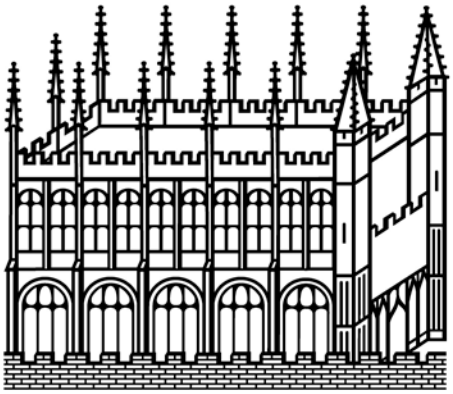

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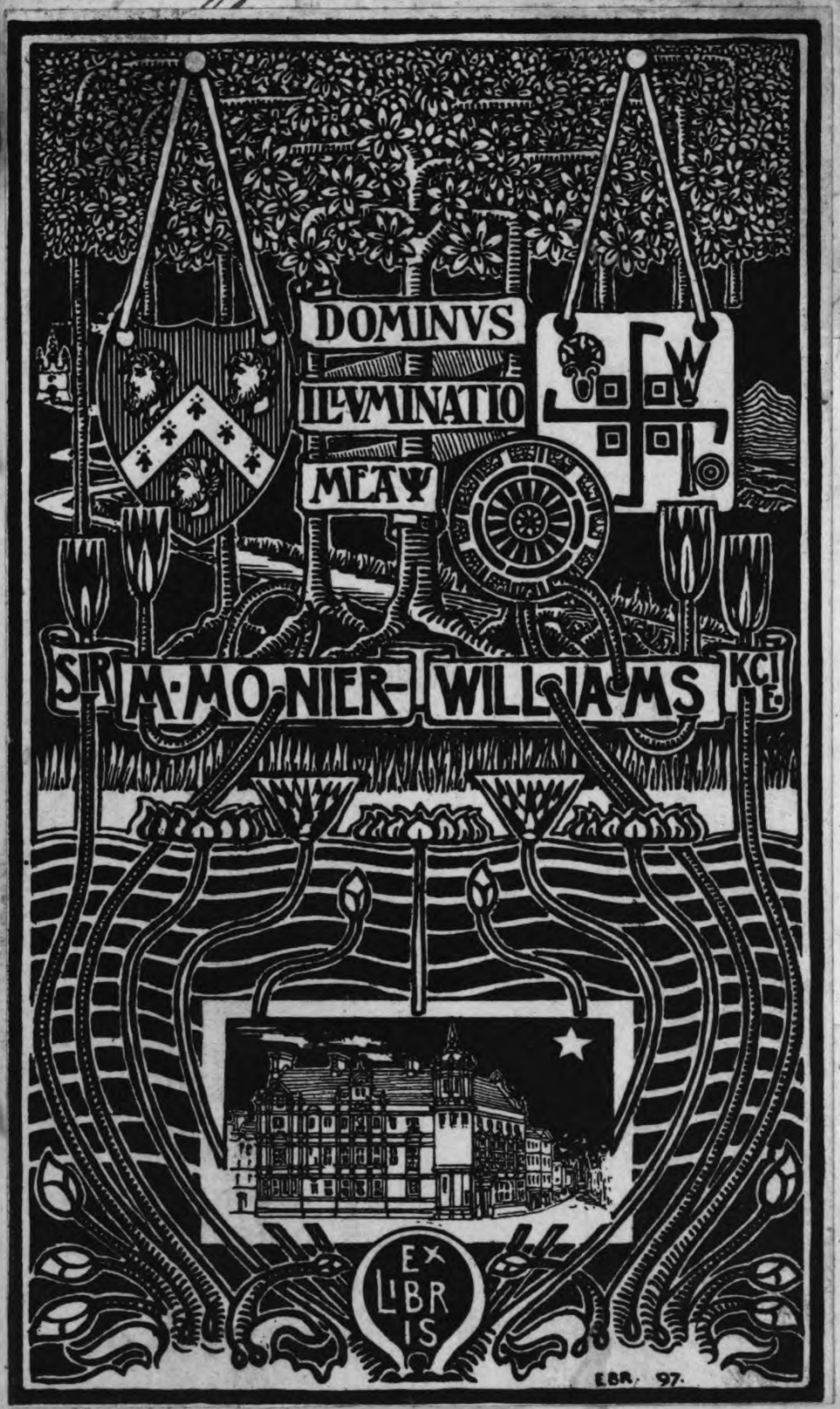
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THE

HISTORY

OF

NADIR SHAH,

Formerly called

Thamas Kuli Khan,

The Preſent Emperor of PERSIA.

To which is prefix'd

A ſhort HISTORY of the *Moghol* Emperors.

At the End is inſerted,

A CATALOGUE of about Two Hundred MANUSCRIPTS in the *Perſic* and other *Oriental* Languages, collected in the Eaſt.

By *JAMES FRASER.*

LONDON:

Printed by *W. Strahan*, for the AUTHOR:

And ſold by G. STRAHAN, and J. BROTHERTON, in *Cornhill*; J. OSWALD, and J. DAVIDSON, in the *Poultry*; S. AUSTIN, in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*; T. LONGMAN, and C. HITCH, in *Pater-noſter-row*; A. MILLAR, in the *Strand*; J. STAGG, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; J. HODGES, and T. HARRIS, on *London-Bridge*; J. PALAIRET, in *Piccadilly*; and MARY SENEX, in *Fleetſtreet*. 1742.

To

TO

Dr. *Richard Mead*,

Phyſician to the KING,

FELLOW of the College of

PHYSICIANS in *LONDON*,

And of the

ROYAL SOCIETY,

Theſe Sheets (as a grateful Acknowledgment of the Favours received) are, with great Submiſſion, dedicated by

His moſt obliged

Humble Servant,

JAMES FRASER.

THE

PREFACE.

AS the Public is ever favourable to Works of this Nature, I ſhall make no Apology for the preſent Undertaking. But to ſatisfy my Readers what Pains I have been at not to impoſe upon them, and what Opportunities I have had of being informed, I beg leave to preſent them with a ſhort Account of the following Sheets.

The Abſtract of the Moghol *Hiſtory is extracted from the 6th Vol. of* Tarîkh Rozit al Suffa, Vakeât Babri, Maçir Jehanguîry, Padſhanama, and Tarîkh Alumguîri, *&c. A particular Account of which will be found in the Catalogue of Manuſcripts at the End of the*

the Book. As I have ſo large and choice a Collection of Eaſtern Hiſtories for that Purpoſe, the Authenticneſs of it will not be diſputed.

As to that Part which gives an Account of the State of Affairs in the Moghol *Empire before the* Perſian *Invaſion, with the Springs that effected the ſame, I have tranſlated it from a* Perſian *Manuſcript ſent to Dr.* Mead, *by* Humfries Cole *Eſq; Chief of the* Engliſh *Factory at* Patna *in the* Eaſt-Indies. *That the Facts therein are true, I am well aſſured; having myſelf lived in* India *above Ten Years, the laſt Three of which, I held a conſtant Correſpondence with ſome* Perſians *and* Moghols *there, and that frequently on the Subject of* Nadir Shah's *Expedition.*

The Account of Nadir Shah's *firſt Exploits I have been favoured with from a Gentleman now in* England, *who reſided ſeveral Years in* Perſia, *ſpeaks that Language, and has been frequently in Company with that Conqueror.*

The Journal of his Tranſactions in India, *with the Letters and Ceſſion of the Provinces, were tranſmitted from* Dehli, *by the Secretary of* Sirbullind Khan *(whom* Nadir Shah *had appointed to be one of the Commiſſioners for*

for levying the Contributions) to Mirza Moghol, *Son to* Ali Mahommed Khan at Ahmedabad, *who being my intimate Friend, gave it to me.*

I have been as full in the Notes as poſſible, and ex plained whatever Terms I thought required it: Several proper Names and Words I have expreſſed in the Original Characters, which I thought would be entertaining to thoſe who know any Thing of the Arabic *or* Perſic, *and not diſagreeable even to thoſe who do not, as they are immediately after ſet down in* Roman *Characters, with a proper Explanation. As ſeveral of thoſe Terms have occured more than once, I have annexed an Index of them, referring to the Page in which they are particularly explained.*

In the Abſtract of the Moghol *Hiſtory, I have reduced the Dates of the* Hegira *to the Year of our Lord, but in the remaining Part I have kept the Original Dates, and put ours in the Notes.*

The learned Reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that in two or three Perſic *Words, I have been obliged to make uſe of the Letter* B. *inſtead of* P. *there being no ſuch Letter in the* Arabic *Types, which I have been favoured with by the* Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge,

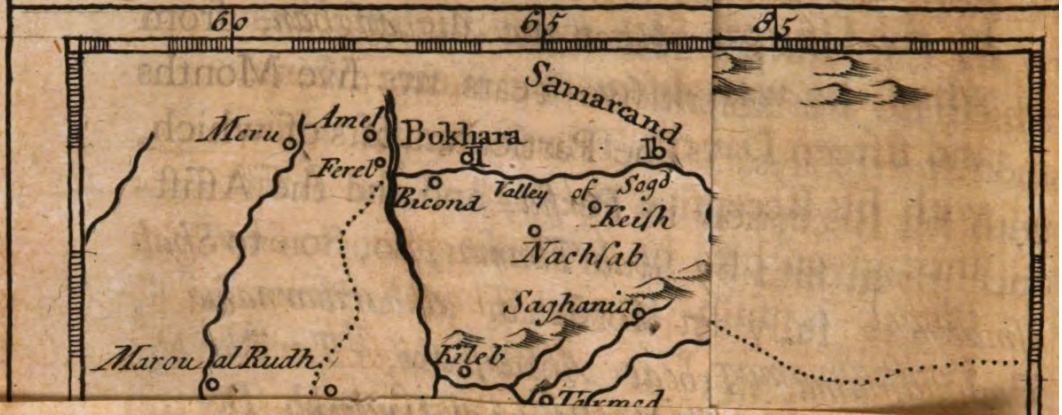
ledge, *at the Recommendation of his Lordſhip the Biſhop of* Litchfield *and* Coventry.

The Oriental Manuſcripts, of which I have annexed a Catalogue at the End of theſe Sheets, have been collected from the Year 1730 *to* 1740, *and purchaſed with no ſmall Labour and Expence, at* Surat, Cambay, *and* Ahmedabad *in the* Eaſt-Indies; *excepting a few which I bought at* Mocha *in* Arabia, *from ſome* Perſians *who paſſed that Way on their Pilgrimage to* Mecca.

The firſt Maſter under whom I ſtudied the Perſic, *was a* Parſi, *(or one of the Race of the ancient* Perſians) *now at* Surat. *The ſecond was a* Mullah *of one of the Moſques there, whoſe Name is* Fakhr o'dîn. *When I was at* Cambay, *I ſtudied under* Shékh Mahommed Morad, *a Man famous in thoſe Parts for his Knowledge of the* Mahommedan *Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Laws. During my Stay in that Place, I employed three Hours each Day with one* Srî Nât Veaz, *a learned* Brahmin, *whom I allowed a Sallary on that Account; it was by his Means I procured my* Sanſkerrit *Manuſcripts, which (I believe) is the firſt Collection of that Kind ever brought into* Europe.

A MAP of the MOTARY.

This Map has been Copied from one accepting a few of the distances: The names of several places [illegible]ed.



A SHORT

HISTORY

OF THE

HINDOSTAN Emperors of the *Moghol* Race, beginning with TEMUR.

TEMUR, * the Son of *Emîr Targhai Khan* and *Takina Khatun*, was born on the 6th of *April*, 1336. during the Government of *Kazan Khan*, in the City of *Keiſh*, (commonly call'd *Shehr-ſobz*,

* تيمور *Temur* is known in *Europe* by the Name of *Tamerlane*, a Corruption of تيمور لنك *Temur Lung*, which ſignifies *Lame Temur*, an Appellative ſeldom or never given him by the Eaſtern Hiſtorians. His Name and Titles at Length are قطب الدنيا و الدين امير تيمور كوركان صاحب قران *Koteb al Dunia v'al dîn Emîr Temur Gourgan Saheb é Kéran*, which is to ſay,

The

ſobz, or the *Green City)* which is one Stage † diſtant from *Samarcand:* And on the 8th of *April*, 1370, then aged 35 ‡ Lunar Years and 17 Days, ſat on the Throne in the City of *Balkh*. From which Time until his Death, which was Thirty-five Years Eleven Months and Five Days, he ſubdued the better Part of the Earth, and obtain'd Victories that might eclipſe the Glory of all the Exploits before his Time. He conquered *Mawaralnahr* (or *Trans-oxane Tartary*) *Biddukhſhan*, *Khuariſm*, *Turkeſtan*, *Zabuliſtan*, *Kabul*, *Ghor* and *Hin-*

The Axis of (or on whom turns round) the World and Religion, Prince *Temur* of *Gourgan*, Lord of the Conjunction; it being ſaid, there was a fortunate Conjunction of the Planets at his Birth. قطب *Koteb* literally ſignifies the Pole or Extreme of the Axis; a Part being put to ſignify the Whole. *Temur* ſignifies hardy, and ſtrong, being deriv'd from the *Tartar* Word تمر *Temr*, Iron, which the modern *Turks* by Corruption write دمر *Demr*.

† The Stages, which in *Tartary* and *Perſia* they call منزل *Manzel*, are from 25 to 30 *Engliſh* Miles.

‡ The Lunar Year they reckon 354 Days, 22 Gurris, 1 Pull. The Solar Year they reckon 365 Days, 15 Gurris 30 Pulls, 22½ Peels; 60 Peels making 1 Pull, 60 Pulls 1 Gurri, and 60 Gurris 1 Day. This is according to the *Bramim*'s or *Indian* Prieſt's Calculation, and what the *Moghols* and other *Mahommedans* in *India* chiefly go by.

doſtan

doſtan * as far as *Dehli*, all *Aſia Minor*, *Syria* and *Egypt*.

In the Year 1398, he ſet out on his Expedition to *India*; and on the 16th of *December* the ſame Year, he took the Capital *Dehli*, having then an Army of near 100,000 Horſe. But finding a general Conqueſt of *India* would be attended with much Difficulty, and the keeping it afterwards impracticable, he bent his Thoughts on an Expedition againſt the *Turks*; and Three Years Eight Months after the taking of *Dehli*, in the latter End of 1401, with an Army of near 200,000 Horſe he ſet out againſt *Eildirm* || *Baiazed*, the Son of *Sultan Morad Khan* (corruply call'd *Amurath*); and on the 18th of *July*, 1402, on the Plains of *Angoria* in *Galatia*, defeated him and his numerous Army. On the 19th at Night *Baiazed*,

* *India* in the Eaſt is known by the Name of هندوستان *Hindoſtan*, which ſignifies the Country of the *Hindu's* or ſwarthy People, هندو *Hindu* being ſwarthy or black. The Capital thereof is دهلي *Dehli*, which ſince *Shah Jehan* removed thither from *Agra*, is as often known by the Name of شاه جهان اباد *Shah Jehanabad*, or *Shah Jehan*'s Habitation.

|| يلدرم *Eildirm*, which in the *Turkiſh* Language ſignifies Lightning, was *Baiazéd*'s Sirname.

with his Son *Mouſa*, were taken Priſoners, and preſented to him.

After this Victory, all *Aſia Minor* ſubmitted to him, and the *Khotbah* * was read at *Mecca* and *Medina* in his Name.

On *Wedneſday* the 8th of *February*, 1405, while on his Expedition to *Khata* †, he died at the Village *Atrar*, which is diſtant from *Samarcand* Seventy-ſix *Farſangs* ‡. His Body was brought to *Samarcand*, and buried in a Tomb, which he himſelf had cauſed to be erected for that Purpoſe, having lived Seventy Years, Eleven Months and Twenty-two Days.

His Sons were,

1. *Jehanguîr Mirza*, who died in 1374, at *Samarcand*, in *Temur*'s Life-time, aged Twenty Years.

2. *Shekh Aumar Mirza*, who was kill'd in *Temur*'s Life-time, in *January* 1394. being Forty Years old.

* خطبه *Khotbah* is the Harangue read by the *Mullahs* on *Fridays* in the Moſques, in which the Prince who then governs is mention'd and pray'd for.

† خطا *Khata* or *China*.

‡ فرسنك *Farſang* is about four *Engliſh* Miles.

3. *Mirza*

3. *Mirza Miran Shah*, born in 1367-8, and kill'd the 9th of *April*, 1408.

4. *Shahrokh Mirza*, who reigned after his Father for the Space of Forty-three Lunar Years and Four Months, and died in *March*, 1447, having lived Seventy-two Years.

Sultan Mahommed Mirza

Was the Son of *Mirza Miran Shah*, who with his Brother *Mirza Khulil* lived at *Samarcand*, and in the Reign of their Uncle *Shahrokh* they both died. The preciſe Times of their Birth and Death are not recorded in any authentic Hiſtory.

Sultan Abuseyd Mirza,

The Son of *Sultan Mahommed Mirza*, was born in 1427. ſat on the Throne at the Age of Twenty-five, and on the 18th of *May* 1469, was kill'd, having reigned Eighteen Lunar Years, and lived Forty-three.

Aumar Shekh Mirza,

The Fourth Son of *Sultan Abuſeyd Mirza*, was born at *Samarcand* in 1456. After his Father's

Father's Death he held Poſſeſſion of *Farghana*, *Khogend* and *Auratia* (anciently call'd *Aſtruſhna)* and died on the 7th of *June*, 1494, having lived Thirty-nine Lunar Years.

ZEHÎR ‡ O'DÎN MAHOMMED BABR,

The Son of *Aumar Shekh Mirza*. The beſt Hiſtory of his Actions, is the Commentaries wrote by himſelf, call'd *Vakeat Babri* ‖. He was born the 12th of *February*, 1483. and on the the 8th of *June*, 1494, aged Eleven Lunar Years, Seven Months, and Twenty-nine Days ſat on the Throne at *Andjan*. While he governed in *Mawaralnahr*, he had frequent Conflicts with *Shaban Khan Ouſbek*. After conquering *Cabul*, *Kan-*

‡ Formerly the *Khalifs* gave Titles to the *Mahommedan* Princes; ſuch as Defender of Religion, the Champion of Religion, *&c.* And ſince the Deſtruction of their Empire, the Princes have aſſumed ſuch as they liked beſt. سلطان بابر *Sultan Babr* took the Title of ظهیر الدین *Zehîr o'dîn*, the Supporter of Religion; and the Name محمد *Mahommed*, which ſignifies prais'd, is prefix'd (or underſtood to be ſo) to almoſt every *Muſſulman*'s Name.

‖ واقعات بابری *Vakeat Babri*, ſignifies *Babr*'s Occurrences.

dahar,

dahar, *Biddukhſhan*, *Ghoznavi*, and the Places dependant on them, he made five different Expeditions into *Hindoſtan*. In the firſt Four he was unſucceſsful; but in the Fifth, on the 1ſt of *May*, 1526, near the Village *Maltia*, he gave Battle to *Sultan Ibrahim Loudi*, who had 100,000 Afghans *, and 1000 armed Elephants, and totally defeated him, and that numerous Army, tho' he had ſcarcely 12,000 effective Men.

He afterwards ſubdued all that Empire, excepting the Kingdoms of *Deccan*, *Guzerat*, and *Bengal*. Eleven Months and Five Days after this Battle, he engaged *Rana Sanga*, the moſt powerful of the *Indian* Princes; and tho' the Army of the latter was incredibly numerous, and had many armed Elephants, he got the Victory.

He died on the 25th of *December*, 1530, in *Charbaghi* near *Agra*, on the Banks of the River *Chun* †, from whence his Body was carried to be interred in *Cabul*, having lived

* افغان *Afghans* are the ſeveral Tribes of *Mahommedans*, who inhabit the Northern Parts of *India*; there are ſome of them ſpread all over *India*, known often by the Name of *Pattans*; they are eſteem'd the beſt Soldiers in the Country.

† The River *Chun*, is often call'd *Jumna*.

Forty-

Forty-nine Lunar Years, Four Months, and One Day; and reigned Thirty-ſeven Years, Eight Months, and Two Days: Thirty-two Years Ten Months and Three Days before the Conqueſt of *India*; and Four Years Nine Months and Twenty-nine Days after the Conqueſt thereof.

NESSÎR ‡ O'DÎN MAHOMMED HEMAIUN,

Son to *Zehîr o'dîn Mahommed Babr*, was born in the Caſtle of *Cabul*, on the 4th of *March*, 1508; and on the 28th of *December*, 1530, ſat on the Throne at *Agra*.

In *November*, 1534, he ſet out to conquer *Malva* and *Guzerat*. *Sultan Bahadr*, who had engaged with him, and was defeated, fled to *Mundou*; and being purſued, went from thence to *Chanpanere*; from *Chanpanere* to *Canbaet* (or *Cambay*); and from *Canbaet* to *Diu*. *Hemaiun* after ſtaying ſome Time at *Canbaet*, return'd.

Having, in the Year 1535, ſubdued *Malva* and *Guzerat*, in 1538 he conquer'd *Bengal*; but in 1540, being forſaken by his good

‡ همايون *Hemaiûn* took the Title of نصير الدين *Neſſîr o'dîn*, the Aſſiſter of Religion.

Fortune,

Fortune, he was driven out of his Country by the Uſurper *Sher Khan* the *Afghan*, from which he was abſent five Years five Months and fifteen Days. The Particulars of which, with his Reception in *Perſia*, and the Aſſiſtance given him by *Shah Thamas*, Son to *Shah Iſmael* is fully ſet forth in *Akbarnama* ||, *Padſhahnama*, *Tebcat Akbarſhahi*, *Tarikhalum Arai*, and *Montékheb al Tuarikh Bedauvni*, being too prolix to inſert here. At laſt, on the 1ſt of *September*, 1545, he took *Kandahar* from *Mirza Aſkeri*, who govern'd it as *Mirza Camran*'s Deputy; and on the 16th of *November*, 1545, he took *Cabul* from *Mirza Camran*; and in the Spring 1546, conquer'd *Biddukhſhan* from *Mirza Suliman*, who had revolted and taken the Government thereof into his own Hands. In the Beginning of *December*, 1554, he ſet out from *Cabul* for *Hindoſtan*; and on the 22d of *February*, 1555, came to *Lahor*. On the 27th of *May*, the ſame Year, he came to *Serhind*; and on the 20th of *June*, encounter'd and defeated *Secandir Sour*. This

|| Theſe are five Hiſtories; the firſt Three and the Fifth of the *Moghol* Emperors, and the Fourth of the *Perſian* Kings of the *Seffi* Race.

Secandir was Son-in-Law to the Uſurper *Shêr Khan*. His firſt Name was *Ahmed*, and he governed *Panjab* * under *Selim Khan*, after whoſe Death he took the Government into his own Hands, calling himſelf *Secandir*, and poſſeſſing all from the River *Scind* † to the *Ganges*.

On the 24th of *January*, 1556, *Hemaiun* departed this Life, and was buried in a Monument erected on the Banks of the River *Chun*, having lived Forty-nine Lunar Years, Four Months and Ten Days, and reigned Twenty-five Years Ten Months and Five Days.

JILAL ‡ O'DÎN MAHOMMED AKBAR,

Son to *Neſſir o'dîn Mahommed Hemaiun*, was born in the Fort of *Amrkowt* on the 12th of

* پنجاب *Panjab* is the ancient Name of the Province of *Lahor*; it ſignifies the five Waters or Rivers, ſo many running through that Province and falling into the River *Scind*.

† The River سند *Scind*, is that known by the Name of the *Indus*.

‡ اکبر *Akbar* took to himſelf the Title of جلال الدین *Jilal o'din*, which ſignifies, the *Aggrandizer of Religion*.

October,

October, 1542; and on the 12th of *February*, 1556, being then Thirteen Solar Years and Four Months old, was proclaimed Emperor at *Calanore* in the Province of *Lahor*. He was reckon'd a great and good Prince, and was very fortunate, having in his Reign made ſeveral Conqueſts, and reduced almoſt all *India* to Obedience. The Particulars of which are to be ſeen in *Akbarnama*, a Hiſtory compos'd by his Secretary and Vizir *Abul Fazl* *, and in *Tebcat Akbar Shahi*, and *Montekheb Tuarikh Bedauvni*. As he was profeſſedly fixed to no Religion himſelf, ſo he was a Perſecutor of none. In 1582 he wrote a Letter to the King of *Portugal*, deſiring he would ſend to him a Tranſlation of the Scriptures into *Arabic* or *Perſian*, and at the ſame

* ابو الفضل *Abul Fazl* was the Title given to this Great Man, and ſignifies, *the Father of Excellence*. His Writings teſtify him to be the moſt learned, and the beſt Writer then in the Eaſt. He was murder'd by Order of سلطان سليم *Sultan Selim*, on Suſpicion of being the Occaſion of a Miſunderſtanding that was betwixt him and the Emperor his Father. *Akbar* greatly lamented his Death, and ſo did all who had any Regard for Letters; he having left ſeveral Things unfiniſh'd. His *Hiſtory of the Moghol Emperors*, he carried on to the 38th Year of *Akbar*'s Reign.

Time a learned Perſon to explain the Chriſtian Religion. One *Geronimo Xavier*, a Relation of the famous *St. Francis Xavier*, was ſent; who having learned the *Perſian*, in the Year 1602, preſented the *Moghol* with the Goſpels tranſlated into that Language, entirely intermix'd with their Legends, which he imagin'd would make it the more acceptable to *Akbar*. As I thought the Letter would not be diſagreeable to ſome of the Readers, I have inſerted a Tranſlation of it, in which I have kept as cloſe to the Original as poſſible.

*A Letter from the King of Kings to the Ruler * of the* Franks.

" GLORY † inconceivable to the TRUE
" KING, whoſe Dominions are ſafe
" from the Diſaſter of Decay, and his King-

* As the *Portugueſe* had made ſeveral Conqueſts on the Coaſts of *India*, it is probable *Akbar* imagin'd their King was the moſt powerful Prince in *Europe*, and ſo calls him فرمان روای فرنك *Firman revai Farang*, or *the Ruler of the Franks* or *Europeans*.

† It is cuſtomary with the *Mahommedans* to begin, not only their Letters, but alſo moſt of their other Writings; firſt, with the Praiſe of God, and then with the Praiſe of the Prophet.

" dom

" dom ſecure from the Calamity of ſhift-
" ing. The wonderful Extent of the Heavens
" and Earth is but a minute Part of the
" World of his Creation, and infinite Space
" but a ſmall Corner of his Production.
" A GOVERNOR who has regulated the Or-
" der of the Univerſe, and the Management
" of the Sons of *Adam*, by the Underſtand-
" ing of Kings who exerciſe Juſtice. A De-
" creer, who by the Ties of Love and Bonds
" of Affection, has implanted in the various
" Beings and ſeveral Creatures the Paſſion
" of Inclination and Union, and the Affec-
" tions of mutual Tendency and Society.

" And Praiſes unbounded, an Offering to
" the pure Souls of the Company of Pro-
" phets ‡ and Apoſtles, who walked in the
" trueſt Paths, and directed the righteſt
" Ways, in general and particular.

" It is well known that (with thoſe who
" have ſtored themſelves with Knowledge
" and ſtudied Nature) nothing in this lower
" World, which is a Mirror of the ſpiritual
" one, is preferable to Love, or more ſacred
" than Friendſhip. In that they aſcribe the

‡ As *Akbar* was no ſound *Muſſulman* he makes no particular Mention of *Mahommed.*

" Oecono-

" Oeconomy and right Diſpoſition of the
" World to Affection and Harmony. For
" whatever Heart the Sun of Love ſhines on,
" it clears the whole Soul from the Darkneſs
" of Mortality; and how much more is this
" requiſite in Princes, the good Correſpon-
" dence of whom is the Cauſe of Happi-
" neſs to the World and the People therein.
" For which Reaſon it has been my earneſt
" and entire Endeavour to promote and con-
" firm the Ties of Friendſhip and Bonds of
" Union among God's Creatures, eſpecially
" among the high Rank of Kings, whom
" God by his Favour has peculiarly diſtin-
" guiſhed from the reſt of Mankind; par-
" ticularly with his * Royal Majeſty, who is
" endowed with intellectual Knowledge, is
" the Reviver of the Ordinances of Jeſus, and
" ſtands in no Need of Praiſe or Deſcription.
" Our Neighbourhood † with that renown'd
" Prince making an Alliance and Friendſhip
" more indiſpenſibly neceſſary; and as a
" perſonal Conference is impracticable on

* By his Royal Majeſty, he means the King of *Portugal*.

† The *Portugueſe* Conqueſts on the Coaſt of *India*, made them Neighbours.

" account

" account of many Obſtacles and ſeveral " weighty Reaſons, the want thereof can " only be ſupplied by Embaſſies, and a mu- " tual Correſpondence. Since it is certain " that theſe only can make up the Loſs of " a perſonal Converſation and Interviews; " we hope they will be mutually carried on, " without any Interruption, that the Af- " fairs and Deſires of each may be mani- " feſted to the other.

" Your Majeſty knows that the Learned " and Divines of all Nations and Times, in " their Opinions concerning the World of " Appearance and the Intellectual, agree in " this, that the Former ought to be of no " Conſideration in Reſpect to the Latter; " yet the wiſe Men of the Times, and the " great ones of all Nations, toil much in " perfecting themſelves, as to this periſh- " ing and ſhowy State, and conſume the " beſt of their Lives, and the choiceſt of " their Time, in procuring apparent De- " lights, being ſwallowed up and diſſolved " in fleeting Pleaſures and tranſitory Joys. " The moſt High God, merely thro' his " eternal Favour and perpetual Grace, not- " withſtanding ſo many Obſtacles, and ſuch

" a World of Buſineſs and Employment,
" has diſpoſed my Heart ſo as always to
" ſeek him: And tho' he has ſubjected the
" Dominions of ſo many powerful Princes
" to me, which to the beſt of my Judg-
" ment I endeavour to manage and govern
" ſo, as that all my Subjects are contented
" and happy; yet Praiſe be to God, his
" Will and my Duty to him, is the End I
" propoſe in all my Actions and Deſires.
" And as moſt People being enchained by
" the Bonds of Conſtraint and Faſhion,
" and regarding the Cuſtoms of their An-
" ceſtors, Relations and Acquaintances, with-
" out examining the Arguments or Reaſons
" for it, give an implicit Faith to that Re-
" ligion, in which they have been bred up,
" and remain deprived of the Excellency of
" Truth, the finding of which is the pro-
" per End of Reaſon; therefore at Times
" I converſe with the Learned of all Reli-
" gions, * and Profit by the Diſcourſes of

* *Abdallah Khan*, Prince of *Tartary*, in his Letters to *Akbar* (of which I have got Copies) calls him to a ſevere Account, for being ſo fond of the *Brahmins* or *Indian* Prieſts, and ſo indifferent as to the *Mahommedan* Religion.

each

" each. As the Vail of a Language inter-
" poſes betwixt us, it would be expedient
" you would oblige me with ſuch a Per-
" ſon as could diſtinctly relate and explain
" the above Affair. It has alſo reached my
" fortunate Ears, that the Heavenly * Books,
" ſuch as the *Pentateuch*, *Pſalms*, and *Goſ-*
" *pels*, are put into *Arabic* and *Perſic*: Should
" a Tranſlation of theſe, or any other Books,
" which might be of general Benefit, be
" procurable in your Country, let them be
" ſent. For a further Confirmation of our
" Friendſhip, and ſecuring the Foundation
" of Affection and Unity, I have ſent my
" truſty Friend the Learned and Honour-
" able *Seyd Mazuffer*, † whom I have par-

* The *Mahommedans* call the Scriptures كتب سماوي *Coteb Sumavi*, or the Heavenly Books, and reckon their *Koran* one of them. They have a great Regard for them all; but ſay, we have quite altered and corrupted thoſe in our Poſſeſſion, eſpecially the Goſpels.

† I am not certain if this Letter, and the Embaſſador went any further than *Goa*; but it is well known, that upon this Occaſion, one *Geronimo Xavier*, a Jeſuit, was directed to learn the *Perſian* Language, and ſent to the *Moghol*'s Court. This Letter I tranſlated from the 1ſt Tome of *Abul Fazl's* Collection of Letters.

" ticularly favoured and diſtinguiſhed; he'll " communicate ſeveral Things perſonally " to you, in which confide. Always keep " open the Doors of Correſpondence and " Embaſſy; and Peace to him who follows " the Guide.

" *Written in the Month* * *Ribbi al-* " *avul*, 990.

Akbar died at *Agra* on *Tueſday*, 13 October 1605, aged Sixty-three Solar Years and one Day; having reigned Forty-nine Solar Years, eight Months, and one Day. His Body was interr'd in the Burying-place of *Secandra*, near that City.

He had three Sons,

Sultan Selim; † afterwards *Jehanguîr*.

Sultan Morad, ‡ who died by exceſſive Drinking in the Year 1598, in *Deccan*.

* *April*, 1582.

† سليم *Selim*, which is a proper Name for Men, ſignifies, *peaceful*, *ſafe*, *ſecure*; and سليمه *Selima* is a proper Name for Women, of the ſame Signification.

‡ مراد *Morad* ſignifies *wiſhed for*, *deſired*; being derived from ارادة *Eradih*, *the Will*.

Sultan

Sultan Daniel, who died by the like Debauch in the ſaid Province in the Year 1604.

And three Daughters,

Shahzadah Khanum. *
Shakr Niſſa Begum. †
Aram Banu Begum. ‡

NOUR ‖ O'DÎN MAHOMMED JEHANGUÎR,

Son to *Jilal o'dîn Mahommed Akbar*, was born at *Fattehpour* ** (formerly called *Sikri*)

* شاهزادہ خانم *Shahzada Khanum*, the Royal Lady; شاهزادہ *Shahzada* ſignifying *royally born*, and خانم *Khanum*, *Lady*.

† شکرنسا *Shakrniſſa*, the ſweeteſt of Women, with the Addition of بیکم *Begum*, which ſignifies, *Princeſs*.

‡ ارام بانو بیکم *Aram Banu Begum*, ſignifies *the calm and peaceful Princeſs*.

‖ نور الدین *Nour o'dîn*, the Light of Religion, and جهانگیر *Jehanguîr*, the Conqueror of the World, which Titles *Sultan Selim* aſſumed, when he became Emperor.

** فتحپور *Fattehpour*, ſignifies *the Place of Victory*.

which is twelve Coſs * diſtant from *Agra*, on the 19th *Auguſt* 1569, and called *Sultan Selim*. On the 21ſt *October* 1605, being then aged about 36 Solar Years, he ſat on the Throne at *Agra*, and took to himſelf the Title and Name of *Nour o'dîn Mahommed Jehanguîr*.

After a Reign of twenty two Solar Years and ſix Days (the laſt eight of which he had been afflicted with an Aſthma) he died at *Chingarhiſti*, being then on his Return from *Caſhmîr to Lahor*, on the 27th of *October* 1627, aged fifty eight Solar Years, one Month, and twenty nine Days. His Body was carried to *Lahor*, and there interr'd.

He was a weak Prince, and too much over-ruled by the beautiful *Nour Jehan* † (or *Nour Mahl*) which made the laſt ten Years of his Reign

* A Coſs is the Meaſure they commonly go by in *India*, in computing Diſtances; they are of two Sorts. *Jeribi*, or meaſured, which are 4000 Engliſh Yards each; and *Riſmi* or computed, which are from 2000 to 2500 Yards, according to the different Provinces. Thoſe mentioned here, are the meaſured Coſs.

† نور جهان *Nour Jehan*, ſignifies, the Light of the World. She was alſo called نور محل *Nour Mahl*, or the Light of the Seraglio. She was Wife to one *Shér Afkan Khan*, of a *Turkoman* Family, who came from *Perſia*

Reign very uneaſy to him, and unfortunate to the Empire. The *Omras*, who knew her Original, were reſolved to oppoſe all her Schemes; but ſhe perſuaded the Emperor to break thro' all Rules, in Order to advance her Father, Brother, and other Relations to the higheſt Employments.

After his Death ſhe endeavoured to ſecure the Empire for *Shehriar*, who was *Jehanguîr*'s Son by a Slave, and married to her Daughter by her Firſt Huſband *Sher Afkan Khan**. But *Aſof Khan* and *Eradet Khan*, as *Sultan Khourm* (who was Son-in-law to the former) was far off, and that the three

Perſia to *Hindoſtan* in very indifferent Circumſtances. As ſhe was exquiſitely beautiful, of great Wit, and an elegant Poeteſs, *Jehanguîr* was reſolved to take her to himſelf. He ſent her Husband, who was eſteemed the braveſt Man in the Service, with ſome Troops to command a Place in *Bengal*, and afterwards ſent another with a greater Force to cut him off. When he was killed, *Nour Jehan* was ſoon prevailed upon to be an Empreſs. The Coins ſtruck in *Jehanguîr*'s Reign, with the Signs of the *Zodiack*, were not, as is generally thought in *Europe*, done by his Empreſs's Order, nor did ſhe reign one Day, as the common Opinion is; but ſhe ruled the Perſon who reigned, for above twelve Years.

† شیر افکن *Sher Afkan* ſignifies, *the Lyon Overthrower*.

young

young Princes his Sons, *Dara Shekowh*, *Sultan Sujah*, and *Auringzebe*, were in *Nour Jehan*'s Hands, in order to diſconcert her Scheme, and protract the Time until he came, immediately proclaimed *Sultan Davr Bukhſh* (alias *Bolaki*) Son to *Khoſro*, Emperor.

Jehanguîr had Three Sons and Two Daughters by the following Empreſſes:

By the Daughter of *Rajah Bovandaſs*,* who poiſoned herſelf in 1601. becauſe the Emperor did not take the ſame Notice of her Son as he did of *Sultan Khourm*,

Sultana Niſſa Begum, † born in 1586.

Sultan Khoſro, ‡ Father to *Sultan Davr Bukhſh* or *Bolaki*, ‖ born in 1587. He died in Confinement in the Year 1622.

* *Rajah*, ſignifies, *Prince*, in the *Indian* Language, *and* Rani, *Princeſs*.

† سلطانه نسا *Sultana Niſſa*, the Queen of Women.

‡ خسرو *Khoſro*, is the Name of one of the *Perſian* Kings of the *Kaian Dynaſty*, who was great and powerful, and has been ſince generally applied to any great or powerful Prince, and uſed as a proper Name in ſome Royal Families.

‖ داور بخش *Davr Bukhſh*, ſignifies, *God's Giſt*.

By

By the Daughter of *Khojah Hoſſan*,
Sultan Parvéz *, born in the Year 1589.

By the Daughter of *Rajah Keſſoudaſs Rattor*,
Bahar Banu Begum †, born in 1590.

By the Daughter of *Rajah Oudeſung*,
Sultan Khourm ‡, born in 1592, who ſucceeded his Father, and took to himſelf the Name of *Shah Jehan.*

Jehanguir had alſo *Sultan Jehandar* ‖ and *Sultan Shehriar* § Twins by a Concubine, born in 1605; which laſt being *Nour Jehan*'s Son-in-law, ſhe endeavoured to ſecure the Empire to him: But on *Shah Jehan*'s Acceſſion to the Throne in 1627, he and *Bolaki*, with *Sultan Daniel*'s Three Sons,

* پرویز *Parvez*, a proper Name with the Ancient *Perſians*, it ſignifies *victorious*. In the *Pehluvi* Language, it ſignifies *Fiſh*, and ſome imagine its added to *Khoſro*'s Name, becauſe he had a great liking to Fiſh. Others ſay, that *Khoſro Parvez* ſignifies *the powerful and victorious King.*

† بهار بانو *Bahar Banu*, the blooming Princeſs.

‡ سلطان خرم *Sultan Khourm*, the joyful Prince.

‖ جهان دار *Jehandar*, the Poſſeſſor of the World.

§ شهریار *Shehriar*, the Friend of the City.

Gurſtaſp

*Gurſtaſp**, *Teyomars*, and *Hoiſhung* were put to Death.

SHAHABO'DÎN MAHOMMED SHAHJEHAN‖

Third Son to *Nour o'din Mahommed*, *Jehanguir* was born on *Wedneſday*, the 5th *January*, 1592, and ſat on the Throne in *Agra*, the 1ſt *February*, 1628, being then Thirty ſix Solar Years and Twenty-eight Days Old. On the 29th March, 1647, being the 20th Year of his Reign, he removed the Seat of his Empire from *Agra*† to *Dehli*, calling it *Shahjehanabad*; where on the Banks of the River *Chun* he built a noble Caſtle and Palace, with Gardens and other Conveniencies,

* *Gurſtaſp*, *Teyomars*, and *Hoiſhung*, are ancient *Perſic* proper Names of Men.

‖ شهاب الدين *Shahab o'din*, the bright Star of Religion, and شاة جهان *Shah Jehan*, the King of the World, were the Titles *Sultan Khourm* aſſumed on his Acceſſion to the Throne.

† اكبره *Agra*, is often called اكبر اباد *Akbarabad* or *Akbar's* Habitation, he having kept his Court there, as دهلي *Dehli*, is called شاة جهان اباد *Shah Jehan abad*, or *Shah Jehan*'s Habitation.

which

which coſt above fifty Lacks ‡ of Rupees. After a ſucceſsful, and, till then, happy Reign of Thirty Solar Years, Four Months and Eighteen Days, he was firſt confined by his eldeſt Son *Sultan Dara Shekowh*, and at laſt depoſed by his Third Son *Sultan Auring-zebe*, and confined in the Caſtle of *Agra*, where he died on *Sunday* the 21ſt of *January*, 1666, aged Seventy-four Solar Years and ſixteen Days; being, all the Time of his Confinement, attended by his beloved* Daughter *Jehan Ara Begum*. His Body was interred at *Agra*, in the magnificent Monument he cauſed to be erected for his Empreſs *Mehd Alia*, † and which had coſt Sixty

‡ A Lack of Rupees is 12,500 *L.* and 50 Lacks is 625,000 *L.* A Rupee is the Silver Coin ſtruck in the *Moghol*'s Mints, with an Inſcription of his Name and Titles, the Year of his Reign, and the Place it was ſtruck at. It weighs from 7 *dw.* 10½ *gr.* to 7 *dw.* 11 *gr.* and has from 1 to 2 Parts in 100 Allay. 100,000 is one Lack, 100 Lacks are one Crore, and 100 Crores are one Arrib.

* Some People ſuſpected he had a cri minal Converſation with his own Daughter, long before his Confinement.

† مهدعليا *Mehd Alia* was alſo called تاج محل *Taage Mahl*, or *the Crown of the Seraglio.*

Lacks ‡ of Rupees. The Empire flouriſhed exceedingly in his Time, comprehending no leſs than Twenty-three Provinces, the Names and Yearly Revenues of each as follows:

			L.
Dehli	100	Krores of Dams* are	3,125000
Agra	90	- -	2,812500
Lahor	90	- -	2,812500
Ajmîr	60	- -	1,875000
Dowlatabad	55	- -	1,718750
Berar	55	-	1,718750
Guzerat	53	- -	1,656250
Bengal	50	- -	1,562500
Alehabad	40	- -	1,250000
Bahar	40	- -	1,250000
Malva	40	- -	1,250000
Khandeiſh	40	- -	1,250000
Audih	30	- -	937500
Multan	28	- -	875000
	771		24,093750

‡ 60 Lacks of Rupees are 750,000 *L.*

* A Dam, which is the fortieth Part of a Rupee, and only imaginary, is what the Land Revenues are computed by. A Rupee is 2 *s.* 6 *d. Sterling.*

Odiſſea

Carried over	771	24,093750
Odiſſea	20	625000
Cabul	15	468750
Caſhmîr	15	468750
Tatta	8	250000
Balkh	8	250000
Kandahar	7	218750
Biddukhſhan	4	125000
Tillingana	30	937500
Buglana	2	62500
	880	*l.* 27,500,000

The Five laſt Provinces were added to the Empire by him.

The Number of his Forces, as they were paid out of the Revenues in 1647, amounted to 911,400, Horſe and Foot.

He had ſeveral Children, as follows:

By the Empreſs *Mehd Alia*, Daughter of *Aſof Khan*, whoſe Firſt Name was *Arjumund Banu Begum*,* Seven Sons and Four Daughters.

* ارجمند بانو *Arjumund Banu, the noble Princeſs.*

**Hur al Niſſa Begum*, [a]	born in		1612
Jehan Ara Begum [b]	—	—	1614
Sultan Dara Shekowh [c]	—	—	1615
Sultan Sujah [d]	—	—	1616
Roiſhnrai Begum [e]		—	1617
Sultan Auringzebe [f]	—	—	1618
**Sultan Amead Bukhſh* [g]	—	—	1620
**Suria Banu Begum* [h]		—	1622
Sultan Morad Bukhſh [i]	—	—	1624
**Sultan Loutf Allah* [k]	—	—	1627
**Sultan Dowlat Afza* [l]		—	1628

Thoſe mark'd with an Aſteriſm died before their Father was depoſed.

[a] حور النسا *Hur al niſſa*, the moſt angelick of Women.

[b] جهان ارا *Jehan ara*, the Ornament of the World.

[c] دارا شکوه *Dara Shekowh*, in Pomp like *Darius*.

[d] سجاع *Sujah*, Valiant, endued with Fortitude.

[e] روشن رای *Roiſhin rai*, of an enlightned Mind.

[f] اورنك زیب *Auring-zebe*, the Ornament of the Throne.

[g] امید بخش *Amead Bukhſh*, the Giver of Hopes.

[h] ثریا بانو *Suria Banu*, the ſhining Princeſs. *Suria* literally ſignifies the *Pleiades*.

[i] مراد بخش *Morad Bukhſh*, the Giver of Deſires or Wiſhes.

[k] لطف الله *Loutf Allah*, the Favour of God.

[l] دولت افزا *Dowlat Afza*, Increaſe of Fortune.

By

By a Daughter of *Mazuffer Hoſſein Mirza*, Grandſon to *Shah Iſmael*, King of *Perſia*, One Daughter,

Parhéz Banu Begum * born in 1611.

MOHY ‡ O'DÎN MAHOMMED AURINZEBE, Third Son to *Shah Jehan*, was born the 22d of *October*, 1618. In the latter End of 1656, *Sultan Dara Shekowh*, endeavouring to poſſeſs himſelf of the Empire, confined his Father *Shah Jehan*, which *Auringzebe* having Notice of, begun to make Preparations; and giving out that it was with a Deſign of ſecuring the Throne to his Brother *Morad Bukhſh*, then at *Ahmedabad*,† he wrote to him to ſet out with his Forces and join him at *Eugene*, ‖ which is the Capital of the Province of *Malva*.

* برهيز بانو *Parhez banu*, ſignifies *the abſtinent Princeſs*.

‡ When *Auring-zebe* became Emperor, he aſſumed the Titles of محي الدين *Mohy o' dîn*, the Reviver of Religion, and عالم گير *Alumguîr*, the Conqueror of the World.

† احمد اباد *Ahmedabad*, the Capital of the Province of *Guzerat*, ſo called from *Sultan Ahmed*, who was King of that Province, and kept his Court in that City. It is 244 meaſured Coſs diſtant from *Dehli*.

‖ اوجين *Eugene* is 126 meaſured Coſs from *Agra*.

On

On the 4th of *February*, 1658, he march-ed from *Auringabad* * in *Deccan*, with 25000 Horſe, his Son *Sultan Mahommed*, having ſet out before him, the 24th of *January* the pre-ceeding Month. Both the Brothers join'd at *Eugene*, near which Place they encoun-ter'd and defeated the *Maharajah* † *Jeſswint Sung*, and *Kaſſum Khan*, who were ſent by *Dara Shekowh* to oppoſe them. After which they marched towards *Dehli*, and in the Fields of *Kejouh*, near *Agra*, gave a total Overthrow to the Army of *Sultan Dara Shekowh*, who fled towards *Lahor*; upon which *Auringzebe* enter'd the Caſtle of *Agra*, and on the 20th of *July*, 1658, he ſat on the Throne, and was proclaim'd Emperor

* اورنك آباد *Auringabad*, the Capital of the Province of *Dowlat Abad*, which is 265 meaſured Coſs diſtant from *Dehli*. *Auring-zebe* had it ſo called after his own Name.

† *Maharajah* ſignifies *the great Prince*; *Maha* be-ing *great* or *mighty* in the *Sanskerrit* or *Bramin*'s Lan-guage. This Title is given by the *Moghol* to the *Ra-jahs* of *Marwar* of the *Rattor* Family. The Capital of their Country is *Juhdpore*, which is 176 Coſs diſtant from *Dehli*. The *Rajpouts* of *Marwar* are eſteemed the beſt Soldiers in *India*.

in

in the Town of *Eazabad*,* having firſt confined his Brother *Morad Bukhſh*, notwithſtanding he had ſwore by the *Koran* to be true to him.

Having taken Poſſeſſion of *Dehli*, he ſent his Father from thence to be confined at *Agra*;† and on *Sunday* the 2d of *January*, 1659, he ſet out for *Bengal*, where, at a Place called *Kuvra*, he defeated his Brother *Sultan Sujah*, and obliged him to fly.

On the 15th of *May*, 1659, being then aged Forty Solar Years, Six Months, and 23 Days, he ſat on the Throne, and was proclaimed a Second Time, and ordered that for the future, the Beginning of his Reign ſhould be dated from the firſt *Ramazan*, in the Year 1069 of the *Hegira*, or the 12th of *May*, 1659.

Sultan Dara Shekowh being taken Priſoner, was brought in Triumph to *Dehli*, and ſent to *Kheſrabad*,‡ where he was murder'd by *Auringzebe*'s Order, the Night of the 28th of *Auguſt*, 1659.

* عزاباد *Eazabad* is 2½ meaſured Coſs diſtant from *Dehli*.

† *Agra* is 44 meaſured Coſs diſtant from *Dehli*.

‡ خضراباد *Kheſrabad* is 52 meaſured Coſs from *Dehli*.

The

The 14th of *January*, 1661, he ſent his own Son *Sultan Mahommed*, and *Suliman** *Shekowh*, Son to *Dara Shekowh*, to be confined in the Caſtle of *Gualiar*. †

In 1664, going againſt the *Rajpouts*, ‡ his Son *Sultan Mahommed Akbar* revolted from him, and joined them. *Auringzebe* purſued him to *Deccan*, from whence he found Means to get by Sea to *Perſia*.

During his Reign, which was about 50 Lunar Years, he was conſtantly in the Field. He conquered *Vijapore*,‖ from *Secander* and *Hyderabad*,§ from *Sultan Abul Hoſſan*, beſides ſeveral other Territories and ſtrong Holds in *Deccan*; having twice taken the

* سلیمان شکوہ *Suliman Shekowh* ſignifies, *auguſt as Solomon.*

† گوالیار *Gualiar* is 28 Coſs from *Agra.*

‡ The *Rajpouts* are the moſt warlike of the *Indians.* There are ſeveral Tribes of them, all Subjects to thoſe *Rajahs* or *Indian* Princes, who are in a manner independent of the *Moghol.*

‖ *Vijapore*, or *Bijapore*, as pronounced by the *Moghols*, is 357 meaſured Coſs from *Dehli.*

§ *Hyderabad*, which was formerly called *Bhagnagur*, is 371 Miles diſtant from *Dehli.* There is a Caſtle in this Province, called *Golconda*, by which Name the whole Province is chiefly known in *Europe.*

famous

famous *Seva Rajah*,* who as often found Means to make his Eſcape.

The Revenues of the Empire were greatly increaſed in his Time, for excluding *Balkh*, *Kandahar* and *Biddukhſhan*, which *Shah Jehan* poſſeſs'd, and were afterwards loſt, there was a Revenue of 12071876840 Dams, which (at 320 Dams to a Pound Sterling is 37,724,615 *l.* $\frac{1}{2}$ from the Twenty-one following Provinces:

* The preſent *Sahou Rajah*, who keeps his Court at *Settara* in *Deccan*, is a Deſcendant of this *Seva Rajah*. He is Prince of the *Maharattas*, or *Ganims*, who have of late Years acquired a ſurprizing Power, making great Inroads into the *Moghol*'s Territories, and levying a Tribute from ſeveral Provinces. They have lately taken the Iſland of *Salſet*, the Caſtle and Town of *Baçaim*, with other Places, from the *Portugueze*. They have above 200,000 Horſe in the Northern, Southern, and Inland Provinces.

The Nineteen old Soubahs § or Provinces.

Names.	Capital.	Revenue in Dams.
Dehli	*Dehli*	1221950137
Agra	*Agra*	1146760157
Ajmîr	*Ajmîr*	652345362
Alehabad	*Alehabad*	456543248
Panjab	*Lahor*	826132107
Audih	*Audih*	322327829
Multan	*Multan*	214442936
Cabul	*Cabul*	161039354
Caſhmîr	*Srinagr*	229911397
Guzerat	*Ahmedabad*	607849135
Bahar	*Patna*	407161000
Scind	*Tatta*	91816810
Dowlatabad	*Auringabad*	1034945100
Malva	*Eugene*	403901658
Berar		614025000
Khandeiſh	*Brampore*	448630000
Bedr	*Zafferabad*	372974370
Bengall	*Dacca*	524636240
Odiſſea		142820000
		9880211840

§ سوبه *Soubah* ſignifies *a Province*, and سوبه دار *Soubah dar*, the *Lord Lieutenant of a Province*.

The

Carried over		9880211840
The Two New Soubahs,		
Hyderabad	*Hyderabad*	1113360000
Vijapore	*Vijapore*	1078305000
		12071876840

At 320 Dams *per l.* are 37,724,615 *l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

On *Friday*, the 21ſt of *February*, 1707, *Auringzebe* died at *Ahmednagur*,* in the Province of *Dowlatabad*, aged Ninety Lunar Years and 14 Days, having reign'd about Fifty Lunar Years. He was buried there in the Place of *Shah Zen al dîn.*†

* *Ahmednagur* is diſtant from *Dehli* 280 meaſured Coſs.

† شاه زين الدين *Shah Zen al dîn. Zen al dîn* ſignifies *the Ornament of Religion*; and *Shah*, which ſignifies *King*, is a Title frequently given to *Derveiſhes*. This *Zen al dîn* was a remarkable *Santon*, who kept his Cell near that City, and was buried there; which being reckoned a ſanctified Place, *Auring-zebe*, in his Will, directed he ſhould be interred there. As this Prince was very zealous, or at leaſt pretended to be ſo, for *Mahommedaniſm*, thoſe of that Religion make a great Merit of viſiting his Tomb, eſpecially on the 28th of the Month *Zeecadîh*, which was the Day he died on.

At the Time of his Death, his Third Son *Azem Shah* was with him, and his Second Son *Mahommed Mauzm*, at *Cabul*.* He had left a ſhort Will; of which, for the Satisfaction of the Curious, I ſhall here give a Tranſlation.

A Tranſlation of Auringzebe's *laſt Will.*

" I Came empty-handed into the World, " and empty-handed I quit it. Who- " ever of my fortunate Children ſhall " chance to rule the Empire, let him not " moleſt *Mahommed Kambukhſh*, † ſhould he " reſt contented with the Two New Sou- " bahs ‡.

" There cannot be a better Vizir than *Emîr* " *al Omra*. ‖

" Let all the King's Servants be true and " faithful to *Mahommed Azem Shah*.

* *Cabul* is 266 meaſured Coſs from *Dehli*.

† *Mahommed Kambukhſh*, *Auring-zebe*'s fifth Son.

‡ The two new *Soubahs* are *Vijapore* and *Heyderabad*, ſo called, as being lately conquered by *Auring-zebe*.

‖ امیر الامرا *Emîr al Omra*, which ſignifies *the Prince of Princes*, is the Title generally given to the *Mîr Bukhſhi*, or Paymaſter-General and Treaſurer.

" Whoever

" Whoever ſhall chance to have the " Empire, let him not turn out or moleſt " thoſe born or bred up in my Houſe.

" If the Diviſion I formerly made proves " agreeable to my Children, it will prevent " a great deal of Confuſion and Bloodſhed.

" There are two imperial Seats, *Agra* and " *Delhi*; whoever ſettles in *Agra* may " have the Province thereof, *Deccan*, *Malva* " and *Guzerat*.

" And who reſides at *Dehli* may have " *Cabul* and the other Provinces.

" I came naked into the World, and naked " I go out of it. Let no Enſigns or Royal " Pomp accompany my Funeral; let *Ha-* " *mid o'dîn Khan*, who is faithful and truſty, " convey my Corps to the Place of *Shah* " *Zen al dîn*, and make a Tomb for it, in " the ſame Manner as is done for *Derveiſhes* :* " let not my fortunate Children give them- " ſelves any Concern about a Monument.

" There is in my private Treaſury 57382 " Rupees,† let a 1000 Rupees § be diſtri- " buted among the Poor at my Funeral.

* The Tombs for *Derveiſhes* are made low and plain, without any manner of Ornament.

† 7172 *l.* 15 *s.* § 125 *l.*

Auringzebe

Auringzebe had Five Sons:

Sultan Mahommed,
Mahommed Mauzm, [a] who ſucceeded his Father in the Empire,
Mahommed Azem, [b]
Mahommed Akbar, [c]
Mahommed Kambukhſh. [d]

Dara Shekowh had Two Sons:

Suliman Shekowh, [e]
Sepeh Shekowh. [f]

Sultan Sujah had Two Sons:

Zen al din Mahommed, [g]
Bullind Akhter. [h]

Morad Bukhſh had one Son:

Ieſd Bukhſh. [i]

[a] معظم *Mauzm* ſignifies *great, glorious.*

[b] عظام *Azem* ſignifies the ſame,

[c] اکبر *Akbar,* is the Comparative Mood of کبیر *Kobir, great.*

[d] *Kambukhſh,* the Giver of Deſires or Wiſhes.

[e] سلیمان شکوہ *Suliman Shekowh,* auguſt or in Pomp like *Solomon.*

[f] سپہ شکوہ *Sepeh Shekowh,* of military Pomp.

[g] زین الدین *Zen al dîn,* the Ornament of Religion.

[h] بلند اختر *Bullind Akhter,* of high Stars, or great Fortune.

[i] یزد بخش *Ieſd Bukhſh,* God's Gift.

KOTEB

KOTEB * O'DÎN BAHADR SHAH,

Upon *Auringzebe*'s Death, *Azem Shah*, with his Father's Troops, ſet out from *Deccan* towards the Capital, as did alſo *Mahommed Mauzm* from *Cabul*, in order to decide their Fortunes in Battle. On the Banks of the River *Chun*, near *Agra*, both Armies encountered. They were by far the moſt numerous that for ſeveral Ages had come together in *India*. *Mahommed Mauzm* having 150,000 Horſe and 178,000 Foot, excluſive of the Auxiliaries furniſhed by the *Rajahs*; and the other Brother nigh as many. In ſhort, *Azem Shah*'s Forces were defeated, and himſelf killed. *Mahommed Mauzm* was proclaimed Emperor, taking to himſelf the Title of *Koteb o'dîn Bahadr Shah*, and *Shah Alum*. He made *Mahommed Khan* his

* *Sultan Mahommed Mauzm*, on his Acceſſion to the Throne, aſſumed the Titles of قطب الدين *Koteb al dîn*, the Axis of Religion, بهادر شاه *Bahadr Shah*, the valiant King, and شاه عالم *Shah Alum*, the King of the World. Notwithſtanding قطب *Koteb* ſignifies only the Pole or Extreme Part of the Axis, yet it is uſed here to ſignify the Whole.

Vizir;

Vizir; *Zulfecar Khan* his *Mir Bukhſhi*, or Paymaſter-General; *Daud Khan*, *Soubahdar*, or Lord-Lieutenant of the Provinces of *Deccan*; and *Aſſad Khan* Abſolute Agent, whom leaving to take Care of the Capital, he went himſelf againſt his Brother *Kambukhſh*, who had left *Vijapore*, and ſettled at *Hyderabad*; where, after ſome little Reſiſtance, he was taken Priſoner, and died that ſame Night of of his Wounds.

Bahadr Shah went afterwards to *Lahor* to ſuppreſs ſome religious Riots, and died ſhortly after, having reign'd about Six Years.

He had Four Sons,

Mauz o'din,[a] called alſo *Jehandar Shah*.[b]	
Mahommed Azîm,[c]	*Azîm Al Shan*.[d]
Raffeeih al Kaddr,[e]	*Raffeeih al Shan*.[f]
Khojiſta Akhter,[g]	*Jehan Shah*.[h]

[a] معز الدين *Mauz o'din*, ſignifies *the Honour or Glory of Religion.*

[b] جهاندار شاه *Jehandar Shah*, the King who poſſeſſes the World.

[c] عظيم *Azîm*, ſignifies *great.*

[d] عظيم الشان *Azîm al Shan*, of great Figure or Rank.

[e] رفيع القدر *Raffeeih al Kadr*, of exalted Power.

[f] رفيع الشان *Raffeeih al Shan*, of exalted Rank.

[g] خجسته اختر *Khojiſta Akhter*, of happy Stars.

[h] جهان شاه *Jehan Shah*, King of the World.

His

His Brother *Sultan Mahommed Azem* had Two Sons,

Mahommed Bedâr Bukht,[a]

Mahommed Wallah Jah.[b]

His Brother *Sultan Mahommed Kambukſh* had One Son.

Ieſdan Bukhſh,[c] called alſo *Rahman Bukhſh*[d], whoſe Daughter has been lately married to *Neſr allah Mirza*,[e] *Nadir Shah*'s Son.

JEHANDAR SHAH.

Jehandar Shah, *Jehan Shah*, and *Raffeeih al Shan*, Sons to *Bahadr Shah*, having joined againſt their Brother *Azîm al Shan*, defeated and killed him. His Treaſure falling into the Hands of *Zulfecar Khan*, who was in *Jehandar Shah*'s Intereſt, they marched againſt the other two Brothers, *Jehan Shah* and *Raffeeih al Shan*, and having overcome them, put them to Death. Their Deaths

[a] بیدار بخت *Bedâr Bukht*, whoſe Fortune is awake.

[b] والا جاہ *Wallah Jah*, of auguſt Rank.

[c] یزدان بخش *Ieſdan Bukhſh*, God's Gift.

[d] رحمن بخش *Rahman Bukhſh*, the Gift of the Merciful.

[e] نصر اللہ *Neſr Allah*, ſignifies, *aſſiſted by God*.

ſecured the Empire to *Jehandar Shah*, and *Zulfecar Khan* became his Vizir.

He was a weak Prince, and ſo fooliſhly fond of one of his Wives, called *Lal Koar*, who was of an obſcure mean Parentage, and a Singer by Profeſſion, that he endeavoured to fill the Places of the greateſt Truſt and Honour in the Empire with her baſe Relations, which ſo diſguſted *Seyd Abdallah Khan* and *Seyd Hoſſan Khan*, two Brothers of great Authority in the Empire, and who had a Body of choice Troops, that they reſolved to place *Mahommed Furrukhsîr* (Son to *Azîm al Shan*, then at *Bengal)* on the Throne. This Prince, notwithſtanding he had but little Treaſure, got Numbers to join him. At firſt he defeated *Eaz o'dîn*,* *Jehandar Shah*'s Son; and afterwards *Jehandar Shah* himſelf (thro' his People's Treachery and Cowardice) was defeated near *Agra*, and obliged to fly, tho' he had near 100,000 Horſe and Foot.

Jehandar Shah had one Son: *Eaz o' dîn.*
Azim al Shan had one Son:
Mahommed Furrukhſir. ||

* عز الدین *Eaz o' dîn*, ſignifies *the Glory of Religion.*
† فرخ سیر *Furrukhsîr*, ſignifies *of happy Diſpoſition.*

Raffeeih

Raffeeih al Shan had Three Sons:

*Raffeeih al Dirjat,**

Raffeeih al Dowlat,† and

Sultan Ibrahim.

Jehan Shah had One Son:

Mahommed Shah, who is the preſent Emperor.

MAHOMMED FURRUKHSÎR,

Son to *Azîm al Shan,* being ſettled on the Throne, *Seyd Abdallah Khan* was made *Vizir,* with the Title of *Koteb al Muluck*‡ and *Iar ba Vafa.* And *Hoſſan Ali Khan* made *Mîr Bukhſhi* or Paymaſter-General, with the Title of *Emir al Omra.*‖

The Emperor was only ſo by Name; for theſe two had the abſolute Management of every Thing. *Furrukhſir,* at laſt, with the Advice, and at the Inſtigation of *Khandoran* and *Mîr Jumla,* began to contrive Means to

* رفيع الدرجات *Raffeeih al Dirjat,* of exalted Degree.

† رفيع الدولت *Raffeeih al Dowlat,* of exalted Fortune.

‡ قطب الملك *Koteb al Muluck,* the Axis of the Empire, and پارياونا *Iar ba vafa,* the grateful Friend.

‖ امير الامرا *Emîr al Omra,* the Prince of Princes.

cut off the two Brothers. They, on the other Hand, were intent on nothing ſo much as enriching themſelves. They turned out *Nizam al Muluck* * (*Ghazi o' dîn Khan*'s † Son) from his Government of *Deccan*, and *Hoſſan Ali Khan* went thither himſelf. At laſt, the two Brothers finding the Emperor grew jealous of their Power, reſolved to remove him, and put a more paſſive Prince in his Stead. Having got *Ajeet Sang* the *Maha Rajah* (whoſe Daughter § was married

* نظام الملك *Nizam al Muluck*, is a Title ſignifying *he who arranges and puts in Order the Empire.* His firſt Name was جين قلج خان *Chîn Kuleejh Khan*, which in the *Tartar* Language, ſignifies, *the Sword-drawing Lord.* Some People, by Corruption, pronounce it *Chucklas Caun.*

† غازي الدين *Ghazi o' dîn*, ſignifies *the Champion of Religion.* *Nizam* has alſo a Son called by the Grandfather's Name *Ghazi o' dîn Khan*, who has lately got the Title of ناصر جنك *Naſr Jing*, which ſignifies *victorious in War.*

§ It is a Cuſtom with the *Moghol* Emperors to make Alliances with the *Indian Rajahs* or Princes, by marrying their Daughters, who, as ſoon as they are taken into the *Harram* or *Seraglio*, are converted to *Mahommedaniſm*, by pronouncing in *Arabic* theſe Words, *There is but One* GOD, *and* Mahommed *his Prophet*, and learning a few Prayers.

to

to *Furrukhsîr)* to join them, they confined him: Shortly after, they blinded him, by drawing a Red hot Wire over his Eyes: And on the 16th of *February*, 1719, offering him a Thouſand Indignities and Inſults, put him to Death, after a Reign of Seven Years.

'Twas in this Emperor's Reign that the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company obtained a *Firmân** exempting them from paying any Duties in his Dominions, of which I have here ſubjoined a Tranſlation.

'ALL GOVERNORS, People in 'Offices, *Jaguîrdars*,† *Fojhdars*,‡ *Croris*,‖

* فرمان *Firmân*, ſignifies literally an *Order*, but it is uſed for a Patent or Grant from the Emperor.

† When one is preferred to be a منصبدار *Manſubdar*, or Commiſſioned Officer, by the *Moghol*, he either pays him out of the Treaſury, or elſe allots him as much Lands in ſome of the Provinces, as the Salary and Wages of his منصب *Manſub*, or Poſt, comes to. The Lands ſo alloted are called the جاگیر *Jaguîr*, and the Officer who receives the Revenues as his Pay, is called the *Jaguîrdar*.

‡ *Fojhdars* are Officers who have the Command of a Body of Horſe, and take Care of the Suburbs of a City, and the Out-parts.

‖ *Croris* are thoſe Officers who collect the Revenues of the ſeveral Villages, and often farm them of the Lord Lieutenant of the Province, or of the *Jaguîrdar*.

Rahadars,

' *Rahadars*,* *Gouzirbans*, † and *Zemidars*, ‡ ' who are at preſent and ſhall be hereafter in ' the *Soubah* || of *Ahmedabad*, and in the ' fortunate Port of *Surat*, and *Cambay*, being ' in hopes of the Royal Favour. KNOW, ' That at this Time of Conqueſt which ' carrys the Enſign of Victory, Mr *John* ' *Surman* and *Khojah Serhad*, § Factors to the ' *Engliſh*, have repreſented, by the Means ' of thoſe who ſtand on the Steps of the high ' Throne, " That Cuſtoms on *Engliſh* " Goods all over the Empire are pardoned, " except at the Port of *Surat*; and that at " the ſaid Port, from the Time of the

* *Rahadars* are thoſe who have the Charge of the High-ways.

† *Gouzirbans* are they who collect Duties on the High-roads.

‡ زمیندار *Zemidars*, are the *Rajahs* or *Indian* Princes, *&c.* who have free Eſtates, and a Tract of Land at their own Command, only paying a ſmall Acknowledgement to the Great *Moghol*. This Name is compoſed of زمین *Zemin*, *Land*, and دار *Dar*, *a Poſſeſſor*.

|| *Soubah* ſignifies *a Province*.

§ Mr. *John Surman*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman, and *Khojah Serhad*, an *Armenian*, were the principal Perſons ſent from *Bengal* to the *Moghol*'s Court, to ſollicit for this Grant.

" Emperor

" Emperor who is pardoned ‡, whoſe Place " of Reſt is Eternal, *Shahab o' dîn Shah* " *Jehan*, 2 *per Cent* was ſettled as Cuſtoms. " From the Time of him who has approach- " ed the Moſt Merciful, whoſe Place is " everlaſting, *Mohy o' dîn Mahommed Au-* " *ringzebe Alumguîr*, 3½ *per Cent.* was ap- " pointed, and in other Places none moleſted " them on this Account. And in the Time " of the Emperor who is pardoned, whoſe " Place of Repoſe is Heaven, ſurrounded " with the Favour of the Almighty, whoſe " Rank is moſt Sacred, *Abul Mazuffer* * " *Bahadr Shah*, 2½ *per Cent.* was ſettled, " and is in Force until now: By Reaſon of " the Oppreſſions the *Mutteſiddis* † there, 'tis " three Years ſince they have withdrawn " their Factory. In the *Soubahs* of *Bahar* " and *Odiſſea*, this Nation pays no *Cuſtoms*; " and in the Port of *Hugly*, in the Province " of *Bengal*, they Yearly give Three || Thou-

‡ This is a ſofter Kind of Expreſſion uſed by the *Mahommodans* in mentioning deceaſed Perſons.

* ابو المظفر *Abul Mazuffer*, ſignifies *the Father of Victory.*

† *Mutteſiddis* are the King's Officers.

|| 375 *l.*

" ſand

" ſand Rupees *Peiſhcuſh* §in Lieu of *Cuſtoms*;
" they are in hopes that, according to the
" Cuſtom of other Ports, in the Port of
" *Surat* likewiſe, a Yearly *Peiſhcuſh* may be
" ſettled in Lieu of *Cuſtoms*; they agree to
" a Yearly *Peiſhcuſh* of Ten ‖ Thouſand
" Rupees.

' The ORDER that ſubjects the World
' to obey it, and which muſt be ſtrictly
' follow'd, is iſſued forth: That ſince they
' agree to Ten Thouſand Rupees *Peiſhcuſh*
' at the Port of *Surat*, take it Yearly, and
' beſides that moleſt them on no Account:
' And what Goods or Effects their Factors
' bring or carry away by Land or Water,
' to and from the Ports of the Provinces,
' and other Parts, looking upon them to be
' Cuſtom-free, let them buy and ſell at
' their Pleaſure; and if in a Place any of

§ پیشکش *Peiſhcuſh*, which literally ſignifies, *preſented*, or *drawn before*, is the Term for a Preſent from an Inferior to a Superior; as are alſo theſe Words, نظر *Nazr*, preſented to View, نذران *Gouzran*, laid before, *&c.* And whatever Superiors give to their Inferiors, which is generally Robes, Arms, Horſes, Elephants, *&c.* is called a *Khalaet* and *Sirrapah*; and if Money, an *Enam*.

‖ 1250 *l.*

" their

'their Effects ſhould be ſtol'n, uſe your 'utmoſt Endeavours to recover them, de-'livering the Robbers to Puniſhment, and 'the Goods to the Owner; and wherever 'they ſettle a Factory, or buy and ſell 'Goods, be aſſiſting to them on all juſt Oc-'caſions; and whomſoever of the Mer-'chants, *&c.* they may have a juſt De-'mand on by Accounts; according to Equity, 'give the *Engliſh* their Due, and let no 'Perſon injure their Factors. They have 'likewiſe humbly repreſented, "That the "*Duans* * in the Provinces may demand the "Original *Sinnid*, † or a Copy with the "*Nazem* or *Duan*'s ‡ Seal affixed; to pro-"duce the Original in every Place is im-"practicable; they are in hopes that a Copy "under the *Kazzi*'s || Seal ſhall be credited,

* The *Duans* are the Seconds or Deputies to the Lord Lieutenants of Provinces, and Governors of Cities. They are the General Accomptants, and the Revenues go through their Hands.

† سند *Sinnid*, ſignifies, a *Grant or Patent.*

‡ *Nazem* is the Governor, or Perſon who acts for him.

|| قاضی *Kazzi*, or, as ſome pronounce it, *Cadi*, is the Judge, who, among the *Mahommedans*, decides all

"and they not demand the original *Sinnid*, "or moleſt them on Account of a Copy "with the *Nazem* or *Duan*'s Seal: And in "the Iſland of *Bombay*, belonging to the "*Engliſh*, where *Portugueze** Coins are Cur-"rent, that according to the Cuſtom of "of *Chinapattan*, † the fortunate § Coins

all Cauſes; he being generally a Perſon of the greateſt Repute and Learning, a Copy atteſted by him is thought ſufficiently authentick.

* As the Iſland of *Bombay* (which was made over to the *Engliſh* in King *Charles* the Second's Time) belonged firſt to the *Portugueze*, their Coins paſſed current there, until the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company had the Privilege of coining Rupees.

† *Chinapattan* is *Madraſs*, or Fort *St. George*, on the *Cormandel* Coaſt, where the *Engliſh* did coin Rupees.

§ By the Fortunate Coins (which they call سکہ مبارک *Sicca Mobarek*) are meant Silver and Gold Rupees, which laſt they call مہر *Mehr*, or *Sun*, and ought to weigh 7 *dw.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *gr.* and are in Value equal to 12 Silver Rupees weighing 7 *dw.* $10\frac{1}{2}$ *gr.* each. The Inſcription on this preſent Emperor's Money is, *The Fortunate Coins of the valiant Emperor* Mahommed Shah, *in the Year ſtruck at in the Year of the glorious Reign.* The firſt and laſt Blanks are for the Year of the Hegira and Reign, and the Second for the Name of the Place.

may

"may be ſtruck; and that whoever of the "Company's Servants being in Debt, runs "away, may be ſent to the Chief of the "Factory; and that on Account of the "*Fojhdari*,* and the other *forbidden Arti-*"*cles* (by which Means the Company's "Factors and Servants are vex'd and diſ-"couraged) they be not moleſted.

'The ſtrict and high ORDER is iſſued 'forth that a Copy under the *Kazzi*'s Seal 'be credited, and that in the Iſland of '*Bombay*, fortunate Coins, ſtruck according 'to the Cuſtom of the Empire, be current; 'and whoever of the Company's Servants, 'being indebted, runs away, let him be 'taken and delivered to the Chief of the 'Factory, and let them not be moleſted on

* As the *Fojhdar* is the Perſon who has the Command of the Suburbs and Out-parts, where it is chiefly that intoxicating Liquors are allowed to be ſold, and diſorderly Houſes kept, he uſed to take up Sailors, and other *Europeans*, whom he found there, and not releaſe them without a Sum of Money, which created the Chiefs of the Factories, and the Company's Servants, a deal of Trouble. This Article in the *Firmân* is to redreſs that Grievance, and ſuffer them to paſs Wines, and other Liquors and Neceſſaries, without any Moleſtation.

‘ Account of the *forbidden Articles*. “ They
“ have likewiſe repreſented, that in *Bengal*,
“ *Bahar* and *Odiſſea*, the Company have
“ Factories, and that they are willing to
“ ſettle in other Places. They are in hopes
“ that wherever they ſettle, Forty *Vingas* ||
“ of Ground may be graciouſly beſtowed on
“ them by the Emperor; and that their
“ Ships ſometimes, by Reaſon of Tempeſts,
“ run aſhore, and are wreck'd, the Governors
“ of the Ports do in an oppreſſive Manner
“ ſeize the Goods, and in ſome Places de-
“ mand a quarter Part.” ‘ The Royal Or-
‘ der is iſſued forth, that they act according
‘ to the Cuſtoms of the Factories in other
‘ Provinces, in regard to this Nation (who
‘ have Factories in the Imperial Ports, and
‘ Dealings at Court, and have miraculouſly
‘ obtained a *Firmân* exempting them from
‘ *Cuſtoms*.) Take Care in a juſt Manner of
‘ the Goods of their Ships that are wreck'd
‘ or have loſt their Paſſage, and in all Affairs
‘ act according to this Great Order, and
‘ demand not a new Grant Yearly. In

|| A *Vinga* is ſomewhat leſs than the third Part of an Acre.

‘ this

'this be punctual, written on the 4th of '*Safer** in the 5th Year of this Glorious 'Reign.

On the back Part of the *Firmân* is the *Vizir*'s Seal, with his Titles, as follows:

The Security of Fortune, and truſt-worthy of the Empire,
Chief of the *Omras* of exalted Rank,
Choſen among the *Khans* of the High Court,
Manager of the Empire and its Riches,
Director of its Fortune and Grandeur,
Maſter of the Sword and Pen,
Exalter of the Standard and Enſign,
Vizir of a true Judgment,
Of One Colour, (i. e. *Ingenuous and Sincere*)
Prop of the Empire,
Supreme Manager of its Affairs,
The Victorious General,
The grateful Friend, and
Pattern for all *Vizirs*.

* *January* the 6th, 1716-7.

RAFFEEIH

RAFFEEIH AL DIRJAT.

The *Seyds* after having made away with *Furrukhſir*, took *Raffeeih al Dirjat*, Son to *Raffeeih al Shan*, out of the Caſtle of *Selimgur* † where the Royal Family are confined, and placed him on the Throne. He had not reigned above Three Months, before they murdered him, and ſending for his Brother

RAFFEEIH AL DOWLAT,

Placed him on the Throne, who in a few Days afterwards died a natural Death, and was ſucceeded by the preſent Emperor

NASR O'DÎN MAHOMMED SHAH,‖

Son to *Jehan Shah*, who being raiſed to that Dignity by the *Seyds*, *Hoſſan Ali Khan* and

† سلیمگر *Selimgur*, ſignifies *Selim's Caſtle*, being built by a Prince of that Name.

‖ *Mahommed Shah*, on being made Emperor, took to himſelf the Title of ناصر الدین *Naſr o' dîn*, which ſignifies, *the Supporter and Aſſiſter of Religion.*

Abdallah

Abdallah Khan, they kept the Power ſo much in their own Hands, that he had nothing, except the Name of Emperor, which made him eagerly wiſh for an Opportunity of making himſelf independant, and revenging the Death of his Uncle's Son, *Furrukhſir*.

In *October*, 1720, *Mahommed Shah*, accompanied by *Hoſſan Ali Khan*, and ſeveral *Omras**, ſet out from *Agra* with a numerous Army, in order to reduce *Nizam al Muluck*, who had grown very powerful in *Deccan*.

Having marched Nine meaſured Coſs the Firſt Day, the Emperor called a *Divan* that Night, and after a ſhort Stay withdrew. As ſoon as he was gone, *Mahommed Amîn Khan*, *Heydr Kuli Khan*, § Maſter of the Ordnance, *Khandoran*, and ſeveral others of the *Omras*, who were moſt attached to the Royal Fa-

* امرا *Omra*, is the Plural of امير *Emir*, which ſignifies, *Prince*, and is a Title given to all the Nobility of the firſt Rank, in the *Moghol*'s Empire, and in *Tartary*.

§ حيدر قلي *Heydr Kuli*, ſignifies, *the Slave of the Lion*, حيدر *Heydr*, which ſignifies, *a Lion*, being one of the Appellatives given to *Ali Mortiſa*, and قلي *Kuli*, in the *Turkiſh* Language, ſignifies, *a Slave*.

mily,

mily, drawing their Swords, fell on *Hoſſan Ali Khan*, and killed him with two or three of his Friends. Upon this *Mahommed Shah* laid aſide that Expedition, and returned towards *Dehli*, in order to cut off *Seyd Abdallah Khan*, the other Brother, who was in that Capital with a great Force; and who hearing of his Brother's Murder, had taken out *Sultan Ibrahim*, Son to *Raffeeih al Shan*, and proclaimed him Emperor. Gathering together what Treaſure he could, and having broke to Pieces the famous Throne, (which coſt *Shah Jehan* nine Crores § of Rupees) in order to pay his Soldiers, he ſoon compleated an Army of 50,000 Horſe, and marched out to engage *Mahommed Shah*, who had encamp'd at *Serkad*, which is Twelve Coſs from *Mhetra*.

On the 2d of *November*, 1720, both Armies engaged; and after an obſtinate and bloody Battle, *Abdallah Khan*'s Forces were defeated, and himſelf deſperately wounded and taken Priſoner.

§ One Crore is Ten Millions. So that Nine Crores of Rupees, at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* each, amounts to 11,250000 *l.* *Sterling.*

The

The young *Sultan*, whom he had brought with him to countenance his Rebellion, being taken, had no other Puniſhment inflicted on him, but being ſent back to his old Quarters the Caſtle of *Selimgur*.

Upon this Victory the Emperor made great Rejoicings, and appointing *Mahommed Amin Khan* Vizir, returned to *Dehli*.

Abdallah Khan being brought before him, the Emperor ſaid to him, 'Traitor, ſee 'what thou haſt done.' To which he anſwered, 'I took you out of a Priſon, and 'gave you an Empire. My Brother being 'murdered by your Order, as I was at the 'Head of an Army, Self-preſervation directed me to make uſe of it; Providence decreed you the Victory, uſe it as you think 'proper, by treating this Clay as your Reſentment or Intereſt may prompt you.' Then the Emperor ſaid to him, 'What 'Harm had *Furrukhsîr* done to you?' To which he anſwered: 'He grew jealous of 'mine and my Brother's Power, and as it 'was inconſiſtent with our Intereſt to reſign 'it into his Hands, we thought it dangerous 'to loſe any Time in removing him. Had 'Providence permitted us to have been ſo

'prudent hitherto, we ſhould not have come 'to this tragical End. But when Fate de- 'ſtines one to Ruin, it begins by blinding 'the Eyes of his Underſtanding.' Then the King ordered him to be confined, and four Servants allowed to attend him, and ſaid, 'As for the young *Sultan* he is not to blame; 'were he to be puniſhed, it would diſtract 'his poor Mother; let him remain with 'her.'

Heydr Kuli Khan was in great Favour, and afterwards made *Soubahdar* * of *Ahmedabad*. *Nouſrit Ear Khan* was made *Souhbahdar* of *Ajmir*, *Sir Bullind Khan* was ſent for from *Cabul* to be one of the Vizirs; and *Khandoran* was made *Mir Bukhſhi* ‡ with the Title of *Emir al Omra* §.

Furrukhſir's Mother deſired that *Abdallah Khan*, the Murderer of her Son, might be delivered to her. *Mahommed Shah* ſent her Word that it was unlawful to kill two Perſons for the Murder of one, and that *Hoſſan Ali Khan* was killed in Retaliation. He then ordered that *Abdallah Khan* ſhould lodge in

* *Soubahdar* is Lord Lieutenant of a Province.

‡ *Mir Bukhſhi* is Paymaſter-General and Treaſurer.

§ *Emir al Omra* ſignifies *the Prince of Princes*.

the Palace of *Aſof al Dowlat*, have a Penſion of 3000 Rupees Monthly, thirty Houſhold-Servants, ſeventy Menial Ones, with Proviſions of all Kinds from the Royal Kitchen, five Women to attend him, and proper Guards over him. He did not live long to enjoy this generous Allowance, dying a few Months afterwards of his Wounds. Five and Forty Women, moſt of them his Wives and Concubines, and ſome his near Relations, burnt ‡ themſelves in one Room the Night after he died.

‡ In ancient Times, none but the Wives of the *Bramins* (or *Indian* Prieſts) had the Privilege of burning themſelves with their deceaſed Husbands: But ſince the Government fell into the Hands of the *Rajpouts*, 'tis cuſtomary, when any of their Princes die, for one or more of their Wives to be burnt with him. There is no Compulſion to this Sacrifice, as ſome People wrongly imagine; 'tis entirely of their own accord, and often they are diſſuaded from it. Sometimes indeed, when a vain-glorious Paſſion prevails over natural Affection, the Widow's Relations would gladly have her burn, as it raiſes the Character of their Family, by making it remarkable for virtuous and loving Women. Yet, according to their Religion, 'tis more meritorious to behave chaſtly and decently in their Widowhood, until Death, than burning; becauſe one is but a ſhort Pain, and the other a State of Trial. The *Moghols* have endeavoured

In the Year 1721-2, the Emperor wrote to *Nizam al Muluck*, then at *Deccan*, deſiring his Preſence at Court, and that he would appoint him *Vizir*; but if he declined it, he ſhould nominate whomſoever he ſhould judge to be the moſt deſerving. To which he anſwer'd: "I am a *Der-*" *veiſh*, and not ambitious of ſo high a" Station. I was contented with the Pro-" vince of *Malva*, when the *Seyds* intending" to diſtreſs me, I was obliged to take Arms." By the Divine Aſſiſtance I baffled their" Deſigns, and ſecured myſelf. At laſt" your Majeſty, by their Inſtigation, ſet out" againſt me with a mighty Army. Here" the Almighty protected me likewiſe. In" the Beginning one of the Brothers was" killed; and as you knew me to be a

deavoured to diſcourage this Cuſtom as much as poſſible; but ſince Money is omnipotent in that Country, as well as in many others, a ſmall Bribe generally purchaſes the Conſent of the Governor, or Commanding Officer. Lately, the *Seyd* and *Pattan* Families, in ſeveral Parts of *India*, have, thro' their exceſſive Pride, got into this Cuſtom; and as it is ſtrictly forbidden by their Religion (which is the *Mahommedan*) they do it privately, by ſetting an Apartment on fire about their Ears.

" faithful

"faithful Servant, you laid aſide that Ex-
"pedition, and returned to *Dehli*, where,
"being ſettled to the Satisfaction of all
"People, you have now condeſcended to
"diſtinguiſh me, the meaneſt of your Slaves,
"with this extraordinary Mark of your Fa-
"vour; which I only decline, as knowing
"myſelf unequal thereto, and that there are
"many about your Court more capable and
"deſirous of ſuch an Employment than I."

As *Nizam* would not come to Court, *Mahommed Amîn Khan* was continued *Vizir*, and after his Death, his Son *Kummir o' dîn Khan** ſucceeded him in that Office, and enjoys it now.

Nizam continued at *Deccan*, as *Soubadar* of *Vijapore*, *Hyderabad*, *Auringabad*, &c. and tho' he acknowledged himſelf a Subject, yet made no Remittances to Court, but appropriated the Revenues to the maintaining of an Army, which he ſaid was to keep in aw the *Maharattas* or *Ganims*, the *Sahou Rajah*'s Subjects in *Deccan*; whom notwithſtanding he permitted to plunder and lay waſte ſeveral of the King's Provinces. They

* نور الدين *Kummir o' din*, ſignifies *the Moon of Religion.*

impoſed

impoſed a Tribute of one quarter Part of the Revenues, which they call *Chot*, in many Places, and ſome Parts they have taken entirely to themſelves. He well knew, that with the *Maharattas* Aſſiſtance, he could defy any Attempts that could be made againſt him from Court. At laſt, in the Year 1738, the *Maharattas* becoming very formidable, and *Nadir Shah* having beſieged *Kandahar*‖, he was prevailed on to come to Court, as ſhall appear more particularly in the Sequel.

‖ قندهار *Kandahar*, is diſtant from *Dehli* 358 meaſured Coſs, and from *Iſfahan* 463.

The

The State of Affairs in India *before the* Perſian *Invaſion, with the Motives that induced* Nadir Shah *to undertake that Expedition.*

AS the * Emperor's Affairs became daily in a worſe Situation, and that thro' the Indolence of the *Vizir*, and his being entirely taken up with his Diverſions, there was no Proſpect of a Remedy; His Majeſty reſolved to ſend for *Nizam al Muluck*, who being one of *Auringzebe*'s old *Emirs* †, and of great Experience, his Preſence might give a new Turn to Affairs. Accordingly Orders were iſſued forth for his Appearance; in Compliance with which, leaving his Son *Ghazi o'din Khan* to command in *Deccan*, he came to *Dehli*, where he met with a gracious Reception, was made Abſolute Agent, which

* The Great *Moghol*.

† *Emîr* ſignifies *a Prince* or *Commander*, being the Name that the Nobility are diſtinguiſhed by, the Plural of which is *Omra*.

is

is greater than *Vizir*, and honoured with the Title of *Aſof Jah*‡. *Khandoran*, who is *Bukhſhi*, or Paymaſter-General, had the Emperor's Ear ſo much, that whatever he requeſted was granted, His Majeſty being entirely governed in all His Actions by him. As *Nizam al Muluck* was for ſettling Affairs upon the ſame Footing as they were in *Auringzebe*'s Time, and proceeding in Regard to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, according to Law, and as was done in the Reigns of former Emperors; whatever he requeſted on that Score was denied him, and all his new Schemes oppoſed and laugh'd at by the *Omras*. He obſerving the Weakneſs of the Emperor, and the Diſſoluteneſs of his Courtiers, who employed their Time in the Company of looſe Women and Buffoons, waited on His Majeſty, and framing an Excuſe, told him the Affairs of his Province required his Preſence. On his Arrival at *Deccan* he entered into a Concert with *Rajah Sahou*, and con-

‡ *Aſof Jah* is a Title commonly given to *Vizirs*. It ſignifies, *in Place and Rank as* Aſof, whom, they ſay, was *Solomon*'s *Vizir*. At the ſame Time that they honour their *Vizirs* with this Title, they flatter their own Vanity, by comparing themſelves to *Solomon*.

trived

trived it ſo, that *Bajeerau* ‖ ſhould march as far as *Dehli*, and plunder and lay waſte all before him; that, at length, the Emperor, and thoſe about him, might be rouſed out of their Indolence, and be ſenſible of their ill Conduct. The *Maharattas* ſoon overrun the Province of *Malva*, killed *Guerdir Bahadr*, the Governor thereof, and ſeized all his Treaſure and Effects. After having laid waſte and deſtroyed all the Country around, they returned to *Deccan*. As no Notice was taken at Court of theſe Inroads, next Year they marched towards *Guzerat*, where, notwithſtanding the Inhabitants agreed to pay a quarter Part,* they plundered and diſtreſſed them in a ſevere Manner: They alſo ravaged the Country round about *Gualiar*, which being near the Capital, the Court was alarmed, and *Khandoran*, with *Kummir o'dîn Khan* and other *Omras*, ſent with a powerful Army to chaſtiſe them; but theſe great Officers thought Peace the ſafeſt Meaſure,

‖ A famous General of the *Maharattas* or *Ganims*, who is lately dead.

* A Quarter Part of the Revenues, which they call *Chot*, is the Tribute the *Maharattas* have endeavoured to impoſe on ſeveral Parts of *India*.

agreed to pay the Quarter Part, and returned Home. Notwithſtanding this Agreement, and the Money being paid, the *Maharattas* did not ſpare thoſe Places from being plundered, but even reſolved to march as far as *Agra* to receive the Quarter Part for *Dehli*. The aforeſaid Officers ſet out again, and came to the City of *Agra*: A little before their Arival, the *Maharattas* had croſſed the River *Jumna*, with an Intent to march into *Audih*, the Province governed by *Saadit Khan*, who having Notice of their Deſign, march'd againſt them with a ſtrong Body, and after an obſtinate Engagement defeated them, took two of their principal Officers, and killed 5000 of their Men. With the Remains of their Army they marched to *Feridabad*, which is Ten Coſs from *Dehli*. Upon which *Khandoran* and the *Vizir*, being joined by *Saadit Khan*, went in purſuit of them: The *Maharattas* had left that Place Three Hours before the *Omras* Arrival, and marched towards *Kalka*, near *Dehli*; which being a Place of Worſhip for that Day, the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants had aſſembled there: They robb'd them of all they had, but ſpared their Lives; and knowing the City

City had but few Forces therein, they intended to plunder it; of which the Emperor being informed, he ordered *Emir Khan* and *Hoſſan Khan*, with all the Companies belonging to the Train of Artillery, to go and oppoſe them. They accordingly marched out, and after an Engagement of a few Hours, *Hoſſan Khan* was killed, and *Emir Khan*, with the reſt of his Army, almoſt routed, and the *Maharattas* on the Point of entering the City, when the *Vizir*, who had outmarched the other two *Omras*, came to his Aſſiſtance; the Enemy was ſoon defeated, and put to Flight: The *Vizir* purſued them to *Allaverdi Khan's Serai*,† which is Seven Coſs from *Dehli*, where coming up with them, and having no Inclination to fight, he ſecretly made up Matters: Upon which they marched back to *Deccan*. *Saadit Khan* being ſomewhat puffed up with his own good Services, and incenſed at this ſhameful Compremiſe with the *Ganims*, marched

† *Serai*, or *Sera*, ſignifies any great Building or Palace. 'Tis the ſame that, by Corruption, is in *Europe* called *Seraglio*, which may as properly be applied to any other Palace, as to that where the King's Family live. By prefixing the Word *Caravan*, it ſignifies, *a Building for the Reception of Travellers and Paſſengers.*

towards his own Province, without waiting on his Majeſty; but the other *Omras* enter'd the City, and paid their Reſpects to him.

The Emperor was again inclined to ſend for *Nizam al Muluck*, thinking that while he continued in *Deccan* he ſhould be always in Fear of (or actually diſturbed by) theſe Excurſions of the *Maharattas*. *Mehr Parvir*, his Grandmother, who had great Intereſt with *Nizam*, at his Requeſt, wrote him a Letter, full of Aſſurances that he ſhould have the entire Management of Affairs at Court, provided he came without Delay. He complied with her Requeſt; but met with a worſe Treatment than formerly. The *Omras* not only diſregarded him, but took all Opportunities of affronting him, eſpecially *Khandoran* and his Creatures, who, when he came to pay his Reſpects at Court, uſed to ridicule him, ſaying to each other, *Obſerve how the* Deccan *Monkey dances*. This Uſage having wrought him up to the higheſt Pitch of Reſentment, he was reſolved to revenge himſelf by diſtreſſing the Empire, and deſtroying *Khandoran* and his Creatures. He imparted his Deſign to the *Vizir*, *Kummir o'din Khan*, imagining he would join with him.

him. But notwithſtanding the Alliance between them (*Nizam*'s Son being married to the *Vizir*'s Daughter, and the *Vizir*'s Son to *Nizam*'s Daughter) he could not engage him to join in any Plot detrimental to the public Intereſt; on the contrary, he uſed his Endeavours to diſſuade him therefrom, by repreſenting to him the Infamy of ſacrificing his Country to private Reſentment. When *Nizam* perceived he would not come into his Meaſures, he applied himſelf to *Saadit Khan*, the *Soubahdar* of *Audih*, who then had a great Body of Men, was an Officer of Experience, and had lately raiſed his Reputation by his Action with the *Maharattas*; and, what was ſtill more to his Purpoſe, had, ſince that Time, ſtood ill-affected towards the Emperor and *Khandoran*. Having entered into an Agreement, it was reſolved that *Nadir Shah*, Ruler of *Perſia*, who then was beſieging *Kandahar*, ſhould be the Inſtrument to diſtreſs the Emperor, and remove *Khandoran* from amongſt them.

But before I relate the treacherous Correſpondence carried on between Nizam, Saadit Khan *and* Nadir Shah, *with the Invitation*

they

they gave him to march towards Hindoſtan, *which was the principal Motive that encouraged him to undertake that Expedition, I ſhall give a brief Account of the Life and Actions of this Famous Conqueror, who of late has made ſo much Noiſe in the World, which I had from a Gentleman who knew him perſonally, and was in* Perſia *during the Time of the Great Revolution which happened there; that is, from the Time the* Afghans *invaded* Perſia, *and* Mahmud Khan, *the Son of* Mîr Vaez, *took the Capital thereof* Isfahan, *making* Shah Sultan Hoſſein *Priſoner, with all his Sons, which were Twenty-three, excepting* Thamas Mirza *(afterwards* Shah Thamas, *who made his Eſcape during the Siege) until* Nadir Shah *ſet out for* Kandahar *to reduce to Obedience* Hoſſein Khan, *a Brother of the ſaid* Mahmud Khan.

THE

THE HISTORY OF *NADIR SHAH.*

NADIR SHAH ‡, known in *Europe* by the Name of *Kuli Khan*, was born at *Calot* in the Province of *Khoraſan.* ‖ His Father was Chief

‡ His firſt Name was نادر قلی *Nadir Kuli*, which ſignifies, *God's Slave*, or literally, *the Slave of the Wonderful.* It is compoſed of نادر *Nadir*, *wonderful*, which, with the *Mahommedans*, is one of God's Attributes, and قلی *Kuli*, which, in the *Turkiſh* Language, ſignifies *Slave.* In this Manner the *Arabs*, and other *Mahommedans*, compoſe moſt of their proper Names, by prefixing the Word عبد *Abd*, *Slave*, to God's Name, or any of his Attributes, thus: عبد الله *Abdallah*, *the Slave of God*, عبد الرحمن *Abd o' Rahman*, *the Slave of the Merciful*, &c.

‖ *Khoraſan* is one of the moſt eaſtern Provinces of *Perſia*, which its Name imports, ſignifying, *towards the*

Chief of a Clan of the *Aſſhar* * Tribe, and Governor of a Fortreſs belonging to that Place, wherein a ſufficient Guard was kept to prevent the *Ouſbeg Tartars* from making Incurſions into *Khoraſan*. It commanded one of the Paſſes, and was ſo ſituated by Nature that a Handful of Men might eaſily defend it againſt a numerous Army. The Father of *Nadir Kuli* (for that was his firſt Name) dying during his Minority, his Uncle took the Command of that Fortreſs, which had been Hereditary in the Family for many Years, under Pretence of keeping it until *Nadir Kuli* was of Age; but when he was grown up, the Uncle pretended he was ſtill too young to take ſuch a Charge; and inſinuated to the Clan, he was a Youth of a fierce and tyrannical Diſpoſition, not fit to command them, unleſs, inſtead

the Sun; خور *Khor*, ſignifying, *the Sun*, in the ancient *Perſic*. The *Perſians* generally pronounce it *Khoraſun*, making an ا *a*, before an م *m*, or an ن *n*, ſound like an و *u*, which, they think, gives the Words a ſweeter and ſofter Sound. But in *Tartary*, and all over the *Moghol*'s Empire, the Words are pronounced as they are wrote.

* The *Aſſhars* are a *Turcoman* Tribe, divided into two or three Clans.

of

of mild Treatment, they choſe to be ſway'd with a Rod of Iron. The *Aſſhars* being well ſatisfied with the Uncle, deſired him to continue their Chief, declaring that as they already had ſufficient Experience of his Capacity and Humanity, they would not run any Riſque by ſubmitting to his Nephew. *Nadir Kuli* being thus thruſt out of his Right by the Cunning of his Uncle, and being of too great a Spirit to live in a State of Subſerviency among his Relations, went to *Muſhad*,* a City famous for the Sepulchre of *Imam Ali Reza*, and there enter'd into the *Beglerbeg*'s† Service, as one of the under Maſters of Ceremonies; in which Office he behaved ſo well, that the Prince ſoon gave him the Command of a Troop of Horſe. In the frequent Skirmiſhes he had with the *Tartars* he gave ſuch Proofs of his Conduct and Courage, that in a few Years he was made *Mîm Baſhi*, or Commander of 1000 Horſe,

* *Muſhad* is a City in *Khoraſan*, which, ſince *Shah Abaſs*'s Intention of making it a Place of Pilgrimage, has been of more Note than *Herat*, the ancient Capital thereof.

† *Beglerbeg* is a Title ſignifying, in the *Turkiſh* Language, *Lord of Lords*.

in which Station he continued till he was about thirty-two Years of Age, behaving on all Occaſions with the greateſt Gallantry and Reſolution. He was eſteemed and reſpected by thoſe whom he choſe to be familiar with; but others who were not ſo intimate with him, and to whom he behaved with Reſerve, made little Account of him. He ſo well diſguiſed his Ambition, that, altho' determined to puſh his Fortune to the utmoſt, when a proper Opportunity ſhould offer, he took the greateſt Care to ſmother whatever might give the leaſt Jealouſy or Offence to his Superiors, ſeeming perfectly happy in the Station he had obtained, until the Year 1720. when the *Ouſbeg Tartars*, by Surprize, entered *Khoraſan* with a Body of 12000 Horſe, and began to commit Hoſtilities. The *Beglerbeg* not having above 4000 Horſe, and 2000 Foot in Readineſs to march againſt them, called a Council of his Officers, and told them if an immediate Stop was not put to the Progreſs of the *Tartars*, they would lay waſte and plunder the whole Province, and, according to their Cuſtom, carry off Man, Woman, and Child, with every Thing of Value they could lay their Hands

on;

on; in Conſequence of which he muſt loſe his Head. The General Officers declared the Force his Highneſs could then muſter was not near ſufficient to encounter the Enemy with any Probability of Succeſs, and that the King would blame him ſhould he attempt it, and thereby only throw away the Lives of ſo many brave Men. The *Beglerbeg* perceiving their timorous Diſpoſition, declared he would put himſelf at the Head of what Troops he had, and try his Fortune, it being better to run any Hazard than ſit down tamely, and be idle Spectators, while the *Tartars* ravaged the Country, and carried away the Inhabitants to a perpetual Slavery. *Nadir Kuli*, who was preſent at this Council, (but whoſe Station did not entitle him to ſpeak until the Opinion of thoſe of the ſame Rank was aſked) got up, and deſired that he might be indulged to offer ſomething on this Occaſion: Which being granted, he ſaid, It was then no Time to deliberate; that the Enemy were advancing towards them, and in a few Days would force the Generals to do what at preſent they ſeem'd to have no Inclination to; that he could not enough commend the brave Reſo-

lution of the Prince in offering to go in Perſon, and give them Battle, tho', at the ſame Time, there was no Neceſſity for His Highneſs to run ſo great a Riſque, ſince if any Accident happened to him the whole Province would be loſt; that it would be more adviſable to remain in the City *Muſhad* to take Care thereof with what Forces he could gather from the adjacent Parts, and let the Army ſet out immediately, in order to give the Enemy Battle, or to ſecure ſome Defiles and narrow Paſſes to prevent the *Tartars* advancing until his Highneſs could ſend Succours: That, for his Part, he aſſured him he was, by Experience, ſo well ſatisfied of the Bravery of the Troops they then had, that if he would honour him with the Command of this Expedition, he was ſo well aſſured of Succeſs, that in Caſe he miſcarried he was willing to forfeit his Head. The Prince was ſo pleaſed with an Offer of this Kind, that he did not wait for any of the Generals Opinions; but immediately told him, You have, in your preſent Station, when Occaſion offered, given ſuch Proofs of your Conduct and perſonal Valour, as leaves me no Room to doubt of your future Behaviour; I do

therefore

therefore give you the Title of General, with the Command of all the Troops now here, and order you to march with them, as ſoon as poſſible, againſt the *Tartars*, and either give them Battle, or take ſuch Meaſures as may ſeem to you moſt proper, in order to put a Check to their Progreſs. Accordingly a Commiſſion *pro tempore* was prepared and ſigned for *Nadir Kuli* to command in this Expedition as General, and the Prince aſſured him, if he ſucceeded, he would uſe all his Intereſt at Court to get him confirmed. Altho' the Common-Soldiers were well ſatisfied to have *Nadir Kuli* to command them, yet all the General Officers, and moſt of the *Mim Baſhis*, his Seniors, refuſed to act under him, which the Prince being informed of, deſired they would ſtay with him, and that others, whom *Nadir Kuli* appointed, ſhould act in their Stead. Accordingly ſeveral Officers were promoted in order to ſupply the Places of thoſe who ſtaid; and the Troops ſet out with *Nadir Kuli* at their Head, with the ſame Reſolution that he did, to conquer or die. The *Tartar* General, who lay about four Days Journey from *Muſhad*, hearing the *Perſians* were in queſt of them,

called

called together all his Forces, who were out a marrauding in different Parts. *Nadir*, who bent his March directly towards him, on his Arrival, found the *Tartar* at the Head of his Troops ready to give him Battle; upon which he drew up his little Army on an Eminence, and told them, that half the *Tartars* at leaſt were a foraging, and left to guard the Captives and Plunder; that he was aſſured they had not above 6 or 7000 Men, tho' they were drawn up looſe in order to make the greater Show; and that he ſhould not doubt of Victory had they been twice as numerous, from the Experience he often had of their Courage on other Occaſions, which he was aſſured they would then exert to the utmoſt, as thereon entirely depended the Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates of their Countrymen. The *Tartars* charged with their uſual Fury, which the *Perſians*, animated by the Example of their young Leader, ſuſtained with all the Intrepidity imaginable. Both Parties being brave, and equally reſolute, a bloody and obſtinate Action enſued, in which the Victory for a long Time ſeemed doubtful: At laſt *Nadir*'s Fortune prevailed; for having ſlain the General with his own Hand,

the

the *Tartars* were immediately put to Flight, the *Perſians* purſuing and ſlaughtering them for ſeveral Miles. In this Battle upwards of 6000 *Tartars* were killed, and of the Remainder not half returned to their own Country, being either killed or taken Priſoners by the Peaſants.

This Victory gained *Nadir Kuli* immortal Honour; and the *Beglerbeg* aſſured him, on his Arrival at *Muſhad*, that he had wrote to the King to make him General under him, that is, Lieutenant General of *Khoraſan*. But *Shah Sultan Hoſſein*, who was then King of *Perſia*, being a weak and indolent Prince, never regarded the Services *Nadir* had done him, but appointed in that very Poſt, which he ought to have, a young Nobleman who had never ſeen any Action. This Affair was managed by the great Intereſt the other General Officers had at Court, who (tho' afraid to undertake it themſelves) were highly chagrin'd at *Nadir Kuli*'s having had the Command of the *Tartar* Expedition: The King's Weakneſs giving them a fair Opportunity of indulging their Reſentment, by procuring the Diſgrace of this brave Man, who had no Friends at Court to ſollicit for him,

Being

Being highly incenſed at this Treatment, he waited on the Prince, and told him, he had depended on his Promiſe to no Purpoſe, for inſtead of being confirmed in his Poſt, he was degraded and diſgraced for his good Services, and a young Fellow appointed to Command the Army, who was only fit to be ſhut up in a *Seraglio* with Women; that he obſerved, he was a Perſon nearly related to his Highneſs, whence he concluded he was raiſed to that Station by the very Intereſt promiſed him: The Prince aſſured him of the contrary, and as he had endeavoured to ſerve him, was highly diſpleaſed at his daring to tax him with a Breach of Promiſe. *Nadir*, by inſiſting on what he had ſaid, and dropping ſome other unguarded Expreſſions, ſo far treſpaſſed on the Prince's good Nature, that he ordered him to be baſtinadoed on the Soles of the Feet, till his Toe-Nails dropt off, and turned him out of the Service. The Reader muſt not be ſurprized at this Sort of Puniſhment to a Field Officer, for it is frequently inflicted on thoſe in the higheſt Stations, if they incur the King's Diſpleaſure, and all the Nobility are liable to undergo it, if they diſobey the Commands of

of their Superiors in a Poſt ſubordinate to them. *Nadir* was now ſet adrift, and having no Friends at Court, had no Hopes of being re-inſtated; this made him turn his Thoughts On retiring to the Place of his Nativity, and endeavour to recover his paternal Inheritance. on his Arrival there, his Uncle received him very kindly, and he lived with him and his other Relations ſome Time; but on his endeavouring to recover the Command of the Tribe, by firſt inſinuating privately, and then inſiſting upon it that it was his Right, his Uncle let him know he would not reſign it, and treated him in a moſt contemptuous and ſlighting Manner. His other Relations did the ſame, which was Uſage *Nadir*'s high Spirit could not bear, notwithſtanding the State of Poverty he was reduced to, which was ſo very hard, that he was forced to borrow ſmall Matters of any that would lend him, to procure the common Neceſſaries of Life. This was enough to beget deſperate Reſolutions in a Man who had deſerved great Things from his Prince and Country, for the good Services he had done them; inſtead of which, as I have already obſerved, he was degraded and puniſhed: And when he fled into

the Arms of his Relations for Relief, and claimed his Birth-right, found that withheld from him by his Uncle; and all thoſe who, by Ties of Blood, ought to have been his Friends, turned his Enemies, for no other Reaſon that I could ever learn, but that they found him a bold enterprizing Man, and ſuperior to themſelves in Point of Genius and every other Reſpect. *Nadir*, in this melancholy Situation, determined to get that by Force, which he could not obtain by any other Method; and having aſſociated with a Couple of ſtout Fellows of deſperate Fortune, went upon the Highway, and robb'd a ſmall Caravan of Three or Four Mules laden with Merchandize, and found Means to diſpoſe of them, the Produce of which (ſetting aſide what they wanted for preſent Expences) he laid out in Arms and Ammunition, and enliſted privately in his Gang all the deſperate Fellows he could pick up. He ſet out a ſecond Time with about 20 or 25, and robb'd a large Caravan of 30 Mules and Camels, laden with Merchandize and Proviſions, which he carried to the Mountains, where Perſons came ſecretly to him with Arms, *&c.* and exchanged them for Goods, much to their Advantage.

Advantage. In this Manner he frequently robb'd, traded, and enliſted freſh Men into his Gang, moſt of whom were Soldiers who had formerly ſerved under him, until he had got near 500 ſtout Fellows well mounted, with which Force he kept the Country in aw, and laid them under a Contribution, which they would not comply with, till he had firſt threatned, and afterwards performed his Reſolution of carrying away their Cattle, and plundering and burning their Houſes. But it will be proper here to take Notice, that he could not have reigned long in this Manner, but would have been purſued and overpower'd by the King's Forces, if the Empire had not been involved in War. The *Afghans* under *Mîr Vaez*'s Son, had taken *Iſahan*, and reduced the South-Eaſt Parts of *Perſia* to their Obedience; the *Turks* had entered the Weſtern Parts, and taken moſt of them; and the *Muſcovites* had taken Poſſeſſion of *Gilan* (the ancient *Hyrcania*) aud other Places bordering on the *Caſpian* Sea; ſo that *Shah Thamas* having but two or three Provinces left, which were ſurrounded by Enemies on all Sides, he could not ſpare any Forces to reduce *Nadir Kuli*; the

Country People were afraid to attack him, ſo that he lived on them, and exacted what he thought proper for the Support of himſelf and his Followers. At this Time, one *Sef o' din Beg*, a General in *Shah Thamas*'s Army, and Chief of a great Tribe, called the *Bayots*, having offended the King, his *Perſian* Majeſty was determined to take away his Life, which *Sef o' din Beg* being privately informed of, he fled from the Camp in the Night with 1500 of his own Men, and not knowing where to take Sanctuary, he went to *Nadir Kuli*, and joined him. By this Addition to his Force, he had now got upwards of 2000 Men, and was become very formidable and expenſive to the Neighbourhood. *Nadir*'s Uncle began to dread the Strength of his Nephew, who being not above 100 Miles off, might come and attack him whenever he pleaſed: He therefore wrote him a Letter, wherein he aſſured him, he was of Opinion, that if he would ſubmit, and go into the King's Service, his Majeſty would grant a Pardon to him and all his People. *Nadir* ſeemed very well pleaſed with this Propoſal, and wrote his Uncle, that if he could procure the Pardon he mentioned, he ſhould be glad

to

to accept of it. Accordingly his Uncle ſent a Petition to *Shah Thamas*, in behalf of his Nephew. His Majeſty at firſt ſeemed not inclined to pardon a Man who had been guilty of ſuch notorious Crimes; but being told the ill Treatment he had formerly met with, forced him to take ſuch Meaſures in order to ſupport himſelf, that he was a gallant Officer, and that his Troops might be of great Service to his Majeſty, who was in want of ſuch Men, the King comply'd, and ſent a free Pardon ſigned to his Uncle, which he immediately forwarded to *Nadir Kuli*, who, upon the Receipt thereof, ſet out with *Sef o'din Beg*, and 100 choſen Men for *Calot*. On his Arival there, his Uncle received him very kindly. Next Day he made a grand Entertainment for him and his Followers, which he intended to have continued for three Days, far from apprehending any Treachery from his Nephew, who now meditated Revenge for the Injury done him in withholding his Right, and ſlighting him when reduced to the greateſt Neceſſity. He had concerted with his Followers how to put it in Execution before he left the Mountains, and had ordered 500 more of his Men to ſet out the next Day after

ter him, and to lay concealed near the Caſtle of *Calot* (which they might eaſily do, it being a mountainous Place.) Accordingly having that very Night made proper Preparations, about two in the Morning, at a Signal given, thoſe within fell on the Centries, killed ſome, and ſeized the reſt, whilſt *Nadir Kuli* went to his Uncle's Chamber, whom having killed, he took the Keys of the Caſtle, and opened the Gates, in order to let in the 500 Men, who were ready at his Signal. His Uncle's Men, who were about 160, beſides the Centries, had taken the Alarm; but *Nadir*'s People having ſecured the Doors of the Barracks where they lay, they could make no Reſiſtance, ſo that they ſurrendered; and, being diſarm'd were ſet at Liberty the next Morning: there was not much Blood ſhed on this Occaſion, not above fifteen or twenty being killed in all. *Nadir* immediately diſpatched Meſſengers to thoſe remaining in the Mountains, who came to him in a few Days. This happened about the Year 1726-7, upwards of ſix Years after he had been turned out of the King's Service in *Muſhad*, as before-mentioned.

Nadir, by this Action, not at all to his Credit, had gratified his Revenge on his Uncle,

Uncle, and had all his Relations (who lived moſtly in the Town, and the adjacent Villages near *Calot)* in his Power; but he ſhewed no Reſentment to any of them: On the contrary, he treated them with Civility and Reſpect; ſeveral of them entered voluntarily into his Service, and are now with him in great Poſts. He continued in this Place for ſome Months ruling in an abſolute Manner, and raiſing Contributions, for fifty Miles round, to what Amount he pleaſed. *Shah Thamas* was fully apprized of all that *Nadir* had done, and was highly diſpleaſed at the ill Uſe he made of the Pardon ſent him, which was to deſtroy his Uncle, and get Poſſeſſion of a ſtrong Place, whence nothing but a great Force could diſlodge him; but as his Affairs were in a declining Condition, every Day ſeeming to threaten his Ruin more and more, being hemm'd in by the *Turks* on one Side, and the *Afghans* on the other, he judged it better to make uſe of the Rebel *Nadir*'s Aſſiſtance, than to weaken his own Force by attempting to deſtroy him. He therefore let him know, if he would ſubmit and come to him, he ſhould be graciouſly received, and admitted into the Service as a

Mîm Baſhi, and that *Sef o' dîn Beg* ſhould likewiſe be pardoned, and entertained in the ſame Station. *Nadir* accepted this Offer, and having left one of his own Officers, with 500 of his Men, to command the Caſtle, he ſet out with the reſt, and waited on the King, who at firſt rebuked him for what he had done, but told him and his People, that he had forgiven them, and did not doubt but their future Behaviour would make Amends for their paſt Offences. *Nadir* excuſed himſelf as well as he could, by telling the King the ill Treatment he had met with from the Prince of *Khoraſan*, in being turned out of the Service at a Time when he ought to have been rewarded for his ſucceſsful Expedition againſt the *Tartars*; and that the injurious Uſage he received from his Uncle and Relations had forced him into the Meaſures he had taken to ſupport himſelf; but as his Majeſty had now generouſly pardoned him, he ſhould endeavour to render himſelf deſerving of the Clemency which had been ſhewn him.

As he had now frequent Occaſions, he ſignalized himſelf by his Courage and Conduct, and was the Admiration of the King and the whole Army. The *Turks* (who before *Nadir*

dir Kuli's coming into *Shah Thamas*'s Army, were always victorious, and ſeem'd determined to extirpate the *Perſian* Race, and divide the Empire between the *Afghans* and themſelves, with whom they had made Peace, and entered into an Alliance) were now frequently repulſed with Loſs, tho' their Numbers were vaſtly ſuperior to the *Perſians*; and in all theſe Actions and Skirmiſhes, *Nadir*, tho' he had but an inferior Command, yet he ſhared the moſt Honour; till at length the King made him a Lieutenant-General, having removed two of his principal Officers to make Way for him. As *Nadir* had, by his Station, frequent Opportunities of waiting on the King, he ſoon inſinuated himſelf into his Favour. He had but one Rival to deal with, who was of any Conſequence, namely, *Fatteh allah Khan Kajar*, with whom, in Appearance, he kept a ſtrict Friendſhip; but the very Moment the King (being ſet on by his Creatures) had called that General to an Account for his Management, in Regard to the Army, *Nadir Kuli* aſſured His Majeſty he had been a long Time ſenſible of the Abuſes committed, and unleſs there was a Reformation in the Manner of paying

and diſciplining the Army, the Troops would deſert; that they already began to murmur at not receiving their Pay regularly, and complained of the exorbitant Deductions made out of it for Cloaths, *&c.* The King, on hearing this, was highly incenſed againſt the General, and declared, if what was alledged againſt him was true, he would order his Head to be cut off. He having nothing to ſay in his own Juſtification, but pleading it as a Cuſtom which his Predeceſſors had always done, His Majeſty ordered him to be executed on the Spot, and appointed *Nadir Kuli* General, who readily accepted of it, without the Formality of deſiring to be excuſed on Account of his Inability to acquit himſelf as he ought in ſuch a Poſt. This was in the Year 1727-8, and not above one Year ſince he was pardoned, and taken into the King's Service. *Nadir* having obtained that high Station, began to diſplay Talents vaſtly ſuperior to what he had diſcovered hitherto, and the King had ſo great a Dependance on his Management, that he ſeldom or never interfered in any Thing relating to the Military. *Nadir*, being ſenſible of the Truſt repoſed in him, was reſolved to improve

prove it to his own Advantage, by removing thoſe in the Army whom he had Reaſon to believe were not attached to him, and putting in thoſe who were. He gain'd the Affection of the Common-Soldiers, by paying them with his own Hand the Moment he received the Money, and letting them have Cloaths at the firſt Coſt. Finding himſelf in this happy Situation, he wiſhed for nothing more than Action, but his Forces (being no more than 15 or 20000) were not ſufficient to act offenſively againſt the *Turks*: However, he annoyed them ſo much by Means of flying Parties, that they were glad to ſit ſtill in their Quarters; they ſent to acquaint *Shah Thamas*, that if he would relinguiſh to them the Right of thoſe Places they had already in Poſſeſſion, they would make Peace with him, and leave him to recover the reſt of his Dominions from the *Afghans*. *Shah Thamas* let them know he would conſider of it, and deſired a Truce till he could get an Anſwer from the Grand Signior to ſome Propoſals he had to make him; to which the *Turks* agreed, promiſing to commit no Hoſtilities until they received Orders from the Port, and ſo their Confines

were

were fixed to *Hamadan* on one Side, and *Tabriz* and *Ardebil* on the other. *Shah Thamas* ſent a Meſſenger to *Conſtantinople* with Offers of an Accommodation, but on Terms which he knew would not be granted; he gave private Orders to the ſaid Meſſenger to pretend Sickneſs on the Road, and to delay his getting thither as long as poſſible, ſo as not to give the *Turks* any Cauſe of Suſpicion. *Shah Thamas*'s Deſign was only to gain Time, that he might go and ſubdue *Meluck Mahmud*, Governor of *Muſhad*, who had rebelled during the late Revolution, and ſet up as King. Having, thro' the Bravery of his General *Nadir*, taken the ſaid Governor Priſoner, and ſeized his Effects, he ſet out with 12000 Horſe to chaſtiſe the *Abdollees*, a Tribe of *Afghans*, who had taken Poſſeſſion of *Herat* in *Shah Sultan Hoſſein*'s Time, and were now preparing a grand Army to invade *Khoraſan*, and lay Seige to *Muſhad*. The *Abdollee Afghans* met him about three Days Journey from *Herat*, with an Army of near 30000 Horſe. As they were reckoned better Soldiers than the *Kandahar Afghans*, who had taken *Iſfahan*, the King ſeem'd to dread the Event of the Battle; but *Nadir*, whoſe Courage was

invincible,

invincible, aſſured the King he did not doubt of Succeſs; that Victory depended more on Reſolution and Conduct than on Numbers, and that he was ſatisfied his Majeſty's Troops had both. Having drawn up his Army in order of Battle, he harangued them in the ſame Manner, telling them withal, that the Loſs of that Battle would be the Ruin of *Perſia*, and that they and their Generations would be made Slaves for ever if they did not conquer that Day; after which a general Shout was given. The *Abdollee Afghans*, who were drawn up at ſome Diſtance, hearing their Shout, returned it, and advanced with great Fury to charge the *Perſians*. *Nadir* kept his Men cloſe, and being poſted upon a riſing Ground, he played upon them with ſome ſmall Field-pieces, which did great Execution, not ſuffering any of his People to diſcharge their ſmall Arms until the Enemy was within thirty or forty Yards, when they made a general Fire, which made ſuch Havock among the *Abdollees*, that they were obliged to retire, and give the *Perſians* Time to load again. In ſhort, after ſeveral deſperate Attacks, which the *Perſians* ſuſtain'd with an uncommon Valour, a general Engagement

gagement enſued, in which *Nadir* behaved with a moſt ſurpriſing Conduct; for, tho' his Perſonal Bravery naturally carried him too far, his Vigilance was ſuch, that he always ſent timely Aſſiſtance wherever it was required; at laſt, the *Abdollees* were entirely routed, 5000 were taken Priſoners, and near 15000 killed and wounded. The Loſs on the *Perſians* Side amounted to no more than 1500. After this he marched to *Herat*, and beſieged it for ſome Months, until the Enemy ſubmitted, and had agreed to pay down a certain Sum, and give an annual Tribute on Condition they might have a Governor appointed by the King out of their own Tribe; which being granted, they ſwore Obedience to *Shah Thamas*, by whom they were to be treated in future as natural Subjects. The King, who was in the Army, but did not command, ſet out for *Muſhad*. *Nadir Kuli* having Orders to follow him as ſoon as poſſible, arrived there in *Auguſt*, 1729. About this Time the King received News that *Aſhruff*, the *Afghan* (who ſucceeded *Mahmud*, the Son of *Mir Vaez*, and was then in Poſſeſſion of *Iſahan*) was preparing to come and attack him with a powerful

Army,

Army. The ſaid *Aſhruff*, hearing of *Nadir Kuli*'s Succeſs, thought it dangerous to give ſuch a Man Time to augment his Forces; he therefore determined to cruſh him in the Beginning: For which Purpoſe, having compleated an Army of 30000 Men, he ſet out from *Isfahan* in *September*, 1729, and march'd towards *Khoraſan*. This News alarmed *Shah Thamas*, and likewiſe his General *Nadir*; but his Troops, being fluſh'd with their late Victory, ſeem'd eager to be led againſt the Enemy. He was glad to find them in this Diſpoſition, eſpecially as he had but little Hopes of raiſing any great Number of Recruits, few People caring to enliſt as they knew they were immediately to enter upon a deſperate Action; however, he augmented his Army to near 16000 Men, excluſive of the Troops left in Garriſon: Having ſet out from *Muſhad*, by ſlow Marches he came to a Place called *Damgoon*, where, poſting himſelf advantageouſly, he waited the Enemy's Arrival. When *Aſhruff* came there, finding *Nadir Kuli* ſo well ſituated, he was unwilling to attack him, but was over-ruled in Opinion by his Officers: They told him, that by his declining to come to Action, the

Enemy

Enemy would obtain a cheap Victory; as the Country People (on hearing the *Afghans* were afraid to encounter the *Perſians*) would rebel, and ſtop all Proviſions from coming to the Army. *Aſhruff* then propoſed to march directly to *Muſhad* without attacking *Nadir Kuli*; which being rejected, the Signal was given for Battle. The Event convinced the *Afghan* Officers of their Error; for attacking them at that Diſadvantage gave the *Perſians* a compleat Victory. 'Tis true it coſt them dear, having loſt above 4000 Men. The Loſs ſuſtained by the *Afghans* was about 12000, among whom were ſome of their beſt Officers.

After this Defeat *Aſhruff* retired towards *Iſfahan*, having ſcarcely a third Part of the Troops he ſet out with, a great Number of his Men (eſpecially the *Perſians* he had taken into his Service) having deſerted after the Battle.

Shah Thamas, who was preſent in this Action, and an Eye-witneſs to the Conduct and Valour of his General, told him he had nothing to preſent him, worthy his Acceptance, but his own Name, and ordered that, for the future, he ſhould be called *Thamas Kuli*

Kuli * with the Addition of *Khan*, which ſignifies *Lord*.

Thamas Kuli Khan, (for ſo we ſhall call him until he is elected King) having refreſhed his Troops at *Damgoun*, marched towards *Isfahan*. The *Afghans*, at his Approach, quitted ſeveral of their Garriſons, and fled towards the Capital, and in ſome Places the *Perſians* cut them off, declaring openly for *Shah Thamas*, and ſending to *Kuli Khan* what Supplies of Men and Money they could furniſh; ſo that, by the Time he arrived at *Caſhan*, which is four Days Journey from *Isfahan*, his Army conſiſted of 40000 Horſe and Foot. The *Afghans* laid in great Stores of Proviſions, and ſeem'd determined to defend themſelves to the laſt Extremity; but their Leader *Aſhruff* choſe to try the Event of another Battle before he ſuffered himſelf to be beſieged. Having brought together all the Forces he could muſter, which amounted to no more than 30000, conſiſting of *Afghans*, *Darguzzis*, *Hazarris*, *Perſians*, &c.

* *Thamas Kuli*, ſignifies *Thamas's Slave*. The greateſt Honour a *Perſian* King can confer on any Subject, is giving him Liberty to make uſe of his own Name, altho' it is only to ſignify, he is his Slave.

he marched out to a Place called *Mourcha Khor*, which is about thirty *Engliſh* Miles from the City, and encamped there, waiting *Kuli Khan*'s Arrival, which not being ſo ſoon as he expected, he had ſufficient Time to exerciſe his Cruelty on the *Perſians* in and about *Iſfahan*: At firſt, he ordered all the principal Men to be cut off, and afterwards all they could find in the Streets; ſo that, for the Space of twenty Days, there was not a *Perſian* to be ſeen abroad, none appearing but Women, who came out to buy the common Neceſſaries of Life. At laſt, *Kuli Khan* arrived at *Mourcha Khor*, where, engaging the *Afghans*, he obtained a compleat Victory. *Aſhruff*, having loſt 7000 Men, retired to *Iſfahan*, where, calling a Council, it was reſolved, that all the Inhabitants ſhould be ſlaughtered, and the Palace and other Houſes ſet on Fire; which being done, they were to march off with all the Effects they could carry with them. Juſt as they were on the Point of executing this barbarous Reſolution, thoſe whom *Aſhruff* had appointed to watch the Motions of *Kuli Khan*, ſent to acquaint him, that the *Perſian* Army was in full March towards the City. Upon which,

Aſhruff

Aſhruff ordered his Men to come to the Palace and load their Beaſts with Money (of which there was a great Quantity) and then follow him, as they could only ſave themſelves by Flight. This Order was executed with ſo much Diſpatch, that before two o' Clock in the Afternoon there was ſcarce an *Afghan* to be ſeen in the City. The *Perſians*, who before lay concealed, came out, and began to plunder all Houſes without Diſtinction; even the Peaſants from the Out-parts flocked in in great Numbers to have their Share of the Booty; but on the Arrival of 1500 of *Thamas Kuli Khan*'s Troops, all the Rabble diſappeared, and the Officers took Poſſeſſion of the Palace, and placed Guards at the City Gates. The next Day being *November*, 1730, he entered *Iſfahan* with his whole Army, and continued there, cloathing his Men, and dividing among them the Plunder recovered from the Inhabitants. It was a Mattter of Surprize to moſt People that he did not purſue the *Afghans*; but in a few Days afterwards it appeared he had ſome private Reaſons for it: For, on *Shah Thamas*'s Arrival (which was three Weeks afterwards) he declared that unleſs his Majeſty

would give him the Power of levying Money in all Parts for the Payment of the Army, he would decline the Command thereof, and return to his own Country, being well aſſured that the Perſons who ſhould be ordered to ſupply him would be negligent, and by that Means fruſtrate all his Deſigns. The King was averſe to this Propoſal, and had Thoughts of removing him, but could fix on no other who was fit to ſupply his Place; having ſounded ſome of the principal Officers, he found them of Opinion, that it was better to comply with *Kuli Khan*'s Humour for the preſent, and ſhew a proper Reſentment of his Inſolence when there was leſs Occaſion for his Service; adding, that the Soldiers, at this Juncture, would be unwilling to ſerve under any other General. At laſt, His Majeſty conſented, but with the greateſt Reluctancy: For, in giving that Power, he (in Effect) parted with his Crown. He did not even ſtop here, but heaped more Honours upon him, appointing him *Generaliſſimo* and *Beglerbeg* of *Khoraſan*, and giving him his Aunt in Marriage. After obtaining theſe Favours he ſeemed perfectly zealous for his Maſter's Service; and,

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in order to convince the World of his Sincerity, would ſet out with an Army in the Middle of Winter againſt the *Afghans*, who, finding the *Perſians* did not purſue them, when they quitted *Iſahan*, had taken up their Winter Quarters at *Shiraz*, and plundered and ravaged that Part of the Country in a barbarous Manner.

Kuli Khan, thro' the Severity of the Seaſon, had loſt upwards of 3000 Men; but, as his March was to the Southward, the Weather grew daily more favourable. Having arrived near *Shiraz*, *Aſhruff* and his *Afghans* marched out with a Reſolution once more to try their Fortune in Battle; they fought deſperately for ſome Hours, but at laſt were put to Flight, having left a great Part of their Treaſure, and moſt of their Women and Children behind them. A ſtrong Detachment of the *Perſians* were ſent in Purſuit of them, who made ſeveral of them Priſoners.

Aſhruff, with about 1500 of his Men, marched directly towards *Kandahar*. In the Way moſt of them deſerted him, having only 100 when he was ſurpriz'd and ſet upon by a Body of the *Balluches*; with theſe few

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he made a deſperate and brave Defence, but being greatly overpowered, he and moſt of his Party were cut to Pieces.

Thamas Kuli Khan, having ſtaid about a Month in *Shiraz*, ſet out for *Hamadan*, in order to recover it, with other Places formerly belonging to the *Perſians*, which the *Turks* had ſeized on during the late Troubles. On his Arrival there, *Abdallah Baſha* came againſt him with all his Forces, who, being worſted fled towards *Carmanſhah*: *Thamas Kuli* purſued him thither, and defeated him a ſecond Time. Having ſtaid a few Days at *Carmanſhah*, and fixed a Garriſon there, he ſet out for *Tabríz*. As ſoon as he recovered and ſecured that important Place, he detached a ſtrong Party to *Ardebil*, which the Enemy had quitted on their Approach. The *Turks* being thus unſucceſsful demanded a Truce, which *Thamas Kuli* granted the more readily, as the *Abdollees* at *Herat* rebelled a ſecond Time, and had a powerful Army in the Field.

Having ſecured, and left ſufficient Garriſons in thoſe Places he had lately recovered, he ſet out for *Herat*. After defeating the *Abdollees* Army, he laid Siege to the City,

which

which being a Place of great Strength, held out until Famine obliged them to ſurrender. He put the Governor and all the principal Men to Death, and having peopled the Place with *Perſians*, and left a Garriſon of his own Men therein, he marched to *Muſhad*.

During this Time, *Shah Thamas*, who was at *Iſahan*, finding the *Turks* were ſending Forces from *Conſtantinople* and other Parts towards the Frontiers of *Perſia*, he raiſed an Army of 20000 Men, and ſet out for *Tabrîz*, where, joining the Troops left there by *Thamas Kuli*, he marched to *Erivan*, and defeating a Body of *Turks*, beſieged the Caſtle, but not being able to ſupply his Army with Proviſions there, he returned to *Tabrîz*, and from thence intended to advance towards *Carmanſhah*, but was prevented by *Ahmed Baſha*, who, coming againſt him with a ſuperior Army, entirely defeated him. A few Days after this Battle, the *Baſha* ſent him Word, he was impowered by the Grand Signior to conclude a Peace with him. The King came readily into the *Baſha*'s Propoſals, which were, that each Party ſhould remain in Poſſeſſion of what they had then got.

When

When *Thamas Kuli Khan* was informed of this Peace he was greatly enraged, and wrote to the King and ſeveral of the Nobility, acquainting them, he would ſoon wait on His Majeſty, and convince him of the Neceſſity there was to break this ſcandalous Peace. Accordingly he ſet out with all Speed from *Muſhad*, and in *Auguſt*, 1732. arrived at *Iſfahan* with his whole Army, which amounted to upwards of 60000, all choice Troops. He waited on the King, and told him, He ought firſt to make an Example of thoſe who adviſed him to ſuch diſhonourable Meaſures, and then carry on the War with Vigour againſt the Enemy. The King ſeeming unwilling to break the Peace he had concluded with the *Turks*, *Thamas Kuli Khan* told him, he had good Reaſon to believe moſt of the Courtiers were his Enemies, and had been endeavouring to prevail with His Majeſty to take away his Life. The King aſſured him his Informations were not true. Upon which *Kuli Khan* preſented the King with a Bundle of Letters, telling him, theſe would convince his Majeſty, that he had juſt Grounds for his Apprehenſions. After which he took his Leave.

Theſe

Theſe Letters had been wrote to him privately by ſeveral of the Nobility at Court, in which they informed againſt each other, and acquainted him with their Deſigns againſt him. They alſo let him know what had paſſed in ſeveral Converſations with the King; at the ſame time reflecting on his Majeſty's Incapacity, and aſſuring *Kuli Khan* how much they had his Intereſt at Heart.

The King was aſtoniſhed when he peruſed theſe Letters, and finding the Treaſon too general to be taken any notice of, unleſs he reſolved to cut off the greateſt Part of the Nobility, he deſtroyed the Letters, being determined to wait for a more convenient Opportunity of reſenting their Villainy.

Thamas Kuli Khan, who with his Army lay encamped without the City, waited to know what Effect theſe Letters would have on the King; but finding he took no Notice of them, he conſulted with the Chiefs of his Army, and acquainted them with the Steps he had taken. They agreed with him in Opinion, that the King's Intention was to deſtroy him and his Friends, and diſband the Army; and that the late ſhameful Peace concluded with the *Turks* was chiefly with a

View of having more Leiſure and Opportunity to accompliſh his Deſigns. *Kuli Khan* told them, the only Expedient to ſave them and himſelf, would be to depoſe the King, and ſet up his Son in his Stead; by which Means they ſhould have a fair Pretence of making a Rupture with the *Ottoman Porte*: His Officers came readily into this Scheme, which was executed in the following manner:

Kuli Khan invited the King to a Review of the Army; he accordingly went, and was exceedingly delighted with the fine Appearance they made, and the Performance of their Exerciſe, the Merit of which he publickly attributed to the General. As the King was riding thro' the Ranks, ſome of the Under-officers and Soldiers ſaid aloud, "If your "Majeſty has any Commands, we are ready "to execute them." This at firſt ſurpriſed *Kuli Khan*, but on recovering himſelf, he, with his uſual Preſence of Mind, addreſſed the King, deſiring him to tell them they were to obey their General *Thamas Kuli Khan*, to whom he had given the ſole Command of the Army; which his Majeſty complied with, and then went to a Banquet which had been prepared for him in the Ge-

neral's

neral's Tent. The King having indulged too freely in drinking Wine, (which 'tis ſuppoſed was mixed with ſome intoxicating Drug) he fell aſleep on his Sofa. The General ordered his own People to carry him to a Seraglio in the Garden of *Hazar Jerib*. His Majeſty's Servants who were then in Waiting, ſeeming to diſpute *Kuli Khan*'s Orders, by telling him, they would take Care of the King, were commanded to withdraw at their Peril; upon which they endeavoured to make their Eſcape, but were ſeized by the Guards, and confined.

After *Kuli Khan* had ſecured the King, and placed Guards over him, he returned to his Tent, where moſt of the General Officers, who had been preſent at this Scene, were attending. He aſked them, what was to be done further with the King? They replied, Nothing more than what is already done: But he ſoon perſuaded them it would be neceſſary to keep him confined in ſome remote Part of the Empire: and accordingly three Days afterwards he was ſent to *Mazandran*, attended by a Guard of 6000 Men, among whom were very few *Perſian* Troops, being

chiefly *Afghans*, and others of the *Sunni* Religion.

After ſeizing the King, he ſent a ſtrong Detachment to the City, to take Poſſeſſion of the Palace, and place Guards at the City Gates, and in ſome of the principal Streets. Early next Morning it was proclaimed by Beat of Drum, that no Perſons, on Pain of Death, ſhould ſtir out of their Houſes: At Noon finding every thing was quiet and eaſy, a ſecond Proclamation was made, ordering all People to carry on their Buſineſs and ſeveral Occupations, and go abroad, as uſual.

The *Perſians* made ſecretly great Lamentations, imagining their King was killed; but being informed he was alive, they flattered themſelves with Hopes that the Army would riſe in his Defence.

Next Day after the King was ſent away, *Kuli Khan* went to the Palace in great Pomp, attended by all the Officers both Civil and Military. He ordered the King's Son to be brought out of the Seraglio, who being then in his Cradle, was placed on the Throne; the Royal Diadem was put at the Head, and the Sword and Target fixed to the Side thereof; after

after which, with the proper Ceremony, he was declared King, by the Name of *Shah Abaſs* the Third. *Kuli Khan* firſt ſwore Fidelity to him on the *Koran*, and the reſt followed his Example.

This Mock Ceremony being over, he continued in the Palace until he had appointed proper Officers in the City, and removed thoſe Governors of diſtant Provinces whom he did not care to confide in: Afterwards he ſet out with his Forces againſt the *Turks*, and meeting *Ahmed Baſha* at the Head of a numerous Army, within a few Days Journey of *Baghdad*, he entirely defeated him, and marched towards the City, which he laid cloſe Siege to. The Garriſon being very numerous, defended it a long time, but a terrible Famine raging among them, they were on the Point of ſurrendring, when *Topal Othman*, *Baſha Seraſkier*, and ſeveral other *Baſhas* came with an Army, which, including Servants, *&c.* was upwards of 200000 Men. Having advanced near *Baghdad*, they obliged *Thamas Kuli Khan* to raiſe the Siege, and give 'em Battle. The *Perſian* Army, which then conſiſted of 120000 Men, charged ſo furiouſly, and ſeconded their Attacks with ſo much Vigour,

gour, that the *Turks* were juſt on the Point of giving Way, when *Kuli Khan*'s Horſe was ſhot under him. Having fought ſome time on Foot, before he could get re-mounted, his Standard-bearer concluded he was killed, and rode off with the Colours. This alarm'd the whole Army, who inſtantly faced about and fled: *Kuli Khan* endeavoured to rally them, but to no Purpoſe; the *Turks* purſuing with great Fury, made a terrible Slaughter of them: The *Perſians* loſt in this Action upwards of 60000 Men, and the *Turks* nigh as many.

This Defeat would have diſcouraged any but *Kuli Khan*, who had a Soul ſuperior to all Misfortunes. He ſtopped at *Hamadan*, where in a few Days moſt of the Troops who were diſperſed joined him. He told them he had certain Intelligence the *Turks* had given over Purſuit, and had divided their vaſt Army into leſſer Parties, for the Convenience of foraging and getting Proviſions, of which they were in great Want: That he was determin'd to go and attack 'em, one Party after another, and either conquer or die, ſince after what had been already done they could expect no Mercy from their Country, to which they

muſt

muſt never return but in Triumph: And ſhould they give the *Turks* any Time to refreſh and unite their Troops, they would certainly be an Over-match for them. His Officers being entirely of the ſame Opinion, he marched back with great Expedition, and fell upon the firſt Party of the *Turks*, who, imagining him to be at a great Diſtance, were not prepared to receive him. Having ſucceſſively beat three conſiderable Bodies of them, he at laſt encounter'd *Topal Othman Baſha*, at the Head of 60000 Men, who being ſhot in the beginning of the Action, his whole Army was ſoon routed, and put to Flight.

Since this Battle the *Turks* have not appeared in the Field againſt him, but ſuffered him for two Years ſucceſſively to take one Place after another, ſome by Storm, and others by Capitulation, till he had recovered all the Territories they had ſeized during the late Troubles.

This unexpected Succeſs had greatly raiſed his Reputation, and Volunteers came from all Quarters to offer him their Service. Having compleated a choice Army, he marched a ſecond Time to beſiege *Baghdad*.

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When the Seige was pretty far advanced, he received News, that *Mahommed Khan Balluche*, one of his Generals, had rebelled, and proclaimed *Shah Thamas* King; that he had taken the City of *Shiraz*, and had an Army of 30000 Men, which increaſed daily: Whereupon *Kuli Khan* immediately raiſed the Siege, and marching with all Expedition againſt the Rebels, was upon them when they leaſt expected him. Upon the firſt Report of his Troops being near, they marched out to attack them, imagining it was only a ſmall Detachment under the Command of one of his Officers, but they had not advanced above 20 Miles, before they met him at the Head of his Van-Guard, which conſiſted of 12000 Men. *Mahommed Khan Balluche* being overjoy'd to find him attended by ſo few, told his Officers, that Fortune had delivered *Thamas Kuli Khan* into their Hands; that they might eaſily defeat him, before he could have any Succours, as his main Army was a Days Journey behind: But when they approached each other, and heard *Kuli Khan* thundering out his Orders, they were ſtruck with ſuch a Panick, that they fled, without ſuſtaining his firſt

Attack.

Attack. *Mahommed Khan Balluche*, who was perſonally brave, having ſingled out *Kuli Khan*, rode full Speed towards him; being repulſed, he fought his Way back again, and intended to make his Eſcape, by croſſing the Gulf of *Perſia* in an *Arab* Veſſel; but thoſe treacherous People ſeized him, and, in hopes of a Reward, carried him to *Thamas Kuli Khan*, who ſent him to Priſon, in order to force him into a Confeſſion of his Accomplices, and what Treaſure and Effects he had. In this he was diſappointed, for the Moment *Mahommed Khan Balluche* was left alone, he hanged himſelf. They could find no Papers that gave any Account of the Perſons he correſponded with, or where his Effects (which were very conſiderable) had been depoſited. Thus ended this brave Man, who was deſervedly eſteemed for ſeveral good Qualities; he was as great (tho' not ſo fortunate) a Soldier, as any in the *Eaſt*, and judged to be the beſt Horſeman in *Perſia*.

Thamas Kuli Khan ſtaid a few Days in *Shiraz*, being employed in putting to Death ſome of the principal Perſons concerned in the Rebellion, and ſeizing their Effects. He afterwards returned to *Iſfahan*, where ſettling

ſome Affairs, he ſet out for *Georgia*, and took the Capital *Teflis* by Storm, upon which the whole Country ſubmitted to him; from thence he marched to *Erivan*, the Capital of *Armenia*, which having recovered, he afterwards took *Shamakhi* by Capitulation, and *Ganjan* by Storm. In the mean Time, he ſent a Meſſenger to the *Ruſſians* to relinquiſh *Gilan* and the Silk Countries, according to their Promiſe, otherwiſe he ſhould be obliged to pay them a Viſit; as they had no Inclination to enter into a War with him, they evacuated all the Places on this Side the *Caſpian* Sea, except *Derbend* and *Bachu*, which he had given up to them. Upon this he concluded a firm Peace with them, and not long after made a Peace with the *Turks*.

Having thus ſettled Affairs in Regard to thoſe two Powers, he ſent a general Edict to all the Rulers of Provinces, Chiefs of Tribes, and Governors of Cities and Towns, commanding them to meet him on a certain Day in the Plains of *Chuli Mogham*, on Pain of high Diſpleaſure. At the Time appointed they appeared, to the Number of 6000 and upwards, at the ſaid Place, where they found him encamp'd with an Army of 150000 Men.

Men. *Thamas Kuli Khan* ordering them to appear before him, he told them, the Reaſon of calling them together was to acquaint them that he had now ſubdued all the Enemies of the *Perſian* Empire, except the *Kandahar Afghans*, whom he was determined to march againſt very ſoon; that, after he had reduced them to Obedience, he intended to retire, and end the Remainder of his Days in Peace and Tranquility, unleſs his Country ſhould again require his Service; that he had made Peace with the *Turks* and *Muſcovites*, and chaſtiſed the *Tartars*, and other Enemies on the Frontiers, in ſuch a Manner, that (in all Probability) they would remain quiet for a long Time, ſo that it only remained with them to elect a King, either *Shah Thamas* their late Sovereign, or any other whom they judged the moſt capable; adding, that he expected their Anſwer in three Days. After this he retired to his Tent, and gave Orders that the ſaid Aſſembly ſhould be entertained at the public Expence, during their Stay in the Camp. In the mean Time, *Kuli Khan*'s Creatures took Care to intimate to the principal Perſons, that they ought to compliment their Regent and General with an Offer

of the Crown, tho', at the ſame Time, they were certain he would not accept of it. When the Time was expired, they waited on him with an Addreſs; in which, after ſetting forth the ſignal Service he had done to his Country, they begg'd he would accept of the Crown, and take the Charge of the Empire upon him, and that they (as faithful Subjects) would aſſiſt him on all Occaſions with their Lives and Fortunes. *Thamas Kuli Khan* told them, that he thank'd them for the Honour they had done him, which was contrary to his Intention in calling them together, yet as he looked upon the Voice of the People to be the Voice of God, he muſt ſubmit to the Cares of a Crown, and ſacrifice his own Eaſe to the public Good, not doubting but (by the Bleſſing of the Almighty, and their unanimous Concurrence) he ſhould raiſe the *Perſian* Nation to as great a Pitch of Glory as any of their former Kings had done. And, in order to ſet out right, and have a perfect Underſtanding with them, he ſhould require three Things to be ſolemnly confirmed by them:

I. That they ſhould make the Crown Hereditary to his Heirs for ever.

II. That

II. That no one, on Pain of Death, and Confiſcation of Effects, ſhould preſume to take up Arms in Favour of the late Royal Family, or any Branch thereof, on any Pretence whatever, nor ſo much as mention any Thing tending to Rebellion.

III. That, as great Diſturbances and Miſchiefs had always aroſe between them and their Neighbours, the *Turks*, *Indians*, and *Tartars*, on Account of the Difference of Religion, he deſired a Number of the Religious of both Sects might aſſemble to conſider of, and reſolve upon, an Uniformity; adding, that as the Points in which the *Sunnis* and *Schias* * differed were not very eſſen-

* The *Sunnis* are thoſe *Mahommedans*, who acknowledge as lawful the Succeſſion of *Abubuckr*, *Aumar*, *Othman*, and *Ali*, and receive the *Koran* and *Mahommed*'s Traditions in the Senſe they are expounded by their four great Doctors, *Abul Hanifa*, *Malek*, *Shafi*, and *Hanbal*.

The *Schias* are they who diſpute the Lawfulneſs of the Succeſſion of *Abubuckr*, *Aumar*, and *Othman*, and maintain that *Mortiſa Ali* (according to the Prophet's Will) ought immediately to ſucceed him. They pay no Regard to the Opinions of the abovementioned Doctors, but are entirely guided by their own *Imâms*.

tial,

tial, he was of Opinion an Accommodation might be eaſily effected.

The Grandees came readily into the two firſt Articles, but as to the two laſt they deſired he would firſt hear what the *Mullah Baſhi* (or High-Prieſt) had to offer on that Head before they ſhould ſubſcribe to it. Accordingly the High-Prieſt addreſſed him, and ſaid, 'As to Matters of Religion we have the 'Law of God, and the Traditions of his Pro-'phet *Mahommed* to direct us, it is not for 'Princes to make Innovations therein, and 'therefore I humbly hope your Majeſty will 'not begin your Reign with attempting to o-'verthrow the eſtabliſhed Religion, as a 'Step of that Nature muſt be attended with 'dangerous Conſequences.' Then *Kuli Khan* immediately ordered him to be ſtrangled, to prevent the People from attempting to ſecond his Diſcourſe, which they would certainly have done, if this ſudden Execution had not deterred them from it. He then aſked the People whether they would ſubſcribe, and take Oaths to what he had propoſed; which they tamely and readily ſubmitted to. The next Day, being *March* 1735-6. he was proclaimed Emperor of *Perſia*, by the Name of *Na-*

dir

dir Shah, on which Occaſion Coins, with a pompous Inſcription † were ſtruck in his Name.

Having

† On *Nadir Shah*'s being proclaimed King, Coins were ſtruck in his Name with the following Inſcription.

سکه بر زر کرد نام سلطنت در جهان
نادر یران زمین و خسرو کیتي ستان

Sicca bir Zir Curd nam é Sultanit dir Jehan
Nadir é Irân Zemmi v' Khoſro é Geti Setan.

Which ſignifies,

Coins on Money have proclaimed through the Earth, the Reign of Nadir *of* Perſian *Soil, and the King who conquers the World.*

On the Reverſe in a Cypher,

الخیر فیما وقع *Al Khér fi ma vackeh.*

Which ſignifies,

What has happened is beſt.

The Numerical Letters of the ſaid Motto, make up 1148. the Year he uſurped the Crown.

And on the ſame Side is,

ضرب فی کرمان ۱۱۴۸ *Zirb fi Kirmân*, 1148.

Struck at Kirmân (*or* Carmania) in 1148.

Dr. *Mead* has one of theſe, with two other different Coins, which have been ſtruck in *Nadir Shah*'s Name.

One

Having entertained the Aſſembly in a grand Manner, for the Space of three Days, he diſmiſſed them with Preſents, and treated them all with great Civility, excepting the Prieſts, who he found were commenced his

One of which has السلطان نادر *Al Sultan Nadir. The Sultan* Nadir, on one Side; and on the Reverſe, خلد الله ملكه ضرب في قندهار *Khould Allah Muluck hi. Zirb fi Kandahar. May God perpetuate his Reign. Struck at* Kandahar.

The other, which was ſtruck in *India*, after his Victory at *Karnal*, has on one Side.

هست سلطان بر سلاطين جهان
شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران

Hiſt Sultan, bir Salatîn Jehan
Shah é Shahan Nadir Saheb é Kéran.

Which is to ſay,

Nadir, *the Maſter of Fortune, and King of Kings, is the moſt powerful of the Princes of the Earth.*

On the Reverſe,

خلد الله ملكه ضرب في احمدابا د ١١٥٢

Khould Allah Muluck hi. Zirb fi Ahmedabad, 1152.

Which ſignifies,

May God perpetuate his Reign. Struck at Ahmedabad *in* 1152.

bitter

bitter Enemies, for cutting off the *Mullah Baſhi*, and for the Alteration they found he was determined to make in Religion; but, in order to prevent their being able to do him any Injury, he ſent for the Chiefs of them, and aſked in what Manner they employed the vaſt Revenues they had. They told him that they apply'd them to the religious Purpoſes for which they were intended, ſuch as Salaries for Prieſts, the Maintenance of Colleges, and a great Number of Moſques in which Prayers were daily and hourly offered up for Succeſs to the Arms of their Prince, and Proſperity to the Empire of *Perſia*. He told them, that by Experience it was evident their Prayers had not been heard, ſince for fifty Years paſt the Nation had been on the Decline, and at laſt almoſt ruined by Invaſions and Rebellions, until God's victorious Inſtruments (meaning his Army) had come to its Relief, who were now ready to ſacrifice their Lives for the Defence and Glory thereof; that theſe poor Prieſts (pointing to his Soldiers) were in Want, and muſt be ſupply'd by ſome Means or other; that therefore it was his Royal Pleaſure, that the greateſt Part of the Church Lands and Revenues ſhould

be confiſcated and appropriated towards paying the Army; which was accordingly done, and by an exact Computation found to amount to near 1,000,000 Tomans, which is about 3,000,000 *l. per Annum.* The Prieſts were highly enraged at this Treatment, and did all they could to ſtir up the Army and People againſt him; the former, being above half *Sunnis*, only laughed at them, and the latter, when they conſidered that by this they were to be eaſed of a Part of the Taxes, were not diſſatisfy'd with it. After this *Kuli Khan* ſent for the Chiefs of the People, and, acquainting them with what he had done, told them, if they wanted Prieſts, they muſt provide them at their own Expence; that, for his Part, having little Occaſion for any, he would be at no Charge about them. He then publiſhed an Edict (of which the following is a literal Tranſlation) ordering all his Subjects to conform to the *Sunni* Religion, on Pain of his Royal Diſpleaſure.

A Tran-

A Tranſlation † *of* Nadir Shah's *Edict for an Uniformity of Religion between the* Schias *and* Sunnis.

"ALL in high Stations, the *Sedr* * "of great Power, the Governor, "Miniſters of the Law, and learned Men of "the Royal Reſidence of *Iſfahan*, being ex-"alted thro' the Kings Favour, KNOW, "That while the abode of our Enſigns (on "whom Victory attends) was at *Sehrai* "*Mogham*. ‡ It was agreed at ſeveral Meet-"ings, that from henceforth, according to "ancient Cuſtom (being fix'd and eſtabliſh-

† This Edict is tranſlated from a Copy in the Original *Perſic*, which Dr. *Mead* was pleaſed to favour me with.

* The *Sedr* is a Perſon of great Authority in the Empire, who has the abſolute Management of Church Lands, and what Revenues are appropriated towards the maintaining of public Schools, Salaries to Learned Men, and other pious Uſes.

‡ The ſame as *Chuli Mogham*.

"ed in the Religion of *Hanifa*‖ and *Jaffer*,§ "as tranſmitted to us by our Predeceſſors) "we do acknowledge the † *directing Khalifs* "(in all whom the high God is pleas'd) as "the Succeſſors of the Chief of Meſſengers*; "and whenever they preſent themſelves, "mention the Names of each of the Four "with great Reſpect. Moreover, in ſome "Places of theſe Kingdoms, at the Time "of calling to Prayers, and ſtanding up at "Prayer, they mention theſe Words, *Ali* "*the Friend of* GOD,‡ according to the

‖ *Hanifa*, one of the four great Doctors, ſo famous for expounding the *Mahommedan* Law.

§ *Jaffer*, one of the *Imâms*, whoſe Opinion in ſeveral Points the *Sunnis* themſelves pay the greateſt Regard to.

† الخلفا الراشدين *Khulfa Raſchedein*, the directing Khalifs, by which are always meant *Abubucker*, *Aumar*, *Othman*, and *Ali*.

* By the *Chief of Meſſengers* is meant *Mahommed*.

‡ علي ولي الله *Ali vulli Allah*, or *Ali the Friend of God*, is always annexed by the *Schias* to their *Kelmah* in this Manner,

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله وعلي ولي الله

La Ilah il Allah, Mahommed Raſoul Allah & Ali Vulli Allah. Which is literally, *There is no* GOD *but* GOD, *and* Mahommed *the Prophet of* GOD, *and* Ali *the Friend of* GOD.

" uſual

" uſual Method of the *Schias*, and contrary
" to thoſe who are Orthodox. This is repug-
" nant to Religion, and contrary to the
" Agreement and Covenant enter'd into.
" Beſides it is evident to the World, that
" as *the Prince of the Faithful, the Lyon
" of* GOD, *the Victorious*‖, is elect, prais'd
" and acceptable to the Lord of Glory, his
" Rank and Intereſt at the Court of Unity,
" will not be increas'd by vulgar Teſtimony,
" nor the full Moon of his Power be dimi-
" niſhed by omitting theſe Words. The
" ill Conſequence of this Form is, that both
" Sects§, who equally acknowledge the
" Chief and Prophet† of both Worlds, will
" by this Difference be provoked to Animo-
" ſities, which are diſagreeable both to the
" Prophet and to the Prince of the Faithful*.
" Wherefore, as ſoon as the Purport of this

‖ امیر المومنین اسد الله الغالب *Emir al Mominin, Aſſad Allah, al Ghaleb, The Prince of the Faithful, the Lyon of* GOD, *the Victorious*, were *Mortiſa Ali*'s Titles. He is ſaid to be *Elect, Praiſed, and Acceptable to* GOD, becauſe there is honourable Mention made of him in the *Koran*.

§ The *Sunnis* and *Schias*.

† *Mahommed*.

* *Mortiſa Ali*.

" high

" high Edict is known, let it be ſignified to " all *Muſſulmen*, High and Low, Great and " Small, the Callers to Prayer in the City, " its Dependencies, and the adjacent Coun- " tries, That from this Day henceforth, " theſe Words, as differing from the Ortho- " dox Cuſtom, be not mentioned. It is " alſo uſual with the Governors in their " Aſſemblies, after *Fattaha* and *Tokbîr* ‡, to " ſay, *May the King from whom all our* " *Fortune flows, live for ever.* As a *Tokbîr* " for perpetuating a mortal Man is vain, and " of no Effect, I expreſly order that every " *Khan* who is Maſter of a *Tabal* || and En- " ſign, ſay it in this Manner, *Thanks to* " *the true King for all Benefits.* From " henceforward all Perſons muſt obſerve, " theſe ſettled Regulations and written Or- " ders: For, whoſoever deviates therefrom, " will incur the Diſpleaſure of the King

‡ *Fattaha* is a prefatory Prayer, which is generally the firſt *Soura* or Chapter of the *Koran*. *Tokbîr* is repeating three times theſe Words, الله اكبر *Allah Akbar*, which is to ſay, GOD *is Greateſt*, before the *Kelmah* abovementioned.

|| *Tabal* is a ſmall Drum, which General Officers have fixed to their Saddles.

" of

"of Kings. Written in the Month "*Safer*, 1149 *."

This Edict was received with great Joy by Numbers of his Subjects, as many being ſecretly of that Perſwaſion, as of the *Schia* eſtabliſhed Religion; it was particularly agreeable to his Soldiers, who being chiefly *Sunnis*, became thereby the more attach'd to him. However impolitic theſe Steps might have ſeem'd at firſt, yet it was the only Method he could have thought of in order to eſtabliſh himſelf and his Heirs on the Throne of *Perſia*; beſides the Advantages it already has and may ſtill give him in his future Deſigns on his Neighbours, who are of the ſame Religion which he has now eſtabliſhed in *Perſia*.

Shortly after he was elected and proclaimed King, he went to the City of *Kazvin* (or *Kasbin*) where the Ceremony of Inauguration of the *Perſian* Monarchs is performed. Having girt on the Royal Scymitar, and put the Imperial Crown on his Head, he took the uſual Oath, which is, *To govern the People according to the Laws of* GOD, *as re-*

* *June* 1736.

vealed

vealed by his Prophet Mahommed, *and protect and defend them againſt all their Enemies.*

After this, he marched with his Army to *Iſahan*, where he continued ſome Time, making Preparations for his Expedition to *Kandahar*. During his Stay there, he received the Compliments of the neighbouring Powers: The Grand *Signior* and *Moghol* acknowledged him as Emperor of *Perſia*, and at the ſame congratulated him on having eſtabliſhed the true Orthodox Religion in his Empire, and diſcouraged the former Hereſy.

In *December*, 1736, *Nadir Shah* ſet out from *Iſahan*, with an Army of upwards of 80000, chiefly Horſe, and marched towards *Kandahar*, by the Way of *Carmania*, and was ſhortly after follow'd by *Thamas Khan Vakeel* with about 40000 more.

What happened after this, the Gentleman who favoured me with the above Memoirs is a Stranger to; excepting that on his Departure from Perſia *to* India, *which was in* February, 1736-7, *he heard* Nadir Shah *had beſieged* Kandahar. *His Tranſactions ſince that Time, I ſhall continue as tranſlated from ſome* Perſic *Manuſcripts,*

Manuſcripts, which I have mentioned in the Preface.

The ſame Gentleman has alſo favoured me with a perſonal Deſcription and Character of this great Heroe, which I ſhall reſerve for the Concluſion of theſe Sheets.

Nadir Shah, having ſecurely eſtabliſhed himſelf, and ſettled his Affairs in *Perſia*, he left his Son *Reza Kuli Mirza* to command there, and ſet out with his Army towards *Kandahar*. *Hoſſein Khan*, the Governor thereof, having laid up great Stores of Proviſions and Ammunition, held out for 18 Months; at laſt, being reduced to Straits, he ſallied out with his Men, moſt of whom died bravely fighting. *Hoſſein Khan* and his Son being taken Priſoners, the *Perſians* entered the Caſtle, and took Poſſeſſion thereof.

While *Nadir Shah* was buſy in ſecuring and fortifying *Kandahar*, and bringing over to him the *Zemidars* of thoſe Parts, Letters came from *Nizam al Muluck* and *Saadit Khan*, inviting him to march towards *Hindoſtan*. In Anſwer to which, he objected the Difficulties of getting thro' the Defiles, paſſing the great Rivers, and the many Encounters he

muſt expect to have with the *Afghans*, and the warlike Nations of thoſe Parts, the Oppoſition he muſt expect from *Naçir Khan*, *Soubahdar* of *Cabul*, and *Zekaria Khan*, Ruler of *Lahor*; and, laſt of all (ſhould his Fortune ſurmount all theſe) his Fate will depend on his Succeſs againſt a powerful Imperial Army. They ſoon ſatisfied him how unneceſſary his Fears were, and that, before he croſs'd the *Attok* *, he ſhould have a Proof how able they were, and how much inclined to facilitate his Paſſage. Being encouraged by thoſe Repreſentations, he ſet out with an Army of 125,000 Horſe, *Kuzzlebaſh*, *Georgians*, *Turks*, *Khoraſanis*, *Balkhis*, &c. all inured to Fatigues and Hardſhips; they were well provided for this Expedition, and greatly encouraged thereto by the Hopes he gave them, of not only enriching themſelves, but bringing Wealth and Glory to their impoveriſhed Country, by the Plunder of *India*. In

* *Attok* is the Name of a River, that ſeparates the Province of *Lahor* from *Peiſhor*. There is but one Place where an Army can conveniently be tranſported, the Stream being ſo rapid in moſt Parts. There is a Caſtle commanding that Paſſage, called the Caſtle of *Attok*.

the

the mean Time, *Nazam al Muluck* and *Saadit Khan* uſed all their Endeavours ſecretly to promote his Intereſt, and wrote to *Sherzih Khan* †, Governor of the Caſtle of *Cabul*, and *Naçir Khan*, *Soubahdar* of that Province (who was a Creature of *Khandoran*'s) as alſo to *Zekaria Khan*, Ruler of the Province of *Lahor*, to this Purport: 'Nadir Shah, 'being thoroughly informed of the State of 'Affairs in *India*, and that his Imperial Ma-'jeſty and favourite Courtiers employ their 'Time in Wine and Women, has come to 'a Reſolution to ſtrike a Blow at this Em-'pire. You well know that none of the 'great Ones here are fit to take the Field, 'much leſs to reſiſt a Man who is conduct-'ed by Fortune. As this is the Caſe, you 'can have little Hopes of Aſſiſtance from 'hence; the beſt you can do will be to be-'have diſcreetly, and ſave yourſelves.' Theſe Letters cooled them pretty much, and had

† 'Tis cuſtomary in *India* to have two Governors, one to command the City, and another to command the Caſtle. The Latter is generally for Life, and he muſt never ſtir out of the Caſtle, unleſs he is turned out by the *Moghol*. The Governor of the City is called حاكم *Hakem*, and he who commands the Caſtle is called قلعه دار *Kullehdar*.

the deſired Effect with *Naçir Khan* and *Zekaria Khan*.

Nadir Shah, having ſubdued *Ghorband* and *Ghoznavi*, and garriſon'd them with his own People, came to *Cabul* and beſieged it. *Naçir Khan* (before his Arrival) had left it, and marched to *Peiſhor*; but *Sherzih Khan* defended both the City and Caſtle for 6 Weeks with the utmoſt Bravery, and wrote repeatedly to *Naçir Khan*, and to Court for Aſſiſtance; but none coming, both City and Caſtle were at laſt taken by Storm, and he and his Son were put to Death. *Nadir Shah* found Treaſure, Jewels, Arms, &c. to a great Value, which, ſince the *Great Moghol Babr*'s Time, had been ſhut up in Vaults. When the Taking of *Cabul* was known at Court, the Emperor gave Orders to get his Troops in Readineſs, and provide all Things neceſſary for taking the Field. As *Rajah Jeſſing* was more attached to *Khandoran* than to any of the other *Omras*, he repeatedly wrote to him to this Purport: '*Nadir Shah*'s 'Coming is a concerted Thing. You muſt

'be

'be watchful over the *Moghol Omras* ‡, who 'ſeem to be united in order to compaſs ſome 'treacherous Deſign. *Naçir Khan* and *Sher-* 'zib *Khan* have always been ſupported by 'the Court; one has ſacrificed his Life to 'its Intereſt, and the other (afraid of his 'Life) has fled to *Peiſhor*. If *Zekaria Khan*, 'Rulet of *Lahor*, makes any Oppoſition, it 'will give the Emperor's Army Time to ad- 'vance pretty far, in order to check this In- 'vader; as for us *Rajpouts* we are ready to 'join the Royal Enſigns.

Khandoran knowing him to be well-affected, repreſented this to the Emperor, and told him, it would be very imprudent in him to leave the Capital, and take the Field: However, it was at laſt agreed, that the Army ſhould march to *Lahor*, that the Emperor ſhould accompany it ſo far, and that from thence it ſhould proceed towards *Cabul*, under the Command of *Nizam al Muluck*, and the other two *Omras*; for which Purpoſe,

‡ By the *Moghol Omras*, he means thoſe of *Tartar* and *Perſian* Families, whom the *Indians*, without Diſtinction, call *Moghols*.

the

the *Peiſhkhana* * was ordered out to the Gardens of *Shalimar*; but after it was ſent thither, to every Body's Surprize, *Khandoran* came back to the Palace, and delayed the March, whereas *Nizam* ſeemed to be for haſtening it all in his Power. The Emperor's Servants, who knew *Khandoran* to be attached to their Maſter, contrived all the Impediments they could think of, ſo that *Nadir Shah* had not only Time to ſecure *Cabul*, but was far advanced in his March to *Peiſhor* †, where the *Afghans* and Mountaineers very much incommoded him, and kept him in Play for Seven Weeks; in which Time he had a great many Men wounded and killed. Seeing there was no forcing the Paſſes, without much Bloodſhed, and that the *Afghans* had fortified themſelves on the Tops of the Hills; he ſent them Offers of Accommdation, to which they came into the more readily, as the *Soubahdars* had ſent no Aſſiſtance; and that they had been four or five Years without

* *Peiſhkhana* ſignifies the Tents, *&c.* that are ſent before to the Place where the Prince, or General Officer, deſigns to halt, or encamp.

† *Peiſhor* is 202 meaſured Coſs from *Dehli*, 97 from *Lahor*, and 35 from *Attok*.

receiving

receiving any of their uſual Allowance ‡ from Court: Upon *Nadir Shah*'s paying them a certain Sum of Money, they not only let him paſs unmoleſted, but ſeveral of them liſted in his Army; the other *Aghans* hearing of this, followed their Example. So, leaving the main Army behind, with 10000 choſen Horſe of *Kuzzlebaſh* ‖, in ſeven Days he got to *Peiſhor*. *Naçir Khan*, who with 7000 Horſe had incamped without the City, not imagining he could get through the Paſſes ſo ſoon, upon hearing of his Approach with ſo large a Body of Horſe, was greatly perplexed; ſeveral of his Auxiliaries left him, and few beſides the King's Men ſtood by him, who, after a brave Reſiſtance were defeated,

‡ As the Revenues of thoſe mountainous Parts and the Paſſes, are not ſufficient to maintain a requiſite Number of Troops for the Defence thereof, there was a certain Sum appointed to be yearly remitted thither, which of late had been neglected.

‖ قزلباش *Kuzzlebaſh*, are an Order of Soldiers among the *Perſians*, as the *Janizaries* (or more properly *Ingecherris*) among the *Turks*. It ſignifies, in the *Turkiſh* Language, *Red Heads*, ſo called from the Red Caps they wore when firſt inſtituted by *Shekh Heydr*, the Father of *Shah Iſmael* firſt King of the *Seffi* Family.

and

and *Naçir Khan* taken Priſoner. Some *Afghans* who, waiting the Event, were poſted on the Hills, ſeeing *Nadir Shah* prevail, came and offered him their Service. After this Victory, he entered *Peiſhor* and took Poſſeſſion thereof. When the News of this Defeat came to Court, *Nizam al Muluck*, *Khandoran*, *Kummir o'dîn Khan*, and the other *Omras*, according to the King's Order, on the ſecond of *January*, 1738-9, marched out with a numerous Army, a large Train of Artillery, and other warlike Neceſſaries, in order to oppoſe this Conqueror; and halted at the Gardens of *Shalimar*. *Nizam*, who was the Contriver of this Storm, endeavoured all he could to prepoſſeſs the Minds of the Soldiers with a Terror of *Nadir Shah*'s Forces, and how vain it was to reſiſt him; and, at the ſame Time, amuſed them to divert their going too far forward: But the King iſſued out Orders, that *Nizam* and the other *Omras* ſhould advance with all Expedition, he himſelf intending to follow ſoon after them. *Nizam al Muluck*, and the reſt, according to theſe Orders, marched on, and encamped in the Plains of *Karnal*, which is Fifty-Five

Coſs

Coſs * diſtant from *Dehli*. The Emperor alſo ſet out the 18 of *January*, 1738-9, and on the 4th of *February* joined them.

Nadir Shah having ſecured *Peiſhor*, and croſſed the *Attok*, marched directly towards *Lahor*; *Zekaria Khan*, *Soubahdar* thereof, had (to Appearance) fortified the Place in the beſt Manner poſſible, and having entrenched himſelf without, ſeemed eager to engage the Enemy, but as ſoon as *Nadir Shah*'s Troops came within Sight of the Intrenchments (having had his Leſſon from *Nizam al Muluck*) at a Signal given, he and all his Forces retreated to the Caſtle, from whence they cannonaded the *Perſians* three Days, after which, having capitulated, one of the Conditions being that the City ſhould be ſpared, a Thouſand *Kuzzlebaſh* took Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, and *Nadir Shah* having ſtaid one Week in the Gardens called *Shalimar* † of that City, he with his whole Army, by continued Marches, arrived at the Village *Tillauvri*, which is near *Karnal*.

* The Coſs mentioned here are ſhort computed ones, this Place being no more than 26 meaſured Coſs from *Dehli*.

† There are Gardens at *Lahor* alſo called *Shalimar*, as well as at *Dehli*.

Before I begin with the Journal of Nadir Shah's *Tranſactions, after his Arrival at* Karnal, *I ſhall trouble the Reader with Tranſlations of ſome genuine Letters, which having been wrote before the* Perſian *Army croſſed the* Attok, *I thought this the propereſt Place for inſerting them.*

A Tranſlation of a Letter from Nadir Shah *to* Mahommed Shah, *received the Beginning of* Jumadi al avul 1151, *which is about the Middle of* Auguſt.

'BE it clear to the enlightened Mind of your high Majeſty, that my coming to *Cabul*, and poſſeſſing myſelf thereof, was purely out of Zeal for *Iſlâm* *, and Friendſhip for you. I never could have imagined, that the Wretches † of *Deccan* ſhould impoſe a Tribute on the Dominions of the King of *Muſſulmen*. My Stay on this Side the *Attok* is with a View, that, when theſe

* By *Iſlâm* (which literally ſignifies *Safety*) is meant the *Mahommedan* Religion.

† The *Maharattas* or *Ganîms*.

'Infidels

'Infidels move towards *Hindoſtan* ‡, I may 'ſend an Army of the victorious *Kuzzlebaſh* 'to drive them to the Abyſs of Hell. Hi-'ſtory ‖ is full of the Friendſhip that has 'ſubſiſted between our Kings, and your 'Majeſty's Predeceſſors. By *Ali Mortiſa*, I 'ſwear, that (excepting Friendſhip, and a 'Concern for Religion) I neither had, nor 'have any other Views; if you ſuſpect the 'contrary you may; I always was, and will 'be a Friend to your illuſtrious Houſe.'

About the latter End of *Auguſt*, an Embaſſador came with another Letter, demanding four Crores of Rupees (5,000,000 *l.*) and four *Soubahs* or Provinces.

‡ The Province of *Dehli*, in particular, is called by this Name; but it is generally uſed to ſignify the whole Empire.

‖ Vide *Tarîkh Alum Arai* by *Secander Beg* in the Life of *Shah Thamas*, and the firſt Volume of *Akbar Nama* in the Life of *Hemaiûn*.

A Tranſlation of ſome Paragraphs of a Letter wrote by a Kuzzlebaſh *in* Nadir Shah's *Camp, at* Jillalabad, *to a Friend of his at* Dehli, *concerning* Nadir Shah.

'HE has 36,000 Horſemen with himſelf; *Kaſſum Beg Khan* is *Nazem Munazem*, *Motbir al Muluck*, and *Aitmad al Dowlat* *; the Son of *Maurli*, is *Arriz Begi* †. Queſtions and Anſwers are entirely managed by theſe two, and beſides them, none have the Power of preferring Petitions, or repreſenting any Thing to him; of the above Army 1000 Horſe are *Hajee Baſhi*'s, called alſo *Niquîbs* ‡, and 1000 are *Shamkhi* ‖, and 1000 are *Chaux* §, who go before, crying out, *Victory to the King of Kings*; 1000 Horſe his ſpecial Guards, and

* *Nazem Munazem*, the Orderer of what is to be ranged or put in Order; *Motbir al Muluck*, Truſtworthy of the Kingdom; *Aitmad al Dowlat*, the Security of Fortune; theſe are the Titles of *Kaſſum Beg Khan*, who was *Vizir*.

† *Arrizbegi* is the Perſon who preſents all Petitions, either written, or by Word of Mouth.

‡ *Niquîbs* are much the ſame as Corporals.

‖ So called from the Place they come from.

§ *Chaux* are a Kind of Guards.

1000

'1000 Horſe his *Jeloudar**, who alight and 'march on Foot cloſe by his Perſon, but 'in Fight none of them attend him. Who-'ever runs away, or turns his Back is or-'dered to be cut off.

'5000 Horſe are detached with *Hajee* 'Beg Khan, a *Courd*†, who is General. At 'preſent, we are arrived at *Peiſhor* to fight 'Navob‡ Naçir Khan; 1000 Horſemen of 'his own People are along with *Juan Kuli* 'Beg Baſki, and 2000 *Ouſbeg* Horſmen from 'Gunjh, 2000 Horſe *Rijee*, 2000 Horſe of 'the *Turcomans*, and 1000 Horſe *Kuzzle-'baſh*, are under the Command of *Sirdar* 'Beg Afshar; 4000 *Afghan* Horſe with 'Séf Khan and Shahîn Khan, the Officers of 'Hoſſein Khan Governor of *Kandahar*, and '12000 Horſe are lately arrived with *Nadir* 'Kuli's Son from *Balkh*, of which 1500 are 'ſent back, and the reſt kept. There are

* *Jeloudar* ſignifies, *belonging to his Train or Equipage.*

† *Courd*, a Native of *Courdiſtan.*

‡ *Navob* is a Title frequently given to the *Omras* in *India*, derived from the Word *Naib*, Deputy, ſignifying that they are the King's Vicegerents. In *Perſia* 'tis given, among their other Titles, to the Wives, Sons, and Daughters of the Royal Family.

'4000

'4000 Shop-keepers, Muſſulmen, who Trade 'with the *Shah*'s* Money, he ſtanding to the 'Loſs, if any happens.

'After Morning Prayers, he ſits on a 'Throne, the Canopy of which is in the 'Form of a Dome, and of Gold; 1000 'Young Men with Royal Standards of Red-'Silk, and the Lance Tops and Taſſels of 'Silver, are diſpoſed regularly, and at a pro-'per Diſtance; 500 beautiful Slaves from '12 to 20 Years old, ſtand one half on his 'right Hand, and the other on his left; all 'the great Men ſtand fronting him, and the '*Arrizbegi* ſtands between in a Readineſs to 'repreſent whatever he is deſired, and every 'Body has his Cauſe decided at once; Bribery 'is not ſo much as known here. He has 'particular Information given him of every 'Thing that paſſes; all Criminals, Great 'and Small, Rich and Poor, meet with im-'mediate Death. He ſits till Noon, after 'which he dines, and then repoſes a little; 'when Afternoon-Prayers are over, he ſits 'till the Evening Prayers, and when they are

* *Nadir Shah.*

'over,

'over, he ſhoots five Arrows into the *Khak* '*Towda* *, and then goes into the Womens 'Apartments.'

A Tranſlation of a Letter wrote by Sir-bullind Khan's *Secretary at* Dehli, *to* Mirza Moghol, *Son to* Ali Mahommed Khan, *at* Ahmedabad, *dated the* 15*th of* Shaval, 1151 †, *and received the* 6*th of* Zeecadih, 1151‡. *It is a true Account of the State of Affairs at* Dehli, *and the Reports that were Current there before* Nadir Shah's *Arrival.*

'NADIR SHAH's coming has been 'talked off theſe eight Months paſt. 'He came to *Khandahar*, and from thence

* *Khak Towda* is a Heap of fine Mold, well ſifted, and beat ſtrongly in betwixt two Stone Walls. 'Tis five Foot high, three Foot thick, and from three to four Foot broad. The Front of it very ſmooth and even, beat hard with a heavy Trowel. One who is well skilled, can ſhoot his Arrow into it quite to the Head; whereas one that ſhoots ill (be he never ſo ſtrong) can't put a third Part in. The Arrows for this Exerciſe have the Iron Part quite round, about four Fingers long, of the Size of the Reed, until near the Point, where they are ſomewhat thicker, from which Part they taper gradually to a ſharp Point. The Length from the thickeſt Part to the Point is from ¾ to 1 Inch,

† 15 *January* 1738-9. ‡ 5 *February* 1738-9.

'to

'to *Cabul*, which is the Limits of *Hind* *; 'of which he took Poſſeſſion; from thence 'he ſent an Ambaſſador to *Mahommed Shah*. 'When we heard here of the Ambaſſador's 'coming, and *Cabul* being taken Poſſeſſion 'of, which was in the Month † *Ribby al 'avul*. The Emperor's *Peiſhkhanna* was ſent 'out for an Expedition againſt *Nadir Shah*; 'which, on Account of the Diſharmony of 'the *Omras*, was kept in Suſpence. About 'forty Lacks ‡ by Bills at different Times 'were remitted to *Navob Naçir Khan*, *Sou-'bahdar* of *Peiſhor*, that he, joining with the '*Afghans* of that Quarter, might make Head 'againſt *Nadir Shah*; the ſaid *Navob* enliſted 'Men, and prepared to fight, expecting to 'be ſupported by an Army from *Shahjehana-'bad*; notwithſtanding which, until *Rijub* ‡‡, 'nothing was put in Execution. *Nadir Shah* 'at *Cabul* cultivated a Friendſhip with the '*Zemidars* of that Quarter, and brought over 'to his Side the Tribe of the *Saſis*, who 'are famous in thoſe Parts. There were ſe-'veral Meſſages paſſed and repaſſed between 'him and *Naçir Khan*, to whom no Aſſiſt-

* *Hind*, the ſame as *Hindoſtan*.
† *June* 1738. ‡ 500,000 *l.* ‡‡ *October* 1738.

ance

'ance came from Court; nevertheleſs he 'fought one good Battle, in which *Nadir* 'Shah was victorious. The *Safis* conducted 'him through unuſual and ſhort Ways to the 'City of *Peiſhor*, which he took Poſſeſſion 'of in the Month of *Shaban* *. *Navob Na-* 'çir Khan, who had run away, was taken 'by the *Afghans*, and delivered up to *Nadir* 'Shah, who kept him confined for ſome 'Days; but, at laſt, made him one of his '*Vizirs*.

'When this News arrived at Court, on 'the 1ſt of *Ramazan* †, the Emperor ſent 'Khandoran, Nizam, and *Kummir o'dîn Khan* 'againſt *Nadir Shah*; and, beſides their own '*Jaguîrs*, advanced them one Crore ‖ of 'Rupees out of the Treaſury to enliſt Men, 'and gave them 700 Carriage-Guns, and '3000 Harquebuſſes, and ordered the chief '*Omras* to attend them; for which Purpoſe 'they marched out this Day, and pitched 'their Tents in a Place cloſe by the City, and 'began to enliſt Men. *Saadit Khan*, being 'ſent for from his Province to join them, had

* *November* 1738. † *December* 3, 1738.

‖ 1,250000 *l.*

'already croſſed the *Ganges* in his Way to 'Court, but was ordered to go back again, 'which he did. The *Omras* have been di-'vided in Opinion and Intereſt a long Time; 'for which Reaſon ſeveral unbecoming Meſ-'ſages now paſſed between them. The 'Emperor, who conſulted *Khandoran*'s Eaſe 'and Pleaſure, ordered *Nizam al Muluck* and 'the *Vizir* to leave him at Court, and they 'to go on with the Expedition; but they 'excuſed themſelves. In the mean Time, 'News was brought, that *Nadir Shah* (by '*Naçir Khan*'s Advice) had put on the *In-'dian* Dreſs, and ſat on the Throne in the 'Manner of the *Indian* Emperors, and that 'his Forces had croſſed the *Attok*, and were 'on their March to *Lahor*. On this News 'the Emperor was quite confounded, and, 'ſending for the Superintendant of the Boats, 'aſked him how many Days it would take 'to go by Water to *Patna* or *Kaſſi Benaris* ||, 'It being told the *Vizir* and *Nizam al Mu-'luck*, that the Emperor had ſuch a Deſign, 'they petition'd him, that theſe Slaves (mean-'ing themſelves) might not go upon the Ex-

|| A City in *Bengal*, famous for the *Indian* Worſhip, and their Colleges there.

'pedition

'pedition without his fortunate Preſence, and 'that he would reſolve to put himſelf at their 'Head. Some Days paſſed in this Debate; 'at laſt, it was agreed to ſend for *Saadit Khan* 'from his Province to take Care of His Ma-'jeſty in *Shahjehanabad*, and that the other '*Omras* ſhould march on towards *Lahor*. 'Accordingly, on the 20th of *Ramazan** 'one *Mourid Khan* was diſpatched to *Saadit* '*Khan*; in the Road to the Province of *Au-*'*dih* ſome Rebels robb'd him; however, af-'ter much Trouble, he got to *Saadit Khan*, 'who happened to be then ſo ſick that he 'could not ſtir; with which the Emperor 'being acquainted, he ſent Phyſicians with 'Orders to cure him as ſoon as poſſible; in 'the mean while, a Petition arrived from *Zeka-*'*ria Khan Bahadr*, *Soubahdar* of *Lahor*, to His 'Imperial Majeſty, and three Letters more to 'the *Navobs*†, to this Purport: *Nadir Shah*'s '*Army (which is a great one) is arrived near* '*this Place, and all the* Zemidars *have joined* '*him; I with my little Army am ready to* '*fight him. You muſt, by all Means, be ex-*

* *December* 22, 1738.

† *Nizam, Saadit Khan,* and *Khandoran.*

'*peditious in ſuccouring me, leſt Things ſhould* '*be paſt Remedy.*'

'*Ieminabad*, which is a conſiderable Place, 'and ſubordinate to *Lahor*, was under *Kul-* '*linder Khan*, one of *Zekaria Khan*'s Officers, 'with a Body of 10000 Horſe. *Emir Khan*, 'one of *Naçir Khan*'s Dependants, who now 'had ſubmitted to *Nadir Shah*, with his own 'People and ſeveral *Kuzzlebaſh*, made an 'Attack by Night on the ſaid Place, in 'which *Kullinder Khan* was killed, and '*Emir Khan* poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Place. '*Nadir Shah*'s *Munaddi* † being beat about, 'and his Government acknowledged there: 'Upon hearing of this, *Zekaria Khan*, who 'had advanced 10 Coſs from *Lahor*, with 'an Army of 20,000 Horſe, retired into 'the City: Upon which News here, on the '9th of *Shaval* *, *Khandoran Nizam al Mu-* '*luck*, and *Kummir o'din Khan*, marched 'on 10 Coſs, and the next Day 10 Coſs 'more, and ſo on, that they are now at '*Sonput*, and *Nadir Shah* is yet in *Peiſhor*.

P. S. *Corn prodigious dear, the People di-* '*ſtracted.*

† A ſmall Drum that is beat about to notify or proclaim any thing.

* *January* 9, 1738-9.

A Tran-

A Tranſlation of a ſecond Letter from the ſame Perſon, dated the 20th of Shaval, *received the 8th of* Zeccadih, 1151.†

'I Wrote you the 15th, with an Account 'of Affairs at *Shahjehanabad* and *Lahor* 'to that Date, and of the *Omras* being 'marched as far as *Sonput*. On the 18th of 'this Month * arrived News, that *Zekaria* 'Khan (being wrote to ſo to do by *Naçir* 'Khan, *Soubahdar* of *Cabul*, now *Nadir* '*Shah*'s *Vizir*) ſent *Kefaet Khan*, one of his 'principal Officers, to *Nadir Shah*, who uſed 'him kindly, and preſented him with Two '*Shauls*; after ſome Conference, he ſent his own 'Ambaſſador along with him to *Zekaria* 'Khan, who called the Ambaſſador into his 'General *Divan*, and to Appearance ſpoke 'very roughly to him, and at laſt confined 'him; after which, he marched out of the 'City to fight *Nadir Shah*'s Army: When 'the Fight began, and one Diſcharge of the 'Cannon was made, as they were preparing 'a ſecond, the *Kuzzlebaſh* and *Georgians* fell 'in among them with their Swords, and

† *January* 20, and *February* 7, 1738-9.

* *January* 18, 1738-9.

'made

'made a great Slaughter. *Zekaria Khan*, 'upon this, retired into the City, and *Nadir* '*Shah*'s Men purſued ſo faſt, that they got 'in at the ſame Time. *Zekaria Khan* went 'to his own Houſe, and *Nadir Shah*'s Army 'to the Caſtle, who was immediately pro-'claimed there.

'On this News there was a ſad Confuſion 'here. The Emperor, on *Thurſday* the 19th* 'in the Morning, ſent for the young Prince '*Sultan Ahmed*, who came to wait on him 'in great Pomp and Splendor, ſitting in a '*Paleki* adorned with the richeſt Jewels; at 'Ten o' Clock he mounted and came out of 'the Caſtle with an Intent to go upon the 'Expedition againſt *Nadir Shah*, and made the 'Prince (whom he had dignified with Titles 'and nominal Employments) his *Harol* †, 'and ſent him before to the Gardens of *Sha-'limar*: To-morrow they deſign to continue 'their March till they overtake the *Omras*, 'to whom they wrote not to advance any fur-'ther until they join them; *Saadit Khan* is

* *January* 19, 1738-9.

† *Harol* ſignifies *the Vanguard*, or any Number of Forces that are ſent before the Main Army. The Officer who commands ſuch a Body is alſo called *Harol*.

'not

'not come up as yet; they ſay he is arrived 'on the Banks of the *Ganges*. Things are in 'a terrible Confuſion here, Numbers of cre-'ditable People and Merchants going daily 'away to diſtant Places, and to the *Rajahs* 'ſtrong Holds; 80 *Kuzzlebaſh* had their 'Bellies ript up at *Cabul*, for only being pre-'ſent when ſome of their own People forced 'one of the Countrywomen.

A Journal

A Journal of Nadir Shah's *Tranſactions in* India, *tranſlated from the Original Copy, wrote at* Dehli, *by* Mirza Zuman, *Secretary to* Sirbullind Khan.

ON the 12th of *Zeccadih* §, the Royal Camp*, in Circuit about ſeven Coſs, was pitched in the Fields of *Karnal*; it was ſurrounded with *Mourchas* †, on which were mounted near 5000 Carriage Guns, belonging to the Emperor and the *Omras*. In the Centre was the Emperor himſelf, and fronting him were *Nizam al Muluck*'s and *Saad o'dîn Khan*'s *Mourchas*, on which were mounted the Emperor's own Ordnance, attended by the Train belonging thereto: on the Right Hand were *Khandoran*, *Mazuffer Khan*, *Ali Hamed Khan*, *Mîr Gullou*, *Shehdad Khan*,

§ *February* 11, 1738-9.

* The Great *Moghol*'s Camp.

† *Mourcha* ſignifies *Barricadoes*, but generally the Intrenchments and Breaſt-works about a Camp, or any other Poſt.

and

and *Khan Zurman Khan*: on the Left, *Kummir o'dîn Khan*, *Azîm Allah Khan*, *Jani Khan*, and *Seyd Neaz Khan*; behind the Emperor was poſted, *Sirbullind Khan*, and in the Rear of all was *Mahommed Khan Bungaſh*; behind *Khandoran* was *Kirpa Ram*, with the *Jaats* ‡, and behind the *Vizir*, was *Hernind Amul Kowtpoutli*; on the Right, cloſe by the *Nakar-Khanna* §, were the Men of *Behroz Khan*, *Iſhak Khan*, and *Aſſlih Ali Khan*; behind them was the Station of the *Aheers* ‖; each of theſe *Omras* had his own proper Army, and the whole Number encamped amounted to 200,000 Horſe and Foot. This ſame Day News was brought, that *Hajee Khan*, *Nadir Shah*'s *Kurrol* *, had advanced as far as the Village *Tillauvri* (which is five Coſs from hence) with a Party of 6000 Horſe, all *Courds*: On the

‡ The *Jaats* are a Tribe of *Rajpouts*.

§ The Place where all the Drums and Warlike Muſick are kept.

‖ The *Aheers* are another Tribe of the *Rajpouts*.

* *Kurrol* ſignifies the advanced Guard that goes before the Main Army; alſo the Officer that commands ſuch a Body. It is the ſame as *Harol* already explained.

13th †, ſome *Kuzzlebaſh* Horſemen appeared at different Quarters of the Camp, and killed and took Priſoners ſeveral People, who were coming from the Out-Parts thereto; four of the *Kuzzlebaſh* were likewiſe taken and brought to *Nizam al Muluck*. On the 14th ‡, *Nadir Shah* having left one *Boungah* ‖ at *Shahabad* (which is one Stage from *Serhind*) and a ſecond at *Taniſeer*, he advanced with 40,000 Horſe, partly Lancemen, Archers and Muſqueteers, to the Village *Tillauvri*, each Horſeman having two and ſome three Attendants, Grooms, and Camel-drivers, all robuſt young Men, compleatly armed and mounted, ſome on Camels, ſome on Mules, and others on *Yabous* §, not one in his whole Army being on Foot, even thoſe who followed the Camp, and trafficked for Neceſſaries to the Men, were compleatly armed and mounted, the Number of all amounting to near 160,000. In the Time of Action the Maſter could not be diſtin-

† *February* 12, 1738-9. ‡ *February* 13, 1738-9.

‖ *Boungah* ſignifies the Baggage, and all the Furniture appertaining to a Camp.

§ *Yabous* are a Sort of ſmall Horſes, which are very hardy and ſerviceable.

guiſhed

guiſhed from the Servant, nor the Tradeſmen and Traffickers belonging to the Camp, from the common Soldiers, all in general being bold and reſolute, and well qualified to execute the moſt deſperate Attempt they could be employed in: There were alſo about 6 or 7000 Women, who had been taken Captives from the *Turks* and in *Kandahar*, who on a March could not be diſtinguiſhed from the Soldiers, having a *Baranni* * over their own Cloaths, girt round with a Girdle, their Faces veiled with a fine Cloth, a Shaul folded round their Heads in Form of a Turban, and booted and armed as the Men.

This Day ſeveral Meſſengers came to *Nizam al Muluck* with Offers of an Accommodation, all which he rejected, and would hear of nothing but War.

On the 15th ‖, *Nadir Shah*, being neceſſitated for Water, marched from *Tillauvri*, and encamped in a Place flanking *Khandoran*'s Rear, at a Diſtance of four Coſs. This Morning *Saadit Khan* arrived in the Camp, and went to wait on the Emperor. About

* *Barranni* ſignifies a Cloak to cover one from the Rain, being derived from *Barran*, Rain.

‖ *February* 14, 1738-9.

nine o' Clock News was brought that his Attendants † and Baggage (ſome of whom were at a Diſtance behind, and others had pitched their Tents without the *Mourchas*, between *Nadir Shah*'s Camp, and *Khandoran*'s Rear) had been attacked, and ſeveral of them killed, and plundered by the *Perſians* Van. *Saadit Khan*, upon hearing this, left the *Dirbar* ‡, and (with all Expedition) marched to his People's Aſſiſtance. *Khandoran* being nigh, he, with his two Sons, and the reſt of his Troops, joined him; as did alſo *Mazuffer Khan*, *Seyd Hoſſan Khan*, *Khan Zuman Khan*, *Mîr Gullou*, *Shehdad Khan*, *Aſſlih ali Khan*, &c. in all Twenty-two *Omras* and General Officers, each with a Body of his own Men.

Nadir Shah, who had juſt then arrived from *Tillauvri*, being appriz'd of this Affair, advanced towards that Quarter, and de-

† *Mahommed Reza Khan*, *Saadit Khan's Bukhſhi*, or Paymaſter and General, was the Perſon firſt attacked by four or five hundred *Kuzzlebaſh*; ſeveral of his Men were killed, and was taken Priſoner.

‡ *Dirbar* ſignifies literally, *the Door of Admittance*, being a Word compoſed of ,, *Dir*, Door, and ,l. *Bar*, Admittance. 'Tis the common Name for the King's or a Governor's Palace.

tached

tached 1000 *Courds*, 1000 *Kajirs* ‖, 1000 *Bakhtiaris*, and 1000 *Harquebuſers*, in all 4000 Horſe, 3000 of whom he planted in three different Places in Ambuſh, 500 *Harquebuſers* he ſent towards *Saadit Khan*, and the other 500 towards *Khandoran* to draw them into the Field; in which having ſucceeded, the Horſemen who lay in Ambuſh poured in upon them in three different Places, and engaged them in a moſt obſtinate Manner. Beſides theſe 4000 none elſe of *Nadir Shah*'s Men joined in that Action, excepting that he himſelf, attended by 1000 *Affhar* Horſe, rode to and from all Quarters to encourage and direct theſe Men: The Reſt of the Army (according to his Order) ſtood drawn up at a Diſtance, each Nation ſeparate, ready at a Signal to come to his Aſſiſtance; but, as it happened, there was no Occaſion for them; theſe 4 or 5000 having fought obſtinately until near the Evening, when the Emperor's Forces gave Ground, *Saadit Khan*, *Sheerjing*, and *Khandoran*'s youngeſt Son, were taken Priſoners; *Khandoran*, having received ſeveral mortal

‖ *Kajirs* are a Tribe of *Turcomans*, and the *Backhtiaris*, or *Bactrians*, are ſo called from *Bakhtir*, or *Bactria*, the Place they come from.

Wounds,

Wounds, was carried back to his Quarters; *Mazuffer Khan*, with ſeveral other Officers, were killed; and ſome mortally wounded returned to their Camp; *Seyd Hoſſan Khan*, being wounded, marched towards *Dehli*; and great Numbers lay dead in the Field of Battle *.

When thoſe who fled from the Engagement returned back, there was a great Tu-

* In a Letter that was wrote from *Mahommed Shah*'s Camp, a Day after the Engagement, it is ſaid, that *Nadir Shah* fought with 50,000 Horſe: And when *Khandoran* and *Mazuffer Khan* came with their Forces, he divided his Men into Three Bodies, and at laſt routed the *Moghol*'s Army. *Saadit Khan*'s and *Sherjing*'s Elephants getting foul of each other, the *Kuzzlebaſh* ſurrounded and took them Priſoners. *Khandoran* received a Bullet in his Arm, and another in his Side.—*Mazuffer Khan* was killed, jumping from his Elephant.—*Mîr Gullou*, *Shehdad Khan*, *Akhlaſs Khan*, *Eadgar Khan*, and *Khandoran*'s eldeſt Son, were killed. *Akul beg Khan Kumlpoiſh*, with his Son, and *Abdal Rizâk Khan*, and *Jaffer Khan*, with his Son and Brothers; and *Sirdâr Muluck* were wounded. *Mirza Khoudabunda*, Grandſon to the Great *Mohabit Khan*, was killed.—*Khan Zuman Khan* was wounded by a Bullet in his Throat.—*Ghazi beg Khan* was alſo wounded.—On *Nadir Shah*'s Side, Seven principal Officers, and 2500 Men were killed, and about 5000 wounded with Swords, *Cuttarri's*, and Bullets.

mult

mult and Noiſe in the Camp, and moſt of the Tents and Effects of *Khandoran*, *Mazuffer Khan*, *Saadit Khan*, &c. were plundered by their own People.

Amidſt this Confuſion the Emperor went towards *Nizam al Muluck*'s *Mourcha*, who was in the Front, and in Conjunction with the *Vizir* and other *Omras*, went without the *Mourchas*, and drew up their Men in a Line of Battle, with a Deſign to put a Stop to the Enemies advancing any farther; but, had not the Night come on, theſe Precautions would have ſerved them in little Stead, and that Day would have put an End to the whole Affair. About an Hour after Sun-ſet the Emperor returned back to his Tent.

Several of thoſe who eſcaped out of the Field, as alſo thoſe who attended the Baggage and Carriages, fled towards *Dehli*; a great many of whom were killed and plundered in the Way.

The Camp in ſome Places was very thin of Men, inſomuch that when at Midnight, the Emperor ſent for *Nizam al Muluck*, the Space from his *Mourcha* to the Emperor's Tent (which is about three Quarters of a Coſs) was found entirely empty.

Nizam

Nizam al Muluck, *Sirbullind Khan*, *Kummir o'dîn Khan*, and all the other *Omras* that were left, ſtaid with the Emperor in deep Conſultation until near the Morning, when each returned to his own Quarters.

On the 16th‡, finding the Camp ſo thin, and being apprehenſive of the *Kuzzlebaſh's* attacking them, they contracted the Circuit thereof, and their *Mourchas* into the Compaſs requiſite to contain the Number of Troops they had left, which was the Space between the Emperor's Tent and *Nizam's* *Mourcha*, and there they ſtood under Arms the whole Day, every Minute expecting the Enemy's Approach. Towards the Evening a ſmall Tent was pitched for the Emperor, and all the Troops were diſpoſed of to their reſpective Poſts, where they continued under Arms the whole Night, and their Horſes ſaddled, without either Hay or Corn.

The 17th‖, alſo paſſed in Fear and Anxiety. This Day, according to an Order from *Nadir Shah*, *Saadit Khan* ſent for his own Men and Baggage; ſome of them who

‡ The 15th of *February*. ‖ The 16th Ditto.

were

were ſcattered up and down the Camp, went to him carrying along with them all that eſcaped being plundered of his Horſes and other Effects. *Nadir Shah* had ordered a Tent to be pitched not far from his own Quarters, for *Saadit Khan*, *Sherjing*, and *Khandoran*'s Son; their Baggage and Attendants he gave a Place to, without his Camp; none durſt ſo much as come to ſee them, nor were they allowed to make uſe of any of their own Neceſſaries.

On the 18th †, *Nizam al Muluck* * and *Azîm Alla Khan* went to accommodate Matters to *Kadir Shah*'s Camp; after a Stay of ſix Hours, they returned back; what they might have done there, was kept a Secret. Towards the Cloſe of the Evening, *Khandoran* died of the Wounds he had received.

† *February* 17, 1738-9.

* *Nizam al Muluck*, with *Azîm Allah Khan*, and ſeveral Horſemen, went out, and pitched a ſmall Tent betwixt the two Camps, to which *Nadir Shah*'s *Aitmaud al Dowlat*, or *Vizîr* (*Kaſſum Beg Khan*) came, and from thence conducted him to his Maſter, who embraced him ſitting, and made him ſtand honourably, cloſe by himſelf; he gave him a Cup of *Sherbat*, and made him eat at the *Vizir*'s Houſe; after which it was agreed, that *Mahommed Shah* ſhould come and ſee *Nadir Shah*.

The 19th † alſo paſt in Deliberation, and at Night, *Nizam al Muluck* received a *Khalaet* ‡, on being appointed *Mîr Bukhſhi* ‖ and *Emîr al Omra*.

On the 20th * in the Morning the Corps of *Khandoran* was carried out of the Camp to the Village *Karnal*, and the Emperor ſitting in a Royal Litter §, with a Canopy and an Umbrella, one led Horſe and a Drum, attended by *Ghazi o'dîn Khan*, *Azîm Allah Khan*, the *Vizir*'s Son, and ſeveral Eunuchs, with about 200 Horſe, marched out of the Camp, and when he had gone a little Way, by a Sign he forbad the Horſemen to accompany him any farther; then with his Eunuchs and the aboveſaid *Omras* (each of whom had not above two or three Servants to attend him) he went on to *Nadir Shah*'s Camp;

† The 18th of *February*.

‡ *Khalaet*, a Preſent of a rich Veſt, Arms, *&c.*

‖ *Mîr Bukhſhi*, or Chief *Bukhſhi*, ſignifies Paymaſter General, who commonly commands all the Forces. *Emîr al Omra*, ſignifies Prince of Princes, a Title given to the Favourite Miniſter, who thereby becomes Head *Omra*.

* The 19th of *February*.

§ The Word in the Original is تخت روان *Takht Revan*, or a moving Throne.

when

when he was about half Way, *Thamas Khan Vakeel*† came to meet him, and did him the uſual Honours. Afterwards, *Neſr Allah Mirza*, *Nadir Shah*'s Son, who came in a Royal Litter, having alighted, paid his Reſpects, according to the Form ‡ of his Country. The Emperor ordering his own Litter to be ſet down, embraced *Neſr Allah Mirza*, after which, they both marched on until they came as far as the Train of Ordnance; here all the Attendants were obliged to ſtay behind, only the Emperor with two or three Eunuchs and the *Omras* abovementioned, were allowed to paſs; when they came to the Door of the Royal Tent, and the Emperor was alighted, *Nadir Shah* came forth to receive him, having embraced him, he ſeated him cloſe by himſelf, on the ſame *Muſnidd**; after the accuſtomary Forms of Salutation, and the Enquiry after each other's

† *Vakeel* ſignifies Agent, alſo Factor.

‡ Not in ſo ſubmiſſive a Manner as is done at the *Moghol*'s Court.

* *Muſnidd* is a particular Place in the *Divan*, commonly higher than any other, and large enough for two or three People to ſit thereon. It is ſpread with a better and ſofter Carpet than any other Part, and is covered over with fine Linnen.

Health were over, *Nadir Shah* addreſs'd him thus:

'It is ſtrange that you ſhould be ſo unconcerned and regardleſs of your own Affairs, 'that notwithſtanding I wrote you ſeveral 'Letters, ſent an Ambaſſador, and teſtified 'a Friendſhip for you, your Miniſters 'ſhould not think proper to ſend me a ſatisfactory Anſwer; and by Reaſon of your 'Want of Command and Diſcipline over 'your own People, one of my Ambaſſadors ‖, contrary to all Laws, has been kil'led in your Dominions.

'Even when I entered your Empire, you 'ſeemed under no Concern for your Affairs, 'nor ſo much as ſent to aſk who I was, or 'what was my Deſign. When I advanced 'as far as *Lahor*, none of your People came 'with a Meſſage or Salutation, nay not with 'an Anſwer to my Salutation to you: Af'terwards, when your *Omras* were awaked 'out of their Lethargy and Indolence, they 'prevented all Means of a Reconciliation; 'and coming tumultuouſly with an Intent 'to ſtop my farther Progreſs, they brought

‖ The Ambaſſador was killed on the *Peiſhor* Side of the *Attok*, by ſome rebellious *Rajpouts*.

them-

'themſelves into one general Snare, without
'having the Fore-ſight to leave any behind,
'who upon an Emergency could make Head,
'and retrieve their Affairs. Beſides this, you
'have fooliſhly cooped yourſelves up in your
'*Mourchas*, not conſidering that if your
'Enemy was ſtronger, you could not re-
'main within theſe Barricadoes without ei-
'ther Water or Grain; and if he was weaker,
''twas both unneceſſary and diſgraceful to
'ſuffer yourſelves to be beſieged by him; be-
'ſides, if you thought lightly of him, and
'imagined him a raſh inconſiderate Man,
'without expoſing your own Perſon and Re-
'putation ſo much, you ought to have de-
'tached a faithful and experienced Officer,
'who, in a little Time might have found
'Means to diſtreſs and cut him off; but if
'you dreaded his Experience and Conduct,
'you had ſtill the leſs Reaſon (after provok-
'ing him thus far) to venture your All at
'one Blow. Even, when you had thus en-
'tangled yourſelf, I ſent you Offers of an
'Accommodation, but you was ſo puffed up
'with your own childiſh Conceits, and fool-
'iſh Reſolutions, that you would not give
'Ear to any honourable Overtures, or con-

ſult

'ſult your own Intereſt; until, at laſt, by 'the Aſſiſtance of the Creator of the World, 'and the Strength of the Arms of the victo-'rious Warriors, you have ſeen what has hap-'pened. Moreover, your Predeceſſors were 'wont to take the *Jeziah* * from the Infi-'dels, and you in your Reign have given it 'to them, having, in theſe twenty Years, 'ſuffered the Empire to be overrun by them. 'But as hitherto the Race of *Temur* have 'not injured or miſbehaved towards the '*Seffi* Family, and the People of *Perſia*; I 'ſhall not take the Empire from you, only 'as your Indolence and Pride have obliged 'me to march ſo far, and that I have been 'put to an extraordinary Expence, and my 'Men, on Account of the long Marches, are 'much fatigued, and in Want of Neceſſaries; 'I muſt go to *Debli*, and there continue ſome 'Days, until the Army is refreſhed, and the '*Peiſhcuſh*, that *Nizam al Muluck* has agreed 'to, is made good to me; after that, I ſhall 'leave you to look after your own Affairs.'

Mahommed Shah gave no Anſwer during the whole Speech, but was fixed in a Silence,

* *Jeziah* is a Poll-Tax levied on all who were not *Mahommedans*, eſpecially the *Hindu's*.

which

which teſtified a good deal of Confuſion and Shame.

To this Diſcourſe, there was none preſent but *Javead Khan*, *Behroz Khan*, and *Ghazi o'dîn Khan*; towards Evening the Emperor returned back to his own Camp, and ſeveral of his Officers having repreſented to him, that the *Banians* made the Grain very dear, he ordered their Shops to be plundered, which, inſtead of mending the Matter, very much increaſed the Dearth of Proviſions. On the 21ſt*, in the Morning, *Nizam al Muluck*, the *Vizir*, *Azîm Allah Khan*, and *Ghazi o'din Khan*, went to *Nadir Shah*: On their taking Leave to return, *Nizam* was honoured with a preſent of a Coat, Veſt, and a Horſe; the *Vizir*, *Azîm Allah Khan*, and *Ghazi o'din Khan*, each with a Coat and Veſt; at nine o' Clock at Night, they waited on *Mahommed Shah*, and communicated to him what had paſſed in their Conference, which was not made publick: That ſame Day the Emperor ordered 500 *Beldars* to bury the Corps of thoſe who fell in the Field of Battle, the Number of whom were found to be 17000, all of the *Hindoſtan* Army, and the

* The 20th of *February*.

Bodies

Bodies lay ſpread over the Space of ſeven Coſs; the ſaid *Beldars* having ſtrewed a little Earth on ſome of the Carcaſſes, returned back. It was reported that 400 of *Nadir Shah*'s People fell in Battle, and that 700 were wounded, but of thoſe that were killed not one was to be ſeen in the Field, they having buried them that ſame Night. Of the *Hindoſtan* Army, ſeveral were wounded in ſuch a Manner, that they were not able to ſtir, nor had any the Compaſſion to bring them off the Field of Battle to be cured, ſo that in a little Time they expired among the reſt of the dead Bodies; three Elephants were alſo killed.

On this Day (which is the 21ſt*) there was no Grain to be had without great Trouble, and that at the Rate of 1 and 1½ *Seers* ‡ of Wheat, *per Rupee*, and 2 to 4 *Rupees per Seer* of *Ghee* †; the Reaſon of which was, that ſince the Day of Battle, the Camp

* *February* 20, 1738-9.

‡ A ſingle *Seer*, which they call *Seer Cacha*, is 14 Ounces, 15 ¾ Drams; but the *Seer* mentioned here is a *Seer Pucca* of 1 lb. 13 Ounces, 15 ½ Drams.

† *Ghee* is only Butter well boil'd and skimm'd, which is preſerved in Jars, and keeps ſweet a long Time, eſpecially if a little Salt is put at the Bottom of the Jar.

was

was in a Manner beſieged, and no Proviſions allowed to come to them, nor durſt any of the Soldiers go without their *Mourchas*. In *Nadir Shah*'s Camp (as they went out a foraging for 30 or 40 Coſs round) Wheat was ſold at the Rate of 12 *Seers* for a *Rupee*.

The Numbers of thoſe killed ſince the Battle, on the Roads and round about the Country, by *Nadir Shah*'s Men, when they went out a Marrauding, amounted to 14 or 15000 Men.

On the 22d‖ *Kaſſum Beg Khan* came from *Nadir Shah*'s Camp, and ſtayed with *Nizam al Muluck* until the Evening.

Mîr Hoſſan Khan (who being wounded in the Battle, ſet out for *Shah Jehanabad)* being afraid of the Dangers upon the Road, returned back, and came to the Camp this Day.

On the 23d*, the Camp was removed to the Side of *Karnal*, oppoſite to *Nadir Shah*'s Army. In their March, the *Kuzzlebaſh* Horſemen carried off 27 Elephants, and 25 Camels, and in the Night Time, diſcharged a great many Guns.

‖ The 21ſt of *February*. * The 22d Ditto.

On the 24 †, *Nizam* being ſent for, went to *Nadir Shah*'s Camp, where he with five or ſix of his Attendants were kept.

Several of the *Kuzzlebaſh* being ſent againſt *Taniſeer*, having plundered the ſaid Place, and ſlaughter'd the Inhabitants, returned with a great Booty.

In *Mahommed Shah*'s Camp, what Grain was to be had, was ſold from 2½ to 3 *Rupees per Seer*, and whoever went to *Nadir Shah*'s Camp, were allowed to buy as much as they conſumed there, but not to carry any away. About 8 o' Clock at Night, the *Vizir* received a Firman (or Order) from *Nadir Shah*, to this Import, 'KUMMIR O'DIN KHAN 'VIZIR, KNOW, that To-morrow *Mahommed* 'Shah, *Sirbullind Khan*, *Mahommed Khan* 'Bunguſh, and *Azîm Allah Khan*, ſhall 'come into the Preſence *, therefore look 'well after your People, that they be not 'diſperſed or ſtraggle abroad; when you 'have ſecured that Point, come you hither alſo.'

When the Emperor was appriz'd of this, he ſent for *Sirbullind Khan*, and all the other *Omras*, with whom he held Council

† The 23d Ditto.

* 'Tis common in the *Eaſt*, inſtead of *Court*, to uſe the Word حضور *Hazour*, *the Preſence*; and likewiſe the Word حضرت *Hazerit*, *Preſence*, to ſignify *Majeſty*.

until

until Midnight; at laſt the Emperor declared that Affairs were now gone beyond his Power, and that he muſt do one of three Things; To-morrow to march out and make one deſperate Puſh, to determine his Fortune at once; or put an End to all Thoughts and Miſery by a Doſe of Poiſon; or elſe ſubmit peaceably, to what Terms may be impoſed. The Emperor's Inclination (tho' he did not then declare it) was for the laſt of theſe.

On the 25th ‡, *Sirbullind Khan*, *Mahommed Khan*, &c. were ready each with his own Men, that in Caſe the Emperor ſhould make a Puſh, they might not be unprepared, and if on ſubmitting, he ſhould go to *Nadir Shah*, and bid them come, they ſhould follow his Fate. But neither one nor the other of theſe Reſolutions was fixed on that Day; Grain was not to be had on any Terms, and old carrion Beef, notwithſtanding there was a great deal of it, was ſold, 1½ *Seers*, for a *Rupee*. At Night, arrived a Note from *Nadir Shah* to this Effect: 'Sirbullind Khan, 'be of good Chear, and perfectly compoſed, 'get yourſelf hither before *Mahommed Shah* 'ſets out.'

‡ The 24th Ditto.

On the 26th ‖, *Sirbullind Khan*, having obtained Leave, marched towards *Nadir Shah*'s Camp, and, according to an Order, leaving his Men and Baggage on the Right-hand thereof, he, with *Khan Zad Khan*, three Horſemen and four or five Servants entered the Camp, and pitched a ſmall Tent for himſelf near the *Bargah* *, cloſe by *Saadit Khan*'s Quarters.

About nine o' Clock that Morning, *Mahommed Shah* (according to an Order) being ſeated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy and Umbrella, ſet out for *Nadir Shah*'s Camp, attended by *Emîr Khan*, *Iſhak Khan*, and ſome Eunuchs. On his Arrival he alighted at a Tent, which had been pitched the Day before, by *Nadir Shah*'s Order, for that Purpoſe, in the Front of the Camp, where he was allowed to have as many of his Domeſticks of all Sorts as were neceſſary, and 1000 *Kuzzlebaſh* Horſemen were detached as Guards around him. About 8 o' Clock in the Evening, *Mahommed Shah*, being called, went to wait on *Nadir Shah*; after Three

‖ The 25th Ditto.

* *Bargah* ſignifies the Place of Admittance, or the publick *Divan*, where Audience is generally given.

Hours

Hours Stay he returned to the Camp, and and there was an Order that none of the *Omras* ſhould be allowed to go to ſee him.

On the 27th †, *Sirbullind Khan*, being called, went to *Nadir Shah*'s *Dirbar* ‡, he was ordered to attend the *Towpchi Baſhi* ‖ and the *Niſſikhchi Baſhi* *, who had each 200 Horſe, and that, with the Aſſiſtance of *Saad o'din Khan*, the *Towpchi Baſhi* ſhould ſeize all the King's and *Omras* Ordnance; and the *Niſſikhchi Baſhi*, with *Kummir o'din Khan*'s Help, the Treaſury, Jewels, *Toiſhik-khanna* +, and all the other Implements and Arms that belonged to the Emperor and the deceaſed *Omras*, and to ſend to *Mahommed Shah*, his Son *Sultan Ahmed*, and *Malika al Zumani* §, the Empreſs, and to give Orders to *Kummir*

† The 26th of *February*.

‡ *Dirbar*, ſignifies the King's or Governor's Palace.

‖ *Towpchi Baſhi*, the Maſter of the Ordnance.

* *Niſſikhchi Baſhi*, literally, Head Regulator, or Manager, an Officer who is generally ſent to regulate Diſorders, and make Seizures.

+ *Toiſhik-khanna*, where all Arms, warlike Furniture, Implements, *&c.* are kept.

§ *Malika al Zumani*, literally the Queen of the Times, *Mahommed Shah*'s Empreſs.

o'din

o'din Khan and *Saad o'din Khan*, that all the Emperor's old Servants and Soldiers be continued in their Places, and brought along with them, but to let the *Baheers* ‖ and new enliſted Men go where they pleaſe.

Accordingly they went and ſeized all theſe Things, and ſent the Emperor's Son, with *Malika ul Zumani*, and the reſt of the *Mahl* * (according to *Nadir Shah*'s Orders) to *Mahommed Shah*.

This Day there were great Diſorders and Confuſion in *Mahommed Shah*'s *Boungah*, inſomuch that a great many Things were plundered and loſt, and ſeveral out of Fear leaving their Tents and Effects, ran to and fro looking out for a Corner to ſecure their Lives, eſpecially the *Artiſans* and Servants.

On the 28 †, *Mahommed Shah*, with his Men and Baggage, leaving only the Ordnance behind, went towards *Nadir Shah*'s Camp:

‖ *Baheers*, People employed for carrying Baggage.

* *Mahl* ſignifies *a Place*, but particularly where the Women are kept. It is alſo called *Harram*, (*i. e.* prohibited, or unlawful, in Regard to Men) and in *Turkey* 'tis called *Serai*, which ſignifies the ſame as *Mahl*. The Women therein are alſo called *Mahl*, which is the Signification it bears here.

† The 27th of *February*.

In

In the Way he diſcharged the *Baheers* and new liſted Men, letting them go where they pleaſed. The *Omras* and the Emperor's old Servants, according to an Order for that Purpoſe, took up their Quarters at one Side of the Camp, being ſeparated by a ſmall Rivulet. The Effects of *Mahommed Shah* and the *Omras* which were brought, were put into *Nadir Shah*'s Poſſeſſion, and having picked out 200 Cannon with their Carriages out of *Mahommed Shah*'s Ordnance, they ſent them with ſome Treaſure and other Effects then ſeized (accompanied by 1000 Horſemen, which belonged to the Emperor's Train of Artillery, and 2000 *Kuzzlebaſh)* to *Cabul*, to be from thence carried to *Kandahar*.

This Day *Nadir Shah* gave three Months pay as a Gratuity to every Man in his Army, Soldiers, Servants, Attendants, *&c.* juſt as he had done before at *Kandahar*, upon taking it.

On the 29th ‡, in the Morning, *Thamas Khan Vakeel*, was diſpatched to *Shahjehanabad*, with 4000 Horſe and Muſqueteers to take Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle; as was alſo *Saadit Khan* for the Safe-guard and Care of the City,

‡ The 28th Ditto.

and

On *Tueſday* the 6th of *Zelhujh* †, they marched from *Sonput*, and came to *Nirela*. In the Beginning of the Night, *Sirbullind Khan*, having feign'd an Indiſpoſition, had Leave to go before to the City, and on the Morning he arrived at his own Houſe.

On *Wedneſday* the 7th ‡, *Nadir Shah* arrived at the Gardens called *Shallimâr*.

On *Thurſday* the 8th ‖, *Mahommed Shah*, by *Nadir Shah*'s Order, being ſeated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy and Umbrella, two Standards, about 200 Horſe and Foot of his own Servants, and 4000 *Kuzzlebaſh* Horſemen, entered the Caſtle. After which they gave him a Place near *Aeyſh Mahl* *. *Nadir Shah*, having heard, that the People of the City were of a ſeditious and turbulent Temper, did not care to enter in the Night Time. But this Morning, attended by 20,000 Horſe, he marched with all the Caution imaginable to the Caſtle, leaving the reſt of his Army encamped without the City:

† The 6th of *March*. ‡ The 7th Ditto.

‖ The 8th Ditto.

* *Aeyſh Mahl*, ſignifies *the Place of Joy*, one of the Apartments in the Caſtle. The Place they gave *Mahommed Shah* near it, was *Suliman Bourge*, or *Solomon's Tower*.

Afte:

After he had alighted, *Mahommed Shah* came to congratulate him, and they breakfaſted together. They were in Converſation until the Evening, during which Time *Nadir Shah* behaved with the greateſt Complaiſance and ſeeming Affection to him. He iſſued out Orders in the moſt peremptory Manner to prevent the Soldiers wronging or inſulting any of the Inhabitants, and enjoined the *Niſſikhchis*, who have the Inſpection of theſe Things, to ſpare no Puniſhments, ſuch as cutting off Ears and Noſes, and bambooing to Death, whoever moleſted the *Indians*; for which Reaſon none of the *Kuzzlebaſh*, either high or low, durſt injure any of the Natives; but moſt of the People were ſo frighten'd at the terrible Aſpect of theſe Men, and the barbarous Figure † they made, that they avoided (as much as poſſible) having any Dealings or Converſation with them.

On the 9th ‡ at Night, *Nadir Shah*, having called *Saadit Khan* before him, ſpoke

† The *Perſians*, however polite and luxurious, in Regard to the more Weſtern Nations, are but rude and hardy, as to their Apparel, Diet, and Living, in Compariſon with the delicate *India Moghols*, and the *Perſians*, who have lived ſome Time in that Empire.

‡ The 9th of *March*.

with a great deal of Warmth and Paſſion in Regard to the collecting the *Peiſhcuſh* ‖ Money, and uſed ſome hard Words to him. At four o' Clock next Morning, *Saadit Khan*, who had been for ſome Time weak and indiſpoſed, departed this Life. Some imagine he died thro' Anger for the Uſage he met with, and others are of Opinion Jealouſy provoked him to take Poiſon.

On *Saturday*, which was the 10th * of the Moon, and the *Eid Zoha* (or Feaſt of Sacrifice) after five *Ghurris*, and thirty *Pulls* †, the Sun entered *Aries*. This Morning *Sirbullind Khan* (being called) went to the Caſtle, where with *Thamas Khan Vakeel*, *Muſtapha Khan Arrizbegi*, *Nizam al Muluck*, and *Kummir o'din Khan*, he ſtaid the whole Day, deliberating on Means for collecting the *Peiſhcuſh* Money. This Day at Noon, *Thamas Khan* had ſent nine *Niſſikhchi* Horſemen towards *Pahr Gunjh* ‡, to order the opening of the Granaries, and ſettle the

‖ This was a Preſent of a *Crore* of *Rupees*, which *Nizam* had agreed ſhould be paid to *Nadir Shah*.

* The 10th of *March*.

† Two Hours, and twelve Minutes after Sun-riſe.

‡ *Pahr Gunjh*, the Place where Corn is ſold.

Price

Price of the Corn: Being arrived there, they cauſed them to be opened, and Wheat was ſold ten *Seers* for a *Rupee*: As this Price did not turn to the Proprietors Account, towards Evening they aſſembled the Mob ‖, and a great many diſaffected People joining them, they killed the aboveſaid *Niſſikhchis* with ſeveral *Kuzzlebaſh*, who had come over to buy Corn. After Sun-ſet they ſpread a Report that *Nadir Shah* was taken Priſoner, and ſome ſaid he was poiſoned, on which the Mob and Tumult exceeded all Bounds, all the idle Vagabond and diſaffected People joining from all Quarters, with what Arms they could moſt readily find, poured like a Torrent towards the Caſtle. Of thoſe of *Nadir Shah*'s Troops, who were poſted without at the Foot thereof, ſome retired within, and others went towards the *Reti**, (which is the Place 'twixt the Caſtle and River) and ſeveral of them were cut off: Thoſe of the *Kuzzlebaſh* who had taken up their Quarters in *Khandoran*'s Palace and

‖ The Promoters of the Mob were *Seyd Neaz Khan*, *Sheh Soar Khan*, the Son or Relation of *Kourrih Khan*, and *Raiban Nazr*.

* *Reti* ſignifies *Sand*, in the *Indoſtan* Language.

other

other great Houſes, kept a ſtrict and careful Guard the whole Night; ſeveral Cannon, Harquebuſes and Muſquets were diſcharged from the Caſtle and the ſaid Houſes, to keep the Mob at a Diſtance; all this Time they were increaſing, and became more and more furious: *Seyd Neaz Khan*, Son-in-Law to *Kummir o'din Khan*, had ſhut up in a Room ſeveral *Niſſikhchis* (whom he had taken before, as a Safe-guard to his Houſe) and now ſet Fire to it.

On *Sunday* the 11th †, about eight o' Clock in the Morning, when the Tumult was in its Height, *Nadir Shah* being highly provoked, walked out of the Caſtle, and mounting his Horſe, went from thence towards *Chandni Chok* ‡, to quell the Mob, who were committing great Diſorders in that Quarter, and in the Way perceiving a great many of the Bodies of his own People, who had been killed in the Night, he ſent a ſtrong Party to endeavour to ſuppreſs them, and in Caſe Threatning and fair Means were ineffectual, he licenſed them to cut them off, but on no Account to injure others who were

† The 11th of *March*.

‡ The Name of a Square *Bazar*.

not

not concerned. At firſt, they proceeded gently, which inſtead of appeaſing the Mob, made them more bold and inſolent, and without the leaſt Aw, they began to diſcharge Fire-Arms, and Arrows, at them. *Nadir Shah* went into the *Miſſid* ‖ of *Roiſhin al Dowlat*, which is near the *Cutual*'s § *Chaboutra* *; the Inhabitants near that *Miſſid* got upon their Terraſſes, and began to throw Stones, and either from one of theſe Terraſſes, or a Window thereabouts, a Muſquet was deſignedly ſhot at *Nadir Shah*, which miſſing him, killed one of his Officers who ſtood next him: This made him give Way to his Paſſion, and order a general Slaughter to be commenced from that very Place; the Soldiers in an Inſtant getting upon the Walls and Terraſſes, began to plunder and kill. This bloody Scene extended from

‖ *Misjid* is what is vulgarly called a Moſque.

§ The *Cutual* is a Magiſtrate who, in all Cities, has the Care of puniſhing thoſe who drink or ſell intoxicating Liquors, and keep diſorderly Houſes; with ſeveral other Affairs, which are not of Conſequence enough to be brought before the Governor.

* *Chaboutra* ſignifies a Tribunal.

the

the *Serafa Ardui* †, which is before the Caſtle, to the old *Eidgah* ‡, which is three Coſs Diſtance, and on one Side as far as *Jittli Tomb*, and on the other as far as the *Tobacco Mandavi* and *Poul Meetai* ||. The whole Streets of the *Bazar*, and the Allies and Wards on all Sides, the *Khanum*'s *Bazar*, and round about the *Jamih Misjidd* *, and the Cotton and Jewellers *Bazars*, were all plundered, ſeveral Places they ſet on Fire, and whomſoever they found in the Wards and Houſes, Streets, Allies and Shops, Great and Small, Men and Women, they put to the Sword, even the Brute Creatures did not eſcape their Fury; ſeveral Women were made Priſoners. *Loutf Ali Khan*, the Officer who was appointed to ſlaughter and plunder towards the Square of *Saad Allah Khan* and *Dehli* Gate, when he came as far as *Sirbullind Khan*'s Houſe, he, in a great Surprize and Fright, came out to meet

† *Serafa Ardui*, where all the Bankers and Money-Changers, belonging to the King and his Army, have their Shops.

‡ *Eidgah*, the Place where all the People aſſemble to Prayers, on the Two great annual *Eids* or Feſtivals.

|| *Poul Meetai*, a Bridge ſo called, becauſe there are a great many Confectioners Shops thereon.

* *Jamih Misjid*, the Cathedral, or great Moſque.

the

the ſaid Officer, and repreſenting to him, that the People of that Quarter were not to blame, he made him deſiſt and ſtop his Men, on promiſing they ſhould pay a Sum of Money. But in other Places the Slaughter, Plundering and Burning went on in a moſt barbarous Manner.

Nadir Shah, after he had given the Orders, returned back to the Caſtle; about two o' Clock *Mahommed Shah* and *Nizam al Muluck* waited on him, who having made great Interceſſion for the City, the Soldiers were ordered to deſiſt, and it was proclaimed by Beat of Drum, that none of the Inhabitants ſhould be any longer moleſted.

The Slaughter continued from eight in the Morning till three in the Afternoon; above 400 *Kuzzlebaſh* were killed, and of the Citizens (great and ſmall) 120,000 were ſlaughtered, others computed them 150,000. What Treaſure and Effects were plundered, ſome *Nadir Shah* had, and a great deal was deſtroyed by the Fire. In ſeveral of the *Hindu* Houſes, where one of a Family ſurvived, he uſed to pile thirty or forty Carcaſes a-top of one another, and burn them; and ſo they did in the Streets; notwithſtanding which

there ſtill remained ſo many, that, for a conſiderable Time, there was no ſuch Thing as paſſing any of thoſe Ways. When the Slaughter began, thoſe who raiſed the Commotion diſappeared in an Inſtant, and left the innocent Shopkeepers, *Bazaris*, and many honeſt Families, to be butchered by the inraged *Kuzzlebaſh*; ſeveral, jealous of their Honour, not only killed their Women, but laid alſo violent Hands upon themſelves; one of theſe unfortunate Wretches, in particular, when the Soldiers came near his Houſe, burnt about twenty Women of his Family, and was in Expectation of their entering every Minute and killing him; by Chance they miſſed that Houſe; but he was ſo infatuated, that, finding himſelf diſappointed, he went out, and, bringing ſome of them back, ſhewed them the Way to his own Houſe, telling them there was a good deal of Money and Effects therein. After they had plundered his Houſe, they went their Way without killing him, which ſo enraged him, that he diſpatched himſelf. There were great Numbers of People, eſpecially Women and Children, burnt in their Houſes.

On

On *Monday* the 12th †, the Priſoners, eſpecially the Women §, according to *Nadir Shah*'s Order, were all conducted back to their own Houſes, but with Eyes full of Tears, and in Circumſtances not to be deſcribed or uttered.

On *Tueſday* the 13th ‡, a Party, who had been formerly detached by *Nadir Shah* to ſieze the Cannon at the *Serai* of *Rouh Allah Khan*, having been cut off by the People there, in Conjunction with thoſe of the *Moghol Poura*, who were chiefly *Tartar Moghols*, a ſtrong Body was ſent over thither, who ſlaughtered between 5 and 6000 of theſe People, and brought bound with them about 300 of thoſe belonging to the Ordnance, alſo the *Hazarris* ‖ and Head Officers. This Day, *Seidy Folad Khan*, received a *Kalaet* on being confirmed *Cutual* of the City. Proclamation was made by Beat of Drum,

† The 12th of *March*, 1738-9.

§ About 10,000 Women threw themſelves into Wells, ſome of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three Days. The Number of Priſoners releaſed, Men and Women, were 50,000.

‡ The 13th of *March*, 1738-9.

‖ *Hazarri* ſignifies, *Captain of a Thouſand.*

ordering every Body to betake themſelves to their ſeveral Employments, and to be under no Apprehenſion of the Soldiers any more. A Body of Men was ſent to the Granaries at *Pahr Gunjh*, which they ſealed up and put Guards on; *Saadit Khan*'s Effects were ſeized, and *Nizam al Muluck* and *Kummir o'din Khan* made a *Peiſhcuſh* of ſome Money and Effects which they had given in an Account of, and was regiſtered in the Liſt; the Effects of *Khandoran* and *Mazuffer Khan* were likewiſe ſeized; the Jewels, Treaſure and Goods of the former (not reckoning what he had in the Camp) was computed at no more than one *Crore* of *Rupees*; but *Mazuffer Khan*'s amounted to very nigh four *Crore*. This Day, according to the *Shah*'s Order, Parties of Soldiers were planted as Guards all around the City to the Banks of the River, and in the *Retee* oppoſite to the Caſtle, to prevent any Perſons going out without Licenſe, but to hinder none from coming in: All thoſe who were brought bound from the *Serai* of *Rouh Alla Khan*, had their Heads cut off, and were thrown into the *Retee*.

On

On *Wedneſday* the 14th *, a Number of *Fakîrs***, wanting to go out of the City, with a Deſign to travel and beg abroad, the Out-Guards cut of their Noſes and Ears, and made them return back again.

On *Thurſday* the 15th †, as the great Number of dead Bodies that lay about the Caſtle, and in the *Bazars*, and other Places, cauſed a very offenſive Stench, they preſſed moſt of the People they met with in the Streets, and employed them in removing the Bodies. Some by tying Cords to the Feet, they dragged without the City, ſome they threw into the River, and thoſe whom they imagined to be *Hindu's*, they piled forty or fifty of their Bodies a-top of each other, and burnt them with the Timber of the demoliſhed Buildings.

On *Friday* the 16th ‡, a *Firmân*, exempting the Dominions of *Perſia* from Taxes for three Years, was drawn up and diſpatched by a *Choppar* ||: At the ſame Time the Ar-

* The 14th of *March*, 1738-9.

** *Fakîrs* are Beggars, or poor People.

† The 15th of *March*, 1738-9.

‡ The 16th of *March*, 1738-9.

|| *Choppar*, an expreſs Meſſenger.

rears

rears* formerly due to the Soldiers, as alſo one Years Pay before Hand, and ſix Months Pay as a Gratuity, was given to all his People, even to the Servants, and thoſe who trafficked for Neceſſaries in the Camp (each of theſe having a ſettled Pay from *Nadir Shah.*) *Niçar Mahommed Shah* was ſent with 1000 *Kuzzlebaſh* Horſemen, to bring *Saadit Khan*'s† Treaſure from *Pourib.*

On *Saturday* the 17th ‡, *Sirbullind Khan*, according to an Order, went to the *Dirbar*, where he ſtayed until the Even. *Nadir Shah* let him know, he was pretty well aſſured, that under a Pretence of old Age and Infirmity, he did not care to ſtir about in collecting the *Peiſhcuſh* Money and *Beavra* ‖ from the People in Offices, Merchants, *&c.* However, his Advice to him was, to behave with more Activity in that Affair, and make an End of it very ſoon.

* The Year's Arrears due to *Nadir Shah*'s Men was 4 *Crores* 88 *Lacks*, or 6,100,000 *l.*

† *Saadit Khan*'s Treaſure, ſent from *Luknowti* by *Munſour Ali Khan*, arrived the 25th of *Mohirrim*, or 23d of *April*; being 80 *Lacks of Rupees*, which is 1,000,000 *l.*

‡ The 17th of *March*, 1738-9.

‖ *Beavra* ſignifies a forced Contribution.

On

On *Sunday* the 18th *, the ſaid *Sirbullind Khan* went likewiſe to the *Dirbar*, where were preſent *Nizam al Muluck* and *Kummir o'din Khan*, and he ſtayed there until Noon; *Thamas Khan* and *Muſtapha Khan* preſſing them concerning the Money, *Sirbullind Khan* told *Nizam al Muluck* as follows: "I have "a long Time ago foreſeen this Diſgrace, "and frequently repreſented to the Emperor, "that before Things were paſt Remedy, he "ought to take ſome Meaſure, and not thro' "too much Security, reckon any Accident "unworthy his Care and Prevention; I de-"ſired him to employ ſome experienced and "faithful Perſon, and to give him full Power, "that with a Sum of Money and other va-"luable Things, as a *Peiſhcuſh*, he might "make up Matters, prevent the impending "Calamity, and live, as formerly, with the "*Shah* in an amicable Manner.

"Every Body imagined I couch'd ſome "Deſigns and Self-Views under this Advice; "they themſelves would contrive no Ex-"pedient, nor would they rely on the Con-"trivance of another, until, at laſt, Affairs "are come to this calamitous and diſgraceful

* The 18th of *March*, 1738-9.

"Iſſue."

"Iſſue." To this, *Nizam al Muluck* made no Anſwer. Then *Thamas Khan* addreſſing himſelf to *Kummir o'din Khan*, repeated to him the Subſtance of what *Nadir Shah*, at firſt Meeting, reproached *Mahommed Shah* with: Afterwards he told him, "What is "paſt ſhall not be remembered. Now my "*Shah* wants the MONEY, uſe all Means "you can to raiſe it, and bring not yourſelves "into any further Diſgrace, by being di-"latory." *Sirbullind Khan* anſwered, "Un-"doubtedly we will raiſe it, wherever it is "to be found." *Thamas Khan* aſked him, if he had not Money himſelf. *Sirbullind Khan* ſaid to him, "If I had had Money, "I would have ſent it to you to *Khandahar*, "and prevented you the Trouble of coming "hither." In ſhort, by what paſſed at this Meeting, it was known, that *Nadir Shah*, after his Victory, and having eſtabliſhed his Power, had demanded of *Nizam al Muluck*, twenty *Crore* † of *Rupees*, (excluſive of the Jewels, Gold Plate ſet with precious Stones, and other fine Goods, ſeized of the Kings and other *Omras)* to be collected in the beſt Manner he could, out of the King's Treaſury,

† Twenty *Crores* are 25 Millions Sterling.

his

his own Effects, and all the other *Omras*, wealthy People and Inhabitants. Such a Sum was not to be raiſed out of the King's Treaſury, or the *Omras* Effects; for, in the King's, the Gold and Silver Coins did not exceed three *Crore* § : But, in the inward Vaults (which had been ſhut up and ſealed for many Years, no Body knowing by whom they were ſealed, or what they contained) there was found of Gold and Silver to a much larger Amount than the Money in the Treaſury. *Nizam al Muluck* contributed a *Peiſhcuſh* of 1½ *Crore* ‖ in Jewels, Treaſure, and Goods, as did alſo *Kummir o'dîn Khan*, to the ſame Amount.

Saadit Khan had formerly agreed to pay one Crore * of Rupees, and made good thirty Lacks † thereof, which was all that had eſcaped being plundered; he promiſed to ſend for the Remainder from his *Soubah*.

Sirbullind Khan, on Account of his Poverty, was excuſed from any Share, and three Crore ‡ of Rupees were appointed to be levied on ſome *Manſubdârs*, *Mutteſiddys*, Officers, and the rich Inhabitants, each in Pro-

§ 3,750,000 *l.* ‖ 1,875,000 *l.* * 1,250,000 *l.*
† 375,000 *l.* ‡ 3,750,000 *l.*

portion to his Circumſtances. Formerly *Saadit Khan* was ordered to collect this Money; After his Death, and the Slaughter and Plunder of the City, this Buſineſs was recommended to the Care of *Sirbullind Khan*, and the other *Omras*, which *Thamas Khan*, at his Meeting, preſſed them about: Accordingly it was now agreed that *Azim Allah Khan*, *Chuckl Keiſhvir*, *Vakeel* of the *Soubahdar* of *Bengall*, *Seeta Ram*, and all the *Manſubdars* and Officers of the *Chaboutra*, &c. ſhould meet at *Sirbullind Khan*'s Houſe, and make an End of this Affair. All Officers, Inhabitants, *&c.* who were ſuſpected to be rich, were ordered to give in a Liſt of what Money or Effects they were Maſters of to be laid before the *Shah*, that what he liked he might take, and what he forgave them they might keep; and whoever pleaded Poverty, ſuch Perſon ſhould declare the ſame by a Writing under his Hand and Seal, that in Caſe it ſhould be afterwards proved that he had given in a falſe Account, he might be puniſhed.

That Day the People beforementioned came to *Sirbullind Khan*'s Houſe, and having

ing ſtaid until the Evening, and enroll'd ſome Names, returned to their own Houſes.

On *Monday* the 19th †, they all met there again, and were taken up all that Day in the enrolling of Names, and preparing the Liſt. This Day *Seyd Neâz Khan* (who, the Night before the Slaughter, had ſhut up ſeveral of the *Kuzzlebaſh* in a Room and burnt them) was, by *Nadir Shah*'s Order, ſtrangled with a *Shaul*, and *Sheh Soar Khan* and *Raiban*, who in that Night were the Promoters of Miſchief, were puniſhed likewiſe. The firſt had his Head cut off, and the ſecond his Belly ripped up.

On *Tueſday* the 20th ‖, *Sirbullind Khan*, being ſent for, went to the *Dirbar*, where he received a *Khalaet* of a rich Veſt, from whence he returned Home to aſſiſt *Azîm Allah Khan*, and the reſt in the Buſineſs they were about.

On *Wedneſday* the 21ſt *, *Rehîm Beg Amîn Baſhi*, with 200 Horſemen and Muſqueteers, were appointed to be under the Command of *Sirbullind Khan*, that he might

† The 19th of *March*, 1738-9.

‖ The 20th of *March*, 1738-9.

* The 21ſt of *March*, 1738-9.

ſend them to the *Manſubdars*, &c. to oblige them to produce all their Elephants, Horſes and Camels, with Orders that what ſhould be judged proper for the *Shah*'s Stables, ſhould be immediately ſeized.

On *Thurſday* † alſo they were employed as the Day before.

On *Friday* the 23d‡ *Sirbullind Khan*, *Azim Allah Khan*, &c. according to an Order, met at the Caſtle, where was held a Council for aſcertaining the Money of the *Peiſhcuſh*.

There was an Order made, that *Murid Khan* ‖, with fifty of *Sirbullind Khan*'s Horſemen, ſhould carry a *Sirrapah* and *Firmân* to *Sujaat Khan*, *Soubahdar* of *Bengal*, and to take from him the three Years Treaſure and a *Peiſhcuſh*: Accordingly 1000 *Rupees* * were given out of the *Shah*'s Treaſury to *Murid Khan* for his Expences, and 3220 *Rupees* § to the fifty Horſemen for their Charges.

† The 22d of *March*, 1738-9.

‡ The 23d of *March*, 1738-9.

‖ *Murid Khan* (alias *Mahommed Hadi*) was ſent in Company with *Mir Tuckee Kuli beg*.

* 125 *l*. § 402 *l*. 10 *s*.

Saturday,

Saturday, *Sunday*, and *Monday* ‡ were employed in the *Peiſhcuſh* Affair. During this Time they were buſy in preparing Illuminations on the Banks of the River, and Fireworks, for the Wedding of *Neſr Allah Mirza*, *Nadir Shah*'s Son, who was to be married to the Daughter of *Ieſdan Bukhſh* the Son of *Kam Bukhſh* and Grandſon of *Auringzebe*.

On *Tueſday* Night ‖ the Marriage was conſummated. *Mahommed Shah* made the young Princeſs a preſent of Jewels to the Value of 50,000 *Rupees* *, and in ready Money 50000 † more. Some Days after the Marriage, *Nadir Shah* ſent her Jewels to the Value of five Lack of *Rupees* ‡.

The Council for aſcertaining the *Peiſhcuſh* was continually held in the Caſtle, near the *Divan of Juſtice*, at which aſſiſted *Thamas Khan*, *Muſtapha Khan*, and *Mahommed Shah*'s *Omras*, until the tenth of *Mohirrim* § at Noon, and during that Time every Body was preſent at the ſaid Place from Sun-riſe to Sun-

‡ The 24th, 25th, and 26th of *March*, 1738-9.
‖ The 27th of *March*, 1739.
* 6250 *l.* † 6250 *l.* ‡ 62,500 *l.*
§ The 8th of *April*, 1739.

ſet.

ſet. All the *Vakeels* and Agents of the *Manſubdars*, and other Officers, gave conſtant Attendance, and at Night each returned to his own Houſe without having a Centry or Guard over them. In thoſe Days, and alſo afterwards, ſeveral People, finding Affairs go hard with them, left their Effects and Families behind, and made their Eſcape out of the City in the beſt Manner they could, being glad at any Rate to ſave their Lives; ſeveral of *Mahommed Shah*'s *Omras* were obliged to ſtay the whole Day in the Caſtle, in a mean Manner and perpetual Fear, with but one Horſe and a few Servants to attend them, and at Night they returned to their own Houſes.

In theſe Days of *Mohirrim*, no Perſon, either of *Hindoſtan* or the *Kuzzlebaſh*, durſt ſo much as mention the Words, *Tazia* * or

* *Tazia* ſignifies *Mourning*, and *Mâtim* ſignifies *Death*. It is cuſtomary with the *Schias*, to make great Lamentations annually for *Mortiſa Ali*'s two Sons, *Imâm Hoſſan* and *Imâm Hoſſein*, on the firſt Ten Days of *Mohirrim*. The former was poiſon'd by his Wife *Joada*, at *Medina*, in the *Khalifſhip* of *Mauvia*, on *Thurſday* the 7th of *Safer*, in the 50th Year of the *Hegira*. The latter was killed in the Deſart of *Kirbela*, by *Shimr*, a Soldier belonging to *Iezîd*, the Son of *Mauvia*, *Khalif* of *Syria*, on *Friday* the 10th *Mohirrim*, in the 61ſt Year of the *Hegira*.

Matim,

Matim, Some of *Nadir Shah*'s Soldiers, who were incamped without the City, having one of theſe Nights, made a Noiſe of Mourning and beating their Breaſts, were ſeverely puniſhed by him. During this Time, a great many People were very hard preſſed for their Quota's of the *Peiſhcuſh*, inſomuch that ſeveral, to ſave their Credit and Reputation, killed themſelves. Amongſt the reſt, *Alîm Allah*, the adopted Son of *Scidy Folad Khan*; and his *Naib*, who acted entirely in all Things belonging to the *Cutual*'s Office, having been ill uſed, and publickly diſgraced, on the fifth of *Mohirrim* †, cut open his own Bowels with his *Cuttari* ‡, and died ſoon after.

On the 6th ‖, *Mijiliſs Rai*, *Kummir o'dîn Khan*'s *Duan*, was ſent for by *Thamas Khan*, who ordered one of his Ears to be cut off in his Maſter's Preſence. *Kummir o'dîn Khan* was going to intercede for him, which *Thamas Khan* perceiving, he told him in an angry Tone, "It will be your Turn by and by," which preſently ſilenced him, and *Mijiliſs*

† The 3d of *April*, 1739.

‡ A Sort of Dagger wore by the *Indians*.

‖ The 4th of *April*, 1739.

Rai

Rai taking the above Uſage to Heart, killed himſelf afterwards, on the 12th *. Several of the King's *Mutteſiddys* were ſo beat with Sticks, in *Thamas Khan*'s Preſence, that the Blood flowed out about their Faces and other Parts.

Sitâ Ram, and *Chuckl Keiſhvir* †, were violently beat on the Back and Sides. When the Liſt of Names was ready, *Nadir Shah* appointed *Nizam al Muluck*, *Sirbullind Khan* ‡,

* The 10th of *April*, 1739.

† *Chuckl Keiſhvir*, the *Bengal Vackeel*, being ordered to ſend for Seven *Crores* of *Rupees*, ſaid, So much would make a String of Waggons from *Bengal* to *Dehli*; for which being roughly uſed, he went home, and murdered himſelf and Family.

‡ *Sirbullind Khan* preſſing very hard upon the People, *Kamiab Khan*, Relation to *Kummir o' dîn Khan*, with *Arrib Khan*, and others, killed themſelves, after paying in ſeveral *Lacks*; and the Complaints thereof coming to *Nadir Shah*, Twenty *Lacks* of *Rupees* were remitted to great Men, who were found indigent. *Sherîf Kuli Khan*, Son to *Khadr al Niſſa Begum*, and ſeveral Eunuchs, complained to *Mahommed Shah* of *Sirbullind Khan*'s ruining People, and his Exactions, and that he wanted Three *Lacks* from him; *Mahommed Shah* ſent for *Abdal Baki Khan*, one of *Nadir Shah*'s *Vizirs*, who manages betwixt them Two, and bid him acquaint his Maſter therewith, who ſent for *Sirbullind Khan*, whom he found innocent of what was laid to his Charge.

Kummir'

Kummir o'din Khan, *Azim Allah Khan*, and *Mortiſa Khan*, the Brother of *Murid Khan*, to collect the Money; he told them, he expected they would collect the ſaid three *Crore* ‖, and pay it in Ten Days Time: They divided the Sum and Names into five Parts, and had a 1000 *Kuzzlebaſh* Horſemen, 200 each, that in Caſe any on their Liſt made Delays in paying their Quota, they might oblige them thereto by Blows: So that on the 10th * at Noon, the ſaid *Omras* with the appointed Horſemen, ſet about collecting the Money: The People, in Reſpect to their Circumſtances, were very unequally taxed, for ſome who were Maſters of ten *Lacks* †, were only ſet down 5000 ‡ and others who could not muſter 10,000 §, were ſet down 12,000 ⊣. This was not owing either to the Favour or Ill-Will of the Managers, but to their own good or bad Luck; and when the Sums were once aſcertained, there was no Redreſs to be had. Many of them, durring the collecting of the Money, were

‖ 3,750,000 *l.* * *April* 8, 1739.
† 125,000 *l.* ‡ 625 *l.* § 1250 *l.*
⊣ 15000 *l.*

by bad Uſage, forced to diſpatch themſelves, and Numbers died of the Blows they received; thoſe who came beſt off, had either a Leg or an Arm lamed; from Morning to Night, nothing was done or thought of, but gathering in this Money, in which no Barbarities were left unpractiſed. This ſo diſpirited the Inhabitants, that if one *Kuzzle-baſh* Horſeman came among 10000 of them, he might ſafely uſe them with all the Severities he pleaſed. This Work went on until the Day *Nadir Shah* left the City, when near four *Crore* †, were collected from the People. Three *Crore* ‡, and thirty *Lacks* of *Rupees*, were paid into *Nadir Shah*'s Treaſury, and ſeventy *Lacks* ‖ were made away with among his *Omras*, and ſome expended among the 1000 Horſemen; a great deal was ſunk in the undervaluing of Goods, for a Horſe worth 500 *Rupees* *, was only rated at 5 *Tomans* †, which is 100 *Rupees*, and *Shauls* of 50 *Rupees* § taken at one *Toman*; or twenty *Rupees* ‖, and Jewels and other Goods,

† 5,000,000 *l.* ‡ 4,125,000 *l.*
‖ 875000 *l.* * 62 *l.* 10 *s.*
† 12 *l.* 10 *s.* § 6 *l.* 5 *s.*
‖ 2 *l.* 10 *s.*

in

in the ſame Proportion: What the *Shah* took was valued in this Manner, and received for ſo much in the Contribution Account; but what he had no Occaſion for was ſold, and the Produce brought to Account, which was no Advantage to the Owners of the Goods, as there were no Buyers but the *Kuzzlebaſh*.

Since the Day of the general Slaughter, wherever any Granaries were, the *Kuzzlebaſh* ſeized them; this and the Roads being ſtopt to all Quarters made Wheat 2 *Seers* a *Rupee*, Rice $1\frac{1}{2}$ *Seer*, and *Ghee* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *Seer*: Things were at that Rate for about twenty Days; at laſt, *Sirbullind Khan* and *Azim Allah Khan*, having obtained a Paſs and Licence, ſent ſeveral Waggons to fetch Corn from *Feridabad*. Whoever had any Carriages, ſent them, ſeveral of the poor People and *Banians* going along with them.

In a little Time Wheat was ſold ſeven *Seers* for a *Rupee*, but no more Rice than $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Seers*, and *Ghee* $\frac{2}{3}$ of a *Seer*; during this Time the *Kuzzlebaſh* Horſemen were wont to go round about *Feridabad*, and other Places, marrauding twenty and thirty Coſs each Way, ſpoiling all the Fields, and plundering all the Villages as they went, and killing the

Inhabitants that made any Reſiſtance. They gave their Horſes, Camels, *&c.* Barley and Wheat-Straw inſtead of Graſs, and the People of the City could have neither at any Rate, ſo that moſt of their Cattle died.

The latter End of *Mohirrim* *, *Daniſhmund Khan* (whoſe Brother *Mullah Ali Akbar*, was the *Shah's Mullah Baſhi*) was, by *Nadir Shah*'s Recommendation, raiſed to the *Manſub* of 7000, with its full *Jaguir*, beſides the Poſt of *Mahommed Shah*'s *Khan Saman* §; but a few Days after *Nadir Shah*'s Departure he fell ſick, and on the 14th of *Ribby al Avul* † departed this Life. Excepting him, *Nadir Shah* recommended none elſe to the Emperor.

On *Tueſday* the 3d *Safer* ‡, all the *Omras* were ordered by *Nadir Shah* to be preſent at *Mahommed Shah*'s by five o' Clock in the Morning, where they put on forty-two *Khalaets*, ſent thither by *Nadir Shah* for them. The *Khalaets* for *Nizam al Muluck*, *Sirbullind Khan*, *Kummir o' din Khan*, and *Mahommed Khan Bunguſh*, were:

* The latter End of *April*.

§ *Khan Saman*, Steward of the Houſhold.

† The 10th of *June*, 1739.

‡ The 1ſt of *May*, 1739.

A rich

A rich Atlaſs Veſt.

A Hunting Coat, of a rich Stuff wove with Gold.

Four Yards of Tiſſue.

A rich Mandil or Turban.

A *Perſian* Sabre mounted with Gold.

A Knife with a Sheath of enamell'd Gold.

The reſt of the *Khalaets* were different, ſome had five Pieces, ſome four, three and two, and ſome had only one Piece of Gold, or one Piece of Silver Stuff, according to the Rank they bore.

About eight in the Morning, *Mahommed Shah*, ſeated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy, Umbrella, and one led Litter, with ſeveral of the *Omras*, went towards the General *Divan*, the *Omras* being mounted at a ſmall Diſtance behind him; when they came near the General *Divan*, the Emperor ordered *Saad o' din Khan* to let none but the Head *Omras*, and a few of the Chief *Manſubdârs* to go further. At the Door of the General *Divan* all the *Omras* alighted, and followed on Foot to the Door of the private *Divan*, where *Nadir Shah* was; there the Emperor came off his Royal Litter, and went in;

in; after they had mutually embraced, they breakfaſted together, and the *Omras* likewiſe had Breakfaſt given them. A little after, the following Things were brought in for *Mahommed Shah*:

A Crown ſet with Jewels.
A *Sirpeach*‖ - - - Ditto.
A *Bazoubund** - - Ditto.
A Girdle - - - Ditto.
A Sword, the Handle ſet with Jewels.
A Sword with a ſtraight Blade, ſuch as moſt of the *Deccanners* uſe, called *Dhoup*.
An enamelled *Cuttarri*.

The Crown, *Nadir Shah* put on with his own Hands, making him an Apology at the ſame Time. After giving him ſome Advice, he took Leave of him. The Subſtance of the Advice was as follows: 'In the firſt 'Place, you muſt ſeize all the *Omra's Ja-* 'guîrs, and pay each of them according to 'their *Manſubs* and Rank, with ready Mo- 'ney, out of the Treaſury. You are to al- 'low none to keep any Forces of his own,

‖ *Sirpeach* is a Band or Fillet richly wove, and ſometimes ſet with Jewels, which is wore round the *Turban*.

* *Bazoubund* is a Bracelet.

'but

'but you yourſelf are conſtantly to keep
'60000 choſen Horſemen, at ſixty *Rupees*
'*per* Month, one with another: Every ten
'Men to have one *Dehbaſhi* †, every ten
'*Dehbaſhi's* one *Sudival* ‡, and every ten
'*Sudivals* one *Hazarri* ‖. You ought to be
'well acquainted with the Merits of each,
'their Name, their Family and Nation,
'not allowing any of them, Officers, Sol-
'diers, or others, to be idle or inactive.
'When an Occaſion may require, detach
'a ſufficient Number, under the Command
'of one, whom you can truſt for Conduct,
'Courage, and Fidelity, and when that
'Buſineſs is over, recall them immediately,
'not letting any Perſon ſtay too long in Com-
'mand, for Fear of bad Conſequences. You
'are more particularly to beware of *Nizam*
'*al Muluck*, whom, by his Conduct, I find
'to be full of Cunning, and Self-intereſted,
'and more ambitious than becomes a Subject.'
Mahommed Shah knowing theſe Advices pro-
ceeded from Good-will, was very thankful,
and deſired him, as his Empire depended on

† *Dehbaſhi*, an Officer over Ten Men.
‡ *Sudival*, an Officer over a Hundred.
‖ *Hazarri*, a Captain of a Thouſand.

him,

him, that he would appoint thoſe whom he thought moſt deſerving of the principal Poſts. *Nadir Shah* ſaid, 'That will not be 'at all for your Intereſt; ſuch Officers will 'have little Deference for you in my Ab-'ſence; when I am gone, diſpoſe of every 'Poſt to thoſe whom you think moſt worthy, 'and ſhould they or any of them rebel, 'upon the firſt Advice, I'll ſend a Perſon to 'chaſtiſe them; if it be neceſſary, I'll ſend 'Forces; or, on Occaſion, I can be with 'you myſelf, in forty Days, from *Kandahar*; 'But upon all Events don't reckon me far 'off.

After this, *Mahommed Shah* taking Leave, returned back to *Aeyſh Mehl*, from whence, he gave the *Omras* leave to go Home.

On *Wedneſday* the 4th *, *Nadir Shah*, ſent for *Nizam al Muluck*, *Sirbullind Khan*, and the other *Omras*, and having enjoined them Obedience to *Mahommed Shah*, and threatned them in Caſe of their rebelling, took his Leave.

It was reported that *Nadir Shah* declared before ſome of his *Omras*, ſuch as *Thamas Khan*, *Loutf Ali Khan*, and others, that he

* The 2d of *May*, 1739.

had

had acted indiſcreetly in regard to two Things; one was his giving the Empire to *Mahommed Shah*, who being unequal to ſo great a Taſk, the Affairs of *India* would become worſe than formerly; the other, his giving Quarter to *Nizam al Muluck*, who being ſo very ſubtle and crafty, it was more than probable he would raiſe Diſturbances; but as according to the Decrees of Providence, and the Aſſiſtance of their own good Fortune, he had once paſſed his Word to them, he could not act contrary thereto.

On *Friday* the 6th †, the *Shah*'s ‡ *Peiſhkhanna* went to *Shalimâr*. A *Munaddi* went about to give Notice, that after the Troops ſhould begin to march, none of the *Kuzzlebaſh*, or others belonging to the Army, ſhould tarry in the City, and forbid any Perſon to entertain or conceal any ſuch in their Houſes, and that none belonging to the Army ſhould carry along with them any Male or Female

† The 4th of *May*, 1739.

‡ *Nadir Shah*'s March was to have been the 27th *Mohirrim*, but was delayed, on Account of *Fojdar Khan Balouche*'s running away with his Men towards the *Rajahs*, on being demanded more than one *Lack* of *Rupees*, which he was firſt taxed with.

Captives, excepting Slaves bought with ready Money, with a Writing from the Seller atteſted by Witneſſes declaring his Conſent and Satisfaction, or Women lawfully married to them, and even thoſe Slaves and Wives not to be carried away if in the leaſt contrary to their own Inclinations; and that whoever ſhould tranſgreſs any of theſe Orders ſhould forfeit both his Life and Eſtate.

Upon this almoſt all who were married in *Dehli* ſent back their Wives on finding them unwilling to leave their Native Country, only a few of the Chief Commanders and Officers, by the mildeſt Means and Intreaties, prevailed on ſome to ſeem contented to go; which *Nadir Shah*, after ſome Days March, being informed of, he ordered them all to be immediately ſent back.

On *Saturday* the 7th §, *Nadir Shah* moved to *Shalimâr*, and gave poſitive Orders, that all the Soldiers ſhould quit the City that Day.

On *Sunday* *, before his March from theſe Gardens, he ordered his Army to be muſtered; and it was reported to him, that

§ *May* 5, 1739.
* *May* 6, 1739.

400 Soldiers and Servants had deſerted. The *Shah* ordered *Scidy Folad Khan*, the *Cutual*, to find out thoſe People, and ſend them with a Guard to the Army, and commanded ſeveral of the *Niſſikhchis* and *Rikas* likewiſe to aſſiſt. The *Cutual*, after great Search, found about ſixty, and ſent them away with a Party of his own Horſe and ſome *Niſſikhchis*; they reached the Army near *Serhind*, where the *Shah* ordered all their Heads to be cut off.

In the mean Time, *Scidy Folad Khan*, having ſeized ſeveral more of thoſe Deſerters, he was going to ſend them alſo; but on hearing how the others were treated, he waited on the Emperor, and repreſented the Matter to him. *Mahommed Shah* ſaid: 'He'll certainly kill theſe poor Wretches alſo, if they are 'ſent; why ſhould we be acceſſary to ſo 'much innocent Blood? Let them go where-'ever they pleaſe.'

Nadir Shah, by continual Marches, arrived near *Lahor*, and we are informed, that he plundered and killed the People of *Tanniſer*, and ſeveral other Villages. The Occaſion of which was thus: The Army conſtantly ſending out Parties to forrage, and bring Corn and other Neceſſaries; the

Country People, who uſed to watch theſe Opportunities, attacked the Stragglers, and killed and plundered them of their Horſes, or what elſe they had; in the Night-time alſo they were very troubleſome, and ſtole whatever they could come at, which very much inraged the *Shah*, having loſt above a thouſand Mules, Camels and *Yabous* before he got as far as *Lahor*. It was reported, that *Nadir Shah*, having called the *Zemidar* of *Karnal* (which is the Place where he got his Victory) gave him 5000 *Rupees* towards peopling a Village on the ſame Spot he incamped, and directed him to give it the Name of *Fattehabad* ‖.

Some Days before he left *Dehli*, he ſent Part of his Army before to *Lahor*; when they approached the Place, and *Zekaria Khan* was apprized thereof, he called together all the great Men, Merchants, *Serafs**, and wealthy People of the City. At their Meeting it was agreed, that the *Khan* and they ſhould go out of the City, and ſend a Meſſage to the Commanding Officer, in theſe

‖ فتح اباد *Fatteh abad*, ſignifies the *Habitation of Victory*.

* Bankers and Money Changers.

Words:

Words: 'If your Deſign be to ſlaughter the 'Inhabitants, Lo! we are here preſent; if 'Plunder be your Intent, the City is deſert-'ed, and our Effects left there; or, if Mo-'ney be what you want, the *Souhahdar* and 'Citizens can raiſe no more than one *Crore* †; 'ſo whatſoever your Intentions or Orders are, 'that execute: This is a ſmall City, and 'not able to withſtand the Fury of an Army, 'as *Dehli* is.' On Receipt of this Meſſage, the Commanding Officer thought proper to repreſent the Affair to his Maſter, who ordered him to receive the *Crore* of *Rupees*, and to moleſt them no further. After the Payment of the Money, he drew off, and joined the main Army upon their March.

Nadir Shah, by continual and long Marches, paſſed by *Lahor*, on one Side.

On *Tueſday*, the 10th ‡, *Sirbullind Khan*, having placed Guards about the Caſtle, commanded as Chief Officer for that Day: Next Day, he was ordered to come off, and to mount Guard only on *Mondays*. After going from the Caſtle, he went to ſee *Nizam al Muluck*, who happening to be in *Kummir*

† 1,250,000 *l.*

‡ The 8th of *May*, 1739.

o'din

o'dîn Khan's Houſe, he had an Opportunity of viſiting both, and then returned to his own Houſe.

Until this Day, a great many of the Bodies killed on the Day of the general Maſſacre, lay putrified in ſome of the Streets and *Bazars*.

On *Thurſday*, the 12th ‖, in the Morning, *Azîm Allah Khan*, and in the Afternoon, *Kummir o'dîn Khan*, went to viſit *Sirbullind Khan*.

On *Sunday*, the 15th *, the Emperor came from *Aeyſh Mehl*, to the General *Divan*, where he ſat four *Gurris* §, during which Time, the *Omras* came to pay their Obeiſance, making their Preſents at the ſame Time. *Nizam al Muluck*, on returning from the Caſtle, went to *Sirbullind Khan*'s Houſe, for ſince *Nizam al Muluck*'s coming from *Deccan*, until the 11th Inſtant, neither of them had been to viſit each other.

On *Friday*, the 20th †, *Emir Khan* was

‖ The 10th of *May*, 1739.
* The 13th of *May*, 1739.
§ One Hour 36 Minutes.
† The 18th of *May*, 1739.

honoured

honoured with a *Sirrapah*, a *Paleki*, with Net-work, and the Office of third *Bukhſhi* ‡.

Iſhak Khan, with a *Sirrapah*, a *Paleki* with Net Work, and the Office of *Duan Khaleſih* ‖.

Azîm Allah Khan, with a *Sirrapah*, and the Office of *Sedr*.

Ahtiſham Khan, *Khandoran*'s Son, with a *Sirrapah*, and the Office of *Darogha Khaſs* *.

On the 4th of *Ribby al Avul* †, *Daniſhmund Khan*, who, by *Nadir Shah*'s Recommendation, had got the Office of *Khan Saman*, departed this Life. So, on the 16th ‡, *Saad o'dîn Khan*, received a *Sirrapah*, and was promoted to that Office.

From the Day that *Nadir Shah* left *Dehli*, until this, which is the 26th of *Ribby al Avul* ‖, nothing was done or propoſed, in Regard to the State of Affairs in the Empire. Even this Blow, which is ſufficient to give an Idea of the Trumpet of the Day of Judg-

‡ The Third Paymaſter.

‖ *Duan Khaleſih*, the Accomptant General of the King's Revenues.

* *Darogha Khaſs*, Superintendant of the Houſhold.

† The 10th of *June*, 1739.

‡ The 12th of *June*, 1739.

‖ The 22d of *June*, 1739.

ment,

ment, could not in the leaſt awaken out of the heavy Sleep of Security, and Lethargy of Indolence, thoſe People, who were ſo much intoxicated with the Wine of Pride, and Self-conceit. They all agreed in a general Ill-will to each other, and their whole Talk and Converſation was full of Envy and Detraction.

Of the Bulidings that were in Part demoliſhed, and damaged, in the Day of the general Maſſacre, ſome that ſuffered leaſt, are inhabited again, and the reſt remain deſart; which, if not begun to be repaired before the Rains ſet in, will be quite deſtroyed.

The Inhabitants, from the Terror of this Calamity, like People poſſeſs'd, and in Fits, are quite ſtupified, and not yet come to themſelves, and what is ſtill more ſtrange, (notwithſtanding the Oppreſſions and Diſgrace, the People of this Empire have met with, ſince *Nadir Shah*'s Departure) the indecent Expreſſions, and beaſtly Actions of his Soldiers, are the conſtant Subjects of Diſcourſe, in all Companies, related with a ſeeming Satisfaction and Pleaſure, and by Way of Jeſt and Drollery; not being in the leaſt affected with a Reflection on their

their paſt Diſgrace and Misfortunes; but, on the contary, ſeemed ſorry for his going away, excepting *Sirbullind Khan*, who three Years ago, foreſaw this Calamity, and retired from public Buſineſs, dreading the Conſequence of Affairs being managed by ſuch *Omras* as then bore Sway: His being an Inſtrument in collecting the *Peiſhcuſh* was involuntary, and much contrary to his Inclinations, in which he help'd and favoured ſeveral People as much as lay in his Power, and that in ſo private a Manner, that they themſelves knew not who aſſiſted them: But hypocritical and ignorant Perſons, who had neither Will or Power to aſſiſt thoſe People, gave their Tongues too much Liberty in complaining of him: However, I refer this innocent Man's Character to the following *Arabic* Verſes:

They ſay for certain that God has a Son,
And ſay for certain the Prophet is a Magician;
Neither God nor his Prophet has eſcaped
The Tongues of Slanderers, and how ſhall I?

When after the Battle, *Nadir Shah* had ſent for *Mahommed Shah* and his *Boungah* to his Camp, one of his *Omras* repreſented to him, that in the *Hindoſtan* Camp there were 100,000 Horſes and a great many Camels, and as thoſe People had, by his Clemency, received Quarter, ſhould he order what Camels and Horſes were fit for the Royal Stables to be ſeized for his Uſe, it would not be ſo great a Hardſhip upon them. To which the *Shah* anſwered: 'I have given theſe People Quarter in all Reſpects; beſides, the 'Bread of Soldiers depends on their Horſes, 'moſt of them are in wretched and indigent 'Circumſtances; ſhould they loſe their Horſes, 'they and their Families would be reduced 'to Beggary and Starving. It would be far 'from Humanity to treat them ill, now they 'are at our Mercy; therefore don't moleſt 'or inſult them on any Account.

Mahommed Khan Bunguſh had, for a long Time, been in Expectation of the *Soubahdari* of *Alehabad*, eſpecially after *Nadir Shah*'s Departure; but not finding he was likely to ſucceed, on the 27th of *Safer**, he made off, and went towards his own *Zemidari*. In his

* The 25th of *May*, 1739.

Way

Way he plundered ſeveral Villages, and meeting the *Vanjarras* †, who were carrying Corn to *Shahjehanabad*, carried them along with him.

After ſome Days, *Ali Hamed Khan*, *Ali Amjid Khan*, *Ali Aſghur Khan*, *Khan Zuman Khan*, *Terab Ali Khan*, *Azem Khan*, and others, in all twenty-two *Omras* and *Manſubdars*, who had run away out of the Field of Battle and Camp, as alſo *Mahommed Khan Bunguſh*, who (without Leave) had retired Home, were all diſcharged the Service.

Nizam al Muluck and *Kummir o'din Khan* wrote to *Mahommed Khan*, that if he came back, or ſent his Son to attend at Court, it was probable his *Manſub* and *Jaguir* ſhould ſtill be continued to him, if not, he muſt expect no Favour. *Mahommed Khan* returned for Anſwer: 'If my Requeſt is complied 'with, I will come, if not, I will go on to 'my own *Zemidari*.

Since the Battle of *Karnal*, until *Nadir Shah*'s Departure from *Shahjehanabad*, the Loſs ſuſtained by the Emperor and the People

† People who go a Trading in great Droves, and carry their Goods on Oxen.

within and without the City, in Jewels, Treasure, Goods, Effects, and destroying of Fields, setting aside the Loss of the Buildings, amounted to very near one *Arrib* ‡ of *Rupees*, out of which *Nadir Shah* carried away to the Value of 70 *Crores* ‖ in Jewels and other Effects; and his Officers and Soldiers 10 *Crores**. The Charges of his Army, while he continued there, the Arrears, Pay and Gratuity advanced them, with what Goods were destroyed by Fire, and Fields laid waste, made near 20 *Crores* † more.

The Particulars of what *Nadir Shah* carried away with him:

	Crore.
Jewels from the Emperor and *Omras*, valued at - - -	25
Utensils and Handles of Weapons set with Jewels, with the *Peacock* Throne, and nine others set with precious Stones	9
Money Coined in Gold and Silver *Rupees* - - - -	25
Gold and Silver Plate which he melted down and coin'd - - -	5
	64

‡ 125,000,000 *l.* ‖ 87,500,000 *l.*
* 12,500,000 *l.* † 25,000,000 *l.*

Fine

Carried over	64
Fine Cloths and rich Stuffs of all Kinds - -	2
Houſhold Furniture, and other valuable Commodities -	3
Warlike Weapons, Cannon, *&c.*	1
	70

Elephants 1000, Horſes 7000, Camels 10,000, Eunuchs 100, Writers 130, Smiths 200, Maſons or Builders 300, Stone-Cutters 100, Carpenters 200.

Nadir Shah had the Draught of the Caſtle and City of *Shahjehanabad* taken, and gave to the abovementioned Artificers, Horſes, and what other Carriages were neceſſary for their Journey, allowing them a ſufficient Pay. The Terms he entered into with them were, to follow their ſeveral Occupations for three Years in *Kandahar*; at the Expiration of which, they were to have Liberty, either to return Home, or continue there. But in their Way to *Lahor*, ſeveral of them made their Eſcape, and returned hither.

Since *Nadir Shah*'s entering this Country, until his getting to *Lahor* in his March back, 200,000

200,000 of the Inhabitants of this Empire, were deſtroyed, as follows:

From *Labor* to *Karnal* were killed on the Roads and in the Villages	8000.
Killed in the Battle of *Karnal.*	17,000.
Thoſe killed during the Space of three Days after the Battle, in the Highways and round about the Camp, were	14,000.
Thoſe killed on their March to the City, in *Sonput*, *Paniput*, and other Villages that were plundered	7000.
Thoſe killed in the general Maſſacre, by the exacteſt Computation	110,000.
After the general Maſſacre were killed in *Rouh Allah Khan's Serai*, and the Villages and Fields round about where they went a marrauding, which is about thirty Coſs each Way	25,000.
On their March back, in *Taniſeer* and other Villages	12,000.
Thoſe who had laid violent Hands upon themſelves, the Women who drown'd and burnt themſelves,	
	193,000

Carried over	193,000
ſelves, as alſo thoſe who died of Famine and other Hardſhips, amounted to about	7000.
	200,000.

A Tranſlation of the Ceſſion made by Mahommed Shah *to* Nadir Shah *of all the Territories to the Weſtward of the River* Attok.

'FOrmerly, the Miniſters ‡ of his High 'Majeſty (who is exalted like *Saturn*||, 'fierce as *Mars* *, impetuous as the God of 'War, King of the Kings of the Earth, 'Prince of the Princes of the Age, the Sha-'dow of God and Refuge of *Iſlâm*, in Pomp 'like *Alexander*, the Heavens his Court, the '*Sultan* who is merciful, and the Emperor 'who is auguſt, *Nadir Shah*, may God per-'petuate his Reign) had ſent Ambaſſadors

‡ In the *Eaſt* it is not polite to ſay to a Prince, he did or ſaid ſuch a Thing, but that his Miniſters and Servants did it.

|| *Saturn* being the moſt remote from the Centre of the Syſtem.

* In the Original it is بهرام صولة مريخ سطوة *Beheram Solat, Merîkh Suttuvit.* بهرام *Beheram*, in the ancient *Perſic*, ſignifies *Mars*, and مريخ *Merîkh*, in the *Arabic*, ſignifies the ſame.

to

'to this Court, to treat of certain Affairs 'which I intended to comply with; after-'wards *Mahommed Khan Turcoman* arrived 'from *Kandahar*, to remind me thereof, 'but my Miniſters and Agents having delay-'ed the Ambaſſadors, and poſtponed an An-'ſwer to his High Majeſty's Letter, raiſed 'ſuch a Miſunderſtanding between us, that 'his ſucceſsful Army having come to the 'Confines of *Hindoſtan*, both Parties encoun-'tered in the Fields of *Karnal*, where, after 'a Royal Battle was fought, as Providence 'would have it, Victory to Appearance roſe 'from the Eaſt of his undeclining Fortune. 'As his High Majeſty, who is mighty as '*Jumſheid* †, and the greateſt of the *Tur-'comans*, is the Source of Goodneſs and 'Proweſs; relying on his Honour, and 'truſting to his Support, I had the Satisfaction 'of an Interview, and enjoyed the Pleaſure 'of being entertained in his Paradiſe-like Com-'pany. After which, we came together to '*Shajehanabad*, where I brought forth to his 'View, and with the proper Ceremony pre-'ſented to him, all the Treaſure, Jewels,

† One of the ancient Kings of *Perſia*, remarkable for his Greatneſs and Power.

and

'and precious Effects of the *Hindoſtan* Em-
'perors; his Majeſty, in Compliance with
'my Requeſt, accepted of ſome: And out of
'the Greatneſs of his Soul, and abundant
'Humanity, in Regard to the illuſtrious Fa-
'mily of *Gourgan*, and the Honour of the
'Original Tree of *Turkan*, was graciouſly
'pleaſed to reſtore to me the Crown and Gem
'of *Hindoſtan*.

'In Conſideration of this Favour, which
'no Father ſhows to a Son, nor no Brother
'to a Brother, I make over to him all the
'Countries to the Weſt of the River *Attok*,
'the Water of *Scind*, and *Nala Sunkra* which
'is a Branch of the Water of *Scind*: That is
'to ſay, *Peiſhor* with its Territories, the Prin-
'cipality of *Cabul*, *Ghoznavi*, the moun-
'tainous Reſidences of the *Afghans*, the *Ha-
'zarijat* and the Paſſes, with the Caſtle of
'*Buckar*, *Sunkar*, and *Khoudabad*: The reſt
'of the Territories, Paſſes, and Abodes of
'the *Chokias*, *Balluches*, &c. with the Pro-
'vince of *Tatta*, the Caſtle of *Ram*, and the
'Village of *Terbin*, the Towns of *Chun*,
'*Sumawali* and *Ketra*, &c. Places depen-
'dant on *Tatta*: All their Fields, Villages,
'Caſtles, Towns, and Ports from the firſt

'Riſe of the River *Attok*, with all the Paſſes 'and Habitations, which the aboveſaid Water 'and its ſeveral Branches comprehends and 'ſurrounds, as far as *Nala Sunkra*, where it 'empties itſelf into the Sea: In ſhort, all 'Places Weſtward of the River *Attok*, and 'thoſe Parts, and Weſtward of the River '*Scind*, and *Nala Sunkra*, I have annexed 'to the Dominions of that powerful Sove-'reign, that from henceforth his Agents and 'Servants may enter upon and ſet about the 'Management and the ſecuring of the above-'ſaid Territories, taking the Government 'and Command of thoſe ſeveral Places, 'Tribes and Inhabitants into their own 'Hands; my Officers, Servants, *&c.* eva-'cuating the aboveſaid Places, as being ſeve-'red from my Dominions, and entirely re-'nouncing all Right they have or might for-'merly have had to command, controul or 'collect any Revenues there; the Caſtle and 'Town of *Lohry Bundar*, with all the 'Countries to the Eaſt of the River *Attok*, 'Water of *Scind*, and *Nala Sunkra*, ſhall, as 'formerly, belong to the Empire of *Hin-'doſtan*. Dated at *Shajehanabad*, the 4th of '*Mohirrim* ‡, 1152.

‡ The 2d of *April*, 1739.

A Per-

A Perſonal Deſcription and Character of Nadir Shah, *which I had from the Gentleman who favoured me with the Account of his Exploits before his Expedition to* India.

NADIR SHAH is about fifty-five Years, upwards of ſix Foot high, well-proportion'd, of a very robuſt Make and Conſtitution, his Complexion ſanguine and inclining to be fat, but the Fatigue he undergoes prevents it; he has fine large Black-eyes and Eye-brows; and, in ſhort, is one of the moſt comely Men I ever beheld. The Injury the Sun and Weather have done to his Complexion only gives him a more manly Aſpect. His Voice is ſo uncommonly loud and ſtrong, that he frequently, and without ſtraining it, gives Orders to his People at above a hundred Yards Diſtance. He drinks Wine with Moderation, but is extremely addicted to Women, in which he affects great Variety, and yet never neglects his Buſineſs on their Account; his

Hours of Retirement among the Ladies are but few, ſeldom entering their Apartments before Eleven or Twelve at Night, and is up and in Public by Five in the Morning. His Diet is ſimple, chiefly Pillaw and plain Diſhes; and, if public Affairs require his Attendance, he neglects his Meals, and ſatisfies his Hunger with a few parched Peaſe (of which he always carries ſome in his Pockets) and a Draught of Water. In the Camp, or in the City, he is almoſt conſtantly in Public, and if not, he may be ſent to, or ſpoke with by any Perſon. He muſters, pays and cloaths his Army himſelf, and will not ſuffer any Perquiſites to be taken from the Soldiers by his Officers, on any Pretence whatever. He has Monthly Accounts tranſmitted to him of the State of Affairs in all Parts of his Dominions, and holds a Correſpondence with his ſeveral private Spies in every Place: Beſides, in every Province and City there is a Perſon called *Hum Calâm*, appointed to inſpect into the Governor's Actions, and keep a Regiſter of them; no Affair of any Conſequence can be tranſacted but in the Preſence of that Officer, who, beſides the Account the Governor is obliged to ſend

Monthly,

Monthly, tranſmits his Journal by a ſeparate Conveyance whenever he thinks proper, without permitting the Governor to peruſe it; he has no ſettled Salary or Gratuity for his Trouble, but is rewarded or puniſhed juſt as *Nadir Shah* finds he deſerves. This extraordinary Caution in a great Meaſure prevents the Governor's oppreſſing the People, or entering into any Conſpiracies or Rebellions againſt him. He is extremely generous, particularly to his Soldiers, and bountifully rewards all in his Service, who behave well. He is, at the ſame Time, very ſevere and ſtrict in his Diſcipline, puniſhing with Death thoſe who commit a great Offence; and with the Loſs of their Ears, thoſe whoſe Tranſgreſſions are of a ſlighter Nature; he never pardons the Guilty of what Rank ſoever, and is highly diſpleaſed, if, after he has throughly examined the Affair, any Perſon preſumes to intercede in their Behalf, before which they may give their Sentiments with Freedom.

When on a March, or in the Field, he contents himſelf to eat, drink, and ſleep like a common Soldier, and enures all his Officers to the ſame ſevere Dicipline. He is of ſo hardy a Con-

a Conſtitution, that he has been often known, of a froſty Night to repoſe himſelf upon the Ground in the open Air, wrapt up in his Cloak, with only a Saddle for his Pillow, eſpecially when, upon an extraordinary Enterprize which required Expedition, he has been obliged to out-march his Baggage, by which Means he has fallen upon the Enemy when they leaſt expected him. He is never happy but when in the Field, and laments the Time he is obliged to ſtay in a City to refreſh his Troops, in which (as in all Things elſe) he uſes the utmoſt Diſpatch. His Meals are over in leſs than Half an Hour, after which he returns to Buſineſs; ſo that the Servants who attend him ſtanding are changed three or four Times a Day. He never indulges himſelf in any Kind of Pleaſure in the Day-time, but conſtantly at Sun-ſet retires to a private Apartment; where, unbending himſelf at once from Buſineſs, he ſups with three or four Favourites, and drinks a Quart, or at moſt three Pints of Wine, behaving all the Time in the freeſt and moſt facetious Manner. In this private Converſation no Perſon is allowed to mention any Thing relating to public Buſineſs; nor, at other Times, muſt

they

they preſume, upon this Intimacy to behave with more Familiarity than their Equals. Two of his Evening-Companions happening to tranſgreſs in that Point, by taking the Liberty to adviſe him in Public, he immediately ordered them to be ſtrangled, ſaying: 'Such Fools were not fit to live, who could 'not diſtinguiſh between *Nadir Shah* and '*Nadir Kuli*.' He has been very kind to thoſe who pleaſe him in private Converſation, and behave with a becoming Decency and Deference in Public, where they are taken no more Notice of, nor have they any more Influence over him than others of the ſame Rank.

His Mother, who was living in the Year 1737, (at the Requeſt of ſome who were attached to the Royal Family) intreated *Nadir Shah*, ſome Time after he had ſeized the King, to reſtore him, not doubting but his Majeſty would make him ſufficient Amends, by creating him *Generaliſſimo* for Life. He aſk'd her 'whether ſhe really thought ſo?' She told him, 'She did.' Upon which he ſmil'd and ſaid, 'If I was an old Woman, 'perhaps I might be inclined to think ſo too, 'and deſired her to give herſelf no Trouble 'about State Affairs.'

He

He was married to *Shah Thamas*'s Aunt, the youngeſt Siſter of *Shah Sultan Huſſein*, by whom, I heard, he had one Daughter. He has ſeveral young Children by his Concubines, and two Sons by a Woman he married in his Obſcurity. The Eldeſt, *Reza Kuli Mirza*, is about twenty-five Years of Age. He was trained up from his Childhood in the Army, where from a *Subaltern* he has been gradually advanced to the Rank of a General, and appointed Vice-Roy of *Perſia*, during his Father's Expedition to *India*. The ſecond Son *Neſr Allah Mirza*, who is about twenty-one Years of Age, is nominal Governor of *Muſhad* and the Province of *Khoraſan*, having a Perſon to direct and manage for him.

His eldeſt Son, when he ranked as a Lieutenant, had only that Pay to ſubſiſt on, and in all other Stations had no more than his Commiſſion entitled him to. His Father regarded him no more than he did the other Officers, and permitted him to aſſociate with them, giving him to know, that if he was guilty of any Crime or Breach of Duty, he ſhould be puniſhed with as great Rigour as any of the reſt. On his behaving well he not only promoted him, but increaſed his Paternal

ternal Affection for him. They who knew the young Man (for I never ſaw him) judge he'll make full as great a Figure in the World as his Father; having given ſignal Proofs of his Courage and Conduct in ſeveral Battles, and of his great Abilities in other Reſpects while *Nadir Shah* was in *India*. By my private Advices from thence I'm inform'd, that he govern'd the Empire with great Skill, and kept every Thing quiet and eaſy until his Father's Return.

Among *Nadir Shah*'s extraordinary Faculties, his Memory is not the leaſt to be admired, there being few Things of Moment that he ever ſaid or did, but what he remembers; and can readily call all the principal Officers in his numerous Army by their Names. He knows moſt of the private Men who have ſerved under him any Time, and can recollect when and for what he puniſhed and rewarded any of them. He dictates to one or two Secretaries, and gives Orders about other Affairs at the ſame Time, with all the Regularity and Promptneſs imaginable.

In Time of Action, I'm told, he is equally ſurpriſing, it being ſcarce credible how quick he is in diſcerning the Odds on either Side,

and how active in ſuccouring his Troops. If any of his General Officers give Ground without being greatly over-powered, he rides up and kills him with a Battle-ax (which he always carries in his Hand) and then gives the Command to the next in Rank. In all the Battles, Skirmiſhes, and Sieges he has been engaged in (altho' he generally charges at the Head of his Troops) he never received the leaſt Wound or Scar, and yet ſeveral Horſes have been ſhot under him, and Bullets have grazed on his Armour.

I could relate many other remarkable Things that I have ſeen and heard of this great Hero, whoſe Actions already are ſufficient to convince the World, that few Ages have produced his Equal. As he has performed ſuch Wonders when he had hardly Money or Men, what may we not expect from him now he is poſſeſs'd of ſo immenſe a Treaſure? 'Tis probable he may live thirty Years longer; and in that Space of Time, if his Deſigns are attended with the ſame Succeſs he has hitherto met with, to what Pitch of Grandeur may not a Man of his unbounded Ambition and Courage arrive at?

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ERRATA.

PAge 2 Not. Line 16 for *Bramims* read *Brahmin's*. P. 11 l. 13 dele *himſelf*. P. 11 l. 17 for *Perſian* read *Perſic*. P. 12 l. 4 for *Perſian* read *Perſic*. P. 25 Not. l. 5 for $10\frac{5}{2}$ read $10\frac{1}{3}$. P. 29 l. 1 and 2 dele the *Commas* after *Mirza* and *Iſmael*. P. 49 Not. l. 4 for *go* read *paſs*. P. 50 Not. l. 13 for *Sakeh* read *Sicca*. P. 50 Not. l. 20 for *Blank* read *Blanks*. P. 54 l. 9 for *Brother* read *his Brother*. P. 59 l. 6 for *their* read *his*. P. 64 l. 2 for *is* read *was*. P. 64. Not. l. 2 for *whom* read *who*. P. 84 l. 18 for *being not* read *not being*. P. 86 l. 13 for *Centries* read *Sentries*. P. 97 l. 6 for *at* read *on*. P. 102 l. 8 dele *on*. P. 102 l. 11 a *Comma* after *worſted*. P. 114 l. 8 for *to relinquiſh* read *to deſire them to relinquiſh*. P. 116 l. 5 for *Service* read *Services*. P. 131 l. 1 for *Nazam* read *Nizam*. P. 134 l. 20 dele *to*. P. 146 Not. l. 1 for *Bengal* read *the Province of Alehabad*. P. 153 l. 1 for *Zurman* read *Zuman*. P. 156 Not. l. 4 for *and was* read *and he was*. P. 160. l. 21 dele the *Comma*. P. 161. l. 13 for *Alla* read *Allah*, and l. 14 for *Kadir* read *Nadir*. P. 180 Not. l. 1 for *a Crore* read 20 *Crores*. P. 181 Not. l. 2 dele the *Comma* after *Sheh Soar Khan*. P. 187 l. 11 for *of the Moghol* read *of Mogbol*, and l. 18 for *Seidy* read *Scidy*, and for *Kalaet* read *Khalaet*. P. 190 l, 7 for *Niçar Mahommed Shah* read *Niçar Mahommed Khan*. P. 192 l. 16. for *Khandahar* read *Kandahar*, and l. 24 for *Kings* read *King's*. P. 194 l. 6 for *his* read *this*. P. 198 l. 4 for *Centry* read *Sentry*. P. 203 l. 12 for *Ghee* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *Seer* read *Ghee* $\frac{1}{2}$ *Seer*. P. 205 l. 23 dele *to*. P. 207 l. 10 for *inactive* read *unactive*. P. 215 l. 9 for 4*th* read 14*th*. P. 216 l. 21 the Parentheſis to be cloſed after *with*.

A

CATALOGUE

OF

MANUSCRIPTS,

IN THE

Perſic, *Arabic*, and *Sanskerrit*

LANGUAGES.

Collected in the East by

JAMES FRASER.

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M.DCC.XLII.

A

CATALOGUE

A CATALOGUE OF *Oriental* MANUSCRIPTS.

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The Hiſtory of the Four firſt *Khalifs*, or Succeſſors, and the Twelve *Imâms*, with the reſt of the *Khalifs*, to *Motezum Billah*, the laſt *Khalif* of *Binni Abaſs*.

The Hiſtory of the ſeveral Kings that govern'd in *Perſia*, *Tartary*, *&c.* from the firſt Out-ſet of *Iacub ben Leiſs*, to the latter Days of *Khowr Shah*.

The Hiſtory of the *Jews*, the Prophets and Kings of *Iſrael*, from *Moſes*'s Time, to their laſt King *Mattina*, call'd by *Bukhtniſſar*, *Sedkiah*.

The Hiſtory of the *Nazarens* and *Franks*, with the Genealogy of the Virgin *Mary*, traced up to *David*. Alſo an Account of their Country, their *Cæſars* and Popes, from the Time of the Meſſiah, until the Year 717 of the *Hegira*.

An Account and Hiſtory of *India*, and its Kings, from the Time of *Paſdeav*, to *Ala è dîn*.

The Hiſtory of *Khatai*, from the Time of *Nékou Padſhah*, to *Altan Khan*, with whom *Chinguez Khan*, and his Succeſſors, had Wars. The Time of their Government, according to their own Hiſtorians, is 42,875 Years.

The Hiſtory of the *Moghols*, and Origin of *Chinguez Khan*, his conquering of *Perſia*, *&c.* with an Account of his Sons and Succeſſors, to the 25th *Shuval*, 717.

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The particular Hiſtory of each, from *Tamerlane*, until the 38th Year of *Akbar*'s Reign.

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TEBCAT *Akbar Shahi.* By *Nizam o' dîn Ahmed ben Mahommed Mokîm alroui.* Containing the Hiſtory and Actions of the firſt Invaders and Conquerors of *Hindoſtan*, from the Year 367 of the *Hegira*, to the Conqueſt thereof by *Tamerlane*, in 801; and from him, until the 38th Year of *Akbar*'s Reign: With a Liſt of all the famous Men that flouriſh'd in *Akbar*'s Time, and a Muſter-Roll of the Army in 1002.

The Hiſtory of the Kings of *Deccan*, to the Year 1002.

The Hiſtory of the Kings of			The Year they were conquer'd, and added to the Empire.
	Guzerat, to	980	
	Bengal,	929	
	Malva,	967	
	Chunpore,	967	
	Scind,	980	
	Caſhmîr,	995	
	Multan,	980	

Towards the latter End, it contains ſundry Things relating to *India.*

PADSHAHNAMA. By *Abdal Hamîd Lahori*, in 3 Vols. Folio.

Vol. I. A Review of the *Moghol*'s Hiſtory, from *Tamerlane* to *Shah Jehan.*

The

The Hiſtory of the firſt Ten Years Reign of *Shah Jehan*, to which is annexed his Hiſtory before his Acceſſion to the Throne.

A Muſter-Roll of the Standing Army, and an Account of the Treaſury, Revenues, Jewels, *&c.* as they then ſtood. With an Account of what Preſents were made, the Money laid out on Publick Buildings, and Penſions ſettled on the Queens, Princes, and Princeſſes.

Vol. II. Containing the ſecond Ten Years of *Shah Jehan*'s Reign; with a Muſter-Roll of the Standing Army, and an Account of the Treaſury, Revenues, *&c.*

Vol. III. The third Ten Years of *Shah Jehan*'s Reign, with a Muſter-Roll, *&c. &c. &c.*

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VACKEAT *Babri*. The Great *Moghol Babr*'s Commentaries of himſelf, from the Time he ſat on the Throne, which was at Twelve Years of Age, until one Year before his Death. Containing an Account of his ſeveral Relations; as alſo the Princes who then govern'd in ſeveral Parts of *Tartary*.

A full Account of his Battles in *Tartary* and *India*; a correct Deſcription of *India*; the Soil, Climate, Manners of the People, Commodities produced therein; a Liſt of the ſeveral Powers

Powers who then poſſeſs'd *India*. Alſo a Deſcription of the Beaſts, Birds, Fruits, Herbs, and Flowers, peculiar to that Country.

VAKEAT *Jehanguîry*. The Great Moghol *Jehanguîr*'s Commentaries of himſelf, from his ſitting on the Throne, until the 13th Year of his Reign; wherein is ſet down all the new Regulations and Experiments he made.

ALUMGUÎR NAMA. By *Munſhi Mahommed Kazm ben Mahommed Amîn Munſhi*. Containing the Hiſtory of *India* and *Auring-zebe*, from Sultan *Dara Sheckowh*'s firſt confining his Father *Shah Jehan*, until the 13th Year of *Auring-zebe*'s Reign; wherein is a full Account of the Means he uſed to cut off his Brothers, and ſecure the Empire to himſelf.

TARÎKH *Caſhmîr*. By *Hoſſan ben Ali Cachmiri*. Wrote at the Command of *Jilal o'dîn muluk Mahommed Nachi ebn Muluk Nouſſerit*. Containing The Hiſtory of *Caſhmîr*, from the earlieſt Times, until its being conquered by the Great Moghol *Jilal o'dîn Mahommed Akbar*, being the Space of near 4000 Years, by their Account; with a ſhort Appendix, giving a Deſcription of the Country, and the remarkable Places therein.

MÎRAT *Secandri*. By *Secander Ebn Mahommed*. Containing the Hiſtory of *Guzerat*, from the earlieſt Times, until its Conqueſt by the Great Moghol *Akbar*.

TARÎKH *alum arai Abaſſi*. In Three Vols. By *Secander Beg*, Secretary to *Shah Abaſs* the Great. Containing,

Vol.

Vol. I. The Genealogy of the *Perſian* Kings of the laſt Race, or the *Seffi* Family, lineally from *Mortiſa Ali*; with the particular Life of each, to *Shah Iſmael*, who was the firſt King of that Race.

The Life and Hiſtory of *Shah Iſmael.*

The Life and Hiſtory of *Shah Thamas*, his Son.

An Account of the Learned Men, Poets, Phyſicians, Aſtronomers, Painters Muſicians, and fine Writers, that flouriſhed in *Perſia*, in *Shah Thamas*'s Reign.

Vol. II. and III. Containing a full Hiſtory of the *Perſian* Kings, from *Shah Thamas*'s Death, untill the Death of *Shah Abaſs* the Great; wherein is ſet down every remarkable Incident that happen'd in *Perſia* during that Time, with many other curious Relations.

TARÎKH *Shah Iſmael.* By *Shirf òdîn Ali Ieſdi*, the Author of *Habîb al ſeir.* Containing

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II. A compleat Hiſtory of *Shah Iſmael*, from his Birth to his Death; giving a particular Account of the ſeveral Powers who bore Sway in *Perſia*, and round about it, at the Time of his firſt ſetting out, and for ſome Time afterwards.

TARÎKH *Mokhtêſir.* Containing,

A ſhort Hiſtory of the Great *Moghols*, from *Auring-zebe*'s Death, to the third Year of the preſent Emperor *Mahommed Shah*'s Reign.

ATHAR *al Belad v. akhbar al Ebad.* By *Zekaria ben Mahmud al Kazvini.* Being a Geographical and Hiſtorical Account of moſt Places in the World,

Nature of the People, Curioſities, *&c.* divided into ſeven Climates.

TARÎKH *Mobarek Shahi.* By *Iahya ben Ahmed ben Abdallah al Serindi.* Containing the Hiſtory of the *Sam Ghori* Kings, from Sultan *Mahommed Sam,* in the Year 569 to 837.

MÎRAT *al Mokhlucat.* By *Abd o' rahman Cheiſti,* which he ſays is an Explanation of a ſmall Book, in the *Brahmin*'s Language; compoſed, at firſt, in the Time of the *Genii,* which he, by great Chance, found; containing a Prediction in regard to the Creation of *Adam* and *Eve,* peopling the Earth with Mankind, and foretelling *Mahommed*'s Miſſion.

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III. From his Miſſion to his Flight.

IV. From his Flight to his Death.

Appendix. Giving an Account of all the Miracles that are recorded of him.

TARÎKH *Jehan numai.* Containing

The Hiſtory of *Chinguez Khan,* and his Succeſſors, from his firſt Appearance in the World, until the latter End of *Holaku Khan*'s Reign.

Montekheb TUARÎKH. Containing Part of *Holaku Khan*'s Hiſtory, the whole of *Temour*'s, and until the Death of *Shah Rokh Mirza, Temour*'s Son.

It contains an Account of Three *Chineſe* Embaſſies to *Shahrokh Mirza*, and Copies of *Daimung Khan*, Emperor of *China*, his Letters to him; with Copies of two Letters in *Arabic* and *Perſic*, ſent from *Sharokh* by *Shekh Mahommed Bukhſhi* to him; wherein, among other Things, he endeavours to convert him to the *Mahommedan* Religion.

It contains his Correſpondence with *Kheſr Khan*, then Emperor of *Hindoſtan*, and an Appendix, giving a Deſcription of *Mawaralnahr* (or *Tranſoxane Tartary*) its Cities, Rivers, *&c.*

Montekheb al TUARÎKH. Compoſed by *Abdalcadr Muloukſhah Bedauvni*, in the Year 999, at the Command of the Great *Moghol Jilal o'din Mahommed Akbar.*

It contains the Hiſtory of all the *Mahommedan* Princes that invaded and bore Sway in *India*, to the Year 999. according to their ſeveral Dynaſties.

TARÎKH *Gozidih.* By *Mahommed ben Abibecr ben Ahmed ben Naſſer Muſtoſi al Kazvini.* Divided into a Preface, Six Parts, and an Appendix.

Preface. Creation of the World.

Part I. Account of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and ancient Philoſophers. In Two Sections.

II. Account of the Kings who ruled the Empire of *Perſia* before *Mahommedaniſm*; ſuch as the *Peiſhdadians*, *Kaianians*, *Samanians*, and *Saſanians*. In Four Sections.

III. Concerning *Mahommed*, his Succeſſors, *Khalifs*, *Imams*, Followers, *&c.* In One Introduction, and Six Sections.

IV. Account and Hiſtory of all the Kings who reigned in the ſeveral Parts, from the Beginning of *Mahommedaniſm*, until the

Year 730. In Eleven Sections; Containing the following Dynaſties.

Binni Leiſs,
Samanians,
Ghoznavi, Kings.
Ghori, Ditto.
Dielman âl Boui, Ditto.
Siljowkian, Ditto.
Khuariſm, Ditto.
Atabakan, Ditto.
Iſmaelian, Ditto.
Kara Khatai, Sultans.
The *Moghol* Kings.

V. Concerning the *Imams*, or *Antiſtes* of the *Mahommedan* Religion; the Readers, Elders, and Learned Men, who, through their Piety and Exemplary Life, arrived to a State of Excellence: With ſome of their moſt remarkable Sayings.

VI. An Account of the City of *Kazvin*, its Situation, Buildings, Canals, Tombs, Misjidds, *&c.* with an Account of the ſeveral Families, and great Men that have ſprung from that Place.

Appendix. The Genealogy of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Kings, Philoſophers, *&c.* mentioned in this Hiſtory, in a Tree, to the Year 730.

KELMAT TYBAT. All the remarkable Sayings of the Great *Moghol Auring-zebe*; with Copies of all the Letters, Notes, *&c.* he wrote himſelf.

AYÎN AKBARI. Compoſed by a Society of Men aſſembled for that Purpoſe. By *Jilal o'dîn Mahommed Akbar*, the Great *Mogkol*. Containing,

I. A particular Account of each Province, City, Town, and Village of the *Moghol's* Empire.

pire. The Extent of each Province in *Coſs*'s, and Meaſure of all the cultivated Fields belonging to them, in *Vingas*. Their Latitudes and Longitudes; the latter taken from *Jezair Khaldât*, or the *Canarie* Iſlands. The Revenues and Income of each Place. The Quota of Men each Province and Government is obliged to furniſh. The Kinds of Grain and Commodities each produces; with an Account of the Powers who formerly bore Sway in each Province, and the ſeveral Sorts of People who now inhabit thoſe Places.

II. A full Account and Liſt of the Great *Moghol*'s Army. The Wages, Sallary, and Office of each particular Servant, or Officer about him. The Manner of training and feeding all his Elephants, Camels, Mules, Horſes, Oxen, *&c.* with an Account of the Grooms, Servants, *&c.* who attend them. An Account of the Attendants, Sallaries, and daily Expences allowed for the *Harram*, or Seraglio. A Liſt of all the Imperial Implements uſed in Peace and War; ſuch as Scepters, Standards, Drums, Tabbals, Battle-Axes, *&c.* and all the Weapons uſed in *Hindoſtan*, with their different Prices. Account of all the different Sorts of Weights, Coins, and Meaſures uſed in the Empire; with the Charges and Method of Refining and Coining Gold and Silver in the Royal Mint; with the ſeveral Inſcriptions, Weight, and Value of each Coin. The Receipts of ſeveral Sorts of Diſhes ſerved up to the *Moghol*'s Table. Receipts of the different Sorts of Perfumes uſed at his Court. Account of all the different Flowers, ſweet Woods and Gums, with their Prices, and Places of their Produce. Ditto of all the Herbs, Fruits, *&c.* at the different Seaſons of the Year. Account of the *Moghol*'s manner of Hunting, Exerciſe,

Exerciſe, fighting Elephants, and other Diverſions. The Ceremonies and Manner of Marrying in the Royal Family; their Rejoicings, Feaſtings, &c. The Names and Deſcription of the different Sorts of Apparel, Ornaments, and Jewels uſed by the Men and Women at Court. The *Moghol*'s Manner of holding a *Divan*, and receiving People, and the Obeiſance and Honours they do him. His Method of employing his Time.

III. A full Account of the *Brahmin*'s Religion; their Books, and the Subject of them; the ſeveral different Sects, and what Points they differ in; with the whole Particulars of their Eating, Drinking, Marrying, Purifications, Worſhip, and burning when Dead. After which, follows an Account of the principal *Mahommedan* Saints; the Places they are buried in, and the Days that their Tombs are chiefly viſited. To the whole is added the remarkable Sayings of the Great *Moghol Akbar*, on ſundry Subjects and Occaſions; and a ſhort Account of *Abul Fazl*, and his Family, by himſelf.

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Tohfit al Aherar.
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Leli Mujnoun.
Kherad nama Secander.

Duan

Duan Avul.
Duan Sani.
Duan Saliç.
Riſſalih Maimai Kobîr.
Riſſalih Maimai Motteviſſit.
Riſſalih Maimai Saghîr.
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AKHLACK *Naſri.* A Treatiſe on the ſame Subject, and diſpoſed in the ſame Order, by *Naſr o' din*

o' din Mahommed ben Mahommed ben Hoſſan al Touſſi.

DESTOUR *al Vizra.* The whole Duty of a *Vizir*, with proper Rules and Directions for his Management, in Regard to all Ranks of People, from his King to the meaneſt Subject. It is dedicated to *Emîr Fakher o' dîn ben Hoſſan.*

AKHLACK *al Mohoſſinîn.* By *Moula Hoſſan ben Ali al Kaſhfi*, and dedicated to *Sultan Hoſſein.* A Treatiſe of Ethics; much eſteem'd in the *Eaſt.* Divided into Forty Chapters, each treating of a different Head. The whole interſperſed with pleaſant and improving Narratives, adapted to the Subject.

AYAR *Daniſh.* The Hiſtory of which Book is thus. The ancient *Brahmins* of *India*, after a great deal of Time and Labour, compiled a Treatiſe, (which they called *Kurtuk Dumnik*) in which were inſerted the choiceſt Treaſures of Wiſdom, and the perfecteſt Rules for governing a People. This Book they preſented to their *Rajahs*, who kept it with the greateſt Secrecy and Care. About the Time of *Mahommed*'s Birth, or the latter End of the VIth Century, *Noiſhervan* the Juſt, who then reign'd in *Perſia*, diſcovered a great Inclination to ſee that Book: For which Purpoſe, one *Burzuvia*, a Phyſician, who had a ſurpriſing Talent in learning ſeveral Languages, particularly the *Sanſkerrit*, was introduced to him, as the propereſt Perſon to be employed to get a Copy thereof. He went to *India*; where, after ſome Years Stay, and great Trouble, he procured it. It was tranſlated into the *Pehluvi* Language by him, and *Buzrjumehr* the *Vizir*. *Noiſhervan* ever after, and all his Succeſſors the *Perſian* Kings, had this Book

in high Eſteem, and took the greateſt Care to keep it ſecret. At laſt, *Abu Jaffer Munſour Zu Nikky*, who was the Second *Khalif* of the *Abaſſi* Race, by great Search, got a Copy thereof in the *Pehluvi* Language, and ordered *Imâm Hoſſan Abdal Mokaffa*, who was the moſt Learned of that Age, to tranſlate it into *Arabic*. This Prince, ever after, made it his Guide, not only in Affairs relating to the Government, but in private Life alſo.

In the Year 380 of the *Hegira*, *Sultan Mahmud Ghazi* put it into Verſe. And afterwards, in the Year 515, by Order of *Bheram Shah ben Maſſaud*, that which *Abdal Mokaffa* had tranſlated, was re-tranſlated into *Perſic*, by *Abul Mala Naſſer allah Muſtofi*; and this is that *Kulila Dumna*, which is now extant. As this latter had too many *Arabic* Verſes, and obſolete Phraſes in it; *Molana Ali ben Hoſſein Vaez*, at the Requeſt of *Emîr Sohèli*, Keeper of the Seals to *Sultan Hoſſein Mirza*, put it into a more modern Stile, and gave it the Title of *Anuar Soheli*.

In the Year 1002, the Great *Moghol Jilal o'dîn Mahommed Akbar* ordered his own Secretary and *Vizir*, the Learned *Abul Fazl*, to illuſtrate the obſcure Paſſages, abridge the long Digreſſions, and put it into ſuch a Stile as would be moſt familiar to all Capacities; which he accordingly did, and gave it the Name of *Ayar Daniſh*, or the Criterion of Wiſdom.

ANUAR *Soheli*. An Edition of the ſame Book, wrote in *Sultan Hoſſein*'s Time.

KULILA DUMNA. The Edition wrote in 515, by *Bheram Shah*'s Order.

AÇAR *Aſmutt*, or the Veſtiges of Chaſtity. A Novel. In which the Author has given the Character of a virtuous chaſte Woman.

TOUTI NAMA. By the famous *Nakhſhebi*. In this Book, the whole Diſcourſe is feigned to have paſſed betwixt a Parrot and her Miſtreſs, whoſe Huſband had gone a diſtant Voyage. In which the artful Tricks and Ingratitude of Women is laid open by a Relation of ſeveral curious and ſurpriſing Intrigues, which the Parrot relates every Night, in order to divert the Time, and bring on the Morning, to prevent her going to her Gallant, until her Huſband's Return.

DOWZD V KAZZI, or the *Thief and the Judge*. Being a Diſpute betwixt the *Kazzi* of *Baghdad*, and a Thief, who had laid Hold of him as he was going out to his Country Garden, about an Hour before Day-light. The Thief happens to prove too hard for the *Kazzi*; for he cites more Paſſages from the *Koran*, to juſtify his robbing him, than the *Kazzi* can well anſwer.

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true in Fact, and regarding each of the following Heads, *viz.*

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II. Abſtinence, and Self-Denial.
III. Humanity towards our Fellow-Creatures.
IV. Love and Friendſhip.
V. Counſel and Advice.
VI. Greatneſs of Soul, and Mercy.
VII. The many Advantages ariſing from the Knowledge of Arts and Sciences.

KESSIH *Kamroup.* A fine Novel. Wrote by *Hemit Khan ben Iſlam Khan Alumguîri.*

Tokvîm al AKHLACK. A Treatiſe of Ethics; digeſted into a very regular Method.

PUND NAMA. A Treatiſe, containing ſeveral good Inſtructions: By *Shekh Ferîd otar.*

ARTS, SCIENCES, *&c.*

DANISH NAMA *é Jehan.* A Treatiſe of *Phyſics.* By *Ghyath o' dîn Ali ebn Ali Emiran al Hoſſeini, al Isfahani.* It is divided into Ten Sections, Twenty Diviſions, and an Appendix; which treat of the following Subjects.

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The Heavenly Bodies; their Order, the Time and Manner of their Revolutions.
Concerning the Elements.
Concerning a Body.
Of a Simple and Compound Body.
That there is no *Vacuum.*
The Theory of Vapours, Exhalations, Wind, Clouds, Rain, Snow, Hail, Dew, Thunder, Light-

Lightning, falling Stars, Redneſs of the Sky about the Horizon, ſeveral Suns appearing at once, Rain-bows, Halo's, Earthquakes; Sounds, Wind, and Fire, coming out of the Bowels of the Earth; Springs, Fountains, Hills, *&c.*

Produce of all Sorts of Minerals, Stones, *&c.* Reaſon of their different Weights, Colours, Taſtes, and what Planets govern each.

Vegetables; their Theory, Production.

Account of the Vegetable Soul, and its Faculties.

Production of Brute Animals; Account of their Soul, and its Faculties.

Creation of Man; Account of his Intellectual Soul, Faculties, and his Form.

Account of the Continuance of Production.

The Production of Animals by Generation, the Manner and ſeveral Degrees of the Formation of a *Fœtus*, its Poſition in the Womb, its Birth, and the Cauſes of Male and Female.

Account of the outward and inward Senſes; where they differ in Man and Beaſt; how Objects ſtrike the Senſes and Mind.

Of the Immortality of the rational Soul.

Of Miſery and Happineſs.

Of Predeſtination and Providence.

That it is poſſible a Man may be inform'd of hidden Things, and what is not to be perceived by the Senſes, both in Sleep and awake, and the Manner thereof. In Seven Diſcourſes.

Of Dreams, and the ſeveral Sorts of them.

Of Inſpiration, Prophecy, and the Degrees of Prophets, Miracles, Sorcery, Magick, an Evil Eye, *&c.* and living by little or no Food.

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Proving the Earth and Water to be of a Spherical Form.

Geogra-

Geographical Definitions and Paradoxes.
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The

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Three Eclipſes, as calculated and drawn out by *Shri nât Veâz*, a *Brahmin*, at *Cambay*.

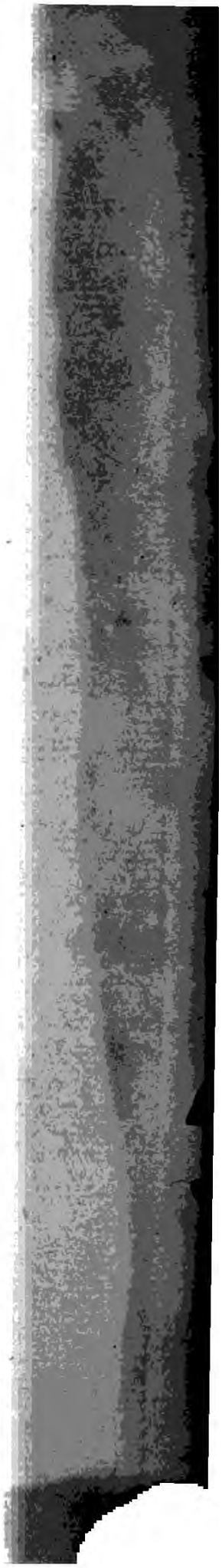
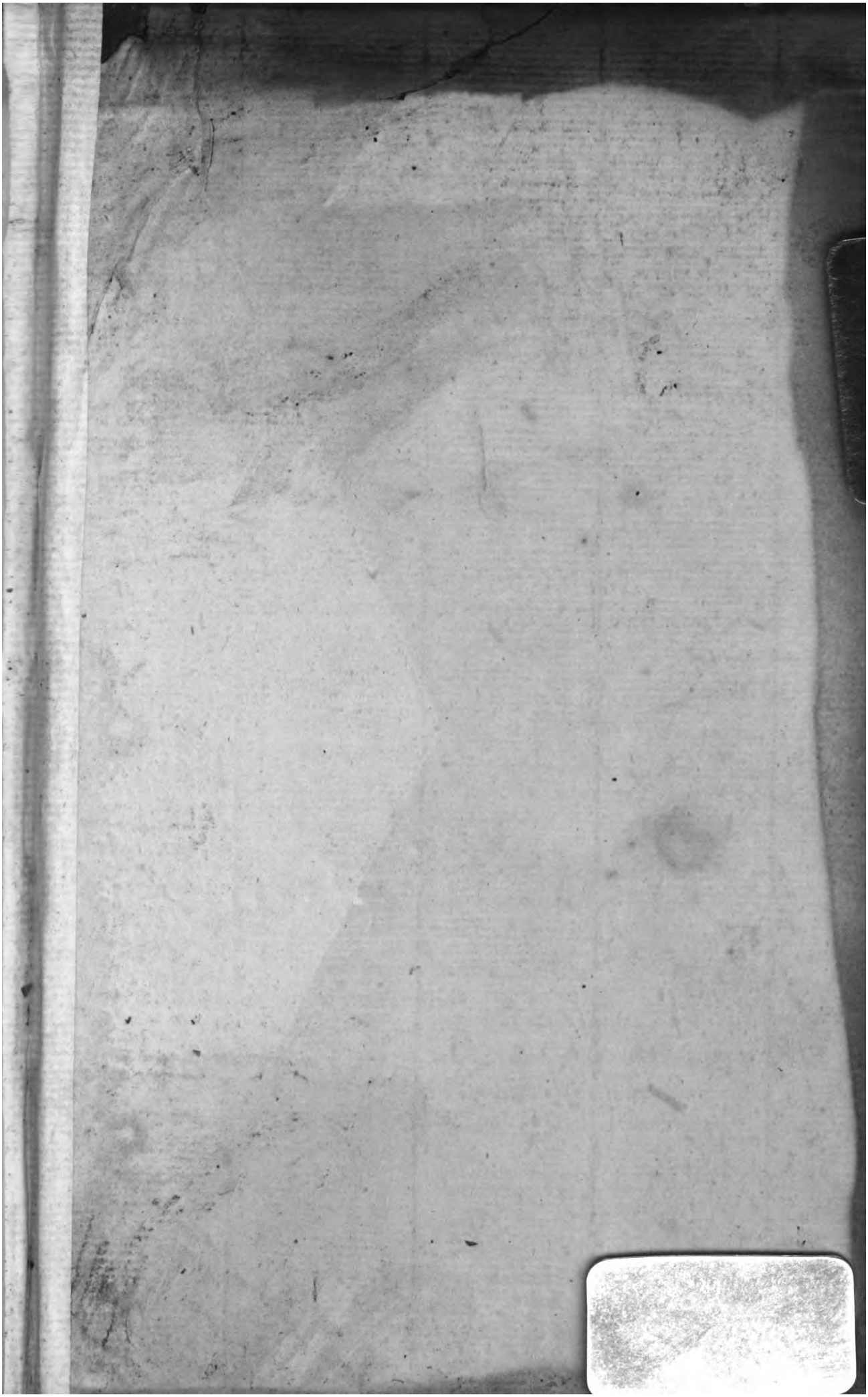
TIRJUMMA *Jowg Viſiſht*. A Tranſlation of the *Jowg Viſiſht*, from the Original *Sanſkerrit*, (the *Brahmin*'s Language) into *Perſic*. It treats of the Vanities of the World, and what Happineſs attends a true Retirement from it.

TIRJUMMA *Bhagvit Gîta*. A Tranſlation into *Perſic*, of the *Gîta*. This Book the *Brahmins* call, *The Marrow of the Vedh*. It gives a Light into the moſt myſterious Part of their Religion, and explains the Subſtance of the *Vedh*.

MUJMAH *al Bahrain*, (*i. e.* the uniting of both Seas.) A Treatiſe wrote by *Sultan Dara Shekowh*, eldeſt Brother to *Auring-zebe*; in which he endeavours to reconcile the *Brahmins* Religion with the *Mahommedan*; citing Paſſages from the *Koran*, to prove the ſeveral Points. It was his writing this Book, and converſing ſo much with the *Brahmins*, that chiefly loſt him the Empire; for *Auring-zebe* made a Pretence of that, and conſequently had all the bigotted *Mahommedans* to join him.

The GOSPEL of *Geronimo Xavier*. — In *April* 1582. The Great *Moghol Jilal o'din Mahommed Akbar* (who

(who was fix'd to no Religion) wrote a Letter to the King of *Portugal*, by *Seyd Mazuffer*, deſiring to ſend him a Tranſlation of the Scriptures into *Arabic* or *Perſic*; and at the ſame Time, one who was capable of explaining to him the *Chriſtian* Religion. — One *Geronimo Xavier*, a Jeſuit, and Relation to the famous St. *Francis Xavier*, was appointed for that Purpoſe, who having learned the *Perſic* Language (as he ſays) in the Space of Eight Years; with the Aſſiſtance of *Molana Abdal Settar ben Kaſſum Lahori*, compoſed this Book, and preſented it to the *Moghol* in *April* 1602.

The *Moghol*'s Letter, which is curious in its Kind, is to be found in the firſt Volume of *Inſha Abul Fazl*. This Manuſcript is the Original one that *Xavier* preſented to the *Moghol*.

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