ACCOUNT

OF THE

KINGDOM OF CAUBUL,

AND

ITS DEPENDENCIES

IN PERSIA, TARTARY, AND INDIA;

COMPRISING

A VIEW OF THE AFGHAUN NATION,

AND

A HISTORY OF THE DOORAUNEE MONARCHY.

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

THE SECOND EDITION,
WITH AN ENTIRELY NEW MAP.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

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

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

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

We had abundant opportunities of enquiry while in the Afghaun dominions; and, after our return, we continued to examine the numerous natives of those countries that accompanied us, and those whom we could meet with at Delly and in its neighbourhood. We also went to the fair at Hurdwar (the great rendezvous for natives of the countries north-west of India) and into the Afghaun colony of Rohilcund. By these means we completed our reports, which were transmitted to Government in the end of 1810; at which time I set out for the Deckan, and considered my share in the transactions of the Caubul mission as at an end. Mr. Irvine had then thoughts of writing an account of the Afghauns, for which, from the diligence and extent of his researches, he was well prepared; but, as it had from the first been less his object to describe a particular people, than to enlarge his acquaintance with the history of human society, his investigations soon led him to some general views, which he thenceforth determined to pursue. For this purpose he has

Printed by Printers-St been occupied, during the last three years, in laborious enquiries into the condition of different oriental nations, and his account of Caubul has in consequence been abandoned.

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

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

I am indebted to Mr. Strachey for many

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

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

branch of the enquiry, and renders it impossible for me to discriminate the ideas I owe to him from those which occurred to myself.

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

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

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

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

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

Among those to whom I am most indebted for advice, I may take the liberty of naming Mr. Jenkins, resident at the court of Nagpore, and Captain Close, assistant to the residency at Poona. To the latter gentleman, indeed, I am bound to acknowledge my obligations, as well

for the aid he afforded in collecting and arranging some parts of my materials, as for the benefit I derived from his judgment in the general execution of my work. I believe I have now noticed all the favours I have received, which are not adverted to in the places to which they refer. I am indeed afraid that I have said more on this subject than the importance of the whole production will be thought to justify.

I have a few words to say on the spelling of the proper names. It is always difficult to represent Asiatic words in our characters, and this is increased in the present instance by the want of a uniform system. Lieutenant Macartney had adopted Dr. Gilchrist's orthography, which is perhaps the best extant for the accurate expression of Asiatic sounds, and which is also by far the most generally current in India; but as it is little known in Europe, I have given a table of the powers it assigns to the letters; which will enable the reader to pronounce all the words where it is made use of.*

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

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

The consonants are, I believe, pronounced as in English, except C and G, which are always hard.

I myself used no particular alphabet, but endeavoured to express all words in our letters without altering the sounds which they usually have in English. This plan, however, has led to some inconvenience, for, as I was guided entirely by my ear, and as the same sounds can be expressed by different letters, there was nothing to fix the scheme I had adopted in my memory; and, in consequence, when a word recurred after a long interval, I frequently changed the spelling without designing it. This evil was increased by the many interruptions I was exposed to, which at different times obliged me to suspend my proceedings for many months together; and my attempts to reconcile the inconsistencies thus produced, have rather increased than removed the confusion. The most material words, however, are pretty uniformly spelled, and I hope no great embarrassment will arise from the irregularity of the others.

The engravings are all portraits, except numbers III. XIII. and XIV., which, though ac-

The signs Gh and Kh are added, and represent, the first, the sound of the Persian Ghine, which is nearly the same as a Northumberland man would give to R; and the second represents the Persian Khe, and has a resemblance to the Scottish and Irish ch in loch (a lake). It is to be observed, that when a consonant is repeated it is to be pronounced double. Thus dd is not to be pronounced singly, as in paddock, but doubly, as in mad-dog.

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

Poona, June 4. 1814.

NOTICE REGARDING THE MAP.

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

Mr. Macartney has himself explained (Appendix D.) the manner in which he laid down the country beyond those lines, by means of native information. It is obvious that this part cannot be so accurate as the former, and can scarcely hope to go beyond an approximation to the truth; but it ought to be much more exact, as well as more full, than any thing we already possess on the subject. The surveyed line is advanced many hundred miles beyond what it was when the last map was made, and the number of routes collected from

the people of the country give a great advantage over the slender materials before obtained: nothing indeed gives a higher idea of the genius of Major Rennell than a comparison of the materials he possessed with his success in settling the geography of the countries in question. A good deal might be said to prove that the new information is not to be disregarded because it is procured from the natives; and it might be urged that the Afghauns are remarkable for observation and veracity, and that it is common among them for a man to repeat a route after a long interval, without varying either in the distance or direction of a single stage; but this question is of the less consequence, as nothing is known of the geography of the countries in question that is not derived from the natives. Mr. Foster, it is true, has published his route through the Caubul dominions, but he gives the number of farsangs in each stage, according to the information he received, and not the number of miles, as he would have done had his distances been the result of his own observations. I consider this preference of Mr. Foster's as a proof of his judgment, for he had no instruments, and, however superior he was to the natives in all the other requisites of a traveller, he could not be so good a judge of the length of a stage as a person who had often travelled it, and was besides accustomed to estimate the rate at which camels move.

The principal alterations I have myself made in the map lie to the south of Ghuznee, and to the north of Hindoo Coosh. Mr. Macartney possessed fewer routes in the south of Afghaunistaun than in any other part of the kingdom, and the information I obtained in the Deccan referred principally to that quarter; I therefore constructed the southern part of the map anew, and am answerable for as much of the tract between the paralells of Ghuznee and Shikarpoor, as lies west of the range of Solimaun, and south of the river Turnuk. In framing this I derived great advantage from using Kelauti Nusseer Khaun (the position of which has been ascertained by Messrs. Christie and Pottinger) for one of my fixed points, as well as from the means I possessed of settling the position of Dauder with tolerable precision. It still stands nearly where Lieutenant Macartney put it; but his judg-

ment has been confirmed by many routes of mine, and by a map drawn up by Mr. Pottinger, in which it is placed within a few miles of its position in Mr. Macartney's map. All to the south of the parallel of Shikarpoor will be found in the printed maps: I have nothing to add to the public information. In the south-west I have availed myself of Mr. Christie's route (published by Mr. Macdonald Kinnier) for fixing the position of Jellallabad in Seestaun. I have made but a slight deviation from the printed route, and that for reasons which appeared to justify the change; but I have retained Furrah and Heraut in the situations assigned to them by Mr. Macartney. No other position of Heraut would agree with Mr. Macartney's routes, or my own information. I have not indeed been able to ascertain the authority on which it has been placed in the position now generally adopted. Major Rennell proceeded on the information of Mr. Foster: but that traveller observes that the road from Gimmuch (Dimmuk) to Heraut has nearly a northern course (Vol. II. page 115.); and if such a direction were given from the point fixed for Gimmuch in Major Rennell's map, it would bring Heraut nearer to the position assigned to it by Mr. Macartney than any other that has yet been thought of.

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

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

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

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