

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

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

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

## CHAP. IV.

## EDUCATION, LANGUAGE, AND LITERATURE OF THE AFGHAUNS.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“ But, in all these misfortunes, I still thank God for two things.

One that I am an Afghaun; and the other, that I am Khooshhaul Khuttuck.”

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

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



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

*Poem of Khooshhaul.*

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

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

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

*Ellis's Specimens. Vol. I.*

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

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\* I suspect some mistake in this verse.



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

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

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\* Shaah Jehaun, whom Aurungzebe deposed and imprisoned.

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

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

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

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

## CHAP. V.

RELIGION, SECTS, MOOLLAHS, SUPERSTITIONS, &amp;c.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## CHAP. VI.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

\* A most remarkable instance of this spirit has been mentioned, in describing the journey of two gentlemen of the Mission, who went to Deraubund.

soon form a connection sufficiently strong to prevent their injuring each other after the rights of hospitality have ceased ; and, in fact, there is no point in the Afghaun character of which it is more difficult to get a clear idea, than the mixture of sympathy and indifference, of generosity and rapacity, which is observable in their conduct to strangers. In parts of the country where the government is weak, they seem to think it a matter of course to rob a stranger, while in all other respects they treat him with kindness and civility. So much more do they attend to granting favours than to respecting rights, that the same Afghaun who would plunder a traveller of his cloak, if he had one, would give him a cloak if he had none. If these inconsistencies only appeared in their own country, their behaviour might be owing to their natural love of gain ; and their point of honour, with respect to guests. But, how are we to explain the same conduct, when their meeting in a foreign country gives the stranger no claims on their hospitality ? All the authentic accounts I have of the treatment of strangers by Afghauns, either in their own country or elsewhere, give an impression of philanthropy and politeness, when there was no temptation to depart from those principles. But, where there was any inducement to plunder the stranger, and even sometimes when much was to be gained by deceiving him, there was no great appearance of justice and good faith. The truth is, those virtues are not necessary concomitants of general kindness, nor ought we to infer the want of the one from the absence of the other. Justice and good faith, cannot perhaps subsist, unless they are supported by laws and government ; while the very circumstance of the public's leaving men to themselves, obliges individuals to assist and to depend on each other. It is probably to this last cause, that we are to attribute the superiority of most Asiatics in the minor points of general humanity over Englishmen of the same rank in life, to whom they are far inferior in all other good qualities.

The frequency with which travellers are plundered, appears to originate in the defects of the Pooshtoonwullee. That law relies on the exertions of the injured person, his relations, and his tribe, for

obtaining him justice; and, as a stranger has neither relations nor tribe, no provision is made for his security. In proof of this proposition, it may be observed, that the Afghauns do not in general plunder the lands of their neighbours, or rob individuals, who reside in their part of the country, and that it is only travellers who are liable to this oppression. This habit of rapine prevails in very different degrees, at different times, and in different parts of the country. The King's government protects people of all descriptions alike, as far as its power extends; and, in consequence, when the government is established, a man runs little risk, except among the tribes, whose situation enables them to set the King at defiance. During civil wars, on the contrary, the whole kingdom is let loose; and a traveller may be plundered with as much impunity within sight of Caubul as in the mountains of the Vizeerees. The habit of good order, however, prevents the inhabitants of the parts of the country which are usually settled, from running into these excesses, and it is probably only the worst individuals among them who betake themselves to habitual rapine.

The tribes most addicted to rapine in the West, are the Atchukzye branch of the Dooraunees, and those of the Noorzyes, who inhabit the desert country on the borders of Persia and Belochistan, and that part of the Tokhee branch of the Ghiljies, which occupies a portion of the Paropamisan mountains. The lands of the rest might be passed with tolerable safety, unless in times of great confusion; but the long disorders of the government are perhaps altering their character in this respect for the worse. The pastoral tribes in the West are said to be more given both to robbery and theft, than those who live by agriculture. All the tribes of the range of Solimaun, especially the Khyberees and the Vizeerees, are notorious plunderers, and rob under the express direction or sanction of their internal government. The other Eastern Afghauns are all disposed to plunder when they dare. When quite free from all apprehension of the royal power, they openly rob on the highway. When their security is not so great, they levy exorbitant customs, or beg in a manner that is not

to be refused, and steal when they dare not rob ; but, for a considerable extent round the towns, a traveller is tolerably safe under the protection of the royal authority.

It is possible, in all tribes, except the Khyberees, to obtain a secure passage through their territories by a previous agreement with the chiefs, who, for a small present, will furnish an escort, under whose protection a stranger may travel with perfect safety. A single man is a sufficient escort in most tribes ; but where the internal government is very weak, or where there is much fear of theft, it is usual to give a party proportioned to the quantity of property to be defended. It is remarkable that these arrangements are most effectual with the tribes who, having least connection with the King, have usually most predatory habits. In those tribes it seems to be thought that the Oolooss having no relations with a stranger, is at liberty to attack him, and that such an attack is to be considered as honourable war \*, but that when they have promised protection, they are bound in good faith to afford it : the people of the subject tribes, on the other hand, are well aware of the guilt of robbery, and when any of them are depraved enough to practise it, little sense of honour is to be expected of them.

In all cases, it must be observed, to the honour of the Afghauns, that their robberies are never aggravated by murder : a man may be killed in defending his property, but he will not be put to death after he has ceased to resist.

I say nothing of the plunder of whole caravans by the leaders of parties during civil wars. This is acknowledged to be an expedient only justified by necessity, and a promise of repayment in better times is always held out to the sufferers.

\* For a similar state of manners and opinions in ancient Greece, see Thucydides, Book I. chap.

## CHAP. VII.

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

THE manner of life of the Afghauns is by no means uniform throughout the country, and for varieties I must again refer to the detailed accounts of the tribes, but I shall adhere to my plan of mentioning in this place all that is common to the whole. One great cause of diversity it is necessary to mention even here. This is the division of the nation into inhabitants of tents and of houses. Those who live in tents are chiefly to be found in the West, where they probably amount to one half of the population ; but as all over the East the people live in houses, the proportion of that last class must greatly preponderate in the nation. It is probable that the number of those in tents has diminished, and I am of opinion that it is still diminishing. The facility with which tribes changed their residence in former times, appears to countenance the belief, that most of them were shepherds, and lived in tents ; though it cannot be denied that great emigrations of agricultural tribes have also taken place.

The movement of the Eusofzyes from the frontiers of Persia Proper to those of India is related in another place. The other tribes round Peshawer are also traced from the east of Khorassaun of their present seats : at a still later period, the Ghiljies moved from a great part of their lands, at the command of Naudir Shauh, and made room for a portion of the Dooraunees. This, however, was a compulsory removal, enforced by a powerful conqueror, and no voluntary emigration is known to have occurred within a century ; a proof, as it appears to me, that the people have betaken themselves to agriculture, a pursuit which naturally attaches themselves to the soil. It

is not, perhaps, so evident that this disposition is still increasing, but we find numbers of people, who, though they still live in tents, yet are employed in husbandry, and never move from their fields; and this seems very obviously to be a stage in their progress from moving with the seasons, and cultivating a spot of ground at their summer station, to building houses for permanent residence. A recent example is found in the Stooreeaunees, of a tribe which has abandoned pasturage for tillage, but on the other hand, there do not want examples of people who have exchanged a fixed for a wandering life.

One of the most judicious of modern travellers has observed, that though habit may render a wandering life agreeable, yet there are only two causes which can originally have induced men to adopt it.

1st. The badness of the soil of their country, which obliges them to wander far in search of subsistence; and, 2d. The operation of the bad government under which they live, compelling them to elude its oppression by a frequent change of abode\*. I must confess the example of the Afghauns does not lead me to agree with this theory. Among the Afghauns, a pastoral life appears to me to be the most popular, men enter on it with pleasure, and abandon it with regret, and it is to habit chiefly that we are to attribute the rareness of examples of tribes relinquishing their fields, to betake themselves to pasturage. Besides exemption from the oppression of the royal government (an exemption by no means peculiar to shepherd tribes), the pastoral life has many advantages to recommend it. It is easy, careless, and secure, supplying plenty without demanding labour, uniting the advantages of various climates, and affording a relief from the

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\* Voyage par Volney, chap. xxiii. sect. 3. I cannot mention this writer without offering my slender tribute of applause to his merits. Among many other talents, he possesses in a remarkable degree, that of pointing out what is peculiar to the manners and institutions of the East, by comparing and contrasting them with those of Europe: so far does he excel all other writers in this respect, that if one wishes thoroughly to understand other travellers in Mahomedan countries, it is necessary to have read Volney first.



listlessness of idleness, in frequent change of scene, and in the never-failing resource of field sports. The shepherds are also in a great measure emancipated, even from the controul of their internal government, by their dispersion for the greater part of the year. A few families closely connected by blood, and enjoying an extent of country far beyond their wants, need no magistrate to preserve their peace, and although the state of a freeman under the limited authorities of an Oolooss, may be independent, it cannot be compared with that of a society alike exempt from the restraint of government, and the disorders of anarchy. The principal motive I can discover for the relinquishment of so enviable a way of life, is the same which M. Volney has assigned for its adoption: the difficulty of procuring subsistence. This difficulty must be experienced in a much greater degree by a given number of shepherds, than by an equal number of husbandmen, and accordingly it is only while the population is very confined in proportion to the country, that a pastoral life can be agreeable. The increase both of men and flocks soon occasions disputes about the right to pasture on particular tracts, and each shepherd finding his limits narrowed as his wants extend, is compelled to add to his means of support by tillage, a change by which ten acres is made to maintain more men than ten miles could do before. I am far from denying that there are countries, the unfitness of which for agriculture, obliges the inhabitants to adhere to pasturage; or that the badness of a government may drive people into this mode of life; but I contend that there are other inducements arising from the nature of that life itself, and I object to the extension of a theory which is true of Syria, to all wandering tribes.

The tents of shepherds will be described hereafter, as will the various sorts of houses in use in Afghaunistaun. The commonest house by far is built of unburned brick, one story high, and roofed either with a terrace supported by beams, or with low cupolas of the same material as the walls. As tables and chairs are unknown, there

is little or no furniture, except a coarse woollen carpet, and some pieces of felt\* to sit on.

The Berdooraunees, indeed, sit on low beds, with bottoms of leather or of cord, and the people in towns have often broad benches raised round the room (which they call *sopha* or *sufeh*), but the general practice is to sit on the ground. When men are at their ease, they sit cross legged, or put their legs into any attitude that is agreeable to them; but when there is the least ceremony, they sit in a more formal position, which is assumed by the person's kneeling, and then sinking back on his heels, so that his legs are tucked under him, and completely concealed by the skirts of his tunic. This way of sitting is intolerable to an European, but the joints of Asiatics are so supple, that although their legs are pressed quite flat on the ground, yet they remain in this posture without inconvenience for whole days.

Their ordinary employment, when seated, is conversation, and every now and then a *culleeaun* is passed round for smoking, and after a whiff or two, is sent away. The common *culleeaun* in *Afghaunistaun* is made of earthen ware, and shaped like a very broad bottle with a wide neck. People in better circumstances have them of various shapes, made of glass, or more frequently of pewter, ornamented with flowers, &c. in brass. This is filled with water, and two ornamented wooden pipes are introduced into it, one of them is perpendicular, and has at the top a cup containing tobacco and charcoal: the other is the mouth-piece from which the smoke is inhaled, after

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\* As I shall have frequent occasion to mention this sort of felt, it will be convenient to describe it once for all. It is made of wool (generally of that which is shorn off the camlet, carpets, and other woollen manufactures). It is made by the women, who wet the wool, and then work it up, rolling it over and kneading it with their hands, till it assumes a consistency: it is then spread out to the size required, and when finished, is from a quarter to half an inch thick, and is soft and pliant: that worn by the people is much thinner. The common colours are grey and black, but those used in the houses of the rich, which are of a close texture, are of a light brown, ornamented with peculiar patterns of flowers in faint colours.

passing through the water, by which it is cooled and cleared of some oily particles which would otherwise accompany it. All the Persians use this pipe at short intervals throughout the day. They are much more particular about the elegance of their culleeauns than the Afghauns, and the latter, to ridicule the importance attached to them by the Persians, tell a story of some men of that nation, who, on being asked at the end of a long journey, whether it had been a pleasant one, replied, that the only serious inconvenience they experienced, was from the want of a culleeaun, there being only eleven among the twelve persons who composed the party.

The Afghauns are by no means so much addicted to smoking: many people never use tobacco in that form, and in the country there is often no culleeaun in a village, except a very large one which is kept for the use of the whole at the public apartment. The Afghauns indemnify themselves for their moderation in this respect by the use of snuff, to which they are all much addicted. Their snuff is a dry and fine powder like Scotch snuff, and it is not kept in flat boxes like ours, but in round or oval ones, formed of the shell of a fruit (which they call Balaughoon, and the Indians Bail), and which is imported in great quantities from Hindoostan for this purpose. These boxes have no lids, but there is a small hole at the top for pouring out the snuff. They are sometimes carved over with exquisite workmanship.

When a visitor comes in, he salutes the party by saying Assalaum Alaikoom, "Peace be unto you," to which they answer, O Alaik Assalaum, "And unto thee be peace." The master of the house then rises, takes the stranger's hand between his own, and addresses him, "Shu Raughlee, Hurcul Rausheh," &c. "You are welcome, may you often come," &c. The stranger replies, "Shupukheiree," "May you prosper." The master of the house then points out a seat to his guest, and when they are seated, inquires after his health, and enters on conversation. These ceremonies are always performed even by the poorest Afghauns, but when they are over, no people are less ceremonious; a certain degree of gravity generally prevails.

but it never excludes free and cheerful conversation, and is sometimes broken in upon by a hearty laugh.

They are a sociable people: Besides the large entertainments which are given on marriages and similar occasions, they have parties of five or six to dine with them, as often as they can afford to kill a sheep. The guests are received with the ceremonies I have described, and when all have arrived, the master of the house or some of his family serves every one with water to wash his hands, and then brings in dinner. It generally consists of boiled mutton, and the broth in which the meat is boiled, with no addition but salt, and sometimes pepper. This soup, which they generally eat with bread soaked in it, is said to be very palatable. Their drink is butter milk or sherbet. In some places, they drink a liquor, made from sheep's milk, which has an enlivening, if not an intoxicating quality. During dinner, the master recommends his dishes, presses the guests to eat, and tells them not to spare, for there is plenty. They say a grace before and after dinner; and, when all is done, the guests bless the master of the house. After dinner, they sit and smoke, or form a circle to tell tales and sing. The old men are the great story tellers. Their tales are of Kings and Viziers, of genii and fairies; but, principally of love and war. They are often mixed with songs and verses and always end in a moral. They delight in these tales and songs. All sit in silence while a tale is telling; and, when it is done, there is a general cry of "Ai Shawash!" † their usual expression of admiration. Their songs are mostly about love; but they have numerous ballads, celebrating the wars of their tribe, and the exploits of individual chiefs. As soon as a chief of any name dies, songs are made in honour of his memory. Besides these songs, some men recite

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Mr. Durie says of the Western Afghans, "They are a sober people, and do not laugh much: but they talk a good deal, and seem familiar amongst themselves." At times they are as merry as any people in the world."

† "Ah, well done!" Perhaps the original words are "Ai shauh bapah," Ah, be a King! At pueri ludentes rex eris aiunt.

odes, or other passages from the poets ; and others play the flute, the rubaub, (a sort of lute or guitar), the camauncheh and sarindeh, (two kinds of fiddles), or the soornaun, which is a species of hautboy. The singers usually accompany their voice with the rubaub or the fiddle. Their songs are often made by the husbandmen and shepherds ; oftener by professed Shauyers, (a sort of minstrel, between a poet and a ballad-singer) ; and, sometimes by authors of reputation, of past or present times.

The favourite amusement of all the Afghauns is the chace, which is followed in various modes according to the nature of the country, and the game to be pursued. Large parties often assemble on horseback or on foot, and form a crescent, which sweeps the country for a great extent, and is sure to rouse whatever game is in their range. They manage so as to drive it into a valley or some other convenient place ; when they close in, fall on it with their dogs and guns, and often kill one or two hundred head of game in a day. Still more frequently, a few men go out together with their greyhounds and their guns to course hares, foxes, and deer, or shoot any game that may fall in their way.

In some parts of the country, they take hares, or perhaps rabbits, with ferrets. They shoot deer with stalking bullocks and camels, trained to walk between them and the game, so as to conceal the hunter. In winter, they track wolves, and other wild animals, in the snow, and shoot them in their dens. In some places, they dig a hole in the ground near a spring, and conceal themselves there, to shoot the deer and other animals that come at night to drink. They also go out at night to shoot hyænas, which issue from their dens at that time and prowl about in the dark for their prey. They never shoot birds flying ; but fire with small shot at them, as they are sitting or running on the ground. They have no hawking, except in the East ; but they often ride down partridges in a way which is much easier of execution than one would imagine. Two or more horsemen put up a partridge, which makes a short flight and sits down ; a horseman then puts it up again. The hunters relieve one another, so as to allow the



bird no rest, till it becomes too much tired to fly, when they ride it over as it runs, or knock it down with sticks.

Though hunting be a very popular amusement throughout the whole kingdom, it is most practised by the Western Afghauns ; among whom also the songs and tales before described are found in most perfection, and to whom the amusements I am about to mention are in a great measure confined. Races are not uncommon, especially at marriages. The bridegroom gives a camel to be run for ; twenty or thirty horses start, and they run for ten or twelve miles over the best ground they can find. They have also private matches ; but no plates given by the King, as is usual in Persia. It is a common amusement with the better sort to tilt with their lances, in the rest, at a wooden peg, stuck in the ground, which they endeavour to knock over, or to pick up on the point of their spears. They also practise their carbines and matchlocks on horseback ; and, all ranks fire at marks, with guns, or with bows and arrows. On these occasions, there are often from ten to twenty of a side, sometimes men of different villages, or different quarters of the same. They shoot for some stake ; commonly for a dinner, but never for any large sum of money. Their amusements at home are also very numerous, though cards are unknown, and dice hardly ever used. The great delight of all the Western Afghauns, is to dance the Attum or Ghoomboor. From ten to twenty men or women stand up in a circle, (in summer, before their houses and tents, and in winter, round a fire) ; a person stands within the circle, to sing, and play on some instrument. The dancers go through a number of attitudes and figures ; shouting, clapping their hands, and snapping their fingers. Every now and then they join hands, and move slow or fast, according to the music, all joining in chorus. When I was shewed this, a love song was sung to an extremely pretty tune, very simple, and not unlike a Scottish air.

Most of their games appear to us very childish, and can scarcely be reconciled to their long beards, and grave behaviour. Marbles are played by grown up men, through all the Afghaun country and Persia, and, I believe, in Turkey. A game very generally played,





*Doeraunee Shepherds.*

is one called *Khossye* by the Dooraunees, and *Cubuddee* by the Taujiks. A man takes his left foot in his right hand, and hops about on one leg, endeavouring to overset his adversary, who advances in the same way. This is played by several of a side, and is more complicated than I have made it, but still a strange game for grown up men. Prisoners' base, quoits, (played with circular flat stones); and a game, like hunt the slipper, (played with a cap), are also very common, as are wrestling, and other trials of strength and skill. Fighting-quails, cocks, dogs, rams, and even camels,\* are also much admired. I have seen camels matched; and, during their rutting season, they fight with great fury. When the battle ends, the spectators had need to clear the way, for the beaten camel, who runs off at his utmost speed, and is often pursued by the victor to a distance from the field of battle. All these games are played for some stake; sometimes for money; sometimes the winner takes the beaten cock, ram, or camel, but the general stake is a dinner.

The dress of the men varies; but, that now used in the West, appears to me to be the original dress of the whole nation. It consists of a pair of loose trowsers of dark coloured cotton; a large shirt\*, like a waggoner's frock, but with wider sleeves, and only reaching a little below the knee; a low cap, (shaped like a Hulan's cap), the sides of which are of black silk or satin, and the top of gold brocade, or of some bright coloured cloth; and a pair of half boots, of brown leather, laced or buttoned up to the calf: over this, for a great part of the year, is thrown a large cloak of well tanned sheep-skin, with the wool inside, or of soft and pliant grey felt. This garment is worn loose over the shoulders, with the sleeves hanging down, and reaches to the ancles†. In the cities and more civilized parts of the country, the dress generally worn resembles that of Persia; and, along the eastern borders of Afghaunistaun, it in some respects approaches that of India.

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\* They call this shirt *Cameess*, which, I believe, is also the Arabic for a shirt. The Italian is *camiscia*, and the French, *chemise*; but, as it was not till after the Crusades, that this garment was worn in Europe, the term must have originated in the East.

† See Plate II.

The women wear a shirt like that of the men, but much longer. It is made of finer materials, and generally coloured or embroidered with flowers in silk : in the West, it is often entirely of silk. They wear coloured trowsers, tighter than those of the men ; and have a small cape of bright coloured silk, embroidered with gold thread, which scarcely comes down to the forehead or the ears ; and a large sheet, either plain or printed, which they throw over their heads, and with which they hide their faces when a stranger approaches. In the West the women often tie a black handkerchief round their heads over their caps. They divide the hair over their faces, and plait it into two locks, which fasten at the back of their heads.

Their ornaments are strings of Venetian sequins, worn round their heads, and chains of gold or silver, which are hooked up over the forehead, pass round the head, and end in two large balls, which hang down near the ears. Ear-rings and rings on the fingers, are also worn, as are pendants in the middle cartilage of the nose, which was formerly the custom in Persia, and still is in India and Arabia. Such is the dress of the married women, the unmarried are distinguished by wearing white trowsers, and by having their hair loose.

The conveyances of Afghaunistaun are so different from our own, that it is necessary to say a few words regarding them : those used in commerce and agriculture, will be mentioned elsewhere, I here speak of those employed by travellers. There are no wheel-carriages in the country (or in any part of Persia), and palankeens, are not used : the common way of travelling for both sexes, is on horseback. The ordinary pace is a very long walk, which carries a horse on at the rate of five or six miles an hour. Couriers and people going long journeys, trot ; but that is not a common pace for travellers, and it is reckoned a proof of levity in a man of the upper classes to gallop, unless on some occasion that really requires speed. No man thinks of trotting or galloping when he is riding for pleasure, or going from one house to another. \*

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There are two sorts of furniture for horses, the Persian and the Uzbek ; of which the latter is most used. The Persian bridle is a sort of snaffle, which instead of cheeks, has two (or four) large rings passed through holes in the ends of the snaffle, to receive the reins. The snaffle itself has sometimes sharp points to prick the horse's mouth when he pulls. This bridle is adorned with silver chains and other ornaments. The saddle sits near the horse's back, but rises much both before and behind, so as to give the rider a strong seat ; but the peaks are generally so close, as to make it extremely uncomfortable to those who are not used to it. The peak in front is the highest of the two, and is composed of painted wood, gold and silver curiously embossed, or gold enamelled, according to the circumstances of the owner. The Uzbek snaffle is exactly like our own, except that the cheeks are larger in proportion. The head-stall is ornamented with a few gold or silver studs at the joinings, and there is an ornament like a flower de luce of the same material in the angle between the nose-band and the cheek-band. There is no band across the forehead. The reins both of the Uzbek and Persian bridles are narrow, and very neat. They are made of good brown leather, and sometimes, but rarely, of green shagreen leather. Martingales are not much worn, when they are, they are very loose ; they divide like our martingales, but do not run on the reins, being fastened to the cheeks of the bit. The tight standing martingale, with which the natives of India tie down their horses' heads, and cramp their action, is not known. There is also a breast band, with a large silver or gold knob in front, shaped like the cupola of a mosque, and they generally use cruppers. The whole, particularly the Uzbek bridle, is very handsome, and shows a horse off even better than our own. The Uzbek saddle is raised high above the horse's back, by the shape of the tree. It is much larger and more commodious than the Persian, and not so high either behind or before. The peak in front is divided and turns down, so as to form two curls like Ionic volutes. Neither of these saddles is stuffed below, both are placed on two or three thick blankets or felts, and tied on by a girth which passes through two



holes in the lower part of the tree. The Persian saddle, indeed, is often merely a tree, like those of Hussars. People who carry pistols have holsters, and those who do not, have two bags in place of them, for carrying a spare horse shoe, or any other little thing they want. These bags have a large flap of embroidered cloth, and with common horsemen, of carpeting, which looks very well. The poor have the ornaments I have described, made of tinned iron, instead of gold or silver. There are different kinds of stirrups; the commonest is like our own, except that the ends of the arch are prolonged beyond the bar on which the foot rests; another, not uncommon, has a flat plate of iron nine inches long, and four or five broad, for the foot to rest on instead of a bar. Their housings are confined to one piece, which reaches from the saddle almost to the horse's tail, and hangs down a good way on each side. The common people have it of coarse black cloth, wrought all over with worsted of different colours, or of the skin of a leopard, or other wild beast, but the great have them of velvet, with the richest embroidery, and sometimes of cloth of gold, ornamented with jewels, and with pearl fringe. The great also have the pommels of their saddles set with jewels, and have all their trappings adorned with gold and precious stones, but this is on occasions of pomp: in ordinary times they are very plain. Horses are always led by mounted grooms, not by men on foot as in India, and when the master dismounts at a strange house, the groom mounts his horse till he has finished his visit: this they think good for the horse.

Women often travel in cudjawas (the sort of hamper already mentioned), a few of the King's go on elephants, and others in a kind of litter.

The King himself has been known to travel on an elephant, and more frequently in a kind of litter, called in India a Nalkee, which is borne on men's shoulders by poles which pass beneath the bottom. This is peculiar to the King, but some few of the nobles are entitled to ride in a conveyance called a Jaumpaun, which is like a short palankeen, with an arched top, slung on three poles (like what is called

a Tonjon in India), and carried high over the shoulders of the bearers. There are also little inconvenient litters in use in the East, for sick people. These are all carried by men, I believe by Hindoos, though their long beards and sheep-skin caps give them an appearance very different from the Hindoos of India.

The baggage of travellers is carried on camels or mules. The commonest of the first sort are those used in India, which though always called camels, are the dromedary of natural historians. Mules are the best carriage, as they will nearly keep up with a horse at his full walk; but they are expensive, and are, therefore, only used by the rich.

There are no posts in Afghaunistaun. The King sends his dispatches by mounted couriers, called Chuppers, who make surprising journies, and who are supplied with fresh horses by the chiefs of the places where they happen to require them. It is astonishing what exertions these men will go through, without any preparation but that of wrapping cloths round their bodies and limbs, as tight as possible, to diminish the soreness of their muscles in the course of a fatiguing journey. The King's Chuppers do not carry letters for other people; they are indeed rather a superior class of men, and are often entrusted with important messages; other people, however, hire Chuppers when they want them, and great men keep them in their constant employ. The bulk of the people send their letters by Cossids (or foot-messengers), who travel at a great rate, and often reach Caubul from Peshawer, two hundred and ten miles, in four days.

There are slaves in Afghaunistaun, as in all Mussulman countries, and I shall now give a short account of their situation.

By far the greater part are home-born, but some supplies are received from foreign countries. Abyssinians and Negroes are sometimes brought from Arabia; the Beloches sell Persians and other people whom they seize in their forays; and a good many Caufirs are purchased from their own nation, or made prisoners by the Eusofzyes on their border. This, however, is the only instance of the



Afghauns carrying off slaves, a practice which they hold in detestation. The Caufir captives are generally women, and they are greatly sought after on account of the remarkable beauty of their nation. The other slaves are generally employed in menial offices, but, in the country, and particularly among the Dooraunee farmers, they are also greatly used in agriculture. They are not, however, required to supply the place of cattle, as in our colonies, but do the same work as the freemen. Their treatment in other respects is suitable to this practice; they eat with their masters, when in the lower walks of life, and are clad in the same manner; they are allowed to have property, and their masters make them presents, buy wives for them, &c. They marry the daughters of other slaves, and the owner of the girl is entitled to her price; but I am told that he generally gives it up to her father, or bestows it on the girl herself; I suppose this must be the price of a wife, which is paid on the part of a husband, and does not impair the master's rights over his slave; for I cannot suppose that the owner would consent to lose her services, without being paid for her, particularly as marriage would increase her value, since her owner would be entitled to her offspring.

I can see no signs of the condition of the slaves employed in agriculture improving into villanage. They, for the most part, live in their master's house; but even when the field on which they work is so distant, as to require their having a hut or a tent there, they are not at all attached to the soil, and are moved from field to field as occasion requires; they are not, indeed, in sufficient numbers to allow of their being attached to particular spots. They have no share in the produce of their labour, and are kept to work by the attention of the owner alone, or of some freemen interested in the work. They are seldom beaten. Grown up slaves belonging to people in moderate circumstances, consider themselves as part of the family, and perceive that they must labour in order to enable their master to support them, as well as to maintain himself. Female slaves are kept as concubines, are maids to the mistress of the house, or in poor families assist her in her domestic labours.

Among the Uzbeks, the master often agrees to enfranchise his slave, when he can pay a certain sum ; or promises to do so, if he will serve well for a certain number of years. The magistrate enforces these engagements. The Afghauns and Persians, on the contrary, think it a disgrace to release a slave for money, but they often give them their liberty for good service, or emancipate them on their death-beds. I have heard of a great Khaun who thought he was dying, and desired all his slaves who had any dislike to his son, to come and receive from him a paper, setting them free in the legal forms. The Afghauns have always a great horror at making people slaves ; they revile the Uzbeks for this practice, and apply to them with great disgust, the appellation of Audam farosh, or sellers of men.

An author, by no means partial to the Afghauns, bears testimony to this way of thinking among them ; but as the bulk of their slaves are descended from captives taken in their early campaigns against the Hindoos, I suspect that their barbarous religion encourages them to practise towards idolaters the very crime which they so much abhor when the sufferer is a true believer.

The Afghaun women are described as large (compared to those of India), and very fair and handsome.

The men are all of a robust make, and are generally lean, though bony and muscular. They have high noses, high cheek bones, and long faces. Their hair and beards are generally black, sometimes

The following passage from Pere Krusinski, is that alluded to in the text. " Le traitement qu'ils (les Afgvans) font a ceux qui deviennent leur captifs par le droit de la guerre n'a rien de la barbarie de la plupart des autres nations de l'orient. Ils regardent comme une inhumanité atroce, et dont ils ont horreur, l'usage de ceux qu'ils vendent pour esclaves. Il est bien vrai qu'ils se font servir par eux ; mais outre que dans le tems même de leur servitude, ils les traitent avec bonté et en ont du soin ; ils ne manquent jamais pour peu qu'ils en soient contents, de leur rendre la liberté au bout d'un certain tems : autant differens des autres peuples de l'Asie a cet egard qu'ils le sont du côté des *bonnes mœurs.*"

*Histoire de la dernière Revolution de Perse, tome i. page 166, 167.*

brown, and rarely red. Their hair is always coarse and strong: they shave the middle part of the head, but wear the rest of their hair. The tribes near towns wear it short, but the rest have long and large locks hanging down on each side of the head. They wear long and thick beards. Their countenance has an expression of manliness and deliberation, united to an air of simplicity, not allied to weakness. The eastern Afghauns have the national features most strongly marked; though they have least of the expression above alluded to. The lineaments of the western tribes are less distinct, and exhibit a much greater variety of countenance, some of them having blunt features, entirely different from those I have described; their high cheek bones, however, never leave them. The western Afghauns are larger and stouter than those of the east, and some Dooranees and Ghiljies are of surprising strength and stature; but generally speaking, the Afghauns are not so tall as the English.

The eastern Afghauns have generally dark complexions, approaching to that of the Hindoostanees; while those of the west are olive, with a healthy colour and appearance; but among them, as among the eastern Afghauns, men as swarthy as Indians, and others as fair as Europeans, are to be met with in the same neighbourhood: the fair are by much the most common in the west, and the dark in the east.

Besides this difference, which is created by climate, the eastern and western Afghauns are distinguished by other peculiarities, which appear in general to arise from the different quarters from which the two divisions have acquired their manners.

Those of the west have derived their civilization from the Persians, and those of the east from the Indians, and each resembles in dress and manners the people with which it is thus connected; while the inhabitants of the central part of the south, equally remote from both of the great empires to which I have alluded, and at a distance from great roads, appear to have retained the original habits of their own nation. From the superior extent of the country inhabited by the western tribes, and from the supremacy which two of those tribes

have at different times maintained over the whole, the Persian dress, manners, and language decidedly prevail in the nation, and are recognised even in those parts where the Indian customs have acquired most force. It is to be observed, that every thing borrowed from the Persians and Indians, is preserved as it was at the time when first adopted, and consequently varies considerably from the actual practice of both countries in these days. The Indian dress and customs are those of Shauh Jehaun's days; and the Persian, those of the time of Naudir Shauh. Though the latter period is by much the shortest, the great change which has taken place in Persia, makes the contrast more striking than in the other case.

The manners of the Afghauns are frank and open. Though manly and independent, they are entirely free from that affectation of military pride and ferocity, which is so conspicuous in their descendants the Pitans of India. When their address is bad, it is rustic, but never fierce or insolent: the Indian Pitans seem to have copied the peculiar manners of the Eusofzyes, to whom a haughty and arrogant carriage is natural. About towns the Afghauns are in some degree polished, and shew respect to superiors, but in many parts of the country they are plain, and make little distinction of ranks; they all, however, shew great reverence for old age.

Though the Afghauns have that ease of manner which strikes every observer, in comparing the behaviour of Asiatics with that of Europeans, yet it is not uncommon to find them bashful; a defect which

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There cannot be a greater mistake than to suppose that eastern nations never change their fashions. Our present dress is at least as like that of Charles the Second's reign, as the present dress of the Persians is to that worn when Chardin travelled. No less a change has taken place in India: the jokes of the young courtiers of Delly on the old fashioned dress and manners of Nizam Ool Moolk, had effects that make a figure in history: and as the dress of the Mogul noblemen at Delly, and in the Deccan, must have been the same eighty or ninety years ago, and are now quite different, it is evident one or other must have changed, if not both. The truth is, European travellers do not perceive slight changes in a dress entirely different from their own.

I have never witnessed in any other Asiatic. Except on formal occasions, they use a good deal of gesture, but it is always of a grave kind, such as stretching out the arm, and bending forward the body. They have, perhaps, more of this kind of action than the Persians, though not near so lively a people; but they by no means equal the gesticulation of the Indians.\*

They are also free from that puerility which is, perhaps, the distinguishing characteristic of the last-mentioned people. I found their conversation and their inquiries, though not enlarged, always rational, and they did not seem much delighted with those baubles which generally form the most acceptable presents in India.

The Afghauns are accused by the Persians of ignorance and barbarism; stupidity is indeed the proverbial reproach of all Khorassaun. They certainly have neither the refinement nor the subtlety of their western neighbours, and their want of much intercourse with foreign nations, undoubtedly narrows their views, and, on some subjects, contracts their understandings; but from their state of society, in which every man is obliged to protect his own rights, and where he is, at the same time, of some importance to the community, their faculties must be a good deal exerted and improved; and accordingly the bulk of the people are remarkable for prudence, good sense, and observation. They have also a degree of curiosity which is a relief to a person habituated to the apathy of the Indians. They always shewed a desire to be informed about the state of countries at a distance from their own, and some were very anxious to improve themselves by acquiring a knowledge of our sciences. I gave a short account of the Copernican system (which was published in

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I may be allowed, in comparing them with a foreign nation, to speak of the inhabitants of this vast empire as one people; but it must not be forgotten that there is a great diversity among the Indians themselves: thus the tall and well made Hindostaunee speaks extremely slow, and, though he uses a good deal of gesture, does not approach to the violence of action employed by the small, black, and shrivelled inhabitant of the Carnatic, who speaks on the most trifling subject with a degree of volubility and eagerness to which no occasion could rouse an Englishman.

Persian by Dr. Hunter), to a Moollah who accompanied me to Calcutta, and two years after his return I received a list of queries addressed to the Newtonianaun English (English Newtonians), requiring an explication of some parts of the system which had embarrassed the learned at Peshawer. \*

While in Calcutta, I carried a great many Afghauns, of all ranks, from Moollahs to grooms, to see the arsenal, to visit ships, and to some other sights which were new to them, and it was extremely pleasing to see the interest they took in every thing, and the gratification they received. One of the Moollahs, however, was greatly disappointed in not finding the wheel used for boring cannon turned by steam, as he had read in the travels of Meerza Aboo Taulib, was the case in England. I have often seen natives of India at spectacles of the same nature, and though they always were polite enough to express much admiration, they did it with a calmness that showed how little they were interested, while the questions which they sometimes asked, were of such a nature as to leave no doubt that their only object was to keep up conversation. †

All communication with the Afghauns is rendered agreeable, by the dependence which can be placed on what they say. Though they are far behind Europeans in veracity, and would seldom scruple to deceive both in statements and promises, if their own interest were to be promoted by their dishonesty, yet they have not that indifference to truth, and that style of habitual and gratuitous falsehood which astonishes an European in natives of India and Persia: a man of the first nation seems incapable of observing any thing accurately, and one of the second of describing it truly; but unless some prejudice can be discovered to mislead the observer, or some motive is

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\* My own ignorance of the subject, and the difficulty of finding a person here, who is both a Persian scholar and a mathematician, has hitherto prevented my replying to this paper.

† The Persians are too acute and intelligent to have any of this insensibility, but they are too full of themselves to be very curious about other nations.



apparent for misrepresenting the truth, one may generally rely on the Afghauns both for correctness and fidelity.

All the Afghauns are remarkably hardy and active. From the nature of their country, they are exposed to the necessity of enduring cold and heat, and accustomed to the exertion of climbing mountains, making long journies on foot and on horseback, and swimming broad and rapid torrents. Nor is this confined to the lower orders, or to men in the vigour of youth. As there is no easier conveyance in the country than a horse, all ranks acquire these habits: so that old Meerzas (or secretaries), who seem hardly able to sit on horseback, will ride at a good pace up and down the steepest and roughest passes, or along the edge of precipices, where one is almost afraid to walk. Almost all of them are, however, impatient of hot climates; and, when on campaigns in India, the approach of summer used to thin their armies by desertions, even in the vigorous reign of Ahmed Shauh. This is the more surprising, when it is remembered how much of the Afghaun country is in a hot climate.

They are industrious and laborious, when pursuing any object of business or pleasure. No people are more diligent in husbandry, and many of them are indefatigable in the chase; but when not so excited, they are indolent.

The love of gain seems to be their ruling passion; most of the Dooraunee chiefs prefer hoarding up their great but useless treasures, to the power, reputation, and esteem, which the circumstances of the times would enable them to command by a moderate liberality. The influence of money on the whole nation, is spoken of by those who know them best, as boundless, and it is not denied by themselves.

Their love of independence has already been noticed as influencing their government, it appears in some shape in most of their opinions and transactions. Their highest praise, in speaking of a well governed country, is, that "every man eats the produce of his own field," and that "nobody has any concern with his neighbour."

This love of personal independence is, however, very remote from selfishness. The nature of their society, where power consists in the number of a man's relations, produces a very strong attachment between members of the same family, and there is no Afghaun who would not shew his devotion to his clan, if he saw it engaged in any contest. I must except from what I say of family attachment, the rivalry which the elections of chiefs occasion in the head families, the force of blood is never much felt among kings; and the chiefship of a little tribe is as elevated a station in the eyes of those who contend for it as a crown among great princes. This does not indeed happen among brothers, but it is so remarkable in more distant relations, that Turboor, which literally means a cousin, is now the common word in Pushtoo for a rival. I have already shewn how their clannish spirit diminishes their general patriotism, but they all take a lively interest in the *Nung du Pooshtaunch*, or honour of the Afghaun name; and they are extremely attached to the country that gave them birth, and to the scenes of their early pleasures. A native of the wild valley of Speiga, north-east of Ghuznee, who was obliged to fly his country for some offence, was once giving me an account of his travels, he concluded by enumerating the countries he had visited, and by comparing them with his own: "I have seen all Persia and India, Georgia, Tartary, and Belochestaun, but I have seen no such place as Speiga in all my travels."

They are all very proud of their descent; a great part of their histories is taken up by genealogies: they will hardly acknowledge a man for an Afghaun, who cannot make his proofs by going back six or seven generations; and even in their ordinary conversation, they often stop to enumerate the forefathers of any person who happens to be mentioned. \*

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\* I remember a striking instance of this in a Doulutkhail, whom I wished to interrogate about Tuk in Damaun, the chief town of his tribe; he began his answer, "Tuk is the city of Surwur, the son of Kuttaul Khaun, the son of Seleem Khaun, the son of Meer Sooltaun Khaun, the son of Shauh Aulum Khaun, the son of Mahommed Zemaun Khaun, the son of Zuffier Khaun, the son of Khaun Zemaun, who lived in the reign of Jehaungeer, the offspring of Timour the Lame."

They are all kind to their immediate dependents, of whatever nation or religion, but the case is different with people who are under their authority, without being personally connected with them. The countries which are completely subdued, as Cashmeer and the provinces on the Indus, suffer much from the rapacity of individuals, and if they do not often undergo the extremes of tyranny, it is only because wanton cruelty and insolence are no part of the Afghaun character.

Their independence and pretensions to equality make them view the elevation of their neighbours with jealousy, and communicates a deep tinge of envy to their disposition. The idea that they are neglected and passed over, while their equals are attended to, will lead them to renounce a friendship of long standing, or a party to which they have been zealously attached. Unless, however, they meet with particular wrongs or insults, they are said to be faithful in friendship once formed, and mindful of favours, if not effaced by subsequent slights. I can answer for this peculiarity in their character, that they will do any thing that is wanted of them with much more zeal, if a present is made to them in advance, than if it is withheld in the hope of quickening them by expectancy.

It may be foreseen from their customs, which make private revenge a duty, that they will long retain the remembrance of injuries; but this is true only of such serious injuries as they are bound in honour to retaliate; in affairs of less consequence, they are neither irritable nor implacable.

I know no people in Asia who have fewer vices, or are less voluptuous or debauched; but this is most remarkable in the west: the people of towns are acquiring a taste for debauchery, and those in the north-east of the country, are already far from being pure. The Afghauns themselves complain of the corruption of manners, and of the decline of sincerity and good faith, and say that their nation is assimilating to the Persians. Their sentiments and conduct towards that nation, greatly resemble those which we discovered some years ago towards the French. Their national antipathy, and a strong

sense of their own superiority, do not prevent their imitating Persian manners, while they declaim against the practice, as depraving their own. They are fully sensible of the advantage which Persia has over them at present, from the comparative union and vigour of her councils, and they regard the increase of her power with some degree of apprehension, which is diminished by their inattention to the future, and by their confidence in themselves. To sum up the character of the Afghauns in a few words ; their vices are revenge, envy, avarice, rapacity, and obstinacy ; on the other hand, they are fond of liberty, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependants, hospitable, brave, hardy, frugal, laborious, and prudent ; and they are less disposed than the nations in their neighbourhood to falsehood, intrigue, and deceit.

## CHAP. VIII.

## OF THE INHABITANTS OF TOWNS.

**I** HAVE hitherto confined myself to those points of character or manners which apply to the whole, or nearly the whole, of the Afghaun nation. I shall now proceed to describe the peculiarities of the different classes of which it is composed. Enough has been said, for the present, of the difference between the eastern and western Afghauns ; some particular orders of men have also been incidentally described ; and the pastoral and agricultural classes will be spoken of in great detail hereafter. The first description of people whom I have now to examine, are, therefore, the inhabitants of towns ; and here one is struck with the circumstance, that the greater part of this branch of the population is not composed of Afghauns. It may seem strange to a person in Europe, that the towns should not be inhabited by the masters of the country, yet such was the case in England after the Norman invasion, and such it still is in Uzbek, Tartary, and in some measure in Persia ; and probably the reason has in all cases been the same ; the ruling nation has thought it degrading to pursue the trades which assemble men in towns, and none have resided there but great men and their retainers, who are drawn thither by the court ; accordingly, the only Afghauns who reside in towns, are great men and their followers, soldiers, Moollahs, a few who follow commerce (a pursuit not despised among this people), and some of the poorest of the nation, who work as labourers. No Afghaun ever keeps a shop, or exercises any handicraft trade. The greater part of the people employed in these occupations, are Taujiks, a nation who are intermixed with the Afghauns in great numbers, throughout all the western part

of their country, and who are found even in the east; where, however, the trades alluded to, are more frequently exercised by Hind-kees, a people of Indian origin, who are scattered over that part of Afghaunistaun, as the Taujiks are in the west. These nations, and the others which contribute to the population of Afghaun towns, will be considered as distinct races, after I have described the Afghauns; at present I have only to speak of the place they occupy as citizens of those towns. In this point of view, we find them divided into bankers, merchants, artisans, and labourers.

The prohibition in the Koraun against Mussulmans taking interest, makes most of the business of banking fall into the hands of Hindoos, whose wary and penurious habits suit them admirably for the trade. They derive their profits from lending money, which they do at an enormous interest, by negotiating bills of exchange, and by transactions connected with the fluctuations of the exchange in the place where they reside. They also mix trade and agency with their regular banking business. Another source of profit arises from advancing money to government for bills on the revenue of provinces, and this hazardous speculation is recommended by a premium, always large, and increasing with the risk of non-payment. Some of the bankers are very rich, but there are numberless little shops set up with very small capitals, which practise the same trade as the great ones, among the poor people of their particular neighbourhood.

When I was at Peshawer, the bankers thought it necessary to conceal their wealth; and one, who took up my bills, for the purpose of remitting his property to India, would only make his payments in the night, when he dug up his money, and paid it to my treasurer with the utmost secrecy. But these precautions were not taken from any present danger so much as with a view to futurity, as Peshawer was on the eve of a revolution, which had already commenced in the West. At that very time, the bankers had great confidence in the government of Shauh Shujau, and looked with terror to the prospect of its subversion. No exactions were ever made on them, notwithstanding the King's urgent wants; and, in all transactions with