NARRATIVE
OF VARIOUS JOURNEYS IN
BALOCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN,
AND THE PANJAB.
VIEW of the BALLA HISSAR BALLA or UPPER CITADEL of KÂBAL, from the SOUTH.
NARRATIVE
OF VARIOUS JOURNEYS
IN
BALOCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN,
THE PANJAB, & KALÂT,
During a Residence in those Countries.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
AN ACCOUNT OF THE INSURRECTION AT KALÂT, AND A MEMOIR ON EASTERN BALOCHISTAN.

BY CHARLES MASSON, Esq.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A LARGE MAP AND NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
1844.
915.043
Mulan
1844
v.3

SPEC COLL R
Saiyad Keramat Ali. — His adventure. — The Nawáb Jábár Khán’s services.—Lieutenant Conolly.—Saiyad Maihún’s reward.—Reasons for it.—Government proposal to Saiyad Keramat Ali.—His communications with Captain Wade. — His recommendation. — Severity of the winter.—Indications of spring.—General thaw.—Warm and cold snow.—Destruction of houses. — Nazzar Bábá Adam.—Vernal flowers. — Water-fowl. — Gnats. — Chúkrí. — Rawâsh.—Swelling of River.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s order.—Waggish remark.—Earthquakes.—The Shakúfa.—The Arghawan.—Id Khúrbân.—Abdul Samad.—His arrival at Kábal.—His seizure.—His release and employment.—His power.—Colonel Stoddart.—Thunder showers.—Winds.—Progress of the season.—Early vegetables. Leisure for inquiry.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s celebrity.—His appearance at Ghazni.—His popularity with the people.—Opinions of higher classes.

Sirafráz Khán.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s mother.—Her charms and attractions.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s neglected education.—Fatí Khán’s revenge of his father’s death.—His successes and elevation.—Youth of Dost Máhomed Khán.—Máhomed Azem Khán.—The Vazír’s jealousy and remark.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s perfidy. —Seeks refuge in the royal camp.—Máhomed Azem Khán pacified.
CONTENTS.

Dost Máhomed Khán's acquaintance with Jai Singh.—Laxity of Fátí Khán.—Jai Singh's flight to Pesháwer.—Fátí Khán's policy.—Tájiks of the Kohistán.—Their condition.—Dost Máhomed Khán appointed to the Kohistán.—His proceedings.—Khwoja Khanjí inveigled and slain.—Slaughter of Koh Dáman chiefs.—Treatment of robber chiefs.—Improved state of Koh Dáman.—Fátí Khán's advance upon Taghow.—Fátí Khán's caution.—Recovery of Káshmír.—The Vazír's interview with Ranjit Singh.—Atak sold to Ranjit Singh.—Battle of Haidaro.—Dost Máhomed Khán's gallantry.—Fátí Khán's military talent.—His suspicious conduct.—Activity of his enemies.—Expedition projected.—Fátí Khán's return to Kábal.—His triumph over his enemies.—March to Herát.—Hají Khán's early career.—Friendship with Dost Máhomed Khán.—Relieves his necessities.—Seizure of Fíroz Dín.—Dost Máhomed Khán's criminal conduct.—Flight to Káshmír.—Sháhzáda Kámrán.—His character.—His jealousy of Fátí Khán.—Fátí Khán's supposed views.—Popular conjectures.—Sháhzáda Kámrán prompted to action.—His sister's reproof.—The Vazír's action with Kájar.—His wound and retreat.—Fátí Alí Sháh's apprehension and remark.—State of Afghanistán.—Fátí Khán's seizure the signal for the dissolution of the monarchy.—Fúr Dil Khán made prisoner by Sháhzáda Kám-rán.—Made mír of the Bárak Zai tribe.—Escapes to Andálí.—Hají Khán declines the Sháhzáda's offers.—Joins Fúr Dil Khán.—Sons of Siráfraz Khán.—List and disposition of them.

CHAPTER III.

Kámrán's march to Kábal.—Dost Máhomed Khán's release.—Protests against Máhomed Azem Khán's inactive views.—Volunteers to oppose Kámrán.—Advances upon Kábal.—Attá Máhomed Khán.—Made Múkhtahár Dowlah.—Sháh Walí Khán.—Shír Máhomed Khán.—Replaced by Wafadár Khán.—Feigns paralysis.—Sudden cure.—Intrigues with the Súní factions.—Elevates Sháh Sújáh al Múlkh.—Recovers Káshmír.—Supports Prince Káisár.—Slain at Pesháwer.—Attá Máhomed Khán invites Sháh Sújáh al Múlkh.—Confines him.—Kámrán's revenge.—Attá Máhomed Khán's communication with Dost Máhomed Khán.—His treachery.—Is blinded.—Sudden fall.—Siege of Bálla Hissár.—Escape of Prince Jehângíhr.—Preparations at Herát.—Approach of Máhomed Azem Khán.—Dost Máhomed Khán's discontent.—Proclaims Súl-
tân Alî king.—Herât army marches to Kândahâr.—Thence to Chahâr Assiâh.—Precipitate retreat.—Reasons for.—Kândahâr lost to Shâh Mâhmûd.—Mâhomed Azem Khân invites Shâh Sújâh al Mûlkh.—Contest with Shâh Sújâh al Mûlkh.—Ayûb Shâh made king.—Arrangements.—March upon Shîkârpûr.—Dost Mâhomed Khân again proclaims Súltân Alî.—Return of Mâhomed Azem Khân.—Discussion.—Dost Mâhomed Khân's proposal to Súltân Alî.—Mâhomed Azem Khân's proposal to Shâh Ayûb.—Súltân Alî strangled.—Shâh Sújâh al Mûlkh's army dispersed.—Ingenuity of the Sind amîrs.—Mâhomed Azem Khân's presence of mind.—Intrigues in his camp.—Evil intentions of Dost Mâhomed Khân and Shîr Dîl Khân.—Mâhomed Azem Khân's retreat.—Expedition against the Sikhs.—Ranjit Singh's measures.—His overtures to the chiefs of Peshâwer.—Flight of Jai Singh.—Dost Mâhomed Khân proffers his services to Ranjit Singh.—Mâhomed Azem Khân deceived by Yâr Mâhomed Khân.—Dost Mâhomed Khân's design on his treasure.—Mâhomed Azem Khân's irresolution.—Panic and dispersal of his army.—Ranjit Singh occupies Peshâwer.—Divides Peshâwer between Dost Mâhomed Khân and Yâr Mâhomed Khân.—Death of Mâhomed Azem Khân.—His character.—Habîb Ulâh Khân.—Mâhomed Azem Khân's dying recommendation and request.—Fûr Dîl Khân reaches Kâbal.—His plans.—Ayûb Shâh's infatuation.—Fûr Dîl Khân's interview with Ayûb Shâh.—Opposition of Shâhzâda Ismâel.—Is slain.—Deposition of Ayûb Shâh.—Retires to Lahore.—Jabâr Khân.—His career.—Defeated in Kâshmûr.—Governor of the Ghiljîs.—His civility to Europeans.—Slighted by Habîb Ulâh Khân.—Dost Mâhomed Khân's attempts.—Habîb Ulâh Khân's folly.—Defection of his chiefs.—Investment of Bálâ Hissâr.

CHAPTER IV.

The Kândahâr sîrdâr's march to the aid of Habîb Ulâh Khân.—Dost Mâhomed Khân retires.—Seizure of Habîb Ulâh Khân.—Dost Mâhomed Khân asserts himself his avenger.—Sad state of Kâbal.—Favourable dispositions to Dost Mâhomed Khân.—The Kândahâr sîrdârs desirous to secure and blind him.—Saved by Hâjî Khân.—New arrangements.—Hâjî Khân's freak.—Engages in Dost Mâhomed Khân's service.—Súltân Mâhomed Khân's errors.—His lax government.—Besieged by Dost Mâhomed Khân.—Retires to Peshâwer.—Ahmed Shâh.—His pretensions.—His success with the
Yusaf Zais.—Offends the Pesháwer sirdárs.—Is betrayed by them. —New claims of Dost Máhomed Khán’s brothers.—Reduction of Zúrmat.—Return to Kábal, and welcome.—Saiyad Ahmed Sháh’s movements.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s assistance to his Pesháwer brothers.—Extravagances of Habib Uláh Khán.—His followers seduced by Dost Máhomed Khán.—Discomfiture of the Nawáb Jabár Khán.—March of Dost Máhomed Khán to Taghow.—His apprehensions of Mázúlah.—Death of Mázúlah.—Designs of Jelálábád.—Defection in Dost Máhomed Khán’s army.—Arrangements.—Oaths. —Resumption of the Ghiljí government.—Remarks on Dost Máhomed Khán’s character.—His talents for business.—His administration.—Projects of Shah Sújúh-al-Múlkh.—Sentiments of the people.—Of Dost Máhomed Khán.—Proposal to assume royalty rejected.—Arrival of mission from Kúndúz.—Visit of Mír Alam Khán.—Views on Bájor.—Rumours and reports. 

CHAPTER V.

Researches.—Mound.—Discoveries.—Túz-leaf manuscripts.—Images.—Conjectures.—Antiquity of manuscripts.—Alarm of friends.—Intercourse with Máhomed Akbar Khán.—His sensible observations.—Anecdote of Mr. Moorcroft.—Dr. Gerard’s sculpture.—Excursions.—Return of Hájí Khán.—His reception.—Hájí Khán’s visit to Kúndúz.—Hospitality of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg.—Revolt in Bádakshán.—Hájí Khán’s Alúma.—Treaty with Máhomed Morád Beg.—Ráhmatúlah Beg’s replies.—Disposal of Déh Zanghi captives.—Ráhmatúlah Beg’s parting remark.—Release of Mír Yezdánbaksh’s relatives.—Hájí Khán’s hints to them.—Hájí Khán’s projects.—Samander Khán.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s discretion.—Hájí Khán’s final determination.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s reproaches.—Hájí Khán’s retort.—Entertainment of elchís and chiefs.—Theft.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s sarcastic counsel.—Hájí Khán discharges his followers.—His imputed design.—Hússén Khán.—Hájí Khán’s remark.—Movements of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg.—Fate of Máhomed Ali Beg.—Abdúlah Khán. 

CHAPTER VI.

Tour in Koh Dáman, &c.—Nánachí.—Mírza Jáfar Khán.—Kotal Kers Khán.—Tumuli.—Killa Kohchión.—Názír Mír Álí Khán.—His conversation and travels.—Accident.—Shákhr Dára.—Serai.
CONTENTS.

Bízdí.—Bédak.—Kâh Dara.—Zirgarân.—Cave.—Tâluk of Ferzah.—Sekandar Shah.—Persian inscription.—Cascade.—Auriculas.
—Killa Sháhi.—Istálif.—Delightful view.—Ziárat Házrat Eshán.—Azdhá.—Orchards.—Tâluk of Istálif.—Máhomed Sháh Kháñ.—
His capture of Kâbal.—His death.—Bolend Kháñ.—His execution.
—Istargích.—Approach to Charíkár.—Town of Charíkár.—Trade.
—Destruction of Gúrkha battalion.—Húpián.—Tútám Dara.—
Shesh Búrjeh.—Application.—Octogenarian invalid.—Távíz.—Dost Kháñ’s severity.—Ali Kháñ.—His recommendations to
to his raiyats.—Canals.—River of Tútám Dara.—Conflict and surren-
der of Dost Kháñ’s severity.—Súltán Singh’s garden.—History of
Súltán Singh.—His rise.—Plot of Mirza Imám Verdí.—Súltán
Singh’s adroitness.—Hábíb Uláh Kháñ’s measures.—Súltán Singh’s
state.—Seizes his ancient employer.—Malek Isá Kháñ’s proposal.
—Súltán Singh swallows poison.—Jáh Nimáhi.—Tope Dara.—Simpli-
city.—Nekkak Perída.—Compass.—Fugitive of Húpián.—Séh
Yârân.—Ziárat Derwísh.—Killa Khúrbán.—Inhabitants of Charíkár.
—Sháhmak.—Sanjít Dara.—Máhomed Jâfar Kháñ.—Killa Mír
Saiyad Kháñ.—Kâbal doctor.—Objects of excursion.—Killa Bolend.
—Plain of Bégrán.—Return.—Baloch Kháñ.—Coins.—Apprehen-
sions of people.—Reports.—Killa Músa Kháñ.—Tátarang Zár.
Kállakhnán.—Tope.—Chéní Kháñá.—Killa Rajpút.—Kotal Mámá
Khátún.—Killa Itáfat Kháñ.—Kotal Pâh Mínár.—Return to
Kâbal.

CHAPTER VII.

Collections of coins.—Jealousy.—Importance of discoveries.—
Antiques.—Site of Bégrán.—Hill ranges.—Neighbourhood of Bé-
grán.—Tope.—Character of the Kohistân.—Magnificent view.—
Boundaries of Bégrán.—Evidences.—Mounds.—Tumuli.—Stones.
—Site of city.—Deposits with the dead.—Testimony of Herodotus.
—Funereal jars.—Traditions.—Mode of sepulture.—Absence of
data.—Húpián.—Canal Máhighír.—Taimúr’s colony.—Decline of
Bégrán.—Signification of Bégrán.—Bégrán of Kâbal.—Bégrán
of Jelálabád.—Bégrán of Pesháwer.—Etymology.—Topes.—Anti-
quities of Kohistân.—Perwán.—Régh Rawán.—Localities in Panj-
shír.—Caves in Nijrow.—Vestiges in Taghow.—Ruins in Ghor-
band.—Caves.—Ziárat.
CHAPTER VIII.

M. Honigberger.—His antiquarian operations.—Dr. Gerard.—Adventures of M. Honigberger.—Departure for Jelalabad.—Id Gâh.—Incivility.—Bhút Khâk.—Defile of Sokhta Chanár.—Ghiljí guide.—Séh Bâbâ.—Bârîk-âb.—Taghow.—Sang Toda Baber Pâdshâh.—Jigâlilik.—Kotal Jigâlilik.—Sûrkh Pûl.—Old acquaintance.—Khalîl Khân’s story.—Samúches.—Troublesome night.—Khalîl Khân’s death.—Gandamak.—Nimla.—Bâlîl Bâgh.—Tátag.—Ascent of Siáh Koh.—Caves.—Kajarî.—Goraîchî.—Killa Kâfr.—Cascades.—Extensive view.—Shrine of Lot.—Large graves.—Shrine of Lameeh.—Opinions of the people.—Scriptural names.—The Pâlî.—Scriptural and classical testimony.—Pâlî conquests.—Early civilization.—Diffusion of their sciences and language.—Judicial astrology.—Universality of Pâlî language.—Names of localities.—Shrines.

CHAPTER IX.

Dost Máhomed Khân’s designs.—Movements of Shâh Sújáh al Mûlkh.—Arrival of Meher Dil Khân.—Súltan Máhomed Khân’s visit to Jelalabad.—Plots.—Dost Máhomed Khân’s feints.—Extortions.—Projects and counter-projects.—Designs disclosed.—Hâjí Khân discarded.—March of Dost Máhomed Khân.—Mír Afsîl Khân.—His ingenuity.—Submission of Máhomed Osmán Khân.—Measures of Máhomed Zemán Khân.—Assault and capture of Jelâlabád.—Plunder of town.—Arrival of Navâb Jabâr Khân.—Attempt to assassinate Dost Máhomed Khân.—Fate of assassin.—Máhomed Zemán Khân’s conduct.—His recent re-appearance.—Disposal of Jelâlabád.—Seizure of chiefs of Khonar and Lâlpúra.—Abdúl Ghiáz Khân.—His proposed mission to India.—Dost Máhomed Khân’s objections.—Secret departure.—Altercation at Dâka.—Obstinacy of companions.—Reference to Sâdat Khân.—His decision and message.—His conversation.—His fate.—Remarks thereon.—His successor in authority.—Shelmán Khûrûd.—Mûlî Ghori.—Robbers.—Reception at Ispíad Sang.—Arrival at Peshâwer.—Confused state of affairs.—Ridiculous alarms.—Shâh Sújáh al Mûlkh’s treaty.—The Sikhs profit by circumstances.—Their understanding with parties.—Proposal to the sirdârs.—Advance of Sikh army.—Stand of Hâjí Khân.—Peshâwer taken.—Jocularity of Hari Singh.—Pir Máhomed Khân’s valorous remark.—Abdûl Ghiáz Khân’s arrangements.
CHAPTER X.

Departure from Pesháwer.—March to Shékhán.—Ex-sirdárs.—Their conversation.—Fáti Máhomed Khán’s civility.—Encampment.—Bára river.—Popular credulity.—Departure for Minchíní.—Alarm on road.—Old monument.—Badragas.—Minchíní.—Ghiljí.—Háidár Khán.—Jálawáns.—Fearful state of the river.—Consultation.—Passage of the river.—Ráhmatúláh’s dexterity.—Shelmán.—Ghiljí’s piety.—Plain of Shelmán.—Kotal.—Bahádár’s request.—Dáka Khúrd.—Good fortune.—Congratulations.—Dáka Kelán.—Lálpúra.—Curious conversation.—Suspicious.—Precautions.—Khúrd Kháibár.—Momand’s tale.—Momand’s intention.—Házár­noh.—Re-appearance of Ghiljí.—Wilford’s Nysa and Mount Merú.—Bássowal.—Ghiljí and his gang.—Necessity for action.—Kohis­tánís.—Night march.—Báti Kot.—Súrkh Díwár.—Chághátai castle.—Goodwill of Kohistánís.—Mírza Agá Jan.—His surmises.—My own conjectures.—Ghiljí’s evil repute.—Subsequent attempts.—Renewal of researches.

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of ex-sirdárs of Pesháwer.—Hájí Khán’s project.—March of Dost Máhomed Khán to Kândahár.—Feeling in the country.—Gúlístán Khán’s rebellion.—His message to Amír Má­homed Khán.—Faction of Nawáb Jabár Khán.—His proposal to Dost Máhomed Khán.—Letter to the Sháh.—Imprudence of the Sháh.—Action near Kándahár.—Flight of the Sháh.—Fate of his followers.—Errors of the expedition.—Intercepted correspondence.—Abdúl Samád’s villainy.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s wish.—State of affairs at Kábal.—Letter from Kámrán.—Deportment of Kánda­hár sirdárs.—Return to Kábal.—Death of Amír Máhomed Khán.—Shámsadín Khán.—Proceedings of ex-sirdárs of Pesháwer.—Occupation of Jelálabád.—Disavowal of their officers.—Meeting with Dost Máhomed Khán.—Letter to Ranjit Singh.—Kámrán’s offers to Sháh Sújáh al Múlkh.—The Sháh’s distrust.—Flies to Lásh—to Sístán—to Balochistán.—Pursuit of the Sháh.—Genero­sity of Mehráb Khán.—The Sháh retires upon Zéhrí and Bâgh.—Honesty of Samandar Khán.—His death.—The Sháh’s reception.
at Haidarabád.—His return to Lúdíána.—Dost Máhomed Kháñ’s letter to Lúdíána.— Reply.—Saiyad Keramat Ali’s officiousness.— Dost Máhomed Kháñ’s promise.—The Saiyad’s dilemma.—His ingenuity.—His good fortune.

CHAPTER XII.

Start on a tour to Khonar.—Bísút.—Tokchí.—Topes.—Púlwárí.—Bázárak.—Khonah Déh.—Malek Shafi.—Kohistánís.—Khúshál Kháñ.—Tope of Khonah Déh.—Killa Pádsháh.—Fatí Máhomed Kháñ.—Islámbád.—Saiyad Hissám and his ladies.—Mistaken for Bází-ghars.—Remains at Islámbád.—Route to Chitrál.—Dára Núr.—Barkot and Daminj.—Máhomed Zemán Kháñ’s failure.—Kází Khél family.—Feud.—Bilangár.—Bísút.—Return to Tátag.—Trip to Lúghmán.—Killa Káfr.—Chahár-bágh.—Mándaráwar.—Tírgarí.—Rivers of Alishang and Alingár.—Múmjúma.—Námzát Bází.—Fatal accident.—Ziárat Métar Lám Sáhib.—Tomb.—Wilford’s reveries.—Native traditions.—Súltán Máhmúd’s dream.—Discovery of Lamech’s grave.—Ancient vestiges.—Koh Karínj.—Alishang.—Nadjúl.—Malek Osmán.—Sáleb Ráná Kót.—Rubies.—Alingár.—Dára Níází.—Revenue of Lúghmán.—Extent of cultivation.—Crops.—Eels.—Fire-flies.—Inhabitants.—Skilful agriculturists.—Amusing story.—Máhomed Akbar Kháñ’s disaster.—Tope of Múrkhi Khél.—Conjectures.—Nokar Khél.—Múrkhi Khél.—Jájís.—Nasrúlah.—Tumulus of Nokar Khél.—Departure for Kábal.—Terikkí.—Arrival at Kábal.

CHAPTER XIII.

Dost Máhomed Kháñ’s intention to assume royalty.—Views and opinions of parties.—Súltán Máhomed Kháñ’s departure.—Day of inauguration.—Ceremony.—Exhortations.—Remarks of his subjects.—Dost Máhomed Kháñ’s demeanour.—His justification.—Preparations for the war.—The Kháñ múllá’s dexterity.—Plunder of the Hindús.—Máhomed Osman Kháñ’s address.—Dost Máhomed Kháñ’s intentions.—Extortion from Máhomedans.—Death of Sabz Alí.—Amount of exactions.—March of troops.—Hají Kháñ’s departure.—State of the season.—Mírza Uzúr.—Máhomed Kúlí Kháñ.—Progress to Jelálabád.—Robbers at Séh Bábá.—Jigdillik.—Neces-
CONTENTS.

sity of Māhomed Kūlī Khān.—Gandāmak.—Darūnta.—Death of Nāīb Yār Māhomed.—Letters from Lūdīāna.—Equivocal nature of employment.—Incivility of the Nawāb.—Saiyad Keramat Allī’s departure.—His tactics.—His intentions.—His assault on Ranjit Singh.—Delicate duties.—Evils of Saiyad Keramat Allī’s conduct.—Afgān notions of official etiquette.

CHAPTER XIV.

Attempt to assassinate the Amīr.—His anxiety.—Letter from the Governor-general.—Views of the government, and of Captain Wade.—Commencement of communications with Persia.—Māhomed Hūssēn.—Allah Yār Khān’s letter.—The Amīr’s progress.—His prayer at Ali Bāghān.—Prognostications.—Dreams.—Mr. Harlan’s mission.—Sūltān Māhomed Khān’s letter.—Pīr Māhomed Khān intercepted.—Deputation of the Nawāb.—Junction of Sūltān Māhomed Khān.—Khaiabar chiefs.—Ranjit Singh’s movements.—Negotiations.—Truce.—The Amīr’s cunning.—Rage of Pīr Māhomed Khān.—Committal of Pīr Māhomed Khān.—Various counsels.—Arrival of Ranjit Singh.—His energy and dispositions.—Mission to the Afgān camp.—Amīr decides on retreat.—Proposals to Sūltān Māhomed Khān.—Sikh envoys made over to Sūltān Māhomed Khān.—Retreat of the Amīr.—Arrival in Khaibar.—Sūltān Māhomed Khān’s conduct.—Search for Sūltān Māhomed Khān.—Letters from Sūltān Māhomed Khān.—Disposal of the army.—Return of the Amīr to Kābal.—Mīrza Samī Khān’s wrath. Evils of the Amīr’s injudicious policy.

CHAPTER XV.

The Amīr’s reproaches.—His projects.—State of Kābal.—Intrigues and plots.—Retrenchments.—Hājī Khān’s conversations.—The Nawāb’s irresolution.—Overtures from Lūdīāna.—Their effect at Kābal.—Results.—Dexterity of Sir John Hobhouse.—Violence of intrigues.—Letter from Captain Wade.—Arrival of Rashīd Akhūndzāda.—Proscription lists.—Rashīd Akhūndzāda’s subtlety.—Mīrza Samī Khān’s retreat.—Precautions of the devoted.—Danger of my situation.—Interviews with the Amīr.—Rashīd Akhūndzāda opposes the Amīr’s plans.—Useless expostulation of the Amīr.—
Abdulah Khan consigned to plunder.—Seizure and spoil of Abdulah Khan.—The Amir’s repentance.—Restitution of property.—Popular dissatisfaction.—Captain Wade’s interference.—Resignation of appointment.—Cessions by Ranjit Singh to Sulthan Mâhomed Khan.—Letters from Peshâwer.—The Nawâb’s willingness to be deceived.—Interview with the Amir.—Events of 1836.—Series of intrigues and alarms.—The Amir’s plans.—Strives to gain over Mâhomed Osman Khan.—Sudden panic.—Hâji Khan’s recommendation.—The Khan and his Hindû creditors.—The Amir’s financial measures.—Movements of the Sikhs and of Kâmrân.—Hâji Khan’s remarks on the times.—Departure of Pîr Mâhomed Khan.—His attempted assassination.—Impediments thrown on his retreat.—Letters from India.—Resume duties.—Intercourse between Kâbal and Lúdisâna.—Renewed communications with Persia.—Hâji Ibrâhîm.—Hûssên Alî.—Îván Vektâvîch.—His seizure, release, and despatch from Bokhâra.—His intentions and assertions.—Abdül Samâd’s projects.—His influence in the Amir’s hâram.—The Amir’s evasion.—Journey to Tâtang.

CHAPTER XVI.

Aggressions of Harî Singh.—Preparations to repel it.—Despatch of troops to Jelâlabâd.—Plans of attack.—Attempt to assassinate the Amir.—Retaliatation of Mâhomed Akbar Khan.—March into Khaibar.—Cannonade of Jamrud.—Attack by Hari Singh.—Discomfiture of Afgânns.—Battle renewed by Shamsadin Khan.—Danger of Amir’s sons.—Feat of Mâhomed Akbar Khan.—Hari Singh mortally wounded.—Retreat of Sikhs.—Mirza Samî Khan’s prayers.—Death of Hari Singh.—His intrepidity.—Disputes in the Afghan camp.—Altercation between Abdül Samad and Mîr Afzîl Khân.—Retreat of Afghan army.—Hâji Khan’s deeds in the Doâbeh.—Lênah Singh’s messages.—Hâji Khan’s letters to Kâbal.—Contest with Lênah Singh.—Retreat of Hâji Khan.—His suggestions at Jelâlabâd.—His treachery.—Abdül Samad’s effrontery.—His degradation and dismissal.—Interview with the Amir.—With Mâhomed Akbar Khan.—Mirza Samî Khan’s advice.—Correspondence between Sikhs and Afgânns.—Return to Kâbal.—Adventure at Jigdillîk.—Reception of Mâhomed Akbar Khan at Kâbal.—Dismissal of Hâji Khan.—His welcome at Kândahâr.—His connexion with the British.—His understanding with Gûlû.—His pursuit of Dost Mâhomed Khan.
CONTENTS.

—His final disposal.—The Amir’s displeasure with the Ghazni chiefs.—Zerin Khan’s remark.—Motives of displeasure.—Removal of Shamsadín Khan.—Remonstrance of Kandahár Sirdars.—Supposed plans of the Amir.—The Amir’s exultation. 381

CHAPTER XVII.

Intercourse between Kábal and India.—Letters to Lord Auckland.—Announcement of Captain Burnes’ mission.—Letters from Captain Wade.—Replies.—Lúdiána Akbar.—Further letters from Captain Wade.—Replies.—Persian Envoy.—Russian letters.—Máhomed Sháh’s firman.—Hájí Ibráhim’s private letter.—Captain Wade’s letters.—Kamber Ali’s difficulties.—Kandahár treaty.—Lieutenant Vektavich.—Máhomed Hússéên’s arrival at Kábal.—His ridiculous conversations.—Letters from Captain Burnes and Captain Wade.—Interview with the Amir.—Favourable dispositions of Ranjit Singh.—Night interview with the amír.—The Nawáb’s counsel.—Lieutenant Pottinger’s departure from Kábal.—Remarks on his presence at Herát.—Siege of Herát.—The Governor-general’s warning off.—Results. 403

CHAPTER XVIII.

Captain Burnes’ notion of his mission.—Fallacy of opening the Indus.—Remarks on commercial missions.—My correspondence.—Letters from Captain Burnes.—His arrival in Kábal.—Defect in instructions.—Captain Wade’s jealousy.—Obstacles.—Advantages.—Statement of my views.—Favourable concurrences. 430

CHAPTER XIX.

Captain Burnes’ conversations.—His humility.—Visit of Mirza Samí Khan.—Resolutions of the amír and his advisers.—Their disclosure.—My dissent.—The Nawáb’s opinion.—Nature of the question.—Captain Burnes’ notice of proposals.—Recommendations to Lord Auckland.—Unnecessary alarms of Persia.—Captain Burnes’ delusion as to the amír.—Captain Burnes’ neglect.—Dispute on prerogative.—Arrival of Vektavich.—His suspicious credentials.—Dismay of Captain Burnes.—His imprudent admissions.—Hússéên
Ali.—Opinions at Kábal.—Replies of Government.—Despatch of Lieut. Leech to Kándahár.—Rejection of Dost Máhomed Khán's proposals.—Perplexing state of the mission.—Absence of Nawáb.—Rage of Dost Máhomed Khán.—Unpleasant stay in Kábal.—Letter from the Chairman of the Court of Directors.—Interview with Mírza Samí Khán.—His remarks.—Intimation to quit Kábal.—Darbár conversations.—Determination to leave.—Proposals to seize Captain Burnes. Assault on my house.—Good-will of the inhabitants.—Parting interview with Mírza Sami Khán.—Remarks on the mission.—The Afghanístan correspondence.—Delusive intelligence and reports.—Object of Vektavich.—His reply to Dost Máhomed Khán.—His return to Kándahár.—Abú Khán.—Háji Hússén Alí Khán, the Persian ambassador.

CHAPTER XX.

Progress to Pesháwer,—Captain Burnes summoned to Lahore.—Letter of Captain Burnes.—Reply of government.—Unsatisfactory employment.—Letters of Captain Burnes.—Letter of Mr. Macnaghten.—My recommendations.—Plans of the government.—Their development.—Mr. Macnaghten volunteers his services.—His career and fate.—Jew.—Dr. Lord's Russian spy.—Captain Burnes' representation to Lord Auckland.—Mr. Colvin's note.—My submission.—Offensive communications.—Resignation of service.—Excursion.—Journey to Lahore and Ferozpur.—Passage down the river.—Mr. Macnaghten's letter.—Interview with Sir Alexander Burnes.—Lord Auckland's offers.—Captain Burnes' insincerity.—Dr. Lord's account.—Sir Alexander Burnes' account.—Application of Mr Macnaghten.—Squabbles.—Conclusion.
JOURNEYS
IN
BALOCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN,
AND THE PANJAB.

CHAPTER I.

Saiyad Keramat Ali.—His adventure.—The Nawáb Jábár Khán's services.—Lieutenant Conolly.—Saiyad Maihín's reward.—Reasons for it.—Government proposal to Saiyad Keramat Ali.—His communications with Captain Wade.—His recommendation.—Severity of the winter.—Indications of spring.—General thaw.—Warm and cold snow.—Destruction of houses.—Nazzar Bábá Adam.—Vernal flowers.—Water-fowl.—Gnats.—Chúkri.—Rawâsh.—Swelling of River.—Dost Máhomed Khán's order.—Waggish remark.—Earthquakes.—The Shakúfa.—The Arghawán.—Id Khúrbán.—Abdul Samad.—His arrival at Kâbal.—His seizure.—His release and employment.—His power.—Colonel Stoddart.—Thunder showers.—Winds.—Progress of the season.—Early vegetables.—Leisure for inquiry.—Dost Máhomed Khán's celebrity.—His appearance at Ghazní.—His popularity with the people.—Opinions of higher classes.

A few days after my return to Kâbal I was surprised by a visit from a person announcing himself as Saiyad Keramat Alí, agent of the Supreme Government of India. He informed me of his travels, as companion of Lieutenant Arthur Conolly,
and of his adventures at Kâbal. It appeared, that he had wished to preserve his incognito; but a letter, destined for Herât, having been intercepted, his existence, and the nature of his employment, became revealed, and he was consigned to the bandí-khana, or prison, of Dost Mâhomed Khân. The Nawâb Jabâr Khân embraced with alacrity the opportunity afforded of showing his good-will to Europeans, and to those connected with them, and urged to his brother, that he had a singular method of evincing his desire to cultivate a friendship with the Sâhibân of Hind, by placing the first of their agents sent to Kâbal in durance. The chief smiled, and admitted there was reason in the nawâb’s rebuke, while he called for the saiyad, that he might hear what he had to say for himself. His tale was, that his sole business was to procure intelligence of Abbás Mîrza and his movements. Dost Mâhomed Khân observed, “Very good, they interest me also; take care not to write anything about me.” The nawâb joyfully carried off the saiyad, and installed him in apartments of his own house, where, under that good man’s protection, he securely and unre­servedly prosecuted his vocations.

As the appointment of this saiyad proved the first step in the intercourse between the Government of India and the Bârak Zai chiefs, it may be profitable to note the causes leading to it, and to explain its nature. Lieutenant Arthur Conolly’s
travels are before the public. I have never read them, but am aware that he experienced difficulties at Herá¡, which were relieved by a saiyad of Peshing, Maihín Sháh, who accompanied him to Calcutta, and was munificently rewarded. As the saiyad was considered, in Afghánistán, to have as much profited by the necessities of Lieutenant Conolly as to have assisted him, the extraordinary liberality shown to him was matter of surprise; nor did I fully understand it, until I was told by that officer himself, in 1840, that the saiyad had the merit of having served a connexion of the then Mr. Secretary Macnaghten. It is fair to add, that the saiyad has not proved himself unworthy or ungrateful for the bounties he received; however, he might have been less favourably noticed had he been useful to any other individual.

As the Government had interested itself as regarded Saiyad Maihín, it was also bound to extend its patronage to Saiyad Keramat Alí, the companion of Lieutenant Conolly; and it was proposed to him that he should repair to Kándahár, and furnish, from time to time, reports on the proceedings of Abbás Mírza. I believe the Government at that time attached little consequence to the movements of the crown prince of Persia, and adopted merely the suggestion of the saiyad himself, who objected, however, to Kándahár, and preferred Kábal, which was assented to, with an in-
Severity of the Winter.

Junction that he was not even to report what passed there. After the saiyad was established firmly in Kâbal, and had more or less intercourse with parties there, he introduced certain matter in his reports, for which he was rebuked by Captain Wade, the political agent at Lúdíána, to whom they were addressed; but, subsequently, that functionary informed him that such subjects would be agreeable, as well as any remarks he might make on them; and, thus encouraged, no doubt the saiyad did as he was wished to do. I can state, on his own authority, that he recommended the formation of a Presidency, the capital of which he suggested should be Haidarabád in Sind.

The saiyad was more liberal in religious opinions than was, perhaps, necessary or decent; and, as the month of Rámazân came on, I had much of his company, owing to his aversion to fasting, which, to save appearances, it was not right to display in the nawâb's house.

Throughout January and February the rigour of the season was excessive. Without thermometer, I could not verify the depression of temperature, but its effects demonstrated it must have been very low. Copper vessels burst during the nights, and wine, a rare occurrence, was frozen.

In the last days of February a thaw took place, and on the 1st of March a swallow was observed, and hailed as an omen of the approach of spring. About the middle of February wild ducks and
sparrows were exposed for sale in the bazars, and shortly afterwards pâlak, or spinach, was procurable, with the tender shoots of the fish plant, here employed as vegetables, and gathered from the sun-exposed skirts of the hills.

With the month of March an evident change in the weather was perceptible. Water no longer froze, while showers of mingled snow and rain fell. Towards Noh Roz a general thaw commenced, and although pure snow descended so late as 21st March, it did not remain on the soil. It is esteemed fortunate by agriculturists when winter is accompanied by large quantities of snow, which is supposed both to promote the fecundity of the earth and to protect the grain sown in autumn, from which the spring crops are matured. Two kinds of snow are, however, distinguished, the warm and cold; the first is beneficial, the last prejudicial. Warm snow, in fact, implies pure snow, and cold snow, frozen, or iced snow. To the inhabitants of the city an excess in the flaky supply is not only inconvenient but induces more serious evil. Now that a thaw took place, in consequence of the mud walls of the buildings having become completely saturated with moisture, their foundations yielded to the pressure of the weight above them, and very many houses fell in. Each accident was announced by a tremendous crash. In my neighbourhood two or three dwellings were involved in ruin. It was consolatory amid these casualties to know
that little or no personal injury was sustained by
the inhabitants; a conservative power seemed to
watch over human life. Children, as usual in cases
of calamity, paraded the roofs of the tenements,
invoking the intercession with heaven of their
Prophet and saints.

On the 28th March the fields in the country
were so free from snow that the annual rural
festival, called Nazzar, or offering to Bábá Adam,
was celebrated. On this occasion the zamíndárs,
or cultivators, yoke their oxen to their ploughs,
and exercise the cattle, initiatory to the labours
of the year. The day is closed in festivity.

Dry frosts distinguished the beginning of April,
and water once or twice was slightly iced over.
I was now able to extend my walks without the
gates, and watch the starting into life of the various
spring flowers which embellish the meadows and
the skirts of the hills. Of numerous species the
earlier were bulbs. The first which appears is
called Gúl Noh Roz, the flower of the new year.
It bears a minute yellow blossom, but is so abun-
dant as to clothe with a golden garb the lower
eminences, on which it delights. Water-fowl were
now plentiful in the marshes about the city, which
were frequented by the shikárís, or fowlers. The
sirdář's falconers would wade in the water, and
occasionally let fly their hawks. I observed an-
other mode employed to counteract the shyness
of the birds. Two men with jísáls, long heavy
muskets, would creep behind a bullock, directed towards the fowls, and when sufficiently near, fire leisurely over the animal's back at them. In this month many of the birds that retired at the approach of winter, again made their appearance; swallows, pigeons, wagtails, and the múrg súlí-mân; the lark also renewed his carols. Flies, gnats, and at length the butterfly, flitted in the vernal sunshine. Gnats are not generally troublesome at Kábal, but about this time vast numbers are generated on the margins of the marshes and swamps. In the evening, when myriads are on the wing, it is prudent to avoid them. About the middle of April chúkrí, or the green leaf-stalks of the rhubarb-plant, were brought from the hills of Paghmân. In a week they were followed by rawâsh, or the tended and blanched stalks. The inhabitants rejoiced at the presence of one of their luxuries. The coriander-plant, cultivated in the gardens of the city, was now seen in the markets, being made to serve as a vegetable. On the 10th of the month, April, the river flowing through the city was so swollen by melted snows, that apprehensions were raised that it would inundate its banks. Much alarm prevailed, and the residents in the quarters most exposed to danger removed their effects, many to the Bálla Hissár. The houses of my Armenian friends were crammed with the chattels of their acquaintance. Public criers proclaimed throughout the bazars the sirdár's orders,
that every person should bring four stones to contribute to the construction and renewal of the bands, or barriers. It was waggishly remarked, that had Dost Mâhomed Khân ordered séh sang, or three instead of four stones, compliance would have been general. It is customary with Afgânês expelling their wives, to cast in succession three stones on the ground, at the same time exclaiming “Yek tillâk,—do tillâk,—seh tillâk ;” or, once divorce, twice divorce, thrice divorce. The same observance is usual on the dissolution of friendship, or connexion with any one. On the 17th April a slight earthquake engaged momentary attention; on the 19th April a very smart one succeeded. I had become somewhat accustomed to these phenomena, yet not altogether reconciled to them. It is esteemed correct and deferential to the will of heaven to sit tranquil during their occurrence. As the rafters of my chamber quivered and rattled over my head, I could not but fancy that it was safer to be outside. Commonly the shock is so transient that it has passed as soon as felt. Willows had now become leafed, and many of the trees began to display incipient foliage. The chief attraction of this month, however, was the shâkûfa, or blossoming of the fruit-trees. The orchards were thronged by parties to witness, and luxuriate in the delightful visions they exhibited. The environs of the city have, indeed, at this time a beautiful appearance, but imagination can scarcely picture
the enchanting prospects afforded by the picturesque valleys of Paghmān and Koh Dāman. In the flower-gardens, and at zīārats, the narkis, or narcissus, and the zambak, or sweet-flag, expanded into bloom; and on the hills the lāla, or wild tulip, charmed with its infinite variety. At some few of the zīārats the splendid arghawān-tree, arrayed in clusters of red flowers, produced in the scenery of the hills almost a magic effect. This tree, sparingly found at Kâbal, as at Panjah Shâh Mîrdân, Jehân Bâz, Kheddar, and Bâber Bâdshâh, abounds at the locality of Sēh Yârân, or the Three Friends, and between it and Tope Dara, in the neighbourhood of Chârîkâr in the Kohistân. The spot is, moreover, commemorated by Baber, who ordered the construction of a summer-house, and planted some chanâr, or plane-trees at it, possibly those which are now to be seen there. Commanding an extensive view, it was adapted to the indulgence of his festive recreations, and enabled him in season to enjoy the fairy-like prospect of the flowering arghawâns. These cover the rising grounds to the skirts of the hills, and owing to the space over which they are spread, in blossom produce a truly gorgeous scene, which may be explained perhaps by the native assertion, that the plain is on fire. I am not certain what tree the arghawān may be, nor of its native soil, for it is a stranger at Sēh Yârân, and thence was introduced into the zīārats of Kâbal. The stems and branches
are covered with clusters of flowers, of a bright pink hue, followed by seed-pods. The leaves somewhat resemble those of the lilac-tree. Baber, or his translator, mentions, I believe, two arghawâns, the red and the yellow. The latter is a very different plant, and called arghawân unjustly. It is common on all the plains of the country, also on those of Balochistân, and Persia. In the latter region it is named mahák. It is a shrubby plant, bearing clusters of yellow pea-like flowers, with compound alternate leaves. It is one of the very numerous natural objects whose beauty is not prized because it is not rare. The arghawân is a small tree.

At the close of April the celebration of the Id Khúrbân, or great Mâhomedan festival in commemoration of the triumph of the faith of Abraham, gave an opportunity for the display of much pomp and festivity. The day was ushered in with salutes of artillery, and the sirdár, in state, repaired to the Id Gâh without the city, and repeated public prayers. He took advantage of the occasion to confer a handsome khelat, or dress of honour, upon the notorious Abdúl Samad.

This man, it may be noted, arrived from Peshâwer during March. A profligate adventurer, originally of Tabrêz, he had flagrantly signalised himself in every country he had visited, as well as in his native land, which he was compelled to fly. He had been at Bagdád, in India, Sind, and the Panjâb. At Peshâwer he had ingratiated himself in
the favour of Súltán Máhomed Khán, and had been appointed to raise a battalion of infantry. His unprincipled actions and his audacity had made him many enemies, and fearing the result of some discussions which had originated, he decamped, and contrived to reach Kábal. Dost Máhomed Khán was not satisfied that his fear of Súltán Máhomed Khán was real, and suspected that he came with some sinister purpose, in concert with that chief. After receiving him in the most courteous manner, he ordered him and his property to be seized. The sirdár had, indeed, been told that Abdúl Samad possessed some fifty thousand ducats. The confiscation brought to light about six hundred rupees, and the sirdár felt ashamed at his unprofitable breach of hospitality. Abdúl Samad had not been idle. Although confined, he had, through the medium of a female singer, and superannuated Kin-chiní, interested in his favour one of the sirdár’s wives, the mother of Máhomed Akbár Khán. He caused to be represented to her, how useful he might prove in case of accident to the sirdár, in securing the succession to her son, who could not hope to sit in his father’s place without opposition from his uncles, and even from his brothers. The fond mother induced her son to support Abdúl Samad, who was not only released, but an ill-formed battalion, under one Sháh Máhomed Khán, was transferred to him, with instructions to organize and perfect it. The adventurer soon became
as absolute at Kâbal as he had been at Pesháwer, and his ascendancy seemed to prove Dost Mâhomed Khân in no wise superior to his brother as to sense or principle. If it were wished to believe that the Kâbal chief was a good man, his connection with Abdûl Samad belies the supposition, and establishes the reverse. Cognizant of his many enormities, he could only have retained him as a fit and ready instrument of villany. There must have been no little congeniality of disposition in the bosom of the sirdâr, to have caused him, on the account of so profligate a character, to endanger his own reputation, and set public opinion at defiance. It would have been entirely needless to have noticed such a man in these pages had he not subsequently given a mischievous bias to the politics of Kâbal.

I shall have occasion hereafter again to mention him, and to allude to the circumstances which led to his ejection from Kâbal. From thence he went to Bokhâra, and, strange to say, became as powerful for evil there as he had been at Kâbal or Pesháwer,—undoubtedly from ministering to the indulgence of the impure habits which disgrace the present ruler. From the accounts which have transpired concerning the detention and treatment of our countryman, Colonel Stoddart, I fear he has suffered much from the villany of Abdûl Samad, notwithstanding there are statements, if not letters, from the unfortunate officer himself, to the
purport that Abdúl Samad had befriended him. To be befriended by such a man is in itself calamitous.

The month of May commenced with unsettled and variable weather. Showers of rain, and more than once of hail, occurred, accompanied by thunder. Though constant repetition in the plain of Pesháwer, and sometimes extending over Jelálabád, thunderstorms are rare at Kâbal. The opening of spring and the close of autumn may be marked by them. May was also characterized by violent winds from the north and north-west, dreaded by the proprietors of orchards. Rose-trees during this month unfold their blossoms, and many other flowers increase the interest of walks amid the gardens. Báber Bádshah becomes now delightful; but it is not until June that the floral beauties of Kâbal are well developed, or that its groves are fully invested with foliage. In the middle of May lettuces make a grateful addition to the vegetable stores of the bazar, and unripe plums and apricots, here eaten by all classes, nor deemed unwholesome, pour into the markets. Cresses, radishes, and cucumbers are also abundant.

The leisure which my sojourn at Kâbal during this period afforded, gave me an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the opinions held of Dost Máhomed Khân, as well as of acquiring a knowledge of his career in life, which before I possessed but imperfectly. As he has since pro-
DOST MAHOMED'S CELEBRITY.

minently engaged much public attention, even out of his own country, a brief sketch of his history may not be considered by many out of place, especially as erroneous estimates of his character are perhaps generally entertained, and circumstances have given to him a celebrity to which neither his virtues nor ability entitled him; however, as an Afghân ruler he may have been respectable, and even better than most of his contemporaries.

When I first saw him at Ghaznî, in 1827, he was tall and spare, his countenance evidently indicating that he had his cares. He was distinguished by his plain white linen attire, in remarkable contrast to the dashing gold-embroidered cloaks and vestments of his surrounding chiefs. Amongst the lower classes of his subjects he was decidedly popular; and at that time I had no opportunity of ascertaining the sentiments of people in higher life. On our road from Kândahâr, as we met people and inquired the news of Kâbal, we had but one reply, that it was "abâd wa ferîmân," flourishing and plentiful. There was but one opinion expressed, that the prosperity was due to the "in-sâf," or justice of Dost Mâhomed Khân. After reaching Kâbal, strolling one day towards the meadows of Chahâr Déh, I heard one man complain to another, that some person had thrown his child from the roof, and thereby broken its arm. He was asked, if Dost Mâhomed Khân was dead? No remark was more frequently repeated, in retort to
complaints of injustice, than that Dost Māhomed Khān was alive. These instances prove the estimation in which he was held by certain classes of his people. I soon discovered that he was in no such repute with his relatives and dependent chiefs, who entertained a very different opinion of him and of his virtues. They considered his pretended moderation and love of justice as mere cloaks to his ambitious policy, and as semblances necessary to keep his followers together, and to prevent them from intriguing and combining with his brothers at Kândahâr and Peshâwer.
CHAPTER II.

Sirafraz Khan.—Dost Mahomed Khan’s mother.—Her charms and attractions.—Dost Mahomed Khan’s neglected education.—Fatí Khan’s revenge of his father’s death.—His successes and elevation.—Youth of Dost Mahomed Khan.—Mahomed Azem Khan.—The Vazír’s jealousy and remark.—Dost Mahomed Khan’s perfidy.—Seeks refuge in the royal camp.—Mahomed Azem Khan pacified.—Dost Mahomed Khan’s acquaintance with Jai Singh.—Laxity of Fatí Khan.—Jai Singh’s flight to Pesháwer.—Fatí Khan’s policy.—Tájiks of the Kohistán.—Their condition.—Dost Mahomed Khan appointed to the Kohistán.—His proceedings.—Khwoja Khanji inveigled and slain.—Slaughter of Koh Dáman chiefs.—Treatment of robber chiefs.—Improved state of Koh Dáman.—Fatí Khan’s advance upon Taghow.—Fatí Khan’s caution.—Recovery of Káshmír.—The Vazír’s interview with Ranjit Singh.—Atak sold to Ranjit Singh.—Battle of Haidaro.—Dost Mahomed Khan’s gallantry.—Fatí Khan’s military talent.—His suspicious conduct.—Activity of his enemies.—Expedition projected.—Fatí Khan’s return to Kâbal.—His triumph over his enemies.—March to Herát.—Háji Khan’s early career.—Friendship with Dost Mahomed Khan.—Relieves his necessities.—Seizure of Fíroz Din.—Dost Mahomed Khan’s criminal conduct.—Flight to Káshmír.—Shâhzáda Kámrán.—His character.—His jealousy of Fatí Khan.—Fatí Khan’s supposed views.—Popular conjectures.—Shâhzáda Kámrán prompted to action.—His sister’s reproach.—The Vazír’s action with Kajar.—His wound and retreat.—Fatí Ali Shâh’s apprehension and remark.—State of Afganistán.—Fatí Khan’s seizure the signal for the dissolution of the monarchy.—Für Dil Khan made prisoner by
Shâhzâda Kámrân.—Made mîr of the Bárák Zâi tribe.—Escapes to Andâlí.—Hájí Khán declines the Shâhzâda’s offers. —Joins Für Dil Khân.—Sons of Sírafráz Khán.—List and disposition of them.

DOST MAHOMED KHÁN is one of the younger sons of Sírafráz Khán, the Bárák Zâi sîrdár, slain by order of Sháh Zemân at Kândahâr, in 1799. Like all good Dúrání chiefs, Sírafráz Khán had many wives, of all classes and descriptions, and by them a numerous progeny. The mother of Dost Máhommed Khán was of a Júânshîr family, and it may be presumed handsome and engaging, as she was latterly the most favoured lady of the háram, and the only one who, in her tour of conjugal duty, when her lord was on marches, had the power to retain him in her company until the morning, on which account the troops blessed her, and would have been pleased if it had always been her tour, for they enjoyed their rest, which was sadly disturbed in the case of his other wives, for, seemingly to get away from them, the old sîrdár would march at midnight.

At the time Sírafráz Khán was slain he had twenty-two sons living. Dost Máhommed Khán, and his only full, and younger brother, Amîr Máhommed Khan, were then mere children. To the loss of his father at so early an age may be partly owing that the future chief of Kâbal was allowed to grow up untutored and illiterate. Fatí Khan, the elder son of Sírafráz Khán, who, if some
accounts be correct, was more guilty than his sire, fled to Andálí, the family castle on the Helmand, and the next year, in concert with Shâhzâda Máhmúd, took Kândahâr, and the year following the dispersal of the royal army at Nâní made him master of Kâbal, and subsequently of the person of Shâh Zemân, whose loss of sight atoned for a similar injury previously inflicted by him upon Shâhzâda Húmaiún.

The fortunate Máhmúd became invested with regal power, and the adventurous Fatí Khân with the dignity of Vazír. This order of things was not, however, so firmly established but that it was overthrown by a new revolution, which placed on the throne Sújáh al Múlkh, a full brother of Shâh Zemân. The blinded prince was released from captivity, and Shâh Máhmúd took his place. In course of time the latter found means to escape; and Fatí Khân, ever ready for bold emprise, by another desperate effort, effected the expulsion of Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh. I have no more than alluded to these events, because up to this time Dost Máhomed Khân was not yet heard of, indeed was too young to take share in them, or otherwise to attract attention. On the second assumption of power by Shâh Máhmúd he was advancing in youth, and was always about the person of his brother the Vazír, rather as a dependant than a relative, performing even menial offices, such as serving him with wine, and preparing his chillam.
The course of events led the court to Pesháwer; when Dost Máhomed Kháń first brought himself into notice by an atrocious deed, which well marked his reckless and daring disposition. Amongst the many brothers of the vazír, Máhomed Azem Kháń, of nearly the same age, was distinguished by his dignified deportment and propriety of conduct. He was also very attentive in the administration of his affairs. The vazír, so indifferent to his personal matters that frequently no dinner was prepared for him, and his horses were standing without barley, was piqued at the better management of his brother, and felt annoyed when he heard him lauded. He imputed the prosperous condition of his establishments to the ability of the sáhibkár, or steward, Mírza Alí Kháń, who, he used to observe, had made a “shaks,” or man, of his brother. One day, exhilarated by wine, he exclaimed, “Would to God that some one would kill Mírza Alí, and deliver me from dread of Máhomed Azem Kháń.” Dost Máhomed Kháń, present, asked if he should kill the mírza; the vazír replied “Yes, if you can.” Next morning, Dost Máhomed Kháń placed himself on the road of the mírza, in the bazar of Pesháwer, and as he proceeded to pay his respects to his employer, accosted him with “How are you, Mírza?” placed one hand upon his waist-shawl, and with the other thrust a dagger into his bosom. He immediately galloped off, not to the quarters of the vazír, but to the tent of
Ibráhím Khán, Jemshídí, a sirdár of note, and in favour with Shâh Máhmúd. Here he was within the circle of the royal tents, and it would have been indecorous to have removed him: perhaps his reason for seeking refuge there. Mâhomed Azem Khán was naturally incensed upon hearing of the catastrophe, and vowing that nothing but Dost Máhomed Khán's blood could atone for that of his ill-fated mírza, in violent anger sought the vazír. That profligate man expressed his contrition that an accidental remark made by him, in his cups, should have caused the perpetration of so foul a crime, but pointed out, that the mírza could not be recalled to life; that Dost Mâhomed was still a brother; that if it were determined to punish him he could not be taken from his asylum; that the impure habits of Shâh Máhmúd and his son Kâmrân were known to all, and if Dost Mâhomed, a beardless youth, was left in their power, fresh causes of ridicule and reproach, were likely to arise to the family,—what had been done, could not be undone: it was prudent, therefore, to forget the past, and avert the evil consequences of the future. By such representations and arguments, Mâhomed Azem Khán suffered himself to be persuaded, the mírza was forgotten, and Dost Mâhomed Khán was brought from the protection of Ibráhím Khán, Jemshídí. The youth had developed talent of high order, and his retinue was increased by the Vazír from three or four horsemen to twenty.
ABOUT THIS TIME THE ACQUAINTANCE OF DOST MÁHOMED KHÁN WITH THE SÍKHS COMMENCED, AND IN A MANNER WHICH DESERVES NOTICE, AS THROWING LIGHT ON THE COURSE OF HIS EARLY LIFE. IT CAN BE EASILY IMAGINED, THAT THE EXAMPLE OF THE DISSOLUTE FATÍ KHÁN MUST HAVE HAD A PERNICIOUS EFFECT ON THE MORALS AND HABITS OF THOSE IMMEDIATELY ABOUT HIM, AND DOST MÁHOMED KHÁN MAY CLAIM COMMISERATION WHEN IT IS CONSIDERED THAT HE WAS ELEVATED TO MANHOOD AMID THE DISGRACEFUL ORGIES OF HIS BROTHER. GREAT SUSPICION ATTACHES TO THE CHARACTER OF FATÍ KHÁN PERSONALLY, AND IT IS BELIEVED THAT IN HIS YOUTH HE HAD MADE HIMSELF SUBSERVIENT TO THE VILEST Passions OF MANY. IT WAS ALSO REMARKED, THAT UNTIL HE FELT HIMSELF SECURELY FIXED IN POWER, HE DID NOT OBJECT TO AN ACQUAINTANCE BETWEEN THE DEPRAVED SHÁH MÁHMÚD AND HIS YOUNGER BROTHERS, AND TO SUCH AN ACQUAINTANCE A DEGREE OF OPPROBRIUM WAS ATTACHED BY THE WORLD, EVEN IF UNJUSTLY. JAI SINGH, BROTHER OF NAÍÁL SINGH, ATTÁRÍ WALA, WAS DEPUTED BY RANJIT SINGH ON A MISSION TO PESHÁWER, AND THERE BECAME ACQUAINTED, THE SÍKHS SAY, ENAMOURED OF DOST MÁHOMED KHÁN. AN ENDLESS SUCCESSION OF FEASTS AND ENTERTAINMENTS, OF RIOTOUS DEBAUCHEES AND NAUTCHES, IN THE BÁGH NÚRA KHÁKA, TESTIFIED TO THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE OLD SÍKH CHIEFTAIN AND THE YOUTHFUL DÚRÁNÍ. JAI SINGH ON HIS RETURN TO LAHORÉ WAS SUSpected OF HAVING FORMED TOO CLOSE AN INTIMACY WITH THE VAZÍR, AND BEING OTHERWISE DIStrusted BY RANJIT SINGH, HE THOUGHT IT PRUDENT TO FLY,
and with forty horsemen (Síkhs) he arrived, for the second time, at Pesháwer. He and his followers now swelled the retinue of Dost Máhomed Khán.

The vazír, on his first accession to office and power, had to contend with the great hereditary sirdárs of the Dúrání clans, who naturally opposed his advancement. Many of these were men of energy and ability, but these qualities were combined with that remarkable simplicity which pervades the Dúrání character. The vazír, by violence or by fraud, was enabled to remove many of them. His ejectment was caused by a confederacy of the Súní leaders of Kábal; and on his re-accession to power he judged it expedient for its maintenance, to destroy them. Up to the close of the reign of Sháh Zemán, it does not appear that the Tájiks of the Kohistán excited much notice, probably remitting an easy tribute, and engaged in their internal disputes. From every account, it would appear that from their feuds and violence of character their country was in an awful state of distraction. But they had become inured to warfare, had become supplied with firearms, and had learned the use of them, and under the direction of able chieftains, formed in the turbulent times in which they lived, had become undoubtedly formidable. In spiritual affairs, rigid Súnís, they paid implicit obedience to their holy men, the descendants of revered families, who had for centuries been established in the country. The
celebrated Mir Wais availed himself of their powerful aid, and their tumultuous but gallant bands rolled from their hills and valleys as a deluge upon the city. Fatí Khán was compelled to yield, for the time, to the storm. Again in power, it behoved him, he thought, to guard against its recurrence. It was in conformity to his general plans of assuring the stability of his ascendancy, that he placed the governments of the country in the hands and trust of his brothers. The peculiar talent and promise evinced by Dost Máhomed Khán eminently fitted him for the arduous task of arranging the factions of the Kohistân; and he was appointed hákam, or governor. He was accompanied by his old friend Jai Singh when he marched to assume his charge. It would be too tedious to recount the various events which happened in the Kohistân of Kâbal, consequent on Dost Máhomed Khán’s appointment. It will be sufficient to allude to a few of them, and to note the general results.

Dost Máhomed Khán exercised all his ability; gaining his ends by stratagem or by force, but never employing the latter when the former was sufficient. Some of the obnoxious chiefs he inveigled by Korâns and false oaths; others, by intermarriages,—a means not unfrequently resorted to by Dúránís, to get their enemies into their power, when other wiles have failed. In this mode he obtained a wife from Perwân, and dislocated the union of its chiefs, slaying some, and despoiling
The sturdy leaders of the Kohistân, were successively circumvented and disposed of. One of the most potent and cautious, Khwoja Khânjî, of Kârrézaî, was nearly the only one who remained, and he had rejected every overture, and refused to attend upon any consideration the camp of the sirdâr. It was felt by Dost Máhomèd Khân that nothing was done while Khwoja Khânjî remained in being, and he redoubled his exertions to ensnare him. He sent Korân after Korân; engaged to marry his daughter; but could not entice the old chieftain from his castle. The Khwoja, like every man in the Kohistân, had enemies. The chief most inimical to him, was in attendance upon Dost Máhomèd Khân. This Sirdâr, as a last means of winning the confidence of the Khwoja, put his enemy to death, claiming the merit of having proved the sincerity of his desire to become friendly with him at the risk of incurring disgrace in the eyes of the world. The murder took place at Baiyân, and Dost Máhomèd Khân invited the Khwoja to meet him, and cement their friendly understanding, at the castle of his former foe. The Khwoja was now overcome, and to fulfil his destiny, repaired to Baiyân. He came, however, with a most numerous retinue. Dost Máhomèd Khân received him with all politeness and humility; a thousand protestations of friendship and service flowed from his lips; he addressed the old man as his father, and, it may be, lulled his suspicions.
At night Dost Máhomed Khán took the hand of the Khwoja, and led him within the castle, that he might witness the preparation of an inventory of the effects of the slain, observing, that it was necessary, as the Khwoja knew what a particular man the vazir was. As soon as the castle was entered the gates were closed, and as the Khwoja passed into an apartment, said to be the tosha khâna, Dost Máhomed Khán gave the signal, in Túrkí, to his Kazilbásh attendants, who cut their victim down. His head, severed from his body, was thrown from the battlements amongst his followers. In the first transports of their indignation they commenced an attack upon the castle, but disunited and disconcerted, they retired before morning. Dost Máhomed Khán was left at leisure to rejoice in his victory, and the triumph of his dexterity.

The government of the sirdár comprised the Koh Dáman as well as the Kohistân; and there was ample room for the exercise there also of his tact and severity. The slaughter of eight chiefs on the same day at Cháríkár, might serve to allay the apprehensions of the vazír for the future, while it promised to guarantee the tranquillity of the country. Saiyad Ashrat Khán, of Hupíán, was deemed too powerful to be allowed to live; and many others, although not equally dreaded, met a similar fate. While these murders, which may be called political ones, were in train of commission, the vigilance of the sirdár was more honourably
directed to the suppression of the robber chiefs, who, with organized bands, devastated the country or infested the communications. These particularly prevailed in the parts of the Koh Dáman, near Kâbal. The robber chiefs and their gangs were natives of the villages, and resided openly in them, and exercised, with the knowledge of all, their furtive profession. Society was on the point of becoming disorganized completely had not a remedy been applied. To these desperadoes Dost Máhomed Khán adopted a more judicious and manly line of conduct. He tendered them forgiveness for the past, if they resumed honest and lawful occupations; if they persisted in their habits of rapine, to be blown from the cannon's mouth was the penalty of their crime and contumacy. Many accepted the indemnity offered, and even engaged in the sirdár's service; others were speedily taken and put to death. In process of time the Koh Dáman was brought to a state of order and security; surprising, because it had never been known before to exist there. These important transactions were not effected altogether without a display of force; partial revolts had often made it necessary to summons troops from Kâbal, but no very serious conflict ensued upon any occasion. The full-brother of Dost Máhomed Khán, Amír Máhomed Khán, who had been appointed hákam at the city, generally marched to the assistance of his brother. In one instance Shâh Máhmúd, in person, with the vazír
FATI KHAN'S CAUTION.

Fatí Khán, entered the Kohistán; having made a demonstration in that quarter, the army moved towards Nijrow and Taghow. At the entrance of the two valleys a few men in a tower, called Búrj Sákhí, ventured to oppose its progress. A panic seized the troops, who fled, abandoning their equipage. Want of provender and provisions was alleged to justify the retreat, but possibly some unexplained cause led to it.

It was a maxim with the vazír not to allow his brothers to remain too long in governments, both that they might not become too rich, and that they should not forget their dependence on him. He therefore sometimes recalled Dost Máhomed Khán to his presence. Amír Máhomed Khán officiated during his absence, whether occasioned by the precaution of the vazír, or that the services of Dost Máhomed Khán were required elsewhere.

The vazír was accustomed to exclaim "Oh! that God would deliver into my hands Káshmír and Herát; the former that I might possess its revenues, the latter, that my enemies might have no place of refuge." A financial operation, the coinage of base rupees, enabled him to march upon Káshmír, which he recovered from Attá Máhomed Khán, Bámí Zaí, and his brother-in-law. In this expedition Dost Máhomed Khán was present. The vazír, before he entered the happy valley, had an interview with Ranjít Singh on the bank of the Jélam, the Sikh chief crossing
the river. Here Dost Máhoméd Khân had an opportunity of evincing his instinctive propensity of desiring to punish any one whose folly induced him to place himself in the power of his rival or enemy, by a significant wink to the vazír that the Síkh was at his mercy. After the surrender of Káshmír, which the vazír confided to his brother, Máhoméd Azem Khân, Jehándád Khân, the brother of the displaced Attá Máhoméd Khân, surrendered for a pecuniary consideration the fortress of Atak, of importance from its site to Ranjit Singh. The vazír was induced to attempt its recovery, and engaged a Síkh army, covering it at Haidaro. In this action Dost Máhoméd Khân, at the head of a large body of horse, led the van, broke the Síkh line, and carried their guns. His troops thought the victory decided, and dispersed to plunder; the Síkhs rallied, and the vazír, who should have been ready to have supported the battle, had fled, having been told that Dost Máhoméd Khân was slain. This chief had no alternative but to follow; gaining an increase of reputation, however, by bringing off the vazír’s abandoned guns. Fatí Khân, while his personal bravery can hardly be impeached, was very unsuccessful as a general; indeed, he lost nearly every action in which he fought, and triumphed generally over his foes by dispersing them without combat. The means by which he contrived to succeed being inoperative against an external foe, the chance
is, that his reputation would have been impaired had he been much employed on foreign expeditions.

There are still very opposite sentiments expressed in Afgahnistan as to the loyalty of Fatí Khán. If carrying on war, and fighting battles contrary to the express orders of his sovereign be acts of rebellion, he was in rebellion when he attacked the Sikhs at Haidaro. But here so much licence is assumed, and so great a latitude is allowed, that it might be unfair to argue from his neglect of his prince's instructions. His judgment may have dictated that the course he adopted was the prudent one in the then state of affairs, and he depended on success to justify himself, or even to claim merit from his easy sovereign. During the operations, however, his enemies at court had not been idle. They had reiterated their suspicions to the Shâh that, master of Kâshmír, Fatí Khán intended to throw off his allegiance and to unmask his designs. An impression, moreover, pervaded the minds of the public that the vazír was yâghí, or in rebellion. Whether he was or not must remain matter of doubt; if he was defeated, it became convenient to disavow it; and from the field of Haidaro he made his way, almost as a courier, to Kâbal. An expedition against Persia for the defence of Herât had been determined upon in his absence, and Shâh Mâhmúd was encamped without the city at Aliábad. One morn-
ing, unattended, clad in a postín, and covered with mud, rode galloping into camp Fatí Khán. In his uncouth attire he presented himself before the Shâh, saluting him with a sonorous Salám álíkam. The good-natured prince received him kindly, and the vazír asked what plans were in agitation. On being informed, he said, “Who so fit to contend with Kajar (Persia) as Fatí?” Thus reinstated in his monarch’s good opinion, he blackened the faces of his enemies, as the Afghâns express it, that is, he covered them with confusion.

The vazír marched with a formidable army to Herât, and Dost Máhoméd Khán accompanied it. At Kândahâr they were joined by the prince Kámrán, the governor. To him had repaired the displaced governor of Káshmir; and, known to be jealous of the vazír, his court had become an asylum for all hostile to him. On this march Dost Máhoméd Khán became acquainted with Hájí Khán, Kháka. A soldier of fortune, he had originally served under Shéhin Khán, in the employ of Mastapha Khán, a brother of Máhmúd Khán, the chief of Kalât. Shéhin Khán was a Bábí, and jemâdár of some fifty men. Hájí Khán soon became his confidant, and happening to be at Déra Ghâzí Khán, an incident brought him to the notice of Jabár Khán, half-brother of the vazír, and then governor of the place. Subsequently the vazír arrived at Déra Ghâzí Khán, and on Hájí Khán being introduced to him, was
so pleased with his manners and history that he pressed him into his service. Hâjî Khân would only consent on condition of his old friend, the Bábí jemadâr, receiving the government of Síví. Hâjî Khân soon grew into great favour. He had discernment to discover that Dost Máhomed Khân was a rising character, and very much attached himself in consequence to him. The sirdâr was, as Hâjî Khân once remarked to me, always the most needy of the sons of Sirafrâz Khân, and to relieve his necessities was a likely means of securing his good-will. Hâjî Khân made himself useful in this way, and at various times alleviated his embarrassments; not with his own funds, for he had none, but by procuring sums of money from others. Herât was held by the prince Hâjî Firoz Dîn, a brother of Shâh Máhmûd. The policy of Fâtî Khân required his seizure, and he persuaded Shâh Máhmûd to consent to it. This was effected by stratagem, but the equivocal act had its ruinous consequences. In the confusion Dost Máhomed Khân, attended by his followers and those of the Sikh Jai Singh, forced the palace of the captive prince, penetrated into the háram, and despoiled its inmates. Amongst other unpardonable deeds, he tore away the jewelled band which secured the perjámas of the wife of the prince Malek Kâsim, son of the prince Hâjî Firoz Dîn. The outraged lady was a sister of the prince Kâmrân, and sent her brother her profaned dress.
The prince brother swore revenge. In this miserable affair some of Jai Singh’s followers were wounded, and Dost Māhomed Khān, aware he had everything to fear from the vazir’s resentment, fled from Herāt, in company with a few servants and the Sīkh. He eventually reached Kāshmir, where his brother, Māhomed Azem Khān, placed him under easy restraint, agreeably to orders received from Fatī Khan. The Shāhzāda Kamrān, the only son of Shāh Māhmūd, had early given tokens of a spirit which could ill brook to be controlled. Sternly exercising authority, he was conspicuous for unrelenting severity, which he pushed even to brutality. Highly immoral and licentious in his manners and habits, and devoted to all kinds of intemperance, he never in the midst of social or sensual gratifications remitted his inexorable harshness. Yet, withal, he preserved a degree of popularity and respect, derived, perhaps, from his energy and determined character.

Fatī Khān could not but know that to preserve his position it was necessary to provide against Prince Kamrān, who was of no temper to submit to his ascendency. The vazir had as little disposition to allow Shāhzāda Kāmrān, or any other person, to thwart him in his views, or to stand between him and the preservation of his authority. The suspicions of Fatī Khān’s aims, extending to sovereignty, had not diminished, and while the governments of the country were held by his
INDIGNATION OF KAMRAN.

brothers, it was manifest that but one step more was needful to attain the dangerous pre-eminence. Herát had fallen into his power, the removal of the indolent Sháh Máhmúd and his son would have left him absolute. He had expended, in largesses, during the march to Herát an immense sum, and it was a common opinion that a crisis in affairs was at hand. If he could afford to permit Sháh Máhmúd to have retained the titular distinction and emblems of royalty, it was foreseen that he must destroy Prince Kámrán or be destroyed by him. The one must rid himself of the other,—none could divine whether to-day or to­morrow,—or in this mode or in that,—but all felt that the existence of the two was inconsistent with the policy and feelings each was known to possess. The remnants of the Dúrání nobility had congre­gated around Prince Kámrán, and constantly ex­cited him to rescue himself and father from the thraldom imposed upon them by Fátí Khán, and to avenge the honour of the Dúrání name by the sacrifice of so debauched and profligate an upstart. The shameless and perfidious acts of Dost Máho­med Khán roused in the prince's bosom the direst feelings of revenge and indignation; nor were they softened when, in his consolatory visits to his sister, she refused to unveil to him until he had by signal vengeance resented the injury offered to her.

The vazír returned to Herát after his unprofitable
campaign against the Persians, to recruit his army for a fresh expedition. He had fought one of his usual unsuccessful battles, and a slight wound, in the face, as some say from a spent shot from the enemy, or, according to others, from the musket of one of his Kazilbāsh adherents, gave him a pretext to abandon the field. Still he had made a noise in Khorasān, and his avowed intention of renewing the war had determined Fatī Alī Shāh to take the field in person. It is said, that it was urged to the shāh that Fatī Khān was but a contemptible enemy; that any one of his sirdārs was sufficient to chastise him. The shāh remarked, that it was true, but that he was “faiz baksh,” (prodigal in gifts). The old monarch justly appreciated the character of his enemy, and knew where his tact lay.

The affairs of Afghānistān had become very complicated, and the utmost energy would have been required to sustain it under the pressure of attacks from the east and west. Whether the vazīr would have been competent to the task we can hardly now decide. Engaged in hostilities with the Persians on the one side, and the Sīkhs on the other, his seizure, and deprivation of sight by Prince Kāmrān, closed his political career, and was the prelude to the enactment, in rapid succession, of as many strange events, and of as many enormous crimes and perfidies as can be found in the annals of any country. The shout of Vazīr Fatī Khān, as the knife of the executioner was thrust into his visual
organs, was that of the expiring Afghán monarchy. The absolute power he coveted, he may be almost said to have neglected to seize when within his grasp, but he bequeathed to his brethren the ample means of securing their independence, and at the same time of avenging him. Few of the vazír’s brothers were at Herát when his seizure was effected, and one of them only, Fúr Díl Khán, fell into the power of Prince Kámrán, the others escaping. Confined for some time, on taking an oath of allegiance he was released and appointed mír of the Bárak Zai Afgháns, a nominal, if not a ridiculous distinction. Hájí Khán, Kháka, who had signalized himself in the battle with the Persians, and had been carried from the field grievously wounded, was still lying in the care of the surgeons in the city. Prince Kámrán ordered him to be brought in a litter to his presence, and much wished so gallant a man to engage in his service. Hájí Khán pleaded his obligations to the vazír, and Prince Kámrán, who could respect valour and gratitude, was not angered. Subsequently Fúr Díl Khán escaped to Gríshk, where he set on foot, in conjunction with his brothers, levies to oppose Prince Kámrán. Hájí Khán, recovered from his wounds, joined them.

In the occurrences which followed from this period we may consider the vazír as politically dead. His brothers now assumed a prominent part. It has been already noted that Siráfraz Khán, at the time of his execution, had twenty-two sons
living. It may not be improper to introduce a list of them. Serving for record and reference, it will also tend to explain some of the causes of the extraordinary contentions which afterwards existed amongst themselves. It will be found how curiously they were separated into groups, affected by their maternal descent. A history of the Bárák Zai family would illustrate the advantages and disadvantages of polygamy.

*Sons of Sirafraz Khan at the time of the vazir's seizure, with their disposition.*

- Fatí Khan ... ... ... the vazír.
- Máhoméd Azem Khán ... governor of Káshmír.
- Taimúr Kúlí Khán ... slain in action with the Sikhs.
- Attá Máhoméd Khán ... slain in action at Pesháwer.
- Yár Máhoméd Khán ... in government at Pesháwer.
- Súltân Máhoméd Khán* ... at Pesháwer.
- Saiyad Máhoméd Khán* ... at Pesháwer.
- Pír Máhoméd Khán* ... at Pesháwer.
- Shír Dil Khán ... ... ... at Herát (escaped).
- Fúr Dil Khán ... ... ... at Herát (made prisoner).
- Kohan Dil Khán* ... ... ... at Herát (escaped).
- Meher Dil Khán* ... ... ... at Herát (escaped).
- Bahám Dil Khán* ... ... ... at Herát (escaped).
- Samad Khán ... ... ... governor of Kábál.
- Assad Khán ... ... ... governor of Déra Ghiází Khán.
- Jabár Khán* ... ... ... in Káshmír.

† Mother, of the Máhoméd Zai, principal branch of the Bárák Zai clan; descent pure.
‡ Mother, Thokí Ghiljí; descent good.
§ Mother, Dúrání; descent pure.
|| Mothers, distinct, but Dúrání, and good.
* Members of the list living in 1889.
SONS OF SIRAFAZ KHAN.

{ Amír Máhomed Khán ... at Kàbal.
{ Dost Máhomed Khán* ... in Káshmír.
{ Túrabáž Khán* ... ... in Káshmír.
{ Islám Khán ... ... in the Terín country.
{ Júma Khán* ... ... at Shikárpúr.
{ Abdúl Rahmán Khán ... unknown.

† Mother, Júánshír; descent considered by Afgháns as impaired.
‡ Mothers, distinct, of inferior tribes, and the sons little regarded in consequence.
* Members of the list living in 1839.
CHAPTER III.

Kāmrān's march to Kabal.—Dost Māḥomed Khān's release.—Protests against Māḥomed Azem Khān's inactive views.—Volunteers to oppose Kāmrān.—Advances upon Kābal.—Attā Māḥomed Khān.—Made Mūkhtahār Dowlah.—Shāh Wali Khān.—Shīr Māḥomed Khān.—Replaced by Wafadār Khān.—Feigns paralysis.—Sudden cure.—Intrigues with the Sūnī factions.—Elevates Shāh Sūjāh al Mūlkh.—Recovers Kāshmīr.—Supports Prince Kāisār.—Slain at Peshāwēr.—Attā Māḥomed Khān invites Shāh Sūjāh al Mūlkh.—Confines him.—Kāmrān's revenge.—Attā Māḥomed Khān's communication with Dost Māḥomed Khān.—His treachery.—Is blinded.—Sudden fall.—Siege of Bālā Hissār.—Escape of Prince Jehānghīr.—Preparations at Herāt.—Approach of Māḥomed Azem Khān.—Dost Māḥomed Khān's discontent.—Proclaims Sūltān Alī king.—Herāt army marches to Kāndahār.—Thence to Chahār Assiāb.—Precipitate retreat.—Reasons for.—Kāndahār lost to Shāh Māḥmūd.—Māḥomed Azem Khān invites Shāh Sūjah al Mūlkh.—Contest with Shāh Sūjah al Mūlkh.—Ayūb Shāh made king.—Arrangements.—March upon Shīkarpūr.—Dost Māḥomed Khān again proclaims Sūltān Alī.—Return of Māḥomed Azem Khān.—Discussion.—Dost Māḥomed Khān's proposal to Sūltān Alī.—Māḥomed Azem Khān's proposal to Shāh Ayūb.—Sūltān Alī strangled.—Shāh Sūjāh al Mūlkh's army dispersed.—Ingenuity of the Sind Amirs.—Māḥomed Azem Khān's presence of mind.—Intrigues in his camp.—Evil intentions of Dost Māḥomed Khān and Shīr Dīl Khān.—Māḥomed Azem Khān's retreat.—Expedition against the Sikhs.—Ranjit Singh's measures.—His overtures to the chiefs of Peshāwēr.—Flight of Jai Singh.—Dost Māḥomed Khān proffers his services to Ranjit Singh.—Māḥomed Azem Khān deceived by Yār Māḥomed Khān.—Dost Māḥomed Khān's design on his treasure.—Māḥomed Azem Khān's irresolution.—
Panic and dispersal of his army.—Ranjit Singh occupies Pesháwer.—Divides Pesháwer between Dost Máhomed Khán and Yár Máhomed Khán.—Death of Máhomed Azem Khán.—His character.—Hábíb Uláh Khán.—Máhomed Azem Khán’s dying recommendation and request.—Für Dil Khán reaches Kábal.—His plans.—Ayúb Sháh’s infatuation.—Für Dil Khán’s interview with Ayúb Sháh.—Opposition of Sháhzáda Ismáíl.—Is slain.—Deposition of Ayúb Sháh.—Retires to Lahore.—Jabár Khán.—His career.—Defeated in Káshmír.—Governor of the Ghiljís.—His civility to Europeans.—Slighted by Hábíb Uláh Khán.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s attempts.—Hábíb Uláh Khán’s folly.—Defection of his chiefs.—Investment of Bálla Hissár.

As soon as practicable, Sháh Máhmúd being left at Heráit, Prince Kámrán moved on Kándahár, held by his deputy, and thence upon Kábal, which was evacuated by the Nawáb Samad Khán. Prince Jehángír, the youthful son of Prince Kámrán, with Attá Máhomed Khán, son of the Múkhtáhárá Dowláh, as his principal adviser, was left in charge of the government. Prince Kámrán for the moment retraced his steps.

As soon as the tidings of the vazír’s misfortune reached Káshmír, Dost Máhomed Khán was released from the restraint in which he had been placed, and a consultation was naturally held upon the state of affairs. Máhomed Azem Khán, aware of the capture of Kábal, was inclined to consider the provinces west of the Indus as lost and irrecoverable. He opined that it was prudent to remain quiet in Káshmír, from which he conceived neither the force of Kámrán nor of the Sikhs could dislodge him. Dost Máhomed Khán protested
against so timid and disgraceful a line of policy, urging the duty of revenging the outrage committed upon the vazir, and the shame of abandoning without a contest the land of their fathers. Káshmir, he said, was but a rája's country, a Hindú country; if lost, at any time to be resumed by the strongest. In conclusion, he volunteered to conduct an expedition against Kámrán, and to attempt the recovery of Kábal. Máhomed Azem Khán gave Dost Máhomed Khán specie to the amount of two lákhs of rupees, and bills for twice the amount, and allowed him to depart, with a few troops. It would appear, from the scanty resources placed at Dost Máhomed Khán's command, that the Káshmir governor had little notion that he could be successful. He spared a trifle from his well-replenished coffers, and excused himself from the reproach which the world might affix to his reputation if he sat altogether supine. Dost Máhomed Khán marched to Pe-sháwer, where he augmented his troops, and thence to Jelálabád; here his funds were exhausted, and it was debated whether it was practicable to proceed farther. The case was desperate, as was the expedition itself; but a forward movement was decided upon, and the chief with his army neared Kábal.

It has been seen that Attá Máhomed Khán, Bámí Zai, had been placed by Prince Kámrán to direct his son, Prince Jehánghír; he was now to become the antagonist of Dost Máhomed Khán. To be able, in any way, to comprehend the intrigues
about to be developed, it will be necessary to explain the relations in which he stood with the several parties engaged in them. Displaced from his government of Káshmír by Fatí Khán, whose sister was one of his wives, he had repaired to the court of Prince Kámrán, who, although he had ample reasons to be dissatisfied with him on other grounds, forgot them now that he might be held inimical to the vazír. With another, Attá Máhomed Khán, Alekho Zai, he continually incited Prince Kámrán to remove the obnoxious Fatí Khán. Invested with the dignity of Múkhtahár Dowlah, the direction of affairs at Kábal was confided to him, Prince Kámrán estimating, and perhaps justly, that he could not reconcile his differences with the Bárák Zais, but forgetful that he might have ambitious views and projects of his own. To elucidate these, and the singular part he was about to act, a slight reference to the history of his family is necessary. His grandfather, Sháh Wáli Khán, was the principal minister, or múkhtahár, to Ahmed Sháh, and agreeably to the constitution of the Afghán monarchy, or to the compact between the Dúrání clans under which it was formed, the office was hereditary. On the death of Ahmed Sháh the múkhtahár set up Prince Súlímán, the eldest son, was defeated by Prince Taimúr and slain. The first-born of the Múkhtahár, Shír Máhomed Khán, was recalled from exile by Taimúr Sháh, and installed in his father's dignity. He became known and celebrated as the
Múkhtahár Dowlah. During the reign of Sháh Zemán he was replaced in office by Wafadár Khán, famous in Afghánistán as the Sadú Zai Vazír. This appointment, an infringement upon the settled order of things, was unfortunate to the monarch who made it, and led to all the evils and misfortunes which afterwards happened to himself, and finally to the Sadú Zai supremacy.

Shír Máhoméd Khán, deprived of office, feigned paralysis, and throughout the reign of Sháh Zemán was carried in a litter, or hobbled on crutches. On the expulsion of the sháh, and the slaughter of his rival, the Sadú Zai Vazír, he became suddenly cured of his afflictions, threw away his crutches, and again figured in public life as the múkhtahár. He now particularly courted the Súní interests in Kábal, paid great attention to Mír Wais, and profiting by the absence of the vazír at Kándahár, in conjunction with his Súní friends, and Ahmed Khán, Núr Zai, excited a religious tumult, which elevated to the throne Prince Sújáh al Múlkh, then a fugitive in the Khaíbar hills. The new sháh was clearly indebted to the exertions of the Súní leaders of Kábal for his dignity. The Múkhtahár afterwards recovered Káshmír from Abdúláh Khán, Alekho Zai, and left his own son, Attá Máhoméd Khán, in government of the productive province. The sháh contrived to estrange the feelings of the friends to whom he owed so much, and they conceived that as they had raised him to power, so they were
entitled to displace him. Accordingly, when the king had marched towards Sind, the mukhtahár, with his former confederates, released Prince Kaisar from the state prison of the Bálla Hissár, and proclaimed him king. With their new sovereign they marched to Pesháwer, where Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh in all haste arrived, and an action was fought on the Dasht Pakkah, without the city. The shâh would have fled, but was prevented by the crowds behind him; and the rebel leaders pressing forward, unsupported, anxious to secure his person, were slain. The mukhtahár, his brother, Mír Ahmed Khán, with Khwoja Máhoméd Khan, Núr Zai, a staunch adherent of Prince Kaisar, simultaneously met a common fate. The prince himself, so lately victorious by the strange accidents of war, as a captive adorned the triumph, scarcely merited, of Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh. It is just to add, that clemency was shown. Attá Máhoméd Khán continued in the government of Káshmír; nor was Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh able to remove him. When the shâh became a fugitive Attá Máhoméd Khán invited him to Káshmír, if for no other purpose, to make a tool of him. The shâh, not perfectly compliant, was lodged in the castle of Koh Márân, from which he was released by the vazír, when he recovered the valley from Attá Máhoméd Khán. On account of the insults offered to the shâh, Prince Kámrân, although politically hostile to his relative, conceived it due to avenge the injury committed through him
on the dignity of the Sadú Zai family, by submitting the females of the Bámí Zais at Herát to the embraces of mule-drivers. From the above narration, it will be apparent that a sympathy existed between the family of Attá Máhoméd Khán and the Súní party at Kábal; and there can be but little doubt that he now intended, by its assistance, to have made himself independent. A man of considerable ability, he had a fair field before him; but underrating his opponents, instead of circumventing them, he was circumvented by them. Dost Máhoméd Khán had reached Khúrd Kábal, two ordinary marches from the city, and was hesitating whether to advance, when a communication was privately conveyed to him from Attá Máhoméd Khán. Dost Máhoméd Khán, deceived, or trusting to his dexterity to outwit his antagonist, moved forwards, but circuitously, and cautiously, feeling his way to the eminences of Bímárú, to the north. Attá Máhoméd Khán left the Bálla Hissár with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and marched, as he gave out, to annihilate the rebels. He advanced on Bímárú, Dost Máhoméd Khán's troops slowly receding as he approached them. On the heights he harangued his men, and denounced the wrath of heaven and the pains of hell on any one who should betray Sháh Máhmúd, Sháhzáda Kámrân, or Sháhzáda Jehânghír. With the same breath, in a style peculiarly Afghán, he turned round, and in whispers, inquired for a Korán. The
sacred book was produced, Atta Máhomed Khân sealed it, and with renewed oaths despatched it to Dost Máhomed Khân. A succession of marches and countermarches, of slight skirmishes, and other feints, for a few days, was necessary, that a becoming quantity of oaths should be exchanged on both sides; and that the confidential agents of the parties should arrange preliminaries. They ill-concealed the understanding, however enigmatical, between Atta Máhomed Khân and the Barák Zai chiefs. One fact was glaring, that the interests of Kámrân were betrayed, and the safety of his son compromised. At length interviews were exchanged between the Múkhtahár and rebel chiefs, and at one of these, which took place at the Búrj Vazír, a pleasure-house built by Fatí Khân, the former was thrown on the ground, and blinded by Pír Máhomed Khân, the younger of the vazír's brothers. Of the brothers with Dost Máhomed Khân all had exchanged oaths with the Múkhtahár, except Pír Máhomed Khân, who, from his youth, had not been required to do so. Many versions are given of this affair. The friends of the Bárak Zai chiefs pretend that the Múkhtahár intended to have blown them up. Others wholly deny this statement, and regard the occurrence as naturally arising in a contest for power between desperate and reckless men. The deprivation of sight was in retaliation of the injury inflicted on the vazír, owing somewhat, it is said, to Atta Máhomed Khân's instigation. His schemes
of ambition were in a moment given to the wind, and he withdrew to obscurity and retirement. He now resides at Alíabád near Kábal, unnoticed and little pitied. It is remembered, that when governor of Káshmír, the plucking out of eyes was one of his ordinary punishments. His calamity afforded the son of Prince Kámrán and his adherents the opportunity of admiring that the traitor had been entrapped in his own snares.

Dost Máhomed Khán relieved from a formidable foe, or an embarrassing friend, was now enabled to besiege the Bálla Hissár. Pernicious, or treacherous counsel prevailed upon Prince Jehângír to evacuate the lower citadel, and to shut himself up in the upper one. The empty fortress was immediately occupied by the enemy. Batteries were erected on the plain to the east, and a mine was conducted from the houses at the foot of the upper citadel, under the bastion of the principal entrance to it. Intelligence thereof was conveyed to the garrison, who were on the alert. It was sprung, but did not fully prove successful. The situation of the prince became exceedingly critical. In the bloom of youth, and remarkably handsome, the vows of the fair sex of Kábal were offered up for his safety. They may have interested heaven in his behalf. A night, when all was darkness, and rain fell in torrents, enabled him, with his followers, to leave the upper citadel by the Derwâza Kâshí, unperceived. Filing under its walls, he gained the
Kotal Kheddar; and crossing it, took the road to Ghazni. Dost Mâhomed Khân did not pursue.

By an astonishing run of good fortune, Dost Mâhomed Khân had become master of Kâbal, but it does not appear that he was able to profit by the advantage so far as to march upon Ghazni. He soon discovered that a more serious struggle was before him, as Shâh Máhmúd and the Prince Kâmrân had marched, or were about to march from Herât. The hope to contend with their large army might have been preposterous had not so much unlooked-for success already justified him to hope for anything, and accordingly he prepared to resist the storm impending.

When intelligence of the possession of Kâbal reached Kâshmîr, Mâhomed Azem Khân put his troops in motion, but probably made no farther remittances to Dost Mâhomed Khân. As elder brother, and representative of the family, he could not allow, as he conceited, the takht, or capital, to remain in the hands of Dost Mâhomed Khân, who might affect to consider him in Kâshmîr as a vassal governor. It is not unlikely that this sirdâr would have been better pleased that the city had not been wrested from Kâmrân, as he perhaps never expected that his brother would have been able to win it. Dost Mâhomed Khân, on his part, was too shrewd not to be able to penetrate the secret feelings of his elder brother's bosom, and to be conscious how jealously he was
regarded by most of the members of his family. It also mortified him that his exertions and triumphs should only contribute to the aggrandisement of others. He felt that injustice was offered to him, while all his own ambitious ideas were thwarted. These he could not consent to forego; and to cherish them in spite of circumstances frequently led to perplexity and enthrallment. Elate, perhaps, at his successes, he soon began to evince a show of independence of action, and its first display was in the proclamation of Shâhzâda Súltân Alí as king; he naturally fell into the dignity of vazír. This was strange news for Máhomed Azem Khán and the rest of the family. This prince had officiated as governor of Kâbal under Shâh Máhmúd with considerable credit, and was one of the Sadú Zai princes, most respected for good sense and conduct. It is probable, that had he ascended the throne under favourable circumstances he would have made a reputable sovereign. As it was, his funds and contributions from one or the other sufficed to place about two thousand cavalry at the command of Dost Máhomed Khán to meet the overwhelming force from Herát.

The flight of Fúr Dil Khán to Andálí, and his preparations to avenge the outrage offered to his brother, Fatí Khán, have been elsewhere noted. By a strange fatality, the royal army avoided Andálí en route to Kándahár, thereby leaving the five brothers with their levies in the rear. These,
as soon as the army had proceeded towards Kâbal, appeared before Kândahâr, and summoned Gúl Má­homéd Khán, the governor, to surrender it. He consented to do so, in case his sovereign should be defeated at Kâbal, and entreated the confederated brothers to retire until the issue of the contest should be known. They complied. Shâh Mâhmúd and his son advanced to Chahâr Assíáh, six or seven miles from Kâbal; when, abandoning their equipage, they suddenly decamped, and, by the road of the Hazárajât, precipitately gained Herât. The counsels of Sâlú Khán, otherwise known as Shâh Pessand Khán, are believed to have occasioned this flight. It may be so; but, when it is asserted there was no ostensible cause for it, facts prove that there was too much. Shâh Máhmúd and Kâmrân had, of course, become ac­quainted with the dubious loyalty of the Kândahâr governor; and the retreat of the five bro­thers would be, in their estimation, a more porten­tous event, as it might be supposed they would menace Herât. That this fear prevailed is shown by the haste made to reach it; otherwise, the enterprise upon Kâbal would have been worked out, or, if a retreat had been judged necessary, it would naturally have been upon Kândahâr, where the traitor and the rebels might have been at once crushed.

While the royal army was at Chahâr Assíáh, Dost Mâhoméd Khán, and his followers in the
neighbourhood, were standing with their horses' bridles in their hands, and the advance of the force would have been the signal for their dispersion and flight. Of this Shâh Máhmúd and his son were not, perhaps, aware, and therefore listened to the evil suggestions of Sâlú Khân, that the Dúránís of the army had concerted to betray them, and to follow the example of Gúl Máhomed Khân at Kândahâr. Dost Máhomed Khân did not credit the retreat of his enemies until Názir Diláwer, a fugitive, and the only one from the abandoned camp, came and confirmed it. He then marched forward, and took possession of the empty tents. When the royal army reached Ghaznî, Prince Kámrân, finding it entire, and that a defection of the Dúránís had not taken place, was willing to have returned upon Kâbal, but was overruled. The brothers at Andálî had not made a dash at Herât; but, receiving exaggerated reports of the discomfiture of the Herât army, they marched to intercept its remnants, and fell back when they found it unbroken. Gúl Máhomed Khân surrendered Kândahâr, and his subsequent fate has been already noticed. It is hard to say whether he was a traitor in intention or not. He may have reasoned that "the royal army is all-powerful, and must succeed at Kâbal, when the Andálî brothers will disband their troops, or be deserted by them." Again, when he witnessed the extent of the evil he had occasioned, how could
he face his sovereign, or trust himself in the power of the implacable Kamrân?

Dost Mâhomèd Khân's good fortune may be said to have won Kâbal a second time. His brother, Mâhomèd Azem Khân, had arrived at Pesháwer, having left his half-brother, Jabâr Khân, in charge of Kâshmir. He had no sooner left the valley than the Sikhs prepared to attempt its conquest. From Pesháwer Mâhomèd Azem Khân sent an invitation to the ex-king, Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh, to join him. This measure loses its singularity when the existence of Súltân Alí as king at Kâbal is considered, as respect for the Sâdú Zai princes had not been yet wholly destroyed. So important did Mâhomèd Azem Khân judge it to have a prince of the royal blood in his camp that he did not venture to move on Kâbal without one. Shâh Sújâh al Múlkh arrived at Pesháwer, and the premature exhibition of his exalted notions of regal dignity led to a battle between him and his inviters. The Shâh, defeated, fled, and found his way to Shikârpûr. Mâhomèd Azem Khân now adopted the Prince Ayûb as king, no better being to be found, and, thus provided, took the road to Kâbal. On the retreat of the Herât army Dost Mâhomèd Khân had made himself master of Ghaznî, in which he placed his brother, Amîr Mâhomèd Khân, very likely foreseeing that it would be the only hold he could contrive to retain. He was unable to
oppose Mâhomed Azem Khân, with his large army and treasures, with all the weight of the family united against him, for now the brother sirdârs of Kândahâr would have marched to support the head of the family. A good deal of mediation and altercation, of course, ensued, but it terminated in the acknowledgment of Mâhomed Azem Khân as sirdâr, and Ayúb Shâh as nominal sovereign. Dost Mâhomed Khân was permitted to possess Ghazni, and the brothers, who had obtained Kândahâr, were judged worthy to hold it. Jabár Khân, who had been defeated, wounded, and driven from Káshmîr, was placed in charge of the Ghiljûs dependant on Kâbal; Mâhomed Zemân Khân, son of the Nawâb Assad Khân, was appointed to Jelálabâd; Yár Mâhomed Khân and his brothers to Pesháwer; and the Nawâb Samad Khân, resident at Kâbal, to Kohât and Hângû. By this distribution the country was fairly partitioned amongst the several members of the family, and perhaps most or all of them were satisfied, except Dost Mâhomed Khân. It was now the common interest to repel foreign invasion, and to preserve the family statu quo. The former was to be apprehended from Heráât and from the Panjâb. For an infraction of the latter Dost Mâhomed Khân was principally to be dreaded. In consequence of the recognition of Shâh Ayúb, the monarch of Dost Mâhomed’s creation, Shâh Sul-tân Alí quietly descended into private life. His
enjoyment of brief sovereignty had cost him the little wealth he had accumulated.

The first care of Mahomed Azem Khan was directed towards Shikarpur, where Shah Sujah al Mulkh was organizing an army. It was determined to march and disperse it. The several members of the confederacy supplied quotas of troops, and many personally attended. The army marched from Kabal, the new Shah Ayub accompanying it. It had passed Ghazni, when Dost Mahomed Khan returned to Kabal, drew Shah Sultân Ali from retirement, and anew proclaimed him king. Mahomed Azem Khan was compelled to retrace his steps. Shah Sultân Ali, on the arrival of Shah Ayub in Kabal, had abandoned the palace of the Balla Hissár, in which Dost Mahomed Khan had seated him, and retired to the Bâgh Vazîr. He still resided there. It is difficult to account for Dost Mahomed Khan's conduct, unless we suppose him desirous of creating as much annoyance and trouble as he could, or that there was a concerted plan to remove Shah Sultân Ali, who, as before noted, was a person of some ability. After some of the ordinary querulous discussion amongst the brothers, and the intervention of friends, some arrangement was determined upon, and Dost Mahomed Khan, protesting his fidelity, submitted to Shah Sultân Ali that to secure himself as sovereign he must cut off Shah Ayub. Shah Sultân Ali indignantly rejected the proposal, and reviled him
who dared to make it. Dost Māhomed Khān had eased his conscience: he had shown the prince the only mode, under circumstances, by which he could preserve himself; and if he declined to adopt it the error was his own. On his own part, he felt absolved from interesting himself about the fate of a prince who was himself reckless of it. He wished the prince to remove into the Bālla Hissār, which he did, occupying his own house. Māhomed Azem Khān next urged upon Shāh Ayūb the necessity of putting to death Shāh Sūltān Ali, promising, if he complied, that he would in like manner dispose of Dost Māhomed Khān. Shāh Ayūb had the baseness to consent. The two shāhs, for the few days they lived together in the Bālla Hissār, visited each other, and sat on the same masnad. At length prince Ismael, with a servant, strangled the unfortunate Shāh Sūltān Ali, when reposing, after an entertainment given to him. Shāh Ayūb now asked Māhomed Azem Khān to redeem his pledge as to Dost Māhomed Khān. The chief observed, “How can I slay my brother?” It is as unpleasant to comment on such revolting transactions as to narrate them. Dost Māhomed Khān had reconciled his conscience; and the sirdār may have presumed that he was guiltless of a crime committed by another. If one Sādū Zai put to death another they could not help it. The advantages of the perfidy they derived in the disappear-
 ance of a source of embarrassment; and the army was again put in motion for Shikárpúr.

Taking the route of Ghazní and Sháll, where it was joined by the Kândahár contingent, it finally neared its destination. The army of Sháh Sújah al Múlkh melted away before it, but the sirdár was detained some time in the arrangement of the Sind tribute.

The Amírs had collected a numerous rabble, and a variety of negotiations were carried on, the Dúránís anxious to get as much as they could, and the Amírs willing to pay as little as they could help. The latter also made an experiment to disperse their obnoxious guests, by making a feigned attack by night on their camp. Muskets were discharged from the thickets on all sides, to the consternation of the Dúránís, who were well disposed to have given way to panic, but the presence of mind of their leader saved them. He did not move from his tent, but called for his musicians, affecting not even to notice the matter, taking care, however, to issue, without éclat, the necessary instructions to preserve order. In the morning the Amírs of Sind sent respectfully to inquire concerning the sirdár’s health, and to express their hopes that the tohí, or wedding, they had celebrated during the night had not disturbed his sleep. Máhoméd Azem Khán had purposed to have well riddled the treasures of the ingenious
Amírs, but the intrigues in his camp made him unwillingly accept an obligation to pay twelve lakhs of rupees from them, three lakhs of which was made over to him, and the remainder was never paid. The sirdár was overburthened with treasure, the fruits of his government in Káshmír, but to preserve it he was constrained to carry it about with him. It was now in the camp, and Dost Máhomed Khán, with Shír Dil Khán, had projected to seize it. The discovery of the foul plot precipitated the retreat of Máhomed Azem Khán, and saved the Amírs of Sind from a heavy sacrifice of their hoarded wealth.

The sirdár next set on foot an expedition against the Síkhs, who, elate with the capture of Káshmír, and the possession of Atak, were supposed to contemplate ulterior aggressive measures. The spirit of the Dúrání chieftains had not yet been broken; the triumphs of the infidels were imputed to fraud and accident, and it was confidently believed that the sword would repel them, and drive them from their recent acquisitions. The defeat at Haidaro had thrown no disgrace on the valour of those engaged, and Máhomed Azem Khán remembered that Ranjit Singh was not invincible, for he had inflicted a severe chastisement upon him on the Túsa Maidán in Káshmír, when first his ambitious projects led him personally to invade the mountain-girt valley. Great preparations were made for the war, and agents were despatched into
the hilly regions north of the course of the Kâbal river, to arouse the fanatic population, and to draw out their gallant bands to co-operate in the great fight of the faith. Ranjit Singh, with no less activity, prepared for the struggle. That shrewd chief-tain knew too well the weak points of his Dûrânî opponents to neglect assailing them at so critical a conjuncture. He was conscious that it was easier to disunite them by artifice than to conquer them in the field. His agents had already began to tamper with the brother chiefs of Peshâwer. It was represented to them that they had an opportunity of experiencing the favour and liberality of the sirkâr, and of securing the possession of their territories in absolute independence. It was not asked in return that they should betray their elder brother, but that they should so contrive that he should quietly return to Kâbal. The Peshâwer chiefs were soothed with the notion of throwing off dependence on Mâhommed Azem Khân, forgetful that in so doing they became vassals of Ranjit Singh. In another point of view, the chances of the war were doubtful, and they felt it to be their interest to confirm themselves in power, let what would happen. They listened complacently, therefore, to Ranjit Singh's overtures, and clandestinely entered into communications with him. Mâhommed Azem Khân eventually marched from Kâbal, and, taking the route of Jelâlabâd and the pass of Karapa, arrived at Min-
chini, where he deposited his treasures. He then crossed the river of Kâbal, and reached Pesháwer. Dost Máhomed Khán attended the army, and the halt at this place led to the loss of his old Sikh friend, Jai Singh. The advanced detachments of the Dúrání and Sikh armies had approached near enough to each other for occasional skirmishes to happen. One day, some thirty Sikh heads were brought in, and affixed to the house of Jai Singh. He accepted the act as a warning to decamp, and fled to the Sikh army. He was afterwards slain in the Panjâb.

Dost Máhomed Khán, aware that his brothers of Pesháwer had an understanding with the enemy, signified to the elder, Yár Máhomed Khán, his desire of becoming an accomplice. Yár Máhomed Khán did not fail to encourage him or to boast to the Sikhs the extent of his services in securing to their interest the most warlike of the sirdár's brothers. Ranjit Singh had now crossed the Atak, and Máhomed Azem Khán was encamped at Noshára. Negotiations, so fatal to Dúránís, were carried on, and Yár Máhomed Khán, on the part of the sirdár, was in the Sikh camp. What could be expected from such an envoy? Either wilfully, or at the dictation of the Sikhs, he wrote delusive letters to Máhomed Azem Khán, and informed him that it was contemplated to seize his háram and treasure at Minchíní. The treasure was a constant source of solicitude to the ill-fated sirdár.
He was compelled to carry it with him, and then had difficulty to preserve it.

Dost Māhomed Khân stands again accused of having directed his unhallowed attention to it. A sharp action had taken place on the opposite side of the river, between a portion of the Sīkh troops and the levies of the Yusef Zai districts. Ranjit Singh was in person at the contest, and although it is pretended that he crossed the river on a hunting excursion, and accident brought about the conflict, yet the fact of his having passed seemed to countenance the report of designs upon Minchini and the treasure. Māhomed Azem Khân was in sore uneasiness of mind, he wept, tore his beard, and inveighed bitterly against the treason of his brethren. He foresaw the disgrace of retiring without a struggle from the field; nor could he endure the reflection that his wives and treasure should fall into the hands of Ranjit Singh. Undetermined whether to stand his ground or to retreat; now deciding upon the one, now upon the other alternative, his indecision was communicated to his army. The infection spread, and augmented to panic. The dark shades of night magnified the existing doubt and terror; the whole camp was in movement. All were packing up and deserting it as a haunted spot, without any one knowing why. The morning came, but the army no longer existed. The unfortunate Māhomed Azem Khân collected its wrecks, and picking up his háram and
wealth at Minchini, crossed the Momand hills, and regained the valley of Jelálabád. The object of Ranjit Singh being obtained, he had no farther need of Yar Máhomed Khán, and dismissed him to join his fugitive brothers, and to plot fresh mischief. The Síkh chief entered Pesháwer, but so excited was the state of public feeling throughout the country that he did not think prudent to retain it. Yár Máhomed Khán and Dost Máhomed Khán were privately sent for, and they repaired to Pesháwer from the Dúrání camp at Dáka. Ranjit Singh rewarded their treason to their brother and their services to himself by dividing the territory of Pesháwer equally between them, very expertly placing Dost Máhomed Khán in an antagonist position to the brothers of Yár Máhomed Khán, and thereby providing for the support of strife and dissensions amongst them. Dost Máhomed Khán for some time resided at Hashtnagar, not ashamed to be indebted for territory to Ranjit Singh. Máhomed Azem Khán, exhausted by vexation, fell into a dysentery, which carried him to the grave. He may be truly said to have died broken-hearted. It may be useless to speculate on what did not occur. We shall not inquire, therefore, what might have been the state of affairs had he adhered to his original intention of contenting himself with Káshmír; or if, when Dost Máhomed Khán had won Kábal, he had permitted him to have retained it. No doubt a knowledge of his younger brother's
character influenced him, and he foresaw the chance of having the resources of Kâbal directed against him. Mâhomed Azem Khân had considerable ability; was showy, munificent, and dignified. He was esteemed worthy of his high station. In private life he was free, social and devoted to pleasure, but not at the expense of business. His qualities were compatible with friendship, and amongst his dependent chiefs he could boast of many friends. He was succeeded by his elder son, Habîb Ulah Khân, a rash headstrong youth, elevated in the full indulgence of his unruly passions, and in the midst of all kinds of excesses. His vices and failings were rather of habit than of the heart, and to atone for them he possessed indomitable personal bravery and lavish generosity. Unfortunately he had recklessness in place of judgment, and was utterly unfit to contend with his keen and rapacious uncles, in the struggle which it required no prophetical skill to divine they would excite. The dying father, conscious of his son's incapacity and want of discretion, recommended him to the care of his uncle, Jabâr Khân; he placed their hands within each other, and conjured his brother to supply his place as father, while he implored his son to wipe off the disgrace he had suffered before the Sîkhs.

The intelligence of the dangerous disorder of Mâhomed Azem Khân had brought Fúr Dil Khân from Kândahâr. The shâh, of the sîrdâr's creation, Ayûb, will not have been forgotten. He still re-
sided in the Bálła Hissár. On the demise of Má-homed Azem Khán, the Sháhzáda Ismael, the in-strument previously of removing Sháh Súltán Alí, intreated his father to arise and seize the treasures of the departed chief. There were not wanting many who would have aided in the enterprise. The indolent and corpulent Ayúb rebuked his son as a blockhead, who, to no purpose, assured him that it was the only mode of preserving himself against the evil intentions of Fúr Dil Khán. Sháhzáda Ismael, finding his father deaf to all his representations, left the city on pretence of a pleasure-party to Sanjitak, but in reality intending to retire to Pesháwer. The father, apprised thereof, sent after him, and induced his return. The plans of Fúr Dil Khán were no secret, and very many persons wished the sháh to take precautionary measures, offering to support him in case he did. The infatuated prince was ac-customed to revile such advisers, and affected to disbelieve what they reported to him. At length the sirdár intimated to the sháh his intention of making a visit to him in the Bálła Hissár. The sháh consented, and merely ordered that the sirdár only should be admitted within the entrance-gate of the fortress. In the morning the sirdár appeared at the gate, and his followers, Kohistánís principally, rushed in and filled the bazár Araba. On reaching the entrance of the palace another effort was made to exclude the armed followers of the sirdár, but another rush introduced them, and they spread over
DEATH OF ISMAEL.

the courts. The sirdár, and his brother, Meher Dil Khân, with a few attendants, ascended the staircase and entered the darbár apartment, where the shâh and his son, Prince Ismael, were seated. Salutations were exchanged, and some loose conversation took place, until the sirdárs began to motion with their eyes to each other, and to their followers. It may be presumed, that Prince Ismael perceived the signs, for he seized his carbine, laying before him, and presented it at the sirdárs. The Kohistânís, who had surrounded the father and son, were able to turn the direction of the carbine, but a Kohistâní was killed, and others were wounded by its discharge. The unfortunate prince was immediately shot by the companions of the man slain, the shâh was made prisoner, and the palace became a scene of plunder. One Hájí Alí, who is also reported to have shot the prince, despoiled the shâh of his raiments, and clad him in his own; then, by the sirdár’s orders, placed him behind himself on a horse, and carried him off to the Búrq Vazír. A singular spectacle was offered to the people of the city as Hájí Alí bore the degraded monarch along the streets, but they had become familiar with extraordinary events and regarded them with apathy. The sirdárs, when they had given the orders, consequent on the feat they had performed, returned to their dwellings in the city with the same composure after the deposition of a monarch as if they had been enjoying a morning’s ride. The delusion
of royalty which invested Shah Ayúb was too apparent to deceive any one, and it seemed as if the mock dignity had been conferred upon him purposely to bring it and the Sadú Zai family into contempt. Fúr Dil Khán terminated the farce, and did not feel himself bound to tolerate a shadow of his deceased brother's creation. Shah Ayúb was treated with much indignity in the Búrj Vazír, and it was wished to have tortured him that he might surrender treasure. By intervention a compromise was agreed upon, and on the payment of a lakh of rupees the sháh was released, and had liberty to go where he might list. Máhomed Zemán Khán on this occasion behaved generously, and put the unfortunate prince in a condition to travel to Lahore with comfort. Ranjit Singh allowed him one thousand rupees *per mensem*. His brother, Sháhzáda Ibráhím, who resided at Pesháwer, was enabled, on news reaching of the events at Kábal, to retire across the Atâk, with his family and wealth entire. It may be noted also, that the Nawáb Jabár Khán privately conveyed to Shah Ayúb intelligence of his danger.

Jabár Khán, commonly called the nawáb, from having held the government of Déra Ghází Khán, was one of the more elderly of the sons of Si-rafráz Khán, but having lost his mother at an early age, his education and fortune were for some time neglected. Máhomed Azem Khán at length noticed him, and pressed his claims on the attention of the vazír, who appointed him successively to the
In both offices he acquitted himself highly to the satisfaction of the governed, but not equally so to that of the vazír. Besides, in common with his brothers, entertaining exalted notions of his importance, and affecting independence of action, he forgot to remit the revenues of his provinces. On these accounts the vazír more than once treated him with severity, and he was obliged to seek asylum with Máhomed Azem Khán, who invariably received him with kindness, and protected him. When deprived of the government of Kâbal, he fled to Káshmír, and induced Máhomed Azem Khán to assume so suspicious an attitude that the vazír marched against him. A battle took place. The vazír, defeated in the field, rode singly into his brother’s camp, and embraced him for having so worthily proved himself a soldier, but expostulated with him on allowing Jabár to sow dissensions between them. When Máhomed Azem Khán left Káshmír Jabár Khán was made governor. Five months scarcely elapsed when a Sikh army entered the province. With more rashness than sense, without forming his troops, he advanced, with a few followers, in front of the hostile line. A volley brought nearly all to the ground, and amongst them Jabár Khán, who had received five or six musket-shots. It was with difficulty they contrived to carry him off. No battle, but flight and slaughter followed. Káshmír was lost to the Dúránís. In the distribution of territory,
which succeeded the establishment of Máhomed Azem Khán at Kâbal, Jabár Khán acquired the government of the Ghiljís, dependent thereon. This nobleman has always shown particular civility to European travellers who have visited Afghnistán, and always expresses his desire that some political understanding may originate between Kâbal and India. He may, probably, in this respect, have imbibed the sentiments of his brother, Máhomed Azem Khán.

The deceased sirdár in no way imitated the destructive policy of the vazír as to the Dúrání chiefs. He collected as many as he could about him, and by munificent donations contributed to improve their broken fortunes. His court was very respectable. His son soon reversed the order of things, and, immersed in dissipation, surrounded himself with the profligate and abandoned of all classes. He conducted the government at first by means of his father’s officers, but they became speedily disgusted, and either retired or were displaced. The counsels of the Nawâb Jabár Khán were, of course, slighted.

Dost Máhomed Khán did not fail to observe that a field of action was open to him, and he saw a fair chance of wresting from the infatuated son that Kâbal which he pretended the father had unjustly taken from him. His territories at Pe-sháwer he consigned to the charge of deputies,
INVESTMENT OF BALLA HISSLAR.

and hastened to Kâbal, where he connected him-
self with all the turbulent spirits of the country.

Hostilities soon broke out; and for some months there were incessant contests, in which Habîb Ulâh Khân, from his superior force, came off victo-
rious, and Dost Mâhomâd Khân fled to the Ko-
histân, or to Ghaznî, to recruit his means and prepare for a renewed struggle. At length Habîb Ulâh exasperated the Nawâb Jabâr Khân, by de-
priving him of his government, which he gave to a dissolute attendant of his orgies, Nazîr Alî Mâho-
med; and farther alienated Amînûlah Khân, Loghari, one of his father's confidential servants, and a person of the highest influence, by seeking to destroy him. The results were, that the Nawâb Jabâr Khân in-
clined to the cause of Dost Mâhomâd Khân, who again appeared in the field, and that, in an action fought on the Dasht Kergah, near the city, Amînû-
lah Khân, and his associates, went over to him in a body. Habîb Ulâh Khân defeated, retired within the Bálla Hissâr, which, Dost Mâhomâd Khân, taking possession of the city, immediately invested.
CHAPTER IV.

The Kandahar sirdars march to the aid of Habib Ulah Khan.—
Dost Máhomed Khan retires.—Seizure of Habib Ulah Khan.—
Dost Máhomed Khan asserts himself his avenger.—Sad state of
Kábal.—Favourable dispositions to Dost Máhomed Khan.—The
Kandahar sirdars desirous to secure and blind him. — Saved by
Hájí Khán. — New arrangements. — Hájí Khán's freak.—Engages
in Dost Máhomed Khán's service. — Súltán Máhomed Khán's errors.—His lax government.—Besieged by Dost Máhomed
Khán. — Retires to Pesháwer. — Ahmed Sháh. — His pre-
tensions. — His success with the Yusáf Zais. — Offends the Pes-
háwer sirdars. — Is betrayed by them. — New claims of Dost
Máhomed Khán's brothers.—Reduction of Zúrmát.—Return to
Kábal, and welcome.—Saiyad Ahmed Sháh’s movements.—Dost
Máhomed Khán's assistance to his Pesháwer brothers. — Extra-
vagancies of Habib Ulah Khán.—His followers seduced by Dost
Máhomed Khán. — Discomfiture of the Nawáb Jabár Khán.—
March of Dost Máhomed Khán to Taghow.—His apprehensions
of Mazúlah.—Death of Mazúlah.—Designs on Jelálabád.—De-
fecion in Dost Máhomed Khán’s army. — Arrangements. —
Oaths. — Resumption of the Ghiljí government. — Remarks on
Dost Máhomed Khán’s character. — His talents for business. —
His administration.—Projects of Sháh Sújah-al-Múlkh.—Sentiments of the people. — Of Dost Máhomed Khán. — Proposal to assume royalty rejected. — Arrival of mission from Kúndúz. —
Visit of Mir Alam Khán. — Views on Bajor. — Rumours and
reports.

The brother chiefs at Kandahár and Pesháwer had not been indifferent to the events passing at
SEIZURE OF HABIB ULAH KHAN.

Kâbal. It neither accorded with their feelings nor policy that Dost Khánum should obtain the country, or what remained of the treasure of their deceased brother. Circumstances had not allowed them to act before; or so long as Habib Ulah Khánum was the victor so much necessity for movement did not exist. Now that he was besieged, it behoved them to take prompt measures. Shír Dil Khánum, with his brothers, hastened to Kâbal, on the plea of assisting Habib Ulah Khánum. A variety of desultory actions followed, interluded by overtures and negotiations, and Dost Khánum was ultimately compelled to fly to the Kohistân. The Kândahâr chiefs congratulated Habib Ulah Khánum; and assuring him that he might always depend upon their aid against the evil designs of Dost Khánum, intimated their intention of returning to Kândahâr. They joined their pêsh-khâna, fixed at Alíábâd, without the city. Habib Ulah paid them, as he thought, a farewell visit, when he was seized by Meher Dil Khánum, and instantly smuggled off to a castle in Lo-ghar, belonging to Khodâ Nazzar, a Ghiiljí, and confidential minister of the brothers. The perfidious uncles as instantly mounted, and took possession of the city and Bálla Hissár. It need not be remarked, that what remained of the treasure fell into their hands. Neither did they scruple, on the score of delicacy, as to the means of eliciting it. It is possible that Shír Dil Khánum may have contemplated the retention of Kâal, but a little
experience proved it was not practicable. Dost Mâhomed Khân was again in arms, as the avenger of Habíb Ulah Khân, and the oppressive measures of Khodá Nazzar, or Mámá, as commonly called, intrusted with the charge of the city, had estranged the good-will of all. The brother chiefs of Pesha-wer had eventually reached Kâbal, and a strange medley of counsels and consultations prevailed. It would be impossible to detail the proceedings of this period, or the intrigues carried on. The differences of the several brothers produced a chaos of confusion, and although nothing was settled amongst themselves, many of their partisans were involved in disaster. Their followers have been engaged in deadly strife when the rival leaders were sitting together over a plate of cherries. The settlement of their pretensions was ultimately accelerated by a manifestation of public feeling. The state of Kâbal must have been terrific; and the reflecting at last began to think as to what course they should adopt to terminate it. The Júânshírs and the Shíá community determined to support Dost Mâhomed Khân, and that chief secretly repaired to the city, and entered into engagements with them. During the consultations that had passed between the brothers it had been decided to put to death, or to blind, Dost Mâhomed Khân; and on one occasion, when he had been allured to an interview, he had been placed in a chamber, and the door had been chained. Compunc-
tion, or the intercession of some one, saved him, and he left the house unconscious of the danger he had been exposed to. Now that it was known that the Shia community had espoused his cause, strenuous efforts were made again to secure his person and to blind him, if no more. Dost Mahomed Khan's extreme caution was overcome, and he came, intending to have an interview with his brothers. He was about to have entered the apartment where his fate would have been sealed, when Haji Khan, in the secret, motioned him to retire. He did so, mounted his horse and galloped off. The Khaka soldier of fortune, in the service at this time of Shir Dil Khan, was able to discern that, backed by Kazilbash influence, Dost Mahomed Khan had every chance of establishing himself. He had ever, from his acquaintance at Herat, had certain sympathies with him, and now he had determined to join his fortunes with those of Dost Mahomed Khan. It was felicitous to preface the connexion by a signal service. The delusive arrangements tendered by the brothers to their kinsman with the view of betraying him, were converted into effective and real ones by the force of circumstances. It had been decided, as treachery had failed, to have had another appeal to arms; it had also been concerted by those willing to close the fearful drama enacting, to have slain one of the brothers in the expected combat, and by producing a blood feud amongst them, to
have led to their mutual extermination. The fact became known, and it was felt indispensable to accommodate matters without risking the safety of the family. By the new basis agreed upon Dost Máhomed Khán received the Kohistán and Ghazní, but as he had lost the territories at Pesháwer, he benefited principally by the more favourable position he was placed in. The city of Kábal was given to Súltán Máhomed Khán, the second of the Pesháwer brothers. Jabár Khán was reinstated in the Ghiljí government, and Habíb Ulah Khán, released from captivity, received the districts of Loghar and Ghorband. The governments of Jelalábád, Pesháwer, and Kándahár were not affected.

When the sirdárs of Kándahár were about to leave Kábal Hájí Khán was missing, and it was discovered that he had retired to a shrine in the city, and that, professing to have become a fáquir, he had deprived himself of his clothing, and was seated, in great humility, with a langoti, or cloth bound round his loins. The sirdárs went to him, and asking if he was mad, conjured him to arise and go back with them; but he swore that he had renounced the world, and, as a fáquir, intended to pass the remainder of his days in seclusion, prayer, and repentance. Whatever the sirdárs thought of such assurances, they could not overcome his resolution, and time not allowing them much opportunity to reason with him, they left
him behind. As soon as they were gone Dost Mâhomed Khân was in the presence of the penitent fâquîr, and calling him bâbâ, or father, besought him not to desert him in his new situation, for which he was chiefly indebted to him, and entreated him to get up and become his vazîr. Hâji Khân set forth his abhorrence of power, and the great crimes it leads men to commit; but Dost Mâhomed Khân was so earnest and affectionate that suddenly his scruples vanished, and avowing that he had always loved the sirdâr, he declared that he would serve him even if he lost his own soul.

Within the year after his return from Kâbal with the plunder of his nephew, died Shir Dil Khân, leaving his ill-gotten wealth to be spoliated by his brothers. By his decease Dost Mâhomed Khân lost the brother most capable of opposing his advancement, and the one whose activity and valour he most dreaded. Sûltân Mâhomed Khân at Kâbal experienced that he had a dangerous neighbour in the Kohistân. Unluckily for this chief, the union of the Kazilbâshes with Dost Mâhomed Khân drove him into the arms of the Sûnî party too exclusively; and looking upon his brother’s friends as enemies to himself, he treated them with harshness and contempt. The city under his administration bid fair to become the theatre of religious dissensions; it had already begun to be a prey to disorder, which it may be conceived Dost Mâhomed-
ed Khan's emissaries fomented. Súltán Máhomed Khán was wonderfully fond of splendid dresses, and his predilection for finery and embroidery had earned him the sobriquet of Súltán Máhomed Khán Tilláhí (the golden Súltán Máhomed Khán). Not deficient in ability, he seemed ill-suited to govern, and while capable of business, seemed to dislike it. Respectable both in the field and cabinet, he willingly fled from both to the pleasures of the hāram. His public measures were lax, and he left much to his officers. It is said, that during his sway there were as many hákams, or governors, in the city as there were kúchas, or sections. It required a more vigilant chief to contend with the restless and indefatigable Dost Máhomed Khán.

When, finally, Súltán Máhomed Khán received a message from his brother that he must evacuate the city, or dispute its possession on the plain, he exclaimed against his perfidy and perjury instead of exerting himself to oppose him. His Súní friends, however, warded off one or two attacks, but their chief became invested in the Bálla Hissár. As no movement was made from Kándahár or Pesháwer for his relief, it may be presumed that it was not convenient to afford it. Be this as it may, by the intervention of friends a treaty was concluded by which Súltán Máhomed Khán consented to retire to Pesháwer, and Dost Máhomed Khán bound himself to remit, annually, one lákh of rupees in return. As the Pesháwer chief evacuated the Bálla
Hissár by the eastern gate the fortunate Dost Máhoméd Khân passed into it by the western gate. His partisans and the populace manned the ram­parts, and in derision shouted after the retiring Súltân Máhoméd Khân, “Khush amadíd, Súltân Máhoméd Khân, Tilláhi,” or Good-b’ye to you, Golden Súltân Máhoméd Khân.

Dost Máhoméd Khân had now attained the first object of his ambition, the possession of Kábal; but he well knew it would be disputed with him as soon as his brothers of Kândahár and Pesháwer were able to take the field. He had profited by their embarrassed situation, and in place of assisting them had seized the occasion to aggrandize himself. To understand the events now passing it must be observed, that some time previously the celebrated fanatic and impostor, Ahmed Shâh, had passed through these countries into the Yusaf Zai districts, assuming a delegated power from above to exterminate the Síkhs, and to make himself master of the Panjáb, of Hindostân, and of China. The shrewd chiefs of Kábal and Pesháwer, while showing him the attentions due to a saiyad, were not quite convinced of his divine mission; still, while regarding him cautiously, they could not, as Mússulmâns, seem even to object to the crusades he proposed. In the Yusaf Zai country he was received with perfect cordiality; implicit confidence was given to his assertions, and the enthusiastic population took up arms, eager to signalize them-
selves in the cause of religion, and to have shares in the countries which, as the saiyad told them, God had bestowed upon them. His unexpected success in rousing the Yusaf Zais induced the Pesháwer chiefs to open a communication with him, agreeably to their plan of being on the right side under any circumstances; and so innumerable were the hosts with the saiyad that his triumph, if uncertain, did not appear improbable. The saiyad himself was intoxicated with the results of his impudence and effrontery, and, assured of victory, affected to treat his allies as subordinates. Their pique immediately produced a renewal of their understanding with the Sikhs, and in the battle which followed, by flying on its commencement they threw confusion and disaster amongst the saiyad's irregular host. The daring and subtle impostor retired to his Yusaf Zai asylum, denouncing vengeance on Yár Máhoméed Khán. Dost Máhoméed Khán was in correspondence with the saiyad, and it opportunely happened that his proceedings, by keeping the attention of the Pesháwer chiefs engaged, were favourable to the Kâbal chief's designs. Hájí Khán was constantly lamenting that the discords between the brothers of the family should prevent his marching with their united force to assist the holy saiyad Ahmed Sháh.

I have already related the result of the combination between the brother chiefs of Kândahár and Pesháwer to humble Dost Máhoméed Khán,
and the active part taken by Saiyad Ahmed Shâh in preventing the march westward of the Pesháwer chiefs.

The several brothers having treated with Dost Máhomed Kháñ as chief of Kâbal, henceforth relinquished their attacks upon him on account of his unjust claims, and assailed him on a new point, urging, that it was his duty to contribute a portion of his revenues towards the expenses they incurred in defending themselves respectively, against Kâm- rân on the one side, and the Sîkhs on the other, while, medially situated, he was at ease and in leisure, multiplying his resources; it might have confessed fear, if they had added what yet they felt — for their degradation. To their demands for money or troops, the chief always replied, that the first he could not give, and the latter he would send only when their territories were actually invaded.

No sooner had the Kândahâr army retreated from Ghaznî than Dost Máhomed Kháñ, at the instigation of Háji Kháñ, marched upon Zúrmát, the country of the Súlimán Khél Ghiljís. The chief hesitatingly consented to this expedition, being fearful, he said, to arouse the Ghiljís. It terminated successfully; a multitude of castles were destroyed, tribute was levied, and its payment annually settled for the future. In this campaign the cholera spread amongst the troops, and produced some casualties. Dost Máhomed Khan was affected by it, and, dubious as to the result, conjured Háji
Khân, in case of accident, to conduct his wives to Kâbal.

The chief returned to his capital amid rejoicings and illuminations, and he could never before have entered it with such pleasurable feelings. It would have been happy for him if he had been blessed with moderation, that he might have continued to enjoy power so satisfactorily; but the spirit of ambition led him away, and his equivocal measures soon diminished his popularity. He, as well as his brothers, had violated the family compact, and the frequent changes and removals from authority which had taken place proved it to be a fallacy. The suspicious light in which Dost Mâhomed Khân was regarded by his brothers and relatives was not lessened by his increase of power and means of injuring them, and henceforth we shall see how justly he was dreaded, and how deliberately, but determinedly he progressed in reducing them, and following up his plans of aggrandizement.

The complete establishment of Dost Mâhomed Khân in authority, in the year 1827, produced no instantaneous alteration in the distribution of the country. The loss of Kohât and Hângu made it necessary to provide for the sons of Samad Khân, and Dost Mâhomed Khân not interesting himself on their account, they fell to the care of Mâhomed Zemân Khân, who conferred on Mâhomed Osmân Khân the town of Bálla Bágh, and on Sadú Khân villages in the plain of Jelâlabâd.
In the year 1829 Saiyad Ahmed Shâh made a serious attack on the Pesháwer territory; in his progress he captured the killa, or fortress of Húnd, and Yár Máhommed Khân, advancing to recover it, was surprised in a night attack, and slain. The victorious saiyd, who was in communication with Faizúlah Khân, Hazár Khâní, a powerful zemíndár of Pesháwer, entered the city, and for some days held it. The chiefs retired to Khaibar. The saiyd conducted himself moderately during his stay, discussing religious points with the múllas, and convincing them that he was not a Wâhabí, as, it would seem, they had accused him of being. To others he unbosomed himself, and regretted that he had not seized Kâbal, to have served as a point d'appui to his operations. With the fugitive sirdárs he opened negotiations, and they readily agreed to any terms proposed, having no intention of fulfilling them. It was arranged, that the saiyd should retire, leaving an agent at Pesháwer to receive one lakh of rupees. Faizúlah Khân, and all others, were to be respected, who had sided with the saiyd, and the sirdárs, as good Mússulmâns, were to assist him in his future struggles with the Síkhs. The sirdárs re-entered their city, and a few days after slew the saiyd's agent and Faizúlah Khân. The latter, on quitting the darbár, received his first wound from the hand of Pír Máhommed Khân, the younger of the sirdárs. The preparations of the saiyd to avenge these perfidious acts, compelled
applications to Dost Máhoméd Khán and to Lahore for assistance. As the integrity of the Pesháwer territory had been impaired, Dost Máhoméd Khán sent the Nawáb Jabár Khán and Habíb Ulah Khán, with their troops, to assist his brothers. The Síkhs also, whose interest did not accord with the occupation of Pesháwer by the saiyad, ordered a force to cross the Atâk. Some skirmishing happened in the Yusaf Zai districts, and the campaign terminated by the retreat of the saiyad and the recovery of Killa Húnd. The Nawáb Jabár Khán returned to Kâbal, and Habíb Ulah Khán remained at Pesháwer. Dost Máhoméd Khán was glad of an opportunity to resume the revenues of his nephew; this impetuous youth had attached to him eight hundred very dissolute, but resolute cavalry. The excesses committed by him and them at Pesháwer were so extraordinary that on many occasions the shops of the city were shut up, as in a time of siege. The sirdárs, perplexed how to deal with him, at length, by stratagem, prevailed upon him to leave the city, when, finding that it was not the intention to re-admit him, he took the road of Lálpúra, the town of the Momand chief Sádat Khán. Here he remained two or three months a compulsory and unwelcome guest, and having gutted the town, proceeded up the valley of Jelálabád. Máhoméd Zemán Khán fled at his approach, and repaired to Kâbal, imploring assistance from Dost Máhoméd Khán. This chief smiled, and
thought he might dispense with territory, if unable to protect it. Habíb Ulah did not occupy the residence of Máhomed Zemán Khán at Jelálabád, but passing the town, fixed himself about a mile beyond it, at the castle of Jehán Nemáhí, belonging to Mírza Aga Jáń, one of the ministers. Here he and his men lived at free quarters upon the country. They were allowed some time to pursue their profligate career unmolested, that the people might be well surfeited, and that the measure in contemplation by Dost Máhomed Khán might stand excused. When the time came, he sent Máhomed Zemán Khán back with troops, and having tampered with Habíb Ulah’s followers, they came over in a body, and were received into service. The Nawáb Jabár Khán was entrusted with the charge of an expedition to the Sáfí valley of Taghow. On entering the valley he was surprised in an evening attack by Mážúlah, the principal of the petty Maleks, and so complete was the panic produced that the troops fled, abandoning their equipage and the two guns they had brought with them. The Nawáb was the last man to mount, but neither his entreaties nor example could arrest the fugitives.

Dost Máhomed Khán conceived that it behoved him to reduce Mážúlah and to recover his guns. He accordingly, in 1831, marched in person towards Taghow. It is asserted that the Nawáb Jabár Khán was willing that the failure of his brother’s enterprise should extenuate the reproach attaching
to his own; and that his letters, encouraging Má­zúlah to resistance, were intercepted. The nawâb’s friends affirm, that his seal was forged. Dost Má­homed Khân entered Taghow, and reduced the prin­cipal castles, while the jísâlchís of his brother, Amír Máhomed Khân, scoured the valley. Mázúlah was ultimately induced, on the guarantee of Hâjí Khân and the good Mússulmâns in camp, to pay his re­pects to Dost Máhomed Khân, and he engaged, while paying a certain sum down, to remit annual tribute. The abandoned guns were restored. Má­zúlah Khân was one of the men feared by Dost Máhomed Khân. He was not a great man, but one that dared to act: and at certain times example is contagious. Mázúlah Khân afterwards visited Kâbal, but under such guarantees that his person was respected. Had he again come he would have repented his confidence. Dost Máhomed Khân, in his anxiety to be ridden of him, offered a reward of three thousand rupees to the person who would slay him. The reward was falsely claimed; and Dost Máhomed Khân was so overjoyed that he paid the money without satisfying himself that the applicant was entitled to it. Some time after Mázúlah was slain by a man, who came laughing up to him, and presented his musket: the wretch was cut down on the spot. It was never ascer­tained by whom, if by any one, he had been insti­gated to commit the murder of his chief.

After the submission of Mázúlah and Taghow
Dost Máhomed Khán marched to Lúghmán, and it became revealed that he had designs upon Jelálabád. Máhomed Zemán Khán, previously informed thereof, had applied to the chiefs of Pesháwer for assistance, and they, regarding the capture of Jelálabád as the first step to the prosecution of the Kâbal chief’s machinations against themselves, determined to give it, and marched with all haste to Bishbúlák in the valley of Jelálabád, but under the shelter of the Khaibar hills. As the affair was a family one, the Nawáb Jabár Khán, Máhomed Osmán Khán, and others, became implicated in the league to support Máhomed Zemán Khán. At the approach of the Kabal force Máhomed Zemán Khán retired across the river, followed by Dost Máhomed Khán. A day of skirmishing passed, and on the morrow, when Dost Máhomed Khán had resolved to bring on a decisive action, the Nawáb Jabár Khán and his party flatly refused to mount, or take part in it. Paralyzed, and ignorant how far the combination in his camp extended, while threatened by a junction of the Jelálabád and Pesháwer troops, Dost Máhomed Khán felt himself powerless. The Nawáb Jabár Khán now assumed the part of a mediator and composer of differences, an office of which he is so fond that it is jocularly remarked, he promotes difficulties for the pleasure of adjusting them. He had, however, to experience that mediators may not always be acceptable to all parties, and that while setting to rights the affairs of others they
may endanger their own. Willing to preserve Mâhomed Zemân Khân, he did not wish to destroy Dost Mâhomed Khân, and therefore by not entering fully into the views of the Peshâwer chiefs, who thought the opportunity a good one of reducing him to insignificance, he offended them as well as Mâhomed Zemân Khân. Dost Mâhomed Khân was, of course, irritated that he was deterred from seizing a prey within his grasp. By the Nawâb Jabâr Khân's skilful arrangement the invasion was considered a friendly visit, and the firing that had taken place a few feu de joies upon the occasion. Mâhomed Zemân Khân was to present his guest, Dost Mâhomed Khân, with forty thousand rupees as mîhmânî, or entertainment fee. The Kâbal and Peshâwer troops were respectively to retire. Mâhomed Zemân Khân regretted his money; the Peshawer chiefs were enraged that they had been put to inconvenience and expense to no purpose, while Dost Mâhomed Khân was indignant at having been baffled. The Kâbal chief, however, intent upon drawing as much advantage as he could from the affair, pretended contrition that he had marched upon Jelâlabâd, and pleaded in excuse his having listened to bad counsels. He in some measure restored confidence to Mâhomed Zemân Khân, and at length, with his own hand, wrote a series of dreadful imprecations on himself, if ever he wrested Jelâlabâd from him, on a leaf of the chief's Korân. He, and his brother, Amîr Mâhomed Khân, both
put their seals to this delectable document. Having for the moment lulled the suspicions of Máhomed Zemán Khán, he returned to Kábal, and informed the Nawáb Jabár Khán, that having heard so many complaints as to his mal-administration of the Ghiljí districts, he was necessitated to transfer them to Amír Máhomed Khán to bring them into order. In this manner the Nawáb lost his government.

The conditions of the treaty of Ghazní, as to remittance of the Loghar revenue, had never been fulfilled, and the subsequent death of Fúr Dil Khán rendered the Kábal chief very easy as to any future embarrassment from Kândahár. The deceased sir-dár, while unpopular from a certain repulsive manner, was clever, and equal to business, which none of his remaining brothers were. The confusion into which their affairs soon fell made them disliked by all classes; and Dost Máhomed Khán was not displeased at the accounts which from time to time reached Kábal of their tyranny and mismanagement.

I have now narrated some of the leading events in the career of Dost Máhomed Khán up to the year 1832, when, for the second time, I reached Kábal. His course, it will not fail to be noted, had been a singular one. Possessing a variety of talents, without principle, he had foiled his competitors, and elevated himself to power, the great object of his ambition. To attempt to delineate
the character of a man who has none, would be ridiculous. He was good or bad as it suited his conceived interests. Still, the qualities which he derived from nature, or acquired in intercourse with the world, did not constitute him a great man,—the former were not such as rendered him capable of an act of generosity, the latter were not such as permitted him to repose confidence in any human being. Dost Mâhomed Khân might have an accomplice, he could never have a friend; and his power, erected on the basis of fraud and overreaching, was always liable to be destroyed by the same weapons. Many of his vices and errors were, undoubtedly, those of his countrymen, and of circumstances. His fortune had placed him in an age in which honesty could scarcely thrive. Had he been born to legitimate power he would have figured very respectably; his talents would have had a fair field for their development and exercise, and he would have been spared the commission of many enormities, then unnecessary. It has been remarked, that he never acted wantonly, or perpetrated mischief for the mere sake of mischief, and that he was open to shame, but it was doubtful whether for having done evil or because he had gained nothing by it. It is fair to notice the conduct of Dost Mâhomed Khân in his new capacity of supreme chief of Kâbal, especially as it did him much credit in many respects. From his youth upwards he had been dissipated, and prone to all the vices of
the country. Master of Kâbal, he abjured wine and other unlawful pleasures. The chief of the community, it was due that his example should not be questioned. Of his application and aptitude for business there could be but one opinion. He had been uneducated; he now felt the evil; and by an effort, which required considerable resolution at his age, overcame the neglect of his youth. He learned to read and to write. In all matters where no political questions had force he was fair and impartial, and free from haughtiness; and accessible to all classes. Vigilant in the administration of the country, crimes became few. People ceased to commit them, conscious they should be called to account. There can be no doubt but that at this time Kâbal was flourishing: stranger as I was, and observing the visible content and comfort that prevailed, I could not but have attributed it to the equal rule of Dost Mâhomed Khân; but I had afterwards to learn that so much good might be owing to other causes than his justice or care for the welfare of his subjects.

In the month of June accounts reached Kâbal of the intention of the ex-king, Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, to sally forth from his asylum at Lúdíána, and to attempt to re-establish himself in sovereignty at Kâbal. The expression of sentiment this news brought forth proved, at least, that the people, if they had no fair cause of complaint against their actual chief, were not averse to a change in
88 VARIOUS COUNSELS.

rule. It necessarily produced much solicitude in the mind of Dost Máhomed Khán, particularly as, although he did not avow it, he must have suspected the ex-king to be about to move under the sanction, if not with the support, of the British Government of India. It is subject for discussion, whether it was politic or honourable to permit an expelled king to organise armaments in British territory. Dost Máhomed Khán, on first hearing the report, exclaimed, “I have not money to march an army; the inclinations of the Ghúlám Khána are well known. I have but a few Afghanāns I can depend upon.” Mirza Samí Khán, Hâjí Khán, the Khán Múlla Saifadín Khán, and others, urged upon Dost Máhomed Khán the necessity of assuming royalty, as well to enter the field on equal terms, with respect to rank, with his antagonist, as to obviate a conviction, prevalent amongst Afghanāns, that those who fall under the banners of a pādsháh, or legitimate monarch, may hope for the rewards of martyrdom, and which may not be so certainly expected by those who perish under other auspices. The sirdár’s relatives universally and vehemently opposed the project; and influenced somewhat by their pertinacity, and perhaps as much by the knowledge that the people in general treated the affair with ridicule, it was abandoned, Dost Máhomed Khán observing, that it was inconsistent in one who had no money to become a king.

In the month of August, Atmár, the Hindú
Díwân of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg, the Uzbek chief of Kúndúz, reached Kábal on a mission. He brought as presents twenty-seven horses and twelve sheep, besides cloths, &c. His avowed objects were with reference to the movements of the Persians in Khorasán, and the announced expedition of the ex-king, Sháh Sujáh al Múlkh; to conclude a treaty, offensive and defensive, between Dost Máhomed Khán and his master, to be cemented by family alliances. The Kúndúz chief would engage to furnish, when called upon, seven thousand cavalry. There were many who suspected that the Díwân was merely sent to ascertain thoroughly the state of affairs at Kábal. That he intrigued with many persons, particularly with Hâjí Khán, under orders for Bísút and Bá­míân, is certain. No one was more indignant than the khán at the bare mention of an Uzbek alliance; and Dost Máhomed Khán, purposing, if opportunity permitted, at some future time to visit Kúndúz, excused himself from benefiting by the condescension of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg, of which he was unworthy.

A few days after the Díwân's arrival Dost Máhomed Khán received a visitor of more distinction in Mír Alam Khán, the chief of Bá­jor. When foiled in his attempt to secure Jelálabád in the winter, the Kábal chief threatened to proceed to Bá­jor; his purpose was diverted by the receipt of a sum of money, some ten or twelve
thousand rupees, and the promise of Mír Alam Khán to come to Kábal. He now fulfilled it, but under every precaution for his security. Má­hommed Zemán Khán from Jelálabád preceded him a few days, and he received the joint guarantees of Mírza Samí Khán, the Nawábs Jabár Khán and Máhommed Zemán Khán, Hájí Khán, and Khán Sherín Khán. He was numerously attended, and his train, a select one, was well mounted and app­areled. Dost Máhommed Khán received him with great respect, and lodged him in his own palace. The Bájor chief, it appeared, had sent a daughter, very young, to the Vazir Fatí Khán, who intended her for one of his sons. The maiden had grown up, and was now residing with the wives of Dost Máhommed Khán. It was proposed to give her to one of the chief’s sons; to which Mír Alam Khán, looking upon the daughter as lost to him, consented. The Bájor chief remained some days a guest, and although treated with civility, joy­fully took his departure, inwardly determined never again to trust himself in the power of Dost Má­hommed Khán. Bájor was a country much coveted by the sirdár, and was the immediate advantage he calculated upon from the possession of Jelá­labád. Besides giving him the command of the plains of Pesháwer, and putting him in commu­nication with the fanatical tribes of the mountain­ous regions between it and Káshmír, from its remote situation and great natural strength, it
would admirably serve as a stronghold and place of refuge in case of a reverse of fortune. The distractions of the Dúrání chiefs had permitted the chiefs of Bájor to lapse into a species of independence. Mír Alam Khán, on discovering that Dost Máhomed Khán had designs against his territory, had connected himself with the brother chiefs of Pesháwer, who cordially united themselves with him, justly considering the preservation of his country essential to the security of their own.

Numerous were the reports which, during the autumn, were circulated in the city relative to Khorasán and Sháh Sujáh al Múlkh’s proceedings. It was also a current bazar report that the sirdár intended to seize Hájí Khán. In process of time, however, that chief started on his expedition to Bísút and Bámián, as I have related in the preceding volume.
CHAPTER V.


HAVING now resided a year without interruption, and in perfect security, in the country, I was emboldened to essay whether objections would be made to the examination of some of the numerous artificial mounds on the skirts or the hills. I was unable to direct my attention to the massive topes, where considerable expense was required; still, the inferior indications of the olden time might
repay the labour bestowed upon them, and by test­
ing the feeling which my excavations created I
might smooth the way for the time when I should
be in condition to undertake the superior monu­
ments. Without asking permission of any one,
I commenced an operation upon a mound at the
skirt of the hill Koh Takht Shâh, separated by a
spur from the Zíárat Panjah Shâh Mirdân. It was
at the entrance of a little khol, or glen, called
Khol Shams, where was a spring and a few trees.
The spot I had often visited with picnic parties.
Below, or east of it, was a castle and garden, belong­
ing to Akhúnd Iddaitúlah, already introduced in
the narrative of my Bâmián excursion. I had
become acquainted with his sons, who interested
themselves to forward my researches. The mound
was composed of two stages, the lower and superior
one being garnished with caves. In the centre of
the upper one was a circular hollow, supposed by
my friends to have been a hous, or reservoir of
water. These caves had been visited by the in­
mates of the castle, and from one of them a cop­
per lamp had been brought, now in the possession
of the Akhúnd. I obtained from them specimens
of the unbaked bricks which had been employed in
the construction of the mound. They were sixteen
inches square, with a depth of six inches. On one
side was the impression of a hand, on the other that
of a figure, or character, 4. Tradition ascribes the
locality to Zákom Shâh, an opponent of Házrat
Ali, and therefore does not throw much light upon it. In the course of four or five days we discovered, nearly at one of the angles of the mound, a tâk, or arched recess, ornamentally carved, and supported by two slender pillars. In it we found the remains of several earthen images; the heads of the two larger ones only were sufficiently entire to bear removal. They were evidently of female figures, and of very regular and handsome features. Affected by moisture, which had naturally in the course of centuries completely pervaded the mound, and everything of mere earth contained within it, we could yet from slight traces ascertain that the figures had been originally covered with layers of white and red paint, and that over the latter had been placed a surface of gold leaf. The hair of the heads, tastefully arranged in curls, had been painted with an azure colour. The recess also had been embellished with gold leaf and lapis lazuli tints. Accompanying the figures were a variety of toys, precisely such as the Hindsú make at the present day, and in no better taste, representing horses, sheep, cows &c., of cement. The more important discovery remained. At the base of the recess were hewn stones; and on their removal we found jammed in between them Nágarí writings, on túb leaf. Their position, which had clearly been adopted with a view to their preservation, had not secured them from the consequences of natural decay and the all-penetrating damp.
The characters on many of the fragmental masses were very distinct and legible. It now occurred to me, that an examination of the corresponding angle of the mound might lead to similar results; our labours did not substantiate the notion. We next opened the pile between the two angles, and it soon became evident that the space had been filled by a suite of small apartments. Some of these we cleared out. In one of them, which had been crowned with a dome, we found several images, of different proportions, but one of them eight or ten feet in length. They were all of pure earth, and had been covered with gold leaf, and were lying horizontally. My Māhomedan companions amused themselves in scraping it off, but the images were so saturated that it was impossible even to develop one of them perfectly. In another apartment, which had been alike decorated with mouldings, and painted with white, red, and azure colours, we found three earthen lamps, an iron nail, and one or two fragments of iron. Pieces of charcoal were abundant, and occasionally a few bones were brought to light, with pieces of red and black pottery; the latter of good fabric.

I have been particular in detailing the results here, as they are those likely to be obtained in the examination of the numerous artificial mounds, which everywhere in these countries arrest attention, and which have no doubt a common character. I could not forbear the conjecture that the spot had
been purposely filled up with earth, which indeed was evident, or that it might have been so filled up at some crisis when the torrent of invasion was rolling upon Kâbal, and it was judged necessary to conceal the temples and funereal localities to preserve them from desecration. The fragments of writing elicited have a degree of value, since the researches of Mr. Prinsep have arranged, in a tabular form, the Nágarí characters in use at various epochs. For our own we cannot claim a very high antiquity. If our preceding surmises have foundation, the locality may have been abandoned and concealed at the inroad of Sabakteghín Khân, the founder of the Ghaznaví dynasty.

My researches became the subject of conversation in the city, and the son of Akhúnd Iddaitúlah having sold the gold leaf he scraped from the images to a goldsmith, for something less, I believe, than a rupee, my friends prayed me to desist from such labours in future, urging that the country was bad, as were the people, and that I should probably get into trouble. I smiled as I essayed to console my friends, and to point out that little notice would be taken of me so long as broken idols were the fruits of my proceedings.

Máhomêd Akbár Khân, son of Dost Máhomêd Khân, hearing of my discoveries, sent for me, and wished to see them. He was enraptured with the two female heads, and lamented that the ideal beauties of the sculptor could not be realized in nature.
From this time a kind of acquaintance subsisted between us, and the young sirdár would frequently send for me. I became a pretty constant visitor at his tea-table, and procured from him an order, addressed to the several maleks and chiefs of the Kohistán and Ghorband, to assist me in any researches I might undertake in those districts, of which the sirdár was then hâkam, or governor. I was as much gratified as surprised to witness the good sense displayed by the young sirdár as to the nature of my researches, and their object. He remarked to those about him, who suggested that I might be seeking treasure, that my only purpose was to advance science, which would lead to my credit on my return to my native country; and he observed, that while amongst Dúránís the soldier was held in honour, amongst Europeans respect was paid to men of "illam," or science. At one of these majlisses, or conversations, when the subject of topes was discussed, a person related that he had attended Moorcroft Sâhib on his visit to Darúnta, and that while inspecting the monuments there a coin was brought, to which the sáhib applying his glass, observed, "Now I understand the meaning of the topes."

My intercourse with the sirdár allayed the apprehensions of my friends, and encouraged me to continue fearlessly my researches. I was always of opinion that no umbrage would be taken, and felt assured, that if I acted openly and fairly I should be fairly dealt with. Nothing farther, of consequence,
was extracted from the mound; but I may here observe, although anticipating the period, that at the close of autumn of this year, when Dr. Gerard arrived in Kâbal, I pointed out the spot to him as one likely to yield some token which he was desirous to possess and to carry with him to India. From it he obtained the marble sculptured slab forwarded to the Asiatic Society in Bengal, an account of which, by his múnshí and companion, Mohan Lâl, appeared in the Journal of the Society for September 1834.

During the preceding year I had made pedestrian excursions within a circuit of six miles around the city; I now felt that I could securely extend them, and my steps were first directed towards the Koh Dámán and Kohistân. With one attendant, I made trips on foot in succession to Shakr Dara, to Ferzah, to Istálif, and at length had pushed onwards as far as Cháríkâr. My intention in these trips was not so much to examine deeply into the state and antiquities of the districts as to feel my way, and to become acquainted. To a stranger, like myself, and travelling without tent or retinue, there is difficulty in procuring a house to pass the night in, unless, indeed, the masjít be taken as quarters. To pass the night without is neither safe nor seemly. I had succeeded in forming acquaintances at all the stage villages between Kâbal and Cháríkâr, not only on one road, but on all the several roads leading between them, and was certain whenever I
dropped in at any of them to be received with civility.

June opened with cloudy and windy weather. On the 8th and 9th slight earthquakes were experienced. They were both accompanied by a rolling rumbling noise. On the 12th my old friend Háji Khán arrived at Kâbal. He scattered money amongst the populace, and proceeded straight to the sirdâr's palace. His solemn intonation of Salâm alîkam was duly responded to by Dost Mâhomed Khán, who took his hand and led him into his häram, where he introduced the long absent khân to his favourite wife, the mother of Mâhomed Ak-bâr Khán, telling her that her bâbâ (father) had returned. On the next morning the bâbâ was informed that his jaédâd of Bâmîân was transferred to the sirdâr's son, Mâhomed Haidar Khân, and that he should receive annually the equivalent of its revenue in money.

It may not be improper to narrate briefly, in this place, the proceedings of the khân after I left him at Bâmîân. I have shown that he was in communication with Mîr Mâhomed Morád Beg of Kúndúz. His means of subsistence appear to have failed him, and he decided upon becoming the guest of the mîr. To appease the clamours of his soldiery for pay, and to relieve them from any solicitude as to their families at Kâbal, he directed letters to be prepared, which he read to them, purporting to be from their connexions in the city, and stating, that
by the khân’s orders his agent there had paid them, severally, certain sums of money. To amuse them farther, he announced his intention to build a city, also to break up the two idols, one of which, he affirmed, was full of diamonds, the other of rubies, citing, as a matter of course, the well-known story of Súltan Máhmúd. Finally, unable to remain longer at Bámíân, where he apparently lingered as long as possible, mistrustful perchance of the untried soil of Túrkistân, he distributed eleven pais to each soldier, and started for Kúndúz. He took the road of Séghân and Káhmerd. The hospitality of the Kúndúz chief was unbounded. At every stage provisions of all descriptions were supplied in profusion, nor were luxuries omitted. Tea and sugar were served out to the Afghân soldiery, and the mír’s officers wearied themselves in running from tent to tent to see that no want remained unsatisfied. On nearing Kúndúz it was found that a road had been made across the marshes and rice-lands which environ the town, expressly for the passage of the khân and his troops. Mír Máhoméd Morád Beg was suddenly called away to suppress a revolt at Faizábád of Bádakshán. Hâjí Khân insisted, as a point of honour, upon accompanying him. The Afghâns could not keep pace with the rapid movements of the Uzbeks. They followed, and reached Faizábád after its capture. The mír, on arrival, carried the place by assault, consigned the inhabitants to slavery, and their chief, Mír Yár Beg Khân, to a dungeon.
The khán, conscious of the Músulmání tendency of Mír Máhomed Morád Beg, had prepared to appear before him to advantage. He had converted many of his domestics into múftí, kází, ákhúnd, múllás, &c., and had surrounded himself with a powerful álíma. In all conversations with the Uzbek chief this gang of impostors was present, and the khán, constantly referring to the múftí sáhib or to the kází sáhib, feigned neither to speak or to act but in consonance with the prescriptions of the Korán. The intercourse between two such zealous Músulmáns must have been delightful. The khán sojourned at Kúndúz as long as his stay was agreeable; and I have heard that Mír Máhomed Morád Beg repented of having, as he expressed it, shown the Afgháns his country. The visit had, however, proved profitable to the khán in more senses than one, and he had received at sundry times from Diwán Atmar, and it may be supposed with the mír’s cognizance, thirty-five thousand rupees. During his stay he had negotiated a treaty with the chief, by which Káhmerd, Séghán, and Ajer, were annexed to the government of Bámíán, and he left Kúndúz, no doubt having impressed Mír Máhomed Morád Beg with the conviction that he had secured a powerful and steady friend at Kábal. On reaching Káhmerd, on his return, he wished Ráhmatúlah Beg to put away one of his wives, to renounce wine, and to become a Músulmán. Ráhmatúlah asked, how he could discard a woman
who had lived with him thirty years, and who had borne him many children. As to wine, he said, that Killich Alí Beg had licensed him to drink it. The khán could not lay hands upon the property of the Káhmerd chief with any propriety on this occasion, and was reluctantly obliged to forego it. He, however, had procured from him a large quantity of grain, on the pretence of payment, which he was inclined to have forgotten. It was urged, that such conduct would be disreputable, and suggested that a good opportunity presented itself of disposing of the captive Déh Zanghí chiefs, who would be gladly received by Ráhmatúlah in place of money. They were accordingly made over to him, and he told the poor wretches that they should be liberated in exchange for a certain number of female slaves. Ráhmatúlah Beg accompanied the khan to the crest of the kotal leading from his valley into that of Séghán, and after taking leave of him, turned to his mîrza and said, "He has taken my son with him, but if the next year he crosses this kotal you may shave my beard, and tell me that I am no man." At Bǎmíán the khán was joined by elchís from Bokhára, Khúlm, Kúndúz, Shibrghán, &c. In his camp were the chief of Ajer, and the sons of the chiefs of Káhmerd and Séghán. He had assembled a goodly party of diplomatists and vassal chieftains, and had done no little business, but unfortunately without instructions or authority. It is most probable that the khán would have been
better pleased to have remained at Bāmīān than to have returned to Kābal, but he had no alternative, and had received no satisfactory accounts of Shāh Sūjāh al Mūlkh's progress. He therefore released the relatives of Mīr Yezdānbaksh, until now detained in bonds, and significantly told them that the death of the mīr and their treatment was owing to the orders he received from Kābal, and that now they would show if they were men or not. Mīr Abbās, the principal, took the hint, and began to plunder kāfilas. At Sir Chishma the khān still had scruples as to whether he should go on to Kābal, and sent to the city for a sum of money and some hundred sets of horse-shoes. The circumstance was reported to Dost Māhomed Khān, who, without comment, ordered both money and horse-shoes to be expedited. The chance is, that he would have been very glad if the khān had made off. This singular man is accused at this time of having meditated the plunder of a kāfila which had accompanied his party from Bāmīān, and then to have gained Toba, whence he might, as convenient, proceed to meet Shāh Sūjāh al Mūlkh, or form new arrangements. It was known that the shāh had been joined by Samandar Khān, Popal Zai, therefore the place of dignity with the prince had been occupied, and Hājī Khān would not have been content to have played a subordinate part. The junction of Samandar Khān was, in another point of view, obnoxious, as some years since when con-
nected with the sirdârs of Kândahâr, and holding the government of Síví, the khân had waylaid, between Peshing and Shâll, a near relative of the Popal Zai Sirdâr, and had either slain him or had delivered him to the Kândahâr chiefs to be slain. These accidents may have deprived the shâh at this period of the services of Háji Khân, Khâka. During his absence the wary Dost Máhomêd Khân had uttered no expression which, reported, could have been interpreted as conveying the notion that he had any suspicions of his governor's designs. At various times he sent purses of two thousand and one thousand rupees to his family, inquired courteously after their necessities, and lamented that the khân had exposed himself to privations. Many people in darbâr would state openly that the khân was in rebellion, but this was vehemently protested against by Mírza Samí Khân and the Khân Múlla; the latter asserting that he was too good a Mússulmân ever to be "yâghî," or rebellious. On the khân's reaching Arghandí he cut short his doubts and mental deliberations by exclaiming that he was ãshak, or enamoured of the very eyes of Dost Máhomêd Khân. Leaving his troops and companions to follow at their discretion, he galloped off towards the city, attended by a select few. His arrival and reception have been noted.

The resumption of the khân's jaédád, a clever stroke of Dost Máhomêd Khân, reduced the Khâka chief to comparative insignificance, and paralyzed
him for the moment. It would also compel him to disband his numerous followers, whom he could no longer subsist, and an object of consequence to the sirdár was gained without the ungracious alternative of a peremptory order. The khán, by sitting on the gillam to receive the fátíhas of his friends on account of the decease of his brother, Gúl Máhomed Khán, was relieved for some days from the mortification of presenting himself at darbár, and had an opportunity to consult secretly with his supporters on his future line of conduct. When he eventually renewed attendance upon the sirdár, he assumed a high tone. The sirdár upbraided him with the murder of Yezdánbaksh. Hâjí Khán asked, if it had not been committed under his orders. “No,” said Dost Máhomed Khán, “I never told you to take seven false oaths, and afterwards to kill the man. I continually wrote to you to give him an abundance of khelats, to secure him, and bring him to Kâbal, when, after some time, I would have behaved handsomely to him, and have released him.” The khán retorted, that it was singular the sirdár should reproach any one on the score of taking false oaths, and inquired how he had inveigled and slain the chiefs of the Kohistân. The sirdár answered, by illam báží, or dexterity, for he had sent logs of wood and not Korâns.

The entertainment of the several elchís and chiefs brought by the khán was a subject of consideration.
The sirdár did not look upon them as commissioned to himself, and declared that he had no intention to put himself to any expense. The elchí from Bokhára was handed over to Badradín, one of the most eminent merchants of the city, whose commercial transactions with Bokhára would induce him, unwillingly, or otherwise, to attend to the stray envoy's kidmat. The elchí from Mir Máhomé Morád Beg, and the chiefs of Séghán and Ajer, with the son of Ráhatuláh Beg, being peculiarly the guests of Hâjí Khán, were left by the sirdár to his care. While Dost Máhomé Khán did not acknowledge these people, he did not refuse to accept the presents they brought. Amongst those from Mir Máhomé Morád Beg were four noble yâks of Bâdakshân.

In course of time the Kundúz elchí discovered, to his consternation, that his purse had been carried off. On scrutiny, the theft was traced to the servant of Hâjí Khán, who brought the morning and evening meals for the elchí's party. The khán bound his servant, and sent him to Dost Máhomé Khán, who declined to notice the affair, observing, that the guests are Hâjí Khán's: so is the robber, let him act as he pleases. The khán himself repaired to the sirdár, urging, that it behaved him to punish the man. The sirdár did not think so, and said, "Deliver him to the Uzbeks; they may sell him, and make something by him."

Hâjí Khán for some time did not discharge his
followers, perhaps hoping that he might have recovered Bámíán; at length he was compelled to do so, and his overgrown establishment was broken up. This circumstance was hastened by the sirdár ordering some of the Khâka retainers to quit the Chehel Sítún, a large apartment erected over one of the towers of the Bálá Hissár, on the line of wall extending from the Derwâza Shâh Shéhid, where Hâji Khân had his house, to the palace. It was pointed out to Dost Máhomed Khân that his discontented khan could at any time push his men along the ramparts directly into his residence, and that he was not secure. The demolition of Chehel Sítún was directed, and the sirdár put in hand some precautionary erections at the point where the palace was connected with the ramparts. One Nekho Máhomed had even reported that he had become informed that some dark enterprise had been concerted. The Chehel Sítún had been built, in the reign of Shâh Zeman, by Jân Nissar Khân, his governor of Kâbal, that the prince might enjoy the view from it.

The khan sat very uneasy under his degradation, but soon had an opportunity of entering into fresh intrigues, from which he cherished the hopes of Gratifying his revenge on the sirdár, and of advancing his own ambitious views. Under the sirdár’s son, Máhomed Haidar Khân, one Hûssên Khân, Shâh Sîwân, had been appointed náib, or deputy governor of the Hazárajît and Bámíán.
Hājī Khān on the occasion told the sīrdār that he had placed an elephant’s load upon a jackass.

With this anecdote we shall leave the khān for the present, observing, that on the return of the several elchís and petty chiefs to Türkistān, Mīr Māhomēd Morad Beg resumed Kāhmerd, Sēghān, and Ajer. He farther chapowed Sēghān, and consigned its chief, Alī Māhomēd, the father-in-law of Hājī Khān, to a dungeon.

During the winter, or while I was absent with the khān in Bīsūt, Abdūlah Khān, the Atchak Zāi chief, who, as I have mentioned, had been seized by the sīrdārs of Kāndahār, was permitted by them to proceed to Kābal. He came in company with Rāmazān Khān, Ohtak, alike discontented, and was courteously received by Dost Māhomēd Khān. To Abdūlah Khān was assigned a jāghīr of sixty thousand rupees per annum, and to Rāmazān Khān another of twenty thousand rupees per annum. Abdūlah Khān had little to recommend him beyond being one of the few hereditary Dūrānī sīrdārs who had hitherto, having attached himself to the interests of the Barak Zāi family, escaped from persecution by them. He was one of the friends of the Sīrdār Māhomēd Azem Khān in Kashmīr, and had acquired an evil reputation for possessing wealth. Now that he had been confined and put to shame, his reputation adhered to him, and he brought it with him to Kābal.
CHAPTER VI.

Tour in Koh Dáman, &c.—Nánachí.—Mírza Jáfar Khán.—Kotal Kers Kháná.—Tumuli.—Killa Kohchíán.—Názir Mír Alí Khán.—His conversation and travels.—Accident.—Shakr Dará.—Seraí.—Bizádí.—Bédak.—Káh Dará.—Zirgarán.—Cave.—Tálúk of Férzah.—Sekandár Sháh.—Persian Inscription.—Cascade.—Aurículas.—Killa Sháhí.—Istálf.—Delightful view.—Zíárat Házarat Eshán.—Azdhá.—Orchards.—Tálúk of Istálf.—Máhomed Sháh Khán.—His capture of Kábal.—His death.—Bolend Khán.—His execution.—Istargích.—Approach to Cháríkár.—Town of Cháríkár.—Trade.—Destruction of Gúrkha battalion.—Húpfán.—Tútam Dará.—Shesh Búrjeh.—Application.—Octogenarian invalid.—Távíz.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s severity.—Alí Khán.—His recommendations to his raiyats.—Canals.—River of Tútam Dará.—Conflict and surrender of Dost Máhomed Khán.—Súltán Singh’s garden.—History of Súltán Singh.—His rise.—Plot of Mírza Imám Verdí.—Súltán Singh’s adroitness.—Hábíb Ulah Khán’s measures.—Súltán Singh’s state.—Seizes his ancient employer.—Malek Isá Khán’s proposal.—Súltán Singh swallows poison.—Jáh Nimáhí.—Tope Dará.—Simplicity.—Nekkak Perída.—Compass.—Fugitive of Húpfán.—Séh Yárán.—Zíárat Derwísh.—Killa Khúrbán.—Inhabitants of Cháríkár.—Sháhmak.—Sanjít Dará.—Máhomed Jáfar Khán.—Killa Mír Saiyad Khán.—Kábal doctor.—Objects of excursion.—Killa Bolend.—Plain of Bégrám.—Return.—Baloch Khán.—Coins.—Apprehensions of people.—Reports.—Killa Músá Khán.—Tátarang Zár.—Kállakhirán.—Tope.—Chéni Khána.—Killa Rajpút.—Kotal Mámá Khátún.—Killa Iltáfat Khán.—Kotal Páh Minár.—Return to Kábal.
The return of Hâjí Khân had reproduced my old companion Sirkerder Kamber, and I proposed to him a lengthened excursion into Koh Dáman and Kohistân; to which he cheerfully consented. We accordingly made our arrangements, and in his company I started on the tour.

Passing Deh Afghan, Killâ Bolendidí, and the village of Barakí, we gained the seignorial castle of Nánáchí, belonging to Mírza Jâfar Khân, now aged and blind, but once the confidential mîrza of the Vazír Fatí Khân. From wealth, acquired in the vazír's service, the mîrza has constructed three castles here, and has purchased a large tract of land. Mírza Samí Khân, the present minister of Dost Mâhomed Khân, married his daughter; and to this alliance owes in great measure his elevation; indeed the blind mîrza advanced his son-in-law the sum of money which secured him office. He is sometimes consulted on affairs of moment, and it need hardly be said, having mentioned under whom he was employed, that as a statesman he is clever, reckless, and unprincipled. Age has made him morose, while he was naturally cruel, and it is, perhaps, quite as well that blindness incapacitates him from taking an active part in public affairs. To our right on leaving Nánáchí, we had the extensive pastures, now partially under water, called the Cha-man of Vazírabád, from a village on their southern limit. Tracing their western bounds, we reached the village of Déh Kippak, of one hundred houses
enclosed within walls. Beyond this, crossing a barren stony tract, we came to the Kotal Kers Khâna, or Pass of the Bear's den. At its entrance we found a ruinous stone tower, formerly a chokí, a few tút, or mulberry-trees, and excellent water in a kâréz. The kotal is rather a slight defile than a pass, and was about three quarters of a mile in length, the road, although rocky, being perfectly easy to our cattle. At its western extremity was a tower, the station of officers receiving duties. Hence we had a noble view of the district of Shakr Dara, and of the plain of Koh Dáman. We halted a few moments to enjoy the scene. On looking back we found we had still in sight the Bálla Hissár of Kâbal. From the tower, on either side of the road gently inclining towards the plain, were, at regular intervals, the circular foundations of ancient structures, which my companions conjectured to have been towers, but which were rather sepulchral tumuli. They occur in some number. Having gained the level but sterile plain, we had nothing better to do than make the best of our way across it, and to reach the cluster of villages, castles, and orchards which spread before us. The plain, generally pretty even, had its surface fractured in two or three places, and we crossed two or three ravines, in one of which flowed the rivulet called the river of Koh Dáman, which rising amongst the hills above Gázá, in the extreme south-west quarter, traverses the valley and runs along its eastern limits, until it finally falls
into the united rivers of Ghorband, Perwan, and Pangshúr, below Júlgha. At length we reached the vicinity of the two Kárézaks, Bálá and Páhún (the upper and lower), villages at the skirts of the hills. Above them, a little to the north, was Gázá, where resides Náib Amír Khán. The three villages are all advantageously situated, and are abundantly distinguished by vestiges of the olden time, in mounds and tumuli. It was dark before we reached the seignorial castle of Kohchíán, the first one occurring to the south of Shakr Dara, to which we had been invited, and where we were politely welcomed by its proprietor, Názir Mír Alí Khán. A capital supper was prepared, and we were lodged in the Míhmáň Khána, over the entrance to the castle. On one of my former excursions, in making for Kâbal from Shakr Dara, I had met the názir, at that time unknown to me, near the Kotal Kers Khána. He stopped his horse and asked if I was not a Feringhi; on being answered, yes, he much wished me to have returned with him, and pointed to his castle. I then declined to do so, and he made me promise I would visit him on some future occasion. The názir had been a merchant, and had also served the Sirdár Máhomed Azem Khán in Káshmir; owing to which he was held guilty of being very rich, and had been more than once required to disgorge part of the wealth he had acquired. To avoid farther demands upon his coffers, without absolutely pretending to be a pauper, he represented himself as struggling
with the world, and barely able to make his way. His castle, a very excellent one, was built by Rohilla Khán, Popal Zai, a man who in by-gone days of anarchy seems to have been the tyrant of his neighbourhood. He was slain by one Báram, at the instigation of Hábib Ulah Khán. From his heirs the castle was purchased by a daughter of the Vazír Fátí Khán, who sold it to the názír for six thousand five hundred rupees.

I had not intended to have halted here, but to have spent the day at Shakr Dara, yet, as the názír talked of detaining us several days, we thought it seemly to remain one. On rising I joined my host, who was an earlier riser than I was, in a garden, near a reservoir of water shaded by majnún bédís or weeping willows. We commenced the day with a plentiful feast on mulberries and apricots, after which kabáb, or roast meat, with admirable bread, prepared, as is the vogue at Herát, was introduced as a nástar, or breakfast. We had a good deal of general conversation; from which I learned that the worthy názír had been a great traveller, having visited India, Arabia, Persia, and Türkistân. He had been at Bágdad, when Mr. Rich was resident there, and, according to his statement, had been a frequent visitor of that gentleman. The north-west tower having a very elevated apartment over it, I asked if it were practicable for me to gain it, without incommodning his family. He obligingly replied, “Bismillah,” and ordered the females of his
háram to retire that I might pass. While this was in operation one of the good man's wives arrived from Kâbal, seated on a pony, which being led near the horse of my companion the sirkerder, a very vicious animal, a battle took place, in which the lady was capsized, fortunately without greater detriment than fright. After this untoward accident the wayward beast broke from his ropes, and fled from the castle. The náźir's servants mounted, and, after a long chase over the country, secured the fugitive at the foot of the Kotal Kers Khâna.

I ascended the tower, accompanied by a rísh saféd, the malek of the castle, to give me all requisite information, and by another person, to attend to my wants while I remained in it. I did not leave until evening, being well occupied in taking sketches, bearings, and making myself acquainted with the country. Dinner and fruit were sent up to me, and I passed the day very agreeably. The apartment commanded an extensive prospect, and, for whatever purpose erected, had clearly been the scene of many a festive party, if we might infer from the numerous distichs written on its walls.

In the morning we took leave of our friend the náźir, who detained us until some dozen eggs were boiled, which he made us put up in our kás-kúrzíns, with a couple of Herát cakes. We proceeded towards the gardens of Shakr Dara, which we soon reached, having the small village of Killa
Safêd (the white castle) on our left. Crossing a small rivulet, we passed, also to the left, the village of Killa Ahmed. Our road now led through a wilderness of gardens and orchards, the road defined by parapets of stones, and at nearly every step crossed by canals of water. We arrived at the large village of Serai, inhabited principally by Hindús, adjacent to which is Súrkh Bolendi (the red mound), where resides Shâh Nawáz Khân, the hâkam of the district, or tâlûk. Here the Hindú Díwân of the Nawâb Jabár Khân followed me, and entreated me to become his guest, and I fear was mortified at my refusal. A little beyond Serai we crossed a small stream, rolling over a rocky bed, called the river of Shakr Dara. It did not exceed in breadth fifteen feet, but its current was noisy and impetuous. We next passed the remains, still attractive, of a royal garden planted by Taimúr Shâh, and our road still threading through orchards, with the villages of Yâkûb, Súlímân, &c., to our left, we at length cleared Shakr Dara. On gaining the open country we came upon the zíárat of Khwoja Wahâdar Jâhí, where are two or three large chanár, or plane-trees. Soon after we arrived parallel to the large village of Bîzâdî, to our left, on the elevated side of a deep ravine, down which flows a rivulet. This place is picturesquely situated, and is famous for the manufacture of vinegar. We next passed, also to our left, the large village of Bédak, alike romantically situated on an emi-
nence, and surrounded with gardens, vineyards, and orchards. This place is included in the talúk of Kâh Dara. On the side of the ravine opposite is seated the smaller village of Killa Kázi. On the line of road east of Bédak is the castle called Killa Wásil, where I halted and sketched the village. Hence we proceeded to the large village of Kâh Dara, which has an abundance of gardens and vineyards, and is the capital of a talúk, enjoyed in jâghîr by Mîrza Samí Khân. The rivulet here is considerable, and termed the river of Kâh Dara. We next made the small village of Kadowla, with a small rivulet, and boasting the same advantages.
of site, abundance of water, and gardens. Beyond it we entered the talúk of Ferzah, passing to our left the Afgán hamlet of Bostán. Thence made our way through orchards, with castles and villages to the right and left, until we reached the village of Zirgarán, seated on an eminence, south of a stream called the river of Ferzah. Here we halted for the day, at the house of a previous acquaintance. The village commanding an extensive view of the Kohistán, as well as Koh Dáman, I took bearings and made observations from it during the remainder of the day. There was also at the summit of the eminence the entrance to a cave, which, although in a measure closed up, we could easily see once led by flights of steps downwards. The people represented, that within memory it was practicable to reach the bottom, where the stairs terminated in a spacious chamber, surmounted with a gúmbúz, or cupola. An account so sober and probable, that I felt conviction it was true.

The next day I passed in visiting the several villages and castles of Ferzah and its zíárats, and in making a sketch of Déh Zirgarán. The talúk, I found, comprised twelve villages and four castles. The two principal villages, inhabited by Tájiks, contained but eighty houses each, and the remainder varied from thirty to seventy houses. The aggregate of villages and castles embraced about seven hundred houses, consequently a population of nearly four thousand souls may be assigned to the
tálúk of Ferzah. This is mixed Afghân and Tâjik, although the tribes are generally distinct in the villages. The Tâjiks are under a local governor, one Sekandar Shâh, saiyan, formerly a notorious robber. On inquiring what sort of a hákam he made, I was told he was very fond of exacting fines, but that he had a very smooth tongue. Whatever sum he imposed, he assured the individual that owing to a particular affection for him he only claimed half what was due to the offence, and to his own duty, but friendship could not be resisted. Amongst the zíárat of the place I discovered a slab with a partially defaced Persian inscription, commemorating the foundation of a fort, or castle of Nasírabad. It was unknown from what spot the stone had been conveyed, or to what locality it alluded.

We proceeded up the glen of Ferzah for the purpose of visiting an afsháh, or cascade. Our road led by many of the villages, most romantically and delightfully situated on eminences. When we had passed them we entered a lovely glen, very spacious at its commencement. I was astonished at the wild luxuriance of the vegetation, and at its variety, and observed with satisfaction the violet, and the blackberry-bush. This enchanting space had been till within a very few years filled by a royal garden; little remained in evidence thereof but cultivated flowers, as sweet flags, &c., here and there spontaneously growing. As we paced up the glen it contracted, but was always abundant in grass and
Towards its extremity the road became troublesome, but I did not dismount, and it opened into a clear space, immediately under the body of the superior hills, over which a pass led into the Hazára district of Túrkomân. Here we found the cascade, which was indeed an agreeable object, although inconsiderable as to size. I made a sketch of it, and then went to the limits of the snow in front, where I was surprised to find a profusion of the most beautiful auriculas. I know not whether I was most pleased at having seen the cascade or discovered the flowers. Having eaten our breakfasts, which we had brought with us, we returned to Déh Zirgarân, well satisfied with our trip. The remainder of the day we passed in the garden of Ak-húnd Iddaitúláh’s castle, where we regaled ourselves upon mulberries at discretion.

Between Ferzah and Istálif the soil was broken by ravines, and a very deep one occurs just before reaching the latter place, where Killa Shâhí, or the royal castle, stands, on an eminence left of the road. It was built by Taimúr Shâh, who also planted a garden here, of which hardly a trace remains; but there are numerous holly-trees sprinkled about, of which the inhabitants boast, as there are none other to be found in the Koh Dáman, however plentiful in the superior hills of Hindú Kosh. The royal castle had lofty walls and towers, but was built of mud, and has been seriously injured by the people themselves, who
are not well disposed to crown property, and wished to make it for ever untenantable, both because it commanded their town and that they might divert into their gardens a canal which was formerly directed through its interior. Hence we had a magnificent coup d'œil of the town of Istálif, seated on the opposite side of a profound glen, or valley, down which, over a bed of rocky boulders, rushes a foaming rivulet. The sides of the glen are clad with orchards and vineyards, which alike fill much of the valley above and below the town. The houses occupying the rising ascent of the glen, and standing on sites elevated one above the other, are all distinctly and separately discernible. Above the town soar some magnificent chanárs, which denote the zíárat of Házrat Eshân. Istálif is one of the most picturesque spots which can be conceived; all that a combination of natural beauties can achieve we behold here in perfection: their effect is not diminished, but rather augmented by the rude appearance of the houses of the town. The scenery of the country around is extensive and grand, in happy unison with the keeping of the whole picture. The people of the country have a proverb, that he who has not seen Istálif has nothing seen. We will not venture to say so much as that, but may be allowed to believe that he who has seen Istálif is not likely to see many places to surpass it, and few to equal it. We were never tired of looking at the luxuriant scene, and
with regret, to fix our quarters, although intending to return on the morrow.

We early repaired the following day to the royal castle, and I commenced a sketch of the fair landscape before me. Indisposition compelled me to defer my labour; and crossing the glen, I walked to the town to procure medicine, availing myself of the opportunity to visit the zíaarat of Házrat Eshán. Here were a number of slabs with Persian inscriptions, but they proved to be religious mottoes and pious sentences. The curiosity at the zíaarat is the number of plane-trees, which together form the mass, which, a conspicuous object to the regions around, appears but one tree in the distance. There is a group of several trees, I think thirty-seven, and the difficulty of counting them correctly is believed to be due to an illusion which enshrouds the consecrated locality. Házrat Eshán is but a recent saint, of not quite a century and half's standing. He came from Türkistán, and his descendants, all holy men, are still numerous in the Koh Dáman. The spot, however, was probably a shrine of antiquity, and the Házrat has usurped the homage formerly paid to another. Istálif boasts also of the zíaarat of Sofí within the town, of that of Noh Lákhí Sáhib, in the glen at the western extremity of its orchards, and of that of Házrat Shâh Mirdán, at Shoráwer, one of its dependent villages, where are some volcanic vestiges and sulphurous springs. A vein of a white friable stone, tinged with a red
colour, is believed to be the petrified remains of a dragon, slain, as all dragons in these countries are, by the keen-edged Zúlfíkár.

Nearly every householder of Istálif has his garden or orchard. In most of these is a tower, where, as soon as the fruits ripen, the families repair, closing their houses in the town. The people themselves, Tâjíks, are not very amiable, nor are their females very chaste; and the mulberry season, which draws them into the orchards, by affording facilities to their intercourse, is generally marked by sanguinary conflicts and murders, and proves productive in fines to the governor. Besides the town of Istálif, the tálúk comprises the adjacent villages of Gúdára, Perganna, Shonakí, Khwoja Hassan, Malla, Hassan Kacha, and Shoráwer. The town and villages are reckoned to contain together three thousand houses, which would give a population of fifteen thousand to eighteen thousand souls to the tálúk. The revenue derived from it is rated at forty thousand rupees, and this year was enjoyed by Abdúláh Khân, the Atchak Zai sirdár. A great part of the population of the town is of the weaver class, and quantities of coarse cloths, lúnghís, and súsí, are manufactured, and a trade is maintained with Türkistân. During the years of anarchy which distinguished the downfall of the Sadú Zai monarchs, some individuals of notoriety were produced amongst the turbulent citizens of Istálif.
The most remarkable was Máhomed Sháh Khán, a simple weaver, who rose one morning, and fancied himself destined to be pádsháh of Delhí. Grasping his musket, he left his house alone, shot the two or three first men he met, to show that he was in earnest, and took the road to Kábal. Before reaching Ferzah he had been joined by several, and then crowds began to flock in to him. At the head of four or five thousand men he entered Kábal. The court, under Sháh Máhmúd, was absent at Pesháwer; and Prince Súltán Alí, governor, had difficulty to preserve the Bálá Hissár, being compelled to abandon the city to the weaver-king. Sháhzáda Abbás broke from confinement, and aspired to sovereignty; and as Máhomed Sháh Khán’s ideas extended far beyond Kábal, he could afford to support the prince’s views there, and an understanding followed between them. The weaver quartered his men on the inhabitants of the city during the winter, and spared the Shíá quarter of Chándol, at his mercy, by listening to the hopes of ransom held out to him by the Ghúlám Khána, then with their sovereign at Pesháwer. In spring Sírdár Máhomed Azem Khán was commissioned to clear the city of the pests assailing it; and arriving with a large body of troops, some hard fighting ensued. Máhomed Sháh Khán was slain, and, Prince Abbas secured, was re-conducted to his prison. More recently, one Bolend Khán made a figure in the country. Alike a weaver ori-
ginally, he became a robber, and flourished so exceedingly that he became the terror of the neighbourhood. He built a castle on an eminence at Istalif, completely overlooking and overawing the town and tálúk. He rendered some important services to Dost Máhomed Khán, which he pleaded when, subsequently, that chief seized him, and ordered him to be put to death. Dost Máhomed Khán acknowledged them, but said he was not about to be slain for the services he had performed, but for the treason he meditated.

On leaving Istalif we passed down the glen for about a mile, and cleared the gardens of the place. We then crossed the river, and traversing a very rocky surface, made the high road, leading a mile and a half to two miles from the hills. Passed the parallel of Shoráwer, where are seen the azdhá, or dragon, and impressions in the rock, believed to be of Daldal, the charger of Házrat Alí. Next that of Kúshâb, a small hamlet, the more northerly of the tálúk of Istalif. Beyond this, we reached the parallel of Istargitch, a collection of villages and orchards. It is famous for its grapes, and was formerly for the refractory spirit of the inhabitants. Dost Máhomed Khán somewhat allayed it by the execution of two of their maleks, who were brothers, Agá Ján and MalekJí Khán. Still further, and computed four cosses from Istalif, we had under the hills another cluster of villages and orchards, called Sanjít Dara. About a coss
beyond, having passed in the interval the castle and hamlet of Raijist, we came in a line with Tope Dara, celebrated for the magnificent tope it contains. Another coss brought us to Chaïkal, a village of fifty houses immediately on the road, opposite to the ziaarat of the Khwârzâda of Shâh Nakshband. At this point commenced the gardens and cultivation of Chârııkär. At the entrance of the town is a large castle, the residence of Khwoja Pâdshâh, one of the hereditary kowânîns of the Kohistân, and claiming descent from Házrat Eshân. Our road this morning had been over a tolerably even plain, sometimes crossed by rivulets and canals of water. To our left, as has been noted, were the skirts of the hills, and to our right the open plain of Koh Dâman, with its villages and cultivation. A few black tents were occasionally seen on the plain, the abodes of the Afghân pastoral families, whose flocks grazed it.

I had already made acquaintances in Chârııkär, and we halted at the house of one of them, at the opening of the town. After refreshing ourselves we walked up the bazar, about four hundred yards in length, and loosely covered to exclude heat. The town is said to contain about one thousand houses, and carries on an active trade with the neighbouring districts on either side of the Hindú Kosh. It exports the coarse products of the looms of the Kohistân and considerable quantities of iron, both in pigs and manufactured into horse-shoes. At Châ-
rikár resides the hákam, or governor of the Kohis­
tân; and duties are levied here on merchandize pas­
ing to and fro between it and Türkistân. They
were this year farmed for ten thousand rupees.

Charákár during the recent military occupation
of Kâbal was the seat of a political agent, and
the station of the shâh's Gúrkha battalion. When
the insurrection broke out the position was attack­
ed by the warlike Kohistânís, and after some days' severe fighting the battalion, sadly diminished in numbers, retired upon Kâbal, and at Karabagh nine miles from Charákár, its wrecks, entangled amongst the orchard walls of the town, were overwhelmed and extinguished. The gallant lit­tle mountaineers of Nípal would, however, appear to have left their foes as much cause for sorrow as for exultation, and, at least, died worthily.

Early in the morning we took the road to Tútam Dara, carrying our breakfast in our saddle-bags, and accompanied by an acquaintance, one Dádájí. To our left we passed the small village of Húpián, deserted in great measure, but once famous for its saiyads, the principal of whom, Saiyad Ashraf Kháñ, was slain by Dost Máhomed Kháñ, and the remain­der are fugitives in Sir Aulang. It is farther distin­guished by its huge artificial mounds, from which at various times copious antique treasures have been extracted. Beyond Húpián every glen of the hills had its orchards, until we reached a castle called Killa Walí, where commences the district of Tútam Dara,
immediately preceded by a burial-ground, in which
the graves were disposed without much nicety, as
many extending from east to west as from north
to south. We passed through the village, of about
one hundred and fifty houses, the better of which
belong to Hindús, who reside here in some num-
ber. We made for the seignorial castle of Shesh
Búrjeh, belonging to Alí Khán, and seated on an
eminence overlooking the river of Ghorband, which
here issues from the hills into the basin of the Ko-
histán. While taking our breakfast, Sirkerder
Kamber went to the castle for some butter-milk.
The females observing that I had a book in my
hand, asked if the ákhúnd was a múlla, and from
what country he came. The sirkerder said, from
a country one year and one month distant. One
of them said, that if the ákhúnd would write a
távíz for a person with afflicted eyes it would be a
charitable act. The sirkerder promised to inform
the ákhúnd. He came to me, and after we had
breakfasted returned to the fair Tájiks, and told
them that the ákhúnd had opened his book, and
that his nazzar, or sight, had fallen upon a black fowl,
which if given he would write a távíz. The fe-
males ran into the castle, and a few minutes after
came, led by a youngster, a short miserable-looking
octogenarian, with his eyes bound up, and weeping
most bitterly. Old as he was, he proved to be the
husband of one of the prettiest of the Tájik ladies,
was named Azem Khán, and by office názir to
Alí Khán. He fell at my feet, embraced them, and sobbed incessantly. He protested, that he had no black fowl, but would give his shirt or his trowsers, such as they were, if I would write a távíz. I made haste to scribble the letters of the alphabet on a slip of paper, and directed it to be carefully sewn in fine linen and suspended over his temples. For fear the távíz might not be effective, I recommended his wife to coagulate the white of an egg with alum, and apply the mass to his eyes by night, hoping that the epithem of Riverius might benefit him if the charm should not. Dádají was not pleased that I should write a távíz múft, or gratis, and seemed to think that if black fowls were not produced white fowls ought to have been. It is scarcely possible to visit any place in the Koh Dáman or Kohistán without learning some proof of the justice or severity of Dost Máhommed Khán. Here the malek, Alí Khán, is the son of Sâkí Khán, one of the eight maleks seized the same day at Kárabâgh, and executed together at Cháríkár.

Alí Khán has secured tolerable interest in the darbár at Kâbal by giving his sister in marriage to Názír Alladád Khán, Júñshír, the brother of Dost Máhommed Khán's mother, and who is the adviser and director of his son, Máhommed Akbar Khán. Názír Alladád has estates at Tútam Dara, and by renewing an ancient canal has brought as much waste land under cultivation as yields an annual return of two hundred kharwár's of grain. He is,
moreover, the hákam, and holds the valley in jághír. He is accustomed to tell his raiyats to repeat fewer prayers, and observe less fasting, but in lieu thereof to speak truth and be more honest.

From the river at Tútam Dara are diverted three magnificent canals, each extending for six cosses, or about nine to ten miles southerly, and for that distance irrigating and fertilizing the plain. The more westernly is called Júí Robát, from terminating at a place so called. The intermediate one is named Júí Khwoja, and terminates at Dowlat Khâka. The third, and easternly one terminates at Karotí. In its course it supplies the villages and lands of Déh Sádúlah, Déh Kázi, Baiyán Mír Moghal Khán, Yúrchí, Tokchí, Khwoja Khedari, Shákhán, Máhíghír; beyond which is Karotí. This canal is named the Júí Máhíghír, and was made, or renewed, by Amír Taimúr.

Tútam Dara has since acquired celebrity, from having been the spot where Dost Máhoméd Khán, in his attempt to raise the Kohistán, encountered the British force under General Sale, and where the misconduct of a regiment of native cavalry led to some unfortunate results. Dost Máhoméd Khán and his followers, it would seem, were little satisfied with their triumph, for the latter dispersed, and the former, in true Afghán style, observing, that rather than be sold by one of the scoundrels about him, it would be better for him to sell himself, rode off, nearly unattended, to Kábal, and surrendered to the envoy, Sir W. Macnaghten.
The river of Tūtam Dara, flowing from Ghorband, was not at this time wider than thirty feet, nor little more than knee-deep. Its course was impetuous, and over a bed strewed with boulders. Seen from the castle of Alí Khān, the valley was sufficiently picturesque, and I judged it worthy of a sketch. We were now on the brink of the basin of the Kohistān, and had skirted the hills which bound Koh Dāman to the west throughout their entire length. I should have been happy to have extended my progress into the Kohistān, but being at this time unable, I returned to Chārīkār.

In the evening we repaired to the garden of the
late Diwan Súltán Singh, where we were delighted with a variety of flowers; Indian chrysanthemums, balsams, stocks, Indian pinks, China asters, princes’ feathers, French and African marigolds, &c. The paths were planted on either side with safédárs and poplars, and in the centre, where they met, was a takht and summer-house. At one extremity of the garden was a díwán-khâna, or hall of audience, at the other a handsome hamárat, or residence, painted within and without with flowers. The garden to the north was open, allowing a complete and magnificent view of the Kohistán and the Hindu Kosh. It occurred to me, that no Máhomedan would ever have thought of this arrangement. Diwan Súltán Singh was a person of no small importance in his day. He was son of a Sikh of Cháríkár, the tarázadár, or weigher of grain, to Malek Isâ Khán of Máhomed Irâkí, a district near Khwoja Régh Rawân. The son succeeded to his father’s office, but subsequently became a partner, or connected with Díwán Damúdúr, the díwán of the Sák Zai Sirdár Madat Khân. When Sirdár Máhomed Azem Khán returned from Kashmír he called for an account of the revenues of Koh Dáman and Kohistán from Díwâns Ramsah and Gúrsah, who gave false statements. Súltán Singh informed the sirdár of their delinquencies, and was appointed díwán of Koh Dáman and the Kohistán in their stead. He held office during the lifetime of the sirdár and his son, Habíb Ulah Khán.
In the distracted politics of that period, the diwân connected his interests with those of Amínúlah Khân, Logarí, and when the khân, fearing the headstrong violence of the sirdár, turned his attention to Dost Máhommed Khân, the diwân did the same. Mírza Imám Verdí, the minister of Habíb Ulah Khân, had concerted a plan to secure his master’s stability, by the removal of four obnoxious persons, viz. Náíb Amínúlah Khân, Hafízí son of Mír Wais, Shékh Mazár, and Mír Marjátí of the Kohistán. Súltán Singh, known to be eminently bold and reckless, was destined a part in the execution of this scheme. Summoned to a conference with Habíb Ulah and Mírza Imám Verdí, he was informed of what was intended to be done, and of what was expected from himself. On taking leave he revealed the plot to Náíb Amínúlah Khân. This coming to Habíb Ulah Khân’s knowledge, he sent Názír Alí Máhommed to secure the diwân, intending to put him to death. The názír told Súltán Singh that Habíb Ulah Khân wished to give him a khelat, and dismiss him to the Kohistán.

Súltán Singh immediately ordered his yábús to be laden, and putting forty armed Kohistânís in front of his horse, accompanied the názír to that part of the Shohar bazár where one road leads to the Bálla Hissár and another to the house of Amínúlah Khân. Súltán Singh took the latter, and the názír reported to the sirdár that the Hindú had foiled him. Habíb Ulah Khân ordered the drums to beat to
arms, and marched on Amínúlah Khán’s house. The khán resisted, having been joined by his friends, and the sirdár’s efforts to force his house proved ineffectual. These events led to the re-appearance of Dost Máhomed Khán, and the battle on the plain of Kergah, where Habíb Ulah Khán was defeated. Under Dost Máhomed Khán the diwân continued in employ, and was particularly distinguished for the dexterity with which he managed the affairs of the district under his charge. A person of most forbidding features, he had acquired an ascendency in the Kohistán that no person before him had enjoyed. He affected the state of a sirdár, held levéés and darbárs, planted gardens at Chá­ríkár and Saiyad Khél, and built splendid residences and castles. He was suspected of entertaining the notion that the Ráj Gúrú was near at hand, but he was destined to fall. Forgetful of his obligations in early life to Malek Isá Khán, he obtained, by his representations, an order from Dost Má­homed Khán to seize him. The malek was called to Cháríkár, on pretence of business, was made prisoner, and conveyed to Kábál. A fine of sixteen thousand rupees was demanded of him, but he had interested in his favour Mírza Samí Khán and Názir Alí Máhomed. Malek Isá Khán said to Dost Máhomed Khán, “You have sold me to my slave for sixteen thousand rupees; put the slave in his ágá’s hands, and you shall have thirty thou­sand rupees.” Dost Máhomed Khán feigned to be
134 SULTAN SINGH SWALLOWS POISON.

soothed with this proposal, and was not displeased to see competition, as it promised to increase the sum he should get from one or other, or from both of them. Súltán Singh was sent for by Dost Má­homèd Khân, who applied to him many abusive epithets, and talked, without intending to do so much, of making him a Mússulmân. On reaching home the díwân sent for a rupee's weight, or value of arsenic, discoursed with his friends, like Cato, upon the immortality of the soul, dismissed them, locked his door, and swallowed the poison. Dost Máhomèd Khân was exceedingly sorry when in­formed of his death. Nor is this the only instance when he has had to regret having driven a high-spirited man to self-destruction. Malek Isá Khân now excused himself from paying anything, as the díwân had not been made over to him, and the sirdár, ashamed of the affair, gave him his liberty. He, however, benefited by the appropriation of the estates and property of the unfortunate Súltán Singh.

From Charíkár, in company with a young lad, the son of our landlord, I walked up to Tope Dara, where I had before been. Midway the surface is strewed with huge boulders, and sprinkled with arghawán bushes, so beautiful in blossom at the commencement of spring. As we neared the hills the yellow físh, the red sévitch, and the sherín búí, or liquorice-plant, were plentiful. A little north of the dara is a castle called Jâh Nimáhí, or the place of prospect. Built by one Khwoja
Ján, it is now inhabited by a few wretched families from Sir Aulang. At the opening of the dara into the plain are some large tumuli, one honoured by the name of Rústam. The castle of Tope Dara, situated in a picturesque and commanding situation, has been suffered to fall into decay. The village comprises about sixty houses, constructed clumsily of stones. Passing through it, we proceeded to the Tope, and I occupied myself for some time in making sketches of it. About the monument were numerous caper-trees, of a species similar to that of the Baloch and Persian hills. Proceeding a little up the dara, which has a fine brook running down it, whose volume of water was considerably augmented by the earthquake of last year, we found a convenient place to rest in, and were supplied by the villagers with mulberries. I had to strike sparks from a flint over the heads of two children, and learned that persons who had crossed the Atak river are supposed to possess some peculiar powers. We remained here until evening, when we were joined by a party, composed of the relatives of Mír Hakjí Sáhib and the son of Khwoja Pádshâh of Chárikár. We had a fresh regale of mulberries. When they departed we went a little farther up the dara to see a spring, called Nekkak Perída, or Flying Nekkak. We found a smooth perpendicular rock, from the base of which issues the spring, and which receives its name from one Nekkak, whose misfortune it was to fall from the top of the rock. We had several
of the villagers with us, and they pointed out two stones, in one of which was a hole, as they said, the perforation of a spear; in the other a fissure, caused by a sword-wound. The stones, I was assured, represented a brother and sister, slain by kâfrs, or infidels. From an eminence overlooking the plain I next took a few bearings, and my compass created no small astonishment; I however soon made them familiar with it, and indulged them by looking through it, after I had fixed the hair-line on an object. In this way they became useful as well as pleased, and told me the names of places that I did not know. I hitherto said nothing about opening the Tope, neither did I inquire for the malek, as the time had not come, but appeared in the village, as I had done before, a casual visitor. Having completed my observations, we bade adieu to the friendly villagers, and passing the mound called the tomb of Rústam's son, we struck across the plain for Chárikár. In our progress we observed a man at some distance, who as soon as he descried us left his path, tucked up the skirts of his garments, and with his musket trailed and his body bent, glided from behind one stone to another. He did not appear to be dodging us, but rather taking precautions against us. On nearing him, so that my young companion could catch a glance at him, he was recognized as a fugitive of Húpíán, who had stealthily visited his friends at Istargitch, and was now on his return to
Sir Aulang. The poor wretch feared to encounter in every one he met an enemy. He relaxed a little on finding that he had nothing to apprehend from us, but preserved his caution and distance, and I could not but admire his activity.

Visible from Charıkár is a white building, at Séh Yárân, or the three friends, which the people call a sandúk, or chest, believing it to have been built for some other purpose than to enclose a tomb. As the spot is one which was honoured by the emperor Baber's approbation, and which he embellished with fountains and chanár-trees, it behoved me to visit it. In my way to Tope Dara yesterday, I had been near to it, as it lies about a mile only north of it, but judging I should have enough to occupy me there during the day, I did not deviate from the road. I again, as the distance was trifling, left my Kåbal companions behind, and proceeded on foot with my landlord's young son. The sandúk, as it is called, proved to be the remains of a quadrangular building, having a pillar inserted at each of the angles. The entrance faced the south, which seemed to imply, that it was not originally a tomb, although there were two marble grave-stones standing within its walls. It had also once been covered with a cupola, which seemed likewise to have been an addition, but it had in great measure fallen. Hence we passed to the ziárat of Derwísh, where there are fountains and chanár-trees, which we might have attributed to
the social king, of whom, however, no tradition is preserved here, had we not been led still farther on towards Killa Khúrbân, where are many ancient sepulchral mounds, and where a spring of water issues high up in the hills. Here were some venerable chanár-trees; and the locality is to this day one of favourite resort to the people of Cháríkár. There could be little doubt but that this was the place which had delighted Baber. The water from the spring forms a canal on the plain below, irrigating a small garden at the base of the hill. At-
Séh Yárân is a village of some forty houses, and Killa Khúrbân is a deserted castle. South of the latter is a ravine, supplied with a rivulet, and containing a few orchards and dwellings, named Takíá. We followed this ravine until it merged into the plain, which we then traversed and regained our quarters. On my first visit to Cháríkár I found the inhabitants, who are not particularly famed for civility, inclined to be merry at my expense, and in walking the bazár I incurred the hazard of being mobbed, one rogue passing the word to the other that a “múrghí noh,” or strange bird, had come. On better acquaintance, however, they had become very respectful and tractable, and in lieu of their jeers and jests I received in passing their Salám áliskams and Khúsh ámadéds.

As Sanjít Dara was one of the spots between Istálif and Tope Dara which I had not seen, I proposed to devote a day to an excursion to it;
and accordingly we mounted, and proceeded across the plain to Tope Dara; whence we intended to skirt the hills. A good many ravines intersected our road, otherwise pretty good. At about two miles we passed the agricultural village of Sháhmak, with an excellent canal. To the left of the road there were some vestiges, in stone parapets and mounds, not of much importance, and in the hills to our right we observed the entrances to several samúches, or caves. Hence we gained the villages and gardens of Sanjit Dara, and halted for the day under some walnut-trees on the bank of its rivulet. Here are collected seven or eight villages. The principal zíárat is distinguished by a magnificent chanár-tree. The soil is too rocky to be turned to great profit, and prevents the cultivation of the vine to any extent. The orchards are principally stocked with mulberry and walnut-trees. We were preparing to return to Chárikár, when we were told that Máhomed Jáfar Khán, one of my Bámíân companions, was encamped below the dara, and that he held some of the villages in jághír. We paid him a visit, and accepted his invitation to become his guests for the evening. A sheep was killed, and, while our supper was preparing, the khán and myself were engaged in conversation. He was intent upon forming a canal, the obstacles to which were some rocks. He seriously inquired of me whether they might not be removed by vinegar. I told him all I knew about Hannibal
and the Alps, but recommended him, nevertheless, to try the effects of a little powder.

From Sanjit Dara we returned to Cháríkár, and taking farewell of our friends, crossed the canal, or Júí Robát, flowing through the town, and passed over a fertile tract, cultivated chiefly with cotton. We then crossed the Júí Khwoja, and subsequently Júí Mâhíghír, a little after which we reached Killa Mir Saiyad Khán. The owner received us with politeness, and lodged us in his míhmân-khâna, but complaining of heat, I was conducted to the garden. There we found a doctor of Kábal, who had just returned from Bokhára Sheríf, where he had realized three thousand rupees by his practice. He was a dwarfish, hook-nosed, morose old gentleman, and disposed to have displayed his erudition had I countenanced him. He remarked, that he had known two or three Feringhis, who administered mercury, copperas, arsenic, and other poisons, while his own practice was according to the genuine Yúnání, or Greek system, and safe.

A primary object of my rambles into the Kohistán of Kábal was to ascertain if any vestiges existed which I might venture to refer to Alexandria ad Caucasum, the site of which, I felt assured, ought to be looked for at the skirts of the Híndú Kosh in this quarter. I had before reached the borders of the plain of Bégrám, and had heard strange stories of the innumerable coins, and other relics, found on the soil, but had been unable to procure a specimen,
all to whom I applied, whether Hindú or Mússulmán, denying they had any such things in possession. I now purposed to obtain from Mír Saiyad Khán a party of his retainers to enable me to traverse and survey the plain, which is dangerous to do, owing to the marauders infesting it. He provided half a dozen horsemen, a sufficient escort, as, being known to the robbers, they are not interrupted by them. Having passed the large ruinous village Ghúlám Shâh we arrived at Killa Bolend, on the brink of the Kohistán basin, and at the commencement of the plain. There were seven considerable Hindú traders here, but we applied to them for coins in vain. We therefore proceeded across the plain until we reached a tope at the eastern extremity of Koh Bacha, and near Júlgha. Of this monument I made a sketch, and noted my observations of the country. When we were well back on our return I dismissed Mír Saiyad Khán’s party, and we struck across the plain to Killa Khwoja, a small village, where we were welcomed by Malek Gafúr, a friend of my companion, Sirkerder Kamber. We heard fresh tales of Bégrám, and the treasures found there, and my curiosity was so intensely excited, that I determined to revisit it, taking with us Mír Afzíl, the malek’s son, who had friends in the vicinity. Accordingly, with him for our guide, we passed successively the villages and castles of Déh Ghúlám Alí, Mahíghúr, seated on the canal of that name, Killas Ghúlám and Járúla, Koh Déh, Killa Illaiyár,
and Gújar Khél, beyond which was Killa Bolend. We were there received by a dyer; and Mír Afzil descended into the valley below to inquire for a friend, residing at one of the castles of Báltú Khél. I repaired to the roof of the dyer's house, and wished to have taken bearings, but the wind was too violent to permit me to remain at ease. Mír Afzil returned with Baloch Khán, a fine honest young man, who brought me a present of melons and grapes. This was the commencement of an acquaintance, which continued as long as I remained at Kábal; and Baloch Khán greatly assisted me in my subsequent researches, as I could always, when needed, call upon him and his armed followers to attend me in my excursions, and to protect the people I sent. He now exerted himself to procure coins; and at last an old defaced one was produced by a Máhomedan, for which I gave two pais, which induced the appearance of others, until the Hindús ventured to bring forth their bags of old monies, from which I selected such as suited my purpose. I had the satisfaction to obtain in this manner some eighty coins, of types which led me to anticipate bright results from the future. The fears and scruples of the owners had been overcome, and I remained some time at Killa Bolend, securing their confidence. It had been feared that I should employ bígarís, or forced labourers, to scour the plain in search of antique relics, on which account it had been determined to conceal from me, if possible, their
existence. I afterwards learned from a zirghar, or goldsmith, of Chāirkār, that at the time I applied to him he had three chārkās, or about fifteen pounds in weight of old coins by him, which his companions deterred him from exhibiting. I made myself well informed as to the mode, and by whom these coins were found; and the clue to them once discovered, the collection became an easy matter, although it subsequently proved that a long time was necessary before I became fully master of the plain. While this traffic was carried on, the report had spread that a Feringhī had come to engage soldiers, and crowds came from the neighbouring castles to ascertain the truth, and what pay was given. I now thought it better to leave, and accordingly we retraced our steps to Killa Khwoja.

We had intended to have made a long march next day, but at the first castle we reached the sirkerder was recognized by the people without, and we were induced to remain there for the day. The castle was built by one Mūsa Khān, since dead, and the honours of our entertainment were performed by Assad Khān, a fine youth, the younger of his two sons living.

In the morning I ascended one of the towers of the castle, and took bearings, and after breakfast we started on our road towards Kābal. As in coming we had skirted the plain of Koh Dāman to the west, so in returning we skirted its eastern limits. Under the hills parallel to our course is the
site of a city, called, by tradition, Tātarang Zār. It extends for a long distance, but appears to be a continuation of the ancient sepulchral grounds of Bēgrām, from which it is separated only by the river of Koh Dāmān. Coins, trinkets, &c., are frequently picked up on the surface. Passing the village of Bāgh Alam, of one hundred houses, and then Killa Kerimdád, we came upon the river, in a wide bed, but the stream is inconsiderable. East of it was a hill called Chehel Dokhtarān, or the forty virgins, who have as much celebrity in these countries as the eleven thousand virgins of Cologne have in Europe. Hence we passed the village Langar, of sixty houses, and then a castle called Killa Godar; after which came the village of Bāzāri, containing forty houses; from which we proceeded to Kāllakhān, where the sirkerder found a friend, one Zēhīn Khān, who would not allow us to proceed farther. Kāllakhān is a large village of four hundred houses, the greater part of which are fortified. Its revenue is enjoyed by Ahmed Khān, son of the late Nawāb Samad Khān, and it is famed for raisins of superior flavour. In the evening I mounted, for the purpose of visiting a tope near Korrrinder. We passed to the left, in succession, the small village of Mushwānī, and the larger one of Korrrinder, then the castle of Rohilla Khān, Popal Zai. Crossing a deep ravine, we came to the seignorial castles of Lūchū Khān, held by the family of Hájī Rāḥmatūlah, one of whose daughters is the favourite wife of Dost Māhomēd Khān, and
mother of his son Máhomed Akbár Khán. Hence turning to the east, we crossed the river of Koh Dáman, and struck easterly to the tope, on the eminences overlooking the plain. I examined and made a sketch of the structure; after which repaired to another building, a little more easterly, and lower down towards the river, called Chénní Khâna. This was an octagonal building, neatly constructed of excellent kiln-burnt bricks. It had been originally crowned with a cupola, and had been superbly painted with flowers and other devices, in tints of lapis lazuli, red, yellow, and other colours; whence, I presume, its modern appellation. It had four entrances from the several cardinal points with an aberration of twenty degrees; but there was no recess which could serve for a kabla, or to point it out as a Máhomedan edifice. Within there was a grave-stone, bearing a rather licentious copy of verses, or epitaph, and the date 1211 of the Hejra, which did not, consequently, apply to the edifice, which certainly had an antiquity of some centuries. It stands on an eminence, buttressed with masonry to the north, west, and south. Having completed inspection, we retrograded to Kállakhân.

In the morning we skirted the hills to the Kotal of Mámá Khâtún. On our right we had an immense artificial mound, said to denote the site of an ancient fortress, and called Killa Rájpút. Its summit is now crowned by mud walls, of comparatively recent construction. The kotal has an easy
commencement, and a plain is crossed for above half a mile, when we reach a chokí. Hence the ascent is more marked for two or three hundred yards, until the summit is reached, where is a takht, or basement of stones, from which we have a good view of the plain of Kâra Dúshman, and the country and hills to the east. At the termination of the kotal, or where commences the plain of Kâra Dúshman, is the dilapidated castle built by Iltáfat Khán, Khwoja, in the serai appertaining to which we halted, to avoid the meridian sun. The castle and lands are farmed by Názir Khairúlah, for some four or five thousand rupees annually; and he is a most severe landlord. A splendid masjít is attached to the castle, but has been suffered to fall into decay. The fine garden has been destroyed, and nothing of verdure remains but an avenue of mulberry-trees, leading from the foot of the kotal to the castle. Iltáfat Khán was a khwoja, or eunuch to the Sadú Zai princes, and designed this castle, with its gardens and establishments, which were most complete, to perpetuate his name. The course of events has made them crown property, and they are neglected, as such property generally is. About three o’clock we resumed our journey, and at three quarters of a mile from the castle crossed a deep ravine, in which was a small rivulet, which flows across the plain to Killa Kâjí, and eventually to Aga Serai. A course of five miles cleared us of the plain, and led us to the foot of the Kotal Pâh Mínár, crossing
a low range of hills separating the plain of Kâra Dûshman from the pastures, or chaman of Vazírabád. At its southern base is the small ruinous village, called after the kotal, and a little beyond it to the east is the village Déh Yaiya. On the crest of the kotal is a choki, from which an extensive view is commanded, and we had again the pleasure to behold before us Kâbal and its environs. Descending into the plain, we passed to our right a deserted castle, built by Mîr Wais, and a large tumulus. We had subsequently to wade through a mass of stagnant water and mud, up to our horses’ girths, for nearly a mile, when we reached the castles and villages of Bîmárû, and then the Kaiabân of Shâh Zemân, from which we pushed on to the Bálla Hissár, closing a very agreeable excursion.
CHAPTER VII.

Collections of coins.—Jealousy.—Importance of discoveries.—Antiquities.—Site of Bégrám.—Hill ranges.—Neighbourhood of Bégrám.—Tope.—Character of the Kohistân.—Magnificent view.—Boundaries of Bégrám.—Evidences.—Mounds.—Tumuli.—Stones.—Site of city.—Deposits with the dead.—Testimony of Herodotus.—Funereal jars.—Traditions.—Mode of sepulture.—Absence of data.—Húpián.—Canal Mâhighirá.—Taimúr’s colony.—Decline of Bégrám.—Signification of Bégrám.—Bégrám of Kábal.—Bégrám of Jelálabád.—Bégrám of Pesháwer.—Etymology.—Topes.—Antiquities of Kohistân.—Perwán.—Régh Rawán.—Localities in Panjshír.—Caves in Nijrow.—Vestiges in Taghow.—Ruins in Ghorband.—Caves.—Ziárat.

The discovery of so interesting a locality as that of Bégrám imposed upon me new, agreeable, and I should hope, not unprofitable employment. I availed myself of every opportunity to visit it, as well with the view to secure the rich memorials of past ages it yielded as to acquire a knowledge of the adjacent country.

Before the commencement of winter, when the plain, covered with snow, is of course closed to research, I had accumulated one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five copper coins, besides a few silver ones, many rings, signets, and other relics. The
next year, 1834, the collection which fell into my hands amounted to one thousand nine hundred copper coins, besides other relics. In 1835 it increased to nearly two thousand five hundred copper coins, and in 1836 it augmented to thirteen thousand four hundred and seventy-four copper coins. In 1837, when I had the plain well under control, and was enabled constantly to locate my people upon it, I obtained sixty thousand copper coins, a result at which I was well pleased, having at an early period of my researches conjectured that so many as thirty thousand coins might annually be procured. The whole of the coins, and other antiquities, from Bégrám, with several thousands of other coins, brought to light in various parts of Afghanistán, have been forwarded to the Honourable the East India Company.

The failure of the Kâbal mission in 1838 compelled me to leave the country and to suspend my labours. I had found, that I was not permitted to prosecute them without suffering from jealousy in certain quarters, and when I was desirous to resume them in 1840, the hostility of a miserable fraction of the Calcutta clique prevented my purpose, by acts as unprecedented, base, and illegal, as, perhaps, were ever perpetrated under the sanction of authority against a subject of the British crown.

It may be superfluous to dwell upon the importance of the Bégrám collections; independently of the revelation of unknown kings and dynasties, they impart great positive knowledge, and open a wide
field for speculation and inquiry on the very mate-
rial subjects of the languages and religions prevail-
ing in Central Asia during the dark periods of its
history. Astonishing as are many of the conclusions
forced upon us, because in opposition to opinions
before current, and now proved to be erroneous, it
is a source of unqualified satisfaction that not only
has the progress of discovery confirmed the veracity
of our justly esteemed classical authorities, but at
every new step it teaches us to appreciate the value
of our Scriptural records, which alone have preserved
a rational account of the growth and spreading of
the human race.

Besides coins, Bégrám has yielded very large
numbers of engraved seals, some of them with in-
scriptions, figures of men and animals, particularly
of birds, cylinders, and parallelogramic amulets with
sculptured sides, rings, and a multitude of other
trinkets, and miscellaneous articles, generally of brass
and copper; many of which are curious and de-
serve description. The reasons which confine me to
a mere allusion to the results of my researches at
Bégrám need not restrict me as regards the locality,
which, besides its pretensions to be considered Alex-
andria ad Caucasum, has other claims to notice.
It occurs about twenty-five miles in a direct dis-
tance from the present city of Kâbal, and is situated
at the south-east point of the level country of the
Kohistân, in an angle formed by the approach of a
lofty and extensive mountain range, trending from
the superior Caucasus on the one side, and by an inferior range, (the Síáh Koh,) on the other. The former range, while it separates the Kohistân from the populous valley of Nîjrow to the east, defines to the west the course of the lengthened valley of Panjshír. The latter range, commencing about fifteen miles east of Kâbal, stretches to the north, and gradually sinks into the plain of Bégrám. Through a break in this range, called Tang-i-Khârún, nearly east from Kâbal, flows the united streams of Kâbal and Loghar, which, surmounting a magnificent fall, winds among the hilly districts in its course to Lúghmân and Jelálabád. The range itself forms a prominent feature in the landscape of Kâbal, displaying a bold precipitous front, and, being of gneiss, has the appearance of being stratified. Behind, or east of the Síáh Koh, is a hilly, not mountainous, tract, although waste and desolate, named Koh Sáfi, from the tribe that pasture their flocks in it; and this tract intervenes between the Síáh Koh and the valley of Taghow; moreover, through it meanders the river of the Kohistân, until, at a spot near Súrbí, it unites with the river of Kâbal. Through the open space formed by the approach of the above noted ranges the river of Kohistân, formed by the accession of the larger streams of Panjshír, Perwân, and Ghorband, with the minor rivulets of Kohistân and Koh Dáman, directs its course, describing, at the point where it quits the basin of the Kohistân, the northern
boundary of the plain of Bégrám. Parallel to the river, also leads the high road from the Kohistân to Nijrow, Taghow, and Jelálabád.

Bégrám is comprised within an extensive district called Khwoja Khedarí. To the north, it has an abrupt descent into the cultivated lands and pastures of the Báltú Khél and Kerimdád Khél families, which interpose between it and the river for the extent of perhaps a mile, or until the river reaches the base of a singular eminence called Búrj Abdúlah, which, from the remains of walls and mounds on its summit, was undoubtedly an appurtenance of the ancient city. Beyond, or east of Búrj Abdúlah, another small space, devoted to culture, with two or three castles, called Karaíchí, fills a curvature in the direction of the abrupt boundary of the plain with the course of the river. Beyond extends a low detached hill, called Koh Bacha, for about a mile and half, separating for that distance the level dasht from the river. At the eastern extremity of Koh Bacha is one of those remarkable structures we call topes; and on the opposite, or northern side of the river, are the castles and cultivated lands of Máhomed Irákhí, and beyond them a sterile sandy tract gradually ascends to a celebrated hill and zíárat, called Khwoja Régh Rawân, an interesting point in the scenery from Bégrám, and thence to the skirts of the superior hill range above mentioned, high up on which the gardens of the village of Dúrnámeh,
(a corruption of Dúr Namáhí, or conspicuous from afar,) are visible. This village is famous as a residence of a desperate band of robbers, who infest their vicinity in general, and the plain of Bégrám in particular; also for affording asylum and protection to the outlaws of Kâbal. East of the tope, the level plain stretches for above a mile, until, with the same character of abrupt termination, it sinks into the low lands of Júlgha, where are numerous castles, much cultivated land, and, as the name Júlgha implies, a large extent of pasture.

The Kohistán, it may be observed, and which may better show the position of Bégrám, is a punchbowl, or basin, on three sides surrounded by hills, and on the fourth, or southern side, by a comparatively elevated tract, which forms, as it were, the rim, and runs sinuously from Tútam Dara—the point where issues into the basin the river of Ghorband—and passing, as we have seen, the plain of Bégrám, extends easterly to Júlgha. This basin may have a circumference of thirty-five to forty miles. The higher lands of Bégrám on the one side, and of Máhoméd Irâkhí on the opposite one, form the spout to this basin, from which descend its waters upon the lower countries eastward. The coup d'œil presented is most magnificent; the winding courses of the rivers, the picturesque appearance of the gardens and castles, the verdure of the pastures, the bold and varied aspect of the environing hills, crowned by the snowy summits
of the Hindú Kosh, form a landscape whose beauty can scarcely be conceived but by those who have witnessed it. The natives of these countries are apt to compare it with the scenery about Herát and the Kohistán of Meshed, but they, as well as the neighbourhood of Ispahán, which is very beautiful, must yield the palm to the Kohistán of Kábal.

The boundaries of the dasht of Bégrám are the lands of Júlgha to the east, the level plain of Máhíghír to the west, the river of Kohistán to the north, and to the south what is called the river of Koh Dáman. At the north-west angle of the dasht is the small village of Killa Bolend, where reside a few Hindú traders, who have considerable intercourse with the neighbouring hill tribes, and at the south-west angle are three castles, called Killa Yezbáshi, distant from Killa Bolend about four miles.

Notwithstanding the vast numbers of relics discovered on the plain, other evidences that a city once stood on it are not so palpable as to have attracted extraordinary attention, had it not been imperatively directed to the locality from the circumstance of the discovery of the numerous and singular antique treasures at it. In many places, indeed, it has been proved, that by digging about a yard in depth, lines of cement, seeming to denote the outlines of structures and their apartments, may be found. On the edge of the plain to the north, where it abruptly sinks into the low lands of
LARGE MOUNDS.

Bâltu Khél, from Killa Bolend to Karaichí is a line of artificial mounds; but such objects are so universal in occurrence throughout the Afghân countries that, in ordinary instances, they might claim only a cursory notice. On the summit of the eminence called Búrj Abdúlah are the remains of stone walls, marking a square enclosure; they are, however, loosely arranged, and, I should rather conjecture, denote the remains of a more recent castle than an edifice of the ancient Bégrám; some mounds, however, found on it, may have a greater antiquity. South of, and contiguous to Búrj Abdúlah, are some mounds of great magnitude, and accurately describing a square, of considerable dimensions. On one side of this square, in 1833, the exterior front of the mound subsided deep into the earth, and disclosed that these mounds were constructed of huge unburnt bricks, two spans square and one span thick. This accident also enabled me to ascertain that the original breadth of these stupendous walls, for such we must suppose them to have been, could not have been less than sixty feet, while it may have been much more. Among the mounds near Killa Bolend is a large tumulus, which appears to have been coated with thin squares of white marble; and near it, in a hollow formed in the soil, is a large square stone, which the Máhomedans call Sang Rústam (Rústam’s stone); and which the Hindús, without knowing why, reverence so far
as to pay occasional visits to it, to daub it with sindúr, or red-lead, and to light lamps at it. In the Māhomedan burial-ground of Killa Bolend is a fragment of sculptured green stone, made to serve as a head-stone to a grave; above four feet is above ground, and we were told as much more was concealed below. This is a relique of the ancient city; and we meet with another and larger but plain green stone applied to a similar purpose in a burial-place called Shéhidân, or the place of martyrs, under Koh Bacha. In a zíárat at Chárikár is also a fragment of sculptured green stone; and it is remarkable, that all fragments of stone which we discovered, and which we may suppose to have reference to the ancient city, are of the same species of coloured stone. The inhabitants of these parts are now ignorant whence it was procured, although, doubtless, from the inferior hills of the Caucasus to the north, where steatite is so abundant that the people dwelling in them make their cooking utensils of it; and steatite, with jade, and other magnesian green stones, are found together in the lower hills of the Saféd Koh range, south of the valley of Jelálabád.

In specifying the extensive limits over which coins and other relics are brought to light, we must not be understood as conveying the notion that the entire space defined by them was once filled by a city. We should rather suppose not, and that it is to the ancient burial-grounds of the
former city we are indebted for the supplies of curiosities we meet with. If asked to assign the site of the city, I should, fixing the enormous square enclosure south of Búrj Abdúlah as the fort, or citadel, locate it between those remains and the western portion of the plain, or towards Killa Bolend and Mâhíghír, in which space coins are found in far less number, while scoriæ, lumps of iron, fragments of glazed earthenware (the latter a peculiar token, in opposition to the common baked pottery which is scattered over the whole plain,) are found more abundantly than in other spots. In this part also, besides the remains of walls, may be traced the courses of the ancient canals, by their parallel lines of embankment. The presence of mounds, the casual discovery of coins, and other antiques, are generally supposed to indicate the site of a city, whereas, they may only point out that of its burial-grounds; a distinction worthy of notice, when the detection of an actual site is important, and which might possibly be usefully applied to some of the celebrated old sites in the world, as Babylon, Nineveh, &c., particularly when we have reason to believe that, with the ancients, their burial-places were without the city, and independent of it. The probability that the great numbers of coins and other reliques, discovered on the dasht of Bégráam, are merely deposits with the ashes of the dead, as prescribed by the usages and superstitions of former times, is strengthened
by the knowledge that such deposits were in practice, and the articles found alike confirm it. Coins were mingled with them, that the expense of transit over the rivers of Paradise might be provided for; as with the Greek or Roman corpse was placed a fee for the ferryman Charon. Rings, seals, beads, ear-rings, small images, &c., were either the property of the deceased or the votive offerings of friends; arrow-heads, frequently occurring, may mean that the deceased was a warrior, or that he was fond of archery. The collections from Bégrám have furnished a great variety of engraved signets, and many gems, curious as specimens of art, with multitudes of small sculptured animals, particularly of birds. A passage in Herodotus, while it admirably accounts for the production of many of the relics elicited in the burial-grounds of ancient Babylon, serves also to explain why similar results should be obtained in those of Bégrám. Speaking of the old inhabitants of Babylon, he says, "Each person has a seal-ring, and a cane, or walking-stick, upon the top of which is carved an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle, or some figure or other, for to have a stick without a device is unlawful."

The immense distribution of fragments of pottery may be satisfactorily explained, when we recollect that the mode particularly prevalent of treating the bodies of the dead was by cremation, then collecting the ashes and lodging them in earthen
jars, which were finally deposited beneath the soil. These funereal jars, in the course of ages, have become affected by damp, and consequently fragile, as by the abrasion of the surface of the soil they and their fragments have become exposed; hence we discover the fragments mixed with the soil, and the coins and other relics originally deposited with them. Entire jars are, indeed, sometimes found: and the lines of cement, before noted, as discoverable about a yard beneath the surface, if horizontal, may indicate the floors on which these jars were placed; and, if perpendicular, the separation of one deposit from the other.

The traditions of the country assert the city of Bégrám to have been the Sheher Yúnán, or Greek city, overwhelmed by some natural catastrophe, and the evidence of its subterranean lines and apartments is appealed to in support of them. If we have rightly conjectured their nature, they are found only in their natural position, and afford evidence of another kind. The present Hindús call the site Balrán, and suppose it to have been the capital of Rájá Bal.

There is a peculiar feature attending the deposit of the sepulchral jars, that not only was it necessary to cover them with earth, but it was essential that the earth should contain no stones or other extraneous substances. So particular was this deemed that in many situations on the ascent of hills, where earth could not be found, it has clearly
been brought from the plains beneath, and always carefully sifted. In all the old burial-places of Afghânistân we witness the feeling as manifestly as if expressed on a Roman tomb-stone, Sit tibi terra levis. In traversing the dasht of Bégrâm not a stone is met with; the reason obviously, that the surface is actually composed of the prepared earth, spread over the ancient places of sepulture.

It is mortifying, when making inquiries as to the former history of a site, on which we find coins of ages in regular succession from Alexander to the Mâhomedan era, to learn no better account of it than the traditions above-mentioned afford, and while we are compelled to conjecture doubtingly upon its origin, to have no precise data on which even to estimate the period of its decay and final ruin. That it existed for some centuries after the Mâhomedan invasion of these countries, is proved by the vast numbers of Cufic coins found at it; which, moreover, seem to show that the early conquerors of Islám did not particularly interfere with the religion of the conquered, or of such that submitted to their temporal dominion, as the practice of cremation must have been continued, and would not have been followed had the people become Mâhomedans. It is not, indeed, improbable that this city, like many others, may owe its destruction to the implacable Jenghiz; but, if so, we ought to detect some notice of it
in the extant histories of that conqueror, and of his period.

Without affecting the probability that at Bégrám, or in its immediate neighbourhood, was the site of Alexandria ad Caucasum, it will be remembered that the narratives of Chinese travellers expressly state that, subsequently, there was a capital city in this part of the country called Húpián. A locality of this name still exists between Cháríkár and Tútam Dara; and I have noted that it possesses many vestiges of antiquity; yet, as they are exclusively of a sepulchral and religious character, the site of the city to which they refer may rather be looked for at the actual village of Malek Húpián, on the plain below, and near Cháríkár, by which it may have been replaced as the principal town, as, more ancienly, it superseded another, perhaps Alexandria itself.

That Bégrám ceased to exist at the time of Taimúr’s expedition into India we have negative proof, furnished by his historian, Sherísfadín, who informs us that Taimúr, in his progress from Anderáb to Kábal, encamped on the plain of Bárân (the modern Baiyán, certainly); and that while there he directed a canal to be cut, which was called Mâhíghír; by which means the country, before desolate and unproductive, became fertile and full of gardens. The lands, thus restored to cultivation, the conqueror apportioned among sundry of his followers. The canal of Mâhíghír exists...
at this day, preserving the name conferred upon it by Taimúr. A considerable village, about a mile west of Bégrám, standing on the canal, has a similar appellation, and probably also owes its origin to Taimúr, who may have attempted in it to have revived or renewed the ancient city. This canal of Mâhíghír, derived from the river of the Ghorband valley, at the point where it issues from the hills into the basin of the Kohistân, irrigates the lands of Baiyán and Mâhíghír, and has a course of about ten miles. Had the city of Bégrám then existed these lands immediately to the west of it would not have been waste, and neglected; neither would Taimúr have found it necessary to cut his canal, as the city, when existing, must have been supplied with water from the same source, that is, from the river of Ghorband, and from the same point, that is, at the exit of its waters from the hills into the basin; and the canals supplying the city must have been directed through these very lands of Mâhíghír and Baiyan, which Taimúr found waste and unproductive. The site of Bégrám, although having to the north the great river of the Kohistân, could not have been irrigated from it, as its stream flows in low land, considerably beneath the level of the dasht; besides being too distant. On the south it has the river of Koh Dáman; but this, while only partially and casually provided with water, runs in a sunken bed, and is alike inapplicable to the purposes of irrigation.
It may be farther noted with reference to the colonization of Mâhîghîr by Taimûr, that the inhabitants of Khwoja Khedarî, while forgetful as to whom their forefathers owed their settlement in this country, acknowledge their Türkî descent, and alone of all the inhabitants of the Kohistân speak the Türkî language.

The appellation Bégrâm, although it may be questioned whether such was ever the peculiar name of the city, must still be considered indicative of the former importance of the site it now designates; undoubtedly signifying the chief city, the capital, the metropolis. Still, it must be borne in mind, especially, when considering the coins found on it, that it must generally have been a provincial capital. About three miles east of Kabal we have a village and extensive pasture retaining the name of Bégrâm; and if we inquire whether we have any vestiges of a former city at the spot, numerous mounds, and a series of magnificent topes on the skirts and in the recesses of the neighbouring hills to the south, seem to attest the fact—and would denote, might we infer from the single coin found in one of these buildings by M. Horügberger, who examined them, that the capital of King Mokadhphises, or Kadphises, and his lineage, was there located; or, should not that inference be granted, that a city of some consequence existed here, for the structure was probably, if not connected with that sovereign, erected in his time. Two large cities
could scarcely have been located so close together as Bégrám and the present Kâbal, therefore it is possible that the predecessor of the modern city may have been Bégrám (under, however, some other and peculiar name), on the banks of the river of Loghar, which winds through its meadows. A character of sanctity is yet preserved to the Loghar river in this spot, for to the adjacent village of Shévakí the Hindús of Kâbal annually repair to celebrate the vésák holidays.

Near Jelálabád a spot called Bégrám, about a mile and half or two miles west of the present town, would seem to denote the site of the former capital of the province; and that a city has flourished here, with its periods of importance and prosperity, we are not permitted to doubt; not merely by considering the actual state of the country and the advantages of position, but from the existence in the neighbourhood of three distinct series of topes, at Darúnta, Chahár Bâgh, and Hidda, without enumerating independent and isolated ones. The vicinity of Bégrám, indeed the entire plain of Jelálabád, is literally covered with tumuli and mounds. These are truly sepulchral monuments, but, with the topes, sanction the inference that a very considerable city existed here, or that it was a place of renown for sanctity. It may have been both. Tradition affirms, that the city on the plain of Jelálabád was called Ajúna, and alike asserts that the ancient Lahore was there; which may mean, that prior to the para-
mount sovereignty in these countries being possess-
ed by Lahore (it must be remembered it was so
when Máhmúd of Ghazní first invaded India), it
was established here.

Near Pesháwer we have a spot also called Bé-
grám, distinguished by its mounds and tamarisk-
trees, marking the site of an ancient city; and that
this epithet of eminence and distinction was con-
tinued up to a recent date we learn from Baber and
Abúl Fazíl.

The term bé-grám appears composed of the
Türkí bé or bí (chief) and the Hindí “grám” (city);
the latter word, while still colloquially employed
by the people on the banks of the Indus, was once
probably of more general use in the countries of
the Afgháns, but has been superseded by the Per-
sian “sheher,” and “abád,” with the Hindí “púr.”
Besides these four Bégráms, there is Oshter-grám in
the Kohistán; Sal-grám, a Hindú zíárat in Panjshír;
Pesh-grám, in Bájor; No-grám, in Pánchtá, &c., all
sites of considerable antiquity.

It has been observed that at the extremity of
Koh Bacha is a tope, which on examination fur-
nished no useful result. Judging from its appear-
ance, it has not so great an antiquity as many others
near Kábal and at Jelálabád.

There is another at Alísai, ten or twelve miles
east of Bégrám, between the valleys of Nijrow and
Taghow; and there is again another and superior
one at Tope Dara, near Cháríkár, which may reason-
ably be supposed to have been constructed under the princes of Húpián. A fourth, moreover, occurs at Korrindar, midway between Bégrám and Kábal; but it has unfortunately happened that no one of these several monuments has yielded evidences upon which we might decide upon its origin or date.

The Kohistân of Kábal abounds with vestiges of its ancient inhabitants; they are chiefly, if not exclusively, of a sepulchral character, but their greater or less extent with the numbers and varieties of the coins and other relics found at them, may authorize us to form an estimate of the importance of the places which we infer were situated near them. Admitting such criteria, a city of magnitude must have existed at Perwân, about eight miles, bearing north nineteen west, from Bégrám, consequently that distance nearer to the great range of Caucasus, under whose inferior hills it is in fact found. Coins are discovered there in large numbers, and there is also a cave remarkable for its dimensions; while in the hills which separate it from Sir Aulang, is a takht, or square stone monument, the sides of which are girt with decorative mouldings. The site in Perwân is called by Máhomedans Merwân, and by Hindús Milwân.

At Korhatás, east of the famed hill and zíárat Régh Rawán, and on the opposite side of the river to Bégrám, from which it is distant about six miles, bearing north forty-eight east, coins are nume-
rously found, and we have the usual tokens of mounds, fragments of pottery, &c., with remains of works in masonry about the hills, which bearing now the appellation of Killa Káfr, are in truth sepulchral repositories.

At the hill of Régh Rawân (flowing sand), remarkable for the bed of sand lying upon its southern face, which gives it both its name and singular appearance, is a subterranean cave, which has a descent by hewn, or artificial stairs, and may therefore be supposed to mean something more than the ordinary rock cave. It has never been duly explored, and there might be danger in the attempt to descend into it. The Mâhomedans have made it a zíárat, and have an idea that it is the spot whence their expected Imám Médí will issue upon earth; and they believe that on roz Júma, or sacred Friday, the sounds of nagáras, or drums, may be heard in it. It may be observed, that the Mâhomedan shrines, or by far the greater part of them throughout these countries, were originally those of the former idolatrous inhabitants, whose conversion to Islám was doubtless facilitated by the policy which dictated the conservation of their sacred localities, so dear to them from past associations and custom. A compromise was made between them and their converters, similar to that between the Prophet and his Arabs, by which the adored black stone of the latter became the kába of the faith propagated by the former.
In the valley of Panjshîr are considerable vestiges, at three distinct localities; one near the castle of Saifûla in Dara Ferhâj; another in Dara Bazârak, near the castle of Zamrûd Khân. It has before been casually remarked, that there is in Panjshîr a place of peculiar religious repute, called by the Hindûs Sâl-grâm, although, from the lawless habits of the natives of Panjshîr, they seldom venture to visit it. The Hindûs also consider the word Panjshîr (the five lions) as referring to the five sons of Pandû. The valley is even now populous and fertile, and in former times, when these countries were held in due and firm control, must have been of consequence, as affording a facile communication with Bâdakshân. It had, moreover, a distinct and intrinsic value in its silver mines, which were worked in remote times, as we are told by Abulfeda. There is reason to believe that this metal, in common with many others, abounds in the secondary hills of the Caucasus. The inhabitants of Panjshîr, esteemed by their neighbours, and so calling themselves, Tâjiks, while they speak Persian, also understand the Pashai language.

In Nijrow, as in other valleys of this country, are abundance of mounds and caves. While I was at Kâbal chance brought to light a large collection of caves which had formerly been concealed under earth. Some of them were described as curious, and their discovery was a subject of wonder for the day to the inhabitants. North-
east of this valley are a few villages belonging to families still retaining the name of Pashai. The natives of Nijrow, esteemed Tâjiks, and conversing with strangers in Persian, generally discourse in Pashai with each other.

The large valley of Taghow has many vestiges of its ancient inhabitants, and large parcels of coins have been found among them. It is now held by the Sáfî, reputed an Afghân tribe; but one of its most considerable daras, or minor valleys, is named Pashíân. The tope of Alisai, between Nijrow and Taghow, has been before alluded to.

In the valley of Ghorband, separated from Koh Dáman to the west by a high hill range stretching from the Hindú Kosh, are many and important remains of ancient times. This valley has a direction towards Bámíân, the Hazára districts of the Shékh Alí tribe, and of Shibr intervening. At a spot called Nílab are the ruins of an ancient fortress on the river, which even during the last few years have been rendered more palpably ruins by Dost Máhomed Khán, who employed elephants in the work of destruction; fearful that his nephew, Habíb Ulah Khán, whose authority he had contributed to overthrow at Kâbal, might have fled to it, and have renewed its defences. At Fúlojird, and Ferinjâl are remarkable caves; the latter of which Wilford had heard of, and with reference to Hindú traditions was willing to consider the cave of Pramathas, or Prometheus.
In Ghorband is a celebrated Hindú zijárat, which they call Ghárúk Tabbí, the equivalent of Bábá Adam, which merits notice, remembering Wilford’s notions that Bámíán was the Mosaical Eden,—not that I believe it was, but as showing how that singular, but always talented, man’s inquiries were directed.
CHAPTER VIII.

M. Honigberger. — His antiquarian operations. — Dr. Gerard. —
Adventures of M. Honigberger. — Departure for Jelalabad. —
Id Gâh. — Incivility. — Bhût Khâk. — Defile of Sokhta Chanár.
Baber Pádshâh. — Jigungilik. — Kotal Jigungilik. — Sûrkh Pûl. —
Old acquaintance. — Khalîl Khân’s story. — Samúches. — Troublesome
night. — Khalîl Khân’s death. — Gandamak. — Nimla. —
Bálla Bâgh. — Tâtang. — Ascent of Siáh Koh. — Caves. —
— Shrine of Lot. — Large graves. — Shrine of Lamech. — Opinions
of the people. — Scriptural names. — The Pâlî. — Scriptural
and classical testimony. — Pâlî conquests. — Early civilization.
Diffusion of their sciences and language. — Judicial astrology.
Universality of Pâlî language. — Names of localities. — Shrines.

On my return to Kabal from my first excursion
to Bégrâm I had the pleasure to meet M. Martine
Honigberger, from Lahore, who proposed, via Bok-
hára, to regain his native country. My visits to
this gentleman caused me to see frequently the
Nawâb Jâbár Khân, with whom he resided; and
that nobleman issued a standing order that he
should be informed whenever I came, and made
it a point to favour us with his company. With
M. Honigberger I made a trip to Shakr Dara, with
the view of ascending the high hill Hous Khâst,
but the season being too early we failed to do so, and I nearly perished in the attempt. M. Honigberger subsequently examined several of the topes near Kâbal, and then proceeded to Jelâlabâd, under the Nawâb’s protection, where he instituted a series of operations on the Darûnta group; and had not his apprehensions been excited by certain rumours as to the intentions of Nawâb Mâhoméd Zemân Khân, and Sirdâr Súltân Mâhoméd Khân of Pesháwer, then a guest of the Nawâb, it is possible little would have remained for my ultimate examination. As it was, he precipitately retired to Kâbal. His labours have had the advantage of having been made known to the European world by the late regretted Eugene Jacquet. At the close of autumn our European society was augmented by the arrival of Dr. Gerard, the companion of Lieutenant Burnes, and a few days after his departure for Lúdíána M. Honigberger set out with a kâfila for Bokhára.

At Ak Robât, a march beyond Bâmián, he was maltreated and plundered. Dost Mâhoméd Khân, I fear, was not innocent in this matter; nor does it extenuate his guilt that he was led to sanction the injury offered to M. Honigberger by the representations of the profligate Abdúl Samâd. Níáz Mâhoméd, the governor of Bâmián, was a creature of the latter; and the chief of Kâbal while he furnished M. Honigberger with letters directing every attention to be paid to him, placed his seal
on the wrong side of the paper, by which it was understood that the reverse of what was written was to be done by those to whom they were addressed. Private instructions of course did the rest; and it would appear that M. Honigberger very narrowly escaped being put to death. Abdül Samad complained that he had met with ill-treatment at the hands of the French officers in the Panjāb. Subsequently the Nawāb Jabār Khān purchased from Nīáž Máhomed some, or all, of the articles plundered, and sent them to M. Allard at Lahore, for transmission to M. Honigberger. The affair created a great expression of disgust at Kābal, indeed Dost Máhomed Khān, in removing Nīáž Máhomed from the government of Bāmiān soon after, made his criminal conduct the plea for his disgrace. The nawāb was anxious that I should reside with him when M. Honigberger left, but I declined, as I was doing very well where I was, and purposed to repair to Jelālabād for the winter.

I was about to start, when the nawāb entreated me to defer my departure for a few days, and accompany him. As I did not consent, the good-natured nobleman sent me a message to the effect that he would come to my house in the Bālla Hissār, and have me locked up. I could not divine the meaning of his solicitūde, but nevertheless determined upon proceeding, when, finding I was not to be diverted from my purpose, he made me promise that I would go to his castle at Tātang, and not
quit it until he came. So much arranged, he directed a Ghiljī, Gúl Máhomed, to be ready to accompany me, and instructed me, at the first stage of Bhút Khâk, to pass the night at his castle.

I left Kâbal with my own servants; the Ghiljí guide, and a mîrza who had agreed to become one of our party, being to join us at the nawâb's castle at Bhút Khâk. I had not seen the castle, and had been misdirected, or had misunderstood the directions given to me, and made for Killa Mosan, under the ridge bounding the plain of Kâbal to the south. In route from the Derwâza Shâh Shéhid we passed the eminence and zíârat of Síáh Sang to your left, overlooking the Id Gâh, or space where the annual and public festivals are celebrated, and where, in expeditions to the east, the pésh-khâna, or advanced tents of the chiefs, are pitched preparatory to the assembly of the army, and to marching. In the short distance between this spot and the Derwâza Shâh Shéhid, about half a mile, the unfortunate Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh would appear to have been assassinated.

Crossing the small rise, called Kotal Yek Langar, with the ruinous castle of Killa Gúrjí on its crest, we descended into the plain of Kamarí, a village of that name being to our right, and to our left another, called Killa Ahmed Khán. At this point also the road is intersected by the canal Júí Khwoja, derived from the Loghar river, which at some distance farther we crossed by a dilapidated
bridge of brick-work and masonry, the village of Bégrám lying immediately to our right. A little beyond the river we struck across the plain towards Killa Mosan, believing it to be the nawâb’s castle. We found our error; but its Afghân occupants were very willing we should have passed the night with them. We declined their proffered civility with thanks, and made across the plain in a northerly direction for the nawâb’s castle. Midway we passed Bhút Khâk, a large enclosed agricultural village, desolate in appearance, but memorable in the traditions of the country as the place where Súltân Máhmúd broke up the idols of Samnáth, whence its name. On arrival at the nawâb’s castle I was surprised to meet with an uncivil reception. I inquired for Múkhtahár Khân, the intendant, to whom the duty of receiving us fell, and the fellow did not deign to notice me. I accordingly turned to the right-about, and retrograded to Bhút Khâk, where I passed the night in the samúches, or caves, which are, indeed, usual halting-places for kâfílas and travellers. Bhút Khâk is the station of a karijghír, or collector of duties, and has a fine rivulet to the east. The samúches in which we lodged have their corresponding small tumuli, proving the character of the spot. The village is the last occurring on the plains of Kâbal to the east, and beyond it commences the hilly country, extending to Jelálabád. In a line to the south of it terminates the ridge of Shâkh Baranta, around
whose extremity leads the high road to Khúrd Ká-bal, or little Ká-bal, and Tézín.

Early in the morning I despatched one of my people to the nawâb’s castle to ascertain whether the mírza had arrived. He met him coming to me, with a host of the nawâb’s people, sent from Ká-bal by their master to do me honour. They were much chagrined at the untoward reception I experienced from Múkhtahár Khán, and said they were at a loss what report to make to their master. I found afterwards that the man’s incivility cost him his employment, and I had the task of interceding for his pardon and reinstatement. The Ghiljí guide did not, however, make his appearance, and deciding to move on without him, we debated as to what road should be followed, and that of Sokhta Chanár was fixed upon. Accordingly, we crossed the rivulet of Bhút Khâk, and traversing an uneven undulating tract, entered the hills on our right. At their entrance was a small valley, with the remains of a castle, a little cultivated land, and a clear rivulet. From it the road led through a continued defile, and we were embarrassed by ice and frozen snow, particularly during the first part of our progress, when a rivulet accompanied us. On reaching a spot with a few samúches we halted, and were joined by the Ghiljí, commissioned by the nawâb to attend us, who proved to be the same person who had escorted Dr. Gerard and his party. We now moved forwards with
greater confidence; indeed we had not prudently left Bhút Khâk without our guide, but fortune had befriended us. On entering the hills I observed my companion, the mírza, turn pale, and he did not then tell me what was the matter. He had noticed a party of robbers sitting on the hills above us, over a fire. They did not descend, as we were armed and mounted; but we learned, subsequently, that they intercepted some pedestrians, and drivers of asseg in our rear. I did not see these men.

As we approached the vicinity of Tézín the rocks were remarkably contorted, and throughout the defiles were many indications of copper, a metal more or less abundant in the hills of this part of the country. We at length came into a valley, through which flows the rivulet from Tézín, now on our right, where we found a few camels laden with chaff, and the proprietors, Chúlí Zai Afghâns, being willing to supply our cattle, we determined to halt with them for the night, the rocks being disposed so as to exclude the wind, at this season justly dreaded. The early part of the night passed mildly, but afterwards, as we heard the shrill whistling of the breeze, we congratulated ourselves on being sheltered from its violence.

By sunrise we were on the move, and passed down the valley, spacious and open, but the surface broken and stony, in many places sprinkled with low trees and shrubs, until we reached the zíárat of Séh Bábá, or the three fathers, the shrine of...
all the robbers of the country, who make this spot a favourite resort, and perform pilgrimage, and plunder travellers at the same time. It is conveniently located for the exercise of their calling; three of the roads from Kâbal, those of Tézín, Sokhta Chanár, and Lattaband, meet at it. The ziárat is a grave in an enclosure of loose stones, distinguished by a large tree bedizened with rags and shreds. We here turned to our right, the road leading over a jumble of sandstone hills, inducing a variety of ascents and descents before we reached the narrow lengthened valley of Bárík-âb, so called from a slender rivulet which flows down it.

On the heights were the remains of an old Chaghataí castle, and a recent one, built by Amír Máhomed Khán, for the protection of the road. There are also several samúches, now used by the traveller, but which, from the many tumuli apparent, were originally constructed with a different object. From Bárík-âb we continued our progress over the same elevated and diversified country, and enjoyed from the rounded summits of the hills a fine view of the open valley of Taghow, about twenty-five miles distant, and of the intervening depressed hilly space, through which flow the rivers of the Kohistân and of Kâbal. The valley of Taghow appeared studded with castles and gardens, denoted by the dense dark masses speckling its surface, and has evidently a marked slope from the north to the south. We also advantageously beheld the lofty range dividing
Taghow from the more easternly districts of Lúgh­mán and Nadjíl, with its acute pyramidical peaks, and north of it the snowy summits of Koh Kohand, which intervenes between Panjshír and the moun­tainous seats of the Siáposh Kâfrs. Descending in­to the spacious stony valley of Kattar Sang, we met a strong kâfila from Pesháwer, and coming to a ri­vulet we halted, and made our breakfast. Leaving the valley, we again crossed an uneven tract, but with greater extent of level surface. A heap of stones was pointed out as the Sang Toda Baber Pádshâh, and is believed to have been raised by the soldiers of Baber’s army, each soldier, agreeably to the emperor’s orders, contributing a stone. A little beyond it are the walls of a small square building; near which two or three fellows were skulking: We rode up to it to see that no robbers were lurking within it, and farther on reached the summit of a hill, on which were the ruinous walls of two Chaghatai castles, and below us the dara, or valley of Jigdillik, with a good rivulet, and the remains of a garden planted by Taimúr Shâh, in which his unfortunate son, Shâh Zemân, was deprived of sight, when deli­vered by Malek Ashak to Assad Khân, brother of the Vazír Fatí Khân. We passed the night in some samúches, of which there are several, with a number of tumuli on either side of the valley. Higher up in it are again others; and besides a few scanty groves of mulberry-trees, on an eminence, is the village of Jigdillik, now deserted, having been
but a short time since given over to plunder by Má­
homed Akbar Khan. The inhabitants, Afghans, had dispersed, until they should be invited to resume their seats. We with difficulty procured necessa­
ries, and Gúl Máhomed had to scour the country in quest of them. Jigdillik, from the misfortune of Sháh Zemán, had acquired a local celebrity, which has now become more general, and woefully enhanced to us, since its cheerless and desolate glens have witnessed the destruction of the wrecks of our ill­fated Kábal force.

From Jigdillik we ascended a dara, gradually con­
tracting until we came to the foot of a slight kotal, called the Kotal of Jigdillik. On its crest were the remains of a Chaghatai castle, and but for the hazy weather we should have had a magnificent view of the low country of Jelálabád beneath us. This kotal is now, and has probably always been, the limit of the Kábal and Jelálabád jurisdictions; and on that ac­
count, and with reference to the habits of the neigh­bouring tribes, it was anciently deemed a position worthy of being protected, as is manifest by the remains of its castles, more than usually extensive. Baber was here opposed in one of his expeditions, and it is possible that to the establishment, by his orders, of a line of posts and stations between Kábal and Atak, the castle, whose remains we see, was owing, as well as many of the other fortresses, known at the present day as Chaghatai killas, however his successors may have improved and added to them.
The descent was continual, without being precipitous, and the snow diminished every step we advanced, until at last we left it fairly behind us. On arrival at a locality called Lokhí, where to the right is a rivulet in a bed overspread with reeds, our guide asked permission to visit Hissárak, a little right of the road, where he said his family resided. It was granted, as he promised to join us at Súrkh Púl. We did not suspect he had other motives until we reached that place, so called from a bridge built by Alí Mírdán Khán over the Súrkh Rúd, or red river, which crosses the road, and glides into the valley of Kangkarrak. It seemed that our friend had some altercation with the karijghírs, or toll-collectors, when attending Dr. Gerard and his party. Anticipating that we should encounter similar difficulties, he had wisely put himself out of the way, and left us to arrange matters ourselves. We passed the bridge and made a short halt. I went to see a Persian inscription on a rock, recording its foundation, when one of the collectors came to me and asked if I was the owner of the horses. I replied “Yes;” when he said, “Take them before the khán,” pointing to a person wrapped in a postín and sitting within a circle of stones, by the side of the road. I shook my head; and he then said, “Go, and have a little iktalát, or conversation with the khán.” I again shook my head, for I could not conceive who the khán could be in such a place. The mírza, who had joined, expressed his intention of waiting upon
Khalil Khan. On hearing the name, I asked what Khalil Khan it was, and was told, Khalil Khan of Bisút. "Oh, then," I exclaimed, "I will go myself." I had soon the satisfaction of shaking hands with an old friend, whose civilities to me in my first visit to these countries I have before recorded. I could not refuse to pass the evening with him; and men were despatched to Tútú, two cosses distant, for a sheep, barley, and chaff, while cakes, cheese, and honey were immediately placed before us. We talked over the events which had befallen us since we first met, and the khan gave a strange account of his disasters. He said he was overwhelmed with debts, and that his fine castles in Bisút were mortgaged. He was farther embarrassed in his accounts with the Nawâb Mâhoméd Zemân Khân, from whom he farmed the transit-duties of Jelâlabâd, and who occasionally resumed them, but finding no person collect them so well, was compelled to transfer them again to him, notwithstanding the liberty he took in withholding the receipts. He told me, that he did not care a fig for the nawâb, that he had married two or three daughters of the Ghiljís in the neighbourhood, and was in rebellion whenever money was demanded from him. I congratulated him in being, in one respect, in so thriving a way. An elderly staid gentleman coming towards us, the khan observed, that the scoundrel was one of his creditors, who gathered up the monies as he collected them from kâfilas.
Tea being brought for me, the khân complained of headache, and referred it to the beverage, of which he drank two cups; I rather suspected the evil was owing to his sitting the whole day in the sun, which, however, he said, was his custom. Some of his young men brought in some partridges, which were grilled, and served to us, and, it being evening, we retired to samúches, excavated by the khân himself, and in which he resided, or rather passed his nights. He was very proud of them, as being memorials which would confer immortality upon him, and showed me a substance which he had found in course of the work, which cut glass, and which he fancied to be a diamond. The samúches were oppressively hot, and I certainly should have preferred the open air. After an excellent supper, the mírza produced a book, the Khalíl wa Damnah, and recited, to the great apparent satisfaction of the khân and himself, for the rest of the evening. I sat until I could not keep my eyes longer open, and went to repose on a chahárpâhí, at the extremity of the samúch. It was in vain that I courted sleep, which, if the heat of the apartment would have permitted, the asthmatic cough of the old gentleman creditor prevented. I had not expected another cause of interruption, offered by Khalíl Khân himself, who throughout the night kept up an incessant series of shouts, groans, and sighs, intermixed with ejaculations of Sokhtam! sokhtam! I burn! I burn! and Oh! Khodâ! Oh!
Khodâ! toba! toba! hazář toba! Oh God! oh God! repentance! repentance! a thousand times repentance! I was alarmed, but observed that no one took any notice; and the old gentleman, whose cough made him pace the samúch a good part of the night, passed and repassed the chahárpâhí, on which the poor khân was extended, perfectly indifferent to his torments; wherefore I concluded the exhibition was an ordinary one. I went through a singular night, and heartily rejoiced at the break of day, which enabled me to quit the samúch. The old gentleman requested a remedy for dil-dard, and professed to be eased by a decoction of cloves. Khalil Khân complained of fever. A few days after the unhappy man died; and his corpse was carried past Tátang, where I was staying, in its way to Bísút for interment. Some time after I met the old creditor at Jelálabád, and observing "So poor Khalil Khân is gone," asked of what disorder he died, and was told that Házrat Alí had slain him, weary of having his name profaned, and of hearing the perjuries he uttered.

Having breakfasted, we bade farewell to the Khân, and passed over an uneven country, the road tolerably good, until we came to a rivulet, which we crossed, and ascending a short but abrupt kotal, found ourselves on the table-land of Gandamak. Afar off we had descried a horse standing on the summit, which we rightly conjectured to be that of the Ghiljí guide. We ral-
lied him on leaving us at the mercy of the karijghírs. We halted at Gandamak, although we had only marched three cosses, as we could command supplies and good accommodation. The village, once enclosed within walls, does not contain above forty or fifty houses, but has some half-dozen Hindú shopkeepers, and it is famed for its fine mulberries. South of the village is a royal garden, all but destroyed. There are two or three castles adjacent, one called Killa Gandamak, another belongs to Meherdád Khán, Popal Zai, and anciently Harkára Báshí. There is also much cultivated land, water being plentiful. The inhabitants are of the Kohgání tribe, that formerly possessed the country to the west, held by the Jabár Khél Ghiljís, who expelled them. They now occupy in this vicinity, besides Gandamak, the villages Tútú Kajar, Nimla, Fatíabád, &c. They claim to be related to the Ghiljís, who do not acknowledge the affinity, and apparently with reason. Gandamak, from its elevated site, has a climate cool in comparison with that of the lower plains of Jelálabád, and the people, in common with those of the districts of the contiguous Saféd Koh, tend silk-worms.

From Gandamak we came to the villages of Háshem Khél and Belál Khél, with the Naián rivulet, over which is a ruinous bridge of two arches, picturesque in decay. To our right were the villages and castles of Nokar Khél, and above them,
at the skirts of the Saféd Koh, the villages of Múrkhi Khél, Zoar, &c. In place of following the high road, which leads to Nimla, we took one to our left, over the table space of Bámak, from which we had an admirable view of the valley, village, and royal garden of Nimla. This village is a small one of eighty houses, but the garden appears very advantageously with its tall cypress-trees. It is famed for narcissuses, posies of which are sent as presents to Kabál. The unopened buds are selected for transport, and they expand on being placed in water. From the table space of Bámak we descended into the valley of the Súrkh Rúd river, at a point called Kangkarrak, where is a small collection of ancient caves. We halted there, and breakfasted. We now observed many plants of warm climates, strangers to Kabál, and the milky ák-bush became abundant. We traced the southern skirts of the narrow valley, passing many hamlets, small castles, and much cultivation, and finally came to Bálla Bágh, a small walled-in town, seated on the very bank of the river, on the opposite side of which is the site of the city of Adínápúr, flourishing in the time of Baber.

About a mile west of the town is a garden, the Chahárá Bágh, planted by that prince, and which he calls Bágh-i-Wafa. He vaunts the strong position of the fortress of Adínápúr, which I could never detect, unless a mass of ruins on an eminence, near some triangular entranced caves, denote
it, and if so, however extensive, it would appear to have been very loosely constructed. Bálla Bágh is a commercial little town, and Hindús in great numbers reside at it. The revenue is enjoyed by Máhomed Osmán Khán, son of the late Nawâb Samad Khán, who was expelled from Kohát by Pír Máhomed Khán, of Pesháwer. Two or three hundred men were employed in widening the trench, it being said that Dost Máhomed Khán was expected. We were now gratified by the sight of luxuriant fields of sugar-cane. A little beyond Bálla Bágh we crossed the Súrkh Rúd, a rapid stream, and with water to our horses' girths. Passing a variety of hamlets and fortlets, with the village of Kotípúr, we arrived at the nawâb Jabár Khán's seignorial castle of Tátang, where we were received with all honour by his intendant Abdúlah, and presently installed in apartments over the principal gateway, whence we commanded a noble view of the valley of Jelâlabád and the country to the east. This castle was built by the nawâb when governor of the Ghiljís of Kábal, and when he could call forth the labourers of the country at discretion. He fixed upon a waste, neglected spot, therefore called Tátang, which in Pashtâní implies desolate, and to reclaim it directed his attention. The site had been anciently occupied by a castle called Killa Rájpútán, or the castle of the Rájpúts, and was connected by tradition with the period of Rájpút sway in these countries. Two or three substantial towers
were yet existing, and the nawâb has often assured me it employed more labour to remove them than was required to raise the new castle. A superior castle, with very lofty walls and towers, has been erected. To the east, or front, is a large public garden, with handsome summer-house and baths for the accommodation of guests, and adjoining the southern front of the building is another private garden. Both are stocked with flowers, and at this time displayed large expanses of red and white tuberoses. In the evening the fragrance of the atmosphere was delightful. The trees in these gardens, as over the estate, are but young, although some of the cypresses have attained a moderate
EXCURSION.

height. About eighteen kolbahs of land appertain to the nawâb, who has purchased the whole of it, but at very low prices. There was formerly no water, or little in the neighbourhood, a deficiency which the nawâb has obviated by bringing a canal from the Súrkh Rúd, opposite Bâlla Bâgh, along the skirts of the hills, at the foot of which Tâtang lies. Within the castle there is a spacious residence for his family, provided with all due appendages, as baths, &c., and about thirty-five houses, for his tenants and agriculturists. The estate is now in pretty good order, and in course of time will be a magnificent one, as additions are every year made to it, by purchases of the adjoining lands. The nawâb takes great pride in it, and is never so happy as when walking over his grounds, planting trees, widening canals, or feasting upon the beauties of his flower-gardens. A doubtful politician and statesman, his skill as a husbandman is denied by no one.

I fulfilled my promise to the nawâb of not wandering far from his castle, yet I did not neglect the immediate environs, which to me had at least the charm of novelty to recommend them. One of my first excursions was to the summit of the range overshadowing us, and which, extending from Jigdillik to Darûnta, separates the valleys of Nin-grahár and Lúghmân. It is called Kândaghar by Afghâns, Bâgh Atak by Tâjiks, and Koh Bolan by the people of Lúghmân. It is also frequently
called Síáh Koh, or the black hill, in contra-distinction to the magnificent range of the Saféd Koh, or white hill, on the opposite, or southern line of the valley. From Tátang a glen, called Kajarí, in a north-west direction, extends to the main body of the range, and early one morning I started to proceed up it and gain the crest of the hills, attended by one of my servants and an Afghán guide, Ferdúsí. At the opening of the glen upon the plain round conglomerate hills occur on either side, composed of boulders of moderate dimensions, combined by a calcareous cement. This species of rock is very liable to delapse, and huge fragments, fallen from above, strew the narrow valley. From the same reason, towards the summits, many of them have a scarped perpendicular line of many feet in depth, which has caused their selection for the excavation of samúches. Here are many of those ascetical residences; and the hills abound with vestiges of walls, ramparts, and pottery-ware, indicative of the former character of the locality. As we ascend up the glen we tread upon a series of stratified and schistose rocks, at first barely peering above the surface, but gradually rising in altitude. Amongst these we observed some of the impressions, common enough in these regions, apparently of the hoof of an animal. Here, as well as everywhere else, I have seen them; they are found in a certain kind of black stone. Three hundred yards from its commencement the glen contracts,
and a short tanghí, or defile, is passed, where is a very beautiful object in an excavated arched recess, made in ancient times for the sake of obtaining zâkh, or the sub-acetate of iron, which completely pervades the rock. The people at present employ it to strike a black dye on cloths previously saturated in a decoction of pomegranate rind. The spot is particularly picturesque, from the nature of the stratified rocks, and the variously tinged yellow and green hues caused by the presence of the zâkh. It is a fairy scene, and the grot of Oberon could not be more fanciful or fantastic. Beyond it the glen expands, and the enclosing hills to the west are again provided with caves. Here is also a warm spring, and a clump of productive date-trees, which give a name to the glen, which throws off a branch to the west, leading to Márnú, a spot inhabited by Afghân pastoral families. At this point is a small, but deep dand, or pool of water, its borders fringed with that species of reeds from which the kalam, or pens of the country, are fashioned. We traced the northern branch of the glen, being anxious to see some remains we had heard of, the first said to be at a spot called Goraichí, a place of Hindú pilgrimage. In fact, we found scratched on the rocks a variety of rude figures, of men on elephants and horses, and of men on foot, armed with bows and arrows, of stags and lions, of hares, and other animals. It was impossible to decide whe-
ther the figures were owing to single design or were the result of casual and occasional contributions. If the former, it may have been intended to represent a battle, or hunting-scene. The figures were too rudely scratched to deserve much attention, neither could anything useful be learned from them; but, surmounting the rocks on which they are found, we presently came upon some more substantive remains, in walls and parapets of masonry, on the crest, and encircling the sides of an eminence. This locality, as all similar ones are, was called Killa Kâfr, or the infidel's fortress. A line of wall was carried round three sides of the peak; the fourth, presenting an abrupt perpendicular escarpment, rendered its continuation unnecessary. The entrance faced the west. At the eastern point were the remains of a circular tower. Beneath the superior line of wall, on the acclivities of the eminences, parapets had been raised; the intervals between them and the inclined surface of the rock were filled up with pure sifted earth. From these spots funereal jars, containing dark-coloured earth, bones, and fragments of charcoal, had been procured, establishing the fact of the sepulchral nature of the locality. The walls on the summit enclosed a variety of small apartments, the partition walls of which were entire, and which seemed to point out the residences of the various persons connected with the establishment. It could scarcely be doubted that it was the ancient burial-place of some
village on the plain. Skirting the hills to the east, I afterwards found many such places were to be found, some of them much more considerable than the one here. They occur continuously, as it were, until we reach the termination of the range, where, for the last two or three miles, is dispersed the group of the topes of Darúnta. To the westward we also discover them; the remains at the site of Adinapúr, whether or not denoting the fortress so favourably spoken of by Baber, are of the same character, and similar vestiges present themselves until we reach the caves of Kangkarrak, and even beyond them. In all instances the rational inference is, that they refer to villages formerly located, as at the present day, on the plains beneath them, and that their retired situation was selected in conformity to the custom and religion of the time; of which the ever-present cave attests, that seclusion and asceticism were prominent features. In like manner, we account for the antique evidences to be found on the skirts of the various hills of Afghánistán, all of which exhibit them, and it is only natural they should, for there were villages, of course, in all directions, as now, in the plains at their feet; and every village as naturally had its place of sepulture.

The view of the country from Killa Kâfr being extensive, I took a few bearings, and then retraced my steps, to gain the road leading to the summit of the range. It continued very fair and even for
some time, and brought us to a waterfall, of fifty or sixty feet in height. As we ascended we were gratified by the sight of a much more considerable fall, or rather succession of falls, the superior one of great height. There was little water, and it was clear that such objects, to be seen to advantage, should be visited after rains and floods. There are many of them in various parts of the range. The difficulty of our journey increased as we neared the summit, though the hill offered no impediment to our ascent beyond that presented by its inclination, and it was only after repeated halts that we attained the object of our journey; and certainly our toil was well repaid by the wide, the varied, and magnificent scenery on all sides. To the north we had under our observation the valleys of Lúghmân, with their towns, villages, castle, and cultivated lands, bounded by Koh Karinj; beyond which a jumble of hills designated the abodes of the mysterious and imperfectly known Síáposh races. To the west of the Lúghmân valley stretched a cheerless barren expanse to the ranges separating it from Taghow, and the lands of the Sáhibzâda Uzbíns. At the point where it connected with the cultivated plain, near the town of Tírgarí, a solitary dome indicated the zíárat of Mëtar Lám Sáhib, or the supposed grave of the patriarch Lámech. The towns, villages, and castles appeared as minute specks upon the plain, but they were specially distinguished by the venerable gaz-trees of their zíárats. We had an admi-
rable view of the rivers of Alingár and Alíshang, winding like slender rivulets in their courses, and effecting their junction at Tírgarí, and subsequently at Mandaráwar uniting with the river of Kábál. Directing our sight to the east, we commanded a view up the valley of Khonar as far as Islámabád, where it was intercepted by the snowy range separating it from Bájor, and which confines to the east the course of the river of Kámeh, which we had also the gratification to descry in its meanders along the contracted valley. Turning round, the valley of Jelálabád and of the Kábál river was fully developed, bounded by the hills of the Momands and Khaíbaris, intervening between it and Pesháwer. To the south we had a glorious prospect of the Saféd Koh range, the limitary boundary of the valleys of Ningrahár and Bangash, and of the numerous districts at its skirts. To the west, our observation included Amán Koh, and snowy peaks in the vicinity of Kábál; but the atmosphere was hazy in this quarter. Our admiration at the noble prospect made us think of leaving the hill with regret, but we had reached late, and after taking my observations upon the principal localities within view, I was compelled to descend. Our downward course was easy, and we regained Tátang a little after sunset.

Within a mile from Tátang, in a valley of this hill-range, is the zíárat, or shrine of Háźrat Lút Paigambar, supposed to be the grave of no less
a personage than the scriptural patriarch Lot. Such an object necessarily commanded my attention, and I therefore one evening walked to it. I found one of those graves of extraordinary dimensions which abound in this country; and more sparingly are found westward, as at Kābal, and in the Hazārajāt. The grave in question was about thirty-three yards in length, and was enclosed by a wall, rudely constructed of stones. It had the usual concomitants, of poles surmounted with flags, of lamps, and a spring of water contiguous. A path leads from it to Bālla Bágh, which, as well as the immediate vicinity of the grave, is kept carefully clean, as the inhabitants of that place, both Māhomedan and Hindú, constantly repair to it, and hold it in special reverence. Adjacent to it is a smaller grave, believed to be that of a relative of the patriarch. At the head of the grave, the assiduity of pilgrims has accumulated a rich cabinet of the mineralogical specimens of the hills, for it is usual to deposit in such localities any rare or curious natural object of the kind which may be found. They are also partially strewed over the entire surface. On this account the mineralogist should always visit the shrines in a Māhomedan country, as he will find there collected what it would cost him much trouble to acquire in their dispersed state; the naturalist will also meet with antlers and horns of extraordinary dimensions, and the antiquarian may chance to dis-
cover fragments of sculptured stones, and inscribed slabs. The numbers in which these large graves occur in the valleys of Ningrahár naturally pressed on my mind the consideration of their nature. It was unnecessary to believe, with the people of these parts, that they covered the remains of giants, which they infer Házrat Lút, and the other patriarchs, to have been; and it was obvious that their direction from north to south was strictly orthodox and Máhomedan. In most situations they are zíárat; and those which are not are still beheld reverentially, their holy character being acknowledged, while it is regretted that no revelation has disclosed to whom they relate. The more celebrated of these large graves, is that of Métar Lám Sáhib, or the patriarch Lámech, in Lúghmân, known in Europe from its connexion with the traditionary history of Súltán Máhmuד, and by the notice Wilfورد has taken of it. In fixing the antiquity of these memorials we are not absolutely without guides. On the plain of Jelálabád many are found on the summits of the tumuli of the middle ages, whose epoch we are warranted to conclude from the coins and relics picked up on their surface, or elicited by excavation, to have been anterior indeed, but frequently very little so, to the Máhomedan conquests. Nothing can be more certain than that the graves, in such positions, are posterior to the tumuli on which they are formed. I therefore suppose that they are
the graves of Máhomedans who flourished in the time of the Caliphat rule, and who, falling probably in action with infidels, have been interred with extraordinary honour. I have had occasion to remark, that the shrines of the ancient superstitions of the country have, palpably, been legitimatized by the early Múslím invaders; and this fact may account for the presence of these graves in sites which, if only sepulchral, will still have had a religious and venerated character. On many of the tumuli where these monuments are found there are gaz, or tamarisk-trees, of great size, and of at least as remote an age as the graves they overshadow. To Súltán Máhmúd traditionary record imputes the reclamation of these graves, and the revelation, imparted in a dream, that the sepulchre of the patriarch Lámech was unknown and dishonoured in the country.

The inhabitants of Bálla Bâgh believe that the existence of the shrine in their environs conduces to the prosperity of the town, and those of Lúghmán ascribe the productiveness of their lands to their good fortune in possessing the shrine of the illustrious Lámech. In these degenerate days neither has any endowment: the contributions of the pious, and the offerings of pilgrims, are the sources from which their little establishments are kept up.

It may deserve notice, that many localities in Afgánistán bear scriptural names: Kábal itself is
that of a place in Palestine, noticed by the author of the Book of Joshua, chap. xix. verses 24 to 30, when describing the allotment of the tribe of Asher. It again occurs in Kings, where Hiram, the prince of Tyre, dissatisfied with the twenty cities made over to him by Solomon, confers upon them the name of Kābal, which Josephus explains to mean worthless, or unprofitable. In like manner we have Zoar, Shīnar, Gāza, Shēva, Sidim, Tabar, Amān, Kergha—to mention only a few instances—all of which we find not only in the Scriptures, but in the earlier of them; and it is clear that they were names borne by the localities when they became first known to the Israelites, and that they were not conferred by the latter. It need not be doubted that they are Pālī names, given by the Pālī settlers in that region, called Pālīstān, or land of the Pālī, the original of our Palestine; and these Pālī are again the Philistines, (a plural term,) so long the memorable antagonists of the Hebrews. If we inquire who these Pālī were, we learn from Genesis that they were descendants of Ham, in the line of Mizraim; and if we consult classical authorities, we are informed by Diodorus that they were one of the great Scythian families, the other being the Nāpī; and we are farther told, that at a very remote time they overran all Asia, and penetrated into Europe, and the islands of the Mediterranean. Of these Pālī conquests I am not aware that we have any other positive record,
but they are fully confirmed by vestiges left behind in all the countries they are said to have subdued. Tyre, or correctly Túr, was, as Strabo says, more anciently called Pálí-túr: the Pálí túr or fort; and Rome succeeded a Pálí-tan, the Pálí town, on the hill we call Palatine; while innumerable places throughout Italy, Greece, Sicily, and the Mediterranean isles, as well as throughout Asia, attest the presence of these ancient people. Their conquests are, moreover, of the first importance; for, connecting the evidence of Scripture with that of Diodorus, we find that subsequent to, if not consequent upon, the dispersal at Babel, the Pálí must have spread themselves into the regions known to the ancients as Scythia, as they returned from them in their career of victory, mentioned by the historian. In their first movements towards the east they necessarily carried with them all their arts and sciences. And on this point the testimony of Scripture is most valuable, for in apprising us of their affinity with the descendants of Mizraim, it leaves no room to doubt that they were as proficient in them as were those with whom they were connected; and it is needless to advert to the early state of society and civilization in Egypt, unless to suggest that the countries into which the Pálí spread may have been at the same time equally under similar influences; and we can but remember that in China there would always appear to have existed a civil-
ized people. At Babylon Alexander the Great was presented with a series of astronomical calculations, extending for a certain number of years, within ten of the date generally assigned to the erection of the tower of Babel. It has been suspected that one of the objects of the tower may have been to facilitate such observations, probably for the sake of the predictions deduced from them; and it is curious to find that in China and in India, from the earliest times, judicial astrology has been a favourite study, and the principal means by which a crafty hierarchy have imposed upon the deluded imaginations of the people. Would not the Pâlî have carried that science with them? Recent discoveries in India, and in Central Asia, have proved that the language of those countries at the period of the Macedonian conquests was Pâlî. Sanscrit turns out to be Pâlî; the language of Persia at the time of Darius Hystaspes, was Pâlî; Phœnician we know to be Pâlî: facts undeniable, and in unison with authority we feel all inclination to respect and venerate, while they are singular only because they disturb erroneous impressions, long current and cherished. There are many points in connexion with the Pâlî of engrossing interest, to discuss which would carry me beyond the limit prescribed for such matters in these volumes; it will be sufficient, after what has been observed, to point out that the occurrence of Pâlî names, whether in Afghânistân or Palestine, is no cause
for wonder; had they not occurred there would have been. Besides Pâlí names, the Afghân coun-
tries preserve in their localities names of the several races which have successively overrun them. Hence we have Arab, Rájpút, Túrkí, Persian, as well as other appellations; and the various remark-
able shrines owe, no doubt, their nomenclature to the early Máhomedans, who thereby made the ex-
isting sacred places their own.
CHAPTER IX.

Dost Máhomed Khán’s designs.—Movements of Sháh Sújah al Múlkh. — Arrival of Meher Dil Khán. — Súltán Máhomed Khán’s visit to Jelálabád.—Plots.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s feints.—Extortions.—Projects and counter-projects.—Designs disclosed.—Háji Khán discarded.—March of Dost Máhomed Khán.—Mir Afzil Khán.—His ingenuity.—Submission of Máhomed Osmán Khán.—Measures of Máhomed Zemán Khán.—Assault and capture of Jelálabád.—Plunder of town.—Arrival of Nawáb Jabár Khán.—Attempt to assassinate Dost Máhomed Khán.—Fate of assassin.—Máhomed Zemán Khán’s conduct.—His recent re-appearance.—Disposal of Jelálabád.—Seizure of chiefs of Khonar and Lálpúra.—Abdúl Ghiáz Khán.—His proposed mission to India.—Dost Máhomed Khán’s objections.—Secret departure.—Altercation at Dáká.—Obstinacy of companions.—Reference to Sádat Khán.—His decision and message.—His conversation.—His fate.—Remarks thereon.—His successor in authority.—Shelmán Khúrd.—Múlla Ghorí.—Robbers.—Reception at Ispind Sing.—Arrival at Pesháwer.—Confused state of affairs.—Ridiculous alarms.—Sháh Sújah al Múlkh’s treaty.—The Sikhs profit by circumstances.—Their understanding with parties.—Proposal to the sirdárs.—Advance of Sikh army.—Stand of Háji Khán.—Pesháwer taken.—Jocularity of Harí Singh.—Pír Máhomed Khán’s valorous remark.—Abdúl Ghiáz Khán’s arrangements.

I have noted, that on passing Bálla Bágh workmen were employed in strengthening the defences of the place, under a notion that Dost Máhomed Khán contemplated to visit it in his way to Jelá-
labád. I soon found that there was good ground for the apprehension, and at once understood the nawâb's solicitude, that I should go to his castle and not wander from it. When I left Kâbal I was not aware of the sirdâr's intention, in fact, supposed his attention would be directed to other quarters; but I troubled myself little about politics, and did not penetrate the secrets of his councils. It was known that Shâh Sújáh al Múlkh was at Shikárpúr, that he had defeated the army of Northern Sind at Sakar, and extorted a sum of money from the confederated chiefs. All accounts concurred that he had collected an army, formidable as to numbers at least; that there was abundance in his camp, and that the road to Kândahár was open to him. His letters were circulated through all parts of Afghánistán, and there was scarcely a person of note who had not responded to them. In September, Meher Dil Khân, one of the Kândahár chiefs, arrived at Kâbal, avowedly to induce his brother, Dost Máhomed Khân, to march to Kândahár, to assist in repelling the danger with which they were menaced by the Shâh's advance. Notwithstanding, the shâh was naturally an object of dread; so imperfect was the bond of union between the several Bârak Zai brothers in power that the real purpose of Meher Dil Khân's visit was to entice his brother to Kândahár, with a view of rendering his territories accessible to invasion by the chiefs of Pesháwer and Jelâlabád.
Dost Máhomed Kháñ, well acquainted with the intentions of his brother, received him with outward civility, but neglected to provide him with entertainment, or with expenses to defray it, thereby annoying him during his stay, and probably abridging its continuance. He engaged, however, to march to Kândahár, if satisfied that no advantage would be taken of his absence by the chiefs of Pesháwer. Súltán Máhomed Kháñ advanced as far as Mámá Kháñ, south of Gandamak, and sent his son to Kábál to assist at the conferences, as a proof of his desire to unite cordially with Dost Máhomed Kháñ in the crisis which impended over the family. Such was the proclaimed motive; but agents, in the train of his son, were commissioned to tamper with the adherents of the Kábál chief, and, in concert with Meher Dil Kháñ, to arrange measures with the disaffected for his destruction. The Nawáb Jabár Kháñ, and Hájí Kháñ, were privy to these plots, and lent them their countenance. Súltán Máhomed Kháñ’s agents reported, that their mission had been successful; and Dost Máhomed Kháñ, who had alike despatched emissaries to Pesháwer on a similar errand, was flattered by their assurances that the retainers of his brothers had been corrupted. Súltán Máhomed Kháñ, of course, exerted all his influence with Máhomed Zemán Kháñ, who, however hostile to Dost Máhomed Kháñ, and desirous to preserve his authority at Jelálabád, was not anxious to provoke
attack; and while consenting to call in the Pesháwer chiefs, if Dost Máhomed Khán became the aggressor, and to cede them Bishbúlák as an equivalent for their assistance, still would not personally see Súltán Máhomed Khán; and when this chief, about to return to Pesháwer, called at his house in Jelálabád, he was not admitted, and was compelled to leave without an interview. Máhomed Zemán Khán had been summoned by Dost Máhomed Khán to meet and confer with Meher Dil Dhán at Kâbal. His refusal previously to co-operate with the sirdár of Kâbal in his expedition to Taghow, had been made the pretext for the invasion of his territory, as before narrated. On this occasion he declined to place himself in the power of his suspected kinsman, but avoided the charge of contumacy by sending his son, an evasion little palatable to Dost Máhomed Khán. Before Meher Dil Khán departed from Kâbal the sirdár had stationed his pêsh-khâna at Déh Mazzang, and the Kândahár chief returned, most likely pluming himself on the result of his dexterity. To provide means for the expedition, a loan of thirty thousand rupees was forced from the Shíkárpúrís; a few other individuals were seized, and sums of money extorted from them, until, at length, the persons of Názír Khairúlah, and the Mírákhór Walí Máhomed were secured, the first under the protection of the Amín al Múlkh, Máhomed Réhim Khán, and the latter
in the service of the Nawâb Jabâr Khân. Thirty thousand rupees were demanded from the one, and ten thousand rupees from the other. This step was highly offensive to the two noblemen named, and the nawâb used strong language; but all that he could effect was a commutation, by which a part of the amount was given in money and the remainder in goods and chattels. The pêsh-khâna was still at Déh Mazzang, when, in November, a fall of snow happened, and the soldiery became somewhat discouraged at the prospect of a march in winter, and through snow. Mâhomed Akbar Khân, the sirdâr's son, had been sent to Lûghmân, ostensibly to collect money for the expedition; it was alleged that the march was delayed until his return. In this stage of the business the principal kowânîns, at the suggestion of Amir Mâhomed Khân, requested the sirdâr to defer his march to Kândahâr, pointing out that, according to his repeated and constant assertions, the Shâh had no army, so there could be no immediate danger, while a march through the snow would disorganize his own force. They proposed to go to Khúram, where revenue for the last two years had not been collected. The sirdâr affected to take the recommendation ill, swore that he would march to Kândahâr, and acquit himself of his duty to his brothers, if up to his neck in snow; that all who chose might follow him, and all who chose might remain; that, for himself, he would go
if followed only by Abdúl Samad and his batta-

lion.

The pêsh-khâna was advanced to Killa Kází, and Abdúl Samad, with his battalion, directed to join it. The first fall of snow, after an interval of severely cold weather, had been followed by a second, and the prospects of the troops became daily more dis­couraging. In this conjuncture the sirdár convened his kowâníns, and prefacing that they might thank the Amín al Múlkh, and others, for their dilatoriness in complying with his demands, or he had certainly marched to Kândahár in despite of snow, declared his resolution to take their advice, and proceed to Khúram. One of his dependents, Bahâwal Khán, Bárak Zai, was despatched to examine and report upon the state of the Kotal Péhwár. This man on his return affirmed that the kotal was impracticable, and that some of his men had lost their toes from the severity of the frost. The sirdár then ordered his pêsh-khâna to be brought from Killa Kází, and to be fixed at Síáh Sang, east of Kâbal, and on the road to Jelálabád. His real purpose, which he had hitherto so industriously concealed, became appar­ent. It was greatly disrelished by many. The Nawâb Jabár Khân was very sore, and, ostensi­bly, the sirdár’s brother, Amýr Mâhomed Khân, disapproved of it. The nawâb, however, declined to remonstrate, observing, that if he said march, he made his nephews enemies; if he said, do not march, from previous transactions he should be
suspected of intrigues with them; adding, with simulated humility, that he was a nükar, or servant. The arch dissembler, Amír Máhomed Khán, took a Korán in his hand, and presented himself before his brother, praying him not to march on Jelálabád, reminding him of the mutual oaths they had both taken to Máhomed Zemân Khán, and offering, if money was the object, to contribute three lákhs of rupees. The sirdár replied, that if twelve lákhs of rupees were proffered he would refuse them, and march. Dost Máhomed Khán next called Hájí Khán to an interview, at which, besides himself and the khán, Amír Máhomed Khán, and Mírza Samí Khán were present. In a few words he informed the khán, that his evil deeds and his intentions were known and forgiven, that his person and property were respected, and that he had liberty to transport himself and his dependants wherever he pleased. Amír Máhomed Khán, before Hájí Khán recovered from his surprise at this abrupt announcement, had taken off his turban and placed it at his feet, conjuring him not to reply. He then withdrew him from the meeting, protested that he considered him as a brother, and that if he disliked to remain in Dost Máhomed’s service he should share in his own fortune. Of course, this matter had been previously arranged between the two brothers. On the 21st of December the pêsh-khâna was advanced to Bhút Khâk, where the battalion joined it, and soon after Dost Máhomed Khán left the city.
marched successively to Khúrd Kábal, Tézín, Jigdillik, and Ishpán, in the Kohgání district, a little west of Gandamak. Here he halted to allow the troops from Kábal to reach, which followed in detail, as was necessary on account of the inclement season and the scarcity of provender. The sirdár came with his battalion, the Ghúlám Khâna troops, and fourteen guns. Amír Máhomed Khán, the Nawáb Jabár Khán, and Hájí Khán were yet in Kábal, where one of the sirdár’s sons, Máhomed Akram Khán, had been appointed governor. At Ishpán, famous in Afghan history for one of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh’s discomfitures, the sirdár was close upon Mámá Khél, the place to which Súltán Máhomed Khán had advanced in the autumn. There resides Mír Afzil Khán, eldest son of Akram Khán, Popal Zai, the vazír of Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, slain in the disaster at Nimla. Mír Afzil Khán, bitterly inimical to Dost Máhomed Khán, was no doubt mixed up in the intrigues carrying on against him, but his cunning made him now, as at all other times, feign afflictions in his limbs. Aware that Dost Máhomed Khán was likely to pay him a visit, and to demand money—for he is reputed to be very rich—his ingenuity had provided against such a call, by an expedient worthy of the occasion. One night, while the sirdár was yet at Kábal, he employed men to rob his own castle. Holes were perforated in the walls, and in the morning carpets, felts, and utensils of all kinds were found scattered about.
His wife, a daughter of the Vazir Fati Khan, immediately started for Kabal, and related to her brother the sad misfortune, and loss of all her jewels and valuable property; reviled Mahomed Zeman Khan for his lax exercise of authority, and prayed that the sirdar would use his influence to recover her wealth. He had difficulty to appease his valuable relative, but he was too shrewd not to perceive the manoeuvre put in play. He, however, forebore at this time to demand a contribution from Mir Afzil Khan, aware that his wife would be forthcoming with the piteous tale of the robbery. The manner in which Mir Afzil Khan acquired his useful lady may be told as characteristic of Fati Khan, and also to his honour. When Akram Khan was cut down at Nimla, he recommended his family to the protection of his antagonist, saying, they might one day serve him. Fati Khan subsequently inquired for Mir Afzil Khan, and gave him his daughter in marriage. By this alliance the son was able to preserve much of his father's property, although many lakhs of rupees were lost, being confided to Hindûs, who fled to Amratsir, where they are now capitalists. Mir Afzil Khan lives secluded in a delightful locality at Mámá Khél, where he has built castles and planted orchards and vineyards, but is supposed to be a reckless intriguer. His reputation is very bad, and very different from that of his father. He has a brother connected with Pir Mahomed Khan of Peshâwer,
alike distinguished for his intrigues, and qualities the opposite to amiable ones.

From Ishpán Dost Máhomed Khán marched to Faṭíabád, between which and Bálla Bágh a stony plain, traversed by the Kârasú river (black river), intervenes for about three miles. Here he asked Abdúl Samad, at what expense of life he would capture the latter town; who replied, with the loss of ten men. The sirdár observed, you shall presently see that I can manage these affairs better than you can. I shall order the discharge of five guns, and Máhomed Osmán Khán will come walking into camp like a dog with his tail between his legs. The guns were discharged; and their report dissipated, as the sirdár had predicted, his nephew's warlike notions. His mother appeared, a suppliant, announcing her son's allegiance, praying the town might not be attacked, and expressing his readiness to supply the camp with provisions. The lady was accompanied by a host of persons, bearers of sugar-cane, and other dainties. It was stipulated, that on the advance of the army to Chahár Bágh of Jelálabád her son was to join the camp, and make his submission. It has previously been mentioned, that the sirdár's son, Máhomed Akbár Khan, had been despatched to Lúghmán. On the arrival of his father at Jigdillik he commenced offensive operations there, expelling the troops of Máhomed Zemán Khan from the Tâjik villages included under the rule of the Jelálabád government. About eight thousand kharwârs
of grain fell into his hands. From Tirgarí he marched to Chahār Bāgh of Lūghmān, where he awaited instructions. This expulsion of the Jelālabād chief's troops was effected without bloodshed; but they had to submit to be plundered of their horses and arms.

The Nawāb Māhomed Zemān Khān had been for some time busy in renewing the defences of Jelālabād. The dilapidated walls, originally of some width, were repaired, and on an eminence; a little south of the town, called Koh Bacha, he erected an intrenchment and placed a piece of ordnance in battery. He had summoned the ījarī, or militia of the country, and the saiyad petty chiefs of Khonar, with Sādat Khān, the Momand chief of Lālpūra. He could scarcely, however, have expected to withstand a siege, notwithstanding his preparations, but must have depended on the arrival of the Peshāwer army to his assistance, when, if no actual collision took place, the usual routine of intrigues and negotiations would have been carried on; and if Dost Māhomed Khān had been foiled, he for the present would have preserved his authority. A confidential agent from the Peshāwer sirdārs, Nazīr Morād Alī, was with him, urging him by resistance, to give the army time to join him, as also striving to obtain the cession of Bishbūlāk, which the nawāb, formerly promising to yield, now scrupled to make over.

When Dost Māhomed Khān reached Fatālabād the malek, or principal of the place, who, with his
íljárí quota, was at Jelálabád, informed the nawáb, and asked whether he should fight or give barley and provender, as was required. The nawáb turned to his chiefs around him, and said, "You see how silly Dostak is, to come into my country; if I did not feed his horses, they would be famished." The malek repeated his inquiry as to how he was to act. "Go," said the nawáb, "and provide barley and chaff, or his horses will die." The malek, with his men, returned to Fatíabád, and made his submission to Dost Máhomed Khán. This sirdár advanced to Chahár Bâgh of Jelálabád, where he was joined by Máhomed Osmân Khán, and his son, Máhomed Akbár Khán, from Lúghmán. He halted there one day, and on the next moved upon Jelálabád. On the same day he possessed himself of the eminence Koh Bacha, and the zíárats close to the town walls on the western side. During the night a nagam, or mine, was carried under a bastion nearly opposite, and on the following morning, the first of the month Rámażán, a day worthy of being signalized, the train was fired, and the battalion of Abdal Samad marched over the breach into the town. Parties were immediately despatched to protect the residences of the nawáb, and of those it was intended to preserve from plunder, and the rest of the town was abandoned to the mercy of the soldiery. The two mirzas of Jelálabád, Imám Verdí and Agâ Jân, with Sâdat Khán the Momand chief, were made prisoners, but two persons whom Dost Máhomed Khán
PLUNDER OF TOWN. 215

was very desirous to secure, Názír Morád Alí and Fatí Máhomed Khán, Popal Zai, and father-in-law of the Nawáb Jabár Khán, found means to escape, and reached Peshâwer. As for the Nawáb Máhomed Zemán Khán, as soon as the town was entered he seated himself, with the Korân in his hands, open at the part where Dost Máhomed Khán, two years before, had written the most horrible denunciations on himself if ever he deprived him (the nawáb) of Jelálabád. Special care was taken that no outrage was committed on the nawáb or on his family, but their dependants were rifled and desnaded without scruple or remorse. The Nawáb Jabár Khán reached Tátang the day before the assault and capture of Jelálabád, at which he was not willing to be present. In the evening of that day, walking along the skirts of the hills between the castle and Bálla Bâgh, I met him with a small party. He produced, with much satisfaction, a copper coin which he had picked up somewhere on the road, and which proved to be one of Agathocles. He had left Kâbal in company with Hájí Khán, and together they reached Bhút Khâk. The nawáb took the road of Sokhta Chanár, and the khán that of Khúrd Kâbal, whence he marched upon Bangash, and was next heard of at Peshâwer, where he was cordially received, appointed náib, and assigned a jâghír of one hundred and twenty thousand rupees per annum. He had arrived to take part in the machinations concocted by the chiefs there against
their brother, Dost Máhomed Kháń, whose celerity, however, had rendered them nugatory, and by the opportune acquisition of Jelálabád and the command of its resources, made him more formidable than ever. Amír Máhomed Kháń arrived from Khábal a day or two after the capture of Jelálabád, and gravely expostulated with Máhomed Zemán Kháń on his rashness in firing upon Dost Máhomed Kháń, who, he pretended, had no idea of interfering with Jelálabád; but was merely passing by, intending to make a demonstration against Pesháwer, and with no more serious purpose than to bring his untoward brothers there to an understanding. The territory of Jelálabád was placed under the government of Amír Máhomed Kháń, and a jághír, to the value of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees per annum, was made over to Máhomed Zemán Kháń, and the quota of troops he was to entertain fixed at three hundred. The mírzas of Jelálabád were reinstated in office, and Sádat Kháń, after some days' imprisonment, was released, on condition that he should give a daughter to one of the ámbír's sons. Dost Máhomed Kháń encamped between the town and river, and shortly after seized the saiýad chief of Peshat in Khonar, then in his camp, and despatched Múlla Momind Kháń to occupy his little domain. Many reasons were urged for the step; sufficient ones were, that he was a sworn friend to Hájí Kháń, and that his country lay in the road to Bájor.
It may here be noted, that besides depending upon the assistance of the Pesháwer sirdárs, the Nawáb Máhomed Zemán Khán had been willing, by the assassination of Dost Máhomed Khán, to have ridden himself of apprehension from him, and commissioned a desperate man in his employ to commit the deed. This man went to Kábal where his family resided, and one night, by means of a ladder, ascended into the apartment where Dost Máhomed Khán was sleeping with one of his ladies. He relented of his fell purpose, as, he said himself afterwards, he thought it a pity to kill such a man, and carried off his shawl, trowsers, &c. as trophies of his visit, which he presented to the nawáb, and claimed his reward. The ladder was left standing, and was of course discovered in the morning. Subsequently the man came to Kábal, resided openly in the Bálla Hissár, made no secret, or very little, of what he had done, and was unnoticed by Dost Máhomed Khán. In course of time he was shot one evening as he came from a Hindú's house, by some Rikas. His friends demanded the blood of the Rikas at the hands of Dost Máhomed Khán, who manifestly favouring them, pretended there was not evidence enough against them.

Máhomed Zemán Khán by the loss of Jelálabád was deprived of authority, which he may have prized, although not very able in its exercise, yet he did not otherwise suffer, as he preserved his wealth, supposed to be great. From that time, while con-
stantly engaged with the Nawâb Jabár Khân, and
others, in the intrigues of the hour, he generally se-
cluded himself, and by pretending sickness, or afflic-
tions of the limbs, excused his attendance upon Dost
Máhomèd Khàn, whom he constantly asserted it
would be meritorious to slay, although to kill Ranjit
Singh, an infidel, would be a crime. He seldom
called Dost Máhomèd Khàn by any other name
than Dostak, and was alike accustomed familiarly
to address Máhomèd Azem Khàn, when living, as
Azem.

In the recent events at Kâbal he would seem to
have taken a conspicuous part, or, perhaps, he has
been made an instrument by others for the sake of
his wealth. I have understood, that in common
with the seniors of the Bârak Zai family, he did not
use to wait upon the shâh, but sent his son Shújá
Dowlah, a youth, by whom the unfortunate prince
has been eventually slain.

Immediately after the arrival of the Nawâb Jabár
Khàn, and the capture of Jelálabád, I directed my
attention to the topes of Darúnta, and was engaged
in their examination until the Nawâb Jabár Khan
earnestly requested me to accompany his son, Abdúl
Ghíás Khàn, who it appeared was destined to be
sent to India to receive an English education. I
had much rather the request had not been made,
yet knew not how to evade it, and consented to
accompany the youth to Pesháwer at all events,
and to Lahore, if necessary. I was soon informed
that Dost Máhomed Khán by no means approved of the mission of Abdúl Ghíás Khán, if on no other account, that he beheld his brother, the nawâb, with jealousy, and disliked that he should form any connexion, however faint, with the British, or any other government. On the other hand, it need not be supposed that the nawâb had any but interested political motives in forwarding his son at the present conjuncture, when the interests of the family were threatened by Shâh Sujah al Múlkh, who, it was generally believed, was supported by the British government. In his most extravagant expectations the nawâb had been encouraged by the British agent, Saiyad Karamat Alí, with whom the scheme of sending Abdúl Ghíás Khán originated. Through the medium of the saiyyad also, he corresponded with the shâh, being fearful in such a matter to confide to his own mírzas. Dost Máhomed Khán would probably have detained the youth, nor have permitted him to proceed, but the nawâb delayed his departure until the time arrived when Dost Máhomed Khán was compelled, by the events transpiring at Kândahár, to return towards Kâbal, when Abdúl Ghíás Khán was sent for from Tâtang, and secretly placed on a raft and floated down the river to Pesháwer, his horses and attendants being to follow him. I could not retract my promise, and in a few days started from Tâtang, with a formidable cavalcade, the retinue of the young lad, for Pesháwer. The first march we made to Alí Bághán,
six cosses east of Jelálabád, and the second took us to Bássowal. On the third we reached Dáka at the eastern termination of the Jelálabád valley. Here, on the Momands claiming the customary passage-fees, the nawáb's people talked largely, and refused to pay them. Some altercation followed, but at length it was conceded by the claimants, that as the nawáb's people were Mússulmáns as well as belonging to the nawáb, the fees should be remitted, and that I should be considered in the light of a guest, and not asked to pay anything, but that two or three Hindús of the party must pay the usual sums, as they no farther belonged to us than as being in our company. The nawáb's people refused to allow the Hindús to be taxed, and on my professing willingness to pay for the men and for myself, horses and servants, according to custom, I was entreated not to mention such a thing, as it would be derogatory to the nawáb. The Momands then offered to commute the matter by acceptance of a sheep; but this in like manner was refused; when they waxed sore, and insisted on the payment of full fees. Many of them congregated, and but for the názir of Sâdat Khán, who happened to be with them, we should all have been plundered, if not worse treated during the night. In the morning fresh debates ensued, and it was finally settled to refer the business to Sâdat Khán himself, who we found was at Shelmân, a spot in the hills. My mírza was sent as agent to our party, being per-
sonally known to the khân. On his return he re­ported, that Sâdat Khân, after cursing Dost Mâ­homed Khân and the nawâb, affirmed that he could not interfere with the claims of his úlús, or tribe, but that he remitted his own share in the fees, or one-third. The nawâb’s people, I thought, were, very rightly served; but now there was another evil, for it proved they had no money to pay the fees, and after all they were compelled to draw on my funds. Sâdat Khân had sent a very civil message to me, and requested me to wear country clothes, as my mîrza had told him I was clad in European costume. The next morning we marched for Shel­mân, and, after passing Dáka Khúrd, commenced the ascent of a high and difficult pass. We had nearly reached the summit when a host of fire-lock men came with rapidity down the steep sides of the hill. It was Sâdat Khân and his followers. I had a few minutes' conversation with the khân, and while complaining of the losses Dost Mâhomed Khân had inflicted upon him on the capture of Jelálabád, he consoled himself with the notion that if defeated by Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, his râh gûréz, or the road by which he would fly, might bring him to the Momand hills, when he would retaliate upon him and remunerate himself. Sâdat Khân was a man of very good address, and is a very respectable chief, contriving to keep a turbulent tribe in excel­lent order. Sâdat Khân is now a fugitive, and rebel. I know not the causes leading to a result,
which I may, however, regret, because I feel assured that nothing but ignorance and unfair treatment could have made him so. When I left Pesháwer, in 1838, he was aware of the intended restoration of Sháh Sújah al Múlk, expressed his satisfaction, and declared his readiness to aid in the views of the Indian government, and that he did not want money. Khán Bahádar Khán of Khaibar, and other chiefs of the neighbourhood, said the same thing, We want no money. It would not surprise me if more had been required of Sâdat Khán than ought to have been, and that he has been punished to conceal the weakness and ill-judgment of others. I have heard as much from a Sadú Zai prince engaged in the transactions of that period. If unfortunate for Sâdat Khán, it is no less so for his tribe, and for those who pass through their country, for never was tribe or country kept in better order than by him. Túrabaž Khán, the nominee of the British, is a good man, and services he may have rendered deserve requital, but his supporters cannot give him ability or conduct, and both are required in the chief of a powerful úlús, and were possessed by Sâdat Khán.

The ascent of the kotal achieved, we came upon the table land of Shelmán Kelán, which we traversed throughout its extent; nor was it until evening that we reached Shelmán Khúrd, seated upon a fine rivulet, the banks fringed with oleanders, at the western base of the great Kotal of Tátara. The
inhabitants here were not disposed to be very civil, and in the night rain descended, not in showers but in floods. In the morning we commenced the ascent of the pass, exceedingly long and difficult to the cattle, from the smooth surface of the rock, over which, in many parts, the road leads. From the summit of Tátara the view is very extensive, but the hazy state of the atmosphere over the Pesháwer plain prevented it from being observed with advantage. The road now winds around the brinks of fearful precipices, and it was only a little before arriving at the village of Múlla Ghorí, still among the hills, that it improved. Hence the road, had we followed it, was good; but the nawâb's people, to avoid a village where the inhabitants have a bad character, deviated from it, with the intention of making Ispind Sang, a village on the plain of Pesháwer. We were speedily bewildered amid ravines, the passages blocked up with boulders, and, to complete our confusion, a party of ruffians, with long knives in their hands, rushed down upon us. Had we been together we should have been too formidable in number for these men to have approached us, but we were scattered, and they asailed us who were in advance. Not one of them touched me, all passing; I presume because, although unarmed, I was so well dressed that they suspected I was some more important personage than I was. They cried one to the other, looking at me, "Dár sirdár dí, préj dí;" that is a sirdár, do not touch him. Much
mischief had not been done when they observed our companions in the rear pressing forward, and a parley took place, which closed by a few rupees being given to them, when they made off. After this rencontre we cleared the hills, and descending into the plain, reached Ispind Sang. Here we occupied the hújrí; and the nawâb’s people sent for supplies to the malek of the village, who replied, that had they come to him he would have received them as guests, but as they had taken up quarters at the hújrí they must find themselves. We had more rain at this place, and I was glad when the morning broke forth, that I could push on to Pesháwer. I found Abdúl Ghíás Khán lodged with his uncle, the Sirdár Súltán Máhomed Khán, but that affairs had arrived at a sad state. The Sikhi army under Harí Singh was encamped at Chamkaní, three cosses from the city, and it was feared that he intended to occupy it under plea of a treaty, arranged between Ranjit Singh and Shâh Sújah al Múlkh, consequent to the departure of the latter from Lúdíána. Some affected to believe that the treaty had been concocted by the consent, and under the sanction, of the British political agent at Lúdíána. Harí Singh, avowedly, only demanded the annual tribute in horses, rice, swords, &c., which by their engagements the sirdárs were bound to give, but he was not easily satisfied, and by rejecting horses &c., as not suitable, he gained time, which was clearly his object. The sirdárs, aware of the actual
aspect of affairs, had sent their families to Minchíni, on the northern side of the Kâbal river, with their guns and other property. They remained in Pesháwer, with their horses ready to be saddled at a moment's notice, and it was somewhat ridiculous about twice or thrice every day, to see the servants running out with the saddles on their heads, and returning when they discovered that the alarm which had been given was a false one. All the doors and windows of their houses, indeed everything of wood which was portable, had been carried away; and I understood such had always been the case whenever the Sikhs had encamped near Pesháwer. By the treaty before alluded to Pesháwer had been ceded to Ranjit Singh, and no doubt Harí Singh was commissioned to look after its execution.

Everything at this particular crisis conspired to favour the designs of the Sikhs; and the plots devised by the chiefs of Pesháwer to effect the ruin of Dost Máhomed Khán immediately involved their own; and their fate affords an example of evil falling upon those who imagine it. The promptitude of their Kâbal brother in the capture of Jelálabád, had broken up the confederacy against him, and they now, in turn, began to be apprehensive lest he should attack them; and in truth they were at his mercy; but while he could easily have expelled them, and have overrun their country, he might not have been competent to have retained it
at this time. Their fears, however, induced them to apply to the Sikhs for assistance, who readily promised it on certain considerations, and Harí Singh gladly crossed the Atak river, which, if they had not played into his game, he might not have done, but would have been content to have watched the course of events in the country east of it. The arrival of Hâjí Khân, also in conformity to their plans for the destruction of Dost Máhomed Khân, in which he was intended to have been a main instrument, proved seriously detrimental to the sirdárs. Disappointed in his projects as to Dost Máhomed Khân, but anxious to evince his capability in his character of náib, he proposed a variety of innovations: amongst them, to reform the army, and to dismiss all the shíás, or infidels. These men, the remnants of the old Ghúlám Khâna of Pesháwer, were yet powerful, if not a very numerous body, and growing incensed at the propositions of Hâjí Khân, and fearing the effects of his ascendancy, at once opened a communication with the Sikhs, as did many others, not shíás, but who could not feel confidence in Hâjí Khân. The principal Hindú díwâns of the country were also in correspondence with Harí Singh; and had he not been furnished with positive orders or discretionary powers, the opportunity was so tempting that he would scarcely have been warranted, in Sikh policy, to have foregone it. After he had procured from the sirdárs beyond the ordinary complement of tribute, he sent a message to them, that the
Shâhzâda Noh Nîhâl Singh, the grandson of Ranjit Singh, who was with the army, desired to see the city, and it would be well that they should evacuate it, and retire to Bâgh Alí Mîrdân Khân, when the shâhzâda would ride round it, and then the army would retire towards the Atak. The morning came, when Súltân Máhome’d Khân, who had always his spy-glass in hand, descried the Sikh force in motion. All became panic-struck, and horses were saddled and mounted in a trice. The house was emptied as if by magic, and none remained in it but Abdûl Ghíâs Khân, his party, and myself. We ascended the roof, and beheld the Sikhs moving forward in very respectable style. In the van was the young shâhzâda on an elephant, with Harí Singh and a variety of Sikh chiefs, attended by a host of cavalry. Behind them followed the battalions of M. Court, advancing in columns at a brisk pace. On reaching the gardens attached to the house we were in the first shots were fired, some Afghâns being concealed among the trees. They were soon cleared out, and the march of the force was not affected by the desultory opposition. Subsequently we heard some smart firing, and learned during the day that the Sikhs, pressing too close upon Hájí Khân, who covered the retreat of Súltân Máhome’d Khân, the khân lost patience and turned upon them. He handled them severely, and, as admitted by themselves, checked their advance until the bat-
talions came up. Khán Máhomed Khán, the brother of Hâjí Khán, was badly wounded in this skirmish, but was borne off the field. Some very splendid instances of individual bravery were exhibited by the Afghâns, and one gallant fellow cut down six of his opponents. The Sikhs, having completed the circuit of the city, encamped under the Bâlla Hissâr to the east: the discomfited sirdârs retired to Tâkkâl, and then to Shékhân, at the skirts of the hills. My mírza in the course of the day went to the Sikh camp, where he saw Harí Singh, who asked where I had been during the tamâsha, or sport. He replied, that I had witnessed it from the roof. He then asked, jocularly, where the sirdârs had gone. The mírza said to Tâkkâl, to prepare for battle. The sirdâr laughed and said, No, no; nasghér, nasghér; they have run away, they have run away; some to Kohât, some to Khaibar. I certainly was amused at the almost ridiculous manner in which the Sikhs had made themselves masters of an important and productive country, and Súltân Máhomed Khán was as much to be laughed at as to be pitied, for in place of adopting any means of defence he had sent away the better part of his troops, and prohibited the citizens and people of the country from defending the city, as they wished. Pír Máhomed Khán was accustomed to say, that he had three lákhs of rupees, and did not care who knew it; that he had reserved them for such a cri-
ARRANGEMENTS.

sis as this; that he would assemble the Gházís, and
do many wonderful things. Hájí Khán would;
when such valorous speeches were made, embrace
the sirdár, saying he must kiss the lips from which
such words flowed. Pír Máhomed Khán, however,
thought it better to keep his three lákhs of rupees,
and hastened to Kohát to collect what he could
from the inhabitants, previously to his departure ul­
timately from the country. The force with Hari
Singh did not exceed nine thousand men; and had
a show of serious resistance been made he would
at least have been obliged to temporize; also, had
the city, although an open one, been put in a
condition for defence, and the system of kúcha
bandí adopted, he was scarcely competent to have
forced it. As it was, with a small force he pos­
sessed himself of a country which, some years be­
fore, Ranjit Singh in person, with twenty-five thou­sand men, did not venture to retain. True it is,
that since that period the spirit of the Máhome­
dans had become dejected by repeated defeats, and
that there was, as there universally is, treachery
in the Dúrání camps and councils. Abdúl Ghíás
Khán had visited the Sháhzâda Noh Níhál Singh,
and the arrangements for his departure for Lúdíána
had been fixed; I therefore did not see the occa­
sion for my accompanying him, as his forward jour­
ney would be safe and easy. His uncles of Peshá­
wer were very averse to his intended sojourn in
India, and might possibly have taken upon them-
selves to have detained him, considering its ob­ject a political one. They reasoned, that the nawâb, his father, and not themselves, would benefit by it. They had, however, given me their hands, and pledged themselves to permit him to proceed, and their abrupt departure, at any rate, deprived them of an opportunity of violating their promises, while Abdúl Ghíás Khán became free to follow up his father's instructions.
CHAPTER X.

Departure from Pesháwer.—March to Shékhán.—Ex-sirdárs.—Their conversation.—Fatí Málhomed Khán’s civility.—Encampment.—Bára river.—Popular credulity.—Departure for Min-chíní.—Alarm on road.—Old monument.—Badragas.—Min-chíní.—Ghiljí.—Haidar Khán.—Jálawáns.—Fearful state of the river.—Consultation.—Passage of the river.—Ráhmatúlah’s dexterity.—Shelmán.—Ghiljí’s piety.—Plain of Shelmán.—Kotal.—Bahádar’s request.—Dáka Khúrd.—Good fortune.—Congratulations.—Dáka Kelán.—Lálpúra.—Curious conversation.—Suspicions.—Precautions.—Khúrd Kháibar.—Momand’s tale.—Momand’s intention.—Házárnow.—Re-appearance of Ghiljí.—Wilford’s Nysá and Mount Merú.—Bássowal.—Ghiljí and his gang.—Necessity for action.—Kohistánís.—Night march.—Báti Kot.—Súrkh Díwár.—Chághatai castle.—Goodwill of Kohistánís.—Mírza Agá Jân.—His surmises.—My own conjectures.—Ghiljí’s evil repute.—Subsequent attempts.—Renewal of researches.

Taking farewell of the nawâb’s son, we started for the fugitive sirdár’s camp at Shékhán, distant about ten miles from Pesháwer. The march was rather a hazardous one, as our Sikh soldiers did not dare to pass the limits of the city gardens, and the natives of the villages on our route were under arms. We, however, managed to pass safely through them, being considered devout Málhomedans
retiring from the city profaned by the presence of infidels; and ultimately crossing the Bára river, we found, under the shade of its high bank, lying covered with lúnghís, the Sirdár Súltán Máhomed Kháñ, with his brother, Saiyad Máhomed Kháñ, Hâjí Kháñ, and Háfízjí, the son of the late Mír Wais. They were not, probably, in their own estimation so conveniently accommodated as in their commodious dwellings at Pesháwer, but I could not forbear thinking that to such men a little adversity is useful. When they arose, Súltán Máhomed Kháñ alluded to no other topic than the perfidy of the Síkhs, apparently losing sight of his own misfortunes, or consoling himself by reviling the authors of them. Hâjí Kháñ, consistently enough, proposed a variety of stratagems by which the city might be recovered, and offered to execute many venturous deeds, aware that he should not be sanctioned. The sirdár replied to all his proposals, by expressions of horror and surprise at the unparalleled disregard of oaths evinced by Harí Singh. Poor Saiyad Máhomed Kháñ said not a word, and appeared careless of what had happened; Háfízjí and others, who had now arrived, seemed, by their significant looks at each other, to intimate the predicament into which they had been brought, and their wonderment as to what was to follow. After sitting some time in company with the sirdár and his circle, I repaired to the tent of one Názir Abdúl Réhim, where I was provided with quarters. Close to us
BARA RIVER. 233

was the tent of Fátí Máhomed Khán, Popal Zai, with whom were accommodated Máhomed Osmán Khán, son of Wafadár Khán, the Sadú Zai vazír, and Háfízjí, the son of Mir Wais. Fátí Máhomed Khán, as soon as he perceived me, sent over a dish of sweetmeats and tea, and this civility he continued while I remained in camp. This was located on the Bárâ, at the spot where its course is intercepted by bands, or artificial ramparts, by which its waters are diverted into canals for the irrigation of the circumjacent plain. The water is proverbially excellent as an aliment, and as conducive to the fertility of the soil. It is believed that to its peculiar virtues a celebrated variety of rice, called in consequence the Bárâ rice, owes its length of grain and delicate flavour. The river has its source in the hills of Tírah, and from the benefits it confers upon the country has been from time immemorial an object of veneration; and Shékhán, or the spot where the division of its waters is effected, is held particularly sacred. The Máhomedans of the country have a belief, that if a Hindú should bathe in the stream at this particular place its waters diminish. They have therefore erected a tower on its right bank, where is constantly stationed a guard of Momands, who, besides watching over the bands, are enjoined to guard against the pollution of the river. Should so calamitous an event accidentally occur it is judged necessary to sacrifice a cow, when the waters, it is said, gradually increase until
they regain their usual volume. There is a grove of trees and záárat here, where is a stone which, according to popular credence, if struck by a musket-ball discharges blood. As the Máhomedans will on no account fire at it themselves, and would hold it very profane in others to do so, the stone is likely to preserve its character, and their faith in its property to remain entire.

Súltán Máhomed Khán made it a point of honour to consider me his guest, and I was sumptuously entertained, eating my suppers by the glare of numerous torch-lights; but I felt ashamed to be feeding luxuriously in a camp where the soldiers were subsisting on parched grain; I therefore requested, after a stay of three days, to be provided with a companion for Minchání, and the sirdár commissioned his Shéhinchí Báshí, who had business there, to attend me. We started before daybreak, and by the time it was broad daylight found ourselves on the plain, with the Khaíbarí village of Jamrúd on our left hand, and to our right the village of Tákkál, distinguished by its topes and sepulchral mounds. Here our ears were assailed by the din of the Síkh nagáras, which made us both accelerate our pace and close upon the hills. On gaining a village, called Réghí Bálla, the inhabitants were busy in removing their effects, the report having spread that the infidels were approaching. We again made for the skirts of the hills, and traced
OLD MONUMENT.

them until we reached the large, but now deserted village of Ispind Dirí.

In our course to Minchíní we passed a monument of the olden time, a square structure, and formed rather rudely of stones. The length of each face may have been about twelve feet, and the height a little more, or about fifteen feet. Surrounding it were abundant vestiges of walls and minor mounds. With a castle, called Killa Arbâb, on our right hand, we reached the river, and crossed on a jâla, or float of inflated skins. The Shéhinchí Bâshí conducted me to the tent of Náíb Múlla Abdúl Kerím, who it appeared had charge of the sirdár’s property, &c., at Minchíní, and he immediately sent for the malek of the village, who was directed to provide me with trustworthy badragas, or safe-conductors, to Dákâ, from whom a written acknowledgment of my arrival there in security would be demanded. The malek soon brought from his village two men, Ráhmat Ulah and Bahâdar, both of Lâlpúra, and in the service of Sádat Khán, the Momand chief. The náib arranged the amount of fees to be paid, which came to eight and a half rupees, six for my three horses, one and a half for my three men on foot, and one rupee for the ferryman’s hire at Abkhâna, it having been arranged that we should pass by that route. There were many people sitting with Náib Abdúl Kerím; amongst them, on his right hand, was one Sâleh Máhome, a Ghiljí.
Minchíní is a straggling village of about two hundred houses and huts, on the river side, and at the foot of low rocky hills. It has some eight or ten Hindú dokâns, or shops, and as many dispersed square defensive towers on slight eminences. It belongs to Sâdat Khán, and is of consequence as being the ferry by which goods and passengers are crossed, intending to traverse the Abkhâna route, also from its site being at the point where the great river of Kâbal issues upon the plain of Pesháwer.

While at Minchíní the Ghiljí whom I had seen in Náib Abdúl Kerím’s tent came to me, and represented that he was of a respectable family at Maidân, west of Kâbal, and the chief of a thousand families; when the Nawâb Jabár Khán was hákam he had differences with him, which caused him to abandon his native seats; that he then retired to Kândahár, and subsequently to Pesháwer; that he was weary of wandering, and desired to return to his connexions at Maidân. He prayed me, on reaching Kâbal, to employ my good offices to reconcile him with the nawâb. I replied, that I would speak to the nawâb, but of course could promise nothing farther. On mounting to commence our journey I found that Sáleb Máhomed intended to accompany us, and I had seen him, in course of the day, sitting in a neighbouring masjít, in close communion with my Momand badragas.

We had proceeded some two or three hundred yards along the river-bank when we were stopped
by some men, who affected to believe that we were passing clandestinely, and one of my Momands returned to the village, and brought the malek, who satisfied his people. About a mile further we came to a small village of about one hundred houses, the original Minchíní, which is very picturesquely seated. Hence we crossed the hills, none of them very high, for about four cosses, and arrived at the village of Haidar Khán, of about one hundred and fifty houses, placed on an extensive plateau, or tableland, and well supplied with water in a rivulet. This we crossed and fixed ourselves for the night at a detached portion of the village, inhabited chiefly by jâlawâns, people with whom we had a little to say, as they have in charge the ferry of Abkhâna. We were here provided with everything we needed, as chahárpâhís, mats, &c.; our provisions were cheerfully cooked for us, and our treatment was in every respect civil. Our badragas negotiated for our passage across the river on the morrow; and the jâlawâns, alleging that at this season of the year no one thought of taking this road, and that their massaks, or skins, were dry, engaged to moisten them, and do their best to put us over in safety. They proposed that we should employ a certain number of swimmers in addition to the men seated on and directing the jâlas, or floats; to which we readily consented; and to remunerate them gave a sheep as offering to the pír, or saint, at Rénar, a spot near Lâlpúra, who is supposed to interest him-
self in the fate of those who travel on jālas, provided by meet oblations they prove themselves worthy of his protection. In the morning of the next day we made a smart ascent from Haidar Khân, and a descent, equally long and difficult, brought us to the river. I was astonished at its boisterous state, and the frightful scene presented by the rocks, whirlpools, and surges, with the rapidity of the current. My Mand conductors had misgivings, and regretted that they had not taken the Tátara route. Even the jālawâns, while affirming that they would do their best, said they could not engage for safety. I was perfectly confused, for I never expected that such obstacles were in our way, and, incompetent to judge of the degree of safety or danger, I very closely questioned the jālawâns, who now held the threads of our destinies in their hands, and I thought from the statements of these honest fellows that they hoped to get over, and I felt inclined to trust myself and fortunes to their care. At the same time, I thought it becoming to consult my attendants, and pointing out to them that the river was more formidable than I had anticipated, while they had heard all that the jālawâns had said, I offered, if they had doubts as to the passage, to return, as no evil had been yet done, and we were still on the safe side. They, like myself, were willing to trust to chance, and the jālawâns prepared their float.

While the machine was being adjusted Sâleb Mâhomed, who kept himself very much apart, twice
or thrice called Bahâdar aside, who as often said to me on his return, looking scornfully towards the Ghiljî, “Dâr khûsh sarâí dî;” That is a worthless fellow. The float was formed of eight skins; and when ready our baggage was placed thereon, above which were seated three of my servants. Four men with paddles were alike perched on it, and half a dozen swimmers accompanied. It narrowly escaped being upset on starting, and with the celerity of an arrow was borne across the river. By the great efforts of the paddlers and swimmers it was impelled upon the opposite bank, just before a spot which appeared most dangerous to me, from the tremendous whirlpools at it. Yet through these very whirlpools the emptied jâla was brought back, so fearless and accustomed thereto are the jâlawâns of Abkhâna.

My mîrza, the Ghiljî, and myself, now took our seats, and as the float was not overloaded with baggage, we were passed with comparative facility, and made a point higher up than the float had before gained. I observed my people on the opposite banks raise their hands in supplication, but there was no time for reflection, as the passage was the work of an instant. Before I was landed the men asked me for inâm, or reward, which, as their expectations did not exceed one rupee, I readily promised, seeing that unasked I should have given them more. The swimmers next passed my horses, and completed the transport of the party and all belonging to it.
Ráhmatúlah, one of the Momands, would fain show his dexterity, and cross with his own massak. Twice he was carried away by the stream, once caught in the whirlpools, from which he contrived to reach the same bank he started from, and the second time again engulfed by the same obstacles; on extricating himself he was fairly borne down the river. The circumstance afforded merriment to the jálawâns, who laughed at the notion of a man of Lâlpúra attempting to imitate the swimmers of Abkhâna.

From the river-bank we made a long, and sometimes precipitous ascent, until we reached the summit of the range, from which we descried Shelmân Kelân, the village at which we purposed to halt for the night. Our road hence was good, leading over a broken surface, until we reached the table-land of Shelmân. At its commencement was a chokí, or guard-station, where a trifling fee is exacted from passengers; we passed on, leaving our badragas to settle it. On reaching a small castle, with a few houses without the walls, we stopped until they rejoined us. Here it was decided to remain, and chahárpâhís, mats, &c., were furnished to the party, with necessaries, but at high prices. Our Ghiljí friend seated himself in the masjít, defined simply by a circle of stones, and, with his rosary in his hand, chanted many hymns. I did not at all like this man; keeping close to us, he was very reserved, and seemed to avoid all inter-
course. The elevated valley of Shelmân may be from five to six miles in length from east to west, with a breadth of about a mile and half. On the north it descends abruptly upon the river of Kâbal, and on the south a ridge of hills separates it from the Shínwârí districts. Much of its surface is cultivated, and wheat is the grain chiefly grown. Over it are dispersed some ten or twelve small hamlets, which consist of square towers, with a few houses around them. The plain is inhabited by the Shâh Mansúr Khêl, a tribe of Momands. My badragas here enjoined especial vigilance during the night, urging the proximity of the Shínwârí hills. In the morning we proceeded up the plain, and at its extremity came to a tower and chokî at the ridge of the pass, which abruptly commences. In a recess of the hills to our left at this point was a dand, or pool of water. From the chokî a comprehensive view is obtained of the valley of Jelâlabâd. We thought it better to dismount, as the road is very precipitous for some distance, when it improves, until a minor, but difficult, ascent is made, from which we descend upon Dâka Khúrd, or Little Dáka, a small village on the river. Here Bahâdar and Sâlehu Mâhomed, who were in advance, seated themselves and waited my arrival; and as the Momand did not speak Persian fluently, the Ghiljî, acting as his interpreter, intimated to me the necessity of giving ûnâm, or reward, at the village we were about to gain. I turned to
Bahâdar, and objected to be questioned amongst hills, upon a point on which I had perfect free will, and told him that Dáka Kelân, or Great Dáka, was the place where such a demand would be considered. He instantly rose, and feeling the reproof, moved on, while I saw that the Ghiljí was chagrined the point had not been pressed.

Dáka Khúrd contains about eighty houses, and is pleasantly enough situated. We halted awhile, and enjoyed cool draughts of buttermilk, bowls of which were brought to us. Continuing our journey, the road skirting the rocks on the brink of the river, we at length found our progress impeded by the river, which had overflowed and inundated the path. There was still a track practicable to men on foot over the rocks above us, but it was necessary, unless we returned and followed some other road, to carry our luggage on men’s backs, and to swim our horses against the current for a considerable distance. As our experience and good-fortune at Abkhâna had made us bold in aquatic affairs, all this was done, and our horses were brought round in safety to the village called Dáka Kelân. The inhabitants congratulated us on our arrival, and averred that there must be some holía, or sacred personage, of our party, for they had never known the Abkhâna passage to be attempted at this season, though their beards had grown white, and they had never dreamed that horses could have been swam against the current, as they had now wit-
nessed. They informed us that we ought to have taken a road which led by a zíárat. We were, indeed, aware of another road, which, besides being rather circuitous, winds under the kotal of Lo-hágí, and comes out at the extremity of the Dara Háft Chah, or valley of seven wells, of Khaibar. From Shelmán to Dáka Kelán the distance may have been about seven or eight miles. We made for a grove of mulberry-trees near the river, which was very full, with several islands in it. There are too or three small hamlets at Dáka Kelán, at the principal of which Sâdat Khán, to whom it belongs, has built a serai for the accommodation of káfílas. There are several Hindú traders located, as the place is a constant stage to káfílas and passengers travelling between Pesháwer and Jelálabád, from its site, at the entrance to the hills; and it also stands at the head of the roads both of Khaibar and Abkhâna. On the opposite bank of the river is Lâlpúra, a town of about eight hundred houses, the little capital of the Momands, and where resides their chief, Sâdat Khán. Ferry-boats ply between the two places.

While we were resting under the shade of the mulberry-trees four men, Afgháns, came, and seating themselves, set to work in making chapplís, or rude sandals, as is the custom of the mountaineers in these regions, of the beaten stems of a plant, the físh, a species of aloe. Very close
to me, I could but hear every word they said; and presuming, I conclude, that I could not comprehend Pashto, they talked very loudly and freely. I was not much gratified to discover that plunder was the object they had in view, and that their sandals were being made to enable them to follow me up. It was also edifying to hear the rogues chuckle over their contemplated booty, and to witness how they laughed, and fancied themselves in possession of the ducats which, they said, I had round my waist. One thing was fortunate, that I overheard them, and became aware of the danger to which I was exposed. I neither did nor said anything by which the fellows could imagine I was cognizant of their intentions, but allowed them to complete their sandals and depart in peace. I then inquired where Sâleh Mâhomed was, and was told he had not been seen since leaving Dáka Khúrd. I suspected this man intended to play me a trick; and in the neighbourhood of the Shínwârîs, he could, unluckily for me, experience no difficulty in finding fit associates.

In the morning, on arrival here, I had heard that a strong party of Kohistânîs had reached from Pesháwer by the Tátara route, on their way to Kâbal. In the service of Súltân Mâhomed Khân, they were returning to their homes, on the breaking up of his authority. I sent to the village to ascertain if these men were still there.
They had left it on their journey. I then ordered our cattle to be laden, and horses saddled. I called the Momands, and, making them a present which quite pleased them, expressed my wish that they should accompany us as far as Hazár Noh, midway between Dáká and Bássowal, at which place I purposed to pass the night. To this they cheerfully assented. Between Dáká and Hazár Noh the road is desolate, and there is ample room for accident; but I felt pretty certain that no one would venture to interfere with us so long as we had the Momands with us, for it is not the object of robbers to be recognised. About a mile beyond Dáká we passed Khúrd Khaibar, as it is called, where were a few kishdís, or black tents, and numerous ancient mounds and caves.

The road, heretofore along the river bank, now leads amongst low hills for some distance, until we enter the little plain of Ghirdí, a village of that name lying to our right on the river. From Ghirdí, rounding a low ridge of hill, we entered another plain, in which were two or three isolated eminences, encircled from base to summit with lines of walls and parapets. A few gaz-trees also occurred, and we did not question but that they marked sepulchral localities of the middle ages.

On reaching the cultivation dependent on Hazár Noh (the thousand canals), I told my Momand friends that they might return; and they had
taken leave, when my mirza asked Bahâdar to repeat in my hearing what he had before told him concerning Sâleh Mâhomed. The tale of the Momand ran, that the Ghiljî had proposed to him at Minchinî before we started, and which explained the confabulations in the masjît there, to despoil us on the road and to divide the booty. At Haidar Khân he again urged the matter, saying that the kâs-kûrzîn, which I carried on the pummel of my saddle, was full of bhûtkîs, or ducats, and that the larger kûrzîn, or saddle-bags, of my mirza was full of Kâshmîr shawls. He proposed to take the ducats, and the shawls were to fall to the share of Bahâdar. He next wished that I should have been put out of the way in crossing on the float at Abkhâna; and I called to mind Bahâdar's remarks to me there, that he was a "khûsh sarâí," or worthless fellow. At Shelmân he was again willing to have instigated the Momands to commit, or connive at, robbery; and I understood the precautions they at that place took to prevent it, and the recommendation they urged on my people to be vigilant during the night. The last effort he made with Bahâdar induced my stoppage on the kotal leading upon Dâka Khûrd; this having failed, he said that I should not escape him if he followed me to Sûrkh Dîwâr. It seems that the Momands here, who had all along been communicating to the mirza what passed, but who, in his wisdom, did not inform me, observed, that as the Ghiljî
was not "dast wardár," or inclined to desist, and as he had it in his power to cause me evil, they would cut his throat and throw him into the river, on the road to Dáka Kelán. Whether they would have done so or not I cannot tell, but there is just a chance that they would, and Bahâdâr assured me that he fully intended it. The Ghiljí, however, wisely gave them the slip, and was not seen after leaving Dáka Khúrd. He, of course, was off, to beat up for more compliant associates.

I was angry with the mírza for having concealed his information from me, as, while suspecting the Ghiljí from the first, had I positively known his designs tended to mischief, I would not have scrupled to have bound him hand and foot when in my power. As it was, he was at large, and in a neighbourhood where he could collect as many villains as he chose, while we, six or seven of us, were, ridiculously enough, unarmed, and floating about, as it were, at his mercy. However, it became necessary to do the best we could under circumstances, and I trusted at Bâssowal to be able to adopt some precautionary measures, as the place was this year held by Saifúlah Khán, Bárak Zai, who was my friend, and I hoped to find some of his people there, or that the malek might be disposed to give us aid. We, therefore, dismissing our Momands, passed on to Hazárñóh, a large straggling village, seated on gentle eminences, bounding to the south an extensive plain stretching to the river. In front, or
west, the hill Már Koh, under which Bássowal is situated, and which was now visible, separates it from the plain of Chahárdéh. At Hazárnóh the first object that attracted our attention was Sáleh Má-homé, seated, with a group of fifteen or twenty persons about him. I pointed him out to my mírza, who, ashamed of the rebuke he had recently received from me, affected to doubt that it was he. From Hazárnóh to Bássowal, a distance of about four cosses, or six miles, the high road leads over the eminences fringing the plain; a lower road leads more direct over the cultivated lands, but is more or less difficult to cattle, from the numerous cuts or canals of water traversing it, supplied from innumerable springs, issuing from the bases of the low hills at the line where they rest upon the level valley of the river, and which enable the inhabitants largely to cultivate rice. We preferred the lower road in spite of its obstacles, but it was not until after sunset that we reached Bássowal. In the distance, in a lofty hill on the opposite bank of the river, are seen the caves, with triangular-shaped entrances, noted by Wilford, and which partly induced him, probably, with the proximity of Már Koh, which he supposes to be Mount Merú, to locate the ancient city of Nysa in this neighbourhood. On this point we may not decide; caves are too numerous and too universally found, that any important deduction could be drawn from so comparatively a trifling group as is here presented, and
whether Már Koh may have any more serious etymological signification than the snake-hill, as understood by the natives, is doubtful. Still, Bāssowal exhibits ample vestiges, as does the entire neighbourhood, of its ancient inhabitants. The caves in the hill on the opposite side of the river are also interesting evidences, as are the mounds and tumuli which accompany them at the point where the hill subsides into the plain. The various indications of old sepulchral localities are here very numerous; and the spot is called Chakanor.

On reaching Bāssowal we halted in a grove contiguous to one of the enclosed villages, where we found a family, who, about to proceed to Kâbal, proposed to start at midnight, and we arranged to proceed in company. My servants went to the bazár to cater for necessaries, and one of them returned with the unsatisfactory intelligence that he had seen Sâleḥ Máhomed, with six other individuals, sitting at a Hindú dokân. They had taken off their shirts, muffling up their faces with them, and had tâlwârs, or swords, in their hands. I questioned him as to the certainty of the person being Sâleḥ Máhomed, and was told there could be no question, for he had addressed him on recognising him, and had received an answer from him. I then commissioned another servant to walk quietly up the little bazár of the place, and without appearing to have been sent for the purpose, to see whether it was truly the Ghiljî, and by
what sort of people he was attended. This man, coming back, confirmed the other's statement; and it was clear we had to provide against the desperate scoundrel and his band of muffled villains. I directed my mirza to go to the malek of the place, and desire him to wait upon me, but I scarcely had given the direction when a large armed party came from the gate of the village close to us, who proved to be the Kohistânîs who had preceded us from Dâka, and were about to make a night-march towards Jelâlabâd. I asked them where they were going, and on being informed, inquired if they would wait five minutes, or so long as our cattle were laden. They replied, "Yes;" and while the operation was in progress I was recognized by three or four of them, who had seen me in the Kohistân, and our understanding, therefore, became complete. I told them, in a few words, my position with the Ghiljî, and they much wished to have returned into the village, and to have secured him and his gang. I was not consenting, as they were Tâjiks, and it was just possible that the people of the village might make common cause with the ruffians, as they were all Afghâns. I was well satisfied to be fairly out of the dilemma, and trusted that the companions of Sâleh Mâhomed, on finding themselves disappointed, would turn about and beat him soundly for having deceived them, and brought them, to no purpose, from their homes. We marched from Bássowal, leaving the fellows
and our apprehensions behind us. The Kohistânís exceeded forty in number, and all carried muskets. I asked them if they were loaded, and they smiled, observing, that the lads of the Kohistân never travelled with arms unloaded. We followed a road leading through marshes to the northern extremity of Már Koh, which impinges on the river, but through which is an open narrow valley, expanding upon the plain of Chahár Déh.

On the skirts of Már Koh, overlooking Chahár Déh is a tope, which I never had an opportunity to examine. We crossed this plain diagonally, clearing the southern end of the ridge, which defines it to the west, and came upon the village of Bátí Kot, near which we halted and bivouacked upon the plain. Before daylight we resumed our march, and crossed the extensive plain intervening between the last village and Súrkh Díwâr. It was intersected by rivulets, flowing from the Saféd Koh on the south. At the commencement of the ravines and broken ground of Súrkh Díwâr our party congregated, and we marched through them en masse. We were too strong to be attacked by any but very numerous and bold gangs of robbers, but the place has a very bad repute. On an eminence to our left were the remains of a large Chághatai castle, erected, no doubt, for the protection of the road,—they now serve to shelter robbers, who make them their ordinary lurking-place. We observed a solitary individual under
the walls, which occasioned half our party to rush up the hill, and we thoroughly scoured the ruins and their environs, but met with no other person. Clearing the ravines of Súrkh Díwâr, we gained the village of Alí Bâghân, or, as sometimes called, Sama Khél. We did not halt here, but continued our course towards Jelálabád.

On reaching a zíárat, about two miles from the town, the Kohistânís halted during the heat of the day, and as I determined to push on, I made them a present to enable them to regale themselves, which delighted them, and they said they should be happy to escort me to Kâbal, affirming, in their manner of expression, that they would carry me through the hills on their shoulders. Passing through the town of Jelálabád we arrived, about a mile beyond it, at the castle of Mírza Agâ Jân, where we were kindly welcomed. In the evening the mírza produced some tolerable wine, and, after the long journey we had made, I did not object to a píála, or cup of it. On hearing the tale of our adventures, he said he did not at all like the Ghiljí, and I observed, neither did I, but I expected to hear no more of him. He seemed to fear that the fellow had been commissioned from some high quarter. I thought not, for, in that case, false badragas would have been imposed upon us, and we should hardly have escaped. I accounted for the affair in another way. I had taken with me to Pesháwer the relics I had ex-
tracted from the Darúnta topes, and they were in the kâs-kúrzín, which the Ghiljí told the Mo-mands was full of ducats, and which he had fixed upon as his share of the plunder. At the desire of Súltán Máhomed Khán, and Pír Máhomed Khán, I had exhibited them, and around at the time were standing some hundred or hundred and fifty persons. I presumed that the Ghiljí was one of the crowd, and having seen what he considered treasure, coveted its possession, and determined to obtain it by whatever means. I subsequently ascertained that he was, as he represented, a man of Maidân, and that he had been forced to fly on account of his improper conduct. One of the crimes imputed to him being the seduction of the wife of his ostád, or teacher, amongst Afghâns a grave offence. I judged, from the stories told of him, that he had been in the employ of the sirdárs of Kândahár as a robber and assassin; the chiefs of these countries retaining instruments to execute their most desperate purposes. Some time afterwards, at Kâbal, he found me out, and was willing to have been introduced to me, but I refused to see him. In the course of 1835, five nightly attempts were successively made to enter my house by a band of muffled villains, and my thoughts naturally enough recurred to my old Ghiljí friend; indeed, so long as I resided at Kâbal, from this time my house was occasionally visited by night, and I was compelled to be pre-
pared and vigilant. After remaining two or three days at the castle of Mírza Agâ Jân, I proceeded to Darúnta, and resumed operations upon the topes, and other sepulchral monuments in that vicinity, and was for some time occupied in perfecting the examination of objects, which my journey to Pesháwer had suspended. From Darúnta I repaired to Chahárbâgh of Jelálabád, and instituted a series of labours upon the topes which studded the eminences confining the plain to the south. These disposed of, I passed on to Hidda, for the sake of verifying the analogous structures there, having previously obtained the sanction of Mírza Agâ Jân, who held the place in jághír. The mírza sent his brother to secure us a due reception, and to enjoin the malek and his people to afford us all the assistance we might require. While engaged here the hot winds were somewhat troublesome, but we did not on their account suspend our labours.