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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.

THE SECOND EDITION,

WITH AN ENTIRELY NEW MAP.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW;

AND J. MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

1819.

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ed by Mess.rs Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, Paternoster Row. 1813

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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

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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

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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 deficiencies of my information.

I am indebted to Mr. Strachey for many

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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

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branch of the enquiry, 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 aversion to display for which he was himself distinguished, to indulge in any further panegyric.*

* 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 Kinnier'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.

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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

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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 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.*

* 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.

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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 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 ac-

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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.

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curate 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.

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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

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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 paralells 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 judg-

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ment 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

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or not. Major Rennell places it some minutes to the south of 39° 30′: but the greatest variation is in the longitude, which Major Rennell 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 Moor 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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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 Honourable East India Company's Civil Service.

Surgeon, Mr. Macwhirter. Bengal Establishment.

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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

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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,

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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

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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 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. ||

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

† 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

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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 Oudipoor 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

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.

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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 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

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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 stooks 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 hun-

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dred 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,

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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 men-

* 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.

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tioned; 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 prepara-

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tion; camels had accordingly been hired at Canound to carry water and provisions, which completed the number 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.

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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

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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

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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 sun-set. The Europeans, however, did not suffer any serious illness. Some instances of violent inflammation in the eyelids were the only disorders of which we had to complain.

Our march to Bikaneer 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

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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 wells

* 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.

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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

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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 Hindostan; 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

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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.

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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

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

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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 Raja 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 now in our hands, and he seized the opportunity of my coming, to acknowledge our sovereignty. He then called

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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

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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 Khaun's, who had lost his way in tracking some camels

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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

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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

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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.

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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

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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 greyhounds, 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.

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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 show 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

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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

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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 in-

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ferior 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 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

* Melia Azadarachta. † Ficus Religiosa.

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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

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

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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 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

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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 Persiandress, 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

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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 gun-powder, 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.

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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 encamp-

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ment 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

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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.

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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 quick-sands, 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

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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 Hindostan. 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 building, three or

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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

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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.

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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-

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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 unburned 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 groups of horsemen round our camp, who came from a distance to look at us, and visitors

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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.

* 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.

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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 aquiline 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

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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 days' 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 greyhounds 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

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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 Sheerannees, 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

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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

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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 op-

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portunity 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 sheep-skin 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.

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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

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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 wa-

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tered 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,

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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

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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

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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

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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 Chusmeh (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 scene 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 re-

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cess 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 Moossa 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

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the most remote (those on the north and west) were covered with snow. The troops, and part of the baggage, had arrived by sun-set, 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

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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

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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

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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 cul-

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leaun, 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 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

* 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.

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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

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India. To him Tippoo Sultaun, Vizeer Ally, and all other Mahommedans, 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 Raja, 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 dissensions 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,

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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

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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

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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

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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

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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

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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,

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and prays once more; and, after another run, the King calls out "Khellut," (a dress,) which is followed by 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

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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 reli-

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gion. 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

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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

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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 in a loud and sonorous voice, "They are wel-"come;" 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

* 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.

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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, enquired 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 friend-

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ship. 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

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

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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 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

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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

* 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.

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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 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 staircase, 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

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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 taken 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 par-

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tiality for his native country. He then said he hoped we should see Caubul and all its 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

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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, peach, apple, pear, quince, and pomegranate trees, which afforded a greater display

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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

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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 buildings, 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

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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

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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

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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 culleaun 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 Feringee 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

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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. †

* 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,

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The Umla Baushee in his Dress of Offi

' L. Mar.ch Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, Paternoster Row, 1815.

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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

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" were laid out for us, in such numbers, that they formed a " large circle, within 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 entertain- " ment, 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 Pan- " niput. 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."

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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 Mahommedan 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.

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

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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

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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 for-

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tune, 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

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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

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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

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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

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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 dispatched Akram Khaun, with all the force he could collect, against Cashmeer, then held by a son of the rebellious vizier.

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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

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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

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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

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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,

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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

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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

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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 recrimin-

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ation. 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 re-

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presenting 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,

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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

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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 food-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 1000l., and also with fine shawls, to

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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 by-standers.

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 Usbek 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.

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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.

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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.

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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

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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.

* See Arrian.

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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 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

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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 inclosure, 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.

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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 reached 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

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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 Futteh 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 Futteh 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

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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

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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

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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,

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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;

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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

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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

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ed 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

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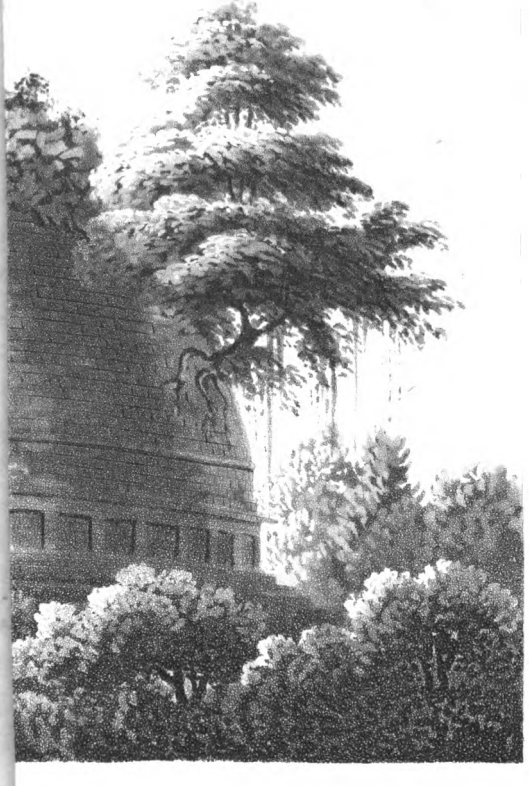

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down. The plan of the whole could, however, be easily discovered. Some broad steps (now mostly ruined) lead to the base of the pile: round the base is a moulding, on which are pilasters about four feet high, and six feet asunder; these have plain capitals, 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.

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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 Callabaugh, and had an air of extreme ruggedness and wildness, that must inspire a fearful presentiment of the country he was entering, into

* 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.

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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 August. 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

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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;

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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.

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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 goverment 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

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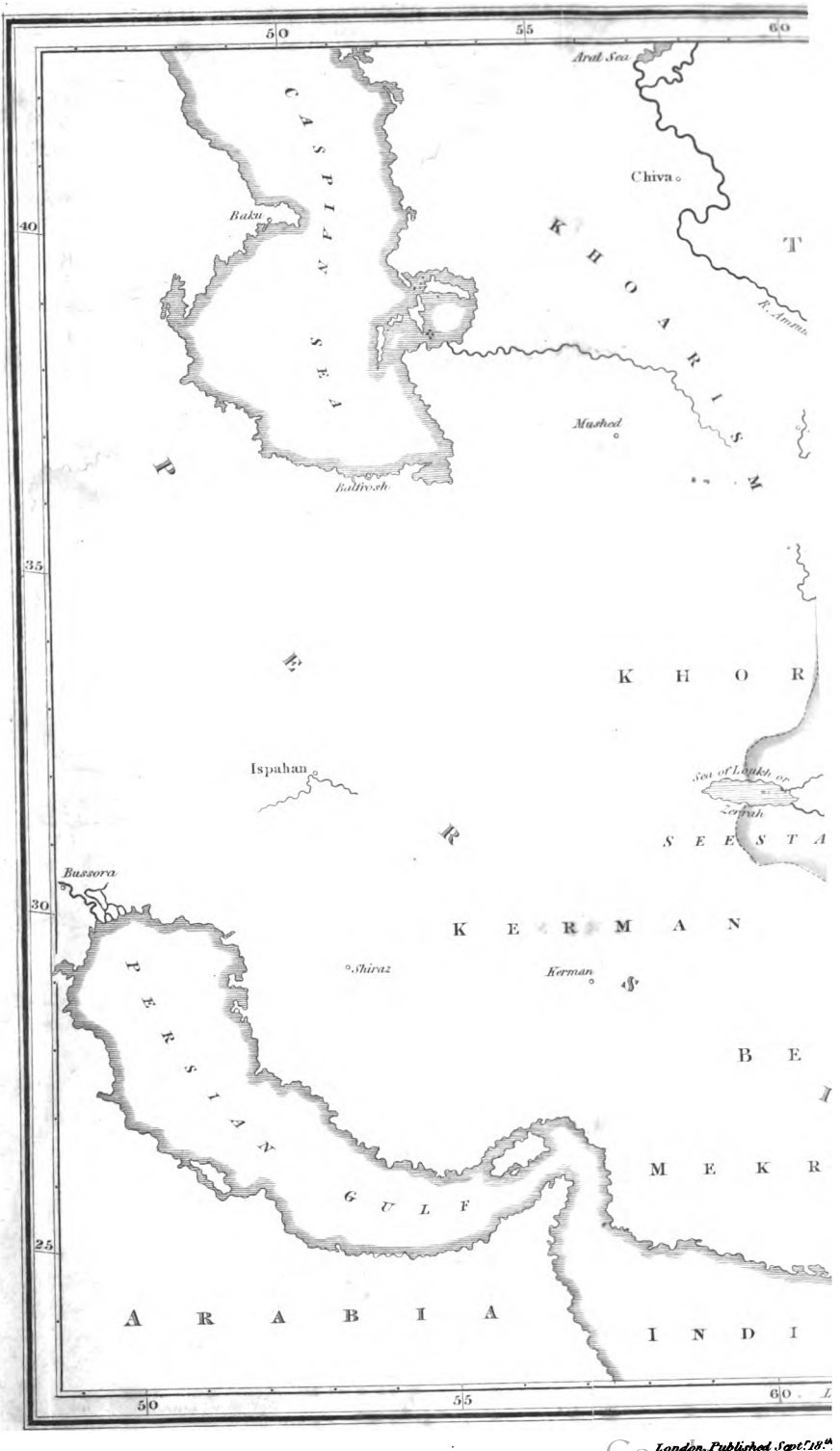

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countries in which the Khootba * is read, and the money coined in his name.

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 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

* 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.

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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,

* Arrowsmith's Asia, 1801.

† I conceive the Beloches and Tartars to be much underrated in this table.

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will be occupied by the Afghauns, but I shall first give a sketch of the whole kingdom; 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 opi-

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nion 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 boundary 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.

* 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 μεν ἐστιν, &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 Pamphylia 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.

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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

* 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 Ladauk. This range, or a particular pass in it, near the road just mentioned, is well known in Toorkistaun by the name of Karrakoorrum.

Since this note was published, I have been led by an examination of Izzut Oollah's route to believe that he crossed Mooz Taugh in long. 78° and lat. 39°. I have therefore put it down as it now stands in the map; and I do not think it improbable that the Musart of Pallas, laid down by Mr. Arrowsmith between lat. 38° and lat. 40°, is a continuation of this mountain. 1816.

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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 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.

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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 Toor-

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kistaun 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

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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

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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

* 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.

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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 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

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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

* The natives, as usual, have no name for this range; at least, none that would be every where 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.

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is joined to Hindoo Coosh, and is connected 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.

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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 every where 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 Paropamisan 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

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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

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divide them, that it will be convenient to treat them as separate. The Afghauns 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, therefore, 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.

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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.

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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 discernible; 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 sum-

* 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.

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mits; 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 the snow on any part of the range in the month of June,

* (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 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 two 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."

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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

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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.

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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 browse 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

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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

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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 Afghaun tribe, whom I may not have occasion to mention again);

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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 Hin-

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

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doo 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 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

* 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.

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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 Hurryoob, 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 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

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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

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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

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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 sandstone. 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 brushwood.

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

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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 Jellaul-poor, 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,

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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 Kuttuk. 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

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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

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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.

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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.

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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

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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.

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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,

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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 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,

* 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 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.

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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 and the survey of the Ganges made by Lieu-

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tenant Webbe in 1808, serves to strengthen the authority of both.

It was formerly believed that the river of Ladauk was one of the principal streams of the Ganges, and that opinion was supported by the high authority of Major Rennell; 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

* 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.

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

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 Solimanny 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

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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. *

* Since the account of the source of the Indus was written, I have received a highly interesting journal from Meer Izzut

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

* See Appendix, D.

Oollah, a very intelligent native of Delly, who was induced by Mr. Moorcroft, 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 40 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 that 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 30 coss north-east of Mutauyen), and from that place (according to Izzut Oollah), 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). It is plain from this account that Izzut Oollah understands the water of Tibet to be the stream known to us by the name of Kishen Gunga. It may have been the near approach of the course of this river to that of the Indus which gave rise to the opinion noticed by Mr. Macartney, that the Hydaspes branched off from the Indus.

About 20 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

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Of those which join it from the west, I have already mentioned the Abba Seen. The next

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" the river of Attock (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 Attock. This river
" has here no proper name, but is called San Poo, which, in
" the language of Tibet, signifies great river." From Khil-
lich, Izzut Oollah went up 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 further north than Mr. Macartney's. From Ley, Izzut Oollah proceeded to Yarkund; and about 18 coss to the east of north from Ley, he met the river Shauyook, and proceeded along its banks beyond the glacier of Khumdaun, to its source under the ridge of Karrakoorrum, nearly due north of Ley. The distance from Ley was 15 marches by the road, which, however, was very circuitous. Izzut Oollah does not describe the glacier as forming part of the range of Karrakoorrum, but as a separate mountain of ice, seen on the left of the road two marches before reaching Karrakoorrum, and extending 200 coss from Tibet of Balti to Surikkol. Though he does not speak of *the pass* of Karrakoorrum as exceedingly high or steep, he gives a frightful picture of the cold and desolation of the part of the mountain over which his journey lay for two marches. During that time he and his fellow-travellers suffered from difficulty of breathing, and were also seized with fits of giddiness and vomiting.

The source of the river of Yarkund is divided by the ridge from the Shauyook, and is distant 18 marches from Yarkund, in a direction to the east of south.

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river is that of Kaushkhaur, which rises in Pooshtee Khun, the peak in Beeloot Taugh,

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This account agrees with Mr. Macartney's in the main facts of the eastern origin of the Indus, and of the connection between that river and the river of Ladauk. It also confirms the junction of the northern stream, which, however, it proves to rise in Mooz Taugh, and not to issue from Surrikkol; but it is unfavourable to the junction supposed to take place in the neighbourhood of Draus, and even throws some doubts over the existence of a left-hand branch of such magnitude as that described in the text. Eight marches from Cashmeer, and about six coss beyond Mutauyen, Izzut Oollah came to Draus, a town and small district on the water of Tibet. Three marches further on he came to Pishcum, where the water of Tibet turns suddenly to the west. Four marches from Pishcum he reached the Sanpoo, or river of Ladauk, at Khillich, having crossed no river between that and Pishcum. From Khillich he went three marches along the river to Ley or Ladauk, but mentions the junction of no other stream.

It would therefore appear, that if the left branch (which has been supposed to be the main stream) exist at all, it must join the river of Ladauk above Ley; and this is so much at variance with the account of the junction noticed by Mr. Macartney, that it very much lessens our confidence in its accuracy on other points. There is, however, a conjecture which would reconcile the accounts of Mr. Macartney's informants with that of Izzut Oollah, while it would remove a great improbability from the geography of the latter. If Izzut Oollah's route were inserted in Mr. Macartney's map, and accommodated to that gentleman's position of Ley, the town of Draus would fall about 30 miles to the south of the place assigned to the junction of the two branches by Mr. Macartney. Pishcum (from whence the water of Tibet turns to the west) would be distant about 30 miles (a little to the north of east) from the same spot, and would stand upon the bank of Mr. Macartney's left branch. Is it not,

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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

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then, probable, that the water of Tibet joins the Indus 30 miles below Pishcum, and is, in reality, the left branch of Mr. Macartney's? If this be the case, Mr. Macartney's account remains uncontradicted; for the river of Ladauk is joined, two marches to the north of the town of Draus (and perhaps within the district), by a stream coming from the north of east. It is not improbable that the water of Tibet may have seemed to his informants to be the greater branch, as it may have been swelled by rain or the melting of the snows on the hills of Cashmeer, by which the stream of Ladauk would not be affected. Such a supposition agrees particularly well with the account of the rapidity of the stream mnntioned by Mr. Macartney. If the water of Tibet does not join the river of Ladauk, the course assigned to it by Izzut Oollah would carry it for 200 miles parallel to that river, at the distance of about 10 miles, which does not seem probable.

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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.

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,

* 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.

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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 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.

The Gomul rises at Doorchelly to the south

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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 every where 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

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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 every where 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

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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.

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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

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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.

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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.

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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

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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

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