The History of Nadir Shah Thamas Kuli Khan



(1742)



SONO MOC

ТНЕ

HISTORY

OF

NADIR SHAH,

Formerly called

Thamas Kuli Khan.

The Prefent Emperor of PERSIA.

To which is prefix'd A fhort HISTORY of the Moghol Emperors.

At the End is inferted,

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

By JAMES FRASER.

The SECOND EDITION.



L O N D O N:

Printed for A. MILLAR, at Buchanan's Head, over against St. Clement's Church, in the Strand. MDCCXLII.

Dr. Richard Mead,

Phyfician to the KING,

FELLOW of the College of

PHYSICIANS in LONDON,

And of the

ROYAL SOCIETY,

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

His most obliged

Humble Servant,

JAMES FRASER.



ТНЕ

PREFACE.



S the Public is ever favourable to Works of this Nature, I Shall make no Apology for the prefent 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 Book. As I have so large and choice a Collection iv

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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 Perfian Invasion, with the Springs that effected the fame, I have translated it from a Perfian Manuscript fent 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 Perfians and Moghols there, and that frequently on the Subject of Nadir Shah's Expedition.

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

The Journal of kis Transactions in India, with the Letters and Ceffion 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 levying the Contributions) to Mirza Moghol,

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hol, 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 explained 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 occurred 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 pleafe 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, at vi The PREFACE.

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 SHORT



A SHORT

HISTORY

OFTHE

HINDOSTAN Emperors of the Moghol Race, beginning with TEMUR.

EMUR, * the Son of Emir Targhai Khan and Takina Khatun, was born on the 6th of April, 1336. during the Government of Kazan Khan, in the City of Kei/h, (commonly call'd Shehrfobz, or the Green B City)

* تجور الملك Temur is known in Europe by the Name of Tamerlane, a Corruption of تيمور الملك Temur Lung, which fignifies Lame Temur, an Appellative feldom or never given him by the Eastern Hiftorians. His Name and Titles at Length are تجور كوركان صاحب قران Emîr Temur Gourgan Saheb é Kéran, which is to fay, The

A short History

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City) which is one Stage + diftant from Samarcand: And on the 8th of April, 1370, then aged 35 ‡ Lunar Years and 17 Days, fat on the Throne in the City of Balkb. From which Time until his Death, which was Thirty-five Years Eleven Months and Five Days, he fubdued the better Part of the Earth, and obtain'd Victories that might eclipfe the Glory of all the Exploits before his Time. He conquered Mawaralnabr (or Trans-oxane Tartary) Biddukb fban, Kbuarifm, Turkeftan, Zabuliftan, Kabul, Gbor and Hin-

The Axis of (or on whom turns round) the World and Religion, Prince Temur of Gourgan, Lord of the Conjunction; it being faid, there was a fortunate Conjunction of the Planets at his Birth. Koteb literally fignifies the Pole or Extreme of the Axis; a Part being put to fignify the Whole. Temur fignifies hardy, and ftrong, being deriv'd from the Tartar Word Temr, Iron, which the modern Turks by Corruption write $\int Demr$.

+ The Stages, which in Tartary and Perfia they call *Jim Manzel*, are from 25 to 30 English Miles.

[‡] The Lunar Year they reckon 354 Days, 22 Gurris, I Pull. The Solar Year they reckon 365 Days, 15 Gurris 30 Pulls, $22\frac{1}{2}$ Peels; 60 Peels making I Pull, 60 Pulls I Gurri, and 60 Gurris I Day. This is according to the *Bramim*'s or *Indian* Prieft's Calculation, and what the *Moghols* and other *Mahommedans* in *India* chiefly go by.

dostan

of the Moghol Emperors. 3 doftan * as far as Debli, all Afia Minor, Syria and Egypt.

In the Year 1398, he fet out on his Expedition to India; and on the 16th of December the fame Year, he took the Capital Debli, having then an Army of near 100.000 But finding a general Conquest of Horfe. 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 Debli, in the latter End 'of 1401, with an Army of near 200,000 Horfe he fet out against Eildirm || Baiazed, the Son of Sultan Morad Khan (corruptly 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 Eaft is known by the Name of #indoftan, which fignifies the Country of the Hindu's or fwarthy People, هندو Hindu being fwarthy or black. The Capital thereof is ياDehli, which fince Shah Jehan removed thither from Agra, is as often known by the Name of مالة جهان إياد Shah Jehanabad, or Shah Jehan's Habitation.

Eildirm, which in the Turkish Language fignifies Lightning, was Baiazéd's Surname.

with

A fort Hiftory

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with his Son *Moufa*, were taken Prifoners, and prefented to him.

After this Victory, all *Afia Minor* fubmitted to him, and the *Kbotbab* * was read at *Mecca* and *Medina* in his Name.

On Wednefday the 8th of February, 1405, while on his Expedition to Kbata +, he died at the Village Atrar, which is diftant from Samarcand Seventy-fix Far/angs ‡. His Body was brought to Samarcand, and buried in a Tomb, which he himfelf had caufed to be erected for that Purpofe, 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.

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

- + this Khata or China.
- tarfang is about four English Miles.

3. Mirza

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

4. Shahrakh 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 Shab who with his Brother Mirza Khulil lived at Samarcand, and in the Reign of their Uncle Sharokh they both died. The precife Times of their Birth and Death are not recorded in any authentic Hiftory.

Sultan ABUSEYD MIRZA,

The Son of Sultan Mahammed Mirza, was born in 1427. fat 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 1 Father's

A short History

б

Father's Death he held Possession of Fargbana, Kbogend and Auratia (anciently call'd Astrospina) 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 beft History of his Actions, is the Commentaries wrote by himfelf, call'd Vakeat Babri ||. He was born the 12th of February, 1483. and on the 8th of June, 1494, aged Eleven Lunar Years, Seven Months, and Twenty-nine Days fat on the Throne at Andjan. While he governed in Mawaralnahr, he had frequent Conflicts with Shaban Khan Oufbek. After conquering Cabul, Kan-

t Formerly the Khakifs gave Titles to the Mahommedan Princes; fuch as Defender of Religion, the Champion of Religion, &c. And fince the Destruction of their Empire, the Princes have assured fuch as they like best. سلطان بابر Kultan Babr took the Title of deputer o'din, the Supporter of Religion; and the Name and the Name and the Name and the fignifies prais'd; is prefix'd (or understood to be fo) to almost every Mulfulman's Name.

ابري *Vakeât Babri*, fignifies Babr's Occurrences.

debar,

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dahar, Biddukh/han, Ghiznavi, and the Places dependant on them, he made five different Expeditions into Hindoftan. 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 Ibrashim Loudi, who had 100,000 Afghans *, and 1000 armed Elephants, and totally defeated him, and that numerous Army, tho' he had fcarcely 12,000 effective Men.

He afterwards fubdued all that Empire, excepting the Kingdoms of Decan, Gusenat, 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 *Gharhaghi* near Agra, on the Banks of the River *Ghum* +; from whence his Body was carried to be interred in *Cabul*, having lived.

* *digbans* are the feveral Tribes of *Ma*hammedans, who inhabit the Northern Parts of *India*; there are fome of them fpread all over *India*, known often by the Name of *Pattans*; they are effeem'd the beft Soldiers in the Country.

+ The River Chun, is often called Jumma.

Forty-

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Forty-nine Lunar Years, Four Months, and One Day; and reign'd Thirty-feven Years, Eight Months, and Two Days: Thirty-two Years Ten Months and Three Days before the Conqueft of *India*; and Four Years Nine Months and Twenty-nine Days after the Conqueft thereof.

Nessîr ‡ o'dîn Mahommed Hemaiun,

Son to Zebir o'din Mahommed Babr, was born in the Caftle of Cabul, on the 4th of March; 1508; and on the 28th of December, 1530, fat on the Throne at Agra.

In November, 1534, he fet out to conquer Malva and Guzerat. Sultan Babadr, who had engaged with him, and was defeated, fled to Mundou; and being purfued, went from thence to Ghanpanere; from Ghanpanere to Canhaet (or Cambay); and from Canhaet to Diu. Hemaiun after flaying fome Time at Canhaet, return'd.

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

t فصير الدين Hemaiûn took the Title of همايون Neffir o'din, the Affifter of Religion.

Fortune,

Fortune, he was driven out of his Country by the Ufurper Sher Khan the Afghan, from which he was absent five Years five Months and fifteen Days. The Particulars of which. with his Reception in Perfia, and the Affiftance given him by Shah Thamas, Son to Shah Is fully fet forth in Akbarnama +. Padshahnama, Tebcat Akbarshahi, Tarikhalum Arai, and Montékheb al Tuarikh Bedauvni, being too prolix to infert here. At last, on the 1st of September, 1545, he took Kandabar from Mirza Alkeri, 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 1 546, conquered Biddukhshan from Mirza Suliman, who had revolted and taken the Government thereof into his own Hands. In the Beginning of December, 1554, he fet out from Cabul for Hindostan; and on the 22d of February, 1555, came to Labor. On the 27th of May, the fame Year, he came to Serbind; 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 Meg bal Emperors, and the Fourth of the Perfian Kings of the Seffi Race.

Secand.r

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Secandir was Son-in-Law to the Ufurper Sher Khan. His first Name was Abmed, and he governed Panjab * under Selim Khan, after whose Death he took the Government into his own Hands, calling himself Secandir, and posses.

On the 24th of January, 1556, Hemain 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 Neffir o'din Mahammed Hemaiun, was born in the Fort of Amrkowt on the 12th of

* بحجاب Paujab is the ancient Name of the Province of Labor; it fignifies the five Waters or Rivers, fo many running through that Province and falling into the River Scind.

+ The River with Scind, is that known by the Name of the Indus.

t باعث Akbar took to himfelf the Title of جلال الدين Jilal o'din, which fignifies, 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 Labor. He was reckon'd a great and good Prince, and was very fortunate, having, in his Reign, made feveral Conquests, and reduced almost all India to Obedience. The Particulars of which are to be feen in Akbarnama, a History compos'd by his Secretary and Vizir Abul Fazl*, and in Tebcat Akbar Shahi, and Montektes Tuarikb Bedauvni. As he was profeffedly fixed to no Religion himfelf, fo he was a Perfecutor of none. In 1582 he wrote a Letter to the King of Portugal, defiring he would fend to him a Translation of the Scriptures into Arabic or Persian, and at the same

* Joint Abul Fazl was the Title given to this Great Man, and fignifies, the Father of Excellence. His Writings testify him to be the most learned, and the beft Writer then in the East. He was murder'd by Order of wildle wildle wildle wildle wildle wildle of being the Occasion of a Misunderstanding that was betwixt him and the Emperor his Father. Akbar greatly lamented his Death, and fo did all who had any Regard for Letters; he having left feveral Things unfinish'd. His History of the Moghel Emperors, he carried on to the 38th Year of Akbar's Reign.

C 2

Time

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Time a learned Perfon to explain the Chriftian Religion. One Geronimo Xavier, a Relation of the famous St. Francis Xavier, was fent; who having learned the Perfian, in the Year 1602, prefented the Mogbol 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 difagreeable to some of the Readers, I have inferted 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 "GKING, whole Dominions are fafe "from the Difaster 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 فرصان رواحي فرنك Firman revai Furang, or the Rular of the Franks or Europeans.

† It is cuftomary with the *Mabommedans* 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 fecure from the Calamity of fhift-" 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 finall Corner of his Production. " A GOVERNOR who has regulated the Or-" der of the Univerfe, and the Management " of the Sons of *Adam*, by the Underftand-" ing of Kings who exercife Juftice. A De-" creer, who by the Ties of Love and Bonds " of Affection, has implanted in the various " Beings and feveral Creatures the Paffion " of Inclination and Union, and the Affec-" tions of mutual Tendency and Society.

" And Praifes unbounded, an Offering to " the poor Souls of the Company of Pro-" phets * and Apoftles, who walked in the " trueft Paths, and directed the righteft " Ways, in general and particular.

" It is well known that (with those who have flored themfelves with Knowledge and fludied Nature) nothing in this lower World, which is a Mirror of the fpiritual one, is preferable to Love, or more facred than Friendship. In that they afcribe the

* As Akbar was no found Mussilanan, he makes no particular Mention of Mahammed.

" Oecono-

" Occonomy and right Disposition of the " World to Affection and Harmony. For " whatever Heart the Sun of Love things 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 Caule of Happi-" nefs to the World and the People therein. " For which Reafon 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, efpecially " among the high Rank of Kings, whom " God by his Favour has peculiarly diftin-" guished from the reft of Mankind; par-" ticularly with his * Royal Majefty, who is " endoweed with intellectual Knowledge, is " the Reviver of the Ordinances of Jefus, and " ftands in no Need of Praise or Description. " Our Neighbourhood + with that renown'd " Prince making an Alliance and Friendship " more indifpenfibly necessary; and as a " perfonal Conference is impracticable on

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

+ The Portugues's Conquests on the Coast of India, made them Neighbours.

« account

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" account of many Obstacles and feveral " 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 perforal Conversation and Interviews; " we hope they will be unitually carried on, " without any Interruption, that the Af-" fairs and Defires of each may be mani-" fested to the other.

" Your Majefty 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 " Confideration in Refpect to the Latter; " yet the wife Men of the Times, and the " Great ones of all Nations, toil much in " perfecting themselves, as to this perifh-" ing and thowy State, and confirme the " beft of their Lives, and the choicest of " their Time, in procuting apparent De-" lights, being fwallowed up and diffolved " in fleeting Pleasures and transitory Joys. " The most High God, merely thro' his " eternal Favour and perpetual Grace, not-" withftanding fo many Obftacles, and fuch

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" a World of Business and Employment, " has difposed my Heart fo as always to " feek him : And tho' he has fubjected the " Dominions of fo many powerful Princes " to me, which to the best of my Judg-" ment I endeavour to manage and govern. " fo, 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 Defires. " And as most People being enchained by " the Bonds of Constraint and Fashion, re and regarding the Cuftoms of their An-" ceftors, Relations and Acquaintances, with-. " out examining the Arguments or Reafons. " 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 Reafon; 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 fevere Account, for being fo fond of the Brahmins or Indian Priefts, and fo indifferent as to the Mahommedan Religion.

" each.

each. As the Vail of a Language inter-" pofes betwixt us, it would be expedient " you would oblige me with fuch a Per-" fon as could diffinctly relate and explain " the above Affair. It has also reached my " fortunate Ears, that the heavenly * Books, " fuch as the Pentateuch, Plalms, and Gol-" pels, are put into Arabic and Perfic: Should " a Translation of these, or any other Books, " which might be of general Benefit, be " procurable in your Country, let them be " fent. For a further Confirmation of our " Friendship, and fecuring the Foundation " of Affection and Unity, I have fent my " trufty Friend the Learned and Honour-" able Seyd Mazuffer, + whom I have par-

* The Mahommedans call the Scriptures Coteb Sumavi, or the heavenly Books, and reckon their Koran one of them. They have a great Regard for them all; but fay, we have quite altered and corrupted thole in our Poffession, especially the Gofpels.

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

" ticularly

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" ticularly favoured and diftinguished; he'll " communicate feveral Things perforally " to you, in which confide. Always keep " open the Doors of Correspondence and " Embaffy; and Peace to him who follows " the Guide.

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

Akbar died at Agra on Tuefday, 12 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 Secondra, near that City.

He had three Sons,

Sultan Selim; + afterwards Jebanguir. Sultan Morad, ‡ who died by exceffive Drinking in the Year 1598, in Deccan.

* April, 1582.

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+ سايم Selim, which is a proper Name for Men, fignifies, peaceful, fafe, fecure; and مايحة Selima is a proper Name for Women, of the fame Significatson.

t morad fignifies wifed for, defined ; being derived from عراد Eradib, the Will.

Sultan

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

And three Daughters,

Shabzadab Khanum. * Shakr Niffa Begum. + Aram Banu Begum. ±

Nour || odîn Mahommed Jehanguîr,

Son to Jilal o'din Mabommed Akbar, was born at Fattebpour ** (formerly called Sikri)

* شاهزاد: خانم Sbabzada Khanum, the Royal Laely; شاهزاد Shahzada fignifying royally born, and Khanum, Lady.

t شکرنسا Sbakrniffa, the fweeteft of Women with the Addition of used which fignifies, Prince (s.

t Aram Banu Begum, fignifies the calm and peaceful Princefs.

in, the Light of Religion, and نور الدبي # Nour o'din, the Light of Religion, Jehanguir, the Conqueror of the World, جهان ج which Titles Sultan Selim affumed, when he became Emperor.

Fattebpour, fignifies the Plate of Victory.

D 2

which

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which is twelve Cois * diftant from Agra, on the 19th August 1569, and called Sultan Selim. On the 21st October 1605, being then aged about 36 Solar Years, he fat on the Throne at Agra, and took to himself the Title and Name of Nour o'din Mabammed Jehanguir.

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

5 He was a weak Prince, and too much overruled by the beautiful Nour Jeban + (or Nour Mobl) which made the last ten Years of his Reign

* A Cols is the Measure they commonly go by in India, in computing Diffances; 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 Cols.

t نور جهان Nour Jehan, fignifies, the Light of the World. She was also called نور کار Nour Mabl, or the Light of the Seraglio. She was Wife to one Shir Afkan Khan, of a Turkoman Family, who came from Perfia

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Reign very unealy to him, and unfortunate to the Empire. The Omeron, who knew her Original, were refolved to oppose all her Schemes; but the perfuaded the Emperor to break thro' all Rules, in order to advance her Father, Brother, and other Relations to the highest Employments.

After his Death the endeavoured to fecure the Empire for Sbebriar, who was Jebanguir's Son by a Slave, and married to her Daughter by her First Husband Sher Afkan Kban*. But Afof Kban and Eradet Kban, as Sultan Kbourm (who was Son-in-law to the former) was far off, and that the three

Persia to Hindostan in very indifferent Circumstances. As the was exquisitely beautiful, of great Wit, and an elegant Poetels, Jehanguir was refolved to take her to himfelf. He fent her Hulband, who was efteemed the braveft Man in the Service, with fome Troops to command a Place in Bengal; and afterwards fent another with a greater Force to cut him off. When he was killed, Nour Jehan was foon prevailed upon to be an Empres. The Coins struck in Jehanguir's Reign, with the Signs of the Zodiack, were not, as is generally thought in Europe, done by his Empres's Order, nor did the reign one Day, as the common Opinion is; but the ruled the Person who reigned, for above twelve Years.

* شبر افکی Bher Afkan fignifies, the Lyon Over-

young

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young Princes his Sons, Dara Shekowh, Sultan Sujah and Auringzehe, 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 Khofro, Emperor.

Jehanguar had Three Sons and Two Daughters by the following Emprefies:

By the Daughter of Rajab Broandass^{*}, who poisoned herself in 1601. because the Emperor did not take the same Notice of her Son as he did of Sultan K bourm.

Sultana Nissa Begum, + born in 1586.

Sultan Khofro, ‡ Father to Sultan Davr Bukhfh or Bolaki, || born in 1587. He died in Confinement in the Year 1622.

* Rajab, fignifies, Prince, in the Indian Language, and Rani, Princess.

+ سلطابة نسا *Sultana Niffa*, the Queen of Women.

Khofra, is the Name of one of the Perfian Kings of the Kaian Dynafty, who was great and powerful, and has been fince generally applied to any great or powerful Prince, and used as a proper Name in some Royal Families.

المعند المعن By of the Moghol Emperors. 23 By the Daughter of Khojah Hossan, Sultan Parvéz *, born in the Year 1589.

By the Daughter of Rajab Keffondass Rattor, Babar Banu Begum +; born in 1590.

By the Daughter of Rajab OudeJung, Sultan Kbourm ‡, born in 1592, who fucceeded his Father, and took to himfelf the Name of Shab Jehan.

Jebanguir had also Sultan Jebandar # and Sultan Shehriar ** Twins by a Concubine, born in 1605; which last being Nour Jeban's Son-in-law, the endeavoured to fecure the Empire to him: But on Shah Jeban's Accession to the Throne in 1627, he and Bolaki, with Sultan Daniel's Three Sons,

* jest Parvez, a proper Name with the Ancient Perfians, it fignifies victorious. In the Pebluvi Language, it fignifies Fifb, and fome imagine it's added to Kbofro's Name, because he had a great liking to Fish. Others fay, that Kbofro Parvez fignifies the powerful and victorious King.

+ بانو بانو Bahar Banu, the blooming Princefs. عملطان خرم Sultan Khourm, the joyful Princes سلطان خرم Jehandar, the Poffessor of the World. ** شهربار **

Gurstasp

A fort History

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Gurstafp *, Tryomars, and Hoisbung were put to Death.

SHAHAB O'DÎN MAHOMMED SHAH-JEHAN []

Third Son to Nour o'din Mahommed, Jebanguir was born on Wednefday, the 5th January, 1592, and fat on the Throne in Agra, the 1ft February, 1628, being then Thirty fix 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 Shahjebanabad; where on the Banks of the River Chun he built a noble Caftle and Palace, with Gardens and other Conveniencies;

* Gurftasp, Teyomars, and Hoisbung, are ancient Persic proper Names of Men.

Religion, and شهاب الدبن الدبن الدبن الدبن الدبن الدبن العنه Shabab o' din, the bright Star of the World, were the Titles Sultan Khourm affumed on his Acceffion to the Throne.

+ عرض اياد Agra, is often called اڪري المجي اياد Akbarabad or Akbar's Habitation, he having kept his Court there, as هان اياد Dehli, is called دهاني Shab Jéhan abad, or Shab Jéhan's Habitation.

which

which coft above fifty Lacks * of Rupees. After a fliccefsful, 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 Auringzebe, and confined in the Castle of Agra, where he died on Sunday the 2 ift of January; 1666, aged Seventy-four Solar Years and fixteen 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 Methed 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 ftruck in the Moghel's Mints, with an Infeription of his Name and Titles, the Year of his Reign, and the Place it was ftruck at. It weighs from 7 div. $10\frac{1}{3}gr$. 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 suffected he had a criminal Converfation with his own Daughter, long before his Confinement.

الله محل Mehd Alia was alfo called مهدعلب المعلم Mehd Alia was alfo called تاج محل محلم المعلم Taage Mahl, or the Crown of the Seraglio.

Lacks

26 A fort Hiftory

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.

Debli	100 Krores of Dams are	3,125000
Agra	90 ;	2,812500
Labor	90	2,812500
Ajmîr	60	1,875000
Dowlatabaa	55	1,718750
Berar	55	
Guzerat	53	
Bengal	50	1,562 500
Alebabad	40	
Bahar	40	1,2 50000
Malva	40	1,2 50000
Khandeish	40	1,2 50000
Audib	30	
Multan	28	
-		
7	7 ¹ 24	,0937 50

* 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.

Odi/Jea

of the Moghol Em	perors.	27
Carried over 771		93750
Odiffea 20		2 5000
Cabul 15	4	68750
Cashmir 15	4	68750
Tatta 8	2	50000
Balkb 8— —	2	g0000
Kandahar 7	<u> </u>	18750
Biddukhshan 4. — —	1	25000
Tillingana 30	9	37500
Buglana 2		62500
	······	
880	1. 27,50	0,000

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 feveral Children, as follows:

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

* أرجمند بانو Arjumund Banu, the noble Princefs.

.28		bort Hij		
* Hur al	Niffa Beg	um, ^a born	in —	- 1612
Jeban A	ra Begum	b		- 1614
Sultan D	ara Sheko	wh ·		- 1615
Sultan St	ijab 🖞 🛶			<u> </u>
Roishnran				- 1617
		f		- 1618
* Sultan	Amead H	Bukhfh ^s –		- 1620
* Suria	Banu Begi	um ^h		- 1622
Sultan M	orad Buk	bfb ⁱ	·	- 1624
* Sultan				- 1627
* Sultan	Dowlat A	lfza 1		- 1628

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

^a حور النسا *Hur al niffa*, the moft angelick of Women.

jeban ara, the Ornament of the World. جهان الاظ Dara Shekowh, in Pomp like Darius.

sujah, Valiant, endued with Fortitude.

. ، روشن رامي *Roifhin rai*, of an enlightned Mind.

f اورنك زبب *Auring-zebe*, the Ornament of the Throne.

ت اميد بخش Amead Bukh/h, the Giver of Hopes.

^h تَربا بانو *Suria Banu*, the fhining Princefs. Suria literally fignifies the Pleiades.

ن مراد بخش Morad Bukhfh, the Giver of Defires or Wishes.

* Loutf Allab, the Favour of God.

Dowlat Afza, Increase of Fortune.

By a Daughter of Mazuffer Hoffein Mirza Grandfon to Shah Ifmael King of Perfia, One Daughter.

Parbéz Banu Begum * born in 1611.

MOHY \ddagger O'DÎN MAHOMMED AURINGZEBE, Third Son to Shah Jehan, was born the 22d of October, 1618. In the latter End of 1656, Sultan Dara Shekowh, endeavouring to poffefs himfelf 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 Defign of fecuring the Throne to his Brother Morad Bukh/h, then at Abmedabad \ddagger , he wrote to him to fet out with his Forces and join him at Eugene \parallel , which is the Capital of the Province of Malva.

برهين بانو * Parbez banu, fignifies the abstinent Princes.

t When Auring-zebe became Emperor, he affumed the Titles of حجي الدين *Mohy o' din*, the Reviver of Religion, and عمالم كبر Alumguir, the Conqueror of the World.

+ احمد اياد Ahmedabad, the Capital of the Province of Guzerat, fo called from Sultan Ahmed, who was King of that Province, and kept his Court in that City. It is 224 measured Coss diftant from Dehli.

Eugene is 126 meafured Cofs from Agra. أوجين ا
A short History

On the 4th of February, 1658, he marched from Auringabad * in Descan, with 2 5000 Horfe, his Son Sultan Mahommed, having fet out before him, the 24th of January the preceeding Month. Both the Brothers join'd at Eugene, near which Place they encounter'd and defeated the Maharajab + Jesvint Sung, and Kallum Kban, who were fent by Dara Shekowh to oppose them. After which they marched towards Debli, and in the Fields of Kejoub, near Agra, gave a total Overthrow to the Army of Sultan Dara Shekowh, who fled towards Labor; upon which Auringzebe enter'd the Caftle of Agra. and on the 20th of July, 1658, he fat on the Throne, and was proclaim'd Emperor

• اورتك الباد Auringabad, the Capital of the Province of Dowlat Abad, which is 265 measured Coss distant from Debli. Auring-zebe had it fo called after his own Name.

* Maharajah fignifies the great Prince; Maha being great or mighty in the Sanskerrit or Bramin's Language. This Title is given by the Meghol to the Rajahs of Marwar of the Rattor Family. The Capital of their Country is Juhdpore, which is 176 Cols diffant from Debli. The Rajpouts of Marwar are effected the best Soldiers in India.

2

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of the Moghol Emperors. 31 in the Town of Eazabad, * having first confined his Brother Morad Bukhh, notwithstanding he had fwore by the Koran to be true to him.

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

On the 15th of May, 1659, being then aged Forty Solar Years, Six Months, and Twenty-three Days, he fat 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 Raimazan, in the Year 1069 of the Hegira, or the 12th of May, 1659.

Sultan Dara Shekowh being taken Prifoner, was brought in Triumph to Dehli, and fent to Khefrahad ‡, where he was murder'd by Auringzehe's Order, the Night of the 28th of August, 1659.

* aile Eazabad is $2\frac{1}{2}$ measured Cois diffant from *Dehli*.

+ Agra is 44 measured Cols diffant from Dehli.

thefrabad is 52 measured Cols from Dehli. خضراباد

The 14th of January, 1061, he feat his own Son Sultan Mahommed, and Suliman* Shekowh, Son to Dara Shekowh; to be confined in the Caftle of Gualiar +.

In 1664, going against the Rajpouts ‡, his Son Sultan Mahommed Akhar 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 Vijaporell, from Secander and Hyderabad**, from Sultan Abul Hoffan, befides feveral other Territories and strong Holds in Deccan; having twice taken the

ی شکو، Suliman Shekowh fignifies, auguft as Solomon.

+ جوالبار Gualiar is 28 Cofs from Agra.

[‡] The *Rajpouts* are the moft warlike of the *Indiant:* There are feveral 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 diftant from Dehli. There is a Caftle in this Province, called Golconda, by which Name the whole Province is chiefly known in Europe.

famous

of the Moghol Emperors. 33. famous Sevá Rajab, * who' as often found Means to make his Escape.

The Revenues of the Empire were greatly increased in his Time, for excluding Balkb, Kandahar and Biddukhshan, which Shah Jehan perfessid, and were afterwards which there was Revenue of 12071876840 Dams, which (at 320 Dams to a Pound Sterling) is 37,724,015 l. $\frac{1}{2}$ from the Twenty-one following Provinces:

* The prefent Sahou Rajah, who keeps his Court at Settara in Dectan, is a Descendant of this Seva Rajah. He is Prince of the Maharattas, or Ganims, who have of hats Years acquired a furprizing Power, making great knowds into the Moghol's Territories; and levying a Tribute from several Provinces. They have lately taken the Island of Sallet, the Castle and Town of Bacaim, with other Places, from the Portugueze. They have above 200,000 Horfe in the Northern, Southern; and Inland Provinces.

F

The

A short History

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The Nineteen old Soubahs § or Provinces,

Names.	Capital.	Revenue in Dams.
D ebli	Dehli	1221950137
Agra	Agra	1146760157
Ajmîr	Ajmîr	652345362
Alekabad	Alehabad	456543248
Panjah	Labor	826132107
Audi	Audib	322327829
Multan	Multan	214442936
Cabul	Cabul	161039354
Cashmir	Srinagr	229911397
Guzerat	Ahmedabad	607849135
Bahar	Patna	407161000
Scind	Tatta	91816810
Dowlatabad	Auringabaa	
Makva	Eugene	403901658
Berar		614025000
Khandeish	Brampore	448630000
<u> R</u> edr	Zafferabad	372974370
Bengall	Dacca	524636240
Odiffea		142820000

9880211840

Soubah dar, the Lord Lieutenant of a Province.

The

of the Moghol Emperors. 35 Carried over 9880211840 The Two New Soubahs,

Hyderabad	Hyderabad	1113360000
Vijapore	Vijapore	1078305000
		12071876840

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

On Friday, the 21ft of February, 1707, Auringzebe died at Abmednagur, * in the Province of Dowlatahad 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 dín. +

* Ahmednagur is diftant from Dehli 280 measured Cofs.

t ignifies the Ornament of Religion; and Shah, which fignifies the Ornament of Religion; and Shah, which fignifies King, is a Title frequently given to Derveifhes. This Zen al din was a remarkable Santon, who kept his Cell near that City, and was buried there; which being reckoned a fanctified Place, Auring-zebe, in his Will, directed he fhould be interred there. As this Prince was very zealous, or at least pretended to be fo, for Mahommedanism, those of that Religion make great Merit of visiting his Tomb, especially on the 28th of the Month Zeecadih, which was the Day he died on. At the Time of his Death, his Third Son Azem Shab was with him, and his Second Son Mabommed Mauzm, at Cabul.* He had left a fhort Will; of which, for the Satisfaction of the Curious, I fhall here give a Translation.

A Translation of Auringzebe's last Will.

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

" There cannot be a better Vizir than Emír " al Omra.||

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

* Cabul is 266 measured Cofs from Debli.

+ Mahammed Kambukhsh, Auring-zebe's fifth Son.

[‡] The two new Soubabs are Vijapore and Heyderabad, fo called, as being lately conquered by Auring-zebe.

المبر الامرا [Emir al Omra, which fignifies the Prince of Princes, is the Title generally given to the Mir Bukh/hi, or Pay-matter-General and Treasurer.

" Wheever

of the Moghol Emperors. 39 "Whoever shall chance to have the "Empire, let him not turn out or moless "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 "Debli; whoever fettles in Agra may "have the Province thereof, Deccan, Malva" and Guzerat.

" And who refides at Debli may have " Cabul and the other Provinces.

"I came naked into the World, and naked "I go out of it. Let no Enfigns or royal "Pomp accompany my Funeral; let Ha-"mid o'din Khan, who is faithful and trufty, convey my Corps to the Place of Shah "Zen al din, and make a Tomb for it, in "the fame Manner as is done for Derveishes: * "let not my fortunate Children give them-"felves 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

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A fort History

Auringzebe had Five Sons : Sultan Mahommed, Mahommed Mauzm, * who fucceeded his Father in the Empire, Mahommed Azem, * Mahommed Akbar, * Mahommed Kambukhfh. * Darah Shekowh had Two Sons : Suliman Shekowh, * Sepeh Shekowh. * Sultan Sujah had Two Sons : Zen al din Mahommed, * Bullind Akhter. * Morad Bukhfh had one Son : Iefd Bukhfh. *

Mauzm fignifies great, glorious.

• عظمر Azem fignifies the fame.

د. Akbar, is the Comparative Mood of الحبر
 Kobir, great.

d Kambukhfb, the Giver of Defires or Wifhes.

ملبمان شكوه . Suliman Shekowh, august, or in Pomp like Solomon.

f عبد شڪو Sepeh Shekowh, of military Pomp.

^s زير . الدين ^Zen al din, the Ornament of Religion.

ه بلند اختر Bullind Akhter, of high Stars, or great Fortune.

، المراج ا

KOTEB

KOTEB * O'DÎN BAHADR SHAH,

Upon Auringzebe's Death, Azem Shab, with his Father's Troops, fet out from Deccan towards the Capital, as did alfo Mahommed Mauzm from Cabul, in order to decide their Fortunes in Battle. On the Banks of the. River Chun, near Agra, both Armies encountred. They were by far the most numerous that for feveral Ages had come together in India. Mabommed Mauzm having 150,000 Horfe, and 178,000 Foot, exclufive of the Auxiliaries furnished by the Rajabs; and the other Brother nigh as many. In fhort, Azem Shab's Forces were defeated, and himfelf killed. Mabommed Mausm was proclaimed Emperor, taking to himfelf the Title of Koteb o' din Bahadr Shah, and Shah Alum. He made Mahommed Khan his

* Sultan Mahammed Mauzm, on his Acceffion to the Throne, affumed the Titles of تطب الدين Koteb al. din, the Axis of Religion, بهادر شاء Bahadr Shab; the valiant King, and شاء عالم Shah Alum, the King of the World. Notwithftanding تطب Kateb fignifies only the Pole or extreme Part of the Axis, yet it is ufed here to fignify the Whole.

Vizir;

Vizir; Zulfecar Khan his Mir Bukhshi, or Paymaster-General; Daud Khan, Soubabdar, or Lord-Lieutenant of the Provinces of Deccan; and Assa Khan Absolute Agent, whom leaving to take Care of the Capital, he went himself against his Brother Kambukhsh, who had left Vijapore, and fettled at Hyderabad; where, after forme little Refistance, he was taken Prisoner, and died that fame Night of his Wounds.

Babadr Shah went afterwards to Labor to fupprefs fome 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 Azim,^c Raffeeih al Kadr,^c Khojista Akhter,^s Jehan Shah.^b

* محتر الدين Mauz o' din, fignifies the Honour or Glory of Religion.

ماندار شاء ^و جهاندار شاء ^و *fehandar Shah*, the King who poffeffes the World.

· Azim, fignifies great.

a عظيم الشان Azim al Shan, of great Figure or Rank.

وقبع القدر . Raffeeih al Kadr, of exalted Power.

s رقبع الشان Raffeeih al Shan, of exalted Rank.

s جستہ اختر Khojifta Akhter, of happy Stars.

ان شاء جهان شاء ع جهان شاء م

His Brother Sultan Mahommed Azem had Two Sons,

Mahommed Bedår Bukht,* Mahommed Wallah Jah.*

His Brother Sultan Mahommed Kambuksh had One Son.

Iefdan Bukhfk,^c called also Rahman Bukhfh,^d whose Daughter has been lately married to Nefr allah Mirza, ^e Nadir Shah's Son.

Jehandar Shah.

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

• ببدار نجت Beddr Bukht, whole Fortune is awake. Wallah Jah, of august Rank.

• بندان بخش Iefdan Bukh, God's Gift.

وحمين بخش Rahman Bukhfh, the Gift of the Merciful.

e عصر الله Nefr Allah, fignifies, affifted by God.

secure 1

A (hort History

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

He was a weak Prince, and fo foolifhly fond of one of his Wives, called Lal Koar, who was of an obfcure 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 fo difgufted Seyd Abdallah Khan and Seyd Hoffan Khan, two Brothers of great Authority in the Empire, and who had a Body of choice Troops, that they refolved to place Mabommed Furrukhsår (Son to Azim 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'din, * Jebandar Shab's Son; and afterwards Jehandar Shab himfelf (thro' his People's Treachery and Cowardice) was defeated near Agra, and obliged to fly, tho' he had near 100,000 Horfe and Foot.

Jehandar Shah had one Son; Eaz o'dín. Azim al Shan had one Son: Mahommed Furrukh/ir. ||

* Eaz o' din, fignifies the Glory of Religion. فرخسپر الدین Furrukbsir, fignifies of lappy Difposition. Raffeeib



Raffeeib al Shan had Three Sons: Raffeeib al Dirjat *, Raffeeib al Dowlat, † and Sultan Ibrahim. Jehan Shah had One Son:

Makemmed Shah, who is the prefent Emperor.

MAHOMMED FURRUKHSIR,

Son to Azim al Shan, being fettled on the Throne, Seyd Abdallab Khan was made Vizir, with the Title of Koteb al Muluck ‡ and Iar ba Vafa. And Hoffan Ali Khan made Mir Bukb/bi, or Paymaster-General, with the Title of Emir al Omra ||.

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

* رفبع الدرجات Raffeeih al Dirjat, of exalted Degree.

+ رقبع الدو لت Raffeeib al Dowlat, of exalted Fortune.

toteb al Muluck, the Axis of the Empire, and بارباونا Iar ba vafa, the grateful Friend.

Emir al Omra, the Prince of Princes. امير الامرا ا

cut off the two Brothers. They, on the other hand, were intent on nothing fo much as enriching themfelves. They turned out Nizam al Muluck * (Ghazi o' din Khan's + Son) from his Government of Deccan, and Hoffan Ali Khan went thither himfelf. At last, the two Brothers finding the Emperor grew jealous of their Power, refolved to remove him, and put a more paffive Prince in his Stead. Having got Ajeet Sang the Maha Rajah (whose Daughter ‡ was married

* نظام الملك Nizam al Muluck, is a Title fignifying he who arranges and puts in Order the Empire. His first Name was جين قلبج خان Chin Kuleeijh Khau, which in the Tartar Language, fignifies, the Sworddrawing Lord. Some People, by Corruption, pronounce it Chucklas Caun.

t بازي الدين Ghazi o' din, fignifies the Champion of Religion. Nizam has alfo a Son called by the Grandfather's Name Ghazi o' din Khan, who has lately got the Title of ناصر جنك Nafr Jing, which fignifies vithoriaus in War.

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

to Furrukhsår) 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 Firmán * exempting them from paying any Duties in his Dominions, of which I have here fubjoined a Translation.

• ALL GOVERNORS, People in • Offices, Jaguirdars +, Fojbdars ‡, Croris ||,

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

+ When one is preferred to be a منصبدار Manfubdar, or Commissioned Officer, by the Moghol, he cither pays him out of the Treasury, or elfe allots him as much Lands in fome of the Provinces, as the Salary and Wages of his منصب Manfub, or Post, comes to. The Lands fo allotted are called the Jaguir, and the Officer who receives the Revenues as his Pay, is called the Jaguirdar.

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

|| Craris 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 Jaguirdar.

Rahadars,

A fhort History

46

Rabadars*, Gouzirbans+, and Zemidars‡,
who are at prefent and shall be hereafter in
the Soubab || of Abmedabad, and in the
fortunate Port of Surat, and Cambay, being
in hopes of the Royal Favour; K NOW,
That at this Time of Conquest which
carries the Ensign of Victory, Mr. John
Surman and Kbojab Serbad, § 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 faid Port, from the Time of the

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

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

زمين ارز Zemidars, are the Rojabs or Indian Princes, E. who have free Effates, and a Tract of Land at their own Command, only paying a fmall Acknowledgment to the Great Mogbol. This Name is compofed of المحترز Zemin, Land, and المحترز Dar, a Poffeffor.

|| Soubab fignifies a Province.

§ Mr. John Surman, an English Gentleman, and Khojah Serhad, an Armenian, were the principal Perfons fent from Bengal to the Moghel's Court to follicit for this Grant.

" Emperor

of the Moghol Emperors. 47 " Emperor who is pardoned *, whole Place " of Rest is Eternal, Shahab o' din Shab " 'Jehan, 2 per Cent. was fettled as Customs. " From the Time of him who has approach-"ed the Most Merciful, whose Place is " everlafting, Moby o' din Mahommed Au-" ringzebe Alumguir, 3¹/₄ 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, whole " Place of Repofe is Heaven, furrounded " with the Favour of the Almighty, whofe " Rank is most Sacred, Abul Mazuffer + " Bahadr Shab, 21 per Cent. was fettled, " and is in Force until now: By reafon of " the Oppreffions of the Muttefiddis ‡ there, "'' 'tis three Years fince they have withdrawn " their Factory. In the Soubabs of Bahar " and Odiffea, this Nation pays no Customs ; " and in the Port of Hugly, in the Province " of Bengal, they Yearly give Three § Thou-

* This is a fofter Kind of Expression used by the *Mahommedans* in mentioning deceased Persons.

+ ابو المظغر Abul Mazuffer, fignifies the Father of Vistory.

‡ Muttefiddis are the King's Officers. § 375 /.

" fand

A fort History

£8

" fand Rupees Pei/bcu/b * in lieu of Cuftoms; " they are in hopes that, according to the " Cuftom of other Ports, in the Port of " Surat likewife, a yearly Pei/bcu/b may be " fettled in lieu of Cuftoms; they agree to " a Yearly Peifbcu/b of Ten + Thousand " Rupees.

The ORDER which fubjects the World
to obey it, and which muft be ftrictly.
followed, is iffued forth: That fince they
agree to Ten Thoufand Rupees Pei/bcu/b
at the Port of Surat, take it Yearly, and
befides that moleft 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
Cuftom-free, let them buy and fell at
their Pleafure; and if in a Place any of

* بيشكش Pei/bcu/b, which literally fignifies, prefented, or drawn before, is the Term for a Prefent from an Inferior to a Superior; as are alfo thefe Words, نظر Nazr, prefented to View, منفران Gougran, laid before, &c. And whatever Superiors give to their Inferiors, which is generally Robes, Arms, Horfes, Elephants, &c. is called a Khalaet and Sirrapah; and if Money, an Enam.

+ 1250%

' their

of the Moghol Emperors. 49 " 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 fettle a Factory, or buy and fell "Goods, be affifting to them on all just Oc-' cafions; and whomfoever of the Mer-' chants, &c. they may have a just Demand on by Accounts, according to Equity, give ' the English their Due, and let no Per-" fon injure their Factors. They have like-' wife humbly reprefented, " That the " Duans * in the Provinces may demand " the Original Sinnid+, cr 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, Н and

* 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 pais thro' their Hands.

+ Sinnid, fignifies, a Grant or Patent.

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

Kazzi, or, as fome pronounce it, Cadi, تاضح الله Kazzi, or, as fome pronounce it, Cadi, is the Judge, who, among the Mahommedans, decides all

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

all Caufes; he being generally a Perfon of the greateft Repute and Learning, a Copy attefted by him is thought fufficiently authentic.

* 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 $x \leq \infty$ Sicca Mobarek) are meant Silver and Gold Rupees, which laft they call A 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 Inteription on this prefent Emperor's Money is, The Fortunate Coins of the valiant Emperor Mahommed Shah, in the Year fruck 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.

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

^c The ftrict and high ORDER is iffued ^c forth, that a Copy under the Kazzi's Seal ^c be credited, and that in the Ifland of ^c Bombay, fortunate Coins ftruck according ^c to the Cuftom of the Empire, be current; ^c and whoever of the Company's Servants, ^c being indebted, runs away, let him be ^c taken and delivered to the Chief of the ^c Factory, and let them not be molefted on

* As the Fojbdar is the Perfon who has the Cómmand of the Suburbs and Out-parts, where it is chiefly that intoxicating Liquors are allowed to be fold, and diforderly Houfes kept, he ufed to take up Sailors, and other Europeans, whom he found there, and not releafe 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 Firmán is to redrefs that Grievance, and fuffer them to país Wines, and other Liquors and Neceflaries, without any Moleftation.

H 2

Account

' Account of the forbidden Articles. " They " have likewife reprefented, that in Bengal, " Babar and Odiffea, the Company have "Factories, and that they are willing to " fettle in other Places. They are in hopes " that wherever they fettle, Forty Vingas || " of Ground may be gracioufly beftowed on "them by the Emperor; and that their " Ships fometimes, by Reafon of Tempests, "run afhore, and are wreck'd, the Gover-" nors of the Ports do in an oppreffive Man-" ner feize the Goods, and in fome Places de-" mand a quarter Part." ' The Royal Or-' der is islued 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 miraculoufly · 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 loft their Paffage, and in all Affairs 'act according to this Great Order, and ' demand not a new Grant Yearly. In

|| A Vinga is fomewhat lefs 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 Firman, was the Vizir's Seal, with his Titles, as follows:

The Security of Fortune, and truft-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 6th, 1716-7.

RAFFEEIH

A short History 54

RAFFEEIH AL DIRJAT.

The Seyds, after having made away with Furrukhfir, took Raffeeib al Dirjat, Son to Raffeeib 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 fending for his Brother

RAFFEEIH AL DOWLAT,

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

NASR O'DÎN MAHOMMED SHAH, ||

Son to Jehan Shah, who being raifed to that Dignity by the Seyds, Hoffan Ali Khan and

t سليم Selimgur, fignifies Selim's Caftle, being built by a Prince of that Name.

ا Mahommed Shah, on being made Emperor, took to himfelf the Title of ناصر الدين Nafr o'din, which fignifies, the Supporter and Affifter of Religion.

Abdallab

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

In October, 1720, Mahommed Shah, accompanied by Hoffan Ali Khan, and feveral Omras*, fet 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, *Mabommed Amin Kban Heydr Kuli Kban*§, Master of the Ordnance, *Kbandoran*, and several others of the Omras, who were most attached to the Royal Fa-

* Imir, which fignifies, Prince, and is a Title given to all the Nobility of the first Rank, in the Moghol's Empire, and in Tartary.

في في *Hcydr Kuli*, fignifies, the Slave of the Lion, حبدر قلي *Heydr*, which fignifies, a Lion, being one of the Appellatives given to Ali Mortifa, and قلي Kuli, in the Turkifb Language, fignifies, a Slave.

mily,

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mily, drawing their Swords, fell on Hoffan Ali Khan, and killed him with two or three of his Friends. Upon this Mabommed Shab laid afide that Expedition, and returned towards Debli, in order to cut off Seyd Abdallab 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 Raffeeib al Sban, and proclaimed him Emperor. Gathering together what Treasure he could, and having broke to Pieces the famous Throne, (which cost Shab Jeban nine Crores & of Rupees) in order to pay his Soldiers, he foon compleated an Army of 50,000 Horfe; and marched out to engage Mabommed Shab, who had encamp'd at Serkad, which is Twelve Cofs from Mhetra.

On the 2d of November, 1720, both Armies engaged; and after an obstinate and bloody Battle, Abdallab 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 fent 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 Debli.

Abdallah Khan being brought before him; the Emperor faid to him, ' Traitor, fee "what thou haft done.' To which he anfwered, ' I took you out of a Prifon, and ' gave you an Empire. My Brother being ' murdered by your Order, as I was at the ' Head of an Army, Self-prefervation directed me to make use of it : Providence des creed you the Victory, use it as you think * proper, by treating this Clay as your Re-' fentment or Interest may prompt you.' Then the Emperor faid to him, ' What 'Harm had Furrukhsir done to you?' To which he answered : 'He grew jealous of ' mine and my Brother's Power, and as it · was inconfistent with our Interest to refign * it into his Hands, we thought it dangerous to lofe any Time in removing him. Had * Providence permitted us to have been fo prudent Ι

⁶ prudent hitherto, we fhould not have come ⁶ to this tragical End. But when Fate de-⁶ flines one to Ruin, it begins by blinding ⁶ the Eyes of his Understanding.⁷ Then the King ordered him to be confined, and four Servants allowed to attend him, and faid, ⁶ As for the young *Sultan* he is not to blame; ⁶ were he to be punished, it would diftract ⁶ his poor Mother; let him remain with ⁶ her.⁷

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

Furruksir's Mother defired that Abdallah Khan, the Murderer of her Son, might be delivered to her. Mahommed Shab fent her Word that it was unlawful to kill two Perfons for the Murder of one, and that Hoffan Ali Khan was killed in Retaliation. He then ordered that Abdallah Khan fhould lodge in

- * Soubabdar is Lord Lieutenant of a Province.
- **‡** Mir Bukhshi is Paymaster-General and Treasurer.
- § Emir al Omra fignifies the Prince of Princes.

the Palace of Afof all Dowlat, have a Penfion of 3000 Rupees Monthly, thirty Houshold Servants, feventy 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 fome his near Relations, burnt ‡ themfelves in one Room the Night after he died.

I 2

1 In ancient Times, none but the Wives of the Brahmins (or Indian Priefts) had the Privilege of burning themfelves with their deceased Husbands : But fince the Government fell into the Hands of the Rajpouts, 'tis cuftomary, when any of their Princes die, for one or more of his 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 diffiwaded from it. Sometimes indeed, when a vain-glorious Paffion prevails over natural Affection. the Widow's Relations would gladly have her burn, as it raifes the Character of their Family, by making it remarkable for virtuous and loving Women. Yet, according to their Religion, 'tis more meritorious to behave chaftly and decently in their Widowhood, unt.l Death, than burning; because one is but a short Pain, and the other a State of Trial. The Moghols have endeavoured

In

A *f*hort Hiftory

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In the Year 1721-2, the Emperor wrote to Nizam al Muluck. then at Deccan, defiring his Prefence at Court, and that he would appoint him Vizir; but if he declined it, he should' nominate whomsoever he fhould judge to be the moft deferving. To which he answered: " I am a Derveish, " and not ambitious of fo high a Station. "I was contented with the Province of " Malva, when the Seyds intending to di-" ftrefs me, I was obliged to take Arms. " By the Divine Affistance I baffled their " Defigns, and fecured myfelf. At laft " your Majesty, by their Instigation, set out " against me with a mighty Army. Here " the Almighty protected the likewife. In " the Beginning one of the Brothers was "killed; and as you knew me to be a

deavoured to difcourage this Cuftom as much as poffible; but fince Money is omnipotent in that Country, as well as in many others, a fmall Bribe generally purchales the Confent of the Governor, or Commanding Officer. Lately the Seyd and Pattan Families, in feveral Parts of India, have, thro' their exceffive Pride, got into this Cuftom; and as it is flrictly forbidden by their Religion (which is the Mahommedan) they do it privately, by fetting an Apartment on fire about their Ears,

" faithful

* faithful Servant, you laid afide that Exfi pedition, and returned to *Debli*, where, being fettled to the Satisfaction of all People, you have now condefcended to diftinguifh me, the meaneft of your Slaves, with this extraordinary Mark of your Favour; which I only decline, as knowing myfelf unequal thereto, and that there are many about your Court more capable and defirous of fuch an Employment than I.*

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

Nizam continued at Deccan, as Soubabdar of Vijapore, Hyderabad, Auringabad, &c. and though he acknowledged himfelf a Subject, yet made no Remittances to Court, but appropriated the Revenues to the maintaining of an Army, which he faid was to keep in aw the Mabarattas or Ganims, the Sabou Rajab's Subjects in Deccan; whom notwithftanding he permitted to plunder and lay waste feveral of the King's Provinces. They

tummir o'dîn, fignifies the Moon of Re-

62 A short History, &c.

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

Kendabar, is diftant from Debli 358 meafured Cofs, and from Isfabar 463.

The

[63]

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

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

* The Great Moghol.

+ Emir fignifies Prince or Commander, being the Name that the Nobility are diffinguished by, the Plusal of which is Omra:

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is greater than Vizir, and honoured with the Title of Alof Yah t. Khandoran, who was Bukh/ki, or Paymaster General, had the Emperor's Ear fo much, that whatever he requested was granted. His Majesty being entirely governed in all His Actions by him. As Nizam al Muluck was for fettling Affairs upon the fame 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 Diffoluteness of his Courtiers, who employed their Time in the Company of locie Women and Buffoons, waited on His Majesty, and framing an Excuse, told him the Affairs of his Province required his Prefence. On his Arrival at Deccan he entered into a Concert with Rajab Sabou, and con-

† Afof Jab is a Title commonly given to Vizirs. It fignifies, in Place and Rank as Afof, who, they fay, was Solomon's Vizir. At the fame Time that they honour their Vizirs with this Title, they flatter their own Vanity, by comparing themfelves to Solomon.

trived

in INDIA, before, &c. 65

trived it fo, that Bajeerau || fhould march as far as Debli, 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 fenfible of their ill Conduct. The Maharattas foon over-run the Province of Malva, killed Guerdir Babadr, the Governor thereof, and feized all his Treafure and Effects. After having laid wafte and deftroyed 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, notwithftanding the Inhabitants agreed to pay a quarter Part*, they plundered and diffreffed them in a fevere Manner: They also ravaged the Country round about Gualiar, which being near the Capital, the Court was alarmed, and Khandoran, with Kummir o'din Khan and other Omras, fent with a powerful Army to chaftife them; but these great Officers thought Peace the fafeft Measure,

|| A famous General of the Mabarattas 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 feveral Parts of India.

agreed
66 The State of Affairs

agreed to pay the Quarter Part, and returned Home. Notwithstanding this Agreement, and the Money being paid, the Maharattas did not fpare those Places from being plundered, but even refolved to march as far as Agra to receive the Quarter Part for Debli. The aforefaid Officers fet out again, and came to the City of Agra: A little before their Arrival, the Maharattas had croffed the River Fumna, with an Intent to march into Audib, the Province governed by Saadit Khan, who having Notice of their Defign, 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 Cofs from Debli. Upon which Khandoran and the Vizir, being joined by Saadit Khan, went in purfuit of them: The Maharattas had left that Place Three Hours before the Omras Arrival, and marched towards Kalka, near Debli ; which being a Place of Worship for that Day, the greatest Part of the Inhabitants had affembled there: They robb'd them of all they had, but spared their Lives; and knowing the City

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City had but few Forces therein, they intended to plunder it; of which the Emperor being informed, he ordered Emir Khan and Hollan Khan, with all the Companies belonging to the Train of Artillery, to go and oppofe them. They accordingly marched out, and after an Engagement of a few Hours, Hoffan Khan was killed, and Emir Khan, with the reft 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 Affiftance; the Enemy was foon defeated, and put to Flight: The Vizir purfued them to Allaverdi Khan's Serai, + which is Seven Cofs from Debli, where coming up with them, and having no Inclination to fight. he fecretly made up Matters: Upon which they marched back to Deccan. Saadit Khan being fomewhat puffed up with his own good Services, and incenfed at this shameful Compremise with the Ganims, marched

† Serai, or *Sera*, fignifies any great Building or Palace. 'Tis the fame 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 fignifies, a *Building for the Reception of Travellers and Paffengers*.

K 2 towards

68 The State of Affairs 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 fend for Nizam al Muluck, thinking that while he continued in Deccan he should be always in Fear of (or actually difturbed by) thefe Excursions of the Maharattas. Mehr Parvir, his Grandmother, who had great Interest with Nizam, at his Request, wrote him a Letter, full of Affurances 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 difregarded him, but took all Opportunities of affronting him, especially Khandoran and his Creatures, who when he came to pay his Refpects at Court, used to ridicule him, faying to each other, Observe how the Deccan Monkey dances. This Ufage having wrought him up to the highest Pitch of Refentment, he was refolved to revenge himfelf by diftreffing the Empire, and destroying Khandoran and his Creatures. He imparted his Defign to the Vizir, Kummir o'din Khan, imagining he would join with him,

in INDIA, before, &c. 60

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 diffuade him therefrom, by reprefenting to him the Infamy of facrificing his Country to private Refentment. When Nizam perceived he would not come into his Measures, he applied himself to Saudit Khan, the Soubabdar of Audib, who then had a great Body of Men, was an Officer of Experience, and had lately raifed his Reputation by his Action with the Mabarattas; and, what was still more to the Purpose, had fince that Time flood ill-affected towards the Emperor and Khandoran. Having entered into an Agreement, it was refolved that Nadir Shab, Ruler of Perfia, who then was belieging Kandabar, should be the Instrument to diftress the Emperor, and remove Khandoran from amongst them.

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

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they gave him to march towards Hindostan, which was the principal Motive that encouraged bim to undertake that Expedition, 1 (hall give a brief Account of the Life and Actions of this Famous Conqueror, who of late has made fo much Noife in the World, which I had from a Gentleman who knew him perfonally, and was in Perfia during the Time of the Great Revolution which happened there; that is, from the Time the Afghans invaded Perfia. and Mahmud Khan, the Son of Mîr Vaez, took the Capital thereof Isfahan, making Shah Sultan Hoffein Prisoner, with all bis Sons, which were Twenty-three, excepting Thamas Mirza (afterwards Shah Thamas, who made bis Escape during the Siege) until Nadir Shah fet out for Kandahar to reduce to Obedience Hoffein Khan, a Brother of the faid Mahmud Khan.

ŢΗĘ

ΤΉΕ

HISTORY

NADIR SHAH.

ADIR SHAH[‡], known in Europe by the Name of Kuli Khan, was born at Calot in the Province of Khorafan ||. His Father was Chief

t His firft Name was نادر قادر قادر قادر قادر تادی Nadir Kuli, which fignifies, God's Slave, or literally, the Slave of the Wonderful. It is composed of خادر Nadir, wonderful, which, with the Mahommedans, is one of God's Attributes, and with the Mahommedans, is one of God's Attributes, and Slave. In this Manner the Turkish Language, fignifies 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 Abdallab, the Slave of God, عبد الله Abd o' Rahman, the Slave of the Merciful, &c.

Khorafan is one of the most eastern Provinces of Perfia, which its Name imports, fignifying, towards the 72

Chief of a Clan of the Affhar * Tribe, and Governor of a Fortress belonging to That Place, wherein a fufficient Guard was kept to prevent the Oulbeg Tartars from making Incursions into Khorasan. It commanded one of the Paffes, and was fo fituated by Nature that a Handful of Men might eafily 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 Fortrefs, 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 fuch a Charge; and infinuated to the Clan, he was a Youth of a fierce and tyrannical Disposition, not fit to command them, unlefs, inftead

the Sun; ignifying, the Sun, in the ancient Perfic. The Perfians generally pronounce it Khorafun, making an 1 a, before an m, or an in, foundlike an u, which, they think, gives the Words a fweeter and foster Sound. But in Tartary, and all over theMoghol's Empire, the Words are pronounced as theyare wrote.

* The Affbars are a Turceman Tribe, divided into two or three Clans.

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of mild Treatment they chofe to be fway'd with a Rod of Iron. The Affhars being well fatisfied with the Uncle, defired him to continue their Chief, declaring that as they already had fufficient Experience of his Capacity and Humanity, they would not run any Rifque by fubmitting 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 Subferviency among his Relations, went to Mu-*(had**, a City famous for the Sepulchre of Imam Ali Reza, and there entered into the Beglerbeg's + Service, as one of the under Maflers of Ceremonies : in which Office he behaved fo well, that the Prince foon gave him the Command of a Troop of Horfe. In the frequent Skirmishes he had with the Tartars he gave fuch Proofs of his Conduct and Courage, that in a few Years he was made Mim Balhi, or Commander of 1000 Horfe,

* Mufbaid is a City in Khorafan, which, fince Shah Abafs's Intention of making it a Place of Pilgrimage, has been of more Note than Herat, the ancient Capital thereof.

+ Beglerbeg is a Title fignifying, in the Turkilh Language, Lord of Lords.

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in which Station he continued till he was a bout thirty two Years of Age, behaving on all Occafions with the greatest Gallantry and Refolution. He was effeemed and respected by those whom he chose to be familiar with ; but others who were not fo intimate with him, and to whom he behaved with Referve, made little Account of him. He fo well difguised his Ambition, that, altho' determined to push his Fortune to the utmost, when a proper Opportunity should offer, he took the greatest Care to fmother whatever might give the least Jealousy or Offence to his Superiors, feeming perfectly happy in the Station he had obtained, until the Year 1720. when the Oufbeg Tartars, by Surprife, entered Khoralan with a Body of 12000 Horfe, and began to commit Hoftilities. The Beglerbeg not having above 4000 Horfe, 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 wafte and plunder the whole Province, and, according to their Cuftom, carry off Man, Woman, and Child, with every Thing of Value they could lay their Hands on ;

on; in Confequence of which he must lofe his Head. The General Officers declared the Force his Highness could then muster was not near fufficient 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 fo many brave Men. The Beglerbeg perceiving their timorous Difpofition, declared he would put himfelf at the Head of what Troops he had, and try his Fortune, it being better to run any Hazard than fit 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 prefent at this Council, (but whose Station did not entitle him to fpeak until the Opinion of those of the fame Rank was asked) got up, and defired that he might be indulged to offer fomething on this Occafion: Which being granted, he faid, 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 what at prefent they, feem'd to have no Inclination to; that he could not enough commend the brave Refolution L 2

tion of the Prince in offering to go in Perfon, and give them Battle, tho', at the fame Time, there was no Necessity for His Highnefs to run fo great a Rifque, fince if any Accident happened to him the whole Province would be loft; 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 fet out immediately, in order to give the Enemy Battle, or to fecure fome Defiles and narrow Paffes to prevent the Tartars advancing until his Highness could fend Succours: That for his Part, he affured him he was, by Experience, fo well fatisfied of the Bravery of the Troops they then had, that if he would honour him with the Command of this Expedition, he was fo well affured of Success, that in Case he miscarried he was willing to forfeit his Head. The Prince was fo pleafed 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 prefent Station, when Occafion offered, given fuch Proofs of your Conduct and perfonal 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 foon as possible, against the Tartars, and either give them Battle, or take fuch Measures as may feem to you most proper, in order to put a Check to their Progress. Accordingly a Commission pro tempore was prepared and figned for Nadir Kuli to command in this Expedition as General, and the Prince affured him, if he fucceeded, he would use all his Intereft at Court to get him confirmed. Altho' the Common-Soldiers were well fatisfied to have Nadir Kuli to command them, yet all the General Officers, and most of the Mim Balbis, his Seniors, refused to act under him, which the Prince being informed of, defired they would ftay with him, and that others, whom Nadir Kuli appointed, fhould act in their Stead. Accordingly feveral Officers were promoted in order to fupply the Places of those who staid; and the Troops fet out with Nadir Kuli at their Head, with the fame Refolution 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 affured they had not above 6 or 7000 Men, tho' they were drawn up loofe 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 Occafions, which he was affured they would then exert to the utmost, as thereon entirely depended the Lives, Liberties, and Effates of their Coun-The Tartars charged with their trvmen. ufual Fury, which the Perfians, animated by the Example of their young Leader, fustained with all the Intrepidity imaginable. Both Parties being brave and equally refolute, a bloody and obstinate Action enfued, in which the Victory for a long Time feemed doubtful: At last Nadir's Fortune prevailed; for having flain the General with his own Hand, the

the Tartars were immediately put to Flight, the Perfians purfuing and flaughtering them for feveral 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 Prifoners by the Peafants.

This Victory gained Nadir Kuli immortal Honour; and the Beglerbeg affured him, on his Arrival at Mu/had, that he had wrote to the King to make him General under him, that is, Lieutenant General of Kborafan. But Shah Sultan Hoffein, who was then King of Perfia, 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 feen 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 Refentment, by procuring the Difgrace of this brave Man, who had no Friends at Court to follicit for him. Being

Being highly incenfed at this Treatment, he waited on the Prince, and told him, he had depended on his Promife to no Purpole, for inftead of being confirmed in his Poft, he was degraded and difgraced for his good Services, and a young Fellow appointed to Command the Army, who was only fit to be that up in a Seraglio with Women; that he observed, he was a Person nearly related to his Highnefs, whence he concluded he was raifed to that Station by the very Interest promised him: The Prince affured him of the contrary, and as he had endeavoured to ferve him, was highly difpleafed at his daring to tax him with a Breach of Promife. Nadir, by infifting on what he had faid; and dropping fome other unguarded Expreffions, fo far trespassed on the Prince's good Nature, that he ordered him to be baffinadoed on the Soles of the Feet, till his Toe-Nails dropt off, and turned him out of the Service. The Reader must not be furprized at this Sort of Punishment to a Field Officer, for it is frequently inflicted on those in the higheft Stations, if they incur the King's Difpleafure, and all the Nobility are liable to undergo it, if they difobey the Commands öf

of their Superiors in a Post subordinate to them. Nadir was now fet 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 fome Time : but on his endeavouring to recover the Command of the Tribe, by first infinuating privately, and then infifting upon it that it was his Right, his Uncle let him know he would not refign it, and treated him in a most contemptuous and flighting Manner. His other Relations did the fame, which was Ufage Nadir's high Spirit could not bear, notwithstanding the State of Poverty he was reduced to, which was fo very hard, that he was forced to borrow fmall Matters of any that would lend him, to procure the common Necessaries of Life. This was enough to beget desperate Refolutions in a Man who had deferved great Things from his Prince and Country, for the good Services he had done them; inftead of which, as I have already observed, he was degraded and punished : And when he fled into the Μ

the Arms of his Relations for Relief, and claim'd 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 Reafon that I could ever learn, but that they found him a bold enterprifing Man, and fuperior to themfelves 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 affociated with a Couple of ftout Fellows of defperate Fortune, went upon the Highway, and robb'd a fmall Caravan of Three or Four Mules laden with Merchandize, and found Means to difpofe of them, the Produce of which (fetting afide what they wanted for prefent Expences) he laid out in Arms and Ammunition, and enlifted privately in his Gang all the defperate Fellows he could pick up. He fet out a fecond 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 Perfons came fecretly to him with Arms, &c. and erch-nged them for Goods, much to their Advantage.

Advantage: In this Manner he frequently robb'd, traded, and enlifted fresh Men into his Gang, most of whom were Soldiers who had formerly ferved under him, until he had got near 500 flout 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 Refolution of carrying away their Cattle, and plundering and burning their Houfes. But it will be proper here to take Notice, that he could not have reigned long in this Manner, but would have been purfued and overpowered by the King's Forces, if the Empire had not been involved in War. The Afghans, under Mir Vaez's Son, had taken Isfahan, and reduced the South-East Parts of Perfia to their Obedience; the Turks had entered the Western Parts, and taken most of them; and the Mulcovites had taken Poffeffion of Gilan (the ancient Hyrcania) and other Places bordering on the Calpian Sea; fo that Sbab Thamas having but two or three Provinces left, which were furrounded by Enemies on all Sides, he could not fpare any. Forces to reduce Nadir Kuli; the M 2 Country

Country People were afraid to attack him, fo that he lived on them, and exacted what he thought proper for the Support of himfelf 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 Perfian 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 not being above 100 Miles off, might come and attack him whenever he pleafed : He therefore wrote him a Letter, wherein he affured him, he was of Opinion, that if he would fubmit, and go into the King's Service, his Majesty would grant a Pardon to him and all his People. Nadir feemed very well pleafed with this Propofal, 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 fent a Petition to Shab Thamas, in behalf of his Nephew. His Majefty at first feemed not inclined to pardon a Man who had been guilty of fuch notorious Crimes; but being told the ill Treatment he had formerly met with, forced him to take fuch Measures in order to fupport himfelf, 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 fent a free Pardon figned to his Uncle, which he immediately forwarded to Nadir Kuli, who, upon the Receipt thereof, fet out with Sef o'din Beg. and 100 chofen Men for Calot. On his Arrival 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 flighting him when reduced to the greateft Neceffity. 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 fet out the next Day after

ter him, and to lay concealed near the Caftle of Calot (which they might eafily 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 Sentries, killed fome, and feized the reft, whilft Nadir Kuli went to his Uncle's Chamber, whom having killed, he took the Keys of the Caftle, 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, befides. the Sentries, had taken the Alarm; but Nadir's. People having fecured the Doors of the Barracks. where they lay, they could make no Refiftance, fo that they furrendered; and, being difarm'd, were fet at Liberty the next Morning: there was not much Blood fhed on this Occafion, not above fifteen or twenty being killed in all. Nadir immediately difpatched. Meffengers to. those remaining in the Mountains, who came to him in a few Days. This happened about the Year 1726-7, upwards of fix Years. after he had been turned out of the King's Service in Mulbad, 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 Refentment to any of them: On the contrary, he treated them with Civility and Refpect; feveral of them entered voluntarily into his Service, and are now with him in great Pofts. He continued in this Place for fome Months ruling in an abfolute Manner, and raifing Contributions, for fifty Miles round, to what Amount he pleafed. Shab Thamas was fully apprized of all that Nadir had done, and was highly difpleafed at the ill Use he made of the Pardon sent him. which was to deftroy his Uncle, and get Poffeffion of a strong Place, whence nothing but a great Force could diflodge him; but as his Affairs were in a declining Condition, every Day feeming 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 Affistance, than to weaken his own Force by attempting to deftroy him. He therefore let him know, if he would fubmit and come to him, he should be graciously received, and admitted into the Service as a Mîm

Mim Bashi, and that Sef o'din Beg should likewife be pardoned, and entertained in the fame Station. Nadir accepted this Offer, and 'having left one of his own Officers, with 500 of his Men, to command the Castle, he fet out with the reft, 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 paft Offences. Nadir excufed himfelf as well as he could, by telling the King the ill Treatment he had met with from the Prince of Khora/an, in being-turned out of the Service at a Time when he ought to have been rewarded for his fuccefsful 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 generoufly pardoned him; he should endeavour to render himfelf deferving of the Clemency which had been shewn him.

As he had now frequent Occasions, he fignalized 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 feem'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 vaftly superior to the Persians; and in all those 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 mis Station, frequent Opportunities of waiting on the King, he foon infinuated himfelf into his Favour. He had but one Rival to deal with, who was of any Confequence, namely, Fatteb allah Khan Kajar, with whom, in Appearance, he kept a strict Friendship; but the very Moment the King (being fet on by his Creatures) had called that General to an Account for his Management, in Regard to the Army, Nadir Kuli affured His Majesty he had been a long Time sensible of the Abuses committed, and unless there was a Reformation in the Manner of paying N and

and disciplining the Army, the Troops would defert; 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 incenfed 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 fay in his own Iustification, but pleading it as a Cuftom, and what his Predeceffors 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 defiring to be excufed on Account of his Inability to acquit himfelf as he ought in fuch a Post. This was in the Year 1727-8, and not above one Year fince he was pardoned, and taken into the King's Service. Nadir having obtained that high Station, began to difplay Talents vaftly fuperior to what he had difcovered hitherto, and the King had fo great a Dependance on his Management, that he feldom or never interfered in any Thing relating to the Military. Nadir, being femfible 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 wish'd for nothing more than Action, but his Forces (being no more than 15 or 20000) were not fufficient to act offenfively against the Turks : However, he annoyed them fo much by Means of flying Parties, that they were glad to fit still in their Quarters; they fent to acquaint Shah Thamas, that if he would relinquish to them the Right of those Places they had already in Poffeffion, they would make Peace with him, and leave him to recover the reft of his Dominions from the Afghans. Shah Thamas let them know he would confider of it, and defired a Truce till he could get an Anfwer from the Grand Signior to fome Propofals he had to make him; to which the Turks agreed, promifing to commit no Hostilities until they received Orders from the Port, and fo their Confines were

were fixed to Hamadan on one Side, and Tabriz and Ardebil on the other. Shab Thamas fent 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 faid Meffenger to pretend Sicknefs on the Road, and to delay his getting thither as foon as poffible, fo as not to give the Turks any Caufe of Sufpicion. Shah Thamas's Defign was only to gain Time that he might go and fubdue Meluck Mabmud, Governor of Mu/had, who had rebelled during the late Revolution, and fet up as King. Having, thro' the Bravery of his General Nadir, taken the faid Governor Prifoner, and feized his Effects, he fet out with 12000 Horfe to chaftife the Abdollees, a Tribe of Afghans, who had taken Poffession of Herat in Shah Sultan Hoffein's Time, and were now preparing a grand Army to invade Khorafan, and lay Seige to Mulhad. The Abdollee Afghans met him about three Days Journey from Herat, with an Army of near 30000 Horfe. As they were reckoned better Soldiers than the Kandahar Afghans, who had taken Isfahan, the King feem'd to dread the Event of the Battle; but Nadir, whole Courage was invincible,

invincible, affured the King he did not doubt of Success; that Victory depended more on Refolution and Conduct than on Numbers, and that he was fatisfy'd his Majefty's Troops had both. Having drawn up his Army in order of Battle, he harangued them in the fame Manner, telling them withal, that the Loss of that Battle would be the Ruin of Perfia, 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 fome Diftance, hearing their Shout, returned it, and advanced with great Fury to charge the Perfians. Nadir kept his Men clofe, and being posted upon a rifing Ground, he played upon them with fome fmall 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 fuch Havock among the Abdollees, that they were obliged to retire, and give the Perhans Time to load again. In fhort, after feveral defperate Attacks, which the Perhans fustained with an uncommon Valour, a general Engagement

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gagement enfued, in which Nadir behaved with a most furprising Conduct; for, tho' his Personal Bravery naturally carried him too far, his Vigilance was fuch, that he always fent timely Affistance wherever it was required; at last, the Abdollees were entirely routed, 5000 were taken Prisoners, and near 15000 killed and wounded. The Lofs on the Persians Side amounted to no more than 1500. After this he marched to Herat. and befieged it for fome Months, until the Enemy fubmitted, 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 fwore 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, fet out for Mulhad. Nadir Kuli, having Orders to follow him as foon as possible, arrived there in August, 1720. About this Time the King received News that Ashruff, the Afghan (who fucceded Mahmud, the Son of Mir Vaez, and was then in Poffession of Isfaban) was preparing to come and attack him with a powerful Army.

Army. The faid A/hruff, hearing of Nadir Kuli's Success, thought it dangerous to give fuch a Man Time to augment his Forces: he therefore determined to cruth him in the Beginning : For which Purpose, having compleated an Army of 20000 Men, he fet out from Isfahan in September, 1729, and march'd towards Khora fan. This News alarmed Shab Thamas, and likewife his General Nadir ; but his Troops, being flush'd with their late Victory, feem'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 raifing any great Number of Recruits, few People caring to enlift, as they knew they were immediately to enter upon a defperate Action ; however, he augmented his Army to near 16000 Men exclusive of the Troops left in Garrison: Having fet out from Mushad, by flow Marches he came to a Place called Damgoon, where, posting himfelf advantageoufly, he waited the Enemy's Arrival. When Albruff came there, finding Nadir Kuli fo well fituated, 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 ,96

Enemy would obtain a cheap Victory; as the Country People (on hearing the Afghans were afraid to encounter the Perfians) would rebel, and stop all Provisions from coming to the Army. Albruff then proposed to march directly to Mushad without attacked 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 Perfians a compleat Victory. 'Tis true it cost them dear, having lost above 4000 Men. The Loss suffained by the Afghans was about 12000, among whom were some of their best Officers.

After this Defeat *Afbruff* retired towards *Isfaban*, having fcarcely a third Part of the Troops he fet out with, a great Number of his Men (efpecially the *Perfians* he had taken into his Service) having deferted after the Battle.

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

NADIR SHAH. 97

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

Thamas Kuli Khan, (for fo we shall call him until he is elected King) having refreshed his Troops at Damgoun, marched towards Isfahan. The Afghans, on his Approach, quitted feveral of their Garrifons, and fled towards the Capital, and in fome Places the Perfians cut them off, declaring openly for Shah Thamas, and fending to Kuli Khan what Supplies of Men and Money they could furnifh; fo that, by the Time he arrived at Calhan, which is four Days Journey from Isfaban, his Army confifted of 40000 Horfe and Foot. The Afghans laid in great Stores of Provisions, and feemed determined to defend themfelves to the laft Extremity; but their Leader Ashruff chose to try the Event of another Battle before he fuffered himfelf to be befieged. Having brought together all the Forces he could mufter, which amounted to no more than 30000, confifting of Afghans, Darguzzis, Hazarris, Perhans, &c.

* Thamas Kuli, fignifies Thamas's Slave. The greateft Honour a Perfian King can confer on any Subject, is giving him Liberty to make use of his own Name, atho' it is only to fignify, he is his Slave. he marched out to a Place called Mourche Khor, which is about thirty English Miles from the City, and encamped there, waiting Khuli Khan's Arrival, which not being fo foon as he expected, he had fufficient Time to exercise his Cruelty on the Persians in and about Isfaban : At first, he ordered all the principal Men to be cut off, and afterwards all they could find in the Streets; fo that, for the Space of twenty Days, there was not a Perfian to be feen abroad, none appearing but Women, who came out to buy the common Necessaries of Life. At laft, 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 refolved, that all the Inhabitants should be flaughtered, and the Palace and other Houfes fet 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 Refolution, those whom Ashruff had appointed to watch the Motions of Kuli Khan, fent to acquaint him, that the Per/ian Army was in full March towards the City. Upon which, Albruff

Albruff ordered his Men to come to the Palace and load their Beafts with Money (of which there was a great Quantity) and then follow him, as they could only fave themfelves by Flight. This Order was executed with fo much Difpatch, that before two o' Clock in the Afternoon there was fcarce an Afghan to be feen in the City. The Perfians, who before lay concealed, came out, and began to plunder all Houfes without Distinction; even the Peafants from the Outparts 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 Poffeffion 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 Matter 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 O 2 would

100 The HISTORY of

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 affured that the Perfons who should be ordered to fupply him would be negligent, and by that Means frustrate all his Defigns. The King was averfe to this Proposal, and had Thoughts of removing him, but could fix on no other who was fit to fupply his Place; having founded fome of the principal Officers, he found them of Opinion, that it was better to comply with Kuli Khan's Humour for the prefent, and shew a proper Refentment of his Infolence when there was lefs Occasion for his Service : adding, that the Soldiers, at this Juncture, would be unwilling to ferve under any other General. At last, His Majesty confented 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 Generalistimo and Beglerbeg of Khorafan, and giving him his Aunt in Marriage. After obtaining these Favours he seemed perfectly zealous for his Master's Service; and, in

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

Kuli Kban, thro' the Severity of the Seafon, had loft upwards of 3000 Men; but, as his March was to the Southward, the Weather grew daily more favourable. Having arrived near Sbiraz, Afbruff and his Afgbans marched out with a Refolution once more to try their Fortune in Battle; they fought defperately for fome Hours, but at laft were put to Flight, having left a great Part of their Treafure and most of their Women and Children behind them. A strong Detachment of the Perstans were fent in Pursuit of them, who made several of them Prisoners.

Afhruff, with about 1500 of his Men, marched directly towards Kandahar. In the Way most of them deferted him, having only 100 when he was furpriz'd and set upon by a Body of the Balluches; with these few he
he made a defparate 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 Sbiraz, fet out for Hamadan, in order to recover it, with other Places formerly belonging to the Perfans, which the Turks had feized during the late Troubles. On his Arrival there, Abdallab Basha came against him with all his Forces, who, being worsted, fled towards Carmanshab: Thamas Kuli purfued him thither, and defeated him a fecond Time. Having staid a few Days at Carman/bab, and fixed a Garrifon there, he fet out for Tabriz. As foon as he recovered and fecured that important Place, he detached a strong Party to Ardebil, which the Enemy had quitted on their Approach. The Turks. being thus unfuccessful, demanded a Truce : which Thamas Kuli granted the more readily. as the Abdollees at Herat rebelled a fecond Time, and had a powerful Army in the Field.

Having fecured, and left fufficient Garrifons 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 furrender. 'He put the Governor and all the principal Men to Death, and having peopled the Place with *Perfians*, and left a Garrifon of his own Men therein, he marched to *Mufhad*.

During this Time, Shah Thamas, who was at Isfaban, finding the Turks were fending Forces from Conftantinople and other Parts towards the Frontiers of Persia, he raised an Army of 20000 Men, and fet out for Tabriz, where, joining the Troops left there by Thamas Kuli, he marched to Erivan, and defeating a Body of Turks, befieged the Caftle, but not being able to fupply his Army with Provisions there, he returned to Tabriz, and from thence intended to advance towards Carmanshab, but was prevented by Abmed Balba, who, coming against him with a fuperior Army, entirely defeated him. A few Days after this Battle, the Balha fent 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 fhould remain in Pofferfion 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 feveral of the Nobility, acquainting them, he would foon wait on His Majesty, and convince him of the Necessity there was to break this fcandalous Peace. Accordingly he fet out with all Speed from Mulhad, 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 fuch dishonourable Meafures, and then carry on the War with Vigour against the Enemy. The King feeming unwilling to break the Peace he had concluded with the Turks, Thamas Kuli Khan told him, he had good Reafon to believe most of the Courtiers were his Enemies, and had been endeavouring to prevail with His Majefty to take away his Life. The King affured him his Informations were not true. Upon which Kuli Khan prefented the King with a Bundle of Letters, telling him, thefe would convince his Majefty, that he had juft Ground for his Apprehensions. After which he took his Leave.

Thefe

These Letters had been wrote to him pritately 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 aftonished when he perused these Letters, and finding the Treason too general to be taken any notice of, unless he refolved to cut off the greatest Part of the Nobility, he destroyed the Letters, being determined to wait for a more convenient Opportunity of referring their Villany.

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 confulted 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 dethroy him and his Friends, and difband the Army; and that the late shameful Peace concluded with the Turks was chiefly with a P View

View of having more Leifure and Opportunity to accomplish his Defigns. Kuli Khan told them, the only Expedient to fave them and himfelf, would be to depose the King, and fet 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 Exercife, the Merit of which he publickly attributed to the General. As the King was riding thro' the Ranks, fome of the Under-officers and Soldiers faid aloud, " If your " Majesty has any Commands, we are ready " to execute them." This at first furprized Kuli Khan, but on recovering himfelf, he, with his usual Prefence of Mind, addreffed the King, defiring him to tell them they were to obey their General Thamas Kuli Khan, to whom he had given the fole Command of the Army; which his Majefty complied with, and then went to a Banquet which had been prepared for him in the General's

neral's Tent. The King having indulged too freely in drinking Wine, (which 'tis fuppofed was mixed with fome introxicating Drug) he fell afleep on his Sofa. The General ordered his own People to carry him to a Seraglio in the Garden of *Hazar Jerib*. His Majefty's Servants who were then in Waiting, feeming to difpute *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 Efcape, but were feized by the Guards, and confined.

After Kuli Khan had fecured the King, and placed Guards over him, he returned to his Tent, where most of the General Officers, who had been prefent 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 foon perfwaded them it would be neceffary to keep him confined in fome 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 *Perfian* Troops, being **P** 2 chiefly chiefly Afgbans, and others of the Sunni Religion.

After feizing the King, he fent a ftrong Detachment to the City, to take Poffeffion of the Palace, and place Guards at the City Gates, and in fome of the principal Streets. Early next Morning he was proclaimed by Beat of Drum, that no Perfons, on Pain of Death, fhould ftir out of their Houfes: At Noon finding every Thing was quiet and eafy, a fecond Proclamation was made, ordering all People to carry on their Bufinefs and feveral Occupations, and go abroad, as ufual.

The *Perfians* made fecretly great Lamentations, imagining their King was killed; but being informed he was alive, they flattered themfelves with Hopes that the Army would rife in his Defence.

Next Day after the King was fent away, Kuli Kban 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 Shab, *Abafs* the Third. *Kuli Khan* first fwore 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 Province whom he did not care to confide in : Afterwards he fet out with his Forces against the Turks, and meeting Abmed 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 amongst them, they were on the Point of furrendering, when Topal Othman, Basha Seraskier, and several other Balbas came with an Army, which, including Servants, &c. was upwards of 200000 Men. Having advanced near Baghdad, they obliged Thamas Kuli Khan to raife the Siege, and give 'em Battle. The Perfian Army, which then confifted of 120000 Men, charged to furioufly, and feconded their Attacks with fo much Vigour,

gour, that the Turks were on the Point of giving Way, when Kuli Khan's Horfe was thot under him. Having fought fome 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 inftantly faced about and fled: Kuli Khan endeavoured to rally them, but to no Purpofe; the Turks purfuing with great Fury, made a terrible Slaughter of them: The Perfians loft in this Action upwards of 60000 Men, and the Turks nigh as many.

This Defeat would have difcouraged any but *Kuli Khan*, who had a Soul fuperior to all Misfortunes. He ftopped at *Hamadan*, where in a few Days most of the Troops who were difpersed 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: He was determin'd to go and attack 'em one Party after another, and either conquer or die, fince 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 fame 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 fucceffively beat three confiderable Bodies of them, he at last encountered *Topal Othman Ba/ba*, at the Head of 60,000 Men, who being shot in the Beginning of the Action, his whole Army was foon routed, and put to Flight.

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

This unexpected Success had greatly raifed 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 Bagbdad. When

When the Siege was pretty far advanced, he received News, that Mahommed Khan Bulluche, 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 raifed 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 fmall 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 confifted of 12000 Men. Mahommed Khan Balluche being overjoyed to find him attended by fo few, told his Officers, that Fortune had delivered Thamas Kuli Khan into their Hands; that they might eafily 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 ftruck with fuch a Panick, that they fled, without fustaining his first Attack.

Attack. Mahommed Khan Balluche, who was perfonally brave, having fingled out Kuli Khan, rode full Speed towards him; being repulsed, he fought his Way back again, and intended to make his Escape, by croffing the Gulf of Perfia in an Arab Veffel: but those treacherous People seized him, and, in hopes of a Reward, carried him to Thamas Kuli Khan, who fent him to Prifon, in order to force him into a Confession of his Accomplices, and what Treasure and Effects he had. In this he was difappointed, for the Moment Mahommed Khan Balluche was left alone, he hanged himfelf. They could find no Papers that gave any Account of the Perfons he corresponded with, or where his Effects (which were very confiderable) had been depofited. Thus ended this brave Man, who was defervedly efteemed for feveral good Qualities; he was as great (tho' not fo 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 fome of the principal Persons concerned in the Rebellion, and seizing their Effects. He afterwards returned to Isfahan, where settling Q fome fome Affairs, he fet out for Georgia, and took the Capital Teffis by Storm, upon which the whole Country fubmitted 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, hefent a Meffenger to the Russians to defire them to relinquish Gilan and the Silk Countries, according to their Promise, otherwise he should be obliged to pay them a Vifit; as they had no Inclination to enter into a War with him, they evacuated all the Places on this Side the Ca/pian 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 fettled Affairs in Regard to those two Powers, he fent 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 faid 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 Reafon of calling them together was to acquaint them that he had now fubdued all the Enemies of the Perfian Empire, except the Kandahar Afghans, whom he was determined to march against very foon; 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 chastifed the Tartars, and other Enemies on the Frontiers, in fuch a Manner, that (in all Probability) they would remain quiet for a long Time, fo 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 faid Affembly 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 Perfons, that they ought to compliment their Regent and General with an Offer Q 2 of

of the Crown, tho' at the fame Time, they were certain he would not accept of it. When the Time was expired, they waited on him with an Addrefs; in which, after fetting forth the fignal Services 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 affift him on all Occafions 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 look'd upon the Voice of the People to be the Voice of God, he must fubmit to the Cares of a Crown, and facrifice his own Eafe to the public Good, not doubting but (by the Bleffing of the Almighty, and their unanimous Concurrence) he fhould raife the Perfian Nation to as great a Pitch of Glory as any of their former Kings had done. And, in order to fet out right, and have a perfect Understanding with them, he fhould require three Things to be folemnly 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 Confifcation of Effects, fhould prefume to take up Arms in Favour of the late Royal Family, or any Branch thereof, on any Pretence whatever, nor fo much as mention any Thing tending to Rebellion.

III. That, as great Diffurbances and Mifchiefs had always arofe between them and their Neighbours, the *Turks*, *Indians*, and *Tartars*, on Account of the Difference of Religion, he defired a Number of the Religious of both Sects might affemble to confider of, and refolve upon, an Uniformity; adding, that as the Points in which the *Sunnis* and *Schias* * differed were not very effen-

* The Sunnis are those Mahommedans, who acknowledge as lawful the Succeffion 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 difpute the Lawfulnefs of the Succeffion of Abubuckr, Aumar, and Othman, and maintain that Mortifa Ali (according to the Prophet's Will) ought immediately to fucceed 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 eafily effected.

The Grandees came readily into the two first Articles, but as to the last they defired he would first hear what the Mullab Bashi (or High-Priest) had to offer on that Head before they should subscribe to it. Accordingly the High-Priest addressed him, and faid, · As to Matters of Religion we have the Law f 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 Majefty will ' not begin your Reign with attempting to ' overthrow the Established Religion, as a ' Step of that Nature must be attended with dangerous Confequences.' Then Kuli Kban immediately ordered him to be ftrangled, to prevent the People from attempting to fecond his Difcourfe, which they would certainly have done, if this fudden Execution has not detered them from it. He then asked the People whether they would fubscribe, and take Oaths to what he had proposed ; which they tamely and readily fubmitted to. The next Day, being March 1735-6. he was proclaimed Emperor of Perfia, by the Name of Nadir

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

Having

* On Nadir Shah's being proclaimed King, Coins were flruck in his Name with the following Infcription.

> سکه بر زر ڪرد نام سلطنت در جهان نادر بړان نرمېن و خسرو ڪېتي ستان

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

Which fignifies,

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

> On the Reverfe in a Cypher, *Al Khér fi ma vackeh.*

Which fignifies, What has bappened is beft.

The Numerical Letters of the faid Motto, make up 1148. the Year he usurp'd the Crown.

And on the fame Side is, *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 Affembly in a grand Manner, for the Space of three Days, he difmiffed them with Prefents, and treated them all with great Civility, excepting the Priefts, who he found were commenced his

One of which has السلطان زادر Al Sultan Nadir, The Sultan Nadir, on one Side; and on the Reverfe, فندهار يالله ملكة غرب في قندهار Juck bi. Zirb fi Kandabar. May God perpetuate bis Reign. Struck at Kandahar.

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

> هستسلطان بر سلاطیی جہان شاۃ شاہان نادر صاحب قران

Hist Sultan, bir Salasin Jeban Sbab é Shahan Nadir Shaheb é Kéran.

Which is to fay,

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

On the Reverfe,

الله ملك ضرب في احمداباد ١١٥٢ Khould Allah Muluck bi. Zirb fi Abmedabad, 1152.

Which fignifies,

May God perpetuate bis Reign. Struck at Ahmedabad in 1152,

bitter

bitter Enemies, for cutting off the Mullah Balbi, 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 fent for the Chiefs of them, and ark'd in what Manner they employed the vaft Revenues they had. The told him. that they apply'd them to the religious Purpoles for which they were intended, fuch as Salaries for Priefts, the Maintenance of Colleges, and a great Number of Molques, in which Prayers were daily and hourly offered up for Succeils to the Arms of their Prince. and Prosperity to the Empire of Perha. He told them, that by Experience it was evident their Prayers had not been heard, fince for fifty Years past the Nation has been on the Decline, and at last almost ruined by Invafions and Rebellions, until God's victorious Inftruments (meaning his Atmy) had come to its Relief, who twere now ready to facrifice their Lives for the Defence and Glory thereof; that these poor Priests (pointing to his Soldiers) were in Want, and must be fupply'd by fome Means or other; that therefore it was his Royal Pleasure, that the greatest Part of the Church Lands and Revenues should be

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 ftir up the Army and People against him; the former, being above half Sunnis, only laughed at them; and the latter, when they confidered that by this they were to be eafed of a Part of the Taxes. were not diffatisfy'd with it. After this Kuli Khan fent for the Chiefs of the People, and, acquainting them with what he had done, told them, if they wanted Priefts, 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 Difpleafure.

A Tran-

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

"A L L in high Stations, the Sedr * "A of great Power, the Governor, "Ministers of the Law, and learned Men of "the Royal Refidence of Isfaban, being ex-"alted thro' the King's Favour, K N O W, "That while the abode of our Ensigns (on "whom Victory attends) was at Sebrai "Mogbam ‡. 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 Perfic, which Dr. Mead was pleafed to favour me with:

* The Sedr is a Perfon 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.

1 The fame as Chuli Mogham.

"ed in the Religion of Hanifa || and Jaffer §, "aş transmitted to us by our Predecessory." "we do acknowledge the + directing Kbalifs "(in all whom the high God is pleased) 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 "the Friend of Gop ‡, according to the

|| Hanifa, one of the four great Doctors, to famous for expounding the Mahammedan Law.

§ Jaffer, one of the Imâms, whole Opinion in feve-, ral Points the Sunnis themselves pay the greatest Régard to.

t خلفا وانشدين Khulfa Rafchedein, the directing Khalifs by which are always meant Abubucker, Aumar, Othman, and Ali.

* By the Chief of Meffengers is meant Mabon mod.

t علي وليالله Ali vulli Allab, or Ali the Friend of God, is always annexed by the Schias to their Kelmah in this-Manner,

لا الع الا الله محمد رسول الله وعلي ولي الله

La Ilab il Allab, Mahommed Rasoul Allab v³ Aü Vulli Allab. Which is literally, There is no GOD but GOD, and Mahommed the Prophet of GOD, and Ali the Friend of GOD.

" ufual

" 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. " Bofides, 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 increased by vulgar Testimony, " nor the full Moon of his Power be di-" minished by omitting these Words. The "ill Confequence of this Form is, that both " Sects S, who equally acknowledge the "Chief and Prophet † of both Worlds, will " by this Difference be provoked to Animo-" fities, which are difagreeable both to the " Prophet and to the Prince of the Faithful *. "Wherefore, as foon as the Purport of this

امبر المومنين اسد الله الغالب العراقي المر الله الغالب العراقي المراقي المراقي المراقي المراقي المراقي المراقي Affad Allab, al. Ghaleb, the Prince of the Faithful, the Lyon of GOD, the Victorious, were Mortifa Ali's Titles. He is faid to be Elect, Praifed, and Acceptable to GOD, because there is honourable mention made of him in the Koran.

§ The Sunnis and Schias.

- + Mahommed.
- * Mortifa Ali.

" high

" high Edict is known, let it be fignified to " all Muffulmen, 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 Cuftom, be not mentioned. It is " also usual with the Governors in their " Affemblies, after Fattaba and Tokbir t, to " fay, May the King from whom all our " Fortune flows, live for ever. As a Tokbir " for perpetuating a mortal Man is vain, and " of no Effect, I exprelly order that every " Khan who is a Mafter of a Tabal || and En-" fign, fay it in this Manner, Thanks to the " true King for all Benefits. From hence-" forward all Perfons must observe these "fettled Regulations, and written Or-" ders: For, whofoever deviates therefrom, " will incur the Difpleafure of the King

the first Saura or Chapter of the Koran. Tokbir is repeating three times these Words, January Malab Akbab, which is to fay, God is Greatest, before the Kelmab abovementioned.

[Tabal is a fmall Drum, which General Officers have fixed to their Saddles.

" of

NADIR SHAH. 127 " of Kings. Written in the Month Safer, " 1149^{*}."

This Edict was received with great Joy by Numbers of his Subjects, as many being fecretly of that Perfwafion, as of the Schia eftablished 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 feem'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 fame 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 Perfian Monarchs is performed. Having girt on the Royal Scymitar, and put the Imperial Crown on his Head, he took the ufual Oath, which is, To govern the People according to the Laws of God, as re-

* June 1736.

veakd

vealed by bis Prophet Mahommed, and protest and defend them against all their Enemies.

After this, he marched with his Army to Isfahan, where he continued fome 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 Perfia, and at the fame time congratulated him on having eftablifhed the true Orthodox Religion in his Empire, and difcouraged the former Herefy.

In December, 1736, Nadir Shab fet out from Isfahan, with an Army of upwards of 80000, chiefly Horfe, and marched towards Kandahar, by the Way of Carmania, and was shortly after followed 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 beard Nadir Shah had befieged Kandahar. His Transactions fince that Times I shall continue as translated from some Persic Manuscripts,

Manuscripts, which 1 have mentioned in the Preface.

The fame Gentleman has alfo favoured me with a perfonal Defcription and Character of this great Heroe, which I shall referve for the Conclusion of these Sheets.

Nadir Shab, having fecurely effablished 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. Hossian 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 fallied out with his Men, most of whom died bravely fighting. Hossian and his Son being taken Prisoners, the Persians entered the Castle, and took Possification thereof.

While Nadir Shah was bufy in fecuring 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 S must

must expect to have with the Afghans, and the warlike Nations of those Parts, the Opposition he must expect from Naçir Khan, Soubabdar of Cabul, and Zekaria Khan, Ruler of Labor; and, last of all (should his Fortune furmount all these) his Fate will depend on his Success against a powerful Imperial Army. They foon fatisfied him how unneceffary his Fears were, and that, before he crofs'd the Attok*, he should have a Proof how able they were, and how much inclined to facilitate his Paffage. Being encouraged by those Representations, he set out with an Army of 125,000 Horfe, Kuzzlebalh, 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 themfelves, but bringing Wealth and Glory to their impoverished Country, by the Plunder of India. In

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

the mean Time, Nizam al Muluck and Saadit Khan used all their Endeavours fecretly to promote his Interest, and wrote to Sherzih Kban+, Governor of the Castle of Cabul, and Naçir Khan, Soubabdar of that Province (who was a Creature of Khandoran's) as alfo 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-' jefty and favourite Courtiers employ their • Time in Wine and Women, has come to ' a Refolution to strike a Blow at this Empire. You well know that none of the ' great Ones here are fit to take the Field, much lefs to refift a Man who is conduct-'ed by Fortune. As this is the Cafe, you ' can have little Hopes of Affiftance from ' hence; the best you can do will be to be-" have diffcreetly, and fave yourfelves.' Thefe Letters cooled them pretty much, and had

+ 'Tis cuftomary in *India* to have two Governors, one to command the City, and another to command the Caftle. The latter is generally for Life, and he muft never flir out of the Caftle, unlefs he is turned out by the *Mogbol*. The Governor of the City is called Hakem, and he who commands the Caftle is called is called is called

the defired Effect with Naçir Khan and Zekaria Khan.

Nadir Shah, having fubdued Ghorbund and Ghoznavi, and garrifon'd them with his own People, came to Cabul and befieged it. Nacir Khan (before his Arrival) had left it, and marched to Peisbor; but Sherzih Khan defended both the City and Caftle for 6 Weeks with the utmost Bravery, and wrote repeatedly to Nacir Khan, and to Court for Affistance; but none coming, both City and Caftle 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, fince 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 Readinefs, and provide all Things necessary for taking the Field. As Rajab Jeffing was more attached to Khandoran than to any of the other Omras, he repeatedly wrote to him to this Purport : ' Nadir Shab's " Coming is a concerted Thing. You must

' be

⁶ be watchful over the Mogbol Omras⁺, who ⁶ feem to be united in order to compass fome ⁶ treacherous Defign. Naçir Khan and Sher-⁶ zih Khan have always been fupported by ⁶ the Court; one has facrificed his Life to ⁶ its Interest, and the other (afraid of his ⁶ Life) has sted to Peishor. If Zekaria Khan, ⁶ Ruler of Labor, makes any Opposition, it ⁶ will give the Emperor's Army Time to ad-⁶ vance pretty far, in order to check this In-⁶ vader; as for us Rajpouts we are ready to ⁶ join the Royal Enfigns.

Kbandoran knowing him to be well-affected, reprefented 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 laft agreed, that the Army fhould march to Labor, that the Emperor fhould accompany it fo far, and that from thence it fhould proceed towards Cabul, under the Command of Nizam al Muluck, and the other two Omras; for which Purpofe,

[‡] By the Moghol Omras, he means those of Tartar and Perfian Families, whom the Indians, without Diflinction, call Moghols.

the

the Peishkhanna * was ordered out to the Gardens of Sbalimar; but after it was fent thither, to every Body's Surprize, Khandoran same back to the Palace, and delayed the March, whereas Nizam feemed to be for haftening 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, fo that Nadir Shah had not only Time to fecure Cabul, but was far advanced in his March to Peifbor +. 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 Paffes, without much Bloodshed, and that the Afgbans had fortified themselves on the Tops of the Hills ; he fent them Offers of Accommodation, which they came into the more readily. as the Soubshdars had fent no Affiftance ; and that they had been four or five Years without

* Peißkbanna fignifies the Tents, Sc. that are fent before to the Place where the Prince, or General Officer, defigns to halt, or encamp.

+ Peisber is 202 measured Cols from Debli, 97 from Labor, and 35 from Attok.

receiving

receiving any of their ufual Allowance from Court: Upon Nadir Shab's paying them a certain Sum of Money, they not only let him pass unmolested, but several of them lifted in his Army; the other Afgbans hearing of this, followed their Example, So, leaving the main Army behind, with 10,000 chosen Horse of Kuzzleba/b ||, in seven Days he got to Peisbor. Nacir Khan, who with 7000 Horfe had incamped without the City, not imagining he could get through the Paffes fo foon, upon hearing of his Approach with fo large a Body of Horfe, was greatly perplexed; feveral of his Auxiliaries left him, and few befides the King's Men flood by him, who, after a brave Refistance, 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 thicker, which of late had been neglected.

الزياش Kuzzieba/b, are an Order of Soldiers among the Perfians, as the Janizaries (or more properly Ingecherris) among the Turks. It fignifies, in the Turkish Language, Red Heads, fo called from the Red Caps they wore when first instituted by Shekh Heydr, the Father of Shah Ifmaet first King of the Seffi Family.

and Naçir Khan taken Prifoner. Some Afghans who, waiting the Event, were posted on the Hills, feeing Nadir Shab prevail, came and offered him their Service. After this Victory, he entered Peifbor and took Poffeffion thereof. When the News of this Defeat came to Court, Nizam al Muluck, Khandoran, Kummir o'din Khan, and the other Omras, according to the King's Order, on the fecond of January, 1738-9, marched out with a numerous Army, a large Train of Artillery, and other warlike Neceffaries, 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 prepoffers the Minds of the Soldiers with a Terror of Nadir Shah's Forces, and how vain it was to refift him; and, at the fame Time, amufed them to divert their going too far forward: But the King iffued out Orders, that Nizam and the other Omras should advance with all Expedition, he himfelf intending to follow foon after them. Nizam al Muluck, and the reft, according to thefe Orders, marched on, and encamped in the Plains of Karnal, which is Fifty-Five Cofs

Cofs * diftant from *Debli*. The Emperor alfo fet out the 18 of *January*, 1738-9, and on the 4th of *February* joined them.

Nadir Shah having fecured Peishor, and croffed the Attok, marched directly towards Labor: Zekaria Khan. Soubabdar thereof, had (to Appearance) fortified the Place in the best Manner possible, and having entrenched himfelf without, feemed eager to engage the Enemy, but as foon as Nadir Shah's Troops came within Sight of the Intrenchments (having had his Leffon from Nizam al Muluck) at a Signal given, he and all his Forces retreated to the Caftle, from whence they cannonaded the Perhans three Days, after which, having capitulated, one of the Conditions being, that the City should be fpared, a Thoufand Kuzzleba/h took poffeffion of the Caftle, and Nadir Shab 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 Cois mentioned here are flort computed ones, this Place being no more than 26 measured Cois from Debli.

+ There are Gardens at Labor also called Shalimar, as well as at Dehli.

Before
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 Attock, I thought this the properest Place for inserting them.

A Translation of a Letter from Nadir Shah to Mahummed Shah, received the Begining of Jumadi al avul 1 1 5 1, 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 Mussien. My Stay on this side the Attock is with a View, that, when these

* By Iflâm (which literally fignifies Safety) is meant the Mahommedan Religion.

+ The Maharattas or Ganims.

• Infidels

Infidels move towards Hindoftan ‡, I may
fend an Army of the victorious Kuzzleba/h
to drive them to the Abyls of Hell. Hiftory || is full of the Friendship that has
fublisted between our Kings, and your
Majesty's Predecessors. By Ali Mortifa,
I fwear, that (excepting friendship, and a
Concern for Religion) I neither had, nor
have any other views; if you suffect the
contrary you may; I always was, and will
be a Friend to your illustrious House.'

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

[‡] The Province of *Debli*, in particular, is called by this Name; but it is generally used to fignify the whole Empire.

H Vide Tarikb Alum Arai by Secander Beg in the Life of Shab Thamas, and the first Volume of Akbar Nama in the Life of Hemaiûn.

T 2 A Trans-

- 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.
- H E has 36,000 Horfemen with himfelf; Kaffum Beg Kban is Nazem Munazem, Motbir al Muluck, and Aitmad al Dowlat *; the Son of Maurli, is Arrizbegi †. Queftions and Anfwers are entirely managed by thefe two, and befides them, none have the Power of preferring Petitions, or reprefenting any Thing to him; of the above Army 1000 Horfe are Hajee Bafbi's, called alfo Niquibs ‡, and 1000 are Shamkbi ||, and 1000 are Chaux §, who go before, crying out, Victory to the King of Kings; 1000 Horfe his fpecial Guards, and

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

+ Arrizbegi is the Perfon who prefents all Petitions, either written, or by Word of Mouth.

- ‡ Niquibs are much the fame as Corporals.
- || So called from the Place they come from.

§ Ghams are a kind of Guards.

1000

1000 Horfe his Jeloudar *, who alight and
march on Foot close by his Person, but
in Fight none of them attend him. Whoever runs away, or turns his Back, is ordered to be cut off.

5000 Horfe are detached with Hajee
Beg Khan, a Courd +, who is General. At
prefent we are arrived at Pei/hor to fight
Navob ‡ Naçir Khan; 1000 Horfemen of
his own People are along with Juan Kuli
Beg Ba/hi, and 2000 Ou/beg Horfemen from
Gunjh, 2000 Horfe Rijee, 2000 Horfe of
the Turcomans, and 1000 Horfe Kuzzleba/h, are under the Command of Sirdar
Beg Afshar; 4000 Afghan Horfe with
Séf Khan and Shahin Khan, the Officers of
Hoffein Khan, Governor of Kandahar, and
12000 Horfe are lately arrived with Nadir
Kuli's Son from Balkh, of which 1500 are
fent back, aad the reft kept. There are

* Jeloudar fignifies, 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, fignifying that they are the King's Vicegerents. In Perfia 'tis given, among their other Titles, to the Wives, Sons, and Daughters of the Royal Family.

2

' 4000

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' 4000 Shop-keepers, Musfulmen, who

' trade with the Shah's * Money, he standing

to the loss, if any happens.

' After Morning Prayers, he fits 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 Taffels of ' Silver, are disposed regularly, and at a pro-· per Diftance ; 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 defired, and every · Body has his Caufe decided at once; Bribe-• ry is not fo much as known here. He has * particular information given him of every ' Thing that paffes; all Criminals, Great ' and Small, Rich and Poor, meet with im-' mediate Death. He fits till Noon, after which he dines, and then repofes a little; ' when Afternoon-Prayers are over, he fits ' till the evening Prayers, and when they are

* Nadir Shab.

• over,

- ' over, he shoots five Arrows into the Khak
- ' Towda*, and then goes into the Womens
- ' Apartments.'
- A Translation of a Letter wrote by Sirbullind Khan's Secretary at Dehli, to Mirza Moghol, Son to Ali Mahommed Khan, at Ahmedabad, dated the 15th of Shaval, 1151 +, and received the 6th 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 of these eight Months past.
- ' He came to Khandahar, and from thence

* Khak Towda is a Heap of fine Mold, well fifted, and beat ftrongly in betwixt two Stone Walls. 'Tis five Foot high, three Foot thick, and from three to four Foot broad. The Front of it very fmooth and even, beat hard with a heavy Trowel. One who is well skilled, can fhoot his Arrow into it quite to the Head; whereas one that fhoots ill (be he never fo ftrong) can't put a third Part in. The Arrows for this Exercife have the Iron Part quite round, about four Fingers long, of the Size of the Reed, until near the Point, where they are fomewhat thicker, from which Part they taper gradually to a fharp point. The Length, from the thickeft Part to the Point, is from $\frac{3}{4}$ to r Inch.

^{† 15} January 1738-9. ‡ 5 February 1738-9. 6 to

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* to Cabul, which is the Limits of Hind *, · of which he took Poffetiion ; from thence ' he fent an Embaffador to Mahommed Shab. " When we heard here of the Embaffador's ' coming, and Cabul being taken Poffeffion ' of, which was in the Month + Ribby al ' avul. The Emperor's Peishkbanna was fent • out for an Expedition against Nadir Shah; ' which on Account of the Disharmony of ' the Omras, was kept in Sufpence. About · forty Lacks ‡ by Bills at different Times ' were remitted to Navob Naçir Khan, Sou-' babdar of Peishor, that he, joining with the · Afghans of that Quarter, might make Head ' against Nadir Shab; the faid Navob enlisted ' Men, and prepared to fight, expecting to ' be fupported by an Army from Shahjehana-' bad; notwithstanding which, until Rijub §, " nothing was put in Execution. Nadir Shab ' at Cabul cultivated a Friendship with the ' Zemidars of that Quarter, and brought over ' to his Side the Tribe of the Safis, who ' are famous in those Parts. There were fe-' veral Meffages paffed and repaffed between ' him and Naçir Khan, to whom no Affif-

* Hind, the fame as Hindostan.

+ June 1738. \$ 500,000 l. § October 1738.

' tance

* ance came from Court; neverthelefs he 6 fought one good Battle, in which Nadir 6 Shah was victorious. The Safis conducted 6 him through unufual and fhort Ways to 6 the City of Peifhor, which he took Pof-6 feffion of in the Month of Shahan *. Navob 6 Naçir Khan, who had run away, was taken 6 by the Afghans, and delivered up to Nadir 6 Shah, who kept him confined for fome 6 Days; but, at laft, made him one of his 6 Vizirs.

When this News arrived at Court, on
the 1ft of Ramazan +, the Emperor fent
Khandoran, Nizam, and Kummir o'dîn Khan
againft Nadir Shah; and, befides their own
Jaguîrs, advanced them one Crore || of
Rupees out of the Treafury to enlift Men,
and gave them 700 Carriage-Guns, and
3000 Harquebuffes, and ordered the chief
Omras to attend them; for which Purpofe
they marched out this Day, and pitched
their Tents in a Place clofe by the City, and
began to enlift Men. Saadit Khan, being
fent for from his Province to join them, had

* November 1738. + December 3, 1738. || 1,250,000 l.

U 'already

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' already croffed 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 Reafon feveral unbecoming Mef-' fages now paffed between them. The ' Emperor, who confulted Khandoran's Eafe ⁴ and Pleafure, ordered Nizam al Muluck and ' the Vizir to leave him at Court, and they ' to go on with the Expedition; but they ' excufed themfelves. In the mean Time, ' News was brought, that Nadir Sbab (by ' Naçir Khan's Advice) had put on the In-' dian Drefs, and fat on the Throne in the ' Manner of the Indian Emperors, and that ' his Forces had croffed the Attock, and were ' on their March to Labor. On this News ' the Emperor was quite confounded, and, ' fending for the Superintendant of the Boats, ' afked him how many Days it would take ' to go by Water to Patna or Kaffi Benaris ||. ' It being told the Vizir and Nizam al Mu-' luck, that the Emperor had fuch a Defign, they petition'd him, that thefe Slaves (meanf ing themfelves) might not go upon the Ex-

|| A city in the Province of *Alehabad*, famous for the *Indian* Worfhip, and their Colleges there.

' pedition

' pedition without his fortunate Presence, and ' that he would refolve to put himfelf at their "Head. Some Days paffed in this Debate; at last it was agreed to fend for Saadit Khan ' from his Province to take Care of his Ma-' jefty in Shabjebanabad, and that the other " Omras should march on towards Labor. * Accordingly, on the 20th of Ramazan *, ' one Mourid Khan was dispatched to Saadit " Khan; in the Road to the Province of Au-' dib forme Rebels robb'd him; however, af-' ter much Trouble, he got to Saadit Khan, ' who happened to be then to fick that he ' could not ftir; with which the Emperor ' being acquainted, he fent Phyficians with ' orders to cure him as foon as poffible; 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 ' bim; 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.

U 2

peditious

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peditious in fuccouring me, left Things should
be past Remedy.'

' Ieminabad, which is a confiderable Place, ' and fubordinate to Labor, was under Kul-' linder Khan, one of Zekaria Khan's Officers, with a Body of 10000 Horfe. Emir Khan, ' one of Nacir Khan's Dependants, who now ' had fubmitted to Nadir Shab, with his own People and feveral Kuzzlebash, made an ' Attack by Night on the faid Place, in ' which Kullinder Khan was killed, and · Emir Khan poffeffed himfelf of the Place. ' Nadir Shah's Munaddi * being beat about, f and his Government acknowledged there : ' Upon hearing of this, Zekaria Khan, who ' had advanced 10 Cofs from Labor, with ' an Army of 20,000 Horfe, retired into ' the City: Upon which News here, on the ' oth of Shaval+, Khandoran Nizam al Mu-' luck, and Kummir o'din Khan, marched ' on 10 Cofs, and the next Day 10 Cofs ' more, and fo on, that they are now at ' Sonput, and Nadir Shab is yet in Peifbor.' P. S. Corn prodigious dear, the People distracted.

* A fmall Drum that is beat about to notify or proclaim any Thing.

† January 9, 1738-9.

A Tranf-

A Translation of a fecond Letter from the fame Perfon, dated the 20th of Shaval, received the 8th of Zeccadih, 1151 *.

I Wrote you the 15th, with an Account of Affairs at Sbabjebanabad 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 fo to do by Narin ' Khan, Soubabdar of Cabul, now Nadir ' Shah Vizir) fent Kefaet Khan, one of his ' principal Officers, to Nadir Shab, who used ' him kindly, and prefented him with two ' Shauls; after fome Conference, he fent his ' own Ambassador along with him to Zekaria " Khan, who called the Amhaffador 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 fecond, the Kuzzleba/h and Georgians fell ' in among them with their Swords, and * January and February 7, 17:38-9.

' made

[¥] January 18, 1738-9.

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made a great Slaughter. Zekaria Kban,
upon this, retired into the City, and Nadir
Shab's Men purfued fo faft, that they got
in at the fame Time. Zekaria Khan went
to his own Houfe, and Nadir Shab's Army
to the Caftle, who was immediately proclaimed there.

' On this News there was a fad Confusion • here. The Emperor, on Thur (day the 19th * ' in the Morning, fent for the young Prince " Sultan Abmed, who came to wait on him ' in great Pomp and Splendor, fitting in a · Paleki adorned with the richeft Jewels; at ' ten o'Clock he mounted and came out of ' the Caftle with an Intent to go upon the • Expedition against Nadir Shab, and made the · Prince (whom he had dignified with Titles ' and nominal Employments) his Harol +, ' and fent him before to the Gardens of Sha-' limar : To-morrow they defign 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.

2

+ Harol fignifies the Vanguard, or any Number of Forces that are fent before the main Army. The Officer who commands fuch a Body is also called Harol.

not come up as yet; they fay he is arrived
on the Banks of the Ganges. Things are in
a terrible Confusion here, Numbers of creditable People and Merchants going daily
away to diftant Places, and to the Rajabs
ftrong Holds; 80 Kuzzlebash had their
Bellies ript up at Cabul, for only being prefent when some of their own People forced
one of the Countrywomen.'

A Journal

A 'Journal of Nadir Shah's Tranfactions in India, translated from the original Copy, wrote at Dehli, by Mirza Zuman, Secretary to Surbullind Khan.

N the 12th of Zeccadib §, the Royal Camp *, in Circuit about feven Cofs, was pitched in the Fields of Karnal; it was furrounded with Mourchas +, on which were mounted near 5000 Carriage Guns, belonging to the Emperor and the Omras. In the Centre was the Emperor himfelf, and fronting him were Nizam al Muluck's and Saad o'din 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, Mir Gullou, Shebdad Khan,

§ February 11, 1738-9.

* The great Moghol's Camp.

+ Mourcha fignifies Barricadoes, but generally the Intrenchments and Breast-works about a Camp, or any other Post.

and

and Khan Zuman Khan: on the Left, Kummir o'din Khan, Azîm Allah Khan, 'fani Khan, and Seyd Neaz Khan; behind the Emperor was posted, Sirbullind Khan, and in the Rear of all was Mahommed Khan Bungush; behind Khandoran was Kirpa Ram. with the Jaats 1, and behind the Vizir was Hernind Amul Kowtpoutli; on the Right, clofe by the Nakar-Khanna §, were the Men of Bebroz Khan, Ishak Khan, and Assist Ali Khan; behind them was the Station of the Abeers ||; each of these Omras had his own proper Army, and the whole Number encamped amounted to 200,000 Horfe and Foot. This fame Day News was brought, that Hajee Khan. Nadir Shah's Kurrol*. had advanced as far as the Village Tillawori (which is five Coss from hence) with a Party of 6000 Horfe, all Courds : On the

‡ The Jaats are a Tribe of Rajpouts.

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

|| The Abeers are another Tribe of the Rajpouts.

* Kurrol fignifies the advanced Guard that goes before the main Army; also the Officer that commands fuch a Body. It is the fame as *Harol* already explained.

X 13th

13th + fome Kuzzlebash Horfemen appeared at different Quarters of the Camp, and killed and took Prifoners feveral People who were coming from the Out-Parts thereto; four of the Kuzzlebash were likewife taken and brought to Nizam al Muluck. On the 14th ‡ Nadir Shab having left one Boungab || at Shahabad (which is one Stage from Serbind) and a fecond at Tanifeer, he advanced with 40,000 Horfe, partly Lancemen, Archers and Musqueteers, to the Village Tillauvri, each Horfeman having two and fome three Attendants, Grooms, and Camel-drivers, all robuft young Men, compleatly armed and mounted, fome on Camels, fome on Mules, and others on Yabous §, not one in his whole Army being on Foot, even those who followed the Camp, and trafficked for Neceflaries to the Men, were compleatly armed and mounted, the Number of all amounting to near 160,000. In the Time of Action the Mafter could not be diftin-

+ February 12, 1738-9. ‡ February 13, 1738-9.

|| Boungab fignifies the Baggage, and all the Furniture appertaining to a Camp.

§ Yabous are a Sort of fmall Horfes, which are very hardy and ferviceable.

guished

guifhed from the fervant, nor the Tradefmen and Traffickers belonging to the Camp, from the common Soldiers, all in general being bold and refolute, 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 *Kandabar*, who on a March could not be distinguished from the Soldiers, having a *Barranni* * over their own Clothes, 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 feveral Meffengers came to Nizam al Muluck with Offers of an Accommodation, all which he rejected, and would hear of nothing but War.

On the 15 +, Nadir Shah, being neceffitated for Water, marched from *Tillauvri*, and encamped in a Place flanking *Khando*ran's Rear, at a Diftance of four Cofs. This Morning Saadit Khan arrived in the Camp, and went to wait on the Emperor. About

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

† February 14, 1738-9.

X 2 nine

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nine o'Clock News was brought that his Attendants * and Baggage (fome 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 feveral of them killed and plundered by the Perhans Van. Saadit Khan, upon hearing this, left the Dirbar +, and (with all Expedition) marched to his People's Affistance. Khandoran being nigh, he, with his two Sons, and the reft of his Troops, joined him; as did alfo Mazuffer Khan, Seyd Hoffan Khan, Khan Zuman Khan, Mîr Gullou, Shehdad Khan, Afflih 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 apprized of this Affair, advanced towards that Quarter, and de-

* Mahommed Reza Khan, Saadit Khan's Bukh/hi, or Paymafter and General, was the Person first attacked by four or five hundred Kuzzlehafh; several of his Men were killed, and he was taken prisoner.

+ Dirbar fignifies literally, the Door of Admittance, being a Word composed of در Dir, Door, and يار Bar, Admittance. 'Tis the common Name for the King's or a Governor's Palace.

tached

tached 1000 Courds, 1000 Kajirs * 1000 Backhtiaris, and 1000 Harquebusers, in all 4000 Horfe, 3000 of whom he planted in three different Places in Ambush, 500 Harquebufers he fent towards Saadit Khan, and the other 500 towards Khanderan to draw them into the Field; in which having fucceeded, the Horfemen who lay in Ambush poured in upon them in three different Places, and engaged them in a most obstinate Manner. Befides these 4000 none else of Nadir Shab's Men joined in that Action, excepting that he himfelf, attended by a 1000 Af shar Horfe, rode to and from all Quarters to encourage and direct these Men : The rest of the Army (according to his Order) flood drawn up at a Distance, each Nation separate, ready at a Signal to come to his Affiftance; but, as it happened, there was no Occasion for them : thefe 4 or 5000 having fought obstinately until near the Evening, when the Emperor's Forces gaveGround, Saadit Khan, Sheerjing and Khandoran's youngeft Son, were taken Prisoners; Khandoran, having received feveral mortal

* Kajirs are a Tribe of Turcomans, and the Backbiiaris, or Bastrians, are to called from Bakbtir, or Bastria, the Place they come from.

Wounds,

Wounds, was carried back to his Quarters; Maxuffer Khan, with feveral other Officers, were killed, and fome mortally wounded, returned to their Camp; Seyd Hoffan Khan, being wounded, marched towards Debhi; 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 Mahammed Shab's Camr, a Day after the Engagement, it is faid, that Nadir Shah fought with 50,000 Horfe : And when Khandoran and Mazuffer Khan came with their Forces, he divided his Men into three Bodies, and at laft routed the Mogbol's Army. Saadit Kban's and Sherjing's Elephants getting foul of each other, the Kuzzlebalb furrounded and took them Prisoners. Khandoran received a Bullet in his Arm, and another in his Side .- Mazuffer Khan was killed, jumping from his Elephant .-- Mir Gullou, Shebdad Khan, Akhlafs Khan, Eadgar Khan, and Khandoran's eldeft Son were killed. Akul beg Khan Kumlpoi/b, with his Son, and Abdal Rizak Khan. and Jaffer Kban, with his Son and Brothers, and Sirdar Muluck were wounded. Mirza Kboudabunda. Grandfon 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 Sbab's Side feven principal Officers, and 2500 Men were killed, and about 5000 wounded with Swords, Cuttarri's, and Bullets.

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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.

Amidft 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 Defign to put a Stop to the Enemies advancing any farther; but, had not the Night come on, these Precautions would have ferved them in little Stead, and that Day would have put an End to the whole affair. About an hour after Sun-set

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

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

Nizam

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

On the 16th ‡, finding the Camp fo thin, and being apprehenfive of the Kuzzlebafh's attacking them, they contracted the Circuit thereof, and their Mourchas into the Compafs requifite 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 flood under arms the whole Day, every Minute expecting the Enemy's Approach. Towards the Evening a fmall Tent was pitched for the Emperor, and all the Troops were difpofed of to their refpective Pofts, where they continued under Arms the whole Night, and their Horfes faddled, without either Hay or Corn.

The 17th || also passed in Fear and Anxiety. This Day, according to an Order, from *Nadir Shab*, *Saadit Khan* fent for his own Men and Baggage; fome of them who

‡ The 15th of February. || The 16th Ditto.

were

were feattered up and down the Camp, went to him, carrying along with them all that escaped being plundered of his Horfes and other Effects. Nadir Shab 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 fo 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 Azim Alla Khan went to accommodate Matters to Nadir Shah's Camp; after a Stay of fix Hours, they returned back; what they might have done there, was kept a Secret. Towards the Clofe of the Evening, Khandoran died of the Wounds he had received.

+ February 17, 1738-9.

* Nizam al Muluck, with Azim Allah Khan, and feveral Horfemen, went out, and pitched a finall Tent betwixt the two Camps, to which Nadir Shah's Aitmaud al Dowlat, or Vizir (Kaffum Beg Khan) came, and from thence conducted him to his Mafter, who embraced him fitting, and made him ftand honourably, clofe by himfelf; he gave him a Cup of Sherbat, and made him eat at the Vizir's Houfe; after which it was agreed, that Mahommed Shah fhould come and fee Nadir Shah.

Y

The

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The HISTORY of

The 19th + alfopast in Deliberation, and at Night, Nizam al Muluck received a Khalaet ‡, on being appointed Mir 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 fiting in a royal Litter §, with a Canopy and an Umbrella, one led Horfe and a Drum, attended by *Ghazi o'dîn Khan*, *Azîm Allab Khan*, the *Vizir's* Son, and feveral Eunuchs, with about 200 Horfe, marched out of the Camp, and when he had gone a little Way, by a Sign he forbad the Horfemen to accompany him any farther; then with his Eunuchs and the abovefaid *Omras* (each of whom had not above two or three Servants to attend him) he went on to *Nadir Shab*'s Camp;

+ The 18th of February.

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

|| Mir Bukh/hi, or Chief Bukh/hi, fignifies Paymafter General, who commonly commands all the Forces. Emir al Omra, fignifies 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 Takbt 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 Nefr Allah Mirza, Nadir Shab's Son, who came in a Royal Litter, having alighted, paid his Refpects according to the Form + of his Country. The Emperor ordering his own Litter to be fet down, embraced Nefr 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 ftay 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 Shab came forth to receive him, having embraced him, he feated him close by himself on the same Mufnidd 1; after the accustomary Forms of Salutation, and the Enquiry after each other's

* Vakeel fignifies Agent, also Factor.

+ Not in fo fubmiffive a Manner as is done at the Mogbol's Court.

[†] Mufnidd is a particular Place in the Divan, commonly higher than any other, and large enough for two or three People to fit thereon. It is fpread with a better and fofter Carpet than any other Part, and is covered over with fine Linnen.

Y 2

Health

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Health were over, Nadir Shah addreffed him thus :

It is ftrange that you fhould be fo unconcerned and regardlefs of your own Affairs,
that notwithstanding I wrote you feveral
Letters, fent an Ambassador, and testified
a Friendship for you, your Ministers
should not think proper to fend me a fatisfactory 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 killed in your Dominions.

⁶ Even when I entered your Empire, you ⁶ feemed under no Concern for your Affairs, ⁶ nor fo much as fent to afk who I was, or ⁶ what was my Defign. When I advanced ⁶ as far as *Lahor*, none of your People came ⁶ with a Meffage or Salutation, nay, not with ⁶ an Anfwer to my Salutation to you: Af-⁶ terwards when your Omras were awaked ⁶ out of their Lethargy and Indolence, they ⁶ prevented all Means of a Reconciliation; ⁶ and coming tumultuoufly with an Intent ⁶ to ftop my farther Progrefs, they brought

* The Ambassador was killed on the Peisher Side of the Attock, by fome rebellious Rajponts.

them-

themfelves into one general Snare, without ' having the Forefight to leave any behind, who upon an Emergency could make Head, ' and retrieve their Affairs. Befides this, you · have foolifhly cooped yourfelves up in your " Mourchas, not confidering 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 unneceffary and difgraceful to ' fuffer yourfelves to be befreged by him; be-' fides, if you thought lightly of him, and ' imagined him a rash inconfiderate Man, ' without exposing your own Person and Re-' putation fo much, you ought to have de-' tached a faithful and experienced Officer, ' who, in a little Time, might have found ' Means to diffrefs 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 yourfelf, I fent you Offers of an ' Accommodation, but you was fo puffed up ' with your own childifh Conceits, and fool-' ish Resolutions, that you would not give · Ear to any honourable Overtures, or con-< fult

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' fult your own Interest, until, at last, by ' the Affiftance of the Creator of the World, ' and the Strength of the Arms of the victo-' rious Warriors, you have feen what has hap-' pened. Moreover, your Predeceffors 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, ' fuffered the Empire to be over-run by them. ' But as hitherto the Race of Temur have ' not injured or misbehaved towards the ' Seffi Family, and the People of Perha, I ' shall not take the Empire from you, only ' as your Indolence and Pride have obliged ' me to march fo 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 · Peilbculb, 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 Shab gave no Answer during the whole Speech, but was fixed in a Silence.

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

which

NADIR SHAH. 167 which testified a good deal of Confusion and Shame.

To this Difcourfe, there was none prefent but Javead Khan, Bebroz Khan, and Ghazi o'din Khan; towards Evening the Emperor returned back to his own Camp, and feveral of his officers having reprefented to him, that the Banians made the Grain very dear, he ordered their Shops to be plundered, which, inftead of mending the Matter, very much increased the Dearth of Provisions. On the 21ft*, 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 Prefent of a Coat, Veft, and a Horfe; the Vizir, Azîm Allah Khan, and Ghazi o'din Khan, each with a Coat and Veft; at nine o'Clock at Night, they waited on Mahommed Shab, and communicated to him what had paffed in their Conference, which was not made publick. That fame 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

2

Bodies lay fpread over the Space of feven Cofs ; the faid *Beldars* having ftrewed a little Earth on fome of the Carcaffes, 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 fame 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 21ft *) there was no Grain to be had without great Trouble, and that at the Rate of 1 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ Seers § of Wheat, per Rupee, and 2 to 4 Rupees per Seer of Ghee +; the Reafon of which was, that fince the Day of Battle the Camp

* February 20, 1738-9.

 \ddagger A fingle Seer, which they call Seer Cacha, is 14 Ounces, 15 \ddagger Drams; but the Seer mentioned here is a Seer Pucca of 1 lb. 13 Ounces, 15 \ddagger Drams.

+ Ghee is only Butter well boil'd and skimm'd, which is preferved in Jars, and keeps fweet a long Time, effecially 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 fold at the rate of 12 Seers for a Rupee.

The Numbers of those killed fince 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 * Kaffum Beg Khan came from Nadir Shah's Camp, and stayed with Nizam al Muluck until the Evening.

Mir Hoffan Khan (who being wounded in the Battle, fet 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 Horfemen carried off 27 Elephants, and 25 Camels, and in the Night Time discharged a great many Guns.

Z

On

^{*} The 21ft of February. + The 22d Ditto.

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On the 24th * Nizam being fent for, went to Nadir Shah's Camp, where he, with five or fix of his Attendants, was kept.

Several of the Kuzzlebash being fent against Taniseer, having plundered the faid Place, and flaughtered the Inhabitants, returned with a great Booty.

In Mahommed Shah's Camp, what Grain was to be had, was fold from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 Rupees per Seer, and whoever went to Nadir Shah's Camp, were allowed to buy as much as they confumed there, but not to carry any away. About eight 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 Azim Allah Khan, shall 'come into the Prefence +, 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 fent for Sirbullind Khan, and all the other Omras, with whom he held Council,

* The 23d Ditto.

the Word حضرت Hazerit, Prefence; and likewife حضرت Hazerit, Prefence, to fignify Majefty. 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 Cafe the Emperor should make a Push, they might not be unprepared, and if on fubmitting, he fhould go to Nadir Shab, 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 fold, $1\frac{1}{2}$ Seers, for a At Night arrived a Note from Rupee. Nadir Shab to this Effect: ' Sirbullind Khan, ' be of good Chear, and perfectly composed, ' get yourfelf hither before Mahommed Shah ' fets out.'

🛎 The 24th Ditto.

Z 2

On

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 Righthand thereof, he, with Khan Zad Khan, three Horfemen and four or five Servants entered the Camp, and pitched a fmall Tent for himfelf near the Bargab +, clofe by Saadit Khan's Quarters.

About nine o'Clock that Morning, Mabommed Shab (according to an Order) being feated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy and Umbrella, fet out for Nadir Shah's Camp, attended by Emîr Khan, Ifhak Khan, and fome Eunuchs. On his Arrival he alighted at a Tent, which had been pitched the Day before by Nadir Shah's Order, for that Purpofe, in the Front of the Camp, where he was allowed to have as many of his Domefticks of all Sorts as were neceffary, and 1000 Kuzzlebafh Horfemen were detached as Guards round him. About 8 o'Clock in the Evening, Mahommed Shah being called, went to wait on Nadir Shab; after three

* The 25th Ditto.

+ Bargab fignifies the Place of Admittance, or the publick Divan, where Audience is generally given.

Hours

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

On the 27th +, Sirbullind Khan, being called, went to Nadir Shah's Dirbar ‡, he was ordered to attend the Towpchi Bafhi || and the Niffikhchi Bafhi *, who had each 200 Horfe, and that, with the Afliftance of Saad o'din Khan, the Towpchi Bafhi fhould feize all the King's and Omras Ordnance; and the Niffikhchi Bafhi, with Kummir o'din Khan's Help, the Treafury, Jewels, Toifhik-khanna4, and all the other Implements and Arms that belonged to the Emperor and the deceafed Omras, and to fend to Mahommed Shah, his Son Sultan Ahmed, and Malika al Zumani §, the Emprefs, and to give Orders to Kummir

+ The 26th of February.

‡ Dirbar fignifies the King's or Governor's Palace.

|| Towpchi Bashi, the Master of the Ordnance.

* Niffikhchi Ba/hi, literally, Head Regulator, or Manager, an Officer who is generally fent to regulate Diforders, and make Seizures.

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

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

o'dîn
o'din Kban and Saad o'din Kban, 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 enlifted Men go where they pleafe.

Accordingly they went and feized all thefe Things, and fent the Emperor's Son, with Malika al Zumani, and the reft of the Mahl* (according to Nadir Shah's Orders) to Mahommed Shab.

This Day there were great Diforders and Confusion in *Mahommed Shah*'s *Boungab*, infomuch 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 *Artifans* 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 fignifies 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 fignifies the fame as Mahl. The Women therein are also called Mahl, which is the Signification it bears here.

† The 27th of February.

In the Way he discharged the Babeers and new lifted Men, letting them go where they pleafed. The Omras and the Emperor's old Servants, according to an Order for that Purpofe, took up their Quarters at one Side of the Camp, being feparated by a fmall Rivulet. The Effects of Mahommed Shab and the Omras, which were brought, were put into Nadir Shah's Poffeffion; and having picked out 200 Cannon with their Carriages out of Mahommed Shah's Ordnance, they fent them with some Treasure and other Effects then feized (accompanied by 1000 Horfemen, which belonged to the Emperor's Train of Artillery, and 2000 Kuzzleba(h) to Cabul, to be from thence carried to Khandahar.

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

On the 29th *, in the Morning, *Thamas Khan Vakeel* was difpatched to *Shahjebanabad*, with 4000 Horfe and Mufqueteers to take Poffetfion of the Caftle; as was alfo *Saadit Khan* for the Safe-guard and Care of the City,

* The 28th Ditto.

and

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and the Houses and Effects of the Omras; and Azim Allah Khan, for the Superintendency of the River, each with his own Men and Baggage, and several Nifikhchi Horsemen; they were strictly ordered to prevent any Harm or Damage being done to the Inhabitants of the City. Sirbullind Khan being ordered, went to his own Boungab.

On the 1ft of Zelbujb * Nadir Shab began to prepare for his March to Shabjehanabad, and at four next Morning he fet out, attended by 20000 choice Horfemen; 4000 Harquebufers were detached as a Kouruck + for that feparate Quarter where the Mahl marched, betwixt which and the Army there was a Diftance of near one Cofs, no Soul on Pain of Death, either of the Perfians or Indians, being allowed to pafs that Way; each Party marched at the Diftance of one

* The first of March.

+ Kouruck. When the King's Women in *Perfia* go out any where, a Number of Men go before-hand to those Places through which they are to pass, to fignify the fame, that no Body may appear there. The Women are guarded by armed Eunuchs, and fometimes by a Body of Soldiers at a Diffance, who if they find any Man or Boy in the Way, will kill him, or, at least, drub him very feverely, and this is called the *Kouruck*.

Arrow

Arrow that from the other. Mahommed Shah, with 40 or 50 of his principal People, and about 10.000 Kuzzlebash Horsemen, and 2000 Harquebulers, followed Nadir Shah at a Distance of one Coss : On one Side was Sirbullind Khan, with his own Men and Baggage, next him the Men and Baggage of Mahommed Shah; on another Side were the Men and Baggage of Nizam al Muluck, and Kummir o'din Khan, and next them Mahommed Khan Bungush with his Men and Baggage, each Party feparated by a Diftance of $\frac{1}{2}$ and fome $\frac{1}{4}$ Cofs, and between them marched Kuzzleba/b Horfemen to prevent their joining, and make each Party march the Way that was appointed for them. The Compass of Ground they covered in their March, was five Cofs in Length, and three in Breadth, and this Method was observed every Day's March,

After five Days continual marching they came to Sonput; there were feveral Villages in the Way which they not only plundered, but likewife killed a great many of the Inhabitants, Paniput and Sonput were also facked.

Αa

On

On *Tuefday* the 6th of *Zelbujb* * they marched from *Sonput*, and came to *Nirela*. In the beginning of the Night, *Sirbullind Khan* having feigned an Indifposition, had Leave to go before to the City, and on the Morning he arrived at his own House.

On Wednefday the 7th + Nadir Shab arrived at the Gardens called Shallimâr.

On Thursday the 8th ‡, Mabommed Shah, by Nadir Shah's Order, being feated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy and Umbrella, two Standards, about 200 Horfe and Foot of his own Servants, and 4000 Kuzzlebash Horfemen entered the Castle. After which they gave him a Place near Aeysh Mabl§. 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 Horfe, 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.

§ Acyfs Mabl, fignifies the Place of Joy, one of the Apartments in the Caftle. The Place they gave Mabommed Shab near it, was Suliman Bourge, or Solomon's Towar.

After

After he had alighted, Mabommed Shab came to congratulate him, and they breakfasted together. They were in Conversation until the Evening, during which Time Nadir Shah behaved with the greatest Complaifance and feeming Affection to him. He iffued out Orders in the most peremptory Manner, to prevent the Soldiers wronging or infulting any of the Inhabitants, and enjoined the Niffikbchis, who have the Infpection of these Things, to spare no Punishments, such as cutting off Ears and Nofes, and bambooing to Death, whoever molefted the Indians; for which Reafon, none of the Kuzzlebalh, either high or low, durft injure any of the Natives; but most of the People were fo frighten'd at the terrible Afpect of these Men, and the barbarous Figure + they made, that they avoided (as much as poffible) having any Dealings or Conversation with them.

On the 9th ‡ at Night, Nadir Shab, having called Saadit Khan before him, fpoke

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

† The 9th of March.

Aa 2

with

with a great deal of Warmth and Paffion in Regard to the collecting the *Pei/bcu/b* * Money, and ufed fome hard Words to him. At four o'Clock next Morning, *Saadit Khan*, who had been for fome Time weak and indifpofed, departed this life. Some imagine he died thro' Anger for the Ufage he met with, and others are of Opinion Jealoufy provoked him to take Poifon.

On Saturday, which was the 10th + of the Moon, and the Eid Zoka (or Feaft of Sacrifice) after five Gburris, and thirty Pulls ‡, the Sun entered Aries. This Morning Sirbullind Kban (being called) went to the Caftle, 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 Peiscush Money. This Day at Noon Thamas Khan had sent nine Nissikbobi Horsemen towards Pabr Gunjb §, to order the opening of the Granaries, and settle the

* This was a Prefent of 20 Crores of Rupees, which Nizam had agreed thould be paid to Nadir Shab.

- + The 10th of March.
- † Two Hours and twelve Minutes after Sun-rife.
- § Pabr Gunjb, the Place where Corn is fold.

Price

Price of the Corn : Being arrived there, they caufed them to be opened, and Wheat was fold ten Seers for a Rupee : As this Price did not turn to the Proprietors Account, towards Evening they affembled the Mob *, and a great many difaffected People joining them, they killed the abovefaid Nillikhchis, with feveral Kuzzlebash, who had come over to buy Corn. After Sun-fet they fpread a Report that Nadir Shah was taken Prifoner, and fome faid he was poifoned, on which the Mob and Tumult exceeded all Bounds, all the idle Vagabond and difaffected People joining from all Quarters, with what Arms they could most readily find, poured like a Torrent towards the Caftle. Of those of Nadir Shah's Troops, who were posted without at the Foot thereof, fome retired within, and others went towards the Reti +. (which is the Place 'twixt the Caftle and River) and feveral of them were cut off: Those of the Kuzzleba/b 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 fignifies Sand in the Indo/tan 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 encreasing, 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 Safeguard to his House) and now fet 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 Caftle, and mounting his Horfe, went from thence towards Chandni Chok \ddagger , to quell the Mob, who were committing great Diforders 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 fent a ftrong Party to endeavour to fupprefs them, and in Cafe Threatning and fair Means were ineffectual, he licenfed them to cut them off, but on no Account to injure others who were

not

⁺ The 11th of March.

[‡] The Name of a Square Bazar.

not concerned. At first, they proceeded gently, which, instead of appealing the Mob. made them more bold and infolent, and without the least Awe, they began to difcharge Fire-Arms, and Arrows, at them. Nadir Shah went into the Misjid || of Roi/hin al Dowlat, which is near the Cutual's § Chaboutra *; the Inhabitants near that Mifjid got upon their Terraffes, and began to throw Stones; and, either from one of these Terrasses, or a Window thereabouts, a Mulquet was defignedly shot at Nadir Shab, which miffing him, killed one of his Officers who flood next him : This made him give Way to his Paffion, and order a general Slaughter to be commenced from that very Place; the Soldiers in an Instant getting upon the Walls and Terraffes, began to plunder and kill. This bloody Scene extended from

Misjid is what is vulgarly called a Mosque.

§ The *Cutual* is a Magiffrate who, in all Cities, has the Care of punifhing those who drink or fell intoxicating Liquors, and keep diforderly 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 Caffle. to the old Eidgab 1, which is three Cofs 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 Alleys and Wards on all fides, the Khanum's Bazar, and round about the Famil Misjid*, and the Cotton and Jewellers Bazars, were all plundered, feveral Places they fet on Fire, and whomfoever they found in the Wards and Houses, Streets, Alleys and Shops, Great and Small, Men and Women, they put to the Sword, even the Brute Creatures did not escape their Fury; feveral Women were made Prifoners. Loutf Ali Khan, the Officer who was appointed to flaughter and plunder towards the Square of Saad Allah Khan and Dehli Gate, when he came as far as Sirbullind Khan's Houfe, 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.

‡ Eidgab, the Place where all the People affemble to Prayers, on the Two great annual Eids or Feftivals.

Poul Meetai, a Bridge fo called, becaufe there are a great many Confectioners Shops thereon.

* Jamih Misjid, the Cathedral, or great Molque.

the faid Officer, and reprefenting to him, that the People of that Quarter were not to blame, he made them defift and ftop his Men, on promifing they fhould pay a Sum of Money. But in other Places the Slaughter, Plundering, and Burning, went on in a most barbarous Manner.

Nadir Shab, after he had given the Orders, returned back to the Caftle; about two o'Clock Mabommed Shah and Nizam al Muluck waited on him, who having made great Interceffion for the city, the foldiers were ordered to defift, 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 Kuzzlebafb-were killed, and of the Citizens (great and fmall) 120000 were flaughtered, others computed them 150000. What Treasure and Effects were plundered, fome Nadir Shab had, and a great deak was deftroyed by the Fire. In feveral of the Hindu Houses, where one of a Family furvived, he used to pile thirty or forty Carcafes a-top of one another, and burn them; and fo they did in the Streets, notwithstanding which B b there there still remained fo many, that, for a confiderable Time, there was no fuch Thing as paffing 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 honeft Families, to be butchered by the enraged 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 Houfe. burnt about twenty Women of his Family, and was in Expectation of their entering every Minute and killing him; by Chance they miffed that House, but he was so infatuated, that, finding himfelf difappointed, he went out, and bringing fome of them back, fhewed them the Way to his own Houfe, 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 fo enraged him, that he difpatched himfelf. There were great Numbers of People, especially Women and Children, burnt in their Houfes.

On Monday the 12th *, the Prifoners, efpecially the Women +, according to Nadir Sbab's Orders, were all conducted back to their own Houfes, but with Eyes full of Tears, and in Circumstances not to be defcribed or uttered.

On Tuesday the 13th ‡, a Party, who had been formerly detached by Nadir Shah to feize the Cannon at the Serai of Rouh Allah Khan, having been cut off by the People there, in Conjunction with those of 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, Scidy Folad Khan received a Khalaet 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 themfelves into Wells, fome of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three Days. The Number of Prifoners releafed, Men and Women, were 50,000.

‡ The 13th of March, 1738-9.

§ Hazarri fignifies Captain of a Thousand.

B b 2 ordering

ordering every Body to betake themfelves to their feveral Employments, and to be under no Apprehension of the Soldiers any more. A Body of Men was fent to the Granaries at Pabr Gunib, which they fealed up and put Guardson: Saadit Khan's Effects were feized. and Nizamal Muluck and Kummir o'din Khan made a Peilhculb of fome Money and Effects which they had given in an Account of, and was registered in the Lift; the Effects of Khandoran and Mazuffer Khan were likewife feized ; 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 Kban's amounted to very nigh four Grore. 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 Perfons going out without Licence, but to hinder none from coming in : All those who were brought bound from the Serai of Rough Allah Khan, had their Heads cut off, and were thrown into the Retee.

On

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On Wednefday the 14th *, a number of Fakirs **, wanting to go out of the City, with a Defign to travel and beg abroad, the Out-Guards cut off their Nofes 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.
** Fakirs are Beggars, or poor People.
† The 15th of March, 1738-9.
‡ The 16th of March, 1738-9.
Choppar, an express Messenger.

2

rears

rears * formerly due to the Soldiers, as alfo one Year's Pay before-hand, and fix Months Pay as a Gratuity, was given to all his People, even to the Servants, and those who trafficked for Neceffaries in the Camp (each of these having a settled Pay from Nadir Shah.) Niçar Mahommed Khan was sent with 1000 Kuzzleba/hHorsemen, to bring Saadit Khan's Treasfure from Pourib.

On Saturday the 17th ‡, Sirbullind Khan, according to an Order, went to the Dirbar, where he staid until the Evening. Nadir Shab let him know, he was pretty well affured, that under a Pretence of old Age and Infirmity, he did not care to stir about in collecting the Peischcuss 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 foon.

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

Saadit Khan's Treasure, sent from Luknowi 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.
- + Bcavra, fignifies a forced Contribution.

On

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

" Every Body imagined I couched fome Defigns and Self-Views under this Advice; they themfelves would contrive no Expedient, nor would they rely on the Contrivance of another, until, at laft, Affairs are come to this calamitous and difgraceful

* The 18th of March, 1738-9.

" Iffue."

" Iffue." To this Nizam al Muluck made no Anfwer. Then Thamas Khan addreffing himself to Kummir o'din Khan, repeated to him the Substance of what Nadir Shab, at first Meeting, reproached Mahommed Shab with : Afterwards he told him, " What is " paft shall not be remembered. Now my " Shah wants the MONEY, use all Means " vou can to raife it, and bring not yourfelves "into any further Difgrace by being dila-" tory." Sirbullind Khan answered, " Un-" doubtedly we will raife it, wherever it is " to be found." Thamas Khan asked him, if he had not Money himfelf. Sirbullind Khan faid to him, " If I had had Money, " I would have fent it to you to Kandahar, " and prevented you the Trouble of coming " hither." In fhort, by what passed at this Meeting, it was known, that Nadir Sbab, after his Victory, and having established his Power, had demanded of Nizam al Muluck. twenty Crore * of Rupees (exclusive of the Jewels, Gold Plate fet with precious Stones. and other fine Goods, feized of the King's. and other Omras) to be collected in the beft Manner he could out of the King's Treafury,

his

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^{*} Twenty Crores are 25 Millions Sterling.

his own Effects, and all the other Omras, wealthy People and Inhabitants. Such a Sum was not to be raifed out of the King's Treafury, 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 that up and fealed for many Years, no Body knowing by whom they were fealed, or what they contained) there was found of Gold and Silver to a much larger Amount than the Money in the Treafury. Nizam al Muluck contributed a Peifficuft of $1\frac{1}{2}$ Crore [] in Jewels, Treafure, and Goods, as did alfo Kummir 5 thin Khan to the fame Amount.

Saadit Khan had formerly agreed to pay one Crore * of Rupees, and made good thirty Lacks + thereof, which was all that had efcaped being plundered; he promifed to fend for the Remainder from his Soubab.

Sirbullind Khan, on Account of his Poverty, was excuted from any Share, and three Crore ‡ of Rupees were appointed to be levied on fome Manfubdars, Muttefiddys, Officers, and the rich Inhabitants, each in Pro-

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§ 3,750,000 l. || 1,875,000 l. * 1,250,000 l.

† 375,000 l. † 3,750,000 l.

C c portion
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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 Bufiness was recommended to the Care of Sirbullind Khan, and the other Omras, which Thamas Khan, at this Meeting, prefied them about : Accordingly it was now agreed, that Azîm Allah Khan, Chuckl Keishvir, Vakeel of the Soubabdar of Bengal, Seeta Ram, and all the Manfubdars and Officers of the Chaboutra, &c. should meet at Sirbullind Khan's Houfe, and make an End of this Affair. All Officers, Inhabitants, &c. who were fuspected to be rich. were ordered to give in a Lift of what Money or Effects they were Masters of, to be laid before the Shab, that what he liked he might take, and what he forgave them they might keep; and whoever pleaded Poverty. fuch Perfon should declare the fame by a Writing under his Hand and Seal, that in Cafe 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 Houfe, and having ing staid until the Evening, and enrolled fome 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 Lift. This Day Seyd Neáz Khan who, the Night before the Slaughter, had fhut up feveral of the Kuzzlebafh in a Room, and burnt them) was, by Nadir Shah's Order, ftrangled with a Shaul, and Sheh Soar Khan and Raiban, who in that Night were the Promoters of Mifchief, were punished likewife. The first had his Head cut off, and the fecond his Belly ripped up.

On *Tuefday* the 20th +, Sirbullind Khan being fent for, went to the Dirbar, where he received a Khalaet of a rich Vest, from whence he returned Home to affist Azim Allab Khan, and the rest in the Business they were about.

On Wednefday the 21ft ‡, Rebim Beg Amin 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 21ft of March, 1738-9. C C 2

fend

fent them to the *Manfubdars*, &c. to oblige them to produce all their Elephants, Horfes, and Camels, with Orders that what fhould be judged proper for the *Shab*'s Stables, fhould be immediately feized.

On Thurfday * also they were employed as the Day before.

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

There was an Order made, that Murid Khan[‡], with fifty of Sirbullind Khan's Horfemen, thould carry a Sirrapah and Firmân to Sujaat Khan, Soubabdar of Bengal, and to take from him the three Years Treasure and a Peiscusch: 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 fent in Company with Mir Tuckee Kuli beg.

1251. § 4021, 103.

Saturday,

Saturday, Sunday, and Monday *, were employed in the Pei/hcu/h Affair. During this Time they were bufy in preparing Illuminations on the Banks of the River, and Fireworks for the Wedding of Nefr Alla Mirza, Nadir Shah's Son, who was to be married to the Daughter of Iefdan Bukh/h, the Son of Kam Bukh/h, and Grandfon of Auring-zebe.

On Tuesday Night + the Marriage was confummated. Mahommed Shah made the young Princess a Present of Jewels to the Value of 50000 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 afcertaining the Peishcush was continually held in the Caftle, near the Divan of Justice, at which affisted Thamas Khan, Mustapha Khan, and Mahommed Shah's Omras, until the tenth of Mohirrim * at Noon, and during that Time every Body was prefent at the faid Place from Sun-rife to Sun-

- * The 24th, 25th, and 26th of March, 1738-9,
- + The 27th of March, 1739.
- t 6250l. 6250l. § 62,500l.
- * The 28th of April, 1739.

fet.

fet. All the Vakeels and Agents of the Manfubdârs, and other Officers, gave conftant Attendance, and at night each returned to his own Houfe without having a Sentry 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 Effects and Families behind, and made their Effects out of the City in the best Manner they could, being glad at any Rate to save their Lives; several of Mabommed Sbab'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 *Mobirrim*, no Person, either of *Hindostan* or the *Kuzzlebash*, durst fo much as mention the Words, *Tazia* * or

* Tazia fignifies Mourning, and Mâtim fignifies Death. It is cuftomary with the Schias, to make great Lamentations annually for Mortifa Ali's two Sons, Imâm Hoffan and Imâm Haffein, on the first ten Days of Mobirrim. The former was poifoned by his Wife Joada, at Medina, in the Khaliffhip of Mauvia, on Thursday the 7th of Safer, in the 50th Year of the Hegira. The latter was killed in the Defert of Kirbela, by Shimr, a Soldier belonging to Iezid, the Son of Mauvia, Khalif of Syria, on Friday the 10th Makirrim, in the 61th Year of the Hegira.

Mâtim,

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 Breafts, were feverely punished by him. During this Time, a great many People were very hard preffed for their Quota's of the Peilbculb, infomuch that feveral, to fave their Credit and Reputation, killed themfelves. Amongst the reft, Alim 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 difgraced. on the fifth of Mobirrim +, cut open his own Bowels with his Cuttarit, and died foon after.

On the 6th ||, Mijilifs Rai, Kummir o'din Khan's Duan, was fent for by Thamas Khan, who ordered one of his Ears to be cut off in his Mafter's Prefence. Kummir o'din 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 prefently filenced him, and Mijilifs

- + 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 Muttefiddys were so beat with Sticks, in Thamas Khan's Presence, that the Blood flowed out about their Faces and other Parts.

Sita Ram, and Chuckl Keifbvir +, were violently beat on the Back and Sides. When the Lift of Names was ready, Nadir Shah appointed Nizam al Muluck, Sirbullind Khan ||,

* The 10th of April, 1739.

† Chuckl Keifbvir, the Bengal Vakeel, being ordered to fend for Seven Crores of Rupees, faid, So much would make a String of Waggons from Bengal to Debli; for which being roughly ufed, he went home, and murdered himfelf and Family.

|| Sirbullind Khan preffing very hard upon the Yeople, Kamiab Khan, Relation to Kummir o'din Khan, with Arrib Khan, and others, killed themfelves, after paying in feveral Lacks; and the Complaints thereof coming to Nadir Shah, Twenty Lacks of Rupes were remitted to great Men, who were found indigent. Sherif Kuh Khan, Son to Khadr al Niffa Begum, and feveral Eunuchs, complained to Mahommed Shah of Sirbullind Khan's ruining People, and his Exactions, and that he wanted Three Lacks from him; Mahommed Shah fent for Abdal Baki Khan, one of Nadir Shah's Vizirs, who manages betwixt them Two, and bid him acquaint his Mafter therewith, who fent for Sirbullind Khan, whom he found innocent of what was laid to his Charge.

Kummir

Kummer o'din Khan, Azim Allah Khan, and Mortifa Khan, the Brother of Murid Khan, to collect the Money; he told them; he expected they would collect the faid 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 Cafe any on their Lift made Delays in paying their Quota, they might oblige them thereto by Blows : So that on the 10th + at Noon, the faid Omras, with the appointed Horfemen, fet about collecting the Money: The People, in Refpect to their Circumstances, were very unequally taxed, for some who were Masters of ten Lacks ‡, were only fet 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 afcertained, there was no Redrefs to be had. Many of them, during the collecting of the Money, were,

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

S Dd

by

by bad Ufage, forced to difpatch themfelves, 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 unpractifed. This fo dispirited the Inhabitants, that if one Kuzzleba/h Horseman came among 10000 of them, he might fafely use them with all the Severities he pleafed. This Work went on until the Day Nadir Shab 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 Treafury, and feventy Lacks ± were made away with among his Omras, and fome expended among the 1000 Horfemen; a great deal was funk in the undervaluing of Goods, for a Horse worth 500 Rupees ||, was only rated at 5 Tomans §, which is 190 Rupees, and Shauls of 50 Rupees * taken at one Toman, or twenty Rupees 4, and Jewels and other Goods,

* 5,000,000/,	. + 4,125,000%
\$ 8750001	+ 4,125,000/. 62/. 105.
§ 12 Å 103.	
4 21. 19 5.	-

2

in the fame Proportion: What the Shab took was valued in this Manner, and received for fo much in the Contribution Account; but what he had no occasion for was fold, 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 feized them; this and the Roads being ftopt to all Quarters made Wheat 2 Seers a Rupee, Rice $1\frac{1}{2}$ Seer, and Ghee $\frac{1}{2}$ Seer: Things were at that Rate for about twenty Days; at last, Sirbullind Khan and Azim Alla Khan, having obtained a Paſs and Licence, fent feveral Waggons to fetch Corn from Feridabad. Whoever had any Carriages, fent them, feveral of the poor People and Banians going along with them.

In a little Time Wheat was fold feven Seers for a Rupee, but no more Rice than $2\frac{1}{2}$ Seers, and Geer $\frac{2}{3}$ of a Seer; during this Time the Kuzzleba/h Horfemen were wont to go round about Feridabad, and other Places, marrauding twenty and thirty Cofs each Way, fpoiling all the Fields, and plundering all the Villages as they went, and killing the D d 2 Inha-

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Inhabitants that made any Refiftance. They gave their Horfes, Camels, &c. Barley and Wheat-Straw inftead of Grafs, and the People of the City could have neither at any Rate, fo that most of their Cattle died.

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

On Tuefday the 3d Safer ‡, all the Omras were ordered by Nadir Shah to be prefent at Mahommed Shah's by five o'Clock in the Morning, where they put on forty-two Khalaets, fent thither by Nadir Shah for them. The Khalaets for Nizam al Maluck, Sirbullind Khan, Kummer 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 Ift of May, 1739.

A rich

- A rich Atlass Vest.
- A Hunting Coat, of a rich Stuff wove with Gold.
- Four Yards of Tiffue.
- A rich Mandil or Turban.
- A Perfian Sabre mounted with Gold.
- A Knife with a Sheath of enamell'd Gold.

The reft of the *Kbalaets* were different, fome had five Pieces, fome four, three and two, and fome 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, feated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy, Umbrella, and one led Litter, with feveral of the Omras, went towards the General Divan, the Omras being mounted at a fmall Diftance behind him; when they came near the General Divan, the Emperor ordered Saad o'dín Khan to let none but the Head Omras, and a few of the Chief Manfubdårs 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 fet with Jewels.

A Sirpeach ||, Ditto.

A Bazoubund *, Ditto.

A Girdle, Ditto.

- A Sword, the Handle fet with Jewels.
- A Sword with a ftraight Blade, fuch as most of the *Deccanners* use, called *Dhoup*.

An enamelled Cuttarri.

The Crown Nadir Shab put on with his own Hands, making him an Apology at the fame Time. After giving him fome Advice, he took Leave of him. The Substance of the Advice was as follows: ' In the first ' Place, you must feize all the Omras Ja-' guîrs, and pay each of them according to ' their Manfubs 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 fometimes fet with Jewels, which is wore round the Turban.

* Bazoubund is a Bracelet.

' but

' but you yourfelf are constantly to keep 60,000 chosen Horsemen, at fixty Rupees ' per Month, one with another : Every ten ' Men to have one Debbalhi *, every ten ' Debbashi'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 unactive. ' When an Occafion may require, detach ' a fufficient Number, under the Command ' of one, whom you can truft for Conduct, ' Courage, and Fidelity, and when that ' Bufiness is over, recal them immediately, ' not letting any Perfon flay too long in Com-' mand, for Fear of bad Confequences. 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 thefe Advices proceeded from Good-will, was very thankful, and defired him, as his Empire depended on

- * Debbashi, 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 faid, 'That will not be ' at all for your Interest; fuch Officers will ' have little Deserence for you in my Ab-' fence; 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 fend a Person to ' chastise them; if it be necessary, I'll fend ' Forces; or, on Occasion, I can be with ' you myself in forty Days, from Kbandabar; ' but upon all Events don't reckon me far ' off.'

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

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

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

* The 2d of May, 1739.

had

had acted indifcreetly in regard to two Things; one was his giving the Empire to *Mabommed Shab*, who being unequal to fo great a Tafk, the Affairs of *India* would become worfe than formerly; the other, his giving Quarter to *Nizam al Muluck*, who being fo very fubtle and crafty, it was more than probable he would raife Difturbances; but as according to the Decrees of Providence; and the Affiftance of their own good Fortune; he had once paffed his Word to them, he could not act contrary thereto.

On Friday the 6th⁺, the Shah's ‡ Peiskhanna went to Shalimår. 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.

Еe

Captives,
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Captives, excepting Slaves bought with ready Money with a Writing from the Seller, attested by Witneffes declaring his Confent 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 *Debli* fent 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 Shab*, after some Day's March, being informed of, he ordered them all to be immediately fent back.

On Saturday the 7th §, Nadir Shab moved to Shalimâr, and gave politive 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

400 Soldiers and Servants had deferted. The Shab ordered Scidy Folad Kban, the Cutual, to find out those People, and fend them with a Guard to the Army, and commanded feveral of the Niffikhchis and Rikas likewise to affist. The Cutual, after great Search, found about fixty, and fent them away with a Party of his own Horse and some Niffikhchis; they reached the Army near Serbind, where the Shab ordered all their Heads to be cut off.

In the mean Time, Scidy Folad Khan, having feized feveral more of those Deferters, he was going to fend them also; but on hear_r ing how the others were treated, he waited on the Emperor, and represented the Matter to him. Mahommed Shab faid: 'He'll ' certainly kill these poor Wretches also, if ' they are fent; why should we be accessary ' to fo much innocent Blood? Let them go ' wherever they please.'

Nadir Shab, by continual Marches, arrived near Labor, and we are informed, that he plundered and killed the People of Tannifer, and feveral other Villages. The Occation of which was thus: The Army constantly fending out Parties to forage, and bring Corn and other Neceffaries; the E e z Country Country People, who used to watch these Opportunities, attacked the Stragglers, and killed and plundered them of their Horse, and what else they had; in the Night-time also they were very troubless, and ftole whatever they could come at, which very much enraged the *Shab*, having lost above a thousand Mules, Camels and Yabous before he got as far as *Labor*. It was reported, that *Nadir Shab*, 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 *Fatteb abad* ||.

Some Days before he left *Dehli*, he fent Part of his Army before to *Labor*; 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 fhould go out of the City, and fend a Meffage to the Commanding Officer, in thefe

اباد ال Fatteb abad, fignifies the Habitation of Vistory.

* Bankers and Money Changers.

Words :

Words: " If your Defign be to flaughter the ' Inhabitants, Lo! we are here prefent; if ^c Plunder be your Intent, the City is deferted; ' and our Effects left there; or, if Money ^{*} be what you want, the Soubabdar and Citizens can raife no more than one Crore + ; ' fo what foever your Intentions or Orders are. ' that execute : This is a finall City, and ' not able to withstand the Fury of an Army, ' as Debli is.' On Receipt of this Meffage, the Commanding Officer thought proper to represent the Affair to his Master, who ordered him to receive the Crore of Rupees. and to moleft 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, paffed by Labor, on one Side.

On *Tuefday*, the 10th ‡, Sirbullind Khan, having placed Guards about the Caftle, 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 Caftle, he went to fee Nizam al Muluck, who happening to be in Kummir

+ 1,250,000 /, 1 The \$th of May, 1739.

o'din

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o'din Khan's Houfe, 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 Maffacre, lay putrified in fome of the Streets and *Bazars*.

On Thursday, the 12th ||, in the Morning, Azim Allah Khan, and in the Afternoon, Kummir o'din Khan, went to visit Sirbullind Khan.

On Sunday, the 15th*, the Emperor came from Aefh Mehl, to the General Divan, where he fat four Gurris §, during which Time, the Omras came to pay their Obeifance, making their Prefents at the fame Time. Nizam al Muluck, on returning from the Castle, went to Sirbullind Kban's House; for fince Nizam al Muluck's coming from Deccan, until the 11th Instant, neither of them had been to visit each other.

On Friday, the 20th +, Emîr 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 Bukhschi ‡.

Ishak Khan, with a Sirrapah, a Paleki with Net-work, and the Office of Duan Khaleshil.

Azim Allab Khan, with a Sirrapab, and the Office of Sedr.

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

On the 14th of Ribby al Avul +, Danifhmund Khan, who, by Nadir Shah's Recommendation, had got the Office of Khan Saman, departed this Life. So, on the 16th ‡, Saad o'din Khan received a Sirrapah, and was promoted to that Office.

From the Day that Nadir Shab 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 fufficient to give an Idea of the Trumpet of the Day of Judg-

[†] The Third Paymaster.

|| Duan Khalefih, the Accomptant General of the King's Revenues.

* Darogah Khafs, 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 fo 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 Buildings that were in Part demolished, and damaged, in the Day of the general Maffacre, fome that fuffered leaft, are inhabited again, and the reft remain defert; which, if not begun to be repaired before the Rains fet in, will be quite destroyed.

The Inhabitants, from the Terror of this Calamity, like People poffess'd, and in Fits. are quite stupified, and not yet come to themfelves, and what is still more strange, (notwithstanding the Oppressions and Difgrace, the People of this Empire have met with, fince Nadir Shah's Departure) the indecent Expressions, and beaftly Actions of his Soldiers, are the constant Subjects of Discourse, in all Companies, related with a feeming Satisfaction and Pleafure, and by Way of Jeft and Drollery; not being in the least affected with a Reflection on their

their paft Difgrace and Misfortunes; but, on the contrary, feemed forry for his going away, excepting Sirbullind Khan, who, three Years ago, forefaw this Calamity, and retired from public Bufinefs, dreading the Confequence of Affairs being managed by fuch Omras as then bore Sway : His being an Inftrument in collecting the Peilbculb was involuntary, and much contrary to his Inclinations, in which he help'd and favoured feveral People as much as lay in his Power, and that in fo private a Manner, that they themfelves knew not who affifted them : But hypocritical and ignorant Perfons, who had neither Will or Power to affift those People, gave their Tongues too much Liberty in complaining of him: However, I refer this innocent Man's Character to the following Arabic Verfes :

They fay for certain that God has a Son, And fay for certain the Prophet is a Magician;

Neither God nor his Prophet has escaped The Tongues of Slanderers, and how shall 1?

$\mathbf{F}\mathbf{f}$

When

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When after the Battle. Nadir Shab had fent 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 Horfes and a great many Camels, and as those People had, by his Clemency, received Quarter, should he order what Camels and Horfes were fit for the Royal Stables to be feized for his Ufe, it would not be fo great a Hardship upon them. To which the Shab answered : ' I have given these Peo-' ple Quarter in all Respects; befides, the ' Bread of Soldiers depends on their Horfes, ' 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 moleft ' or infult them on any Account.'

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

* The 25th of May, 1739.

Way

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

After fome Days, Ali Hamed Khan, Ali Amjid Khan, Ali Algbur Khan, Khan Zuman Khan, Terab Ali Khan, Azem Khan, and others, in all Twenty-two Omras and Manfabdars, who had run away out of the Field of Battle and Camp, as alfo Mabommed 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 fent his Son to attend at Court, it was probable his Manfub and Jaguir should still be continued to him, if not, he muss 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 Skab's Departure from Shabjehanabad, the Loss fustained by the Emperor and the People

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

Ff2

within

220 within and without the City, in Jewels, Treafure, Goods, Effects, and destroying of Fields, fetting afide the Lofs of the Buildings, amounted to very near one Arribt 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 deftroyed by Fire, and Fields laid wafte, made near 20 Crores + more.

The Particulars of what Nadir Shah carried away with him :

Crore. Jewels from the Emperor and Omras, valued at

Utenfils and Handles of Weapons fet with Jewels, with the Peacock Throne. and nine others fet with precious Stones

Money Coined in Gold and Silver Rupees

Gold and Silver Plate which he melted down and coin'd

5 64

25

9

25

± 125,000,000*l*. ₿7,500,000 /. 12,500,000% + 25,000,000%

Fine

Carried over	64
Fine Cloths and rich Stuffs of all	•
Kinds	2
Houshold Furniture, and other va-	
luable Commodities	2
Warlike Weapons, Cannon, &c.	I
	70
	-

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

Nadir Skab had the Draught of the Caftle and City of Shabjehanabad taken, and gave to the abovementioned Artificers, Horfes, and what other Carriages were necessary for their Journey, allowing them a fufficient Pay. The Terms he entered into with them were, to follow their feveral Occupations for three-Years in Kandabar; at the Expiration of which, they were to have Liberty, either to return Home, or continue there. But in their Way to Labor, feveral of them made their Escape, and returned hither.

Since Nadir Shab's entering this Country, until his getting to Labor in his March back, 200,000

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200,000 of the Inhabitants of this	Empire
were deftroyed, as follows:	*
From Labor to Karnal were kil-	
led on the Roads and in the Villages	8000.
Killed in the Battle of Karnal	17,000.
Thofe 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	7,000.
Those killed in the general Mas-	-
facre, by the exacteft Computation	110,000.
After the general Maffacre were	·
killed in Roub Allah Kban's Serai,	
and the Villages and Fields round	
about where they went a marrau-	
ding, which is about thirty Cofs	
each Way	25,000
On their March back, in <i>Tanifeer</i>	
and other Villages	12,000.
Those who had laid violent	
Hands upon themfelves, the Wo-	
men who drown'd and burnt them-	
	193,000
	150

felves,

Carried over 193,000

felves, as also those who died of Famine and other Hardships, amounted to about

7,0**0**0.

200,000.

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

• Pormerly, the Ministers \ddagger 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 Shadow of God and Refuge of Islam, in Pomp like Alexander, the Heavens his Court, the Sultan who is merciful, and the Emperor who is august, Nadir Shab, may God perpetuate his Reign) had fent Ambassia

[‡] In the *Eaft* it is not polite to fay to a Prince, he did or faid fuch 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 صوالة مربخ سطوة مربخ سطوة مربخ *Beheram Solat, Merikb Suttuvit. بهرام Beheram*, in the ancient *Perfic*, fignifies *Mars*, and مربخ Merikb, in to

224

' to this Court, to treat of certain Affairs ' which I intended to comply with; after-' wards Mahommed Khan Turcoman arriv-'ed from Kandabar, to remind me thereof, ' but my Ministers and Agents having delay-'ed the Ambaffadors, and postpon'd an An-' fwer to his High Majesty's Letter, raised ' fuch a Mifunderstanding between us, that ' his fuccefsful Army having come to the ' Confines of Hindoftan, both Parties encoun-' tered in the Fields of Karnal, where, after ' a Royal Battle was fought, as Providence ' would have it, Victory to Appearance rofe ' from the East of his undeclining Fortune. ' As his High Majesty, who is mighty as ' fumfheid +, and the greateft of the Tur-· comans, is the Source of Goodness and · Prowefs; relying on his Honour, and · trufting to his Support, I had the Satisfaction · of an Interview, and enjoyed the Pleafure of · being entertained in his Paradife-like Com-' pany. After which, we came together to ' Shajehanabad, where I brought forth to his ' View, and with the proper Ceremony pre-' fented 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 Hindoftan Em-• perors; his Majefty, in Compliance with • my Requeft, accepted of fome: And out of • the Greatness of his Soul, and abundant • Humanity, in Regard to the illustrious Fa-• mily of Gaurgan, and the Honour of the • Original Tree of Turkan, was graciously • pleased to reftore to me the Crown and Gem • of Hindostan.

' In Confideration of this Favour, which " no Father fhows 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 fay, Peifbor with its Territories, the Prin-' cipality of Cabul, Ghoznavi, the moun-' tainous Refidences of the Afghans, the Ha-· zarijat and the Paffes, with the Caftle of ' Buckar, Sunkar, and Khoudabad: The reft ^s of the Territories, Paffes, and Abodes of ' the Chokias, Balluches, &c. with the Pro-• vince of Tatta, the Caftle 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 Gg ' Rife.

"Rife of the River Attok, with all the Paffes ' and Habitations, which the abovefaid Water ' and its feveral Branches comprehends and ' furrounds, 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 fet about the ' Management and the fecuring of the above-' faid Territories, taking the Government ' and Command of those feveral Places. 'Tribes and Inhabitants into their own ' Hands; my Officers, Servants, &c. eva-' cuating the abovefaid Places, as being feve-' 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 Caftle and ' Town of Lobry 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 · Mobirrim ±, 1152. A Per-1 The 2d of April, 1739.

A Perfonal 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.

Years, upwards of fix Foot high, well-proportion'd, of a very robust Make and Conftitution, his Complexion fanguine and inclining to be fat, but the Fatigue he undergoes prevents it; he has fine large Black-eyes and Eye-brows; and, in fhort, 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 Afpect. His Voice is fo uncommonly loud and ftrong, that he frequently, and without straining it, gives Orders to his People at above a hundred Yards Diftance. He drinks Wine with Moderation, but is extremely addicted to Women, in which he affects great Variety, and yet never neglects his Bufiness on their Account; his Gg 2 Hours

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Hours of Retirement among the Ladies are but few, feldom entering their Apartments before Eleven or Twelve at Night, and is up and in Public by Five in the Morning. His Diet is fimple, chiefly Pillaw and plain Dishes; and, if public Affairs require his Attendance, he neglects his Meals, and fatisfies his Hunger with a few parched Peale (of which he always carries fome 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 fent to, or fpoke with by any Perfon. He musters, pays and cloaths his Army himfelf, and will not fuffer any Perquifites to be taken from the Soldiers by his Officers, on any Pretence whatever. He has Monthly Accounts tranfmitted to him of the State of Affairs in all Parts of his Dominions, and holds a Correfpondence with his feveral private Spies in every Place: Befides, in every Province and City there is a Perfon called Hum Calam, appointed to infpect into the Governor's Actions, and keep a Register of them; no Affair of any Confequence can be transacted but in the Prefence of that Officer, who, befides the Account the Governor is obliged to fend Monthly,

Monthly, transmits his Journal by a feparate Conveyance whenever he thinks proper, without permitting the Governor to perufe it; he has no fettled Salary or Gratuity for his Trouble, but is rewarded or punished just as Nadir Shab finds he deferves. This extraordinary Caution in a great Measure prevents the Governor's oppreffing the People, or entering into any Confpiracies 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 fame Time, very fevere and frict in his Discipline, punishing with Death those who commit a great Offence; and with the Lofs of their Ears, those whole Transgressions are of a flighter Nature ; he never pardons the Guilty of what Rank foever, and is highly difpleaded, if, after he has throughly examined the Affair, any Perfon prefumes to intercede in their Behalf, before which they may give their Sentiments with Freedom.

When on a March, or in the Field, he contents himfelf to eat, drink, and fleep like a common Soldier, and enures all his Officers to the fame fevere Dicipline. He is of fo hardy a Con220

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 ftay 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 Bufiness; so that the Servants who attend him standing are changed three or four Times a Day. He never indulges himfelf in any Kind of Pleafure in the Day-time, but constantly at Sun-fet retires to a private Apartment; where, unbending himfelf at once from Bufinels, he fups 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 Bufinefs; nor, at other Times, must they

they prefume, upon this Intimacy to behave with more Familiarity than their Equals. Two of his Evening-Companions happening to tranfgrefs in that Point, by taking the Liberty to advife him in Public, he immedately ordered them to be ftrangled, faying: ⁶ Such Fools were not fit to live, who could ⁶ not diftinguifh between Nadir Shab and ⁶ Nadir Kuli.² He has been very kind to thofe who pleafe him in private Converfation, 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 othersof the fameRank.

His Mother, who was living in the Year 1737, (at the Requeft of fome who were attached to the Royal Family) intreated Nadir Sbab, fome Time after he had feized the King, to reftore him, not doubting but his Majefty would make him fufficient Amends, by creating him Generalifine for Life. He afk'd her ' whether fhe really thought fo?' She told him, ' She did.' Upon which he fmil'd and faid, ' If I was an old Woman, ' perhaps I might be inclined to think fo too, ' and defired her to give herfelf no Trouble ' about State Affairs.'

He was married to Shah Thamas's Aunt. the youngest Sister of Sbab Sultan Hussein, by whom, I heard, he had one Daughter. He has feveral 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 Perfia, during his Father's Expedition to India. The fecond Son Nefr Allah Mirza, who is about twenty-one Years of Age, is nominal Governor of Mulhad and the Province of Kborafan, having a Perfon to direct and manage for him.

His eldeft Son, when he ranked as a Lieutenant, had only that Pay to fubfift 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 affociate with them, giving him to know, that if he was guilty of any Crime or Breach of Duty, he should be punissed 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 faw him) judge he'll make full as great a Figure in the World as his Father; having given fignal Proofs of his Courage and Conduct in feveral Battles, and of his great Abilities in other Refpects while *Nadir Shab* 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 eafy until his Father's Return.

Among Nadir Skab's extraordinary Faculties, his Memory is not the leaft to be admired, there being few Things of Moment that he ever faid 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 ferved 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 fame Time, with all the Regularity and Promptness imaginable.

In Time of Action, I'm told, he is equally furprifing, it being fcarce credible how quick he is in difcerning the Odds on either Side, H h and 234 The HISTORY of

and how active in fuccouring 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, Skirmiss, and Sieges he has been engaged in (altho' he generally charges at the Head of his Troops) he never received the leaft Wound or Scar, and yet feveral Horses have been shot under him, and Bullets have grazed on his Armour.

I could relate many other remarkable Things that I have feen and heard of this great Hero, whofe Actions already are fufficient to convince the World, that few Ages have produced his Equal. As he has performed fuch Wonders when he had hardly Money or Men, what may we not expect from him now he is poffefs'd of fo immenfe a Treafure? 'Tis probable he may live thirty Years longer; and in that Space of Time, if his Defigns are attended with the fame Succefs 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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- VACKEAT Babri. The Great Mogbol Babr's Commentaries of himfelf, from the Time he fat on the Throne, which was at Twelve Years of Age, until one Year before his Death. Containing an Account of his feveral Relations; as alfo the Princes who then govern'd in feveral Parts of Tartary.

A full Account of his Battles in Tartary and India; a correct Defcription of India; the Soil, Climate, Manners of the People, Commodities produced therein; a Lift of the feveral Powers

Powers who then posses'd India. Also a Defeription of the Beasts, Birds, Fruits, Herbs, and Flowers, peculiar to that Country.

- VAKEAT Jebanguiry. The Great Moghol Jebanguir's Commentaries of himfelf, from his fitting on the Throne, until the 13th Year of his Reign; wherein is fet down all the new Regulations and Experiments he made.
- A L U M G U I R N A M A. By Munfbi Makommed Kazm ben Makommed Amin Munfbi. Containing the Hiftory of India and Auring-zebe, from Sultan Dara Skeckowb's first confining his Father Skab Jekan, 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 Cafomîr. By Hoffan ben Ali Cacomiri. Wrote at the Command of Jilal o'din muluk Mabemmed Nachi ebn Muluk Neufferit. Containing The Hiftory of Cafomîr, from the earlieft Times, until its being conquered by the Great Moghol Jilal o'din Mabommed Akbar, being the Space of near 4000 Years, by their Account; with a fhort Appendix, giving a Defcription of the Country, and the remarkable Places therein.
- Mîrat Secandri. By Secander Ebn Mabommed. Containing the Hiftory of Guserat, from the earlieft Times, until its Conquest by the Great Moghol Akbar.
- TARÎKH alum orai Abaffi. In Three Vols. By Seconder Beg, Secretary to Shah Abafs the Great. Containing,

Vol.

Vol. I. The Genealogy of the *Perfian* Kings of the laft Race, or the *Seffi* Family, lineally from *Mortifa Ali*; with the particular Life of each, to *Shah Ifmael*, who was the first King of that Race.

The Life and Hiftory of Shah Ifmael.

The Life and Hiftory of Shah Thamas, his Son. An Account of the Learned Men, Poets, Phyficians, Aftronomers, Painters, Muficians, and fine Writers, that flourished in *Persia*, in Shah Thamas's Reign.

- Vol. II. and III. Containing a full Hiftory of the *Perfian* Kings, from *Shah Thamas*'s Death, until the Death of *Shah Abafs* the Great; wherein is fet down every remarkable Incident that happen'd in *Perfia* during that Time, with many other curious Relations.
- TARÍKH Shah Ifmael. By Shirf o' din Ali Iefdi, the Author of Habib al feir. Containing,
 - I. A fummary Account of Shab Ifmael's Predeceffors, as high as Mortifa Ali; with a fhort Account of the feveral Kings of Perfia, who were their Contemporaries.
 - II. A compleat Hiftory of Shah Ifmael, from his Birth to his Death; giving a particular Account of the feveral Powers who bore Sway in *Perfia*, and round about it, at the Time of his first fetting out, and for fome Time afterwards.
- TARIKH Mokhtéfir. Containing,

A fhort History of the Great Moghols, from Auring-zebe's Death, to the third Year of the prefent Emperor Mahommed Shah's Reign.

ATHAR al Belad v. akhbar al Ebad. By Zekaria ben Mahmad al Kazvini. Being a Geographical and Hiftorical Account of most Places in the World, B Nature

Nature of the People, Curiofities, &c. divided into feven Climates.

- TARÎKH Mobarek Shahi. By Iahya ben Abmed ben Abdallah al Serindi. Containing the Hiftory of the Sam Ghori Kings, from Sultan Mahommed Sam, in the Year 569 to 837.
- MîRAT al Mokblucat. By Abd o' rhaman Cheifti, which he fays is an Explanation of a fmall 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.
- MAREGE al Nabouët fi Médarege al fattouët. By Mayin al Meskin. In four Vols. Containing Four Parts, and one Appendix.

I. Treats of the Creation, Paradife, &c. and all the Patriarchs and Prophets, to the Time of Mahommed.

II. From Mabommed's Birth to his Miffion.

III. From his Miffion to his Flight.

IV. From his Flight to his Death.

Appendix. Giving an Account of all the Miracles that are recorded of him.

TARIKH Jeban numai. Containing

The Hiftory of *Chinguéz Khan*, and his Succeffors, from his first Appearance in the World, until the latter End of *Holaku Khan*'s Reign.

Montekbeb TUARÎKH. Containing Part of Holaku Kban's Hiftory, the whole of Temeur's, and until the Death of Shab Rokb Mirza, Temour's Son,

It contains an Account of Three Chinefe Embaffies to Shahrokh Mirza, and Copies of Daimung Khan, Emperor of China, his Letters to him; with Copies of two Letters in Arabic and Perfic, fent from Shahrokh by Shekh Mahommed Bukhfhi 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 Mawaralnabr (or Tranfoxane Tartary) its Cities, Rivers, &c.

Montekbeb al TUARÎKH. Composed by Abdalcadr Mulouksshab Bedauvni, in the Year 999, at the Command of the Great Mogbol Jilal o' din Mahommed Akbar.

It contains the Hiftory of all the *Mahommedan* Princes that invaded and bore Sway in *India*, to the Year 999. according to their feveral Dynafties.

- TARÎKH Gozidib. By Mahommed ben Abibecr ben Abmed ben Naffer Mustofi 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 *Perfia* before *Mahommedanifm*; fuch as the *Peifhdadians*, *Kaianians*, *Samanians*, and *Safanians*. In four Sections.
 - III. Concerning Mahommed, his Succeffors, Khalifs, Imams, Followers, &c. In one Introduction, and Six Sections.
 - IV. Account and Hiftory of all the Kings who reigned in the feveral Parts, from the Beginning of *Mahommedanifm*, until the B 2 Year

Year 730. In Eleven Sections. Containing the following Dynasties. Binai Lei/s, Samanians, Gboznavi, Kings. Gbori, Ditto. Dielman âl Boui, Ditto. Siljowkian, Ditto. Kbnarifm, Ditto. Atabakan, Ditto. Ifmaelian, Ditto. Kara Kbatai, Sultans. The Mogbol Kings.

- V. Concerning the Imams, or Antifies of the Mabommedan Religion; the Readers, Elders, and Learned Men, who, through their Piety and Exemplary Life, arrived to a State of Excellence: With fome 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 feveral Families, and great Men that have fprung 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 Mogbol Auring-zebe; with Copies of all the Letters, Notes, &c. he wrote himfelf.

AYÎN AKBARI. Composed by a Society of Men affembled for that Purpose. By Jilal e din Makommed ikbar, the Great Mogbol. Containing, I. A particular Account of each Province, City, Town, and Village of the Mogbol's Empire. pire. The Extent of each Province in Cols's and Measure of all the cultivated Fields belonging to them, in Vingas. Their Latitudes and Longitudes; the latter taken from Jezair Khaldat, or the Camarie 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 feveral Sorts of People who now inhabit those Places.

II. A full Account and Lift of the Great Moghol's Army. The Wages, Salary, and Office of each particular Servant, or Officer about him. The Manner of training and feeding all his Elephants, Camels, Mules, Horfes, Oxen, &c. with an Account of the Grooms, Servants, &c. who attend them. An Account of the Attendants. Salaries, and daily Expences allowed for the Harrann, or Seraglio. A Lift of all the Imperial Implements used in Peace and War; fuch as Scepters, Standards, Drums, Tabbals, Battle-Axes, &c. and all the Weapons used in Hindoftan, with their different Prices. Account of all the different Sorts of Weights, Coins, and Meafures 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 feveral Sorts of Diffes ferved up to the Moghol's Table. Receipts of the different Sorts of Perfumes used at his Court. Account of all the different Flowers. fweet Woods and Gums, with their Prices, and Places of their Produce. Ditto of all the Herbs, Fruits. &c at the different Seafons of the Year. Account of the Moghol's manner of Hunting, Exercife.

Exercise, fighting Elephants, and other Diversions. The Ceremonies and Manner of Marrying in the Royal Family; their Rejoicings, Feastings, $\mathcal{C}c$. The Names and Description of the different Sorts of Apparel, Ornaments, and Jewels used by the Men and Women at Court. The *Mogbol's* Manner of holding a *Divan*, and receiving People, and the Obeisfance and Honours they do him. His Method of employing his Time.

III. A full Account of the Brabmin's Religion; their Books, and the Subject of them; the feveral different Sects, and what Points they differ in; with the whole Particulars of their Eating, Drinking, Marrying, Purifications, Worfhip, and burning when Dead. After which, follows an Account of the principal Mabommedan Saints; the Places they are buried in, and the Days that their Tombs are chiefly vifited. To the whole is added the remarkable Sayings of the Great Mogbol Akbar, on fundry Subjects and Occafions; and a fhort Account of Abul Fazl, and his Family, by himfelf.

POETRY, &c.

S HAHNAMA. I Vol. Fol. containing 60,000 Couplets of Verfes. Composed by the Prince of Poets, Molana Hoffan Firdowf, Native of Tous, who, in Majesty of Stile, and Harmony of Numbers, has surpassed all who wrote in that Language.

The Subject is, The Hiftory and Wars of the ancient Kings of *Perfia*, until the Conqueft of their Empire by the *Arabs*, in the Reign of *Jefdegerde Sbebriår*.

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There

- There is a *Lexicon* prefixed to it, explaining all the difficult and ancient Words to be met with in the Book.
- KULIAT KHACANI, or the whole Works of that famous Poet, Afzal o'din Ibrahim Khacani ebn Alal nijar al Shirwani. It contains feveral Books on various Subjects.
- Sbirreb DUAN KHACANI. Being a Comment on one of Kbacani's Books, call'd his Duan; explaining what feems mysterious and obscure. By Mabommed Daud Alui Shadiabadi.
- KULIAT Aibli. The whole Poetical Works of Molana Aibli Sbirazi. He is very much admired for a certain Sweetnefs and Smoothnefs peculiar to his Poems. It contains the following Books on various Subjects.

Sebr Halal, Shama v' Purwana. Ketab Kuffayd. Ketab Ghuzliât. Kuffayd Muzoub.

KULIAT Jami. The Works of the famous Mullab Abd o' Rahman Jami. Containing Twenty One Books, viz. Selfelit al Zahah, 1ft Tome. Selfelit al Zahah, 2d Ditto. Selfelit al Zahah, 3d Ditto. Kelfih Salman v' Abfal. Tohfit al Aberar. Ifof Zulikha. Leli Mujnoun. Kherad nama Secander. Duan Avul. Duan Sani. Duan Saliç. Riffalib Maimai Kobîr. Riffalib Maimai Motteviffit. Riffalib Maimai Sagbîr. Riffalib Maimai Afgbur. Riffalib Arouz. Riffalib Kafia. Babariftan. Nunfbiât. Moufica.

- DUAN KHOSRO. In Four Vols. A Book greatly effected in the *Eaft*. It is on the Subjects of Divinity and Love; wrote in a Spiritual Strain, and is generally fung to Mufick.
- TOHFIT al Irakan; which is alfo one of the Books of Kuliat Khacani. It is a beautiful Poetic Defcription of feveral Rivers and Places, in Perfia, Diarbecr, (or Mesopotamia) and Arabia.
- IJof Zulikha, or the Loves of Jeseph and Petiphar's Wife. It is also comprehended in the Twenty One Books of Kuliât Jami.
- Delfowz nama. Hal nama

Are both Poems on the Subject of Love.

Duan Hafez. The Poems of Mahommed Shuns o' din Hafez al Shirazi. They are wrote in a fublime Stile, and a little mysterious. They are used in the East, as the Sortes Virgiliane in Europe, and much credited on that Score.

Secan-

- SECANDER NAMA. The Hiftory and Actions of Alexander the Great. Composed by Nizami, in Verse.
- SECANDER NAMA BEHRI. Ditto, more compendious, by another Hand.
- METHNOVI Manivi Moluvi. By Mähommed ben Mahommed hen of Hoffein al Balkhi, afterwards al Roumi. This Book, which is in great Efteem among the Mahammedans, is entirely on the Supject of Religion and Moral Duties.
- KHOSRO SHIRIN. By Nizami. A Poom; celebrating the Loves of Khofro King of Perfect, and his beautiful Mitnels, Shiniu.

NITEEJIH al Tabbeb.

SAKI NAMA Zibouri.

Khlaffib BOSTAN. An Extract of Sadi's Bostan.

- DUAN Anvirri. Being the Works of the famous Poet Anvirri.
- DUAN Peerzada.

BIRZOU NAMA.

Kussavə (Kelîm

TEMOUR NAMA. The Hiltory and Artions of Temaur, in Verfe. Dedicated to Shab Thomas. KUDDRIT AL AÇAR Ghazali Mushaddi. NUKHSHIBINDERIH. Ditto. Ditto. C BEHR

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BEHR AL ABRAR. By Hashmi Tatari.

HIDÎKA Hakîm Sinai.

Nozhit al Ariwah. With an Explanation, by Abdal Wahed Ibrahîm.

ETHICS, POLITICS, NOVELS, &c.

UVAMEH al Albrack fi Mokarem al Akblack. By Jani Mahommed ebn Affaad Duani, and dedicated to Sultan Hoffan Beg, Bahadr Khan. It is a Treatife of Moral Philofophy, containing Rules and Directions for tempering the Paffions and Appetites; each Moral Duty, and vicious Habit, being fully treated of under their diffinct Heads. This Book is divided into Three Sections. The First of which confiders Man in Regard to his own Perfon fingly, as a Member of Society, and what Duties are incumbent on him. In the Second, he is confidered as the Head of a Family, and Rules laid down for his Management, in Regard to each of those whom he has under his immediate Care. In the Third, he is confidered as Head or Ruler of a Society or Kingdom, and Directions laid down for his Towards the latter Government in that State. End are annex'd, Plato's Instructions to Aristotle ; containing fundry excellent Advices : As alfo a Translation of the Secret of Secrets, or Aristotle's Instructions to Alexander the Great, regarding his Conduct in Persia, which, by Order of the Khalif Maimun, was translated from the Original Greek into Arabic.

AKHLACK Nafri, A Treatife on the fame Subject, and difposed in the fame Order, by Nafr o'din o' din Mahommed ben Mahommed ben Hoffan al Touffi.

- 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 meaneft Subject. It is dedicated to Emîr Fakher o' din ben Holfan.
- AKHLACK al Moboffinin. By Moula Hoffan ben Ali al Kashfi, and dedicated to Sultan Hoffein. A Treatife of Ethics; much efteem'd in the East. Divided into Forty Chapters, each treating of a different Head. The whole intersperfed with pleafant and improving Narratives, adapt-

ed to the Subject.

AYAR Danifb. The Hiftory of which Book is thus. The ancient Brahmins of India, after a great deal of Time and Labour, compiled a Treatife, (which they called Kurtuk Dumnik) in which were inferted the choiceft Treasures of Wisdom, and the perfecteft Rules for governing a People. This Book they prefented to their Rajabs, who kept it with the greatest Secrecy and Care. About the Time of Mahommed's Birth, or the latter End of the VIth Century, Noisbervan the Juit, who then reign'd in Perfia, discovered a great Inclination to fee that Book : for which Purpofe, one Burzuvia, a Physician, who had a furprising Talent in learning feveral Languages, particularly the Sanskerrit, was introduced to him, as the propereft Perfon to be employed to get a Copy thereof. He went to India; where, after fome Years Stay, and great Trouble, he procured it. It was translated into the Pebluvi Language by him, and Buzrjumebr the Vizir. Noishervan ever after, and all his Succeffors the Perfian Kings, had this Book Č 2 in

in high Efteem, and took the greatest Care to keep it fecret. At last, Abu Jaffer Munsour Zu Nikky, who was the Second Khalif of the Abassi Reign, by great Search, got a Copy thereof in the Pebluvi 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, Saltan Makmud Ghazi put it into Verfe. And afterwards, in the Year 515, by Order of Bkeram Shah ben Malfaud, that which Abdal Mokaffa had tranflated, was re-tranflated into Perfic, by Abul Mala Nalfer allah Mustofi; and this is that Kulila Dumna, which is now extant. As this latter had too many Arabis Verfes, and obsortee Phrases in it; Molana Ali ben Hoffein Vaez, at the Request of Emir Sobéli, Keeper of the Seals to Sultan Hoffein Mirza, put it into a more modern Stile, and gave it the title of Amuar Sobéli.

In the Year 1002, the Great Mogbol Jalal o' din Mahommed Akhar ordered his own Secretary and Vizir, the Learned Abul Fazl, to illustrate the obfcure Passages, abridge the long Digreffions, and put it into fuch 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 Sobéli. An Edition of the fame Book, wrote in Sultan Hoffein's Time.

KULILA DUMNA. The Edition wrote in 515, by Bberam Shab's Order.

Açar

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- AÇAR Afmutt, or the Veftiges of Chaftity. A Novel. In which the Author has given the Character of a virtuous chafte Woman.
- TOUTI NAMA. By the famous Nakhhebi. In this Book, the whole Difcourfe is feigned to have paffed betwixt a Parrot and her Mittrefs, whole Hufband had gone a diftant Voyage. In which the artful Tricks and Ingratinude of Women are laid open by a Relation of feveral curious and furprifing 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 Hufband's Return.
- Dowzd v Kazzi, or the Thief and the Judge. Being a Difpute betwixt the Kazzi of Bagbdad, 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 Paffages from the Koran, to justify his robbing him, than the Kazzi can well answer.
- MAHAVERAT. Rules and Directions for behaving in Company; with a Relation of feveral famous Repartees, witty Anfwers, and inoffenfive Jefts; with a Collection of Proverbs, and the beft Paffages out of the most eminent Poets, on the feveral different Subjects that can happen in Conversation.
- NEGARISTAN. By Mayin Jauini, in the Time of Sultan Absuleyd Babadr Khan. Dedicated to his Vizir Mahommed Rifebid. It is wrote in a beautiful Stile. It contains fome Hundreds of very pleafant and improving Relations, which are true

true in Fact, and regarding each of the following Heads. viz.

- I. A virtuous Difpofition.
- II. Abstinence, and Self-Denial.
- III. Humanity towards our Fellow-Creatures.
- IV. Love and Friendship.
- V. Council and Advice.
- VI. Greatness of Soul, and Mercy.
- VII. The many Advantages ariling from the Knowledge of Arts and Sciences.
- KESSIH Kamroup. A fine Novel. Wrote by Hemit Khan ben Islam Khan Alumguîri.
- Tokvim al AKHLACK. A Treatife of Ethics; digested into a very regular Method.
- PUND NAMA. A Treatife, containing feveral good Instructions : By Shekh Ferid otar.

ARTS, SCIENCES, &c.

ANISH NAMA é Jeban. A Treatife of Pbyfics. By Ghyath o' din Ali ebn Ali Emiran al Hoffeini, al Isfahani. It is divided into Ten Sections, Twenty Divisions, and an Appendix ; which treat of the following Subjects.

The Universal Intelligent, and Universal Soul. 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, Rednefs of the Sky about the Horizon, feveral 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. Reafon of their different Weights, Colours, Taftes, 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 feveral Degrees of the Formation of a *Fætus*, its Polition in the Womb, its Birth, and the Caufes of Male and Female.

Account of the outward and inward Senfes; where they differ in Man and Beaft; how Objects ftrike the Senfes and Mind.

Of the Immortality of the rational Soul.

Of Mifery and Happinefs.

Of Predefination and Providence.

That it is possible a Man may be inform'd of hidden Things, and what is not to be perceived by the Senfes, both in Sleep and awake, and the Manner thereof. In Seven Difcourfes.

Of Dreams, and the feveral Sorts of them.

Of Infpiration, Prophecy, and the Degrees of Prophets, Miracles, Sorcery, Magick, an Evil Eye, &c. and living by little or no Food.

Of Opticks; the Theory of Sight, Light, and Colours.

Proving the Earth and Water to be of a Spherical Form.

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Geogra-

Geographical Definitions and Paradoxes. Abu Ali Sina's Advice.

A Treatife of Anaromy; with the Use and Functions of the several Parts.

Mijmoub TEB v' Gberib. By Ifof ben Mabommed ben Ifof al Tabib. Dedicated to the Great Mogbol Neffir o' din Mabommed Hemaîun. Containing,

Hefz Sebt, or Rules for the Prefervation of Health, in Regard to Eating, Drinking, Exercife, Reft, Sc.

Names of Medicines, in the Indian Language. Jameb al Fovaed, or an Account of all Difeafes incident to the feveral Parts of the Body, from the Head downwards; with Remedies for each. Cures for venomous Bites.

Receipts and Remedies for feveral Difeafes. In Verfe.

- Dir ANASIR v' bavasfba. Concerning the Four Elements, and Five Senfes.
- RISSALIH formed al Sabian; or Instruction to Youth.
- MIJMOUH al Fazael dir elum Najann v' Abkam. A Treatife of Aftronomy and Aftrology; chiefly according to the Indian Method. By Mahommed Fazel elm Molana Abdal Shnokour. Dedicated to Shah Jahan. Divided into 159 Chapters.
- RISSALIH dir Marefet Aftrolab. Concerning the Use of the Aftrolabe.
- RISSALIH Heyit. A Treatife of Geometry.
- RISSALIH Hiffab. Of Arithmetick.

- HISSAB aibl Tinjum. The Accounts used by Aftronomers.
- Dir Mussahlt. Menfuration of Superficies's, Solids, &c.
- TAKHLÎS al Moftab. In Arabic.
- AROUZ. The Method of composing Verses of all Kinds,
- REML, or Geomancy. Thefe Eight Treatifes by Abdalwabid Gilani.
- KHAFIAH Aflatoun fi elum adad. In Arabic. By Shekh Malek Moghrebi.
- ELUM Munazerib, the Art of Difputing and Pleading.
- ELUM Hilfab, of Arithmetick, &c.
- AL GEBR V Mokabla, of Algebra.
- ELUM Duvavin, the Method of writing the best Stile; with Quotations from the most approved Authors, on several Subjects.
- ELUM Bideeib, The Art of Composing and Ranging the feveral Parts of a Discourse in the best Manner.

ELUM Mithal.

ESTIARIH ou Elum Bayan. By Molana Afam o'din.

ELUM Ziraet. A Compleat Treatife of Hufbandry and Gardening; wherein is fet down the proper Seafon and Manner of managing all Kinds of D Grain, 26 ACATOLOGUE of

Grain, Fruit-Trees, Greens, &c. The Prognoflicks of the Weather; with an Account of the Phyfical Ufes of the different Fruits and Herbs; how to deftroy or drive away all Kinds of Vermin, or hurtful Reptiles; with the Method of making Wine.

MIZAN.

AJINASS FEAL.

PANJH GUNJH.

NEHV Zeriri

MESBAH.

SHIRREH Moula Jami.

Thefe Six Books are the Rudiments, Grammars, & c. that are neceffary, in order to read, write, and pronounce the Arabic Language.

- Seb RISSALIH é Tirandazi. Three different Treatifes on the Art of fhooting with Bows and Arrows; with the Method of making Bows, and all Kinds of Arrows. The Art of Shooting on Horfeback, at full Speed, either forwards or backwards.
- ZEECH Ulogb Beg. By Mahemmed Mirza Ulogb Beg, Grandfon to Temour. It contains the different Æra's, and Manner of counting Time, in all Places. The Feftivals and remarkable Days, as all the different Nations hold them. The Chinefe Computation of Time, and their Æra; with a Treatife of Aftronomy and Aftrology.
- Dir KHAVASS Chowb Chini, Cha, v Koava. A Treatife on China-Root, Tea, and Coffee; explaining the Natures and Phylical Ufes of them; with the Method

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Method of preparing each, especially the China-Root, when used as a Diet-Drink in the East.

RISSALIH Munték. A Treatife of Logick.

- RISSALIH Heyit. Of Geometry, and the Doctrine of the Sphere.
- RISSALIH Arouz. Another Treatife on the Art of making Verses.
- Dir Elum Kbutt. The Rules for writing the Perfian Characters.
- FARS NAMA. Wrote by Nizam din Abmed, at the Command of Shab Abafs the IId. It is a Treatife on Horfes; the Method of Riding and Managing them; the Marks by which they are known; with Receipts for all the Difeafes incident to them.
- Anîs al Albakain. The Method of reading and understanding the Perfian Poets, and discovering the Beauties in them.
- JUVAHR NAMA. A Treatife on all precious and valuable Stones, from the Diamond to an Agate; the Places they are found in; with the Method of understanding them, and the Prices of each.

Tokvim farfs. A Perfian Almanack.

DESTOUR al annul. Containing an Account of the Great Mogbol's Revenues from each Province in general, and each Town and Village in particular, throughout the Empire; with a Lift of all the Pofts, Offices, & c. therein.

MAIMA,

MAIMA, namba v Tarikha.

ELUM Khourd as hindi.

HEELHA Ifmaeli (or, Al alat alroubaniat) A Book of Machinery, containing about 300 Figures. It was composed by Aboulézz Ifmael al Gezeri, and is divided into fix Parts.

Part I. Of strange Clocks and Clepfydras.

- II. Veffels of a strange Structure.
- III. Mufical Inftruments.
- IV. Hydraulick Engines and Machines for raifing weighty Things from deep Places.
- V. Vafes for Drinking, Plates, &c.
- VI. Several Sorts of Machines.

wrote in Arabic, and dedicated to Kara Erflan al Ariki.

DICTIONARIES, VOCABULARIES, &c.

ARHANG Jebanguiri. By Mir Jemal o'din Hoffein Anjou ebn fakbr o'din Hoffan. Dedicated to the Great Moghol Nour o'din Mahommed Jebanguir. 'Tis compiled from Forty Eight different Dictionaries, and contains all the Words modern or ancient, that properly belong to the Perfic Language, with their true Vowels, and their feveral Significations; each Signification authorized by a Quotation from fome eminent Author. The Introduction is divided into Twelve Sections, relating to the feveral Changes the Letters and Words have undergone, the Syllables and Words that are added for Ornament in Writing; with a Copious Grammatical Differtation, neceffary to be perused, for the more perfect Knowledge of the Perfic Language; with an Appendix, explaining

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ing those Words of the Zend, which are not to be found in the Body of the Book.

- LETAEF al Loghat. By Abdal Letif ben Abdallab Kobir. A Dictionary in great Efteem.
- FARHANG adàt al Fazla. By Kazzi Khan Pedr Mahommed Dehlui; known by the Name of Bedharwal. It contains chiefly the ancient Perfic Words.

AKD al Juvabr. A Vocabulary.

LOGHAT Arabi, Farsi, v Turki, Ditto.

- NISSAB Sabian, Ditto.
- FARHANG Ifof.
- ALFAZ Advia. By Nour o'din Mabommed Abdallab Hakim Ain al Muluck Sbirazi. Dedicated to the Great Mogbol Shahab o'din Mabommed Shah Jehan. It explains, in an Alphabetical Order, all Drugs, and Medicines; their Qualities, Virtues, Dofes, &c. with the Names of each, in the Arabic, Perfic, and Indian Languages. To which is added, an Appendix, fully treating of Bezoars, Mummy, China-Root, Tea, Coffee, and Tobacco.

LETTERS, FORMS OF WRITING, &c.

INSHA, Abul Fazl. In Three Tomes. Being Copies of all the Letters wrote by the Learned Abul Fazl (Secretary and Vizir to the Great Mogbol filal o'din Mabommed Akbar) in his Mafter's Name, to the feveral Kings and Powers he correfponded

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refponded with. They are reckoned the beft writ of any Thing in that Language.

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DIVINITŸ.

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Tafsîr

- TAFSIR Hoffeini. Hoffein Vaez his Comment on the Koran in Perfic.
- TAFSIR Kashani. A large Comment on the Koran, according to the Schias Doctrine. By Fatteh Allab ebn Shuckr Allah al Kashani. In Two large Folio Volumes. The Two first Comments are according to the Sunnis.
- MUISKAT. A Book containing all the authentic Traditions of *Mahommed*, in Regard to Points of Faith, Worship, &c. and what is not determined in the *Koran*, whether by Inspiration, or as his own Opinion, which are called *Abadic*, *Koddiffi* v *Nebvi*.
- SHIRREH Sourat al Zoba. Explanation of the Sourat al Zoba, (a Chapter of the Koran fo called) By Baba ben Mabmud, ben Ibrahim,

ORAD. Prayers for all the Set-Times of the Day and Night. By Skekb Mahommed ebn Ibrahim al Kadri.

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TOKMIL al Iman v Tokviet al iekan. An Explanation of all the Articles of Faith in the Mabommedan Religion. By Abdalbuck ben Sef o'din al Turk al Debluvi al Bokbari.

AL MOTMED fil Motkad, or Akaed Toreishi. Dedicated to Silghar Sultan Atabak. It is divided into Three Parts, and each of these Parts into Ten Chapters.

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- II Ditto in the Angels, Reveal'd Religion, and the Prophets.
- III. Ditto, other particular Points; fuch as are most confentaneous to the true Orthodox and primitive Faith.
- RISSALIH Shok afza. A spiritual Work, by Olbman Birgi ben Albedad.
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- AITKAD NAMA: upon the fame Subject. By Molana Abdo'rabman Jami.
- KHAVASS Souratha. The Properties of each Sourat, or Chapter in the Koran, in Verfe.
- MIRAT al Akbra, concerning the Refurrection and last Judgment. Wrote in Arabic, by Shekh Abdo'rahman, and translated into Persic, by Mahammed Ghani ebn Shekh abdal Ghofour.
- JAMEH ABASSI. A Collection of the Mahommedan Civil and Ecclefiaftical Laws, according to the Schias. By Baha o'din Mahommed Aumli; dedicated to Shah Ahafs. In Twenty Parts; and each of these Parts divided into many Sections and Chapters.

Part. I. Purifications of all Kinds.

- II. Prayers; their Forms, Times; what are necessary and supererogatory.
- III. Zikât, or what is fet alide of one's Effects for charitable and religious Uses.
- IV. Fafts, Feftivals, &c.
- V. The whole Ceremony of a Pilgrimage to Mecca.

VI. Alms,

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- VI. Alms, appropriating to pious Uses, Charity, and freeing Slaves, fighting with the Infidels; its feveral Laws and Rules.
- VII. The Vilitation of *Mahommed's*, Mortifa Ali's, and the Imans Tombs; with the Days of their Births and Deaths.
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 - IX. Buying, Selling, Sureties, Pledges, and Partnership.
 - X. Hiring, Renting, Lending, Pawning, and appointing Agents.
 - XI. Marrying for ever, and for a limited Time, with all its Laws and Rules.
- XII. Divorces, and Rules.
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- XIV. Killing of Animals for Food; what are lawful and forbidden.
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- KHOTBAH." A Form of the Harangue spoke by the Mullah on every Friday in the Mosques, wherein the Prince who governs is mention'd and pray'd for.
- Jehan Ara Begum, Sifter to Auring-zebe, her Hiftory of the Ajmr Saints.
- LUVAYIH TOHID. By Molana Abdo Rahman Jami. Being a Treatile of the *Tufuuff* Religion, or the Eaftern Quietism. With Rules, how to acquire a Habit thereof.
- Dir MAZHUB ARAMIN. A Treatife wrote by an Armenian Prieft, who turned Mabonimedan in Shah Hoffein King of Persia his Time, or 1123 of the Hegira; in which he endeavours to expose the Christian Religion, as practifed by the Armenians and Roman Catholicks, by quoting feveral Parts of their Missal, and describing their Forms of Worship. It is dedicated to Shah Hoffein.

The

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- The ZEND of Zeratufht, in the ancient Perfic Character.
- A TRANSLATION of all the Remains of Zeratulat. or Zoroafter, into Perfic; with feveral other Pieces, as follows. Liturgy of the antient Perfians. Concerning Women, Heaven and Hell. Dialogue betwixt Minukberad and Ormild. Account of the antient Kings. Account of the feveral Books of their Religion, before they were deftroyed by Alexander, and what was the Subject of each. Zeratult's Conference with Ormild. Account of the first peopling of the Earth; with the feveral Excellencies peculiar to the Month Firvirdin. Concerning the Soul and Death. nt. Account of the Creation. Ormifd and Aberman, the Two Principles. The Guardian Angels. 4 Religion explain'd. Explanation of fome Terms used in their Religious Offices. Concerning the Existence and Nature of a Deity. 1.1 Explanation of the 101 Names of GOD. Of the Nature of Sin, necessary good Works, Works of Supererogation, Charity, Obedience, E3c. State of the Bleffed in Heaven, and Wicked in Hell. Refurrection, and last Judgment. Daftan Noifher-, Hiftory of those and the preceding Times, intermix'd van. 5 with Morality. Furrukbnama. Dastan Mirghou Zin. Ardaverafnama. E 2 Letters

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- MUJMAH al Babrain, (i. e. the uniting of both Seas.) A Treatife wrote by Sultan Dara Shekowh, eldeft Brother to Auring-zebe; in which he endeavours to reconcile the Brahmins Religion with the Mahommedan; eiting Paffages from the Koran, to prove the feveral Points. It was his writing this Book, and converting fo much with the Brahmins, that chiefly loft him the Empire; for Auring-zebe made a Pretence of that, and confequently had all the bigotted Mahommedans to join him.
- The GOSPEL of Geronimo Xavier. In April 1582. The Great Mogbol Jilal o'dn Mahommed Akbar

(who was fix'd to no Religion) wrote a Letter to the King of Portugal, by Seyd Mazuffer, desfiring to fend him a Translation of the Scriptures into Arabic or Perfic; and at the fame Time, one who was capable of explaining to him the Christian Religion. — One Geronimo Xavier, a Jefuit, and Relation to the famous St. Francis Xavier, was appointed for that Purpole, who having learned the Perfic Language (as he fays) in the Space of Eight Years; with the Affiftance of Molana Abdal Settar ben Kaffum Labori, composed this Book, and prefented it to the Mogbol in April 1602.

The Maghol's Letter, which is curious in its Kind, is to be found in the first Volume of Infoa Abul Fazl. This Manuscript is the Original one that Xavier presented to the Moghol.

FIN'IS.



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