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THE
TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES
OF THE TURKISH ADMIRAL
SIDI ALI REIS

IN INDIA, AFGHANISTAN, CENTRAL ASIA, AND PERSIA,
during the Years 1553—1556.

TRANSLATED FROM THE TURKISH, WITH NOTES,

BY

A. VAMBÉRY.

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¹ The Chapters have been erroneously numbered; there are only fifteen chapters in all.

INTRODUCTION.

The little book of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis¹, entitled "Mirat ül Memalik" (the Mirror of

¹ This work has long since been known in the East, and a German Translation of it by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez appeared in his "Memoirs of Asia" (Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien) II, pp. 733—267, which translation was afterwards rendered into French by Morris, and published in the Journal Asiatique IX, 27—299 and X, 46—112. The reasons that in spite of all this I have ventured to make a fresh translation, are briefly the following: 1. The Berlin Orientalist, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, had only a written copy of the "Weltenspiegel" (Mirror of the World) at his disposal, while I have had access to the latest printed Edition^a) published in Constantinople, and consequently was not so likely to be led astray by the uncertainties and variations in the Oriental manuscript. 2. Our knowledge of the Turkish Language has considerably increased since Diez's publication in 1815 and many of the discrepancies and inaccuracies of his translation could now be avoided. 3. The Geography and History of the countries concerned have now

a) The exact title of the work as it appeared in Stambul in 1895 is as follows:

Ikdam Library. A work of ancient authors, viz. The Mirror of Countries, written by Sidi Ali Reis and edited by Ahmed Djevdet, editor and proprietor of the Ikdam newspaper. Printed by permission of the Ministry of Public Instruction in the Printing Office of the Ikdam in Stambul 1313 (1895). Price two piasters.

Countries), is in many ways very interesting. In the first place on account of the personality of the author, in whom we see a man of many varied accomplishments; a genuine type of the Islamic culture of his time and a representative of that class of official and military dignitaries to whose influence it is chiefly due that the Ottoman empire, extending over three continents, attained to that eminent height of culture which it occupied during the reign of Suleiman the Great. Sidi Ali is the descendant of an illustrious family connected with the arsenal at Galata, in whom love for the sea seems to have been hereditary, and hence, as the Turkish publisher points out in his preface, Sidi Ali, being thoroughly acquainted with the nautical science of his day, excels as author on maritime subjects.

As a man of general culture, he was in harmony with the prevailing notions of his time, as mathematician, astronomer and geographer; and also as poet, theologian and in all branches of general literature;

assumed quite a different aspect, the original text of the travelling account of the Turkish Admiral, can therefore be understood and explained much more clearly. Besides all this the extensive English Literature of the present day on Indian Topics and my personal experiences when travelling in those countries, have been of great help to me; I have therefore thought it incumbent upon me to prepare a fresh translation, but for obvious reasons I have restrained from any critical comments on Diez's rendering.

sometimes wielding his pen in writing lyrical or occasional verses, at other times entering into keen controversial disputes upon certain Koran-theses or burning schismatic questions.

Besides all this he was a warrior, proving himself as undaunted in fighting the elements as in close combat with the Portuguese, who in point of accoutrement had far the advantage over him. But what stands out above all these accomplishments, is his glowing patriotism and his unwavering faith in the power and the greatness of the Ottoman empire. He boasts that he never ceases to hope to see Gujarat and Ormuz joined to the Ottoman realm; his one desire is to see his Padishah ruler of the world, and wherever he goes and whatever he sees, Rum (Turkey) always remains in his eyes, the most beautiful, the richest, and the most cultured land of the whole world. The Turkish Admiral has moreover a singularly happy way of expressing himself on this subject of his preference for his own Padishah and his native land; and this required no small amount of courage and tact where he had to face proud Humayun or Thamasp no less conceited than the former.

With regard to the things which he saw and heard in non-musulman circles and districts in India, his accounts are poor compared with the descriptions of Ibn Batūtā and other moslem travellers. Sidi Ali

has had hardly any intercourse with Hindus, and his route lay almost entirely through districts, where the ruling caste, with whom he principally had to deal, were adherents to the mohammedan faith. It does appear somewhat strange that he had such unbounded reverence for the Sultan of Turkey, and upheld him as the legitimate caliph, although the caliphate had only fallen into the hands of the Ottoman rulers, a few years previously with the overthrow of Tuman Bey by Selim II; and this seems the more strange, as Asia is so tenaciously conservative that even to this day the Turkish claim to the caliphate is a disputed point.

The authoritative and executive power of Turkey, formerly the terror of the Christian world, could not fail to exercise its influence upon the Moslem lands of Asia and their unstable governments, torn and harrassed as they were by internal strife and petty wars, while the sultans of Turkey basked, not only in the glory of spiritual preferment, but also in that of temporal superiority. The picture which our author draws of the government of India and the East is certainly a very sad one. Civil wars and mutinies against the rulers of the land are every day occurrences; the roads swarm with highwaymen, and even during the reign of the much-extolled Humayun, all intercourse with other lands was fraught with every

imaginable kind of danger. Their rulers all suffer from a peculiar form of conceit, like the ruler of Bokhara, who asked me, pointing to a ragged motley crowd of ruffians, whether the army of the Sultan of Turkey were not exactly like this. Humayun, Thamasp, and even Borak Khan of Bokhara, all delighted in drawing parallels between themselves and Sultan Suleiman.

One thing however in the account of the Turkish Admiral is certainly surprising, namely the few facts by which he illustrates the Sultan's policy in Moslem Asia. We have always been under the impression that the Turks, during the era of their supreme power and universal sway, directed their attention more towards the Christian lands of the West, than towards the Moslem lands of the East, and that as a matter of fact their campaigns were nothing short of marauding raids, and empty conquests, while they might have utilised the many means at their disposal and the high prestige in which they stood towards the consolidation of their power in Asia, which would have been comparatively easy. This reproach is neither unfounded nor unmerited, for although the finest of the Ottoman rulers, Sultan Selim, did direct his attention chiefly towards the East, as proved by his campaigns against Persia and Egypt, most of his predecessors and successors have occupied themselves solely in making war in the West. Asia, which offered

little to tempt the mercenary janissaries, was meanwhile left pretty well to its own devices, without any fixed form or plan of government. — But, as in this narrative the threads of the policy pursued by those sultans, one by one come to light, we are struck with the fact that after all they were not quite so short-sighted as we gave them credit for, and that now and again they have given a thought to the bringing about of a better state of things.

In one of my earlier works¹ I pointed out that Sultan Ahmed II, who had not been very successful in war, had entered into negotiations with the rulers of Transoxania, and, together with them, had vowed the destruction of the Shiite world, which had wedged itself into the body of the Sunnite community. Sultan Suleiman went much further; he aimed at the subjugation of the whole of the then existing Moslem East, hence his diplomacy in the Arabian and Persian seas, and his deep-laid plans for taking Ormuz from the Portuguese in order to obtain a firm footing in Gujarat. If this plan had succeeded, he would have broken the growing power of the successors of Baber and established himself as sole ruler of Hindustan. If Suleiman, instead of deluging Hungary and Austria with his janissaries, had put

¹ Vambéry, *Geschichte Bokhara* II, 130.

the conquest of India on his programme, his efforts would have been crowned with greater and more lasting success than that which attended them in the Danubian provinces. He had at his disposal a mighty, ever victorious fleet, while the descendants of Baber were entirely without one. His prestige was great and without parallel in Arabia, Egypt, nay even in the whole of the Islam world, and the victory which a handful of Central Asian adventurers could obtain over the Vishnū worshippers, would have been child's play to his disciplined, well-armed, valiant bands of Janissaries. The Ottoman rulers as masters of India would have played a far more important part in history than any of their predecessors on the road to conquest, and who can say what might not have been the fate of Asia under such conditions?

Simultaneously with India, Suleiman had also directed his attention towards the countries of the Oxus, as proved by the sending of 300 Janissaries to Bokhara to organize the military forces of Borak Khan, in order to secure for him superiority over his rivals. Most characteristic are the ways and means employed to smuggle these Ottoman soldiers, from the shores of the Bosphorus to the distant banks of the Zarafshan. To allay the suspicions of the Persian Monarch it was said that the Turks had merely

served as an escort to the pious Sheikh Abdullatif, on his long journey over the Caucasus, the Caspian sea and across the steppes of the Khirgiz. But this was not the case, for as we learn from the narrative of Sidi Ali, they had entered the service of Borak Khan, took part in his battles and did not leave him until they had realized the futility of their efforts. Borak Khan himself had been unpleasantly undeceived, and his expression that he was ashamed of his inability to keep his word to the Sultan, suggests at any rate, some secret understanding between the Porte and himself.

Between the shores of the Black Sea and the boundaries of China there was still plenty of scope for work for the Ottoman realm, which had just secured a foothold on the threshold of Europe. The people of the Caucasus (the western Caucasus) were not yet won over to Islam, for it was not until the XVIIth century that Ferrukh Pasha was sent out to convert the Circassians to Islam. The Kirghizes also were as yet Infidels, for why otherwise should our travellers be told at Bokhara that the Kirghizes treated the musulmans badly. Moslem writers certainly do speak of the conversion of the Caucasus and Central Asia, as early as the first century of Hijra; but this should be understood to refer only to the cities and settled inhabitants, and even to

them with reservations; the nomadic and military contingents of those countries, however, were not converted to Islam, until much later, and on certain points they are even to this day, Mohammedans only in name.

For the rest, even in modern times, there has been no lack of evidence of the curious dealings of the Porte with the Sunnites in the Far East. About the middle of the forties, Sultan Abdul Medjid sent the Khan of Bokhara some soldiers drilled according to the modern school, to assist him in establishing a regular army there. The same thing was done to assist the Atalik Ghazi, i. e. Yakub Kushbeghi, the ruler of Eastern Turkestan, who expelled the Chinese from his territory and founded a kingdom at Kashgar. In both cases however the attempt failed. The spirit of strong conservatism was too deeply rooted in the Asiatic mind, to allow their old-world notions to be superceded by modern ideas of warfare, and the musulmans, sent on that mission, returned unsuccessful.

The notes of Sidi Ali's travels, are full of traits of this sort, and from them it is quite easy to conjure up a picture of Moslem Asia in the XVIth century. As for his style and language, it seems that he expresses himself more easily in verse than in prose, for the latter is often almost unintelligible.

His language betrays the influence of his year's residence in Central Asia, for he makes use of words and expressions, which are not current in the Ottoman literature of his time, and are totally unknown to the western Turks.

In the following translation, my principal object has been, not so much to assist Orientalists in their researches, but rather Geographers and Ethnographers, and I have therefore omitted all superfluous, flowery speeches, synonyms, and bombast non-essential to the right understanding of the text. Neither have I attempted to translate the verses inserted in the original. These are written for the greater part in the Djagatai language and are of no general interest, repeating ad nauseum the imagery and metaphors of Oriental poetry, and containing absolutely nothing in any way relating to the course of events or to the places and peoples with which this narrative is concerned.

A. VAMBÉRY.

PREFACE OF THE TURKISH PUBLISHER.

When Sultan Suleiman resided in Bagdad in the year 945 (1538) there appeared at his court a certain Mani, son of Makas Ogli Mir Rashid, the ruler of Basrah; he came with rich gifts to present the keys of that town, and the Sultan was pleased to honour him with a grand reception. In the year 837 (1433)¹ Khadim Suleiman Pasha, Beglerbeg of Egypt, distinguished for his naval and military accomplishments, had fitted out at Suez, a fleet for the conquest of Yemen and Aden, when he was summoned to join the Imperial army then starting on its campaign to Bagdad. In acknowledgment of his services there the dignity of Vizier had been bestowed upon him, and upon the completion of the campaign, he was reinstated in his former position. It was about this time that Humayun Shah, a descendant of Sultan Baber, who had made vast conquests in India and

¹ More correctly 937 (1530).

incorporated many districts into his realm, marched against Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Gujarat, who immediately sent an envoy with suitable gifts to Sultan Suleiman, soliciting his Imperial protection. At the time that this envoy appeared at the court in Adrianople, i. e. in the year 943 (1536), the Portuguese availed themselves of the war between Humayun and Bahadur Shah, to take possession of Bender-i-Diw, situated within the dominion of Gujarat. When Suleiman Pasha heard this, he left Suez on the 15th of Moharram of the Year 945 (1538) with a well-equipped fleet of 80 vessels. Impressed by the sight of this mighty fleet the ruler of Aden, Amir bin Daud, had voluntarily yielded to the protection of the Padishah, and so this stronghold was incorporated into the Ottoman empire without striking a blow. From there the fleet sailed on to Gujarat and after a successful battle, the two strongholds Kukele and Ket¹ were taken from the Portuguese. The fleet then proceeded to Bender-i-Diw. Bahadur Shah meanwhile had died and was succeeded by Melik Mahmud. When he was told that the fleet had arrived for his protection and that he was expected to provide it with food and ammunition, Melik Mahmud, deluded by the promises of the

¹ On English maps given as Keti-bender, (Harbour of Ket), in the district of Karachi.

Portuguese, refused to render them any assistance, and so, although the outworks of the strong fortress which on three sides was surrounded by the sea, were already in possession of the valiant musulman sailors, the undertaking had to be given up and the fleet was compelled to retire.

After the conquest of Egypt, the provinces of Yemen and Arabistan, formerly subject to the Circassians (Mameluks), came under Turkish rule, and, without the help of any Ottoman force, the government of those provinces was entrusted to a Circassian, called Iskender Bey and a Turk called Ramazan Bey. There the matter was left. After the change of government the Circassians immediately donned the Turkish garb and together with the Rumi (West Turks) adopted the epithet 'Mahzarin'¹ and used their power as they pleased. They even ventured to oppose Suleiman Pasha, the commander of the fleet, who thereupon took captive the Nakhuda², called Ahmed, and placed in his stead Mustafa Bey, the son of Biyikli Mehemed Pasha, formerly governor of Diarbekir, and thus succeeded in restoring order.

¹ Mahzarin, means literally, yellow, faded or withered and refers to the new shoots from the seed of a plant. Iskender Bey and the other Circassians (Mameluks) whose last ray of hope had been well nigh extinguished, but who were now restored to office, were designated by this epithet.

² Literally shipscaptain.

It was therefore, remembering the consequences of this earlier campaign and with a view to the complete annexation of Arabia, that Sultan Suleiman decided upon the present course, and formed the plan to take the island of Ormuz and revenge himself upon the Portuguese.

The execution of this plan was entrusted to Piri Bey the Egyptian Admiral, who accordingly, in the year 961 (1553) set out from Suez to Ormuz with 30 ships, galleys and bashtardas. He immediately prepared for the siege, but when he saw that the Portuguese had a far superior force at their disposal, he sent the fleet, entrusted to his care, to Basrah, and he himself returned to Suez with three vessels. This inactivity on the part of Piri Bey, was attributed to bribery in certain circles where he was not liked, and in consequence of this he was put to death. It was to replace him that the command of the fleet was entrusted to the Galataen, Sidi Ali Reis, the author of this little book, which forms the third volume of the "Mirror of Countries" series, published by the "Ikdam" Library.

There was a time, when amongst the commanders and officers of the Ottoman naval and military forces,

men were to be found, who distinguished themselves with the pen as well as with the sword. Sidi Ali Reis was one of these and although the navy and its accompanying sciences was his special sphere of knowledge, he also excelled most of his contemporaries in poetry and composition. He was known under the fictitious name of "Kiatibi" or Kiatibi Rum¹. In 960 (1552) he accompanied Sultan Suleiman Kanuni on his eastern campaign to Aleppo. In 961 (1553) he was appointed to the post of Admiral of the Egyptian fleet (Missr Kapudanligi), and commanded to fetch back from Basrah the fleet which Piri Bey had left there.

He proceeded thither by land, but when he prepared to leave Basrah with the fleet, the Portuguese, ever victorious in those waters, had attacked him. This misfortune, aggravated by a severe storm which ran several of his vessels to the ground, frustrated all his plans, and he barely escaped with the few remaining vessels to the coast of Gujarat. Leaving his ships in charge of the ruler of the place, he travelled by land over Sind, Punjab, Afghanistan Transoxania, Khorassan, Azerbijan, and through Persia. Wherever he came the Mahomedan rulers presented to him addresses of loyalty and devotion to

¹ i. e. Turkish writer.

the Padishah, and at last he reached Constantinople, via Bagdad, in the year 964. These four years of compulsory travel have been recorded by Sidi Ali Reis in a book called „Mirat ül Meinalik”, (Mirror of Countries), and when he presented it to the Sultan, he was restored (?) to favour. At first he received a daily pay of 80 Akche's, and the title of “Müteferrika” (Officer in attendance on the Sultan), and shortly after he was raised to the office of Timar-Destendar of Diarbekir; he died in 980 (1572). Sidi Reis was the son of Husein Reis, Steward of the Imperial Arsenal then at Galata, whose father and grandfather had occupied the same post. Sidi Reis therefore, belonged to one of the most distinguished families of his time and as he had inherited an insatiable love for the sea, he had taken part in most of the naval engagements of the time under such famous navigators as Khaireddin (Barbarossa) and Sinan Pasha. He wrote five treatises upon the Astrolabe, the Quadrant ربع حجیب the parallels مقتدرات, the manufacture and the use of.....¹ and under the title of “Mirat-ul Kainat” (the Mirror of Creation) he wrote an interesting pamphlet upon the theory and practice of Nautical science. During his residence in Ahmedabad he wrote a book called “Muhit”, in

¹ In the text *معدل ذات الكرسي* Inu'adil we zat-el-Kursi (?)

which he gives much information upon the Gulf of Oman, and a German translation of which was given by Baron Hammer of Vienna. The Turkish original will also shortly be published.

The “Mirat ül Memalik” (Mirror of Countries) has so far not been published in its entirety and the loose copies extent are far too few in number to be accessible to the knowledge-loving public. The fragment here presented has been fully discussed in the German Newspapers under the heading “Indisch asiatische Kenntnisse.” The copy which I have used was the gift of Abdullah Bey, the great scholar, especially learned in ancient Manuscripts, to the Editor of the ‘Ikdam’¹. Sidi Reis who had learned Djagatai-Turkish in the course of his travels, has written several Ghazels and Chronogramms in this dialect. He presented these to different Turkish princes, principally to Humayun Shah, who called him a second Mir Ali Shir. Sidi Reis, therefore, ranks amongst the first Ottoman Oriental scholars. He was universally known for his gentleness and high-mindedness, and his house in Galata was famous for its hospitality and liberality.

¹ The first vol. of Tarikhi P'erch'evi (Pechevi?) which was published by the express wish of the late Ghalib Bey a famous osman scholar and son of Edhem Pasha, contains an extract from the book now before us.

xviii Preface of the Turkish Publisher

In conclusion I consider it my duty to offer my sincere thanks to the publishers and printers of the "Ikdam Library" for the publication of this work, with which they have conferred so large a benefit upon science.

NEDJIB AASIM.

I.

When Sultan Suleiman had taken up his winter-residence in Aleppo, I, the author of these pages, was appointed to the Admiralty of the Egyptian fleet, and received instructions to fetch back to Egypt, the ships (15 galleys), which some time ago had been sent to Basrah on the Persian Gulf. But, 'Man proposes, God disposes.' I was unable to carry out my mission, and as I realized the impossibility of returning by water, I resolved to go back to Turkey by the overland route, accompanied by a few tried and faithful Egyptian soldiers. I travelled through Gujarat, Hind, Sind, Balkh, Zabulistan, Bedakhshan, Khotlan, Turan, and Iran, i. e. through Transoxania, Khorassan, Kharezm, and Deshti-Kiptchak; and as I could not proceed any further in that direction, I went by Meshed and the two Iraks, Kazwin and Hamadan, on to Bagdad.

Our travels ended, my companions and fellow-adventurers persuaded me to write down our experiences, and the dangers through which we had

came presently to another large stream which had to be crossed. Finding no ships at hand, we built a raft of barrels and chairs¹ and so managed to reach the other side. Next we came to Bahara where another river had to be crossed, this time in ships. When I told the governor (Khodja) of this place what Ekber had commanded, he exclaimed, "God be merciful! As the Padishah was dead we have not collected the taxes, the people still owe them. I will send round, collect the moneys and hand them over to you²." Mir Babu's and the other Begs who were of the company, consulted together and decided that as Shah Abul Maali had escaped from his prison in Lahore, and might possible have taken refuge with his brother Kihmerd Bey in Kabul, it would not be safe for them to delay, but they suggested that I should wait till the tribute money was collected, and follow them as soon as I could.

But I argued that the roads were unsafe and dangerous and that it would be much better to keep all together. I acted on the principle, that "The contented mind shall be satisfied and the covetous

¹ In the text. کت ket. i. e. سریر serir, the first being Persian, meaning Barrel, the second Arabian, meaning, throne, chair.

² It appears from this passage that the Emperor's guests only received the gifts allotted to them when on their return journey, had in fact to collect them from the authorities of the districts through which they passed.

man shall be humbled." So I relinquished my claim upon the tribute money and continued my journey with the others. After crossing the rivers Khoshab¹ and Nilab² in ships, I set foot upon the shore of Bakhtar³.

XI.

Our experience in Bakhtar-Zemin i. e. in Kabulistan.

In the beginning of the month Djemaziul-Evvvel we left the river Nilab and turned towards Kabul. For fear of the Afghans under Adam Khan, we made a quick march through the night, and at daybreak we arrived at the foot of the mountain. So far the Afghans had not seen us, but by the time we had reached the top, there were thousands of them gathered together. We seized our guns, and with God's help managed to get out of their way, and came to the town of Persuer, i. e. Peshawer. Soon after, we crossed the Khaiber Pass, and reached Djushai. In the mountains we saw two rhinoceroses

¹ Khoshab the name of a town in Penjab, situated on the river Djehlam, and not the name of the river itself, as our author states.

² Nilab, blue water, cannot possibly be the river Kabul.

³ Bakhtar-Zemin = Bakhtarland, i. e. Bactria.

J. Asiatic Society of Bengal 14 (1845) 661-701

Account (Part II.) of parts of the Cabool and Peshawar Territories, and of Samah, Soodom, Buner, Swah, Deer and Bajour, visited by Mulla Aleem-ulla of Peshawar, in the latter part of the year 1837. Arranged and translated by Major R. LEECH, C.B. Late Political Agent, Candahar, under whose instructions the Tour was made.

"Moorcroft, Vigne, Burnes, Masson, Leech, and Wood, had travelled in the country, yet when General Pollock was at Peshawar and the Khyber closed, there was no trustworthy information to be procured regarding the Karifa, (Karapah?) the Abkhánah or the Tirah routes from Peshawar to Jelalabad."—(Recent History of the Panjab, from the *Calcutta Review* for September 1844.)

"Of the Kohistan (Eesafzai), my information is, I must confess, very imperfect, and will be here limited to nearly a barren detail of names."—(Captain E. Conolly, *Asiatic Society's Journal*, No. 105, 1840, page 929.)

"The much-to-be-regretted death of Doctor Henderson, has deprived us of authentic geographical knowledge respecting the valley of Suhát, Bonler, the valley of the Deer river, and the country of Bajáwar."—(Vigne's Cashmeer, Vol. II. page 310, 1842.)

The author of the Recent History of the Panjab has gone considerably out of his way (even to the Haft kotal) to prove that every traveller across the Indus has failed both in his duty to his Government and to the geographical public, and seems to forget that a London publisher is not always the person to whom a Government servant should send surveys of Military Passes.

In justice to the late Cabool Mission of 1836-38, (two of whose members, Burnes and Lord, are dead, and a third, Wood, has retired from the service), I feel it a duty to record that before the advance of the Army into Afghanistan, Government was by the members of the Mission put in possession of surveys (made on horse and camel back) of the Khyber and Bolan Passes, and of that leading from Cabool via Bamian into Turkistan, and of accounts of all the other Passes leading from the Indus into Balochistan and Afghanistan, as well as of those leading from Cabool into Turkistan over the Hindoo Coosh. If the author of

the Recent History will refer to the published (not in Albemarle street) account of the Khyber Pass, dated Cabool, 1st October 1837, he will find the description of the three Passes of Tatára, Karapah, and Abkhánah thus prefaced:—"There are three other Passes, which are connected with this one (the Khyber), in as much as a simultaneous passage would most likely be attempted by an invading force through more than one."

The author of the Recent History also blames the natives of the country for calling the Pass, Haft kotal, and blames all Europeans for copying them.

While Darrah is a word applied both to a valley (Shahar Darrah, Shah Darrah), and to a defile (Darrah i Khyber, Darrah i Bolan), the word Kotal is applied to a ridge either rising from the plain or to the surmounting ridge of a Pass; and the Pass that puzzled the wide-awake author of the Recent History, the "Daylight Traveller," to account for its name, is called Haft kotal, or seven ridges.

It is a pity, however, that the natives were not taught by our Recent Panjab authority to call it Haft kotalik, and that Europeans were not taught to translate it the seven passes, and this new-coined word might be entered in the dictionaries in which Kotal is not to be found opposite to Kotalak.

The word for a ridge must not be confused with the one for a spare horse led in state before a chief. I hope the author of the Recent History of the Panjab will next give us the Recent History of the Protected Sikh States, and in the Preface parody the above quotation thus—

***, ***, ***; ***; ***; and ***
had travelled in the country, yet when the British attacking force was at Thanesir, and the insurgents in Kythui, no information regarding the fort was to be procured."

I was only three days in Peshawar in 1837, and was never again in that neighbourhood until with General Nott's force in 1842.

From Dacea to Peshawar there are four roads; the Khyber, Abkhánah, Karapah, and Tatara.

Dacea contains 100 houses of Moamand Afghans, of the clans Alamzai, Morecha-khel, and Moosazai, who act as guards to travellers and kafites, who without them are sure to be plundered.

No revenue is received from these people; on the contrary, they were always paid by the rulers of Cabool for keeping the above roads open, which they shut immediately their pay was stopt or kept in arrears.

Their charge for protection is,

On every horseman, or horse load,	2/3 rupees.
On every camel load, or pair of kajawahs,	3/3 ditto.
On every foot passenger,	2/3 ditto.

Their chief is Sa'ádat khan, who has command of three of the roads, Tahtarah, Abkhánah, and Karapah, as well as the river route by raft from Jelalabad to Peshawar. He lives at Sulpoor on the other side (from Dacca) of the river. He is in the employ of the rulers on a salary of 12,000 rupees, and the Moimands on the above roads, estimated at 45,000, acknowledge him as chief.

On every traveller by raft, one rupee is levied. The roads on this (the south) side of the river, which flows from west (Cabool) to east (Peshawar), are hilly, having many ascents and descents.

The road to Peshawar called Karapah, on the other side of the river, is also hilly and difficult, but not so much so as the others, it being possible, with management, to get guns over it. They have now stopped it up.

The other two roads, Abkhanah and Tahtarah, are safe.

The Khyber road is that for artillery and armies, but the Khyberies are great robbers, and often render a passage by it unavailable. Their word is not to be depended on. They are said to amount to 35,000 matchlock men. There are few habitations on the road, and even off the road they (the Afreedees) live a good deal in caves.

Their chief is Khan Bahadur, by clan a Malik Deen-khel. He and Saleem khan Jopa command 8,000. Abdul Kadar khan, Maddat khan and Alladad khan, Zakha-khels, command 10,000.

The Kukee-khels are 12,000. The Kumbar-khels 10,000. Alam khan Orakzai commands 10,000. The Shanwarees are 6,000. All these have their share in the Khyber.

Other portions of these tribes reside at Barah and Teerah, but they all have a share of the pay allowed by the rulers, and of the collections on the road at the tolls, and for Bodrakahs or guards; and all take their turn of service in the Pass.

From Dacca to Jamrood is in all 24 kos.*

From Dacca to Hult Chah (7 wells) is 4 kos; these were sunk it is said by a Cesar king of old, named Bagram, for the convenience of travellers. In those days the land around them, it is said, was cultivated. Their depth has never been ascertained. They are situated on the high road, four to the East and three to the West of it. The place is infested by thieves, and there is no water or habitations.

The Khyber Pass is a defile between hills, the eastern one belonging to the Shanwarees. The road runs from North to South. From Hult Chah to this Kotal of Sande khánah, is six kos. Below the Kotal (pass) immediately on the road a little to the South, on the skirt of the hill near a ravine, there is a spring of water of one mill strength, flowing from East to West; to the West there is a very high hill on which is a fort of the above named Cesar king, said to have been destroyed by Hazrat Alle, who defeated him, and opened the Khyber. It is now in ruins; there is a little cultivation here, which is a Caffila and army stage. It is on the boundary of the Zakha-khel, and Thanwareeg.

There are two roads up the hill, one to the East below the brow, having four windings and ascents and descents three kos in extent; the other by the stream along a ridge, two windings and ascents and descents one kos in extent, not a gun road. On reaching the top the road is again level to Gurheelbeg, which is four kos and a stage. There are twelve small square forts, having each a lofty tower and eight guz high many of which are hostile to each other. It is the boundary of the Zakha-khel. There are 1500 matchlock men in these forts. There is cultivation round the forts, but the inhabitants gain their livelihood by robbing on the highway.

Even when royal armies paid for their passage, the advance and rear baggage generally suffered.

The Khyberees mothers are said to accustom their children from the age of five to six years to steal, beginning with neighbour's fowls, their spinning wheels and other household utensils, stinting them in food the days they are not successful. Sayeds, Molvees and Fakkeers are not respected by them, and in stripping them, they jokingly say they intend to hang up their clothes as holy reliques in their houses.

* The details are to be found in the Khyber.

From Gurheelatbeg to Alle Musjid, which is in the centre of the Pass, is four kos in a defile, the road is level and a stream runs in it.

Two kos from Gurheelatbeg towards Alle Musjid, from the hills to the West of the road, a spring of water of seven mill strength gushes out, and flows along the high road to the south.

In the Darah, there are Zaitoon, Baloot and other jungal trees. From this spring one short (kachah) kos further, the Pass contracts, and is covered with large stones, the water flowing over them; over and through which people get their beasts of burden with difficulty, and it is not even pleasant for horsemen. This place is reckoned the exact centre of the Khyber. From this gorge to the fort of Alle Musjid is one kos.

It is situated on a high hill, and was of old there. Dost Mahammud Khan, has rebuilt it for the protection of travellers, and for fear of the Sikhs, and garrisoned it with 100 men. It is very difficult of approach, and is situated on the hill that rises from the west of the road. There is a little level ground to the east. The fort was built originally by the kings of old, more it is said as a toll.

From Alle Musjid to Jabagai is three kos, a halting place, but no habitations. From Jabakee (also called) there are two roads. One to the south, called the Dahan-i-Darrah (mouth of Pass) road, to which entrance it is four kos, level and winding, abounding with canes and rushes, having a running stream. After leaving the Pass and entering the plain, there is a village of Khaleels named Jangoo.

The second road from Jabakee to the east is over hills known as the Shadée and Bagyaree road; it is winding, and the distance to Jamrood is four kos, in which there are three Kotals. Jamrood is the name of a village at which the Khyberees used to collect tolls, and give guards. One and a half kos after leaving the Pass there is a rising ground, on which Ranjeet Singh has built a new fort. From Jamrood to Peshawar is five kos to the east over a plain.

I give my Meerza's (he was so from 1838 to 1842) account of the Khyber, that from it judgment may be formed of the scrutiny with which he prosecuted enquiries.

The third road from Dacea to Peshawar is the Taktarah one, twenty kos in extent, very difficult, (the details are in kachah or short kos.) From Dacea to the east, three kos, is Kongah, having the river to the

north, and hills to the south. It contains 230 houses of Momands of the clan of Alamzai and Marchah khel, under Saadat Khan, and three Hindu shops. From this village guards are procured, their chief is Daceem.

The rates for guards are,

A camel load or pair of Kajawahs,	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	rupees.
A yaboo load or horseman,	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
A bullock or ass load,	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
A foot passenger,	3	"

The guards are of the clans of Shanwarees and Afreedes, who with Momands and Balagoorees hold the road.

The chief of the Shanwarees is Rahmat Khan; those of the Balagoorees are Ahmad Khan, Rahat Khan, Afzal Khan and Shahnwaz Khan, Shamsodeen Khan, and Shahabudeen Khan. The Shanwarees amount to 8,000, the Balagoorees to 8,000, and the Momands to 4,000. They live in difficult parts of the mountains. They are by occupation guards and muleteers, many mules being produced in their country. Half a kos after leaving Kongah there is an ascent of one and a half kos, and after it a second; when both are surmounted, a plain is entered of four kos extent, on which off the road are twelve forts of Momands. There is a well on the road not bricked, is finished with masonry for the use of travellers.

From this well there are two roads; one to the south-west is the Rahtarah, and the one direct in front to the south, is the Abkhanah one.

On the Rahtarah road, three kos from the well, are two forts, which is the first stage from Dacea.

From these forts the road for ten kos is in a defile having a running stream, and plenty of trees, but no habitation. The stage is at the foot of a hill.

On leaving this a hill is ascended called the Koh-i-Khuda (hill of God) for seven kos. After which is a second hill called Koh-i-Rusool, (hill of the Prophet) having an ascent of six kos, and descent. It is also called the Tahtarah hill. There are other five lesser hills to surmount, having ascents and descents of three and four kos. There are no habitations on the road, but after descending each hill a small

stream is met, sufficient for drinking purposes. The Shanwarees and Balagoorees are here mixed.

For the next four kos the road is very difficult, over ascents and descents to the Darrah of the Balagoorees ; after passing through which the village of Isportang, belonging to the Barozai Khaleels, on the plain of Peshawar, is reached.

The Abkhanah route from the well where the Tahtarah road branches of, is as follows :

One kos to the south from the well there is a Kotal to be ascended, after which for one and a half kos, there is a plain and then a second Kotal one kos to descend. At the bottom the Cabool river runs, and this is a stage ; the ferry is called Guzar-i-Guttah, there is a small plain but no habitations, the inhabitants having their dwellings and shops in the hills above, for the accommodation of travellers by raft. On a Caffila arriving, these people descend and prepare rafts of inflated bullock hides to cross the Caffila, if they have Badrakahs or guards with them. It is impossible to cross the river but by raft, and as the stream is confined by high overhanging hills, it is very difficult to proceed along the bank over them, either backwards or forwards, a camel not being able to go. The stage belongs to the Momands under Saadat Khan. On crossing the river there is no open space, and a halt is made among the rocks on the river side, of only sufficient duration to reload the beasts of burden.

The road then for four kos, is an ascent up the brow of hills, without water or habitations, much infested by thieves.

Then the village of Hyder Khanee is reached, which is surrounded on all sides by hills. The inhabitants live in mat huts, which amount to 100, and there are 200 matchlock men ; this is a stage.

Thence the next five kos are over ascents and descents ; Zaitoon and Baloot trees are plentiful, as well as the matting grass ; the occupation of the inhabitants is mat-making, men and women. They do not wear leathern shoes, but grass sandals, which they wear in and out of doors, on the hills and in the plains ; they are called Chaplee or Psplai.

Thence five kos the road is hilly, having ascents and descents to Michnee, which is situated below hills, on the river, which is to the south. There are two villages furnishing 700 matchlock men. The

names of their Maliks are Buland, Rustum Khan, and Rahnum Khan, Moreshuh khel Momands under Saadat Khan. Although on the river side, their lands depend on the rain, being elevated. The inhabitants' occupations are guards and grain merchants, carriers, and mat-making. On the other side of the river are the Buzazai Khaled Afghans dependent on Peshawar.

The river is crossed on rafts, the charge for a load being 2/3 rupees, for a foot passenger 1/12 rupee, for a bullock or ass 1/6 rupee. The Badrakahs from Peshawar toward Cabool charge as follows :

A horseman,	2 1/3	rupees.
A yaboo or mule load,	2 2/3	,
A bullock or ass,	1 2/3	,
Foot traveller,	1/3	,

The Badrakahs pay for crossing the rivers.

The fourth, or Karapah road, is as follows :

From Dacea the Cabool river is crossed by boat to Lalpoor, a large village, containing 3000 houses and 120 shops. Saadat Khan resides here. The distance by this road to Peshawar from Lalpoor is twenty-eight kos.

From Lalpoor to the north, at three kos, there is a Kotal called Khurpash, which is a winding ascent for four kos. It may be practicable for armies and guns. The next seven kos, to the stage, is level, which is called Murdar Dand ; no habitations.

The next stage is eight kos, to Gandawah, also called Gandaw.

The road then goes eastward eight kos to Shabkadar, a village of the Duabah of Peshawur.

Between Murdar Dand and Gandawah, there are two small Kotals, and from the latter place to the mouth of the defile, there are two Kotals, one large and one small, and others besides. In the large Kotal there are capacious caves, in which merchants and travellers spend the night. The road of Karapah is held by the Alamzai Momands, under Turbaz Khan, the son of Mazulla Khan, a relation of Saadat Khan's, and chief of 24,000 men.

Of these four roads I (Alle Mulla) travelled by the Abkhanah, to Peshawar.

From a Dufter at Peshawar, I procured the following estimate of the area of the different dependent pergannahs :

Total No. of Jarebs.		Uncultivated.		Cultivated.
Yoosafzai, ...	1,25,000			
Mandal, ...	1,00,000			
Jaghazai, ...	22,000			
Bajour, ...	1,25,000			
Bunker, ...	22,000			
		3,91,000	1,34,700	2,59,300
Tarah and Bangash, ...	98,500	38,300	60,200	
Orakzai and Bangash-i-Pay- ans, ...	98,000	48,000	50,000	
Dahman and Banoo, ...	98,300	48,300	50,000	
Khosh and Marwah, ...	98,000	48,000	50,000	
Khattaks Balla and Hayan, 1,90,000		40,000	1,50,000	
Wazerees, ...	3,00,059	1,00,050	2,00,000	
Torees and Jajees, ...	1,60,000	60,000	1,00,000	
Suburbs (Ahaf) of Peshawar, 3,90,000				
Mohmands, ...	80,000			
Khaleels, ...	80,000	44,300	35,700	
Daoodzais, ...	70,000	30,000	40,000	
Khalsah, ...	70,000	35,000	35,000	
Duabah, ...	70,000	30,000	40,000	
Hashtnagar, ...	40,000	18,000	22,000	
Gardens of Kashbah Bagram and Shake Mahal, ...	40,000	7,000	33,000	

Peshawar, by another account I procured, is said to have a revenue of 9,15,300 rupees, derived from 3,24,000 Jarebs, divided into 7 Pergannahs. Pergannah 1st.—The Khaleels 25,000 houses in 41 villages, yielding a revenue of 1,05,000 rupees from 70,000 Jarebs. The chiefs being Arbab Janea Khan, Sadmast Khan, and Arbab Zaced Khan, Miuhhee Khel Khaleel.

Pergannah 2nd.—The Momands 38,000 houses in 55 villages, containing 84,000 Jarebs, under Ghazeedeen Khan, Kareem Khan, and Mahommad Khan, paying a revenue of 1,60,000 rupees.

Pergannah 3rd.—The Duabah 25,000 houses in 5 villages, containing 70,000 Jarebs, under Arbab Abdulla Khan, Gagynce Mandezai Khaleel and Arbab Hamza Khan and Arbab Sikandar Khan, paying a revenue of 1,50,000.

Pergannah 4th.—Hashtnagur, 22 villages, 25,000 houses, 40,000 Jarebs, under Izzat Khan and Shahnawaz Khan Malmandzai, paying a revenue of 90,000 rupees.

Pergannah 5th.—Daoodzais, 70,000 Jarebs, 20,000 houses, under Arbab Saadut Khan and Shahpasand Khan and Ahmad Khan; revenue 1,03,000 rupees.

Pergannah 6th.—Shahee Mahal round the town, is applied to the cultivation in the old royal gardens; the Kasbah of Bagram contains 40,000 Jarebs, and pays a revenue of 50,000 rupees.

Pergannah 7th.—The Khataks, revenue 1,50,000, under son of Abbas Khan and Ameer Khan, 70,000 houses in 67 villages.

There is a Tappah also, called Khalsah, that the kings of old did not include in their revenue, but set apart for their household expenses. The Barakzais collect, it is said, 56,000 rupees from it.

There is also the Sayer of Peshawar, called kacheree, which produces 1,25,000; another Pergannah of Peshawar is the Eesafzais to the North, 130 villages and 2,25,000 Jarebs.

This tribe inhabiting Swat, Buner, and Sama are estimated, or rather were, at 9,00,000 spearmen and matchlock men. I have heard from old and respectable and well informed men of this tribe in Buner, that Ameer Khan, their progenitor, had one son, Eesaf, who again had three sons and one daughter, Mandad, Malee, and Ako, and that the Malezais and Mandadzais inhabit Buner, and the Akozais Swat, and the Tarkareen, called after the daughter of that name, inhabit Bajour.

That the Mandad and Razad clans of Mandezais inhabit the Sama (level) and have 69 villages, and muster 2,28,000 matchlock men, horse and foot, (2,09,000 foot, 19,000 horse,) and have 1,92,000 Jarebs of land. Should a powerful Government ever arise, 14,00,000 rupees might be collected.

The Malezais and Mandazais are in Buner, having 70 villages and 1,00,000 matchlock men. It lies north of Sama, (93,000 foot, 7,000 horse.) They have 50,000 Jarebs of land.

The Akozais inhabit Deer and Swat, mustering 1,95,000 matchlock men, (1,48,000 foot and 47,000 horse.)

Deer and Swat contain 83,000 Jarebs. It is said that the whole of the Eesafzais matchlock men are estimated on the Hujrah. Each Hujrah contains 13 rebs, and each reb 19 zeer, each zeer 12 bakhrahs, (shares) and each share 9 keelbahs, and to each keelbah 60 seers seed, and for every seer seed one Jareb, and every share furnished six matchlock men, foot or horse.

The Eesafzais have another custom, that of changing their villages and lands every two or three years.

Another Pergunnah is that of Bajour, inhabited by the descendants of Tackareen, and contains 1,25,000 Jarebs. The kings of old collected 1,40,000 rupees, they are now independent. The chief is Meer Alum Khan, who has thirteen guns, and seventy Shakuns, and 2,000 Jazaeels of Zattulla Khan's time. This Zattulla Khan is said to have been a Lodee, left by Aurangzeb as Governor of Peshawar, and to have made 12,000 of these long pieces, for taking effect on the Teerahs and Khyber robbers on their heights, of $2\frac{1}{2}$ gaz in length; these Jazaeels are called after him.

Bajour of old depends on Peshawar, from which it is N. W. It has to the north the Cafers,* with whom constant war is waged.

Another Pergunnah is Cuner, containing 46,000 Jarebs, which paid 34,000 rupees to the kings of old. Ahmad Shah Duranne gave it to Sayad Hajeeh, whose sons are the present chiefs, one named Sayad-wodeen ; 20,000 matchlock men can turn out, (3,000 horse and 17,000 foot.)

No revenue was taken by the Sadozyes; Muhammad Azeem Khan, from Jalalabad, attacked Sayad Hajeech, and making him prisoner, fixed the revenue of his country at 30,000 rupees. A further account of Cuner is contained in Part I. of this account.

The following is a more detailed account of the Duabah, which is inhabited by Zagyanees, under Arbab Abdulla Khan, and Sikandar Khan, sons of Hamza Khan, son of Ashraf Khan, of Shah Kadar.

They formerly received 4,000 rupees pay from the kings, and furnished 800 cavalry and 8,000 infantry. There are 48 villages in the Duab, containing 6,640 houses, and paying a revenue yearly of Rs. 1,21,310.

* (Siyah-Pósh.) — Eps.

I also gained the following particulars of Hashtnagar. It contains twenty villages, and 40,000 jarebs. The revenue is 95,000 rupees. The ruler is Sayud Mahammed Khan, brother of Sultan Mahammed Khan. He has a body of 700 cavalry, and 400 foot. The villages are as follow:—

The fort of Hashtnagar has two gates and two guns.

From Peshawar eastward, I proceeded twenty-four kos to Derec on the other side of the Sandye river, included in the pergannah of Hashtnagar, inhabited by Mahammadzais. The former chiefs were Meer Baz Khan and Shahnawaz Khan; the present are Meer Ahmad Khan, the son of Zardad Khan Bamezye, on the part of Sayad Mahammad Khan. The revenue is 1000 rupees, there are 700 jarebs dependent on the rain, and 200 jarebs watered by six wells. The river water is not available for cultivation. There are 200 houses

and four Hindoo shops, seventy footmen and ten horsemen. There is a ferry boat on the river, used by merchants who trade between the Eesafzais and Peshawar. Two crops a year are produced of wheat, barley, Indian corn, and cotton. The inhabitants are at enmity with the Eesafzais regarding the pasturage of their herds on the plain to the east. The river is to the west of the village in which there is an island on which cattle are grazed.

Three kos to the south is the village of Kheshkee, which is on the river also, having a ferry boat. There are two kandees, one called Bur kandee of Shekhs and Nujan khels, and the other kandee of Panchtana. The former has 600 houses, under Nujan Afzal and Nujan Ahmad Kheshkee. Panjtana has 1,700 houses and twenty-five shops of Hindoos. Both hamlets could furnish 300 matchlock-men, (260 foot and 40 horse.) It was formerly under Shahnawaz Khan Muhammadzai.

Between the two kandees there is an earthen mound on which are Cafer ruins. Across the river to the west there is a bela, (island) on which cattle are grazed. The river water is not available for cultivation. There are seventy wells in the village. The revenue is 6,000 rupees included in Hoshtnagar. To the N. E. there is a plain called Merá, on which the plant called, in Persian Ushlan, and in Pushtoo Sanari, which is burnt for ishkhar (potash,) which is exported in thousands of kharwars by Khattak and Ormar merchants. It gives a greater return for labour than cultivation of grain. The inhabitants have 1000 cows, 700 buffaloes, 4000 sheep, and many asses, and are chiefly traders. They were at enmity formerly with the men of Noushera and the Eesafzais, i. e. before Runjeet Singh subdued the country.

It is three kos from Kheshkee to Noushera south-east. The chief was formerly Shahnawáz Khan, son of Faiztalah Khan; now Runjeet Singh has given it to Sardar Saiyad Muhammad Khan. The headman is Mulla Ghulam Kadur, the Sardar's Naib. Its revenue is 6000 rupees. There are 6000 houses, and 120 of Hindoos, and 200 shops, and 1000 matchlock men. The Parachahs are chiefly traders. The river is to the west of the village. There is a ferry boat.

Round Noushera there are 1000 jarebs of watered land, and 200 wells.

To the north of Noushera there is a hill called Tarkat, on which are the remains of Cafer buildings, and to the east there is a rising ground. Shahr-i-Safa, known as Shahr-i-Sabbak, on which are also Cafer remains, but no towers or minarets.

Below the skirt of the hill to the N. E. of the river are some houses of Afghans. There is another rising ground to the east, called Zedah Nujanah, and also the hill of A'dam and Durkhanee; the shrine of these lovers being below the hill on the south side where there are also seventy houses of Afghans, and these two hillocks are near each other on the river between Noushera and Acora.

Across the river to the west there is another village also called Noushera, on the road newly built by Runjeet Singh, as is the fort. It was ruined by former rulers and by robbers. There are 200 houses a bazar, and a mandee.

I learnt that one Abdu Rahman, son of Imamudeen Parachah, a resident of Noushahrah, found a vessel of old gold coins on the neighbouring hill, and that on its becoming known, he suddenly decamped at night with his family to Kuram, in the vicinity of Bungash.

Leaving Noushahrah to the south, and passing the above hill, I entered the plain of the Eesafzais; the road leads through a defile in the hill called Tarkai, with difficulty passable to guns.

Two kos from Tarkai in the plain is a tank called Ateeh, and beyond it one kos, on the river bank, there is a road over an eminence on which are remains of Cafer buildings; and three kos further is another eminence called Dakhla, also having ruins on it. Two kos further is an eminence called Taroo, also crowned with ruins, as well as with scattered houses of Afghans.

Two kos further on, there is a lofty eminence called Baba Deree, on which there is a square fort, built by Malik Daleel khan.

There are 700 houses of Eesafzais, and four wells and several young mulberry trees. The inhabitants are chiefly herdsmen: they are on good terms with Daleel khan, son of Jalal khan of Taroo, and at enmity with Ahmad khan, son of Lashikaree khan, of Hootee.

Half kos further on is the village of Taroo, and before reaching it is Kacho Deree, on which there are also Cafer remains.

There is a stream called Kalpanee, running from north to south through the village of Taroo, on which there are water wheels. Most

of the Mandad Eesafzais get their drinking water from this stream, which is fed from a spring. It has great capabilities, which might be brought to account by a powerful government. It is not much used by the tribes on account of their internal feuds. The villages immediately on its banks cultivate vegetables, Indian corn, and a little sugar-cane.

The reason that the Eesafzais never paid revenue is variously given. An account is, that the Eesafzais gave great annoyance to the authorities of the emperor Akber, when building the fort of Attock, and therefore when it was finished, a force of 12,000 men under the Wazeer Beerbal, was despatched against them, which was utterly destroyed by a miraculous shower of stones which fell on them in the Kala defile, brought down by the curses of a mad Eesafzai fakir, by name Jahan khan, an Umar khel, who received some injury from one of Akber's authorities.

Akber granted them, in fear, a perpetual indemnity from taxation, and none of the Chaghatai, Moghul, or Afghani monarchs assessed them until the time of Runjeet Singh, who took advantage of their internal dissensions to get possession of the greater part of Sammá, from which he levies revenue only by yearly sending a large force to collect it.

Nadir Shah is also said to have remitted their revenue on account of their restoring to him his crown, which one of them stole while he was encamped near the Attock or Indus. Some say that it was remitted by a monarch, who became alarmed at getting 9,00,000 spears of revenue, which he once ordered to be collected at the rate of one from every house. Others say that it was remitted in consideration of the poorness of their country, and on condition of their eternally waging a religious war of extermination against their northern neighbours, the Caferis.

Mandad is said to have had five sons, whose descendants occupy the Sammá country of the Eesafzais (Afghanee) or Yoosafzais (Persian).

Kamal and Aman were two brothers, whose descendants were called, and are so now, Kamalzais and Amanzais.

The former are again divided into Mishar, (elder) Kamalzais, and Kishar (younger) Kamalzais.

The Mishar Kamalzais hold the villages of Hotee, Mardan, Mayar, and Baghdada, each containing about 2000 houses. Their chief oc-

cupation is trade in saltpetre. Their chief is Ahmad khan, son of Lashkaree khan of Hotee, who collects the revenue for Runjeet Singh from these four villages.

The Kishar Kamalzais hold the villages of Toroo, Ghala Deree, and Gujar Gadee, containing each on an average 2000 houses and 200 shops, to which merchants from Swat, Michnee, and the Punjab resort. Their chief is Daleel khan, son of Jalal khan, who is an enemy of Ahmad khan's, the latter having with the assistance of the Sikhs taken possession of his estates. Each of those villages could furnish 700 foot and 80 horse. Ahmad khan is a son-in-law of Anayatullah khan of Swat.

From Toroo to the east four kos are the Amanzais, who are again divided into Doulatzais and Ismailzais.

The Doulatzais hold Gurhee Amanzai, Gurhee Kapoorah, Shahbaz Gurh (Kot), and Derah Gurhee, each of which villages contains on an average 4000 houses, and could furnish 2000 foot and 200 horse. Their chiefs are Nasarulla khan, Namdar khan, and Ameer khan.

The Ismailzais hold Gumbat, and Barah Kot, and two other villages, each containing on an average 4000 houses and 200 shops, and being capable of furnishing 1000 matchlocks. They have to the west the Kalpanee stream generally speaking, but there are villages on either bank. Their chiefs are Mansoor khan and Zyarat khan. Sardar Huree Singh took away from the Ismailzais two guns that they had. The Amanzais have 3000 jarebs watered by the rain, and 1000 jarebs watered by the Kalpanee. They have internal feuds, and are constantly employed in fighting among themselves, or in robbing the highway. They are somewhat held in restraint by Ahmad khan, the Sikh spy. The ground on the borders of the Kalpanee, is capable of being cultivated to a great extent were safety secured the cultivator by a powerful government, and lack of rupees of revenue might be collected; much of the land is capable of giving a ten-fold return on the seed.

The Sama country is bounded on the west by Asnee Kot, on the east by the Abaseen (Indus) at Amb, and Daraband on the south by the Attock (Indus), and on the north by Swat, Buner and Sudoom. It is 38 kos by 26. A particular account of the villages in it has been given to Major Leech, by Shekh Khashaloo.

The country of Sama chiefly depends on the rain, and grows one crop. In some parts two crops are grown, where running water is procured.

The whole of Sama is said to be able to furnish 2,30,000 foot, and 12,000 horse.

From Gurhee Amazai to the north, towards Sudoom, fourteen kos, is the hill called Kadamar, beyond which is the village of Garyala, consisting of 100 houses on an eminence. This hill Pass is the boundary of Sama and Sudoom. The village contains seventy matchlocks, foot-men, and six horse, under Lashkaree khan, who is at enmity with Mansoor khan, and friend with Nasarulla khan.

Two kos further is Gulyara, a fort on an eminence, of a square construction, containing forty kos within and 400 around it, with seven shops, and furnishing 200 foot, 27 horse, under Mansoor khan, and Yakoob khan, and Maddat khan. There are 700 jarebs in cultivation. Below the fort, there is a stream running from north to south.

Three kos further to the east is a hill called Doda, on which there are 400 houses under Afzal khan. Cultivation 600 jarebs.

One and a half kos to the north is the village of Sirah Derai, containing 600 houses, furnishing as many foot, and twenty horse, under Ashraf khan. Their lands are chiefly *lalmees* (dependent on rain) They have some *abee*, (watered by streams or wells) also. The name of the stream is Naraikhod, which rises in the hills to the east. They are enemies of the men of Gurhee Amanzai, and friends with the men of Taroo.

Two kos to the north is the village of Machai, containing 160 houses, under Meer Mobeon khan and Ismail khan. Cultivation, *lalmees* and *abee*, giving two crops. They are independent.

One kos further is the village of Char Gholai, containing 300 houses, under Ameer khan. Cultivation mixed, (*lalmees* and *abee*.) They use the water of the Naraikhod for drinking: they are independent. To the west in the plain trees abound.

One and a half kos further is the village of Osai, containing 200 houses, under Meer Mobeon. Cultivation 700 jarebs *lalmees*, and 100 jarebs *abee*. The drinking water from the Naraikhod.

Two kos further is the village of Rustam, containing 600 houses, under Ramatulla khan. Cultivation 1000 jarebs *lalmees*, and 200

jarebs abee. The drinking water is from a stream issuing from the hills to the north. They are independent.

One and a half kos further to the west is the village of Bazar, containing 700 houses, under Mansoor khan. Cultivation 2000 jarebs *lalmees*, and 300 *jarebs abee*. Drinking water from the stream.

Further on to the west off the road are the villages of Palee, Cheenah, Suroch and Landai, each containing 300 houses, under Sahab Shah Nujan. The cultivation of each, 1000 *jarebs lalmees* and *abee*.

Two kos further on is the village of Alee, containing 700 houses, under Mansoor khan. Cultivation 1000 *jarebs lalmees*, and 100 *abee*. Independent.

Further on four kos to the north-east, through a jungle over a winding road, two villages are reached, one called Peetawai, the other Syarai, under Malik Gujar. They each contain seventy houses. The hill which is here called Mabandarai, is the boundary of Sudoom and Bunher. The Khatak, Eesafzai, Samah and Peshawar merchants go by this Pass to Bunher. It is difficult for laden yaboos, bullocks, and asses. The ascent is four kos, and the descent two.

From the village the road leads to the north, winding up the hill which is very thickly wooded, the interwoven branches sometimes stopping the road; it is not of course a road for guns or even camels, a horseman being often obliged to dismount and lead his horse. Trees of different kinds, among them the Archah and Jalgeza, (fir and pine) are to be met with on these hills. The descent into Bunher from the top of the Malandasai Pass, is through a ravine. In this part of the country Mullahs and students (yalibilms), are much respected. There is no water in the Pass, or on the hills. In winter snow falls on the Pass, but does not lay on the ground.

One and a half kos from the Pass is the village of Zangee banda, in Bunher, in which there is no water. The inhabitants bring their water in pitchers from a spring at the foot of the hills to the north, one and a half kos distant. Cultivation 400 *jarebs lalmees*, and no *abee*. There are 130 houses, under Malik Kadazai.

On the road after descending the Pass, there is a shrine, or Mazar, of one Shekh Sher Kookho Baba, and a grave-yard. A fakir, with his wife, officiates at the shrine. Kafilas take a rest here. It is also a stage or halting place.

Three kos further to the north is a village called Nawai kilee, containing 700 houses of Burkhhah-khel Eesafzais Bunerwal, under Zyrat khan and Meer Sahab khan. The cultivation is lalmee.

From this village to the east, in the hills, is a valley called Yoosaf Darrah, in which there are 400 houses; and adjoining it to the north-west is another valley, called Ghanum Darrah, containing 800 houses. Cultivation lalmee. Trees of the kinds Zaitoon, (olive) Baloot, (holly-oak) Archah, (fir) are plentiful, and serve for firewood. The interior of the valley is attractive and open, but the inhabitants are a lawless set, and have many quarrels at the time of changing lands. Their chief is Ahmad khan, son of Azad khan.

One and a half kos further on is the village of Kadappa, containing 300 houses, under Maddat khan and Muneer khan. Cultivation lalmee. Their drinking water is brought from a distance in pitchers on the head. They have large flocks and herds.

Two kos further north is the village of Pishtool Darrah, containing 1000 houses of Doulatzais, under Manzal khan and Natab khan, embosomed in hills. Cultivation 2500 jarebs lalmee. Their drinking water is brought from a distance from the east.

To the north of the village the road leads through a defile so narrow, that a laden ass passes with difficulty. Half a kos after getting clear of the defile a river is reached, flowing from west to east through hilly defiles, until it falls into the Abaseen. It fertilizes the whole of the Buner lands, and those who inhabit its borders cultivate rice and chiefly live on it, boiled soft and mixed with ghee. The cultivation lalmee; wheat on rising grounds and skirts of hills.

To the north of the road across the river is the village of Shil Bandai, containing 400 houses, under Bahadur khan.

There is another, called Kalpanai, containing 500 houses, under Shahdad khan.

There is another, called Mash katta, containing 100 houses, under Fazal khan, and Bhadur khan, the son of Shahdad khan.

There is another called Kulgarai, containing 400 houses, under Nouroz khan.

There is another called Matwaridain, containing 2000 houses, under Mahib khan. They each cultivate the land of their bakhrah, or

share, and pay no revenue. Their Maliks only commanding them in feuds with neighbouring Khels.

Three kos further to the west, after crossing a rising ground, is the village of Dakad, containing 300 houses under Azeem khan.

Two kos further to the north, is the village of Derai, containing 300 houses under Hejeah khan.

Four¹ to the left (north) of the road, is the Burindoo river, flowing from west to east; and to the north of the road, a hill has been cut through by some king of old to give the river a passage, through which it rushes with great violence. The volume may be of 100 mill strength. The breadth of the cut may be twenty paces or less; on each side of this hill there is a plain. The name of this cut is Soorai kand.

Five kos further to the west, is the village of Heelai, the road being very bad through jungle, and over descents and ascents. The head of the village is Futteh Ali khan, son of Madar khan, Ashezai. It is divided into fourteen hujrahs, contains 1500 houses and 47 shops. The merchants from the Khattak country bring salt, cotton, oil and cloth, and take away grain, ghee and honey, to Peshawar. The inhabitants drink the water of the Burindoo, on which there are 25 water mills, which grind flour for the whole country. The village is on a soft rising ground, on which there are fissures caused by the water on all sides. The river passes in rear of the village; to the south of it firewood and forage are procured from the hills. The country abounds with sheep, cows, buffaloes, and goats. They are friends with the Salarzais and enemies of Doulatzais. Cultivation on rising ground (lalmee) 2000 jarebs, and on the river bank (abec) 1000 jarebs (rice and Indian corn).

Two kos further is the village of Dagar, containing 400 houses, under Bahadur khan.

Three kos to the west is a large village called Anghapoore, consisting of 14 Hujrahs, containing 2000 houses and 50 shops, under Jarwar khan and Rahmat khan. Cultivation 2000 jarebs lalmee, abec 1000 jarebs; the rubee fusul, wheat and barley; the inhabitants live principally on rice; they are enemies of the Salarzais and friends of the Noorzais.

Four kos further is a village on a rising ground called Torasak, composed of 18 hujrahs, and containing 2,500 houses and 50 shops, under Bulaud khan, who is a friend of Tallalee khan of Heelai, and an enemy of the Salarzais.

From Heelai five kos to the east, is the shrine of Peer Baba, the spiritual father, and place of pilgrimage of all the people of Swat, Bemher and the Eesafzais. There is a village also called Zyarat, containing 1,000 houses and 50 shops, under Myún Sayad, Sarbulund Shah and Myung Sayad Ahmad Shah and Afzal Shah, and Maliks Saádut khan, Tozal khan, and Ahmad khan. The Zyarat of the Peer is surrounded with numerous sheesham, zaiteen and mulberry trees. The Zyarat has no dome; there are two sarcophagus in the shrine of ornamented gypsum, over the tombs are narcissus, zumbuk and roses growing, and the mujawuns, or officiating priests, amount to 400 or 500; they receive all votive offerings and offerings as thanksgiving. The Shekhs and Sahabzadahs entertain all visitors and strangers. The whole people of Buner are more or less influenced and guided by these Sahabzadahs.

Twelve kos to the north-west is the Kadakad hill, beyond which is the Pergunnah of Swat, and on the road are the following six villages.

1st. Kingar galai, consisting of 200 houses, under Shahbaz.

2nd. Chhurai, containing 300 houses and four hujrahs, under Abdulla khan.

3rd. Bazargai, containing 300 houses and four hujrahs, under Azam khan.

4th. Bam pookhah, containing 200 houses and four hujrahs, under Maddat khan.

5th. Johar, containing 300 houses and four hujrahs, under Maddat khan.

6th. Sugaren, containing 500 houses and four hujrahs, under Maazam khan.

Each hujrah contains eighteen bakhrahs, and each bakhrah twelve rupees. (jarebs?) and to every rupee twenty foot men, and 2 swars. Every rupee contains sixty jarebs of land.

The drinking water is from a stream that issues from a ravine. They are all Salaizais, and are at enmity with the Ashezais and

friends with the Doulatzais, and are independent. There are 2,000 jarebs of lalmeel cultivation on rising grounds, and 1,500 abee on the banks of the stream, (Shelsh.) The inhabitants are owners of large herds and flocks.

There are besides in all directions villages in valleys in the hills. For instance, to the east, near the Abaseen river, are the following:

Bagra, containing 500 houses under Buland khan. Babda ditto 400 ditto. Tadba ditto 500 ditto. Chagharzai ditto 700 ditto, Aman khan. Marhad ditto 400 ditto. Kot and Cabal. ditto 700 ditto, Sahab khan.

The inhabitants of the above are Sherzais and Eesafzais. Their chiefs are Iman khan, Buland khan and Sahab khan.

The cultivation is 4,000 jarebs of lalmeel, and 1,500 jarebs of abee, and each village contains two or three hujrahs each.

To the west is Ghazee khanah, containing 700 houses and four hujrahs, under Sarwar khan, Gudazai, the abee cultivation being from the Burindoo.

Three kos further is another village called Nadai, under Ralmat khan Gudazai, containing two hujrahs and 200 houses. The above two chiefs are friends, and at enmity with Mohsan khan Shamaszai.

Three kos further is a village called Bace, under Mohsan khan, containing 400 houses and three hujrahs, and the shrine of Sultan Wais Baba.

There is another village called Badshah kilai, containing 400 houses of Gudazai, under Noor khan and Zattullah khan. I have heard, as I said before, from old and intelligent men of Buner, that two of the three tribes of Eesafzais inhabit Buner vizult, Maleezais, and Mandeezais.

The Maleezais are again subdivided into the following five gurohs, Gudazais, Salarzais, Ashezais. The tribe of Top Darrah, and Panhpaees.

The Mandeezais are also again subdivided into the two gurohs of Doulatzais and Noorzais. The whole pergunnah of Salarzais, containing twenty-four hujrahs, on each of which matchlocks, horsemen, and lands are distributed. The chiefs are Kachkol khan, Baba khan and Alam khan.

The whole pergunnah of Gudazais, contains sixteen hujrahs.

That of Ashezais twenty-one hujrahs.

That of Top Darrah eighteen hujrahs, and that of Panchpaees twenty-two hujrahs.

The whole of the Maleezais have 101 hujrahs. The Doulatzai, Maleezais have thirty-one hujrahs, and the Noorzais forty-two hujrahs, making in all seventy-three.

The Gudazais are divided into four Tappahs. Husen khel to the east have four hujrahs, under Sarwar khan.

Husan khel to the north, have four hujrahs, under Kachkol khan and Baba khan and Alum khan. Aleesher khels, to the south, have four hujrahs, under Nouroz khan, Alee khan and Ahmad Shah Megan.

Ibrahim khels, to the north-west, have four hujrahs, under Deewan Shah.

Between the Aleesher khels and Ibrahim khels, there is a distance of five kos.

The Salarzai Maleezais have seven villages to the west.

Hujrai contains three hujrahs, under Shahbaz khan.

Seegaren contains four hujrahs, under Abdulla khan.

Kingargalee contains four hujrahs, under Azam khan.

Seiz contains four hujrahs.

Bazangai contains four hujrahs, under Azam khan; Johar and Bampookhah, contain each four hujrahs, under Sargandai and Hijran. They are enemies of the Gudazais.

The Ashezai Maleezais, have three towns. Heelai contains seven hujrahs, under Fattalee khan.

Aughapoor contains seven hujrahs, under Daum Shah.

Torahsak contains seven hujrahs, under Afzal khan; each of these towns has forty or fifty shops, frequented by Putwad Puklee, and Chuch merchants.

Top Darrah has four villages; two of them have three hujrahs each, and the other two four each, under Alam khan.

The Panchpaees have five villages; three of them four hujrahs each, and two of them five each, under Taoos khan and Ghazee khan.

The Doulatzai Mandeezais have three villages; Dagar has two hujrahs, under Shah Doula. Six kos to the south, there is a village called Bandeezai, having five hujrahs, under Fatteh khan.

Six kos to the east, there is a village called Thil bandai, having eight hujrahs, under Nizam khan.

The Noorzai Mandeezais, have ten villages, each of four hujrahs, to the north-west, under the Eelem hills; their drinking water being from the Burindoo river, and from springs, under hills to the south.

Their chiefs are Mansoor khan, Ahmad khan and Azad khan. The names of the villages are Kharappa, Reega, Noukalee, Sadacheena, D-^z-i, Barkalaipanchpao, Deegda, Paltoreen, Kohkandee, two villages, upper and lower.

Another tribe, the Moleezais, are towards the east, at the entrance of a valley, at a distance of nine kos. They have two large villages, Kalpanee and Talpanee, having each four hujrahs, under Arab Shah Bunherwal. The Khattak merchants, bring salt, oil, and cloth, laden on bullocks; and take back, ghee, honey and rice. The Maliks levy from them as black mail, 1/2 1th rupee per load.

Bunher is surrounded or bounded in all directions by hills, that have separate names.

To the east, is the Handoo hill, having an ascent of three kos, wooded with Jalyhozah, Archah, Zaitoon and Baloot trees, and frequented by monkeys, bears, hyenas, wolves, the hill Gongawaz, and wild goats and parrots, sharaks, and the seven colored bird, the kabk, the sisee.

Nothing is known of mines in this hill. Scanty streams are fed from the melting of the snows on these hills in the winter, and grazing is found on it for cattle and flocks in rich abundance.

This hill is within the jurisdiction of Ahmad Shah, and Deewan Shah, Alee, Sher khels. The road over this hill is not practicable for camels, it is difficult even for horsemen. The inhabitants on its skirts do not live in forts, but they are rich in flocks and herds.

To the south there is a hill and a Pass called Mah Bunher, thickly populated, and having mines of zák and sulphur.

To the south are also the Malandarai hills and Ghudoo hills, through which there is a road taken by people from Samah to Bunher.

To the west there is a hill called Jafar, and another called Koh Kanda, abounding with masonry, remains of Caser buildings, the ascent and descent of which is eight kos. It has no mines, is very