a stranger, take his baggage from those who are carrying it, and conduct him with many welcomes into their village. When there, he must visit every person of note, and at each house he is pressed to eat and drink. The Caufirs nave a great deal of idle time; they hunt a little, but not so much as the Afghauns: their favourite amusement is dancing. Their dances are generally rapid, and they use many gesticulations, raising their shoulders, shaking their heads, and flourishing their battle-axes. All sexes and ages dance. They sometimes form a circle of men and women alternately, who move round the musicians for some time with joined hands, then all spring forward and mix together in a dance.

They dance with great vehemence, and beat the ground with much force. Their only instruments are a tabor and pipe, but the dancers often accompany them with the voice. Their music is generally quick, but varied and wild.

One of their characteristic features is their constant war with the Mussulmans, whom they hold in detestation. The Mussulmans indeed frequently invade their territories in small parties to carry off slaves, and once or twice

have undertaken more important expeditions against them. About thirty years ago, there was a general crusade (if I may be allowed the expression) against them. The Khaun of Budukhshaun, one at least of the princes of Kaushkaur, the Paudshah of Cooner, the Bauz of Bajour, and several Eusofzye Khauns, confederated on this occasion, and met in the heart of the Caufir country; but notwithstanding this success, they were unable to keep their ground, and were forced to evacuate the country, after suffering considerable losses. The arms of the Caufirs are a bow about four feet and a half long, with a leather string, and light arrows of reeds with barbed heads, which they sometimes poison. They wear also a dagger of a peculiar shape on the right side, and a sharp knife on the left, with which they generally carry a flint and some bark of a particular kind, which makes excellent tinder. They have also begun to learn the use of fire arms and swords from their Afghaun neighbours.

They sometimes go openly to attack their enemies, but their commonest mode is by surprisals and ambushes, and they expose themselves to the same misfortunes by neglecting to keep watch by night. They often undertake remote and difficult expeditions, for which they are well suited, being naturally light and active: when pursued, they unbend their bow, and using it as a leaping pole, make surprising bounds from rock to rock. Moollah Nujeeb saw the men of Caumdaish march out against another tribe. The rich wore their best clothes, and some put on black fillets ornamented with cowry shells, one for every Mussulman whom the wearer had killed. They sung a war-song as they marched away, in which were the words *Chera hi, Chera hi, Mahrach*, and he learned that when they had succeeded in coming on an enemy unprepared, they set up a loud whistle, and sing a song, of which the chorus is *Ushro oo Ushro:* on such occasions they put every soul to death. But their chief glory is to slay the Mussulmans: a young Caufir is deprived of various privileges till he has performed this exploit, and numerous distinctions are contrived to stimulate him to repeat it as often as may be in his power. In the solemn dances on the festival of Numminaut, each man wears a sort of turban in which is stuck a long feather for every Mussulman he has killed: the number of bells he wears round his waist on that occasion is regulated by the same criterion, and it is not allowed to a Caufir who has not killed his man to flourish his axe above his head in the dance. Those who have slain Mussulmans are visited and congratulated by their acquaintances, and have afterwards a right to wear a little red woollen cap (or rather a kind of cockade) tied on the head; and those who have killed many may erect a

high pole before their doors, in which are holes to receive a pin for every Mussulman the owner has killed, and a ring for every one he has wounded. With such encouragement to kill them, it is not likely the Caufirs would often make Mussulmans prisoners: such cases have happened when the Caufirs were defending their own village, and they then made a feast with great triumph, and put the unfortunate prisoner to death in much form; or perhaps sacrificed him to their idols.

They, however, sometimes have peace or truce with Mussulmans. Their way of striking a league is as strange as their mode of war. They kill a goat and dress the heart, bite off half, and give the rest to the Mussulman; the parties then gently bite each about the region of the heart, and the treaty is concluded.

Though exasperated to such fury by the persecutions of the Mahomedans, the Caufirs are in general a harmless, affectionate, and kind-hearted people. Though passionate, they are easily appeased: they are merry, playful, fond of laughter, and altogether of a sociable and joyous disposition. Even to Mussulmans, they are kind when they admit them as guests, and though Moollah Nujeeb was once obliged to be kept by the other Caufirs, out of the way of a drunken man of their nation, he was never threatened or affronted on account of his religion by any man in possession of his faculties.

Budukhshaun, though an extensive country, seems to be but one great valley running up from the province of Bulkh to Beloot Taugh between the highlands connected with the Pamere and the range of Hindoo Coosh. The nearest parts of Hindoo Coosh and Beloot Taugh are inhabited by Caufirs, whose territory consequently bounds Budukhshaun on the south and east, dividing it from the Afghauns, and the Cobis of Kaushkaur; on the west are the independent Uzbeks of Koondooz, Taulikaun and Hissaur, and on the north, the Kirghizzes of Pamere and the Taujiks of Shoaghnaun, Derwauz and Wukheeha.

These countries are exceedingly mountainous, and are bounded on the north by a similar country called Kurrategeen also inhabited by Taujiks, and extending to Kokun or Ferghauna. The King of Derwauz claims descent from Alexander the Great, and his pretensions are admitted by all his neighbours.

The Oxus rises in the north-east of Budukhshaun, flows within its northern border, and afterwards separates it from Hissaur. The interior of Budukshaun is watered by the Koocha, which joins the Oxus. It is a

considerable stream, over which there are several wooden bridges, as it is seldom fordable so low as Fyzabad. The part of Beloot Taugh within Budukhshaun produces, iron, salt, and sulphur, as well as abundance of lapis lazuli; but the celebrated mines of rubies, which occasion Budukshaun to be so often alluded to by the Persian poets, are situated in the lower hills near the Oxus. They are not now wrought. The plain country and vallies are fertile, though not extensive.

The inhabitants are Taujiks, and are called Budukhshees; but towards the west are many camps of wandering Uzbeks. The capital is Fyzabad, a considerable town on the Koocha. The present chief is Sultaun Mahommed, who I believe is absolute. His revenue is said to be six lacks of rupees (about £60,000), and his force from seven thousand to ten thousand men, mostly matchlockmen, a service in which the Budukshees greatly excell. They are occasionally harrassed by irruptions of the Uzbeks of Taulikaun, and their borders suffer from the depredations of the Caufirs; but it is long since they have been disturbed by any great war. Fyzabad was taken, and the whole country nominally subdued by the Vizier Shauh Wullee Khaun in Ahmed Shauh's time, but he probably felt himself unable to retain possession, for he contented himself with taking some relicks, and evacuated the country. Among the relicks was the shirt of Mahomet, which in the neighbouring countries was thought as great a prize as the statues taken from Italy by the French were in Europe.

The country of Kaushkaur must be carefully distinguished from Cashgar near Yarkund in Chinese Toorkistaun. I have endeavoured to mark the difference by retaining the spelling of our maps for the first place, and giving that which is commonest in Afghaunistaun for the other; though in fact I have heard both called indiscriminately, Kaushkaur, Kaushghur and Kaushgaur. The resemblance of the names led us into great mistakes when we first arrived at Peshawer. We bought tea, which we were told was brought by caravans from Kaushkaur (Cashgar), and the first people whom we asked respecting the distance, told us we might easily go to Kaushkaur, and return within a fortnight. In time, however, we obtained more precise information. We found that the nearest Kaushkaur was an extensive, but mountainous and ill inhabited country, lying to the west of Budukshaun, from which it was divided by Beloot Taugh; having Little Tibet on the east, the Pamere on the north, and the ridge of Hindoo Coosh (which separates it from the Eusofyzes) on the south.

The country is high and cold. The inhabitants live chiefly in tents,

though there are some towns. They belong to a nation called Cobi; of the origin of which I know nothing, but what is suggested by the resemblance of their name to that of an extensive tract in Chinese Tartary. They are at present Mahommedans, and are under different petty despotisms, to the number, I understand, of four. That to the west is called Chitraul, and has been sometimes invaded from Budukhshaun, though defended by Beloot Taugh and the river of Kaushkaur. Towards the Eusofyzes is Droosh, which was taken by the Afghauns of Punjcora. Another of these principalities is Mastooch, but the whole is little known, especially towards the north and east. Mr. Macartney mentions a road from Punjcora along the borders of Kaushkaur, running up the valley of the river of that name, and practicable for camels. This diminishes the wonder of Kaussim Khaun's passage of the perpetual snow on Hindoo Coosh, which has been mentioned in the account of the Eusofyzes.

APPENDIX D.

EXTRACT FROM LIEUTENANT MACARTNEY'S MEMOIR.

I AM well aware of my inability to perform a task of the present kind, but at the particular wish of Mr. Elphinstone, I have attempted it, though I much fear it will be found very imperfect; and from the short stay of the embassy at Peshour, and my time being chiefly employed in obtaining routes and protracting them on the spot, the general accounts of countries are not so full as I could have wished.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE MAP.

In the construction of the map, particular attention was paid to obtain the correct distance of some grand points, from which more distant ones were afterwards to be settled; this was done by various routes set off from points fixed by observation in the route of the Cabul embassy, and the space contained within these great angles has been filled up as much as possible by cross routes, which gives the great bends of the road, and of course the position of these points more correct than by setting off the gross distance.

The windings of the road cannot be laid down with any degree of certainty from the direction given by the natives; I have therefore attended chiefly to cross routes forming great angles, to obtain the true bearings of the roads.

The first grand point I thought necessary to fix was Bukhur, situated on an island formed by the river Indus, in latitude 27° 30′ north, and longitude 69° 20′ east. The points from which I fixed the position of this were Beekaneer, Buhawulpoor, and Mooltan. This was done by taking the mean of several routes from each of these places. The distances were set off in coss, which I found to be a mile and a half each, by the run of the perambulator from Bee Kaneer to Mooltan. The distance of Buhawulpoor from Mooltan

is said to be forty coss, and the perambulator makes it sixty-one miles. I have, therefore, allowed one mile four furlongs to each coss in the routes from these places to Bukhur, and deducted one in ten for winding, agreeable to the nature of the country.

The second grand point I fixed was Cabul; I have good reasons for placing this a very little north of Peshour, first from the bearings with the theodolite from Peshour of Suffaid Koh, which is situated three coss, or four miles and a half, south of Nimla, on the high road from Peshour to Cabul, and more than half way; it appears that this village cannot be to the north of Peshour, Suffaid Koh bearing from south-west 86° to 88° 30′. This throws Nimla about due west of Peshour; thus far I think there can be no doubt regarding the direction of the road, and for the remainder I have three routes from Khugulwala, two from Dera Ismaeel Khan, two from Kohat, and many from Peshour, all of which meet at Cabul and form great angles: all these points from which routes were taken being fixed by observation, together with the bearings of Suffaid Koh, there can be no doubt but Cabul is near the truth.

I have allowed one mile six furlongs to each coss from all these places, except Peshour, where they are found to be one mile four furlongs, or King's coss; but from Dera to Kohat I found the coss in general one mile six furlongs, and sometimes a little more. This last excess I have allowed for winding, and have set off the full distance of one mile and six furlongs, though the country is hilly; and notwithstanding this, it only throws Cabul four miles north of Peshour; had I deducted more for winding, it would have brought Cabul still further south. In the printed maps, Cabul is put north-west of Peshour, but it is evident the mistake has arisen in placing Peshour above a degree too far to the southward. Its latitude is 34° 9′ 30″. The coss from Peshour to Cabul is one mile four furlongs, being King's coss. The distance from Peshour to Attock, in King's coss, is thirty, and by the perambulator it was forty-five miles one furlong. From this I have calculated the distance from Peshour to Cabul, and have allowed one in eight for winding, in consequence of the road being through a very hilly country all the way. These are my chief reasons for placing Cabul as I have; and supposing it to be correct, I take it as a point from which I mean to settle the position of Kandahar.

The third point is Kandahar. This I have fixed from the following routes; four from Bukhur, which I have fixed, and take for granted is right; two from Dera Ghazee Khan, which I fixed by cross routes from Buhawulpoor,

Mooltan, and Ooch; the distances being short and the angles great, it must be nearly right; one due west from Dera Ismaeel Khan by the Gholeree pass, leaving Ghiznee to the right; six from Cabul, and two from the sea from Koracheebundre via Killate Nusseer Khan, through Bulochistan.

The distance from Cabul to Kandahar is set off at a mile and a half to each coss, being the King's road, and the coss has been found a mile and a half each. The others I have calculated by the rate of marching, not knowing the exact length of the coss in these countries; and having calculated the rate of marching through various kinds of country, I consider it a more correct mode where the length of the coss is not known, than any other: I have found camels march at the following rates, two miles and a half per hour for twelve and thirteen hours over the sandy desart; they beat the elephants: we had one hour's halt, in fifteen and sixteen miles; they march at the rate of two miles five furlongs per hour over sandy desarts; and when the road was hard, and even they have gone two miles seven furlongs, and for eight or ten miles, three miles per hour, loaded. From these observations I have calculated the march of caravans, allowing for halts and the nature of the country. The sea-coast I have taken from a printed map, supposing it to be correct. This I conceived to be necessary in fixing some distant points, for it could not be supposed that I could lay down the windings of the coast from information.

The fourth grand point is Bulkh, the position of which is well calculated for fixing the following points, viz. Herat, Bokhara, and Budukshaun. Bulkh is situated two marches from the left bank of the Ammoo or Oxus, on the great road from Peshour, Cabul, and Kandahar, to Bokhara. I have a great many excellent routes to it from the above places, and the most of them agree; those which I had reason to suppose incorrect, I rejected, but from having so many which agree in the places and distances, and the points forming great angles, besides numerous cross routes to correct the distance in the great curves of the road, I feel great confidence in placing Bulkh as I have.

I shall take this as a point from which I mean to settle the position of Herat. Kandahar shall be the second point. From the great distance of Herat, and from the Huzara country, which is generally avoided by travellers, being on the direct road from Cabul to it, the road takes a great curve, and I have found more difficulty in placing it than any of the points hitherto laid down. The routes, however, of Zemaun Shah and Mahmood Shah from Herat to Cabul, through the Huzarah country in a direct line (the former having performed it

in eleven and the latter in thirteen days), have been of great service, with the routes from Kandahar and Bulkh, in fixing its position. Had it not been for these routes, I should have placed Herat much further west, and given a less curve to the road from Kandahar. I have allowed a distance of four hundred and eighteen miles from Herat to Cabul in a direct line, which I conceive to be a full allowance; this gives, in a direct line, thirty-eight miles a day, which Zemaun Shah must have marched; and the country being excessively mountainous all the way, I cannot allow less than one in seven for winding, which gives a distance of forty-four miles he must have marched each day; this distance for a body of horse and mules, for eleven days together, I think is fully sufficient. It appears from the routes from Kandahar to Herat that the road has a very great bend. There are three roads, one by Furrah, which is west of Kandahar and south of Herat. The second by Dilaram and Gurranee, which is the centre road, and has also a considerable curve. The third is called the Sirhud road, and is the most direct one, but it passes through a hilly country of the Tymunees and other Ymaks, and is seldom travelled. All the distances given in these routes make it necessary to give a great curve to the road in order that the full distance may be given, and that Herat may be by this means brought to a reasonable distance in a direct line from Cabul, for there can be no doubt of Zemaun Shah and Mahmood Shah's having performed these marches, it having been heard from so many quarters, and all agreeing within a day. In the routes from Kandahar to Herat, via Furrah, it appears that the sun rose towards the traveller's back and set in front as far as Turcah; and from that it rose to his right and set to the left. The same appears in the routes by Gurranee, and the distance given from Cabul and Bulkh agreeing to this curve, I think Herat is near the truth. Had I not placed Furrah at the angle, the following routes would have thrown out Musheed south-west instead of north-west of Herat; the routes from Furrah to Ghain and Toon, from Ghain to Musheed, from Ghain to Deh Reza, from Deh Reza to Jellalabad and Kandahar, and from Mushud to Herat. The road also from the sea-coast from Chooabar to Herat passes through Furrah. There can be little doubt of Chooabar being south of Herat, and as the road leads by Furrah, it is another proof that Furrah is nearly south of Herat, and consequently the road has a great curve. Had I thrown Herat further north, and given a less curve to the road in order to bring it nearer Cabul, it would have brought it too near Bokhara and Bulkh, which are fixed from other points. I feel perfectly satisfied, from these and many other circumstances, that I ave got Herat correct. I shall now take

it as a point from which I mean to fix the position of Bokhara, as it forms a great angle with that and Bulkh. The country, however, between Herat and Bokhara being for the most part a desart, and seldom travelled, excepting by Cafilas, I have only two routes, which, however, agree; and from the very great angle it forms with Bulkh, I have every reason to suppose it correct. The routes also from Bokhara to Kokun and round by Budukshan, also assist in correcting its position. The routes from Bulkh are numerous, and most of them agree. From Bokhara and Bulkh I have settled the position of Samarcand. The position of Kokun I have fixed from Bokhara, Bulkh, and Budukshan, which form great angles; and having many cross routes within these great angles, I feel great confidence in placing it as it is. Fyzabad is another grand point of great consequence in the construction of the map, and should have been mentioned before Kokun, as it is a point from which I have fixed Kokun. I have been enabled from the following routes to fix this point with great exactness, viz. Bulkh, Cabul, and Peshour, besides numerous cross routes to correct the windings. Fyzabad is the capital of Budukshan. It is situated on the Kokcha river, latitude 36° 10′, and longitude 69° 16′ east. I must now fix the position of Cashmeer, which I have been enabled to do with the greatest correctness by the following routes, all of which agree, viz. Peshour, Fyzabad, Jelum, and Rotas (of which I have the bearings), Vizeerabad, and Loodeanna, which places are fixed by observation. From this point, Fyzabad and Huzrutimam, I have placed Kashghur and Yarkund. These routes form very great angles, and I have every reason to suppose these places are placed correctly. This great angle has been less filled up with cross routes than any of the others hitherto mentioned; but this is accounted for by the greater part of the country being desolate. The whole of the Punjab I conceive to be nearly as correct as if it had been surveyed, for having marched all round it and crossed the places from so many points fixed by observations in our march, I think there can be but very little error in their positions. Keech I have fixed by routes from Kandahar, Shikarpoor, or Bukhur Jellalabad in Seestan, and along the sea-coast from Hyderabad.

From this point and three others I have fixed the position of Khubees, viz. Deh Soollum a hundred and sixty-eight miles, from Kykul two hundred and fifty, and from Toon three hundred and fifteen: from Keech it is ten days journey for a Coffella at twelve hours a day, with camels: all these roads are across the great salt desart. The distance being so great, and scarcely a place occurring on the way, I did not think it worth adding another sheet

to the map for these alone. Khubees, by these, falls in latitude 30° 40′, and longitude 58° 18′. Kirman is three days' journey beyond it, west.

Kilati Nuseer Khan is another point which I placed from the following routes, viz. Kandahar, Bukkhur, Dera Ghazee Khan, and Koracheebundur. I have been able to fix many nearer points from bearings of snowy mountains. These are the chief points from which the map has been formed, and all these points have undergone further corrections, when it was found, by cross routes within these angles, that the road took some great curve. All these rough copies being made on the spot, I, of course, could find out any errors by the numerous cross routes, and make the necessary corrections by obtaining further information from different people regarding the doubtful parts, on the spot; and I conceive it next to an impossibility to make out a map from merely writing routes, and neglecting to protract them as they are obtained. Had I adopted this plan in order to get more extensive information, I could not have placed that dependance in its correctness which I now do; for there are but few places in the map which have not been several times erased, in consequence of some short route coming across, which, of course, corrected their position. A great advantage in this mode is, that the routes forming the greatest angles to the great ones already set off, are immediately seen, and may be particularly inquired for, which could not be done afterwards on protracting the routes, or the necessary corrections made. You can very soon discover whether a man is telling the truth or not, after having some grand points to work from, fixed by numerous routes which agree in distance and places. I have found this the only plan for getting at the truth. There are many points yet unfinished for want of cross routes, which may require further correction, and which I still hope to be able to do.

FACE OF THE COUNTRY.

I. THE HINDOO KOOSH, OR GREAT SNOWY RIDGE.

I HAVE found greater difficulty in obtaining the proper names of great ranges of hills and rivers, than any other point whatever: but as this range appears to be more commonly known to the north-west, by the name of Hin-

doo Koosh, I shall call it so, though, in fact, it is the particular name for one snowy peak of the ridge; but with a little explanation, they will know any part of the ridge by this name, from the north of Cashmeer to the hill itself, a distance of four hundred and forty geographical miles. This ridge has an east and west direction for this distance, and appears to wind in the latitude of 35° north, winding from 34° 30′ to 35°. The ridge appears to decrease in height to the westward of this peak, and the snowy ridge may be said to terminate a little beyond this point, or west of it, for it appears by the routes from Kandahar to Bulkh, which pass this point about fifty miles to the west, that the snowy ridge is not crossed, but hills bearing snow for four months in the year, are crossed about this latitude. This is certainly a continuation of the ridge, but they appear to decrease in height as they travel west towards Heraut, and even on to Mushud, with, however, a short interruption about Heraut. They do not go to the northward, for the routes from Fyzabad by Bulkh to Heraut, must cross them if they did; and if they went to the southward, the routes from Caubul via Kandahar, must cross them. I, therefore, conclude the snowy ridge terminates about the above point; but an inferior ridge continues on in the same direction, and may or may not be considered the same ridge. I took the distance of some of the most remarkable peaks in the ridge by cross bearings, with the theodolite, and found, at the distance of one hundred miles, the apparent altitude of some was 1° 30′, which gives a perpendicular height of 20,493 feet; but, of course, this could not positively be depended on for so small an angle and so great a distance. The most trifling error, which might not appear in the correction of the instrument, would here make a great difference. It was, however, so correct, that I have taken the sun's altitude, and the latitude came out within 2′ of the latitude taken with the sextant; and the distance may be depended on, for I had a base line measured of forty-five miles, which gave a good angle.

From Cashmeer to Hindoo Koosh, all the rivers which rise north of this ridge have a north-west course, with the exception of the Indus, or Sind, and Kammah, (these being forced to the southward by other high ridges, which run at right angles to the great one,) and all the rivers which rise south of them have a southerly course. This is the strongest proof I can give of its being a very high ridge, and it was perfectly white in the month of June, when the thermometer was at Peshour at that time 112° and 113°. The same thermometer was 26° 4′, further south, in the months of December and January, at Mooltan, in latitude 30° 14′ 30″. This great ridge from the point

I commenced at north-east of Cashmeer, has a south-east course running along the heads of the rivers of the Punjaub, passing to the north of Kot Kangra, Bilaspoor, and Sreenugur, crossing the heads of the Jumna and Ganges; after which their course is southerly. This ridge is perfectly void of verdure towards their summits, but their base is well wooded; their summits appear excessively rugged, having many high and very remarkable peaks, but unfortunately we marched from Peshour at a time when they were not visible, otherwise the exact windings of the ridge from Julalabad to Sreenuggur, might have been got by cross bearings.

II. THE PAMER RIDGE.

THOUGH this ridge is inferior in height to the last, the land on which it runs, appears to me much higher, for in travelling to the north from the Hindoo Koosh ridge, the ascent appears to be very considerable, and as a proof of it, all the rivers which have their source in this ridge, have a southerly course till they meet the high land of Hindoo Koosh, after which they run west and west-north-west after joining the Oxus. This river meets the high lands of Hindoo Koosh north-east of Bulkh at Huzrutimaum, one degree north of the hills where the fall from them towards the north appears to terminate; and this may be considered the lowest part between the two ridges; but as the rivers which issue from the Pamer ridge, have a southern course of from two to three degrees, and those from Hindoo Koosh, one from one to one-half degree, and both being equally rapid, I think it is a strong proof that the land of Pamer is considerably higher than that of Hindoo Koosh; but as the hills which run north of this high land from about west-north-west to east-south-east (as appears by the routes which cross them at different distant points), are only one day's journey across, and the Hindoo Koosh ridge in many places two days; the latter one may be considered the greatest, though the ridge on which they run is inferior. This ridge, like the Hindoo Koosh, has unfortunately no general name by which they can be traced and known at different distant points, but from the following routes crossing a high ridge one day's journey across, and covered with snow for the greater part of the year, and at the different points the rivers running north and south from them, I can have no doubt of its being one ridge from Aksoo, south-east of Khoojund to near Leh or Luddack, where I have lost them. The routes which cross them nearly in the same parallel

of latitude, and the direction in which they are said to run, are as follows: from Durwaz, on the banks of the Oxus, to Kokun; from Peshour to Yarkund they are crossed in two routes, and from Yarkund to Cashmeer via Leh, or Luddack, they are again crossed, and form the boundary between Yarkund and Little Tibet.

III. THE BUDUKSHAN RIDGE.

THIS ridge runs from north north-east to south south-west, between the Hindoo Koosh and Pamer ridges, it separates the Oxus from the Kama, or Kamgar river, and prevents the latter from joining the former, which it would otherwise do, and runs from the high snowy mountains called Pooshtikhur, the source of the Oxus, south south-west along the right bank of the Kamma river, (forming the boundary of Budukshan east,) through Kafiristan to the Hindoo Koosh ridge north of Jellalabad, on the road from Peshour to Caubul; and were it not for the valley between Sufaid Koh, south-west of Jellalabad, and the Hindoo Koosh ridge north, this might be considered as one ridge crossing the Hindoo Koosh ridge at right angles; but the distance across being twelve or fourteen coss, it may or may not be considered as the same ridge. I shall give it separately in the account of the Soliman ridge, which joins Sufaid Koh from the south, and the Teera hills at right angles. The Budukshan ridge appears, from all accounts, to be a very considerable one, and covered for the greater part of the year with snow. The hill of Pooshtikhur is covered with snow all the year through, and is said to be forty spears in depth, under which is the source of the Oxus. This ridge contains many valuable mines of silver, lapis lazuli, iron, and antimony. The ruby mines are nearer the Oxus, at some distance from the ridge. There are numerous streams issue from it, and join the Oxus and Kamma. In the routes along the left bank of the Oxus, it appears that in each day's journey from two to three streams are crossed coming from this ridge, from fifteen to thirty and forty yards broad, knee and middle deep. The whole of the country between the Hindoo Koosh and Pamer ridges, appears to be groupes of hills; but it is easy to trace some considerable ranges, from which inferior ones shoot out at right angles, and form these groupes and narrow valleys. The hills are well wooded, and the low ones along their base are well stocked with fruit trees of various kinds. The country also to the south of the Hindoo Koosh ridge is complete groupes of hills, for sixty or seventy miles,

with valleys of from a gun-shot to two and three miles broad, rich and well cultivated, producing quantities of fruits, grapes, apricots, and pomegranates. These groupes decrease in height as they go south, and at the valley of Peshour they are very small, not above seven or eight hundred feet high.

IV. THE TEERA OR KHYBER RANGE.

THIS range commences a little below the fort of Attock from the right bank of the river Indus, on the opposite side from the fort, and runs in a westerly direction till it meets the Soliman ridge, south of Sufaid Koh, separating the vallies of Kohat and Peshour, and increases in height as it approaches the Soliman ridge and Sufaid Koh. It appears to me that this ridge crosses the Soliman ridge, and continues with a more southerly course to Ghiznee. From this ridge there are groupes run north and south between it and the Hindoo Koosh ridge north, crossing the great road (at right angles) from Peshour to Kaubul, and forming the western boundary of the valley of Peshour at Jumrood. From this point they increase in height as they go west, and four distinct ranges may be seen from Peshour, one rising above the other. From this it would appear that the further range must be of a very considerable height; indeed the difference of climate proves it; for two or three marches from Peshour, the climate is cool and pleasant, when the heat is intolerable at Peshawer. The Teera and Khyber hills are covered with olive trees, but are very rugged, and but few roads through them passable for horsemen. To the westward they produce iron of an excellent quality. I have heard that the salt hills of Karrabagh take a curve up to near their junction with the Sooliman ridge.

V. THE SOOLIMAN RIDGE.

THIS range is of very great extent, and runs nearly north and south. It may be said to begin at Sufaid Koh, and, running south, till it meets the Teera hills north of Pewar; it then runs south-south-east by Kaneegoorem to Tukhte Sooliman, from which point they decrease in height considerably, having no snow south of this point in the end of January. The Tukht had an altitude of 1° 30′ from Deera Ismeel Khan, distant sixty miles, which gives a perpendicular height of twelve thousand eight hundred and thirty-one feet.

From this point their course is southerly to the latitude of Mooltaun, for they were not visible to the south of west from Mooltaun. It appears from the routes that they take a deep curve in from the river at this point, and at Shicarpoor are not in sight; but it appears by the routes down the Indus through the country of the Talpoorees, that they again take a curve towards the river, and they are to the right on the road to Tatta, from twenty to thirty coss all the way; but being unable to procure routes to the southward of Shicarpoor through them in a westerly direction, it was impossible to fix them with any degree of certainty, having only the informant's estimated distance, which may be out for ten coss. These hills to the north are covered with olive trees. They are steep and rugged, and the passes through them are difficult; about Kaneegoorm they produce quantities of a most excellent kind of iron, which makes good swords.

Several inferior branches run from them east to the Indus parallel to the Teera ridge. The first one south of the Teera hills is the salt range, which crosses the Indus at Karrabah, and runs on to Jellalpoor on the banks of the Jelum. This ridge is much inferior in height to any yet mentioned, but the roads leading through them are rugged and difficult. The whole of the country between this ridge and the Teera one, is groupes of hills forming some rich and fertile valleys. They are however few. The general direction of the low ridges were from north-west 80° to south east 80°; other ridges run north and south, crossing these ridges near the Indus; they appeared equal in height to the salt ridge. They are formed in deep groupes steep and rugged. The salt produced in this ridge is as clear as crystal, and so hard that they make plates of it to eat off. Quantities of it is sent to Cashmeer, and down the Indus from Karabah. The next range that comes from the Sooliman ridge is from the north of Kanneegoorm, and runs in an east-south-east direction to Punnialla; this range is inferior to the salt range, and may be eight or nine hundred feet high. The roads through it are few and difficult. The part near Punnialla is bare, and appears of a sandy substance, the southern side almost perpendicular, and in climbing up, large flakes come off in laying hold of the cliffs; and it is rather dangerous.

GROUPES OF HILLS EXTENDING EASTWARD FROM THE SOOLIMAN RIDGE DOWN TOWARDS THE INDUS.

THERE are two separate ranges of hills run parallel to the great range east of them, extending in some places to within ten and twelve coss of the right bank of the Indus. Those near the river appear to be formed of a sandy substance, the same as the Punnialla hills, perfectly bare. The valleys, however, between these ranges are rich, and inhabited by Sheeranees, Oosturanees, and Baburs, who plunder travellers; and in consequence few routes have been got through them in a westerly direction.

The second low range, which is about midway, between the great and small range appeared to be well wooded, chiefly with the olive tree. These low ridges accompany the great one in all its windings. The average distance of the great one was found, by cross-bearings of different points, to be sixty miles from the banks of the Indus. The valleys I have been informed are of a very considerable breadth; and there are several springs run from the hills used in cultivation.

GROUPES OF HILLS EXTENDING WESTWARD FROM THE SOOLIMAN RIDGE.

THE whole of the western side of this ridge from the great road, which leads from Peshour to Cabul, down to the latitude of Kilati Nuseer Khan, is one complete groupe of hills, extending in most places from two and a half to three degrees of longitude. The most considerable appear to be those to the northward, extending through the country of the Vuzeerees and Sooliman, Khels to Ghiznee, and southerly to the Gholeree pass. From this they appear to decrease in height as they go southerly through the country of the Kakurs, though they still appear to retain a considerable height; for many very considerable kotuls (steep passes) are passed to the southward; but it is impossible to trace any regular range. Those which run through the Kakur country, extend as far as the great road leading from Kandahar to Shicarpoor west, and beyond them is the commencement of a great desert. From Ghiznee north they stretch to near Kandahar, decreasing in height as they go westward. From Shuhersuffa they take a curve to the southward, and join the Kakur hills, which you have to the left, and on the

road in some places from Kandahar to Kilati Nuseer Khan; but near the road they are low.

I mention these separately, though they may be said to join the hills west of Cabul and the Huzaras (for there is only the plain of Mydan, and a narrow valley, from that to Kandahar along the King's high road by Ghiznee that separates them); but as the hills north and south decrease in size as they approach this road, they may be considered as separate, for in the whole of this road it does not appear that any ridge is crossed. I shall therefore go on with the Huzara hills north of this road and west of Cabul, but shall first mention more particularly the high land of Ghiznee, which appears to join the Teera hills crossing the Soolimanee ones nearly at a right angle. Ghiznee is said to be colder than Cabul, though there does not appear to be any particularly high hills round it; but it must evidently be placed on higher land than Cabul, for it appears that a stream runs from Ghiznee north by Logur and Mydan, and joins the Cabul and Punjsheer rivers. The Turnuk river rises west-south-west of Ghiznee, and has a west and south-west course. The Koorm rises east of Ghiznee, and runs east-south-east southerly to the Indus. The Gomul rises south-east of it, and runs south-east. Thus it appears, that all the rivers which rise round Ghiznee run direct from it, which is a strong proof it is situated on very high land. The high land of Ghiznee appears to run by the west of Logur in a curve to the Teera hills and Sufaid Koh. It appears also, that after passing the valley, along which the great road from Cabul to Kandahar leads to the north-west of Ghiznee, you again meet with very high land, which stretches to the north-west mountain west of Cabul. It appears from all accounts, that the whole of the country to the right of the road from Cabul to Herat west, and extending to the Hindoo Koosh ridge north, a distance of three hundred and sixty miles west, and from two to three degrees north and south, is one complete groupe of hills, which are in general very high, and the whole space scarcely passable for a horseman, and in most places not at all. The hills are well wooded, and have numerous springs running from them. The few valleys there are appear rich, and produce quantities of fruits of all kinds.

KOHISTAN, NORTH OF THE CAUBUL RIVER.

THE whole of this country which extends from the Ghoor Bund along the Punjsheer river (which furnishes the greatest body of water, and is joined by the Cabul river), and along these joint streams, having the Hindoo Koosh ridge to the northward, as far as the valley of Peshour, is one complete groupe of hills which increase in height as they run from the Cabul river to join the above ridge. The hills are high and rugged, but appear to be well wooded, and the climate is cold. They furnish many springs and streams which run south and join these joint streams, afterwards called the Kama, from a village of that name at the junction of it with the above streams. There are some narrow valleys which are inhabited by Tajiks. The few there are, are rich, and produce quantities of fruits, chiefly grapes, apricots, and pomegranates, but the country does not appear practicable in general for horses.

RANGES OF HILLS EAST OF THE INDUS.

THE country from the salt range which crosses from Karabagh to Jellalpoor on the Jelum, in an easterly direction to the northward, is hilly (particularly that part north of the great road from Attock to the town of Jelum, seven coss from Rotasgurh on the left bank of the river), extending up to Cashmeer in deep groupes, and increasing in height as they go north. They are so difficult, that no traveller goes the direct road to Cashmeer, but generally takes the circuitous route of Salih Ke Surai, where the great road from Attock to Cashmeer joins. Even this road is excessively difficult, particularly as you get near Cashmeer, having only room for one horseman, with perpendicular rocks on each side. There are several small but rugged ridges, with difficult passes, run from them to the south-west down the Doab, some of them joining the Salt range. We had an opportunity of seeing these ranges, and the nature of the passes through them. The first we passed after leaving Attock, near three miles and a quarter south-east, thirty of Kalake Surai, through which a good road has been cut by Shah Jehan, and paved with large broad flat stones, a great part of it in perfect order. The range is low, but steep and rocky. The range runs from at north-east 75° to

south-east 80°. This point appears about the lowest. To the east and north they increase in height, and appear steep and rugged; they join the second range of hills south of Hussinabdal, and from thence run west towards Nilab. They are covered with a low bushy jungle. I went up those to the east of the pass, and found them very rocky and difficult, and this appeared the easiest point. The whole of the country between the ranges, is excessively uneven, with rising ground, in many places much cut by torrent courses, and quantities of jungle, and deep ravines; in most places the soil sandy, and a quantity of loose stones over the surface. There are some rich plains, which produce grain in great abundance, but even they are much cut in many places by torrent courses from the hills.

The second range was the Neela hills, twenty-five miles north north-west of Jellalpore Ghat, on the Jelum. The pass through this range was very difficult, and above five miles through, it winding along the bed of a nullah, or torrent course, with high perpendicular rocks in many places on each side close; a fort on the south side of the pass built by Ootum Sing, about half way through, commands it, and duties are collected from merchants. This pass is by nature very strong, and might be easily guarded, and I am told it is a better road than the King's one, which leads direct from Rotasgur to Rawilpindee. Fourteen miles south south-east of this pass, we passed the south-west point of the Tilla hills, which run to Rotasgur. The road round their point was along the bed of a torrent with high and rugged banks, and broken ground to the right, which extends to the Salt ridge, distant six or seven miles. After passing the Tilla hills, a deep groupe of lower hills, equal to the Salt ridge, commences, and extends to the banks of the Jelum, having them at the distance of one mile and a half to the left of the road. A mile above Jelalpore Ghat, the Salt ridge meets the one in a curve, and the road leads out of the valley between them down a steep and rugged bank to the Ghat, the latter part being along the bed of a torrent, which carries off the water from the valley we have just left.

All these ranges join the deep groupe of hills to the north-east, but none of them cross the Jelum below the town of Jelum. The deep groupes do, however, cross there, and run on by Bimber, Jumboo Nurpoor, and down by the south of Bilaspoor, crossing the Jumna at Fyzabad, and the Ganges at Hurdwar. The whole course from Jelum, is as near south-east as possible. They increase in height gradually to the snowy ridge north, and appear to form regular ranges running parallel to each other; but they are, in fact, deep groupes increasing in height as they run north-east.

TABLE LAND OF LITTLE TIBET AND THE HILLS EXTENDING NORTH-WEST TO YARKUND.

IT appears that after five days' journey north-east of Cashmeer, an evident ascent commences, which is very great for three or four days' journey, after which it is less on to Leh. The ascent continues even on to the great ridge which separates Tibet from Yarkund, as appears by the course of the stream which comes from that point. This ridge is the one I have before mentioned, as having been passed at several distant points, and answers to the Pamer ridge. The road from Leh leads along it for twelve days' journey on the road to Yarkund, and is crossed fifteen days' journey from Leh, at which place the above stream is left, and has probably a more distant source. The country to the left was also very mountainous, but perfectly desolate, and on this account but little more information has been obtained regarding the nature of it. It appears, however, from a route from Deer, passing from west to east, through the southern part of this country, that the whole road was excessively mountainous, and I think there can be little doubt of the rest being of the same nature.

I shall now endeavour to give an account of the rivers; any hills which I may have omitted in this general account, will come in in the separate accounts of each country.

RIVERS.

I. THE RIVER AMMU, OR OXUS.

THIS river, from its source to the country of Durwaz, is better known by the name Punj than Ammu. It has its source from the high lands of Pamer. It issues from a narrow valley two or three hundred yards broad in Wukhan, the southern boundary of Pamer. This valley is inclosed on three sides by the high snowy mountain called Pooshtikhur, to the south, east, and west.

The stream is seen coming from under the ice, which is stated to be at least forty spears in depth. The spring itself could not be seen in consequence of the great mass of ice formed over it, but there can be no doubt of the spring's being on this hill under the ice, for it does not appear that there was any open or break in any of the three sides mentioned, by which it could come from a more distant point. I, therefore, conclude that this is the true head of the Oxus; at all events, the greatest body of water, though there are others which may have a more distant source. It is carried north in this narrow valley for five coss; at four coss it is twenty yards broad, and breast deep; and on leaving the valley, after having been joined by many other springs from the same hill, it is fifty yards, and middle deep. The Shiber, or Adum-Koosh, joins it five coss above the junction, was middle deep, and sixty yards broad, so that the Punj, or Ammu, was nearly equal to it at the distance of five coss from its source, and having twenty coss further to run before its junction with the Shiber, it must have attained a very considerable size, particularly as it appears that seven or eight streams from knee to middle deep, and from ten to thirty yards broad, joined it in this distance from the left bank. I think there can be no doubt of its being much larger than the Shiber at their junction, and it appears well ascertained that the Ammu bears the name Punj for a considerable distance from its source. The place has been seen by two people, who gave the same accounts, and I have heard it from several who did not see it, but had heard that it rose in the valley of Wukhan, or from the high snowy mountain of Pooshtikhur. I have routes which run east and west of this point to Yarkund, in a northerly direction, and meet to the north of this point, leaving it within the angle. If this stream had a more distant source, one of these two routes must have crossed it, which it does not appear they did.

The road to the left or west, crossed the Shiber five coss from Kila Shahjehan, which was the only stream of any consequence crossed up to the junction of the two roads. The road to the right or east passed Pooshtikhur about forty coss to the right, leaving it to the left. The road appears to lead along the Kashgar river or Kamma to this point, and nothing but rivulets were crossed up to the junction of the western road, which left Pooshtikhur to the right. It is evident from this that the Punj must have been crossed had it a more distant source.

I shall here leave its source and follow it in a south-south-west direction for a hundred and twenty miles, where it meets a high ridge of mountains running from west-north-west to east-south-east; from this point it takes a

west-north-west course along the north side of this ridge through the countries of Shooghnaw, Durwaz, and Kurategeen, where it finds vent through this ridge, and passes through it to the southward, following a southerly course till it meets the high land which extends from the Hindoo Koosh ridge at Huzrutimam. Thus far, a distance of more than three hundred miles, it is confined between hills and is joined by innumerable streams, from two to four of which are crossed in each day's journey along its left bank, from ten to thirty yards broad and knee and middle deep, besides two very considerable rivers, viz. the Soorkhab or Kurategeen river, and the Kokcha or Budukshan river. I have unfortunately no routes from Durwaz along its right bank to Kila Shahjehan, and consequently have not been able to ascertain the streams which it must receive from the northward in this distance. They must be more considerable than those from the southward or the high ridge of Budukshan, as the high land of Pamer, which gives rise to so many great rivers running from west to east, is to the northward of this space. I imagine many more streams must join it, but have been unavoidably left out for want of further information. From Huzrutimam its course is west-north-west; northerly to Bokhara, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles; it appears to be forced off in this direction for some distance by the high land of Hindoo Koosh, which extends north of the ridge a considerable distance, and runs over a flat country, sandy and little better than a desart. I have a route from this point to Oorgung, along its banks, which gives a distance of four hundred miles, over a desart for at least three hundred miles, with only a few habitations of horse breeders along the banks in different places. There appears to be a forest in from the left bank the greater part of the way, and travellers are obliged to carry provisions for eight or ten days at a time. At Oorgung, my informant left the banks of the Oxus after crossing it on ice. Oorgung is on a branch of the Oxus, situated eight coss from the main channel. From this he travelled to the north-north-west, passing the towns of Toorbut, Sugger, and Lulughan, on to the city of Kheeva, situated on the banks of a large river called the Neelum, nearly as large as the Oxus, and which joins a large lake some days journey further on. This I take to be the lake of Arab. The Oxus, I have been informed, also empties itself into it, but of this I have obtained but little information. I have only one route along the Oxus, and would not venture to put it down, having no others to corroborate it, or cross routes to correct the direction. Having traced the Oxus nine hundred and fifty miles, from its source to New Oorgunge, I shall give a sketch of the principal rivers which fall into it. First, the Shiber, or

Adum Koosh. This river has not been traced above the point where it was crossed, five coss from its junction. It was at that point sixty yards, middle deep, but so rapid, that few men could ford it; my informant says he crossed it on a cow, which is the common mode, and that they stand the current, and keep their feet much better than a horse; he says a horse could not stand the current. The cows used for this purpose were very strong, and had long bushy tails.

Second, the Soorkhab or Kurategeen. This river rises in the Pamer ridge, and after a course of a hundred and eighty miles, empties itself into the Oxus thirty miles above the junction of the Kokcha on its right bank. This river receives many streams in its course, besides the Suffeekun and Wukheeha rivers. It runs through the country of Kurategeen, and ten coss above its junction with the Oxus it is not fordable, being crossed on mussuks or leather bags: at this point it is called by a different informant the Kuratigeen river, but I imagine its proper name is the Soorkhab. Its course is through a very mountainous country.

THE KOKCHA OR BUDUKHSHAN RIVER.

THIS river rises in the Budukhshan ridge south-east of the capital, Fyzabad, forty-four miles. At ten miles east of the town, it receives two streams equal to itself, and they pass close to the town in one stream. There is a bridge across the river at the town. It is very rapid and not fordable; its course is a hundred and thirty miles in a west-north-west direction, and it joins the Oxus above the village of Khajaghar with such force that its stream crosses to the opposite bank of the Oxus. It passes through a hilly country for the greater part of its course, and receives several streams from the northward.

THE AKSURRAI.

THIS is formed by the Ghoree, Bungee, and Furkhar, which join five coss north-west of Koondooz; the joint streams of the Bungee and Furkhar passing to the east of the town, and the Gorah to the west. These rivers are formed by numerous other streams. The Ghoree rises from three different points in the Hindoo Koosh ridge, all of which join above the village of Kail-

gah: from their source to Koondooz is a hundred miles, where the name is lost in that of the Aksurrai. From Koondooz to the junction with the Oxus is forty miles. The whole course is northerly, and they join below Huzrutimam about eight or ten coss. The Turkhar rises in the high land south of Fyzabad, or the hills which separate Budukhshan from the Kafirs; and the Bungee, which is equal to it, rises in Durra Turring. They join ten coss below Talikan. Their course is equal to that of the Ghoree, which they join as before mentioned. After the junction of all these rivers, the stream must be a very considerable one: it is not fordable, but all these rivers separately are. Their course is through a mountainous country, but containing many excessively rich and fertile valleys, producing all kinds of fruit in the greatest abundance: from the accounts I have got of this part of the country, the valleys appear to be a complete garden.

THE HISSAR OR KAFIRNIHAN RIVER.

THIS river rises in a high ridge of mountains which runs from the Pamer ridge south, and separates Bokhara from Kuretageen, east and west. Its course is south-south-west, running through the Kuretageen country and Hissar for sixty miles; it joins the Kuratah river above Regur and below Hissar Bala. The Kurratak rises in the same hills, and has a south-east course to the junction. From this some call the joint streams the Hissar, but I think improperly, for the joint streams should retain the name of the largest river, which is the Kafir Nihan; and from a route which crosses it a little above its junction with the Oxus, it is called by this name. From Hisar to Tirmooz, above which they join the Oxus, is seventy miles.

THE TURUFSHAN.

THIS river has its source in the same mountains as the rivers last mentioned, but on the western or opposite side to them. A great branch of this river formerly ran past the town of Sheeraz twenty-four miles north of Samarkand, but for many years the whole has run past Samarkand north of it three coss in a westerly direction, and since that time the town of Sheeraz has been desolate; this place of course cannot be mistaken for the famous Sheeraz in the south of Persia. This river has a much longer course than any yet

mentioned as falling into the Oxus, but nothing like so great a body of water, being fordable all over, excepting when the snow melts. From its long course over a sandy country, the greater part of it is soaked up before it reaches Bokhara, and at this point there is scarcely any stream at all. It fall into the Oxus two marches west of Bokhara after a west-south-west course of two hundred and eighty miles.

THE MURGHAB RIVER

RISES in the Huzara hills north of the continuation of the Hindoo Koosh ridge, and south of Mymuna: it is carried west, confined between hills for seventy miles, when it passes to the north, quitting the hills and passing over a desert country for about two hundred miles, joins the Oxus three marches west of Bokhara. This, however, is only heard by my informant, and may be wrong. It appears, however, very probable, for it is crossed two marches from the left bank of the Oxus on the road from Bokhara to Herat via Mour, and it is probable that it joins the Oxus not far from this point, which is also stated to be the case by the man who gave this route.

The course of this river from its source is two hundred and seventy miles. Its breadth in the cold season is from fifty to seventy yards, and two feet and a half deep.

THE RIVER SIRR.

I HAVE been informed that this river joins the Oxus about one hundred coss west-north-west of Bokhara, but this cannot by any means be depended on; and very little information has been obtained regarding the course of this river. Its course is to the south of west, it being crossed by the Russian caravans north-north-west of Bokhara four or five days' journey, and the distance would give it about that course. From Kokun I have got four days march along its left bank from Khoojund to Kokun. It is said to be larger here than the Indus, and smaller than the Oxus. A stream joins it near Kokun, which rises south in the Pamer ridge, and runs north seventy miles to its junction. At Kokun it divides into two branches, and passes the town east and west.

THE RIVER SIND OR INDUS.

I AM sorry to say but little information has been obtained regarding the source of this river, though some great branches have been traced for a very considerable distance, but not to their source. It appears there are two great branches join at the town of Dras, eight days march of a coffila, north-north-east of Cashmeer. The left of these branches was seventy yards broad a little above the junction, and excessively rapid; a wooden bridge was thrown across it at this point, it came from the north of east, and run off west after being joined by the Leh or Luddakh branch: and my informant says he heard it joined the Abba Seen at Bullai. This I take to be Mullai on the Indus above Attoc, of which I have had other accounts, and he also heard that it was three months' journey to the head of this branch: but this cannot be depended on, and it is the only information I have got regarding this branch, and it certainly appears to be the main one. Other accounts agree that Dras is eight days journey for a caffilla north-north-east of Cashmeer, but they differ in some degree regarding the junction. A Cashmeerian informed me that these branches joined two marches above Dras, and that at or below Dras it divided into two branches, the lesser one running south to Cashmeer, and the greater one he knew nothing about, but that it was called the great Sinde, and the one which joins the Bedusta at Cashmeer the little Sind. This latter account appears to me very correct, and as a further proof I have a route from Deer in Punjcora north-west of Peshour, which takes a curve from east-north-east to south-east to Cashmeer, by which it appears that the Sind was crossed seven days' journey before they arrived at Cashmeer, and this point must have been north-west. This agrees with the other accounts, and would throw Kot, the point at which the Sind was crossed north-west of Cashmeer, about one hundred miles west-south-west of Dras, which agrees with the first accounts of these joint streams running off west from Dras. In the first account it does not say that a branch breaks off from the great one, but this might be easily omitted, and it appears from other accounts that a river comes from the northward into Cashmeer, and is called the Lar by some from its passing through a district of that name in the valley of Cashmeer, but its proper name is the Little Sind, which Mr. Forster also mentions. The Luddakh branch has been traced to a great distance to the south-east. This branch is also joined by another from the north-west, along which the road to Yarkund leads for

fifteen days' journey, as has been before-mentioned. These marches I have reckoned at eleven and twelve miles a day, as it is through a hilly country, and the caffellah generally arrived at their ground of encampment by eleven or twelve o'clock, and marched after sun rise; it was also stated to be seven or eight coss a day. They crossed the Pamer ridge to the right, and they left this stream, which I have heard came from a lake in Pamer, and from its direction being south-east by east, I imagine it comes from the lake of Swick Kol, as the direction of its course and accounts agree to this lake. This however is only a supposition of mine.

The Leh branch has been traced much further, and is larger than the north-west branch, but smaller than the Dras or left branch. It appears that from Leh to Rodack, a place whence wool is brought to Cashmeer for making shawls, the road is along this branch twenty-five days' journey for the merchants who bring the wool; but as it is brought on sheep, and as the country is hilly, I cannot allow more than ten miles each day (two hundred and fifty miles); four hundred miles to the fort of Attock, and seven hundred to the sea, total one thousand three hundred and fifty miles. The Indus is confined between high mountains to Torbela, forty miles above the fort of Attock east-north-east, where it enters the valley of Chuch, spreading and forming innumerable islands to the fort of Attock, where it again enters between the hills, and is at the fort only two hundred and sixty yards broad, but deep and rapid. It rises to the top of a bastion at the edge of the water, which appears to be thirty five or forty feet high, but does not spread above fifty yards more. It enters a plain five miles south of Attock, and is again confined between hills at Nilab, ten miles south of Attock, and continues to wind among deep groupes on to Harrabah, latitude 33° 7′ 30″, where it enters the rich valley of the Esa Khels in four great branches, and is not again interrupted in its course by hills. From this point to Mittenda Kat, where it is joined by the five rivers of the Punjab in one stream, here called the Punjnud, its course is nearly south, and from that to the sea it may be south-south-west, passing through the country of Sind. We crossed the Indus at Kaheeree Ghat, latitude 31° 28′ where the breadth of the Ghat at two points was found to be one thousand and ten and nine hundred and five yards, on the 6th of January 1809. At this season it must be at the very lowest. The depth of the deep part of the channel, which was not one hundred yards, was twelve feet; an elephant ten feet and a half high, had not one hundred yards to swim, but

the main channel here was considerably reduced by several large branches, which had separated from it, and run parallel to it, one from its right bank was fordable only in a few places, having boats at many of the Ghats, and its breadth was two hundred yards; we forded at a place three feet and a half deep, and five hundred yards broad diagonally; another considerable branch, fifty yards broad and three feet deep, was crossed before we came to the left bank of the main channel, besides two other inferior branches. The banks of the Indus are very low, that is, the inner banks seldom exceed six feet, and generally four and five, but in the rainy season it spreads in many places from ten to twelve coss. It appears evident, that the main channel formerly run further to the eastward by seven miles, and the Lya Nullah at present occupies its former bed; for the high banks at Mahomedragin, and Kuror or Laleesan, and all along the left of this Nullah at some distance, has every appearance of it.

The flat country and islands, which are overflowed in the hot season, are excessively rich black clay, well cultivated in many places, and others are over-grown with high grass jungle. The labourers have temporary huts erected, and cultivate the land. The bed of the Indus is sand, with a small quantity of mud, and its water appears to resemble that of the Ganges. There are many quick sands, and the islands are for the most part covered with long jhow jungle. For fifty coss above Mittendakot, where it receives the rivers of the Punjab, it runs nearly parallel to them, and at Ooch, which is forty coss up, the distance across is not above ten miles. This space is one complete sheet of water in the months of July and August, and the villages are only temporary, with a few exceptions. The whole country to Hyderabad through Sind appears to be the same, but there appears to be a quantity of rich land uncultivated, and over-grown with jhow and grass jungle. It appears by the routes along its left bank to Hyderabad, that there are many considerable towns and numerous villages, and in many places canals carried to them from the river. It is rather odd that there should be scarcely any trade carried on between the northern countries and Sind. There is a little between Mooltan, Buhawalpoor and Sind. I shall now endeavour to give an account of the rivers which fall into the Indus. The great branches to the northward of Cashmeer have been mentioned, and I shall pass on to the Abba Seen.

THE ABBA SEEN.

THERE appears to be a difference of opinion regarding this name; some think the great branch which I have mentioned as coming from Dras, is called the Abba Seen, but I have heard otherwise, and have routes from Peshour and Attock to the source of what I have heard called the Abba Seen, which may, however, be wrong, but I have no proofs to the contrary, and what information I have got, I shall state. The route from Peshour to this point, is along the Swad river, which had its source from the same hills. The hill from which the Abba Seen issues, is called Son Chukesur, the bearing of which from Peshour was north-east 34° 30′. This spring is called at the place Sire Abba Seen; the hill is one of the Hindoo Koosh snowy ridge, and its altitude was 1° 30′, and by the cross routes from Peshour and Attock to it, which forms a good angle, and agrees with the bearings, it was one hundred miles district. The route from Attock leads along the right bank of the Indus, by Mullai, to this point; it appears that the river is not fordable at Mullai, that boats or rafts are used; it is four short stages from this to the head of the Abba Seen. The first stage it is fordable, which convinces me that some considerable stream must have joined from the left bank on this march from Mullai, and I have not the least doubt of its being the Dras branch; but my informant never travelled up the left bank, and could not say; but from the river's decreasing so much in this stage, I think the above branch must have joined the Abba Seen a little above Mullai. I have many routes taken from the same man who gave these which I have afterwards marched, and in the accounts and distances I found him perfectly correct; and I have every reason to believe that his information on this point is correct also. The Sheesha river rises on the north side of this hill, runs west, and joins the Kama. The hills and valleys about this point produce gold dust; he did not travel further north.

THE KAMA RIVER.

I FOUND it impossible to obtain the true name of this river, and I think this cannot be its proper name, for it is merely called so from a village of that name at the point it receives or joins the joint streams of Pungsheer,

Ghoerbund, and Caubul, a short way from Jalalabad, on the road from Peshour to Caubul. To the north it is called the Kashgar river, on account of its passing through that country; when it reaches the valley of Peshour, it breaks off into three great branches, which join again. Each of these branches has a separate name, and it does not retain one name for four marches together. The greatest and most distant branch rises in the high lands of Pamer, not far from Pooshtikhur, the source of the Oxus, and, after a course of three hundred and eighty miles, joins the Indus three miles above the fort of Attock.

In its course it receives several very considerable rivers, viz. the Pungsheer and Ghoorbund, which join below Chareekar, north of Cabul. These joint streams receive the Cabul and Logur streams a little further down, and run parallel to the road from Cabul to Peshour, north of it. At the village of Kama these joint streams meet the above branch coming from the north. From this to the valley of Peshour, the joint streams are better known by the name of Kama than any other. On entering the valley of Peshour at Michnee, it breaks off into three great branches, which join twelve miles farther down at Dobundee, the most northern or left branch, receiving the Swad and Punjcora in one stream two coss above Kushnugger, five from Dobundee, and fifteen miles north-east of Peshour. I saw all these streams in one below Dobundee; they appeared about three hundred yards broad, and sailed deep boats at the Ghat. I went to the centre one of these branches north of Peshour. The first one was up to the saddle-skirts, four feet broad, and strong bottom, in most places very rapid, my horse could scarcely keep his feet; but this was in the beginning of May, when some of the snow water had come down. The second branch I attempted, but could not ford, but there are fords, and in the cold season it is fordable all over one place, where it is confined between hills. The Punjsheer and Ghoorbund are very considerable streams. The Ghoorbund rises with the Hindoo Koosh peak north of Bameean, and the Punjsheer fifty coss east of it, from the same hills. Their course to their junction with the Kama is one hundred and eighty miles.

The Cabul stream, which is only eight or ten yards broad, rises in the snowy hill called Kohibaba west of Cabul; it joins to the Ghiznee and Logur streams east of Cabul, but the most of its water is expended in the cultivation round Cabul and Mydan.

The Swad and Punjcora river rise in the same ridge, and are called by the countries through which they pass. Their course is nearly equal, one com-

ing from north-east, and the other from north-west. The name of Punjcora is lost in that of Swoad at Tulkan Matkunnee, below which they unite and pass to the south by the west of Kushnuggur, at the distance of two coss, and join the left branch of the Kama, as before mentioned. Their course is about ninety miles to this point.

THE GHUR SHEEN.

THIS is a very small river, and does not deserve the name. It is two feet deep, thirty yards broad, a clear stream, with a strong bottom, and high rugged banks. It rises east north-east of Khanpoor, twenty-fives miles in the hills which run up to Moozufferabad. It runs eighty miles west south-west, and joins the Indus two coss above Nilab. It is joined near Hussin Abdal by the joint rivulets of Hussin Abdal and Kala Pawney, and Wah.

THE SWAN RIVER

RISES in the same hills more to the eastward, but I have not heard the exact point. Its course is about one hundred and thirty miles to where it joins the Indus eight coss below Mukkud. Its stream is small in the cold season, not more than a foot of water, but in the rainy season it is broad and excessively rapid. When it rises to four and four feet and a half high, it is not possible to cross it; but it rises and falls suddenly. We crossed it where it was about three or three feet and a half deep, and then several camels were carried down. Its bed is sand with a few stones in the stream; it has many quick-sands, and its banks are steep and rugged, with many deep ravines extending in many parts in from its banks. After we had crossed it, it rose more, and was not fordable for three days; this is the case with most of the rivers in this Doab, and some I have seen rise seven or eight feet in less than half an hour, from having no water at all, merely torrent courses.

THE KOORM RIVER

RISES twelve miles south-west of Huryoob east north-east of Ghiznee, and after an east south-east course of one hundred and fifteen miles, joins

the Indus three miles east south-east of Kagul Walla. The bed of this river is broad at the point we crossed it, three furlongs and a quarter; but the stream was small, not more than one foot water; its bed was sandy, and had some quick-sands. The descent of its bed was very considerable, and when the snow melts, it must be very rapid. There are several canals brought from it into the Eesakhel valley, which has reduced its size at this point. It is joined by the Gombeela at Lukkee; from this to the sea I have not heard of any rivers joining the Indus on the right bank, from the westward, nor on the left bank, with the exception of the rivers of the Punjaub, which join it at Mittanda Kote, in one stream called the Punjnud. These rivers I shall give separate accounts of, beginning from the west.

THE JELUM, BEHUT, OR VIDUSTA (HYDASPES).

THIS is the second largest of the Punjab rivers. We crossed it in July, but it had not attained its full height; I was told it rose seven or eight feet higher in August. It measured from edge to edge of water, one mile, one furlong, thirty-five perches. The soundings, in crossing the deep part of the channel, which did not exceed two hundred, or two hundred and fifty yards, were as follows, in feet, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10.

The deep part was towards the left bank; its bottom sand, with a small quantity of mud. There are many islands and sand-banks formed in its centre, and it contains merely quick-sands; its left bank is particularly low, and it must, at its greatest rise, overflow four or five miles of the low country on its left bank.

It rises in the south-east corner of the valley of Cashmeer; is there called the Vidusta, and passes through two lakes east and west of the town of Cashmeer. It is joined six coss below the town by the little Sind: it is joined by many small rivulets in its course through the valley and hills, which it enters at Baramoola; and two coss below Moozufferabad it receives the Kishungunga from the northward. Its course, thus far, is nearly west. From this it takes a great curve to the south, and near Jelum it is little known; the country being so excessively mountainous, few travellers ever pass that way. The Jelum, in its course through the hills, is very rapid, and from one to two hundred yards broad. I have only one route from Jelum to Moozufferabad, along its right bank, and some of the places appear to be misplaced in the commencement, which I had an opportunity of correcting for thirty coss;

but the same being probably the case in the remaining part of the route, I have not put it down, though the distance agree. The whole road is stated to be scarcely practicable for a man on foot, being through hills all the way. The Jelum is not fordable at any season, though in many places nearly so, as men and horses cross with ease, having only fifteen or twenty yards to swim. After a course of four hundred and fifty miles, it joins the Chunab at Trimmoo Ghat, ten coss below Jhung and fifty above Moultan, in which it loses its name. These joint streams, called the Chunab or Chunha, receive the Ravee twenty-six coss lower down, near Fazilshah and Ahmedpoor from the eastward, and pass four miles and a half north of Moultan, retaining the name of Chunab to within four coss of Ooch, where they are joined at Sheeneebukree by the Gharra or joint streams of the Beyah, or Beas, and Sutley, fifty-eight coss below Moultan, and thirty-two below Buhawulpoor. From this point to Mittenda Kot, where they fall into the Indus, forty-four coss, these five streams in one take up the name of Punjnud. The Indus and Punjnud run nearly parallel to each other for this distance; the distance across from Ooch being only seven coss, ten miles and a half. The whole of this space is one complete sheet of water in the rains and hot season, and appears as one river. This might possibly give rise to the mistake in the maps formerly published, in making the Garra join the Indus instead of the Chunab or joint streams of the Chunab, Jelum, and Ravee. For the waters of them and the Indus meet for some distance above the junction of the Gharrah with them.

The greatest breadth of the Doab, between the Jelum and Indus, appears to be at the point we crossed it; from Attock to Jellalpore Ghat, on the Jelum, a hundred and fourteen miles horizontal distance; and from Moultan at Raj Ghat to Udoo Kot (seventeen miles from the Indus), was thirty-three miles. The northern part of this Doab, from 33° up, is hilly; and to the southward is a desart, with the exception of a few miles in from the banks of the rivers, which is overflown and rich.

THE CHUNAB (ACESINES)

Is the largest of the Punjab rivers; it measured at the Wuzeerabad Ghat, on the 31st of July, one mile, three furlongs, and twenty perches, from edge to edge of water, and the soundings were the same as the Jelum, fourteen feet the greatest, but the current was more rapid by a knot and a half; the

Jelum is four, and Chunab five, or five and a half. In the dry season, its channel does not exceed two hundred and fifty or three hundred yards: the second channel, which was much the broadest, I am told is dry in the cold weather. There are many islands and sand-banks formed towards its centre, and the measurement was taken between two of these, as at the Jelum. The size of these rivers may be easily calculated for the cold season, for the joint streams of the Jelum, Chunab, Ravee, at Raj Ghat near Moultan, was five hundred yards, and the greatest depth seventeen feet; but this was only for one throw, and the average may be eight, or eight feet and a half, for from this it shelved to nothing: allow two hundred and thirty yards for the Jelum, by eight feet, and two hundred and seventy for the Chunab, by eight feet; and the remaining part by five hundred for the Ravee, for I do not allow the Ravee to be more than four feet deep, and a little more than a hundred yards broad; this may be about their average size in the middle of December, the time we crossed their joint streams, agreeable to their breadth and depth in the rains. I allow by this calculation that these rivers must have risen three and a half or four feet, leaving ten or ten feet and a half for the centre of their channels for the cold season, which I think may be pretty near the mark. I have not heard of any ford on this river below the hills; but like the Jelum, it is easily crossed at the points where its banks are low and its bed broad, there being only a short distance to swim in the centre. I have heard of the joint streams of the Jelum, Chunab, and Ravee being forded by a camel below the junction of the Ravee, but if this be the case it must have spread at this point considerably. The banks of the Chunab above are low, but well wooded, as is the Jelum; but the timbers are small, and the wood used in building and making boats is floated from the hills seventy and eighty coss higher up, where it is in great abundance. The horizontal distance from Jellalpoor Ghat to Vizeerabad Ghat, across this Doab, is forty-four miles. The country excessively low, and soil rich, chiefly pasture.

The following is a list of boats and ghats up and down the Jelum and Chunab to the right and left of the Ghats we passed. On the Jelum Mungla four boats, Jelum twenty, Segonia ten, Russoolpoor and Dadopoor five, Jellalpoor and vicinity twenty-five, Pindi Dadun Khan and vicinity forty, Ahmedabad and Bhera twenty, total a hundred and twenty-four; in the distance of seventy-five or eighty miles on the Chunab above Vizeerabad and at it, Vizeerabad twelve, Sodra three, Deena Monja two, Maraj Kakot two, Noushara three, Koolowal two, Jinda Behadoorpoor five, Kholasake Chunee two, Kanne Ka Chuck four, Aknoon seven, total distance up thirty coss,

forty-two boats; down from Vizerabad, Ranna Khan two, Sullooke two, Ramnugger twenty-one, Morad four, Wannuke two, Menhdeea bod Menhdeeabad two, Bhuttee Kachuch Jellalpoor four, Khadirabad Ghat six, total eighty-four, in the distance of fifty-five coss. The course of the Chunab, from the snowy mountains to which it has been traced to Mitten Kakot, five hundred and forty miles.

THE RAVEE (HYDRAOTES)

Is the least by far of all the Punjab rivers; its measurement from edge to edge of water was only five hundred and thirteen yards, 12th of August, when it should have attained its full height: its channel is very narrow. I had only two throws of the lead in passing it, twelve feet. The bottom has a good deal of mud, much more than any of the other rivers, one-fifth may be mud, the remainder sand. The deep channel could not have exceeded in breadth thirty or forty yards, the remainder was from three to five feet, and two or three throws eight or nine feet: in the cold season it is fordable all over, not above four feet deep. There are many quick-sands, and its banks are low and well wooded. There are but few boats on this river, but those there are, are good, and much the same as are used on the Jumna. The Indus, Jelum, and Chunab have the same kind of boats, which cross from ten to twelve horses.

The distance from Vizeerabad Ghat to Meannee Ghat on the Ravee, fifty-five miles horizontal distance. This Doab is rich and flat, but higher land than the last, and the soil not so very rich. The course of the Ravee is very considerable, but I am not quite certain of its having the full course I have given it to its junction with the Chunab, of four hundred and fifteen miles; it appears, however, by a route from Cashmeer, through Kishtwar, that after crossing the high ridge into Kishtwar, the road leads all the way from this point along the banks of a stream, the name of which was unfortunately not known to my informant, and it appears that he had it on his right to within three marches of Noorpoor, where he crossed it and left it running off to his left: in his last march to Noorpoor from Bussaul, he crossed the Ravee, which he said was thereabout the size of the stream he left three marches back. It appears more than probable that this stream was the Ravee, but he did not know it as such at the point he left; as he left it to his left, it must have either gone to the Beyas or Ravee, but I think the latter is almost

certain, and that it has taken a curve in the hills for these two marches and come round to the right to the point at which he crossed it, for he says it ran from his left to right, which would agree, and I have in consequence given it this curve and made it the Ravee, or at all events its most distant branch. This route also proves to me that the Chunab does not come from the northward of the snowy ridge, because this route must have crossed it if it did, but this is supposing the only route I have got by this road to be correct, which may not of course be the case; and without a second to corroborate this, I would not consider this as certain, though I have every reason to suppose this route correct, for it agrees with others from Noorpoor downward.

THE BEYAH, OR BEYAS (HYPHASIS).

THIS river measured, at Bhirowal Ghat, seven hundred and forty yards. Its right bank is very high, and its current very rapid. The day we reached it, it was at its greatest height, and so rapid that the boats could not make the left bank. Some were carried down six or seven coss in attempting it; it, however, fell the next day. It is fordable in most places in the cold season, but its bed contains many quick-sands, and at this season there are many islands and sand beds formed towards its centre. There are twenty-five boats at this Ghat and its vicinity, but they are very bad for the rainy season. They are made of flat planks, more like rafts than boats, with a plank of one foot all round, and do not draw six inches water when filled. There is but little wood along the banks of this river; what there is is small. It joins the Sutluj eighteen coss below Bhiroowal near the village of Hurake, not far from Feroozpoor; after their junction the joint streams are called Beas, and afterwards called Ghara, but from what point I know not. It is called the Gharrah at Gordeean Ghat near Pakputtun, a hundred coss above Buhawulpoor. They join the Chunab above Ooch, as has been mentioned, thirty-two coss below Buhawulpoor, and fifty-eight from Moultan. The Beyas and Sulluj are nearly the same size, but the Beyas is rather the largest. Their course, too, is nearly the same from the snowy ridge, a hundred and fifty miles to their junction, and two hundred and sixty more to their junction with the Chunab or joint streams of the Jelum, Chunab, and Ravee. Wood is to be got in abundance from the hills not fas distant. The Begas Gunga and Ban Gunga from the Beyas, the former passing Kot Kangra to the south-

ward and the latter to the northward in a westerly direction near and joining at Hureepoor, below the fort one march. The Ban Gunga separates into two branches near the fort, and a branch passing on each side of it, they form an island and join immediately below it.

THE RIVERS OF KHORASAN.

THE KIRMUND OR HELBUND.

THIS river is the greatest of the Khorasan rivers: it rises west of Cabul in the hill called Kohi Baba. Its course is south-west through the Hazara country, and passing to the southward, it crosses the great roads from Kandahar to Hirat at Greeshk, a distance of two hundred and sixty miles. The whole distance to within two marches of this is through very high and difficult hills. From this to where it falls into the lake of Seestan is one hundred miles, total three hundred and sixty miles. In the hot season, when the snow melts, it is a very large river, and it is a common practice with the people of Greeshk to try to shoot arrows across or sling stones, but it is not to be done. In the cold weather it is nearly breast deep, equal to the Kamma river at Akora. There are two boats at the Greeshk Ghat, but it is fordable for the greatest part of the year; it receives considerable streams in its course. It is joined fourteen miles above Greeshk by a stream whose course is eighty miles, which rises to the south of the Huzara country at Seahbund. It also receives the Urghundab five coss below Greeshk, and part of the Turnuk, it is also joined by the Khashrood at Kohnisheen further down.

THE URGHUNDAB RIVER

RISES in the Huzara hills about eighty miles north-east by north of Kandahar, passes within five coss of the town to the north and west of it, and joins the Hirmund five coss below Greeshk on its left bank, after a course of one hundred and fifty miles. In the cold season this river is two and a half or three feet deep and fifty yards broad, but in the hot weather, when the snow melts in the hills it is not fordable for three months, being excessively rapid, and at this season above one hundred and fifty yards broad.

THE KHASHROOD.

THIS river rises at Sakkir about ninety miles south-east by south of Hirat, and after a course of one hundred and fifty miles joins the Hirmund at Konisheen on its right bank. It is larger than the Urghundab and smaller than the Hirmund; its depth in the cold season is up to a man's hip (three feet) and fifty or sixty yards broad: it is not fordable when the snow melts, is crossed on mussuks or leather bags, and small rafts made of wood and reeds. Its breadth in the hot season is from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five yards, and very rapid; it also crosses the great road from Kandahar to Hirat near Dilaram.

THE TURNUK.

THIS is a small stream, rises at Mookr, and after a west-south-west course of two hundred miles, joins the Urghundab near Doaba; in the cold season, however, its water runs into a long lake near Dehi Gholaman, called the Doree, which has been taken for a river. When the Turnuk rises the superfluous water runs to the Urghundab; in the cold season it is knee deep, and it seldom rises above a man's middle.

THE FURRAHROOD

Is larger than any of these rivers, excepting the Hirmund. It is in the cold season above a man's hip, and from fifty to sixty yards broad; in the hot weather it is crossed on mussuks and rafts of wood and reeds. It is at this season very rapid; it rises south of Pursee, and is joined above Furrah and below Guranee by the Jizeea Rood. It falls into the lake of Seestan at the north-west angle, after a course of two hundred miles. It appears wonderful that this lake should receive so many rivers without any apparent vent for the water: and it is stated not to be above thirty or thirty-five coss across at the broadest part.

THE POOLIMALAN OR HIRAT RIVER.

THIS river rises near Oba (east of Hirat) in the Ymak country, and receives three or four streams before it reaches Hirat. It is a small river in the cold season, but rises to a considerable size when the snow melts. The greater part of its water is expended in the vicinity of Hirat on the cultivation; two or three canals are cut from it, and pass through the town. There is a bridge across it three coss south of the town. It appears from a route from Mour to Mushud, that a river was crossed half-way, running from left to right, called the Tejun, and the routes from Hirat to Mushud go along its banks by the north road as far as Kafir Kila, where it is left running to the north or right. This can be no other than the one which is crossed in the other route half-way between Mour and Mushud; but where it runs to after that, I know not. I think Arrowsmith's map has it perfectly correct. Mr. Forster's route seems to have led Rennel into an error, in making it run south into the lake of Seestan; but this rivulet which Mr. Forster crossed, running south, does not appear to be the Hirat river, but a small stream which comes from the hills, which separate the north and south roads to Mushud, and must be lost to the southward, for it appears by several accounts that no stream is crossed from Furrah to Ghain and Toon, or from Jellalabad to Nih, excepting the Furrah Rood; but if the Hirat river ran into the lake of Seestan, it must have been crossed in both these routes *.

* I omit Mr. Macartney's account of the desarts; one of them is fully described in my narrative, and the other in Mr. Kinnier's Geography of Persia. The account of the desarts is followed by descriptions of the different kingdoms and provinces represented in the map, which are seldom purely geographical, and which need not therefore be repeated.

APPENDIX E.

PUSHTOO VOCABULARY.

THE words are here spelt according to Dr. Gilchrist's method; Q stands for a guttural K, the rest has been explained in the Preface. The first column contains Pushtoo words in the Western dialect, and the second in the Eastern.

ENGLISH.	WESTERN PUSHTOO.	EASTERN PUSHTOO.
God	Khoda	
Heaven	Asman	
Father	Plar	
Mother	Mor	
Son	Zoé	
Daughter	Lŏŏr	
Brother	Wror	
Sister	Khor	
Husband	Merŭ	Sukhtun, i. e. Master.
Wife	Ourut	Khizu
Maiden	Peghlu	
Boy	Zunky	Huluk
Girl		Jeeny
Child	As above for a male, and for a female Jinky, Oockutse is the general name for both.	
Man	Merū	
People	Suré, or Khuliq	
Head	Ser (like ser in servant)	
Countenance	Mukh	
Nose	Puzu	Pozu
Nostril	Spuzhmĕn	Spegme
Eye	Sturgee, or Lemu	
Eye-brow	Wŏŏroodzĕĕe	Wrooze
Eye-lashes	Banā, (this is a very peculiar nasal *n*, with some mixture of an *r*.)	

ENGLISH.	WESTERN PUSHTOO.	EASTERN PUSHTOO.
Ear	Ghwuzh	Ghwug
Forehead	Wuchwely	Wuchwoly
Hair	Veshtu	Wekhtu
Cheek	Bughwur, or Ghoombar	Anungee
Mouth	Khŏŏlu	
Throat	Huluk, outside Ghara	Mury
Tooth	Ghash	Ghakh
Tongue	Zubu	Zhebu
Beard	Zheeru	Geeru
Neck	Tsut, or Mughzy	Tsut
Shoulder	Ozhu	Ogu
Elbow	Tsungly	Tsungul
Hand	Las (the whole arm), the hand alone Mungol	
Finger	Gwutu	
Nail	Nŏŏk	
Belly	Nus	Gera
Back	Sha	
Foot	Pshu	Khpu
Knee	Zungoon	
Flesh	Ghwushu	Ghwukhe
Bone	Hudŏoky	
Blood	Veenee	
Heart	Zirŭ	
Milk	Shŏde, or Puee	Puee, or Shoudu
Hearing	Urvedu	Uoredu, to hear
Sight	Leedu	Katu, to see
Taste	Khwund	
Smell (the sense of)	Booĕĕ	
Touch	Katu	
Voice	Zhugh	Ghugh
Name	Noom	
Cry	Cheghu, or Nare	
Noise	Awauz	Shor Shurghab
Howling	Name not easily ascertained	
Speech	Wyl	
Sleep	Khob	
Love	Meemu	
Pain	Khwuzh, or Durd	Khoog, or Durd. Khwuzh is only pain from a wound.
Trouble	Khupagee	Zuheeregee

ENGLISH.	WESTERN PUSHTOO.	EASTERN PUSHTOO.
Labour	Khwaree	
Force	Koowut	
Power	Zoor	
Marriage	Kaveen	Nika
Wedding	Wada, or Wra	
Life	Zhwundoon	
Size	Qudur	
Spirit (or mind)	Urwah, sa (breath)	
Death	Murg	
Cold	Saru, Yukh	
Circle	Kirshu, or Daeru	Kirkhu, or Daeru
Ball	Gaty. Metal ball for a gun, Golee.	
Sun	Nmur	Nwur
Moon	Spozhmy	Spogmy
Star	Storee	
Ray	Not easily ascertained, Brekhnu, a flash; Lumbu, a flame; Pulwushu, a spark.	
Wind	Bad	
Whirlwind	Boorbooky	Boorbooruky
Tempest	Seely'	
Rain	Baran	
Hail	Guly'	
Lightning	Breshnu	Brekhnu
Snow	Waora	
Ice	Yukh	
Day	Rwudz	
Night	Shpu	
Morning	Suba	Seher
Evening	Masham	Makham
Summer	Doby	Ory
Spring	Psurly	
Autumn	Muny	
Winter	Zumy	Zhumy
Year	Kal	
Time	Wuqt	
Earth	Mzuku	Zmuku
Water	Obu	
Sea	Derea	
River	Rod	Seen

ENGLISH.	WESTERN PUSHTOO.	EASTERN PUSHTOO.
Rivulet	Shelu, or Khwur	
Wave	Chapu	
Sand	Shuga	
Dust	Doŏree	
Mud	Khutu	
Mountain	Ghur	
Coast	Gharu	
Rising ground	Ghoondy	
Valley	Dura	
Vapour	Lurŭ	
Fire	Or	
Heat	Gurmee	
Depth	Zhuwur	Oochut
Height	Lwur	(Plun broad)
Breadth	Plun wale	Oogood Walee
Length	Oozdwale (Oozhd, long)	
Hole	Soory	
Ditch	Khunduk	
Stone	Kane	
Gold	Sŏŏre Zer, Red Gold	
Silver	Speen Zer, White Gold (zer as ser in servant)	
Salt	Malgu	
Forest	Zungul	Wukhu
Herb	Washu	
Tree	Wunu	Muogy
A stake	Muozhy	
Verdure	Sheerwalee	
One	Yuo	
Two	Dwu	
Three	Dre	
Four	Tsulor	
Five	Pinza	
Six	Spuzh	
Seven	Owu	
Eight	Utu	
Nine	Nuh	
Ten	Lus	
Eleven	Yuolus	
Twenty	Shil	
Thirty	Dersh	

ENGLISH.	WESTERN PUSHTOO.	EASTERN PUSHTOO.
One hundred	Sel (as to sell)	
One thousand	Zir	
First	Awwul	
Second	Doyum	
Third	Dreum	
Fourth	Tsulorum	
Twentieth	Shilum	
I	Zu	
Thou	Tu	
He, she, it	Hughu	
We	Moozhu	Moongu
You	Tase	
They	Hughudee	
Above	Portu	
Below	Kshutu	
Before	Wrande	Oorande
Behind	Wroostu	Ooroosty
Upon	Pur, or Pu, with Bande, or Du Pasu affixed, Pu Lar Bande on the rood	
Of	Du	
From	Lu	
By	Du Lu (lit. of from)	
This	Da or Dugha	
That	Hugha	
If	Ku	
Unless	Ku nu (if not)	
Yet	Turosee (used for but, bare)	
Still	Turosee	
Though	Ku tsu	
But	Wule	
Without	Be	
And	O	
Since	Chu (as)	
Since	(in time). See Hugha Wuqta	
Notwithstanding	Bawujoodee	
Nevertheless	Tu Hugha Pore	
Except	Be lu	
Because	Pu hugha Subub	
Therefore	ditto, ditto	
Then	Hugha Wuqt	

ENGLISH.	WESTERN PUSHTOO.	EASTERN PUSHTOO.
There	Hugha Zae	
In	Pu, Kshe	Pu-ke
With	Suru	
Through	Pore	
To	Luru	Su (affixed)
Till	Tur	
About	Gurd-Wurd, Chaper	
Over	Du Pasu	
Much	Der	
Nearly	Nizde	
Under	Lande	
More	Zeeat	
Most	Zeeat, hee	
Very	Der	
Perhaps	Kuvee, Shayud	
Rather	Oorande	
Once	Yuw zila, or yuw ware	
Twice	Dwu zila or dwu Waree	
Only	Hoom	
Alone	Yuwaze	
Yes	Ho	
No	Nu	
Who	Tsok? relative Tse or Che	
What	Tse	
Where	Chere	Chirta
When	Kula	
Which	Koom	
To be	Wuswu	
To have	Lurul	
I will	Not to be had separate (I will do, Zu Wokrumu)	
I ought	Pu ma bande, Lazim de	
I may	Zu Shumu	
I can	Zu Shumu	
I wish	Zu Ghwarum	
To walk	Tlu	
To run	Zghakhtu	
To ride	Soore du	
To stand	Woodredu	
To fall	Lwedu	Prewabu
To lie down	Mŏŏlastu	

ENGLISH.	WESTERN PUSHTOO.	EASTERN PUSHTOO.
To eat	Khwaru	
To drink	Tishu	Sku
To fight	Jungedu, Jung kuwul	
A horse	As	
A cow	Ghwa	
A bull	Ghwae	
A buffalo	Meshu	
A cock	Chirg	
A hen	Chirgu	
A tiger	Zmurry	Moozurru
A serpent	Mar	
A sheep	Meeozh (a Doomba)	Gide
	Hure (a common sheep)	
A bird	Murgha	
A fish	Mahee	
A panther	Prang	
A camel	Oosh	Ookh
An elephant	Peel hutte	
A ship	Jahaz	
A boat	Bery	
A sail	Badban	
An oar	Chupa	
A sailor	Mangy, Muhana	
A commander of a a vessel	Nakhooda	
A soldier	Spahee	
An officer	Sirdar, Khan	
Cotton	Kalukee (uncleaned)	Malooch (uncleaned)
	Poombeh (cleaned)	Poombeh (cleaned)
Silk	Reshum	Rekhum
Wool	Ghwure	
Sickness	Na Raghgee, Na Jorteea	
Health	Jorusht	Sehut
A sword	Tooru	
A loom	Makoo	
A saw	Urru	
A shoe	Kupy	Punne
A bed	Kut	
A house	Khooneh, Kor	
A door	Derwazu, War	
A nail	Mekhtubilu	Mekh

ENGLISH.	WESTERN PUSHTOO.	EASTERN PUSHTOO.
A hammer	Mekhchoo	Dubuly
A knife	(Large) Charu (small) Choorby	
An island	Juzeeru	
Rice	Shole (the plant) Ooreezhu	Ooreja (the gum)
Wheat	Ghunum	
Hay	Bedu	Pushkula
Arrack	Shrab	
Opium	Turiak	
Bang	Bung	
A taylor	Khyat	
A weaver	Jolah	
A carpenter	Duroozgur	
A smith	Push, Ahingur	
A labourer in husbandry	Dehgan	
A rock	Loe Dubber (a large stone)	Loe Ghut
A cave	Ghar	
A shadow	Sore	
Far	Lere	
Near	Nizde	Nizhde
Beside	Du Chungy. As "Du Wunne du Chungy" (beside the tree)	
Beyond	Pu Hugha Khwa	Pore Pulu
Town	Sheher	Kheher
Field	Kur	
Root	Bekh	Zele
Bread	Mury	Dody
Pepper	Mirch	
Oil	Ghoru	
Eggs	Hugy	
White	Speen	
Black	Tor	
Red	Siru or Soor	
Green	Zerghoon	
Yellow	Zhir	
Blue	Sheen	
Brown	Oode	
Iron	Ospunu	
Lead	Soorp, Seeka	
Tin	Qulue	
Stranger	Purdy, Prudy	

ENGLISH.	WESTERN PUSHTOO.	EASTERN PUSHTOO.
Friend	Yar	
Enemy	Dushmun	Dokmun
To buy	Peerodu, Ranewo	
To sell	Khursuwul	Khurtsuwul
To borrow	Por Akhistul	
To lend	Por Wurkwwul	
Anger	Quhr, Ghosu	
Pity	Zirŭ Swy (heart-burning)	
Rich	Doorujadar, Doulutmund	
Poor	Khwar, Nest-mund	
Revenge	Keenu, Boghuz (the quality) Budlu (the act)	
Forgiveness	Bukhshuna, Bukhuna	
Hunger	Lwuzhu	Loga
Thirst	Tundu	
A branch	Shakh	Khakh
A leaf	Panĕ	
A flower	Gwul	
Earth	Khwoore, Khuvoree (ground-khak)	
Hard	Kluk, Sukht	
Soft	Post or Pasteh	
Quick	Zir	
Slow	Wro, Krar	Ro
Weakness	Kumzoree	
Strength	Zor	
To move	Khwuzedu	
To rest	Pate Kedu	
To fly	Aloowatu	
To swim	Lambowuhul	
To sink	Doobedu	
To seek	Katu (to look for)	
To find	Mindu	Moondu
To heal	Jorawul	
To kill	Ghwuzhlu	
Wisdom	Hoosheearee	Hookheearee
Power	Qoodrut	
Goodness	Kheguru	
Creation	Pydash	Pydakh
Providence	Tugdeer	
Temple	Musjid, Joomaet (of idols), Boot Khaneh	

ENGLISH.	WESTERN PUSHTOO.	EASTERN PUSHTOO.
Sacrifice	Koorbanee	
Priest	Mŏŏlla, Imam	
Pilgrimage	Huj, Zeearut	
Government	Hakimee	
King	Shah, Badshah	
Minister	Wuzeer, Saheb-Kar (prime minister)	
General	Sirdar	
Judge	Qazee	
Law	Shura	
Right	Hug	
Justice	Insaf	
Punishment	Tazeer	
Theft	Ghulu	
Murder	Ghwuzhlu, Qutul	
Rebellion	Yaghee Geeree	
War	Jung	
Peace	Rogha	
Honesty	Deeanut	
Humanity	Sureetob	
Charity	Sukhee tob	
Avarice	Tumu	
Generosity	Zilmee tob	
Virtue	Nekee	
Vice	Budee	
Understanding	Puhm, Pozhu	
Will	Murzee	
Certainty	Yekeenee	
Doubt,	Shuk	
Assent,	Munil, Qubool Awul	
Belief	Bawur	

THE END.

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ENGLISH.	WESTERN PUSHTOO.	EASTERN PUSHTOO.
Sacrifice	Kopdzooe	
Priest	Mullah, Imam	
Pilgrimage	Hajj, Zeearet	
Government	Hukoomee	
King	Shah, Padshah	
Minister	Wuzeer, Sahib-Kar	
	(prime minister)	
General	Sipah	
Judge	Qazee	
Law	Shuhg	
Rule	Hug	
Justice	Haqq	
Punishment	Tuzeer	
Theft	Ghlun	
Robber	Ghundulu, Qizil	
Rebellion	Yaghee Geeree	
War	Jung	
Peace	Roghda	
Honesty	Deeanut	
Hypocrisy	Sanwuch	
Liberty	Sulzee ioo	
Justice	Tiqan	
Government	Zimee-tob	
Virtue	Sulee	
Vice	Hulee	
Understanding	Pohn, Doolin	
Will	Mureee	
Certainty	Yeqeenee	
Doubt	Shuk	
Assent	Mumil, Qubool Ziwa	
Belief	Iemun	

THE END.