



*The Chacrus Praushee in his dress of Office.*

67.04  
R.2

AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
KINGDOM OF CAUBUL,  
AND ITS DEPENDENCIES



*IN PERSIA, TARTARY, AND INDIA;*

COMPRISING  
A VIEW OF THE AFGHAUN NATION,  
AND  
A HISTORY OF THE DOORAUNEE MONARCHY.

---

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

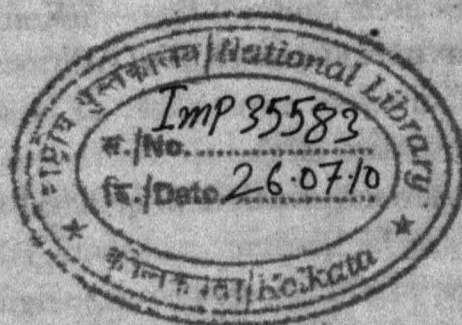
---

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW,  
AND J. MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

1815.





Printed by A. Strahan,  
New-Street-Square, London.

R. 2

## PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## PREFACE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

---

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

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

lieve, pronounced as in English, except C and G, which are added, and represent, the first, the sound of the Persian *ame* as a Northumberland man would give to R; and the second represents the Persian Khe, and has a resemblance to the Scottish and Irish ch in loch (a lake). It is to be observed, that when a consonant is repeated it is to be pronounced double. Thus dd is not to be pronounced singly as in paddock, but doubly as in mad-dog.

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

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

POONA, JUNE 4. 1814.

## NOTICE REGARDING THE MAP.

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

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

## NOTICE REGARDING THE MAP.

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

## LIST OF PLATES.

Map of the Kingdom of Caubul,	- - -	to face page 83
Plate I. A Sofe of Maunikyaula	- - -	376
II. Dooraunee Shepherds	- - -	239
III. A Dooraunee Gentleman	- - -	414
IV. A Taujik in the Summer Dress of Caubul	- - -	434
V. A Hindkee in the Winter Dress of Peshawer	- - -	316
VI. An Eusofzye	- - -	347
VII. An Afghaun of Damaun	- - -	369
VIII. A Dooraunee Villager with his Arms	- - -	406
IX. A Khawtee Ghiljie in his Summer Dress	- - -	443
X. A Khojeh of Uzbek Tartary	- - -	469
XI. A Man of the Tymunee Eimauks	- - -	481
XII. A Hazaureh	- - -	483
XIII. The Chaous Baushee in his dress of office (referred to p. 519)		to face the title
XIV. The Umla Baushee in his Dress of Office		page 519

# CONTENTS.

---

## INTRODUCTION.

**C**ONTAINING a narrative of the journey of the mission to Peshawer, of its transactions at that city, and of its return to India - - - Page 1

## BOOK I.

### GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

#### CHAP. I.

##### SITUATION AND BOUNDARIES OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

Hemalleh and Hindoo Coosh. — Paropamisus. — Mooz Taugh. — Table land of Tibet. — Little Tibet. — Kaushkaur. — Pamer. — Beloot Taug. — Countries among the branches of Beloot Taug. — Kurrateggeen. — Durwauz. — Wukhecha and Budukhsaun. — Rivers north of Hindoo Coosh. — Jaxartes. — Oxus. — Countries on the Jaxartes. — Ferghauna or Kokaun. — Kirghizzes and Kuzzauks. — Kingdoms of Orunge and Bokhaura. — Limits of Toorkistaun. — Bulkh. — Countries south of Hindoo Coosh. — Cashmeer. — Punjaub. — Indian desert. — The Indus. — Plain of the Indus. — Sind. — Sewcestaun. — Range of Solimaun. — Table land of Kelaut. — Great salt desert. — Boundaries of Afghaunistaun. — General conformation of the country. — Name of the country - - - - - 83

#### CHAP. II.

##### MOUNTAINS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

Hindoo Coosh. — Snowy ridge. — Inferior ranges. — Countries among the southern branches of Hindoo Coosh. — Boonerc. — Swaut, Punjcora and Bajour. — Cauferistaun in the mountains. — Valley of the Caubul river. — Valleys opening into it from Hindoo Coosh, Coonner, Alingaur, Alishung, Lughmaun, Oozbeen, and Tugow. — the Cohistaun of Caubul, including Nijrow, Punjsheer, and Ghorebund. — Cohdau-

## CONTENTS.

mun. — Country of the Eimauks and Hazaurehs. — Range of Solimaun. — Origin and direction of the chain. — Suffaid Coh minor ranges. — Branches towards the east, branch of Punniallee, branch of salt hills, branch of 34° north latitude, branches towards the west. — Hills on the west of Afghaunistaun. — Khojeh Amraun. — Range of Tukkatoo. — Range of Khurlukkee. — Hills east of longitude 68° east. — Range south of the Turnuk. — Range of Soorghur - - - Page 94

## CHAP. III.

## RIVERS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

The Indus, joined by the river of Ladauk and by the Abascen. — The river of Kaushkaur. — The river of Caubul. — The Koorrum. — The Gomul. — The Zhobe. — The Helmund. — The Urghundaub. — The Khashrood. — The Furrah rood. — The Turnuk. — The Urghessaun. — The Lora. — The Ochus, Pooleemaulaun, or Tejend — Aubistaudeh lake - - - 108

## CHAP. IV.

## NATURAL AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

Lower and Upper Sind. — Damaun, its divisions and inhabitants. — Tribes in the range of Solimaun. — Tribes among its eastern branches. — Plain of Peshawer. — Eusofzyes. Tribes between Hindoo Cooshi and Suffaid Coh. — Khybercees. — Jellallabad. — Ningrahaun. — Plain of Caubul. — Wurduks. — Countries on the west of the Solimaunee range, Logur, &c. — Bason of the Aubistaudeh. — Valley of the Turnuk. — Country between the Urghandaub and the Helmund. — Country west of the Helmund. — Countries west of the range of Solimaun resumed. — Saulch Yesoon, &c. — Pisheen. — Shawl and Moostoong. — Dushti Bedowleh. — Zawura and Tul. — Chooteeallee. — Boree. — Zhobe - - - 119

## CHAP. V.

## OF THE CLIMATE OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

South-west Monsoon. — Winter rains. — Spring rains. — Temperature. — Winds. — General remarks on the climate and its effects - - - 126

## CHAP. VI.

## ANIMALS, VEGETABLES, AND MINERALS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

The lion. — Tiger and leopard. — Wolf, hyæna. — Bear. — Wild boar. — Wild ass. — Deer. — The horse, mule, and ass. — Camel and dromedary. — Buffaloe. — Ox. — Sheep. — Goat. — Dog. — Cat. — Birds. — Game and other birds. — Reptiles. — Insects. — Trees. — Bushes. — Flowers. — Minerals - - - 141

BOOK II.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE INHABITANTS OF AFGHAUNISTAN.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION, ORIGIN, AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE AFGHAUNS.

First impression made by the Afghaun character — on a traveller from Europe, — and on one from India. — Name of the Afghaun nation. — Early history from foreign authors. Descent of the Afghauns from the Jews - - - - Page 148

CHAP. II.

DIVISIONS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE AFGHAUN NATION.

Common origin of all the Afghauns. — Their division into tribes. — Formation and divisions of an Oolooss. — The Khaun. — The Jeerga. — Afghauns attached, not to the chief, but Oorlooss. — Internal military establishment. — Internal revenue. — Internal administration of justice. — Pooshtoonwullee, or customary law. — Private revenge. — Means of restraining the bad effects of private revenge. — Forms, powers, and character of the judicial Jeergas. — Other modes of adjusting disputes. — Mixed Ooloosses. — Humsanyahs or Dénizens. — General government of the Afghaun nation. — The King. — His powers. — Opinions of different parties regarding them. — How exercised. — Disadvantages of this form of government. — Its advantages 158

CHAP. III.

MARRIAGES, CONDITION OF WOMEN, FUNERALS, &c.

Marriage. — Peculiar customs relating to marriage. — Condition of the women. — Love-story of Audam and Doorkhaunee. — Funerals - - - - 179

CHAP. IV.

EDUCATION, LANGUAGE, AND LEARNING OF THE AFGHAUNS.

Education. — Pushtoo language. — Its origin and character. — Afghaun authors. — Specimens of Pushtoo poetry. — Learning of the Afghauns - - - - 188

CHAP. V.

RELIGION, SECTS, MOOLLAHS, SUPERSTITIONS, &c.

Religion. — Toleration. — Conduct to Hindoos, — To Christians. — To Sheeahs. — Short account of the sect of Soofees. — Libertine sect of Moolla Zukkee. — Roushunee sect.

Effect of religion on the manners of the people. — Prayers. — Fasts. — Pilgrimage. — Alms. — Dice and wine forbidden. — The office of Moohtesib, and other means of enforcing observance of religion and morals. — Moollahs. — Their numbers. — Their power and influence. — Their vices. — Their means of livelihood. — How invested with the character. — Under no church government. — Manners. — Question regarding their utility. — Dervises, saints, and other holy men. — Superstitions. — Alchymy and magic. — The gardens of Jumsheed. — Ghools or spirits of the waste. — Ghosts. — Dreams. — Divination. — *Sortes Virgilianæ* - - - - - Page 200

## CHAP. VI.

## HOSPITALITY, PREDATORY HABITS, &amp;c.

Hospitality. — Nannawautee and other methods of supplication. — Sanctity of a guest. — Mixture of hospitality and rapacity. — Rapine, how occasioned. — Where most prevalent. — Safeguards - - - - - 226

## CHAP. VII.

## MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CHARACTER OF THE AFGHAUNS.

Division of the Afghauns into inhabitants of tents and of houses. — Increase of those in houses. — Causes of that increase. — Doubts regarding an opinion of Volney. — Houses and furniture of the common people. — Manner of sitting. — Way of passing time. — Smoking. — Kulliauns. — Snuff. — Reception of a visitor. — Feasts. — Tales, songs, and music. — Amusements. — Hunting. — Races. — Military sports. — Dances. — Games. — Dress of the men. — Dress of the women. — Conveyances of Afghaunistaun. — Horses and their furniture. — Elephants. — Litters. — Couriers. — Of slaves. — Whence procured. — Their condition and employments. — Emancipation. — The Afghauns abhor man-selling. — Form and appearance of the people. — Distinction between Eastern and Western Afghauns. — Manners. — Character - - - 231

## CHAP. VIII.

## OF THE INHABITANTS OF TOWNS.

Afghauns, few. — Bankers. — How treated by the government. — Merchants. — Shopkeepers and artizans. — Oppressions arising from the system of purveyance, — and from the strictness of the police. — Afghaun division of the day and year. — Hours and meals of the common people in towns. — Baths. — Food, with the price of some articles. — Amusements. — Way of life of a baker retired from business. — Athletic exercises of India and Persia. — General condition of the inhabitants of towns 254

## CONTENTS.

xiii

### CHAP. IX.

#### OF THE GREAT.

The houses and furniture of the great. — Dress, ornaments and arms of the men. — Dress of the ladies. — Household and retinue of the great. — Fidelity of the servants. — Life of the great. — Description of an entertainment at Peshawer. — Entertainment at the gardens of Timoor Shah. — Character of the great. — Account of the principal nobles of the court of Shah Shoojan. — Muddud Khaun. — Goolistaun Khaun. — Auzim Khaun. — Meer Hotuk Khaun. — Ahmed Khaun Noorzye. — Negotiations with Persian ministers, -- and with Doorraunce Sirdars - - - Page 267  
Note. Condition of Europeans in Afghaunistaun - - - - 288

### CHAP. X.

#### TRADE OF CAUBUL.

Means of transport. — Caravans. — Those with wandering tribes — Those composed of merchants alone. — Foreign trade — with India, — with Toorkistaun, — with Persia, — with Chinese Toorkistaun. — Internal trade of the kingdom. — The horse-trade. 290

### CHAP. XI.

#### HUSBANDRY OF CAUBUL.

Classes of cultivators. — Proprietors. — Value of land. — Tenants. — Rent-Buzgurs or Metayers. — Labourers. — Spring and autumn. — Harvests of Afghaunistaun. — Paulaiz. — Grains used for food. — Garden Stuffs. — Sugar Cane. — Cotton. — Oil plants. — Madder. — Asafoetida. — Artificial grasses. — System of farming. — Irrigation. — Streams. — Cauraizes or Cahreezes — And other modes of irrigation. — Khooshkaubeh or unwatered land. — Process of cultivation. — Wind-mills. — Water-mills. — Hand-mills. — Succession of crops. — Cattle 298

### CHAP. XII.

#### TAUJIKS, HINDKEES AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF AFGHAUNISTAUN.

Cohistaunees. — Burrukees. — Poormoolees or Fermoolees. — Sirdehees. — Juts. — Awauns. — Puraanchees. — Hindoos. — Diggauns. — Shulmaunees. — Swautees. — Teeryes. — Kuzzilbaushes. — Arabs. — Armenians. — Abyssinians. — Calmuks 309

## BOOK III.

## CHAP. I.

## PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE AFGHAUN TRIBES.

Eastern tribes. — The Berdooraunees. — Extent and boundaries. — General character of the people. — Goondees or associations. — Description of the Berdooraunee country - - - - - Page 324

## EUSOFZYES.

Description of their country. — Valley of Chumla. — Valley of Swaut. — Boonere. — The Judoons of Duntour. — History of the Eusofzyes. — Their emigration from Khorassaun, and settlement in their present seats. — Manners in former days. — Division of the lands of the tribe. — Singular custom of Vaish or interchange of lands. — Anarchy of the Eusofzyes. — Form of government in a Eusofzye Ooloos. — Detailed account of the distractions in a Eusofzye clan. — Account of a particular feud. — Effects of this anarchy — Wars between Ooloosses. — Varieties in the governments of Eusofzye Ooloosses. — Despotism established by Kaussim Khaun of Deer. — Numbers of the Eusofzyes. — Condition of the Fakeers or Villains. — Artizans attached to a division of an Oolooss. — Customs levied by Ooloosses. — Houses, food, dress, and manners of the Eusofzyes. — Their character - - - - - 330

## TURCOLAUNEES.

Description of Bajour. — Description and numbers of the inhabitants. — Government of the Turcolaunees. — Manners and character - - - - - 351

## OTMAUNKHAIL.

Face of the country. — Government, manners, and character of the people. — Numbers 353

## UPPER MOMUNDS.

Face of the country. — Currapa pass. — Numbers. — Government. — Employment of the population - - - - - 354

## KHYBEREES.

Face of the country. — Divisions and numbers of the Khyberees. — Khyber pass. — Pensions for securing it. — Depredations. — Appearance, manners, and character 354

## TRIBES OF PESHAWER.

Face of the country. — Divisions and numbers. — History of the Ghoreeakhail. — Dependence on the King. — Internal government, dress, manners, and character 358

## CONTENTS.

xv

### KHUTTUKS.

Numbers. — Face of the country. — Plains on the north. — Divisions and numbers. — Government and character. — Mountains in the south. — Bauriks Page 360

### BUNGUSHES AND OTHER TRIBES.

Face of the country of the Bungushes. — Government and character. — Toorees. — Jaujees. — Esaukhail. — Sheotuk. — Bunnoo. — Dour. — Khost. — Tunnees in Drugye. Vizeerees 362

## CHAP. II.

### EASTERN TRIBES CONTINUED. — TRIBES OF DAMAUN.

Limits. — Divisions. — Tribe of Murwut. — Damaun Proper and its divisions. — Country of the tribes of Gundehpoor and Dowlut Khail. — Country of the Mecaun Khail, Bauboors, and Stoorecaunees. — Produce of Damaun. — General character of the tribes of Damaun. — Remarkable temporary magistracy of the Chelwushtee or Dictator 366

### DOWLUTKHAIL.

Establishment of despotism in a free tribe illustrated by the history of the Dowlut Khail. — Usurpation of Kuttaul. — His death. — Successful usurpation of his son Surwur. — Gundehpoors. — Meeankhail. — Bukhtecaurees a Persian tribe united with the Meeankhail. — Bauboors. — Stoorecaunees. — Forsake pasturage for tillage. — General confederacies of all the tribes. — Famous tribes of Soor and Lodi. — Damaun much frequented by pastoral hordes 368

## CHAP. III.

### MOUNTAIN TRIBES. — ZMURREES. — SHEERAUNEES.

Face of the country. — Dress, manners, and habits of the people. — Peculiar government, founded partly on respect for birth, and partly on superstition. — Chelwushtees. — Moollas. — Predatory character of the Sheeraunees. — Their wars. — Countries west of the Sheeraunees. — Murhails of Spusta. — Tribes of Kuppeep and Hureepaul 380

### VIZEEREES.

Face of the country. — Predatory character of the people. — Manners and habits of life. — Peculiar custom relating to marriage. — The Jadrauns. — Countries west of the Vizeerees, &c. — Dumtaunees of Wauneh 384

## CHAP. IV.

## WESTERN AFGHAUNS. DOORRAUNEES, CITY OF CANDAHAR, TEREENS AND BARAICHES.

General description. — Impression made on the western tribes by the monarchy. — Pastoral tribes - - - - - Page 388

## DOORRAUNEES.

Extent and boundaries. — Description of the country (in five divisions) — 1st. That west of long.  $63^{\circ}$  east. — 2d. That from long.  $63^{\circ}$  east to the meridian of Candahar. — 3d. That in the hills south of the Paropamisan range. — 4th. That round Candahar. — 5th. That in the south-east of the Doorraunee country. — Animals in the Doorraunee country. — Name and early history of the Doorraunees. — Divisions. — Populzye. — Baurikzyes. — Atchikzyes. — Alizyes. — Alekkozyes. — Iskhaukhzyes. — Maukoos and Khougaunees. — Population of the Doorraunee country. — Internal government of the tribe. — The King Chief. — Favourable effect of the competition between the crown and the nobles. — Internal government of each clan. — Agricultural Doorraunees. — Form of villages. — Houses and furniture. — Shops. — Public apartment. — Employments. — Castles of petty Khauns. — Character of that class. — Humsauyahs or Denizens. — Pastoral Doorraunees. — Description of a black tent. — Camps. — Shepherds in scattered tents. — Charms of the pastoral life. — Way of life of the shepherds of Toba. — Composition of a camp. — Employments of the people. — Dress of the Doorraunees. — Food. — Appearance. — Manners and condition. — Hospitality. — Character. — Esteemed by the other tribes. — Account of the clan of Atchikzyes. — Account of Candahar - - - - - 391

## BARAICHES.

Description of Shoraubuk. — Camels used to ride on and to plough. — Cooddools or houses of hurdles. - - - - - 426

## TEREENS.

Division into white and black. — Description of Pisheen. — Syuds of Pisheen. — Speen or white Tereens in Tull and Chooteallee - - - - - 428

## CHAP. V.

## GHILJIES, CITIES OF GHUZNEE AND CAUBUL, WURDUKS AND CAUKERS.

## GHILJIES.

Boundaries. — Description of the country. — Valley of the Turnuk. — Tract under the Paropamisan hills. — Tract south of the valley of the Turnuk. — Tract south of latitude  $32^{\circ}$ . — Mummye. — Bason of the Aubistaudeh. — City of Ghuznee. — Ghiljie

## CONTENTS.

xvii

country under the range of Solimaun. — City of Caubul. — Divisions of the tribe of Ghiljie. — Hotukees. — Tokhees. — Turrukees. — Unders. — Kharotees. — Alikhails. — Solimaunkhails. — Suhauks. — Sheerpaws. — Difference between the eastern and western Ghiljies. — Government of the tribe. — Former power of the Ghiljie Kings. — Loose government at present. — Example of the Kulunderkhail, a clan of the southern Solimaunkhail. — Manners. — The Ahmedzyes. — Character of the Ghiljies. — Particular account of the Kharotees. — Mountains. — Valleys. — Produce. — Government. — Birth little regarded. — Employment. — The pastoral Kharotees, how led to that mode of life - - - - - Page 433

### CAUKERS.

Boundaries. — Face of the country. — Burshore. — Shawl. — Punnees in Seewee. — Tribe of Lonee. — Zawura. — Tull and Chooteeallee. — Boree. — Zhobe. — Divisions of the tribe of Cauker. — Account of a clan of the western Caukers. — Government. — Destruction of a Beloché army by Tahmas Khaun of Dozhukh. — Powers of the Khaun of the clan of Sunnateea. — Manners. — Eastern Caukers exemplified by an account of Boree. — Other Caukers - - - - - 448

## CHAP. VI.

### NAUSSERS.

The Naussers have no country. — Wandering life. — Detailed account of their marches. — Battles with the Vizeerees. — Life in Damaun. — Employment. — Manners. — Causes of their enjoying a free government, though a pastoral tribe - - - 457

## BOOK IV.

### THE PROVINCES.

#### CHAP. I.

BULKH, OR BACTRIA AND THE UZBEKS - - - - - 462

#### CHAP. II.

THE EIMAUKS AND HAZAUREHS - - - - - 478

#### CHAP. III.

HERAUT - - - - - 488

#### CHAP. IV.

SEESTAUN - - - - - 492

CONTENTS.

CHAP. V.

BELOCHISTAUN AND LOWER SIND	- - - - -	Page 495
-----------------------------	-----------	----------

CHAP. VI.

UPPER SIND, MOULTAUN, LYA, AND THE COUNTRIES BETWEEN LFIA AND CASHMEER		501
--	--	-----

CHAP. VII.

CASHMEER	- - - - -	506
----------	-----------	-----

BOOK V.

THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF CAUBUL.

CHAP. I.

OF THE KING.

Succession to the crown. — Royal family. — King's title. — His powers. — Domestic and foreign policy of the government of Caubul. — Its character. — Present state		511
--	--	-----

CHAP. II.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The Vizier. — The other ministers. — The household	- -	518
--	-----	-----

CHAP. III.

OF THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM INTO PROVINCES	- - -	521
---	-------	-----

CHAP. IV.

OF THE REVENUE	- -	524
----------------	-----	-----

CHAP. V.

JUSTICE AND POLICE OF THE KINGDOM	- - - - -	527
-----------------------------------	-----------	-----

CHAP. VI.

THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Dooraunees. — Gholamuks, or King's guards. — Karra Nokur. — Eeljauree. — Dawatal.		
---	--	--

## CONTENTS.

xix

lub, or volunteers. — Principal military officers. — Arms and equipment. — Discipline and mode of war. — Civil wars - - - - - Page 530

## CHAP. VII.

THE RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT - - - - - 539

---

## APPENDIX A.

### HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF CAUBUL FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE DOORAUNEE MONARCHY.

#### AHMED SHAUH.

Early history of the Dooraunees. — Ahmed Shauh assumes the crown. — Form of his government, and its policy, internal and external. — Ahmed Shauh takes Ghuznee, Caubul, and Peshawer. — Ahmed Shauh's first expedition to India. — Defeated at Sirhind. — The Punjaub annexed to the Dooraunee monarchy. — Ahmed's first expedition to Persian Khorassaun. — Second expedition to Persian Khorassaun, reduction of the province. — Second expedition to India: conquest of Cashmeer. — Third expedition to India: capture of Delly. — Mahratta war. — Revolt of Nusseer Khaun, chief of the Beloches. — Suppressed. — State of the Punjaub. — Fourth expedition to India. — Second capture of Delly. — Battle of Pauniput. — Fifth expedition to India. — Sixth and last expedition to India. — Third expedition to Persian Khorassaun. — Death and Character of Ahmed Shauh. — His policy towards the different classes of his subjects - - - - - 541

#### TIMOOR SHAUH.

Fruitless plots to oppose the accession of Timoor Shauh. — Timoor Shauh's system of government. — Insurrections. — Conspiracy of Feizoollah Khaun. — Expedition to the Moultaun. — War with the King of Bokhaura. — Death of Timoor Shauh 558

#### SHAUH ZEMAUN.

Accession of Shauh Zemaun. — Opposed by prince Hoomayoon. — Prince Hoomayoon defeated. — Bulkh invaded by the Uzbeks. — Troubles in other parts of the country. — Rebellion of prince Mahimood. — Troubles in Belochistaun. — Defeat and seizure of prince Hoomayoon. — Character and projects of Shauh Zemaun. — Power of the

vizier Wuffadar Khaun. — His character. — Shauh Zemaun sets out to invade the Punjaub. — Khorassaun invaded by the King of Persia. — Shauh Zemaun invades the Punjaub. — Alarm throughout India. — Rebellion of prince Mahmood. — Second invasion of the Punjaub. — Attempt on Heraut by Mahmood. — Flight of Mahmood to Bokhaura. — Shauh Mahmood joined by Futteh Khaun. — Enters the Afghaun dominions. — Takes Candahar. — Misconduct of Shauh Zemaun. — His flight. — Shauh Zemaun betrayed. — Blinded and imprisoned - - - Page 564

## SHAUH MAHMOOD.

Joy of the people on the accession of Mahmood. — Disorders of Mahmood's government. — Prince Shuja proclaimed King at Peshawer. — Defeated. — Ghiljie rebellion. — Danger of the Dooraunee monarchy. — Second rising of the Ghiljies. — Final suppression of the Ghiljie rebellion. — Second defeat of Prince Shujah. — Weakness of the government. — Conquest of Persian Khorassaun by the Persians. — Discontent of the people. — Character of Mokhtaur Oodoulah, and of the Meer Waunez. — Battle between the Sheeahs and Soonees. — Mahmood deposed 579

## SHAUH SHUJA.

Reduced state of the power of the crown. — Wise measures of the new government. — Rebellion of prince Kyser. — Intrigues of Futteh Khaun. — Dissensions between the King and the vizier Mokhtaur Oodoulah. — The vizier's expedition to reduce Cashmeer. — Intrigues and commotions excited by Futteh Khaun. — Attack on Heraut by the Persians. — Increased dissension between the King and the vizier. — Escape of Shauh Mahmood. — Rebellion of the vizier. — Defeat and death of the vizier. — Mahmood and Futteh Khaun take Candahar. — Are defeated 580

## APPENDIX B.

MR. DURIE'S NARRATIVE - - - - - 600

## APPENDIX C.

## ACCOUNT OF SOME NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

Caufiristaun. — Budukhshaun. — Kaushkaur - - - 617

## APPENDIX D.

## EXTRACT FROM LIEUTENANT MACARTNEY'S MEMOIR.

Construction of the map. — Face of the country. — Hindoo Koosh, or Great Snowy Ridge. — Pamer Ridge. — Budukshan Ridge. — Teqra, or Khyber Range. — Sooliman Ridge. — Groupes of hills extending eastward from the Sooliman Ridge down

## xxi

towards the Indus. — Groupes of hills extending westward from the Sooliman Ridge. — Kohistan, north of the Caubul River. — Ranges of hills east of the Indus. — Table Land of Little Tibet and the hills extending north-west to Yarkund. — Rivers. — The River Ammu, or Oxus. — The Kokcha, or Budukshan river. — The Aksurrai. — The Hissar, or Kafirnihan river. — The Turufshan. — The Murghab river. — The river Sirr. — The river Sind, or Indus. — The Abba Seen. — The Kama River. — The Ghur Sheen. — The Swan river. — The Koorm river. — The Jelum, Behut, or Vidusta (Hydaspes). — The Chunab (Acenes). — The Ravee (Hydraotes). — The Beyah, or Beyas (Hyphasis). — The rivers of Khorasan. — The Kirmund, or Helbund. — The Urghundab river. — The Khashrood. — The Turnuk. — The Furraro. — The Poolimalan, or Hirat river

Page 631

PUSHTOO VOCABULARY - - - - - 666

## ERRATA.

Page 58. line 4. for *Teringee* read *Feringee*.

— 74. — 31. for *Tutteh* read *Futteh*.

— 75. — 3. for *Tutteh* read *Futteh*.

# INTRODUCTION

---

## NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MISSION.

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

*Secretary*, Mr. Richard Strachey.

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

*Surgeon*, Mr. Macwhirter. Bengal Establishment.

*Commanding the Escort*,

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

*Surveyors*,

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

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

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

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

\* *Mimosa Arabica*.

† *Capparis*. The caper tree.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

\* *Melia Azadarachta*.

† *Ficus Religiosa*.

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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