



[Siah Posh Kafirs]

Author(s): G. W. Leitner

Source: *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 3 (1874), pp. 341-369

Published by: [Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2840908>

Accessed: 15/06/2014 16:34

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In the foregoing retrospect of the proceedings at Bradford, the several communications have been noticed precisely in the order in which they were taken at the meeting. It will be observed that in several cases papers of a like character were not grouped together. This arose not from any oversight, but from sheer inability on the part of the officers to classify the subjects. Although the rules of the Association now require that all papers be sent in before a certain date prior to the meeting, this rule was so far neglected that comparatively few of the papers were in the secretary's hands at the commencement of the meeting. To avoid the recurrence of this inconvenience, the reporter ventures to urge on future contributors the desirableness of strictly adhering to the new rules, and of forwarding their communications as early as possible, in order that arrangements may be made for appropriating each day to a special subject, or to a group of kindred subjects. Such an arrangement must obviously react to the benefit of those who contribute memoirs, since it would tend to draw together an appreciative audience specially interested in the subjects under notice, whilst the discussions would thus become more systematised and less discursive than when they range over a desultory list of papers.

On the motion of Mr. Brabrook, seconded by Mr. Hyde Clarke, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Rudler for his Report, and for his services to Anthropology, as sole Secretary to the Department at the Bradford Meeting.

DR. G. W. LEITNER, Principal of the Government College of Lahore, gave an account of the SIAH POSH KAFIRS, a race inhabiting Kafirstan, in the Hindu Kush, and supposed to be a Macedonian Colony.

DR. G. W. Leitner spoke as follows : Before I come to the subject which interests us this evening, I think it necessary to refer to the action which the Society took four years ago in a matter which indirectly bears upon it.

In 1869, it will be remembered several societies, especially the Anthropological, the Ethnological, and Philological, addressed the Secretary of State for India on the subject of prolonging my leave in this country,* with a view of elaborating the material

* The following is the Copy of a Memorial by the Philological Society of London to the Secretary of State for India, sent November, 1869.

MY LORD DUKE,—The Philological Society having been informed that Dr. G. W. Leitner, the Principal of the College at Lahore, is at present on leave in England, and being aware that it is his intention to complete his

that I had collected during a tour in Dardistan and adjoining countries. It is not necessary for me to give you a detailed account of the exceedingly kind and earnest manner in which this was brought to the notice of the Government, which, however, considered that I should return to India; but it is necessary to point out, with a view of showing that the action of societies on such occasions is advisable for the encouragement of travellers in general, the results, direct and indirect, which were achieved by it. You remember that you saw here on that occasion a Yarkandi, Niaz Muhammed, who was the first Yarkandi who had ever visited Europe; and whom I had brought over to this country with a view of making him, as far as my own humble means might permit, a pioneer of civilisation among his own countrymen.

great literary work on "the Languages and Races of Dardistan," two parts of which have been already laid before the Society, unanimously resolved at its last meeting, respectfully but urgently to request your Grace to enable Dr. Leitner to accomplish his purpose by granting him the required leisure while staying in Europe.

For the Society is of opinion, that while the results of his journey already published fully entitle Dr. Leitner to the sympathy and gratitude of philologists, his great undertaking could not be brought to a speedy and satisfactory termination, unless he was temporarily relieved of all his official duties, and unless he could utilise the literary materials only to be found in Europe.

I have the honour to be, my Lord Duke,

Your Grace's obedient, humble servant,

(Signed)

T. HEWITT KEY,

President of the Philological Society.

His Grace the Duke of Argyll, etc., etc.

Other Societies and Scholars in England and the continent expressed their appreciation of what Dr. Leitner had already done and, in various ways, endeavoured to assist the efforts made for retaining him in England. Drs. Beddoe and Seemann, in their capacity as President and Vice-President of the Anthropological Society wrote to the "Standard," December 6th, 1870, as follows:

CENTRAL ASIA.

TO THE EDITOR: SIR,—On the evening of the 30th ultimo, Dr. Leitner delivered before the Anthropological Society a remarkable discourse, in which he sketched out, as far as time would admit, his important philological and anthropological discoveries in the hitherto inaccessible region of Dardistan, and on its Tibetan frontier.

There was but one feeling among the audience, after listening to the modest but eloquent address of Dr. Leitner—one of regret that, owing to his not having been able to procure an extension of his too short leave of absence, not only must we be precluded from hearing him further on these matters, but, what is of vastly greater importance, science may suffer materially through his being unable to carry out in Europe, within reach of good libraries and of the assistance and criticism of other philologists, the arrangement and development of the materials he has collected, including his MS. treasures from Balti."

JOHN BEDDOE, M.D., Pres. A.S.L.

BERTHOLD SEEMANN, F.A.S.L.

Anthropological Society of London, 4, St. Martin's Place, W.C.

This man was well received here ; and as one of the results of that kind reception, I may mention that he has since been enabled to render the Government substantial service in a matter which at one time created considerable public interest, namely, the murder of Mr. Hayward, and has submitted to Government a very full and, I am convinced, a very trustworthy report as to that murder. This report was liberally rewarded, and the reproach that we all felt had been incurred at that time, namely, that the man had not received the recognition in this country that he deserved—this reproach has, by the subsequent action of Government, been in a very great measure removed. This man, who is now doing pretty well, has just written me a letter, in which he mentions his great pleasure at having visited Europe ; and in which he declares his intention of again coming to this country in the course, perhaps, of next year, this time at own expense.

Indirectly also, it cannot be denied for a moment that the action of so many societies concentrated on one subject was intended to have a very great effect in stimulating the Indian Local Government generally towards philological and other inquiries ; and in the task which was set to Dr. Bellew by the enlightened Panjab Administration, as well as in the greater attention paid to archæological and other inquiries, I have no doubt that what you and other societies did then had some influence. Mr. Grant Duff also mentioned the arrival of a Yarkandi in Europe in his address to his constituents. A second mission was organised to Yarkand ; this has now been followed by a third mission, which to all appearances promises to do very well indeed. There seems to be no risk whatever connected with the mission ; if you refer to the "Times" of Nov. 24th, you will find that there are twelve thousand coolies, a few thousand baggage ponies, and so on, besides hundreds of men, Europeans and others, so that we may look upon this mission as being likely to be a success.

Again in 1869, we could not help regretting that the action of our travellers had to a very considerable extent been thwarted by the Maharajah of Kashmir ; we can now congratulate ourselves on a change in the attitude of that feudatory, that is if we can trust the account in the "Times" of Nov. 24th, namely, that the Maharajah of Kashmir has, as far as *this* mission is concerned, given every possible assistance. I fear it would take a very long time to convince me of the thorough loyalty of that feudatory : but, at any rate, we have before us one particular gratifying fact, and we need not, perhaps, rouse any apprehensions such as I raised in this very room four years ago, with regard to the fate of Mr. Hayward, an apprehension which

unfortunately was actually verified. So you see, gentlemen, there has been some justification for your action; what with the greater attention that missions to Yarkand have received, and in the matter of the probable return of Nyaz Muhammad *Akhund*, as he is now called. I may mention why. He has been enabled in this country to acquire a greater knowledge of his own religion than he possessed before, and so far from having made his countrymen afraid of an hostile influence having been brought upon him or his religion—a very delicate point with all Muhammadans—he has got now the learned and sacred title of “*Akhund*,” and is coming back to us with, let us hope, additional information, and the same strong desire to acquire a knowledge of our civilisation.

The last, if least, important result of the action taken then by the societies was that it, of course, stimulated me. On my return to India, I found myself charged with additional work. My health broke down. A change to the frontier enabled me to gather information, and when I finally obtained the only holiday possible to a literary man under the Indian Government, that of being laid up with sickness, I was enabled, in remembrance of the debt that I owed to the various societies in England, to put on record, in a more or less fragmentary manner, the legends, the songs, the customs of the people that live between Kashmir and Badakhshan, together with a detailed history of the encroachments of our feudatory, the Maharajah of Kashmir. Thinking that perhaps this might be my last opportunity of showing that your confidence in me had been rightly placed, I wrote, from my bed of sickness, at the end of three years in India, the work which is now before you; namely “*Dardistan, Part III*,” and which I would have brought out in six months, and in a better form, had the solicited leave been granted to me in 1869. Although, unquestionably, the least important result of the action taken by you then, it at any rate shows that I have not been regardless of the claims which every literary man owes to the learned societies that interest themselves in his behalf. In fact, I may go so far as to say that had the existence and history of these countries, especially of Hunza and Nagyr and other countries, been so thoroughly known in 1869 as it is now, possibly the discussions, more or less of an uncertain character, that have taken place with regard to the Russian boundary in Central Asia and the so-called “neutral zone,” would have taken the character which accurate knowledge would have given it, and that we possibly might on this present occasion have been able to congratulate ourselves, if not on the results of our diplomatic wisdom, at any rate on our possession of that quality. At present, the

boundary is faulty, ending at Derwáz, the very place where it ought to begin, and where it ought to cut off any possible invader from the most accessible and direct route that anybody could travel, namely, the road down to Chitral into Peshawur. I say now, as I said in 1866 and 1869, that the road from Ladak to Yarkand, on which three missions have proceeded, is not the road to Central Asia, either for military or commercial purposes.

I could not delay much longer expressing my thanks to you, although, as you can perceive, I am still suffering from ill-health. So improbable was it though that I should return to this country, that some of the collections that I had made, which were very small indeed in comparison to what I have brought now, were scattered and sold during my absence; and that articles which were taken word for word out of "Dardistan, No. III," were never acknowledged. Without pretending that there is any particular necessity for acknowledging the source from which they came, it seems to me that this, although a purely personal matter, has so far an importance that travellers, who are constantly obliged to go back and to leave the results of their explorations in this country, should be enabled to count on a certain protection of their literary property or creations whilst away; and you may be sure I would not have referred to this, a very small personal matter, if a greater matter had not been involved, namely, the protection due to such property by the learned societies.

I have also much pleasure in referring to an exceedingly plucky and, I think, wise resolution of your society, which will enable me to enter immediately on the subject which we have in hand, namely, you resolved at your meeting in November 1869, "that the exploration of our frontier and of the countries near to Central Asia, which are at present an almost *terra incognita*, is of the utmost importance to anthropology; and that the Indian Government will confer the greatest boon upon our science by giving whatever support and encouragement it may have in its power to those enterprising and courageous travellers who are able and willing to risk their lives in this attempt." This seems to me a very wise and plucky resolution, and I have not the least doubt that it had its effect on those who heard it, for I believe that it takes a great deal to baulk either a Briton or a German if he makes up his mind to do anything. There are a great many men who, whatever the Government action may necessarily be in a matter, would go and do a thing, and as the Government itself is composed of gentlemen very much interested in such matters, they each privately very much admire the resolution which they cannot officially endorse. But in a

more direct manner, what you then resolved has been attempted by Mr. Downes, who crossed the frontier in the early part of this year on a missionary expedition. However, he had scarcely been away a few hours from Peshawur before he was brought back. But you must not think for a moment that he was the only one who has crossed the frontier since 1869. There are a number of men, quite unknown to fame, of European extraction, who have done it. It would be a very curious chapter to narrate the history of the enterprising men, who without any wish to figure before learned societies or to have their name enrolled as famous men or anything of that kind, have done very great and daring deeds indeed, partly from religious and partly from mercantile motives, and partly from the mere desire of adventure.

Now on the subject before us this evening, it so happens that all classes of the British public can most cordially unite. I do not know whether this is the case with every question that comes before the Anthropological Society ; but this is a question in which people anxious for the promotion of their religion, people anxious for the abolition of slavery, and people anxious for exploration on a field which is almost unknown, with the exception of the few certain data that I am going to give this evening, can most cordially unite. To begin with, under a religious aspect, it appears that these tribes who inhabit the slopes of the Hindu Kush and of whom so much has been said and very much more has been conjectured, because on a subject about which one knows nothing, all can conjecture, consider themselves a sort of country cousins of our own. When Sir Wm. Macnaghten was at Jellalabad, a number of the Siah Posh Kafirs came to welcome us as their brethren ; but were received in a rather purse-proud sort of fashion, as relatives who are better off might receive them, and they went away considerably disgusted. But the feeling which they have of brotherhood to the Europeans, does not seem to have been altogether extinguished by that very cold reception. On other occasions the Kafirs have talked *of* Europeans, and, on the very rare occasions on which they have come across them, *to* Europeans, as their brethren. And, take the fact for what it is worth, General Feramorz, the great and loyal general who conquered for the present Ameer of Cabul the countries that he now possesses, used to assemble the Kafirs (and they were numerous) in the Ameer's service one day in the week, and used to tell them that Jesus was the Son of God, and that they were Christians, and that his ignorance of Christianity prevented him from saying anything more. Although their notions of Christianity, as you may imagine, may be of the very crudest and faintest description, still here we have got a field of operations on which,

without encroaching on the susceptibilities of anyone, we can cordially endorse the action of missionaries and others, who want to penetrate into that country. It is not like trying to subvert the beliefs of people, whatever grounds may be given even for that course of action, but it is bringing to a people who consider themselves the brethren of the European, a religion which *some* of them, at any rate, say that they profess, and which all of them, I believe, as far as outer indications may be trusted, are inclined to accept.

Gentlemen, we cannot afford to throw away any assistance that we may get towards the exploration of these unknown countries, and if we can stimulate the subscribers to the Church Missionary and other societies, to stir up their own committees to action with regard to Kafiristan, I believe we shall be doing what is right.

Secondly, we have lately been told a good deal about slavery. Sir Bartle Frere has been out to the coast of Africa, and his moral influence, or men-of-war, have had a certain success: but here is a state of slavery nearer to ourselves, with which we could grapple, a state of slavery existing within our own extreme frontier, and within a few miles of Peshawur. Although forbidden by the law it is nevertheless practically carried on, and as an instance of the truth of my assertion I may mention that being very anxious indeed to get a Kafir, and not knowing how to get one, the three men who were with Lumsden having been murdered *en route* back to their country, I communicated my wishes to a chief who has enjoyed very much the confidence of our Government, and I think deservedly so. This man said to me that I need not be under the least concern, for, no doubt, he could buy a Kafir at a village that he mentioned, which is within five miles of Peshawur. He said that Kafirs were sometimes brought down there for sale. When I replied that such a purchase was against our official rules and European principles, this man who had been so much in connection with us, and was much trusted by us, in order to allay my scruples, said, "Well, if your rules do not permit you to buy one *within* the frontier, I will organise a kidnapping party *beyond* the frontier, and I will bring a Kafir in."

This connivance at, or rather this non-suppression of, slavery, is a most serious political mistake, because these Kafirs keep the roads in a constant state of insecurity. The main road between ourselves and what is more especially called Central Asia, is most unsafe, because the Kafirs attack all travellers, and although they do not plunder them, as some people say, still they murder them, which of course has quite the same deterrent effect on merchants who want to go that way. The

Kafir, who is here to-night, assures me that his people would not infest the roads, if the kidnapping of Kafir children by Muhammadans were stopped; and that pressure should be put on our ally the Amir of Cabul not to purchase slaves. As he is extending his influence, or claiming to have already extended it to territories of which his ancestors never dreamed, and as we are supporting him in his ambitious designs, we have every legitimate reason, and are justified by philanthropy as well as good policy, to insist upon his showing a vestige of that power that he professes to have over these countries, by trying, at any rate as far as he is concerned, to stop the kidnapping; because the Kafirs say, "we will not have our children kidnapped to be slaves in the families of the most detestable race that we know, namely the Muhammadans." Although it may seem to you to be a very bold thing for me to assert, I am perfectly convinced that if such action were taken, the Kafir chiefs—at any rate those of Katar, with which place we have some sort of relations, and whose chiefs are powerful,—would keep a very large portion of the road open, and I have no doubt that all the other chiefs would eventually come into our territory or send hostages to our government as a sign of their good faith. This road of which I am speaking is the main road, not a round about one like the one that Forsyth and his party are going upon now, but the direct road; and *the* road to be opened up, if officials would only admit it, between ourselves and the Russians, would then be kept perfectly clear. This would be a tangible advantage for commerce both to ourselves and to the Russians, and to those countries, and it is a thing that might be accomplished. I do hope that I have sufficiently pointed out that this is a subject in which abolitionists would be greatly interested as well as religious people.

And thirdly, of course I need not prove to you that in the solution of the mysteries of the "neutral zone," geographers, ethnographers, and philologists would be alike deeply interested. With regard to geographers, I have not the least doubt that they ought to be, because as long as in our reports, written by most able and pleasant men, we have the name of a king of a country, to explore which thousands of rupees are paid every month to the head of the survey, put down as that of an "emblematical animal," it does seem that a further exploration of these countries would be a great advantage. When we find, for instance, the Kooner River made to run through Chitral, although it flanks Kafiristan; when we find Tshamkand and Chemkend put down as two places, although they are the same, only spelt differently, it seems that this is really a subject in which geographers might take a further interest. And when you come to ethnography, and

find most important questions involved, questions the solution of which affect the history of society; when you come further to philology, and find that here are races speaking generally true Sanscritic dialects, dialects which have suffered no phonetic decay as the Bengalee and the Hindi, but dialects which are sisters of the Sanscrit, if they are not, indeed, entitled to claim a much older relationship; when you find races preserving in the midst of secluded valleys a highly inflectional group of languages; when you see all that, and then come to this fact, that even so humble an inquirer as myself has been able to collect the vocabularies, which are here put before you, of ten languages that vary considerably, that vary as much, the nearest of them from the other, as the Italian from the French, and the furthest as much as the Latin and the Arabic; when you find all that, I need not press the subject further on your attention in soliciting that earnest efforts should be made towards bringing this most interesting triangle between Kabul, Badakhshan and Kashmir under proper, honest, and intelligent exploration, from every point of view. As for the question whether Government should or should not help, I think that might be left alone. Government, perhaps, is bound to follow, rather than to lead, in any question requiring special initiation or special enterprise. Perhaps, it is right that it should be so. Even if *one* individual were to address the chiefs of whom I have spoken, were to send them suitable presents, and were to mention the disgust that Europeans feel at slavery, his action would do some good; and I will say this, that if nobody else does it I will do it. I believe even that will have some effect, and Government which waits upon success, will no doubt, then support the enterprise in its most efficient manner. As for any fear about Government being involved in difficulties in the event of the death of travellers, I think that is a consideration which we may altogether dismiss from our minds, because as a matter of fact, people have been murdered and nothing whatever has been done; and the Affghans know, and the Dards know, and everybody else knows very well, that we cannot have power beyond the range of our guns, and that there is no reproach whatever incurred by the British Government by an European traveller being murdered. The Affghans, of course, know very well that they are subsidised to keep very little tracts of country open on very special occasions and that there the matter ends. Stoddart and Conolly, and others were murdered, and what was done? Hayward was murdered only the other day, and what was done? Nothing—and in this course I have not the least doubt that we may expect Government to persevere, and I do not know that we can expect Government to do anything else. When a difficulty arises, as

for instance, just now, in the case of the Bengal famine, as we have seen in to-day's papers, and actual work has to be taken in hand, then the men who are the firebrands of to-day become the saviours of to-morrow, and Government will appoint them to do any special work, which they cannot get done by those trusted, if incompetent, "*safe men*," who so deservedly draw the largest pay in times of routine for "masterly inactivity." You see this in the appointment, announced to-day, of Mr. Geddes, the former *bête noire*, who spoke of "the exploitation of India by the British," as one of the Famine Commissioners. It is private influence and enterprise that have gained for Englishmen and others the position that the European civilisation of to-day obtains on other continents. I see in this room the distinguished brother of a most illustrious man, Major Abbott, whose liberality made him the idol of the people in Hazara, whose name is still a passport to Europeans in many parts of that and other districts, and who did not view, without misgivings, the odium which the encroachments of the Maharajah of Kashmir on one of the Dard countries, that of Chilás, had already begun to throw on the English name among the hill tribes so early as 1851.

With regard to the country of Kafiristan, there are maps here which are, necessarily, more or less incorrect. This map, perhaps, is moderately good, and here you see the special country of the Siah Posh, the tribe, a representative of which is here to night, and who is a nephew of that famous general Feramorz. There, round Kafiristan, you have first the Nimcha races, or half-Muhammadans; and there you have, composed of that belt of Muhammadans, races that certainly profess to be very bigoted, but whose only sincere practice of religion as far as I have been able to ascertain, has been to kill or plunder travellers if they have the slightest thing worth robbing; their bigotry, as we from our Cabul experience know very well, can at any moment be subdued by their avarice. The country of Kafiristan, really embraces the whole of the country situated in that triangle between Kabul, Badakhshan and Kashmir, of which Peshawur is the base. In other words, I consider that the Dards themselves were Kafirs, as many of their legends, as their practice of witchcraft and a number of other things with which I need not trouble you just now, would seem to indicate. But Kafiristan in the most restricted sense, of course, would be only the country lying 35 deg. to 36 deg. lat. and 70 deg. and 72 deg. long. All these people are Kafirs, and to the present day Muhammadanism, except on the belt immediately between ourselves and these countries, sits very loosely indeed on the people. Even where they profess Muhammadanism it is not worth speak-

ing of; because when we find the bigoted Sunni rulers of Chitral forcing their own subjects to profess the Shiah or heretic creed of Muhammadanism, in order that they may have an excuse to their consciences for selling them into slavery, I do not think the religious feeling can be very strong. This is a fact which I mention incidentally, and which has enabled the ruler of Chitral to tide over a financial crisis in his own kingdom.

We have had all sorts of conjectures about these people, the Siah Posh Kafirs. The name is given to them by the Mahometans, "Siah"—black,—“Posh”—clothing, and “Kafir”—infidels. In fact, Kafirs are anybody who do not believe what the Muhammadans believe, therefore the name, to which no particular ethnological weight need be attached. These races call themselves rather by their villages and other local designations, such as the people, or, if you will, the Kafirs of Katár, Waigal, etc., etc.

The authorities on the subject are as follows:—We have the account of Mulla Najib quoted by Elphinstone; we have a short statement made by Burnes; we have a most admirable chapter by Masson, a man whose great services were ignored at the time, and are forgotten now. We have a philological chapter by Dr. Trumpp on three supposed Kafirs who came down to Peshawur. He spoke to them for a few hours by means of an interpreter, and although the necessarily scanty information thus obtained, apparently justified Sir George Campbell (the originator of my mission to Dardistan in 1866) in believing the dialect to be very closely allied to Latin, still, on further investigation, it turns out to be one of the numerous Kohistanee or hill dialects that are spoken just between our frontier and that particular country. Raverty takes Dr. Trumpp to task. I only saw his review of the dialect a few days ago, and I coincide with it. I may say that I have myself written down over a thousand words of that dialect. It is not a Kafir dialect at all, but I do not consider that Raverty was justified in the onslaught that he made on so eminent a philologist as Dr. Trumpp. Circumstances being taken into account, what Dr. Trumpp did was very valuable indeed. Then we have Lumsden, who had three Kafir guides. Lumsden interested himself very much in them, and also collected a vocabulary. These men as I have said, were murdered on their way back to their country, so that the man you see here to-night is probably the only surviving Kafir who has reached India. Bellew, I believe, refers to the Kafirs, and Wood mentions them incidentally. Fazl-i-Hakk, a native missionary, was sent by the Church Missionary Society, and you will find a full account of that expedition in the number of the “Church Missionary Intelligencer”

for 1865. He was exceedingly well received, a proof that they will receive Christians well, the Kafirs only wanting to be instructed. Colonel Macgregor has compiled from all these sources that I have mentioned, which, with the exception of Masson and Lumsden, are superficial and incorrect, a kind of statement for his "Gazetteer"—and finally there is what I have got myself, which is confined to the following sources. On my first tour I happened to get two Kafirs, who had been taken prisoners in the wars of our feudatory, the Maharajah of Kashmir, with Chitral under Aman-ul-mulk. These two men stayed in my house for a considerable time, and they are represented on that photograph of the Dards, which I now exhibit on this table.

Dr. Trumpp says that if you were to dress the Kafirs as Hindostanis, you would not know them from natives of the plains. I do not quite agree with that; look at the men on the photograph. I do not think they are Hindustanis; one of them had blue eyes; all were actually dressed as Hindustanis. Then I have had a Nimtcha Kafir, that is, a half-Muhammadan. These half-Muhammadans are people who keep up the intercourse with the outer world between the Kafirs themselves and the Muhammadans; of course they must have some communication, and these people who are called Nimtcha, or half and half, keep up that kind of communication, and the little trade there is which passes through their hands. (I repeat that the light thrown on the Kafirs by General Lumsden cannot be too highly valued. I suppose that Lumsden and Masson will carry off the palm with regard to that question, although, as I said before, it altogether amounts to very little.) From these three men I collected large vocabularies, and from the man who is here now I have derived other information. Here is a heap of papers containing the information thus collected, and I hope an opportunity may be given to me to go still further into the matter on some future occasion; at present all I can do in dealing with so important a subject is to speak generally; but I would say this, that the time has not arrived for the expression of any theory. It seems to me that the work can very well be divided between the learned men of Europe who theorise, and the men of India who collect the facts, and although it unquestionably may show a lower type of mind, not to be able to grasp the affinities between words of sixty different languages, and to find out that "filaloo" and "Bannu" must be identical, and Noah and Fohi could not but be the same names, still the work must be divided. I have chosen rather to be satisfied with the state of uncertainty in which we are, and to add one small fact after another, if possible

than to commit myself to any theory, such as the one to which, the other evening, an attempt was made to commit me, by a suggestion that perhaps the Kafirs were the lost tribes of Israel: they may be, but we do not know enough to justify us in that view.

The tribal divisions of the Kafirs are some say nine, some twelve, and others a still larger number. The Kafirs that I have had and the Kafirs of whom I have heard belong in my opinion to the following tribes (there may be more, but that is all that I know). First, the Kaláša Kafirs who are living under the paternal rule of the king of Chitral, whose management of the finances I have mentioned to you before. These are the Kaláša or Bashgeli Kafirs. They speak the language which I think, for all practical purposes, both of philology and for the use of travellers, I have committed to writing. I have not the least doubt in my mind that if you wish to penetrate into Kafiristan, your best course will be to go through Chitral, and then with your knowledge of this Kaláša language you may be helped on further. If you know the Kaláša language, you can go down, I think, all the length of the Koonar River, from Little Kashkar to Asmár. From Chitral you find your way into the heart of the country, but as I said before, I think the whole other side of the Koonar River is not Chitral at all, but belongs to Kafiristan proper. That is *one* tribe at any rate having a language of their own.

The second division is the tribes on the frontier of Lughman. They speak a different language, and profess different traditions. A member of a tribe of Kafirs of that frontier is in my service at this present moment. Thus we have at any rate two distinct dialects and, I fear, two distinct sets of traditions, of religion and of customs; if I have an opportunity I will go into that presently.

Then with regard to the other tribes that are mentioned and of which we have vocabularies, for instance, Lumsden's vocabulary and others, I think we are perfectly justified in assuming these to belong to a third and also totally distinct tribal division, that of the Kafirs of Traiguma, Waigal, Katár, Gambir (?). Beyond that there may be more, but I do not know anything about them.

Then with regard to their origin, we hear a great deal about their Macedonian origin. Now the looseness and vagueness of everything derived from Muhammadan sources cannot possibly be described. If a man is called Harût, his brother is sure to be called Marût; derivations are coined in the most extraordinary manner and without the slightest pretence to accurate knowledge. If Alexander the Great was a great man, he, of

course, must have been a prophet, and if he was a prophet, then, of course, they are descended from him. That kind of conjecture goes on; there is not the faintest endeavour to establish statements on a sure basis, and although there is not the least doubt, as I hope to show some evening by the production of the Græco-Buddhistic sculptures which I excavated on the Panjab frontier, that the Greeks had a great influence on the whole of the "triangle," yet the mere assertion that these Siah Posh Kafirs, amongst others, are descendants from a colony planted there by Alexander, must remain an assertion until it is proved to be a fact. Their own traditions do not bear that out, in fact they never heard the name of Alexander. Among the neighbouring races, those that can read a little, perhaps get hold of some Moonshee, whom fate may have driven up there and rendered crazy, and he may give them some notions of "Secundar with the two horns," or "Secundar, the conqueror of the two worlds," but that is not enough to establish a Macedonian descent. The Tunganis are also supposed to be Macedonians; they do not claim to be descendants direct of Alexander the Great, but of his soldiers—that is possible enough if the soldiers were there, and stayed any length of time. But you saw a Tungani, Niaz Muhammad who was here; he was a man with marked Chinese features, but I do not know whether he struck you as a Macedonian. He did not strike me as being one. On the other hand, we have historical evidence of the reigning families within this century, professing to be descended from Alexander the Great. We know also that the now displaced reigning family of Badakhshan claims that direct descent; the present have not been long enough in possession to do so. The ruler of Chitral calls himself Shah Kator, from the name of his grandfather, an usurper and soldier of fortune. Of course there are heaps of conjectures about that; the Shah Kator at the beginning of this century claimed to be descended at once from Cæsar and Alexander the Great. I may say incidentally, talking of Shah Kator, that the seal to the letter (produced by the Kashmir authorities in self defence,) that bore the authority for the murder of Hayward, was supposed to come from the ruler of Chitral, on whose seal that name would, probably, always be found. It was first adopted within this century by his grandfather. But on the seal in question authorising the murder of Hayward, the word "Shah Kator" does not occur. I mention this as an incidental fact on which I have no doubt I shall speak more on some other occasion.

The second supposition is that they are Zoroastrians. There is, no doubt, that after the murder of Yezdegerd at Merv, the Arabs pressed on Badakhshan, forcing the fire-worshippers into the

hills. I am afraid I am going to commit myself a little more perhaps in favour of their being Zoroastrians, although I do so with very great diffidence, but I will say what people allege in favour of the view, that they are descendants of the fire-worshippers. (I hope I have made it clear, that the Siah Posh Kafirs know nothing of Alexander, but that the surrounding dynasties have some sort of claim.) There are the Kafir names: you must have noticed when the Shah of Persia was here, there was Nasyr-ud-deen, and Barkat Ali and other names, derived from Arabic roots chiefly, but I do not think there was a single Persian with him called by any of the ancient Persian names; now these Kafirs are called by those names. I do not say that much importance ought to be attached to that, but it is a fact that they have these old Persian names—and where do you find them again? You find them amongst the Parsees with the *honorific* “ji” at the end. Thus you find the great Rustam becomes Rustomjee. The great name of Kaús becomes Cowasjee, Noshirwan becomes Nusserwanjee, Feram, Framjee, and so on—we have them amongst the Parsees and we have them amongst the Kafirs. What wonder then that these Parsees should be so very anxious to establish some kind of affinity between themselves and these Kafirs? When this man got to Bombay he created a considerable sensation, in fact throughout India he did so, because he was so very *different* from the natives of India, as regarded his whole bearing, his military appearance and his black goat-skin dress in which he looked a far less civilised being than he does to-night. They wanted to make out that here was a Zoroastrian, and they got hold of some member of a wandering tribe, who had pretended to be a Kafir, and they confronted the two, and it turned out that the other man whom they had fed all this time on the strength of his being a forlorn brother of their race, knew nothing at all of these countries, but that he was a mere vagabond, one of those vagabond races in Khorassan of which there are so many. This man in Bombay found it to his advantage to pretend that he was a Zoroastrian. There are the *names*, that goes some way; I do not know whether the feeling of the Parsees on the subject is a proof. It is also supposed that books exist in Kafirstan bearing out the view of their Zoroastrian origin. I disbelieve that *in toto*, because no Kafir that I ever heard of knew of writing, except he had been a slave captured and brought to the empire of Cabul, and had picked up some knowledge of writing there.

Then again there is a conjecture of Lumsden that they were driven from the plains of India into these hills. I do not hold that either. They are certainly not Muhammadans, they are not Hindus; they eat beef, they do not burn their dead bodies;

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they have no knowledge of the Hindu deities with two exceptions that I will mention; they do not look like Hindus; and besides history does not bear it out; although it is very true that the Sabaktegins did rather come down upon the Hindus, and broke the idols, and also caused a great many of the Buddhist sculptures to be buried; but we find in the account that he *was fighting with the idolaters of Katar*, namely, the place from which this man comes. So that they were distinct from the Hindus with whom he also fought. I do not think they were driven in from the plains at all. Either they were driven in from Balkh, about the time when the Arabs got hold of the country and drove in the fire-worshippers, or else they are, what I imagine they are, aborigines, talking languages, sisters of the Sanscrit, not derivative from the Sanscrit. Probably they are Dards. This has given rise to incidental conjectures such as that these men are Arabs. The most eminent tribe in Arabia was that of Koreish from which Muhammad himself came. Of course, nothing was easier than for the Muhammadans, or even for the Kafirs themselves, to claim an Arab origin, as the Arabs had been "somewhere" about there; therefore, they called the Kafirs Koreishis, possibly on the "lucus a non lucendo" principle. I think they are aborigines, and that if they are not the ancestors of our Aryan race, they are certainly in an equal relationship as far as languages go with the Sanscrit.

I am sure I have taxed your patience beyond the limit of endurance, and so I will conclude, although there is naturally much more to say. I said before that they were not Hindus. They expose their dead in wooden coffins on the tops of mountains, and that would be something like what the Parsees do in their towers of silence. The Hindus, of course, are very anxious to claim them as their brethren, but I do not think the Kafirs look upon them as brethren at all. The two men that went through Kashmir and to whom I made some short reference just before, certainly mentioned to me the names of Indr and Mahadeo, but, on coming down to the Panjab, they had no doubt been tampered with, as regards their religious opinions, on their way through Kashmir, and therefore they said they knew these Hindu deities; yet when I asked them to mention a prayer, they could only mention this one:—"O Ruler of the seven heavens, the sun and the moon, give us plenty of riches." That was all, although they did mention the names of Indr and Mahadeo. There is a tendency to believe that the Hindus do not proselytise. I am not at all sure that this is the case. Of course, nobody can become a Hindu in any recognised caste, but as long as he will form a caste by himself, and fee the Brahmins, I have not the least doubt the difficulties of being admitted a Hindu could be over-

come. And in the case of the Maharajah of Kashmir, I have noticed the Buddhists who are the downright enemies of Brahminism, were beginning to be indoctrinated with Hindu notions, and in Ladak and Zaskar they were made to begin to think themselves Hindus, and it does not seem to me an unwise course on the part of the Hindus, because their religion is materially encroached upon by the Muhammadans, and I suppose they are just now at any rate blindly following the law of self-preservation and trying to amalgamate all idolaters, or rather all non-Muhammadans into one general community, as opposed to the Muhammadans.

Now with regard to this man, I do not know whether an opportunity will be given to me in this or in some other place to translate an account of his adventures through Central Asia, in company with the present Ameer of Cabul, to whom he rendered services. They are very interesting, and they tell us a great deal about countries about which we know very little. For instance, he can tell us a good deal of whether Faizabad and Badakhshan are one or two places. He can tell us about the routes to a very great extent, and can give a mass of most important information, of a miscellaneous kind certainly; but information which will tell us whether we were wise or unwise in so strongly identifying ourselves with the cause of the Ameer of Cabul, of whom, by the way, I may mention a very pleasing circumstance which I had communicated to me to-day. It appears that he is starting a native newspaper on his own account, called the "Sun of the Day." Thus for the first time in history, journalism will find its way into Cabul. It will not be very independent, you may imagine, but it will be something, because he will not be chronicling in that Journal, at any rate, that when he invites a chief to dinner he strangles him afterwards. That will be omitted, and the fact of such omissions, and only really praiseworthy acts being spoken of the Ameer of Cabul, will gradually lay the foundation, certainly of a very weak public opinion, at first, but of some public opinion, which may grow and which may do more than he at present anticipates. To return to this man; he feels very strongly on the question of slavery. I think he was captured when quite a boy. Although he has rendered loyal service to his captors, which is a characteristic of that race, renowned all over Asia as the best and most faithful of servants, still he feels deep hatred to them for having captured him; and in recounting the deeds of his most illustrious uncle, General Feramorz, he has mentioned to me with great indignation how it was when the man who had risen to the chief command of the Ameer's troops was murdered in the foulest manner, his murderer said, "Well,

what after all is it, he is only a slave, and I, who am a brother of the Ameer of Cabul, shall not be punished by my brother for murdering a slave, although he may have conquered these countries for my brother." That is the disparaging way in which a Muhammadan spoke even of Feramorz. The Kafirs are never converted really to Muhammadanism : they keep to their own beliefs which are very slight indeed, and of which I may say more perhaps by-and-bye.

Referring to this man's narrative, it seems that when the Amir's son, Yakub Khan, the man probably to whom Kabul will belong some day, because the present boy whom we are supporting is merely in the hands of a very small faction and has no footing in the country at all, who is in fact not descended from any distinguished stock—when Yakub Khan rebelled against his father, the following took place, to quote the words of the Kafir present to-night. "Yakub Khan at once seized the opportunity of taking Herat; I was appointed his special orderly. When Feramorz heard of the capture of Herat, he advanced with a numerous army, to Ard Asgand, which is near Herat. There the two armies met and fought, I was again wounded by a ball in the thigh and the wound often reopens. This was, among all the fights I have seen, a really good battle in which many leaders were killed." As a rule, Affghan battles are contemptible skirmishes, beginning with a lot of braggadocio and ending in a flight. "Fateh Muhammad Khan, the Amir's nephew, and his son and many great men were killed in this battle. In the tumult that raged, Feramorz wrote the following touching letter to Yakub Khan. 'I am as much your father's servant as your own. If you are killed, the Amir will grieve and what shall I say to him? Cease this unnatural strife. Enough and valuable blood has already been shed. If you however will fight, I am ready.' Yakub Khan replied by word of mouth, 'I am myself setting off to see the Amir. You are a slave, who are not authorised to give me advice.' The battle then ceased. Yakub Khan went off to his father at Kabul with a few Syads and a Koran on which to swear loyalty. When Aslam Khan saw this he thought that if he murdered Feramorz, his brother Muhammad Hussain Khan would, on hearing of it, slay Amir Shere Ali (Aslam Khan and Muhammad Hussain Khan were brothers by the same mother). In this way he thought the army and Herat would fall into his hands. Yakub Khan would be helpless as he was on his way to Kabul, with only a few Syads."

That is how in these constant intrigues nobody is certain for a moment. Men who go together separate on the field of battle, and exchange their fortunes very often without the least preme-

ditation ; but simply as savages seize the moment. "Hussain Khan would take Kabul, and he Kandahar and Herat. This matter had been arranged by Aslam Khan, before he set out against Yakub Khan, and he had laid a mine from his house to that of Shere Ali, and given instructions to his brother to fire it as soon he heard of the murder of Feramorz. The Amir's army was at Sabzawar. Aslam Khan now arranged matters with Hasan Khan, commandant of the guard and his foster-brother, and with Ghafûr his cousin, that when he had retired to his tent after dinner, as he and his guest Feramorz were taking tea and playing at draughts, Ghafûr should shoot him from the Kharkhana (a hut made of thistles, and which, when watered, offers a cool resting place during the day), where he (Ghafûr) with the connivance of the commandant had concealed himself. The bullet struck Feramorz ; Aslam Khan threw himself on him, tore his clothes, cried and said, 'Oh such a general, and to be thus killed ! Alas ! who has killed such a hero.' The sentinel, attracted to the place, called out, 'You dog, who else, but you, has killed him in *your* tent.' I rushed in, for Feramorz was my aunt's son, and caught Aslam Khan by the throat. Then came in Islandiar Khan, colonel, also a Kafir, and Haji Faulad, colonel of the mounted artillery, and Changez, also colonel of artillery, all Kafirs, rushed in. Mulla Kurratulla Khan, a Hindustani general who has a great command, and Muhammad Alam Khan, nephew of Dost Muhammad Khan (who fought at Multan and in Turkistan), also came into the tent, we wanted to cut Aslam Khan's throat, but Feramorz said, 'Do not kill him, but bring him to the Amir in chains for judgment ?' Now it is something, when you consider the savage life which they lead, uncertain of its retention for a moment, and the passions of these people, to notice the conduct of Feramorz before the battle began in trying to stop the strife, and his conduct in not allowing the indiscriminate slaughter of the men who had caused his murder. "He had scarcely said so when he died. Such a man as Feramorz is indeed rare. We struck off Aslam Khan's turban, put him crossways on horse-back in chains and sent him off to Kabul. We arrested the commandant of the guard, Hasan Khan, who said he had seen Ghafûr fire the shot, and Ghafûr, when confronted with Aslam Khan, said he would have been killed (such had been the threat) had he not killed Feramorz. Aslam Khan now admitted being the instigator of the murder, but said, 'he is only a slave and the Amir will not kill me for it. What is it after all ?' We kept Hassan and Ghafûr in chains and the army was placed under the Hindustani general. When Aslam Khan arrived at Kabul, the Amir did not send for him, but received his explana-

tion, which was to the effect, that he had been prompted by jealousy connected with some unnatural passion. This is untrue, as Feramorz was never guilty of such vices." Then, to give an idea of the way services are rewarded, his wife was given afterwards to a common Sepoy. "Aslam Khan was detained in chains in one of the offices of the Amir, and his brother was also thrown into the same prison." The fact of the mine had been betrayed. "Now the army came to Kabul, the Amir and Yakub Khan having made up matters. Aslam Khan had alienated the Amir from his son, and as the Amir had given all the power to Aslam Khan and Hussain Khan, Yakub Khan felt hurt and therefore had left Kabul. Aslam Khan wanted to usurp the kingdom, and when Yakub Khan used to come to the Durbar, the Amir would turn his face away; well, after three months of very severe treatment of the two brothers in prison, their two other brothers, Hassan Khan and Kasim Khan (all the sons of one prostitute) offered to the Amir to kill the prisoners themselves! The Amir who could scarcely believe them, sent Rustem Khan, treasurer, and General Daud Shah Khan, and eight orderlies with the two to see whether they would really kill their own brothers. At about nine o'clock in the evening the two went to the prison. The Amir's people stood outside. The two went in, each throwing a waistband round the throat of a brother, and dragging him hither and thither, throttled him. When they were dead, the orderlies buried them in their clothes, without any rites, on the spot. The Amir did not wish to bear the disgrace of himself ordering the execution of the brothers for the sake of the slave Feramorz. The Amir then sent the two murderers to the English to take care of." That is the way in which he got rid of his brothers, and the two murderers he sent to us to pension.

I think, gentlemen, that I have said quite enough to stimulate those who care for the abolition of slavery, those who care for the spread of their Christian religion among a people waiting to receive it, and those that care for the cause of increase of scientific knowledge, and to make them feel that the hour that they have given to the subject has not been altogether unprofitable.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. DREW: I do not like to trespass long on your time for this reason, that I know very little of the subject that Dr. Leitner has so well brought forward; but since I have been on the frontier of these parts, I may say a few words. With regard to the different theories as to the origin of these Kafirs, I am inclined, as far as I can form any opinion at all, to the last one that Dr. Leitner brought forward, namely, that they are a branch of the Dard race. Certainly, the

evidence with regard to their connexion with the old Persians is strong and not easy to get over ; at the same time, from my own experience of the few individuals I had the opportunity of seeing, and from what one generally hears of their characteristics, on comparing them with the Dards, with whom I am pretty familiar, I think, on the whole, the evidence tends that way, and it seems to me likely that if the inquiry were further followed out, we should be able to prove more distinctly than now that they are really closely connected with the Dards. I do not think I can say anything more with regard to it, as we have had so very few opportunities of meeting these people.

Mr. TRELAWNEY SAUNDERS: I think we are exceedingly indebted to Dr. Leitner on many grounds for the subject that he has brought forward to-night, and has illustrated in so able a manner. I must remember that I am addressing an Anthropological Society, and therefore I will proceed to remind Dr. Leitner of a statement made by Lumsden that throws a very distinct light on Dr. Leitner's own conclusions, that these people are Parsees—namely, their mode of burial. Lumsden tells us that it is the habit of these Kafirs to put their dead in boxes and expose them on the tops of high mountains: much like the Parsees of Bombay bury their dead to this day. Nothing to my mind would be much more striking than this identity of the funeral rites, in spite of conflicting local circumstances ; for the Parsees of Bombay not having the top of a mountain to bury their dead upon, build high towers instead. With reference to the Kafirs being refugees from the plains, I think Lumsden intended it to be understood not that they were refugees from the plains of Hindustan, but that they were refugees from the surrounding low country. They have really chosen the very heart of these mountains, the very last and most secure refuge that these ranges afford. That is pretty well proved to us, if not exactly, by those who have advanced nearly to the country ; at least, by those on the one side who have reached its confines, and those on the other who, with the eyes of science, have been able to fix the positions of the peaks by instrumental observation. We have for instance the description of the passes that touch upon the north western confines of Kafiristan, by the expeditions of Alexander Burnes ; and then we have the observations by the Trigonometrical Surveys of the altitude of the range which you see on the eastward of the plateau in Lumsden's map. The ranges on the eastward of this country rise from the valley of Chitral, then descend westward to the loftier valleys of Kafiristan. The height of those peaks was over 16,000 feet, and the valley of Chitral itself, at the pass by which Kafiristan is entered, is only between 2,000 and 3,000 feet high. Timur made an attempt to pass into this country on the north west, but with the loss of a very considerable force ; and since his time no potentate has attempted it. There can be no doubt that the Kafirs have been quite persevering in their endeavours to excite a friendly feeling on our parts ; and I ask myself often, whenever I think of these people—of the position which they occupy in the

Hindu Kush, the commanding position they occupy, dominating the whole of the surrounding country—I ask myself whether the same reticence and indifference would be manifested towards them if they made their approaches to another people, who are advancing towards them from a northerly direction ; and I ask myself how our strategical position would be affected by the establishment, in that country of the influence to which I have alluded. At present, Sir, these regions are in a very peculiar state. We have on one side the British sovereignty, on the other side of them the Affghan sovereignty, and beyond, what ? The sovereignty of Bokhara, which we may consider to be identical with the Russian sovereignty. Now what have we in the space thus surrounded ? Well, we have got a population of this character, that, whatever value we may attach to the claims of their chiefs to have descended from Alexander, the extraordinary permanence of the population of those mountains is undeniable. While the rest of Asia has been repeatedly overran by invading hordes, this population has been very little affected by such movement. Dr. Leitner says himself that he considers them to be aborigines. I would scarcely pretend to form an opinion of my own against such an authority as Dr. Leitner, still I do not think people choose mountains for their residences till they are driven out of the plains ; and, therefore, I am rather inclined to think that he is more correct in considering that they are refugees from the plains.

Dr. HYDE CLARKE : I may attempt to say a few words with regard to Dr. Leitner's most interesting paper, and touching a subject which he has far from exhausted. Dr. Leitner has claimed the humble merit of being simply a collector of facts. I think it is only due to Dr. Leitner to say that in that capacity he is able to render and is rendering invaluable services to science. It is one thing for a man to collect facts loosely and indiscriminately ; it is another thing for a man having the scientific attainments of Dr. Leitner to bring to bear on each fact that he collects a vast amount of knowledge. With regard to that portion which he has more particularly touched upon—the linguistic portion—many of us know that Dr. Leitner himself is acquainted with almost every language that is known in the district, from the plains of India to Turkestan ; that he has a practical acquaintance with the whole of those. There can be, therefore, no greater service to science than when he collects for us materials on which we can rely. And what are those materials to preserve ? They are the materials which will really enable us to judge the early history of the Aryan race ; of those pioneers of it to whom no sufficient attention has been turned, while our studies have been devoted to the later periods of its history. In an anthropological point of view, these data are of importance. They are of interest to us in this Institute, because he has shown us in this instance that our science and our studies are of a practical character. If, indeed, the discussion has to a certain extent diverged into a political channel, it is because our researches are intimately connected with the welfare of tribes and government of nations. Mr. Clarke observes that, as Dr. Leitner has

referred to his identification of the Kajunah as a prehistoric language, the Kajunah may be referred to as an element in determining the question of the Dards being aborigines. So far as the language is concerned this may be regarded as unlikely, because the Dard being Aryan is modern and intrusive on the Kajunah. It is necessary to ascertain whether physically the population is directly descended from the prehistoric Kajunah, or whether it is a supercession by Aryans, with evidences of Kajunah survival.

The PRESIDENT: Although the hour is rather late, I think it would be as well if I should request Major Godwin Austen, who has spent a good many years in the hill country of India, to favour us with some observations upon this subject.

MAJOR GODWIN-AUSTEN: I have never been nearer to that part of the Himalaya range than Astore and Skardo, therefore I know very little of the country under review; nor have I seen before to-day any of the men from that part of the world. The paper we have heard is an exceedingly interesting one, more especially, I think, as regards the lines of route which may be eventually taken from the Peshawur frontier to the side of the Oxus across the main range. No doubt, the most direct line through that part of the country will lie over the passes of the Hindu Kush.

Mr. WM. VILLIERS SANKEY: I am exceedingly pleased to hear so interesting and so instructive a description of the characteristics of the country, and of the people round about the frontier of our Indian Empire. Nothing could be more admirable than the very extraordinary details which we have had placed before us in so concise a form, in such lucid language; and they will be exceedingly useful. As Russia is close upon our frontier, I believe it most important that facts of this kind should be collected, and those facts seem to me to be extremely conclusive in themselves as to the attitude we ought to assume. With regard to those border tribes being driven from the plains there is one question, and that is respecting their mode of burying the dead. It remains to be seen whether they themselves did not retire into those mountains for the sake of not being cut off in the plains, and with a view of being able to follow out that particular custom of exposing their dead on lofty summits, which they seem to consider as necessary to the preservation of their religion.

The principal reason I have for speaking is, that more than thirty years ago I proposed a direct route, *entirely by land*, from London to Calcutta, NOT A SINGLE PORTION OF IT BY SEA; and that has been the origin of a great many different projects for making a railway across the Channel, the Bosphorus, and various other portions of the route which are more or less intercepted by water, and which were all originally part of my scheme. My project is and was entirely by land, and I still persevere in endeavouring to have it carried out. Dr. Cline, Assistant Comptroller-General of India, who is sitting by my side, suggests that, in order to the prosecution of that idea, a portion of the line might well be made *between our Indian network of railways and the Persian territory*, where that line is to extend which is to be made by the influence of the Shah's late visit. I sincerely hope that his

suggestion may be approved of, because it will be an earnest of my great line being entirely carried out. I do think that discussions like these tend usefully to facilitate such operations. The great point is to know the people who surround our frontier, to conciliate them as much as we can, and in that way to bring about that relationship between India and the metropolis of the world which I believe to be requisite as well as highly desirable, and which it would be dangerous for our Government to neglect to promote.

Dr. LEITNER: I only wish to say a few words in reply. First, with regard to Mr. Drew, I am very glad indeed that he thinks that there is some weight to be given to the opinion that the Kafirs may turn out to be Dards; in other words, that my discoveries in 1866 are, as it were, completed by the explorations or investigations that I have made in 1872, so that they are all being brought under one great general name of Dards. In fact, I may say that the name Dardistan, which I believe I was the first to give, has been adopted by Mr. Hayward and others; and that, therefore, the name seems now to be accepted with regard to the countries of Chilás, Ghilghit, Yasin, Chitral, Hunza, and Nagyr. If the more comprehensive hypothesis now advanced turns out to be correct, then it would embrace very much more, and we should then have the whole of this country lying between Kabul, Badakhshan, and Kashmir under the name of Dardistan. Whether or not another hypothesis is correct, viz., that these countries of Dardistan proper are the Darada of Indian mythology would form a special inquiry. Mr. Drew is a good authority on matters connected with Kashmir. He has been to Gilgit in charge of a very important inquiry, where I had previously been myself, during 1866, when all the tribes gathered in order to resist the encroachments of Kashmir, and where I had to make my way as best I could to the fort, at that time in disguise. You may think it rather egotistical, but here is a portrait of myself in an illustrated newspaper, which may show you that a European may be disguised very successfully. I may also mention that when the commandant of the Gilgil fort asked me who I was, the fact of my having just gone unopposed over the fort, then in a state of siege by the Dard tribes, and seen in what a disreputable condition it was—full of dirt and the Maharajah's soldiers dying of fever, whilst the commandant was just able to open his eyes after an indulgence in opium—my natural indignation exceeded my determination to keep my disguise—orders having been sent to get rid of me—and I said “I was a European, and ordered him to clean out the fort,” *which he did*. As to Timur, Mr. Saunders has made some important remarks, with some of which I agree. Timur obtained a partial success against the Kafirs. He advanced against them in two large columns, one of which managed to raise a fort, but, somehow or other, I do not think they went very far. He thought, however, that he had done sufficient, and he got the exploit inscribed, I believe, on a golden tablet, with the following words, “That he had subdued the tribes that even Alexander the Great could not subdue.” So here seems to be something again

against the idea of their Macedonian origin. Then Sultan Baber, who came about one hundred years afterwards, struck up a friendship with them, because he himself was rather given to drinking, of which the Kafirs show a Christian rather than a Muhammadan fondness. With regard to Lumsden's and Trumpp's opinion, it has always occurred to me that Lumsden meant that they had been driven into the hills from the plains of India, and that is how I have read it. It seems to me that Trumpp tried to support himself by the authority of Lumsden, or that they supported each other. Trumpp thinks them inhabitants of the plains, and at Vienna, Prof. Frederick Müller thought also that they were inhabitants of the plains of India; but if Lumsden meant "inhabitants of the plains of Balkh and about there," then I should be inclined to agree with Mr. Saunders. We know as a matter of fact that Balkh has always exercised a certain influence on Badakhshan, because the necessities of hill life compelled the men to go to Balkh for many of their wants. Whether or not the secluded valleys of Kafirstan offer shelter sufficient to account for the existence of aborigines is another matter; but supposing that Lumsden's view was that they were the inhabitants of the plains of Balkh, then, of course, that would rather fall in with my conjecture about their Zoroastrian origin.

MR. SAUNDERS: Perhaps it would be convenient to the meeting if I say I do not claim for Lumsden that he specially alluded to the plains of Balkh, for he rather appears to allude, so far as he alludes especially, to the lower country to the south, and makes some distinct allusion in proof of his position, which I cannot quote from memory; but I have no doubt, your attention being drawn to it, that you will look into it.

DR. LEITNER: I am very much obliged to you. This is a most interesting point, and I shall be very glad to find that I have support in a matter of this kind from so great an authority as Lumsden. With regard to the change that should take place in our policy, I certainly quite agree with Mr. Saunders. The way in which things are going on now is most lamentable. Obstructiveness and red-tape and want of knowledge seem to be taken for impartiality and for good government. The more ignorant a man is on the subject, the more he thinks that he can be perfectly impartial, and so no doubt he can be in one sense. For instance, the last time I was in England I stated—I think it was at the Geographical Society—that the Abbot of Pugdal had offered to send his nephews as hostages to the British Government, in order to guarantee the safety of any traveller who might wish to go with him to Lhasa. The way this offer was brought about was this. The intrepid savant, Csoma de Körös, a Hungarian, whom, I think, *you* [addressing Dr. Campbell, late of Darjeeling] so well knew, lived for three years in that remarkable monastery of Pugdal, which is quite scooped out of the rock; and which looks like a temple of gnomes surrounded by their cells, out of which the Lamas emerge above and below, and at the sides of the middle dome. There he ate his rice and lived in a most abstemious

way, and probably effected the improvement I noticed—namely, the abolition of the convenient worship by the prayer-wheel. As for the Abbot himself, his contempt for the gods of Buddhism (for, in its present degenerate form, its teachers or saints are practically gods) equalled any contempt that we may have for idolatry. This is a great testimony to the influence exercised on a Tibetan priest by an European scholar. Csoma de Kőrös' dearest wish, which he did not live to carry out, was to penetrate to Lhasa in order to complete his Tibetan studies, and this wish the Abbot wanted to fulfil vicariously by offering to take any countryman of the "Pelingi dasa," or European disciple, to Lhasa. A regular choral service, antiphonal in its execution, is carried on in that very monastery; yet it seems that there is not much belief there, because when I asked a strange priestly guide, who brought me further on, whether the road was far, he said, "Nothing was far;" whether Buddha was anything, "No, Buddha was nothing." He was a complete Nihilist. However, when he ran the risk of being swept away by a torrent, I could not resist the temptation of asking him whether *that* was nothing, to which he did not reply. [In answer to an inquiry made by a visitor.] The fact is, Buddhism, although utterly subversive of the gods of Brahminism, has practically reintroduced them. There is Græco-Buddhism and Llamaic Buddhism. Now, Llamaic Buddhism has reintroduced the gods that Buddha got rid of. In fact, this subject may be carried farther, and nothing can be easier than to say that Pythagoras himself is, as his name shows, "Buddh agoras"—the announcer of Buddha. Some of the French missionaries were supposed to have lately gone to Lhasa, but we do not know anything about them or their visit—have never seen them. To go back to what I was saying, here was a good offer for the solution of a number of questions since the days of Huc and Gabet. The abbot said he would undertake to bring anyone to Lhasa, and was willing to leave his nephews as hostages, but I am not aware that this offer has been made the least use of. That the Russians neglect no opportunity of advancing their interests—and far be it from me to say that when we do nothing the whole world should do nothing—is proved by a circumstance which may be narrated to you by this very Kafir, that immediately after the conclusion of the meeting of Umbala, in which we made terms with the Amir of Kabul, and subsidised him, giving him money to equip an army, which he has never paid away, and to develop the resources of his country, which never sees our rupees, there came Russian who was in close confabulation with the Amir of Kabul for a fortnight, so you see that the Russians do not neglect any opportunity and great credit is due to them for it. We ought to change the whole of our attitude with regard to frontier matters, for things are really very serious as they are going on now. These tribes are being hemmed in by Cashmir on the one hand, and by the Amir of Cabul on the other, who claims a lot of territory that never was his. His family was not very much, and they have had but very doubtful possession of Balkh. Even Dost Muhammad had very

doubtful possession of Balkh, and was himself a fugitive in Bokhara ; and now we have supported the claim of the Amir of Cabul even to Badakhshan itself, where, if there is any truth in the tradition of a descent from Alexander, it must be found in the royal house of Badakhshan. One disastrous result of our influence is, that as Muhammadanism increases, all these legends, these songs, these traditions of the Dards and Kafirs, which centuries of barbarism have respected, are swept away. Races who only wanted to be let alone, are edged on to the verge of exasperation, and infest the roads, because they do not want to have their children kidnapped. The Dards are being massacred. The women of Yasin, women who are as fair as Englishwomen, were massacred by the troops of the Maharajah of Kashmir ; and Hayward counted I do not know how many hundred skulls, when he visited the spot some years afterwards. On every side are there legends ascending to the remotest origin of Aryan speech and mythology ; but who knows that the accident of their being now partially embodied in the book ("Dardistan, Part III") before you, may not have been a most fortunate event, for with Muhammadanism and its fanaticism closing round, legends are wiped out, traditions are lost, and I suppose the time may come when the last Kafir girl will be sold by her own father to a Muhammadan to avoid a worse fate for himself and her. This is the present state of things ; whilst, if we took the other line of conciliating and preserving the independent mountain tribes, we should then have friendly populations, open to our civilisation, and to our scientific inquiries. Supposing, however, that you do want to give to irresponsible feudatories all the power which their ambition desires, then insist at least on their behaving as civilised feudatories of the British empire should behave, and—as one proof of their sincerity, and some return for our money—abolishing that dreadful state of slavery which they support, either directly or indirectly. I was very much interested in the kind words that Dr. Hyde Clarke spoke. We owe Dr. Hyde Clarke a considerable amount of gratitude for having pointed out that the Khajuná, one of the languages which I discovered, is one of the remnants of a group of languages spoken before any of the Aryan dialects developed into "the perfect" dialect, namely, the Sanscrit. Great service to myself, and also, I think, to science generally, has thus been rendered by Dr. Hyde Clarke. I wish that Mr. Sankey would carry a railway through this country. If the account of Jamshéd can be trusted, he says it is very easy to carry on a railway from the north, right to the foot of the Hindu Kush. He says the country above is a plain, and it is very easy travelling and all that, and I wish Mr. Sankey God speed, I am sure, in that undertaking. Then with regard to this Kafir, I have brought him just as I brought the other man, in order that he should remember this country, not by the kindness of one, but by the kindness of many. The influence that a single European can exercise is no secret ; it is gained by a little hospitality, and a little friendliness. I keep, I was going to say, my house open in India, but I remember that

these people get into one's compound, where our servants' houses are in India ; so I keep my compound open for any visitors from or beyond the frontier ; they come there and enjoy a very cheap hospitality, which, all through the year does not cost me £100, and they go and tell their friends and others of a European's hospitality, and so I get information from them. They go away and mention that a European has treated them well, and I think that does some good to explorers. Niaz, your late Yarkandi friend, is now set up, and is doing very well, and will remember us. I hope the present visitor will be shown some of our institutions, and will be taken a little by the hand. I have not the least doubt, that if Mr. Sankey carries his railway through that country, he will be treated with very great hospitality, at any rate by the Kafirs, whilst we, who have been kind to our "Macedonian" brother, will have the advantage of being deified in Kafir mythology, because they gratefully raise all those to the rank of gods, who treat them with hospitality.

THE PRESIDENT : I am sure, after the reception given to the excellent discourse we have had, it is quite needless for me to move that the thanks of the meeting be given to Dr. Leitner, for his very admirable address. I must for my own part say, I do not remember ever listening to any communication given before this Institute, of higher and more general interest, than that we have heard to-night. Its interest, as Dr. Leitner has well observed, is manifold ; it concerns the physical anthropologist, as well as the philologist ; the ethnologist and the geographer will also find in it points of the greatest value. And from what appears this evening, its interest extends in a certain degree almost beyond the legitimate subjects of the Institute, which has no concern with politics. But I must say, that all the observations that have had a political tendency which have fallen from either Dr. Leitner, or those who have spoken on the subject, are of the very highest importance, and such, I should imagine, as if brought before the attention of those in whom the destinies of this country are reposed, cannot fail to have a beneficial effect. The spirit in which they were offered is such as can give offence to no party, though it indicates a true and genuine interest in the people to whom Dr. Leitner's observations refer, a race, I should imagine from what has fallen from him, whose history must be very curious. With respect to their origin, of course I am not prepared to offer any observations, and must leave that to be discussed by Dr. Leitner at some future time. I was struck, however, with one observation that he made with respect to a tribe, I suppose not the same, in which he says that the women were as fair as Englishwomen. Does the individual, Dr. Leitner has been good enough to bring with him this evening, belong to the race to which he refers, or to some cognate tribe ?

DR. LEITNER : I believe that further inquiries will show that they are cognate. This man is a Kafir and much darker than the Yasin women to whom I have referred. He has seen a good deal of fighting, and has been much exposed.

The PRESIDENT : I am one of those who believe that ethnological evidence derived from language or religion is, in many cases, less reliable than that from physical characters ; and it would have been very interesting indeed if we had had materials, which of course are not before us, to have discussed that part of the subject rather more fully.

Mr. DREW : I have seen many Dards between Gilgit and Yasin much lighter than the present individual.

The PRESIDENT : No doubt it is a question of degree, for I may mention, that even among the Marquesas islanders for instance, the women of the interior of the island have been described by writers as certainly quite as fair as Spanish or Italian women, and it is very likely that women may be found in a secluded mountain valley of a much fairer complexion, though belonging to the same race as the individual whom we now see. Before sitting down, in moving that the thanks of the meeting be given to Dr. Leitner, I must not also omit to mention the obligations we are under to Mr. Saunders, for the kindness and alacrity with which he procured this map for the purposes of the evening. I move that the thanks of the meeting be given to Dr. Leitner for his very interesting paper.

Dr. Leitner was accompanied by a native Siah Posh Kafir.

Thanks having been voted to Dr. Leitner for his communication, and to Mr. Trelawney Saunders and Mr. Wyld for lending maps on the occasion, the meeting separated.

DECEMBER 9TH, 1873.

F. G. H. PRICE, Esq., F.R.G.S., *in the Chair*.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

THOMAS GEORGE BIDDLE LLOYD, Esq., C.E., F.G.S., 6, Cecil Street, Strand ; and Señor GONZALES DE LA ROSA, F.R.G.S., were elected members.

EDWYN C. REED, Esq., of the Museo Nacional, Santiago de Chile, was elected Local Secretary for Santiago de Chile.

The following presents were announced, and the thanks of the meeting voted to the respective donors :—

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VOL. III. B B