



# Russian Travellers

to

# INDIA

by

P.M. Kemp.

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**KOTOV  
YEFREMOV  
DENIBEGOV**

# **RUSSIAN TRAVELLERS TO INDIA AND PERSIA**

[ 1624 - 1798 ]

*Translated & Edited  
by*

**P. M. KEMP**

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Educational Publishers  
DELHI — AMBALA — JULLUNDUR

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K O T O V



Y E F R E M O V



D A N I B E G O V

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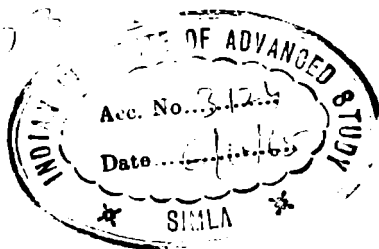
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## NOTE

The translation of Kotov's *Journey to the Kingdom of Persia* has been made from a printed edition of an early seventeenth century manuscript discovered by M. P. Pogodin and published in the *Journal of the Moscow Society for Russian History and Antiquities (Vremnik Moskovskogo Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostey Rossiyskikh)* Vol. 15, 1852. This text appears to be complete. It presents no special problems ; there are a few minor ambiguities (as noted in the translator's footnotes) which could not be collated with the original, but they do not materially affect the sense.

The author of the work refers to his writing as a "statya" or "statement", a term then often used for an official document or item thereof. Reports of persons on state business were sometimes given verbally and written down by clerks, but in this case the impression conveyed is that the actual writer was one of the travellers, and it is generally assumed that this was Kotov himself. There is possibly some indication to this effect which does not appear in the printed text.

The opening passage and the formal, impersonal style of the narrative show that it was intended to be in the nature of a report rather than a personal journal or literary work. The orderly narrative arranged under headings suggests systematic observations and replies to specific questions that might have been included in instructions issued to a trade envoy, notably, for instance, the formula given for Persian official correspondence. There



are no personal anecdotes and nothing about individual encounters with officials or others on the way, usually so important in a traveller's impressions, but a regular noting of fortifications, frontiers, the condition of public buildings and sarais, local economy, and what might be called general news. Remarks about the Shah's personal habits and his relations with the populace amount to a comment on public morale, or rather on what always interested mediæval monarchs—the personal greatness and prestige of other princes.

On the other hand there is little information about strictly commercial matters. An account of expenses and transactions must have been rendered in some separate document.

The stated object of the journey shows that this mission, despatched by royal command, was not a formal embassy, although merchants frequently combined trade with diplomatic functions. Consequently the description of public celebrations at Ispahan reads as though they were witnessed not from a royal balcony among the foreign ambassadors and merchants, but from below among a crowd so dense that a horseman was in danger of losing his stirrups.

It seems probable, therefore, that the aim of the mission was exploratory in order to obtain a general idea of conditions in Persia before sending a fully accredited diplomatic envoy, and to collect information about routes, including the road to India. The immediate object was perhaps less economic than political. Shah Abbas' recent victories and the re-emergence of a strong Persia were of great interest. Russia was then recovering from the long struggle with Poland at one time aided by the Turks who remained the major threat to Russian security and expansion in the South.

Kotov's account gives ample evidence that Indian trade and cultural contacts in the Middle East had long been familiar to the Russians and the attention given to these points may justify the conclusion that one of the objects of Kotov's enquiries was the possibility of direct relations with India. It may be noted in passing that all Indians, including Muslims, are classified together as one 'nation' in the mediaeval sense.

Internal evidence shows that Kotov must already have been an experienced traveller in the East and that he knew some Persian or Turkish. His information and rendering of foreign terms are both remarkably accurate. A number of Persian words are used without any explanation, for instance *darogha*, *rakhdar*, *tamasha*, etc., as well as the local names of trade goods. Presumably such terms would be understood by persons reading the report in Russia.

In spite of the impersonal tone Kotov managed to make his narrative lively and interesting and he was certainly not without humour. A sense of beauty and atmosphere, a curiosity about local history and ancient inscriptions, reactions to scenes, sounds and faces in the vigorous descriptions of public holidays, all suggest a man of taste, well-educated for those times. It was an age apparently already critical of weaknesses underlying the splendour of the Orient that had long dazzled mediaeval imagination. Vegetables and fish and the fertility of the soil were Kotov's criteria of prosperity as much as the bazaars and the Court. It is even interesting from the point of view of the history of Russian aesthetics that the Royal Mosque at Ispahan with its beautiful tiles, usually considered to be one of the finest examples of Muslim architecture and ornament, seems to have struck him as garish, while the more sombre

dignity of the Mausoleum at Sultaniyah greatly impressed him.

Although we are dealing with an historical text unlikely to be read by a very wide public, great care is taken at the present time in India not to offend the religious sentiments of minorities and perhaps it should be remarked that the conventional abuse of all things Muslim, Jewish and heretical is to be expected in old texts.<sup>1</sup> Kotov's blasphemies at this date should be dismissed as the manner of the period, as such things are in reading Elizabethan classics and the like. However, if their character in the present work is more closely considered, it will be seen that even such details help to place the document in its social context and should not be ignored.

The passages in question do not appear in the body of the narrative but as formal execrations following the mention of the Jews, the Prophet of Islam, Friday observance, etc., towards the end of the text. They are stereotyped expressions, in form and language like the Church anathema and might even have been inserted mechanically by a monkish clerk in order to be on the safe side, as a pious interjection equivalent to "saving your presence" or a superstitious precaution like making the sign of the cross at the mention of either the sacred or the forbidden. These are not reflections on the part of the writer, who, on the contrary, throughout the text shows no interest at all in "the devil's work" or the evidence of "error" which were the major concern of his pious contemporaries, the Jesuit missionaries to the East. As no literary convention or special superstitious abhorrence existed in referring to Hindus and other less

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(1) The special venom reserved by mediaeval theologians for Islam and Judaism, along with Arrians, Manicheans, etc., was derived from the Church Fathers who regarded these not as separate religions but as special cases of heresy.

familiar people, the writer did not trouble to invent a formula for their vilification. Kotov's report must have been directly or indirectly addressed to the Russian Patriarch, and therefore, after describing the grandeur of Muslim monuments he felt obliged, out of respect for the head of the Church, to excuse his enthusiasm by pointing to their historical interest ; as an afterthought he similarly apologized for mentioning Armenian churches in case, from a strictly orthodox point of view, they ought not to be called "churches" at all ; and although he described the appearance of the public catemites he avoided the plain statement of their function. Had Kotov really been so meticulously orthodox himself he would hardly have taken off his shoes to enter the holy places which he describes from inside. Nor was the secular literature of the day so particular. Thanks to her different history and geographical position Russia had experienced no religious crusades against Islam, no Inquisition, no wars of religion as known in Western Europe. In spite of the power of the Church, the seventeenth century opened as an age of widening horizons and in harmony with this the spirit of Kotov's book as a whole is that of the intelligent layman more interested in developing business connections, for which a certain toleration was necessary, than in the clerical bigotry to which he was obliged to make these formal concessions.

The present translation has generally followed the sense indicated by the punctuation in the Russian edition. The translation is as far as possible a literal one. It is interesting that it could quite easily have fallen into the style and idiom of the nearly contemporary travels of Herbert or Fryer. As it is an advantage that the reader should be conscious of the period, modernization has been limited to avoiding archaisms (except where the text

itself introduces common religious phraseology). Here and throughout this volume anything added by the translator is enclosed in square brackets.

\* \* \*

Yefremov's travels were first published in 1786.. In a second edition (1794) the author disclaimed responsibility for the first, which, he says, was published without his authority. The changes in his own edition appear to be minor ones. In 1811, when the writer was over sixty and perhaps in difficult circumstances, the Kazan University press brought out a third, revised edition, edited by a young professor of the University, Peter Konduirov. This includes a biographical memoir of Yefremov up to that time. There is no further information available about his latter years or the date of his death.

The present translation is of this third edition which added a little more information, either orally communicated by Yefremov or taken from an unpublished draft. One suspects that the editor may have asked some leading questions which Yefremov answered as best he could from memory. Although the editor was otherwise faithful to the original, the book lost some of the spontaneity and character of the earlier version ; there are a few discrepancies, and some personal touches which add interest for the modern reader were left out. Unfortunately the second edition was not available for comparison when this translation was being made.<sup>1</sup> A modern edition published at Moscow in 1950 was also unobtainable.

Yefremov's narrative is probably the earliest description by a European of the old route from Central Asia

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( 1 ) The brief account of Yefremov's journey across India in my book *Bharat-Rus* was based on the second edition.

to India via the Kuen Lung and the Kara Korum Mountains. His account of Ladakh and Kashmir predates Forster's travels by nearly twenty years, although the exact dates of his departure from Bukhara and arrival in Western Tibet are not given. He was brought to Bukhara as a prisoner in 1774 and left India towards the end of 1781 or at latest the beginning of 1782, arriving at London some time before August. His long stay in Western Tibet was no doubt because he had to wait there until the Zoji Pass opened. This might have been the winter of 1778-1779 or 1779-1780, and unless he stayed the next winter in Kashmir, he must have crossed by the mountain road to Chamba by the following autumn, when he was delayed again for a considerable time by illness.

Yefremov (born 1750) was twenty-four years old when the story begins. He had the advantage over the ordinary army recruit of some education and had been early promoted to the rank equivalent to sergeant. Nevertheless his educational equipment does not appear to have been very much. He had probably never seen a map of most of the ground he covered and in any case for much of it no European maps existed. Nor had he any previous knowledge of these countries from books. The preface to the third edition of his travels gives an idea of the scarcity of literature even about the areas nearest to Russia some forty years later. Yefremov therefore was in fact little better prepared for the voyage than many travellers in mediaeval times. His own book in its day was a contribution to knowledge, although it was the unsophisticated record of a plain man stubbornly determined to survive and report again for duty. As he could not rejoin his unit by the way he had come, instead of striking north from Yarkand, he crossed the Himalayas, relying on the advice and help of local people, in order to get back some-

how to Russia. His army training had taught him to observe the terrain and he continued to record the topographical features to which a good soldier ought to pay attention—the local water supply, the direction of rivers, which bank was higher than the other, etc., but he passed through Agra without even noticing the Taj Mahal. All this detail, including place names, could not have been memorised and it may be supposed that Yefremov kept some sort of journal in Russia.

The text is self-explanatory. The original Russian lacked elegance and the professor's efforts to make it more high-flown rather made matters worse in the third edition. Some sections have been omitted in translating as of less interest to Indian readers, but the editor's introduction has been retained almost in full since it reflects the state of knowledge about the East and something of the social atmosphere of the period in Russia. The only omissions are those indicated on page 65.

\* \* \*

Rafail Danibegov's *Journey to India* was first written in Georgian, but perhaps never printed in that language. The only edition known to me is the Russian translation of 1811 from which this translation has been made.

This is the first Russian travel book about India written in a personal, anecdotal style with pretensions to literary effect, giving the impression of travel for its own sake rather than business.

The spelling of place names and foreign words in the Russian is so erratic that at first glance the description of India seems very confused. However, most of these words when transliterated in Persian character are easily recognizable. It is possible that they were noted down in an unpointed Persian script and later transcribed into

Russian when the pronunciation had been forgotten, with the result that unvoiced consonants were regularly substituted for voiced and so on. A few place names, however, could not be identified.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Georgia was faced with the alternative of absorption by Russia or domination by Turkey and Persia. The former policy was supported by the more enlightened nobility and merchants, who saw a relatively greater freedom for their own material advance under Russia, and by those intellectuals who were influenced by the broader, progressive aspect of Russian education and science. Danibegov's concluding remarks, although they take the form of an exaggerated "oriental" tribute to the Tsar, reveal his views on the matter and show that in his case his choice was influenced by the lessons of his Eastern travels. As against the feudal backwardness of the Central Asian states, the anarchy of the steppes, and the fate of India divided by local rivalries and being taken up piecemeal by foreign colonizers from the West, Russia to him represented progress and order and social refinement. Not very long after the period to which Danibegov's book relates, the influence of Russian liberal and democratic thought also became clearly apparent among the younger generation of Georgian intellectuals.

\* \* \*

The translator gratefully acknowledges the help of Dr. Abedi, Professor of Persian at Delhi University, whom she consulted about Persian terms, and of Mr. V. N. Datta (of the Indian Gazetteers) who kindly checked a number of doubtful points and made valuable corrections.



## TRANSLITERATION OF RUSSIAN WORDS

Double consonants as used in English spelling represent the nearly equivalent Russian sounds ; the conventional double consonants "kh" and "zh" represent respectively the Russian guttural "h" and the voiced fricative often defined as the sound of "s" in the word "pleasure." This practice is familiar to most English readers. The combination "ui" for the Russian close central "i", often ignored in popular spellings of Russian words, is found in many scientific books and in the British Museum catalogue. The letter "y" is used here for Russian short "i" ; to form the soft vowels "ya" and "yu"; and for the adjectival ending of Russian proper names as usually spelt in English. The 'soft sign' is shown by an apostrophe [ ' ] and the 'hard sign' by an inverted comma [ ` ], the latter is not shown at the end of words in the old spelling unless there is some special reason for drawing attention to its presence in the original text.

## RUSSIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

- Pood* : 40 Russian pounds.  
*Arshin* : an "ell" of 28 inches or 4 spans.  
*Sazhen* : 3 *arshin* or 7 English feet ;  
*Verst* : 3,500 English feet, or 500 *sazhen* ; in the early XVII century equivalent to 700 *sazhen*, the *sazhen* itself being then somewhat smaller.
-

FEDOT AFANASIYEV KOTOV

OF A JOURNEY TO THE KINGDOM OF PERSIA,  
FROM PERSIA TO THE LAND OF TURKEY AND  
TO INDIA AND TO HORMUZ WHERE THE SHIPS  
COME.

[ Circa 1624 ]

**FEDOT AFANASIYEV KOTOV**  
**OF A JOURNEY TO THE KINGDOM OF**  
**PERSIA &c.**

[Circa 1624]

In the year 7131<sup>1</sup> by order of our Sovereign Lord the Tsar and Great Prince of All Rus, Mikhail Fëdorovich, and of our Sovereign Lord the Holy Patriarch of All Rus, Filaret Nikitin<sup>2</sup>, the merchant Fedot Kotov Afanasy's son, a merchant-guest of Moscow<sup>3</sup>, together with eight companions, journeyed across the sea<sup>4</sup> for trade on behalf of the royal treasury. From Moscow they set out down the River Moskva on the fifth day of May, on the commemoration of the blessed and upright Job of many sorrows.

---

(1) The year 1613/4. The old calendar reckoned from the Creation of the world, March 21st 5509 B. C. At the date of this book the beginning of the year was reckoned from September 1st.

(2) Fëdor Romanov, father of the Tsar Mikhail Fëdorovich, took the name of Filaret on becoming a monk and was Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church from 1619 to 1623. At this time he was the virtual ruler of the state and had adopted the royal title of Great Lord or Sovereign Lord.

(3) Russian *gost'* ("guest"), here translated "merchant-guest" (on the analogy of "merchant-adventurer", etc.) originally meant any trader from a different town or country, whether a visitor or a permanent resident; but by the XVII century this was a regular title conferred on certain wealthy merchants by royal charter together with certain civic and commercial privileges. The merchant-guests were now a powerful class of merchants and financiers closely associated with the State administration, and often with foreign relations and embassies on account of their foreign trade connections. From this class also were recruited government functionaries and secretaries. Kotov was probably a man of substance, therefore, and, as his writing shows, of some education and refinement.

(4) The Caspian.

From Astrakhan at the mouth<sup>1</sup> they loaded their Sovereign Lord's merchandize onto two barges<sup>2</sup> on the eighth day of August, being the day of our Father among the Saints, Yemilian, Bishop of Kizhi.

The way across the sea to the [country of the] Kizuil-bashi<sup>3</sup> goes due south, in the north and west [of the Caspian], and on the righthand side are Terek and Tarki and Derbent ; there is also a land route on the other side of the sea from Terek and that road is described below after Shavran<sup>4</sup>. Leaving from the mouth of the river from the harbour to the left, sail northwards before a southwester<sup>5</sup> ; there they go to the halt of Akragan<sup>6</sup> and they go past the mouth of the River Yaik<sup>7</sup> to Bukhara also.

And across the sea they came on behalf of the royal treasury to the land of Persia, the Shah's realm, and landed in the country of Shavran [to encamp] at a halt in the lower reaches on the fourteenth day of August, the eve of the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin and the day of the Holy Patriarch Micah. And this halting place is deserted and low-lying, there are two small rivers but the mouths are blocked with sand, and it may be recognized from the sea, three trees stand there, they are

(1) Of the Volga.

(2) Russian *bus*, large flat-bottomed craft used on the Caspian. Foreign travellers give various spellings *bus*, *bos*, *boes*, etc. These are Marlowe's "Russian steers".

(3) i. e. Persia.

(4) Shirvan.

(5) The text has *shelonikom*. c.f. Russian *shalonik*—"trickster", "playful"; a strong south-westerly wind prevailing in this region proverbially regarded as boisterous or treacherous. Perhaps the occurrence of this word suggests that the writer was a seasoned traveller in these parts.

(6) Agrakhan ? "The mouth of the river" here appears to mean the mouth of the Terek not the Volga.

(7) The River Ural.

tall and can be seen from a distance, and there are also other trees but low and sparse, and the beach is soft with no stones ; the landing place is good. And from that landing place down along the seashore there are other harbours near towns and in uninhabited places, and near the sea in the country of the Shah went high stony mountains all the way up to Farabat<sup>1</sup>. And from the harbour about a *verst* from the lowland there is a large village [in] the jurisdiction of Derbent ; here a government official is stationed. And above the village stretched lofty mountains from which the snow does not go away even in summer. In the village there are orchards—apples, dates and walnuts, blue plums, almonds, melons, water melons ; and grain—wheat, millet and barley—but there is no other grain<sup>2</sup> ; the houses in the village are made of clay and in the gardens and through the courtyards there are dug channels of running water brought from the mountains ; there are many cattle of all kinds, and they work and thresh and plough the land and carry all provisions on oxen. From the lowland the road to Shamakha is through the mountains, high up and difficult, and people go on horses and camels and oxen and asses with pack saddles ; but there is no cart track.

From the lowland the journey to Shavran is 20 *versts* going through fields and wet places ; and the city of Shavran was only a wall and a tower of stone and that in ruins, and with stone suburbs. That same Shavran and Shamakha and Derbent with all their districts and the cities themselves with their suburbs were of old the country of Shavran and all these cities were under the Turks ; but the Shah of Persia took that country of Shavran from the Tur-

(1) Khairabad?

(2) There is possibly a misreading in the printed text, in which case the meaning is "but not much of it".

kish [Shah] a little more than twenty years back. There are plenty of all kinds of fruit, fowl and cattle.

Here let us return to the steppe route from Astrakhan to Terek and Shavran ; from the city of Astrakhan they go on Russian barges and in large boats<sup>1</sup> by sea [to a place] near Cherna<sup>2</sup>, only a little further ; and the voyage by sea in fair weather takes two days and nights, but otherwise if the winds are not favourable the boats in calm weather take a week to cross.

And at Terek the citadel is built of wood, small but neat, and stands on low ground above the River Tyumen ; there are streets and temples and houses within the city ; behind it a monastery, and opposite the city beyond the river there are large town settlements—the Cherkess settlement and the Okots<sup>3</sup> and a settlement of newly converted Cherkess. Over the River Tyumen there is a wooden bridge raised high on trestles beneath which there is room for boats to pass. And the River Terek fell into the Tyumenka, into the main stream ; and inasmuch as the water is not much even that place dries up so that in summer the water in the Tyumenka stagnates and is [usually] not good. And the main stream of the River Terek flowed into the River Buistra sixty *versts* below the city of Terek ; and the River Terek came down from the mountain ranges. And on these ranges Cossacks live in fortified settlements and here, they say, the Kabardin Cherkess<sup>4</sup> extended through the mountains and the ranges up to Azov. The River Buistra fell into the sea and that River Buistra came

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(1) I. e., boats built of sawn planks.

(2) Siyah Chashme ?

(3) Probably for: 'Oghuz', a Turkish tribe named after the mythological Oghuz Khan.

(4) The Kabardin, the main branch of the Adighe, migrated to Daghestan from the Black Sea region in XIII-XVI century.

down from the mountains. The city of Terek lies about five *versts* from the sea and the Tyumenka enters the sea by more than one mouth and all around there are reeds. And around Terek there are many gardens and much fruit of all kinds in the gardens. Opposite Terek the island of Chechen stands in the sea ; the voyage to it by sailing ship takes half a day ; and that island is large and there are many fish. The people of Terek and the Kumachans<sup>1</sup> of Tarki and the mountain Cherkess fish on that island.

And from Astrakhan to Terek and from Terek to Astrakhan there is also a land route ; they go through the steppe in companies. And from Terek to the River Buistra is a day's journey in the saddle going over marshy places ; there is a ford and a ferry by boat across the river and along both banks of the River Buistra in summer Cossacks lie in wait at the ferries for the lawless and the Crimean Tatars ; and from the Buistra to the River Sunsha [Sunzha] it is a day's journey going through the steppe and through reeds , up to the Lesser Aksay, a small river and terribly weedy, and over it is a ford; and from the Lesser Aksay to the Greater Aksay it is half a day's journey and the Greater Aksay is a small river and across it a ford ; from the Greater Aksay to the River Koysa it is a day's journey or a day and a half and thence from the Koysa the journey is by carts ; and the River Koysa is wide, it comes down from the mountains and here at the mouth of the river transport over it is by boats or rafts and people are ferried across by Kumyks or by themselves and [ thus] whoever [is travelling] goes across, and the boats and rafts lie there without a wharf. From the Koysa it is a day's journey to Tarki and the journey is along the shore close

(1) The Kumyk. This spelling will be given henceforward irrespective of variations in the Russian text.

to the sea in carts. And at Tarki the town settlement is small with a wooden stockade ; here Ildar Khan resides, the brother-in-law of the Shah whom they call the Crimean Shah, and the people who live at Tarki are Kumyks and subject to the Shah ; and Ildar Khan is by birth a Kumyk the brother of Sultan Mahmut [Mahmud], the prince of the mountains, and Tarki lies under the mountains about a *verst* from the sea. And from Tarki to the mountains live Kumyks and they have their own prince and are subject to none ; they live in the mountains. From Tarki it is three day's journey to the Shah's city of Derbent and they travel on pack animals between the mountains and the sea over flat ground. And between Tarki and Derbent live Lesghians ; they have their own prince and he is known as the Usmi<sup>1</sup> ; and their city is of stone, but they themselves live in the mountains far off, subject to none, and they commit robberies ; they plunder merchants on the road and others they sell<sup>2</sup> and when it was peaceful [here] even then they used to take three garments<sup>3</sup> per load from merchants. In these places people travel with an escort and the Usmi Prince, to wit the Kaitak, and his men rob travellers. The city of Derbent is of white stone ; it used to be strong but without many people, and it stands with one end against the mountain and the other in the sea, more than three *versts* in length up to the mountains, and the city is about 300 *sazhen* across, and the city is partitioned across in two places by stone walls so that it makes three cities ; and they say that the sea has already carried away some thirty towers from that city, and now there is a large, strong tower [standing] in the water and from this city of Derbent a stone wall ran across the mountains to the

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(1) The title of the chief or prince of the Kara Kaitak.

(2) I. e., as slaves.

(3) Russian—*kindyak*



Black Sea, to Turkey ; the town settlements<sup>1</sup> are all within the city and stone towers stand apart separated by the city wall. And away from that city of Derbent by the sea on high ground there is a place enclosed by stone slabs set upright and here lie forty men, and the Musulmans and Armenians say that these are forty holy Russian martyrs and no Russians pass them by without going to them to ask a blessing, and some offer prayers to these forty martyrs. They lie each in his own grave and over each of them is a great white stone with writing carved on it, but no one can read that writing, neither Musulmans, nor Armenians, nor Turks, and the writing is carved big ; and here three small trees have grown up over them and the Muslim cemetery is also built on to that same enclosure in stone and there are two Musulman guards, and round about that there are big, old burial grounds and in them tombs with inscriptions, and they say that the writing is Greek.

From Derbent it is three days' journey on pack saddle to Shavran through the steppe between mountains and sea. And merchants come also to the Kizuilbashi from Astrakhan in small boats by Cherna to Terek and from Terek to Tarki and from Tarki to Derbent and to the lowland, and from the lower reaches they go to Shavran on pack beasts. But this journey in small boats is difficult because, wherever with good weather the boat comes to the shore in Derbent and Tarki, they take heavy customs dues from these merchants ; while if it lands at a deserted place then

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(1) "City" means always "citadel" or fortified town surrounded by a wall ; the "towns" or "suburbs" usually lay outside the walls and the word is here translated "town settlement" throughout to avoid confusion.

(2) Literally "to seek forgiveness for sin", but perhaps it is permissible to add the more modern meaning of "to say farewell" to the last Russian saints that the mediaeval traveller saw on his way to the East.

the men of the Usmi and the Kaitak princes kill the merchants and take their possessions<sup>1</sup>; there is much robbery along the coast.

The road from Shavran to Shamakha goes the whole way over mountains, high up and difficult and without water, and the journey takes three days in the saddle both on camels and horses; and along the road from Shavran to Shamakha there are three hostelries strongly built of stone and good, with storerooms and stables and gates; but they stand empty, they were put up in times past to give shelter to passing travellers from banditry, but now it is quiet [here]. Shamakha stands on a slope between high mountains. The city is of stone and the town settlements are built of stone; but the city is small and not high, and round the city there is a ditch and there are gates bound with iron<sup>2</sup>, and the town settlement and the bazar streets and hostelries are outside the city. And at Shamakha there are seven hostelries, all of stone, and with water in all of them issuing from stone pillars and brought down from the mountains by an underground channel and these hostelries are placed among the bazar streets—the Tajik, the Armenian in which Russians trade, the Lesghian, the Gilanian and other buildings, and [the town] covers a large area. And Shamakha used to belong to the Turks but the Shah took it at the same time as he took Shavran and he destroyed the old city<sup>3</sup> at Shamakha which went round the whole town settlement, as well as the Turkish mosques and [in place of the latter] he erected

(1) *Zhitvui* cf. page 26 where the word is used clearly in the sense of "possessions" or "substance"; a genitive singular would have been expected if the meaning were "take their lives".

(2) Translator's compromise, since it is not clear whether the gates were overlaid with iron sheets or merely reinforced with bands.

(3) i. e., the fortifications.

his own<sup>1</sup>. There are goods of all kinds at Shamakha and quantities of silk, dyed and natural ; they also dye silk at Shamakha and raw silk is produced in the villages around Shamakha. Also about three and a half *versts* from Shama-kha to the north there are two gardens, the Shah's garden and the Khan of Shamakha's, with all kinds of fruit and flowers in them, and the pavilions in them are of stone with water in stone basins, and opposite those gardens high up on the mountain there is a stone citadel deserted and ruined, and that citadel they call Alexander's. Goods are brought to Shamakha from Turkey and there is a route from Shamakha to Turkey and that road is written of below, and here is recorded the journey to the Persian emperor<sup>2</sup>.

From Shamakha the journey to Ardebil [took] ten days ; half-a-day's journey from the city of Shamakha through a small city very high up, and after passing the mountains there are two days to go through the steppe to the River Kura. And the Kura is like the River Moskva [in size], and by the river there is a big village with a market, and over the river is a bridge on boats<sup>3</sup> with an iron chain stretched along the bridge from bank to bank, The toll collectors<sup>4</sup> take 2 *abas* per camel. There is no larger river than this in all the Shah's dominions. In old times this was the frontier with Turkey. From the River Kura there are five days to travel through the steppe ; there are neither cities nor towns nor villages nor hostelries but in that steppe there live the Mugan in nomad huts and camp in one place in winter and in another in summer,

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(1) In order to replace Sunnite by Shiite mosques (?).

(2) i. e., to the capital.

(3) "*Sandal*"; usually a boat with sails.

(4) "*Rakhmati*" in the text is a copiest's error for Persian *rāhdār* which would probably have been written "*rakhtar*".

and that is called the Mugan steppe<sup>1</sup>, in that steppe there is no corn nor fruit nor trees at all, only the holes of snakes and mice ; and it takes three days to travel through the mountains to Ardebil ; here there are villages and hostleries. And Ardebil is a town, there is no city, but in respect of its bazar streets and hostleries and the town settlement it is in every way bigger than Shamakha and better, and everything is of stone, and [ has ] many bazar streets and many hostleries and much merchandize of all kinds and vegetables, and they bring fish from the sea from Gilan and from the mouth of the River Kura, which might be like Russian red salmon, the taste thereof is the same. In Ardebil there is a Sultan, also a Doroga<sup>2</sup>. At the end of the *maidan*<sup>3</sup> at Ardebil there is built what might well be a Russian monastery and a great mosque which the Shah himself made, and they call it Shah Safi<sup>4</sup> ; here his father lies and his grandfather and his son Divi-Murza<sup>5</sup>. The walls of the monastery and of the mosque are all of marble and here live certain Musulmans from Tezika [ Tadjikia ] who are not monks. And in the surrounding wall of the monastery there are many gates and on the gates there are iron chains ; and whoever kills a man or commits a robbery or [ those fleeing ] from great misfortunes or from death and serfs from their masters, all such people take refuge here, and [ he who ] seizes hold of the chain with his hands and kisses it and goes into the monastery, that man fears no one and even the Shah himself will not

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(1) Mughan, Mukan.

(2) Pers. *dāroghah*, a city governor or chief magistrate next to the Sultan.

(3) The city square or 'field', usually paved and enclosed.

(4) The mausoleum of Shaikh Safi al-Din Ishak (1252-1334), founder of the Dervish Order of Safawis and ancestor of the Safawid Shalhs, in which the Safawid Shaikhs and the founder of the dynasty, Shah Ismail (d. 1524), are buried.

(5) Div-Mirza.

execute him. They feed these people all together out of one cauldron, as in Russian monasteries, at the expense of the monastery ; they may be let out of the monastery ; they may deliver the guilty for a ransom to anybody who needs them only they take an oath from that man<sup>1</sup> that he will not harm them in any way nor kill them. And a stone enclosure is built on to the monastery and in that enclosure there are bazar streets with all manner of provisions and merchandize, and there are streams of running water that flows from copper pipes and stands in stone basins. Their head of the monastery appointed by the Shah is a Tezik [Tadjik] Musulman and they call him the 'malavel'<sup>2</sup> ; he controls the monastery and the monastery's affairs and its treasury and the monastery servants and they call him "lord", and visiting Musulmans and those living there kiss his foot. And on [ the wall of ] the enclosure over the big gates they beat kettledrums and play on pipes in the morning and at dinner time and in the evening. And above the town of Ardebil rises a very high mountain which they call Salavan<sup>3</sup> and snow lies on that mountain which does not melt even in summer ; so in winter it is cold at Ardebil and in summer it is cooler than other places.

From Ardebil to the land of Turkey they go through Tabriz. From Ardebil to Khalkal the journey requires three days by mountains and streams ; and Khalkal is a big village ; here the Ardebil carts are changed. From Khalkal it is one day's journey to a great mountain which is very big and high and stony ; through that mountain there runs a small river with a swift current ; it is impossible

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(1) "fo tom ch:loveke" : the prepositional case for the dative is not unusual in mediaeval Russian, and here refers to the ransomer.

(2) *Mutawalli*.

(3) Sawlan or Sablan Koh.

to navigate it and over that river is a big stone bridge and high on account of the water and the name of that river is..... and so the way across the river by the bridge from mountain to mountain is a day's journey to go on horses and asses. There is no passage for camels because of the excessive height ; but there is another road across the river lower down the mountain and camels too go by that road with difficulty ; and after crossing that river<sup>1</sup> it is a day's journey to Zeng<sup>2</sup>, also with danger and difficulty, through the mountains and by level places. At Zeng the city was large, built of stone and fallen in ruins, only the site can be recognized, but there is no city now ; the town settlement is a small ruinous place, but there are bazar streets and hostelries and all of stone.

From Zeng it is a day's journey to Saltaniya<sup>3</sup> going all the way through the fields over flat ground between the mountains. Saltaniya was an ancient kingdom and the city there was of stone and very large ; within that great city there was an inner city ; they say that in that inner city there were more than twenty-thousand buildings, besides the greater city and the town settlements. Now that great city is razed to its foundations and the inner city has only one wall and two towers and a ditch, and that overgrown, and now there is a small townlet with bazaar streets and hostelries and all of stone ; and the gates and pillars of the Shah's court are stone and very high. Also inside the inner city stands a great stone mosque with many pinnacles, and in it there are four large side chambers ; the walls alone are 15 *sazhen* and more and in one of these

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(1) Shafa Rud.

(2) Zaujan.

(3) Sultaniyah, founded by Arghun Khan and completed by Mohammad Ul'aytu Khudabanda at the beginning of the XIV century, the capital of the Il-Khan dynasty. For a brief description see Le Strange : *The Lands of the Eastern Sultanate* (1930).

chambers the king of that kingdom, Saltamunit<sup>1</sup>, lies with his son ; and they say that it was an ancient kingdom and Sofey the Shah<sup>2</sup>, the grandfather of the present Shah, conquered it a little more than a hundred years ago. And in two of the chambers where the Shah and his son lie in stone tombs there are brass gratings made in the form of big apples on a sword ; and those apples are gilt and have flowers carved on them and are inlaid with silver and very handsome to see ; and the height of the grating is about 10 *sazhen* and the width about 5 *sazhen*, and in the grating are gates of the same grillwork only the apples on the doors are smaller ; and they say that the Shah levied tribute in India and he took these grills as seven years tribute from India ; and that king built this mosque<sup>3</sup>. And another mosque in the outer city is large but not high and in it there are fifty-one stone pillars. And what is [here] written of those mosques is neither in praise of them nor to celebrate them, but know that this used to be a great kingdom though now destroyed ; and there are many other mosques ; that kingdom lies among high mountains on level ground ; a small river flows there but all the streams are dug out and brought from the mountains for twenty *versts* or more through an underground channel.

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(1) Sultan Mohammad.

(2) Shah Safi.

(3) The tomb was built in 1310 by the Il-Khani Sultan Moham-med Uldjaitu Khudabanda (1304-1316). There was a tradition that he intended to bring the remains of the Caliph Ali from Najaf for burial here, but the saint appeared to him in a dream and said that he would stay where he was and that the new tomb should be for the Sultan. Several European travellers in the XVII century saw and admired the screen described above. Olearius also states that it came from India. Dr. Abdullah Chughtai of Lahore, a great authority on Muslim monuments, told the present translator that the tomb of Khan Jahan Telen-gani at Nizamuddin (Delhi) was an exact copy of this one at Sultaniyah.

From Saltaniya it is nearly three days' journey to Avgar<sup>1</sup> over flat ground between mountains, and on the way a small river runs, up to a horse's belly at the ford. At Avgar there is a town settlement but no city ; [there are] bazar streets and hostelries—a well-ordered place only small, and all of stone ; and there are many provisions and fruit of all kinds and merchandize : there are gardens round the whole town settlement. From Avgar it is two days' journey to Kazvin, and Kazvin is a big town, famous and great, but there is no city, and as regards the settlement, bazar streets, hostelries and everything it is much bigger than Shamakha and Ardebil. And in Kazvin the Shah's well-built courts stand with big gates onto the *maidan*. The *maidan* at Kazvin is small and completely even, and round the *maidan* are wooden railings and circling the whole *maidan* is a ditch with water in it ; on the *maidan* there are all manner of sports, wrestlers wrestle and puppets dance and they let out live snakes and carry them in their hands and tell fortunes out of books ; and they sell all kinds of provisions and fruit on the *maidan* and teach children to read on the *maidan*. Also there are many bazar streets and hostelries and all sorts of merchandize and they have gardens and cultivated trees in their courtyards, that is common among them. And here in Kazvin they keep the Shah's beasts, the elephant and the tiger ; and what the tiger was like is described below.

From Kazvin there is a route to Turkey, to Baghdad. From Kazvin five days' journey to Sava<sup>2</sup> going the whole way over flat ground through the mountains ; and at Sava the town settlement is small, there is no city ; the bazar streets and hostelries are all stone and there is much

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(1) Abhar.

(2) Savah.



fruit of all kinds. From Sava to Kum it is two days' journey over flat ground between the mountains, and at Kum there is a city, only it is a poor one and made of mud like a garden wall, and towers ; and on entering from the direction of Sava is the Shah's palace and the Shah's guest-house, a well-set-out place ; and there are bazar streets and hostelries and merchandize and much fruit of all kinds, and here they make good swords and armour and chain mail and all kinds of damask steel work ; here the corn is good and the water is cold. From Kum they go to the kingdom of India on pack horses and camels and about that road it is written below.

Here the journey to Ispahan the capital of Persia is described. From Kum the journey to Kashan takes two days by flat places between the mountains, and at Kashan there is a city, but a poor one, and in Kashan at the entrance coming from Kum are the *maidan* and the Shah's palaces that stand with gates onto the *maidan* ; it is a big place and there are many hostelries and goods ; here they make Kashan striped brocade<sup>1</sup> and velvets and the patterned Chinese silks of the Kizuilbashi<sup>2</sup>, and there is much fruit of all kinds but no fish at all. From Kashan it is two days' journey to Netenz<sup>3</sup>, going by flat places through the mountains, and it also stands on a flat place, and on the way from Kashan to Netenz in the middle of the plain stands a low, round mountain<sup>4</sup>, sandy on one side and stony on the other, and the road goes round it, and under it along its upper side there is a salt lake ; and nobody goes up that mountain, they say, and they do not know what is on that

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(1) "*Dorogi Kashanski*".

(2) "*Kizuilbashkie kamochki*".

(3) Natanz, Natanzah.

(4) Kohe Karkas or Vulture Mountain.

mountain ; but the Musulmans say that many times people have been up that mountain but no one will ever come down ; they say they perish on the mountain ; the mountain is neither high nor large, only it is terrifying to go under it, and it can be seen from a distance for two days and more from either side, and they call that mountain unascendable. At Netenz there is no city ; the town stands among hills and is small and the bazar streets are bad. On the road opposite the town settlement there is a new hostelry. There are many vegetables of all kinds and above the town a very high mountain rose up, called Shekho<sup>1</sup>, on the top of which was a stone mosque. They say that there was a Shah in Netenz who used to disport himself in the fields and his falcon flew onto that mountain and was killed. The Shah therefore ordered a mosque to be built over the falcon to his memory. People go very little up that mountain, it is very high and the mosque stands empty. From Netenz it is 3 days' journey to Ispahan all flat country between the mountains, only stony. And they<sup>2</sup> came to Ispahan in the year 7132<sup>3</sup>, on the 20th day of June. Ispahan stands on a sort of spur between high mountains on a flat place and Ispahan is the capital city of the kingdom of Persia, large and fine, only the citadel is poor, made of clay like the walls thrown up round gardens. The king's palaces stand with gates onto the great *maidan* and the gates are high and over the gates there are pavilions painted in gold and there is pavilion on pavilion three storeys high, and all decorated with gold, and all manner of ambassadors and merchants go into these pavilions ; and the Shah's palaces in which he

(1) Shai Koh (Siyah Kuh). Possibly the writer confused the two mountains.

(2) i. e., Kotov and his companions.

(3) Old style. See footnote on page 1.

himself lives, (are) low standing further back from the gates in gardens ; and where the Shah's wives live the big gates of that palace also open onto the *maidan*, and these gates are not high nor are the palaces in which they live, and those palaces are also in gardens far from the gate. And at both gates there stand *beks* and *tyufyanchei*<sup>1</sup> [that is] in Russian sons of the nobility and musketeers. The *maidan*, in the middle of the city and the town settlements, is large and wide, and round the *maidan* is a ditch lined with stone, and in the ditch all round the *maidan* there is water and at both ends of the *maidan* stand stone pillars twice the height of a man<sup>2</sup>. On the *maidan* against the Shah's gates lie brass and iron cannon<sup>3</sup>, and the cannon are big and lie ill-kept without gun-carriages or platforms and some of them have sunk into the ground and are choked with sand. The *maidan* is smooth all over and even, very fine and large and wide; and round about the *maidan* are bazar streets and coffee houses and hostelries and mosques, all built of stone, and they say there are over one hundred hostelries and all stone, and in front of the storehouses and on the storehouses they have all kinds of flowers painted in many colours and in gold ; and all kinds of people trade in them, Tadjiks, Indians, Turks, Arabs from Armenia, "Avrams"<sup>4</sup>, Jews, Lesghians and all manner of people. At the end of the *maidan* there are high gates leading into an enclosure and high up above those gates there stands a clock, and the place where the clock stands is also ornamented with gold and made fine, and the clock

(1) *Tufangchi*, i. e., musketeers. The Russian *streltsui*, originally "bowmen", were the privileged corps of the Tsar's bodyguard and an important factor in the life of the State.

(2) The Polo goal posts.

(3) "Basilisks" was the contemporary English name of these pieces.

(4) See Footnote on page 35.

has a Russian mechanic, and through these gates they enter the enclosure; here they have a great bazar street, as big as our Surovsky street; and here they trade in all kinds of merchandize, and in that enclosure they also make money and in this street there are stone shops with upper storehouses well roofed over with stone domes, and the shops are painted in many colours and in gold, in front and inside. At both ends of the enclosure there are large gates and iron chains for horses, and inside the enclosure, in addition to many upper storerooms, there are about two hundred shops; and alongside that another street; and in that street they make all kinds of copperware, and in the same street they dye cotton prints,<sup>1</sup> and coarse cotton cloth<sup>2</sup> is brought from India and Arabia; and the street is made of stone with upper storerooms and stone roofs; and there are up to 400 shops in that street. Going out of the enclosure to the righthand side, past the Shah's gates, in that street too they trade in merchandize and sell slippers and they make swords and tents near the Shah's gates; and the street and roofs are stone with upper storerooms, and in that street besides the upper storerooms, there are up to 200 shops; and between those streets there is another street; and on the other side of the *maidan* opposite the enclosure, there is a stone street with stone roofs, and in that street they make boxes and all woodwork and lattices, and copy books and sell ink and inkstands. In the middle of that street the Shah is building a large mosque,<sup>3</sup> new and big, and they will be building it until the year 7136, and in length from the great door the mosque is 80 *sazhen* and from the porch it is much more than that across, and it is of dressed stone and as regards the stone

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(1) "kindyaki".

(2) "Mitkal".

(3) Masjid-i-Shah.

and the workmanship it is very fine, and there is water in it, but it is not roofed over ; [it is] bedizened like an ugly bride and not yet finished. And in front of the mosque over the doorway and inside the mosque it is decorated in gold and here in front of the mosque sits their high priest and judges between husbands and wives and divorces them and gives divorce certificates. Moreover on the other side of that same street with the mosque, is a street<sup>1</sup> ; here they make saddles ; and in addition to the upper storerooms there are ninety shops in that street. And on the left side of the enclosure opposite the Shah's gates on the other side of the *maidan*, there is a street and in it they trade in miscellaneous goods and do silk work and card cotton, and in the middle of that street opposite the Shah's gates there is a big stone mosque<sup>2</sup> ; in that street there are about two hundred shops ; and these streets are round the *maidan*. Also behind these streets and alongside there are other streets going across and all stone. And near the *maidan* to the left and right of the palisade along both sides there are stone pavilions made and they call them *kafs*,<sup>3</sup> and they are decorated in colours and gold, and on two sides of the *kaf* there are wooden lattices from where the Kizuilbashi watch the sport but pay no money. And the tops of all the *kafs* are decorated in colours and gold and in all the *kafs* above the height of a man is stretched plaited iron wire like a net or a chessboard, and in every hole is placed a glass bowl and in these is poured rosewater (?) with oil and they light these glasses with oil of an evening. Also in the *kafs* there are stone basins with water and round these basins boys dance with Indian

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(1) i. e., a row of shops.

(2) The Mosque of Sadr.

(3) The institution is called "coffee house" by XVII century English travellers.

bells while others play on drums and pipes and flutes ; the boys are all young and handsome, and their dresses and turbans and cummerbunds are [embroidered] with gold ; and round their waists about their buttocks they have some sort of folds bunched up like tail feathers. On the *maidan* people trade in all sorts of merchandize and small wares and old goods and sell all kinds of fruit—apples, water melons, melons, pears, cucumbers, pomegranates, oranges, mulberries (?), fresh lemons, dates, figs, raisins and various grapes, walnuts, almond kernels, and all sorts of other fruit ; and grain—wheat, millet, flour, husked millet ; firewood and wheat straw. There is no hay anywhere in the Shah's country, only grass made into twists ; they sell everything by weight, by the *batman*, wood and grass and flour and corn and soap and the various fruits. Here too on the *maidan* they have all sorts of entertainments and throw dice in large pots, and they divide the earth with little reeds, and play, and they tell fortunes out of books and the *Abdals* tell stories about how their "damned"<sup>1</sup> lived and affirm their faith ; of their *Abdals* it is written below. And at the end of that same *maidan* by the palisade on the upper storerooms there are made places like great barns and roofed over and lit up from all sides<sup>2</sup> ; here the Persians beat the big drums and kettle drums and blow great trumpets and they trumpet like cows bellowing, and play on pipes. That is on the right hand side by the palisade ; and on the left side of the palisade there is a similar *sarai* made ; here the Turkish people whom the Shah took captive at Baghdad beat on

(1) Living *Abdals* are a class of holy men; the dead are "saints", but from the standpoint of the writer, an Orthodox Christian, they are "damned". The antonym is used to avoid the word "saint" reserved for canonized Christians.

(2) The *nakkāra khana*.

20 big drums and blow trumpets and play on pipes. And every evening the people with all their merchandize and provisions are sent away from the *maidan* and they clean the *maidan* and smooth it with fine gravel and water it because of the hot dust from the horses. And here on the *maidan* the Shah himself rides out to disport himself almost every day and goes to the *kafs*; and his amusements are :- the boys from the *kafs* dance before him and others stand near him on the *maidan* holding wax candles and the candles burn and round the whole *maidan* the oil lamps burn and here he amuses himself for a long time in the evening; and they shoot with gunpowder in paper and [the papers] fly over the *maidan* like snakes; and the Shah also likes to stroll on the *maidan* by day and through the bazar streets where there are not many people, only runners go before him with whips and some times [he goes] without runners. And going from the great *maidan* from the palisade to the left for about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *versts* all the way is through stone-built streets to the old *maidan*, and on the old *maidan* they sell all sorts of grain and fruit and firewood and everything by weight, and they have all kinds of shows, they let out big snakes alive and tell fortunes and execute condemned people, disembowel them, skin them alive and tear them limb from limb.

So in the year 7132<sup>1</sup> on the 26th day of June, Abbas the Shah came from under the Turkish city of Baghdad, having taken that town, and at this same city of Ispahan they went out to meet the Shah among the gardens and the free villages of the Armenians, Jews, "Avrams"<sup>2</sup> and Tabrizians; and the ambassadors and merchants welcomed the Shah, and all the people went out from the city to meet

(1) See footnote on page 1

(2) See footnote on page 35.

OF ADVAN

the Shah with their wives and children, the whole people according to their condition ; the Kizuilbashi, the Persians, the Armenians with their men, with their wives and children, the Indians with their men, the Jews with their men, with wives and children, the 'Avrams' with their men, the Kurds with their men, and all on foot ; the courtiers<sup>1</sup> with their men, all on horses, and with pomp and splendour rode the runners with leopards and they are dressed in clothes all over gold and they keep swift horses and ride in front of the Shah himself, and the boys from the *kafs* also go before him dancing and clap their hands and dance with Indian bells. And the welcome to the Shah was five *versts* from the great *maidan* and the road they had to ride went through the gardens, through the Jewish, Armenian<sup>2</sup>, "Avram" and Tabriz free villages, and the fine gardens of the Shah, and the gardens stretched up to those palaces where the Shah himself lives ; and these gardens have stone walls, and on both sides of the gardens there are gates of planks, and the gates are ornamented with gold and on the gates there are pavilions and in front of the pavilions there are porches and all ornamented in gold. And at two *versts* from the *maidan* among these very gardens there is a big basin made of stone standing full of water and in the middle of the basin a copper pipe is set upright and out of that pipe water is thrown upwards from under the ground higher than a man. And they rode up to the bridge in these same gardens and that bridge is over the River Ispahanka,<sup>3</sup> and that is a small river and shallow so that horse and man can ford it, and it

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(1) Russian : "*blyadhi*" ; which might of course mean "guards" or "lictors".

(2) The suburb called Julfah was then recent, since Shah Abbas had forcibly brought Armenians from Julabah in 1605.

(3) Zindah rud.



went through the gardens and free villages and flowed from the mountains and there are fish in it like Russian black perch but with their own flavour, but there are very few of them and other than these fish there are none. And before reaching that bridge, there they went through the gardens [which stretch] from the road ending in the fields. The villages, according to their districts the Armenian, the "Avramian", the Jewish, the Tabrizian, are large and populous and they have mosques put up according to their own religions. And over the river is a great, high, stone bridge<sup>1</sup> and along both sides of that bridge there is a high, thick wall like a fortress wall, and stone stairways to the top of the walls, and the causeway [where] people walk goes through the walls and from there there are steps down to the water ; and in width that bridge is about 40 *sazhen*. And here on the walls of that bridge along both sides sat women and girls in two or three rows at the time the Shah came from under Baghdad and they all shouted at the tops of their voices as loud as they could and struck their lips with their hands [so that] their voices resounded ; and here too on the top of the bridge they sounded big trumpets and played on flutes and beat kettle drums and big drums, and all the men and women and girls and boys shouted and danced as the Shah rode by ; and that shouting was awful to hear and it was impossible to hear one another speak, and riding and walking the press of people was great, they crushed one another and tore their clothes, and wrenched off stirrups and trampled on foot passengers. And the order in the kingdom was that whosoever, from the age of 7 to 80 years, whether male or female, did not come out to welcome the Shah would be punished by

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(1) Pul-i-Chahār Bagh, or Bridge of Julfa.

death and disemboweled. And going by the street<sup>1</sup> from the bridge through these gardens the road is wide and the gates to the gardens are frequent and ornamented with gold and the pavilions and porches over the gates are likewise ornamented with gold ; and so they rode along. On either side of the street stands a stone mosque and they are painted in colours inside and from the righthand side their mullahs and *keshi*<sup>2</sup>, or in our language priests, came out of the mosque to meet [the Shah] and brought out something like an image case with their written idol<sup>3</sup> in it ; and here the Shah kissed the book and the mullahs and *keshi* stand and sing and in their hands they hold tall candles alight, an *arshin* and as much as an one-and-a-half *arshin* long, and one end of the candle is thin and the other thick, and they are dyed in many colours, red and green and azure and yellow and white, and they light them at the thin end. And opposite that mosque on the lefthand side of the garden is the other mosque<sup>4</sup> also of stone and painted in colours and in it on the wall are four Russian pictures ; the birth of Christ and the entry into Jerusalem with the Transfiguration of our Lord and the Annunciation on the other side, and the inscription is in Russian and they are painted in colour and the pictures are a span [in size] and are placed above the height of a man within arm's reach ; and they say that they were brought from the land of Georgia. Also in that same mosque their idol, the image

(1) Chahār Bagh

(2) *Kashish* is the usual Persian word for a Christian or non-Muslim priest, but possibly the writer intended *feshi* for *peshimam*, 'p' and 'k' being easily confused in Russian manuscript.

(3) The Quran. The words could mean "painted idol". Kotov, who may not have seen a copy at close range, could have thought from a glimpse of an illuminated book that the object of worship was a picture.

(4) Not a mosque judging from what follows, but a Hussainiye or Imambara, a House of Mourning for the Imam.

of a man, is painted on a board<sup>1</sup>, and there in the mosque lie poles with flags, [which], like our church banners, are not used for anything except to be carried on festivals with the ikons, and among them [the Persians] these poles are carried on their festivals and in front of the dead. And these poles are vine rods, long and thin, about 10 *sazhen* in length, and when they lift them the poles bend ; and tied to the tops of them long, narrow streamers about 5 *sazhen* long hang half way down the poles and on the top of the poles there are iron things like scissors or like a stork's beak and on other poles there are wicker crosses and spikes (?). And in those mosques live *Abdals* and look after them and those mosques stand open and there is nothing in them except candelabras of peculiar design with snakes' heads cast in copper. And those *Abdals* go about the *mzidan* and streets and the bazars and tell stories about the lives of their "damned" [saints], how they lived and died, and they go naked and barefoot only covering their privates with a sheepskin and they wear a sheepskin with the hair outwards over their shoulders, and on their heads they wear hideous caps ; and in their hands they carry sticks and spears and axes, and in their ears they wear big crystal stones and their appearance is terrible as though mad and evil ; by day they walk about the *mzidan* and in the streets and eat and drink little, but at night they both drink wine and fornicate.

This is the end of this narration, although not everything has been described ; what we saw with our own eyes that we have set down.

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(1) These pictures require explanation but the presence of even Christian ikons was not impossible in a building other than a mosque. The account here may be regarded as an illustration of the fanaticism and preoccupation with martyrdom expressed in extreme sects which the Shah later made efforts to suppress as heresies.

## Here are described the feasts of the Musulmans in Persia.

Their first holiday of the year they celebrate in the month of March, when they see the new moon in the sky and that festival they call *bairam nosurus* or as we say, the New Year. They celebrate when they see the new moon and the whole of that night they do not sleep ; they play [music] and sound trumpets and pipes and kettle drums incessantly and from the evening in all the bazar streets they decorate the shops, whitewash them and paint them in colours and adorn them with all kinds of flowers, and towards morning candles and tapers and lamps are lit in all the shops and in the houses, as many as each man can afford, ten or twenty and more in every shop, and thus they burn for about three hours, and then they put out the candles and shut up the shops and bazars and the people disperse each to his own house, and do no trade, only engage in all kinds of sports and shows on the *maidan* and fight with red eggs and carry them about in their hands and kiss each other's hands. And at home in their houses, in pavilions and gardens they spread carpets ; and whatever possessions and clothes they have that they spread out on the carpets and then roll about on it all ; and they shower money over themselves ; and he who has little money, he too repeatedly pours it over and over in a dish<sup>1</sup> ; and they say this is in order that it may increase to them every day in the new year. And so they keep holiday for three

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(1) "*Kham'yane*", perhaps for *kumgan*, a metal dish, basin or *taz* ; or for *khomyagc*—a kind of wooden trough.

days, blow on trumpets and play flutes and beat big drums and kettle drums ; thus they celebrate their holidays with games ; but in the mosques there are no prayers, only their mullahs go up onto the mosques and stop their ears with their fingers and raising their heads heavenwards shout the prayer according to their religion ;and during those three days they shout in the morning and in the middle of the day and at evening.

And they have another festival in the month of June ; they all keep fast and their fast is like this :—during the day they neither drink nor eat, but as soon as the sun goes down they both drink and eat meat and every kind of non-lenten food<sup>1</sup> ; there is no abstention from meat or milk. And in the *kafs* and on the *maidan* they play and dance and have all sorts of games the whole night, with candles and tapers and lamps, and [cohabit] with their wives. And even that fast is voluntary among them ; he who wants to, fasts and he who does not want to, does not fast, and servants do not fast ; and they have only one fast in the whole year. And when that moon has passed through its heavenly path and they see the new moon of August in the sky, then they have a festival *bazram romazan*, and on that holiday they feast and start eating and drinking in the daytime. And before the holiday they stay up all night ; they begin from evening to blow trumpets and play flutes and beat kettle drums and big drums ; also they light candles in the bazar streets and shops and *kafs*, and tapers and lamps, and dance on the *maidan* and clap their hands and make all sorts of sport and sell red eggs and carry them about in their hands, and take one another's hands and kiss

(1) During fasts Greek Orthodox Christians abstain from meat and all animal products including milk, butter, etc. Foods are divided into two categories—lenten and non-lenten, for which there is no equivalent term in English.

their hands ; and they do not trade at all but shut up the shops, and keep holiday for three days, playing on pipes and blowing trumpets and beating big drums and kettle drums.

And on the 15th day of that very August the Shah had an entertainment, not a festival. All the people gathered on the *maidan* opposite the Shah's great gates and all had large pitchers and bowls and drinking vessels and cups ; and the Shah himself was on the balcony which is over the great gates and with him were ambassadors and merchants; and in front of the gates themselves they blew great trumpets, like bulls bellowing, and played on pipes and beat drums and kettle drums ; and all the people on the *maidan* danced and clapped their hands and leapt in the air. And when the Shah himself from the balcony poured water onto the ground and on the people, then all the people in front of the gates and all over the *maidan* began to pour water over each other and to push one another into the water and plaster each other with mud, no matter who they might be ; they plastered even the Shah's retinue and everybody. And the Shah had ordered everybody to come in their best clothes to that sport and people of all ranks splashed water over one another and plastered one another with mud for about two hours, while the Shah watched the sport from the balcony. And that was for his amusement and not a festival.

The third of their festivals they begin to celebrate from the first of September by the heavens when they see the new moon, and they keep holiday for nine days and on the tenth day of the new moon. And for those ten days they lead about a camel, and that festival among them is *bairam kurban*. They go out of the capital into the

fields and for these ten days they lead the camel about the *maidan* and through the bazars and through all the streets, and the camel is covered with carpets and decked with all sorts of flowers, and they walk in front of the camel playing flutes and beating drums, and the onlookers, men and women and boys, pull out some of the camel's wool for their salvation. And when the tenth day of the month comes they lead that camel out of the city into the field, and carry a ceremonial spear and axe before it ; and in front of that camel as they lead it out to the sacrifice, goes a great host of Ispahanians and all with chains ; and they wail, each in his own fashion as loud as he can, like madmen ; following that crowd goes another host of Tabrizians likewise with chains, and they also wail like madmen at the tops of their voices ; and all the people walking in front of the camel wail ; and that human cry and the trampling of horses is awful to see and hear. And when they bring the camel into the field there is a place prepared in the field cleared like a threshing floor and sprinkled with water ; and then the Shah himself comes riding out and with him all the Khans and Sultans and the Shah's retinue and all his retainers and ambassadors and merchants, and all the people with their wives and children, and then comes the Doroga, or as we say the city governor<sup>1</sup> who looks after all matters in Ispahan and administers justice and punishes the guilty ; he was a Georgian prince. And behind him they bring a spear with a spearhead at one end and an ornamental lance with a golden apple on the other, and a special axe. And they throw down the camel on that prepared place and tie the camel's legs and some thirty butchers with knives seat themselves on the head and legs of the camel. And the

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(1) "*Gorodovoy boyarin*".

Shah himself and all the people gather round the camel and the ambassadors and merchants from other countries, and the Shah himself seated on his horse begins to recite the *fataha*,<sup>1</sup> or as we say the prayer, according to his religion, and as he finishes the prayer he waves his hand to the Doroga ; and the Doroga rides up on his horse to the camel and takes the spear from the man who carries it and from his horse strikes the camel between the ribs with the spear and himself rides away leaving the spear in it. And the Shah and all his retinue, the ambassadors and the merchants and all the people ride quickly away from that place and those on foot run away, while those butchers immediately cut off the camel's head and cut it [the camel] into portions and take them to the Shah's palace. And when the Shah rides off so do all the people ; and they go by the road through the gardens and over the bridge, that was described above ; and it is scarcely possible to pass along those streets or the bridge for the thronging of men and horses ; and on the bridge all along the top sit women in several rows, and they wail as loud as they can and strike their lips with their hands, making their voices resound, and it is awful to listen to that cry. And when the Shah came to the front gardens (and) he came out onto the balcony over the gate which is in the garden, and with him his retinue and the ambassadors and merchants, here they brought the head of the camel on a horse, and in front of the Shah's balcony on the stone bridge the men lifted high that camel's head on their hands and then dropped it on the ground, and the men themselves cried out and thus they raised it and let it fall up to five times, and after that they lifted a man onto their shoulders and from their shoulders above their heads on their hands, and held him aloft

(1) "*fatu*" in the text.



for a long time ; and meanwhile the Shah stood on the balcony and recited a prayer according to his religion, while they held the man on their hands, and then they lowered him to the ground. And they carry the camel's head onto the great *maidan* together with the legs and the meat, and there all the people gather on the *maidan*, and those hosts with chains range themselves against one another and begin to fight for the camel's head, the Tabrizians against the Ispahanians, and mounted and on foot they fight a great battle ; they fight to the death ; and whichever host prevails and gains the victory takes the camel's head and they carry it to the Shah, and the Shah rewards that host. But if anyone fails to come to that battle people inform the Doroga about such men and the Doroga reprimands them and orders them ; or if any man's wife does not go out to meet the Shah they teach those a lesson also and impose a fine; and if a man or his wife does not come on other occasions these too the Doroga punishes. And so they keep holiday for three days ; they neither do anything nor trade ; and they beat the big drums and blow trumpets and play on flutes and sell red eggs and they catch one another by the hand and kiss, and take one another's hands. And when after that holiday, a week has passed, for a whole night they beat drums and kettle drums and play flutes and trumpets until 5 o'clock in the morning. But in the mosques no prayers are said and they do not celebrate in any way other than games.

And their fourth festival is *Bairam Oshur*<sup>1</sup> on the 1st of November by the heavens and up to the 10th of the same month. There go two men together in a great procession but they themselves go naked and barefoot, wearing only trousers, and plastered all over with black oil and com-

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( 1 ) Moharrum Ashura, the ten days of Moharram.

pletely black like Arabs, only their teeth can be seen, and they hold a stone in each hand ; and they go through the *maidan* and the streets and bazar streets and courtyards and strike the stones and say “*Ksen’ ksen’ tausen’*”<sup>1</sup>, and this they repeat continually and they go on walking about for ten days until their festival itself. And on the festival itself they go through the *maidan* and the streets, and they carry coffins decorated all over with strips of copper and tin and glass; and in front of those coffins ride naked boys on camels seated backwards facing the tail and they also yell “*Ksen’*”<sup>2</sup> and in front of those same coffins they carry the long poles which have been described above ; and in front of these coffins they lead horses with complete harness and they bear helmets and armour, bow and quiver, and sword and lance, moreover two little children ride naked on horses, and their bodies and heads and faces are all covered with blood ; and on another horse rides a naked man, wrapped in a freshly flayed sheepskin with the hair inside and the raw flesh uppermost having an arrow pierced through the sheepskin between his shoulders ; while in front of those same coffins they lead the effigy of a man made of skin and stuffed with straw, with bow and quiver and arrows made of pine (?) slivers seated upon an ass, and on his head a helmet with five fingers<sup>3</sup> ; they support him from the sides, so that he may not fall, and they curse him and spit upon him, and all this [ takes place ] on the *maidan* and all the people with their wives and children [ are present ] and the women weep, and the men and boys slash their heads with razors and under their armpits, and walk

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(1) i.e. “*Husein, Husein yau Husein*” !

(2) Hussein.

(3) i.e., the five fingers that symbolize the five assassins of the Imam.

about all bloody, and make deep cuts on their arms and chests and rub their faces and heads and arms with blood and they take that straw man out into the field outside the city, and bring out straw and oil and pour oil over him and burn him and beat themselves with chains. And so they celebrate the festival to their "damned" [i. e. "saints"] on the day that they killed them along with their Imam Hussein<sup>1</sup>; and as to those children covered with blood they are [represent] his children, and as to the straw man he, they say, was the man who killed them.

And in all there are four festivals in the country of Persia as have been described; but that is not to their glory but for a reproach unto them and to their shame and damnation.

And every week they observe a holiday on Friday; on that day they do not trade nor sit in the bazar, but on the eve of Friday they sleep with their wives, and before daybreak they bathe in the baths, and when it is light on Friday morning they go to the cemetery where their dead lie and here they mourn over them; that is their holiday; and it is for a reproach unto them and not to their credit.

And they say that Bakhmet<sup>2</sup> was born on a Friday; for that reason they observe the holiday every week, be it to his damnation to everlasting fire and torment without end, to his shame and for a reproach unto him.

And winter in the country of Persia is mild; they plough the land and sow wheat and barley round about Christmas time and Whitsun and Ash Wednesday. And after that with Lent snow begins to fall now and again, it snows at night but stops during the day, and heavy

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(1) "*i Mamsenya*".

(2) Mohammad. The reader may refer to remarks in the '*Note*' at the beginning of this volume.

snow falls on the mountains but not in the fields, and so up to Lady Day<sup>1</sup>; but the ground does not freeze and all the cattle, sheep and cows and horses and asses and mules<sup>2</sup> and buffaloes are full fed in the fields—they do not make hay; and the corn ripens, they harvest it on St. George's Day, and the fruit before that.

They sow other grain in Ispahan and it ripens at the Assumption. But corn does not ripen at the same time everywhere in the country; in one province<sup>3</sup> they are harvesting and in another they are sowing at the same time.

And in the land of Gilan near the sea it is warmer than in other provinces; all kinds of flowers bloom at Whitsun and the corn in Gilan, in Arabat and in Isharath ripens quicker, only it is poor, people go mad from it, and the place is unhealthy. But there are many trees in Gilan near the sea, and fish, the long-snouted sturgeon and the common sturgeon and the great sturgeon. Except in Gilan there are no forests anywhere in the Shah's country, only mountains; and there are no waters or rivers either, all the water is brought down from the mountains and they distribute the water through fields [by channels] and thus water the fields; and except in Gilan and Shama-kha there is no rain.

And as for their dress the Persians and Kizuilbashi wear kaftans of camel hair, print and silk and striped half-silk, and they wear big cummerbands as belts around them and over the cummerbands cherry coloured shawls, and turbans on their heads, and stockings and slippers on their feet.

(1) March 25th.

(2) "Katarui." cf. Persian *khachchar*—The word is known in East Russian dialects.

(3) "gorod", i.e., "city" used in the sense of the district or province.

And women go about wrapped in thin cotton cloth [so that] the face and eyes are not seen, and on their feet they wear the same cloth stockings and slippers, and some have velvet stockings ; and those women and girls have trousers, and they wear their long hair in braids to the waist and down to their heels and some of them plait their hair in two or three or four braids, and into their own hair they plait other hair for their adornment ; and in their nostrils [they have] gold rings with jewels and pearls, and the undergarment is a narrow kaftan and their bosoms are bare and on their breasts and round their necks and on their bodies are hung strings of pearls. And the Persians and Kizuilbashi call themselves Musulmans; and they keep two or three or five or seven wives apiece, as many as a man likes and can afford.

And as to the 'Avrams' that were at the welcome to the Shah, these 'Avrams' are of mild appearance. All of them have big beards and are blackhaired and they wear wide robes and all of them in brick colour and made of camel hair and on their heads they wear turbans and their legs are bare, they wear trousers only to the knee ; and the dress of their women is yellow, made of the same camel wool. It is said that they believe in Abraham and call themselves 'Abrahamites'<sup>1</sup>; and whoever dies among them they put that dead man near their mosque and

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(1) "*Avramlyane*"—Afghans? The Durrani branch in particular called themselves *Bani Israel* and claimed to be descendants of Afghana, Solomon's general, who were driven out at the time of the Babylonian captivity. (cf. for instance, Ni'amat Allah : *History of the Afghans* (trans. by Dorn) London (1829-36) and hence their common ancestor was Abraham. I have not seen any other reference to this folk etymology. Possibly Kotov invented it because the Russian form of "Abraham" is 'Avram' and this could be all the more easily confused

(Continued on page 36)

prop him up with a pitchfork under his throat so that he may not fall, and he is stood up in a place where a bird may come and peck out the eyes ; and should it peck out the right one that man of theirs was pleasing to the one in whom they believe ; but if the left, then he was displeasing ; and they bury them [ the dead ] in the earth<sup>1</sup>.

And as to the Multanis at Ispahan, or in our language 'Indians', they too have various religions. Some hold to the Mohammedan, and others believe in the sun ; when the sun begins to rise they pray to it<sup>2</sup>.

with the word 'Afghan' because the 'f' would be voiced by a Russian before 'gh' and the latter would sound something like 'r' to him. Some authorities think that the story of Hebrew origin was a late invention by chroniclers, not earlier than the end of the XVI century (cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*—Vol. I, p. 67) but the Russian version here suggests an oral source not likely to have been influenced by such recent literature. Dr. Abedi (of Delhi University) has pointed out a rare reference to a Persian sect of the XII century who called themselves *Barahimiya* or *Ibrahimiya* after their founder who denied the Prophet (v. Mahmud Tahir Ghazzali : *Risala-i-Marfat-ul-Mazahib* N. D. Tehran) as a possible clue to the identity of these "Avrams". As there seems to be no later mention of this sect, it is not known definitely whether it was even in existence in the XVII century. It seems unlikely that even if it had been, it could have been so prominent as to appear as a distinct community differing in dress and physical type from the rest of the population of Ispahan. There was however a community of Gabr—Zoroastrians or 'Parsis'—but they laid no claim to Abraham ; other details in Ketov's account do not correspond, nor is 'Avram' a likely corruption of their name.

(1) This omen is a typical Parsi tradition in India to-day. Traces of Zoroastrian custom and belief persisted in parts of Afghanistan down to the present day (cf. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 159), but although exposure of the dead became such a prominent feature of Parsi tradition the custom was widely known in Central Asia, and a preliminary exposure of the body might have survived, rationalized by the omen belief, even after the introduction of Muslim burial and independently of Zoroastrian influence.

(2) Apparently a distinction is made here between Multanis and other Indians, and the word is not given the generalized meaning of any Indian merchant community that it acquired in the Middle East. Multan was one of the ancient centres of sun cult, in full vigour at the time of the Arab conquest in the VII century. The great sun temple in the middle of the city was destroyed by Aurangzeb.

And among other Indians they smear yellow paint down the forehead across the root of the nose ; and when any one of these Indians dies they carry him outside the city and beyond the town settlement into the field, and burn him on wood and scatter the ashes ; and they say that that man has gone to heaven ; and those Indians call themselves Christians<sup>1</sup>. And all the Indians wear clothes of white cotton<sup>2</sup> and white turbans also on their heads, and in stature they are not robust and their faces are bloodless and lean and dark. And the clothes the Jews wear are all cherry coloured both for men and women, and with a border round the hem ; and some to them wear turbans on their heads and some hats like *klobuks*<sup>3</sup>; and the women have large yellow kerchiefs on their heads and do not cover their faces. And in stature they are short, with big beards and pale faces, may they be damned to eternal torment ; and in the Kingdom of Persia they do not like them either, they are wont to kill them and abuse them and call them “*Chyukhut*” and others [call them] “*Zhugut*”.

And as regards the wild beast “tiger”<sup>4</sup> at Kazvin, that tiger is bigger than a lion, with a smooth coat with black stripes across it, and it has a muzzle like a cat’s and the whiskers of a cat, but it has a thick body and short legs, and it is long in size and has a loud and terrible voice ; its claws are like a lion’s.

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(1) Probably Krishna devotees.—The Russian form of ‘Christ’ is very similar in sound to ‘Krishna’. Perhaps the name of Krishna, spread by merchant communities in the Middle East and up to the boundaries of Rus in the early middle ages, is the explanation of the old legend about Christianity in India.

(2) ‘*mitali*’.

(3) A hat worn by the Russian clergy.

(4) “*Babr*”.

**This account is up to here : here the route from Shamakha to the country of Turkey is described.**

From Shamakha the road to the land of Turkey [goes] between the South and the West and they go on camels and horses and asses on pack saddles, and from Shamakha it takes three days to Ryasha<sup>1</sup> over flat ground, and Ryasha is a town settlement, there is no city ; from Ryasha a day's journey to Genj<sup>2</sup> by flat places between the mountains ; and in Genj there is no city either, [only] a settlement, and the River Kura passed near Genj ; from Genj the journey takes six days to Ravan<sup>3</sup> through the mountains. And at Ravan there is a stone city ; it stands on a flat place above the River Zetich<sup>4</sup>, and the river is a stone's throw in width. And half-a-day's journey from the city of Ravan, there stand three big Armenian churches, and they used to be very fine ; and that place and Ravan used to belong to the Kingdom of Armenia ; that was the capital city. And we call them "churches" because there are crosses on them, but two churches stand empty and in the third the Armenians hold services, but there are no ikons at all in the church, only the cross and a picture of the immaculate Mother of God ; and there is a small bell but they ring it seldom for fear of the Musulmans. And above that same city of Ravan to the South stands a very large and lofty mountain and the top stuck up like a helmet<sup>5</sup>. And it is more than ten Russian *verst*s from the city of Ravan to it and they say it takes five days to go round that mountain, and eternal snow lies on that mountain winter and summer ; there is no way up it, and

(1) Aresha.

(2) Ganjan.

(3) Erivan.

(4) R. Zanga or Razdan.

(5) "*kolpak*"---a pointed cap or metal helmet.



on that mountain rests Noah's Ark. And the Persians and the Turks call that mountain *Sultana-Agrui Togorezov*<sup>1</sup> in their language ; and they also call it *Bash-dakemi*, that is in our Russian language "the ark on the top of the mountain" ; and among us that mountain is called Ararat.

Then two days' journey from Genj to the North there came the land of Georgia, and the town of Zeggi<sup>2</sup> ; and in the country of Georgia there are many forests. From Ravan to Malazgirt it is two days' journey going by flat places among the mountains, and Malazgirt stands above the River Kars, here is the frontier of the Shah's country with Turkey ; and all those cities were Turkish but the Shah took them when he took Shamakha. And from that frontier to Malazgirt extended the land of Turkey and to the Turkish city of Izryum<sup>3</sup> [ it was ] eight days' journey ; from Izryum to Izruiyan<sup>4</sup>—four days' journey ; from Izruiyan to Karasar<sup>5</sup>—two days' journey ; from Karasar to Voylagor<sup>6</sup>—half a day's journey ; from Voylagor to Tokat—three days ; from Tokat to Turkal<sup>7</sup>—one day's journey ; from Turkal to Amas<sup>8</sup>—three days' journey ; from Amas to Constantinople itself—fifteen days' journey. This then is the way from Shamakha to Constantinople. And from the Shah's city of Ardebil they go to the land of Turkey through Tabriz, and from the Shah's city of Kazvin they go to Turkey, to Baghdad and to Byasir<sup>9</sup>.

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( 1 ) *Aghridagh*, i.e. *Al-Harith dagh*.

( 2 ) *Zagas* ?

( 3 ) *Erzetum*.

( 4 ) *Erzingam*.

( 5 ) *Karahisar*.

( 6 ) *Koyulhisar*.

( 7 ) *Turhal*.

( 8 ) *Amasya*.

( 9 ) *Basra*.

And Baghdad they say is a large place and the city is of stone and big, and beneath it is a river bigger than the Moskva and many dwelling houses and many people ; and some houses in Baghdad were empty even before the Shah took it. And they say that there was a migration from the first Babylon to Baghdad ; and now the Kizuilbashi and the Armenians call Baghdad 'Babylon'<sup>1</sup>. And before the capture of Baghdad by the Shah in the year 7131, dust rained from heaven onto the crops and the corn was covered with dust from heaven and the dust lay knee deep. From Baghdad to Byasir the journey is six days and that Byasir too was a Turkish city, but Karchega Khan took it after the fall of Baghdad, and that city of Byasir became the frontier against Turkey from the other side. And from Baghdad and from Byasir stretched Arab nomad country, there their Bakhmet<sup>2</sup> lies in the country of Arabia, in all three days' journey from Byasir, there are his remains in an empty mosque. And from Byasir they go the land of Turkey to Constantinople. And those Arabs are not black ; the black Arabs come from under India.

**Here is described the route from the land of  
Persia to India**

From the Shah's city of Kum is the route to the kingdom of India and they go by camel on pack saddles ; from Kum it is two days' journey to Vairamy<sup>3</sup>, from Vairamy<sup>3</sup> to Tayran<sup>4</sup>—one day's journey, from Tayran to Farabat<sup>5</sup>—

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(1) "Although the situation of the ancient Babylon has always been known to Orientals it had to be rediscovered for Western knowledge at the end of the XVIII century", according to the "*Encyclopaedia of Islam*" (v. Vol. I. p. 550). The Russians, on the contrary, shared the oriental tradition.

(2) Mohamad.  
 (3) Varamin.  
 (4) Tehian.  
 (6) Fathabad.

eight days' journey; from Farabat to Meshet—fifteen days' journey, from Meshet to Kandahar—forty days' journey. Here used to be the Indian frontier against the Shah, but the Shah captured that city of Kandahar in the year 7310, and that city became the Shah's, and [ his ] frontier with India ; and all the way from that city of Kandahar one must go in the direction of the sunrise.

And from Ispahan the route to India is by **Kashan** and **Kum**, and from **Kum** to **Vairamyé**, and concerning that it is written in the item above. Also from Ispahan itself is the route where Europeans come by ship from across the open sea for trade, and the route is from Ispahan by **Farabat**. From **Farabat** fifteen days' journey to **Meshet**, to **Kandahar** forty days' journey, and from **Kandahar**, they say, it is also about forty days' journey to the open sea due East. And on that open sea stands the city of **Urmuz**<sup>1</sup> and at that city is a harbour for ships. Europeans, the English and the French, come from that city of **Urmuz** on pack camels through these cities that are described in this item ; Europeans journey to Ispahan the capital of Persia with merchandize and with agencies for raw silk.

And that city of **Urmuz** was Indian but the Shah together with the Europeans captured it ; and now, they say, that that city of **Urmuz** belongs entirely to the Shah.

And in Persia when state letters are written from the Shah to his cities, they write in gold "God's mercy" ; under that leaving three or four lines, they write the title "The king's grace **Abbas the Shah**, His Majesty to wit **King of Kings**", and then they write the city to which they are sending [ the letter ], to **Shamakha** or to **Ardebil** or

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(1) *Urmuz*.

another city, to the Ardebil Sultan Svirli or to whatever Khàn as he might command [ for instance ] that at that time the ambassador or merchant of the great Lord of Vladimir, as the King of Kings just and merciful, from the King's grace and to the King's grace, made obeisance ; here they write the business.

All letters and documents they write in the opposite direction to our writing towards the lefthand side.

II

FILIP YEFREMOV

THE TRAVELS OF FILIP YEFREMOV IN THE KIRGHIZ  
STEPPES, BUKHARA, KHIVA, PERSIA, TIBET AND INDIA  
AND HIS RETURN THENCE TO RUSSIA BY WAY OF  
ENGLAND

*Third newly revised, corrected and enlarged edition*

Kazan,  
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1811

## PREFACE

The first edition of the account of Mr. Yefremov's travels appeared in 1786 entitled "*The Nine Years Travels of the Russian Non-Commissioned Officer Yefremov in Bukhara, Khiva, etc.*" ; it was published without his knowledge or consent. In 1794 Mr. Yefremov brought out a second edition of his travels written by himself under the title of "*The Travels of Civil Councillor<sup>1</sup> Yefremov in Bukhara, etc.*" After many wanderings in Russia too, fate led him to settle at Kazan where he still resides at the present time with his family, maintaining himself on a life pension of 500 rubles most graciously bestowed on him. By chance I made the acquaintance of Mr. Yefremov who at that time was contemplating publishing the account of his travels for the third time. A better arrangement of the work and the inclusion of matter previously omitted but probably of great interest to many, were highly desirable, but for this he required either a better knowledge of the countries of Central Asia or that some assistance should be extended to him. Taking advantage therefore of my acquaintance with Mr. Yefremov, I conceived a wish to serve both him and society in the event of the said plan being put into execution. Above all, my efforts were also stimulated by the idea that this production would not be like so many others compiled from already well known works (although sometimes these too deserve our gratitude). The materials furnished to me originate entirely from a man, who, even without preliminary knowledge of geography, either in general or of these particular countries, travelled and noted

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(1) Yefremov's official title "*nadtornuiy sovetnik*" has no exact English equivalent ; it meant a civil servant of the seventh class.

what he saw with his own eyes ; it can be said that he has added nothing to what he saw for himself. It was his fate to fall a prisoner into the hands of the Kirghiz, to be sold by them into Bukhara ; there to live and be in bondage for several years, and, being in military service, to visit many of the surrounding countries ; finally to escape from there through Tibet to India ; and from India to return by sea to Europe, and once more behold his fatherland which he had left nine years before.

The account of Mr. Yefremov's travels is here divided into two parts ; in the first part his actual journey is described together with a good deal about the life of the traveller himself ; in the second are given his observations about the countries which he visited. To that is appended a table showing the distances from Astrakhan and a collection of Bukharan words with their meanings in Russian<sup>1</sup>. I have left this in the third edition in the belief that it is not without its usefulness for philologists, having added the translation of these words in Tatar also, for comparison with the Bukharan. Finally, the patent of nobility conferred on Mr. Yefremov and his descendants by the Sovereign Empress Catherine the Great of blessed memory, is also subjoined here.<sup>2</sup>

The traveller's biography, the evidence of his merits, the idea that his travels attracted interest and particularly the proof of this that appeared on a perusal of the travels themselves, persuaded me to undertake this work.

It is possible that some reader may find matters in this book that do not agree with the latest reports or with

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(1) This vocabulary is omitted in the present translation. Its contents suggest that Yefremov's practical knowledge of the language was probably quite good.

(2) Omitted in this translation.

the works on these countries by other authors ; we shall not hold ourselves in the least to blame for that. Mr. Yefremov visited the countries described below more than thirty years ago ; he has recorded what he saw and knew as he conceived it at that time. Throughout his whole narrative there is nothing too extraordinary to be believed—in itself a sign that he is not boasting in order to excite astonishment at his stories.

Let us say a word in answer to the possible objection that this account of these countries is too old. The condition of many Asian states is such, that, as compared with European ones, they have not experienced any important changes for a very considerable time, but have remained in the same condition. The culture of the people in Bukhara, Khiva, the Kirghiz country, part of Persia and Tibet, according to the latest information, when compared with that of past centuries is seen to have remained nearly on the same level. Changes as regards government that have taken place in Bukhara, Khiva and Persia apparently did not bring any new major results (we are not speaking those revolutions that arise from war, such as fill the life history of mankind); the people's occupations, which are not an unimportant reason for their education, are still the same as they used to be. Nor can everything change frequently in geography. From all this it follows that the position of matters as set forth in this book will very likely hold good in many respects for the present day also. Apart from India, Tibet and Persia, for a knowledge of which we have plenty of new and good accounts, there are scarcely any descriptions of all the other countries of which the author speaks here, or information from which their present position might be known. The difficulty of



penetrating these countries and particularly their remoteness from the civilized states of Europe is, I think, the reason for this. Geographers, therefore, are obliged to make do with old information about Bukhara, Khiva and the country of the Kirghiz. I know of two not very old manuscripts, the first about the Kirghiz and Bukhara and the second really only about Great Bukhara, this last being written in the reign of the Sovereign Emperor Paul Petrovich of blessed memory by two very well educated Russians who were there for about half a year. Among recent accounts of the Khirghiz I have read with particular pleasure the work of Mr. Pyatnitsky, the doctor of the 23rd Division, which is distinguished by its soundness, comprehensiveness with brevity, and faithfulness to fact. My acquaintance with certain persons who have spent some time in Khiva and Bukhara on various business, has also given me occasion to hear much that will not be found in this book. Perhaps circumstances will permit me to communicate something of this, either in a separate work of my own or in the publications of the *Society of the Lovers of National Literature* at Kazan, or in some of my own studies. Certain things in this book may seem superfluous, but we have left them in or added them for certain reasons, particularly so that when they are compared with other accounts of these countries (which, however, as has been said, are very scanty) it might be seen whether this account confirms or contradicts them.

In offering this work to the public I hope that it will not be without some use for geographers in presenting to them anew some matters either hitherto imperfectly understood or entirely unknown, nor will it be devoid of interest either for scholars in general or manufacturers,

merchants engaged in trade, farmers or landowners in agriculture. I do not think that this little book will be reckoned among the many superfluous and very unimportant ones that are only read in order to pass the time. It is not my conceit that assures me of that but my judgment of the matters noted here and particularly of the understanding of some of them in the light of these materials. On the other hand I have had no intention in any way to dispute priority should anything later and better of this kind make its appearance, and I can be very certain that something of the kind may already exist somewhere in manuscript. For instance, although statistical geographical information about the present condition of the Kirghiz is not to be found in printed works, one may expect that our government has its own well-grounded and accurate information, judging by its provisions for bringing the affairs of that people into order and, it seems, a certain measure of success in this ; hence what is presented here about the Kirghiz steppe and the peoples inhabiting it, must undoubtedly yield place to such reports, etc. I repeat that I did not wish to add anything that I know myself partly from books and partly from certain persons, other than what was contained in the former editions of this book, and now newly expanded by me from what Mr. Yefremov has told me himself, in order to preserve the exact sense of what that gentleman, the traveller himself, actually communicated.

This third edition differs greatly from the previous two not only in the order and treatment but also in the number of subjects included. Sensible, necessary and sound observations that the well-intentioned may be able to furnish on it, will be gratefully received. Finally, it

is proper to remark that this book is being published in the interest of and for the support of Mr. Yefremov himself, who has served our country faithfully, honestly and long-

1811  
January 1st.

Master of Historical Science  
Pëtr Konduirov<sup>1</sup>

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1. Pëtr Sergeyevich Konduirov (1789-1823)—was an economist, an admirer of Adam Smith's theories, and the first professor of Political Economy at Kazan University. He was one of the founders of the Kazan Literary Society.

PART I  
**AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRAVELS AND IN  
PARTICULAR THE LIFE OF MR. YEFREMOV**

Filip Yefremov, son of Sergey, was born in 1750 in the town of Vyatka. His father was a clerk in the Ecclesiastical Consistory there. On the 16th day of June in the year 1763, Filip Yefremov, fired with zeal and devotion to the benevolent mother of our country, as he says, entered military service, enrolling as a private soldier in the Nizhny-Novgorod Regiment, being promoted to the rank of corporal on November 14th that same year ; on the 28th of June, 1765, to quartermaster's orderly, and on the 24th of November, 1769, to sergeant. The year 1774 was the most unfortunate year of his life.

As is well known this was about the time when the great disturbance of the so-called Emelyan Pugachev broke out in Russia. In that year, 1774, Yefremov was detailed to a frontier post called Dongus, situated on the road from Iletskaya Zashchita in the Kirghiz steppe beyond Orenburg ; he had twenty soldiers and Cossacks and one gun with him. They met no hostile people anywhere on their way to the post and arrived there safely. They passed several days there in absolute peace which was suddenly interrupted and ended grievously for them. One morning at dawn a band of rebels, the followers of Pugachev, numbering over 500 men, attacked them. Notwithstanding that the band was greatly superior in numbers to Yefremov's detachment, no matter how boldly it attacked, thanks to the courage of the soldiers and Cossacks under Yefremov's command it was checked in spite of its persistence, and held off right up till midday.

The handful of soldiers could repulse the enemy but it was not possible to hold out for long in the steppe without any help ; Mr. Yefremov decided at least to withdraw with his company. After a few hours this hope that had flattered them proved vain. The gun which they had with them and their rifles were their chief weapons of defence that had struck fear into their opponents. So long as their powder lasted and they kept on firing the enemy did not venture to approach nearer ; but as soon as their powder was exhausted Yefremov saw that disaster was inevitable. Having spiked the gun Yefremov and his men mounted their horses intending to make for Orenburg to save themselves from capture or death. On seeing this the enemy immediately hurled themselves straight at them. For a long time Mr. Yefremov and his men bravely defended themselves, but he had only one cartridge left and having fired his last shot bringing up the rear at a gallop, he could not check the rush of the infuriated mob, one of whom overtook him, brought his sword down along his rifle and cut off the thumb of his left hand, while another of the mob inflicted a sword cut above his right ear, and a third wounded him in the head above the forehead with a spear. Our honest soldier, overcome and fainting from such severe wounds and injuries, could not remember afterwards what happened to him or the men with him after that. When he came to himself he saw that he and many of his comrades were bound. Anyone who can imagine himself in the position of a wounded man, bound and at the tender mercies of savage and brutal rebels, may readily divine the feelings that must have assailed our hero's breast. "My heart was alternately torn by rage and despair", he says. "I strained my utmost powers of reasoning to contrive some means whereby I might escape from this humili-

ating misfortune." But what was to be done? The rebel band was large ; it was necessary to suffer his misfortune patiently and await the decision of his fate. Our enemies roamed about the steppe for a long time until at last, exhausted and weary, they halted and soon lay down and fell fast asleep. This band, consisting of Ural Cossacks (then known as the Yaytsky) and ordinary Russian peasants, had no idea of military precautions. When he saw that they were in a deep sleep, Yefremov judged this to be the right moment for his escape ; he began to try as best he could to break his bonds and soon found that his efforts were not without result. He freed his right hand and with that loosened the other ; then he did likewise for two soldiers lying bound beside him and stole away together with them. By daybreak they had fled as far as the River Dongus, where they hid in the grass and rested until noon ; after that they decided to go to Orenburg which was not far from where they then were, but they had scarcely gone about three versts when they were surprised by two hundred Kirghiz riding out from behind the hills. The travellers' strength had already failed ; they had no weapons at all with them ; they had no recourse but to give themselves up as prisoners without resistance. The Kirghiz immediately seized them, placed them on their horses, binding their legs under the horses' bellies, and carried them off to their *ulus* or dwellings. They kept them there for two months. "Thanks be to God", says Yefremov, "I fell to the share of a good man, who nearly every day laid burnt felt on the wounds on my head and hand, thanks to which they healed. Taking advantage of the disturbances in Russia at that time the Kirghiz used to catch many of our Russians and carry them off to Bukhara and Khiva, where they sold them to various individuals. Thus Yefremov was bought from the Kir-

ghiz for four dressed hides of red calf-skin by a Bukharan travelling with a caravan, the agent of Mr. Gafur Khodja, the son-in-law of the Ataluik Daniar-Bek who was the most important person in Bukhara after the Khan. Together with Yefremov they drove some thirty of our men along the road. It was very cold winter weather at the time and many died of cold and hunger on the way. All the way to Vardanza, a small town on the Bukharan frontier, a certain Armenian from Astrakhan named Ayvaz, or 'Ivan' in Russian, never left Mr. Yefremov but fed him and sometimes put him on a horse or a camel. There he took leave of him and went on to the capital of Bukhara. Yefremov remained at Vardanza in the house of the Bukharan who had bought him. Soon after an *esaul* (officer) was sent by Gafur Khodja to fetch him. Yefremov only stayed for a month with the latter and was then presented to his (Gafur's) father-in-law, Daniar Bek. Yefremov's new master was all-powerful in Bukhara and was called 'Ataluik', i. e., 'Governor'; he had four wives and six Kalmuik and Persian concubines whom he had purchased, and from all his wives and concubines together he had ten sons and ten daughters. This Ataluik—we shall continue in Yefremov's own words—assigned me as a guard to his *ordina* or scraglio, in which his wives and concubines were confined. I remained at this post until I was able to understand and speak their language pretty well. After that he gave me the rank of *Dabasha* or Corporal and entrusted me with command over ten men, which duty I carried out apparently to his satisfaction. One day the Ataluik sent his servant to fetch me; I went to him immediately. He told me that a certain mullah Irnazar had just arrived from Russia and gave me a document to read which he had brought with him. On seeing thereon the title of

our most gracious Sovereign Lady the Empress I wept for joy. The Ataluik asked me what this paper was. "A passport" I replied, "given to this mullah to travel without hindrance through places under Russian rule."—"Why is the seal on this passport at the bottom and not at the top?" he asked me further. I answered that the title of the Sovereign Lady of Russia was written at the top and the seal placed at the bottom because the title meant more than the seal. "That is not true" said the Ataluik. "They do this because Russia humbles herself before us, since we Mohammedans are the followers of the true faith." Then he asked me in a threatening manner what had caused my tears and on hearing my answer—namely from joy at the sight of Russian writing—he tried to persuade me to accept the Mohammedan law and promised in return for this to hold me ever in his favour. When he could not obtain my consent to this he soon after commanded me to be tortured. The torture was carried out on me in the following way :— Having placed about a *pood* of salt in a large wooden trough they poured boiling water onto it, and when the salt was dissolved and the water became cold they trussed me up like a duck, thrust a wooden stick into my mouth, threw me on my back into the trough and poured salt water into my mouth. People die in a day from such torture but they wanted to keep me alive and so after every torture lasting for about an hour, they gave me three cups of warm mutton fat, each the size of our half-*oka* measure, to drink ; this absorbs all the salt and cleans the stomach out from top to bottom. After that they put some wheat flour in a pan and after frying it a little and mixing it with water and melted mutton fat, they boiled it thin. They gave me this gruel to drink in order to keep me among the living. I was tortured like



this for three days. The Ataluik seeing that torturing me had no effect, persuaded me at least to take an oath to serve him faithfully, which from necessity I gave in form but not inwardly.

After this the Ataluik promoted me to *Penzibasha*, or Lieutenant, and gave me command of fifty men. From that time I was in his real service ; I was present on many expeditions, saw the towns of that country and became acquainted with the roads: I soon found out the Armenian who had saved me from death on my journey through the Kirghiz steppe, in a caravansarai, became better acquainted and lived in friendship with him till the time of his departure, and on that occasion I accompanied him as far as the frontier town of Karakul, where I bade him farewell.

Once when I was with the army under the city of Samarqand, I took a Samarqandian prisoner during an engagement at great risk of my life and at the cost of being wounded. The Ataluik rewarded me with the rank of *Yezbasha* (i. e., Captain), land yielding an income of up to 300 local *chervonets* a year, and gave me command over 100 men, among whom there were 20 Russians.

Later I was sent with his son Shamrat Bek to Persia to the city of Mawr ; our force numbered about 2,000 men all told. We left for the town of Karakul, to which it was a day's ride, and from there to the river Amu, three days. The road was sandy ; along the river there were plenty of reeds, and in some parts small dwarf willows as well ; the river itself is about a *verst* wide, in places less, and not very deep. After that we were in the little town of Charzhuy belonging to Bukhara. Previously there used to be Turkmenians living here, but since then the place has

been deserted. A sandy road leads from here. On the hills there are bushes of *saksaul*<sup>1</sup>; this is not a very thick tree but its wood gives out a great heat when burnt; much wormwood is also found, and here and there wells are sunk. From Charzhuy to the city of Mawr the distance is six days ride. Shamrat Bek, having suffered defeat, took to flight, when many in the army were killed and not a few horses were lost.

After my return to Bukhara the Ataluk's stewardess did everything in her power to marry me, to which I did not agree. She expressed her wish to follow me wherever I liked. This stewardess was by birth a Perisan, captured by the Turkmenians when she was young and sold to the Bukharans. On account of her insistent entreaties I promised to avail myself of a favourable opportunity to escape.

Two years later they sent me to Khiva with an army to escort the Bukharan Khan Abugazi's brother, whom the Khivans had invited to become Khan. He had an army of 1,500 men with him, the commander of which was Badal Bek. First we went to Charzhuy, from where along the river Amu the country is inhabited by two tribes of nomad Turkmenians, one called Taka and the other Salur; in their territory along the river there are plenty of elms and dwarf willows as well as grass; the Turkmenians themselves are predatory; they catch Persians and sell them in Bukhara, Khiva and other neighbouring countries. Thence we went to the frontier town of Khiva, Pitnyak, eight days; from this town to Azar Rest—one day, from Azar Rest to the little town of Bagatkal—about half-a-day. Meanwhile the Khivan *Inak*, that is to say the

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(1) *Haloxylon* or *saxaul*, a leafless tree native of the arid Central Asian steppes. (*Trans.*)

supreme governor called the *Magadami*<sup>1</sup>, learning of our arrival and that the Khivans, in agreement with the Ataluik Daniar Bek of Bukhara wanted to cut off his head and place the above mentioned brother of Abulgazy on the throne of the Khanate, took precautions. He and his supporters did not let the Bukharans reach Khiva but fought them. "On this occasion", says Yefremov," one of the enemy fired a rifle at me but only singed my right cheek and my ear. I galloped after him in a rage, cut off his right hand and led him prisoner to the commander Badal Bek. The latter rewarded me for this with a stallion and a crimson coloured *kaftan*, and then despatched me to Bukhara with his recommendation and a request for more troops. The Ataluik then granted me some land and money and ordered me to make ready for an expedition to Khiva with fresh forces ; this circumstance offered me the opportunity and the means to decamp. I asked a clerk to write a document for me purporting to be from the Ataluik as though he were sending me as an ambassador to the city of Kukan whose ruler at that time had fallen out with the Bukharan Khan; I promised to reward him liberally for this with money. He wrote me a document in these terms and received from me a hundred *chervonets* in token of gratitude. I showed this document to the afore-mentioned stewardess and asked her to obtain the Khan's seal to put on it, in which she obliged me, in the hope that by this means she too might escape with me. Setting out as though to join the newly formed army, I galloped with two Russians to Kukan, but I was obliged to leave the stewardess behind, since had I taken her with me I could not possibly have saved either her or myself ; the Ataluik would have missed her immediately and would

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( 1 ) i. e., *Makhdumi*

have sent people to search for her everywhere. On the road to Kukan, which I skirted, people provided me with abundant provisions ; on arrival at the town of Margui-lyan I called myself a merchant, disguised myself in the dress of a trader, and took up my quarters in the caravan-sarai, where hearing that some merchants were intending to go to the city of Kashgar, which being under the protection of the Chinese Bogda Khan had a Chinese army for its defence, I bought a load of merchandize of the same kind as they were trading in, and set out in their company, giving out that I was a Nogai<sup>1</sup>. Before reaching Kashkar or Kashgar one of my Russian comrades died. I buried him and continued my way with the merchants to Kashgar, thence to Aksu, from Aksu came back to Kashgar and went to the city of Yarkand. From there they decided to go to Tevat or Tibet and purchased various goods for that purpose, of which I also bought some, as well as a young Arab servant for 5 *arshins* of crimson-coloured, middling quality cloth that was then worth 30 rubles in Russia and now costs 90. The road thither goes along the slopes between the mountains through which flows a very swift river, the Atak ; there is little grass and few trees and where there is a night shelter there are small clearings. I often saw wheatmeal used as food ; they mix it thick with tea water and then drink it. We took barley with us to feed the horses, for these places are quite uninhabited. Almost fifteen days journey before reaching Tibetan territory there is an extraordinarily lofty mountain enveloped in very dense fog and surrounded by such heavy air that men and animals gasp for breath, from which my remaining Russian comrade also died.

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(1) In those parts they call all Tatars living in Russia *Nogai* (Note by the Russian editor).

In Tibet, which we reached after 35 days in all, I lived for about a month in the district of Tsong or Tsang. Meanwhile three pilgrims arrived here on their way to Mecca to worship at the grave to Mohammed. I made their acquaintance and conceived the plan of being their fellow traveller ; so I dressed myself in the kind of clothes that all such persons wear, i.e., a garment of thick, plain white cloth, from which they also make themselves hats about half an *arshin* high, embroidered with many-coloured woollen threads like the patterns we have on horsecloths. We set out from there on foot ; horses and oxen could not be used here because of the great precipices and narrow defiles and the generally bad road to Kashmir, and we had to carry our burdens on our backs. I was not ill in Kashmir nor in the Indian frontier town of Jannani, but about 10 *versts* from the town of Djamba<sup>1</sup> my leg swelled and the swelling soon gathered, wounds appeared on it disclosing a worm that had come from drinking the water of Bukhara and had broken out due to walking. I lay up for about a month and my illness might have proved serious had not a good and pious old man from Kashmir been at great pains on my behalf and provided all requirements both for myself and my Arab servant as well as for my three fellow travellers. Two of the latter did not wait for my recovery but continued their journey, and the third parted from me at Delhi. I did not know what to do then or where to go ; but chance delivered me from this uncertainty. One day a man who happened to be passing in the street asked me who I was and where I came from, and when I told him that I was from Russia he invited me to his house and questioned me about everything in detail and ordered food to be served ; then he announced

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( 1 ) Chamba probably.

that he was an Armenian named Simion and was ready to help me to get to the English possessions from where it was possible to travel conveniently to Russia. In about two weeks' time he gave me a letter for this purpose to a priest residing at a certain town in this country and sent me off with some merchants to Lucknow whither the way lies through the town of Akbarabad<sup>1</sup>, near which the river Dzhanop<sup>2</sup> flows. We came to the latter in seven days and from this to the town of Shukuravat<sup>3</sup> in a day. From Shukuravat the English country begins. From here we travelled to a small place, Karnauch<sup>4</sup> on the Ganges—3 days ; then to Lucknow—4 days. On arrival here we stopped at the caravansarai ; I then delivered the letter of introduction to the priest, who to judge from his appearance must have been about seventy years old, and was received cordially by him, when he also told me that the Governor of that place, Middleton, had been informed about me and wished to take me into his service.

The priest advised me that when I met the Governor I should say that I came from Petersburg ; if he asked whether anyone knew me I was to say that the Holsteinian pastor living at Petersburg and Oranienbaum knew me. Scarcely had I returned from seeing him, when I was immediately taken into custody, kept under arrest for two days and after that called before the above mentioned Governor. The latter asked me who I was, and why I had come there. I answered him as I had been instructed by the priest for whom they immediately sent. The priest stated that I was a major with whom he was acquainted, and belonged

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- (1) Agra.
  - (2) Jumna.
  - (3) Shikhoabad.
  - (4) Kanauj.

to a distinguished family, a relative of Count Chernuishev. On hearing this the Governor at once released me and gave me a letter to a friend of his, Chambers, at the city of Kalkata or as it is pronounced in the local language "Calcutta", requesting him to send me forthwith to England. Thus I was freed from my second captivity and started on my further journey. From Lucknow I travelled by oxen in an Indian cart with an umbrella, without which it would look just like the wagons of Chukhonsk. Then at a small town I hired a boat and sailed six days as far as the town of Ilebash<sup>1</sup>; this place is on the River Jumna, which a little lower down flows into the Ganges. From Ilebash it was six days' journey to Benaras or Banares, from that place to the town of Patna or Azimabad five days, from there to the village of Muangench<sup>2</sup> seven days. Below this village the Ganges divides into two branches. From Muangench to the town of Makao-gavat<sup>3</sup> it is two days' journey; thence to Calcutta it is six. It was more than I had expected to find Greeks at Calcutta and even a monastery of theirs, in which they received me as a pilgrim, conducted me to a separate cell to rest and supplied me with food. I was indeed happy to be in a House of God belonging to my own creed that I might offer up my thanks to the Almighty for preserving my life in so many dangers and for his guiding hand that had shown me the way to return to my own dear fatherland. At Calcutta I found Chambers, who, although at first disinclined to send me to Russia, when I insisted and offered him the Arab boy I had purchased as a gift, gave me 300 rupees, 2 dozen shirts of thin cotton, a suit of clothes

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- ( 1 ) I. e., Alabas, an old name for Allahabad.  
 ( 2 ) Monghyr.  
 ( 3 ) Murshidabad ?

and a recommendation to the master of a packet boat then about to sail for England at the office of the East India Trade Company. The master of the vessel at once gave me a ticket allowing me to board the ship then lying at anchor about 8 *versts* outside the harbour. The Greeks rowed me to it in a boat and when I had bidden them farewell I was given a very good place in the cabin. Three days later we weighed anchor and sailed the Indian Ocean for two months and eleven days to some African islands unknown to me, and from these islands in another nineteen days to the island of Santalina [St. Helena.] Having shipped fresh water on this treeless uninhabited island we continued our voyage for a month and nineteen days and reached the Irish town of Kisli Gavn<sup>1</sup> and thence in one day Kangisel<sup>2</sup>. From there I could now go by land. I therefore came ashore here and after resting a little I took the road and in eight hours arrived at the city of Cork, and from there went by mail coach to Dublin in five days, from where in two and a half days I crossed over by ship to the English city of Liverpool. From Liverpool I travelled by postchaise to London, taking two days and two nights. Here in 1782 I reported immediately to the Imperial Minister Plenipotentiary of Russia, Simolin, who furnished me with a passport and sent me by sea to St. Petersburg to Count Alexander Andreyevich Bezborodko. On arrival at my destination I reported to him at once on August 26th, 1782, and lived with him for some time. Soon after, on 5th November, I was presented by Count Bezborodko to our Sovereign Lady the Empress in Asiatic costume and had the good fortune to be honoured with a gift of 300 rubles bestowed by Her Majesty's bounty.

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(1) Castlehaven?

(2) Kinsale.



*The following sections have been omitted in translation :—*

(1) pp 29-40. *This part gives a record of all the posts held by Yefremov after his return to Russia ; he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant and at first employed by the Russian Foreign Office as an interpreter for “Bukharan, Persian and other Asiatic languages”, but later was transferred to other branches of civilian service. The text of the patent of nobility, with the details of his coat-of-arms, granted after 15 years service, is also given. Yefremov retired on grounds of ill health but was later obliged to resume work. His editor’s remarks show that in spite of royal favour on account of his remarkable travels in the East, he was posted to remote towns and frontier provinces and was far from well off when he finally retired. While working as a Customs Officers at Astrakhan Yefremov again met the Armenian merchant who had befriended him on the road to Bukhara and through his official connections was able to do him a good turn.*

- (2) pp. 43-48    *The Kirghiz*  
    pp. 49-54    *Persia*  
    pp. 54-56    *Khiva and the Turkmenians*  
    pp. 56-105   *Greater Bukhara*  
    pp. 106-109   *Little Bukhara*

*The translation is resumed from page 110 of the 3rd (Russian) edition.*

## PART II

### TIBET OR TEVAT

The countries of which we shall now speak are called Tibet or Tevat by the Mongols, Turfan or Sitsang by the Chinese, Kiang by the inhabitants, of which the part adjoining Industan they call Butan and the southern part, Tibet ; they sometimes call the former Dokpo and the latter Pyu. The Lamas or clergy who derive everything from their gods say that there are three gods, Djam-Yang, Chiga-Natoroche and Chenrezi, who from very ancient times divided the whole of Tibet into three parts—Upper, Middle and Lower. By the term “Upper” they mean the country of Igara which, they say, was called the Land of Elephants by those gods, because they think elephants are once supposed to have lived there. The Middle includes the regions of Tsang and Kiang and is called the Land of Monkeys, of which there are none at all in these parts, nor could there be, I think, on account of the climate. The lower part comprising the regions of Tokbo, Kongbo and Kiang is called the land of Prazrinma.

On the East, Tibet is bounded by China; to the South by Industan, Ava and other countries of the Indian peninsula lying on the farther side of the River Ganges ; to the West by Kashmir and Nepal ; to the North by the vast sandy plain of Shamo separating Tibet from Little Bukhara. The extensive country of Tibet, not however all known to Mr. Yefremov, is partly mountainous and partly consists

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( 1 ) In this account of Tibet and part of what follows it, fewer changes have been made in this edition than in the preceding sections. I thought that it would be superfluous to write at greater length on this subject in view of many quite reliable recent reports (*Note in the Russian edition*).

of very large sandy plains and places full of small stones. The climate and the products correspond to the situation of the land and therefore vary from place to place ; this explains the contradictions found in the accounts of travellers and those who have described their travels here, some of whom call Tibet a fertile country while others say that it is completely barren. Mr. Yefremov travelled across the kingdom of Lata or Latak<sup>1</sup> which lies at a distance of thirty-five days journey from the city of Yarkand, only through the region of Tsang, and he noticed that the northern part of Tibet marching with Indostan consists of huge mountains covered with snow and thickly forested slopes. These mountains are almost impassable ; where there is a path it is often very narrow and in many places dangerous on account of the terrible precipices alongside it into which the water rushing down from the mountains falls with a terrific noise. Often the gorges in the hills are joined by hanging bridges made of the branches of trees. In contrast to this the southern portion of Tibet may be regarded as an elevated plateau on which only occasional low hills are to be seen. In some valleys between the mountains excellent corn is grown and in others there are wandering people who shift their place of residence and always stay near good pasture for their herds. Mr. Yefremov saw two mountains in Tibet which surpassed all the rest ; the first of these was called Langur and the second, which is still higher, Kambala. The air on Mount Langur is very heavy and noxious, which is probably due to sulphurous fumes and other harmful vapours rising out of the gorges. These cause nausea and convulsive pains in the limbs ; but as one approaches the foot of the mountain the effect of the fumes decreases and where the ground is

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( 1 ) Ladakh.

covered with snow it completely disappears. Tibe has a great many forests in many places, particularly in the north ; in the more southern parts on the contrary trees are so scarce that the inhabitants are mostly obliged to use dung in place of wood fuel.

In Tibet there is a certain kind of buffalo called 'yak', which has a long tail like a horse, completely white and curly. They carry on an extensive and important trade in such tails, for in many countries of Asia they are used as "*bunchug*"<sup>1</sup> or war standards ; in Indostan, too, they are used for fans called *khouras*, which are much in demand there especially during the heat of summer. Tibetan sheep are distinguished as in other countries of the East by their fat tails which here sometimes weigh as much as 30 to 40 pounds. The fleccc is very soft, like silk, and is used in Kashmir for making the cloth known in oriental countries as "*shal*", which is nowhere made so fine and pure as in Kashmir, and that, they say, is largely thanks to the excellence of the water there. In the sandy regions in the north of Tibet roam large herds of wild horses, small in size but beautiful, with dappled coats and very swift-paced. They are only suitable for riding ; as soon as people start to use them in draft harness they begin to sicken and soon die. Of all the wild animals of Tibet the most worthy of note is the musk-deer, here called *glao* (and the stag *glaon* or *alat*). The Russian name *kabarga* is probably derived from the word *tabargo* the name used by the Yenesei Tatars for this animal. In the region of Baikal and the River Lena the Tungus word is *djesiya sancha* ; we call the males *kosachki*. The original home of the musk-deer was probably on the high mountains of Eastern Asia, in the country surrounded by rocky eleva-

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( 1 ) Turkish *bongjuk*.

tions between the Altai and the other ranges separating Tibet from India. From here they spread to the other places where they are now found. Beyond this they do not occur, since from this region begin the plains and treeless mountains, whereas they generally herd on mountains covered with dense forest and in the shady valleys in between them ; they never venture onto flat country or treeless ridges. They live separately and only collect in herds during the autumn when they move to another grazing ground or mate together. By means of their sharp-tipped hooves they run nimbly up high precipices and if they see they are being pursued they jump across ravines and gorges, swim deep rivers and in winter walk freely on the surface of soft snow which can seldom support an animal. Musk-deer are very timid ; they avoid human habitation ; they seek out uninhabited wastes and cannot be accustomed to captivity. During the mating season in November and December they are very odoriferous ; their flesh has then a very strong smell but is nonetheless good to eat ; that of the young ones is clean, tender and tasty, but even the old ones' meat when put in vinegar and roasted has a very fine flavour. In the males there is a little sac under the belly containing an oily, very ethereal fluid which is famous everywhere for its medicinal properties. This fluid is particularly highly scented during the season when the males mate with the females. In Tibet the much stronger perfume than is found elsewhere is probably due to the warmth of the climate and the fragrant herbs on which this animal feeds ; this is the best musk and sells for much more than the Siberian. Much rhubarb is also obtained and this is also of the best quality. The Tibetan mountains contain many metal ores ; in the regions of U, Tsang, Kiang, Konbo, Dokpo and Kang

there are rich goldfields ; in Tsang silver mines, and in Kiang mercury, iron, copper, sulphur and other minerals, besides white metal, called *taktsa*, which moreover is often found elsewhere. There are mountains yielding lapis lazuli, crystal, various marbles and magnet stone. They obtain much gold both from mines and the sand along the river beds which is not used for manufacture but only in trade, particularly with the Chinese who exchange it for the natural products and manufactured commodities of their own country.

Tibet is well populated and settled. The people are mostly well-built ; their complexion is a darkish yellow ; they are martial, honest and sociable. They do not wear beards ; as soon as hairs appear they pull them out with iron tweezers ; monks on festivals and holidays wear beards fastened onto their upper lips, and they put black spots on their cheeks and foreheads. Tibetans are very uncleanly and by the rules of their religion they dare not kill either fleas or lice, for these creatures, too, they argue, have rational souls. Moreover they never wash themselves although they carry about with them jars of water at their waists ; with this they only wash their mouths so that the spirits, which according to their ideas inhabit all elements and are consequently present in their food and drink as well, may find a clean dwelling place. The common people dress in thick cloth made by themselves and they wear boots made of raw horse-hide. The Lamas' dress and their hats like the Jewish skull cap, are sewn of yellow-coloured cloth ; the upper classes wear garments made of Europeans cloth and Chinese silk fabrics lined with costly furs. Both men and women go about in boots and round their necks they wear little boxes in which they keep the images of gods, prayers and so on ; in addition

they keep about their persons all sorts of silk rags consecrated by the breath and spital of Lamas. But what they prize above all are little balls made from the excrement of the Dalai Lama and the Bogdo Lama, rolled in musk and gold; they distribute these by way of holy objects and as a gift that will avert all evil. The urine of both these Lamas is also regarded as a sure remedy in many illnesses. For the most part Tibetans live on cow's milk, from which they make cheese and butter, and a few fish caught in the rivers and lakes as well as the meat of horned cattle. They prepare mutton for eating differently from us; when they slaughter a sheep they remove the entrails and then hang the whole carcass in the sun and the north wind, which dries it so thoroughly that it can be kept for a whole year without spoiling. This dried mutton is then eaten without any further preparation. Very many people also eat meal mixed with tea water. Every one has his own dish from which he eats and drinks.

The prevailing religion in Tibet, including the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, forbids the killing of animals, but probably from necessity its followers are obliged to break such prohibitions. Many Tibetans, when they consider this, show great caution hoping thus to appease their conscience. A man selling cattle often makes an agreement with the buyer that he will not kill it and some, knowing that the animal will be killed, out of pity do not sell it at all. Hence butchers are regarded as debased people. Monks and women drink neither beer nor wine as they consider that it is wrong for them to do so. The baptism of children is performed as follows:—As soon as the child is born they call a priest who mixes water and milk in a vessel, consecrates it with prayers and by breathing on it, and then bathes the new-born baby. On con-

cluding this rite he names him, giving him the name of some idol; after that the Lama and the relatives are entertained to dinner.

Tibetans seldom have more than one wife but women may have several husbands who beget children of their cohabitation in common, the elder taking the ones that are born first and the younger those born later ; which custom is observed only among the common people. This probably arises from the infertility of the soil in these parts, which, although it abounds in precious things, hardly yields enough food plants to maintain every family free from want. Some people would have us believe that this custom is less general in Tibet than many travellers have reported. It is forbidden to marry relatives to the seventh degree ; this rule also is often broken by the aristocracy. Brides are given a dowry by their parents ; the bridegrooms do not pay anything for them as is the case among many Asiatic peoples. The Lamas decide the wedding day, for which reason a couple may have to wait a long time for the desired day, often until the Lama's greed has been appeased by the bride's or the bridegroom's people. The marriage rites are performed thus :—The bridegroom goes with his father, or, when he has no father, with a relative to the bride's house where the conditions are agreed upon. Then the father or other relative on the bridegroom's side on his behalf asks the girl whether she wishes to enter into wedlock with his son, and if she says that she is willing the bridegroom then takes a little cow's butter and smears the bride's forehead with it. Similarly the bride's father asks the bridegroom whether he wishes to marry his daughter and if he says that he is willing the girl rubs his forehead with butter in the same way. After this the bridal pair go in procession to the temple to pray.



The first days after the wedding are spent in feasting and amusements, and then the husband takes the bride to his house. The marriage ceremony can also be performed in another way. On the appointed day the bridegroom with his friends, without his parents, goes to the bride's house to fetch her and then she, accompanied by relatives or at least by one of them, comes to the bridegroom's house where the priest fumigates the dwelling with a certain herb and calls upon the aid of his gods. He then mixes milk and water in a vessel and bids the bride and bridegroom wash their faces with it, blesses them by laying his book on their heads, and ends by wishing them good luck and fertility. After this ceremony is over, the newly married couple are led into a separate room and left there alone while the guests entertain themselves with various amusements, which may last for five to ten days among rich people.

If a husband catches his wife in adultery with somebody else he has the right to punish the adulterer as he pleases and to drive his wife out of his house as dishonoured; if however he wishes to keep her he leaves her without any punishment at all. The decree of divorce is given by a civil magistrate; the husband who cannot show legal grounds for divorce from his wife must return the whole of her dowry to her and give from his own property whatever amount the court may decide in addition.

Every Tibetan chooses one of the Lamas as his spiritual adviser. When he makes his confession to him he says: "I have sinned in this or that", after which the monk prays over him and absolves his sin.

A funeral may be carried out in various ways, apparently because of the various ideas about the state of the soul

in the afterlife. At the funerals of Lamas their bodies are burnt with sandal wood, or after embalming are placed in coffins, which are then kept in a kind of pyramid. But more often the bodies of Lamas are carried onto mountain tops and left there to be eaten by wild birds. Superstitious people build themselves huts in these places and look after the remains of the corpses, guarding even bones scattered by the wind from wild beasts. They think that this occupation is a pious act. Sometimes they pile heaps of stones round these dead bodies ; others sew them into a bag and accompanied by their relatives carry them to a certain place apart. Certain people specially appointed for the purpose who live here separate the flesh from the bones, divide it into small pieces and throw them away ; they remove the skin from the skull and certain other bones and give it to their relatives ; then they throw the corpses into the water or bury them in pits. However, before carrying the body out of the house the priest performs something like a funeral service over it and then taking hold of the skin of the head firmly between his fingers pulls it until a crack is heard ; they think that the spirit has then left the body. After the funeral the clergy perform a service for the salvation of the soul of the deceased, especially if he was a rich man, and this is later repeated. Others they may bury in the following manner:—They place the dead man on a Lama's back, and throwing a cord over the latter's shoulder, they cover him with a black cloth ; another Lama takes hold of this cord and leads him with the dead body on his back ; the rest go in front singing, and the people who accompany them also sing and play on various musical instruments. They carry the dead body onto a high mountain and place it on the ground ; round it they put pieces of sandal wood and pour cow's

butter on its head. After that the people return home and the Lamas alone burn the body, and after burning it raise a funeral mound over it, in the middle of which they make a pillar of earth covered with plaster a *sazhen* high, or more than that if the deceased was a rich man. When they have done, the Lamas go to the house of the dead man and dine there.

Murders and the like are rare in Tibet. They kill capital criminals with arrows or tie stones round their necks and throw them into the water ; sometimes they give the dead bodies of criminals to sorcerers to do whatever they like with them. Thieves they condemn to severe corporal punishment. They also inflict heavy punishment on those who commit sacrilege. If a man steals a second time his left hand is cut off, and if a third time his right hand also, and then he is thrown into a river or sent to the fortress of Chiganinar. Monks discovered committing theft are imprisoned in a cell and then sent away to prison in the mountains.

They say that the religion of the country of Tibet came from Indostan whose inhabitants are regarded as the ancient peoples who communicated laws, sciences and arts to the greater part of Asia. The Tibetans themselves admit that they got their first knowledge of monastic rule from the Indians and the present religion in Tibet was introduced from Indostan half a century after the birth of Christ. Up to that time the Tibetans were of the Shaman belief still found among the savage peoples of Northern Asia. The religion of the Indians, which perhaps very long ago diverged from the ancient Brahmin religion, got its present form through a combination with Shamanism and the various notions of its followers. The proof that the

Lama religion originated from India is seen in many of its rituals and mythological teachings differing little from the Brahmanic. Certain similarities between the devotional books by which religious services are conducted in Tibet and those written in the sacred or Sanskrit language also clearly show that the law of the Lamas came from that of the Brahmins. This doctrine has been spread over a large part of Asia besides Tibet, especially in China. The Mongol and Kalmuik peoples worship Shaka, accepting him as the supreme being under various names:—Sammona Kodom, Shakchashuba, Sangelmuni, Djikchamuni, Shake-muni and Fo. The peoples who worship Shaka or Shakeya have many religious ceremonies which are performed by monks appointed for that purpose and divided into various degrees. The head of the monks of the Lama religion in Tibet is the Dalai Lama, called in Tibetan '*Lama Yerembuche*'. The title "Dalai Lama" means "Great Lama" in Mongolian. In the opinion of the Tibetans and Mongols the spirit of Shigemuni or Shak dwells in this Dalai Lama, after whose death it leaves this abode and goes straight into the body of another Great Lama ; and therefore all those who confess his faith reverence the Dalai Lama as the mouth-piece of the will of the divinity dwelling within him. There is also another Great Lama called the Bogdo Lama, who, according to the statement of people there, is even more revered than the Dalai Lama. From these two Great Lamas the religious confession of Tibet separated into two schools, the Yellow Hats and the Red Hats. The former acknowledge the Bogdo Lama as the head of their faith and the latter, to which school the Mongols also belong, the Dalai Lama. The Bogdo Lama was once supreme in Tibet, but because he wanted to accept women into the monastic order a schism took place

and Lamas of the northern parts of Tibet set up another man as Great Lama, animated by their god Shigimuni, with the title of Yerebuché, who opposed the Bogdo Lama and attained honour equal to his. Both these Lamas, so it is reported, now live in perfect harmony, sometimes visiting one another and exchanging mutual blessings.

They say that at a distance of about three days journey from Lhasa there is a great Lake called Polte or Yamdro and Yamizd<sup>1</sup>, with some islands in it. On one of these lives a High Priestess Turche Pamo, in whom, according to the Tibetans a holy spirit dwells. When this High Priestess goes out or travels to Lhasa they burn precious incenses the whole way and a large number of monks attend her. When she arrives at Lhasa everybody falls on his face before her while she holds out a seal for the praying people to kiss and thereby administers to them communion with this holy thing. All male and female monasteries on the islands in this lake are placed under her authority.

Throughout Tibet the houses stand mostly on hill-sides and are built of rough stone with one door ; and in the middle of the room they put a cauldron hollowed out of the same stone, in which they cook their food. The streets are not narrow but like our Russian villages ; there are almost no gardens round the houses.

The following rule is observed in recruiting to the army. Every three families or households have to supply one man ; but if these families have only one man between them they are excused. The district of Amdoa sends no soldiers at all. Similarly all families which have at least one son in the monastic order are excused.

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( 1 ) Yamdok-tso Lake.

The yearly taxes payable by the people are not large ; a little more than a ruble is taken for every soul. These taxes are collected partly in gold, partly in silver or furs. The latter is the case particularly in remote northern provinces where sables are found and a great many yellow foxes with white points but not very good pelts<sup>1</sup>.

The city of Lat or Ladak<sup>2</sup> lies on a mountain slope near a river and is fairly large, about half the size of Bukhara ; the buildings in it are of natural stone, undressed and daubed outside with clay and inside with plaster. Kashmiris live here in large numbers ; they have mosques and carry on trade. This is the capital of the independent kingdom of Tibet and here the ruler, who is called the Rajah, has his residence also<sup>3</sup>. The kingdom of Ladak is quite extensive ; its length may be reckoned at about 300 *verst*s ; the soil although stony is nevertheless fertile and produces abundant vegetation ; villages are of frequent occurrence.

Tsang<sup>4</sup>, the city of a separate ruler also with the title of Rajah, stands partly on a slope and partly on flat,

(1) From the beginning up to this point the section about Tibet was written by Mr. Yefremov himself along with the rest in August 1782 and included in the two earlier editions; for that reason I have scarcely altered a word in it but have left it in the third edition by Mr. Yefremov's wish. (*Note in the 3rd Russian edition*). *This note may have been added by the editor in order to disclaim responsibility for possible mistakes, although Yefremov's account is remarkably good considering his short stay and the fact that he probably knew little or nothing of the country or the language in advance. What follows is also evidently an eye witness account and if it was written up by the editor, must have been based entirely on Yefremov's recollections after thirty years (Translator).*

(2) I. e., Leh.

(3) The title "Rajah" suggests that Yefremov gathered his information through the medium of Bukhara and perhaps from Kashmiris rather than Ladakhis. (*Translator*)

(4) Zanskar ?

stony ground near a small river, it is rather smaller than Ladak. The surface of the region is level ; the products here are the same as in Ladak. In both the said countries the inhabitants make rough cloth and leather for themselves ; the manufacture of cotton and silk is not found here because the necessary cotton plant and mulberry trees are not cultivated in these parts.

# The Countries of East India

## KASHMIR

The climate is healthy and mild, the land fertile. In the Kashmir region the ground is flatter ; low hills occur frequently ; the soil for the most part is clayey ; there is little sand and still less marsh ; because of its fertility the land is not much manured. No little rice and safron is grown ; grain crops—wheat, millet, barley and other crops besides rye, oats and buckwheat—also grow very well. There are no grapes ; water melons, melons, plums, pears, apples and pomegranates are found in great quantity ; also cotton ; a little silk is produced. People keep cattle only for their own use. There are sheep and goats in abundance ; these are big animals with flat rumps and long tails, their wool is very soft, like silk ; from this shawls and other textiles known here are made. There are also horses, but no camels.

The inhabitants are fair faced, tall, thin and frail, and they are afraid of cold. They plait their long hair ; summer and winter they carry about with them under their clothes hot coals in small pots with handles which they wrap round with willow withies and place between their legs when they sit down. Both sexes wear a home-made garment ; it is of white cloth, like a Russian peasant's shirt, with a pointed neck and cut long down to the heels ; they let one sleeve hang loose and hold inside the above mentioned little jar of coals which makes them look pot-bellied. They mostly eat rice in which they put garlic and cow's butter. Their houses are built on two floors



and made of light planks, caulked with hemp and thatched with straw.

Kashmir is under the rule of the Afghan Khan Temur-shi<sup>1</sup> who lives in the city of Kabul at a distance of seven days journey from Kashmir. In Kashmir the *Datkha* or governor, by name Karuimdat<sup>2</sup> in Yefremov's time, has his residence.

The city of Kashmir stands on level ground. Around it, at a distance of some three or four *versts*, rise lofty mountains almost always bright with many-coloured flowers which when there is a breeze waft their fragrance over the whole town. Kashmir is of medium size ; it is built like Bukhara. The population may amount to 25,000. The people here follow trades and handicrafts but also like to engage in commerce and are rather prosperous.

From Kashmir to the River Dzhanop<sup>3</sup> it is 5 days journey ; on one side of this river is the kingdom of Kashmir and on the other side lies India. The method of crossing it is this:—There are posts set up on both banks ; to these is fastened a very thick cable, stretching from one bank to the other, on which a wooden hoop is placed ; to the ends of this a string seat is attached ; wooden pulleys are fixed along both sides of the hoop on the cable and from either bank a stout cord is attached to them. A man or a load is placed on the seat and tied on to it with ropes so as not to fall off into the water ; they then pull it from one bank to the other. This is done because this river

( 1 ) Timur Shah Durrani ( *Translator* ).

( 2 ) Hadji Karim Dad Khan, who was appointed Subedar of Kashmir in 1776. "Datkha" is obviously due to mistaking his name for a title. ( *Translator* ).

( 3 ) Chinab.

falls very rapidly from very high mountains, which prevents them from building a bridge over it or crossing it in boats. The said river is called Nil-ab ; its width will be about 60 *sazhen* ; there is no other river in Kashmir as remarkable as this.

We may remark in conclusion that the Kashmiris are a very commercial people and they often journey to India and Tibet as well as to Bukhara. The road both to Tibet and India is mountainous with little forest on the way. Silver is obtained from Tibet where a large quantity of it is to be found in the mountains ; the money seen everywhere is almost all silver.

## THE COUNTRIES ON THE WAY FROM KASHMIR TO THE CITY OF CALCUTTA

From the River Dzhanop [ Chinab ] to the small town of Janana the road takes three days on foot ; the path goes through the mountains ; there is little grass and no trees at all ; there is running water from mountain streams.

From Janana to the little town of Dzhanba<sup>1</sup> it is two days' journey ; here is found the River Ravi ; both road and town are on level ground.

From Dzhanba to the city of Ambarsar<sup>2</sup> it is eight days' journey ; at the latter place they use well water.

From Ambarsar to the town of Varuvar<sup>3</sup> it is two days' journey ; here is the River Biyanada<sup>4</sup>.

From the town of Varuvar to the town of Pilyaru<sup>5</sup> it is three days' journey ; here is the River Sultej.

From Pilyaru the town of Maleru<sup>6</sup>—three days' journey ; in the latter they drink well water.

From Maleru to the town of Patnuiala<sup>7</sup>—two days' journey ; here the water is well water.

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( 1 ) Chamba.

( 2 ) Amritsar. Here and in a number of place names that follow the spelling approximates to the local Punjabi pronunciation.

( 3 ) Vairoval in Amritsar District.

( 4 ) R. Beas.

( 5 ) Phillaur.

( 6 ) Malerkotla.

( 7 ) Patiala.

From Patnuiala to the town of Karnagalyu<sup>1</sup> it is three days' journey ; here also the water is from wells.

The above Indian cities and towns are called collectively the Pindzhop [ Punjab ] ; the rulers thereof are called Sardar. What lies farther to the south of them is called Indostan.

From Karnagalyu to the town of Panipat it is one day's journey.

From Panipat to the capital city of Delhi, otherwise known as Shaydzha-Novat<sup>2</sup> it is three days' journey. The latter is situated on the right bank of the River Dzhano<sup>3</sup> ; the Indians call it Shayjahanovat. This city, it may be noted, was a very large one ; after being destroyed by the Persian Shah Nadir not a third of what previously existed now remains. The city has a level site and clayey soil ; it is not fortified ; in area as well as in the number of inhabitants, it is twice the size of Kazan ; in addition, extensive stone and mud ruins are also to be seen outside it ; the buildings are quite fine, the greater part of the houses being built of stone, many of them with two storeys, all the rest being mud houses. This is the most important city for trade in Asia, from the countries of which there come Persians, Bukharans, Kashmirians, Armenians, Greeks, Tibetans, Chinese and others. The caravansarais are of stone and spacious. A large number of excellent gardens are to be found both in Delhi itself and outside it. The mosques here are of stone and magnificent, although the Indian temples are very simple.

( 1 ) Karnal

( 2 ) Shahjahanabad.

( 3 ) Error for Jamna.

The cities and towns in the neighbourhood of Delhi are from time to time pretty well devastated by internecine quarrels.

The ruler of Delhi in Yefremov's time was descended from the Samarqand Khodjas of Aligavgar,<sup>1</sup> and called in the Indian language the Khan Badshah ; but the Persian Nadzha Khan<sup>2</sup> had great power in the government and even the Badshah to a great extent depended on him. In the city of Delhi or Shahjahanabad there are plenty of cannon, but the people are weak and timid. However they say that the inhabitants of the greater part of India are warlike and courageous ; there are two peoples who resemble the nomad Turkmenians—the Sikhs and the Maharratas, who are very warlike. They resemble one another very much, being tall, dark-skinned and strongly built. A considerable part of them are of the Mohammedan confession, rougher in their manners than the Indians. Mr. Yefremov saw many of their encampments in the plains on his way to Calcutta.

Almost all the cities are continually at war with one another and the battles are never ending, so that the people have little peace. The countries are well populated and villages occur frequently along the route. Their dwellings are clean and neat ; on account of the scarcity of timber the houses are mud huts, but inside they are well plastered and there are no "black huts" like ours to be seen. Many of them have gardens round their houses, bigger or smaller according to their means, and tanks formed by canals for passing the time more pleasantly during the heat of summer. Streets are everywhere straight and broad.

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( 1 ) Khwaja Abdullah Ahrar.

( 2 ) Najaf Khan.

## INDOSTAN

For a great part of the year the climate here is mild, while the summer heat is excessive. The surface of the country is flat ; there are very few or completely no mountains at all ; the soil is clayey ; no sands are found ; nevertheless it is very fertile and almost everywhere it is cultivated ; there are very few wastes. The land produces all the essential requirements for life both for use and for pleasure ; they harvest much rice, millet, lemons, oranges, grapes, pomegranates, coconuts, silk, sugarcane and cotton ; gold and silver mines are also found, as well as pearls, diamonds and other precious stones. There are very many elephants, dromedaries, lions, tigers, and leopards, [but] little timber. Owing to the heat people are black, indolent and very sensuous ; they use Arabic in the learned professions and Gujrati for commercial affairs. The male sex goes naked. They wrap their heads in scarves, wear slippers on their feet and over their shoulders they throw wide scarves ; they gird their loins very low with the Kashmir scarves we call "shawl". Men of substance are to be distinguished as regards dress by wearing necklaces, for instance of pearls, round their necks and a ring in one ear and rings on their hands. Women throw a kerchief over their heads ; they have very short, sleeved bodices about four inches long hardly covering more than the breast ; their skirts are long ; on their feet they wear slippers ; the wealthy have rings in their ears and nostrils and on their arms and finger rings set with jewels.

In the country lying on either side of the River Ganges the climate is very hot ; the people are black, of medium

height. The country abounds in a variety of products, in pearls and diamonds too, especially on the Coromandel Coast. Sugarcane, here called *nai shakar* grows in great quantity; they make sugar out of it and distil wine for themselves and for sale. The inhabitants are rude in their habits, not very sensible and lazy, and they have slaves to do their work for them. The aristocrats mostly ride on elephants on which are placed boxes with umbrellas; in the box there is a carpet and a cushion; the box is lined with cloth; the cover of the umbrella is embroidered in silk and gold, silver, or silk velvet according to the owner's means. Others instead of riding on elephants use litters, that is, boxes about a quarter of an *arshin* high, two *arshins* long and one and a half wide, with umbrellas; they cover them with various kinds of patterned cloth and velvets. In front of the box is fixed a bent pole and behind it a straight one painted. If a rather heavy person sits in this four or five men in front and behind carry him in turn, and one man goes in front with a cane to clear the way. Others have a four cornered sentry box made, one-and-a-half *arshins* square and pretty nearly two *arshins* in height, with glass doors on two sides, and this they cover with leather. Such litters are called *palki*. There are very few horses; they are brought by way of trade from other countries and sold very dear; the people also suffer from a great lack of fodder. Hence it pays better to keep twenty men than one horse.

Many of the Indians are of the Mohammedan faith or the idolatrous, but there is also a section of them who are Christians. A very considerable number deify the sun, moon, stars, cows, idols and other beings and make offerings to them three times a month. Sun worshippers wade into the river up to their knees when the sun rises

and recite a prayer gazing at it and splashing water towards it ; sometimes they look at it, pray and throw up some earth three times. The cow worshippers do not kill that animal nor eat beef at all, but keep cattle only for the sake of milk and butter ; when a cow dies they remove the skin and make shoes of it. If a person of some other creed intends to kill one they redeem it and if they have not the means to buy it, they weep. The worshippers of idols or demons place them for the most part at cross-roads. They mark out a circle beside the river for the family, plaster it with cow dung thinned with water and put a cauldron in the centre ; as soon as this place dries they all sit round on the line and cook their food, using the same dung instead of wood fuel, and when the food is cooked they eat it and then they go to the idols and pour butter or colour dissolved in water or sometimes only water over their heads. Here we may remark that food is cooked in the same way in the home. If anybody comes in to ask something while food is being cooked he renders their food unclean ; they give it away to the stranger demanding what it has cost the householder in money. In case of non-payment the court itself will order that person to pay if the stranger knows these customs. They burn the bodies of the dead beside a river and then sweep the bones and ashes into the water. It sometimes happens that they may bring a sick man who is scarcely able to move or speak to the river and place him on the ground beside the water. An old man or it may be the wife, son or other relative takes hold of the sick man's head and repeatedly souses it until he gasps, after which they push him right into the water. When the water rises with the sea tide the bodies float on its surface and with the ebb they are carried by the current down to the sea.



Calcutta or Kalkata stands on the right side of the Ganges ; its site is flat, so are the surroundings. The streets here are straight and broad, the houses mostly built of stone and often very large. The city is half the size of Delhi in area. There is a Greek monastery in it, many English churches, some Mohammedan mosques and a large number of Indian temples. The inhabitants are English, Greeks and Indians of many different tribes. The city of Calcutta is the main centre for all the English possessions in India. There are, too, numerous gardens here, as in other Indian cities. Not far off is the sea. The river at Calcutta is very big, half a *verst* across and pretty deep, so that ships can freely come up to the town itself at all seasons ; the banks are not steep, but the left bank is much higher than the right. The distance from the town to the sea is about 30 *versts*, filled, so to say, with Indian habitations. At Calcutta there is a small fort surrounded by stone walls and battlements and enclosing buildings for troops and military stores. In the environs there are two very commodious stone caravansarais of the same type as in the rest of Asia.

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Hérewith we append a summary denoting the distances to Bukhara from Orenburg and Astrakhan and a collection of Bukharan words with their translation in Russian and Tatar<sup>1</sup>.

( 1 ) This vocabulary has been omitted in translation.

(1) DISTANCES FROM ORENBURG TO BUKHARA

		Number of stages
From Orenburg to the halt	Tusttyube	1
"	Tusttyube to Karabadaev	2
"	Karabadaev to Migraev	2
"	Migraev to Ema	3
"	Ema to the stream Irlagaev	2
"	here to Temir—Ashluigaev	2
"	Timir Ashluigaev to Yabuigaev	2

In these regions the Kirghiz-Kazakh Khan Nurali has his encampments.

		Number of stages
From Yabuigaev to the halt	Karakleyev	2
"	here to Duligdzhide	2
"	" " Kukudmago	2
"	" " Kilichkonrgay	2
"	" " Bilkoyurgay	2
"	" " Akchubaklag	2
"	Akchubaklag to the Suir-Darya	2

Near this river on the Orenburg side the Kirghiz-Kazakh Sultan Erali, brother of Khan Nurali, camps and along the other bank, i. e., on the Bukharan side, are the Karakalpak.<sup>1</sup>

		Number of stag
From the Suir Darya to the River Kuvan		2
"	the Kuvan River to Barluibash	3
"	Barluibash to the halt Irlarashuig	2
"	here to the halt Yus-Kurguk	1
"	here to the halt Bashmalak	3
"	here to Dbulduik	2
"	Dbulduik to the halt Karagash	2

1. This of course refers to the time when Mr. Yefremov was there (*Note in the 3rd (Russian) Edition.*)

RUSSIAN TRAVELLERS TO INDIA

From Karagash to Tuzrubash	2
” Tuzrubash to the small frontier town of Bukhara, Vardanza	2
” the town of Vardanza to the town of Vapkent	
” Vapkent to the town of Shagar-Bukhari about 25 <i>versts</i>	

Merchants cover about 2 stages a day with their loads, dining at one and passing the night at the next as is necessary to rest the camels. Hence they complete the journey from Orenburg up to the capital of Bukhara in about 25 days when they meet with no obstruction. Mr. Yefremov observes in this case that with horses it is possible to reach there in 15 days, because camels have to rest longer than horses. The distance from one halt to another being less than 25 *versts*, 2 stages are not much more than 40 *versts* : hence from Orenburg to Bukhara it will be about 1,700 *versts*.

(2) DISTANCES FROM BUKHARA TO ASTRAKHAN

	Number of stages
From Bukhara on this side of the Amu Darya	
to the halt Kulchuk	2
” Kulchuk to the well of Khalat	2
” here to the halt Uch-Ozhak	5
” here to Bazuirgan	3
” here to the town of Urganch	3

The road is sandy ; with pack camels they cover less than 40 *versts* in a day or 50 *versts* on horseback.

	Number of Stages-
From the town of Urganch to the village	
Ambar	1
" Ambar to the well of Chikat	2
" here to Kharzim	2
" Kharzim to the halt Din-Alan through mountains and sandy places	7

Camels ascend and descend the mountains with difficulty and very slowly ; with horses it should not be more than 3 stages to this place.

	Number of stages-
From Din-Alan to the halt Sematemur	5
" here to the halt Yalui-Kozhi	5
" here to the well of Babaki	5
" here to the halt Kulanak	6
" here to Mangishlak Point	4

The Kirghiz-Kaysaks [ Kazak ] camp in the neighbourhood of these four stages, and near Mangishlak Point itself there are Turkmenians.

From the above mentioned Point to Astrakhan the crossing over the Caspian Sea is usually made by ship and in good weather it takes a day and a night. From Bukhara to this Point the journey by camel if quick is done in about 25 days and with horses in about 18 days.

III

**RAFAIL DANIBEGOV**

A JOURNEY TO INDIA BY RAFAIL DANIBEGOV,

A GEORGIAN NOBLEMAN

*Translated from the Georgian*

[ *into Russian* ]

MOSCOW

1815

## A JOURNEY TO INDIA

On March 15th in the year 1795, I was despatched by King Irakli of Georgia<sup>1</sup> to India in the following circumstances. A certain wealthy Armenian who used to send presents every year to Irakli, lived at Madras. As a reward the King had granted him the large village of Lori and was sending the letters patent thereof through me. On reaching Madras, I did not find that Armenian gentleman alive ; he had died a year before my arrival. I delivered the above mentioned letters patent to his son who was then at Madras.

The first town that I saw on my way from Georgia after six days, was Akhaltsikhe. This town is under Turkish rule. Fatigue from travelling and curiosity to see the place made me stop there for a few days. During my stay I did not come across anything worthy of special note : the town is no great size ; it has no fine buildings at all ; the inhabitants are in a middling condition of life, their principal occupation being the sale of the fruit which is plentiful at this place.

Leaving Akhaltsikhe and continuing my way through the South-Eastern region of Turkey, after 20 days I came to Arzum<sup>2</sup>. The road from Akhaltsikhe to the latter town lies through very high rocky mountains and lofty hills,

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(1) Irakly II (1720-1798). In 1783 Irakly II concluded the treaty by which Eastern Georgia was placed under Russian protection. The incorporation of Georgia in the Russian Empire was completed by his successor George XII (in 1801) in order to escape the threat of Turkish domination. When Danibegov published his book in Russian translation he was actually a Russian subject.

(2) Erzerum.

the magnificent view of which arrests the traveller's gaze. I could not stop admiring the beauty and grandeur of Nature in this scene. The town of Arzum is quite well situated. It is larger than Akhaltsikhe in area. In the former place there are no dilapidated buildings at all, nor can there be because the inhabitants are very industrious and well-to-do ; moreover they vie with one another to build the best houses for which reason there are many and fine buildings in that town. The marble fountains, which are in every street and excellently made, add greatly to the beauty of the place. Yet with all its wealth this town is very poorly off for timber, so that the inhabitants are obliged to warm their houses with cattle dung for the great lack of wood. As regards all other requirements the people are pretty well supplied, if not always from their own produce at any rate from other towns nearby. Having broken my journey here for a short while I went on to Mush which is at a distance of twelve days from Arzum. Mush is a small town. Thirty *versts* from here is the tomb of John, the Baptist of our Lord ; in this tomb repose the holy relics of this great Forerunner of Jesus. Above the graveyard where the tomb stands a fine church has been raised in the name of the Forerunner, with a handsome belfry, which, both for their peculiarly beautiful architecture and because they stand on a hill present a fine sight<sup>1</sup>. From some places in this hill flow springs of healing water. The monks who perform the service at this church eat nothing but boiled rice.

Having bowed down before the grave of the Baptist of the Lord I went on, and after three days arrived at a

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(1) The Armenian monastery and church of Surb Karapet (St. John the Baptist).

town called Argana<sup>1</sup>. This town is famous for its copper ore which the Turks obtain here in large quantities. It stands on a high hill<sup>2</sup>. Moreover its climate is extremely invigorating and healthy. The inhabitants lack none of the necessities or amenities of life. From the above mentioned town I went to the town of Fala<sup>3</sup>. From Argana to Fala I travelled for nine days. This is not such a large town ; it stands on the banks of the Tigris in a broad valley. Probably we may assume that it now no longer exists, since not long ago there was an earthquake which destroyed it to its foundations.

Not finding anything of interest here after a few days I came to Mertin<sup>4</sup>. My journey to Mertin took seven days. This town is on a hill, the summit of which the people reckon to be 2 *versts* high. Mertin is very poorly off in the matter of water for there is no good water at all and strangers coming there even have to bring it from other places because the local water can injure their health. The inhabitants of Mertin are all poor. Owing to the high situation there is no fruit nor any other necessary vegetation.

Not thinking it necessary to stay here any length of time, I departed for Tikrachakert, an ancient and beautiful city now called Tyarbekir<sup>5</sup>. It is on the banks of the Tigris. In former times there was a strong stone wall with high battlements all round the town of which only ruins are now visible. This town is famous for its size and the beautiful scenery around it. There are a great

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( 1 ) Arghana Ma'adin famous from ancient times for its copper mines.

( 2 ) The 'Ali Dagh.

( 3 ) Palu ?

( 4 ) Mardin.

( 5 ) Diyarbekir, now usually Diabekr in English usage.



many fruit trees here and the inhabitants therefore carry on a very profitable trade in fruit. The climate of this place is very favourable to fertility and therefore the labour of the husbandman is always rewarded by an abundant harvest. It is a pity that in such a nice town the inhabitants should be so bad. They hate one another, let alone strangers. Feelings of affection and tenderness for their own kind are altogether foreign to their hearts. In this town the richest people are Jews of whom there are a great many.

Thence I journeyed to Ninivia<sup>1</sup> being fifteen days on the road to this city. This city is now called Mosul. It is very large and on account of the good buildings, of which there are a great number, it may be called a notable place. It lies on the bank of the river which in the language of this place is called Shat. On entering the town one cannot but be delighted with its gay appearance. Like Tikranakert it abounds in fruit but the inhabitants are not in the least similar, for the people of Ninivia are very aimiable and humane ; there are many rich men among them. The women of the place could be called beauties. All the people there speak Arabic, so that the Christians too who live there perform the divine liturgy in that language.

After staying for some time in the aforesaid town, I set out for Babylon. This city is now called Baghdad<sup>2</sup>. It is pretty large and beautiful, surrounded by a strong, excellently constructed wall. It has very many inhabitants, and many of them are very rich ; they carry on trade with Europeans and other nations. Judging from their be-

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( 1 ) Nineveh. Mosul is opposite the ancient site of Nineveh.

( 2 ) See the footnote on page 40.

haviour it must be admitted that they appear to be proud and much concerned with themselves, otherwise they are hospitable and agreeable. This city is situated on both sides of the river Shaṭ, one side being called "The Great" and the other "The Less". Across the river from one part of the town to the other, there is a very strong bridge on boats bound together with very strong chains. The inhabitants call this bridge 'Chisir'. Besides the real Babylonians there are also large numbers of other nations living here, such as Indians, Persians, Turks, Armenians and Europeans. At this city there is a harbour belonging to the English. They have appointed one of themselves as an inspector over it called Balioz<sup>1</sup>, who in addition to this duty is charged with receiving letters coming here from other places and delivering them to whom it is required, as well as despatching letters from here to other places.

Leaving Babylon I continued my way in the direction of Baer<sup>2</sup>, and reached there in fifteen days. This town lies on the shore of the Persian Gulf. Wherever you look there are vineyards and orchards round about the town in all directions which produce a marvellous quantity of different fruit. The climate, on account of its extreme sultriness, is injurious to health, and similarly the water there is not good for anything. It is quite impossible to drink it, particularly for strangers coming here ; even the inhabitants of the place complain of it although one would think they must have become accustomed to it. Here, too, as in the last mentioned town, the chief officer is an Englishman. In order to get letters from England to this

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(1) Whether this is intended for the officer's title or his personal name is not clear.

(2) Basra.

town and to send them from here to England it is the custom to despatch a boat called a "packet" once a month from here to Bombay and back again. One can reach the sea by water from here in three days.

Thence I set out in a boat with one Arab for the coastal town of Muscat. This city is surrounded almost on all sides by very high mountains, the summits of which are completely barren and therefore it might well be called the city of famine. In fact unless Bagra<sup>1</sup> and Boshenko<sup>2</sup> supplied them with essential provisions the Arabs living here would be in a wretched condition from the point of view of the necessities of life. The governor of this city is called the Imam by the local inhabitants. He always goes naked only tying a small cloth in front of himself to conceal his body. When he shows himself to his subjects they prostrate themselves before him and with indescribable reverence kiss his hand. Strangers witnessing this scene are also obliged to pay him similar respect and this they do, but each according to his own fashion. The heat of the sun here is extraordinarily great and therefore the climate of this town is not so healthy. In spite of all the deficiencies in the necessities of life the greater part of the inhabitants are rich. All of them without exception worship fire.<sup>3</sup>

Departing by sea from Muscat, I arrived at the city of Bombay in twenty-two days. On account of its position it may be called a famous English port. They go from here by ship to China, Persia and India. Bombay is the more famous because the best English vessels are constructed here. The harbour of this town was built by the

(1) Basra.

(2) Bushahr (Bushire).

(3) This sentence was probably transposed from the next paragraph due to careless editing.

Portuguese on the model of European harbours. It came into the possession of the English by the division which took place between them and the Portuguese. From the point of view of plants and fruit this town is very badly off but its deficiencies are supplied by the abundance of Pankala<sup>1</sup>, so that the inhabitants of the aforementioned town trading with residents of the latter, bring nothing in greater quantity to Bombay than fruit and other natural produce. This town is particularly famous for its merchants who are extraordinarily rich. In general all the local inhabitants are fire worshippers and call themselves Kaber [Gaber] or Fars<sup>2</sup>.

From Bombay I sailed in an English ship to the town of Colombo, situated on the island of Ceylon, where I arrived after eighteen days. Colombo was formerly under the Dutch, but now the English own it. Various rare trees grow in the neighbourhood in great quantity, for instance sandal, clove, cardamom, cinnamon, etc. From here, journeying on towards the East, I came to the town of Manar situated on the shores of Ocean. There is a place near this town where once in three years they procure large quantities of pearls. The climate of this town is very hot and therefore the colour of the inhabitants is very black indeed. Instead of the all-wise creator of all creatures they worship cows and water ; they go without shoes or slippers, counting it in their ignorance an unforgiveable sin to wear the hide of beasts on their feet. Thanks to their strong constitution very many of them live to a great age. They kill no animals at all for food, regarding them as similar to themselves, and therefore to use them for food would, according to their ideas, be the same as

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(1) Bengal.

(2) Parsi.

eating human flesh. Hence fruit and vegetables constitute their sole diet.

From the above mentioned place I went by sea to the town of Bondocheri or Kost-Malvar.<sup>1</sup> This town was formerly in the possession of the French, but is now held by the English. It is built on the plan of European towns. A fair part of the residents are French, who may be called the permanent and old population of the place. The natural inhabitants of the place, as of the neighbouring towns, are fire-worshippers<sup>2</sup> and black in colour.

Thence I travelled overland to the town of Trakber<sup>3</sup> where I stayed for three days. The English took possession of this town not long ago. It is divided into two parts—in the part lying along the sea beach there live Europeans whose complexion is as fair as ours, and in the other part, lying in the centre of the town, live the real natives of the place who in general are black in colour and idol worshippers. They speak the same language here as the people of Colombo.

Having spent a little time at Trakber I set out for the famous city of Madras, called Tinabatyan<sup>4</sup> by the local inhabitants. This, like the above-mentioned town, is divided into two parts. In the part nearest to the sea-shore live European Christians, while in the town itself, i. e. in the centre of it, are the real natives who in general are black-skinned and idol worshippers. On the side towards the sea this town has a very fine fortress which the

(1) i. e., 'Pondicherry or the Malabar Coast' ; evidently a mistake for 'Coromandal Coast'.

(2) i. e., 'heathen', neither Muslim nor Christian but not necessarily 'fire-worshippers' in the literal sense.

(3) Tranquebar, i. e., Trinkobar.

(4) Channapathanam—the old name for Madras.

inhabitants call Fanet G<sup>o</sup>rgi<sup>1</sup>. Here it is very common to chew a leaf called *phan* in their language, to which the people here have become so addicted that the whole day long it is never out of their mouths. This leaf when it is chewed up turns to a deep crimson dye, so that those who use it have their lips and the whole mouth stained crimson as though with blood. It grows in great quantity at Madras and is reckoned among the most ordinary plants; it has rather a pleasant smell. Notwithstanding how common this herb is, the English collect a duty on it from the inhabitants amounting to nearly half a million. They entertain foreign visitors with nothing so much as this leaf. The climate is so hot there that the whole year round the inhabitants wear no clothes except of the thinnest cloth and that only in times of bad weather. This town is rich in numerous and rare kinds of fruit, including pine-apples which also grow here. The water is good and the soil fertile. Three *versts* from this town is the tomb of the holy apostle Thomas and six *versts* away there is the hermitage of this apostle, where now, too, a monastery has been built with a very fine church.

From the town of Madras, after my short stay there, wishing to be acquainted with other places, I set out by sea for the town of Beku or Rankhur<sup>2</sup>. But scarcely had we put out to sea, that awful element, than suddenly a fierce storm arose and the sea became terribly wild and our vessel, carried headlong through it at a great pace, began to threaten us with inevitable disaster. This obliged us to cast anchor at the town of Mushli Bandar<sup>3</sup> without reaching Beku, where on landing I and my companions

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- (1) Fort St. George.
  - (2) Pegu or Rangoon.
  - (3) Machli Bandar.

were obliged to remain for several days, that is until the rudder of our vessel which had been badly damaged in the storm, had been repaired. At last, leaving this place we reached the town of Beku in fifteen days. This town is divided into two parts by the river that flows through the centre of it, one being called "The New" and the other "The Old". The complexion of the inhabitants is fair and in the cast of their features they resemble the Chinese. All of them live on rice and fish ; they have no corn at all. An ancient lineage of the place, called the *Khava Barmai* rules this town. A *verst* from this town are the dwellings of their priests called Lama or Brama<sup>1</sup>. Here there are many rich merchants. Beku supplies the English with timber suitable for shipbuilding because of the many forests that surround it. The English build ships at this town. And although Bombay is very famous for shipbuilding nevertheless better timber is obtained from this place. This town is ruled by the Governor, Khovarbai, who collects twelve rupees per head from all foreigners who come here on any business<sup>2</sup>. The governor here as at other neighbouring towns, is obliged to present himself every year before his Sovereign, who lives in the town called Khava<sup>3</sup> after its ruler. The town of Beku is at a distance of three months journey from Khava ; and to reach that city several rivers have to be crossed. There can be nothing funnier than the sight of the position of the above mentioned governors in the presence of their sovereign. Apart from the fact that in speaking to him they may not

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(1) His order is so greatly revered that a criminal sentenced to death by the king, saves himself by entering the house of a Lama. (Note in the original text).

(2) The local currency. Two rupees make one silver rouble (Footnote in the original text).

(3) Ava ?

address him otherwise than as a god, they not only cannot sit in his presence but may not even stand and therefore they are obliged to lie down on the ground on their bellies, and if he asks them a question they have to answer it without getting up. One day it struck me to go and see the place where ships are built. I imagined that in view of the great number of ships built there it would be very extensive but I was surprised to find that it was not very large. It was surrounded by a fence and it was very dirty round about. My visit there was very lucky in one respect, but in another very unlucky. It was lucky because at that very time they had begun to build a ship for the king ; this was interesting to see. They had covered the outside of the ship with pure gold and the inside of it was to be made of costly woods. It was unlucky because while I was still admiring what was for me such an unusual sight, a crowd of people suddenly surrounded me, seized me and dragged me off to prison and threatened to cut off my head. And all for what ? Because when I wanted to go nearer to the ship they were building and could not do so for the mud, I had unwittingly trodden on a plank intended for the ship ; and perhaps I might have lost my life had not some of the Armenians, who are very well known there on account of their wealth, taken my part and assured the governor that I had done it out of ignorance. This city is famous for the quantities of rubies obtained here. However, the merchants who have the right to buy them are so restricted that if a stone is found in the possession of their company larger than a pea or of better water, they are obliged to surrender it to the governor and he delivers it to the king's treasury ; they can avail themselves of those that are less than a stated size and sell them. This condition is so strict that whoever fails to observe it must



forfeit his life. Here also silver ore and lead are obtained. Here there are many elephants, and the inhabitants do a considerable trade in ivory. The English have often tried to take possession of this town but without success. The harbour of this town is so strong and inaccessible to enemies that it is not possible to come close in from any direction. There are many crocodiles in the river running through the middle of the town.

From Beku I set sail on the ocean for the town of Kolkad (Calcutta) with some travellers. The sea voyage was very pleasant in the beginning as we sailed very smoothly ; at the end of eighteen days on our journey a fierce storm arose which raised the waves of Ocean and threatened us with death at any moment. Our ship struggled against the foaming waves for a long time but at length she had to give way to their force and was completely wrecked. Many lost their lives when she went to pieces ; thanks be to Providence, I and my three companions saved our lives by jumping into a boat which had been attached to the ship. In this boat we were carried by the waves of Ocean for nineteen days ; many times we tried to reach land but fearing the crocodiles, of which there were a great many there, and hearing the terrifying roar of lions in the forests along the shores of Ocean, we dared not put in to the coast. All this time our only food consisted of herbs and bamboo (?) roots. Nature in all her beauty was dead for us, no magnificent scenery or delightful choir of birds echoing along the shores of Ocean could drive from our hearts the horrors through which we had passed. Fear and terror pursued us everywhere and to our great misfortune no trace of any human being was to be seen. Presently, in the peace of nature now restored we also grew calm, and thus pressing forward little by

little with a favourable wind we at length sailed out of Ocean into a river called Kika<sup>1</sup>. Here bringing in our boat to the shore we arrived just before midnight without seeing anybody. But suddenly a light appeared in the distance ; we immediately hastened in the direction from which it shone and on coming closer to that place we observed that it issued from a boat beside which stood a fisherman who had evidently been making preparations to go fishing. As soon as he noticed us approaching him he suddenly leapt into his boat and hastily made off out of our sight. Once more we were in an unknown place, abandoned and with heavy hearts. But when a little time had passed, again a fire shone out not far off and revived us once more ; we rejoiced. It was another fisherman who had lit a fire in his boat. We approached him stealthily but at the first word we spoke to him he was terrified and dashed away from us and into the water. We shouted after him in chorus that we were mortal men like himself. He then plucked up courage and returned. We told him all that had befallen us. He took us with him and brought us to his village where we stayed eight days, after which we set out with this fisherman and in two days time arrived at the town of Bakhar-Kann<sup>2</sup>, where the governor was an Englishman. We went to see him. He received us very cordially, gave us new clothes, kept us with him for a few days and having furnished us with everything necessary for the voyage, sent us on an English vessel to the town of Calcutta, where, thanks to Providence, we arrived safely in fifteen days.

The city of Calcutta is very beautiful and imposing enough. It has many wealthy residents. It lies on the

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(1) Unidentified.

(2) Bakarganj.

banks of the bay of the river Ganges. There are very many Armenians there who live in a very rich and luxurious style and do a considerable trade with the foreigners. Besides the Indians, the original inhabitants, who are all idolators and Mohammedans, there are English, French and above all Portuguese here. They trade among themselves, paying no duties to anybody. In this city the governor is an Englishman whom the local people call "Lart" ; he also governs the whole of India. The English Company here under his governorship receives a yearly income of up to 500 million rupees ; however, little remains to them of this sum because their expenditure is also very great ; out of this money they have to pay wages to the very large army which is maintained here. The climate of this town is excessively hot and the water here is very bad. For that reason during the rains which occur here the people set out large tubs to collect the rain water and use it for drinking. Perhaps the water here would be suitable for use too, but in as much as it is the Indians' custom to throw dead bodies into the water after burning them a little in the fire, the water has an unpleasant stench from the bodies rotting in it and therefore it is not used for any purpose at all. The Indians and Mohammedans, the real inhabitants of this place, live only on rice and fish, bread is not eaten at all. Here they speak the same language as in the state of Pankal [ Bengal ]. In the whole of India the English armies number up to 150,000 men ; the local troops are called "blacks". Moreover the Indian army knows its drill so well that they are not in any way inferior to the English army. Every soldier from among the whites gets 7 rupees a month pay, besides beef and wine. The "blacks" also get the same amount of money. Captains get 250 rupees ; a Colonel 1,500 ; the Secretary 2,000 ;

the Governor 10,000 ; the Surgeon 2,000. Cavalry troops get 30 rupees a month, in addition to money issued for their horses. Every Calcutta rupee contains 2 rubles of our currency. This town has an old fort on the sea coast, in the neighbourhood of which the Europeans live while the natives live on the south side. The aforesaid river Ganges or Ganga surrounds the town on three sides. This river is full of crocodiles and turtles. Because there are so many good buildings and rich merchants in this city, the English call it the second London.

Having spent a long enough time at the above mentioned city I went on and in one day arrived at the town of Serampur [Serampore]. This town is 20 *versts* from Calcutta. It can be said to be a great place for trade. Formerly it belonged to Denmark, but now it is in the possession of the British. The people here construct their houses in the European style.

Leaving Serampur I went to the town of Chichra<sup>1</sup>. This town is 40 *versts* distant from Calcutta. Formerly it was under the Dutch but now it belongs to the English.

From the town of Chichra I went to Marshitabat or Maksutabat<sup>2</sup> and spent four days there. This town is 150 *versts* from Calcutta. An Indian Nawab has his residence here. From here they begin to speak the real Indian language. Although the English own this town, the Nawab nevertheless also receives a fair revenue. The Nawab can be regarded as the old ruler of the town.

Leaving the above mentioned town I took the road to Munkir<sup>3</sup> and stayed there for six days. This town is on the banks of the River Ganges at the foot of a mountain.

(1) Chinsura.

(2) Murshidabad ; the old name was as given in the text.

(3) Monghyr.

Its inhabitants are mainly craftsmen. Here very many red and black trees grow. From there I travelled to the town of Azimabad or Patna<sup>1</sup>, situated on the banks of the river Ganges. The climate here is very good. The inhabitants lack none of the provisions necessary for life. Well water is used here, but the river water is not good for anything because the dead bodies thrown into it make it stinking and noxious. The foundation of this city, they say, was laid by some Indian Prince called Azimuchan,<sup>2</sup> which is why the town is known as Azimabad. Here there is a custom—we must say, one of the most cruel customs—with regard to the sick and infirm of both sexes and all ages, that if the priests say from their observations of them that such people are near death, they place them in a coffin and carry them to the Ganges, where having carried them up to their knees into the water they repeatedly pour water into their mouths and force them to pronounce the words “*Kina-Narain*”<sup>3</sup> i. e. “Lord God”. One cannot witness this scene without shuddering. When one of these wretched people dies, then after placing his body for a short time on a small fire they throw it into the river. Should it happen that he regains his health and strength, the priests declare him to be a wicked man displeasing to God ; and therefore he is deprived even of the right to live in the town and is compelled to move to a village specially made for such wretches on the other side of the Ganges. This village is called *Murdun Ki Kram*<sup>4</sup> i. e. the Village of the Dead. The English collect no taxes from the inhabitants of this village, for in accordance with the custom of the Indians, they reckon them among the dead.

(1) “Azimabat or Fatona” in the text.

(2) Azimkhan.

(3) *Krishna—Narain*.

(4) *Mardon Ki Gram*.

Leaving Azimabad I crossed the above mentioned river to the city of Banares and stayed there for seventeen days. The climate of this city is better and healthier than that of the previously mentioned city, and therefore there are a great many very old people here. This is a very fine city ; there are many magnificent and remarkable stone buildings. This city is regarded by the Indians as a sacred place ; for that reason rich men among the Indians who live into old age, leaving their families and all their possessions except a sum of money sufficient for the remainder of their lives, which they take with them, bid farewell for ever to their wives and children and all their relations and retire to this city with the intention of dying there. This superstition has reached such a pitch among them that according to their belief if anyone dies in this city he will even be freed from all the torments in the next world which he might otherwise have been obliged to endure. All the inhabitants here are idol worshippers. They hold the cow in great honour ; they even rub their faces with her urine and cleanse defiled vessels with it. At a distance of 120 *versts* from here lies the town of Lucknow<sup>1</sup> where an Indian Nawab lives. There are very many people called 'Kurd' here. The annual income of the above mentioned Nawab, it may be reckoned, amounts to 20 million, but as he is under the English power he pays them a fixed amount of money. Two *versts* from this town there are 2,000 English troops with a commander. There is a mutual agreement and friendship between the Nawab and the general of the aforesaid army.

From the above mentioned city after a three days'

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(1) Spelt in the original "Laknakhor".

journey overland I arrived at the city of Kanpur<sup>2</sup> where there are very many English troops. This city may be described as a fine and well fortified port to which many ships put in. It is famous for all provisions necessary for life.

Thence I travelled to the town of Farukhabad<sup>1</sup> where I arrived after a journey of four days. The climate of this town is good. Here there is an Indian Nawab and many Mohammedans and idol worshippers. The English conquered this town without any fighting at all. It surrendered itself to their authority voluntarily, and the English therefore pay the Nawab a stipend of 1,600 rupees a month.

After six days on my road from that city I arrived in Meerut<sup>2</sup>, a town now held by the English, where they maintain a fair-sized army. From this town I set out for Delhi, as the capital of the country is called. This city is also called Shahjahanabad<sup>3</sup>, for it was founded by Shah Jahan<sup>3</sup>, King of India. Delhi is famous for its magnificent mosques and fine houses of which there are very many. The palace of their former king is completely covered with gold<sup>4</sup>. In this city there is a temple called Chuma-Mechet<sup>5</sup> which is completely covered with pure gold and so lofty that it can be seen from a distance of 10 *versets* before reaching the city. There is also a small fort there made of polished stone on the banks of the river

(1) In the original "*Kamber*".

(2) In the original "*Farakhapat*".

(3) '*Meret*' in the text.

(4) *Shanchinabat* and *Shakhchin* in the text.

(5) The Diwan-i-Am and Diwan-i-Khas were gilt on the outside, the silver ceilings inside had of course gone by this time.

(6) Jama Masjid.

called the Jumna<sup>1</sup> and constructed with such marvelous skill that throughout its entire circumference there is not even the slightest crack in it. In the middle of the fort is the King's palace built of pure marble and also with amazing art. In front of this palace there is a beautiful little garden, full of sweet scented trees such as cloves, pomegranates and so on, in which once a year everybody is allowed to walk. In the middle of the garden there is a beautiful fountain paved with marble 5 ells deep and 14 wide, and circular, in which their king always used to bathe. During my stay here I was appointed by the Governor of the Red Fort<sup>2</sup> to the duty of collecting the taxes levied on the people. For this the King assigned me a monthly salary of 200 rupees. When they conquered this city the English took away the King's beautiful palace from him and as compensation for this loss they allowed him 100,000 rupees monthly.

Three hundred *versts* from Meerut is the mountain of Sirinagor<sup>3</sup>, on which is the source of the river Ganges. Here there is a great fair every year. Indians living even five thousand *versts* away come to it to worship the waters of the Ganges. At this time the Mohammedans also come there with various goods for trade. There may be as many as 500,000 people gathered there. The Indians who come to worship have to pay customs dues to the English of one rupee a head ; in return for which the English give

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(1) *Chmana* in the text.

(2) "*Vladelets Gal'sky*", i. e., "The ruler or governor of Gal." The best explanation is that "Gal" stands for "qila", the Red Fort. The Russian text does not distinguish between "k" and "g" and there is no letter corresponding to "q". But as "*Qila*" also meant "the government" it is not clear whether Danibegov means the King of Delhi or the chief minister or some official whose title could be rendered "the commander" or "Governor" of the Fort.

(3) This is not Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, but Srinagar in Garhwal near Nanda Devi.



them a permit or ticket for worshipping the waters of the Ganges. A magnificent ceremony takes place and afterwards trade is also carried on. This continues for a whole month.

Having stayed a good while in this said city<sup>1</sup>, I went to Fathehpur<sup>2</sup>. This town is rich ; it is famous for its beautiful buildings and its merchants, who are very rich. All its inhabitants are idol worshippers. The town is surrounded by seven earthworks and beyond them against the city itself there is a moat which is filled with water. Its width is up to 6 ells. In former times this city was the capital of a Moghul Emperor, where to this day his palace stands ; but it has almost completely fallen in ruins. The common people here, not wishing to be subject to the English, elected their own ruler from among themselves who rules over them without taking their liberty away from them. The inhabitants of that place told me that when the English took that fort, having filled in the above mentioned dyke with earth they placed various machines against the walls of the city and as soon as they stepped on them they sank into the loose soil and thus they proved unsuccessful. The common people took advantage of this chance ; climbing onto the fortress, each with whatever weapons he could went into action against the English and killed a large number of them. Even the women, inspired by such courage on the part of their husbands, as they were not able to fight with military weapons, poured boiling oil on their enemies. In this battle 40 of the most important officers of the English perished and 20,000 ordinary soldiers ; and after many attempts, to their great shame, they had to abandon their undertaking. The

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(1) i. e. Delhi.

(2) Spelt "*Fadifur*" in the original text ; i. e. Fatehpur Sikri.

chief commander in this operation by the English army was Lik<sup>1</sup>.

From Fathehpur I went to the city of Lahore. It is fairly big and rich and stands on the bank of the River Ravi. Its climate is good and healthy, the soil rich and fertile. Here they produce various kinds of silk and woolen textiles. Its inhabitants in general are idol worshippers. There are very many foreigners. This city is very beautifully constructed. The magnificent palace of the Moghul Emperor in which their former sovereigns used to live, lends a grand and peculiar beauty to the city.

Setting out from here, in forty days I arrived at the town of Norpor or Far<sup>2</sup> standing on a hill. The first sight that met my eyes on entering the town was a most melancholy and affecting one. An idol worshipper had died—it was necessary to burn him. This is what happens at this ceremony. Having placed the dead body on a richly decorated bier, they carried it to the place assigned for burning according to their custom. The deceased had two wives, who, dressed in magnificent and costly clothes, followed their husband's bier. As soon as they came to the appointed place the people made a huge pyre of wood over which they laid some planks and placed the body of the dead man on top. As according to the cruel custom the wives out of love for their husband have to sacrifice themselves voluntarily to the fire together with him, these two richly dressed women seated themselves on the pyre on either side of their husband. The priests having poured plenty of oil and other combustible materials over all three, suddenly set light to the pile from all sides and these two innocent victims together with their hus-

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(1) Lord Lake ?  
 (2) Narpur.

band's corps were devoured by the flames. The people standing around the burning pyre began to play various instruments, and they continued to play until all had turned to ashes, including these unfortunate women. Nevertheless women may chose not to perform this inhuman rite ; their relatives and friends even try to persuade them to remain alive, either for the sake of their children or the inheritance left by the husbands. But if they once decide, if they once approach the flames with the intention of throwing themselves into them, and then suddenly feeling fear want to turn back, the watchers around the pyre threaten them with a different death—by the sword, in which case the wretched women would not escape, being regarded as unworthy to live.

Not far from Norpor there is a small fire-breathing flint hill from which a flame issues all the time. On this hill there is also a spring. It occurred to Akbarshe [ Akbar Shah ], the Indian Moghul, to quench the fire and so he ordered them to flood the fire with water from the spring by means of a channel ; however, it was all in vain and he completely failed in his design. Indians from all countries gather at this place to worship, so that they sometimes number as many as from two to three hundred thousand. This takes place every year. This fire is called *Dzhualamuki*<sup>1</sup>, which in Russian signifies "Holy Mistress, have mercy".<sup>2</sup>

I wished also to see that famous city of Kashmir, well known to all Europeans ; and in order to satisfy my curiosity, I went there from Norpor, and after quite a long journey I arrived at that city, situated on the river Radav.<sup>3</sup>

(1) Jawalamukhi.

(2) Some words have been omitted here perhaps.

(3) Perhaps a corruption of the Kashmiri name Vehl (the Jhelum) plus "ab" (a river).

There is never any snow anywhere in the whole of India except in this country, and the snow that falls here causes no harm. In this city there are many small rivers, on which people sail in boats. From here they export the shawls famous among all nations. In the suburbs of the city and in the city itself they reckon there are up to 24,000 looms on which they weave shawls. The Governor of that city collects 3000 rupees daily from the manufacturers; and without his seal they are not allowed to sell so much as a kerchief. All the revenues received by the said Governor amount to a million a year. The inhabitants of this city are for the most part of the Mohammedan faith and idol worshippers; in general they are poor, ill-conditioned and disorderly. The governor of this state is the subject of the King of Kabul. They say that the length of the country comes to 100 and the width to 40 *verst*s. Generally speaking houses in Kashmir are not particularly fine. The inhabitants mostly eat boiled millet, oil and greens. Well-to-do people drink tea with milk and butter. The climate of this city is good and healthy as is also the water. The city is surrounded by very high mountains, on which nothing grows at all. The English are exceedingly desirous of occupying this city, but up to the present their wish has not been realized. The number of the boats above mentioned comes to twenty thousand.

One of the laws of the Kashmirians is the following :-  
 When a thief is caught for the first time they cut off his right hand; if he is taken a second time they slash his belly, put him on a camel and exhibit him to all the people in the bazar; when he dies they hang him in ropes on the bridge. The surroundings of Kashmir are beautiful to see. The city is surrounded by mountains, covered in

summer time with bright green. In the city itself there are many canals, and in the middle there is a lake having a circumference of 19 *versts*. Near this is a mountain on which there is built a stone fort. The water in it [ i. e., the lake ] is very clear. It is quite deep. Every Friday people sail on it in boats for their amusement. The inhabitants of Kashmir are poor but cheerful. The rich bury their gold and silver in the earth and keep it a secret which they do not reveal even to their friends and which, after the death of the person who has buried it, remains unknown. When the house happens to be rebuilt they find the gold and silver in a copper saucepan. If the Khan is a good man he gives the ground together with the gold and silver to the owner ; if he is bad, he takes it all into his own treasury. The people of Kashmir wear a dress similar to our cassock<sup>1</sup> and it is common both to men and women.

The road from Kashmir to Semipolatsk fortress, in all 3,000 *versts*, is very flat. From the Irtuish the Kirghiz steppe stretching for 2,000 *versts*, is also quite flat. The route lying through the Kalmuik country for 500 *versts* is very mountainous. From the Chinese frontier to Turfan there is level ground stretching for 20 *versts*. From Turfan to Vaksa there are 1,000 *versts* of flat country. From Vaksa to Yarkand—1,000 *versts* of flat country. From Yarkand to Kokiari, the Chinese frontier, there is level ground for 100 *versts*. From Kokiari to Tibet for 2,000 *versts* there are rocky, bare, wild mountains. The road runs through a gully between two mountains. A small river flows through it here. This country is uninhabited and caravans take all their provisions with them from Tibet to Kashmir, where rocky mountains stretch for 200 *versts*. From the Kashmir frontier there is level ground for 20

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(1) *Stikhar*.

*versts* right up to the city of Kashmir itself.

Leaving Kashmir I set out for the city of Tibet<sup>1</sup>, and reached it in twenty days. It lies on hills ; around it rise rocky mountains on which nothing grows except a little oats. The inhabitants there on account of their poverty grind these oats, steep the flour in milk, put in some cow's butter and boil it, and this mess constitutes their only food. There is a most evil custom here and one quite contrary to common sense ; if there are three or four brothers in a house they have one woman as their wife. The child born from them takes the name of the eldest brother, and in this way only regards one of them as his father. There is much tea here. Wool for shawls is imported from the city of Las [Lhasa]. All soft goods brought here are carried on sheep which they load with the quantity of things that they are able to carry ; but from here to Kashmir they despatch goods on horses. The duty on the goods which the government in Kashmir receives amounts yearly to 100,000 rupees. The governor of this town is called *Kalon*<sup>2</sup> and is subject to the governor of Kashmir. From here to Kashmir they reckon up to 200 *versts*. The road is very stoney and travellers therefore complain of it. The deficiencies of this city are made up by additions from the city of Kashmir.

In Tibet much Russian gold silk goods can be sold, which the people called *Chaba*<sup>3</sup> readily buy. They import from Lhasa much goat wool to Tibet, and from here it goes to Kashmir. The road from Lhasa to Tibet takes three months.

In India because of the hot climate there are very many insects of all kinds. Snakes are found in nearly

(1) Leh.

(2) The *Kahlon* or chief minister.

(3) *Champa*, *Khampa*.

every house there ; and when a householder sees a snake in his house and wants to get rid of it for safety, particularly of the children, he calls in a man who knows how to catch them—and of such people there are plenty there—for which he pays him a small sum of money. He begins to play a flute in a peculiar manner and mutters certain words to himself. The snake which is in that house crawls up to him. On his arm the man wears an iron ring ; he takes the snake and turns it until it is exhausted ; then he puts it in a basket, carries it into the forest and sets it free.

On leaving Tibet, after forty days journey I arrived at the town of Yarkand. This journey was very tedious for me ; for the barrenness of the road I travelled, the huge precipices and lofty mountains among which there are some icy ones, engendered in my spirit an unbearable sense of melancholy ; this feeling became all the stronger because all these places were uninhabited. And thus my only wish was to pass them as quickly as possible. At last the town of Yarkand came in sight. The thick woods surrounding it present a very pleasing and comforting sight to the traveller.

I stayed in this town for some time. I learnt from the inhabitants of that place that fifty years ago it was under the Tatars, the descendants of Chingiz-Khan, and although up till this day its inhabitants are of the Mohammedan persuasion, it nevertheless belongs to the Chinese. There are here more than two thousand Chinese troops with their commanders, who are here called *Amban*, and about three thousand Chinese who engage in trade. The climate of this town is good but the water is bad ; there are no fine buildings at all ; the inhabitants are in a middl-

ing condition. Although, speaking of other times of year, I have called the climate here good, nevertheless in autumn I never saw anything worse. Here nearly the whole autumn the sky is covered with clouds. Here incredible dust, brought from one knows not whence, falls from above like rain and makes the whole of that season very tedious. It very often happens that from the great dampness in the air certain reddish insects which are called *Korbit*<sup>1</sup> by the inhabitants of that place, make their appearance here. If those insects sting anybody it is rare that he does not lose his life. When instead of rain the above mentioned dust falls, the inhabitants know that the next year will be fruitful ; but if ordinary rain falls, it means that the following year will be extraordinarily unfruitful ; and for that case appropriate prayers are said. The aforesaid dust falls so thickly from above that even the rays of the sun cannot penetrate its density—and this lasts sometimes from seven to eight days. This dust is so fine that it can get in through the smallest crack. The *Anban* or Chinese governor, not understanding the language of the inhabitants of the place, has one of the Mohammedans as his interpreter who is called in the local language *Bek* and receives a substantial salary for this. This *Bek* in addition to these duties has the right to decide cases of the inhabitants of this town and on this business for a certain time he is obliged to attend at the place of justice of that governor ; in his presence he can neither stand on his feet nor sit down but has to kneel and inform him of the matters which lie with him, and having received his permission he must send them to his sovereign for endorsement. Besides the above mentioned town the Chinese also hold the following towns :

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(1) i. e. scorpion.



Khudan, Gashgir, Aksu, Duroban and Iloa<sup>1</sup>. In each of them there is a governor from the Chinese whose duties are the same as those of the governor of Yarkand. In the town of Il or Kuldja there are a great many Chinese ; there are reckoned to be over ten thousand of them there. The Chinese living in that town are excessively lazy ; they spend their time only in smoking tobacco ; notwithstanding which they are haughty. It is absolutely impossible for the inhabitants to leave this town without a passport for there are very many inspectors ; this is one of the methods which the Chinese employ to tame their independence.

Leaving the town of Yarkand I set out in the direction of Aksu and arrived in thirteen days. Aksu is small but has many fine buildings. It lies in a hollow and is divided into two parts ; in one live the Chinese and in the other the Mohammedans ; and they carry on a lively trade with one another. Its climate is healthy and its abundance moderate.

Leaving the town of Aksu in three days I came to the town of Turfan. It is small and ugly, and as its inhabitants are very poor there is nothing there worthy of note either. Twenty *verst*s from here is the frontier which separates these territories from the lands of the Kirghiz.

I left Turfan and after three months I arrived at Semipalat (Semipalatinsk). The road was very pleasant for me because the whole way I saw many different peoples, such as : Kalmuiks, Kirghiz, Kazakhs, peoples who all generally trek in the plains and live in tents and do not engage in any cultivation of the soil at all but feed on cow's and mare's milk from which they make a great deal of cheese. Their main wealth consists in cattle. Cattle breeding is their sole occupation. Money is not

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(1) Khotan, Kashgar, Aksu, Turfan, Yuldiz (Khuldja).

used among them for trade, but instead its place is taken by the barter of goods. Permanent dwellings are completely unknown here; wherever they find good pasture there they stop with all their cattle. They therefore change their dwelling place very frequently. It is very dangerous for travellers to meet with them, because they rob them. The town of Semipalat lies on the banks of the river Irtysh, which separates Russian territory proper from the lands belonging to these wild peoples.

From Semipalat there is flat Kirghiz country for 2,000 *versts* as far as Kokhan. In Kokhan there is a Tatar Khan who has an army of 50,000.

From Kokhan there is flat land for 1,500 *versts* up to Bukhara. The Shah of Bukhara keeps an army of 60,000 men.

From Bukhara to Kabul, the capital of the Agvan [Afghan] kingdom, it is 1,500 *versts*; the road is a little mountainous. The Agvan ruler keeps an army of more than 50,000.

From Kabul to Peshaur [Peshawar] it is 100 *versts*; the road goes through rocky mountains.

From Peshaur the road goes to Kashmir or to Lahore, the capital of the Indian state, 300 *versts*.

From Semipalat I travelled for seven days on post horses to Omsk Fortress, where I had the honour of meeting that respected personage General Glazenap. He is indeed worthy of great respect. He is very courteous to travellers. I had travelled through so many countries but nowhere had I seen any officer to equal him. So condescending and good is he to the people recommended to his protection,

so terrible to the wild peoples living nearby ; for at his very name every one trembles and therefore travellers undertake their journeys without the slightest fear.

Leaving Omsk Fort, after some time I reached Makaria [Novgorod] at the very time when countless multitudes of different nations, gathering from all quarters, were doing a great trade. I have never seen such a fair anywhere else. A feeling of joy and satisfaction filled the heart of everyone trading here, and the name of the humane and wise Alexander was heard on every side.

Finally, thanks to Providence, I had the privilege to see Moscow also. My heart already long since burning with the strong desire to behold this famous and ancient Capital of Russia, was finally satisfied, and this satisfaction was all the more delightful because I actually saw those magnificent buildings in reality, those colossal temples and towers, that multitude of citizens, that wealth of theirs, that reasonable, luxury and —what was dearer than all else—that cultivation of the mind, that gentleness and goodness of heart, that hospitality and courtesy, which up to that time I had known of only by report and that even in the remotest countries. My first wish on my arrival at Moscow was to see the palace of your Imperial Highness, built by your ancestors. By the intercession of my benefactors I completely satisfied my curiosity. In this way I was allowed inside the palace, where, seeing the great mass of precious stones, gold and silver, the richly ornamented thrones and crowns of your Imperial Highness's ancestors shining with rays like the sun, I imagined that all the treasures of Nature must be collected here and this fancy filled my heart with filial awe towards the monarchs of Russia—and in that awe I fall silent.

