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SEPTEMBER—NOVEMBER, 1840.

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PAPERS ON AFGHANISTAN, CONTAINING THE NARRATIVE OF JOURNEYS PERFORMED IN THAT AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRIES, BETWEEN 1827 AND 1830, &c. &c. BY C. MASSON, ESQ.

## INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

[The following documents are part of a series deposited in 1829 with the late Colonel David Wilson, then Resident in the Persian Gulf. That respected gentleman forwarded them to the Bombay Government. A copy of the series was presented to the Bombay Geographical Society, under a request that they should not be published without the author's consent. In 1838, the Society did me the honor to intimate their wish to publish them. I would have willingly acceded, but that I was aware, the documents, (never written under the notion that they would have been thought worthy of being transmitted to the Government, or otherwise made use of,) were so loosely prepared, that I felt a delicacy in presenting them to public notice, in the shape they were in.

On my reaching Bombay the present year, the Society were pleased to renew their wish, and as I was afforded the opportunity of revising the papers, I had great satisfaction in accepting the proposition.

It is right to observe that the labours of revision have been confined to the removal of statements, my subsequent knowledge taught me to be erroneous, — to the insertion of a few additional remarks, — and to the reduction to an uniform standard of the nomenclature of persons and places which was sadly neglected in the original papers.

CHARLES MASSON.]

Bombay 5th June 1841.

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*I — Narrative of a Journey from Ták in Dáman to Pesháwer, through the unfrequented countries of Marwat, Bannú, the valleys of Hângù and Kohát.*

The usual route from this part of the country to Pesháwer, leads along the banks of the Indus to Kála Bágh, famous for its salt mountains, and thence by Shagr Darra to Kohát in Bangash. I had been recommended to follow this route, both that it was considered the safer, and that it was likely I should receive every assistance from Ahmed Khán, the chief of Isá Khél, a town on the road south of Kála Bágh, who had so great a predilection for Feringhís, that the fame thereof was bruited throughout the country. As Mr. Elphinstone's Mission in 1809 had traversed this route, I decided to follow the unfrequented one of Marwat and Bannú.

Such is the reputation of the Patáns inhabiting these countries, that Fáquírs or mendicants are deterred from entering them. Placing my trust in divine providence, I resolved to commit myself amongst them, and accordingly one evening, I turned my back upon the town of Ták, and alone took the road. A northerly course of some five or six miles brought me near a village, when the clouds gathered and threatened rain. I seated myself under a Karíta bush, while the shower fell, which continued until the approach of night. I then left my quarters and entered the village to find out a place of shelter and repose. I found a company of individuals, seated in a small hut or shed. One of them conversed with me, and questioned me as to my country and religion, on being answered an European and Christian, he informed his companions that Hazarat 'Isá, or our Saviour, was an assil or genuine Patán. This agreeable communication ensured for me a hearty reception, and excited a little curiosity, to gratify which a fire was kindled that my features might be the better observed. The best entertainment the village afforded was produced, and in such quantities, that I was compelled to cry quarter. The asserter of our Saviour's Patán lineage, who proved to be a Saiyad, made himself particularly busy, and provided me with a snug place to sleep in, and plenty of warm clothing.

In the morning, a march of four or five cosses cleared me of the villages of Ták, and I moved direct across the country, towards a break in the encircling hills, through which I was given to understand, the road led to Marwat.

On reaching a cultivated spot, without habitations, but where some people were engaged in reaping the corn, I enquired of them as to the road. They strongly urged me not to venture alone, for I should infallibly be murdered. Their representations were so forcible, and so earnestly made, that I was induced to take their advice; and turned off in a western direction, with the view of gaining a small town and fort, called Kúndí, which they had designated, and where, as the high road led from it to Marwat, it was possible I might find companions for the journey. In my progress to this place, I encountered a man who drew his sword, and was about to sacrifice me as an infidel Síkh. I had barely the time to apprise him that I was a Feringhí, when he instantly sheathed his weapon, and placing his arm around my waist in a friendly mode, conducted me to a village near at hand, where I was hospitably entertained. I here learned that Kúndí was a coss distant, and therefore resumed my route. As I approached it, an old man tending goats, seized a small bundle I carried. I expostulated with him as well as I could, and prayed him not to compel me to employ force to make him let go his hold, assuring him at the same time that I did not intend he should make the bundle booty, but he seemed obstinate in his design. He had merely a stick, and I could easily have vanquished him, but shame deterred me from striking so aged and enfeebled a being. Other persons made their appearance, and obviated the necessity of contest. They asked who I was, and on my replying a Feringhí, they pushed the old man away, and rebuked him for his audacity. He swore on his faith, as a Mússúlmán, that he had not intended robbery, and that he supposed I was a Hindú. — I was led into the village, and regaled with bread and buttermilk. I was here informed, to my great satisfaction, that a party was then in the village, that would proceed in the morning by the route I intended to follow; its destination being Pesháwer. I found the party to consist of a Saiyad of Pesháwer and his attendants, with a Múnshí of Serwar Khán, the chief of Ták, who had, besides other articles, two fine camels in charge, as presents to Súltán Máhomed-Khán one of the Pesháwer Sirdárs. I had heard of this Saiyad at Ták, but understood that he was on a mission from Ahmed Sháh, the pretended champion of Islám in the Yúsef Zái country, and that his object was to procure funds from old Serwar in aid of the good cause. I now became instructed that he was an agent of Súltán Mahomed Khán, which did not however militate against his using his exertions to advance the pugnacious Saiyad's views, although in doing so, he was consulting neither the wishes or advantage of his liege.

lord and master. The great, in these countries, are but indifferently served.

On paying my respects to the Saiyad, I was most civilly received, and assured of assistance and protection during the journey. I esteemed my fortune great in meeting with this man, as in his society all doubts and misgivings, as to the perils of the route, vanished. Kúndí had a fort, the residence of Ahmed Khán, the governor, a respectable man, who might be allowed to be, what he himself told the Saiyad, he was, a good Pátán, and a faithful vassal of Serwar Khán. He had a garrison of one hundred men, Kúndí being a frontier post on the Bannú side. We had an opportunity of observing it was necessary, for towards evening the alarm was beat, and the soldiers hastened to the plain, the marauders of Bannú having issued from their hills and approached the place. They however retired, and Ahmed Khán, before re-entering his fort, exercised his few mounted attendants in firing their matchlocks, and in practice with their lances. The greater part of his soldiers were on foot, men of small stature, and clothed in black or dark dresses. They were Rohillas or Afghán mountaineers. We were provided with a repast of fowls in the evening, Ahmed Khán having received the party as guests; and early on the next morning we started, accompanied by a guide, for Marwat.

A march of about seven cosses, the road tolerably good, brought us to the mouth of the pass through the hills, when our guide solicited his dismissal, urging his fear to attend us farther. The passage through these hills, which are of small elevation, was generally wide and convenient. About mid-way were a number of natural wells or cavities in the rocks, where numbers of people, men and women, were busy in filling their massaks or skins with water. These they transport on asses and bullocks. They had come thither from a distance of five and six cosses, belonging to the villages on the plain of Marwat. The water may be good and wholesome, but was unpalatable, having strongly imbued a flavour from the numerous skins continually plunged into it. A woman recognized me to be a Feringhí from the cap I wore;—the recognition was productive only of a little innocent mirth.

On gaining the ascent of the last hill in this small range of elevations, on which was an extensive burial place, the plains of Marwat and Bannú burst upon the sight. The numerous villages marked by their several groups of trees, the yellow tints of the ripe corn fields, and the fantastic forms of the surrounding mountains, presented in their union and contrast a splendid scene. In front and

to the west, the distant ranges exhibited a glorious spectacle from their pure whiteness, diversified by streaks of azure, red and pearly grey. These beautiful and commanding features of the landscape were enhanced by the charm of an unclouded sky. I was lost in wonder and rapture on contemplating this serene yet gorgeous display of nature, and awoke from my reverie but to lament that the villainy of man should make a hell, where the Creator had designed a paradise, a train of thought forced upon my mind, when I thought of the lawless tribes, who dwell in or wander over these delightful scenes.

The distant hills, which here appeared to so much advantage, were I presume the snowy range, of *Seféd Koh*, which, separates *Khúram*, or the country of the *Jájís* and *Túrís*, from the valleys of *Jelálabád*, together with the variously colored hills which stretch westward from *Kála Bágh*, and in which the salt mines are found.

Three or four cosses brought us to the first of the villages on the plain, which we passed, and then successively several others. In this part of our route, I went to some reapers at a little distance from the road to ask for water. On learning that I was a *Feringhí*, they put themselves to the trouble of fetching some, which was cool, and had been lying in the shade. At length we entered a village, where we found the people in a group sitting on a prepared mound of earth, raised close to the *masjít*, or place of prayers, engaged in discourse, and smoking the *chillam*. Similar mounds are found in all the villages of *Marwat*, and appropriated to the same social purposes, while they have the same location, viz, near to the *masjits*. Our *Saiyad* explained to the assembly the objects of his journey, which had made him their visitor, and buttermilk was brought for the party. The houses were neatly constructed, principally of reeds, the climate and lack of rain rendering more substantial dwellings unnecessary. In this, as in every other village, were two or three *Hindú bannías* — a farther march of two cosses, during which we passed a large pond of muddy rain water, brought us to a village, where we halted to escape the heat of the day, which had become very oppressive.

I was here well received, and attracted much notice. I was lodged in the *masjít* by myself, my friends of the party being elsewhere accommodated. This erection was neatly and commodiously built on an elevation, a *chahárpáhi* or cot was furnished me to repose upon, and large supplies of bread and milk were brought for my repast. Moreover the village barber was produced, and cut the nails of my fingers and toes, which were deemed to require an ope-

ration, and my friends of the village continued their various attentions, shampooing me against my will, but convinced I must like what they liked themselves, until I signified my wish to take a little rest.

In the afternoon, we left this village for Lakkí, a town distant about six cosses, to which the plain gradually descends, the river of Khúram flowing in the hollow. A little beyond the village we descended into an enormous ravine of great depth; in crossing it, so intense was the heat, that perspiration was copiously excited. This fracture appeared to extend across the country from east to west. In the evening we arrived at Lakkí, two or three villages with much cultivation stretching to the left. This is a town with pretty good bazar, and is seated on the river of Khúram, a fine stream. It may be said to be defenceless. The residence of the chief authority, as here called, the malek, although styled the killa or fort, not meriting that appellation.

Our party was entertained by the malek, and we supped on fowls and pillau. In the morning we were allowed a mounted guide, armed with sword and spear, to conduct us to the villages of Bannú. Crossing the river, which at this season of the year, (I believe about the month of May) was but knee deep, we ascended the gentle rise of the opposite plain, on which was seated a village. Our Saiyad did not think prudent to enter it, but the guide went there to obtain some information relative to our route before we attempted it. The result being I presume satisfactory, we started across a barren uninhabited plain, in extent about ten cosses, and chequered occasionally with small stunted bushes and dwarf trees, mostly mimosas. In one spot were two or three holes containing muddy water, sufficient to allay the thirst of the casual passenger, but not adequate to supply the wants of large parties. Passing a large burial ground we neared the villages of Bannú. On reaching a place where we found deposits of muddy rain water, we fell in with six or seven robbers, armed to the teeth. They did not however attack us, although on the look out for spoil, the party being protected by the sanctity of the Saiyad, whose holy character was made known to them. They were also told that I was a Feringhí, and as I was about helping myself to water from the deposit near to which they were standing, they obligingly pointed out another place, where the water was clearer or less muddy. From this spot the surface of the plain was a little more wooded, but still slightly. On our road we met a man with an axe in his hand, who on being told of the party we had just left at the water, retraced his steps; he was very thank-



ful for the information, and said that he should have lost his axe. Where the plain ceased, we again crossed the river of Khúram, its course was here rapid and over a stony bed, but the depth was shallow. We then came upon cultivated ground, and the villages and castles. As we passed by these, the inhabitants who were generally sitting outside the gates, would rise and pay their respects and salutations, judging from the demure aspect of the Saiyad, as well as from his white turban, that he was a descendant of the prophet, or like one, had saintly pretensions. Perhaps also conscious that no strangers but those armed with a sacred character would venture amongst them. We halted at a town called Naggar, of tolerable size, and walled in, but its defences much injured by time, were neglected. The bazar I did not see, but conclude it was pretty large, from the number of Hindús I noticed. Before we reached Naggar, we passed a large encampment of Vazírís, who had come here for the sake of pasture, which was abundant. We were duly provided with lodgings, and the malek came and sate with us, bringing his musicians and falconers — the latter to display his state, and the former to beguile our tedium. He was a young man dressed gaily in silks of gandy colours, and rather trifling in his manners. He directed his attention to me, and amongst many questions, enquired what I would wish prepared for my evening's meal. He was surprised to find that any thing prepared for himself would be agreeable to me. He farther desired me to write him something that he might wear, as a charm, around his neck. Not wishing to take the trade of my companion, the Saiyad, out of his hands, I protested that I possessed no supernatural power or secret, on which the Saiyad scribbled something on a scrap of paper, which was reverentially received by the malek. Conferring charms and antidotes against accidents and diseases, is one of the means employed by Saiyads and others to impose upon the credulity of the ignorant, who however are very willingly imposed upon.

Matters were going on very amicably, when a soldier recognized in the horse of the Ták Múnshí, or vakíl, as he now announced himself, an animal that had been stolen from himself. Much altercation ensued, the Naggar people insisting upon the delivery of the horse, and the Múnshí refusing to comply, maintaining that his master, the Nawáb, had purchased it. This dispute detained us the next day, nor were we suffered to proceed the following one, until papers were given, and it was agreed that some one should go to Ták to receive the value of the horse. A singularity attended this horse, as it was named by the people the Feringhí horse, being

branded with numbers and a cross. It had been, as they asserted, rejected from the cavalry service in India. On this account they often referred to me, and urged that the marks did not allow them to be mistaken as to the animal.

This affair arranged, we resumed our journey; and in our progress this day over a well cultivated country, were saluted by nearly every individual we met with a cordial shake of the hand, and the Pashto greeting of "Urkalah rází" or "You are welcome." I knew not how to reconcile this friendly behaviour with the character for ferocity I had heard of these people — and was gratified to discover that if implacable abroad, they were possessed of urbanity, at home. Every house here on the plain, without the towns, where numbers impart a feeling of security, is indeed a castle and fortified, and it would appear that the feuds, existing in the community, render it imperative that every individual should adopt precautionary measures for his safety. The advocate of anarchy, in contemplating so precarious a state of society, might learn to prize the advantages conferred by a mild and well regulated government, as he might be induced to concede a little of his natural right, in preference to existing in a state of licentious independence as the savage inhabitant of Bannú, continually dreading and dreaded.

Near the houses or castles were generally small copses of mulberry trees, and occasionally a few plum trees and vines were intermingled with them. Water was most plentiful, and conducted over the soil in numberless canals. We halted this day at another good sized town, and were kindly received by the malek. He was very civil to me, and wished me to stay some time with him and rest myself, pointing out the toils attendant upon the long march through the hills in front, which he said I should not be able to accomplish, as my feet were already blistered. He assured me that I should be paid every attention, and that a goat should be furnished every day for my food. He seemed to think that Feringhís ate voraciously of animal food. In the evening he ordered some of his men to practice firing at a target, for my diversion, and one of his reasons for wishing my stay, I believe, was that I might teach his men always to hit the mark, which from what I observed of their dexterity now, they never contrived to do.

This malek was superior to his brother chief of Naggar both in years and wisdom — and he was so frank and courteous, that we were glad to stay a day in the town as his guests. We occupied the principal masjít in which the effects of the party were lodged — and the camel saddles which were plentifully garnished with silver

ornaments were covered with linen, the better to elude observation. The men of the party had gone to the malek's house, his family, no doubt, having ample need of many of the Saiyad's charms, leaving a youth, of twelve to fourteen years of age, in charge of the property. I was also reposing there. The youth closed the doors of the masjid, and fastened them inside, refusing admittance to persons, who it proved were weavers of cotton stuffs, and accustomed to lodge their machinery, when their labor was over, in the house of God. They insisted upon being allowed entrance — the youth was stedfast in denial, and we were assailed by stones ejected through apertures in the walls. They rained in upon us so copiously, that the urchin apprehensive of the result of a siege, became bewildered, and opened the doors — when the assailants poured in, and the covers of the camel saddles being removed, the silver ornaments were exposed to observation. The youth was smartly beaten by two or three of them, and he in turn espying the Múnshís sword, unsheathed it, and compelled his opponents to fly. He pursued them, sword in hand and bursting with rage, into the town. At this stage of the business, the Saiyad and his companions returned. One of them was dispatched to inform the malek of the outrage, but it proving that no offence had been intended, the affair terminated. The people were particularly anxious, that I being a stranger, should be convinced that no robbery had been designed, and that the saddles were uncovered merely to satisfy curiosity. The Hindús even seemed so concerned for the good repute of the place, that many of them came to me upon the subject, and they assured me, that had I wealth not to be counted, it would be secure in this town. There was an impression here, and I had noted it also at Naggar, that the property with the party belonged to me: indeed that my companions were my servants, and that my poverty was assumed the better to pass through the country.

The next morning we were provided with a guide to conduct us through the mountains, and a small horse was presented by the malek to our Saiyad. As we took leave, the malek, with apparent sincerity, again urged me to stay with him some time, and let my feet get well. He pointed to the hills I had to cross, and seemed seriously to think I should break down on the road. We were not far, or more than three or four miles from the skirt of the hill, to which we directed our course. At a village near the town we had just left, I was accosted by three or four persons, who told me they were sent by Mír Kammaradín, with his salám and request that I would wait for him, as he would be at the town from which

we had started on the morrow. I asked who is Mír Kammaradín, and was told a faquí. I reasoned what have I to do with a faquí, or why should I on his account delay my journey. The messengers, while testifying extreme anxiety that I should wait for their master, were unable to advance a better motive for my doing so, than the wish of the Mír. I had preceded my companions; when they came up, I enquired of them who Mír Kammaradín was, and they said slightly "a faquí who has been to Delhí." This answer did not encrease my desire to see him, and I dismissed his messengers. Subsequently when I reached Pesháwer, I found that the Mír was a highly respected Pír, who had been very useful to Mr. Moorcroft, and that the Vazíris were his moríds, and looked up to him as their spiritual guide — that on this occasion he was about to make his annual progress amongst them to receive their offerings and his dues. In conversation with his son at Chamkanní, the young man observed truly, that I had lost an excellent opportunity of visiting the Vazíris, under the protection of his father — that I might have seen what no Feringhí had ever seen, and have filled my book with extraordinary things. To obviate the chagrin experienced when I became apprised of the chance I had suffered to slip away, I endeavoured to persuade myself that "whatever is, is best," yet I have often felt regret, although aware that the case was one in which regret was useless.

We soon arrived at the entrance into the hills, where we found capacious reservoirs of excellent water. The whole of the day was occupied in the ascent and descent of mountains of great elevation. A few Vazíri huts of miserable appearance occurred in some of the water courses. Our people procured fire from the inhabitants, and did not wish me to make myself too conspicuous. We halted a while at a spot where two or three vines were hanging over a spring of water, and were joined by several persons although we did not see their habitations.

I did not consider we were in any particular danger amongst these hills, indeed so far as I could judge, in none. The Vazíris, although notorious robbers, in common with other lawless tribes, regard the descendants of their prophet with awe, and a feeling of respectful reverence, and esteem themselves fortunate to receive their benedictions, and other little aids their superstition teaches them to think essential, which they (the Saiyads) liberally bestow, as they cost them little. We had moreover the Bannú guide with us, whose protection would probably have availed us more, in case of need, than the hallowed character of the Saiyad; the Vazíris and peo-

ple of Bannú being on a good understanding, therefore one party would be careful not to invalidate a safe conduct afforded by the other. It was clear also that the malek, a prudent man, had given us a steady and trustworthy guide. While it was yet day-light we passed around the brow of a hill, opposite to which and separated by a water course, was a much higher one, on whose summit were a series of walls describing the ancient fortress, named in these parts *Káfr Kót*, or the infidel's fortress. Above the path we were following, the rocks were so arranged, that I was doubtful whether the peculiarity of structure was the effect of art, or of the sportive hand of nature. They wore the appearance of decayed buildings, while on the verge of the hill was a parapet, or what so nearly resembled it, that in the cursory view my time permitted me to take, I did not dare make up my mind respecting it, and I would have been very glad, had not the fear of losing my company prevented me from staying, to have satisfied myself.

*Káfr Kót* is believed by the natives to have existed before the Mahomedan invasion of India. The stones, employed in its construction, are represented to be of wonderful dimensions. I have been told by a gentleman who has visited it, that he did not consider it so ancient, as there are embrasures for artillery in the towers. The natives, in reply to this objection, affirm that the embrasures are modern additions. The fortress has long since been abandoned, owing, it is said, to water being distant. This is one of those places, which deserved a more rigid inspection. A line of massive wall, wherever found, is styled by the present inhabitants of these regions, *Káfr Kót* or *Killa Káfr*, equivalent and general terms, which, in most instances, ill explain the nature of the remains of antiquity, on which they are conferred. So far from having been originally places of defence, the greater number of them denote the sepulchral localities of bye-gone races. In the remote and sequestered sites in which they are found, it is inconceivable that large towns and fortresses should have been fixed, the former could not have flourished, and the latter would have been of no utility. Whatever may be the character of *Káfr Kót*, it would have afforded me pleasure to have visited it, particularly as, with reference to its adaptation as a fortress in modern times, it has sometimes occurred to me, that it may be the *Naggar*, mentioned by the historians of *Amír Taimúr* as in the vicinity of Bannú, although it will have been noted that there is a *Naggar* in the district of Bannú itself.

Night overtook us amongst the hills, and our guide was desirous that we should rest and await the morn, to which the *Saiyad* would

not consent. At length to our great joy we cleared them, and traversing for about two cosses, a broken and stony plain, where the white pink grew abundantly in a state of nature, we arrived, after the period of the last prayers, at a village seated on the skirt of another and smaller range of hills. Here we occupied the masjít, and the malek notwithstanding the late hour, ordered his people to make ready a repast of rice, deeming it incumbent to shew attention to the Pír Sáhib who had honored him with his company. A távíz as usual repaid the hospitality. This march my friends computed at twenty-four cosses of road distance, and from its difficult nature my feet became exceedingly painful, although I had occasionally been seated on the horses and camels. As we entered this village, our guide from Bannú took his leave, saying that the people here were his enemies; he hoped that we were satisfied with him, and shook all our hands in turn.

At day break next morning we ascended the hills, our route over which, was visible from the village. We crossed three successive ranges of considerable altitude, although very inferior in that respect to the great mountains of the former march. Our route led westernly until we crossed a small but rapid stream, after which we turned to the north. The hills since leaving Bannú had been tolerably well wooded, although they produced no timber trees. In these smaller ranges the quantity of wood increased, and pomegranate with other wild fruit trees were abundant. In the valleys and water courses, a variety of aloe was constantly seen. We at length came into a valley of considerable extent, and halted during the heat of the day in a small copse, where weavers were occupied with their labours, and close to a village, at the skirt of the hills to the right hand. Our morning's repast was provided by these weavers, who set before us cakes of bread, beautifully white, which I found were prepared from júári flour. On crossing the stream just mentioned, the party refreshed themselves with the water. A tin vessel was given to me by the Saiyad, who afterwards replenished it, and handed it to one of the Ták camel drivers. The man refused to drink from it, as I had used it, asserting that I was not a Mússúlmán. The Saiyad smiled. I had often found that in towns, the low and ignorant, especially such as had visited India, would reject any vessel I had touched, alledging that Europeans ate swine, and moreover dogs, jackals, &c. Men of sense and condition were not troubled with like scruples, and from them I heard of no such indecent remarks. Europeans have certainly an evil reputation for not being very choice in their food. There is a saying that a Mússúlmán may eat with a

Jew, but should never sleep in his house; with a Christian on the contrary he should never eat, but may sleep beneath his roof. It is supposed that the Jew rises many times during the night, with the intent to slay his guest.

In the afternoon our party resumed their journey, proceeding up the valley which leads to Hángú and Kohát. The scenery is extremely diversified, and many of the trees were charged with flowers unknown to me. Beneath the hills, on the opposite side of the valley, were two or three villages with houses built of stones, as the structures here universally are — small copses of fruit trees were always seen near the villages, the vine, the plum, and the peach. I was so exhausted this day that I lagged behind the party, the camel drivers also, having discovered that I was not a Mússúlmán, declined to allow me to ride their animals, although requested to do so by the Saiyad. I did not remember the name of the place where it was intended to pass the night, but I followed the high road until it branched off into two directions. I might have been perplexed, but a shepherd hailed me, and told me to take the road to the right. He had been instructed by my friends to point it out to me. I was soon overtaken by an armed man, but I could understand little of what he said, his dialect being Pashto. I saw however that he intended to be very civil. In his company, I arrived at a village where I found the Saiyad and his party, and where we passed the night. The village was called Ahmed Kozah, and had a small bazar.

In the morning, we traced a road skirting the hills to the left, the valley to the right having considerable expansion, with two or three villages and much cultivation. In the course of our progress, we passed many small groves of mulberry and other trees, where masjíts were erected, with dependent and contiguous wells of water, serving at once as places of repose and refreshment to the weary passenger, and for devotion. The union of these objects I judged extremely decorous and commendable, and as reflecting credit on Mússúlmán manners and hospitality. I often availed myself of them on this day, for the sad state of my feet did not allow me to keep pace with my friends. I had long descried on the summit of a lofty hill a white tomb, arriving parallel to which was the small town of Hángú, in a recess of the hills, with numerous gardens, or orchards of fruit trees, in its vicinity. It was said, I believe, to be eight cosses distant from Ahmed Kozah.

I was here conducted to the chief Sadú Khán, a son of the Nawáb Samad Khán, who resides at Kábal. He received me courte-

ously, and invited me to stay some days with him, to which I had no difficulty in consenting, as the road was not now so dangerous, and companions could at all times be procured. The Saiyad and his party had, I found, passed on without halting here, the reason for which, although I knew not at the time, became manifest in a few days by the events which developed themselves; I was utterly incapable of keeping up with them, and felt no anxiety for the few effects in charge of the good man, which I was certain to recover whenever I reached Pesháwer.

Hángú comprises perhaps three hundred houses, and has a small bazar, the Hindú houses in which are built of mud. The fort, in which the chief dwelt, was built of stones and defended by jinjáls. The situation of this little town is very pretty, and it is bounteously provided with water — many fine springs issuing from the adjacent rocks, and forming a rivulet which winds through the valley in the direction of Kohát. In its numerous orchards were the vine, the apple, the plum, the peach, the common mulberry, and the sháhtút or royal mulberry, as here called. It may be noted that the common mulberry of these countries is not that of Great Britain (the *morus nigra*), the latter being what is called the sháh tút, or Royal Mulberry, at Kábal. This term, as at Hángú and the countries to the south and east, is applied to a very different tree, which is not known at Kábal, and produces long taper fruit of colours both red and white. I also observed the bramble or blackberry bush scrambling over the hedges. Sadú Khán had a small flower garden which he tended himself. This young chief was far more respectable in appearance and behaviour than the great men I had been, of late, accustomed to see; he was indeed a well bred Dúrání. He was allowed by his people to be of amiable disposition, and was considered a devout Mússúlmán, which meant, I presume, that he was punctual in the observance of prayers and fasting. Yet he had like most men his foible, also a common one in the east, — he was addicted to Kímía, and had expended much time and treasure in the idle search of the great secret, which would, it is believed, enable the discoverer to make gold at discretion.

A few day's after my abode here, intelligence was suddenly received of the approach of a hostile force from Pesháwer. Sadú Khán immediately collected the revenue due to him, and proceeded with his followers to Kohát, where his elder brother Mahomed Osmán Khán resided. The brothers in consultation, concluding it was impossible to repel the invasion, returned to Hángú, and taking all their property with them, evacuated the country, and retired by a



mountain route to Kábal, which I was told they would reach in eight days. With Mahomed Osmán Khán were two or three elephants, and a numerous zenána. I now understood why the Saiyad had not halted here — he must have heard of the expected movement, and was aware that as an agent of Súltán Mahomed Khán, he would have been liable to detention, and that the presents he was conveying, would in all probability have been taken from him.

I had a good opportunity of passing on to Kábal, had my feet justified the thought that I could have kept company with the retiring host. Although improved by rest, they were not yet quite well, so I scarcely entertained the idea. I had also a few papers amongst my effects in the Saiyad's charge, to which I attached a value at the time, and did not wish to lose, although it subsequently proved that I was unable to preserve them.

Hángú having been abandoned by its chief, I had no inducement to remain there, and accordingly proceeded up the valley on the road to Kohát. The scenery was extremely beautiful, the valley never very broad, in turn contracting and expanding, but always well filled with trees, generally mulberry trees, I presume indigenous, whose fruits were now ripe — villages occasionally occurred, in all of which I was kindly received. Near one of these, I met a small reconnoitring party from the Pesháwer force, the leader asked me a few questions, but at the same time assured me that he had no intention to molest, or interfere with, me, a stranger. At a village called So, a Saiyad made me his guest, under the idea that as a Feringhí I must be acquainted with some secret, which he hoped I would impart to him. Here were a profusion of springs of water, and many gardens of plum trees and vines, the latter supporting themselves on the branches of the former. In this village, as in the other ones I had passed, the Hindús had deserted their dwellings, having paid the year's impost to their old rulers, and being fearful to be compelled to pay it over again to their new rulers.

From So I continued my route up the valley, delighted with its picturesque appearance. At length I met a second party of mounted men, attended by two or three fellows running on foot. The latter stopped me, and searched me so roughly that my shirt was rent. Addressing myself to the leader, who told me his name was Faizúlah Khán, I remonstrated in strong language against such cowardly treatment, and asked him if he did not think he ought to be ashamed of himself. He expressed regret that my shirt had been rent, but directed one of the men to escort me to Pír Mahomed Khán, the commander of the invading force. The fellow instantly

seized my shirt collar, on which I bestowed a few imprecations on Faizúlah Khán, who rebuked his myrmidon, and told him to conduct me decently, and not as a prisoner. The fellow then took me by the hand. Pír Máhomed Khan was the youngest of the four brother Sirdárs of Pesháwer, and I found, with his troops was close at hand. We soon came to the camp, located beneath the shade of mulberry trees, and I was led before the chief, who happened to be passing along in a pálkí. He silently acknowledged my salutation, and was told by the man who brought me, that I had been met on the road, but had no papers. The man was dismissed, and I was taken to the darbár, which the Sirdár was now proceeding to hold. He was very sulky, and did not address a word to me, although at times he took a minute survey of me. The various minor chiefs were very civil, and supplied me with fruit, unripe plums, which, by the avidity with which they devoured them, they seemed to prize more than I did. During this audience, several messengers arrived, all announcing the departure of the two brothers from Hángú. Pír Máhomed Khán hypocritically expressed his satisfaction that they had adopted the prudent part and declined battle, observing that they were his relations (nephews) and Mússúlmáns. I had been seated by the side of Shákúr Khán, a cousin of the Sirdárs, the second in rank in the camp, and of high reputation as a soldier. He was young, frank and ingenuous, and his manly deportment testified that his character for valour was not exaggerated or undeserved. When the darbár closed, he took me with him to his quarters, and we were engaged in conversation and smoking the húkah, which he freely gave to me, until he was summonsed to the noon repast in Pír Máhomed Khán's tent — on which a young man, the son of Abdúl Wáhab Khán a chief of consequence, took me by the hand, and led me to his quarters, telling me I must be his guest while in the camp — my new acquaintance I found had but lately returned from Lúdíána, where he had been in the service of the ex-king Sújah al Múlk. He there had become, in some degree, familiar with Feringhís, and hence the cause of his civility to me.

On the following morning the troops marched for Hángú, a salute of artillery being first discharged in honor of the conquest of the country. I bade farewell to my friend and took the road to Kohát. This place was situated mid-way between the two towns, being six cosses from either. There was a pretty village seated at the foot of an eminence in the midst of the valley, on whose summit was a well built tomb. After proceeding about three cosses, the valley considerably widened, and disclosed a large plain, at the upper end

of which was the town of Kohát. The villages in this part were not so numerous.

On reaching Kohát, I was entertained at the house of a Múlla, being conducted there by a young man, with whom I had joined company on the road. The town is seated on and about an eminence, and is walled in. On a superior mound is the citadel, not very formidable in appearance, and much dilapidated. It serves for the abode of the chief, and is furnished with a garrison. The coup d'œuil of the place is agreeable, and the whole has an aspect of antiquity, which Hángú has not. The bazar is considerable, and the Hindús have a brisk domestic trade. There are some manufactures carried on, and the fabric of musquet barrels is extensive and of good reputation. There are many gardens in the neighbourhood, where the fruits although neither very abundant or particularly esteemed, are those both of cold and warm climates. The fruits of Kábal are seen mingled with those of India — a mango tree, the only one indeed of its species, so far north on the western side of the Indus, flourishes and bears fruit in company with apple and walnut trees. The principal masjít in Kohát is a handsome edifice, comparatively speaking only. It is more distinguished by the baths belonging to it, which are commodious and filled by springs of water gushing from the rock on which the masjít is built. The water of Kohát is much vaunted for its sanative properties; that of Hángú, although beautifully transparent, is reputed to be unwholesome. Kohát, the capital of a province, is but small, I question whether it contains five hundred houses.

The province of Kohát, on which Hángú is a dependency, belonged to the Nawáb Samad Khán, one of the numerous sons of the celebrated Sarfaráz or Páhíndar Khán, and therefore half brother to the present rulers at Peshàwer, Kábal and Kándahár. Possessed of great wealth, he resides at Kábal, and committed the government of Kohát to his sons. The revenue derived by Mahomed Osnán Khán from Kohát, and its annexed lands and villages, was said to be eighty thousand rupees, while that enjoyed by Sadú Khán from Hángú and its vicinity, was asserted to be twenty thousand rupees.

The plain of Kohát and the valley of Hángú are well cultivated and populous. Wheat is grown, but the stony soil in many parts seems more adapted to the culture of maize or júarí as here called — the quality of which is excellent and the returns large, while the flour makes admirable bread, and is the general food of the inhabitants. The great command of water, in many situations, is made available for the irrigation of rice lands, the produce of which

is ample and good. There is reason to believe that the mountains of this province contain many curious mineral substances, as well as useful ones. Indifferent coal is found generally on the surface, the country being included in the great coal formation, which, whatever may be its value, evidently extends for some distance west of the Indus in these latitudes. I fear the mountainous character of the country about Kohát, and thence to the Indus, will scarcely authorize the hope that the useful mineral will ever be found, but in veins too thin to repay the labour of extracting it. Perhaps it may be in greater quantity at Kánigoram, where it is found in conjunction with iron, which is constantly worked — but from this place to the Indus, the transport would be difficult. I have procured specimens of asbestos, said to occur in veins parallel with the coal strata at Kánigoram — and both are stated to be in a hill. Jet and other bituminous products are also brought from the neighbourhood of Kohát, as well as fluid bitumen or mómía. We are told of lapis lazulí or a stone resembling it, and of indications of copper to be found in the rocks between Kohát and Hángú. It will have been noted, that the mountains of Bangash are well wooded, therefore there is abundance of fuel, but there are no large timber trees. The climate appeared to be temperate, and I should have supposed genial, but it is complained that Hángú is unhealthy, and the cause referred to the water. It is, in truth, buried as it were in the hills, and the circumstances which contribute to the picturesque effect of its location, may impair the salubrity of its atmosphere.

The inhabitants of the villages in the valley leading from Hángú to Kohát I discovered were principally Shías, as are all the tribes of the Túrís their neighbours, although not so bigoted as these, or being under control, they are compelled to conceal their fervor. The Túrís are very particular, and accustomed when they see a stranger, to ask him if he is straight or crooked, putting at the same time the fore finger to their foreheads, and holding it first in a perpendicular position, and then in a contorted one. If desirous to be civilly received, the stranger had better reply that he is straight, by which they understand he is a Shía.

As the government of Kohát and Hángú is on all sides surrounded by turbulent and predatory tribes, it is always necessary to have a sufficient body of troops in it, both to ensure internal peace and to collect tribute from the dependent villages, who withhold it, if not enforced. The little village of Ahmed Kozah had been but recently, I was informed, compelled to pay tribute by Sadú Khán.

About this time, or a little previous to my visit, the Sirdárs of

Kándahár and Pesháwer, jealous of the prosperity and growing power of their brother Dost Máhomed Khán at Kábal, had concerted a plan to attack him on either side. In furtherance of this combination, the Peshawer army was to have marched upon Jelálabád, while that of Kándahár was to advance upon Ghazni upon anticipation of the simultaneous movement, Pír Máhomed Khán had now possessed himself of Kohát, as the Nawáb Samad Khán, although their brother, was from his residence at Kábal considered in the interest of Dost Máhomed Khán. Whether he was so or not, and it did not follow that he was, the opportunity to acquire an accession of territory, so conveniently situated, was too tempting to be neglected. It struck me that the approach of Pír Máhomed Khán was entirely unexpected, and Sadú Khán spoke of the whole business as a most flagitious one. How the plans of the confederates were acted upon, and how Dost Máhomed Khán met and counteracted them, will appear in my narratives, as I chanced to be in the country during the time they were in operation.

The plain of Kohát appears on all sides surrounded with hills, on the summit of one of which to the north is seen a watch tower, by which the road to Pesháwer leads. The ascent to this is long and difficult, and said to be dangerous, the adjacent hills to the west being inhabited by lawless tribes, who are not Mússúlmáns. They may be Shíás, who would not be considered Mússúlmáns by the orthodox Súní inhabitants of the town of Kohát. I however, having little to apprehend as I had nothing to lose, started alone, and made for the hills. Where the plain ceased, a long and open darra or valley commenced where it was evident the Pesháwer troops had been for some time encamped, prior to the retreat of Máhomed Osmán Khán from Kohát, and this valley continued to the foot of the Kotal or pass. I ascended the mountain, and safely reached the summit, on which stood the tower, having met no one on the road. The tower was deserted. From this point a long descent brought me into a valley, where were signs of cultivation. As I followed the road through it, I was overtaken by a man who said nothing, but walked by my side. He offered me a piece of bread, which to avoid giving offence, I accepted. He then picked up a blade or two of grass, which he twisted, and still preserving silence, repaired a casualty in one of my shoes. We arrived at a pond of water, which I was passing, when my companion, who I had begun to suspect, was dumb, asked me, if I would not drink. We now parted, his course being different to mine, and I again proceeded alone. I soon arrived at a village seated up the hill to the right, to

which I went and rested awhile. The water here is procured from a spring in the rocks above the village, and this spot I also visited.

Beyond this village the valley contracted into a defile, over which a substantial band or rampart had once been projected. It is now in ruins and unheeded. Passing this, the defile opens upon a plain of large extent, and a village distinguished by its towers is seen under the hills to the left. Leaving the high road which leads directly across the plain, I struck off for the village which was named Bangí Khél. I found a Dúrání there with his servant, who told me that the village on the hill which I had passed belonged to him, that is, that he received the revenue from it. He regretted that he had not met me there, as he could then have better shewn me attention; as it was he was very civil.

In the morning he followed the road to his village, and I was going to take that for Pesháwer, when the Patáns of the village, were so urgent in entreating me to pass the day with them, that I acceded. I was now led to the hújra, or house set apart for the accommodation of travellers, and where in the evening, the old and the young assemble, to converse and smoke the chillam. Here was hung up a musical instrument, for the use of those who were qualified to touch its harmonious strings. The water at this place was excellent, but brought I think from some distance. Most of the males went out during the day to the fields, where the harvest was in progress, and they sallied forth fully armed with matchlock, sword and shield. I passed here the second night, and the ensuing morning was about to leave, when an idiot, who being unfit for labor, was unasked to perform any, and therefore generally loitered about the hújra, asked me for my cap. I could not give it to him, as to walk bare headed was out of the question, on which account he might as well have asked for my head — but he was not satisfied unless he gained his point, and soon evinced an inclination forcibly to acquire it. I had received two or three slaps on the face and more buffets, and was at a loss what to do with the fellow, being averse to strike him, if it could be avoided; when luckily some one appeared, and I was enabled to get off, before the matter had grown serious, and while I yet retained the cap coveted by the poor man. I speedily regained the high road. The plain was partially cultivated with wheat, and the parties engaged in cutting it, had always their arms piled near them. Beyond this space a fresh defile, amongst low hills, led into a much larger valley, under the hills encircling which, both to the right and left, were villages and gardens. I hailed with pleasure these appearances, as a token of my approach to a populous region. As I pro-

ceeded along the road, two horsemen galloped towards me from a small copse of tress at some distance. I was considering what might be their intention, having no thought, but that at the best, they were soldiers of Pir Mahomed Khán, and that I should again have my shirt rent, and be searched for papers — when they reached me, and one of them, before I could divine what he was about to do, had dismounted, and embraced my feet. What was my astonishment when I beheld an old acquaintance, Saiyad Mahomed, a Dúrání of Pesháwer? He had recognized me, or rather I may say, the Feringhí cap, which I had not long before been in danger of losing. He was so anxious that I should return with him for two or three days to Kohát, where he was going on business, that I was overcome by his entreaties and his tears, although I questioned whether I had not as well have gone on to Pesháwer. Saiyad Mahomed took up his attendant behind him on the horse he rode, and I put myself into the vacant saddle. We halted at no place on the road, and by afternoon had reached Kohát, where we put up with some relative of Saiyad Mahomed's.

Two or three days after my second abode at Kohát, Pir Mahomed Khán returned from Hángú, where he had left Abdúl Wáhab Khán as governor. In the evening as I was taking a stroll, he also, in course of his evening's ride, came near me. Observing me, he turned his horse from the path, and rode to me. He was now very civil, and asked, moving to and fro his hand, why I had not gone to Kábal. I told him I had neither horse or money, and asked in turn how I could go to Kábal. Oh, he said, I'll give you horse and money, and you shall go with me to Kábal. I knew nothing at this time of the politics of the country, and had not before heard of the Sirdar's notion of going to Kábal, therefore I inquired when he was going, and he answered that he should return to Pesháwer in a day or two, and then as soon as his horses were shod, he should go. I remarked "very well" and he requested Saiyad Mahomed to bring me to him in the morning. To account for the Sirdar's altered manner, I supposed that he had learned at Hángú, that I had no farther connection with Sadú Khán, than as a stranger partaking of his hospitality — and now that he had no suspicion of me, he could afford to be familiar.

Saiyad Mahomed had a brother-in-law Sáleh Mahomed, the Mírák-  
or to the Sirdár, a man in better circumstances than himself, and from his office possessing a little authority. He relieved his relative from the charge of entertaining me, and took me to his quarters, where I soon became at home in the Dúrání camp. The weather was very warm, and we were stationed beneath the shade of mulberry trees

in a garden, placing our cots, on which we reclined and slept, over a canal flowing by us. After the lapse of a few days, an express messenger arrived from Pesháwer, and the news he brought at once threw the camp into bustle and confusion. The horses were immediately ordered to be shod, and the noisy nâl bands became very busy with their hammers, and horse-shoes. I learned from Sáleh Mahomed as soon as he was at leisure to tell me what was the matter, that Saiyad Ahmed Sháh, so renowned or so notorious, had left his retreat in the Yúsef Zai country, and had moved upon Hasht Naggár, a fortress ten or eleven cosses from Pesháwer. It was necessary to march that very day, as the peril was imminent. Before sunset parties had begun to move, which they did without any order, and before night the whole force was on the roads to Pesháwer. Pir Mahomed Khán was pleased to assign me a seat on his elephant, so I travelled comfortably, and in the morning we reached the city, having passed over twenty-four cosses during the night. I was unable, of course, to see much of the country, however on leaving the valley in which I met Saiyad Mahomed, a slight transit over low hills brought us into the great plain of Pesháwer. On our left hand was a ruinous castle of some size, which my companions were glad when they had passed, it being, as they said, a common resort of robbers — neither were they quite at ease until they had crossed the barren uninhabited country, extending from the hills we had left to Mittaní, the first village of the cluster immediately dependent on Pesháwer — a distance of eight or ten miles. The range between Kohát and Pesháwer extends easterly to A'tak, while westernly it stretches to Seféd Koh — other parallel ranges compose the hilly tract inhabited by the Khaibarís and Momands, which separates Pesháwer from Chúra and the Jelálabád valley. At the point where we left the range, we had to the west, minor hills intervening, the Afrédí district of Tírí. At Mittaní, we halted a while for the sake of fire and water. The elephant was extremely docile and manageable, he seemed to have great dread of a horse coming behind him, of which faculty the people with us profited, both to divert themselves, and to make the huge animal accelerate his pace. At Pesháwer we went to the Gúr Katri, an old fortified Saráhi, where Saiyad Máhomed who had preceded us, was ready to receive me, and to conduct me to the house of Sáleh Máhomed which happened to be quite close.

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II. — *Narrative of a passage through the Pass of Khaibar, communicating between the plain of Pesháwer and the valley of Jelâlabâd.*

From Pesháwer to the valley of Jelâlabâd, there are three distinct routes, all of them leading through the great hill ranges separating the two countries, viz. those of Khaibar, A'bkhána and Karapa. The former is decidedly the preferable from its level character and directness, but the most dangerous owing to the lawless disposition of the predatory tribes inhabiting it. It is therefore seldom frequented, and only by fáquirs, or large bodies of troops; káfilas of traders, and others, passing by the more difficult and tedious, but at the same time, the more secure routes of A'bkhána and Karapa.

Having determined to attempt the Khaibar pass, and having found a Patán of Pesháwer willing to accompany me, I divested myself of clothes and other effects, and clad myself in garments of little worth, as did my associate. This man proved very serviceable, and indeed necessary, from his knowledge of the Pashto or A'sghán dialect.

I bade farewell to my friends at Pesháwer, who strove to induce me to change my intention, by setting forth the dangers of the road, the ferocity of the inhabitants, and the inevitable fate that awaited me, being an European. I had however taken my determination, and the spirit of enterprize had got the better of prudential calculation; — moreover I was of opinion that being an European, which I did not purpose to conceal, would not operate to my prejudice, as ample experience had proved a contrary effect in my intercourse with the tribes of Dámán and Bannú, the latter enjoying no better reputation than the people of Khaibar.

I accordingly started with my companion from Pesháwer before day break, taking with me, besides my mean apparel, nothing but a small book and a few pais, or half-pence, which the better to elude observation were put into a small earthen water vessel. My Patán carried with him two or three cakes of bread, to be provided in case of inhospitable reception, hardly to be expected, and a knife which he tied in the band of his peyjámas or trowsers.

Our course led due west, and four or five cosses brought us to Tákkál, the last village in this direction belonging to Pesháwer, and where the cultivated lands cease. We halted but for a few minutes, and entered upon a barren stony plain extending to the hills. To our right was a large artificial mound called the Pádsháh's Tope, near which the last battle was fought between Sháh Sújah and A'zem

Khán, brother of the Vazir Fatí Khán, when the former being defeated, fled to Khaibar. In crossing the plain, about mid-way we came upon a Dúrání chokí or guard station, where were some half dozen horsemen on the look out. Nearing the hills, we approached the small village of Jam, at the entrance of the pass, surrounded by a low wall of stones cemented with mud. It may contain fifty or sixty houses, but has no bazár or resident Hindú. We did not deem it prudent to enter the village, and halted during the heat of the day at an enclosed Zíárat, or shrine of a Saiyad, or other saintly character, which lies a little to the right. Here was a masjíd, a grateful shade from a few trees, and a well of indifferent water.

When the fervor of the sun had abated, we continued our journey, but avoiding the high road to our left, and which is practicable for artillery, we entered the hills taking a foot path. After passing for some time over a succession of small rounded hills, covered with many novel plants and shrubs, and particularly with sorrel, we descended into a deep, but spacious water course, down which flowed a fine clear rivulet from the west, and there we fell in with the high road which led up it. In this distance we had passed a scanty spring of water, over which numerous wasps were buzzing. They good naturedly allowed us to drink without annoyance. Hitherto we had neither met or seen any person. Proceeding up the water-course we at length reached a spot, where the water supplying the rivulet, gushes in a large volume from the rocks to the left. I slaked my thirst in the living spring, and drank to repletion of the delightfully cool and transparent waters. This locality is called A'li Masjíd, and is connected by tradition with Házrat A'li, who, it is believed, repeated prayers here, besides performing more wonderful feats. Over the spot where the Házrat stood in the act of devotion, a masjíd is erected, whence the appellation of the place.

Immediately adjacent hereto, were some twenty men assembled, sitting in the shade of the rocks; most of them were elderly, and of respectable venerable aspect. Our salutations were acknowledged, and after replying to their queries, as to who we were, where we were going, and on what business, they invited us to pass the night with them, telling us that we should indeed find a village a little further on, but nearly bare of inhabitants, who had come hither with their flocks, as is their custom, at a certain period of the year. To this village, they themselves belonged. We willingly accepted the invitation, and sitting down with them, I became an object of much curiosity, and as I had conjectured, on leaving Pesháwer, my European birth did not prove to my disadvantage. They spoke nothing

but Pashto, and were amused that I was unable to speak it as well as themselves. My conversation was maintained with them through the medium of my Patán interpreter. The news of the arrival of a Farang or European soon spread, and many persons came, afflicted with disorders and wounds.

I could not forbear regretting that I had no knowledge of medicinal remedies, as I should have been gratified to have administered to the wants of these poor people, whose reception of me had so fully belied the reports of their neighbours. I asserted my ignorance of the art of healing, but was not credited, and finding it impossible to avoid prescribing, or to be considered unkind, I took upon myself to recommend such simple appliances as might be useful, while they could do no harm. I particularly enjoined cleanliness, which in all their maladies, seemed to be neglected from principle. For an affection of the eye I contrived a shade which was much admired, and prized as a singular effort of ingenuity. There were three or four cases of sword wounds, in which I advised the removal of the unseemly applications placed on them, to keep them clean, and thereby to allow nature to take her course. Their plaisters were made of mud and salt, a mixture which may or may not be judicious, but which I afterward found was very generally used in all cases of wounds. I presume it to be, if not hurtful in the first instance, of doubtful benefit after a certain time, for nothing is more common than to see wounds continue open after any danger from them is over, apparently owing to the repulsive agency of the dirt crammed into them.

I received many thanks for my prescriptions, and sat with the company until the approach of night, smoking the chillam, and listening to their conversation, at which I appeared to be much pleased, although I understood but little of it. They pointed to an eminence, on which they told me Sháh Sájah had passed the night after his defeat at Tákál.

We now ascended the hills, and on the tabular summit of one of them, found the inhabitants of the village in a bivouac. There were but three kháts or couches of these countries amongst them, yet one was abandoned to me, it being urged that I was a Farang, and had prescribed medicines. My companion received a mat. As night advanced, a supper was brought of wheaten cakes, roghan, and milk. The chillam also was furnished, and three or four young men came and sat with me, around my khát, until I felt disposed to sleep, and on being dismissed, they asked me, if during the night they should bring the chillam.

Such was the attention I received from these savages, and I am pleased to record it, as affording an opportunity of doing justice to hospitality and kindness, and as it opposes an agreeable contrast to the treatment I have experienced amongst other barbarous tribes. In the morning my eyes opened upon my friends of the preceding evening, who, anxious to anticipate my wants, were ready with the eternal chillam and a bowl of buttermilk. My departure that day was unwillingly consented to.

Proceeding through the darra or valley, which now widened, and was plentifully garnished with stunted trees, we met two men of the wildest appearance, running in great haste, with the matches of their firelocks kindled, and without covering to their heads. They said they were in search of their enemies, who had paid them a visit in the night. We passed each other, and soon after beheld a man running after us. He was also armed with a matchlock. We were at first dubious as to his intentions, but on his overtaking us, it proved that he had no other motive than to persuade me to look at a sister, who was lying sick in the village, to which we were now near.

I could not but consent, and found a miserable being in the last stage of declining nature. I was told that she had been three years in so deplorable a state. All I could do was to recommend attention to her regimen, and obedience to her wishes whatever they might be, that the few remaining days of her earthly sojourn, might pass as serenely as possible under the circumstances of her case.

This village called Gharí Lála Beg contained perhaps eighty to one hundred houses, composed of mud and stones, and had a substantially constructed búrj or tower.

Leaving Gharri Lála Beg, we entered a plain of perhaps two miles in circumference, on which I counted twenty-four circular and rather lofty towers. To each of them were attached one or more family residences. Such is the nature of society here, that the inhabitants, oppressed with mutual feuds, frequently carry on hostilities from tower to tower, most of which are within musket shot of each other. These erections also serve them to secure their properties, in case of an inroad upon them, or on the march of troops through their country, as they are sufficient against cavalry, or any arm but artillery. On our road, we were accosted by two youths, who begged us to proceed to a house to the left of our path. We were civilly received by a sturdy young man, who instantly produced a cake of bread, and as usual the chillam. He had heard of my arrival in Khaibar, and was overjoyed that I had come to his house, hoping, it turned out, to profit by my medical skill. The skin of my new

client was plentifully sprinkled with eruptive blotches or pimples. He appeared extremely anxious for my advice, yet showed a delicacy in asking it, as if fearful I might not confer upon him so much favor. On telling him, that I thought something might be done for him, he was almost frantic with joy, and expressed his gratitude with much earnestness and eloquence. His father now arrived, a man of respectable appearance and benign features. He was glad to see me, and asked what I considered to be the nature of his son's complaint, adding, and pointing at the same time to his stores piled around the apartment in carpet bags, that he would give all he possessed were his son's disorder removed. I informed him that I supposed the blotches were occasioned by heat and impurity of blood, and that they would gradually disappear if his son took medicine. The old man seized my hand, and asked me if I was certain of his son's disease. I replied nearly so. He was delighted and told me, that it was believed in the valley that his son had the *Bád Farang*, or venereal affection, that he was shunned by his neighbours, as unclean, and that his wife, the daughter of one of them, had been taken from him on that account, and now lived with her father. I assured them I had no idea that the disorder was the one suspected, and recommended the use of such remedies as could be easily procured. I thought it possible the eruption might be the itch or something analogous, and my *Patán* prepared a mixture of roghan and sulphur, with which he undertook to anoint the patient. He did so and rather roughly, for he first tore down the skin with his nails until blood appeared, and then rubbed in the ointment. The young man said that when he ran about, his face became flushed and intolerably red, and every one pointed at him. I directed him not to run about, to keep himself quiet, and take simple medicines, and gave him the hope he would speedily be better.

We were treated with kindness by the old man, whose name was *Khair Mahomed*, and he would not allow us to depart until we had partaken of a repast of cakes and butter. His wives prepared the food, set it before us, and attended upon us. He wished us to stay the day, but we decided to go on.

We had scarcely regained the high road, when we were hailed by some people sitting beneath one of the towers. On going to them, I was asked to advise for one of them who had a pain in his belly. I directed the employment of the seeds of *panírbaud*, a plant growing abundantly in the hills, which are much prized in many countries, for their salutary virtues, and which I had found serviceable in a similar affliction. A *mau* was dispatched to procure some, and

soon returned with a quantity of them, which having identified to be the genuine thing, I departed. We again followed the road, and approached the last house in the plain, enclosed within square walls but without a tower. Observing three or four persons seated at the gateway, we went towards them, deeming it advisable, that it might not be supposed we were clandestinely passing. We saluted with the ordinary *Salám Alíkam*, and received the invariable responsive gratulation of *Alíkam Salám*. We found the house, to be the abode of *Aláhdád Khan*, one of the most influential men in the valley, and known both in and out of it, by the name of *Aláhdád Khán, Chirssi*, being a great smoker of chirs, a deleterious composition of hemp resin. He said, he recognized me to be a *Farang*, in the distance, by my step, and asserting that some day his country would be under European authority, begged me to remember him if it should so happen in his time or mine. I had here to personate a physician for the last time, my patient being either the wife or the sister of *Aláhdád Khán*. She was in the last stage of atrophy or decline. I was asked if I thought it probable she would recover. I replied in the negative, as the disorder had grown superior to earthly remedies, and that God only could effect a cure. My host, who was a man of sense agreed with me, and after smoking the chillam, I departed.

Not far from this house we were met by a man, who observing the water vessel carried by my companion asked for water. It will be remembered, that in this vessel, were the *pais* or copper money we had with us. The *Patán* told him that his people were near, and that we had far to go, and might not find water, but the savage insisted that he would drink. Other reasons were urged, in vain, and finally the one that the vessel and water belonged to me, who was not a *Mússúlmán*. The man then swore he would drink if it killed him. The *Patán* finding him obstinate, desired him to place his hand under his mouth, into which he poured the water, and so dexterously, that the *pais* were not discovered. The fellow drank, and went satisfied away. I know not however how the fluid, in which thirty or forty *pais* had been soaking for as many hours, may have afterwards agreed with his stomach or digestive powers.

In this small plain is another of those monuments called the *Pádshâh's Topes*. It is in good preservation, and consists of a massive rectangular basement, on which rests a cylindrical body terminating in a dome or cupola. It is erected on the summit of an eminence. I have noted the existence of another in the plain of *Peshâwer*, and I have heard of others in the *Panjâb*. The inhabitants of these part

refer these structures to former Pádsháhs or kings, sometimes to A'hmed Sháh, but I judge their antiquity to be remote. The stones employed in the Khaibar monument are of very large dimensions, and the whole has a grand and striking aspect.

At the western extremity of the plain is a burial ground, and the surface of the soil is a little broken. Making a slight turn in the hills, we entered another plain of much the samē extent inhabited by Shínwárís. The people who had so much need of medicine were A'frédís. The houses here were enclosed in walls of roughly cemented stones, such erections being substituted for the circular towers of their neighbours. We left these houses to the right, and had traversed the extent of the plain, and were about to descend from it into the valley or defile beneath, by a small pass called Landí Khána, when two men, with kárds or long knives in their hands, rushed upon us from the rocks and stopped our progress. Neither of us had before seen these fellows, who pounced upon us as if from the clouds. One of them with a peculiarly evil countenance proceeded to rifle my companion, and the other, milder favored, examined me. The pocket knife of the Patán was soon wrenched from the band of his trowsers, and my cháddar, a long piece of cloth I wore loosely thrown over my shoulder, was taken. In one corner of this was my book, which as well as I could I signified to my despoiler, and told him it was Múlla-kí-Kítáb, a mólla's or a pious book. He untied it, and returned it to me. I thereupon shook his hand, on which he was also willing to have returned my cháddar, but his fiercer colleague would not permit him. This fellow fancying I had been too leniently examined, left the Patán and came to me, and very severely scrutinized me. He found nothing, but clearly did not know what to make of me, my color probably perplexing him. At the onset my Patán had put the water vessel containing the pais on the ground; this did not escape the vigilance of the sharper of the ruffians, who took out a tuft of grass inserted in its mouth as a stopper, very carefully observed it, and than replaced it, but not thinking of taking up the vessel, he missed the copper money. He also made the Patán untie the package containing the cakes of bread, and on finding what they were, he shook his head, implying that he did not rob bread. A comb taken from one of us was also returned. At the close of the affair, a youth joined alike armed with a long knife. About to leave, my companion expressing his anger rather too honestly for the occasion, and comparing our treatment with that we had met with from the A'frédís, knives were brandished, and many threatenings uttered. I desired my Patán to forbear useless reproaches, and the milder of the

the robbers deprecating violence, we departed. I was surprised at this adventure, inasmuch as I had been given to understand that if I could pass unmolested through the A'frédís, there was less to be dreaded from the Shinwáris, who from their commercial pursuits are not so savage. These people breed numbers of mules, and are engaged in the carrying trade.

We had not gained the valley, when we were hailed by other armed men tending flocks of goats on the hills, and had we not been plundered before, we must have resisted, or submitted to it here. As it was they did not come to us, my Patán holding up his packet and hallooing Dáodí or bread, and I showing my book, and shouting out Múlla-kí-Kitáb. In our passage along the valley, we were ordered to halt by fellows on the ridges of the hills, but they were too distant to cause us apprehension, or to induce us to comply, so we allowed them to bawl away unheeded. We at length reached a spot, where a rivulet crossed our track, the water was excellent, and there was a small plot of rice. Here an armed man presented himself, he looked very suspicious, and, undecided whether to interfere with us or not, but let us go in peace. From this place the valley widened, and we passed the ruins of rather an extensive fort, constructed on an eminence or mound in the midst of it. Near it are a series of wells of small depth, in two or three of which only, we found a very little water. The fortress is called Haft Cháhí or the seven wells, and is probably one of the old Chaghatai castles, so numerous erected in these countries for the protection of the roads. It is said to be a dangerous spot in the season of hot winds, which rage here with fatal fury.

From Haft Cháhí, the valley much more open, became sandy, and so continued until we reached Dákka, a small fort and village dependent on Jelálabád. Evening had overtaken us before we cleared the darra, and it was night when we reached Dákka. We still found the people seated in a circle near the masjíd, and although it was too late for a regular repast to be prepared, barley cakes were brought us, which were so disagreeable that I could not eat them.

Throughout the whole extent of the pass or darra of Khaibar, on the crest of the hills, there are the remains of ancient forts and buildings, whose extent, neatness, and solidity of structure, evince that their founders must have been much more enlightened and opulent than the present inhabitants of these countries. The usual reply to any question, as to their origin, is that they were built by infidels or by demons. There are some of them of remarkable extent, and must have been once most important works. I much regretted the impos-



sibility of closely inspecting them. There are also amongst these hills a great number of artificial caves.

I missed my cháddar at night, for its employment was to cover me when I slept, yet on the whole I was well pleased with my passage through Khaibar. My companion had instructed me on all occasions to appear pleased and chærful, a salutary counsel, and one which stood me in good stead, as did the indication of perfect tranquillity, and most implicit confidence in the good faith of those I fell in with.

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### III. — *Narrative of Journey from Dákka to Kábal.*

[Amongst the papers presented to the Bombay Geographical Society, was a very brief one headed "Notice on the province of Jelálabád and on the Síáposh." This was altogether unworthy of being published. I have therefore substituted for it the following "Narrative of a Journey from Dákka to Kábal" and "Memorandum on the Síáposh. This explanation is necessary, as the latter document is entirely a new composition.

C. MASSON.]

Bombay, 5th June, 1841.

I have noted arrival at Dákka. This village situated about half a mile from the great river of Jelálabád, is also at the western entrance of the pass of Khaibar. The Ab-khâna route, to and from Peshâwer, alike commences and terminates at it. From its position, it is therefore a constant kâfila stage, and is the station of a guard of Momands, who levy transit fees on passengers and merchandize. There are two villages of the name, Kalân and Khúrd, or the great and little. The last is passed on the Ab-khâna route. We had halted at the former.

We left Dákka at day break, and for some time passed over a well cultivated plain until we made the small village of Ghirdí, seated immediately on the river. Hence the road led through low bare hills to Hazár Noh, (the thousand canals) a large straggling village placed on the brink of small eminences, which fringe the plain stretching from them to the river. Hazár Noh is considered equidistant from Dákka and Bassowal, and four cosses from each. The high road skirts the plain to the south, extending beneath the eminences on which the village stands, but we followed a path intermediate between it and the river, and intersecting the plain, which together with marshes, has a great proportion of meadow, and land

cultivated with rice. This plain, throughout its whole extent, is most copiously provided with water, gurgling from innumerable springs, at the line where the eminences to the left blend with it. At Bassowal we found an enclosed village, and two or three agricultural castles. We were hospitably entertained at the village, and the people brought a young female Albino that I might see her, jocosely remarking that she must be a Feringhí, and in the same mood recommending me to take her with me.

Opposite to Bassowal, which is close upon the river, very high steep hills confine the stream, and at their eastern extremity are a series of caves, with triangular entrances. The spot is called Chakanúr, and there are besides many other vestiges of antiquity there. Bassowal appears to occupy an ancient site, and has some venerable tamarisk trees, the remains of its antique groves. The same kind of memorials also distinguish the vicinage of Ghirdí. Between Bassowal and Már Koh (the snake hill), which occurs about three miles west of it, the soil is strewed with fragments of potters ware, and similar indications are seen all round the southern termination of the hill, even so far as Báltí Kot, a distance perhaps of five miles.

We left Bassowal in the evening, but instead of following the high road which passes by Báltí Kot, and thence by Súrkh Dewâl to Alí Bâghân and Jelálabád; we took a pleasanter and possibly a shorter one, tracing chiefly the river bank. Beyond Bassowal, we crossed a marsh full of reeds, and then by a short and open passage through the hill Már Koh, we arrived at Ambhár Khána, a small village on the river. Hence, we traversed the plain of Chahár Déh (the four villages), for four or five miles, and again approached hills, which like Már Koh, close upon the river. Opposite to Chahár Déh, across the stream, is the small and bare looking district of Goshter, into which the Karapa road from Pesháwer conducts. A few naked castles are sprinkled over the plain ascending to the hills, and there resides Fattúlah Khán Momand, a chief of less consequence than Sâdat Khán of Lâlpúra, and less respected. South of the plain of Chahár Déh is the village of Báltí Kot, famed for the zíárat of A'khúnd Músa, in virtue of whose holy benediction, the snakes numerously found on Már Koh, which derives its name from the circumstance, are believed to have been rendered harmless. I might have noticed that at Ghirdí is a celebrated zíárat of a saint, who was as much in his element when in the water as a fish, for it is credited that he would dive into the river at Ghirdí and re-appear at Atak.

The path from Chahár Déh winds around the hills, overlooking the fine stream. Practicable to footmen, it is difficultly so to horse-

men, who in some places are compelled to dismount. At one spot, there is a Súrâkh, or aperture, for some distance through the rock, whence the whole of the hills are often called Koh Sang Súrâkh (the hill of the perforated rock), and the same name is applied to the path. We came opposite to another of those monuments called Topes, seated on an eminence. It was very picturesque, and the scenery was so agreeable, that my Patán companion asked me if there were any spots so charming in my country. A little beyond or north of this Tope, a branch from the hills bounding Goshter terminates in a point, which from the white colour of the rock is called Saféd Bíní (the white nose, that is projection.) The hill itself yields steatite, to which its colour is due. About a mile hence we came to a village called Ghir.lí Kach, located pleasantly in a small amphitheatrical recess of the hills, which in the neighbourhood produce asbestos. We passed the night here in a masjid. The people supplied us with food, but did not seem to be well pleased that I was not a Mússúlmán.

The next morning we continued our route, still leading along the river bank. On the opposite side was the district of Kámeh, which had commenced from Saféd Bíní. It is abundantly garnished with castles, villages and gardens, and has a good deal of cultivation. It is much more extensive than Goshter, and to the west is described by the river of Khonar and Chitrâl, called here the Kámeh, which divides it from Bísút. Clearing at length the hills named indifferently Koh Sang Súrâkh, or Koh Alí Bâghân, we reached the village of the latter name, seated on rising ground, and about a mile from the river. Here we halted during midday in a tamarisk grove, where some weavers of lúnghís were engaged in their business. At this village, called also Sammah Khél, is a shrine, to which lunatics are brought, it being believed that in virtue of the benediction of the saint interred here, they recover their reason.

In the evening we started, intending to reach Jelálabád some eight or nine miles distant. We choose a path, between the high road and the course of the river, which led through a low tract over-spread with marshes full of flags, and with pasture land. We had passed the point, where the Kámeh river falls into the river of Jelálabád, and had the district of Bísút on the opposite side of the river, when reaching a small village, Júi Shâhí, (the Royal canal), we were invited by a party sitting under the shade of some trees to rest awhile. The chief man proved to be Khalíl Khán, a Baiyát, and farmer of the customs of Jelálabád under the Nawáb Mahomed Zemán Khán. He told me that he lived in Bísút, and was so urgent

that I should spend two or three days with him that I consented. In the evening we were ferried across the stream in a boat, and I found the Khán's castle, a very neat and commodious one, seated amid the most luxuriant fields of sugar cane and lucerne, and with good gardens and fine groves of trees attached. In the immediate neighbourhood were many other handsome castles, and the country around seemed quite a garden. The heat was the only drawback, which although oppressive did not appear to produce sickness, nor did it absolutely prevent a person from moving about freely during the day. Khalíl Khán and his family were most kind and civil. In the day time they would sit with me under the shade of the mulberry trees, and in the evening, the youths of the contiguous hamlets would exhibit their rural sports and games, which were manly enough, but rough withal. I wished to make enquiries about the Síáposh Káfirs, and various people, Hindú and Mahomedan, were brought, who pretended to have some knowledge of them. I heard their wonderful and incongruous accounts, but benefited little by what I heard.

I had remained two or three days at Khalíl Khán's castle, when a messenger from Abdúl Ganní Khán, one of his neighbours, came and entreated that I would step over to his castle. I did so, and found that the Khán's object was to procure my advice for his young son, who had recently become deaf. I explained that I knew nothing of diseases, but was scarcely credited. They much wished to put something into the ears, and protesting that I did not dare to interfere with so tender an organ, I besought them to employ no violent remedies. The mother of Abdúl Ganní Khán, a most respectable Dúrání lady, gave me an interview. She was unveiled, and held an ivory mounted cane in her hand. She expressed much solicitude that her grandson should recover his hearing. I suggested that benefit might arise from warmth, and protecting the parts from air, but I suspect it was little conceived that remedies so simple could be of use. At this meeting I was regaled with a profusion of grapes and melons, and I was not allowed to return to Khalíl Khán's castle for a day or two, being detained as a guest. Abdúl Ganní Khán who was a Bârak Zai, and relative of the ruling Sirdárs in Afghánistán, had a handsome seignorial castle, with all necessary appurtenances, as became a man of his rank and condition.

My friend Khalíl Khán was a violent politician, and indulged frequently in severe diatribes against the Nawáb Mahomed Zemán Khán, whom he represented as an incapable ruler, and as little better than an old woman. Abdul Ganní Khán had also while I resided

with him an opportunity of displaying his political bias, and I was surprised to discover, that within three miles of Jelálabád, he was not only inimical to the Nawáb, whose relative he was, and whose subject I should have considered him to be, but that he was in the interest of the Pesháwer Sirdárs. I have in other places mentioned the coalition of the Sirdárs of Pesháwer and Kándahár with the object of humbling Dost Mahomed Khán, and that the Pesháwer army was to move upon Jelálabád. Sufficient reasons had prevented its march, but the idea was not abandoned. ¶ Now it seemed the Kándahár army had moved, or was about to move upon Ghazni and Kábal. Dost Mahomed Khán had summonsed Mahomed Zemán Khán to attend him. His absence leaving the Jelálabád province bare of troops, the Nawáb Jabár Khán, governor of the Ghiljis between Kábal and Jelálabád, was appointed to protect it from invasion on the side of Pesháwer, and tidings were at this time brought to Abdul Ganni Khán, that he had arrived with his troops at Jelálabád. The Khán immediately ordered the ferry boats to be secured, avowing that he would not allow Jabár Khán's soldiery to cross the river, and pillage his raiyats. Some persons asked the Khán, whether he was not acting precipitately, and he replied that the Pesháwer army would arrive in a day or two, strong in cavalry and guns, and that there was nothing to fear. He then went into the country to concert measures, and I found that he had two other brothers in Bísút, holding their jaghírs under the Nawáb, but no more friendly to him than was Abdul Ganni Khán.

While the latter was absent, I returned to Khalíl Khán, but could not cross the river, as a guard was stationed over the ferry boats. I was not then aware that by passing higher up on the same side of the stream, there were other ferries beyond the Bísút district. After a farther stay with Khalíl Khán, he having himself business which required him to cross the river, it was arranged to make a jála or float of inflated skins, and on it we passed. I took farewell of the friendly Khán, who strove to induce me to accept clothes, money and horses, but I forbore to trespass on his bounty. I was sorry to have learned during my abode with him, that his affairs were embarrassed; and that his anger with Mahomed Zemán Khán was principally owing to the latter being apt to require, as Khalíl Khán thought unreasonably, an adjustment of his long unsettled accounts.

We soon reached Jelálabád, which we entered by the eastern gate, after having passed the decayed yet very obvious ramparts of two former towns, whose site is now occupied by the present town, the smallest of the three. Enclosed within mud walls, it has but an indiffer-

ent appearance, yet its bazár now exhibited much activity, being filled with the soldiery of the Nawáb Jabár Khán.

I was no sooner recognized to be a Feringhí, then many hastened to inform the Nawáb of my arrival, that popular chief being notorious for his good feelings towards Europeans. In a short time his people were with me, requesting me to wait upon him. I was not then particularly acquainted with his history, but had heard it frequently remarked at Pesháwer, that there, Sáltán Mahomed Khán was the Feringhí's friend, and at Kábal, the Nawáb Jabár Khán. I was not in the best trim to appear before the good Nawáb, or before any other person, yet I had discovered that Afgháns are not particular as to trifles, and that I was just as well received in rags, as I should have been, had I been more sumptuously arrayed.

I therefore accompanied his emissaries to a garden house without the town, where the chief had established his quarters. He was in the upper apartments, which were choked up with his subordinate officers, attendants, and soldiery. He saluted me civilly, and said that I must stay with him, to which I replied, no, and that I intended to go on. He then observed that I must stay two or three days with him, and I again replied, no, on which he said that I must at least spend the day with him, to which I answered I had no objection. The people about wondered how I had got through Khaibar, and the Nawáb remarked for me, that I had nothing to lose. He informed me that he would provide a man to conduct me in safety to Kábal, to which I did not object, and thanked him. He then inquired if I needed any thing, and I replied negatively. The Nawáb directed that I should be taken all care of, and I took my leave of him. I was now conducted to a house, which I was told to consider mine as long as I pleased to occupy it, and to give myself no anxiety about any thing, as all my wants would be attended to by the Nawáb's orders.

I was soon visited by two singular characters, the one a Molaví from Lahore, the other a Bráhmaṇ from Laknow. They stated that they had each set out on a tour for some years, and accidentally meeting, had become companions. Chance had brought them into contact with the Nawáb, and they were now sojourners with him. They much praised his good qualities. In manners and conversation, they were extremely refined and intelligent, and had mirth and spirituality, which I had never before witnessed in a Mahomedan or Hindú. They seemed independent in circumstances, and their apparel, equipage, &c. all bore the marks of affluence. Both made me offers of clothing, money, &c. and apparently with sincerity. I had indeed some difficulty to decline a horse, which was urged upon me by the Mola-

ví, who could not imagine a person could travel, without pain, on foot. I accepted their invitation to pass the day with them, and leaving the house, accompanied them to their quarters. I knew not their names, but heard the Bráhmán merrily addressed as Múlla Mall. I afterwards learned that they were versed, or reputed to be, in the occult secrets of Kímía or gold making, which at once accounted for their companionship, and for the high favour they were held in by the Nawáb, who is one of the most ardent votaries of the mysterious science to be met with in Afghánistán.

Early the next morning we started from Jelálabád, the Nawáb having given a very good man to accompany us to Kábal. He had also provided a horse for me to ride on, and occasionally or when inclined, I made use of the animal. Leaving the choice of road to our new attendant, we were led the high one, skirting the border of the cultivated plain on our right, and generally winding around the base of a series of conglomerate elevations to the left, which extend for fifteen or twenty miles to the great mountain range Safèd Koh (the white hill), which noble barrier defines the limits of the Jelálabád valley to the south, and divides it from Bangash. The plain of Jelálabád is cultivated to a high degree, and in this part of it, with an average breadth of three or four miles, has a length from Jelálabád to Bálla Bágh of twelve or thirteen miles. Its entire length being estimated from the hill of Koh Sang Súrakh, and carried beyond Bálla Bágh, would be double this distance, but the portion east of the town is by no means so abundantly cultivated, or so populous as that to the west. This tract is covered with a profusion of castles, villages and gardens, while to the north it is defined by the course of the Kábal river, flowing beneath sandstone elevations, stretching to the skirts of the high ranges occupying the space between Khonar and Lúghmán. Behind, or north of these ranges, is the region of the Síáposh Káfrs. Besides the Kábal river, the plain is copiously irrigated by other streams, and notably by the Súrkh Rúd, (the red river) which enters it from the west, and falls into the main river at Darúnta: — by the Kára-sú (the black river) which east of Bálla Bágh, unites with the Súrkh Rúd: — and by the numerous and beautiful springs of Súltánpùr, which form a rivulet flowing through the centre of the plain by Chahár Bágh. Few countries can possess more attractive scenery, or can exhibit so many grand features in its surrounding landscape. In every direction the eye wanders on huge mountain ranges.

We passed successively to our right the larger villages of the plain, Chahár Bágh distinguished for its royal garden, and for being the abode of a venerated Hindú Gúrú. — Súltánpùr famous for its

orchards and springs, and the reputed shrine of Bábá Nának : Shamsípúr : and Wattípúr,—until we reached the small enclosed town of Bálla Bágh, seated on the southern bank of the Súrkh Rúd, and the representative of the ancient Adínápúr, whose slender vestiges are on the opposite bank. This place is more commercial than Jelálabád, has many Hindú traders and a few bankers resident at it. The site being more elevated, the climate is less sultry. To the west, there is a large royal garden, and the environs to the east are highly cultivated, particularly with sugar cane. To the south and west, a bleak stony plain extends. We found here six pieces of artillery, belonging to the Nawáb Mahomed Zemán Khán, lying without the town gate to the south, and halted during the day at a Takía or Mahomedan shrine.

In the evening, complying with the wishes of our guide, we left the high road leading to Nimla and Gandamak, and descended into the valley of the Súrkh Rúd, which flows at the base of a mountain range, the Síá Koh, (black hill) separating the Jelálabád country from Lúghmán. This range stretches from Darúnta to Jigdillak, with a length of about twenty-five miles. We proceeded up the valley, passing a few Afghán hamlets and fortlets, and occasionally crossing the minor rivulets, which flow into the Súrkh Rúd, having their rise in the Saféd Koh range. The valley was every where cultivated, so far as the scantiness of the soil permitted, but the surface was rocky and unfavourable to the farmer. The houses were alike mean in appearance and structure, and it was evident that their tenants, rude Ghiljís, were not very affluent. On the hills behind Bálla Bágh, under which are the ruins attributed to Adínápúr, we had noticed a great variety of ruined parapets and walls, also a few caves with triangular entrances. At a spot in this valley called Kang Karak, where a large rivulet joins the river, and where a road over the plain of Bámak strikes off to Nimla, there were a more considerable number of caves, and the locality was agreeably picturesque. At length we halted at a hamlet, and passed the night on the roof of one of the houses. We had little to be taken from us, but a robber this night intended to have taken that little. He had crept, in pursuance of his plan, upon the roof, but chancing to awaken my companions, he was compelled to flight.

The next day, still tracing the course of the river, now gliding through hills on either side, we came upon the high road, at a locality called Súrkh Púl (the red bridge) from a dilapidated structure of one arch thrown over the stream, according to a Persian inscription on a rock near it, by Alí Merdán Khán. The river is fordable,



I suspect at all seasons, unless when increased by sudden swells. The road led hence to Jigdillak, but implicitly obedient to our guide, we again struck across the country to the south, and leaving the Ghiljí district of Hissárák on our left, turned westernly and ultimately reached Hávízángání, a spot where we found a dwelling with a few vines near it, a flour mill, a tandúr or baker's oven, an assemblage of Afghán tents, two lines of fine standard mulberry trees laden with ripe purple fruit, and a spring of delicious water. Beneath the shade of the mulberry trees were sitting some eight or ten persons. We discovered that they were in some degree strangers as well as ourselves. The greater number of them were the party of a Malek of Fattiábád, a village three or four miles south of Bálla Bágh, whom business had brought here; — and the others a Sàhib-záda of Loghar with his attendants. In the last we had a companion for our onward journey, and we soon became familiar with the whole of the party and sat with them. The mulberry trees were shaken, and an enormous heap of the fruit placed before me. I had eaten the mulberries of Kohát, Hángú and Pesháwer, but had never before seen or tasted fruit comparable to the present. I needed not encouragement to enjoy the treat. In course of the day, the Malek observed to me that he had ten wives, and wished me, from my Feringhí knowledge, to communicate some specific to strengthen him. I asserted my inability to oblige him, and he wished me to look into my book. I said that the book was on very different matter, and did not look into it. He was exceedingly persisting that I should consult the book, and I unwisely did not humour him, it not occurring to me that he might be merely curious to see what was in it, or whether there was any Persian writing which he might understand.

Since leaving Bálla Bágh, although the weather was still warm, we had by no means experienced the heats prevailing in the plain of Jelálabád, and in the country to the east. We were quite conscious by our feelings that we were travelling into a purer and cooler atmosphere. At this place however the change was extremely sensible, and I was in high spirits at the certainty of having reached the cold country. Neither was I less delighted at the novelties shewn in the aspect of the country, and in its vegetable productions. Here I first met with the common but fragrant plant terk, and cannot express my joy when I inhaled the breeze perfumed with its odour. I was never tired of roving about the low hills in our neighbourhood, and found every thing new and pleasing — but I was unusually glad, — and a strange presentiment arose in my mind,

which I could not banish, that some present evil would befall me. In the evening, I was the guest of some one, I knew not of whom, but a stewed fowl was brought to me from the Afghān tents, where the females prepared the repast for the whole party. — I ate a portion of it, and was told to tie up the remainder for the morning. I did so, and placed it near my book, and as night came on, went to sleep. In the morning my book was missing. I was chagrined to lose so simply what the Khaibar robbers had respected, and returned to me. Ineffectual search was made over the neighbourhood, and I was compelled to leave without recovering it. My companions suspected the Malek of Fattíabād might have taken it, but there was the probability that some dog, or other animal, had carried it off with the fowl, which had also disappeared. My regret made me use high language, but I was cautioned to be moderate, as the inhabitants, Ghiljís, were bad people.

We left Hávízāngānī, to me a disastrous spot, and our small party was augmented by that of the Loghar Sāhibzáda, a respectable and agreeable person. We made this day the passage of the Kotal or pass of Karkacha, the most southernly of the routes leading from Jelálabád to Kábal; the other is that of Jigdillak, and both lead to Tézí. I cannot call to mind that the Kotal was any where difficult, but I dismounted during the greater portion of it, rather from consideration for my horse, than from necessity. The hills are not abrupt, and many of them have a surface of dark red soil. They cover the space between the Jelálabád valley and Amán Koh the western continuation of Saféd Koh, where the Súrkh Rúd rises, and from the river washing away their particles in its course, it acquires in certain seasons a deep red tinge, whence its name. The pass afforded some delightful scenery, and the hills, overspread with pine fir, and holly trees, were peculiarly interesting. We descended into the valley of Tézí, where we halted at a collection of pastoral Afghān tents, the people receiving us as guests, being happy, it appeared to entertain a Sāhibzáda's party. Tézí was a picturesque valley, with a castle, and much cultivation on a rivulet, near which we halted. At its southern extremity, in the high hills confining it, were visible the castles and gardens of various Ghiljí chiefs, who own the valley. The rivulet of Tézí flows with a marked descent by Séh Báhá, and falls into the Kábal river near Súrbi. We found at Tézí in the garden attached to the castle, the troops of Sadú Khán, the chief whose expulsion from Hángú, I have noted. They were under the orders of a Náib, and en route to reinforce the Nawáb Jabár Khán at Jelálabád. I chanced to stroll near them, and

narrowly escaped having a scuffle with some of them, who wished to treat me as a Ghiljí rogue, others recognized me, and in lieu of maltreatment, I was overwhelmed with goodness. I sat some time with the leader, and was regaled with apricots, sent for from the Tézí Malek's private garden. Readiness was professed to recover my book, and the Náíb said he would do his best, when in a day or two, he should be at Hávízángání. We remained the night at Tézí.

The next morning we crossed the succession of passes, called the Haft kotal, (seven passes) the road tolerably good, and reached the table lands extending to Khúrd Kábal (little Kábal) — at their commencement was the grave of Jabár, the progenitor of the great Ghiljí family of that name, and beyond it the remains of a Chaghatai fortress. The plain to the south has for boundary a well marked hill range, under which we see the castle and gardens of Tchakrí, where resides Walí, a Karoh Khèl Ghiljí, and notorious freebooter. As we approached Khúrd Kábal, we passed the remains of another Chaghatai fortress, constructed of a white argillaceous stone containing fossil fresh water shells, which abound in the formation of the plains hereabouts. Beyond the fortress a short tanghí or defile, through which flows a rivulet, conducted into the plain of Khúrd Kábal, of fair extent, comprising some cultivated lands, a good deal of pasture, and a fine rivulet, which coming from Mùsáhi passes through defiles to Bhút Khák, and thence into the river of Kábal. The village of Khúrd Kábal was seated on the opposite side of the stream, at some distance, under the hills, neither did we visit it, although it is a common halting place. We had heard that the cholera which had been so destructive at Pesháwer, had travelled on to Kábal, and was raging with great violence. The Sáhibzáda was afraid to venture to the city, and as the direct way to Loghar, leads from Khúrd Kábal, we now separated. He would have been pleased that I should have accompanied him, and have remained in Loghar, until the pestilence had ceased; but I declined his polite proposal, as I did not purpose to linger at Kábal, and hoped to pass unharmed the one or two days I might stay in its vicinity. We crossed the hills separating the plain of Khúrd Kábal, from that of the great city, by a byepath, and descended upon Killa Mohsan, where we halted, and had bread prepared. Towards evening we started anew, and crossing the meadows of Bégrám, and the river of Loghar, we reached by sunset the castle of Agá Lála at Bini Sár, (the nose of the city) about three miles south of the Bálla Hissár of Kábal. This castle belonged to a family, many of whose members resided at Pesháwer, and I had been directed to repair to it, and to make it my home.

I found that the mother of Agá Lála was dwelling at it. She sent a message of welcome to me, and informed me that she was going into the city that night, where some one dear to her was indisposed, but would return in the morning, and every attention should be paid to me. The good lady went, and I was told in the morning, she was no more. The cholera had added her to the number of its victims.

The city, I learned, was in charge of Mahomed Akbár Khán, second son of Dost Mahomed Khán, who, with his army, was encamped at Ghazní, awaiting the arrival of his hostile brothers from Kándahár. I determined to lose no time in proceeding to the Sirdár's camp, being as curious to witness the proceedings of an Afghán army, as desirous to escape from the baleful influence of contagion and disease.

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#### IV. — *Memorandum on the Siâposh.*

The Honorable Mr. Elphinstone in the appendix to his admirable work on Afghánistán, has included an account, as given by one of his agents, Múlla Najíb, of the singular and secluded people known to their Mahomedan neighbours as the Siâposh Káfirs, or black clad infidels, and who inhabit the mountainous regions north of Lúghmân and Khonar, and between the courses of the Nadjíl and Kámeh rivers.

It is pretty certain that Múlla Najíb, who is still alive, never ventured into the Siâposh country, as I believe he pretended, still his account is the only tolerable one which has appeared of the customs and usages of the mysterious race. At the period of the Kábal mission in 1809, it was easy for him to learn all that he has recorded, by actual communication with the numerous individuals of their nation, who were wont to visit the towns and villages of Peshatt and Khonar, under protection of Saiyad Najím, then the ruler of those districts, who preserved an understanding with his Siâposh neighbours.

No subsequent accounts have contributed much additional information, being merely hearsay statements given and received at random:—and a little reflection will teach that trustworthy information is scarcely to be expected from casual sources. The Mahomedans, bordering on the Siâposh frontiers, are incompetent to speak accurately of the manners, habits, history or traditions, of tribes, with whom they have no friendly intercourse.

They repeat therefore the wonderous tales they have heard from persons as ignorant as themselves, whence their variance with all probability, and with each other. It also happens that the few Siâ-

posh, who are seen in the adjacent countries, are such as have been kidnapped, and generally children or shepherd boys, amongst the rudest and less informed of their own countrymen ; and consequently unqualified to give testimony on the topics, concerning which European curiosity desires to be satisfied. The six or seven Káfr youths, I have seen, were obviously in this predicament, and incapable of replying clearly to questions on subjects which they did not comprehend.

For these reasons, we can obtain but vague and defective information as to the Sîáposh races, from their neighbours, and even this has been in many cases misunderstood by careless enquirers, who have been therefore led to ascribe to the objects of their researches a descent from the Arabs, from the Korésh, or from other equally improbable stocks.

There can be no doubt, but that great interest attaches to a people on all sides environed by hostile neighbours of a different faith, but whose valour assisted by the strength and intricacy of their mountainous abodes, has enabled them, to this day, to maintain independence, and to baffle the attempts of all invaders to subdue them. To us, this interest is considerably augmented by the knowledge that these indomitable tribes have an unusual fairness of complexion, and a regularity of features which would seem to identify them with the European family of nations. We are not permitted to account for these physiological distinctions by referring them to the influences of climate or of situation, as such influences do not similarly affect their neighbours, in like manner, exposed to them. We cannot behold the fair and regular countenance of the Sîáposh, his variously coloured eye, and shaded hair, and suppose for a moment that he is of the same family as the Tájik, or the Hazára, the U'zbek, or the Kirghiz. In proportion as we find it impossible to affiliate him with any of his neighbours, our anxiety encreases to ascertain his origin, and to verify the causes which have enshrouded him with mystery, and isolated him, under the shelter of his inaccessible retreats, from the rest of mankind.

When no one knows, all may conjecture, — but with regard to the Sîáposh community, the Asiatic and the European would probably apply very different speculations. The latter might fondly fall back upon the remote period when the son of Philip led his victorious arms into the regions of central Asia, and call to mind the various colonies he planted in them to promote the security and permanent retention of his acquisitions. He might remember the Macedonian colonies of Alexandria ad Caucasum, of Arigæum and Bazira ; — the garrisons of Nysa, Ora, Massaga, Peuceleotis and Aornos. He might also

recollect, that a number of sovereigns of Greek descent subsequently ruled in these countries, until they were overrun by the Getic hordes of Scythia. He would not fail to discover that the region now inhabited by the Síáposh, is surrounded by the very countries in which the Greek sovereignty prevailed, and that it is encircled by the colonies, posts, and garrisons, known to have been established in them ; — while it is naturally that, into which the expatriated princes and their subjects would have been driven, or into which they would have retired to escape the fury of their fierce and barbarous invaders. He might farther be pleased to find, that the conclusions which such recollections would tend to suggest, were sanctioned by the recorded traditions existing in these quarters, and that they are strengthened by the fact that, many petty princes and chiefs, some of whom, now Mahomedans, but originally Síáposh, claim descent from the Macedonian hero ; and have preserved vague accounts referrible either to their reputed ancestors marriage with the fair Roxana, or to his amour with the captive queen of Massaga.

But while, if we were enabled positively to pronounce the Síáposh tribe to be descendants of the Greek colonists and subjects, we might plausibly account for their location, and rationally enough for their physical and physiological distinctions and peculiarities ; — it is scarcely allowable, on our scanty knowledge of them, to draw so bold and welcome an inference.

From the period of Getic ascendancy to that of the appearance of Mahomedan armies in the countries bordering on the Indus, we have no extant records to apply to, for any information on the history of the times. The discovery of a multitude of coins, which may be classed into many well defined and distinct series, and which were undeniably current in these countries, yield abundant testimony that not only did they undergo a number of political convulsions, and experience considerable alternations in the authority of various dynasties, but that divers religions were introduced, and patronized by the monarchs of the day. Such testimony is moreover confirmed by slight notices acquired through foreign and indirect channels.

In the absence of positive historical evidence, we need not expect to derive any intimation applicable to the Síáposh tribes, but we may reasonably suppose that, if then located in their present seats, their manners, usages, habits, religious belief and opinions, may have been more or less changed and modified by their intercourse with the several races of people, who of various origin and creed, dominated in the countries adjacent to them : — for it is possible that, until the intolerant and persecuting Mahomedan established his sway, they

were in communication with the inhabitants of the plains ; as they would not have had the same reasons for jealous distrust and hostility.

We know little of the government of these countries under the viceroys of the Caliphs, or how long they continued to exercise it, yet it must have been for a considerable period, if we accept as evidence, the large number of their coins found. It is still certain that the Hindú princes, east of the Indus, recovered the regions west of the river, by the expulsion of the early Mahomedan governors, as we find them in possession, when Sabakhtaghin of the Ghaznavide line of princes, found himself strong enough to undertake their conquest, and to carry his arms to the Indus. His son, the celebrated Máhmúd, distinguished himself in these campaigns, and if we credit tradition, Jelálabád or the province of Ningrahár was the scene of severe contest, while the district of Lúghmán, in particular, immediately to the south of the Síáposh region, became the theatre of a most sanguinary and obstinate warfare, between the Mússúlmán armies and the infidels.

From this epoch, we have, I believe, tolerably authentic accounts preserved by Mahomedan historians. Their works, relating to the exploits of Sabakhtaghin and his son, merit examination for the purpose of eliciting who these infidels were, who so bravely defended their country, and whether they had any connection with the Síáposh. It will strike any one that if previously there had been no enmity between the natives of the hills, and the inhabitants of the plains, there was now ample occasion to have given rise to it. May it be, that, from this date, exists that hostility which has endured unabated for so many centuries ?

Sabakhtaghin died in 997, A. D. It was somewhat before that time therefore that these events took place. Yet it is not until more than four centuries afterwards that, we find the Síáposh mentioned by name, and as occupying the country they now hold. The conquests of Amír Taimúr brought these people to his notice, and he made an expedition against them which is rather circumstantially detailed by his historian Sherífadín, and contains a few particulars worthy of note.

In 1399, A. D. that conqueror being at Anderáb, the inhabitants complained to him that, they were grievously oppressed by the idolaters of Ketuer, and by the Síáposh. It would appear that the general name of the northern parts of the region of Káfristán, was Ketuer, or Katáwar. The princes of Chitrál, who in the time of Taimúr were no doubt infidels, and who are among those claiming descent from Alexander, being still styled Sháh Katáwar, or the kings of Katáwar. Chitrál is also called in the countries to the

south, Káshghár-í-khúrd or the little Káshghár. It was asserted by the complainants that, the Síáposh extorted excessive sums of money from them, calling it tribute and Karaj, (a term in use at this day) and in default of payment, killed their men and carried off their women and children. Taimúr selecting nearly a third part of his army (or three out of every ten soldiers) marched against the Síáposh. He reached Perjan, said to be a town of Badakshan, two days from Anderáb, whence he detached a large force to the left or north, while he proceeded himself to Kavuk, where finding a demolished fortress, he ordered it to be rebuilt. Neither of these localities are perhaps exactly known, but it may be inferred that Kavuk was in the valley of Panjshír. From Kavuk, Taimúr made the ascent of the mountains of Ketuer. These were the range dividing the courses of the Panjshír and Nadjíl rivers, and this notice substantiates that the country to the east of Panjshír was called Katáwar, and that the term was a general one applied to that part of Káfristán. The passage was difficult from snow, but when the army had surmounted it, they descended upon a river, (that of Nadjíl) where was a fortress on the western bank. This was abandoned by the Síáposh who crossed the river, and occupied the summit of a high hill.

The infidels are described as "strong men, and as large as the giants of Aad:—they go all naked, their kings are named Oda and Odashooh:—they have a particular language which is neither Persian, nor Turkish, nor Indian, and know no other than this." Taimúr passed the river, and attacked the Síáposh position, which defended with singular obstinacy, was at length carried. The males of the infidels, whose souls are said to have been more black than their garments, were put to the sword, their women and children were carried away.

"Taimúr ordered the history of this action to be engraved upon marble. It happened in the month Ramadan, in the year of the Hijra 800, (June 1398) and he added the particular epocha which this people used, that their posterity might have some knowledge of the famous pillar of the ever victorious Taimúr. This pillar so inscribed gave the greater pleasure to the emperor, in that these people had never been conquered by any prince in the world, not even by Alexander the Great."

This quotation comprises interesting details. First, the erection of the marble pillar. — Secondly, the recorded fact that, the Síáposh had a peculiar epocha; — and thirdly, the allusion to their valor and long independence, and to Alexander.



As regards the pillar, it would be satisfactory to ascertain whether it be still in existence. I may note that the extracts from Sherí-fadín are taken from the English version of the French translation by Petit La Croix. The French author, it is to be feared, has in some instances taken liberty with his original, and the English author may have treated the French one with as little ceremony. Whether a pillar was erected or not, a work requiring some time and labor, there is little reason to doubt, but that some inscription recorded the triumph of Taimúr. To the north of Nadjíl, a district dependent on Lúghmán, and through which the river, named after it, flows, and which river we suppose to be the one, to which Taimúr had arrived, — is a structure, or some other monument, known by the name of Taimúr Hissár. In the ordinary acceptation of the term Hissár in these countries, it would imply a superior fortress, but as the place is, in the Síáposh country, it is not visited by people from without, and all that can be ascertained is that, there exists some token of the conqueror's visit, bearing his name, and which is admitted, by tradition, to relate to him. It might not be inconsistent with probability to believe that by Taimúr Hissár may be known the remains of the fortress on the river, abandoned by the Síáposh, and dismantled by Taimúr. Near it would be, of course, the inscription which it would be so desirable to recover. The Malek or petty chief of Nadjíl, also claims descent from Amír Taimúr, to whom is ascribed an amour, precisely of the same nature as the one attributed to Alexander.

The fact that the Síáposh had, at that period, a particular era, is also important, because it may be hoped that they have preserved it, and that people who have certain ideas on chronology, may not be altogether without them on other subjects.

The allusion to the long independence of the Síáposh, proves that their establishment in their mountain seats was not considered of recent date, and the notice of Alexander, shews that the emperor and his historian were acquainted with his progress in these countries; and it is certain that, although the romances of the poets have superseded, with the vulgar, the rational history of the Macedonian conqueror, still there are persons more correctly informed.

The large detachment sent by Taimúr to the left, met with signal disgrace and discomfiture. It is pretended that a reinforcement partly retrieved it, but it is clear that the success of the emperor himself was rather equivocal, and without attempting to maintain a position in the country of the warlike infidels, he hastily returned to Anderáb, and rejoined the rest of his army.

From this time, it appears to have been the practice of the Mahomedan princes of Túrkestán, occasionally to make inroads upon the Siáposh, not so much with the view of reducing them, as of gaining for themselves a reputation, and of meriting the illustrious title of Ghází, or champion of the faith. History notes many such crusades, as that of Súltán Mahomed Mirza of Bokhara in 1453, A. D. who won the honorable title whatever may have been the fortune of his arms. It has however occurred that, combinations of Mahomedan princes have been made against the independence of the Siáposh, and that, armies from different quarters have entered their country. But these have been invariably repulsed, unable to overcome its natural obstacles, and the gallantry of the mountaineers who defended it.

The celebrated Baber, in his memoirs, repeatedly mentions the Siáposh under the designation of Káfrs, yet as his notices are incidental, they impart no light upon their history, religion or other important points, connected with them; — still they are extremely interesting, both as concerns them on minor details, and the neighbouring countries and people to the south; the activity of the observant prince having led him to make frequent excursions amongst the latter. In the sequel we shall have occasion to refer to many of his intimations. In this place, it may suffice to note that the lapse of a century and a quarter, had brought about no change in the nature of the relations between the Siáposh and the people of Panjhír and Anderáb, whose ancestors had claimed Amír Taimúr's protection. Baber describing Panjhír notes that, "It lies upon the road and is in the immediate vicinity of Káferistán. The thoroughfare and inroads of the robbers of Káferistán are through Panjhír. In consequence of their vicinity to the Káfrs, the inhabitants of this district are happy to pay them a fixed contribution. Since I last invaded Hindustán and subdued it, (in 1527) the Káfrs have descended into Panjhír, and returned, after slaying a great number of people, and committing extensive damages."

Baber had previously noted that in 1514, A. D. the year in which he took Cheghánserai on the Kámeh river, "The Káfrs of Pich came to their assistance" and adds, "so prevalent is the use of wine among them, that every Káfr has a khig, or leathern bottle of wine about his neck. They drink wine instead of water." At an earlier period in 1507, A. D. he had led a plundering expedition against their rice fields in the valley of Birain, which he thus describes, "Some persons who were thoroughly acquainted with every part of the country, informed us, that up the river of the Tumán of Alisheng, the Káfrs sow great qu-

antities of rice, and that probably the troops might there be able to lay in their winters corn. Leaving the dale of Nangenhār, therefore, and pushing speedily forwards, we passed Saigal, and advanced up to the valley of Birain. The troops seized a great quantity of rice. The rice fields were at the bottom of the hills. The inhabitants in general fled and escaped, but a few Káfrs were killed. They had posted some men in a breastwork on a commanding eminence in the valley of Birain. When the Káfrs fled, this party descended rapidly from the hill, and began to annoy us with arrows. We staid one night in the Káfrs rice fields, where we took a great quantity of grain, and then returned to the camp." — Here is the cool naration of a cool exploit, yet Baber no where speaks of the Káfrs with particular ill feeling, or discovers the slightest ambition to win, at their expence, the title of Ghází, of which Amír Taimúr had been so proud. Their jovial habits, so much in keeping with his own, may have somewhat prepossessed him in their favour. In 1520, A.D. he mentions having sent from Bèdrav, (in the present Taghow) one Haidar Alemdar to the Káfrs. This man on his return met him below the pass of Bádjij, (the present Bád Pash) and was "accompanied by some of their chiefs, who brought with them a few skins of wine." The present probably explains the nature of the mission.

It is singular that Marco Polo, who, if the statement transmitted to us in the twenty-fifth chapter of his First Book, as given by Marsden, be implicitly credited, resided for a year in Balashan or Bádakshan, should not have particularly noticed so interesting a people as the Síáposh. His account of the inhabitants of Bascia in the following chapter is scarcely applicable to them, as he instances that they are of a dark complexion, which assuredly the Síáposh are not.

In 1603, A.D. Benedict Goez, a Jesuit crossed the Hindū Kosh by the pass of Perwán, to Anderáb. He heard of the Síáposh tribes, and being told they were not Mahomedans, and that they drank wine and arrayed themselves in black, inferred that they were Christians. The fanciful notions of the zealous missionary are not more ludicrous than those of later Europeans, who have imagined them to be Arabs.

The reports of Goez must have excited considerable interest and curiosity respecting these tribes throughout Europe, but nothing was done to encrease our knowledge of them, until the mission of the Honorable Mr. Elphinstone in 1809, when the report of Múlla Najíb, gave as much information respecting their manners and usages, as a native could be expected to acquire. It also furnished a vocabulary of their language, I doubt not as perfect as could be composed by a native, recollecting that he heard with the ear of a native of

Pesháwer, and that his orthography may be questionable, because peculiar.

Attaching every value to the report of Múlla Najíb, it must be still conceded that, we have no information of the Síáposh race, which does not require confirmation;—neither are we likely to obtain a sufficient acquaintance with this interesting people, until some intelligent and adventurous European shall penetrate into their sequestered vallies, and by the results of his own observation, and of direct intercourse with the best informed of themselves, enable us to form accurate notions of their present and past state of society, of their religion, language and other matters relating to them: until we have such testimony, we must be satisfied with the dubious accounts of natives, but we, as Europeans, can never from them acquire the knowledge we wish to possess of the Síáposh.

The boundaries of the country, they occupy, are well known, and their limits have been considerably contracted since the period when they were first brought to notice; both by the encroachments of Mahomedan tribes, and by the defalcation of their own people at exposed and accessible frontier villages, who to preserve themselves and their possessions, have professed themselves to be converts to Islám. Such people preserve their original customs and manners, in a great degree, and their religion is so equivocal, that they are termed Nimcha, or half Mússúlmáns. They communicate with Mahomedans and Síáposh, and are therefore, in some degree, useful, but their sympathies are supposed to side with the friends, from whom they have unwillingly, and but nominally, seceded.

Three large rivers flow through Káfristán, from north to south, and augment with their waters the river of Kábal and Jelálabád, which ultimately falls into the Indus. The two westernly ones unite at Tírgarí of Lúghmán, and the joint stream, after a short course of eight or ten miles, falls into the Kábal river at Kergah, in the same district, about a mile to the east of Mandaráwar. The easternly river, known as that of Kámeh, falls into the Kábal river, east of Jelálabád, and at a distance of about twenty-five miles from Kergah. The Kámeh flows through Ghitrál, and its source is more remote. On the east, it may be considered the boundary of the Síáposh territory, as the river of Nadjíl and Alíshang forms the boundary on the west. The sources of the Nadjíl river are said to be not very distant, and it is the smallest of the three rivers. The central river, which joins that of Nadjíl, is more considerable, and is said to have a far longer course. It is the only one which has a peculiar name, or one independent of the localities through which

it passes, and is called Kow, pronounced exactly as the English word cow. It must not be mistaken for the Cow-mull of Rennell, which is the Gomal, a river rising near the pass of Pêhwár, at the head of Bangash, and with a course from west to east, flowing through the Súlímání range, west of the Indus, into which it falls a few miles south of Déra Ismael Khán. The river of Nadjíl, we have supposed to be that at which Amír 'Taimúr arrived, and this need scarcely be doubted, as Baber in noting that there are three passes over the Hindú Kosh from Panjhír, calls the uppermost, or the one farthest to the east, by the name of Khewák, clearly the Kavuk of Sherífadín. This river is therefore so far known to history. Of the river Kow, nothing is known, beyond the fact of its junction with the former at Tírgarí, having traversed the eastern part of the valley of Lúghmán, named Alingár.

With the river of Kámeh, we are better acquainted, there being a route along its course, by which Káfilas sometimes, but not often, pass from the valley of Jelálabád to Chitrál. The route leads through Bísút, and by Shéghí, Bazárak, Kallatak, Shéwah, and Killa Pádsháh, to Islámpúr, at the head of the valley of Búdialí, leading to Bar-kot, Daminj, and the Dara Núr. From Islámpúr, where the valley of Khonar also commences, constantly tracing the river bank, the road passes Kandí and Núrgal to Pattan, where the stream is crossed, and then tracing the opposite bank conducts by Khonar, and Kúligráam to Peshatt; thence to Dúnáhi, lately taken from the Peshatt chief by Mír Alam Khán of Bájor, who keeps a garrison there, as it is at the foot of the pass of Shammatak, by which the great mountain range stretching from Khonar to Chitrál is crossed to Bájor. From Dúnáhi the road leads to Sirkaní, and Hindú Ráj, dependent on the Bájor chief, beyond them are Shígal and Asmár inhabited by Shínwáris; and again beyond them, are Siáposh villages, which passed, the valley of Chitrál is entered. Above Asmár is a large cataract, and the river above Peshatt is, in some places, narrow enough to be bridged; — from Peshatt, jálas or floats of inflated skins pass freely down it. From Pattan, where it is usual to cross the river, as is done for convenience, and a regard to safety, there is still a road along the western bank, which passes many villages, as Niázi, Shákhútí, Kúlmání, Kotgáhi opposite to Peshatt, Noreng Páyán opposite to Dúnáhi, Noreng Bálá opposite to Sirkanní, and Téshtar opposite to Hindú Ráj. There are also many small rivers or rivulets which fall into the Kámeh from the west in this part of its course. They generally flow down †  
vallyies inhabited by Mahomedans or Nimchas, who are immediate

neighbours of the Síáposh, and with whom, as the case may be, they are in hostility, or on amicable terms. Of these the daras or vallies of Mazár, Péch, Shínaghám, and Chághanseráhi, are the most remarkable. The Síáposh, in this route, between the Shínwáris and Chitrál, exact Karaj or a tax from Káfilas, but do not otherwise molest them, although the traders are glad to get through them. Owing to this distrust, or that the road is penible, as it is said to be, and probably that the Shínwáris, a lawless tribe, are more to be dreaded than the Káfrs, this route is not much used, and Káfilas generally prefer crossing the hills at Dúnáhi to Bájor, whence they proceed northerly to Dír, beyond which they have to recross the same range, descending into the valley of Chitrál.

To the north, the limits of the Síáposh are defined by the line of road leading from Chitrál to Faizabád of Bádakhshán. This appears to extend from east to west, and crosses a high mountain range, probably the true Hindú Kosh, the third or fourth march from Chitrál. From the valley of Panjshír, they are separated by a lofty range, the principal peak of which is called Koh Kohwand, and on the south, it has been gleaned that they border on the districts of Nijrow, Taghow, Nadjíl, Lúghmán and Shéwah. From Lúghmán they are separated by a high mountain, Koh Karinj, and from Shéwah by that of Núrgal.

From the summit of Koh Karinj, a most extensive and commanding view is obtained of the region inhabited by the Síáposh. The eye wanders over an immense space of low rounded hills, with few prominent ranges or any particular mountains of great elevation.

The impression derived from the coup d'œil coincides with the understood nature of the tract. It being represented as hilly, and traversed by innumerable narrow and rugged vallies and defiles, the roads chiefly leading along the brinks of precipices, and frightful chasms, while it is amply supplied with rivers, rivulets and torrents, but the abundance of water is unfortunately unaccompanied by any extent of cultivable soil. The table spaces which seem to prevail, may be presumed alike unavailable to agriculture, whether from the rocky character of the surface, or from the absence of moisture. It is allowed that no practicable spot is neglected, and that júári mek-káhi or Indian maize, is the grain usually cultivated, and frequently on terraces, artificially constructed.

The unfitness of the country for the purposes of tillage is so evident, that the principal attention of the inhabitants is directed to their orchards, which yield them amazing quantities of fruits; found also, in the wild state, in the greatest profusion over their hills. It is known that they have vines and walnut trees, and it may be pre-

sumed peach, almond and pistachio trees, which abound in the hills of their neighbours. They do not however procure grain from the adjacent tracts, which is accounted for, by the fact, that their diet consists principally of meat, cheese, curds and fruits, both fresh and dried. The quantity of cheese made and consumed by them is said to be surprising. The natives of the Kohistán of Kábal, and of the dependent vallies of Sir Auleng, Panjshír, Nijrow, &c. subsist much in the same way, and although they can obtain more easily grain, they have a remarkable predilection for cheese and dried fruits. Kábal is supplied with cheese from those parts, and the people of Nijrow are very expert in its manufacture. Dried túts, or mulberries, which are no doubt abundant with the Siáposh, are a favorite food of the Kohistánís, and much used by them in lieu of bread. They devour them by handfuls, washing them down with water, and travel with bags of them, as regularly as the Siáposh do with khigs of wine.

Horned cattle are said to be scarce among the Siáposh, as are sheep, but they have numerous flocks of goats. These besides supplying them with food, furnish them with clothing, and from the circumstance of wearing the prepared skins with the hair outside they have gained the name of Siáposh or black clad.

Little is known of the vegetable productions of the country. The river Kow when swollen by the melting of snows or by rains, brings down to Lúghmán branches of an odoriferous wood, supposed to be sandal, but which is likely the juniper cedar. The Siáposh hills are popularly thought the locale of the meher ghíya or plant of affection, the possession of which, is said to secure the love of any one to its fortunate owner. As so valuable a plant would be in high request, it is ingeniously assigned to an inaccessible region.

It is also universally believed that gold is found in large quantities in this country, and it is fancied that it grows with the grain. The metal is pale coloured, and called Tilla Káhí, or straw coloured gold, of the same quality as, I believe, Chinese gold generally is. The rivers flowing through Káfristán, undoubtedly bring down gold with them. There are constantly numbers of gold washers employed near Peshatt on the river of Chitrál and Kámeh. The metal is also found in the rivers of Lúghmán, and in the river of Kábal, into which they fall, and is sometimes collected near Kergah and Chahár Bagh of Lúghmán, and again near Jelálabád. On the joint river of the Kohistán of Kábal, before it enters the Sáfi hills, there is a spot, preserving the name of Zir Shuí, though now unfrequented, and it is certain that, all or nearly all the rivers flowing from the north have auriferous sands, as quantities of the metal are procured in the Yúsafzai districts. It may

be worthy of note, that the people who search for the gold, are not of the countries, but of the Panjáb; many are natives of Jélam on the river of that name. It is not improbable that the rivers of Káfristán when increased in volume, may pass over soils enriched with gold and carry down the precious particles with them. At such times, they necessarily flood the narrow vallies through which they pass, and the little patches or plots in them, sown with maize or other grain. On their subsidence, it is possible that grains of the metal may be found adhering to the roots of the plants, which have arrested their progress; whence the fiction of the growth of gold with the grain of the country.

As regards the division of the Siáposh into tribes, no one knows or pretends to know any thing about them. Nearly as little can be ascertained of their towns and villages. On the Khonar frontier, where they have more intercourse with their neighbours than on any other, the nearest of their villages are Kattár, Gambír and Dèh Uz, said to be near to each other, and on the crest of a table land. There are also in that quarter Arans, Tshúmía, Amísúz, Pandít and Waigal, and all of these are said to be on the ridges of table lands, at the extremities of vallies. The three first villages are said to have one thousand houses each, and maleks or principals with the names of Udúr, Erakán, Kerim Bátúr and Kodála. The two last belonging to Dèh Uz. Arans is said to have three thousand houses, Tshúmía, Amísúz and Pandít, one thousand houses each, while Waigal is supposed to have six thousand houses, and to be the largest town in these parts. It may be reasonably suspected that these calculations are above the truth, still when it is known that there are large and populous villages in a country, it is difficult to reconcile the fact with so complete a state of barbarism as is imputed to the Siáposh, or to avoid the impression that, men assembled in such communities must have a certain kind of order prevalent amongst them, and be subject to some of the influences inseparable to society. It may be remarked that they appear to have condensed themselves at the heads of the vallies which they have lost, and by taking up a position on the edges of their table lands strive to oppose the farther progress of the Mahomedan. Saíyad Najím of Khonar strove to force this barrier but ineffectually. In the time of Baber, they still held the vallies, as he notices that of Pích (now called Péch, or the tortuous.) The natives of Péch now call themselves Sáfis, and are independent, but avow themselves to be Mahomedans. It is strange that their neighbours of Dara Núr, and the remoter inhabitants of Taghow, who are expressly stated by Baber, to have been, in his time Káfrs, alike call



themselves Sáfís, which may be a Síáposh appellation, and there is a village called Sáví, still belonging to them, at the head of Dara Níá-zí, leading from Lúghmán. Báber unfortunately gives few items of intelligence respecting Káfristán. Describing the boundaries of Kábal, he says, "In the hill country to the north east lies Káfristán, such as Kattor and Gebrek." Kattor may be either the Ketuer of Amír Taimúr, or Kattár, which we have noted as one of the villages west of the valley of Khonar. In the latter case, Gebrek might be Gambír, easily transformed to Gaber-ak, if otherwise, the name is singular. In describing Nijrow, he states that, "Behind it in the hill country, all the inhabitants are Káfirs, and the country is Káfristán." The inhabitants of Nijrow, would seem to have been in the transition state, for Baber, after noting that they boil their wine in making it, and fatten cows in the winter season, goes on to say, that they, "are wine bibbers, never pray, fear neither God nor man, and are heathenish in their usages." A good Mahomedan would now make exactly the same remarks of the Sáfís of Dara Núr, who have continued for above three centuries in the same state, as Baber notes, that during his time only, they discontinued the practise of eating hogs.

In speaking of Alísheng, he informs us that the part of Káfristán nearest to it, "is called Meil," and "that the river of Alisheng comes down from Meil." It has been already seen that he has mentioned a foray from Alísheng upon the valley of Birain. Neither it or Meil can be exactly identified, but Nadjíl is about twelve miles north of Alísheng, and I believe there is no place of the least note between them. Again in speaking of Alingár, the eastern Tumán of Lúghmán he notes, that, "The part of Káfristán that is nearest to Alingár is Gewár, and the river of Alingár comes down from Gewár." I can offer no illustration of Gewár. No boundaries to the Dara Núr are mentioned, but we are told that "Kúner and Núrgil form another Tumán. It is situated in the midst of Káfristán, which forms its boundary." Baber correctly states that "Núrgil lies on the west, and Kúner on the east of the river," and a little farther on that "the lower part of this Tumán is called Milteh-Kendí, below which the country belongs to the Dereh Núr, and Ater." His succeeding description of Cháhánseráhi is entirely applicable to the place at this day. "Another Balúk is Cheghanserai, which contains one village only, and is of limited extent, lying in the very jaws or entrance of Káfristán. As its inhabitants, although Mussulmans, are mingled with the Káfirs, they live according to the customs of that race." Three centuries have in this instance produced no difference in the

relative condition of this place; it is now, as formerly, the boundary between the Mússùlmán and Káfr, and its inhabitants under the rule of Bájor, are compelled to live on a good footing with their formidable infidel neighbours. They call themselves Tájiks, and trace their origin to the Kaián heroes. In the year 1519, A. D. Baber took by assault the citadel and town of Bajor, and massacred the ruling chief or Súltán, with the greater part of his family, and about three thousand of his ill-fated subjects. This wanton sacrifice of human life, in conformity with the barbarous spirit of the age, and intended as a severe military example, seemed to require extenuation, and in showing the reasons which actuated him, Baber plainly intimates that the devoted people were what would now be called Nimcha Mahomedans. He says "As the men of Bajour were rebels, to the followers of Islám, and as, beside their rebellion and hostility, they followed the customs and usages of the infidels, while even the name of Islám was extirpated from among them, they were all put to the sword, and their wives and families made prisoners. Perhaps upwards of three thousand were killed." This slaughter occurred on the 7th January, and on the 12th January, Baber records that, "The Káfrs in the neighbourhood of Bajour, had brought down wine in a number of skins. The wines and fruits of Bajor are wholly from that part of Káfristán which lies about Bajor." This notice exemplifying the familiar intercourse of the Siáposh with the invader's camp, points out likewise that the country north of Bajor, and east of the great mountain range of Chitrál and Khonar, was then possessed by them; that the Shínwáris had not then intruded themselves, and that the natives of Dír were not then converted. There is nothing more evident from all Baber's details than the fact, that the countries of Kábal, Nangenhár, Lughmán, &c. were in his days infinitely less populous than they are at present, and we find him constrained to remedy the loss he had inflicted upon the population of Bajor, by the location in it of the people of Bísút. On the 30th January he dispatched "Yusef Ali Bekawel to collect them and remove them to Bajour," and he prefaces this announcement by informing us that "the people of Bísút are connected with those of Bajour," in itself, a fact of some consequence.

As regards the language or dialect spoken by the Siáposh, there can be no doubt but that they have one, which as Sherífádín has recorded, is neither exactly Persian, nor Turkí, nor Hindí. It is remarkable that on the south western, and southern borders of the Siáposh country, or in those points where it connects with the actual limits of the Kábal and Jelálabád territories, there are four distinct dia-

lects spoken, independently of the more prevailing ones of Persian, Afghání, Túrki and Hindí. The dialects in question are called Peráncheh, Pashai, Lúghmání and Kohistání. The Peráncheh is spoken by a few families of the same name resident in or near Panjshír, the Pashai, by a few families also of the same designation, occupying some half dozen villages in the hills east of Nijrow ; — by the inhabitants of Nijrow generally, and by those of Panjshír. The two latter people are however acquainted with Persian, which the few Pashai families are not. The Lúghmání is spoken by the Tájik inhabitants of Lúghmán, who also speak Persian. The Kohistání is spoken by the Sáfi inhabitants of Dara Núr, Dara Mazár, Dara Péç, &c., who know no other dialect. It is said, and with every appearance of probability, that these several people are able to hold converse with the Síáposh. On a comparison of their dialects, although they by no means coincide, there is sufficient similarity to authorize the assumption of their affinity, and the conjecture that they are the remains of some old language once general in this country, before the introduction of Persian, Arabic and Túrki, and that they have a close resemblance to that spoken by the Síáposh. The Kohistání of these four dialects, most nearly approaches to Hindí, and on listening to people conversing therein, I was able without comprehending the whole of what was said, to understand the general purport of their discourse. There are also other dialects spoken by various people in the valleys of Kábal and Jelálabád, descended from the same original stock, and the natives of Dír and Chitrál have alike dialects unintelligible to their neighbours, but which it may be presumed are understood by the Síáposh. Mahomedans conversant in Arabic have recognized in the dialect of Chitrál many Arabic terms, and they as well as Pèrsian terms, are to be found in the other dialects I have mentioned ; which is no subject of wonder, considering that for a long period the Caliphs dominated in these countries, and that the Arabic language and literature must have been very generally introduced. The language of the Síáposh will be more or less blended with Arabic terms, as their settlement in their present abodes, may have happened before or after the first Mahomedan invaders ; and this test may be advantageously applied both to determine that period, and the antiquity of the several dialects, of which the one most free from foreign terms may reasonably be concluded to be the most ancient, and that most resembling the original language. It will be observed that the names Lúghmání and Kohistání merely refer to the localities in which certain dialects are spoken, and I notice this to suggest, that of these several dialects spoken on the Síáposh borders,

the Pashai may be the more original. We are enabled to trace a people of this name, although now obscure and nearly forgotten, throughout the whole country from Panjshír to Chitrál. In Nijrow are still a few Pashai families, — in Lúghmán, a village at the foot of Koh Karinj, preserves the appellation of Pashai — in Khonar, the actual town of Peshatt retains a nominal memento of the Pashai race, as in Bajor does the village of Pash-grám. The inhabitants of Panjshír and Nijrow, speaking the Pashai dialect, although now calling themselves Tájiks, may not unreasonably be supposed to be of Pashai descent, and the same remark may apply to the Sáfís of Taghow, the Dara Núr, &c. and to the inhabitants of Lúghmán. The testimony of Baber is positive that these several people as well as those of Bajor, &c. were in his time, either Káfirs, as he styles the Siâposh, or Nimcha Mahomedans in state of transition, which some of them continue to be to this day.

The Peránchehs, besides the few families at Panjshír who preserve their ancient dialect, are found over a large tract of country, and it is well known that their conversion to Islám is of comparatively recent date. At the city of Kábal some of the more eminent merchants are Peránchehs — they occupy a considerable village in Kámeh, — they also inhabit Makkad on the Indus, and again are found at Atak, and the towns between it and the Jélam river. In all situations they are a commercial people.

The natives of Nijrow, who have assumed the name of Tájik, have become better Mahomedans than they were in the time of Baber, and their valour and difficult country have been sufficient generally to preserve their independence. They are numerous and well armed, having all musquets. The Pashai families in the vicinity of Nijrow, are a distinct community, but on a good understanding with their neighbours. Their largest village is Hishpí, and they are represented as extremely hospitable. Their females wear rú-bands, or veils of horse hair, covering merely their faces. Belonging to Hishpí are numerous orchards well stocked with walnut, mulberry, pomegranate trees, and vines. Their mountains are covered with the jelgozeh pine, and the balút or holly trees.

The Sáfís, or people so called, are widely spread. It has been noted that they inhabit Taghow. They now speak the Afghán dialect, but I am not certain that they do not also speak Pashai. Baber distinctly notes that the people of Taghow were in his time Káfirs. Under their present name, they became known to Nádir, who cultivated a friendship with them. They then inhabited a larger tract of country, and were in hostility with the Ghiljís, who had previously expelled them

from the lands to the south of T'aghow and between Kábal and Jelálabád. On this account Nádir regarded them favorably. The inhabitants of Dara Núr, Dara Mazár, Dara Péch, and of all the vallies opening upon the Khonar river, who, originally Káfirs, have for security or convenience, professed themselves Mahomedans, are in like manner called Sáfís; these speak a dialect called Kohistání, and no other. Their situation enables them to maintain independence, and prevents much intercourse with them, whence they preserve nearly all their ancient manners and usages. In the hills, south of Bájor, in a district called Súrkh Kamar, we again find Sáfís, who are most likely converted infidels, and south of them at Báhí, are a people called Yeghání, who consider themselves Afgháns, but speak a peculiar dialect which no Afghán can comprehend. At Báhí are many caves and ancient vestiges. It is the first march from Goshter, on the Jelálabád river, on the road to Bájor. I have intimated that Sáfí may be a Siáposh appellation, it however occurs, seeing it borne by people, in all instances, seceders from the Siáposh community, that it may have been conferred upon them in consequence of that secession, for Sáf signifies pure, and in separating themselves from the impure idolaters, they would have merited from Mahomedans the distinguishing name of Sáfí, or the pure people.

It is agreed that the Siáposh place their corpses in deal boxes, and without interring them, expose them on the summits of hills; but it is not explained whether this is a final disposition. There can be no doubt but that the usages of a people with regard to their dead, are important evidences of the faith professed by them; or if not clearly indicating it, that they may shew what faith is not professed. Thus we are not permitted to consider a race that does not burn its dead of Hindú faith, and the rule of semi-exposure adopted by the Siáposh, has contributed probably to their being suspected to be a remnant of the Gebers, or followers of the reformer Zerdeshst. I had at one time this opinion, but could not conscientiously adhere to it, for in no account did I ever hear the least mention of fire-worship amongst them. There is the certainty that within the last three centuries there were people called Gebers in the Kábal countries, particularly in Lúghmán and Bájor, also that in the days of Baber there was a dialect called Geberí. We are also told that one of the divisions at Káfristán was named Gebrek. But it does not follow that the people called Gebers, then professed the worship of fire, they may have merely preserved the name given to their ancestors who did so. The dialect called Geberí is at present unknown, nor can it be decisively assigned to any one of the various dialects still spoken,

although possibly due to one of them. Baber enumerates "Arabic, Persian, Tùrkí, Mogholí, Hindí, Afghání, Pashaí, Paráchí, Geberí, Bereki, and Lamghání." This list would still stand good, substituting for Geberí, Kohistání, while it might be augmented by adding the various dialects spoken in the hill countries encircling Bájor. Of ancient dialects, or languages, known by name to the well informed Natives of Central Asia, are, it may be noted, Húnání, (Greek) Híbráiní, (Hebrew) Súriání, (Syriac) and Páhlaví (Páli). That in former times, fire-worship existed to a certain, if limited, extent in Afghánistán, is evidenced by the pyrethra or altars still crowning the crests of hills at Gard-déz, at Bámíán, at Séghán, and at other places. Near Bámíán, is also a cavern, containing enormous quantities of human bones, apparently a common receptacle of the remains of Geber corpses. At Múrkí Khél, in the valley of Jelálabád, and under the Saféd Koh, human bones are so abundant on the soil, that walls are made of them. There is every reason to suppose it a sepulchral locality of the ancient Gebers, and as if to leave no doubt of it, coins found in some number there, are invariably of a Geber line of princes, and have the distinguishing fire altar on them.

It is farther agreed that amongst the Síáposh, the females are separated from the community, and located in a house set apart for them, during the periods of childbirth and menstruation. In the former event, a seclusion of forty days is considered necessary. It is possible that these observances may be in force with Gebers, but they are also adopted by certain classes of Hindús, and by other people, and are not therefore to be accepted as testimony to a particular faith.

On the primary subject of religion, reports and opinions are too vague and various, to admit even a plausible conjecture to be made. The furious Mahomedan will not concede that they have any; while the less zealous pretend that they reverence trees, and other inanimate objects. The Hindú believes them to cherish, in their retreats, his own anomalous creed, and that they perform púja on altars. From the testimony however of the Síáposh, whose fate has made them captives, it is clear that they have some kind of worship, and that their deity is named Dágon. The topic is one on which they dislike to be questioned, either that they are incompetent to reply, or that amongst Mahomedans they feel delicacy in expressing their sentiments. It may be supposed that a strange medley of rites and superstitions prevails amongst them. While as tenacious of their religion, whatever it may be, as of their liberty, in their mountain fastnesses, the Síáposh captive without hesitation becomes a Mahomedan, and mani-

feels no aversion to abandon his old faith. It need not be remarked how different would be the conduct of the most wretched Hindú on such an occasion.

It is generally supposed that chastity is not an accomplishment of the Siáposh ladies, or that a deviation from it, is lightly regarded and easily compensated. Mahomedans also insist that their high notions of hospitality, and of the attentions due to their guests, induce the Siáposh to resign their wives to those who reside under their roofs. It is moreover affirmed that marriage ceremonies are extremely simple, consisting merely of procuring two twigs or rods of the respective heights of the bride and bridegroom, and tying them together. They are then presented to the couple, who preserve them with much care, as long as they find it agreeable or convenient to live together. If desirous to separate, the twigs are broken, and the marriage is dissolved. Whatever degree of truth may attach to such stories, there is some reason to believe that the Siáposh, in this respect no worse than Mahomedans, do not allow their females an equal rank with themselves in society, and it is commonly credited that the weaker and fairer part of the community undergo many unusual labours, and carry on even all the duties of agriculture. Married women are distinguished from virgins by wearing a ring in the right ear.

The Siáposh are affirmed to build their houses of wood, of several stories in height ; it is also said that they are much embellished with carving. These accounts are trustworthy, as we witness that the Sáfis of Kázíabád in the hills west of Lúghmán, and who have been converted, actually reside in such dwellings, and we observe a great taste for carving in the present inhabitants of Lúghmán, who always elaborately decorate the wooden frame work at the entrances of their dwellings and castles. From some of the hills of Lúghmán, the tall houses of the Siáposh may be distinguished on a clear day. While they are skilful as joiners and carvers, they are equally so as smiths, and are regular customers for the raw iron smelted from the sand ores of Bájor. Whenever mention is made of their drinking cups and bowls, it is always added that they are ornamented and embossed in a costly manner.

The testimony of Baber and of Benedict Goetz, that they are a social race, and indulge freely in wine, is amply confirmed by the general reports of the present day, and by the fact that their wine is easily procurable. All that I have seen of it was brought in skins, and so sour as to be undrinkable. It is said, however, that they have good wine, and that the better classes, in default of jars, preserve it

in cisterns hewn in the rock. Their neighbours the Nimchas, and Sáfís of Dara Núr also make wine, and large quantities of vinegar, the latter being an article of traffic, and prized. These people also hive bees, and have many peculiar customs, which are probably those of the Siáposh. The natives of Nadjíl fatten capons, which it may be gleaned from Baber, the people of of Nijrow did in his time.

Amongst the singularities imputed by the Mahomedans to the Siáposh, is their objection to sit on the ground, or to take their repasts on it, and the custom they have of using chairs or stools. That such conveniences are in vogue, seems sanctioned by the presence of a low chair in the houses of the poor throughout Lúghmán, and likewise in the houses of the Kogíánis, an old tribe dwelling about Gandamak, and thence to the Saféd Koh, and once more extensively spread over the country. It is possible the custom of sitting in chairs was formerly general in the vallies of Lúghmán and Jelálabád.

They are said to shave the hair of their heads, allowing only a tuft to remain on the crown. In this, they assimilate indeed to Hindús, but there are also many Mahomedan tribes that do the same. Chiefs and sons of chiefs insert their tufts in leathern rings, a token by which it is believed they may be distinguished.

War is said to be determined upon in a general council of the chiefs and elders, when a cow is sacrificed, and the meat distributed to all present. The ratification of a truce or treaty is signalized by kissing the nipples of their antagonists, and as usual in all matters of ceremony, is solemnized by a feast. They are said to eat raw meat, or rather meat slightly cooked, the Mahomedan, whose viands must be overcooked, considers it a proof of barbarism. If true, it would be only a matter of taste in cookery.

The arms of the Siáposh are bows and arrows, the latter thought to be poisoned, with long knives and daggers. With the bow they are very expert. Those, contiguous to the Mahomedans, are gradually providing themselves with fire arms, and procuring coarse cotton cloths and lúnghis, are assimilating also in dress to their neighbours.

The Mahomedans in their wars and forays, are glad to secure the persons of the Siáposh, the latter are said almost invariably to slaughter the Mahomedans. In these days, the Múllas or priests of Lúghmán occasionally preach a crusade against the infidels, and in small bands venture on the limits of their lands. Success does not usually tempt a frequent renewal of such expeditions, while they are not generally countenanced, as they lead to severe retaliation. With the Shínwáris of Shígal on the river of Khonar, and with the Sáfís



of Dara Péch, the Siáposh are on very hostile terms ; with the Tájiks of Chághan Saráhi, they are on a good understanding, exacting karaj or tribute, but granting in return perfect security. The Tájiks, on their part, if they have notice of an intended foray by the Shínwáris, will inform the Siáposh, whether actuated by fear or inclination. With the natives of Chitrál, it is believed, they are on a friendly footing, and it is related that they respect heralds and carriers of letters, who pass unmolested through them, having their letters in a bag suspended from the top of a pole, with a wreath of flowers attached to it.

If they have no direct trade with their neighbours on the plains, they have an indirect and trifling one through the medium of the neutral Nimchas, by which they supply themselves with salt, coarse lúnghis and cotton fabrics, knives, needles, fire arms, gunpowder, &c. giving in exchange dried fruits, honey, vinegar, wine, &c. From such of their neighbours, who from weakness are compelled to give them karaj, they exact some of the above articles with earthen jars, which are desirable to them. They formerly collected karaj from many of the towns and villages of Lúghmán, and even now have not entirely desisted. They choose the time when the rivers are swollen, and when the inhabitants of one part cannot cross to the assistance of those in another. They then descend in large bodies, and it is usual to comply with their demands, which are not very serious, to get rid of them. They regulate their conduct according to their reception, and if unopposed employ no violence. Chahár Bágh of Lúghmán was constantly exposed to their visits, until it was given to Hájí Khán, as a portion of his jághír. He deemed it disgraceful to permit such exactions, and by locating, in the town, a competent garrison, prevented them.

Some few years since, a Geber of Yezd, named Sháhríár, visited Kábal, and went in pilgrimage to Lálánder, where agreeably to tradition, Rústam is believed to have been slain. He thence proceeded to Káfristán, under the conviction that the Káfrs were Gebers. Malek Osmán, the chief of Nadjíl, to whom he carried letters from Kábal, expedited him into the country, and enjoined him, for some reason, to return by the same route as that by which he entered. Sháhríár neglected this advice, and coming back was intercepted, and slain by a Máhomedan party from Kázíábád. Previous to this affair, there had been a feud of old standing between the Tájiks of Nadjíl and the Sáfís of Kázíábád, which for some time had been suffered to lie dormant. On this occasion, the Sáfís fancied that if they could contrive to kill this Geber, the guest of Malek Osmán, the odium would fall

upon the Malek's head. They succeeded only in part. The Malek indignantly resented the murder of Sháhriár, the old feud was revived, and continues in full force.

Amongst the many people, I have discoursed with, who pretended to have had intercourse with, or, to have visited the Siáposh; I know but one to whose narrative I felt inclined to give any confidence. This was one Malek Mannír, who had been in the employ of Akram Khán, a son of the Sirdár Mahomed Azem Khán, and was stationed in Khonar, after the seizure, by the Sirdár, of the famous Saiyad Najím. Malek Mannír's account I have heard repeated at intervals of two and three years between, without variation. It does not contain so much exaggeration as we usually hear, and as his statements on other matters connected with that part of the country, I have always found to be correct, it may be worthy of a place here. The Malek, a sensible and observant, was not a literate person, and I give his narration in the unconnected manner in which I received it. — "In company with Malek Sir Ballend of Chághansaráhí, I went to the Káfr town of Kattár. Káfrs call Mahomedans Odál, and say they have driven them to the hills, usurping the plains, and eating their rice. The men wear tufts of long hair on the crowns of their shaven heads. Married women wear a ring in the right ear. Corpses are placed in deal boxes, and exposed on a hill. Poles are placed on the boxes, and smaller sticks are made to cross them, if the deceased have slain Mahomedans. The number of cross sticks denoting that of Mahomedans slain by the parties when living. The houses of the Káfrs are five or six stories in height, and the men are fond of sitting on the tops of them, singing and drinking wine. Adjacent to the town of Kattár was a house set apart for the accommodation of their females during menstruation and childbirth, who, under such circumstances are not allowed to remain at their homes. When I asked if they believed in a future state, they laughed, and asked in turn, in their own language 'tát mój, bút jú', literally 'father dead, rice eat?' In reply to another question, they said their God was at Kábal, and paid them a visit once a year on a horse. Asking if they had seen their God, they said they had not; and then asking how they knew that he came, I was answered that their priest, or guardian of the idol, told them so. I was conducted without any reserve to the bhút Khána, (house of the idol) at the door was seated a very aged man, the guardian. He rose and opened it. I was led through three or four apartments filled with articles of raiment, swords, shields, knives, &c. the consecrated spoils of Mahomedans. From them I passed into the chamber of the idol, an erect image of black or dark

coloured stone, of the ordinary size of a man. The bad odour proceeding from the apartments filled with the raiments was such, that I could not stay long. Incredulous as to a future state, the Káfrs believe that sins are visited by temporal calamities, amongst which they reckon drought, pestilence, hail, &c. On the return of a party from a dárra or foray upon Mahomedans, such as have slain an enemy, brandish in triumph over their heads, sticks or poles called shánt, with the clothes of their victims on them. The less fortunate hold their poles behind them. The maidens of the villages issue forth to meet them, their bosoms filled with walnuts and dried fruits, which the victors are permitted to retire, while those who have brought no trophy have their faces pelted with ashes and cow dung. A feast is prepared, and cows are slain, the meat is cut into slices, and par-boiled in a large vessel. The lucky individuals receive shares in proportion to the number of Mahomedans they have slain, the others receive single shares over the shoulders of the person presiding at the feast, and who distributes the contents of the vessels. Broth is unused by the Káfrs, who say it produces flatulency. Besides meat, they feed largely on cheese. The Káfrs are very social and hospitable. We had brought as presents to Malek Udúr, salt and lúghis, and when we departed, a collection of dried fruits was made from every house in the town for us ”

As to the possibility of opening a communication, and establishing an intercourse with the Siáposh, it is allowed by respectable Mahomedans, that there would be no difficulty, provided the capture and conversion of them were discontinued. The late Saiyad Najim of Khorar proved that it was easy to make them peaceable neighbours, and to be respected by them, even although he had waged wars against them. Neither is his instance a solitary one. When Sháh Máhmúd, of Kábal released the imprisoned princes of his family, and appointed them to offices and to governments, one of them, to whom Lúghmán was given, became on very good terms with the neighbouring Siáposh. He wished to have erected a fortress at some point within their frontiers, and they acquiesced. The Vazír Fattí Khán grew jealous of the prince and of his intentions, and deprived him of the province. Some eight or nine years since, the late Amír Mahomed Khán, brother to Dost Mahomed Khán, being in Lúghmán, a deputation of the Siáposh waited upon him, under the guidance of Malek Osmán of Nadjil. They represented to the Sirdár that some Siáposh chief, their enemy, had great wealth, and proffered that if the Sirdár would attack him, they would serve as guides and otherwise

assist him. They were treated civilly, but the wary Amír Mahomed Khán distrusted them.

I shall here close a subject, which has drawn me to greater length, than I had contemplated when I commenced to discuss it, and I fear I have added little to our knowledge of the Síáposh. It will be something, if I have succeeded to shew the interest attaching to these singular people, not merely as regards their own history and origin, but in connection with those of their neighbours; and how worthy the attempt would be to dispel the mystery which envelopes so interesting a portion of the human race.

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V. — *Narrative of adventures in a Journey from Kándahár to Shikárpúr.*

I proceeded alone from Kándahár with the intention of overtaking a káfila, which had left two days before in progress to Shikárpúr. Although perfectly aware of the danger of travelling in these countries, particularly for a stranger, understanding that the káfila would march slowly, being burthened with women and children, and judging the danger would not be excessive within two or three days from the capital, I started in the expectation of reaching the káfila the second march.

Arriving at the last of the villages in the neighbourhood of the city, I entered it with a view of procuring food, but could prevail on no one to prepare it. At a short distance from the village, I observed a black tent, which I presumed was occupied by a pastoral family, who being more hospitable than the fixed inhabitants, I repaired to it, and found people who could not speak Persian, and I being ignorant of Pashto, we were mutually at a loss. I succeeded in conveying the information that "doudí" or bread was required, and that they should be paid for it. To this they agreed, and while the wife was kneading the dough, the husband's attention was attracted by the sight of a drinking vessel which I had purchased at Kándahár, and he took or rather seized it, returning me the few pais I had previously given him. Nor did he stay here, but absolutely searched me, and my coin which I had bound in the webcord of my perjámas underwent his inspection; — the vicinity of the village alone deterred him from making it booty. Bread was at length served; while eating it, I could comprehend the discourse of the family related to me, and I heard the word káfila pronounced several times, which encouraged me to

hope it was near at hand. Having smoked the chillam, as is invariably the custom in these countries after meals, I took leave of my host, enquiring by signs the direction of the high road to Shikārpūr. He understood me, and directed my sight to a whitish topped peak among the distant hills, under which he asserted the road winded.

Having yet two or three hours of day light, I dashed across the country between me and the hills; — without a sign of habitation, and came upon a large swamp of briny water, which I had some difficulty in clearing. At length reached a large solitary building, uninhabited and in decay, which had probably been formerly a serāi: here were two or three chambers in decent preservation, in one of which I took up my quarters for the night, although the doing so was not unattended with danger, as from the remains of recent fires it was evident the place was frequented; and I inferred that in so sequestered a spot, and distant from any path or road, it might be the resort of robbers, or other doubtful characters. Recommending myself to Divine protection, I resigned myself to sleep, and awoke in the morning, having had no other companions than pigeons, whose numerous nests covered the vaulted roofs of the buildings, and no other visitants than a few owls, that, with their large flapping wings and discordant cries, occasionally broke in upon my repose.

Started and nearing the hills, observed the village called Kārez Hájí. The city is not visible from hence, a small detached line of eminences, Koh Zákkar, intervening. Reached a Kārez without water, and made for a building which I found to be a deserted flour mill. I could not from it, discover the road I was in quest of, but concluded I should gain it by following the line of sand hills which now appeared on the right, towards which I accordingly rode. Approached them, when a horseman, one of the the wild Patáns, in the uncouth garments of his tribe, galloped from them. He rode towards me, and, I believe, asked me the road to some place or other, but as I was unable either to understand him, or to return an answer, his vociferations were to no effect, and applying to me all the curses and abusive epithets his language furnished, he left me, and galloped off to my great satisfaction. I now descried in the distance a string of camels, which were, without doubt, pacing the desired road, and I hoped might be the káfila I was seeking. Gained a road, in which were abundant prints of the feet of men, horses, and camels; there was no person in sight that I could ask if the road was the one for Shikārpūr, however I entered it without hesitation, and proceeded five or six cosses without meeting or seeing any one. To the right and left were hills: to the right of sand, to the left black rock slight-

ly covered with soil. The road in fact described the line where the sand desert connected with the clear country. There was no vestige of inhabitants. Found the camels I had seen to be returning from Kándahár, whither they had conveyed wood from Robát. This mortified me for the moment, as it left me dubious as to the road; but on passing the return camels, which had halted, I again perceived the traces of men, horses and camels, as before, and the rinds of pomegranates, which had manifestly been that day only thrown on the ground. This encouraged me to hope the káfila was very near; arrived at a Kárez to the right of the road, the water of bad quality and unpalatable though clear and transparent; continued marching with still the same signs of the caravan, when the shades of evening began to obscure the horizon. At the distance of a quarter of a mile from the road, I observed two or three trees, which with the circumstance of the Kárez before mentioned, winding in the same direction, indicated the presence of some village. Found about one hundred and twenty tents arranged in a semi-circular form, in front of which were two spots enclosed by stones which served as masjids. It being the time of evening prayer, I went up to one of these, and saluted with the usual Salám Alíkám, and was invited to sit down. When prayers were finished, one of the men decently apparelled, said to me "Doudí kourí, dil ter rází?" which signifies "if you will eat bread, come here." I accepted the invitation, and accompanied him to his tent, which was well furnished; after the fashion of the country, and before the entrance were picketed three tolerable horses. The whole had an appearance of easy circumstances; indeed of comparative opulence. Bread was cooked expressly for me, water was brought to wash my hands before eating, and I was encouraged to eat heartily. I felt perfectly at ease, and was doing justice to my entertainment, having fasted throughout the day; when another man came in, and seated himself by my side. The repast being finished, the new visitant applied a rather rude slap on my cheek, at which I merely smiled, presuming it was intended as a joke, and although a severe one, yet as these savages understand little of decency, and being alone among many, it was but common prudence to pass it off lightly. He then asked me for my upper garment; this I refused, still thinking him disposed to be merry. I however, found to my cost he was not trifling; for he despoiled me of it by pure force, as well as of my head dress, &c. In short left me nothing but my perjâmas and shoes. He also applied two or three additional slaps on the cheek, and a liberal allowance of terms of abuse in Persian, which was all he knew of that language. This he did in ridicule of my ignorance of Bashto, which he was conti-

nally urging me to speak. During this time, my worthy host, the master of the tent, encouraged and abetted my despoiler, and received some pais which were in a pocket of my upper garment. The clothes were detained by the other ruffian, who, after a while, conducted me to his tent, one much smaller, and of mean appearance. He bade me sit down by the fire, and warm myself, and in due time spread felts on the ground by the fire side, which were to serve me for a bed, and informed me, I might repose myself; cautioning me, as I understood him, not to attempt to escape during the night, for I should be certainly seized by the dogs. I stretched myself on my sorrowful bed, and ruminated on my deplorable situation, consoling myself, however, that it did not appear the intention of my friend to despoil me of my *perjamas*, in the webcord of which, I have before stated, was my small stock of money — and calculating on certainly reaching the *káfila* the next day, if allowed to depart in the morning, and that I should be able to repair my deficiency of raiment. Still my situation was sufficiently wretched, yet from the fatigue of the day's march, — the power of a naturally strong constitution, — and the presence of the fire, — I shortly fell asleep, and enjoyed uninterrupted repose during the night, awaking only in the morning when kicked by my host, who called me a *Káfr* or infidel, for not rising to say prayers, which he presently repeated on the very clothes of which he had despoiled me the preceding evening. I was now led into the tent in which I had been originally entertained, where several other men were assembled. Here I was beat with sticks and cords, and had some large stones thrown at me. I made no doubt but it was intended to destroy me. I therefore collected my spirits, and resolved to meet my fate with firmness, and betray no marks of weakness or dejection. Thanks to heaven, it was ordered otherwise: I was asked if I was an *U'zbek*, an *Hazára* or *Baloch*. The latter question was many times repeated, but I persisted in the negative, being conscious that the *Baloch* tribes were the enemies of these men, (the *Nún Zais*) and I asserted that I was from *Kach Mekrán*, they not having the least notion of an European. This answer might have proved unfortunate, for I have since learned that *Mekrán* is a component part of *Balochistán*, but the geographical knowledge of these savages was no better than my own, and they stumbled over the words *Kach Mekrán*, without being able to divine what country it could be. At length, the sun being considerably elevated, they dismissed me in the state of nakedness to which they had reduced me, telling me, "*dágar-lár-dí warza*," or "take that road." I walked about thirty paces, a few stones being complaisantly thrown after me, when I was hailed

by a man to return, and eat bread before I went. I was compelled reluctantly to retrace my steps, as a refusal might have involved my destruction, and I again came in contact with the ruffians. Instead of giving me bread, they renewed their consultations concerning me, and I gathered from their discourse that it was in question to bind me, and reduce me to slavery. My case now assumed a serious aspect, yet I was not wholly depressed, as I reflected that the road to Kándahár was large and well defined, and that any night would take me to the Dúrání villages, where I knew they would not dare follow me. It happened, however, that I was now observed by two or three aged venerable looking men, who were standing before the entrance of the tent, on the extreme left of the semi-circle, which was larger than any of the others, and had before it a spear fixed in the ground, the symbol, I presumed, of authority. They beckoned to me, and I went to them, followed by the men who had so ill treated me, and many others. A question was put to one of these aged men, who I found was the Múlla or priest, if it was not lawful, according to the Korán, to detain me as a slave, the singular reason being alleged, that they had performed the rites of hospitality towards me the night before.

The Múlla instantly replied, that it was neither just nor lawful, nor according to the Korán, but decidedly to the contrary. Perceiving the Múlla to be a man of some conscience, I asked him if he understood Persian; on his replying a little, I related to him how I had been treated; he expressed the greatest regret, and severely rebuking the offenders, urged them to restore my effects; this they were unwilling to do, and much debate ensued, in which, being supported by the Múlla, I took a part, and ventured to talk loudly. To one of my questions to the man who had the most ill treated me, and struck me on the cheek, if he was a Mússúlmán, he replied, "bishák Mússúlmán" or that he was one in every respect. As if my misfortunes were never to cease, my money, which until now had escaped observation, was seized by one of the men who asked what I had concealed there. The Múlla desired him to desist, saying "oh! merely a few onions, or something of that kind," but the fellow wrenched out the webcord from my perjamas, and with eyes glittering with delight, unrolled the little money I had. The Múlla assumed a stern authoritative tone, as did the other inmates of the tent; he seized the robber by his arm, and ordered him to restore the money, and other property. His orders were obeyed,—every thing was restored, except the horse, concerning which much discussion arose. Finding it unlikely that I should recover it, and delay being fatal to me, I begged the Múlla to take it from the ruffians for himself.



After receiving the Múlla's benediction, I made for the high road. I might have proceeded one hundred yards, when a man came running after me, and, sword in hand, demanded my money. Observing two young men approaching with matchlocks, notwithstanding his menaces, I refused to deliver it until their arrival. They fortunately understood a little Persian, and asserting that I was a stranger, prevailed on the robber to depart. I asked them where they were going, in the hopes of finding companions; they replied, fowling. Gaining the high road, I proceeded rather depressed in mind, as I could not conceive that the ruffians would suffer me to depart unmolested, after having had a sight of money, — and I walked along with the almost certainty of being followed. For a considerable distance, I fell in with no one, until I arrived at a spot where the road branched off in two directions, where was also a grave newly prepared, and over which were seated fifteen or twenty men. I would have avoided their observation, but they discovered and hailed me, asking if I had any snuff or tobacco: I replied in the negative. One of them came, and taking me by the arm led me to the grave, where I had to submit to a variety of questions, but was finally dismissed without receiving any injury. The road here gradually ascends for a short distance, and then again descends. It is the point where the roads from Quetta and Shoráwak meet. I had gained the descent, when one of the men, without doubt, an inhabitant of the village, to which probably his fellows belonged, came after me and asked for my money. As he was alone, and had no other weapons than stones, I might have resisted him, but fearing the other men would come to his assistance, I produced the money, and representing, as well as I could, that the Shikárpúr road was long, and that food was requisite, I succeeded in preserving the half of it. Chancing to use some expressions in which the word Mússúlmán occurred, he took offence, and seizing my neck was about to proceed to acts of violence. I also prepared for defence, deeming it as well to die fighting as passive before such a wretch, when some camels appeared on the top of the ascent, with four or five attendants.

He now loosed his hold, as I did mine, and was about to depart, when I informed the camel drivers of the robbery, at which they merely smiled. Seeing it, he returned, and was willing to renew hostilities. It being an object with me to accompany the camels, which were going my road, and still having some money and my clothing, I used my endeavours to pacify him, which with some ado was accomplished.

While a stone is within reach, the Patáns of these countries are

never at a loss for offensive weapons. I have seen severe wounds inflicted by these missiles. They assert that Cain killed Abel with stones, which appears to have established a precedent for their use.

One of the camel drivers told me to mount a camel, but I could not catch one. I learned they were proceeding to Robát. They were those I had passed the day before. We marched four or five koss, when they halted, and told me that in the evening they should go to Robát. I would have continued my journey, but alas! I was to encounter robbery anew. My cloathing and money were now taken, and I was entirely stripped. In return for my perjámas, they gave me a ragged pair, which did not cover my knees; my shoes alone escaped, being either too large, or too small for their several feet. I did not part with my money or apparel very willingly, or very peaceably; in fact, one of the ruffians unsheathed his sword, but the others forbid violence. I appealed to them as men and Mússólmáns, but this only excited their laughter.

I was still arguing with them, when two men made their appearance on the road: the Robát men conversed with each other, conjecturing they might be companions of mine, and began looking at their own means of defence. They however felt perfectly easy, being five in number, and armed. The new comers proved to be Hájís, a name properly belonging to such as have made a pilgrimage to Mecca, but assumed also by those who are going to the holy place, or pretend they are so. One of them had a smattering of Persian, and endeavoured, but ineffectually, to procure the return of my effects. As these men were proceeding to join the káfila, I accompanied them, the camel drivers much wishing to detain me, willing as they said to entertain me the night at Robát.

I was now destitute, a stranger in the centre of Asia, unacquainted with the language, which would have been most useful to me, and from my colour, exposed on all occasions to notice, enquiry, ridicule, and insult. Still I did not despair, and although I never doubted the rule of Divine Providence, yet had I done so, my preservation in so many cases of extreme danger, with the continual birth of circumstances to extenuate misery, would have removed scepticism, and carried to my mind the conviction of the existence of an omniscient and benevolent Being, who does not neglect the meanest object of his creation.

It was some consolation to find, that the káfila was not far off, and with my new companions I proceeded without apprehension of further plunder, having nothing to be deprived of. I had moreover the satisfaction of inferring, that any change in my circumstances must

be for the better, as it could not well be for the worse. On the road we first met a horseman, who desired and received the benediction of the Hájí. This was given, the applicant turning his back towards the Hájí, who repeated or mumbled something, in which the words *dúniah*, or, wealth, and *bismillah*, or, in the name of God, were the only ones audible; at the close, the Hájí stroked his own beard, and gave the barbarian two or three slaps on the back, which completed the blessing. The Patán salamed with much respect, and departed well satisfied. In this rencontre I passed unnoticed. A little farther on, we met two men, who came across the hills on foot, but tolerably dressed. They also received the Hájí's benediction, and discoursed a short time, enquiring news of the Baloch tribes, who it appeared had but a few days before scoured the country, and plundered the villages. I afforded matter of mirth to these men, and they expressed themselves much surprised at seeing a man who could not speak Pashto. The Baloches, spoken of, were the Tokís of Sístán, formidable marauders under the orders of the notorious Khán Jahán Khán of Illamdár.

Until now we had been on either side surrounded by low hills: — they ceased here and we had before us the extensive plain of Robát. There was nothing in the shape of trees, and the only objects relieving the monotony of the scene were two or three buildings in the distance, apparently the square killas, the common defensive erections of these people, and to which their skill in military architecture is hitherto confined. Before us, on the high road, whose course being straight, is visible for some distance, was a building with arched roofs after the Kándahár mode, which on reaching, we found to be a *houz*, or reservoir of rain water. The building was substantial, and the water good. It is a work of utility, as I saw no other water between the village I left in the morning and Robát, a distance, I suppose of fifteen or twenty miles. It is called *Houz Maddat Khán*, from its founder, a *Dúrání Sirdár* of some eminence in the reign of *Taimúr Sháh*. The embers of the fires kindled by the men of the caravan who had halted here a while in passing, were still alive. About two or three miles farther on approached the assemblage of tents on the plain of Robát. They covered the plain for a large extent, and must certainly have been five or six hundred in number. My companions went to the nearest of them with the view of procuring food and lodging for the night, and directed me to a ruined fort, where they told me I should find the *káfila*.

These Hájís, or men representing themselves as such, travel about the country subsisting on charity, and, as ignorance begets super-

stition, and superstition begets dread, they are looked up to with much awe and respect by these savages, who tremble at the very name of Mecca. Their character for sanctity ensures them the best of entertainment; in return for which they give blessings, or if able to write, scraps of paper, which contain, as their credulous clients believe, preservatives, charms, and antidotes against all disasters and diseases. In these countries, where travelling to other individuals is attended with so much danger, they proceed in perfect security. In more civilized countries, and in the towns, they are treated with less respect; and although their character for sanctity is not disputed, they are usually told that Allah or God will supply their wants, and are reduced to sit in the masjids — the common resort of the destitute.

On my road to the káfila I was accosted by a Patán, who asked if I was not a Hájí, I said Hoh, or yes, when he uttered an exclamation relative to the wretchedness of my condition. Found the káfila encamped under the fort wall, and joining it, it was no easy matter to satisfy the curiosity of the several individuals composing it, but this accomplished, I became an object of neglect, and I began to fear the possibility of suffering from want among these people. I went to Khádar Khán, the principal man in the company, and stating my case, requested his assistance during the journey; he frankly replied, he would give me none, and farther said, I should not accompany the káfila. Night coming on, fires were kindled, round which the individuals of the káfila respectively grouped. Having no other clothing than the tattered perjámás of the camel drivers, and the cold being so intense that ice was found on the water in the morning, of the thickness of perhaps three quarters of an inch, I suffered accordingly, and ventured to approach the fires, invitation being out of the question. I did so only to meet repulses; I was rejected from all of them, some alleging I was a Káfr, others no reason at all. In this desperate state of affairs, I was thinking of hazarding a visit to the tents, when a poor but humane fellow came and led me to his bivouac. He said he was but a poor man, and lived coarsely, but that I should partake of his fare during the journey; that he had absolutely no clothing, or I should not continue naked. My new friend, named Mahomed Alí, was one of four associates, who had two or three camels laden with pomegranates. I gladly availed myself of his offer, and returned him my acknowledgments. He kindled his fire, and seated me by it, desiring me on no account to be dejected, that God was merciful, and would provide every thing needful. I now became easy as to subsistence, and considered myself as one of the káfila, whose composition I shall here briefly describe.

The most important personage was Khádar Khán, Bárak Zai, and son of Júma Khán, formerly hákam or governor of Shikárpúr, and now in the service of Walí Mahomed, Laghári, the Nawáb Vazír of Lárkhána in Upper Sinde. Júma Khán was a brother of the reigning chiefs in Kándahár, Kábal, &c. but whether that his descent was tainted, that he had slender ability, or that he had little ambition, he had separated himself from them. His son Khádar Khán carried on trade, and trafficked largely in horses. Business had led him to Kándahár, where he had carried his women and children; he was now escorting them back. He had a number of attendants and horses, and a plentiful shew of tent equipage for the accommodation of his ladies, who on the march travelled in camel Kajáwas or panniers. His nephew, Abdúlah Khán, a fine young man of extraordinary height, accompanied him. Next in consequence, was one they termed by way of respect, Hákamzáda, who was the Báshí or director of the káfila, although Khádar Khán, or rather Abdúlah Khán appeared to order the marches. There were also two or three Shikárpúr Saiyads well mounted and appalled, and a well fleshed jovial horseman in the employ of the Sind chiefs: — beside these, were a few poor traffickers, who drove camels, asses, &c. laden with fruits, snuff, and miscellaneous articles. Hákamzáda owned the greater part of the merchandize in the káfila, consisting of fruit, fresh and dried, madder, and carraways.

I was seated with my new friends, when a youth travelling without means came, and said he would put me in the way of procuring food for the night. I paid no great attention to him, feeling easy on that score, but my companions told me to go with him. I therefore obeyed, and was provided with a formidable long pole, for what purpose I was at a loss to conjecture; the youth and another Dúrání, destitute, but well dressed, being similarly armed. We then made for the tents, nearing which my associates commenced howling, Allah, Allah, Allah, and the poles, I found, were to keep the dogs at bay, while the begging of bread was carried on. The appeal for charity at no one tent was ineffectual, the inmates hastening to afford their mites, many even asking if flour or bread was needed. Our begging was carried on systematically; the youth, who appeared perfect in his part, and accustomed to such scenes, going towards the entrance of the tents, and stating we were Hájís, while I and the Dúrání, by playing our long poles, had to contend with dogs, assailing us on all sides, as if conscious we were demanding the scraps which they considered their due. About thirty or forty pounds weight of bread was procured, of which I merely received as much

as sufficed for the evening's meal. The cold encreasing as the night advanced, I suffered much from the want of clothing: my companions on preparing for sleep, furnished me with a quantity of wood, to enable me to keep the fire alive during the night, over which I was to sit. I did so with my knees drawn up to my chin, nevertheless the severity of the cold was seriously felt. Towards morning, my situation being observed by a Mogal soldier in the service of Khádar Khán, he came and threw over my shoulders, a postín or great coat, if I may so express myself, made of the skins of dumbas or large tailed sheep, the leather excellently prepared, and the fleece well preserved. They are the general winter habits of all classes in Khorasán, and are certainly warm and comfortable.

I endeavoured to rise, and return thanks, when I found, that what with the heat of the fire in front, and the intensity of the cold behind, my limbs were contracted, and fixed in the cramped position in which I had been so long sitting. I now became alarmed lest I should not be able to accompany the káfila, nor should I, had it started early in the morning as káfilas generally do; — but this with a view to the convenience of the women, did not march until the sun was high above the horizon. This was a fortunate circumstance, as the solar heat gradually relaxed the stiffness of my limbs, and as I became warm in walking the pain lessened. I know not whether to impute my misfortune here to the presence of the fire, or to the cold. My legs and arms were covered with blotches, and at their respective joints were reduced to a state of rawness. The latter evil disappeared in a few days, but the pains in the limbs continued to distress me exceedingly for four or five months, and have not wholly left me to this day, and probably never will. The present of this postín was undoubtedly the means of my preservation, as I never should have been able to have passed another night in similar nudity, and the cold, I afterwards found, encreased for the next eight or ten marches.

The marches were not of extreme length, and I contrived tolerably well to keep up with the káfila, starting with the asses, which went on first, when, if unable to keep pace with them, I was sure of having the camels which followed them, behind, and which were always considerably in the rear. In this manner I was secure from interruption, on the road, by the inhabitants of the country.

We made five or six marches over a wild and dreary country, the surface of the soil thinly chequered with low stunted bushes and plants, amongst which the terk, and Káhshútar, or camel grass, were the most prominent. There were no fixed habitations, and few traces

of cultivation. From the plain of Robát we entered that of Búldak, slight rises, through which an easy road led, marking their boundaries. It was, if possible, more forbidding in aspect than the former, and there was much of its extent occupied by sand hillocks.

In one of our marches we passed a body of men, women, and children, migrating with their property to some more genial climate during the winter. The men had most of them matchlocks, but I suspect no ammunition, as they begged flints and powder, and a small quantity of each given them elicited many thanks. These people crossed our route. Leaden bullets with the men of this country, I believe, are generally out of the question, having seen them, in many instances, making substitutes of mud, which they mould and dry, and place in the ground, as they say, to harden. With such projectiles they contrive to kill large fowls, &c. During our progress, we one day fell in with a large deposit of wheat chaff, intended as winter provender for cattle. It was opened, and all the available animals of the káfila laden with its contents; Khádar Khán and the káfila Báshi directing the operation, and remaining with the mounted men, while it was carried on.

We here saw no inhabitants, although from this deposit, and the existence of water at some distance to the right, it was natural to infer that there were some in the neighbourhood. I could not here help drawing a conclusion, that if these káfilas are liable to insult and extortion among these people, they in some measure deserve it, for, in no case, where plunder could be safely perpetrated, was it omitted. The sheep or goat that strayed into their tract was invariably made booty, and if they met with but a few tents, they did not fail to procure flour, roghan, krút, &c. without payment, which the inmates gave fearing worse treatment. At one of our halts by a pond of rain water, called Dand Ghúlai, a faquí mounted on a small horse without saddle, came from an adjacent collection of tents, which we did not see, and demanded alms, expatiating much on the splendour of the tents, and on the wealth in the káfila. Abdúlah Khán asked him for his blessing, and, while he was receiving it, some of the men were engaged in fixing a cord around the neck of a large sized dog, which accompanied the faquí, and they succeeded in purloining it without notice. At this halting place large melons were brought to the káfila for sale. The Hájís, as usual, when any tents were near, went into them to pass the night, procuring better entertainment there than among the men of the káfila; indeed throughout Khoraśán, among the Dúranís, charity appears extinct, as does also, with few exceptions, the existence of any kind of social or benevolent feel-

ing. We at length reached a formidable range of hills, at the entrance into which it was intended to have halted, but it was discovered that there was no water in the spots, where it was usually found. Khádar Khán was much mortified, as it was evening, and it became necessary to cross the range at once, a labor he would have been glad to have reserved for the morrow. Men were however despatched on all sides to search for water, and one returned with a piece of ice, which he exhibited as evidence of his discovery, but the water although near trickled from the crevices in the heights above, and would have been useless with respect to the animals; moreover to encamp close to it was impossible. In this dilemma, two of the Atchakzai appeared, — they stated that they were acquainted with water very near, but would not discover it, unless they received grapes, raisins, snuff, tobacco, &c, in short something of every thing they supposed might be in the káfila. Khádar Khán strove to induce them to moderate their demands, and much time was wasted in fruitless parley. The gesticulations of the savages, had I been free from pain, would have sufficiently diverted me, as well as the stress they laid on *ôbô*, as they call water, with the enormity of their demands. The Khán unable to come to terms with them, gave the order to advance.

We now ascended a steep and difficult path, down which the water oozing from the rock trickled down. There was also much ice, and many of the camels slipped, — the women had previously been removed, and seated on horses. This ascent naturally involved a troublesome descent, and we had to pass another elevation equally precipitous before we reached the summit of the pass, from which the extensive plain of Peshing burst upon the sight. At the bottom of the pass, we found ourselves at the head of a darra, had a good place to encamp in, water in fair quantity from springs near at hand, with plenty of fuel, the small wood on the adjacent hills. This pass, that of Kozhak, was the only one we had hitherto met with, and the only obstacle we had encountered on the route, which, since leaving Kándahár, had been otherwise free from natural difficulties. The mountain range, over which it leads, has considerable length, and while here it forms, the western boundary of Peshing, lower down it marks, the eastern boundary of Shoráwak. Besides the principal pass of Kozhak, there are two other well defined and frequented ones to the south, those of Roganí and Bédh, both crossing into Shoráwak; — by the first of these the Lora river winds through the range.

In the morning we continued our progress through the darra, with hills on either side, of inferior altitude. There were numerous mi-



mosa trees, from the trunks and branches of which gum plentifully exuded,—it was eaten eagerly by the men of the káfila, but I found it bitter and unpalatable. On arrival at a small hut constructed of the boughs and branches of trees, two or three men rushed from it, who, under the pretence of examination with reference to duty, rifled all the packages carried by the asses, and forbid further progress until their claims were satisfied. These men refused either to give water, or to disclose where it could be found, and only after receiving a quantity of tobacco, would they give fire to enable the ass drivers to smoke their chillams. Both parties were in full debate, when Khádar Khán and the horsemen, hitherto in the rear, came up, and instantly ordered an advance, it being nonsense to hear duty talked of in such a place, and by such men. I was, in truth, surprised at the audacity of these fellows, who were nearly naked; nor could it ever have been imagined, that such miserable beings were entitled to collect duties. They were without weapons, and probably calculated on the stupidity or timidity of the ass drivers, who they might also have thought, were proceeding alone. During their search, a Korán received the marks of their respect, being applied to the eyes and lips.

On clearing this darra, we entered the plain of Peshing; to the right, on rising ground, stood a square castle, belonging to Abdúlah Khán, Sirdár of the Atchakzais. There were two or three mulberry trees near it, and some cultivation of wheat, lucerne and melons. Khádar Khán and his mounted men rode up to the castle, for the purpose of arranging duty matters, and wished the whole of the káfila to have accompanied him, but the men would not consent, fearing the rapacity of the Atchakzai Sirdár, should they place themselves in his power. We, therefore, under the orders of Abdúlah Khán, the nephew, passed on, and crossed a small river, on which was a village, the houses built of mud. We then directed our course towards another village, a circular tower in which, was visible far off. There we halted; the water supplied from a pond, the river being considerably distant. Khádar Khán joined us, and expressed anger that the káfila had not accompanied him, as the affair of duty would have been arranged.

The men, who now came from the village to claim duty, were most beggarly dressed, and without shoes. A most contentious scene occurred, their demands being exorbitant, and nothing that evening was settled. These officers of the customs stayed with us during the night, and were most oppressive visitants, admitting no refusal of any thing they asked for. The next day passed also in stormy

discussion, and the evening approached without any satisfactory result, when the káfila Báshí seized one by the neck, and pushed him towards the horses, telling him to count them, it appearing that the number of horses in the caravan was disputed. To count twenty, or twenty five, actually exceeded the ruffians numerical ability, — it was necessary to count them for him. The spirited conduct of the káfila Báshí seemed to have its effect in bringing matters to a close; money was now paid, and matters were considered settled. The men, however, did not leave us, and towards night urged fresh claims as to the asses, and they with their burthens were carried into the village for inspection. In the morning, a new subject for altercation was found, and a well dressed youth made his appearance, who wrote Persian, and officiated as scribe, — nor was it until the day was considerably advanced, that the Káfila was permitted to proceed, fees having been given to the scribe and others.

I could not estimate the degree of danger attending our stay here, but Khádar Khán, who on the score of his family, had the most at stake, was continually walking to and fro in great agitation, and frequently uttered fervent ejaculations that God would deliver him from the hands of the Atchakzais. It would have given me pleasure had I known Pashto, to have learned what passed during the debates at this place, for undoubtedly much eloquence was displayed on both sides. I could glean, that the Atchakzai ridiculed the menace of forcing a passage without payment of duty, and that they asserted it was much better to have Hindús to deal with, who without parley or hesitation paid five rupees for each ass, whereas they could only procure two from a Mússúlmán, and that after much dispute. The conduct of the men, who on the plea of collecting duty, fixed themselves upon the káfila, was most outrageous and extraordinary. They insisted that food should be prepared for them, and would not allow it to be cooked, kicking over the pots with their feet, and then with their closed fists scattering the fire. It was evident they wished rather to annoy than to be well entertained, and the consequence was they were served with meat nearly raw, which they devoured like cannibals. The two evenings we halted here, the men of the village assembled in great numbers around us, (for curiosity merely), seating themselves on the ground, at a little distance. None of them had weapons, which are perhaps scarce among them. Abdúlah Khán, their Sirdár, had, I was informed, a piece of ordnance, possibly a jingál, at his castle.

Leaving the village, our course led through a small belt of tamarisk jangal, clearing which we halted between a village and river

close to it, the same probably we had before passed. The stream was in a deep sunken bed, and there are no wheels on its banks to make the water available for purposes of irrigation, the natives saying they have no material for ropes. The water of this river, the Lora, which loses itself in the sands of Shoráwak, is a little saline to the taste, and is esteemed ponderous.

The next day's march led us anew amongst low hills, and over an uneven country. We halted near a rivulet, two or three villages bearing to the left, with a few trees interspersed about them. These I believe, were inhabited by the Ali Zai Patáns, and were dependent on Sháll. During the night, robbery was committed on one of our Saiyads, who suffered to the amount of one hundred rupees, — his Korán, which was carried off, was afterwards returned in a mysterious manner. The thieves were not discovered, but the Ali Zai had the credit of the robbery.

The next march was cheerfully performed by the káfila, as it removed them from the country of the Patáns, and brought them fairly into that of Mehráb Khán, the Bráhuí chief of Kalát. Here danger to the same extent did not exist, but in these semi-barbarous countries, where tyranny and misrule prevail, oppression never ceases. This day I was so absolutely exhausted, and my pains were so severe that I was utterly unable to keep pace with the káfila, and the camels even passed me. Leaving the rivulet, a village occurred, near which the men were employed in winnowing corn; they suffered me to pass unmolested. Beyond it was a Kàrèz of clear but badly tasted water, with a few tút or barren mulberry trees on its course; and farther on a line of undulating eminences preceding the large plain or valley of Sháll. Among the eminences, I was compelled from the acuteness of my sufferings to cast myself on the earth, and truly death at that time would have been hailed as friendly. With much difficulty I made my way into the plain, and in progress to the town, prominently seated on a lofty mound, and distant some three or four cosses, I replied to all I met that I was a Hájí. It was dark before I reached, when I learned from a soldier at the western or Hanna gate, that the káfila was immediately under the southern wall of the town. I passed into the bazár, where I met Gúl Mahomed, one of my companions, who conducted me to the remainder. All were glad to see me again, fearing some accident had happened to me, and I amused them by relating my adventures as a Hájí on the road.

I may here observe, that my situation in the káfila as regarded attention and civility, had become very supportable. Khádar Khán, who had refused me assistance, saluted me with congratulations the

very next day, when he beheld me comfortably clad in a postín, and never passed me on the road without notice; — the Káfila-Báshí associated himself with my companions in a kind of mess: I consequently had my meals with him, and was invariably treated with kindness. This man I afterwards saw at Haidarabad in Sind, where he had engaged in the military service on a salary of two hundred rupees monthly.

The káfila halted two or three days at Sháll, to arrange the matter of duty, which is collected there, and to allow men and cattle a little rest. My pains grew intense, so much so, that I was unable to accompany my friends, on their departure. I made an effort to keep pace with them, but finding I could not I returned to the town, not, venturing from what I had heard of the Bolan pass, to run the chance of proceeding alone through it.

At Sháll, I was very hospitably treated, — being lodged in the clean and upper apartment of the principal masjid near the southern or Shikárpúr gate, and regularly supplied with abundance of good provisions. My afflictions daily became less, and, at length, I announced my ability to depart, whenever a káfila might arrive. Two or three horse káfilas from Kándahár passed, but I was not allowed to accompany them, it being feared I should be left behind on the road by the horses.

The town of Sháll, or as often called Quetta and Kote, is surrounded by a slight mud crenated wall, and may comprise three hundred houses. These lie at the base of a huge mound on which stands the ruinous citadel, now the abode of the governor Jellál Khán. The bazár is tolerably well supplied, and is a fair one for a provincial town, being the centre of much traffic with the neighbouring countries. It is situated conveniently on the road between Kándahár and Shikárpúr, as well as with reference to Kalát, and other places. There are many small gardens belonging to the town, which appear as if newly planted, the trees being young. There are the vine, the fig, the pomegranate, the plum, and I believe the apple and pear. Mulberries and apricots are plentiful, as are also melons in their season.

The valley of Sháll may be about twelve miles in length, with an average breadth of three or four miles. It is well supplied with water, and besides good wheat and barley, yields much lucerne, with, I believe, some madder. The neighbouring hills, the native region of the wild sheep, provide ample pasture for very numerous flocks of the domestic animal, and Sháll is proverbially celebrated for the excellence of its lambs.

I was much pleased with the climate in this valley, the frosts during the night being gentle, and the heat of the sun being far from oppressive during the day, as is the case at Kándahár, even during the winter. The people told me that in another month they might expect snow, which would continue for two months, during which time they would be left to their own protection, the garrison retiring to the warmer country of Dádar; and I saw them repairing the casualties in the town walls. They entertain apprehensions from their troublesome neighbours, the Khákas, who live in the adjacent hills to the east, and north-east, and who have, on more than one occasion, sacked the town.

The outsides of the houses in the town, were mostly covered with the carcases of sheep; salted and exposed to dry. The principal bones are extracted, and the limbs extended with small sticks. These fitches of mutton, and they have, when cooked, very nearly the taste of bacon, are called Khaddít by the Baloches, and Lándh by Afgháns. They are generally used for winter consumption, when the flocks of the pastoral tribes are removed to the plains of Kachí.

Besides the town of Sháll, there are in the valley, a few other villages, as Ispangalí, and Karání, the latter under the hills to the west, inhabited chiefly by Saiyads, and boasting many gardens; with many small hamlets belonging to the Sherwání Bráhúís towards the south. There are likewise some castles contiguous to the town, the principal of which is owned by Samandar Khán, a Dúrání nobleman of note.

The valley of Sháll was originally held by the Kássí Afgháns, who still dwell in the town and immediate vicinity. Having passed under Bráhúí rule, the Sherwání tribe have intruded themselves into the southern parts of the valley; and some of the villages bordering on it, and included in the district, as Kúchílák, on the road to Peshing, and Berg, on the road to Mastùng, are held by Khákas, wholly or chiefly.

Finally, a large káfila arrived from Kándahár, of a multifarious description, and I was allowed to join it. During my abode at Sháll, I had received many attentions, from a respectable and wealthy Bráhma of Bikkanír, named Rúghlál. Learning I was about to leave, he invited me to his house in the evening, and after asking me if I could teach him to make gold,—to plate copper with silver,—and to cure diseases of the eye—he provided me with what I needed much, a suit of cotton clothing, and a supply of flour and roghan for my journey. My Mússúlmán friends found a kid skin, into which they placed my provisions, and slinging it over my shoulders, I followed the káfila which had preceded me.

As soon as I joined it, one of the camel drivers finding that I was going to Shikárpúr, took my load and put it on one of his animals, so I walked unencumbered. The first march, of five or six miles, brought us to Sir-í-áb, beneath a small detached hill at the extremity of the valley, where we halted near the source of a rivulet of fine water, which gives a name to the locality. There was some tilled land here, but no inhabitants. To our right was the high mountain Chel Tan, and where it terminated to the south, we descried the small pass or Lak, as here called, leading to Mastúg, so famed for its fruits. To our left were alike hills, and in front the Dasht Bí Dowlat, over which the high road to Shikárpúr passes. The director or Báshí of the káfila, was named Baloch Khán, and the camel driver who had befriended me by lightening me of my burden, proved to be in his employ. This led to Baloch Khán inviting me to join his party, which of course was very agreeable to me, and I at once became easy in the káfila. We were here joined by a pastoral tribe of Brá-húís, who were proceeding to the warmer countries below the pass. They mustered above three hundred firelocks, and as the journey from hence to Dádar, was esteemed perilous, their company was acceptable.

Early in the morning, having filled the massaks or skins with water, we left Sir-í-áb, and skirting the eastern base of the small hill we had halted under, we then struck across the bleak, sterile plain of Bí Dowlat. We occupied the entire day in the transit, and by evening gained the entrance into the Bolan hills, and having crossed a very slight ascent, we descended gradually into a Darra or valley, where we halted. There was no water here, but our people had provided against the want. We were this night highly amused by a witty fellow, called Shahábadín, who personated one of the Atchak Zai, and proffered to disclose where obo or water could be found. He imitated the tone and expressions of the savages exactly, and extorted loud peals of laughter from his auditors. I had got over the first march to Sir-í-áb pretty well, but the long one of this day proved too much for me, although the road had been good, and I experienced a renewal, in some degree, of my former pains.

On the following morning, our course led us along the valley, which had a continual but gradual and easy descent. To march was toilsome, as the bed of the valley was filled by small stones and pebbles. From it we gained another valley with which it communicated, and here, after a short distance, we came upon a variety of springs, the water of which gushed from the rocks to the right, and formed a stream. Some of the springs discharged large volumes of water,

which released themselves with a considerable noise. This spot is called Sir-í-Bolan, and the sources are those of the rivulet which has fixed its name upon the pass. We did not halt here, but proceeded until we reached Kajúrí, a spot so called from a solitary date tree, which arose opposite to us in graceful majesty, an emblem of our approach to more genial climes. Our road was throughout this march along the same Darra, and over the same kind of pebbly surface. We had seen no inhabitants, but occasional tracks across the hills seemed to indicate their existence near. During the night, the sentinels were particularly alert, keeping up an incessant discharge of matchlocks, and shouting " Hai ! Kábadar ! Hai ! Kábadar !

Our next march continued through the Darra, and we lost the Bolan rivulet, while to the left the country became more open. The road also became less stony, as we reached Bibí Nání, where we found another rivulet, which I was told came from the hills of Kalát. This place is a shrine of some repute, and has some curious legends connected with it. The hills here yield fuller's earth, or some analogous substance. The road winds through the low hills at this point, and enters the extensive plain of Kirta ; — the river flowed to our left, and crossing the plain we halted at Garm-áb, (warm spring) or the sources of the third river we meet with in the Bolan pass. About half a mile to our left, or to the north, was the small village of Kirta, inhabited by Baloches, subjects of Kalát, but at the mercy of the predatory hill tribes. Many of the women came to procure water from the springs, which, as their name implies, are tepid, and in the pools formed by them are myriads of small fishes. The houses of Kirta were constructed of mud and stones, and amongst them was a square tower. There is some land cultivated, principally with rice, and there might be much more, were there any security.

Our Bráhúí companions were desirous that the káfila should have halted at Kirta, for a day, but this was not acceded to, although the march we had in front was through the most critical part of the pass. The káfila therefore proceeded without them.

Leaving Garm-áb, we came upon a large marsh, with a muddy bottom, and much choked up with reeds and flags. It is formed by the waters of Garm-áb, and from it issues the clear stream, which hence to the termination of the pass, was to be our attendant. This marsh immediately precedes the entrance into a series of defiles, and is not I believe to be avoided by beasts of burthen, who with difficulty wade through it. Pedestrians, like myself, round it to the right, and follow a slender path winding around the enclosing hills. In this march we had continually to cross and recross the river, whose bed was gen-

erally occupied with large boulders, and occasionally with flags. The water was delightfully transparent. During the early part of the day, the Darra was more or less open, or not so contracted as to be termed justly a defile, but on approaching a spot called Khúndillán, the hills on either side closed upon each other, and the narrow passage between them was entirely filled by the water. Previous to arrival here, the káfila was condensed, and the armed and mounted men formed in a body, it being judged fit to move with caution and prepared, in a part of the pass, which of all others, seemed to be the most dreaded. Within the defile, there was a large cavern in the hills to the right, and under it a pool said to be unfathomable; — there was evidence of great depth of water in the limpid and azure tinged water. The scenery was here sufficiently good, indeed throughout this day's march, the natural features of the several localities were interesting. Emerging from the defile, we traversed a fine open space, favorable for encampment, with the river to the right, and also winding to the front. Crossing it, we again passed through defiles into another and lengthened Darra, but wide and open; — and this traversed, other defiles led us into a more spacious valley, where there was an abundance of coarse grass: — It may be observed that there is throughout this journey more or less forage, particularly from Khúndillán; — there is also a good quantity of cultivable soil, and from the admirable command of water, it is obvious, that were the country secure, great quantities of rice might be grown. As it is, exposed to perpetual depredations, no one dares to settle in the valley, or cultivate its soil. Neither is adequate advantage taken of its plentiful pastures, for no one ventures to graze them. From this last valley, which has an appellation, I forget, derived from its herbage, a short passage cleared us of the pass altogether, and brought us into the plain of Dádar. The broken ground here was covered with stunted trees and brushwood, and we had finally to cross the river, which flowed to the right hand. Passing a few old tombs and shrines, we at length halted on the borders of a canal of irrigation, with the town of Dádar and its date groves in sight, some two or three miles distant.

I could have enjoyed this march under other circumstances, but what with its length, and the ill condition I was in, it proved a penible one to me. The constant crossing of the river, and the necessity of tramping so often barefooted, nearly exhausted me, and my feet at the close of the journey were sorely blistered. It was in vain I strove to keep company with the káfila, and before reaching Khúndillán, behind it as usual, two or three shots fired from the hills,



caused me to raise my eyes, when I perceived three or four men. They were however too far off to give me trouble, and I saw that they were moving from, and not towards me.

The magnificent pass of the Bolan, may be said to be throughout its extent perfectly level, the gradual ascent of the upper portion of it, and the slight kotal or pass, if deserving the name, by which the Dasht-Bí-Dowlat is gained, scarcely forming exceptions.

It is interesting on many accounts : being with the Mulloh pass far to the south, the only route of this level character, intersecting the great chain of mountains defining, on the east, the low countries of Kach Gandáva and the valley of the Indus ; while westward it supports the elevated regions of Kalát and Sahárawán. There are many other passes over the chain, but all of them from the east have a steep and difficult ascent, and conduct to the brink of the plateau or table lands. Such are the passes of Takárí and Nághow, between the Bolan and Múloh routes, and there are others to the north of the Bolan. This pass is no less important, as occurring in the direct line of communication between Sind and the neighbouring countries with Kándahár and Khorasán. It also constitutes, in this direction the boundary between the Sard Sél and Garm Sél, or the cold and hot countries. The natives here affirm that all below the pass is Hind, and that all above it is Khorasán. This distinction is in great measure warranted, not only because the pass separates very different races from each other, speaking various dialects, but that it marks the line of a complete change of climate and natural productions. As we near Dádar we behold the A'kh or milky euphorbia ; — no plant is more uniformly found at the verge of the two zones: belonging to the warmer one, it stands as a sentinel, overlooking the frontier over which apparently it may not step.

Our next march was merely a change of ground, and brought us within a mile of the town of Dádar. I was unable to visit it, but it appeared to be walled in, and of some extent, containing some tolerably looking houses. The Hindús of the bazár resorted to the káfila to traffic. The neighbourhood was well cultivated; the soil besides being naturally good, is well watered by numerous canals large and small. Many small hamlets are sprinkled over it ; and the produce, besides grains, consists of sugar cane, and the indigo plant. There are two fazls or harvests, the vernal and hibernal. The town is held by the Khán of Kalát, and the governor is generally one of his household slaves.

We halted near Dádar for two days; transit fees were levied from the kafila ; after which, our company, augmented by Baloch traders, started for Bágh.

The hills in this part of the country describe a vast semicircle, the principal ranges to the west, before noticed, stretching away to the south, and ending only on the shores of the ocean. Immediately to the north and north-east of Dádar, are other hills enclosing the valley of Síbí, and the abodes of Khákás, Kadjaks, Shílánchís, Bár-rú Zais, Marrís, and other mingled Afghán and Baloch tribes: while to the east extend a succession of ranges, the southern termination of the great Sólímán chain running parallel to and west of the Indus. On the side bordering on Dádar and Kachí, they are inhabited by savage tribes, whose predatory habits render them a great annoyance to the inhabitants of the plains, as they frequently issue from their fastnesses in overpowering numbers, and plunder the villages. On the opposite side they look down upon Sanghar, Déra Ghází Khán, and the Kalát chiefs districts of Hárاند and Dájil. The heat at Dádar is singularly oppressive, and the unburnt bricks of the old tombs are pointed out as having become of a red hue in the fervent rays of the sun.

At a little distance from Dádar, a line of jabbal or low hills, or rather a fracture in the surface, extends from east to west across the country, and separates the particular valley of Dádar from the great plain of Kach Gandáva. The road throughout this fissure is level, but the broken mass assumes a variety of fantastic shapes, and may have a breadth of three or four miles. Where it ends, the hard level plain begins.

I had scarcely commenced the march from Dádar, when I was seized with vomiting, occasioned I knew not by what, unless by the water, which here has a bad repute. It was night when we marched, both to avoid the heat of the day, and that the manzil or place of intended halt was distant. The káfila soon passed me, and helpless I laid myself on the ground, and awaited morning. I was fearful of losing the road. At the dawn of day, I arose and continued my way. I passed through the fracture just noted and had reached the plain beyond, when my disorder drove me to seek the shade of some low hills to the right of the road. Here two or three horsemen of the káfila who had stayed behind came to me. They kindled a fire, their object being to smoke chirss. They encouraged me to proceed, telling me I should find the káfila at a village, the trees of which were visible in the far distance. I strove to do so, but was soon redriven from the road, and this time, the bank of a dry water course afforded me shade. At length with my strength somewhat renewed, I again followed the road, and by evening approached the village of Hírí.

Here was a river, the Nári, to which I hastened to appease my thirst; and on crossing a ravine to regain the road, a ruffian assailed me with a drawn sword, and ordered me to accompany him. Clearing the ravine, he examined my postín, and the kid skin bag containing the remnant of my flour, which I chanced to have with me this day. Much parley ensued, he insisting I should follow him, and I objecting to do so. I told him if he was a robber, as his weapon made him superior, to take what he wanted, — to this, he replied, by putting his fore finger between his teeth, and shaking his head, signifying, I presume, that he was not one. I was unable to prevail upon the fellow to depart, when a Hindú suddenly made his appearance. Neither I, or my oppressor had before seen this man, — an angel could not, however, have more seasonably interposed. The Baloch still unwilling to relinquish me, said I was a thief, but the Hindú would not admit it, and asking me if I belonged to the káfila, told me, it was on the other side of the village. On hearing this, and that I had friends near, the fellow relaxed, and I and the Hindú passed over to the other side of the ravine. The Hindú separated from me, and I made for the road, when the Baloch looking and seeing me alone, called me to return, and as an inducement plied me with stones. Having the ravine between us, and descriing three or four men in a cultivated field adjacent, I paid no farther attention than to return him his missiles, and the abusive epithets he liberally bestowed, with them.

I next went to the men in the field, and told them the Baloch striking across the plain was a robber. My tattered garments were again explored, and certainly had I possessed any thing worth plunder, it would have been taken. As it was, the elder of the men remarked “ what could be plundered from you ? ” and in the same breath, asked me to exchange my shoes for a pair of cháplas, an uncouth kind of sandal. I refused, although the shoes were old, and absolutely worn out, as they had become convenient to my feet; — yet my refusal was of no avail, and the shoes were taken from me; the men asserting that I gave them of my free will, and I that they were forcibly seized. It was promised that a youth should conduct me to the káfila, which was said to be two cosses distant. The good Hindú, it seemed had told me it was here, to disentangle me from the Baloch. May his righteous purpose excuse the untruth. The old man, however, on putting the shoes on his feet, said they were not worth exchanging, and returned them. He then placed his fingers upon his eyes, and swore that he was a Mússúlmán, and no thief. He invited me to pass the night at his house, by way of atonement,

and assured me of good entertainment. I might have trusted myself with him, as this application of the fingers to the eyes is equivalent to a most solemn oath, but it was my object to gain the káfila. I therefore declined, and the road being pointed out to me, I struck in to it.

Night coming on, I repaired to some old sepulchres or zíárats on the road side, to await the rising of the moon, the better to find my way. By moonlight I proceeded, but it was soon manifest that I had missed the road, and ignorant of its direction, I thought it best to tarry until morn, so I wrapped myself in my postín and went to sleep.

At day break, I observed, not far off, a man of respectable appearance, of whom I enquired the road, stating that I had gone astray. He lamented that a Mússúlmán, for such he supposed me, should have been compelled to sleep on the plain, and leaving his own path, he guided me into mine. In a short time I made a village, situated on the Nári river. The river occupied a wide bed, and the banks on either side were high. I descended into the bed, and under shelter of the near bank, I passed the village unobserved. Beyond it, I took my frugal breakfast, soaking my scraps of bread in the waters of the stream.

Here I was accosted by a youth, who also wanted to exchange shoes. He had himself a new pair, and perfectly sound. The exchange would have been to his prejudice, as I pointed out to him, yet I could not afford to part with my old and easy ones. He did not however insist. I was hardly yet aware that a Baloch generally prefaces robbery, by proposing exchange, or by begging some article, as the plunderer of the Afghán tribes near Kándahár first asks his victim if he has any tobacco or snuff. The brother of Mehráb Khán of Kalát was encamped near this village with a party of horse.

From the river bed I passed through a fairly wooded jangal of small bér, mimosa, and tamarisk trees. It swarmed with the pastoral Bráhúí tribes, who had recently arrived, and taken up their winter quarters here. Beyond this belt I reached the small town of Hájí Sheher, held by Mahomed Khán, the Sirdár of the Sherwání Bráhúís. It was walled in, and contained a small but good bazár. The two domes of its principal masjids had been conspicuous for a long time above the jangal. Within the walls were perhaps two hundred and fifty, or three hundred houses, Hindú and Mahomedan;—without were groves of large bér and mimosa trees. The Sherwání chief levies a transit fee on merchandize. I found that the káfila had staid the night here, but had passed on in the morning for Bágh.

A Hindú directed me as to the road I was to take, but cautioned

me not to go alone. I went on, having become habituated and indifferent to danger and adventure. The same kind of light jangal prevailed. I was soon passed by three Baloch soldiers mounted on camels. One of them said to me in Persian "Ah! Ah! you are an Uzbek" I told him I was not, but he maintained that I was, laughing and in good humour. This was not the first time, I had been taken for one of these Tártars.

In the town of Sháll, notwithstanding my own affirmations, confirmed by many of the inhabitants, that I was a Farang or European, several believed that I was an Uzbek. The Múlla or priest who officiated in the masjid, where I was lodged, one day informed a large company, with an air of great self-satisfaction that I was a Túrki. He nodded his head, and winked his eyes, as if his superior penetration had discovered an important secret. Another individual seriously annoyed me by persisting that I was a Kárigar. This term I had heard in Dáman, and the Panjáb, used to denote a bull. It was to no purpose that I contended I was a "Mirdem" or "man," and no "Kárigar" or as I understood it "bull" The individual in question would have it that I was one, or at least a Kárigar. A better acquaintance with languages taught me that the word was employed in Persian to express an adept, or expert person, in which sense no doubt, the man intended it. At the same place, a woman daily visited me, always bringing some trifling present of fruit, sweetmeat, &c. and craving my blessing. I could not surmise why she thought me qualified for the task, until I heard her, one day, tell another woman that, I was the "díwáneh" or idiot from Mastúng.

Continuing my route through the jangal, I came upon a deserted and ruinous castle, and then upon a village to the left of the road. It was dark when I reached a cluster of villages and date groves, which I was so certain were Bágh, that I did not enquire, and satisfied that I should find the káfila in the morning, I retired for the night to a Zíarat, and quietly reposed.

It turned out, however, that I was mistaken, and when I arose at day break, I found that the place was called Tirkári, and that Bágh was a good coss farther on. The greater part of this distance traced the river bank. The country here was populous and well cultivated. The soil is fertile, yielding sugar cane amongst its produce; júwári and bájara, here as throughout the province, are the principal objects of the agriculturist. The preference shewn to them would seem to shew that they require little moisture, and that experience has proved them to be adapted to the soil and climate. They subsist both man and animal, and are grown in such quantities

as to be largely exported. In favorable seasons, or when the supply of rain has been sufficient, the returns are said to be excessive ; other kinds of grain, as wheat and barley are raised, forming the spring crops, and the Jet cultivators or zamíndárs are allowed to be very skilful.

I found the káfila at Bágh, between the town and river, and in a grove of minosas.

Bágh is one of the most considerable towns of Kachí, although containing not more than six to eight hundred houses. It formerly was in a more flourishing condition, and many Hindú Soukárs or bankers resided at it. They have removed to Kotrú, where they think themselves more secure under the government of a petty dependent chief, than under that of the weak paramount authority of Kalát, administered by a household slave. The bazár is still respectable, as the site of the place preserves it from total decay. It has the monopoly of the trade in sulphur, derived from the mines near Sanní ; and the government officers collect transit duties from traders. I was astonished to learn, seeing the river was so considerable, that fresh water was frequently scarce at Bágh, and that at certain seasons it was an article of sale : but I was so assured, and that in a short time, the channel of the stream would dry up, and water only be found in wells dug in its bed. I was also informed that, wells made in the town or neighbourhood, yielded a fluid too saline to be applicable to useful purposes.

Close to Bágh are some conspicuous tombs, covering the remains of remarkable persons. Amongst them are those of Mastapha and Réhim Khán, preserved in the same monument, half brothers, and both sons of the illustrious Nassír Khán. Mastapha Khán was renowned for his valour, and fell by the hands of his brother Réhim Khán ; the latter was slain by the sister of Mastapha Khán. Another tomb commemorates a famous politico-religious character, put to death by Sháh Zemán. The Vazír Fatí Khán, afterwards so notorious, then a mere youth, was a disciple of this worthy, as were a great number of the young Afghán nobility. The initiated formed a conspiracy to dethrone the king, and to assassinate his minister Waffadár Khán, and to raise the Sháhzáda Sújah to the throne. The plot, on the eve of accomplishment, was revealed to the Minister by one of the accomplices. Sarafraz Khán, the father of Fatí Khán, expiated the crime of his son, who escaped, and many of the conspirators were seized and put to death. A party was sent to Bágh with orders to bring in the head of the holy man, the father or patron of the dark and foul treason. This event is worthy of note, as it was the proximate cause

of the convulsions which have since desolated Afghánistán. Of the character of the holy man of Bágh, there can be little doubt, although he has since death been canonized. He was a Súfí, and with his disciples professed himself to be a “*húsan perrast*” or “*admirer of beauty.*”

We halted three or four days at Bágh, and on taking our departure, forded the river about half a mile below the town, nor did we afterwards see it. We made three or four marches, and reached a village, on the borders of the desert belt, called the Pat of Shikárpúr, or sometimes the Dasht Bédárf.

During our progress we passed a well cultivated country, but the villages were mostly either in ruins, or entire, and deserted by their inhabitants. It was wonderful to see the immense fields of *bájara*, in the most thriving state, and apparently mature for harvest, but not a soul to reap them, or even to claim them. The cultivators had fled before the hill marauders, who had scoured the country. As the *káfila* slowly paced over the afflicted land, a mournful interest was excited by the contemplation of the melancholy scenes around us. It was no less painful to reflect on the probable misery of the poor people, forced to abandon their property and homes. Nor could such feeling repress the sentiment of surprise, and of contempt for the feeble government, unable to protect its subjects, for it was admitted to be powerless against the licentious banditti of the mountains.

The village we halted at after leaving Bágh was peopled, so was the one on the borders of the Pat, the intervening country was vacant as described. In passing the extensive fields of *bájara*, the men of the *káfila* distinguished a variety, whose stem had a saccharine taste, little inferior to that of sugar cane. They discriminated it by inspection of the leaf, but I vainly sought to acquire the secret. They said no sugar could be extracted from it.

There is considerable danger from predatory bands in crossing the desert tract which now spread before us, its name “*Bédárf*” or “*vigilance*” implies as much, and truly from the multiplied robberies and murders committed on it, it has become of infamous notoriety. The *káfila-Báshí* determined to make but one march across it, and we accordingly started about sunset, with our massaks filled with water.

We were in motion the whole of the night and following day, passing in our track a tomb to the right, whose elevation renders it serviceable as a point of direction, there being apparently no beaten road. Once during the day, a cloud of dust being observed, the *káfila* was halted, the men with matchlocks assembled, and the horse-

men took up position in front — the camels were also condensed, and made to kneel. The arrangements were good, but unnecessary, — the dust, being merely the effect of a whirlwind, subsided ; — and the journey was resumed.

Some time after passing the tomb, we descried a long line of jangal before us. This at once denoted the termination of the desert, and our approach to the territory of Sind. We proceeded about two cosses through this jangal, in which some cultivated land was interspersed, and about an hour before sunset reached Roján, where we halted.

There were here two castles, or rather villages enclosed within walls. Fields of bájara and cotton were around them. The water of very indifferent taste, was procured, and in small quantity only, from a series of shallow wells or pits under the walls of one of the castles. The inhabitants, or the chief of the village and his clansmen, were not disposed to be very civil, and on a slight occasion seemed anxious to pick a quarrel with the men of the káfila.

I understood that Roján was subject to Mehráb Khán, but I apprehend my informant intended me to comprehend that it should be, as it once was. It was formerly held by Magghazzís, who were subjects of Kalát ; they have been lately expelled, or as was said, exterminated by the Jamálís, a branch of the great Rind tribe, who have placed themselves under the sovereignty of Sind.

Our next march led us to Jágan, the road through the same kind of jangal, with villages and cultivation occasionally occurring. Jágan is enclosed, and has a small bazár. We here found Kásim Sháh, the Governor of Shikárpúr. He visited the káfila, cordially embraced the Báshí, and arranged the matter of duty in a free, gentlemanly manner.

As most of the traders, and others, of the káfila were established at Shikárpúr, and as the perils of the journey were considered over, kairáts or charitable offerings were made at Jágan. The more opulent provided sheep, with which they regaled themselves and their companions.

While competent to perform ordinary marches, I was little able to get through long ones, and the unusually severe one across the Dasht Bédárí, had brought me into great distress. The káfila marched from Jágan to Shikárpúr, but I could not pass the distance at once, and went quietly on from village to village, well treated by the peasantry, a mild and unassuming people. In two or three days, I reached the city of Shikárpúr, of which I had heard so much ; — I found it large and populous, but was somewhat disappointed with re-



gard to its appearance, although reflection soon suggested that I had no reason to be so.

This city renowned for its wealth, is particularly celebrated for its Hindú bankers and money dealers, whose connections are ramified throughout the countries of Central Asia, and of Western India. It is especially the home of these people, where their families are fixed, and where are detained those of Gomastahs or agents located in foreign countries.

As the city is not understood to be one of great antiquity, it is possible that the influx of Hindús to it, is not of very distant date, and that it was occasioned by the fluctuations of political power. As the existence of some great centre of monetary transactions, in this part of the world, was always indispensable for the facilities of the commerce carried on in it, it is not unlikely, looking at the facts within our knowledge connected with the condition of the adjacent country during the last two centuries, that Múltán preceded Shikárpúr as the great money mart; and that from it the Hindús removed, converting the insignificant village of the chace, into a city of the first rate and consequence.

Shikárpúr no doubt attained its high rank under the Dúrání monarchy of Afghánistán, and much of the prosperity of its bankers was due to the vicious operation of that institution, and to the errors of the Dúrání character. Many enriched themselves by loans to the ministers of state, generally careless financiers; and by acting as treasurers to nobles, who deposited with them the spoils of their provinces and governments, and who subsequently died without revealing the secret to their heirs.

The fall of the Dúrání empire has been accompanied by a correspondent decline at Shikárpúr, both by depriving its capitalists of one great source of their gains, and by causing an uncertain and disturbed state of affairs in the surrounding countries. This decline has moreover been aided by the growth of a strong power in the Panjáb, and by the consequent renovation of its trade, and commercial marts. Many of the former bankers of Shikárpúr have since established themselves in the cities of Múltán and Amratsir, — the latter, at the present day, rivalling the importance of Shikárpúr at its proudest epoch.

It is not unlikely, that the decline of Shikárpúr, and the breaking up of its monopoly, may be ultimately favorable to the regions around; for its influence, pushed beyond its legitimate exercise, was, it may be suspected, injurious on the whole. — It was so grasping, that not only by accommodating the various governments did it an-

ticipate their revenues, — but it seriously depressed agriculture by absorbing, in return for advances, the produce of the soil. In fact, the unlimited command of capital possessed by the Shikárpúris, placed at their disposal the entire resources of the state, and of the country, with the profits of foreign and domestic trade. All were poor but themselves; — and their wealth was noxious to the general community, and unhallowed, as all wealth must be, acquired from the necessities and impoverishment of others.

To the curious in Dúraní history, it may be pointed out that, from Shikárpúr were supplied the furds which set on foot those successive inroads into, and invasions of, the neighbouring countries, which are recorded in very page of it; — until the monarchs lost their credit, and the restless nobles, no longer occupied in foreign expeditions, directed their ambition against each other and the throne, nor terminated the fatal strife, until they had involved it and themselves in ruin — a frightful, but natural result, of the system of waste at home, and of rapine abroad, which had characterized the short lived monarchy.

As a city, Shikárpúr is indifferently constructed. The bazár is extensive, with the principal parts rudely covered, so as to exclude or moderate the heat, which is extremely powerful. As usual in Indian cities, there is the inconvenience of narrow and confined streets, nor is too much attention paid to cleanliness. It would seem indeed that filth and wealth were inseparable.

Amongst the public edifices there are none commanding attention. Two or three masjids only, might invite notice, without repaying it. Some of the residences of the opulent Hindús are large and massive buildings, presenting on the exterior an imposing but dull appearance, from their huge brick walls.

The city was once surrounded with mud walls, but can no longer be considered other than an open place, its dilapidated defences having been allowed to crumble into decay. The Afgháns affect to despise fortresses, and it may be observed in all important cities once under their government, that the bulwarks have been neglected. No inducement could make Ahmed Sháh order a trench to be fashioned under the walls of his capital Kándahár. The monarch proudly remarked that the ditch of Delhí was that of Ahmed Sháhí (Kándahár).

The bazár of Shikárpúr is exceedingly well supplied, the neighbouring country being abundantly fertile, and productive in all kinds of grain and provisions, while it has a fish market plentifully stocked from the Indus. There are numerous gardens in the vicinity yielding

the ordinary Indian fruits, as mangoes, sháh túts or long mulberries, plantains, figs, sweet limes, melons, and dates — to which may be added sugar cane, (here eaten as a fruit,) both of the white and red varieties. There is also no scarcity of common vegetables, the egg plant, fenugreek, spinach, radishes, turnips, carrots, onions, &c.

About a mile or little more from the city is a cut or canal from the Indus, but it appears to be only occasionally filled with water, for on one occasion I had to wade through it, and a few days after found it so dry, that I could scarcely have imagined there had ever been water in it. For the constant supply of the city there are numerous wells within, and without its limits, and the water is believed to be good and wholesome. For the irrigation of the cultivated lands, wells are also in general use, and require to be dug of no great depth.

Formerly the trade of Shikárpúr was much more considerable than at present, and it was very much visited by káfilas. The bazár still exhibits great activity, and there are many fabrics still industriously carried on, of cotton, the produce of the country. Its lúngis are next esteemed to those of Pesháwer.

While the inhabitants are principally Hindús, its long dependence upon the Afgháns has led to the location at it, of a great number of mixed and various Afghán families. There are also many Baloch and Bráhúi residents, but few or no Sindians, whom no attraction could allure to settle in an Afghán city. The character of the Mahomedan population is not good. The men are reputed ignorant and crafty, contentious and cowardly. The Hindús, are as Hindús every where else, intent upon gain by any manner or means, and the females of their community are universally affirmed to be licentious and lewd.

Under the Dúránís, Shikárpúr had its governor, dependent I believe on the superior one of Déra Ghází Khán. Its revenue, including that of the contiguous district, was rated at eight lákhs of rupees; — at present about two lákhs and a half can only be obtained by extortion loudly complained of. Of this, two-thirds belong to the A'mírs of Haidarabád, and the remaining third to the A'mír of Khairpúr. The governor is deputed from Haidarabád, and was now, as before noted, Kásim Sháh, a son of Mír Ismael Sháh, generally employed by his masters in their negotiations with the Afgháns and British. Kásim Sháh was by great odds the best of his family, and was deservedly held in the highest esteem by those over whom he was placed.

Shikárpúr is sixteen cosses distant from the island fort of Bakkar

in the Indus, -- and twenty-one cosses from Lárkhána. About four cosses from it, on the road to Bakkar, is the once considerable town of Lakkí, which populous and flourishing under the Afgháns, is said to have contributed one lákhs of rupees as annual revenue.

It appears as if it had been suddenly deserted, the houses yet being entire and habitable. It now affords shelter merely to marauders. In the same direction, and on the bank of the Indus, opposite to Bakkar, is Sakkar, once a large town, and alike in ruins. This tract, with the fortress in the river, was held by the Dúránís, while Rorí, a large town on the eastern bank, was belonging to the chief of Khairpúr.

The occupation of Shikàrpúr and district, by the Sindians, would seem to have been followed by an instantaneous decline in the prosperity of both. The towns in the neighbourhood were deserted, and the outcast population became robbers. I found matters in such a state, that the inhabitants of Shikàrpúr scarcely ventured without the walls, with impunity, being frequently on such occasions robbed; although to prevent such disorders, patrols of horse, circumambulated the city during the day. On the banks of the canal, I have mentioned as about a mile from the city, are some Hindú faqír establishments, with some full grown pípal trees. To the spot the Hindús frequently repair for amusement, and always on their days of festival. One of the holidays occurred during my stay, and drew forth an amazing concourse of people. The spectacle was pleasing, and even impressive. Strange to say, notwithstanding the crowds, and the publicity of the day, there were Hindús plundered between the city and canal. Yet Shikàrpúr is not the only eastern city, offering the anomaly of danger without, and security within its walls.

Shikàrpúr has or had the privilege of coinage, and the rupee is a very good one, nearly or quite equal in value to the sicca rupee of India. It has also its peculiar weights and measures, and enjoyed under the Dúránís many immunities. It has probably passed the zenith of its prosperity, and may possibly experience a farther decline, yet its favorable situation in the midst of a rich country will preserve it from total decay, and although it may cease to be the great money mart of Central Asia, it will long linger in existence, as a market for the surrounding countries.

To the Dúrání sovereigns its possession was of the highest importance, as from it, they overawed Sind, and enforced the unwillingly rendered tribute of its chiefs.

VI. — *Lahore via Múltán, Uch, Khairpúr, Haidarabád, and Tatta to Karáchí and the Ocean.*

NOTE ON THE FOLLOWING PAPER.

[ This paper was written at the request of Dr. J. P. Riach, then Surgeon to the Residency at Búshír — with reference to a projected Mission to Lahore, which he supposed was likely to be entrusted to his friend Dr. James Burnes. The Mission in question was that afterwards assigned to the then Lieut. now Colonel Sir A. Burnes.

C. MASSON. 1841. ]

There are two routes from Lahore to Múltán, a westernly one used in the dry season, and an easternly one generally followed in the season of rains and inundation. Having traversed both in progress to and from Lahore, I shall proceed to make such observations on them as my recollection may enable me. The westernly route leads by Saiyad-wála and Kot Kamália, and is computed at one hundred and twenty ordinary cosses.

To Saiyad-wála . . .	40	cosses
Kot Kamália . . . .	40	
Múltán . . . . .	40	
—		
120		

On leaving Lahore, the road passing by Noa Kot, leads to a large village on the bank of the Ráví, which during the journey has been on your right hand. The river at this point making a detour to the east, is crossed by a ferry. The country, between Noa Kot and the ferry village, gently rises and is inclined to be sandy; you see, as you pass along, the river winding to the right, and enjoy a magnificent and extensive view of the highly fertile and cultivated tract bordering on its western bank. Few scenes present in greater perfection the charms of placid beauty and repose, and amid the various associations to which they gave rise in my mind, none was so prevalent as admiration of the sovereign whose protecting sway has enabled his subjects to till their lands in peace, and in a few years to change, as it were, the face of nature. From Lahore to the ferry, is said to be twelve cosses. Having crossed the river, the road conducts to Saiyad-wála distant twenty-eight cosses, through a rich, luxuriant, and well cultivated country, abounding in villages large and small. In most of these, is observed the distinguishing square built

brick tower of the Síkh chiefs of former days, and we may conceive the state of society amongst these petty lords and tyrants, ere Ranjit Sing's superior genius destroyed their power to annoy and oppress their neighbourhoods. The bér tree is universal throughout this tract, nor is it confined to the vicinage of villages. It attains a much larger size than I have elsewhere seen, as does its fruit, which is so sweet and palatable, that I felt disposed to class it with other fruit trees, and to acknowledge it merited the name of Pomus Adamí, which Marco Polo has conferred upon it. Nákot or gram is very generally an object of culture. The grain is used here to feed horses as in other places, but bread is very commonly made of the flour. I have noticed Síkh Sirdárs use it, which must have been from choice, but although sweet, I did not think it so good as wheaten bread, to which of course it is far inferior in colour. Saiyad-wála is a considerable walled town, with a spacious and excellently provided bazár, extending through the place from one gate to the other. A few hundred yards west of it, is a mud fortress of some extent and solidity, surrounded by a trench.

From Saiyad-wála the road continues through a delightful country, although not so clustered with villages, and consequently less devoted to cultivation; — still it is populous and productive. Having travelled about thirty cosses, the Raví is again encountered, a route parallel to which has been for some time traversed. There is a secondary path which immediately traces its bank, to which I was directed, and which was wonderfully agreeable. The margins of the stream are fringed with groves of date trees, in which numerous wells are found shaded by pipals. The opposite bank being embellished in the same manner, the scenery up and down the river is fine and luxuriant. The river being crossed, the country ceases to be fertile or populous, and indications of sand, which had latterly been visible, become confirmed, until the surface of the land presents little but sand hills and scanty jangal. A course of ten cosses over this tract, some four or five villages only having occurred on the road, brings to Kot Kamálía a small town with a bazár. This place has an ancient appearance, and is constructed with kiln burned bricks. There is a small fort built of the same materials, which is the abode of a Síkh chief and his followers. Dependent there is some cultivation, and a good garden.

Hence to Múltán, another forty cosses, villages are few, generally speaking, but there are many wells scattered in the jangal, where the cultivator or owner of cattle fixes his abode, and where the traveller may obtain liberty to pass the night.

The people in this tract are called Játs, and have but an indifferent character. It is not held prudent for travellers to pass through it alone. I did so, and escaped molestation, although on one occasion I had nearly essayed an adventure, from a fellow, who I believe to have been a Thag. On approaching Múltán, and at a distance of about three miles, there is a large mud fortress seen to the east of the road, and a little farther on, a fair-sized building also to the east on the naked plain, with lofty minarets, to which my curiosity led me, and it proved to be an ancient masjid. Soon after this you have a view of the city, which you enter having passed the ruins which surround it. I travelled this road in the month of April, coming from Shikárpúr, and before noticing more particularly Múltán, will describe, as well as I can, the route adopted in the wet season, and which I passed in the month of August.

The first march is the same as in the former route, to the ferry village on the Ráví, I think named Níázpúr. Now, instead of crossing the river, a route is followed more or less taking the direction of the eastern bank. For four or five marches the country may be called populous, although not so universally as on the opposite side of the river, besides being altogether of a different character, as consisting of jangal and rich pasture, the cultivation being confined to the vicinity of the villages. These are generally found at short and convenient distances from each other, and some of them are large, as Sátgharra which had a handsome Sikh castle. With the exception of two or three villages, peopled by Baloches, the country seemed exclusively inhabited by Sikhs, and the several localities had so quiet and cleanly an aspect, that I passed them with a kind of regret at being unable to stay at them. The abundant pasturage, of course provides for numerous herds of cattle, and horses are bred generally throughout the tract. I understood this fine country formed part of the jág-hír of the Rájá Dhayán Sing. I had left Lahore alone, but on reaching Níázpúr was cautioned not to proceed from a certain point unless in company. On the first march after leaving that village, I fell in with Thákúr Sing, a young Sikh chief, son of Shám Sing, who with a cavalcade of one hundred horsemen, and accompanied with a gun, was in progress to Múltán. As we were going the same road, I willingly accepted his invitation to be his companion, as I was relieved from any solicitude about the journey, and his society saved me, as I clearly saw, from a good deal of facetiousness, which had I been alone, I must have experienced from having ventured amongst the Khálsajís, who would not have failed to amuse themselves at the expense of a Feringhí, to them a rara avis. At every village, at which

we halted, there were always fine full grown pípal trees, which spared the party the trouble of using tents. In the course of seven or eight marches, we arrived, the country having become more jangally and less peopled, at the sma'i village of Harrípah, where was a deserted, but very lofty, brick built fort, with a small lake or pond at its north-eastern angle. On the west was a detached eminence surmounted with ruined edifices, near which was an immense circular stone, which being perforated, was believed to be the bangle of a saint of some renown, who it was said formerly resided here. He has credit for having subsisted on earth and other unusual food, and his depraved appetite is instanced as a testimony of his sanctity. This locality is however of high importance, as connected by tradition with the existence of a city at a very remote period, and which was destroyed by a particular visitation of Providence, on account of the lust of the sovereign. On a circular mound, south of the village, which is probably artificial, are also traces of former buildings, and fragments of brick, &c. are strewed around in all directions. The ancient city, it is believed, extended to the south, thirteen cosses, or to Chichá Watní, the next march we made. From the former, the superior eminence, there is a good view of the surrounding country, which to the west after a short distance is clear and open. The course of the Ráví may be easily distinguished, but the river itself is not seen. To the east, extends as far as the eye can reach, one field of dense and unvaried jangal. In the immediate vicinity of Harrípah, to the east, is abundance of the most luxuriant grass. In the evening we ascended the circular mound, mentioned, to the south, having been cautioned by the inhabitants that on the plain we were likely to be assailed by Makkahs or stinging gnats. There was ample room on the summit to receive the party, but our precaution was vain against the swarms of our tiny antagonists, who after sunset so annoyed us all, and particularly the horses, who became absolutely frantic, that we had no alternative but to decamp, and march throughout the night.

Towards two or three o'clock we reached the small village of Chichá Watní seated on the bank of the Ráví, — our entire course had been through close jangal, and just before reaching the village, part of the company with which I was, and which had preceded the rest, came upon a small arm or cut from the river, which we crossed on horseback, the depth of the water barely permitting us. On this occasion, on attempting to ascend the farther bank, my horse fell back with me into the water, and besides being myself well ducked, my saddle bags were completely soaked. The next day halting at



Chichá Watní, I had an opportunity of drying every thing. Our friends behind us, by taking the proper road a little more easterly, avoided this water. At this village we missed the pípal groves, and occupied houses. The inhabitants were chiefly Mahomedans, and there were only two Síkhs stationed here, as we found, was afterwards the case in every Mahomedan village. There was a large ferry boat here, in which in company with Thákúr Sing and his band of musicians, we were rowed up the river in the evening. Some of the men took idle shots at alligators, basking freely on the banks.

From Chichá Watní we made a long march of fifteen cosses, in which we once came upon the river. The country was overspread with jangal, less thick, while the surface was much drier, apparently not being liable to inundation. Another march brought us to the neighbourhood of Túlúm̄ba, surrounded with groves of date trees, and to appearance a large, populous, and walled in town. I did not visit it, for although we stayed three or four days in our encampment, about a mile and half east of it, I fell sick on the second day. Close to our camp was, however, the ruin of a fortress, the walls and towers unusually high and thick, and constructed of mud. I cannot call to mind the name by which it is known, but it has one. It was considered so extraordinary, that Thákúr Sing, and all his Síkhs, went to inspect it, and I, then being well, accompanied them. It needed not the voice of tradition to assert its antiquity, and must have been in the ancient time, a remarkably strong fortress.

The country, the last two or three marches, had been merely unproductive jangal. From Túlúm̄ba we made four marches to Múltán. In this distance the aspect of the soil improved, and the tract is inhabited by the Kattí tribes, a pastoral people who dwell in temporary villages, and keep amazingly numerous herds of horned cattle. For every head they pay annually a tax of one rupee to the Government, Their traffic in ghí is very considerable, but although rich in cattle, they have not the most honest reputation. As Múltán is neared, the soil which from Túlúm̄ba, had become light and sandy in a degree, is now decidedly so, and fixed villages again commence. In each of these is a square tower the evidence of former Patán rule. Near these villages the pípal is generally superseded by the ghaz or tamarisk, which attains an enormous growth, but yields an inefficient shade. The distance of this route may be one hundred and eighty cosses, but it is perfectly dry and convenient. The latter half of it is unsafe, or would be attended by risk, to the individual. I think the whole transit was made in fourteen marches.

Besides these two land routes, the river affords a ready passage to

Múltán from Lahore in the rains. I am not aware that it is often used, but it may be, as just before I left Lahore, the tidings of some manifestation of hostility on part of the Khán of Baháwalpúr, caused an order from the Máhárájá for M. Ventura to drop down the river with his battalions, and boats were taken up. Subsequent intelligence diminishing the necessity for so much alarm, the order was cancelled, and my friendly companion was deputed with his small party to arrange the differences which had arisen between the Khán and the governor of Múltán.

Múltán appears advantageously seen in the distance, but loses its effect on our near approach to it. It is of considerable extent and walled in. Its bázár is large but inconveniently narrow, and exhibits little of that bustle or activity, which might be expected in a city of much reputed commerce. The citadel, if not a place of extreme strength, is one on which more attention seems to have been bestowed than is usual, and is more regular than any fortress I have seen, not constructed by European engineers. It is well secured by a deep trench, neatly faced by masonry, and the defences of the gateway are rather elaborate. The casualties of the siege it endured, have not been made good by the Síkhs, consequently it has become much dilapidated since that period. There can scarcely be said to be a garrison in it, a weak party of soldiers being only stationed as guards. The citadel encloses the only buildings of the city worth seeing, — the battered palace of the last Khán, and the Mahomedan zírát or shrines of Baháwal Hák, &c. The latter with their lofty gúnats or cupolas are the principal ornaments of Múltán. It is said to have decreased in trade since it fell into the hands of the Síkhs, yet its bazárs continued well and reasonably supplied with all articles of traffic and consumption. There are still numerous bankers, and many manufactures of silk and cotton goods. It still supplies a portion of these fabrics to the annual Lohání káfilas of Afghánistán, and has an extensive trade with the regions west of the Indus. The ruins around the city spread over a large space, and there is an amazing number of old Múslmán graves, tombs, masjids and shrines, some of them substantial edifices, and all testimonies of pristine prosperity, under the governors of the royal race of Taimúr, and their predecessors at Delhí. To the north is the magnificent and well preserved shrine of Shamz Tábrézí — who according to tradition was flayed by the inhabitants here. To this martyr's malediction is attributed the excessive heat of Múltán, the sun, in consequence, being supposed to be nearer the city than to any other spot in the world. Shamz in his agony, is said to have called

upon the bright luminary to avenge him, claiming affinity at least in name, — (Shamz in Arabic signifying the sun.) The orb obligingly descended from its sphere, and approached the ill-fated city. The gardens of the place are numerous, and well stocked with fruit trees, as mangoes and oranges. The Ráví is two or three miles distant, and has what is called a bandar or port, in this instance expressive of a boat station, whence there is a communication with the Indus, and consequently with the sea.

At the period of its capture by the Síkhs, Múltán was held by Mozafar Khán, of the inferior branch of the Sadú Zai, Dúrání tribe, with the assumed title of Nawáb. Ranjit Sing had made two unsuccessful attempts upon the city, but had devastated the country. The third time the Sikh chief approached, Mozafar Khán was willing to have averted destruction, by accepting the terms proposed to him, but his followers were not consenting. Ranjit Sing made a feint of attacking Khángar, a fortress some twenty cosses distant from Múltán, into which the deluded chief threw the better part of his troops. Ranjit Sing immediately countermarched, and invested Mozafar Khán in his capital. The defence was most obstinate, and the attack threatened to end like former ones in failure, when an adventurer named Jones in the Sikh service, took charge of the batteries, advanced them close to the citadel, and breached it. On the assault, Mozafar Khán lost at once his life and sovereignty, while his daughter celebrated for chastity and piety, fell over a heap of Síkhs, she had herself slain : his young son was carried to Lahore.

At present a Bráhmañ, Soand Mall, resides here as governor for the Máhárája, with the title of Súbahdár. He has at his command a force of eight hundred Síkhs, under Gandar Sing. The peasantry express themselves indulgently used by him, and consider themselves leniently taxed at one third of the produce of their lands.

From Múltán, proceeding southerly for twenty cosses, through an arid and jangally tract, with villages occasionally on the route, the large, fortified town of Sújahbád, or Sújah Kot, (both terms are used) is gained. Its lofty and irregular ancient battlements give to it a more picturesque appearance than Múltán. It has a very excellent bazár, which appeared to be as well provided as that of the city.

There is a garrison, and a few guns mounted. There are many good gardens near it, particularly one bearing the name of Mozafar Khán. It stands in a rich cultivated country, and there are immense fields of sugar cane spreading over an extent of two or three cosses to the south. The cotton plant is also largely grown. From Sújah Kot, the road inclines easterly, and then again stretching to the

south, leads to Pír Jelálpúr, after a course of eighteen cosses. The country is somewhat diversified in this distance as to character. For the first five or six cosses there is good cultivation, for the next four or five cosses grass jangals, and lastly a sandy jangal reaching to the town, a little before which a manufacture of saltpetre is passed. Pír Jelálpúr is a good town held by the Síkhs with a tolerable bazár. This site is ancient, as manifested by the ruins in the neighbourhood. It derives the distinction of *Pír Jelálpúr* from containing the shrine of a Mússílmán saint, a handsome structure north of the buildings of the place. It is covered with painted and lacquered tiles, has its minarets and fine cupola. There is a large village called Chúta or Little Jelálpúr, in the direction between Sújahbád and Pír Jelálpúr, and although surrounded by Síkh territories, it belongs to the Khán of Baháwalpúr, and it was some fray in which the people of this village were concerned, which had led to the disputes which my friend Thákúr Sing, had been commissioned to settle. I may notice that I took farewell of the young Síkh chief at Sújah Kot. Travellers coming from this last place, should enquire for Pír Jelálpúr, otherwise they may be directed (as I was,) to Chúta Jelálpúr, which is out of the direct road, but not much. About a mile from Pír Jelálpúr, a large cut or arm from some river is crossed. From sixty to eighty yards in breadth, it was fordable in April, by wading up to the chin, and not so in September or October, when I again passed it by boat. This water, at this point, forms the boundary between the Síkh and Baháwalpúr territories. About a mile to the south of it is a village distinguished by its date groves, and the country presents every where a populous and fertile aspect. We soon reach the banks of the Garrah river, which we skirt for some distance, and then cross by ferry. Eight cosses hence, the road leading through a tract well peopled, but abounding in tamarisk jangal, we arrive at the towns of U'ch, embosomed in an immense assemblage of date groves. There are now two U'ches contiguously seated. The eastern one is small, but contains a celebrated zíráat, a large, handsome and old Mahomedan structure, to which many pilgrims repair. The western U'ch is called Pír-ka-U'ch, its revenue being enjoyed by a Pír Nassiradín, who resides here, and is acknowledged as a descendant of one of the twelve Imáns. There are no walls to this town, but the remains of the gates are standing. The bazár is covered over, but uncouthly, by rafters and matting, to exclude the heat.

It is extensive, and probably well supplied, I observed an unusual number of confectioners shops. In the neighbourhood of these towns are the most extensive ruins of the ancient cities, their predecessors,

intermingled with a prodigious quantity of date trees and venerable pípals. Many of the buildings are so entire, that a little trouble would make them habitable. They are built of kiln burned bricks, and in the best style of Indian architecture. Very many old wells are seen, some of which are still worked. With pretensions to remote antiquity, Uch flourished exceedingly under the Mahomedan Indian sovereigns. It appears to have been a place of great strength, and to have endured many sieges. Immediately after leaving the antique remains and sacred groves of U'ch, we pass through Mogal-dí-Shahár, a little ruinous hamlet, so called from a colony of Mogals, who chased from sundry places, were anciently permitted to settle here. Three cosses bring us to Rámkallí, evidently an old site.

Here are the remnants of large kiln burned brick buildings, and the vestiges of an extensive mud fortress. It is said to have been destroyed in late years by the great Baháwal Khán, grandfather of the present governing chief. Tradition affirms the antiquity, and former opulence of Rámkallí. At present it may have about a dozen inhabited houses, with a solitary Hindú shop. The locality is very agreeable, and embellished with straggling evidences of its old date groves. From Rámkallí, good pasture lands extend for two or three cosses, when a tract of sandy jangal with low bushes stretches four or five cosses to a small but apparently commercial town, called Channí Khán-dí-Kot. Hence four cosses through alternate jangal and cultivation to a small fordable rivulet, which I understood was never without water, and in this direction is the limit of the jangal. It flows in a low sunken bed, and crossing it, we travel over the wide open plain to Allahabád, conspicuous afar off by its cupola and date groves. The distance between U'ch and Allahabád, by this route, is reckoned at fourteen cosses. There is another road between these places which I also travelled, leading from U'ch along the bank of a broad water course, dry in October. In this line there are several villages, and a large one within six cosses of Allahabád, — two cosses beyond it is the small bazár town of Gúgjarwála, and four cosses farther Allahabád. This is a pleasantly situated town with a good bazár, twenty cosses west of Ahmedpúr, the head quarters of the Baháwalpúr Khán's forces, and forty cosses from Baháwalpúr, his capital.

From Allahabád the road leads to Khánpúr, distant twenty cosses, this last is one of the most commercial towns in the State. The country is throughout populous and productive, particularly to the right. To the left sandy jangals stretch, which terminate in the absolute desert of Jessalmír. The neighbourhood of Khanpúr is famous

for indigo and rice. The former, more surprising for its quantity than its quality, is yet the low priced article which supplies the markets of Khorasán and Túrkiistán. Four or five cosses beyond Khánpúr, the lands cease to be so generally cultivated, and jangal with pasturage occurs, villages, however, are reasonably near to each other. At twenty cosses is the small town of Noshára, on an eminence, and twenty cosses beyond it, the town of Chúta or Little Ahmedpúr. Chúta Ahmedpúr had once a wall around it, and, in the judgment of the natives, may have one still, but it is useless. It has also a new brick erection, which may be called the citadel. The bazár is comparatively good, and the town is garrisoned with a regiment of three hundred and fifty infantry, provided with six guns, it being the frontier post on the side of Sind. Five cosses to the west of Ahmedpúr, is the gharri or castle of Fázilpúr, with a garrison of one hundred men.

East of it, is in all seasons, a large deposit of water, and during the inundations of the Indus, it becomes, with its dependent small hamlet, isolated. It is said there was formerly a considerable town here, and that the wells belonging to it, are yet to be seen in the jangals, three hundred and sixty in number. It was called also Fázilpúr, and was destroyed by the Indus only a few years since. It is noted that a garden of fruit trees, was in being but four years since, a little to the north of the present castle. A solitary date tree has escaped destruction. The inundations of the Indus have sensibly increased latterly in this quarter, and I was told that at certain periods the country is so completely under water, that the communication with Khánpúr is, or might be, carried on with boats. Khánpúr being from the bank of the Indus fifty seven cosses. On the western banks of the Indus in the parallel of Lárkhána, there has, in like manner, been a manifest increase of the river inundations. The country, assigned in jághír to the great Chándí tribe, had been for some time so unproductive from the deficiency of water, that the inhabitants were distressed, and complained. Latterly however the inundations have extended to them, and it is confessed that the cause of complaint has been removed. It may not be necessary to suppose a general encrease in the water of the river, as the changes of course to which it is constantly liable, will account for these partial variations in the quantity of water discharged upon particular localities, whether they be due to the resumption of forsaken channels, or to the formation of new ones. The high road into Sind leads from Chúta Ahmedpúr to Sabzal Kot, a distance of seven cosses through jangal, but it may be as well, before entering Sind, to make a few observations on the country we are about to leave.

Baháwalpúr, or the country known by that name, is one of considerable dimensions. For instance, a line drawn from Gúdíána, the frontier town on the Patíála side, to Fázilpúr the frontier post towards Sind, produces about three hundred miles direct distance. Another drawn from Púlarah on the Bikkanír frontier, to Déra Ghází Khán gives about two hundred miles. The former line from the north eastern to the south western extremity, and the latter from the south eastern to the north western limits. — These measures are those of its length. In breadth it considerably varies, being affected by the courses of the Garrah river, and of the desert to the south, as it is situated between them. Its greatest breadths are on the extreme borders of the east and west. In the centre, the pressure of the desert upon the cultivated parts, allows but a comparatively small space between it and the river to the north. In this extent of country there are some marked distinctions as to soil, character and produce. The portion between Gúdíána and the capital, I have not seen, but have heard spoken of in glowing terms, as to fertility and population. The accounts may be credited, as its fertility would be secured by the vicinity of the Gárrah river, and fertility would induce population. Immediately east and south east of the city of Baháwalpúr, is the desert, or the northern part of what is termed the great desert of Sind and Jessalmír. This is of course but little productive, yet towards Bikkanír where the surface has more soil than sand, there are amongst other inhabited localities, the fortresses and bazár towns of Mozghar, Múrut and Púlarah.

Daráwal, a fortress in the desert, eighteen cosses south of Ahmedpúr is said to be strong, as it may be conceived to be from position. It is the place forte selected for the treasures of the Khán, who resides a good deal at it.

In the line from U'ch to Déra Ghází Khán, there is much jangal, yet many villages, and seven or eight respectable towns occur, with a vigorous cultivation, particularly of sugar cane. In this line some of the Panjáb rivers are crossed, and two or three of the towns are held by the Síkhs.

From Baháwalpúr, to Khánpúr, the country is rich and well cultivated, although confined on the south by the sandy jangal. From Khánpúr to Chúta Ahmedpúr the face of the country changes, as before mentioned, and becomes more adapted for grazing, owing to the greater moisture.

It is in the centre of the country, comprising the districts of U'ch, of the capital, of Ahmedpúr and Khánpúr, that the most luxuriance prevails, and the powers of production of these parts are very great.

The various kinds of grain and indigo, are furnished in wonderful quantities, and are largely exported. Bikanir and other of the Rajpút states to the east, mainly depend upon Bahawalpúr for their supplies for consumption. There are few if any countries in Asia, where provisions, the products of the soil, are more abundant or cheaper than in the Bahawalpúr state.

Rain is very unusual in this country, but the deficiency is not seriously felt, as there is no part of the cultivated tracts exempt from the operation of the inundations of the Indus and the Panjáb rivers. The seasons are divided into the hot and the cold, but in the latter the heat during the day is oppressive. It is in the evenings and nights only that any difference is experienced. The ordinary vegetables and fruits are abundant, and Dera Ghazi Khan is famous for its dates, which are retailed at one pice the pakah seer, or country pound. Wild hogs are very plentiful in the jangals, as are deer of various kinds. The jangals are principally formed of tamarisk trees and tall tufted grass. In all parts of the country, near villages and towns, tamarisk trees occur of surprising growth and magnitude.

The reigning chief of the country is of a Jet tribe, called Dáoudpútra, or the sons of David. They formerly lived about Shikarpúr, but becoming numerous and perhaps refractory, they were expelled, and crossing the Indus possessed themselves of the country, where they established separate and independent chiefships. Many of their leaders built towns, to which they gave their respective names; hence Bahawalpúr, the town of Bahawal; Ahmedpúr, the town of Ahmed; Fázilpúr, the town of Fázil, Sabzal Kot, the Kot or fort of Sabzal: &c. &c. There is mention, in the histories of the Mahomedan princes, of a notorious freebooter, named Dáoud, in the vicinity of Shikarpúr, and this good man may have been the ancestor of the present Dáoudpútras. I know not how long the various leaders may have subsisted in a state of independence, but Bahawal Khan, the grandfather of the present Khan reduced them all, and made himself absolute. He died full of years and renown, and was succeeded by his son Sádát Khan, who after acknowledging the supremacy of Ranjit Sing, and consenting to pay an annual tribute, died also, and left his enfeebled sway to his son the present Bahawal Khan.

This chief is a young man of very prepossessing appearance, and I believe is generally popular. He is reputed to have a manly spirit, but is clogged by an all powerful minister, named Yákúb Mahomed, who it is asserted is sold to the Sikhs. A Hindú, Mútí Rám, is his minister of finance, and one Mahomed Khan a kind of superintendent or paymaster of the forces, who when they go on service, are generally under the orders of Yákúb Mahomed.



The troops consist of seven regiments of infantry, of three hundred and fifty men each, forming a total of two thousand four hundred and fifty. To each regiment are attached six guns, which may suppose some four hundred artillerymen. He has besides foot companies of Rohillas and Patáns, of fifty, one hundred, and to two hundred men each, under their respective officers, having each one, two or three Nisháns or standards, as the case may be. These men amount possibly to one thousand. There are moreover a body of horsemen in regular pay, who can scarcely exceed in number two or three thousand. The grand total of the forces may be possibly six or seven thousand men. They are badly equipped, irregularly paid, and I suspect not very warlike. The regiments have no sort of discipline. The natives affirm the military force to consist of fourteen thousand men, which I think can only be correct, as including all the jághírdárs and others, whom it might be possible to assemble in case of emergency.

The annual revenue is computed at eighteen lákhs of rupees, one half of which is paid to the Síkhs, but then the Khán rents the city and territory of Déra Gházi Khán from them, for three lakhs of rupees, and it is believed that he gains two lákhs thereby.

I have already mentioned Sabzal Kot. It belongs at present to Sind, and is the frontier post. It was wrested from the Baháwalpúr government in the time of Sádát Khán. It is walled in, has three guns mounted on the ramparts, and contains a tolerable bazár. From this place there are two routes to Khairpúr, an easternly and a westernly one. I have travelled both, and should prefer the westernly one at any time, although near Sabzal Kót in October, I had to wade through water, for miles. — In some parts the routes are blended, as Mírpúr and Mattéli are visited in both of them. On the western line the country is more cultivated and open. On the eastern there is continual jangal, and liability to err from the multiplicity of small paths. I cannot call to mind the names of places on the river route, those of the easternly one I have preserved.

Sabzal Kot to Khairpúr . .	10	cosses.	town and good bazár
Mírpúr . . .	4	„	do. do.
Mattéli . . .	10	„	do. do.
Súltánpúr. .	8	„	do. do.
Dúbar . . .	14	„	hamlet, small bazár
Róri . . . .	8	„	large town and bazár.
—			
54 cosses.			

In the route here marked, there is nothing particular to be noted, the country being generally composed of dense tamarisk jangal, intersected by numerous water courses. Grass is abundant, and numerous herds of buffaloes are every where seen. The central tract is most cultivated, and there are many villages, while about the towns there are large gardens of mangoe and plantain trees, while the soil, rich and productive, is made to yield much sugar and cotton. The wild hog is very numerous. Mattéli seated on a mound is an ancient site. Both the eastern and western routes unite at Rorí, eight cosses distant from Khairpúr, the capital of Mír Sohráb, the chief of Northern Sind.

On a rocky island in the Indus opposite to Rorí, is the fortress of Bakkar, once held by the Dúránís, now in the possession of Mír Sohráb — and on the western bank is seated the ruinous town of Sakkar, once flourishing, and alike under Dúrání authority. This spot has seldom, I believe, been visited by Europeans, yet it is one of the most remarkable places in Sind, and decidedly the most picturesque.

The fortress of Bakkar, notwithstanding its imposing appearance, with its large extent of wall and its indented battlements, is of no consequence as a defensive erection, being entirely commanded by the heights and detached hills on either bank of the river, at Sakkar and at Rorí. There are a multitude of Mahomedan tombs and shrines in this neighbourhood, many of them splendid from the painted tiles covering them. — There is one, eminently so, on a small islet between Rorí and the larger island of Bakkar. The effect of the landscape is wonderfully increased by the beautiful stream, and the immense groves of date trees and gardens which fringe its banks. Every traveller will be delighted at Rorí, I not only staid two days on my first visit, but could not forbear returning to it from Khairpúr.

Leaving Rorí we pass through a wilderness of date groves and gardens for perhaps three cosses, beyond which another coss leads to the small and pleasant town of Baháh. Thence four cosses to Khairpúr. This place originally a cantonment, has gradually increased in importance, until it has become the capital and residence of Mír Sohráb, the chief, or as he is called the Mír of Upper Sind. The bazár, is of considerable size, is well supplied but most wretchedly constructed. The residence of the Mír is in the very centre of it. We might wonder, why a prince possessing so magnificent an abode as Bakkar or Rorí, should be content to live in the midst of the Khairpúr bazár; but we cease to be surprised, when we learn that

his presence is necessary for the purposes of plunder and extortion on those engaged in trade, of which Khaír-púr is now the emporium.

Mír Sohráb's territory extends southerly for a considerable distance, or forty or fifty cosses, and on the western side of the Indus, he has a slip of land for about twenty cosses. He also has a third share of the revenue of Shikárpúr. He has given portions of his country to his sons, the eldest Mír Rústam, the second Mír Mobá-rak. Mír Sohráb is very old and infirm; — his tyranny and exactions have made him very unpopular. His son, Mír Rústam, although dissipated, is less disliked. Related to the Amírs of Haidarabád, he acts in concert with them in matters of general and foreign policy, but they do not interfere in the administration of his country. His minister is Fatí Mahomed, Ghorí, an aged and avaricious man. I cannot speak as to the revenue or amount of troops at command of Mír Sohráb.

I was recommended to proceed by water to Haidarabád, and to go to Lárkhána where I should find merchants of Kábal, who would drop down the river. I did not go the direct road, but retrograded to Rorí, and there crossing the river proceeded to Shikárpúr, from whence I went to Lárkhána, twenty-one cosses distant, crossing a wide and deep canal, on which the town is situated. It appeared populous and commercial, and was governed by the Nawáb Walí Mahomed, of the Líghári, a Baloch tribe, who is styled the Vazír of Sind. This man is very popular, and his sway is mild. I found merchants here, as the Khaír-púr people had told me I should, and in company with them walked across the country to the Indus, some six or seven cosses distant. Here we procured a boat and floated down the stream. We halted opposite to Séhwan, that the party might visit the celebrated shrine of the saint Lál Sháh Báz, and I accompanied them that I might see the town, and old castle adjacent to it. Séhwan was computed forty cosses from Lárkhána. The town is but small, as is the bazár, but some of the houses are large, and the site with its mounds and variety of tombs, has evidently an antique appearance. A farther computed distance of forty cosses brought us to Haidarabád, or rather to its port, if I may use the expression, a small village on the eastern bank from which the city is distant about three miles. It is built on a small calcareous elevation, running at first north and south, the direction also of the buildings, and then sweeping round towards the river, where it is surmounted with several large tombs of Gúlám Sháh Kalorah, Mír Kerím Alí, and of others of the past and reigning dynasties.

The city is meanly constructed, the bazár occupies one long street

or the entire length of the town, and a great deal of commerce is obviously carried on. At the southern extremity of it, is the fort, a large irregular building, with lofty walls and towers conforming to the outlines of the eminence on which they stand. It is built of burned bricks, and with its various lines of loop holes, has a singular and interesting appearance. The several Amírs have their residences within it, and strangers are not permitted to enter.

The last sole prince of Sind, was Gúlám Nabbí, of the Jet tribe of Kalorah, claiming descent from the Abbasside calíphs. He and his family were dispossessed by their Sirdárs of the Tálpúrí, a Baloch tribe, whose descendants now rule. There are now at Haidarabád the Amírs Morad Alí, his sons Amírs Núr Mahomed, and Nassír Khán, the Amírs Soháb-dár and Mír Mahomed. Mír Morad Alí is the principal, and may be said to govern the country, although all of them have shares in it, and Mír Soháb-dár, his nephew, is somewhat contumacious. Mír Morad Alí is utterly detested, and in no country is oppression more generally complained of than in Sind, but during my residence of three or four months at Haidarabád, I never witnessed or heard of any cruelties or exactions practised there, on the contrary there was perfect freedom and security of persons and property.

I can form no idea of the revenue or military force of Sind — if I enquired, I was told exaggerated stories of a crore of rupees, and a lákh of bandúks or firelocks. I never saw any thing in the shape of troops, but observed that every male at Haidarabád was a núkar or servant of the Amírs, receiving certain allowances of grain and money, but never attending the darbár, and engaged in ordinary trades and occupations. There are however many Sirdárs who must have followers, and the various Baloch tribes hold their jaghírs on condition of military service. Of their quotas, the Sindian armies may be composed, but I understood it was ruinously expensive to draw them out, as in such cases the Amírs who at other times treat them most niggardly, are obliged to be equally lavish, so that it is cheaper for them to buy off an enemy, than to collect their hordes to repel him.

From Haidarabád, I again dropped down the river to Táтта, touching at, on the western bank the Baloch village of Ráhmát, and on the eastern, that of Almah-dí-Got. If it be wished to proceed by land to Táтта, the river is crossed opposite to the bandar of Haidarabád, and Kotlí is gained, a village of Ahméd Khán, the Búlfút chief. The road is said to be good.

Táтта lies some four miles from the river; it is in decay, but has abundant vestiges of former prosperity. West of it are elevations

crowned with a multitude of tombs, some of these, constructed of yellow stone and curiously carved, are more than usually handsome. Tátta appeared advantageously situated in a country naturally fertile, and is very complaisantly spoken of by the natives of Sind, particularly the Hindús. It is said the town has seriously declined during the last fifteen years, when its cotton fabrics gave way before the superior British manufactures. It yet makes a few lúnghís, and shawls of silk and cotton, which are esteemed. The bazár is tolerable and provisions are reasonable; its gardens are numerous, producing mangoes and ordinary eastern fruits in some quantity with small apples.

From Tátta to Karáchí, the road leads over the elevations to the west, which gradually subside into the level country, and a course of three or four cosses from them leads to Gújar, a small bazár town, with pools or deposits of rain water. Hence a generally sterile and somewhat sandy tract is passed until the Júkía town of Gárrah is gained, seated on a salt water creek. A little before we reach it, there are large deposits of rain water just left of the road, and between them and the town are rocks full of imbedded fossil shells. The salt water creek of Gárrah has a communication with Karáchí, and there were three dúnghis in it, when I was there. From Gárrah, a dreary sandy tract is passed to Karáchí; the road tolerably good, generally leads over a level surface, but there are no villages, and but a very few Baloch hamlets of huts. Water is found in wells at particular spots, where the Hindús of Karáchí have erected buildings for the convenience of their káfilas when passing, and of travellers. They are called Landís. The four or five cosses preceding Karáchí are somewhat troublesome from sand, but having surmounted them, we have the pleasure to behold the ocean.

Karáchí although not a large town, is one of much trade. The bazár is small but good. It is surrounded with dilapidated mud walls, provided with towers, on which a few crazy guns are mounted. The suburbs extensive and generally comprising huts, are inhabited by fishermen and mariners. — The port has one hundred vessels of all sizes and descriptions belonging to it, and its dúnghis or trading vessels venture to Dáman, Bombay and Calícat, also to Gúádar and Maskát. The harbour, I believe, can scarcely be entered by large ships, but it is very commodious for the small craft belonging to it, and it is very spacious, extending about two miles inwards, at which distance the town is seated from the mouth of the harbour. On a high hill or eminence overlooking the entrance to the harbour, on the left hand, as it is approached, is the fort or castle of Manároh, garrisoned by a small party of Júkías, it is said there are many guns

in it, but it is unexplained who are to work them. The eminence slopes to the beach towards the town, and there is a circular tower, on which four guns are said, whether truly or not, to be placed. These constitute the defences of the harbour, whose entrance is very well defined, having opposite to the hill of Manároh, a sand bank dry at low water, and five detached rocks. Karáchi enjoys a very cool climate, and may be regarded with classical interest, there being little doubt but that it is the port of Alexander, which sheltered for some time the fleet of Nearchus, the first European admiral who navigated the Indian Seas.

Lahore to Múltán . . . . .	120	cosses
Múltán to U'ch . . . . .	53	„
Uch to Ahmedpúr Chúta . . .	74	„
Ahmedpúr Chúta to Khairpúr.	57	„
Khairpúr to Haidarabád . . .	100	„
Haidarabád to Karáchi . . . .	56	„

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460 Cosses or 690 miles.

**REMARK.** The cosses here noted are the ordinary short cosses, in value perhaps a mile and half each — with the exception of those in the distance between Khairpúr and Haidarabád, where a larger coss is used, probably a little exceeding two miles. It may not be unreasonable therefore to estimate the distance between Lahore and the sea, by the above route, to be about (750) seven hundred and fifty British miles. The direct distance will, of course, be considerably less.

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### VII. — *Notice on the Countries west of the Indus from Dera Gházi Khàn to Kála-Bàgh.*

Dera Gházi Khàn is a large city formerly of commercial note, but has declined in importance, owing to the political changes of the time. It contains several extensive and lofty dwellings, constructed of burned bricks, and many of its masjids have been costly and handsome, especially one built by the Nawáb Jabár Khàn, the most respected of the Dúrání governors, who at various periods have presided over it. Numerous gardens are interspersed within the city and in its environs, and it is, on all sides, surrounded by vast groves of date trees, whose fruit forms a principal branch of its traffic, as the duty on it forms a

large item of revenue. There is a square erection in the city, called the fort, but it is of little consequence as a place of defence. The necessaries of life are abundant and reasonable, as are most of the articles esteemed luxuries by the inhabitants of these countries. The ordinary manufactures of Indian towns are carried on, and paper is made in some quantity. Farmed to the Khán of Baháwalpúr by the Sikhs, the government is complained of as oppressive. The city is seated two cosses west of the river. The neighbouring lands are fertile, producing besides wheat, sugar cane and a variety of vegetables, as turnips, carrots, spinach, and even a few potatoes. Milk and its preparations, except cheese which is not made, are also plentiful, the vicinity of the river, and the numerous small channels, which flowing from it, and intersect the country, being favorable to the grass of the jangals.

From Déra Ghází Khán to Sanghar, a distance of thirty cosses, the road leads through a jangal of more or less intensity, and much cut by water courses, but it contains many villages and cultivated tracts.

Sanghar is a small bazár town with a detached fort, the residence of Assad Khán, a Baloch chief. He has three pieces of ordnance, and retains about one thousand men in pay, of whom seven hundred are mounted, and being generally Afgháns are reputed good soldiers. The fort, considered strong in these parts, is, in reality, of no value as a place of defence; —its walls are falling down and it has no trench. In form rectangular, the sides contain many towers, and the angular ones are strengthened by out-works. The entrance faces the north, in which direction the town is situated. Besides this fort, Assad Khán has another amongst the hills about five cosses distant, which is also said to be strong, as it may be from position. I did not see it, but conclude it is seated at the gorge of a pass, perhaps the Goléri, which leads through a wild country to Tall, from whence diverge roads to Quetta, Kándahár and Ghazní. I afterwards heard that káfilas sometimes used this route from Kándahár to Déra Ghází Khán. The revenue of the territory of Sanghar may be about one and a half lách of rupees per annum, of which thirty thousand are paid to the Khán of Baháwalpúr, who is however obliged to send an army to procure it. Sanghar lies about a coss west of the river. The dependent districts extend about twenty-five cosses to the north, where they unite with a small tract of country held by the Sikhs, and in a southerly direction about ten or twelve cosses. The villages throughout this petty chiefship are numerous, but the dwellings are miserably built of mud. The soil is sufficiently fertile, and pasture is abund-

ant. Large herds of buffaloes and cows are seen on every side ; — the milk of the buffalo is preferred, and is obtained in larger quantity than from the cow. I found it extremely sweet and pleasant, while cow's milk was comparatively insipid. Turnips in these parts are of wonderful size, and are generally cultivated as food for cattle.

Forty cosses north of Sanghar, is the town of Déra Fatí Khán, which with a small tract of country on either side, is held by the Síkhs. The town is small, but the bazár neat and well supplied. About a coss to the west, is the fort of Girong. I did not see this structure, but agreeably to report its walls are so thick that a gun may traverse on them, it is also said that there are guns mounted on them. This is the only space of country retained by the Síkhs in absolute possession on the west of the river, they appearing averse to establishments on that side. The strength of the fortress of Girong appears to have caused a deviation from their general plan ; moreover the district is productive, and from its flourishing condition attests the power of the government to protect the cultivator. A little north of Sanghar, the line of road in one or two places edges on the neighbouring hills, and we are pleased to breathe a purer atmosphere, and to descry a change in the vegetable productions.

From Déra Fatí Khán, tracing mostly the banks of the river for about forty cosses, we arrive at Déra Ismael Khán, the country as usual consisting of jangal with villages occasionally inserted. These are not so numerous, neither is the cultivation so general as in the more southern tracts. The ancient town of Déra Ismael Khán, was seated on the bank of the river, and is reported to have been very large, and to have contained many wonderful buildings. It was washed away by an inundation two or three years since, and so complete has been the destruction, that scarcely a vestige of it remains. The new city is built two cosses from the river, and will probably become extensive. The bazár is already spacious, and of commodious breadth, an improvement on the general arrangement of Indian towns, where bazárs are mostly of all parts the most narrow and confined. On the destruction of the old town, the village of Morád Alí became of consequence being the temporary resort of the Nawáb and inhabitants, and the new town lying about two cosses from it, they will likely in time be incorporated. Indeed, the various buildings with the sáráis, already nearly fill the intermediate space. Déra Ismael Khán is one of the greatest marts on the Indus, and an entrepôt for the merchandize of India and Khorasán passing in this direction. Few sites have a greater commercial importance. The customs levied form the chief's principal source of revenue. The new fortress



is not one of strength, the Síkhs forbidding the erection of too substantial a place of defence. It is small in extent, of a rectangular form with angular towers, on which are mounted six pieces of ordnance taken in an engagement with the troops of Ták. The walls are high, but there is no trench. The inner fort or fortified residence of the Nawábs family is protected by a ditch, the walls are lofty, and the several faces are defended by jinjáls. The district immediately dependent on Déra Ismael Khán, extends about forty cosses in a northerly direction, and about twenty-five cosses to the south. The Nawáb moreover exacts tribute either on his own account, or on that of the Síkhs from most of the petty rulers around him, such as Kalaichí, Darraband, Marwat, Isá Khél and Kálábágh. The father of the actual Nawáb, possessed an extensive and highly fertile country east of the river, including the rich and populous districts of Bakkar, Líya and the fortress of Mankíra — while on the western side his authority extended to Sanghar.

He was dispossessed by the Síkhs, and died shortly after. The conquerors have assigned the son, the present Nawáb Shír Máhomed Khán, a slip of land west of the Indus for the support of himself and family. His gross revenue may be about three lákhs of rupees, of which the Síkhs take one half. Seven cosses north west of Déra is the small bazár town and detached castle of Kúyah. It has a garrison of fifty men, and is the frontier post on the side of Ták. Twelve cosses north is the town of Pahárpúr, situated under the hills; besides these places there are no others deserving the appellation of towns, if we except Morád Alí before mentioned. The water of the new city is supplied from wells, and is said to be unwholesome. The country about Déra Ismael Khán, might be rendered highly productive, were it possible to direct upon its ample and level surface canals from the Indus. The neglected waste would become a garden of cultivation, and the copious returns would speedily repay the outlay. It is said that the Nawáb was anxious to have supplied his new city with good water by bringing a canal from the Gomal river, which runs through the Ták territory, but the chief of that place whose sanction was necessary, withheld it. There can hardly be said to be jangal in the immediate vicinity of Déra Ismael Khán, the wide open plain being merely occasionally sprinkled with karíta bushes, whose red blossoms have a delightful appearance in the spring season. Near the villages are always a few bér trees, the fruit of which is eaten, and sometimes the palma ricinus with its tufts of scarlet flowers, but no other trees. Tuberoses are indigen-

ous here, and springing up unheeded in the jangal, they are, cultivated, the favorite flowers of the parterre.

The Nawáb of Déra is about thirty-five years of age. Although believed to feel keenly his dependent situation on the Síkhs, his chagrin does not prevent him from being corpulent as becomes a Nawáb, or from amusing himself with many childish diversions. Indeed it seems the principal business of those about him to find subjects fit to excite his mirth, and to enable him to wile away his existence in carelessness. Hence he entertains fiddlers, wrestlers, keepers of bears and monkeys, and often enjoys the spectacle of poneys fighting in his flower gardens. When one of the animals gives the other a good shake of the neck, the Nawáb claps his hands, and cries Wáh! Wáh! — the attendants do the same, and the apartments resound with clappings of hands and shouts of Wáh! Wáh!

It is wonderful how they seem to enjoy the sport. He is also fond of hunting, and is very dexterous with his bow. He also prides himself on his strength, and it is asserted can break the horns of an ox from the living animal. Overlooking these foibles he is kind and good natured, and pays great attention to his mother. His minister is Sherín Khán, a Dírání, whose power is so great as to be irksome to the Nawáb. There is great distrust between them, and when the Nawáb entertains men, the minister, who lives at Morád Alí does the same. The latter commanded the force which discomfited the Ták troops some time since, and is said to have received one lách of rupees from Sirwar Khán as a bribe to conclude peace. While I was at Déra, Ranjit Sing ordered the Nawáb to repair to Lahore. He accordingly made preparations for the journey, and called upon Sherín Khán for funds to defray the outfit and expences. The minister acknowledged inability to meet the demands, whereupon high words arose, and the Nawáb determined to institute an enquiry into his accounts. I left before the matter was settled, but learned that Sherín Khán thought fit to withdraw to Baháwalpúr.

It may be observed that the three Déras west of the Indus have an antiquity of nearly three hundred years, superseding necessarily more ancient towns. They were originally camps, as the term Déra implies, of chiefs whose names they now bear, a mention of whom occurs in Farishta, and is thus stated in Dow's history. "In 1541 or thereabouts, Ismael, Ghází, Fatí and Billoca Duda (Doda, Baloch?) all governors of various provinces in that part of the country, acknowledged the title of Shere."

The district of Darraband lies on the same plain but to the west of Déra Ismael Khán, and extends along the skirts of the hills. It

is subject to Omar Khán, I believe of Lohání descent. His revenue is about sixty thousand rupees, of which he pays twenty thousand to the Nawáb of Déra. This chief generally resides at Gandapúr, a large straggling village, but the capital of the district is Darraband, romantically situated on the elevated bank of a hill stream. This town has a small bazar, and there are some large old houses, but deserted and in decay, the Hindú owners having fled. The water of the stream is reputed unwholesome, and the people supply themselves from a small canal, flowing north of the town. The neighbourhood of this town is agreeable, and the heat although severe, did not seem to me so oppressive as at Déra. The hills are about two coses distant, ravines and broken ground filling the intervening space. In the garden of Omar Khán, at Darraband, are a few vines and fig trees, and small inferior apples are produced in some of the adjacent villages. The cultivation, which is principally wheat, is generally remote from the villages, and at the harvest season, the inhabitants abandon their dwellings until their crops are collected. At such times there is considerable danger from the Vazírís, who issue from the hills and murder as well as plunder. Darraband has been frequently visited by these marauders. During my stay there, every one slept on the roofs of the houses as a precautionary measure. The villages belonging to Darraband are thirteen in number. These would not supply the revenue of its chief, sixty thousand rupees, but a portion is derived from the Lohání tribes, who annually visit, and remain in this part of the country during the cold season. They settle more or less along the tract west of the Indus, and between it and the hills. In Darraband they are particularly numerous, and, as in other places, pay a certain sum for the sufferance of settlement and for the privilege of grazing their camels. In this district, at the opening of spring, the various tribes assemble—their traders who have dispersed over the Panjáb and India return, when in collective bodies they proceed through the district of Ták, and paying an impost to its chief, collected at the fortress of Darbarra, they enter the hills, and forcing a passage through the Vazírí hordes infesting them proceed towards Khorasán. The merchants then spread themselves over the contiguous regions even to Bokhára, vending their merchandizes, and purchasing horses, fruits and dye-stuffs, for the ventures of the ensuing year. Omar Khán retains in pay one hundred and eighty foot soldiers.

The district of Kalaichí, enclosed by the lands of Ták to the north, by the Déra and Darraband domains to the east and south, and by the mountains to the west, is governed by Mozafar Khán. The

town of Kalaichí is said to be commercial and to have a large bazár, and commodities bear more reasonable prices there than at Déra. The revenue is computed at eighty thousand rupees, of which twenty thousand are paid to the Nawab of Déra. While I was in these parts the Déra force proceeded at the instigation of the Sikhs on an expedition into Marwat. Mozafar Khán, as an ally, accompanied with a quota of seven hundred men. He can hardly however retain in pay so great a number, and probably drew out on the occasion the strength of his country, in which the major part of the proprietors of lands, hold them on condition of military service. Moreover it must be remembered, that the men of these countries consider themselves the servants of their respective princes, and from their warlike dispositions are easily assembled. The district of Kalaichí does not include a great number of villages, the eastern portion of it being scantily supplied with water, and the western portion extending to the hills, consisting of ravines and thick jangal, besides being liable to the incursions of the Vazírí robbers. In the jangals, wild hogs are very numerous, and their chase is the chief pastime of the opulent. Melons, common in all these countries, are particularly fine at Kalaichí.

North of Kalaichí, encircled by hills to the north and west, and by the Déra territory to the east, is the country of Ták swayed by Sirwár Khán, who from the amount of his wealth and extent of his authority is generally termed a Nawáb. This district is well watered, having the Gomal river and two or three other considerable rivulets, consequently its produce is abundant. In all these regions the soil is fertile, and water the desideratum. The town of Ták is surrounded by a mud wall of tolerable height and solidity, it has numerous towers and two or three gates. Within the town is a citadel, where resides the chief, large with lofty walls, and strengthened with a broad and deep trench. It is built of burned bricks, and at the four angles are ample towers provided with twelve or thirteen pieces of artillery. The interior of this fortress is very intricately disposed, and Sirwár Khán who planned it, appears to have been determined to place it out of the power of his neighbours to drive him out of his nest. It is the most massive piece of defensive erection in these parts, if Girong be excepted, which I have not seen. Sirwár Khán is constantly employed in building, no one knows what he does, but every one witnesses the continual egress and ingress of labourers laden with bricks and rubbish from and into the gates of his citadel. It is believed that a faquir predicted to him that the duration of his rule and prosperity depended upon his never ceasing to build.

Ták is famed for its fruits, which are plentiful and cheap, its gardens yield grapes, oranges, pomegranates, citrons, plums, apples, &c. East of the town is an immense grove of sháhtút trees, which have attained a size superior to any I have elsewhere observed. The approach to the town from the east, presents a novel and pleasing feature, in an avenue of mimosa trees, extending for perhaps three miles. They are also of uncommon size. The bazár of the town is not very large, nor do I believe the commerce to be very extensive, or so much so as to allure the residence of wealthy Hindús, as at Kalaichí and at Déra. The revenue of Sirwár Khán is estimated at one and a half lách of rupees, of which the Síks exact a portion, I believe sixty thousand rupees. Being at enmity with his neighbours on the plains, he retains about one thousand men in pay, mostly Rohillas on small stipends. These however in consequence of some misunderstanding left him while I was in these quarters, and I believe he did not think it worth while to replace them. He is represented as having much hoarded wealth in coin and jewels. During the early part of his reign, he constituted himself sole proprietor of the lands, and declared the peasants to be slaves, hence he derived the profit on the whole produce of the country.

The history of this chieftain is singular, and may deserve notice. He had scarcely seen the light, when his father, who also ruled at Ták, was slain by a traitor who usurped the authority. To confirm himself therein, he put to death all the family of his former prince with the exception of Sirwár, who, an infant four or five days old, was concealed by his nurse in an earthen jar, and carried out of the town on her head. The good woman affirming at the gates that she was conveying a jar of milk. She gained a place of safety, and brought up the young Khán as her own son. When he arrived at the years of discretion, she informed him of the circumstances of his birth. He thereupon presented himself to Ahmed Sháh, and requested his assistance to recover possession of the lands of his ancestors. It was granted, and Sirwár Khán in turn slew the usurper with his relatives. He then placed their heads in a heap, and sitting on them summonsed the chiefs and elders of the country to his presence. He demanded whether they were willing to acknowledge him as their lawful ruler. An affirmative reply being given, he announced that in virtue of his authority, he resumed all lands, and that they were not his subjects but his slaves. I believe that an attempt to infringe upon the liberties of his people, cost the father of Sirwár Khán his life, the son may therefore have felt justified in this energetic vindication of his father's memory. Seated on the masnad he repaired the town of

Ták, and constructed the capacious citadel with a view both to security and pleasure, and seems to have devoted himself to the amassing of wealth, and to the gratification of his sensual appetites. His zenána contains above two hundred females, and he and his family freely indulge in wine, although he prohibits its use to others on the score of morality, and because it is contrary to the precepts of the Korán.

When I saw the costly decorations of his residence, the disposition of his gardens filled with flowers of a thousand hues, the lakes on which were floating hundreds of white geese, and whose bosoms reflected the image of the orange and citron trees with their glowing fruits, waving on their margins, I could not but pay homage to his taste, and there needed but the presence of the ripened beauties of the háram to have presented a complete picture of eastern magnificence. As it was, my mind was filled with astonishment to behold such a display in so obscure a part of the world.

Sirwár Khán is now advanced in years, and has three sons Alladád, Khodádád and Sáhíbdád. The eldest Alladád is called the Vazír, and ostensibly, has the direction of public business, holding darbárs and relieving his father from all details. The young man is a drunkard, yet he is beloved in the country for his valour and generosity. In a war with the Nawáb of Déra, four or five years since, he commanded the Ták troops about four thousand in number, the greater portion of them Vazírí auxiliaries or mercenaries.

These banditti fled at the commencement of the action leaving the guns exposed, and which were captured. Alladád highly distinguished himself, dismounting and working one of the guns after it had been deserted by its attendants. He remained by it until he had received two sword cuts from Sherín Khán, the commander of the hostile forces, who recognized him. Then only was he induced to mount a horse and provide for his safety. Peace was purchased by the payment of one lákh of rupees to Sherín Khán.

Besides Ták, there are other two or three small towns or large villages, and many inferior ones which have bazárs. The fortress of Darbarra is situated at the mouth of a pass into the hills, seven coses from the capital. Its walls are said to be very lofty, and had a most singular appearance when seen at a distance, but I am not certain that the miraj which is constant here did not produce the effect. In walking from Darraband to Ták, I could almost have fancied that I was travelling in fairy land, from the fantastic character of the landscape owing to this phenomenon. In the immediate vicinity of Ták the villages are numerous, and cultivation prevails principally of

wheat. Towards Kúyah and Déra the cultivation is less general, and in place of grain, the cotton plant is common. The country between Kúndí, the frontier post on the Bánnú side, and the hills which divide it from that district, is uninhabited and broken up by ravines. Ták is insalubrious, particularly to strangers, the water with which the town is supplied, being supposed pernicious and impure. The Nawáb and his family make use of that derived from a stream about two cosses distant, which is good and wholesome. The insalubrity of Ták may be accounted for by the extreme heat, and its locality, as well as from the quality of its water. The common fruit trees called *bér* are spread over the country, and distinguish all the villages.

I had an audience of Sirwár Khán who received me privately, and seated with his three sons. He was corpulent, and his countenance bore the impress of that energy and ability for which his subjects and neighbours give him credit. To me he was courteous and kind in manner, and amongst other things enquired if it were true that London had a bazár, three hundred cosses in length, telling his sons that Mahomed Khán had told him so. He is fond of hunting, and on all occasions of his leaving or entering the citadel a gun is fired. His escort was composed of about one hundred and fifty horsemen. He has a great notion of the superiority of agricultural over commercial pursuits, and an anecdote is related of his practical mode of proving his argument, which may be cited. In conversation with a Lohání on his favorite theme, he directed an ear of wheat to be brought, which he rubbed between his hands, and then counted the grains. He observed that the Lohání travelled to Delhí and Júánpúr, amid scorching heat and privations of all kind, and if on his return home, he had made one rupee, two rupees, he gave his turban an extra hitch, thrust his hands into his ribs, and conceited himself a great man. I, said Sirwár, remain quietly at home with my family, for one grain of wheat put into the earth I receive forty, or for one rupee I obtain forty rupees. Is my traffic or yours the better one?

The inhabitants throughout the tract of country here described, called indifferently Dáman and the Déraját, speak the same language or dialect termed Hindí, and frequently Pashto or Afghání. Their usages and manners are also nearly similar; those of the north being perhaps more hospitable than their countrymen in the south. In religion devout but ignorant, they entertain a deadly enmity to the Síkhs, whom they regard as their particular antagonists, from the circumstances of the interdiction of *ázán* or *báng*, that is the sum-

mons to prayer ; and the prohibition to kill cows and horned cattle ; both acts being dehonoured under the severest penalties in all places where the Síkhs have established a control. The question whether I ate beef was often applied to me as a test of my faith.

Diseases of the eye, particularly cataract and an obscuration of the pupil by opaque films are very common, and arise perhaps from the white surface of the soil. In the Ták country, an inflation of the abdomen is prevalent, imputed to the bad quality of the water. Beyond Déra Ismael Khán, and distant forty cosses, is the town of Isá Khél, belonging to Ahmed Khán, who has a revenue of forty thousand rupees, and remits a part of it to Déra. This chief has a few horsemen in pay. His town is seated on the banks of the river, and has some fine gardens attached to it.

Another forty cosses beyond Isá Khél, is the larger town of Kálabágh, whose chief has a revenue of eighty thousand rupees, of which he pays a portion to Déra, and I believe to the Síkhs. This town is seated on the famous salt mountains through which the Indus breaks at this point, and the mineral is naturally an important article of trade and revenue. It is here that the navigation of the Indus may be said to commence northerly, for although a descent may be made from Atak, it is considered too perilous, and parties of traders and pilgrims usually take boats at Kálabágh, where they are constructed. Opposite to Kálabágh is the town of Makkad, which has some commerce, and small káfilas are still in the habit of conveying from it the products of the Panjáb and of India to Kábal, by the route of Khúram, which brings them out at Kúshí, some twelve cosses south of Kábal. Anciently this route was much more frequented. The traders at Makkad are mostly Peránchehs, who are also found at Jelálabád and Kábal.

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#### VIII. — *Memorandum on the countries of Marwat and Bannù.*

The country of Marwat can scarcely be considered independent, revenue or tribute being occasionally exacted from it by the Nawáb of Déra, whose supremacy is not however acknowledged. None of his officers reside in the country, the inhabitants being left to their own control, and any demands he makes upon them, require to be supported by force.

Wheat appeared to be the only grain cultivated, and goats their



principal stock. Horses were few, as were sheep and horned cattle, while asses were more numerous. The heat was very intense, and the season was more forward than at Pesháwer. The great evil of this country is the want of a due supply of water. For the crops, dependence is placed upon rain, and bands or mounds are constructed to collect and to divert upon the lands the bounty of the clouds. It is clear that in dry seasons, the agriculturist will be distressed. Water for domestic purposes is brought from long distances, the few pools of rain water being judged unfit for such use, and are set aside for cattle.

The villages of Marwat have a cleanly appearance, and the inhabitants, if rude, are yet frank and manly in their manners. They are one of the races, and there are many such amongst the Afgháns, although all are not so, who have nothing frivolous in their character. If not altogether amiable, they are at least steady and respectable. There is no single authority established in Marwat, the several villages being governed by their own Maleks, or rather influenced by them. They are independent of each other, but combine in cases of invasion, or other matters affecting the interests of the community at large.

The country of Bannú has great advantages in a large extent of fertile soil, and in an abundant supply of water, which can be turned with facility upon the lands. Favored by climate, its capability of yielding a variety of produce is very great. The good people who hold it are not however enterprizing or experimental agriculturists, and besides wheat, rice, múng, and a little sugar cane, zir-chób or turmeric is the only plant of foreign growth originally, which has been introduced. There is so much pasture land in Bannú, that without inconvenience to their own cattle, the natives can allow their neighbours the Vazírís to graze their flocks and horses upon it. There are many groves of date trees in one portion of the plain, regarded perhaps justly in these countries as evidences of fertility. The reason may be that they are sure indications of water, it being observed that without that desideratum being at hand, they cannot thrive. Cattle of course are plentiful in Bannú, and in all kinds of rural wealth the inhabitants may be pronounced rich.

On the same plain as Marwat, the Bannú people have besides a difference in their costume, a smaller stature than the inhabitants of the former place. The Marwatí is generally clad in coarse white linen, in much the same manner as the Patáns on the banks of the Indus; the people of Bannú wear dark clothing, and are fond of lúng'hís with ornamental borders. Both in dress and appearance,

they assimilate with the mountain tribes. They are very brave, and remarkable for entertaining an "esprit de pays." They are eloquent in eulogiums upon their country, and the exclamation, "my own dear Bannú" is frequently uttered by them. — The authority is vested in the respective Maleks, some of whom, those living in towns, are enabled to retain followers in pay, as they derive a money revenue from the Hindús residing in them. They have, however, little or no power without their towns, every occupant of a fort being his own master, while he neither pays tribute or acknowledges submission to any one. This state of things, while opposed to the ambition of an individual, is favorable to cherishing that spirit which preserves the independence of the society at large, and the more powerful do not think their interests would be served by altering it. The system of equality while productive of more or less internal commotion, is admirably effective when circumstances call for mutual exertion, and all parties laying aside their private animosities, in such cases, heartily unite in defence of the public freedom, in the advantages of which all participate.

It is possible that Bannú may formerly have been much more populous, and that its government was better regulated, for it will be remembered, that three or four centuries ago, the high road, followed from Kábal to India, led through it, as we find in the history of Taimúr's expedition. That this route was open at a much earlier period, is evident from the notices of the Mahomedan invasion of the country, the armies of the Caliphs having clearly advanced through Bannú and Khúram, upon Ghazní, then it would appear the capital of the country. Hurreeou, where a great battle is noted to have been fought between the prince of Ghazní and the Mússúlmán invaders, is plainly the modern Harí-áb, (the Iryab of some maps) in Khúram. Of a prior state of prosperity, the actual towns in Bannú may be accepted as testimonies — for it is more natural to consider them as feeble vestiges of the past, than as creations of recent days. They even yet carry on a considerable traffic, and nearly engross that with the mountain Vazírís. In every village of Marwat and of Bannú there are weavers of coarse cottons, called karbás, but in the towns of Bannú are looms employed in the fabric of finer goods, both of cotton and silk, particularly lúnghís. The Hindús in the two towns I visited, were too cheerful to allow me to suppose that they were harshly treated, or that they lived in insecurity.

Máhárájá Ranjit Sing once marched with an army of twenty-five thousand men to Lakkí on the Khúram river. He exacted thirty

thousand rupees, but did not judge it prudent or convenient to make a permanent settlement in the country, as, it is said, he had contemplated.

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**IX. — *Memorandum on Lahore, the Sikhs, their kingdom and its dependencies.***

Lahore, the capital of the Panjáb and of the territories of Ranjit Sing, is a city of undoubted antiquity, and has been long celebrated for its extent and magnificence. The extravagant praises bestowed upon it by the historians of Hindústán, must however be understood, as applicable to a former city, of which now only the ruins are seen. To it also must be referred the current proverb, which asserts that Isfahán and Shíráz united, would not equal the half of Lahore. The present city is nevertheless very extensive, and comprises many elegant and important buildings; amongst them the masjids Pádsháh and Vazír Khán are particularly splendid. The Sona or Golden masjíd, claims also attention from the attraction of its gilded minarets and cupolas. The masjíd Pádsháh, is substantially built of a red friable sandstone, and from its size, the loftiness of its minarets, the dimension of its cupolas, and the general grandeur of the whole, is an edifice worthy of the founder said to be the great Aurangzíb. According to popular tradition, Lahore is indebted for this structure to the following circumstance. The emperor ordered his Vazír to raise a masjíd for his private devotions, which should exceed in beauty all others known. The minister accordingly, at a vast expence, completed the masjíd now called Vazír Khán, and announced the consummation of his labours to the sovereign, who proceeded at once to inspect the building and to offer up his prayers. On his road, he heard the remarks of the multitude " behold the emperor, who is going to the masjíd of Vazír Khán." He retraced his steps, observing that his design had been frustrated, inasmuch as the masjíd had acquired not his name, but that of his minister. He then personally commanded the construction of another, superintended its progress when building, and succeeded in connecting his name with it.

The masjíd Vazír Khán, is a sumptuous edifice, distinguished by minarets of great height. It is entirely covered with painted and lacquered tiles, inscribed with Arabic sentences. They have a gorgeous appearance, and it is vulgarly asserted, that the whole of the Korán is written on the walls and various parts of the building. Contiguous is a small bazár, the rents of which were formerly allotted to

the repairs of the masjid, and to support the necessitous who frequented it. These funds are otherwise appropriated by the Sikhs.

The Sona or Sonára masjid independently of its gilded domes is a handsome and extensive edifice. It was in a neglected state to the great scandal of the Mússúl nán population of Lahore, until the officers of M. Allard, represented the matter to him, and under his auspices renewed it; the general handsomely contributing the funds required for regilding. The masjids Pádsháh and Vazír Khán, have been long since desecrated by the Sikhs, who killed swine in them, and converted their courts into stables. The masjid Pádsháh is generally assigned by the Máhárájá as a residence for some European in his service.

There are also many other masjids, and some saráis deserving attention, moreover some of the Hindú temples are remarkable.

The streets are very narrow as are the bazárs, which are numerous and distinguished by the names of the occupations carried on in them, as the goldsmiths', the ironsmiths', the saddlers' bazár &c. There are some exceedingly lofty and bulky mansions, well built of kiln burned bricks (the material of which the city is mostly constructed) — many of them recently erected. They have no exterior decorations, opposing an enormous extent of dead walls, which however convey an idea of the large space enclosed. Amongst the most conspicuous of these for size is the abode of the Jemadár Khúshíál Sing, a renegade Bráhman of the neighbourhood of Sirdánha, elevated by Ranjit Sing from the rank of a scullion to that of a general. The sons of Ranjit Sing have each of them a large palace within the city, and the Máhárájá, in his occasional visits to Lahore, resides in the inner fort or citadel which occupies the north west angle of the city. Here are extensive magazines of warlike stores, and manufactures of musquets, cannon balls, &c.

Lahore seated within a mile of the Ráví river, is not dependent upon it for water, having within its walls numerous wells. It is surrounded with a substantial brick wall, some twenty five feet in height, and sufficiently broad for a gun to traverse on it. It has many circular towers, and divers sided bastions at regular intervals. Ranjit Sing has surrounded the walls with a good trench, and carried a line of handsome works and redoubts around the entire circumference, which are plentifully garnished with heavy artillery. He is constantly improving the fortifications under the guidance of his French officers, and is removing the vast heaps of rubbish and ruins, which as he justly observes, would not only cover the approaches of an enemy, but form ready made batteries for him. There are many

gates as the Múrchí Derwáza, the Lohár Derwáza, the Delhí Derwáza, the Atak Derwáza, &c. The last is also called Derwáza Tank-şála or the mint gate, an appellation that led the Jesuit Teifenthaler into the error of supposing that in his time one of the city gates retained the name of Taxila. At the Lohár Derwáza is a large piece of ordnance called the Banghí — and at the Múrchí Derwáza are two or three tigers engaged.

Without the walls are scattered on all sides the ruins of the ancient city, which although in some places cleared away by the express orders of the Máhárájá, as I have just noted, and in others for the erection of cantonments and parade grounds for the troops of the French camp, besides the constant diminution of their bulk in the search for bricks and building materials, are still wonderful, and convey vast ideas of the extent of ancient Lahore. Numerous tombs and other structures are still standing, some of them nearly entire, and such is their solidity that they seem, if not absolutely to foil old time, to yield to him almost imperceptibly. West of Lahore on the western bank of the Ráví, is the beautiful and far famed tomb of the Emperor Jehánghír or the Sháhdera. It is classed by the natives of Hindústán amongst the four wonders which adorn their country, and is certainly executed in a style of architecture eminently chaste. Under Sikh domination this delightful specimen of Indian art is neglected, and falling into ruin, besides being subject to desecration. The Máhárájá gave it as a residence to a French officer, M. Amise, who caused its chambers to be cleared of their accumulated filth, and put the surrounding garden in order, when he died. The Mús-súlmáns did not fail to attribute his death to his temerity and impiety in daring to occupy so sacred a place, and they believe that the shade of the emperor actually appeared to him, and announced his death as the punishment for his crime. Whether the Máhárájá credited this tale I know not, but he much regreted the loss of M. Amise, and has since ordered the building to be closed, and the entrances to be built up, while he has forbidden farther dilapidation and desecrations. The situation of the Sháhdera is most agreeable, and has induced Ranjit Sing to raise a garden house immediately to the north of it.

Another remarkable building south of the city, and between it and the river, is the tomb of Anárkallí as called, concerning which is the following popular story. Anárkallí (Anárgúl probably, or the pomegranate blossom) was a very handsome youth, and the favorite attendant of an Emperor of Hindústán. When the prince would be in company with the ladies of his háram, the favorite page was not excluded. It happened that one day the emperor seated with his females

in an apartment lined with looking glasses, beheld from the reflected appearance of Anárkallí, who stood behind him, that he smiled. The monarch's construction of the intent of the smile, proved melancholy to the smiler, who was ordered to be buried alive. Anárkallí was accordingly placed in an upright position at the appointed spot, and was built around with bricks, while an immense superstructure was raised over the sepulchre, the expense of which was defrayed, as tradition relates, by the sale of one of his bangles. There were formerly extensive gardens, and several buildings connected with the tomb, but not a vestige can now be traced of them. This monument was once occupied by Karak Sing, the eldest and only legitimate son of the Máhárája, but has subsequently been given to an Italian officer M. Ventura, who has converted it into a háram. Adjacent is the handsome house of M. Allard, the principal of the foreign officers in the Lahore service — and in front of it, a parade ground intervening, are the lines of the regiments and battalions under their orders. To the east of the city are the cantonments of the troops commanded by M. Avitabile and Court, with the residences of those officers. The mansion of the former, a Neapolitan, is painted in a singular and grotesque fashion.

In the neighbourhood of Lahore are many large and delightful gardens; the fruit trees, flowering shrubs and plants, are however those common in Hindústán, being very little mixed with the products peculiar to western countries. The fruit trees are the mango, the mulberry, the plantain, the apple and peach, of inferior size and quality, the jáman, the fig, the karinda, the quince, the orange, the lime, both acid and sweet, and the date, the fruit of the last however is scarcely eatable. Pomegranates also abound but are not prized, and there are a few vines. Melons are so abundant that they are scarcely considered fruit, although regularly cultivated; they are moreover very indifferent. There is a large proportion of the lands near the city devoted to the culture of vegetables for the consumption of the inhabitants. Here again the ordinary eastern varieties as bádinjás, gourds of several kinds, karellas, cucumbers, &c. are chiefly produced, there being no novelties. Large fields of sweet fennel are common, grown I believe for the sake of the seed. The flowers are in no great variety, and selected with reference to the odour, chaplets being made of the blossoms, and sold in the bazár. Gardens here, as in all eastern countries, are open to the public, and individuals preserving due respect for the fruits and flowers, may freely enter and stroll about them; but the mean practice prevails of selling the

produce, from which sale, the proprietor of a garden, be he king or slave, derives a profit.

About three miles north-east of Lahore, is the renowned and once delightful garden of Shálímár. There are still the marble tanks and fountains with costly machinery that once supplied the jet d'eaux. The gay pavilions and other buildings of this immense garden, have suffered not so much from the dilapidation of time, as from the depredation of the Máhárájá, who has removed much of the marble and stones, of which they were composed, to employ them in his new constructions at the favorite religious capital of Amritsir, and the contiguous fortress of Govindghar. Still in its decline of splendour, Shálímár has sufficient beauties to interest and delight a visitor, whose regret will be powerfully excited that desolation should be suffered to obscure the noblest garden which belonged to the imperial family of Taimúr.

Lahore although possessing a certain degree of trade and traffic with its populous vicinity, is a dull city in a commercial sense. Amritsir has become the great mart of the Panjáb, and the bankers and capitalists of the country have taken up their abodes there. It has also absorbed in great measure the manufacturers, and its prosperity has allured to it a vast number of the starving artisans of Kāshmír.

About a mile and half south of Lahore is the small bazár town or village of Noa Kot, in appearance venerable, and worthy of notice, from having been the head quarters of Ranjít Sing, when he succeeded in obtaining possession of Lahore, which, as I was informed, was effected in the following manner.

The city and destined capital of a powerful Síkh kingdom was then occupied by four Síkh chiefs, each independent of the other, and all engaged in mutual warfare. While affairs thus stood, Ranjit Sing presented himself before the place with seven hundred horse. The common danger united the four chiefs, who prepared to defend the city. The young invader unable from the description of his troops to make any impression upon a town surrounded by a substantial wall, took up a position at Noa Kot, whence he harassed the vicinity. He remained some months adhering to the plan he had adopted, when the cultivators of the garden grounds, whose labours were necessarily suspended, became reduced to extremities to procure subsistence. Seeing no probability of a termination to the evil, they applied to Ranjit Sing, and volunteered to conduct him into the city by some unguarded or neglected entrance. He confided in their promises, and his troops were introduced at night, when after the slaughter usual on such occasions, Ranjit Sing became master of

Lahore. Hence may be dated the downfall of the independent Sikh chiefs, and the consequent supreme authority of their conqueror. Noa Kot is now granted as a provision to Ayúb Sháh, the phantom king of Mahomed Azem Khán's creation, who after his deposition and imprisonment at Kábal by Fúr Dill Khán, found his way to Lahore, and where he lives a pensioner of the Máhárájá.

It may be deemed superfluous to allude to the religious belief and opinions of the Sikhs, as those subjects have received the attention of Sir John Malcolm and others, who had access to the best sources of information. My notice on such topics will therefore be brief. It is certain that the Sikhs of the present day have widely deviated from the system of the founder of their sect, and have become in place of harmless freethinkers a nation of infuriated fanatics. This important change dates from the reign of Aurangzéb, whose intolerance led him to persecute the Sikhs, and as persecution naturally begets resistance, the ninth and last of the Gúrús, Govind Sing, who at that time presided over them, ordered his followers to arm, and the sword was drawn which has never since been sheathed. Govind Sing, the Sikhs pretend, predicted to the bigoted emperor that his kingdom would be wrested from his successors by the men who visited Hindústán in large ships. There is a considerable difference between the system established by the first Gúrú or Teacher, Bábá Nának, and that introduced by the last warlike Gúrú, Govind Sing.

Nának, I believe was born of Mahomedan parents, and was probably imbued with Súfí principles, which closely resemble those he promulgated, as respects the nature of the deity, the kind of homage most agreeable to him, the relative connection of body and soul, and the prospects of man in a future state — they also coincide as concerns the doctrine of equality, a condition of society, which however impossible, is inculcated by both systems. It may be doubted whether Nának ever contemplated that the few disciples congregated around him, were the forerunners of a great and numerous people destined to future command and empire, or that the doctrines he announced were decreed to spread over extensive regions; yet in the political state of his own and neighbouring countries at the time he lived, the secondary laws he prescribed for the regulation of his nascent community, were unconsciously perhaps on his part, the ones best calculated to effect objects so extraordinary, by the organization of a sect, that silently but surely encreasing in strength and numbers, should in the fullness of time develope itself, and assert its claims to power and ascendancy. In the first place his tenets, if such they may be called, could be appreciated by the most ordinary understandings, as they are rather a



greable delusions than sound and stern truths requiring the pain of reflection to be understood. In the second place he allowed his votaries every indulgence possible in diet and their manner of life, compatible with the prejudices of the Hindú and Mahomedan population around him, and lastly by enjoining conversion he provided for the encrease of his community, by securing the accession of the oppressed and degraded of all faiths and nations. By removing the distinction of caste he decoyed the miserable and ignorant Hindú, and it is notorious that it has been amongst the lowest of the Jet agricultural population of the Panjáb, that the vast proportions of Sikh converts have been made, and nothing is more remarkable at the present day than the want of general knowledge prevailing amongst the Sikhs, even of the highest rank. With regard to articles of food, Nának has merely forbidden his followers to eat the cow, a prohibition due to the indelible prejudices of the Hindús of whom he hoped to make converts. He has permitted unqualified indulgence in wine and other intoxicating liquors. Like most founders of new religions, he must needs forbid something, and he has therefore proscribed tobacco, which his adherents are not permitted to touch; but as he well knew the practice of smoking the condemned herb was general amongst Hindús, and could but be aware that tenacity of old customs and the reluctance to dispense with wonted enjoyments were characteristics in human nature, he wisely enacted, lest the interdiction might prove an obstacle to his favorite plan of conversion, that any Hindú on being admitted a Sikh, who had previously been accustomed to smoke tobacco and to drink wine, might according to his pleasure continue the use of one or the other. In his character as an inspired person, it became him to prophecy. He has done so, and in the various prophetic legacies ascribed to him, his followers view the predictions of the capture of Múltán, Káshmir, Mankírah, Pesháwer, &c. in short of every success that has happened to them. There yet remains to be fulfilled the capture of Kábal, before the gates of which vast numbers of Sikhs are to fall, and their subjection to British authority for one hundred and forty years, (which they suppose will commence on the demise of Ranjit Sing.) At the expiration of that period they are to emerge from thralldom, and being masters of Hindústán, are to cross the sea and destroy the fortress of Lanka. They are also to possess themselves of the holy Mekka, and terminate the Mahomedan religion. The books I have seen containing these prophecies are embellished with many pictorial illustrations. The capture of Lanka is depicted by a number of monstrous looking

men, with maces, demolishing a series of towers placed on the head of another figure equally hideous in appearance.

To allow the sect to acquire consistency, a considerable period of repose was necessary, and it is probable this was secured by the unassuming habits and moderate pretensions of the community under the direction of its first eight Gúrús, as I am not aware that any mention is made of it before the time of Aurangzéb. Up to that period their proud Mahomedan lords, may have considered them as merely a sect of Hindús, objects of contempt but not of persecution. How long they might have continued in this obscure state is uncertain, had not the energetic but intolerant Aurangzéb, amongst other vast projects, undertaken to reform religion, and with this view instituted an enquiry into the various faiths professed by his subjects. In the Panjáb, a land it would appear in all ages fruitful in heresies, there were abundance of innovations and abuses needing the strong arm of the monarch to repress, and the Sikhs with their doctrines, which by him must have been deemed inconceivably impious and absurd, would naturally call for the decided exercise of his zeal. His attempts, by coercion, after argument and command had failed, to compel them to renounce their tenets, induced them, as I before noted, to arm, and by revealing to them their strength and powers of resistance, effected an entire change in the constitution of their community. I am unacquainted with the particulars of Aurangzéb's persecution of the sect, but the Sikhs say, that their Gúrú Govind Sing fell into his power. He may have made many martyrs, but we need not the testimony of his history to be certain that he made little progress in the reclamation of the infidels. When death delivered the Sikhs from so terrible a persecutor, the anarchy which attended the succession must have been in every way favorable to the augmentation of their numbers, and consequently we find them exciting tumults which required the presence of the Delhí sovereigns to repress. From this time they were most likely, according to the temper of the age, or of the governor over them, subject to more or less oppression, as the course of events had made them too prominent to escape notice; and as yet being unable from want of unity to keep the field against their adversaries, they adopted the plan open to them of irregular annoyance, and fell into the condition little better than that of banditti, in which they were found when the campaigns of Ahmed Sháh again bring them forth to observation. During this time however they had resolved into a multitude of little bands under various leaders, and had established strong holds and places of refuge without number. — Their subsequent aggrandizement is so

well known, that an allusion to it suffices; — the rapid decline of the Dúrání empire, and the appearance amongst them of Ranjit Sing, enabled them to assume a regular form of government, and to erect a powerful kingdom from the wrecks of the states and principalities around them.

It must be obvious that the religious opinions of the Sikhs are no less at variance with the dogmas of Hindúism, than they are in opposition to those of Islám. Still the inveterate hostility with which they regard the professors of the latter faith, have induced an involuntary inclination in favor of the votaries of Bráhma, which these, although it cost some efforts to overcome their repugnance, allured perhaps by the splendid successes of the Sikhs, and indulging bright expectations from their growing power, have at length thought prudent to reciprocate. By establishing colleges of their sect at Benares, the followers of Nának have in some degree ceased to be a peculiar class, as they have thereby evinced the desire to be incorporated with the great body of Hindús; and the Bráhmans who accorded the permission to do so, must have anticipated some overweening advantages, or they would scarcely have admitted amongst them a people, whose main principle of conversion and doctrine of equality alike strike at the very roots of the system they uphold. We may suspect that the crafty hierarchy, conscious of the very little chance of the re-establishment of Hindú supremacy, and anticipating the probable extension of the new and vigorous sect, and its eventual domination in Hindústán, were willing in such a case, to have associated themselves with it, and for the preservation of their own dignity and position to have adopted it, as in times of yore, they did the victorious race of Katris or Rájputis.

In ordinary intercourse with Hindús, the Sikhs treat them with little courtesy, and the banya or trader seldom receives a more delicate appellative than kotá or dog. The Bráhman however is more respected, and forms a part of the establishment of every chief, assisting in religious offices. As the number of Gúrús, or teachers of the sect, was limited to nine, who have long since passed away, the Granth or sacred volume containing their precepts, is now the subject of veneration, and for it they have a very great respect. It is lodged on a table in a spacious apartment in most of their villages, all come and make obeisance to it, and any one qualified may open it and read aloud a portion of it. The Sikhs are not enjoined to observe many forms or prayers, I observed that generally in the evening they offered up a short orison, which in conformity to the military complexion thrown over all their acts,

they repeated, firmly grasping with both hands their swords, and which concluded with a vociferous invocation to their Gúrú, for victory and the extension of the faith. The cattle they employ as food, are slaughtered by having their heads severed by a stroke of the sword. They wear the Hindú string or cord around their necks, and use the tasbí or rosary. They generally style the Supreme Intelligence, Sáhíb, and call themselves Singhs or Lions. Those who respectfully address them, salute them as Khálsajís or men of the commonwealth.

It was long since foretold by a celebrated traveller ( Mr. Forster, ) that the Síkhs would become a powerful nation, whenever some enterprizing chief, should, by the destruction of their numerous petty leaders, unite them under his sole control. We have witnessed the accomplishment of this prediction by Ranjit Sing, and the Síkhs have become an independent and powerful people. The system of numerous distinct but confederated chieftains arose from the patriarchal institution recommended by Nának, who merely directed that his followers should in any particular crisis, assemble at the holy city of Amritsir. Hence the assumed authority of Ranjit Sing must be considered as an infraction of the fundamental laws of the Síkhs, and although it has been rendered agreeable to the majority of them, by their advancement to wealth and command, in consequence of his manifold and splendid conquests, its establishment was long strenuously opposed, and was effected only by the subversion of a multitude of chiefs attached to the old order of things. Ranjit Sing's policy has led him to make a new creation of chiefs and leaders, selecting them generally from the lower classes, thereby forming a set of men attached to himself, and the new system to which they owe their elevation. That the usurpation of Ranjit Sing has been favorable to the encrease of Sikh power, no one can doubt, for anterior to him, so far from having any common object or bond of union, sufficient for the preservation of tranquillity amongst them, they were, if not coalesced by the necessity of providing against danger from abroad, perpetually engaged in strife with each other. That the consolidation of their power, and their subjection to authority has improved the state of society with them, is also undeniable, as it has conferred upon them a reputation to sustain, which they did not before enjoy. Time was that a Sikh and a robber were synonymous terms, now few thefts are heard of, and seldom or ever those wholesale forays to which the chiefs were once so much addicted. If the predatory propensity still lurk amongst some of them, the restraints of justice prevent its indulgence. At this day the operation

of the laws is so effective, that there are few eastern countries, in which the solitary traveller can pass with more safety, than the Panjáb.

In the reign of Ahmied Sháh, the first Dúraní sovereign, the Sikhs were prodigiously encreasing the number of their converts, and were excited by all the phrenzy and confidence of aspiring sectaries. That great prince gave it as his opinion, when urged to attempt their control, that it was prudent to defer attack upon them, until the fervor of their religious enthusiasm had diminished. Zemán Sháh in pursuance of his designs upon Hindústán, several times visited the Panjáb, and was extremely anxious to have duly subjected the Sikhs. He seems to have employed both harsh and conciliatory measures, and so far succeeded that the several chiefs, and amongst them Ranjit Sing, who was even then powerful, were prevailed upon to visit Lahore, and pay homage to him. The prince farther conceived, (or it was suggested by some of his advisers,) the project of making Lahore his capital, an arrangement which if carried into effect, would have materially changed the train of events, but which was overruled by his principal Sirdárs, who would not consent to abandon Khorasán. In one of Zemán Sháh's expeditions, Ranjit Sing with his troops, it is said, sought refuge at Patíála, east of the Satlej, and repaid the Rájá for the asylum granted to him by the seizure of many of his guns and other warlike implements, with which he had before been unprovided. It is commonly asserted in the Panjáb, that the Sikhs became masters of arms and horses by the plunder of the Maharratta armies, which flying from the pursuit of Lord Lake entered within their borders. From the deposition of Zemán Sháh, the politics of the Afgháns were too distracted to permit them to interfere with the Sikhs, who finally defeated and slew the Dúraní governor located at Lahore, and possessed themselves of the city. Ranjit Sing who had received a kind of diploma as chief of the Sikhs from Zemán Sháh had no ostensible part in this transaction: and eventually, as I have already related, acquired the city from those who had. The capture of the capital led to the general acknowledgment of his authority, and besides reducing the contumacious of his own sect, he directed his arms against the petty Mahomedan rulers bordering on the Satlej, and always contrived to subdue or to circumvent them.

It is certain that during the reign of Sháh Sújah, the Sikhs called their great military chief, Pádsháh or king. The expulsion of that Dúraní prince, and the confusion in the countries of the west, presented opportunities of aggrandizement, too tempting to be neglected by the Lahore ruler, whose authority at home had become sufficiently estab-

lished to allow him to direct his attention abroad. Yet even under these circumstances, he displayed much forbearance and moderation, and it was only after much provocation that he commenced to profit by the anarchy prevalent in the states of the Afghán empire. He possessed himself of Atak and Káshmir, of the provinces of Múltán and of Líya, and constituted the Indus the boundary of his kingdom, while he made tributary the several petty chiefships on the western banks. He also seized Déra Ghází Khán and Déra Fatí Khán, which had been in a manner evacuated by their owners. While thus employed in the south and west, he was equally industrious and successful to the north amongst the various independent Hindú states of the hills, subjecting Jamá, and establishing his claims to tribute in Mandéh, &c. He moreover obtained the strong hill fort of Kot Kàngrah, which he much coveted, from Rájá Sensár Chand of Sújahánpúr, as the price of expelling an army of Gúrkas, that besieged it. On the demise of this Rájá some two years since, he invaded the territory of Sújahánpúr on the most unjustifiable plea, and annexed it to his own dominion; the son of Sensár Chand seeking an asylum in British Hindústán. Ranjit Sing has moreover invaded Baháwálpúr under pretence that the Khán had assisted his enemy Sháh Sújah ul-múlkh, and he has exacted a tribute of nine lákhs of rupees, or one half of the revenue of the country. The fertile province of Pesháwer has also been devastated by the Máhárájá, who not only requires an annual tribute of horses, swords, jewels, rice &c. but sends large bodies of troops to ravage the country, apparently with the view of keeping it depressed. In the same manner, his hordes annually visit the Yúsafzai districts on the plain, and carry off a tribute in horses. In most cases, if the proportion of tribute be fixed, it is little acted upon, and in the instance of the petty states west of the Indus, is very much dependent upon the will of Harí Sing, Ranjit Sing's commander on the western frontier. As regards the collection at Déra Ismael Khán, Táak, and such little chiefships where opposition is out of the question, sixty or one hundred horsemen, without previous intimation, arrive at the residence of a chief, and present an order from Harí Sing for forty, fifty or sixty thousand rupees, as the case may be; and they remain, giving themselves many airs, and entertained at the expence of the chief, until the sum is made up. At Pesháwer, the evil of collection is more seriously felt, for ten or fifteen thousand men sometimes march, and destroy the whole cultivation. The levy of the Baháwálpúr tribute also calls for the dispatch of a large force, which does not however pass beyond Milsa, on the northern bank of the Gárrah. To the east Ranjit Sing cannot pass the Satlej without

violating his engagements with the British; on all other sides he is at liberty to act, and contemplates the conquest of Sind, from which he has been in the habit of receiving annual presents since his invasion of Baháwalpúr, when his troops were pushed on to Sabzal Kot, the frontier post of the Sindian territory. Since I was at Lahore, the treachery which put him in possession of the Baloch provinces of Hárand and Dhájl, has materially advanced the prosecution of his designs, by laying open to him the road to the wealthy city of Shikárpúr. This important acquisition has induced a complete change in the arrangements hitherto adopted as to the conquered states in that quarter. The town and territory of Déra Ghází Khán, before farmed to the Khán of Baháwalpúr, has been resumed, and M. Ventura has been appointed governor with orders to build a strong fort, evidently intended for a place d'armes in the intended operations against Sind. The petty chief of Sanghar has been also expelled, and his lands annexed to the government of Múltán.

The revenue of Ranjit Sing, I believe may be accurately estimated at two and a half crores of rupees, or about two and a half millions sterling. It is calculated that after defraying the expences of his government and army, he is enabled to place in deposit one crore of rupees annually. It is farther believed that he has already in his treasury ten crores of rupees in money — and his various magazines of military arms and stores are annually increased in a certain ratio.

The military force of Ranjit Sing demands attention, and I believe it may be estimated in round numbers at seventy thousand men, of whom perhaps twenty thousand are disciplined after the French and other modes. I do not pretend to speak positively as to the position and numbers of the Sikh troops, but generally speaking the following particulars may be nearly depended upon.

In Káshmir . . . . .	10000	Under orders of Súparsád, the Brá-
With the King . . . . .	3000	min governor.
Karak Sing . . . . .	2000	} Sons of the king.
Shír Sing . . . . .	3000	
Tárah Sing . . . . .	1500	
Rájá Daiyan Sing . . . . .	5000	Prime Minister.
Hári Sing . . . . .	10000	In command of the frontier on Indus.
Khúshíal Sing . . . . .	3000	Gúrcheris, generally near the king.
Shám Sing . . . . .	800	One of the old chiefs.
Fatí Sing . . . . .	500	In authority towards the Satlej.
Ganda Sing . . . . .	800	Garrison of Múltán.
Officer commanding at		
Mankirah . . . . .	500	In garrison.
Nájíb Regiment . . . . .	1000	Ranjit's first raised Battalion.

Regulars.	M. Allard's Cavalry . . .	3000	1 Regt. Lancers 2 Regt. Dragoons.
	M. Ventura's Infantry . .	4000	2 Battalion Regt. 1 Regt. Light Infantry and 1 Regt of Gúrkas.
	M. Court's Infantry . . .	1000	Battalion Regt.
	M. Avitabile's Infantry .	1000	Battalion Regt.
	M. Mevius's Infantry . .	1500	Battalion Regt.
	Mr. Campbell's Cavalry .	1200	} These officers were dismissed when I was at Lahore : the Regt. Light Cavalry.
	Mr. Garron's Cavalry . .	600	
	Dowkal Sing's Paltan . .	1000	Battalion Regt.
	Newly raised Battalion . .	1000	Under drill.
	Camp of the late M. Amise.		
	Infantry . . . . .	4000	Battalion Regt. } at present without commander or European Chief.
	Cavalry . . . . .	2000	Light Cavalry. }
	Artillery reckoning broadly ten men to every gun, and supposing 200 Guns . . .	2000	} Principally horse Artillery, and now in course of training by M. Allard.
	Allowance for the troops of Rájá Gúláb Sing of Jamú and the several petty Sikh Chiefs dispersed over the country, and not otherwise included . . . . .	10000	
	<hr/>		
Total 73400			

The disciplined troops of Ranjit Sing have a highly respectable appearance, are well clothed and equipped, and appear to be in want of no necessaries. Their value in the field remains yet to be ascertained. On the few occasions they have seen service, their enemies have not been of a stamp to establish a criterion. The regiments are indiscriminately filled with Mússúlmáns and Síkhs, and wear for head dresses the pagrí of the Panjáb, each regiment adopting a distinguishing color as red, blue green, &c. In other respects they are clothed similarly to the native troops in the British Indian service. The Gúrkas alone wear caps. As soldiers the natives of the Panjáb are extremely patient of fatigue, and capable of making prodigious marches with apparent ease; on this point they pride themselves, and they evince not only willingness, but pleasure and mutual emulation in learning military exercises. But they are prone to plunder, and it is invariably their custom at the close of a march to separate from their camp, and to rove over the country for four or five miles, armed with cudjels, and making booty of any thing that falls in their way.



As men, physically speaking, the natives of the Panjáb are superior to those of Hindústán Proper. Their limbs are muscular and well proportioned, and they have a stoutness of leg and calf seldom seen in the Hindústání. Instances of very tall stature may be rare, the general standard being a little above the middle size. The Sikhs are certainly a fine race of men, particularly the better classes. Their females being seldom permitted to go abroad, I can scarcely speak decidedly concerning them, but the five or six, I have by chance met with, would justify the supposition that they are very attractive. They wear extraordinary high conical caps producing a curious effect with trowsers. The dress of the men is peculiar but not inelegant, consisting of the Panjáb pagrí for the head, a vest or jacket fitting close to the body and arms, with large bulky trowsers terminating at the knee, the legs from the knee being naked. Chiefs occasionally wear full trowsers, which however are recent introductions, and many people remember the time when the Máhárájá and his court could scarcely be said to wear trowsers at all. Over the shoulders a scarf is usually thrown. Generally speaking these articles of dress are white. The Sikhs to their honor are very cleanly in their linen, in which particular they advantageously differ from their Mússólmán compatriots. Their scarfs are usually trimmed with a colored silk border, and sometimes scarlet shawls or other shewy fabrics are employed. The Sikhs allow the hair of their heads to attain its full growth, and gather it up into a knot at the crown, agreeably to the old Jetic fashion. By pressing it tightly back from the forehead, they somewhat elevate the upper part of the face, which imparts a peculiar cast to the countenance.

The Sikhs are almost exclusively a military and agricultural people. They pay much attention to the breeding of horses, and there is scarcely one of them, who has not one or more brood mares. Hence amongst the irregular cavalry, a service to which they are partial, nearly every man's horse is bonâ fide his own property, and even in the regular cavalry, a very trifling proportion of the horses belongs to the Máhárájá. It must be confessed that the Sikhs are barbarous, so far as the want of information and intelligence can make them, yet they have not that savage disposition which makes demons of the rude tribes of the more western countries. They are frank, generous, social and lively. The cruelties they have practised against the Mahomedans in the countries they have subdued, ought not I think, to be alledged against them as a proof of their ferocity. Heaven knows the fury of the bigotted Mahomedan is terrible, and the persecuted Sikhs in their day had been literally hunted like beasts of

the field. At present flushed by a series of victories, they have a zeal and buoyancy of spirit amounting to enthusiasm, and with the power of taking the most exemplary revenge, they have been still more lenient than the Mahomedans were ever towards them. Morality, I believe is scarcely recognized amongst them, and chastity, I have been told, is neither observed or expected to be observed by their females. It is no unusual arrangement for the many brothers of a family to have a wife in common, and I have known the soldiers of M. Allard request permission to visit their homes, alledging that their brothers had gone on a journey, and their wives were alone. The plea was considered a good one. Such customs must not be imputable to them as Sikhs, they are rather the remains of an ancient and rude state of society. It must also be observed that trespasses on the rules of decency must be made by themselves, and amongst themselves: liberties taken by strangers would be held as crimes, and resented accordingly. Should the Sikhs continue an independent nation, it may be supposed that increased civilization will gradually remove these traces of barbarism. Though professed converters, they are perfectly tolerant, and though singular in some of their usages, they never require others to imitate them. On the whole, having seen the turbulent tribes of Khorasán, and the frivolous races of Sind and Baháwalpúr, I was pleased with the Sikhs, and could believe that when in course of time they grow a little more enlightened, they will become a superior people.

The Sikh irregular cavalry have a peculiar exercise at which they are very expert. In action, their reliance is not so much upon the charge, as upon a desultory species of warfare, to which they are well trained. It consists in advancing upon their enemies until their matchlocks can take effect, discharging them and precipitately retreating to reload, and to repeat the same manœuvre. They are considered good shots, and their plan has generally answered, but they have had to encounter no opponents provided with strong divisions of artillery. Yet it must not be forgotten that in two or three actions with the Afgháns, when these latter thought fit to fight, the Sikhs have been unable to withstand the fury of the Dúrání charge.

There is, amongst the Sikhs, a class of military fanatics, called A-kálías, who clothe themselves in black, and are always armed in a most profuse manner, some of them have half a dozen swords stuck about them and their horses, and as many pistols and other arms. They carry round the top of their pagrí, a circular steel disc, with a rim perhaps an inch broad, the edge of which is very sharp. I at first supposed this instrument was intended to break the cut of a sword,

but learned that it was an offensive weapon thrown by the hand, and I was assured that these men could eject it with such force, that they could divide the leg of a horse or even of an elephant.

The pay of the troops provided for by *jághírs* or the assignment of lands is of course very variable. That of the regular infantry, is said to be one rupee higher, to the private soldier, than in the British service. The pay of the officers in the regular battalions is also fixed, but still fluctuates, as those made by the *Máhárájá* himself receive extravagant allowances, while those promoted by the commanding officers receive only the regulated stipend. The troops are not paid with punctuality, but they are certain of receiving all arrears once during the year. The Sikhs are allowed every year the indulgence of leave for three months to visit their homes. They return at the annual festival of *Dassérah*, when the *Máhárájá* reviews the assembled force of his kingdom. *Amritsir* is usually the spot selected for this review. The Sikhs being permitted the free use of wine, it is much to their credit, that during the nine months they are present with their regiments, the greater part of them abstain from it, and make up for their forbearance during the revelry of the liberty season.

*Ranjit Sing* is the son of *Máhá Sing*, and was born at *Gújaránwála*, a small town about sixty miles west of *Lahore*. In his early infancy he manifested a predilection for war, and all his amusements had reference to that art. Such was the barbarism of the Sikhs at that period, that the young son of a chief was not taught to read or to write, accomplishments which he has never since acquired. On the demise of his father, being yet a minor, his mother assumed the authority, but suspecting that she intended to keep his patrimony from him, he slew her, and by so terrific a deed, acquired the government of his native town and the command of two thousand horse. From that moment he commenced his plans of aggrandizement. It was one of his first objects to raise a disciplined regiment of foreigners, a singular proof of sagacity in a country, where every one was a horseman. This regiment, his present *Najíb Paltan* was of eminent service to him, and now enjoys many privileges. He was some years employed in the reduction of his own countrymen, and finally by taking advantage of the disorders in *Afghánistán*, has become a powerful prince; and the only absolutely independent one in what may be termed *Hindústán*. *Ranjit Sing* owes his elevation to his own ability and energy, favored by the concurring circumstances of the times. He has always been his own counsellor, and at present surrounded with officers and ministers he takes no opinion on important

state affairs. As a general, setting aside his good fortune, he has exhibited decisive proofs of great personal valour, quickness of conception, and promptitude of execution. He exemplified, in the investment of Múltán, an acquaintance with stratagem, and in the siege of Mankírah, remarkable perseverance and a possession of resources to meet difficulties that would have done honor to any general. In his campaigns, on the Indus, his achievements were of the most brilliant kind, and no commander could have surpassed him in the beauty and celerity of his movements. In his relation with his troops he appears to great advantage, enjoying the general esteem which his kindness and liberality have secured. Not a day passes without thousands of fervent aspirations for the continuance of his life. He is equally popular with the generality of his subjects, and rules with an equal hand both Mússúlmán and Hindú. The only hardship of which the former complains is the interdiction of Azán or summons to prayers. His devastation of countries on their subjection, a measure seemingly injurious to his own interests, does not originate so much in cruelty, as it is in obedience to a barbarous system of warfare long established in these countries.

The annual visits to Pesháwer, and other dependent states, are evidently made with the political view of keeping them depressed, and of preventing the possibility of reaction. Although himself illiterate, he has a respect for acquirements in others, and when occasion presented itself during his first visit to Pesháwer of shewing his esteem for literature, he did not neglect it, and issued positive orders for the preservation of the extensive library of the Mússúlmán saint at Chamkanní. He must be deemed charitable, if we may judge from the large sums daily lavished upon faquírs and others, and his bounty extends to the Mahomedan, as well as the Hindú. He is undoubtedly gifted with liberality of mind, as evinced in his deportment to his Mahomedan subjects, who are admitted to all posts and ranks. His confidential physician is faquí Azzíz-al-Dín, and no man perhaps is more trusted by him. Although he has elevated some of his menial servants to the highest commands in the state, it must be admitted that they have proved men of high merit, witness Harí Sing, Khúsíál Sing, and others. The former of these was however a towns fellow, and playmate of the Máhárájá in his childhood, and the prince has not a more devoted subject or a more intrepid general. Mír Dhaiyán Singh, it is said, was found a stripling in the jangal on some ravaging expedition, his personal attractions pleased the Máhárájá, and his subservience to his impure desires has affected his promotion to the dignity of minister and Rajá, and the advancement of all his

family. He has not proved deficient in talent, although much so in moral excellence, unless he be belied. Mír Dhaiyán Sing has two brothers, Gúláb Sing and Súčít Sing; both have been created Rájás, and Gúláb Sing, as governor of Jamú, possesses very great power. Súčít Sing, it is asserted, was once as much a favorite of the Máhárájá as his brother Dhaiyán Sing. These three brothers, called the Rájás, have been raised to more influence than perhaps is agreeable to Ranjit Sing, but it was his own act, and however repentant, he scruples to acknowledge his error by degrading them. Yet it is popularly believed, that if he could get them together, he would not hesitate to seize them, but they, aware of the probability of such an accident, take care never to attend the court at the same time.

Ranjit Sing has but one son, Karak Sing, who is considered legitimate, or who is believed by himself to be so, according to report. This prince has proved incapable of command, and his father has been obliged to remove most of the troops he placed under him, owing to the disorders his son permitted or was unable to control. He is esteemed imbecile, but I suspect is merely of a mild, placid disposition, averse to cruelty as to exertion. He has frequently remonstrated against the violent measures of his father, particularly against the occupation of Sújáhanpúr, with the young Rájá of which he had contracted friendship by the exchange of tarbans. Rájá Dhaiyán Sing, it is said, presumed to intrigue with his wife, an injury which might have passed over unnoticed by him, but was resented by Shír Sing, who castigated the offender in open darbár. Karak Sing has a young son, No Níhál Sing, of whom Ranjit Sing and the Sikhs generally, entertain great hopes and high expectations.

Shír Sing is the son of one of Ranjit Sing's wives; whom he married for political purposes, and whose turbulent spirit has occasioned him much trouble. In his cups, the Máhárájá declares her offspring to be due to some dhobí or washerman. The young man has however merit, which procures his being treated with respect. He is brave and generous, and very popular with the soldiery. He attaches himself a good deal to the French officers and to Europeans generally, and many people looking at the incapacity of Karak Sing, consider his prospects favorable, but he is extremely dissipated.

Besides these there are three others, Tárrah Sing, Pesháwar Sing and Káshmirí Sing, by universal opinion pronounced suppositious, the sons of various females whose fortune has located them in the Máhárájá's háram. By the little notice he takes of them, the prince plainly shews that he coincides with the public sentiment.

It is already foreseen, even by the Sikhs, that the succession will be disputed, and the death of Ranjit Sing will inevitably involve the Panjáb in all the horrors of anarchy. In person the Mâhârájá is a little below the middle size, and very meagre. His complexion is fair, and his features regular with aquiline nose. He carries along white beard, and wants the left eye. Though apparently far advanced in years, I believe he has not completed fifty. On the right side of his neck, a large scar is visible, probably the effect of a wound. In his diet he is represented abstemious, but has always been perniciously prone to copious cups of the strongest spirits, which with his unbounded sensuality has brought on him premature old age, with a serious burthen of infirmities. For some ailment he makes daily use of laudanum. Simple in his dress, which is of white linen, he wears on his arm the celebrated diamond Kohí Núr, of which he deprived Sháh Sújáh al Múlk, who had promised it to him, but first attempted to dupe him, and then to withhold it altogether. His attendants, domestics, &c. are splendidly clad, and display a profusion of gold and jewelled ornaments. Although Ranjit Sing, in his relations with the Mússólmáns to the west, assumes a high tone; at home he simply styles himself Sirkár. The principal fault of this prince is ambition, the ordinary failing of kings, which sometimes leads him into unjustifiable measures, of which the most flagrant was the expulsion of the Rájá of Sújahánpúr, on no better plea than that he would not consent to degrade his rank and descent, by giving his sister in marriage to the minister Rájá Dhaiyán Sing, a Dogra of low cast, and a man of questionable character. In his affairs with the Afgháns he has always received ample provocation, and the shameless deceit and perfidy constantly played off upon him by their shortsighted and unprincipled chiefs and politicians, deserved the vengeance he has inflicted upon them.

To sum up his character, as a public man, he is a prince of consummate ability, a warrior brave and skilful, and a good but crafty statesman. In his private or individual capacity he has many shining qualities, but they are obscured by many failings, and by habits so grossly sensual, that they can scarcely be excused, by the knowledge, that they may be attributed to the barbarous period at which he was born, or by the fact, that in such respect he is not worse than many of his compatriots. If there be a prince of antiquity to whom he may be compared, I think it might be Philip of Macedon. Both claim our admiration as public characters, and our censure as private men. On a review however of their actions, their means, and

advantages of birth, it may perhaps be conceded that the more splendid career has been run by the conqueror of the Panjáb.

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X. — *Observations on the Political Condition of the Dúrání States and Dependencies.*

[ It may not be improper to state the circumstances under which this paper was written. In 1829, residing with the late Colonel David Wilson, then Resident at Búshír, he laid before me the work of the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone, and requested me to note freely in the margins of the respective pages, any remarks I choose to make. I accepted the task, but soon found my ability at fault, for the work contained more information than I possessed; and this was only natural, as the scanty knowledge I could acquire in a brief transit through a country, and with no very favorable opportunities, could not, of course, be comparable with that gained by the highly popular chief of a favored mission, to augment which even the monarch of the day was proud to exert himself. In this case, finding I could not do exactly what Colonel Wilson desired, the great political changes which had occurred in Afghánistán since the time of Mr. Elphinstone's visit to Pesháwer, enabled me, in another mode, to oblige him, and the wish to do so led to the composition of this document. In the original paper there were some inaccuracies, which I have now corrected. I have also made a few additions with the view of presenting with tolerable accuracy the state of Afghánistán up to 1830, in other respects there is no material alteration.

C. MASSON. 1841. ]

When we reflect on the former power, and extended authority of the Dúrání empire, and contrast it with its present feeble condition and limited sway, we cannot but be impressed with humble ideas of earthly prosperity. The sword which had triumphed in many a conflict on Persian and Indian soils — which had wrested the fairest gem from the diadem of the vanquished descendant of Taimúr, and which even was supposed to menace the existence of European power in Hindostan, is now drawn only within the contracted limits of a few spared provinces, and in inglorious intestine commotions. The dependent states, whose chiefs obeyed the behests of the Sháh of Afghánistán, and heaped his coffers with tributary gold, are now independent, or reduced to subjection by Ranjit Sing, who once appear-

ed a suppliant vassal, with closed hands, in the presence of the unfortunate Sháh Zemán.

Yet if we look at the composition of the Dúrání empire, we have no occasion to wonder that such changes and misfortunes should have befallen it. It was founded by Ahmed Sháh, a soldier of fortune, and required a series of sovereigns equal to that illustrious chief in character and energy to have sustained it.

Although the sovereign belonged to the tribe, the most respected perhaps of the various Dúrání clans, there were many others much more powerful and numerous, the heads of which conscious of their strength, approached the throne rather with a feeling of equality than of respect. If a request were denied or a rebuke given, they retired to their castles, drew out their followers, and became rebels. It was evident that an aristocracy so turbulent and puissant, could only be restrained, and kept in due obedience, by a monarch of great personal qualities, who could both command and compel their homage. In short, it became necessary that the prince, in all splendid endowments should surpass his nobles.

Ahmed Sháh was such a prince, but he was followed by successors of inferior ability, the consequence of which has been that the kingdom has been rent by rebellion, and broken up. What remains under Dúrání authority, with the exception of Herát, is parcelled out amongst the successful traitors of another tribe, the Bârak Zais, while the sovereign seems destined to pass his days in exile.

Mr. Elphinstone has narrated, in his work on Kábal, the history of the Dúránís, until the period when the troubles commenced which terminated in the expulsion of the king, and of the establishment in power of the rebellious subjects who dethroned him. It is not my object to detail the intermediate occurrences, indeed I could not follow the course of events, but merely to describe the state of the provinces, at the time I visited the country in 1827 and 1828.

#### HERÁ'T.

Herát is at present actually administered by Sháhzáda or prince Kámrán; — his father Sháh Máhmúd, the nominal sovereign, and formerly of some notoriety at Kábal, being reputed imbecile, and incapable of conducting the government. Kámrán is popular, and is esteemed to possess energy and firmness. His government is said to be favorable to those engaged in trade and agriculture, hence his country is prosperous, and his capital has increased in wealth and consequence. An Afghán questioned as to the state of Khorasán, would reply that it was nearly ruined, and that only two places, Herát and



Kábal, were " abád " or flourishing. The Sháhzáda has abolished the slave trade, which was formerly carried on most flagitiously at Herát. To this desirable purpose, the establishment of a strong post at Ghoríán, is supposed to have contributed. He has many sons, one of whom holds the government of Sabzwár, another that of Farra. The eldest, the Sháhzáda Jehángír (of whom, it is said, he entertains jealousy) is retained near his own person. Kámrán is of the Sadú Zai family, and although inimical to his expelled relatives, is the implacable enemy of the Bárák Zai rulers, yet he is so circumstanced that it is not supposed he will ever again take a part in the affairs of the countries to the east. He has nevertheless still partisans in them, as was shewn by a transaction which happened when I was in Kándahár.

The Sirdárs there had determined on an expedition to Shikárpúr, and Náib Gúl Máhomed Khán was to remain in charge of the city. This man had great influence, and was of the Popal Zai tribe. He had originally been Kámrán's Governor at Kándahár, and surrendered it to the Bárák Zai Sirdárs, who besieged it, when Kámrán informed him that he did not intend to march to relieve it. By his means therefore in some measure, the Sirdárs acquired the city they have since held, and Gúl Máhomed Khán distrustful perhaps of placing himself in the power of Sháhzáda Kámrán, remained with them, and appeared to attach himself to them. Courtesy permitted him to hold his title of Náib, and he was considered next to the Sirdárs, the man first in rank at Kándahár. Now that the Shikárpúr expedition was projected, and he was to remain in charge of the city, it is asserted, that he wrote to Kámrán offering to make it over to him. His messenger was seized near Gríshk, and the Náib, unconscious that his intended treachery had been exposed, attended the darbár as usual, and was made prisoner by Fúr Dil Khán. The caution and fears manifested on this occasion by the Sirdárs were very great. The Naib was detained throughout the day in the house of Fúr Dil Khán, and by night, he was privately removed in a palanquin to the citadel, where a part of the house of Kohán Dil Khán was set aside as his prison. The custody of his person was intrusted to Hindústání soldiers, it being apprehended that the sympathy of Afgháns might be excited, or that they might be seduced.

The gates of the city were closed and strictly guarded, — all was on the alert, it being thought probable that the numerous friends and adherents of the captive chief might attempt his rescue. Bodies of horse were instantly dispatched into those parts of the country inhabited by his Ulús or tribe to prevent insurrection, a necessary mea-

sure, as the sons of Gúl Máhomed Khán had escaped from Kándahár. I left the Náib in prison, and the expedition to Shikárpúr was deferred, as it proved never to take place. I have since heard that he was eventually released, and suffered to proceed to Pesháwer, where he was connected by marriage with the Sirdár Yár Máhomed Khán, who would not, so strange is Afghán custom, the less courteously receive him on account of his meditated treason to his Kándahár brother. It is due to Gúl Máhomed Khán, to state that some persons at Kándahár, in common with the whole of his friends, maintained that the story of his correspondence with Kámrán, was a fiction invented by the Sirdárs to excuse the seizure of his wealth, and his degradation, he being obnoxious to them as a chief of the "ancien régime."

Kámrán formerly had much dread of the Persians. It seems the general opinion that occasion for it no longer exists. Something like an understanding has been established, and cemented by family reliances between him and the prince governor of Meshed. If this be the case, the chief of Herát, has little to fear from his neighbours, indeed he may be supposed capable of dictating the law to most of them. Máhomed Khán, Káráhi, of Túrbat, has every inclination to annoy, but fortunately has not the power. The chiefs of Sístán although factious and predatory, I believe acknowledge the supremacy of Herát. To the north-east of the territory of Kámrán, is the town and state of Maimanna, whose chief, an Uzbek is considered rising in power. It may also be noted that some of the tribes connected with Herát, as the Aimáks and Taimannís, are powerful enough to be considered rather as confederates than subjects.

The reputation of Kámrán is not confined to Khorasán. It extends even to Lahore, and Ranjit Sing aware that Jehándád Khán, Barmí Zai, purposed to return to Herát, entrusted him with a complimentary letter and an elephant for the prince. I saw Jehándád Khán afterwards at Shikárpúr, where he was encamped in a garden with his retinue and elephant, but in perplexity how to act, as he had advanced as far as Kalát and thought fit to return, having learned that the Sirdárs of Kándahár intended to intercept him and the elephant on the road. He was obnoxious to them, from having formerly played a prominent political part, and the elephant was equally so, being a present from the Káfr Ranjit Sing to their enemy Kámrán. Jehándád Khán might probably have passed by some indirect road himself, still although his funds began seriously to diminish, he was resolved, not to forego, if possible, the honor of conducting the monstrous animal to Herát, to whose good citizens it would afford matter of novelty and wonder.

When in the Panjáb, I was often asked by the Mahomedan inhabitants, when Kámrán was coming, and I found that these depressed people generally entertained the idea that the prince of Herát was destined to overthrow the tyranny of the Síkhs, and to vindicate Islám. The idea probably arose from the interpretation given to the prophecies of Níámat Ulah, Wallí, which are current in Afghán countries, and have spread into others. They exist in writing, and predict, as is affirmed, all the disorders and vicissitudes that have happened, and that finally one named Kámrán shall arise, who will restore the Dúrání sovereignty and destroy the Síkhs. The Sháh-záda Kámrán is willing to believe that he is the person intended, and frequently declares that he shall not die until he has victoriously entered Delhí. Ranjit Sing also who is very superstitious, and what is called a Potí-báz, has heard of these prophecies; indeed it is asserted that they are to be found likewise in the Síkh Potís, on which account he feels a kind of mysterious dread of Kámrán.

The revenue of Herát was usually estimated at twelve lákhs of rupees. Kámrán is supposed to be individually very rich. It is remarked that he has always been in some government from his youth, was always rapacious, and amid the changes which have convulsed the country, was never seized, or in the power of his enemies.

#### KA'NDAHÁ'R.

The provinces of Kándahár are administered by four Sirdárs, and brothers, viz. Fúr Dil Khán, Kohan Dil Khán, Rahám Dil Khán and Meher Dil Khán. There was originally another brother and joint Sirdár, Shír Dil Khán, who died a year or two before I visited the country.

They are all sons of Sarfaráz or Páhíndah Khán, and by the same mother. I have just related the manner in which they acquired Kándahár, which happened about the time when Kámrán's son Jehángír was expelled from Kábal, and they have since been allowed to retain the territory, which was won, as it is said, by their own swords. Their deceased brother Shír Dil Khán was a brave soldier, and had distinguished himself on many occasions, in the war carried on by his half brother, the famous Vazír Fatú Khán, against the Persians, then in an attempt to take possession of Herát, and finally at Kábal, where an unprecedented series of intrigues and perfidies, was terminated by the spoliation of Habíb Ulah Khán, with whose treasures the Sirdár returned to Kándahár, and died soon afterwards.

As the present Sirdárs occupy what is acknowledged the takht or metropolis of the Dúránís, the elder brother Fúr Dil Khán, in his

communications with foreign states, assumes the title and tone of Pádsháh, and seems moreover to be inclined to support his pretensions by force of arms. He affects a control or perhaps rather supremacy over his brothers established elsewhere, which they verbally admit. This Sirdár although so ignorant of matters unconnected with Afghánistán, as to suppose that Hindústán was the native country of Feringhís or Europeans, is prudent and cautious, and more capable of calculating soundly than any of his family. He is remarkable as being the only prince (I mean native) I believe, I may say, throughout Asia, that pays his soldiers regularly. The stipendiary in his service invariably receiving his allowance monthly. His brothers in the same city do not profit by the example.

When I was at Kándahár he made a rigid reform in his military establishment, and purged it of all inefficient hands. The Sirdár is guilty of extravagant oppression, and taxation is pushed as far as possible, or as the patience of the subject can endure. The people after giving him credit for punctuality and a regard to truth, heartily execrate him, and pronounce him to be "bissíár sakht" or very hard. His nephew, the son of Taimúr Kúlí Khán, who was slain in action with the Sikhs at Pesháwer, one day lamenting the condition of Kándahár, and describing its advantages of situation and fertility, ascribed all the misery existing to the tyranny and incapacity of the rulers. When I would ask a Dúrání, what could induce a man of sense, as Fúr Dil Khán had the reputation of being, to be so intent upon extortion and the impoverishment of the country; the reply was, that being aware he was an usurper, and uncertain how long he might continue in power, he was amassing as much treasure as he could, while the opportunity was afforded him — as was the case with all the Bârak Zais.

The character of this man, as the acknowledged head of the Bârak Zai family, might materially influence the future prospects of the Dúránís, but although he be capable of decided conduct, and has a degree of prudence, while he possesses a regard to truth, a rare and inestimable quality in a Dúrání prince, his avidity for money and oppression of his subjects, with his consequent unpopularity, to which may be added a narrow soul, will prevent him from being the restorer of his country's prosperity. To maintain his ascendancy Fúr Dil Khán keeps a considerable force in pay, and he has been heard to exclaim "What need I care about discontent, who have so many troops."

The Sirdár, like most of his family, has passed an active and eventful life. On the seizure of his brother the Vazír Fattí Khán at Herát,

he was made a prisoner by Kámrán, who subsequently released him, and appointed him Mír or principal of his tribe. He fled from Herát, urged thereto by the reproaches of his blinded and degraded brother, and at Andáli, a castle near Gríshk, organized the opposition which eventually gained Kándahár. On the death of the Sirdár Mahomed Azem Khán at Kabál, he marched there, and confirming the son of the defunct, Hábib Uláh Khán in authority, seized the person of Ayúb Sháh, the mock king of his late brother's creation, and terminated the farce, for such it had become, of Sadú Zai rule.

Of the others, Kohan Dil Khán is most esteemed, being reputed the most warlike of them, and to have besides a little generosity and manliness in his composition. The two others are of less consequence, and I never heard any one speak very favorably of them. Meher Dil Khán, indeed, while his other brothers are or profess themselves to be, rigid Súnís in religion, and therefore use little scruple in their dealings with the Pársiwáns or Shías of the country — affects a liberality on the score of faith, and pretends to sympathize with all who are ill treated on that account. He is therefore more popular than his brothers with the Shía population, which is not inconsiderable. He is however suspected to be in this and on other points, a “thag” or hypocrite, and his talent for dissimulation and deceit has been evinced on many occasions, particularly when at Kábal he was the agent in deluding and making prisoner his nephew Hábib Ulah Khán, preparatory to the appropriation of his wealth, by the late Shír Dil Khán. All the Sirdárs of Kándahár are educated men, and Meher Dil Khán is even literary, and a poet, writing verses, you will be told, faster than other men can write prose.

When I first arrived in Kándahár (1829) the Sirdárs were at variance, and there were two distinct darbárs. Fúr Dil Khán holding his alone, while the others assembled at the house of Kohan Dil Khán in the Arg or citadel. The latter considered it necessary to unite against their elder brother, to whom they never went or paid any kind of obedience. At length a reconciliation was effected, — the three brothers first paying a visit to Fúr Dil Khán, who afterwards returned them the compliment. The result of the renewal of intercourse was that Khodá Nazzar, an Andar Ghiljí, known familiarly by the name of Mámah or uncle, (which he had been effectively to Shír Dil Khán) was appointed Múkhtahár or chief manager of affairs. The first measures of this minister were popular, but he has since, justly or unjustly, acquired the reputation of being a “shaitán” or devil.

The city of Kándahár is regularly built, the bazár being formed by two lines drawn from opposite directions, and intersecting in the centre of the place. It is consequently composed of four distinct quarters, over each of which one of the Sirdárs exercises authority. I resided within the citadel, near Kohan Dil Khán's residence, and had an opportunity of seeing the daily visitors as they passed to the darbár of the three confederate brothers. Amongst the unwilling ones, were invariably from fifty to one hundred Hindús, some of them, no doubt, men of respectability, and all merchants or traders, who had been seized in their houses or shops, and dragged along the streets to the darbár, the Sirdárs needing money, and calling upon them to furnish it. This was a daily occurrence, and it was certainly afflicting to behold men of decent appearance, driven through the bazár by the hirelings of these Dúrání despots, who wished to negotiate a loan. Yet I have seen the Hindús of this city on occasions of festivals, assembled in gardens, with every sign of riches in their apparel and trinkets, nor did they appear less gay, than they would have been in a Hindú kingdom. The gains of these men must be enormous, or they never could meet the exactions of their rulers, and without extravagant profits operating as an offset, they never could submit so patiently to the indignities heaped upon them in every Mússúlmán country, from the prince to the lowest miscreant who repeats his kalmah.

I am unable to state the amount of revenue possessed by these Sirdárs individually. I have heard twelve lákhs of rúpees mentioned as the probable sum of the gross revenue of the country, which may be thought sufficient looking at the deterioration every where prevalent, and the obstacles thrown in the way of trade. Of this sum the larger proportion will be taken by Fúr Dil Khán, who is also in possession of large treasures, acquired on the demise of his brother Shír Dil Khán, of which he deprived his heirs.

Neither can I assign to each brother, the share he holds in the division of the country, or only in a general manner. Kohan Dil Khán has charge of the western frontier, important as being that of Herát, and his son Mahomed Sídik Khán, a fine intelligent youth, generally resides at Gríshk. He has also authority over Zemín Dáwer, and the districts of the Garm Sél. This Sirdár collects the tribute from the Hazára tribes dependent on Kándahár, and it may be from the Núr zai country of Daráwat bordering on the Helmand. Rahám Dil Khán draws revenue from some of the country to the east, neighbouring on the independent Ghiljís, and from Shoráwak, Peshing and Síwí, the latter north-east of Dádar and Kachí. Meher Dil Khán

enjoys the country to the north east of Kándáhar, which also touches upon the Ghiljí lands, besides various portions in other parts. Fúr Dil Khán reserves to himself the fertile districts in the vicinity of the city, where the revenue is at once productive and collected with facility. In the distant provinces troops are not generally stationed, but are required to be annually sent, as tribute is mostly paid only after intimidation. The authority of Kándahár is acknowledged over a considerable space of country, and the Kháka tribes of Toba, with the Teríns, and other rude tribes in that part, confess a kind of allegiance, allowing no claim on them, however, but that of military service, which is also rendered to the Sirdárs by Khán Terek, the chief of the Ghiljí tribe of Terekí. The present chief of Balochistán, Mehráb Khán of Kalát, was, after I left Kándahâr, compelled to pay a tribute, I believe of one lách of rupees Kalát base coin, equal to about four thousand rupees of Kándahár currency, and to engage to furnish a quota of troops, and otherwise to assist in the furtherance of Fúr Dil Khán's projects against Sind. A proper understanding with this chief was very necessary, even essential, as the success of an expedition to the south would greatly depend upon his friendship or enmity, it being unavoidable that the army should march one hundred and fifty cosses through his territories. The capture of Shikárpúr would lead to a collision with the rulers of Sind, who, although they might assemble numerous troops, would be little dreaded by the Dúránís.

The very principle of an Afghán government is foreign conquest and aggression, which it would ever act upon, should circumstances permit. Still it is evident that the present BáraK Zai rulers, have enough on their hands to keep the Lahore king in check, who has beyond doubt the power to crush them, although the contest would be sanguinary. He constantly avows his intention of subduing Kábal, if life be granted to him. It would be singular if, in this age, when the Hindús are considered a declining race, that the warlike chief of a new sect of them, should plant the standard of victory end of his Gúru on the banks of the Oxus, or that the mausoleum of Ahmed Sháh should be defiled by the men, whose fathers he hunted in the jangals of the Panjáb. The existence of so formidable a power as the Síkh, whose exuberant strength must fall upon the west, (for to the east, and partly to the south, it is stayed by the still more formidable British power, and to the north, nearly, all has been done that can be done,) it might be supposed, would induce the brother Sirdárs to preserve with each other a cordial understanding. It is not the case, and Dost Mahomed Khán, the Sirdár of Kábal, being al-

most the only man of the family who has correct feelings, the Sirdárs of Kándahár and Pesháwer are extremely jealous of his popularity and growing power, and thus amongst this curious medley of Bârak Zai princes, the one who governs for the benefit of the subject, as well as of himself, is held criminal and dangerous by the others.

This jealousy led to the marches of armies, and as I chanced to witness them, I will briefly relate what passed, more of the Afghán character being elicited from trifling anecdotes than from the most elaborate disquisition. In pointing out the want of cordiality, I am equally certain, if a Síkh invasion occurred, that the several Sirdárs would unite, and, as soon as the danger was over, return to their original differences. The policy of the respective governments being based on no fixed principles, cannot be reduced or estimated by any established rule or criterion. The motives are as inexplicable as the union of virtues and vices in the individual character, but I know not that it is fair to condemn too severely, or to judge by the standard of more civilized states.

In 1827 the power of Kábal attracted the attention and excited the apprehensions of the Sirdárs of Kandahár, and Rahám Dil Khán started on a mission to Pesháwer. He proceeded to Marúf, a fortress belonging to the family, and thence took the route followed by the Lobání káfilas through the Vazírí hills to Ták, Dost Mahomed Khán making a vain attempt to pick him up on the road. He had with him five hundred, or as some say, eight hundred horse, and extorted money and necessaries from every unfortunate chief he met with. He encamped near the town, and demanded a large sum of money from the surly and wealthy Sirwár Khán, who, however, considering that his walls were high and thick, and that he had guns, with which his Kándahár guest was unprovided, absolutely refused, and the baffled Sirdár was compelled to decamp, and make the best of his way to Pesháwer. There, a circumstance occurred which although not bearing on the immediate subject, may be mentioned as descriptive of the manners of the times. Ranjit Sing hearing of Rahám Dil Khán's visit, and that he had a valuable sword, immediately sent his compliments, and expressed a desire that the sword should be sent to Lahore. The pride of the Dúrání Sirdár must certainly have been mortified, but fearing the consequences of refusing compliance to the polite request, to himself or to his brothers at Pesháwer, he forwarded it. Ranjit Sing of course accepted the present as a peshkash or tributary offering, and must have chuckled at the helpless condition to which the once terrific race had become reduced.



Rahám Dil Khán returned to Kándahár, accompanied by Yár Mahomed Khán, the elder of the Pesháwer Sirdárs, and his half brother. Matters were soon settled, and it was agreed to humble Dost Máhomed Khán. For this object he was to be attacked from the east, and from the west. In pursuance of the arrangements, Pír Mahomed Khán, the younger of the Pesháwer Sirdárs expelled the sons of the Nawáb Samad Khán from the districts of Kohát and Hángú, but the famous Saiyad Ahmed Sháh, assisted by Báram Khán and Júma Khán, Khalíl arbábs or chiefs, and instigated no doubt by Dost Mahomed Khán, by keeping Pesháwer in continual alarm, reduced the Sirdárs to the necessity of defending their own territory, and prevented them from marching on Jelalabád and Kábal, as had been concerted. I have narrated, in the narrative of my journey from Ták to Pesháwer, the circumstance of my falling in with Pír Mahomed Khán between Kohát and Hángú. I have also shewn how the activity of Saiyad Ahmed Sháh, too late indeed to prevent the conquest of those places, compelled the Sirdár to march precipitately from Kohát to Pesháwer. During my stay at Pesháwer, the Saiyad did not relax in his efforts, and by sallies on Hashtnaggar, allowed the Sirdárs no respite from anxiety. Subsequently when I had found my way as far as Ghazní, in August probably, I found Dost Mahomed Khán encamped with, as I was told, six thousand men, and the army of Kándahár, stated at eleven thousand men, was about seven cosses in front. A battle was daily expected by the men, but I doubt whether intended by the leaders. I was here kindly received by Hájí Khán, Kháka, called the Vazír, and a man of the first influence. His brother Gúl Mahomed Khán, commanded a Kháka contingent in the hostile force, being in the service of the Kándahár Sirdárs. Vakíls or envoys were, in the first instance, dispatched by Dost Mahomed Khán, who, the best officer in the country, is prudent enough to gain his ends by fair words rather than by violence. These vakíls demanded the reasons of the hostile array—asked if the Bárák Zais were not Mússúlmáns and brethren, and whether it would not be better to unite their arms against the Síkhs, than ingloriously employ them in combating Dúránís against each other. They moreover submitted that Dost Mahomed Khán was perfectly aware of the right of primogeniture of his brother Fúr Dil Khán, and that he occupied the takht or capital. The Kándahár Sirdárs claimed the surrender of half Kábal, and the whole of Loghar and Shilghar, as a provision for the young son of their late brother Shír Dil Khán. The negotiations were so adroitly conducted by Dost Mahomed Khán and his friends, that a treaty was concluded by which

he lost not an inch of ground, but agreed to make an annual remittance to Kándahár of the amount of revenue of Loghar, valued at forty thousand rupees, for the son of Shír Dil Khán. As it afterwards proved never intending to send it. He moreover expressed his willingness to cooperate in Fúr Dil Khán's projected expedition to Sind, alike without meaning to fulfil his engagement.

The troops of Dost Mahomed Khán although inferior in number, being choice men, were sanguine of success, and at least possessed confidence, a presage of victory. It was expected, however, in the event of an engagement, that the greater part of the Kándahár army would have gone over to the highly popular Sirdár of Kábal, who is called the "dostdár sipáhán" or the soldiers friend.

The tidings of peace were announced in camp by the beating of drums, the sounding of horns, (I mean cow horns or conchs) and all the melodious warlike music of the Afgháns. Visits were interchanged between the two camps, and my host received the embrace of his brother, who but for the treaty, might have cut his throat in the battle strife. The Kándahár troops hastily retired, and Yár Máhommed Khán, who had accompanied them to Ghazní, quietly passed on to Pesháwer. The Sirdárs of that place had however benefited by the operations, as they had possessed themselves of Kohát and Hángú. These they were allowed by treaty to retain as an equivalent for a claim of one lách of rupees from the revenue of Kábal, which Dost Mahomed Khán had agreed to pay to Súltán Mahomed Khán, to get him out of the country, but which he had forgotten to do as soon as his object was gained — the Nawáb Samad Khán was carried off about this time by cholera, and his two sons neglected by Dost Máhommed Khán, were provided with jághírs in the province of Jelálabád, by the Nawáb Máhommed Zemán Khán.

As soon as Dost Máhommed Khán was relieved of the presence of his Kándahár brothers — he moved into the country of Zúrmát, inhabited by the Ghiljí tribe of Súlímán Khél, very numerous and powerful, and who had not hitherto been reduced to the condition of subjects. Hájí Khán boasted of having urged this measure, the Sirdár being unwilling to disturb the Ghiljís. A vast number of castles were destroyed, and much spoil made, while the annual amount of tribute to be paid in future was fixed. The lands of Khán Terek, a vassal or ally of Kándahár were also ravaged, and although the news thereof, excited some indignation in the breast of the Sirdárs, they did not interest themselves to protect their suffering friend, and I venture to think that Khán Terek conscious they could not or would not afford aid, never thought of soliciting it.

The revenue of the Kándahár Sirdárs I have already stated at about twelve lākhs of rupees, and it has been seen that they had assembled a force computed at eleven thousand men, but on this occasion they had not only drawn out the I'ljári or militia of the country, but had assembled all their allies and dependents. It is not supposed that the Sirdárs regularly entertain above four thousand men, of whom three thousand are cavalry and considered good — but as if suspicious of their own Dúránís, they are generally Ghiljís, to whom the Sirdárs may also have a predilection on account of their mother being of that tribe. Kándahár contains in its fertility and its resources, all the elements of a powerful state, and could provide a large military force, but neither the funds or the popularity of the present chiefs will allow them to profit by the advantages. The artillery, of twenty pieces, is equally divided between the four brothers. Some of them are un-serviceable, and amongst the better ones are two or three Dutch guns, which they correctly distinguish by the name Hálandéz.

The Sirdárs of Kándahár affect no kind of pomp, and even Fúr Dil Khán is content amongst his own Kawáníns or chiefs, with the simple appellation of Sirdár. On the whole they are decidedly detested, and a change is ardently desired by their people, who are sadly oppressed, while one of the fairest provinces of Khorasán is daily accelerating in deterioration.

#### THE GHILJÍ'S.

The Ghiljí tribes, although not Dúránís, I mention here, as they occupy the principal portion of the country between Kándahár and Ghazní. They are moreover the most numerous of the Afghán tribes, and if united under a capable chief, might, especially in the present state of the country, become the most powerful.

These people are also found between Farra and Herát, and again between Kábal and Jelálabád, but in either position, being under due control, they are little heard of. The Ghiljís between Kándahár and Ghazní comprise the great families of the Ohtaks, the Thokís, the Terekís and the Andarís, with their sub-divisions, of these the three first are independent, and the last residing at Mocar are subject to the government of Ghazní. The Ohtaks are acknowledged the principal of the Ghiljí families, and furnished the chief or Pádsháh in the period of their supremacy. They have accordingly a kind of reputation to maintain, and their character is more respectable than that of the other tribes. They dwell in the tract of country north of the Thokís, and of the high road from Kándahár to Ghazní, on which account travellers seldom pass through it. The Thokis, more nume-

rous than the Ohtaks, occupy the line of road, and the tracts immediately north and south of it, from the confines of Kándahár to MOKAR. Nearest to Kándahár reside the Abúbekr Khél one of the subdivisions, under their chief Fattí Khán, whose interests have made him inimical to Shahábádín Khán, the chief of the large portion of the tribe which occupies the country nearer Ghazní. The latter chief generally resides at Kháka, a locality a good day's march from MOKAR. The Terekís also border on the frontiers of Kándahár, and are east of the Thokís. They are less numerous than the Thokís, and have for chief Khán Terek, — who if not dependent upon, cultivates an understanding with the Sirdárs of Kándahár. Very many of the Terekí tribe also reside in the districts of MOKAR and KÁRABÁGH, there they are of course subjects of the Ghazní government.

The Ghiljís are both an agricultural and pastoral people, dwelling in villages and castles as well as in tents. The Thokís possessing the greater length of the course of the Tarnak river, are enabled through its means to cultivate most extensively the tract of country bordering on it, and they raise large quantities of grain and lucerne. In certain spots, where the extent of plain is ample, it is wonderful to behold the number of castles scattered over it, and equally so to look upon the luxuriant crops which cover it in the vernal season. When they are removed the scene is as singular, having a peculiarly dreary appearance, derived from the dull naked walls of the isolated castles, enlivened by no surrounding trees or only by stunted and solitary ones, as if in mockery, or to point out the poverty of the landscape. The Thokís have, however, a few villages or hamlets with orchards in favorable situations, and the Ohtaks, whose country is more hilly, and with much less plain, have numerous small fertile vallies well irrigated by rivulets, and they constantly reside in fixed villages. The Terekís have alike villages, and few castles excepting that of their chief. The Ghiljís generally are wealthy in flocks, and have no manufactures but of coarse carpets and felts, sacking, and other rough articles for domestic use, prepared from wool and camel hair.

They are a remarkably fine race of men, the Ohtak and Thokí peasantry being probably unsurpassed, in the mass, by any other Afghán tribe, for commanding stature and strength. They are brave and warlike, but have a sternness of disposition amounting to ferocity in the generality of them, and their brutal manners are unfortunately encouraged by the hostility existing between them and their neighbours, while they are not discountenanced by their chiefs. Some of the inferior Ghiljís are so violent in their intercourse with strangers, that they can scarcely be considered in the light of human beings,

while no language can describe the terrors of a transit through their country, or the indignities which are to be endured. Yet it must be conceded that they do not excuse on marauding expeditions, and seem to think themselves justifiable in doing as they please in their own country. In this spirit, a person remonstrating against ill treatment, would be asked why he came amongst them, as he could not be ignorant of their habits.

The Ghiljís although considered, and calling themselves, Afgháns, and moreover employing the Pashto or Afghán dialect, are undoubtedly a mixed race.

The name is evidently a modification or corruption of Khaljí or Khilají, that of a great Túrki tribe, mentioned by Sherifadín in his history of Taimúr, who describes a portion of it, as being at that time fixed about Sávah and Khúm in Persia, and where they are still to be found. It is probable that the Ohtak and Thokí families are particularly of Túrki descent, as may be the Terekí and Andarí tribes, and that they were located in this part of the country by the early Ghaznaví princes, who brought them from Ghor Mashkhán, agreeably to a tradition applied by some to the origin of the Afgháns collectively, but which is true perhaps only as it concerns the pristine seats of these Ghiljís, and their transplantation.

When Nadír Sháh marched from Persia towards India, he found Kándahár in the hands of Hússén Khán, a Ghiljí, who defended the city for eighteen months, and being reduced to extremity, made a sortie in which he and his sons, after evincing the greatest bravery, and losing the greater part of their men, were made prisoners. I am ignorant of the fate of this gallant man, but with him expired Ghiljí ascendancy in these parts, and which the tribes, although they have made strenuous efforts, have never since been able to recover. Their last attempt was during the sway at Kábal of the weak Sháh Máhmúd, and Abdúl Rehmán Khán, Ohtak, the principal in that affair is yet alive, and as he is never heard of, may be presumed with encrease of years to have declined in influence, and to have moderated his views of ambition.

The most powerful and the best known of the present Ghiljí chiefs, is Shahábadin Khán, Thokí, who is what is termed " námdár " or famous, both on account of his ability as the head of a turbulent tribe, and for his oppressive conduct to káfilas and to travellers. Latterly, indeed, he has somewhat remitted in his arbitrary proceedings, and acknowledging his former rapacity, professes to comport himself as a Mússúlmán, and to exact only regulated transit fees from the traders, yet if more scrupulous himself, he does not, and it may be, is

unable to restrain effectually the extortions and annoyances of his people. He has a numerous progeny, and some of his sons occasion him much trouble, leaguings themselves with the disaffected of the tribe, and putting themselves into open revolt.

Shahábádín Khán, in common with all the Ghiljís, execrates the Dúránís, whom he regards as usurpers, and pays no kind of obedience to the actual Sirdárs of Kándahár and Kábal, neither does he hold any direct or constant communication with them. They on their part do not require any mark of submission from him, it being their policy to allow an independent chief to be between their respective frontiers, or that they distrust their power of supporting such a demand. As it is, the Ghiljí chief sets them at defiance, and boasting that his ancestors never acknowledged the authority of Ahmed Sháh, asks why should he respect that of traitors, and Ahmed Sháh's slaves. If it be enquired of him why with his numerous tribes he does not attempt to wrest the country from them, he conceals his weakness by the pious remark, that to enjoy, or to be deprived of power, depends upon the will of God, which it is not right to anticipate, but that if the Síkhs should march into Khorasán, he will then range all the Ghiljís under the banners of Islám. He has no strong hold or fortified place, his residence at Kháka, retired from the high road, being so little costly, that it would be easy to renew it if destroyed, while it would not tempt an enemy to deviate from the road for no better object than its destruction. In the event, however, of the march of armies, he abandons it, and sends his háram to the hills and wastes, his best fastnesses.

Shahábádín Khán retains in regular pay some two or three hundred horsemen, but his great strength, as that of every Ghiljí chief, is in the levy of the tribe. On occasions when the strength of the Ghiljí community has been put forth, the united force has been very considerable as to numbers, thirty-five, forty, and fifty thousand men are talked of. Such large bodies hastily assembled, of course as precipitately disperse if their object be not immediately gained, and fortunately the chiefs have not resources enabling them to wield effectively the formidable elements of power otherwise at their command. Every Ghiljí capable of bearing arms is a soldier, or becomes one in case of need, and he is tolerably well armed with a matchlock or musket, besides his sword and shield. The matchlock has frequently a kind of bayonet attached to it, and such an arm is as much used by the horseman as by the man on foot.

The disposition of Shahábádín Khán has sometimes led him to attempt a greater control over his tribe, than was considered by the

community consistent with ancient custom, but he has always been prudent enough to concede, when a shew of resistance was made to his measures. He had a son, of whom fame speaks highly, and who fully entered into his father's views as to encreasing his authority by curtailing popular influence. The young man in furtherance of the project, made himself obnoxious, and was at length slain. Shahâbâdîn Khân as soon as informed thereof, rode to the residence of the assassin, and absolved him of the murder, remarking that if his son desired to infringe the established laws of the Ghiljîs, his death was merited. Yet there is much distrust of the severe Khân entertained by many of the tribe, of which his factious sons profit to create themselves parties. Such a state of things, manifestly operates to diminish the power of all, and it is well, for the zillam or tyranny of Ghiljîs in authority is proverbially excessive. It is also said that when duly coerced, they become excellent subjects.

East of Ghaznî in the province of Zûrmat, are the Sûlímân Khél Ghiljîs, exceedingly numerous, and notorious for their habits of violence and rapine. These have no positive connection with the Thokîs or other tribes, neither have they one acknowledged head, but are governed by their respective maleks independent of each other. Dost Mahomed Khân has just reduced them to the condition of tributaries, after having destroyed a multitude of their castles.

He was rather averse to attack them, seeming to think it "dangerous to disturb a hornet's nest" but his misgivings were overcome by the counsels of Hájî Khân. From the Sûlímân Khél tribe, branch off all the various Ghiljî families in the neighbourhood of Kábal, and again east of that place to Jelálábád. Indeed the Ghiljîs may, with propriety, be classed into two great divisions, the western and eastern, the latter being all Sûlímân Khéls, the former being the Ohtaks, Thokîs, Terekîs and Andarîs, to which families, I doubt not, belong the Ghiljîs between Farra and Herát, where they occupy nearly the original seats of the race.

#### THE HA'ZA'RAS.

The Házára race occupy an immense mountainous tract extending from Kábal to Ghaznî, thence to Kándahár, and thence to Herát, in fact they possess the entire mountain ranges between Tûrkistân and Afghánistán, from the parallel of Kábal westward. They are also found on the plains south-west of Kábal and of Ghaznî, as far as Kárabágh, and that they were formerly more firmly established on them is matter of notoriety, as well as that they have been obliged to yield to the encroachments of the Ghiljîs, which are still carrying

on. They are a very distinct people from the Afgháns, having the genuine Tátar characteristics of small eyes, and prominent cheek bones. They are farther distinguished by their inferior stature, and deficiency of hair on their chins. Their chiefs indeed generally are exceptions, but they are mostly of Túrki descent, which corroborates the account given by Báber of the location in these hills of Mangú Khán's officers, and also explains the origin of the term Házára, as now applied to the tribes, those officers to whom the country was given, having been commanders of Házáras or battalions of one thousand men. The Házáras know no dialect but the Persian, and they are violent Shíás in religion, if they can be said to have any, as they are nearly ignorant of prayers, observe no forms or fasts, but have an inordinate reverence for the name of Azarat Alí, and for Saiyads, while they are so ignorant that any person who wears a green turban will be accepted as a Saiyad by them. They style their chiefs Mírs, and owe them the most implicit obedience.

In the vicinity of Kábal, and between it and Bámíán, is the large province of Bísút, under the government of Mír Yezdánbaksh, a chief of good reputation, and undoubtedly of some ability. He pays an unwilling allegiance to Kábal, and the tribute from his country is collected by Amír Mahomed Khán, the brother of Dost Mahomed Khán, to whom he affords little or no assistance. Amír Mahomed Khán also derives tribute from the Házára tribes in the neighbourhood of Ghazní, and there are many, as before noted, on the plains at Kárábágh, Nání, &c. who are in all respects submissive subjects although sadly oppressed. The most easterly of the Házára tribes is that of Shékh Alí, between Shibr and Ghorband, they have been for some years independent, and are not called upon for tribute: above or north of them are the Gavís, who alone of the eastern Házáras are Súnís in faith, they are in a manner dependent on Morád Beg, the Uzbek chief of Kúndúz, who looking at their degraded and defenceless condition, does not hesitate to carry them off as slaves, or to employ them in catching their neighbours. The Gavís infest the great pass of the Hindú Kosh, and trepan passengers and small parties whom they can inveigle to their haunts, when they overpower and bind them.

To the west of Bámíán, are the Házára districts of Yek Aulang, Déh Zanghí and Déh Kúndí, which formerly were tributary to the kings, but now enjoy independence, although liable to inroads from the Mír of Kúndúz. The Házáras in them are represented to be in better circumstances than those of Bísút, and to be more comfortable in their dwellings, possessing in a more ample degree the necessaries of life.—There are lead mines in many parts of the Házára Ját, or



country inhabited by the Házára tribes, but the metal is said to be extremely plentiful at Déh Zanghí, while copper and lapis lazuli are also reported to be abundant, although not turned to profit. Like all the other Házáras, those of Déh Zanghí, &c. have a fund of wealth in their flocks, but whether that the fleece is better, or the artisans more skilful, the coarse manufactures, to which they limit their industry, surpass those of their neighbours. The barrak, a woollen said to be fabricated from camel wool, is exceedingly prized at Kábal, and is, in truth, a delicate as well as serviceable article. It may be noted that in the Házára Ját, and generally north of the latitude of Kábal, various animals which in other countries have only hair, have besides an under coat of peshm or wool, which is identical with the famous shawl wool, and of course may be applied to the same purposes.

I am aware that the Sirdárs of Kándahár exact tribute from the Házáras nearest to them, but I am not acquainted with the tribes from whom they levy it, or with the nature of the country they inhabit, but should infer it was more fertile than that in the vicinity of Ghazní and Kábal, and with a greater extent of level surface, while it has the advantage of the river Helmand, a considerable stream, for all objects of irrigation, flowing through it. The duty of collection devolves upon the Sirdar Kohan Dil Khán, who finds it necessary to march with a force into the country — as the Házáras who are numerous, invariably assemble, and debate as to the propriety of paying tribute. On such occasions they talk very loudly, and generally decide to withhold it, and discover that the Bârak Zai Sirdárs are robbers and usurpers, whose claims are unjust and unrecognizable. When the Dúrání force enters the country, a gun is fired, and on hearing the report multiplied and prolonged by echoes amongst their hills, they lose all their courage, and come tumbling in with their tribute. It is seldom necessary to repeat the discharge. The Dúránís affect to consider the Házáras as great cowards, and this stigma certainly attaches to them. They are exceedingly simple, but on one or two occasions have shewn that they are not wanting in bravery. The Shékh Alís cut to pieces a detachment from Kábal, and have been free ever since, and an adventure had once nearly befallen the Sirdár Kohan Dil Khán, which may be related here. It appears that he was in the Házára country, and that he made demands upon a certain chief named Zirdád. Whether they were novel or unreasonable, or that it was judged needless to comply with them, Zirdád made a night attack upon the Sirdár's camp. As no troops take less precautions against surprise than the Afgháns, and none are more

easily dispersed by it, all was nearly lost, but for the presence of mind of their leader, who stood by his guns, and by dint of noise and blazing away, finally drove off the Házáras. Apprehensive of another visit, he retired to Kándahár, and Zirdád, who before had been little heard of, became suddenly famous, both amongst his countrymen and abroad. The Sirdár had been only a few days at the city, when a spare ill clad man, with seven or eight followers, presented himself and wished to see him. The stranger, to the astonishment of every one, proved to be Zirdád, who told the Sirdár that he had shewed himself a brave and worthy man, in keeping his post when his camp was attacked, and therefore he had now brought his tribute to him. Kohan Dil Khán capable of an act of generosity, embraced him, honorably entertained him some days, and then dismissed him with presents.

I know little of the Házáras in the neighbourhood of Herát, but believe that they are a finer race of men than the eastern ones — as well as being more powerful and united. They are Súní Mahomedans, which is singular in one respect, as they are in contact with the Shíá subjects of Persia, while their eastern brethren, surrounded on all sides by Súní neighbours, are Shíás.

#### GHAZNÍ.

The principality of Ghazní is held by Amír Máhomed Khán, full brother of Dost Máhomed Khán of Kábal, and was acquired by the latter some years since from Kadam Khán, a governor on behalf of Sháh Máhmúd. Dost Máhomed Khán, it is said, called the unfortunate governor to a conference at the town gate, shot him, and entered the place. He was allowed to retain his acquisition, and attending his interests in other quarters, consigned it to the charge of his brother. In the many vicissitudes which subsequently befel him, Ghazní more than once became a place of refuge to him, and he always contrived to preserve it, and on finally becoming master of Kábal, he made it entirely over to his brother, who had been eminently useful in advancing his views, and was entitled to so much consideration.

Dependent upon Ghazní are the districts of Naní, Oba, Kárabágh and Mokar on the road to Kándahár, and the province of Wardak on the road to Kábal, with Náwar to the north of this line, and Shilgar with Logar to the south east and east. Under the kings the revenue is said to have been fixed at two lákhs of rupees, but Amír Máhomed Khán realizes much more — besides obtaining eighty thousand rupees from Wardak, and forty thousand rupees from Logar, not included, I believe, in the estimate of two lákhs.

This Sirdár is reported as exercising zillam or tyranny, yet although he is severe and rapacious, and governs his country with a strong steady hand, he is not altogether unpopular either with his subjects or his soldiery. The former know that he will have his dues, and that they must live in peace with each other, but they are also certain that he will not beyond this molest them, and above all that he will not vexatiously annoy them. The soldiery are conscious that he requires strict obedience, and that they should be always ready for his service, but then they are secure of their pay. He is continually intent upon enriching and strengthening himself, but unwisely, in promoting his own selfish projects, tends to impoverish his subjects, for shrewd as he is, he has not the sense to know that the best strength of a ruler is the prosperity of those he governs. But for such reasons, his administrative talents would command every commendation, and his well filled stores and magazines might be looked upon with great complacency. As governor of Ghazní, he has put down every chief within his jurisdiction, whom he deemed likely from character or command of resources, to offer opposition to his measures, some even he has put to death, and on that account has incurred odium. Yet in the advance of the Kándahár army upon Ghazní, no one thought of joining it, and at Nání, the Házára owners of a castle ventured to defend it, and slew several of the invaders. Fúr Dil Khán moreover drew off his men, remarking that he could not afford to lose troops before castles, as he should want them in the approaching battle.

Amír Máhomed Khán, in political matters, identifies himself with his brother Dost Máhomed Khán, who reposes confidence in him, which he dares not place upon any other person. Neither does the Kábal chief object to his brother's advancing his own particular views, aware that he has no designs hostile to himself.

As a commander, Amír Máhomed Khán, while allowed to be prudent, and not wanting in personal valour, is not esteemed a very fortunate one, which may perhaps be owing to his astonishing corpulency, which unfits him for any great activity. The bustling state of affairs has often brought him into action, particularly in the Kohistán of Kábal, and the rebels there, when they heard that the unwieldy Sirdár was sent against them, would rejoice, for they concluded that he would certainly be beaten. It may be remarked that while he possesses absolute power at Ghazní, it is understood that he holds it under his brother.

#### KA' BAL.

We now arrive at the flourishing state of Kábal, under the government of the brave and popular Dost Mahomed Khán, emphatically

designated one of the swords of Khorasán, by his brother the *vazír* Fattí Khán. It is cheering for the traveller, in these generally mis-governed regions, to reach some spot, where order and security prevail, and to be able to range over the wildest scenes, where, although the ruffian inhabitants possess every desire to plunder, they are restrained by the vigilance of their ruler from its exercise. It is not my intention to narrate the particulars of the acquisition of Kábal by Dost Mahomed Khán, a task which would exceed my ability, as my brief stay in the country did not allow me to acquire the necessary information. It may however generally be observed that on the demise of the Sirdár Mahomed Azem Khán, the authority here devolved upon his son Habíb Ulah Khán, together with considerable treasures. The incapacity for government of this youth, rash, headstrong, profuse and dissipated, was soon evident, and his misconduct invited the attempts of his ambitious uncles to supplant him. Dost Mahomed Khán in possession of Ghazní, and in charge of the Kohistán of Kábal, was first in the field, but Habíb Ulah who was personally extremely brave, was enabled by means of his treasure to repel repeated attacks. Still he was much pressed, when the Sirdárs of Kándahár and Pesháwer, fearful that Dost Máhoméd Khán might prevail, and anxious to participate in the spoil of their nephew, marched avowedly to assist him, and reached Kábal. From this time a series of most extraordinary events occurred, the authority of the son of Máhoméd Azem Khán had virtually ceased, and the only question remaining to be decided was as to the appropriation of his wealth and power. The Kándahár and Pesháwer Sirdárs coalesced had possession of Kábal, Dost Máhoméd Khán standing alone and opposed to them. He, who had once been the assailant upon Habíb Ulah Khán, now asserted himself his defender, and a strange succession of skirmishes, negotiations, truces, perjuries, &c. followed. The state of anarchy had nevertheless endured so long, that thinking people began to reflect it was necessary some efforts should be made to bring it to a termination, and the Sirdárs of Kándahár contributed to bring about a crisis, by perfidiously seizing first the person of their nephew, and then his treasures. It may have been their design to have retained Kábal, but their tyranny was so excessive, that the people no longer hesitated to form leagues for their expulsion. The attention of most men was turned upon Dost Máhoméd Khán, as a fit instrument to relieve the country, and the Kazilbáshes, in particular, opened a communication with him, then, a fugitive in the Kohistán, and urged him to renew his efforts, of course assuring him of their assistance. Hájí Khán, in the service of the Kándahár Sirdárs, perceiving the turn affairs

were taking, also secretly allied himself with the Kohistán chief, as did the Nawáb Jabár Khán, with many other leading men of the city, and of the country at large. Dost Mahomed Khán was soon again in arms, and as soon approached Kábal. The combined Sirdárs aware of the precarious tenure of their sway, and of the confederacy against them, thought fit to yield to the storm rather than to brave its fury, and therefore entered into fresh arrangements, by which they left Kábal in charge of Súltán Mahomed Khán, one of the Pesháwer Sirdárs. The Kándahár Sirdárs retiring with their spoils. The claims of Habib Ulah Khán were forgotten by all parties, and it was still hoped to exclude Dost Mahomed Khán from Kábal. Súltán Máhoméd Khán governed Kábal for about a year without gaining the good opinions of any one, and as he discouraged the Kazilbásh interest, that faction still inclined to Dost Máhoméd Khán. The latter chief, availing himself of a favorable opportunity, suddenly invested his half brother in the Bálla Hissár or citadel. The means of defence were inadequate, and mediation was accepted, the result of which was that Súltán Máhoméd Khán retired to Pesháwer. Dost Máhoméd Khán engaging to remit him annually the sum of one lách of rupees, became master of Kábal and its dependencies.

A new distribution was the consequence of this Sirdár's elevation. Ghazní, with its districts, was confirmed to Amír Máhoméd Khán, the Ghiljí districts, east of Kábal and in Lúghmán, were made over to the Nawáb Jabár Khán, and Bámíán was assigned to Hájí Khán. Hábib Ulah Khán was deemed worthy of notice, and was allowed to retain one thousand horse in pay, while Ghorband was given to him in jághír. Dost Mahomed Khán had more claimants on his generosity than it was in his power to satisfy, and from the first was circumscribed in his finances. Kábal is but a small country extending westward to Maidàn, beyond which the province of Ghazní commences, and eastward to the Kotal or pass of Jigdüllak, the frontier of Jelàlabád. To the north it extends to the base of the Hindú Kosh, a distance of forty to fifty miles, while to the south it can scarcely be said to extend twenty miles, there being no places of any consequence in that direction.

The revenue enjoyed by Dost Máhoméd Khán, including that of Ghazní, Lúghmán, &c. was estimated at fourteen láchs of rupees, and strenuous efforts were making to encrease it, especially by enforcing tribute from the neighbouring rude tribes, who for a long time, profiting by the confusion reigning in the country, had withheld payment. Dost Máhoméd Khán, has already coerced the Jájí and Túrí tribes of Khúram, and of Khost, as well as the Sálímán Khéi

tribes of Zúrmat. His brother Amír Máhomed Khán collects revenue from the Házáras of Bísút, and it is contemplated to reduce to submission the Sáfi tribes of Taghow.

Of the military force of the country, or of such portion of it as on ordinary occasions can be brought into the field, an idea may be formed by what has been noted of the army collected at Ghazní. It was computed to consist of six thousand men, while the Nawáb Jabár Khán, with seven hundred men, was stationed at Jelálabád, and other bodies were necessarily dispersed over the country. The Nawáb Máhomed Zemán Khán, as an ally of Dost Máhomed Khán, was indeed in the camp, but had brought only his specially retained troops, and on this occasion it was plain that Dost Máhomed Khán had made no extraordinary efforts, as the íljári or militia of the country was not called upon to serve.

He had about twelve pieces of artillery with him, which were much better looked after and provided than those of Kándahár, three or four other pieces are with his brother in Ghazní, and the Nawáb Máhomed Zemán Khán, has some half dozen more, which I passed at Bállabágh, and which he did not carry with him. It is also probable there were other pieces at Kábal.

The assumption of authority by Dost Máhomed Khán has been favorable to the prosperity of Kábal, which after so long a period of commotion, required a calm. It is generally supposed that he will yet play a considerable part in the affairs of Khorasán.

Whether his energies are to be displayed in the defence of his country against the ambition of the Síkhs, or exercised to extend his sway, is matter of argument, but he is universally regarded as the only chief capable of restoring the Dúrání fortunes. He is beloved by all classes of his subjects, and the Hindú fearlessly approaches him in his rides, and addresses him with the certainty of being attended to. He administers justice with impartiality, and has proved that the lawless habits of the Afghán are to be controlled. He is very attentive to his military, and conscious how much depends upon the efficiency of his troops, is very particular as to their composition. His circumscribed funds and resources hardly permit him to be regular in his payments, yet his soldiers have the satisfaction to know that he neither hoards, or wastes their pay in idle expences.

Dost Máhomed Khán has distinguished himself, on various occasions, by acts of personal intrepidity, and has proved himself an able commander, yet he is equally well skilled in stratagem and polity, and only employs the sword when other means fail. He is remarkably plain in attire, and would be scarcely noticed in darbár but for his

seat. His white linen raiments afforded a strange contrast to the gaudy exhibition of some of his chiefs, especially of the young Habib Ulah Khán, who glitters with gold. I had an audience of him, in the camp at Ghazní, and should not have conjectured him a man of ability, either from his conversation or from his appearance, but it becomes necessary to subscribe to the general impression, and the conviction of his talent for government, will be excited at every step through his country. A stranger must be cautious in estimating the character of a Durrání from his appearance merely, — a slight observer, like myself, would not discover in Dost Máhomed Khán, the gallant warrior and shrewd politician, still less on looking at the slow pacing, coarse featured Hájí Khán, would he recognize the active and enterprising officer, which he must be believed to be, unless we discredit the testimony of every one.

Of Dost Máhomed Khán's personal views there can be little known, as he is too prudent to divulge them, but the unpopularity of his brothers would make it easy for him to become the sole authority in Khorasán. I have heard that he is not inimical to the restoration of the king Sújah al Múlk, and it is a common saying with Afgháns, "how happy we should be if Sháh Sújah were Pádsháh, and Dost Máhomed Vazír."

The king, it is known, has a sister of Dost Máhomed Khán in his háram, but how he became possessed of her is differently related. Some say, he heard that she was a fine woman, and forcibly seized her, others that she was given to him with the due consent of all parties. Dost Máhomed Khán and his brother at Ghazní, are supposed by some to be Shíás, as their mother is of that persuasion. They do not however profess to be so to their Súní subjects, although possibly allowing the Shía part of the community to indulge in a belief flattering to them.

#### JELA'LABA'D.

This fine and productive province is held by the Nawáb Mahomed Zemán Khán, son of the Nawáb Assad Khán, who died in the government of Déra Ghází Khán, in which he was succeeded by his son, who thence acquired the title of Nawáh. He is consequently a nephew to Dost Mahomed Khán, and the Sirdárs of Kándahár and Pesháwer. He was expelled from Déra Ghází Khán by Samandar Khán, Popal Zai, who took possession of the place in the name of Sháh Máhmúd, and Mahomed Zemán Khán then joined Sháh Sújáh al Múlk, who was at that time advancing from Baháwalpúr, having been invited from Lúdíána by the Sirdár Mahomed Azem Khán. Samandar Khán was with some difficulty driven from Déra Ghází

Khán, and Mahomed Zemán Khán followed the Sháh to Pesháwer, where quarrelling with the Sirdár Máhomed Azem Khán, the monarch fought a battle, was defeated, and presently became a fugitive.

I know not exactly in what manner he acquired the government of Jelálabád, but conjecture that he held it during the authority of Mahomed Azem Khán at Kábal, as in the Sirdár's expedition against the Síkhs, he was dispatched to raise levies in the Yúsaf Zai country. His interest however in the family was always considerable, and the Vazír Fattí Khán united his daughter to him. He is said to be very wealthy, but is by no means generally respected for ability. He appears to be deficient in firmness, and rules with too lax a hand. Placed over restless and turbulent subjects, he has no energy to control them, and it would seem his averseness to cruelty prevents him from repressing disorders or punishing the guilty. It is unfortunate that the qualities which are amiable in the private individual, should be errors in the ruler, but they do so operate in Mahomed Zemán Khán's case, and his authority is despised because it is not feared.

The revenue of Jelálabád, including that from the Tájik villages and lands of Lúghmán, amounts, it is said, to above three lakhs of rupees, and might be largely increased. The Sirdár keeps up but a limited military establishment, and in case of need, generally employs the íjjárí or militia of the country, which he can assemble to the extent of two or three thousand men. He can also call upon the services of the petty Saiyad chiefs of Khonar, and of Sádát Khán, the Momand chief of Lálpúr. He has six pieces of artillery not in very good order.

Although an ally of Dost Mahomed Khán, he is supposed to have a bias towards the Sirdárs of Pesháwer, and the connection it is thought will become closer. He provides for many members of the Bárák Zai family, by giving them lands and villages, and Jelálabád affords an asylum to some whose political misdemeanours have made it necessary for them to abandon Kábal.

The province of Jelálabád extends from the Kotal of Jigdillak to Dáka, in a line from west to east. To the south, the great range of Saféd Koh divides it from Khúram, and to the north, a series of hills of nearly equal elevation, separates it from Káfristán and Bájor. Dáka, the eastern point, is at the entrance of the celebrated pass of Khaibar, which leads through the hills of the Khaibár tribes to Pesháwer. The beautiful valley of Jelálabád is extremely well watered, and besides the Súrkh Rúd and Kárasú, with a number of rivulets which flow from the Saféd Koh, the great river of Kábal glides through it, receiving in its course the united river of Lúghmán, composed of the



streams of Alíshang and Alingár, and lower down the fine river of Kámeh, Khonár and Chitrál. These rivers flow from the north, and have their sources remote from this part of the country. The climate of Jelálabád is remarkably diversified. The winter season is particularly delightful, although subject to violent wind storms, and in the summer although in the centre of the valley or along the course of the river, the heat is excessive, the skirts of the Saféd Koh contain a number of cool and agreeable spots to which the inhabitants may retire.

#### KHAIBARI' TRIBES.

These tribes dwell in the hills between the valley of Jelálabád and the great plain of Pesháwer. They have three great divisions, the Afrédís, the Shínwáris, and the Orak Zais. Of these the Afrédís in their present locality, are the more numerous, the Shinwáris more disposed to the arts of traffic, and the Orak Zais the more orderly, if amongst such people any can be so pronounced. The Afrédís occupy the eastern parts of the hills, nearest Pesháwer; and the Shinwáris the western parts, looking upon the valley of Jelálabád. The Orak Zais reside in Tírah intermingled with the Afrédís, and some of them are found in the hills south-west of Pesháwer. It was a malek of this tribe who conducted Nádir Sháh and a force of cavalry by the route of Chúra and Tírah to Pesháwer, when the principal road through the hills was defended against him. The Shínwáris besides their portion of the hills, have the lands immediately west of them, and some of the vallies of the Saféd Koh range. More westernly still under the same hill range, they are found south of Jelálabád, and are there neighbours of the Khogánís. These are in the condition of unruly subjects. There are also some of them in Ghorband, and they dwell in great numbers bordering on Bájor to the north-west, where they are independent, and engaged in constant hostilities with the tribes of Bájor and of Káfristán.

Tírah and Chúra are said to be fertile and well peopled vallies, enjoying a cool climate in comparison with that of Pesháwer, and it is not unusual for the Sirdárs and others, who have an understanding with the inhabitants, to pass the warm weather in the former of these places, which has also frequently become a place of refuge to the distressed. At Chúra resides Khán Bahádar Khán, Afrédí, who attained eminence amongst his tribe from the circumstance of his attendance at court during the sway of the Sadú Zais. Sháh Sújah married one of his daughters, and has on more than one occasion found an asylum with him. The Khaibarís like other rude Afghán tribes, have their maleks or chiefs, but the authority of these is very limit-

ed, and as every individual has a voice on public affairs, it is impossible to describe the confusion that exists amongst them. Of course unanimity is out of the question, and it generally happens that a Nánáwátí or deliberation on any business, terminates not by bringing it to a conclusion, but in strife amongst themselves. The portions of the Afrédí and Shínwárí tribes who inhabit the defiles of Khaibar, through which the road leads from Pesháwer to the Jelálabád valley, are but inconsiderable as to numbers, but they are extremely infamous on account of their ferocity, and their long indulged habits of rapine. Under the Sadú Zai princes they received an annual allowance of twelve thousand rupees on condition of keeping the road through their country open, and abstaining from plunder. They called themselves therefore the Núkarán or servants of the king. It would appear, from every statement, that they were in those days little scrupulous, still káfilas followed their road, so manifestly the better and nearer one, submitting to their exactions and annoyances, and satisfied with being not wholly rifled. Their stipend being discontinued by the Bârak Zai Sirdárs, to whom the attachment they evinced to Sháh Sújah has rendered them very suspected, they have thrown off all restraint, and the consequence has been that the Khaibar road is closed to the traders of Pesháwer and Kábal.

They are, in the mass, very numerous, and it is boasted that the Afrédí tribe can muster forty thousand fighting men, of course an improbable number, or one which might be presumed to include every man, woman and child amongst them. On various occasions when their strength has been exhibited, from two to five thousand men have assembled. At Jám, a little village at the entrance of the pass on the Pesháwer side, resides generally Sháh Rasúl Sháh, a nephew, as he pretends to be, of the notorious Saiyad Ahmed Sháh, and in quality of his agent. At the time of my visit, he, as well as many of the village people, had fled into the hills, apprehensive of an attack from the Sirdárs of Pesháwer. When Saiyad Ahmed Sháh has funds, he can always command the services of two or three thousand Khaibarís, the most desperate and needy of the tribes. Upon Ranjit Sing's excursion to Pesháwer, the Khaibarís opened the bands or barriers of the Bâra river, and inundated his camp by night. They were on the alert, and profited by the consequent confusion to carry off much spoil and many horses. The Mâhárájá was chagrined, and in the morning summonsed the Pesháwer Sirdárs, who asserted that it was not their deed, and then he precipitately left for Lahore, having made only a stay of three days.

The principal Maleks at present of the Khaibarís occupying the defiles, are Alládád Khán and Faiz Talab Khán. They are Afrédís, and reside at Gharí Lolla Beg on the line of road. Khán Bahádar Khán of Chúra has no connection with the Bárák Zai Sirdárs. Mír Alam Khán, an Orak Zai, has long been associated with them, but by so doing, has lost his influence amongst his tribe. He generally lives at Pesháwer, receiving a liberal allowance, but even he has sometimes rebelled. This was one of the men, whose riding in a pálkí was so offensive in the eyes of Sháh Sújah, when he reached Pesháwer upon the invitation of Mahomed Azem Khán, that he ordered him to be tumbled out of it, — which operation was performed, and also upon Amír Mahomed Khán, the Sirdár's brother, and present governor of Ghazní. These acts so disgusted and incensed the Sirdár, that he instantly ejected the monarch whom he had wished to acknowledge, and who in this instance lost his crown because he could not endure the sight of a Khaibarái carried in a pálkí.

PESHA'WER.

Pesháwer at the time of my visit in 1827 was governed by the Sirdárs Yár Máhoméd Khán, Súltán Máhoméd Khán, Saiyad Mahomed Khán, and Pír Mahomed Khán — four brothers, sons of Páhindah Khán, and by the same mother. They appeared to preserve a good understanding with each other, and assembled daily at a common darbár or council at their mother's house. Each of course had a separate darbár to transact ordinary business with his own dependents.

The Sirdár Yár Mahomed Khán, the eldest, was nominally the chief, and in fact possessed the larger proportion of revenue, but Pír Mahomed Khán, the youngest, was perhaps the most powerful, from the greater number of troops he retained, besides being considered of an active, indeed, rather daring spirit. Súltán Mahomed Khán was not supposed to want capacity, and was held to be milder and more amiable than his brothers, but his excessive love of finery exposed him to ridicule, and the pleasures of the háram seemed to occupy more of his attention than public affairs. Saiyad Mahomed Khán was in intellect much inferior to the others, and looked upon as a cypher in all matters of consultation and government. Súltán Mahomed Khán was moreover distinguished for his enmity to Dost Mahomed Khán of Kábal, and for his extraordinary affection for his half brother Ráhám Dil Khán of Kándahár. He was also of the Sirdárs, the one who paid most attention to Europeans who passed

through the country, in this respect vyeing with the Nawáb Jabár Khán at Kábal.

The territory held by the Sirdárs is of very limited extent, comprising only the city of Pesháwer with the adjacent country, which might be included within a circle drawn from the city, as a centre, with a radius of twenty-five miles, but then it is uncommonly fertile and well cultivated, the command of water being so abundant from the rivers Bára and Jelálabád which traverse it. The gross revenue of the city and lands was estimated at ten lákhs of rupees, to which one lách has been added by the acquisition of Kohát and Hángú, which places have also afforded an encrease of territory. The military retainers of the Sirdárs probably do not exceed three thousand men, if so many, but they could call out, if they had funds to subsist them, a numerous militia. Their artillery numbers ten or twelve pieces.

The inhabitants of the city of Pesháwer are a strange medley of mixed races, of Tájiks, Hindkís, Panjábis, Káshmirís, &c. and they are proverbially roguish and litigious — but the cultivators and residents in the country are Afgháns of the Momand, Khalíl and Kogíání families, and a very healthy population, ardently attached to their country and religion, and deserving better rulers than the ones they have.

The Sirdárs of Pesháwer cannot be called independent, as they hold their country entirely at the pleasure of Ranjit Sing — a natural consequence of the advance of his frontier to the Indus. Still the Síkh Rája has not yet ventured to assume the full authority, and they are left in power, remitting him tribute, and placing their sons in his hands as hostages. They are impatient under the yoke, but every manifestation of contumacy only tends to confirm their subjection, and to aggravate the annoyances inflicted upon them.

But a year or two since Saiyad Ahmed Sháh appeared in these parts; and in the Yásaf Zai country, succeeding in arousing the fanatic Mahomedan population, collected, it is said, above one hundred thousand men. If this number be exaggerated, it is yet certain that he had a prodigious host assembled, for he was joined by adventurers and crusaders from all parts of Afghánistán, and even from India. He gave out that he had a divine commission to take possession of the Panjáb, Hindústán and China, and swore that he would compel Ranjit Sing to turn Mússúlmán, or cut off his head. The Saiyad marched to Noshára, on the Kábal river, and crossed it, intending to commence his operations by the capture of Atak, on this side the key to the Panjáb. The Pesháwer Sirdárs united themselves with the

Saiyad, and joined his camp with their troops and guns. The Sikhs prepared to meet the crisis, and Harí Sing at the head of thirty thousand men was to keep them from crossing the Indus, until the Máhárájá should arrive with a large army, including all his regulars, from Lahore. In the Mússólmán camp all was hope and exultation, numbers and the presumed favor of heaven permitted none to doubt of success, and a distribution was already made of the Sikh towns and villages. The soul of the Saiyad dilated, and in his pride of feeling, he used expressions implying that he considered himself the master of Pesháwer, and the Sirdárs as his vassals. They became suspicious, and their final defection, if not owing to the circumstance entirely, is by some palliated on account of it. The one half of Harí Sing's force, under an old warrior Búdh Sing, had crossed the Indus, and marched near to the village of Saiyadwála, where they threw up a sangar or field work. The Saiyad established himself at Saiyadwála, and his host surrounded Búdh Sing's force within the sangar. The Sikhs were in great distress for some days, and Búdh Sing at length lost patience, and determined to extricate himself or to perish. In the meantime he had communicated with the Dúrání chiefs of Pesháwer, assuring them that if they took no part against him in action, he would excuse their conduct, in having joined the Saiyad, to the Sirkár, or to Ranjit Sing — he reminded them of the immense army on the road under the orders of the Sirkár, and pointed out that, the destruction of himself and troops, would not influence the issue of the contest, and they must know the Sirkár was "Zuráwár" or all powerful. These arguments decided the Sirdárs, and on the morning of battle, they who with their cavalry and guns were stationed in front at once passed to the rear, Yar Máhomed Khán commanding, setting the example, and crying out "Shikas!" "Shikas!" or "defeat!"—"defeat!"—Búdh Sing who had three guns, discharged them, invoked his Gúru, and charged, à bride abattu, the Mússólmán host. Resistance was very trifling, the happy temerity of Búdh Sing was crowned by deserved success, and the Sikhs boast that each Sing on that famous day slew fifteen or twenty of his enemies, admitting however that they did not fight, but threw themselves on the ground. The Saiyad who had assured his men that he had charmed the Sikh guns and matchlocks, became insensible; his friends say that he had been drugged by the artifice of the Sirdárs, they pretend that he was struck with panic. However this may be, he was nearly captured in the village of Saiyadwála, and the desperate resistance of his Hindústání followers alone prevented the accident, and gave time to his elephant to be swam across the river. Ranjit Sing arriving soon after this victory,

the whole army marched to Pesháwer, and their presence produced the greatest misery, to the city and country. It is probable that Pesháwer was at this time very flourishing, but now a sad reverse was to befall it. Part of the town and the Bálla Hissár, so long the favorite residence of Sháh Sújáh, were destroyed, and a number of the gardens were cut down to supply the camp with fuel. The houses of the great were involved in ruin, the masjids were desecrated, and the whole country ravaged. The Máhárájá suffered the Sirdárs to retain their territory, as had been promised by Búdh Sing, but he increased the amount of tribute to be paid him in horses, swords, jewels, and the celebrated Bára rice, while he carried away with him, as hostage, the son of Yar Máhomed Khán. The occasion of Ranjit Sing's first visit to Pesháwer, was when he defeated the attempt made by the Sirdár Máhomed Azem Khán to recover Káshmir and the provinces west of the Indus, when the Máhárájá gallantly anticipated the attack, by crossing the Indus, encountering and dispersing his host at Noshára, and marching on to Pesháwer.

From that period Pesháwer became tributary to him, and the Sirdárs were to all intents and purposes his vassals. He has established a system of sending annually large bodies of troops to the country, avowedly to receive his tributary offerings, but also no doubt to prevent it from reviving and gaining its former consequence. This works so oppressively that, Yár Máhomed Khán in 1828 remonstrated, and submitted that if it were the Sirkár's pleasure that he should continue at Pesháwer, these annual visitations must cease; if otherwise, he should retire to his brother at Kábal. Ranjit Sing replied that he might remain, (aware that he had no idea of going,) and to mortify him, directed that a horse, named Léla, to which a great name attached, should be sent to Lahore. Yár Máhomed Khán affirmed that he would as soon surrender one of his wives as the horse. Monsieur Ventura, an Italian officer was sent to Pesháwer, with a force, to compel the delivery of the animal. The owner Súltán Máhomed Khán, swore on the Korán that it was dead, and M. Ventura not being so interested in Léla as his royal master, believed the Sirdár, or affected to do so, and returned to Lahore. A short time afterwards, Ranjit Sing was informed that Léla was alive, and the Italian was again sent off, in the midst of the rains, to bring Léla or Súltán Máhomed Khán to Lahore, in this instance without troops, or but with very few of them. Just at this period it occurred that Múlla Shakár, envoy from Sháh Sújáh al Múlk, reached Lahore from Lúdíána, wishing to arrange for the recovery of Peshawer and Kábal for his master, who proposed to pay an immediate sum of

three lakhs of rupees in cash and jewels, and hereafter an annual tribute. The Máharájá refused to listen to these terms, but took care to inform Yár Máhomed Khán of them, and threatened him that if the annual presents were not doubled, and the horse Léla produced, he would send the King with an army to recover his states. The Italian officer had reached Pesháwer on the mission for Léla, when the Saiyad Ahmed Sháh, unexpectedly made a dash at Hasht naggar, defeated the Sirdár Saiyad Mahomed Khán, and took the fortress, he then possessed himself of Killa Hind, a fort in the direction of Atak, and success encreasing his confidence, and swelling the number of his followers, he again promised to become formidable. I had left Lahore, and was at Haidarabád in Sind, when the tidings of the Saiyad's victory reached there, and it was quite a holiday for the good people, who were expecting themselves to be invaded by a Síkh army, for Ranjit Sing had at this time seriously contemplated the subjection of Sind, and was making the necessary preparations. The first good news was followed by more, and it was known that the Saiyad had entered Pesháwer, and that the Sirdár Yár Máhomed Khán was slain, but the accounts varied in the detail of the mode in which these events were brought about. It afterwards proved that the Sirdár had marched to eject the Saiyad from Hind, and had been surprised by night and slain, and that the Saiyad had entered Pesháwer, the remaining three Sirdárs being compelled to evacuate it by the defection of Faizúlah Khán, Házárkhání, but that he did not think prudent to retain it, and restored it to the Sirdárs on their agreeing to pay him one lách of rupees, which a certain Molaví was left behind to receive. The Saiyad had scarcely retired when the Sirdárs slew the Molaví and Faizúlah Khán: assistance was received both from Lahore and Kábal, and finally the Saiyad's garrison at Hind was captured, and he was again driven within the limits of the Yúsafzai districts.

The train of events necessarily made the surviving Sirdárs more than ever dependent upon the mercy of Ranjit Sing, and it is needless to add that the much coveted Léla was soon on his journey to Lahore, as was a son of Súltán Mahomed Khán, to replace as a hostage the son of his deceased brother.

#### THE YU'SAFZAIS.

These tribes hold the country north of the course of the great Kábal river, and have the river Indus for their eastern boundary, while on the west, they are neighbours of the Otman Zai Momands and of the tribes of Bájor. Immediately north of the first river are the Ka-

mál Zai, Amán Zai and Rezzar tribes, holding the tract forming the north-eastern portion of the great plain of Pesháwer. To their west are the Bai Zais, a lawless tribe, and north of them the vallies of Sawát and Banír, with Pánchtáh; still farther north are the districts of Shamlá, Dir, &c. the whole being a very fine country, productive in grain, and abounding in pasture, while it swarms with an intrepid race of men, distinguished not only for the spirit with which they defend their own country and freedom, but for the alacrity with which they enter into any contest in support or honor of their faith.

The level country between the Kábal river and the hills to the north, has been overrun by Máhárájá Ranjit Sing, and a tribute fixed on the inhabitants of four rupees on every house, with a certain number of horses. No people have been more severely treated by that conqueror, yet his vengeance was brought down upon them by their own folly, but for which they might possibly have preserved independence. The first collision between the Sikhs and these rude but warlike people, was in the disastrous expedition of the Sirdár Mahomed Azem Khán, when a levy of them was encountered by the Máhárájá himself on an eminence north of the river, and opposite to the Dúrání camp. The Yúsaf Zais were vanquished and extinguished, but the gallantry of their defence made a serious impression on their victors, who perhaps would not willingly have sought again to involve themselves with a people from whom so little was to be gained, and victory so dearly purchased. The defeat of these Gházís or champions of the faith, is always considered by Ranjit Sing as one of his most memorable exploits. Subsequently the course of operations against the Patáns of Ganghar, led the Máhárájá to the eastern bank of the Indus, and the Yúsaf Zais on the opposite bank slaughtered cows, and insulted the Sikhs in the most aggravated manner. Ranjit Sing had not intended to cross the river, and probably the Yúsaf Zais imagined that he could not, owing to the rapidity of the current, but at length unable to control his anger he stroked his beard, and called upon his Sikhs to avenge the insults offered to their Gúrú. Monsieur Allard present with his regiment of cavalry, not long before raised, strove to dissuade the Máhárájá from the attempt, but ineffectually, and was ordered himself to cross the river. The Sikhs gallantly obeyed the call of their prince, and precipitated themselves into the stream, but such was the violence of the current, that it is said, the fearful number of twelve hundred were swept away. M. Allard mounted his elephant, and at the sound of his bugle the disciplined cavalry passed into the river, but in entire ranks, and the regularity and union of their movement, enabled the regiment to cross



with only three casualties. Ranjit Sing at once observed the advantages conferred by discipline, and in his delight commanded, on the spot, new levies. The Yúsaf Zais were panic struck at the audacity of their once despised assailants, and fled without contesting the bank. An indiscriminate slaughter of man, woman, and child was continued for some days. The miserable hunted wretches threw themselves on the ground, and placing a blade or tuft of grass in their mouths cried out, "I am your cow." This act and exclamation which would have saved them from an orthodox Hindú, had no effect with the infuriated Síkhs. A spectator of these exciting scenes described to me the general astonishment of the Sikhs at finding a fertile country covered with populous villages, and gave it as his opinion that had the Máhárájá profited by the consternation, which the passage of the river had caused throughout the country, he might have marched unopposed to Kábal.

Of all the Afghán tribes, the Yúsaf Zais possess, in greater perfection, than any other, the peculiar patriarchal form of government which, suitable for small and infant communities, is certainly inadequate for large and full grown ones. While no people are more tenacious of their liberty and individual rights, the insufficiency of their institutions under existing circumstances, operates so detrimentally upon their general interests, that there is a strong tendency amongst them towards a change, a fact which must strike any one who has attentively watched their proceedings of late years. With the view of defending their liberties, they have been known to invite people of consideration to reside amongst them, proffering to make common cause with them, and to assign them a tithe of the revenue of the country. It is clear that they were unconsciously anxious to surrender the liberty they so much prized, and to place themselves under the control of a single master. Such offers have been made to Sadú Zai princes, and Dost Mahomed Khán has been invited to send a son amongst them, under whom they would arm. To their feeling in this respect as well as their religious enthusiasm, may be ascribed the fervor with which they have received Saiyad Ahmed Sháh, and the zeal they have demonstrated in his cause, which besides being deemed that of Islám, is considered by them as that of their own freedom. To him they have yielded a tithe of the revenue for the support of himself and followers, and have manifestly put him in the way of becoming their master, if he may not be considered so already. This Saiyad after his signal defeat by the Síkhs, being no longer able to attempt any thing against them, directed his hostilities against the Dúrání Sirdárs of Pesháwer, whom he denounced as in-

fidels, and as traitors to the cause of Islám. Upon Yár Mahomed Khán he conferred the name of Yárú Sing, and ordered that he should be so called in his camp. Whenever his means enabled him, he put the Khaibarís and other tribes in motion, while from the Yúsaf Zai plains, he threatened Hashtnaggar. By such a mode of warfare, although achieving little of consequence, he kept his enemies in constant uncertainty and alarm. He paid his troops in Company's rupees, hence many supposed him an agent of the British Government. How and where he obtained his occasional supplies of money were equally inexplicable. He had with him a strong body of Hindústání Molavís and followers, who were his principal strength, and as auxiliaries, Báram Khán and Júma Khán, expatriated Khalíl ar-bábs of Pesháwer. They were both brave men, and Báram Khán had a high reputation, and were both very inimical to the Dúrání Sirdárs. Few men have created a greater sensation in their day than Saiyad Ahmed, and setting aside his imposture or fanaticism, the talent must be considerable which has produced effects so wonderful, and which contrives to induce confidence in his mission after the reverses he has met with. Amongst the Patáns, of Dáman and the countries east of the Indus, he is constantly prayed for, and fervent exclamations are uttered that God will be pleased to grant victory to Saiyad Ahmed. He also figures greatly in their songs. It is generally believed that he is a native of Bareilly in Upper Hindústán, and it appears certain that for some years he officiated, as a Múlla or priest, in the camp of the notorious adventurer Amír Khán, respected for his learning and correct behaviour. At that time he made no pretensions to inspiration, and was only regarded in the light of an unassuming, inoffensive person. He has now emissaries spread over all parts, and many Mahomedan princes and chiefs are said to furnish him with aid in money. Ranjit Sing has a very great dread of him, and I have heard it remarked that he would readily give a large sum if he would take himself off, and it is also asserted that the Máhárájá cannot exactly penetrate the mystery with which the holy Saiyad enshrouds himself. I first heard of him at Baháwalpúr, and was told of the large numbers who had passed through that city from Hindústán to join him. It was suspected that he was sent by the Sáhib logs by the vulgar, and I was often questioned on the point, but of course was unable to reply, for I could not conceive who the Saiyad was, or could be. As I proceeded up the banks of the Indus, parties large and small were continually passing me on the road, and I found that the name of Ahmed Sháh Ghází was in the mouth of every one. At Pesháwer the public opinion was uni-

versally in his favor, and I had a great desire to have passed over to the Yúsaf Zai country to have witnessed what was passing there, but the tales related of his sanctity and austerities deterred me, and I distrusted to place myself in the power of a host of Mahomedan bigots and fanatics. At Kándahár I heard it broadly asserted that he was an impostor, and afterwards I found that well informed persons were very generally cognizant of the value to be attached to his pretensions.

#### KA'SHMI'R.

This beautiful and luxuriant province associated in the imagination of the European with whatever is lovely and costly, forms now part of the dominions of Ranjit Sing. Long it was an object of his ambition, but his first attempts to secure it were foiled, and he even suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Sirdár Mahomed Azem Khán, then its governor. When the Sirdár was called away by the stirring incidents in Afghánistán, he left his half brother the Nawáb Jabár Khán governor. The Máhárájá saw the opportunity favorable to renew his attack, and a considerable army was sent into the country. The Durrání army from Pesháwer marched to assist the Nawáb Jabár Khán, and the combined force might, it is thought, have repelled the invaders, but the jealousies of the leaders proved fatal, and Jabár Khán unsupported, with merely his personal troops, was rash enough to oppose himself to the Sikhs. The results were that on the first volley he fell perforated by musquet balls, was with difficulty carried from the field, and lost Káshmir.

Under the Sadú Zai princes, Káshmir was a government much coveted by the nobles, as the revenue was so much more considerable than the sum remitted to the royal treasury, which amounted only to twelve lakhs of rupees. Thence it arose that the several governors amassed great wealth, and were apt to forget their allegiance, and it is a fact that there never was a governor of Káshmir who did not put himself in rebellion. Some of the most eminent characters in Afghán history have been successively in charge of the happy valley, but they no sooner entered it than they affected independence, as Amír Khán, Júánshír, Azád Khán, Popal Zai, Abdúláh Khán, Alekho Zai, Attá Mahomed Khán, Bámí Zai, and Mahomed Azem Khán, Bárak Zai. Under Attá Mahomed Khán the revenue exceeded forty lákhs of rupees, and Mahomed Azem Khán encreased it to the high sum of seventy-two lákhs. Under the Sikh rule a serious change for the worse has fallen upon the country, arising I am told not so much from tyranny practised, as from the visitations of providence in fa-

mines and earthquakes, which have desolated it. The looms which produced the highly valued shawls, and which furnished the greater part of the revenue, have been in a measure suspended, and the starving artisans have been compelled to emigrate. The Máhárájá, I believe, uses exertions to improve the condition of the country, and even remits much of the scanty revenue now fixed upon it, with the view of allowing it to recover. The present governor is Súparsád, a Bráhmaṇ, and a strong force of ten thousand men is under his orders.

#### KHATTAKS.

The Khattak tribes west of the Indus from Khairabad opposite Atak to Noshára, have become dependent upon Ranjit Sing, which their position rendered inevitable. The tribes had become weakened by their internal contentions, and the family of their chiefs was split into factions, some uniting with the Dúrání Sirdárs of Pesháwer, others furthering the views of Ranjit Sing. They have become nearly extinct by assassination, and the Sirdárs of Pesháwer are accused of having removed one of them by poison. A son of another is now a pensioner upon Ranjit Sing, and his residence is fixed at Níláb below Atak, on the same side of the river, the country west of the Indus being held by the Síkhs.

#### STATES OF MAHOMED KHA'N.

These consisting of Déra Ismael Khán west of the Indus, and Bakkar, Liya, and Mankíra, to the east of it, and forming a small, but productive territory, have been subdued by the Síkhs, who retaining in possession the country east of the river have given Déra Ismael Khán, with the slip of country attached to it on the west bank of the river, for the support of the present Nawáb Shír Mahomed Khán, son of the Nawáb Mahomed Khán, from whom the whole had been taken. The siege of Mankíra, a fortress strong it would seem from its position in the desert, is famed in these parts, but the perseverance of the besieging army overcame all the difficulties opposed to it. The Nawáb of Déra Ismael Khán and his family are of the Sadú Zai family, but of a distinct branch, I believe, from that once ruling in Afghánistán, although the affinity was acknowledged, and may have influenced the easy tribute demanded.

#### MU'LTA'N.

The state of Múltán was also held by a Sadú Zai chief, under the same circumstances of easy tribute. I have in another place related

the events attending the reduction of the city by the Síkhs, which required strenuous efforts on their part. It was their policy to retain the country entirely, therefore the survivors of the gallant Mazafar Khan's family were removed to Lahore, where they subsist upon the liberality of the Máhárájá. The present governor of Múltán is Soand Mal, a Bráhmaṇ, who is popular, and esteemed a man of capacity.

#### BAHA'WALPU'R.

This state extending along the banks of the Satlej and Indus, from the frontier of Patiála to the northern extremity of Sind, and on the opposite side confined by the great sand desert, is under the rule of Baháwal Khán, Dáoud Pútra, of Jet extraction. These Dáoud Pútras are descended from one Dáoud noted in the histories of Hindústán as a robber chief of eminence in the neighbourhood of Shíkárpúr. Expelled thence, they crossed the Indus, and settled in the country west of it, where many of the towns yet bear their names, as being founded by them. Baháwal Khán, the grandfather of the present chief, seems to have played the part of Ranjit Sing amongst his brother chiefs, and by their reduction to have elevated himself to sole authority. He became so powerful and aspiring that he ventured to affect independence of the Dúrání kingdom, and occasioned Taimúr Sháh the trouble of making one of the few excursions which marked his reign. The Sháh brought a large army, but retired without any important success beyond the bare acknowledgment of his supremacy, a point which the refractory Khán conceded to rid himself of his troublesome visitors. It is probable, however, that he was incapacitated from pursuing his ambitious projects upon his neighbours. He was succeeded by Sádát Khán, who paying an easy tribute to the Afghán kings, was yet at liberty to wage war with the surrounding states, and was frequently committed with the chiefs of Patiála on the one side, and with those of Sind on the other. The chief of Khairpúr or northern Sind, wrested from him the town of Sabzal Kot, which he now retains. When Sháh Sújah arrived at Baháwalpúr in progress from Lúdiána to Pesháwer, Sádát Khán entered warmly into his views, and provided him with a powerful body of horse, with which the Sháh expelled Samandar Khán from Déra Gházi Khán. His zeal however in this instance proved ultimately untoward to him, as it was made the pretence for an invasion of his states by a Síkh army, which advanced to Milsa on the upper bank of the Garrah, and Sádát Khán was compelled to acknowledge himself a tributary of the Máhárájá.

Milsa, being a fortress, was destroyed, that it might not be permanently occupied by the Síkhs, but this did not prevent them coming annually to enforce payment of the tribute agreed upon. Sádát Khán dying was succeeded by his son the present Baháwal Khán, who submits to his dependent situation with much regret, but is helpless, although he sometimes forms vain projects of resistance and abandons them. The sum paid as tribute is nine lákhs of rupees, I know not if inclusive of three lákhs of rupees for the province of Déra Ghází Khán, which the Síkhs have farmed to Baháwal Khán. This chief is very popular, and his country appears prosperous, as it is certainly productive. The gross revenue is said to be eighteen lákhs of rupees, the military force about five thousand men, horse and foot, with thirty five or forty guns. †

#### DE'RA GHA'ZI' KHA'N.

This government was an important one under the Sadú Zai princes, as it included Shikárpúr, and received the profits of the sulphur monopolies of Kachí — while its jurisdiction was very extensive. On the rejection of Sháh Sújah al Múlkh from Pesháwer, the Síkhs who had before respected it, crossed the river and occupied it. It must be confessed however that it had become vacant. At this time the Khán of Baháwalpúr was made tributary, and in the arrangements which followed, it not yet being the Sikh policy to hold territory east of the Indus, it was farmed as said before to that chief for three lákhs of rupees annually. He it is said by exaction, which is complained of, realizes five lákhs.

#### SHIKA'RPU'R.

This large and commercial city with its district was seized by the confederated chiefs of Sind, together with the island fortress of Bakkar in the river Indus, on the departure of Sháh Sújah al Múlkh; and was in a manner left in their hands by a treaty concluded with the Sirdár Mahomed Azem Khán, the terms of which were however never fulfilled. The recovery of this city is very much an object with the present Sirdárs of Kándahár, and it appears to be equally the desire of Ránjit Sing to possess it, and either party could easily gain their end, did the state of their relations permit either to turn attention to it. The present revenue is said to be nearly three lákhs of rupees, equally divided amongst the Amírs of Upper and Lower Sind. These chiefs were formerly vassals of the Dúrání empire, and would again be so, if the power of the latter were consolidated.

KALÁ'T (BALOCH.)

The extensive country of Eastern Balochistán, of which Kalát is the capital, is now subject to Mehráb Khán, the son of Máhmúd Khán, and grandson of the celebrated Nassír Khán.

There is observable a singular parity of fortune between the Baloch kingdom and the Dúrání empire, to which it acknowledged an easy dependence. Cotemporary with Ahmed Sháh who created the latter, and raised it to prosperity, was Nassír Khán at Kalát, who was indebted, in great measure, to the Dúrání monarch for his elevation to the Khánát, in detriment of his elder brother, Mohábat Khán, who was deposed. Nassír Khán was beyond comparison the most able chieftain who had governed Balochistán, and the country under his vigorous rule prospered as it never did before, nor is likely to do again. He extended his arms in every part of Balochistán, and was always successful, and his kingdom grew from a very humble one to be exceedingly extensive. Aware of the turbulent disposition of his tribes, he kept them continually in the field, thus making use of those qualities in them which would have given him annoyance at home, to the increase of his power abroad. The fertile province of Kachí had been recently acquired from the Kalorah rulers of Sínd, by a treaty which Nádir Sháh had imposed. Nassír Khán was not without apprehension that its recovery might be attempted, and in order to give his tribes an interest in its occupation, he made a division of the lands, by which all the Bráhuí tribes became proprietors.

To Ahmed Sháh succeeded his son Taimúr Sháh, who, as is too often the case in these countries, lived on the reputation of his father, and passed his reign in pleasure or the gratification of his sensual appetites. Coeval with him at Kalát was Máhmúd Khán, son of Nassír Khán, precisely under the same circumstances, neglecting his government, and immersed in hésh or enjoyment. He lost the province of Kej, and his kingdom might have been farther mutilated, but for the energies of his half brothers Mastapha Khán and Mahomed Réhim Khán.

To Taimúr Sháh at Kábal succeeded his son Zemán Sháh, whose brief reign was terminated by those convulsions which have wrecked the Dúrání empire. The present Mehráb Khán succeeded his father Máhmúd Khán, and for the first three years of his reign displayed considerable decision. He recovered Kej, and seemed inclined to maintain the integrity of his kingdom — but a series of internal conspiracies and revolts disgusted him, and led to the execution both of some of his own imprisoned relatives, and of the prin-

cipals of many of the tribes. At length he lost all confidence in the hereditary officers of state, and selected for minister one Dáoud Máhomed, a Ghiljí of the lowest extraction, and from that time his affairs have gone wholly wrong; while by putting himself in opposition, as it were, to the constitution, and acknowledged laws of his country, he has provoked a never ending contest with the tribes, who conceit themselves not bound to obey the dictates of an upstart and alien minister. It hence happens that some of them are generally in arms, and the history of the country, since the accession of the Ghiljí adviser to power, offers little else but a train of rebellions and murders. It is remarkable that a similar infraction of the laws of the Dúránís by Zemán Sháh, viz. the elevation of an unqualified person to the Vakálat, was the primary cause of the misfortunes which befel that king.

Mehráb Khán seems to have given up the idea of coercing his disaffected clans, and is content by promoting discord amongst them, to disable them from turning against himself. The country is therefore in a sad state of confusion. A few years since the Mar-rís, a formidable tribe in the hills, east of Kachí, having descended upon the plains, and sacked Mítarí, the Kalát Khán deemed that it behoved him to resent so gross an outrage, and accordingly he marched with an army said to be of twelve thousand men, against the marauders. They amused him first with one offer, and then with another, until the season for action was past, when aware that the Khán could not keep his bands together, they defied him, and he was compelled to retire with the disgrace of having been outwitted. In the reign of Máhmúd Khán, the gallant Mastapha Khán, as lord of Kach Gandáva, kept these predatory tribes in due order, as he did their neighbours, the Khadjaks, Khákas, and others. Since his death they have not ceased in their depredations.

While the Dúrání empire preserved a semblance of authority, there was agreeably to the original treaty concluded between Ahmed Sháh and Nassir Khán, a Baloch force of one thousand men, stationed in Káshmir — and the Kháns of Kalát had ever been attentive to the observance of their engagements. On the dislocation of the empire, and after Káshmir had been lost, there was of course an end to the treaty, and virtually to dependence. Yet the Kháns of Kalát never sought to benefit by the fall of the paramount government, thus Síví, which was in their power was always respected. So long even as there was a nominal Sháh in the country, as in the case of Sháh Ayúb, they professed a certain allegiance, but when by the final settlement or partition of the remnants of the Dúrání empire, it be-



came parcelled into small and separate chiefships, they no longer felt the necessity of acknowledging the supremacy of either. The chiefs of Kándahár, the nearest to Kalát, were the only ones who pressed, and Mehráb Khán, since the death of Mahomed Azem Khán, has had a delicate and difficult part to play with them. It was no principle of his policy to provoke them unnecessarily, and he alike felt repugnance to comply with their demands, or to acquiesce in their pretensions. They, on their side, gave him much trouble, by accepting the submission of his rebellious chieftains, as Mohém Khán, Rakshání of Khárán, Rústam Khán, Mamassaní, and others, as well as by granting asylum to traitors, and by fomenting conspiracies within his kingdom. This line of conduct is so irritating to Mehráb Khán, that he has frequently invited Kámrán of Herát to assume the offensive, and promised that if he would send his son Jhánghír, he would place the Baloch levies under the prince's orders. The Kalát Khán justly looks upon the Kándahár Sirdárs as his enemies, and they are by no means favorably disposed towards him, it being very unsuitable to their views, that an untractable and unfriendly chief should hold the country between them and Shikárpúr, so much an object of their ambition. Under the head of Kándahár I have noted that the Sirdárs had invaded the Baloch country, subsequent to my visit at Kándahár. The motives of the expedition were perhaps manifold, but a principal one was no doubt to effect some understanding with the Khán of Kalát, and to prepare the way for a march farther south. The Dúrání force, on this occasion, reached Quetta, of which they took possession by a kind of stratagem, avowing friendship and introducing their soldiers into the town. They next marched to Mastúng, which they besieged, after a manner. The Dúránís could scarcely take the place, and the garrison trifling as to numbers, could scarcely hold it, whence it followed that an accommodation was easily made, and the proposals of the Sirdárs that the place should be evacuated on honorable terms were accepted. The Sirdárs maintained that they had no hostile intentions towards the Khán or his subjects, but that they desired friendship with him and them. Mehráb Khán by this time had collected, it is said, twelve thousand men, which number seems to be the maximum of armaments during his sway, and encamped at Kénattí, not very distant from the Dúrání camp, and quite close enough that battle should have been fought, had either party been inclined to have tested the justice of their cause by an appeal to the sword. Negotiations, as a matter of course, were resorted to, and some kind of treaty was patched up, by which the Dúránís retired without the dis-

grace of being absolutely foiled. Mehráb Khán paid, or consented to pay, one lách of rupees, Kalát base money; professed obedience to the authority of the Sirdárs, and willingness to assist in their views upon Sind. It was supposed that the Sirdárs would not have ventured to march hostilely into the Baloch territory, had they not had in their camp Assad Khán, the Sirdár of Sahárawán, and others, who had fled from the vengeance of Mehráb Khán. These traitors returned with them to Kándahár.

Besides these Sirdárs of Kándahár, and his own rebel subjects, the unfortunate chief of Kalát has a new and more potential enemy to contend with in Máhárája Ranjit Sing. The more easternly of the Khán's provinces, are those of Hárاند and Dhájil, bordering on and west of the Indus, between Déra Ghází Khán, and the territory of the Mazárí tribes. They constitute a government which confers the title of Nawáb on the holder. The appointment is arbitrary, and emanates from Kalát. Saiyad Mahomed Sherif of Tírí near Mastúng, it is said, by a largess to Dáoud Mahomed Khán, the Ghiljí minister, had procured the government, with an understanding that he was to hold it for some time, or until he had reimbursed himself, and accumulated a little besides. The Saiyad had scarcely assumed authority, than Dáoud Mahomed Khán, dispatched Khodádád, an Afghán, to supersede him. The enraged Saiyad crossed the river and proceeded to Baháwalpúr, where he induced the Khán to put forward a force and invade the country.

Khodádád fled in turn, and repaired to the Súbahdár of Múltán, who on reporting the matter to Lahore, received instructions to reinstate the Khán of Kalát's officers in Hárاند and Dhájil. Accordingly the Saiyad was again expelled, as were the Baháwalpúr troops, and Khodádád was told that he was governor for Mehráb Khán, but the Sikh troops retained all the posts in the province.

Although Mehráb Khán holds nominal sway over a country of vast extent, and embracing great varieties of climate, he has little real power but in his capital and its vicinity. The immense proportion of the country is held by tribes nearly independent of him, and in subjection only to their own contumacious chiefs, who owe the Khán, at the best, but military service. It is true, that in most of the provinces he has zamín sirkári or crown lands, the revenue of which may be said to belong to him, but it is generally consumed by the agents who collect it. The larger quantum of his resources is drawn from Kach Gandáva, the most productive of his provinces, where he holds the principal towns. I have heard his gross revenue estimated at three láchs of rupees per annum, a small sum indeed, but it must

be borne in mind that none of the Bráhúí or Baloch tribes contribute to it.

The Khán can scarcely be said to retain a military force, but has a great number of Khánazádas (household slaves) and Ghúlám-í-Khán (the Khán's hereditary slaves). These, the only people he can trust, are elevated to high offices, and appointed governors of his towns and provinces. They are of course authorized to keep up followers, and their bands form the élite of the Khán's armies, which are otherwise composed of the levies from the tribes. The general obligation of military service falls alike upon the villagers, and upon the Dèhwárs or agriculturists in the neighbourhood of Kalát, who in case of need furnish their quotas of men. The Khán's artillery comprises some half dozen unserviceable pieces of small ordnance at Kalát, and two or three others at Gandáva, Bágh, and Quetta, it may be presumed in no better condition.

The Khán's Mahomedan subjects include the Bráhúí tribes of Sahárawán and Jhálawán, the Baloch tribes of the western provinces, the Rind and Magghazzí tribes of Kachí, Hárand, Dhájl, &c. the Kassí Afgháns of Sháll, the Dèhwárs (equivalent to Tájiks) of Kalát and its villages; to which may be added the Lúmri or Jadghál tribes of the maritime province of Las. It may be noted also that there are still some few families of the Séwa tribe at Kalát, who agreeably to tradition ruled the country before the Bráhúís.

The Bráhúí tribes are pastoral: in the summer grazing their flocks on the table lands, and in the hills, of Sahárawán and Jhálawán, and in winter descending upon the plains of Kach Gandáva.

The country of the Bráhúís produces excellent wheat, but as by far the more considerable part of it, can only be cultivated when rain has been abundant, there is no certainty in the supply. The irrigated lands alone, probably yield as much as suffices for the population, but at high prices. In seasons after copious rains at the proper period, when the returns become very bountiful, there is a large surplus, and prices are extremely low. A camel load of wheat has been known to be sold for one rupee.

The low flat province of Kachí has produce of a different kind, wheat being but of partial growth, while júári and bájrí are most extensively cultivated. The cotton plant and sugar cane are raised near Bágh and Dádar, and at the latter place indigo is produced and manufactured.

The Baloch provinces have comparatively but a trifling trade with the neighbouring states, and society is not in that advanced state amongst the inhabitants, as to render them greatly dependent on foreign

markets for articles of taste and luxury. There are a large number of Afghán merchants domiciled at Kalát, who drive a considerable transit trade between Sind, Bombay and Kándahár. The financial necessities of the Kalát rulers have introduced a base coinage into circulation at the capital, an expedient fatal to the trade and prosperity of the country. The same evil existed at Kándahár, when I was there, originating I was told with the late Shír Dil Khán, but Fúr Dil Khán was wisely taking measures to remedy it.

Mehráb Khán is a little beyond forty years of age. Boasting an ancestry which has given twenty-two or twenty-three Kháns to Kalát and the Bráhóís, he is so illiterate that he can neither read or write, and it seems his father Máhmúd Khán was no better accomplished. Politically severe, distrustful and incapable, he is not esteemed personally cruel or tyrannical, hence although he cannot be respected by his subjects, he is not thoroughly detested by them, and in lieu of deprecating his vices, they rather lament that he has not more virtues and energy. Neither is he harsh or exacting upon the merchant, whether foreign or domestic. He has four wives, and a son named Mahomed Hassan, now a child. He has an only brother Adam Khán, generally styled Mír Azem Khán, a young man entrusted with delegated command, but exceedingly prone to dissipation. The Khán retains as prisoners or nazzer bands, Sháh Nawáz Khán and Fatí Khán, sons of the late Ahmed Yár Khán, whom he judged necessary to put to death at the commencement of his reign or a little after, but not until he had fomented four rebellions, and had been thrice forgiven. These youths are under easy restraint, and the Khán takes one of them with him on his journies, while the other remains at Kalát, in charge of the Dárogah Gál Mahomed. The Khán moreover seats them on his right hand in the darbár, his own son Mahomed Hassan being placed on his left. He has also provided them with wives, or at least the elder Sháh Nawáz Khán, who has married a daughter of a Khadjak chief. These two young men are the only remaining descendants of Mohábat Khán, the elder brother of Nassír Khán, on which account while treated kindly, they are vigilantly guarded. The Ghiljí minister Dáoud Mahomed Khán wished to have involved them in the same destruction with their father Ahmed Yár Khán, and to have thereby exterminated the line, but Mehráb Khán would not consent.

Upon the whole Balochistán presents but a melancholy picture in its feeble government and distracted councils — in its lawless tribes and desolated plains — in its languishing commerce and depressed agriculture — the more subject of regret as the inhabitants with the or-

dinary bad qualities of barbarians, have many virtues, and in the mass, while inferior to the better sort of Afgháns, are perhaps superior to the worst of them. The actual state of disorganization is farther lamentable, as it has been proved that the country may be kept in order, yet there can be little hope of improvement, until it shall please providence to raise up another ruler, as wise and energetic as Nassír Khán, or as severely and inexorably just, as the stern and terrible Mír Mastapha Khán.

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*Provinces north of the Hindú Kosh.*

**BALKH.**

The most northerly of these, was under the Dúránís held by Kiliích Alí Beg, who scarcely acknowledging the authority of Sháh Zemanán, became nearly or quite independent during the contests succeeding to the deposition of that monarch, and even ventured to invade Bámián. He was a ruler of great fame, and had a singular regard for the interests of commerce. In no country had the merchant so sincere a friend, for not only did he remit himself duties on merchandize, but he would not allow his neighbours to collect them, and in the treaties with the several petty chiefs he reduced, he never forgot to stipulate that the merchant should pass free. He affected great austerity and sanctity of life. On his decease, his sons, three in number, as usual fell into dissensions. This state of things facilitated the evil designs of their enemies, and particularly of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg of Kúndúz, who despoiled them of Khúlm, while the Khán of Bokhára took possession of Balkh — and appointed as his governor a Saiyad, Eshán Khwoja, a man of great influence in the country, who is still in authority. This man is noseless, and resides generally at Akcha, some eleven or twelve miles from Balkh, and with a more healthy atmosphere. It is understood that it would not be prudent in the Khán of Bokhára to remove Eshán Khwoja, as to prevent the occupation of the province by Máhomed Morád Beg, he would have to depute a larger force from Bokhára than can be spared. The governor can draw out a force of two or three thousand men. There are many Afgháns settled at and near Balkh, and the troubles in Afghánistan have lately much increased their numbers. Every encouragement is extended to those who settle. A short march south of Balkh is Mazár, famed for a shrine, where resides Sújáhín, a chief, independent I believe, from the circumstance of having charge of the holy place, and its revenues. Two of the

eighteen canals, with which Balkh is or was provided, irrigate the lands and town of Mazár.

#### KU'NDU'Z.

Is now the most considerable of the petty states between the Hindú Kosh and the river Oxus. It is held by Mahomed Morád Beg, of the Karataghin tribe with the title of Mír. He was compelled to be very meek during the life time of Killich Alí Beg, but on his demise, profited by the quarrels amongst his sons to aggrandize himself at their expense. He has since made incursions in all directions with the view of extending his influence and making booty. He invariably carries off men, women, and children, as well as herds and flocks, and locates his captives in the pestilential marshes of Kúndúz. He has pushed his territory to the Hindú Kosh towards the south, and in that direction may be said to command the passes into Afghánistán, the various petty chiefs of Ajer, Seghán, Kámard, and the Dasht Saféd, being dependent upon him, as are those of Anderráb more easternly. He has extended his forays, across the Oxus, into Hissár and Bádakshán, and made an attempt, but an unlucky one, upon Chitrál and Káfristán. In the Hazáraját he has ventured so far as Déh Zanghí, and he harasses the neighbourhood of Balkh, the possession of which he much covets, although he admits that while he could take it, he could not hope to retain it. While a notorious freebooter, and much dreaded by his neighbours, he governs at home with steady hand, and is active in repressing disorders within his own dominions. His minister is a Hindú, the Díwán Atmar Rám, originally a banya or shopkeeper of Pesháwer. It chanced that he did some service to Mahomed Morád Beg before he attained power, which the Uzbek chief remembered, and his gratitude elevated the Hindú to his present rank. He is nearly absolute, and has the tact to exercise the supreme power, without exciting the jealousy of his surly master. He has amassed a large fortune, and it is said of him, that while helping himself freely to his lord's wealth, he permits no other person to take liberties with it. Like Mahomed Morád Beg, he is not ashamed to be grateful, and has behaved kindly to many who befriended him in his low condition. Mahomed Morád Beg while extremely harsh and unbending, is allowed to have much good sense and to be an able ruler. He is at variance with the Khán of Bokhára who affects to despise him, when he perhaps dreads him, calling him a robber, and has an understanding with the Atálik of Shehár Sabz, and with the Khán of Khokán. Mahomed Morád Beg, however belied by many of his ac-

tions, prides himself on being a good and orthodox Súni Mússúlmán, and he will be a very orthodox one, if the measure of his faith be the horror he professes to entertain of Shíás and other infidels.

#### KHU'LM AND HAIBAK.

These towns, with their territories, on the high road from Bámíán to Balkh, are held respectively by Wálí Beg, and Bábá Beg, sons of the late Killich Alí Beg.

I have before noted that the three sons of the respected Mír of Balkh, engaged in mutual contest on his decease. Bábá Beg is said to have poisoned his half brother, and full brother to Walí Beg, whence arose a mortal feud. Mahomed Morád Beg of Kúndúz, in furtherance of his own views, favored the pretensions of the fratricide, while Walí Beg, in opposition, entreated the support of the Khán of Bokhára. Walí Beg had hitherto possessed Haibak, but he was compelled to fly to Mazár. There assistance was afforded him, and returning with a force, he not only seized Khúlm in the name of the Pádsháh of Bokhára, but secured the person of his half brother Bábá Beg, who was forthwith dispatched to Bokhára. There he was detained in captivity during the remainder of the life of Mír Haidar, but amid the rejoicings consequent to the succession of the present Amír Bahádar Khán, he found means to escape, and reached Shehár Sabz, whence he proceeded to Kúndúz. Fresh struggles ensued, which terminated in Mír Walí consenting to hold Khúlm in dependence upon Mahomed Morád Beg, who made over to his protégé Bábá Beg, the town and territory of Haibak. The brothers, hostile to each other, allow the bádj or transit duty on káfilas passing through their countries, to be collected by the officers of the Mír of Kúndúz. All other items of revenue are enjoyed by themselves. Bábá Beg is very subservient to Mahomed Morád Beg, Mír Walí Beg on the contrary cordially detests him, and is impatient of his control. The present town of Khúlm was founded by Killich Alí Beg, to replace the old town, called also Tásh Kúrghán, seated some four or five miles distant on the plain. The new town is at the skirts of low hills. It is represented to be regularly built and flourishing; has two or three karavánsarais, and is admirably supplied with water and orchards.

#### SHIBRGHA'N.

This small town and territory west of Khulm, is on the line of road from Balkh to Herát. It is governed by Manáwáher Khán, son of

**Irich Khán.** It has a fort or castle seated on an eminence, and the district is fertile, and abounds in pastures.

**ANDKHU'I'.**

This town and territory west of Shibrghán, is held by Sháhverdí Khán, an Afshár chief. The town is larger than Shibrghán, and the district alike fertile, is distinguished for an esteemed breed of horses.

**SIR-I' PUL.**

This town is a day's march from Andkhúí, and a little wide of the direct road from it to Maimanna. It is ruled by Zúlfikár, an Uzbek chief.

**MAIMANNA.**

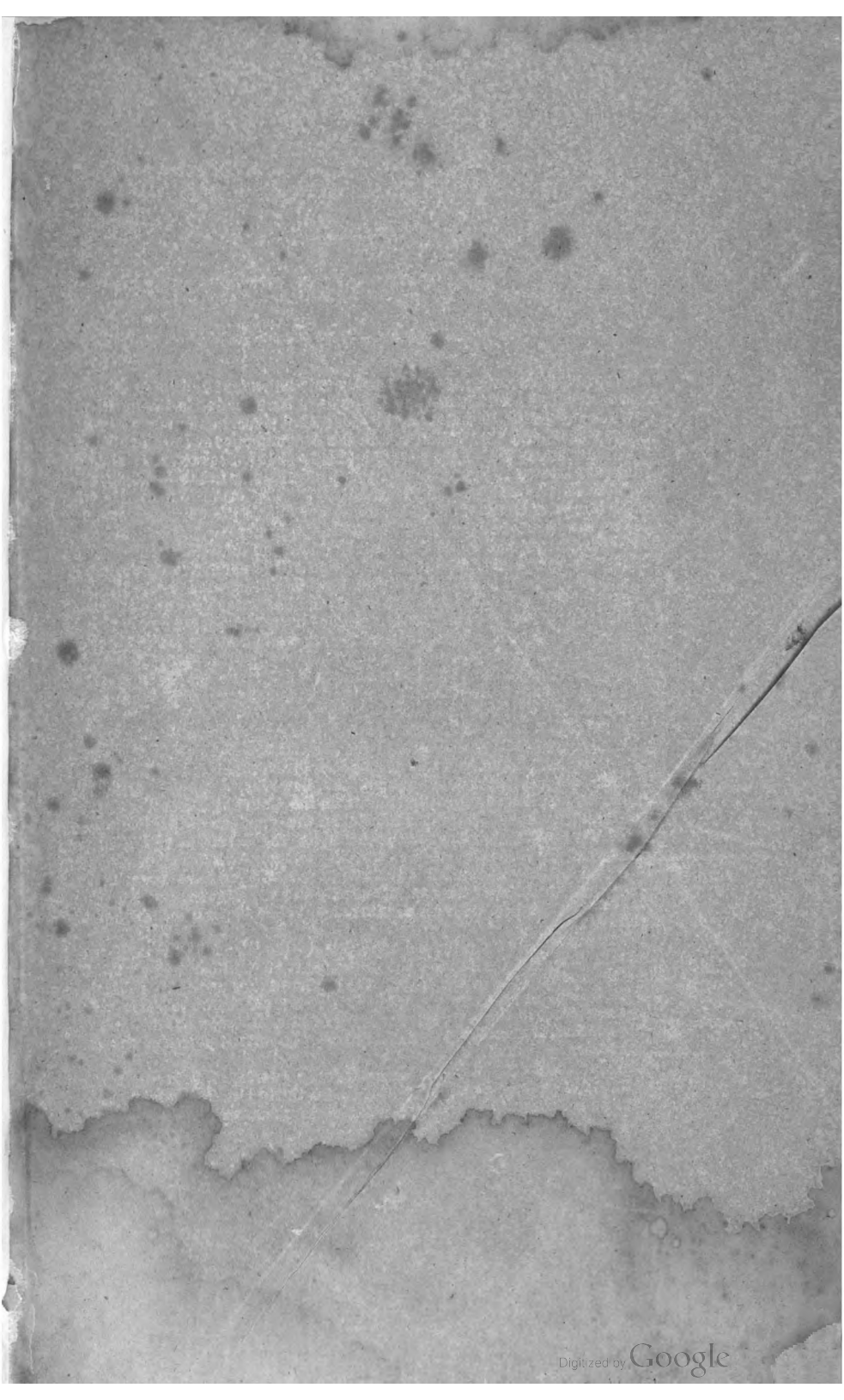
Is the most considerable town on the line of route between Balkh and Herát, and its chief has a sufficient force to command the respect of his immediate neighbours.

**ALMA'R.**

Is a small town with castle on a hill, one day's march from Maimanna. It is under the government of Shír Mahomed Khán, son of Sikandar Khán. In the vicinity are extensive pasturages, and numerous Ilyát encampments.

Beyond Almár and Maimanna, is Bálla Múrgháb, with a river, after which the hills are crossed to Herát.







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