W. R. Morrell
Oct. 31, 1878

The text is very hard to read. However, it appears to be a bookplate stating:

Offered to the Indian Institute in Oxford,
May 16, 1914,
by Edward S. Dodgson.

Presented to the
Indian Institute, Oxford.
by Ed. Dodgson, Esq., M.A.
May 1914.
THE HISTORY
OF
NADIR SHAH,
Formerly called
Thamas Kuli Khan,
The Present Emperor of Persia.
To which is prefix'd
A short History of the Moghol Emperors.
At the End is inserted,
A CATALOGUE of about Two Hundred Manuscripts in the Persian and other Oriental Languages, collected in the East.

By James Fraser.

London:
Printed for A. Millar, at Buchanan's Head, over against St. Clement's Church, in the Strand.
MDCCXLII.
TO

Dr. Richard Mead,
Physician to the KING,

Fellow of the College of
Physicians in LONDON,

And of the

Royal Society,

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

His most obliged

Humble Servant,

James Fraser.
THE PREFACE.

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

The Abstract of the Moghol History is extracted from the 6th Vol. of Tarikh Rozit al Suffa, Vakeat Babri, Maçir Jehanguiry, Padshahama, and Tarikh Alumgu•ri, &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
The PREFACE.

Collection of Eastern Histories for that Purposes, the Authenticity of it will not be disputed.

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

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

The Journal of his Transactions in India, with the Letters and Cession of the Provinces, were transmitted from Dehli, by the Secretary of Sirbullind Khan (whom Nadir Shah had appointed to be one of the Commissioners for levying the Contributions) to Mirza Mog-
The PREFACE.

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 please to observe, that in two or three Persic Words, I have been obliged to make use of the Letter B. instead of P. there being no such Letter in the Arabic Types, which I have been favoured with by the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge, 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 Expense, 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 Persian, was a Parsee, (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'din. When I was at Cambay, I studied under Shékhd 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 HISTORY OF THE HINDOSTAN Emperors of the Moghol Race, beginning with TEMUR.

TEMUR, * the Son of Emir Targhais Khan and Takina Khatun, was born on the 6th of April, 1336, during the Government of Kaxan Khan, in the City of Keish, (commonly call'd Shebrasb, or the Green City)

* Temur is known in Europe by the Name of Tamerlans, a Corruption of Temur Lung, which signifies Lame Temur, an Appellative seldom or never given him by the Eastern Historians. His Name and Titles at Length are قطب الدين والدين امير تهمور كغوركان صاحب كيران Koteb al Dunia vaf dal din Emir Temur Gourgan Sabeb e Kéran, which is to say, The
A short History

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

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

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

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

As far as Deblis, all Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt.

In the Year 1398, he set out on his Expedition to India; and on the 16th of December the same Year, he took the Capital Deblis, having then an Army of near 100,000 Horse. But finding a general Conquest of India would be attended with much Difficulty, and the keeping it afterwards impracticable, he bent his Thoughts on an Expedition against the Turks; and Three Years Eight Months after the Taking of Deblis, in the latter End of 1401, with an Army of near 200,000 Horse he set out against Eildirm || by Azed, 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 Baiazid,

*India in the East is known by the Name of Hindustan, which signifies the Country of the Hindu's or swarthy People, हिंदू Hindu being swarthy or black. The Capital thereof is दिल्ली Deblis, which since Shah Jehan removed thither from Agra, is as often known by the Name of Shah Jahanabad, or Shah Jehan's Habitation.

|| Eildirm, which in the Turkish Language signifies Lightning, was Baiazed's Surname.
A short History

with his son Mouja, were taken Prisoners, and presented to him.

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

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

His Sons were,

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

2. Shekh Aynam Mirza, who was killed in Temur's Life-time, in January 1394, being Forty Years old.

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

† La Z. Khata or China.

‡ AFS. Farfang is about four English Miles.

3. Mirza
of the Moghol Emperors. 5

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

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

Sultan Mahommed Mirza

Was the Son of Mirza Miran Shab, who with his Brother Mirza Khullul lived at Samarcand, and in the Reign of their Uncle Sha-rokh they both died. The precise Times of their Birth and Death are not recorded in any authentic History.

9

Sultan Abuseyd Mirza,

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

Aumar Shekh Mirza,

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

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

Zehir o'din Mahommed Babr,

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

† Formerly the Khalifs gave Titles to the Mahomedan Princes; such as Defender of Religion, the Champion of Religion, &c. And since the Destruction of their Empire, the Princes have assumed such as they like best. Sultan Babr took the Title of Zehir o'din, the Supporter of Religion; and the Name Mahommed, which signifies prais'd, is prefix'd (or understood to be so) to almost every Mussulman's Name.

Vakeat Babri, signifies Babr's Occurrences.
of the Moghol Emperors. 7
dabar, Biddulphstan, Ghuznavi, and the Places
dependant on them, he made five different
Expeditions into Hindostan. In the first
Four he was unsuccessful; but in the Fifth,
on the 1st of May, 1526, near the Village
Maltia, he gave Battle to Sultan Ibrahim
Loudi, who had 100,000 Afghans *, and
1000 armed Elephants, and totally defeated
him, and that numerous Army, tho' he had
scarcely 12,000 effective Men.
He afterwards subdued all that Empire,
excepting the Kingdoms of Decan, Gujarat,
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, 1539,
in Charbaghi near Agra, on the Banks of the
River Chun †, from whence his Body was
carried to be interred in Kabul, having lived

* अफ़ग़ान Afghans are the several Tribes of Mo-
habomedans, who inhabit the Northern Parts of India;
there are some of them spread all over India, known
often by the Name of Pattans; they are esteem'd the
best Soldiers in the Country.
† The River Chun, is often called Jumna.

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

Nessir + o'din Mahommed Hemiaun,

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

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

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

† Hemiaun took the Title of Nessir o'din, the Assister of Religion.

Fortune,
of the Moghol Emperors.

Fortune; he was driven out of his Country by the Ussuer Sher Khan the Afghan, from which he was absent five Years five Months and fifteen Days. The Particulars of which, with his Reception in Persia, and the Assistance given him by Shab Thomas, Son to Shab Ismael, is fully set forth in Akharnama †, Pakhsharnam, Tebcat Akbarshahi, Tarikhsulturn Arsi, and Montikhef al Tarihkh Bedawusi; being too prolix to insert here. At last, on the 1st of September, 1545, he took Kandahar from Mirza Askeri, who govern'd it as Mirza Camran's Deputy; and on the 16th of November, 1545, he took Cabul from Mirza Camran; and in the Spring 1546, conquered Biddakhshan from Mirza Sultan, who had revolted and taken the Government thereof into his own Hands. In the Beginning of December, 1554, he set out from Cabul for Hindostan; and on the 22d of February, 1555, came to Labor. On the 27th of May, the same Year, he came to Serbind; and on the 20th of June, encounter'd and defeated Secandir Sour. This

† There are five Histories; the first Three and the Fifth of the Moghol Emperors, and the Fourth of the Persian Kings of the Saffi Race.
Secandir was Son-in-Law to the Usurper Shér Khan. His first Name was Ahmed, and he governed Panjab under Selim Khan, after whose Death he took the Government into his own Hands, calling himself Secandir, and possesting all from the River Scind † to the Ganges.

On the 24th of January, 1556, Hemaiun departed this Life, and was buried in a Monument erected on the Banks of the River Chau, 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'dîn Makommed Hemaiun, was born in the Fort of Amrkowt on the 12th of

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

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

‡ Akbar took to himself the Title of Jilal o'dîn, which signifies, the Aggrandizer of Religion.

October,
of the Moghol Emperors. 11

October, 1542; and on the 12th of February, 1556, being then Thirteen Solar Years and Four Months old, was proclaimed Emperor at Calamara in the Province of Labor. He was reckoned a great and good Prince, and was very fortunate, having, in his Reign, made several Conquests, and reduced almost all India to Obedience. The Particulars of which are to be seen in Akbarnama, a History composed by his Secretary and Vizir Abu Fæzil*, and in Tébcat Akbar Shabi, and Montekebek Tuzrikh Bedawuni. As he was professedly fixed to no Religion himself, so he was a Persecutor of none. In 1582 he wrote a Letter to the King of Portugal, desiring he would send to him a Translation of the Scriptures into Arabic or Persian, and at the same

* Abū al-Fāzil was the Title given to this Great Man, and signifies, the Father of Excellence. His Writings testify him to be the most learned, and the best Writer then in the East. He was murdered by Order of Sultan Selim, on Suspicion of being the Occasion of a Misunderstanding that was betwixt him and the Emperor his Father. Akbar greatly lamented his Death, and so did all who had any Regard for Letters; he having left several Things unfinished. His History of the Moghal Emperors, he carried on to the 38th Year of Akbar's Reign.
A short History

Time a learned Person to explain the Christian Religion. One Geronimo Alvaiz, a Relation of the famous St. Francis Xavier, was sent, who having learned the Persia, in the Year 1622, presented the Mogol with the Gospels translated into that Language, entirely intermixed with their Legends, which he imagined would make it the more acceptable to Akbar. As I thought the Letter would not be disagreeable to some of the Readers, I have inserted a Translation of it, in which I have kept as close to the Original as possible.

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

GLORY + Inconceivable to the True King, whose Dominions are safe from the Disaster of Decay; and his King-

* As the Portuguese had made several Conquests on the Coasts of India, it is probable Akbar imagined their King was the most powerful Prince in Europe, and so calls him.FRVRMST FRANG, or the Ruler of the Franks or Europeans.

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

The mistake from the Calamity of Slav-ing. The wonderful Extent of the Heavens and Earth is but a minute Part of the World of his Creation, and infinite Space but a small Corner of his Production.

A Governor who has regulated the Order of the Universe, and the Management of the Sons of Adam, by the Understanding of Kings who exercise Justice. A Decree, who by the Ties of Love and Bonds of Affection, has implanted in the various Beings and several Creatures the Passion of Inclination and Union, and the Affections of mutual Tendency and Society.

And Praises unbounded, an Offering to the poor Souls of the Company of Prophets, and Apostles, who walked in the truest Paths, and directed the rightest Ways, in general and particular.

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

As Akbar was no found Mussulman, he makes no particular Mention of Mahomed.
"Economy and right Disposition of the World to Affection and Harmony. For whatever Heart the Sun of Love shines on; it clears the whole Soul from the Darkness of Mortality; and how much more is this requisite in Princes, the good Correspondence of whom is the Cause of Happiness to the World and the People therein. For which Reason it has been my earnest and entire Endeavour to promote and confirm the Ties of Friendship and Bonds of Union among God's Creatures, especially among the high Rank of Kings, whom God by his Favour has peculiarly distinguished from the rest of Mankind; particularly with his *Royal Majesty, who is endowed with intellectual Knowledge, is the Reviver of the Ordinances of Jesus, and stands in no Need of Praise or Description. Our Neighbourhood; † with that renowned Prince making an Alliance and Friendship more indispensible necessary; and as a personal Conference is impracticable on

* By his Royal Majesty, he means the King of Portugal.
† The Portuguese Conquests on the Coast of India, made them Neighbours.

account
of the Moghol Emperors. 15

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

Your Majesty knows that the Learned
and Divines of all Nations and Times, in
their Opinions concerning the World of
Appearance and the Intellectual, agree in
this, that the Former ought to be of no
Consideration in Respect to the Latter;
yet the wise Men of the Times, and the
Great ones of all Nations, toil much in
perfecting themselves, as to this perish-
ing and showy State, and consume the
best of their Lives, and the choicest of
their Time, in procuring apparent De-
lights, being swallowed up and dissolved
in fleeting Pleasures and transitory Joys.
The most High God, merely thro’ his
eternal Favour and perpetual Grace, not-
withstanding so many Obstacles, and such
a World of Business and Employment, has disposed my Heart so as always to seek him: And tho' he has subjected the Dominions of so many powerful Princes to me, which to the best of my Judgment I endeavour to manage and govern so as that all my Subjects are contented and happy; yet Praise be to God, his Will and my Duty to him, is the End I propose in all my Actions and Designs. And as most People being enchained by the Bonds of Constraint and Fashion, and regarding the Customs of their Ancestors, Relations and Acquaintances, without examining the Arguments or Reasons for it, give an implicit Faith to that Religion, in which they have been bred up, and remain deprived of the Excellency of Truth, the finding of which is the proper End of Reason, therefore at Times I converse with the Learned of all Religions, * and Profit by the Discourses of Abdallah Khan, Prince of Tartary, in his Letters to Akbar (of which I have got Copies) calls him to a severe Account, for being so fond of the Brahmins or Indian Priests, and so indifferent as to the Mahomedan Religion.
of the Mogbal Emperors. 17

"... and the Vail of a Language interposed between us, it would be expedient you would obligge me with such a Person as could distinctly relate and explain the above Affaire. It has also reached my Ears, that the heavenly Books, such as the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospels, are put into Arabic and Persian: Should a Translation of these, or any other Books, which might be of general Benefit, be possible in your Country, let them be lent. For a further Confirmation of our Friendship, and securing the Foundation of Affection and Unity, I have sent my trusty Friend the Learned and Honourable Seyd Mazuffer, whom I have par-

* The Mahometans call the Scriptures كتب سماوية God's Books, and reckon their Koran one of them. They have a great Regard for them all; but say, we have quite altered and corrupted those in our Possession, especially the Gospels.

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

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

"Written in the Month of Ribabiul-

...990.

Akbar died at Agra on Tuesday, 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 Soudara, near that City.

He had three Sons

Sultan Solim; afterwards Jahanguir.
Sultan Morad, who died by excessive drinking in the Year 1598, in Delhi.

April, 1582.

Solim, which is a proper Name for Men, signifies peaceful, safe, secret; and Salima is a proper Name for Women, of the same significacion.

Morad signifies wished for, desired; being derived from مراذ Eradib, the Will.

Sultan
of the Moghol Emperors.

Sultan Daulat, who died by the like De- 

That Faiz. in the said Province in the Year 1604.

And three Daughters,

Shabnur Khanum.

Shah Jahan Begum.

Amina Banu Begum.
which is twelve Cols. distant from Agra, on the 10th. August 1660, and called Shukan Selim. On the 21st. October 1651, being then aged about 36 Solar Years, he sat on the Throne at Agra, and took to himself the Title and Name of Mughal Mohammed Jehangir, the 3rd. Mogul of the

After a Reign of twenty-two Solar Years and six Days (the last eight of which he had been afflicted with an Ataxia) he died at Chingahesti, and being then on his Return from Cashmer to Lahore, on the 21st. of October 1627, aged 40 and eight Solar Years, 1st. Month, and twenty-nine Days. His Body was carried to Lahore, and there interred.

He was a small Prince and too much overruled by the beautiful Nour Jehan। (or Nour Mah) which made the last ten Years of his Reign very unquiet and unprofitable.

A Cols. is the Measure they commonly study in India; in computing Distances, they are of several Sorts; Ibrani, or measured, which are about English Yards each; and Rigari, or computed, which consist from 1000 to 4000 Yards, according to the different Provinces. Those mentioned here, are the measured Cols.

Nour Jehan signifies the Light of the World. She was also called Nour Mahi, or the Light of the Seraglio. She was the Wife of one Shir Afkan Khan, of a Turkoman Family, who came from Persia.
of the Moghul Emperors.

Reign very uneasy to him, and unfortunate to the Empire. The Omer, who knew her, originally was resolved to oppose all her schemes, but she persuaded the Emperor to break through all Rules, in order to advance her Father, Brother, and other Relations to the highest Employments.

After his Death she endeavoured to secure the Empire for Shahrnaz, who was Jahanqur's Son by a Slave, and married to her Daughter by her First Husband Sher Afsan Khan. But Afs Khan and Avdhet Khan; as Sultan Khurrum (who was Son-in-law to the former) was far off, and that the three

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

Reg. god Sher Afsan signifies, the Lion Crowned.

young
young Princes his Sons, Dara Shkourah, Sultan Sujab, and Aurungzebe, were in New Jahan's Hands, in order to disconcert his Scheme, and protract the Time until he came, immediately proclaimed Sultan Daur Bukhsh (alias Bolaki) Son to Khojro, Emperor.

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

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

Sultana Nissa Begum, † born in 1596.

Sultan Khojro, † Father to Sultan Daur Bukhsh or Bolaki, ‡ born in 1587. He died in Confinement in the Year 1622.

* Rajah, signifies, Prince, in the Indian Language, and Ram, Prince.
† μαλκυας Sultana Nissa, the Queen of Women.
‡ خور Khojro, is the Name of one of the Persian Kings of the Kaian Dynasty, who was great and powerful, and has been since generally applied to any great or powerful Prince, and used as a proper Name in some Royal Families.

† Daur Bukhsh, signifies, God's Gift. By
of the Moghul Emperors, 23.

By the Daughter of Khojib Hossam, Sultan Parvez *, born in the Year 1589.

By the Daughter of Rejib Kesoulas Rattee, Bahar Banu Begum †, born in 1590.

By the Daughter of Rejib Oudfag, Sultan Khwrum ‡, born in 1592, who succeeded his Father, and took to himself the Name of Shab Jahan.

Jehangir had also Sultan Jahan Dar and Sultan Shehriyar ** Twins by a Concubine, born in 1605; which last being Nouir Jahan’s Son-in-law, she endeavoured to secure the Empire to him. But on Shab Jahan’s Accession to the Throne in 1627, he and Bolaki, with Sultan Daniel’s Three Sons,

* Parvez, a proper Name with the Ancient Persians, it signifies victorious. In the Pehlevi Language, it signifies Fish, and some imagine it’s added to Khosro’s Name, because he had a great liking to Fish.

** Others say that Khosro Parvez signifies the powerful and victorious King.

Aya, Bahar Banu, the Blooming Princess, the Joyful, Shemon the Joyful Prince.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jahan Dar</th>
<th>Jehangir, the Defender of the World</th>
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<td>Jahan</td>
<td>Shibras, the Friend of the City</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Gurfaab
24. **A Short History**

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

**Shahab o'din Mahommed Shah Jehan**

Third Son to Nour o'din Mahommed, Jehanguir was born on Wednesday, the 3rd January, 1592, and sat on the Throne in Agra, the 1st February, 1628, being then Thirty-six Solar Years and Twenty-eight Days Old. On the 29th March, 1647, being the 20th Year of his Reign, he removed the Seat of his Empire from Agra to Delhi, calling it Shahjehanabad; where on the Banks of the River Chun he built a noble Castle and Palace, with Gardens and other Conveniencies.

*Guriaasp, Teyomars, and Hoishung, are ancient Persian proper Names of Men.*

**Shabab o'din**, the bright Star of Religion; and **Shah Jehan**, the King of the World, were the Titles Sultan Khuram assumed on his Accession to the Throne.

† **Agra**, is often called **Akbarabad** or Akbar's Habitation, he having kept his Court there; as Delhi, Delhi, **Shah Jehanabad**, or **Shah Jehan's Habitation.**

*which*
of the Moghol Emperors. 25

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

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

† Some People suspected he had a criminal Conversation with his own Daughter, long before his Confinement.

Mehd Alia was also called Taage Mahil, or the Crown of the Savaglio.

E  Lac'3
A short History

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Yearly Revenues (L.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dehli</td>
<td>100 Krokes of Dams are 3,125,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>90 2,812,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>90 2,812,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmir</td>
<td>60 1,875,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowlatabad</td>
<td>55 1,718,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berar</td>
<td>55 1,718,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guzerat</td>
<td>53 1,651,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>50 1,562,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alehabad</td>
<td>40 1,250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babar</td>
<td>40 1,250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malva</td>
<td>40 1,250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khandeish</td>
<td>40 1,250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audih</td>
<td>30 937,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>28 87,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>771,240,937.50</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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.

Odissa
of the Moghol Emperors. 27

Carried over 771 ———— ———— 24,093,750
Odissa 20 ———— ———— 62,5000
Cabul 15 ———— ———— 468,750
Cashmir 15 ———— ———— 468,750
Tatta 8 ———— ———— 250,000
Balbh 8 ———— ———— 250,000
Kandahar 7 ———— ———— 218,750
Bidduksbhan 4 ———— ———— 125,000
Tillingana 30 ———— ———— 937,500
Buglana 2 ———— ———— 62,500

880 ———— ———— 1,275,000,000

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

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

He had several Children, as follows:

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

Arjunmund Banu, the noble Princess.
* Aurat Nissa Begum — 1612
* Jehan Ara Begum — 1614
* Sultan Dara Shikoh — 1615
* Sultan Sujah — 1616
* Roisbunrae Begum — 1617
* Sultan Auringzebe — 1618
* Sultan Ameed Bukhsh — 1620
* Suria Banu Begum — 1622
* Sultan Morad Bukhsh — 1624
* Sultan Lutf Allah — 1627
* Sultan Dewlat Afza — 1628

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

Jehan Ara, the Ornament of the World, Dara Shikoh, in Pomp like Darius.

Sujah, Valiant, endued with Fortitude.

Rashin rai, of an enlightened Mind.

Auring-zebe, the Ornament of the Throne.

Ameed Bukhsh, the Giver of Hopes.

Suria Bano, the shining Princess. Suria literally signifies the Pleiades.

Morad Bukhsh, the Giver of Desires or Wishes.

Lutf Allah, the Favour of God.

Dewlat Afza, Increase of Fortune.

By
of the Moghad Emperors. [29

By a Daughter of Mazaffir Hossain Mirza, Grandson to Shah Ismael, King of Persia, One Daughter, and Parveez Bano Begum, born in 1611.

Mohnat Qodin Mahommed Auringzebe, Third Son to Shah Jahan, was born the 22d of October, 1618. In the latter End of 1656, Sultan Dara Shukowh, endeavouring to poison himself of the Empire, confined his Father Shah Jahan; which Auringzebe having Notice of, begun to make Preparations; and giving out that it was with a Design of securing the Throne to his Brother Morad Bakhsh, then at Ahmedabad; he wrote to him to set out with his Forces and join him at Eugene, which is the Capital of the Province of Malwa.

Parveez Bano, signifies the aboriginal Princess.

† When Auringzebe became Emperor, he assumed the Titles of Mahy o din, the Reviver of Religion, and Isalam Sorkh Aliunvar, the Conqueror of the World.

‡ Ahmedabad, the Capital of the Province of Guzerat, so called from Sultan Ahmed, who was King of that Province, and kept his Court in that City. It is 224 measured Cofs distant from Dehli.

Eugene is 126 measured Cofs from Agro.

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

Auringabad, the Capital of the Province of Dowlat Abad, which is 265 measured Cols distant from Debl. Auringzebe had it so called after his own Name.

Maharajah signifies the great Prince; Mahab being great or mighty in the Sanskerrit or Bramin's Language. This Title is given by the Moghol to the Rajahs of Marwar of the Rattor Family. The Capital of their Country is Jodbore, which is 176 Cols distant from Debl. The Rajpouts of Marwar are esteemed the best Soldiers in India.
of the Moghol Emperors. 31

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

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

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

Sultan Dara Shewokb being taken Prisoner, was brought in Triumph to Dehli, and sent to Khefrabad ‡, where he was murder’d by Aurimgzebe’s Order, the Night of the 28th of August, 1659.

* Eezabad is 2½ measured Cofs distant from Dehli.
† Agra is 44 measured Cofs distant from Dehli.
‡ Khefrabad is 52 measured Cofs from Dehli.
32 A Short History

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

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

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

* Suliman Shekowb signifies, august as Solomon.
† Gualiar is 28 Cofs from Agra.
‡ The Rajpouts are the most warlike of the Indians. There are several Tribes of them, all Subjects to those Rajabs or Indian Princes, who are in a manner independent of the Mogbol.
|| Vijapore, or Bijapore, as pronounced by the Mogbols, is 357 measured Cofs from Dehli.
** Hyderabad, which was formerly called Bhagnagar, is 371 Miles distant from Dehli. There is a Castle in this Province, called Golconda, by which Name the whole Province is chiefly known in Europe.

famous
of the Moghol Emperors. 33

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

The Revenues of the Empire were great-
ly increased in his Time, for excluding Balkh,
Kandahar and Biddukhsban, which Shah
Jeban possessed, and were afterwards lost,
there was a Revenue of 12071876840 Dams,
which (at 320 Dams to a Pound Sterling)
is 37,724,615 l. ½ from the Twenty-one fol-
lowing Provinces:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Revenue in Dams</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dehli</td>
<td>Dehli</td>
<td>1221950137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>1146760157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmir</td>
<td>Ajmir</td>
<td>652345362</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audib</td>
<td>Audib</td>
<td>322327829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>214442936</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cabul</td>
<td>Cabul</td>
<td>1610393354</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cashmir</td>
<td>Srinagrr</td>
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<td>Guzerat</td>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>607849135</td>
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<td>Babar</td>
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<td>407161000</td>
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<td>Seind</td>
<td>Tatta</td>
<td>91816810</td>
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<td>Dowlatabad</td>
<td>Aurungabad</td>
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<td>Malva</td>
<td>Eugene</td>
<td>403901658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berar</td>
<td>Brampore</td>
<td>614025000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kbandeishb</td>
<td>Zafferabad</td>
<td>448630000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bedr</td>
<td>Dacca</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>Dacca</td>
<td>524636240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odissia</td>
<td></td>
<td>142820000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9880211840

§ Soubah signifies a Province, and Soubah Dar, the Lord Lieutenant of a Province.
The Two New Soubahs.

Hyderabad 1113360000
Vijapore  1078305000

12071876840

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

On Friday, the 21st of February, 1707, Auringzebe died at Ahmednagar, in the Province of Daulatabad, aged Ninety Lunar Years, and 14 Days, having reigned about Fifty Lunar Years. He was buried there in the Palace of Shah Zen al din.

Ahmednagar is distant from Delhi 280 measured Cols.

Shah Zen al din. Zen al din signifies the Ornament of Religion, and Shah, which signifies King, is a Title frequently given to Dervishees. This Zen al din was a remarkable Santon, who kept his Cell near that City, and was buried there; which being reckoned a sanctified Place, Auringzebe, in his Will, directed he should be interred there. As this Prince was very zealous, or at least pretended to be so, for Mohammedanism, those of that Religion make a great Merit of visiting his Tomb, especially on the 28th of the Month Zaccadib, which was the Day he died on.
At the Time of his Death, his Third Son Asem Shab was with him, and his Second Son Mahommed Mauzem, at Cabul. He had left a short Will, of which, for the Satisfaction of the Curious, I shall here give a Translation.

A Translation of Auringzebe's last Will.

"I came, empty-handed into the World, and empty-handed I quit it. Whoever of my fortunate Children shall chance to rule the Empire, let him not molest Mahommed Kambukshi; + should he rest contented with the Two New Sou-bahs."

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

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

---

* Cabul is 266 measured Cofs from Dehli.
† Mahommed Kambukshi, Auring-zebe's fifth Son.
‡ The two new Sou-bahs are Vijapore and Heyderabad, so called, as being lately conquered by Auring-zebe.
|| Emir al Omra, which signifies the Prince of Princes, is the Title generally given to the Mir Bukhibi, or Pay-master-General and Treasurer.

"Whoever
of the Moghol Emperors. 37

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

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

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

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

"I came naked into the World, and naked I go out of it. Let no Ensigns or royal Pomp accompany my Funeral; let Hamid o'din Khan, who is faithful and trusty, convey my Corps to the Place of Shah Zen al din, and make a Tomb for it, in the same Manner as is done for Derweishes: *

"let not my fortunate Children give themselves any Concern about a Monument.

"There is in my private Treasury 57,382 Rupees, † let a 1000 Rupees § be distributed among the Poor at my Funeral,

* The Tombs for Derweishes are made low and plain, without any manner of Ornament.
† 7172 l. 15 s. § 125 l.

Auringzebe
A Short History

Auringzebe had Five Sons:

Sultan Mahommed,
Mahommed Mauzem, who succeeded his
Father in the Empire,
Mahommed Azem,
Mahommed Akbar,
Mahommed Kambukhsb.

Darab Shekowb had Two Sons:
Suliman Shekowb,
Sep Ib Shekowb.

Sultan Sujab had Two Sons:
Zen al din Mahommed,
Bullind Akbter.

Morad Bukhsb had one Son;
Ivd Bukhsb.

Mauzem signifies great, glorious,
Azem signifies the same.
Akbar is the Comparative Mood of, Kobra, great.
Kambukhsb, the Giver of Desires or Wishes.

Suliman Shekowb, august, or in Pomp like Solomon.
Sep Ib Shekowb, of military Pomp.
Zen al din, the Ornament of Religion.
Bullind Akbter, of high Stars, or great Fortune.
Ivd Bukhsb, God's Gift.
Upon Auringzebe's Death, Azem Shab, with his Father's Troops, set out from Deccan towards the Capital, as did also Mahommed Mauzem from Kabul, in order to decide their Fortunes in Battle. On the Banks of the River Chun, near Agra, both Armies encountered. They were by far the most numerous that for several Ages had come together in India. Mahommed Mauzem having 150,000 Horse, and 178,000 Foot, exclusive of the Auxiliaries furnished by the Rajabs; and the other Brother nigh as many. In short, Azem Shab's Forces were defeated, and himself killed. Mahommed Mauzem was proclaimed Emperor, taking to himself the Title of Koteb ad din Babadr Shab, and Shab Alum. He made Mahommed Khan his

Sultan Mahommed Mauzem, on his Accession to the Throne, assumed the Titles of Koteb ad din, the Axis of Religion, Babadr Shab, the valiant King, and Shab Alum, the King of the World. Notwithstanding Koteb signifies only the Pole or extreme Part of the Axis, yet it is used here to signify the Whole.

Vizir;
A short History

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

Babadr Shab went afterwards to Labor to suppress some religious Rions, and died shortly after, having reign’d about Six Years.

He had Four Sons.

Mauz o’din, called also Jebander Shab.
Mabommed Azim, Azim Al Shan.
Raffeeib al Kadr, Raffeeib al Shan.
Khojista Akhter, Jeban Shab.

Mauz o’din, signifies the Honour or Glory of Religion.
Jebander Shab, the King who possesses the World.
Azim, signifies great.
Azim al Shan, of great Figure or Rank.
Raffeeib al Kadr, of exalted Power.
Raffeeib al Shan, of exalted Rank.
Khojista Akhter, of happy Stars.
Jeban Shab, King of the World.

His
of the Moghol Emperors. 4t

His Brother Sultan Mahommed Azem had
Two Sons,
Mahommed Bedar Bukht,  
Mahommed Wallab Jah.

His Brother Sultan Mahommed Kambuksh
had One Son.

Iesdan Bukihs,  called also Rahman Bukihs,
whose Daughter has been lately married to
Nesr Allah Mirza,  Nadir Sab's Son:

Jehandar Shah:

Jehandar Sab, Jehan Sab, and Raffeceil
al Shân, Sons to Babado Sab, having joined
against their Brother Azim al Shân; de-
feated and killed him. His Treasure falling
into the Hands of Zulfeear Khan, who was
in Jehandar Sab's Interest; they marched
against the other two Brothers, Jehan Shab
and Raffeceil al Shân, and having overcome
them, put them to Death. Their Deaths

Bedar Bukht, whose Fortune is awake.
Walab Jah, of august Rank.
Iesdan Bukihs, God's Gift.
Rahman Bukihs, the Gift of the
Merciful.

Nesr Allah, signifies, assisted by God.
secured the Empire to "Jehandar Shah," and Zulfecker Khan became his Vizir.

He was a weak Prince, and so foolishly fond of one of his Wives, called Lal Koar, who was of an obscure mean Parentage, and a Singer by Profession, that he endeavoured to fill the Places of the greatest Trust and Honour in the Empire with her base Relations, which so disgusted Seyd Abdallah Khan and Seyd Hossen Khan, two Brothers of great Authority in the Empire, and who had a Body of choice Troops, that they resolved to place Mahommed Furrakhshan (Son of 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, * Jehandar Shah's Son; and afterwards Jehandar Shah himself (tho' his People's Treachery and Cowardice) was defeated near Agra, and obliged to fly, tho' he had near 100,000 Horse and Foot.

"Jehandar Shah had one Son; Eaz o'din. Azim al Shan had one Son:

Mahommed Furrakhshan.*

* Eaz o' din, signifies the Glory of Religion.
* Furrakhshan, signifies of happy Disposition.

Raffeeib
of the Moghol Emperors. 43
Raffeeib al Shan had three sons:
Raffeeib al Dirjat *,
Raffeeib al Dowlat, † and
Sultan Ibrahim.
Feher Shah had one son:
Mahammed Shah, who is the present Emperor.

Mahammed Furrukhshir,
Son to Azam al Shan, being settled on the
Throne, Seid Abadshah Khan was made
Vizir, with the title of Koteb al Muluck ‡
and Iar ba Vafa. And Hassan Ali Khan
made Mird Bukhsch, or Paymaster-General,
with the title of Emir al Omra §.

The Emperor was only, so by name; for
these two had the absolute management of
every thing. Furrukhshir, at last, with the
Advice, and at the instigation of Khandarah
and Mir Jumla, began to contrive means to

* رفع الدرجات Raffeeib al Dirjat, of exalted Degree.
† رفع الدولات Raffeeib al Dowlat, of exalted Fortune.
‡ قطب الملل Koteb al Muluck, the Axis of the Empire, and
   بارباونا Iar ba Vafa, the grateful Friend.
§ أمير الأمراء Emir al Omra, the Prince of Princes.
cut off the two Brothers. They, on the other hand, were intent on nothing so much as enriching themselves. They turned out Nizam al Muluck * (Ghazi o' din Khan's † Son) from his Government of Deccan, and Hossain Ali Khan went thither himself. At last, the two Brothers finding the Emperor grew jealous of their Power, resolved to remove him, and put a more passive Prince in his Stead. Having got Ajeet Sang the Maha Rajah (whole Daughter ‡ was married

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

† غازى الدين Ghazi o' din, signifies the Champion of Religion. Nizam has also a Son called by the Grandfather's Name Ghazi o' din Khan, who has lately got the Title of ناصر جنگ Nasir Jing, which signifies victorious in War.

‡ It is a Custom with the Moghal Emperors to make Alliances with the Indian Rajahs or Princes, by marrying their Daughters, who, as soon as they are taken into the Harrom or Seraglio, are converted to Mahommedanism, by pronouncing in Arabic these Words, There is but One God, and Mahammed his Prophet, and learning a few Prayers.
of the Moghol Emperors. 45

so, Furrukshir) 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 subjoined a Translation.

ALL GOVERNORS, People in Offices, Jagúirdars †, Fojbdars ‡, Croris ||,

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

† When one is preferred to be a Mansubdar, or Commissioned Officer, by the Moghol, he either pays him out of the Treasury, or else allows him as much Lands in some of the Provinces, as the Salary and Wages of his Mansub or Post, comes to. The Lands so allotted are called the Jaguir, and the Officer who receives the Revenues as his Pay, is called the Jagúirdar.

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

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

Rabadars,
A short History

Rabadar*, Gouzirbans †, and Zemidars ‡, who are at present and shall be hereafter in the Souab || of Ahmedabad, and in the fortunate Port of Surat, and Cambay, being in hopes of the Royal Favour; KNOW,

That at this Time of Conquest which carries the Ensign of Victory, Mr. John Surman and Khojub 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 said Port, from the Time of the

* Rabadar: are those who have the Charge of the Highway.
† Gouzirbans: are they who collect Duties on the High-roads.
‡ Zemidars: are the Rajabs or Indian Princes, or who have free Estates, and a Tract of Land at their own Command, only paying a small Acknowledgment to the Great Moghol. This Name is composed of دار Dar, a Possessor.
|| Souab signifies a Province.
§ Mr. John Surman, an English Gentleman, and Khojub Serbad, an Armenian, were the principal Persons sent from Bengal to the Moghol's Court to solicit for this Grant.

" Emperor
Emperor who is pardoned *, whose Place of Rest is Eternal, Shabab o din Shah Jehan, 2 per Cent. was settled as Customs. From the Time of him who has approached the Most Merciful, whose Place is everlasting, Mohy o din Mahommed Aur-ringzebe Alumguir, 3½ per Cent. was appointed, and in other Places none molested them on this Account. And in the Time of the Emperor who is pardoned, whose Place of Repose is Heaven, surrounded with the Favour of the Almighty, whose Rank is most Sacred, Abul Mazuffer † Babadr Shah, 2½ per Cent. was settled, and is in Force until now; By reason of the Oppressions of the Muttesiddis ‡ there, it is three Years since they have withdrawn their Factory. In the Soubaah of Babar and Ottifea, this Nation pays no Customs; and in the Port of Hugly, in the Province of Bengal, they Yearly give Three-§ Thou-

* This is a softer Kind of Expression used by the Mahommedans in mentioning deceased Persons.
† أبو الاظهر Abul Mazuffer, signifies the Father of Victory.
‡ Muttesiddis are the King’s Officers.
§ 375 l.
A Short History

and Rupees Peishcush* in lieu of Customs; they are in hopes that, according to the Custom of other Ports, in the Port of Surat likewise, a yearly Peishcush may be settled in lieu of Customs; they agree to a Yearly Peishcush of Ten Thousand Rupees.

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

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

† 1250 l.

their
of the Moghol Emperors. 49

their Effects should be stolen, use your utmost Endeavours to recover them, delivering the Robbers to Punishment, and the Goods to the Owner; and wherever they settle a Factory, or buy and sell Goods, be assisting to them on all just Occasions; and whomsoever of the Merchants, &c. they may have a just Demand on by Accounts, according to Equity, give the English their Due, and let no Person injure their Factors. They have likewise humbly represented, "That the "Duan* in the Provinces may demand the Original Sinmi†, or a Copy with the "Naxem or Duan's ‡ Seal affixed; to produce the Original in every Place is impracticable; they are in hopes that a Copy under the Kazzi's § Seal shall be credited,

* The Duan are the Secords or Deputies to the Lord Lieutenants of Provinces, and Governors of Cities. They are the General Accountants, and the Revenues pass thro' their Hands.
† Sinmi, signifies, a Grant or Patent.
‡ Naxem is the Governor, or Person who acts for him.
§ Kazzi, or, as some pronounce it, Cadi, is the Judge, who, among the Mabommedans, decides all
and they not demand the original Simid,
or molest them on Account of a Copy
with the Nazem or Duan's Seal: And in
the Island of Bombay, belonging to the
English, where Portuguez Coin are Cur-
rent, that according to the Custom of
Chinapattan †, the fortunate § Coins may

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

† Chinapattan is Madras, or Fort St. George, on
the Coramandel Coast, where the English did coin Ru-
pees.

§ By the Fortunate Coins (which they call محمد
سلاطین مبالي Sicca Mobarek) are meant Silver and Gold Ru-
pees, which last they call مال Mejir, or Sun, and ought
to weigh 7 dw. 3½ gr. and are in Value equal to 12 Sil-
ver Rupees weighing 7 dw. 10½ gr. each. The In-
scription on this present Emperor's Money is, The For-
tunate Coins of the valiant Emperor Mahommed Shah,
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.
of the Moghol Emperors. 51
"be struck; and that whoever of the "Company's Servants being in Debt, runs "away, may be sent to the Chief of the "Factory; and that on Account of the "Foijdarí *, and the other forbidden Arti-
"cles (by which Means the Company's "Factors and Servants are vex'd and dis-
couraged) they be not molested.
The strict and high Order is issued "forth, that a Copy under the Kazzi's Seal "be credited, and that in the Island of "Bombay, fortunate Coins struck according "to the Custom of the Empire, be current;
"and whoever of the Company's Servants, "being indebted, runs away, let him be "taken and delivered to the Chief of the "Factory, and let them not be molested on

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

H 2 Account
Account of the forbidden Articles. "They have likewise represented, that in Bengal, Babar and Odyssea, the Company have Factories, and that they are willing to settle in other Places. They are in hopes that wherever they settle, Forty Vingas of Ground may be graciously bestowed on them by the Emperor; and that their Ships sometimes, by Reason of Tempests, run ashore, and are wreck’d, the Governors of the Ports do in an oppressive Manner seize the Goods, and in some Places demand a quarter Part." The Royal Order is issued forth, that they act according to the Customs of the Factories in other Provinces, in regard to this Nation (who have Factories in the Imperial Ports, and Dealings at Court, and have miraculously obtained a Firmán exempting them from Customs.) Take Care in a just Manner of the Goods of their Ships that are wreck’d or have lost their Passage, and in all Affairs act according to this Great Order, and demand not a new Grant Yearly. In

∥ A Vinga is somewhat less than the third Part of an Acre.
of the Moghol Emperors. 53
this be punctual, written on the 4th of
Safer in the 5th Year of this Glorious
Reign.

On the back Part of the Firmán, was the
Vizir's Seal, with his Titles, as follows:

The Security of Fortune, and trust-wor-
thy 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. Ingenious 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.

RAFEEIH
RAFFEIH AL DIRJAT.

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

RAFFEIH AL DOWLAT,

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

NASR O'DIN MAHOMMED SHAH,||

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

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

|| Mahommed Shah, on being made Emperor, took to himself the Title of Nasser ad-Din Nasr o'din, which signifies, the Supporter and Averter of Religion.
of the Moghol Emperors. 55

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

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

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

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

§ Heydr Kuli, signifies, the Slave of the Lion, حیدر, which signifies, a Lion, being one of the Appellatives given to Ali Mortisa, and كليل Kuli, in the Turkisb Language, signifies, a Slave.
mily, drawing their Swords, fell on Hossan Ali Khan, and killed him with two or three of his Friends. Upon this Mabommed Shah laid aside that Expedition, and returned towards Deblil, in order to cut off Seyd Abdallah Khan, the other Brother, who was in that Capital with a great Force; and who hearing of his Brother’s Murder, had taken out Sultan Ibrabim, Son to Raffeeib al Shan, and proclaimed him Emperor. Gathering together what Treasure he could, and having broke to Pieces the famous Throne, (which cost Shah Jefan nine Crores § of Rupees) in order to pay his Soldiers, he soon compleated an Army of 50,000 Horse, and marched out to engage Mabommed Shah, 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, Abdallah Khan’s Forces were defeated, and himself desperately wounded and taken Prisoner.

§ One Crore is Ten Millions. So that Nine Crores of Rupees, at 2s. 6d. each, amounts to 11,25000 l. Sterling.
of the Moghul Emperors. 37

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

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

Abdallah Khan being brought before him, the Emperor said to him, 'Traitor, see what thou hast done.' To which he answered, 'I took you out of a Prison, and gave you an Empire. My Brother being murdered by your Order, as I was at the Head of an Army, Self-preservation directed me to make use of it; Providence decreed you the Victory, use it as you think proper, by treating this Clay as your Resentment or Interest may prompt you.' Then the Emperor said to him, 'What Harm had Furrukhīr done to you?' To which he answered: 'He grew jealous of mine and my Brother's Power, and as it was inconsistent with our Interest to resign it into his Hands, we thought it dangerous to lose any Time in removing him. Had Providence permitted us to have been so prudent
prudent hitherto, we should not have come to this tragical End. But when Fate de-
fines one to Ruin, it begins by blinding the Eyes of his Understanding. Then the King ordered him to be confined, and four Servants allowed to attend him, and said, "As for the young Sultan he is not to blame; were he to be punished, it would distress his poor Mother; let him remain with her."

Heydr Kuli Khan was in great Favour, and afterwards made Souhabdar * of Ahmed-
abad. Nousrit Eax Khan was made Souhab-
dar of Ajmir, Sir Begling Khan was sent for from Cabul to be one of the Vizirs; and Kandaran was made Mir Bukhshi † with the Title of Emir al Omra §.

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

* Souhabdar is Lord Lieutenant of a Province.
† Mir Bukhshi is Paymaster-General and Treasurer.
§ Emir al Omra signifies the Prince of Princes.
of the Moghol Emperors. 59.

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

I 2

In ancient Times, none but the Wives of the Brahmins (or Indian Priests) had the Privilege of burning themselves with their deceased Husbands: But since the Government fell into the Hands of the Rajpouts, 'tis customary, when any of their Princes die, for one or more of 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 dissuaded from it. Sometimes indeed, when a vain-glorious Passion prevails over natural Affection, the Widow's Relations would gladly have her burn, as it raises the Character of their Family, by making it remarkable for virtuous and loving Women. Yet, according to their Religion, 'tis more meritorious to behave chastely and decently in their Widowhood, untill Death, than burning; because one is but a short Pain, and the other a State of Trial. The Moghols have endeavoured
In the Year 1721-2, the Emperor wrote to Nizam al Muluck, then at Deccan, desiring his Presence at Court, and that he would appoint him Vizir; but if he declined it, he should nominate whomsoever he should judge to be the most deserving. To which he answered: "I am a Dervish, and not ambitious of so high a Station. I was contented with the Province of Malwa, when the Seyds intending to distress me, I was obliged to take Arms. B. the Divine Assistance I baffled their Designs, and secured myself. At last your Majesty, by their Instigation, set out against me with a mighty Army. Here the Almighty protected me likewise. In the Beginning one of the Brothers was killed; and as you knew me to be a
deavoured to discourage this Custom as much as possible; but since Money is omnipotent in that Country, as well as in many others, a small Bribe generally purchases the Consent of the Governor, or Commanding Officer. Lately the Seyd and Pattan Families, in several Parts of India, have, thro' their excessive Pride, got into this Custom; and as it is strictly forbidden by their Religion (which is the Mahommedan) they do it privately, by setting an Apartment on fire about their Ears.

"faithful"
of the Moghol Emperors. 64

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

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

Nizam continued at Deccan, as Soubahdar
of Vijapore, Hyderabad, Aurungabad, &c.
and though he acknowledged himself a Sub-
ject, yet made no Remittances to Court, but
appropriated the Revenues to the maintaining
of an Army, which he said was to keep in awe
the Maharattas or Ganimds, the Sabou Ra-
jab’s Subjects in Deccan; whom notwithstanding he permitted to plunder and lay waste several of the King’s Provinces. They

* كُمْمِرُ ٱلْدَّيْنُ Kummir o’din, signifies the Moon of Re-
ligion.

imposed
imposed a Tribute of one quarter Part of the Revenues, which they call Cbst, in many Places, and some Parts they have taken entirely to themselves. He well knew, that with the Mabarattas Assistance, 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 Shah having besieged Kandahar, he was prevailed on to come to Court, as shall appear more particularly in the Sequel.

Kandahar, is distant from Dehli 368 measured Cols, and from Isfahan 463.
The State of Affairs in India before the Persian Invasion, with the Motives that induced Nadir Shah to undertake that Expedition.

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

* The Great Moghul.
† Emir signifies Prince or Commander, being the Name that the Nobility are distinguished by, the Plural of which is Omra.
The State of Affairs

is greater than Vizir, and honoured with the Title of Afs̄of Ḥab. Khandoran, who was Bukhsbī, or Paymaster General, had the Emperor's Ear so much, that whatever he requested was granted, His Majesty being entirely governed in all His Actions by him. As Nizam al Muhuck was for settling Affairs upon the same Footing as they were in Aus̄ingzebe'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 Omars. He observing the Weakness of the Emperor, and the Dissoluteness of his Courtiers, who employed their Time in the Company of loose Women and Buffoons, waited on His Majesty, and framing an Excuse, told him the Affairs of his Province required his Presence. On his Arrival at Deccan he entered into a Concert with Rajab Sabou, and con-

† Afs̄of Ḥab is a Title commonly given to Vizirs. It signifies, in Place and Rank as Afs̄of, who, they say, was Solomon's Vizir. At the Same Time that they honour their Vizirs with this Title, they flatter their own Vanity, by comparing themselves to Solomon. trived
in India, before, &c. 65

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

* A Quarter Part of the Revenues, which they call Chat, is the Tribute the Maharattas have endeavoured to impose on several Parts of India.
agreed to pay the Quarter Part, and returned Home. Notwithstanding this Agreement, and the Money being paid, the Maharattas did not spare those Places from being plundered, but even resolved to march as far as Agra to receive the Quarter Part for Debli. The aforesaid Officers set out again, and came to the City of Agra: A little before their Arrival, the Maharattas had crossed the River Jumna, with an Intent to march into Audib, the Province governed by Saadit Khan, who having Notice of their Design, march'd against them with a strong Body, and after an obstinate Engagement defeated them, took two of their principal Officers, and killed 5000 of their Men. With the Remains of their Army they marched to Feridabad, which is Ten Coss from Debli. Upon which Kbandoran and the Vizir, being joined by Saadit Khan, went in pursuit of them: The Maharattas had left that Place Three Hours before the Omras Arrival, and marched towards Kalka, near Debli; which being a Place of Worship for that Day, the greatest Part of the Inhabitants had assembled there: They robb'd them of all they had, but spared their Lives; and knowing the City
City had but few Forces therein, they intended to plunder it; of which the Emperor being informed, he ordered Emir Khan and Hossan Khan, with all the Companies belonging to the Train of Artillery, to go and oppose them. They accordingly marched out, and after an Engagement of a few Hours, Hossan Khan was killed; and Emir Khan, with the rest of his Army, almost routed, and the Mabarattas on the Point of entering the City, when the Vizir, who had outmarched the other two Omras, came to his Assistance; the Enemy was soon defeated, and put to Flight: The Vizir pursued them to Allaverdi Khan's Serai,† which is Seven Coss from Debli, where coming up with them, and having no Inclination to fight, he secretly made up Matters: Upon which they marched back to Deccan. Saadit Khan being somewhat puffed up with his own good Services, and incensed at this Shameful Compromise with the Gânims, marched

† Serai, or Sera, signifies any great Building or Palace. 'Tis the same that, by Corruption, is in Europe called Seraglio, which may as properly be applied to any other Palace, as to that where the King's Family live. By prefixing the Word Caravan, it signifies, a Building for the Reception of Travellers and Passengers.
towards his own Province, without waiting on his Majesty; but the other Omars enter'd the City, and paid their Respects to him.

The Emperor was again inclined to send for Nizam al Muluck, thinking that while he continued in Deccan he should be always in Fear of (or actually disturbed by) these Excursions of the Maharattas. Mehr Parwar, his Grandmother, who had great Interest with Nizam, at his Request, wrote him a Letter, full of Assurances that he should have the entire Management of Affairs at Court, provided he came without Delay. He complied with her Request, but met with a worse Treatment than formerly. The Omars not only disregarded him, but took all Opportunities of affronting him, especially Khandoran and his Creatures, who when he came to pay his Respects at Court, used to ridicule him, saying to each other, Observe how the Deccan Monkey dances. This Usage having wrought him up to the highest Pitch of Resentment, he was resolved to revenge himself by distressing the Empire, and destroying Khandoran and his Creatures. He imparted his Design to the Vizir, Kummir o'din Khan, imagining he would join with him.
IN INDIA, before, &c. 69

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

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

NADIR SHAH.

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

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

∥ Khorasan is one of the most eastern Provinces of Persia, which its Name imports, signifying, towards the
The History of

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

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

the Sun; خور Kbor, signifying, the Sun, in the ancient Persian. The Persians generally pronounce it Kborasen, making an a, before an m, or an n, sound like an u, which, they think, gives the Words a sweeter and softer Sound. But in Tartary, and all over the Mogbol's Empire, the Words are pronounced as they are wrote.

of
NADIR SHAH.

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

* Musfad is a City in Khorasan, which, since Shab Akaji's Intention of making it a Place of Pilgrimage, has been of more Note than Herat, the ancient Capital thereof.
† Beglerbeg is a Title signifying, in the Turkish Language, Lord of Lords.
in which Station he continued till he was about thirty-two Years of Age, behaving on all Occasions with the greatest Gallantry and Resolution. He was esteemed and respected by those whom he chose to be familiar with; but others who were not so intimate with him, and to whom he behaved with Reserve, made little Account of him. He so well disguised his Ambition, that, altho' determined to push his Fortune to the utmost, when a proper Opportunity should offer, he took the greatest Care to smother whatever might give the least Jealousy or Offence to his Superiors, seeming perfectly happy in the Station he had obtained, until the Year 1720. when the Ousbeg Tartars, by Surprize, entered Kborafan with a Body of 12000 Horse, and began to commit Hostilities. The Beglerbeg not having above 4000 Horse, and 2000 Foot in Readiness to march against them, called a Council of his Officers, and told them if an immediate Stop was not put to the Progress of the Tartars, they would lay waste and plunder the whole Province, and, according to their Custom, carry off Man, Woman, and Child, with every Thing of Value they could lay their Hands
in Consequence of which he must lose his Head. The General Officers declared the Force his Highness could then muster was not near sufficient to encounter the Enemy with any Probability of Success, and that the King would blame him should he attempt it, and thereby only throw away the Lives of so many brave Men. The Beglerbeg perceiving their timorous Disposition, declared he would put himself at the Head of what Troops he had, and try his Fortune, it being better to run any Hazard than sit down tamely, and be idle Spectators, while the Tartars ravaged the Country, and carried away the Inhabitants to a perpetual Slavery. Nadir Kuli, who was present at this Council, (but whose Station did not entitle him to speak until the Opinion of those of the same Rank was asked) got up, and desired that he might be indulged to offer something on this Occasion: Which being granted, he said, It was then no Time to deliberate; that the Enemy were advancing towards them, and in a few Days would force the Generals to do what at present they seem'd to have no Inclination to; that he could not enough commend the brave Resolu-
tion of the Prince in offering to go in Pers-
on, and give them Battle, tho', at the same
Time, there was no Necessity for His High-
ness to run so great a Risque, since if any
Accident happened to him the whole Pro-
vince would be lost; that it would be more
advisable to remain in the City Musnad to
take Care thereof with what Forces he could
gather from the adjacent Parts, and let the
Army set out immediately; in order to give
the Enemy Battle, or to secure some Defiles
and narrow Passes to prevent the Tartars
advancing until his Highness could send Suc-
cours: That for his Part, he assured him
he was, by Experience, so well satisfied of
the Bravery of the Troops they then had,
that if he would honour him with the Com-
mand of this Expedition, he was so well af-
sured of Success, that in Case he miscarried
he was willing to forfeit his Head. The Prince
was so pleased with an Offer of this Kind,
that he did not wait for any of the Generals
Opinions; but immediately told him, You
have, in your present Station, when Occasion
offered, given such Proofs of your Conduct
and personal Valour, as leaves me no Room
to doubt of your future Behaviour; therefore
therefore give you the Title of General, with the Command of all the Troops now here, and order you to march with them, as soon as possible, against the Tartars, and either give them Battle, or take such Measures as may seem to you most proper, in order to put a Check to their Progress. Accordingly a Commission pro tempore was prepared and signed for Nadir Kuli to command in this Expedition as General, and the Prince assured him, if he succeeded, he would use all his Interest at Court to get him confirmed. Altho' the Common-Soldiers were well satisfied to have Nadir Kuli to command them, yet all the General Officers, and most of the Mim Bashis, his Seniors, refused to act under him, which the Prince being informed of, desired they would stay with him, and that others, whom Nadir Kuli appointed, should act in their stead. Accordingly several Officers were promoted in order to supply the Places of those who staid; and the Troops set out with Nadir Kuli at their Head, with the same Resolution that he did, to conquer or die. The Tartar General, who lay about four Days Journey from Mushad, hearing the Persians were in quest of them, called
called together all his Forces, who were out a marrauding in different Parts. *Nadir,* who bent his March directly towards him, on his Arrival, found the *Tartar* at the Head of his Troops ready to give him Battle; upon which he drew up his little Army on an Eminence, and told them, that half the *Tartars* at least were a foraging, and left to guard the Captives and Plunder; that he was as- sured they had not above 6 or 7000 Men, tho' they were drawn up loose in order to make the greater Show; and that he should not doubt of Victory had they been twice as nu- merous, from the Experience he often had of their Courage on other Occasions, which he was assured they would then exert to the utmost, as thereon entirely depended the Liyes, Liberties, and Estates of their Coun- trymen. The *Tartars* charged with their usual Fury, which the *Persians,* animated by the Example of their young Leader, sustained with all the Intrepidity imaginable. Both Parties being brave and equally resolute, a bloody and obstinate Action ensued, in which the Victory for a long Time seemed doubt- ful: At last *Nadir*’s Fortune prevailed; for having slain the General with his own Hand, the
NADIR SHAH.

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

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

Being
Being highly incensed at this Treatment, he waited on the Prince, and told him, he had depended on his Promise to no Purpose, for instead of being confirmed in his Post, he was degraded and disgraced for his good Services, and a young Fellow appointed to Command the Army, who was only fit to be shut up in a Saraglio with Women; that he observed, he was a Person nearly related to his Highness, whence he concluded he was raised to that Station by the very Interest promised him; The Prince assured him of the contrary, and as he had endeavoured to serve him, was highly displeased at his daring to tax him with a Breach of Promise. Nadir, by insisting on what he had said, and dropping some other unguarded Expressions, so far trespassed on the Prince's good Nature, that he ordered him to be bastinadoed on the Soles of the Feet, till his Toe-Nails dropt off, and turned him out of the Service. The Reader must not be surprized at this Sort of Punishment to a Field Officer, for it is frequently inflicted on those in the highest Stations, if they incur the King's Displeasure, and all the Nobility are liable to undergo it, if they disoblige the Commands of
of their Superiors in a Post subordinate to them. Nadir was now set adrift, and having no Friends at Court, had no Hopes of being re-instated; this made him turn his Thoughts on retiring to the Place of his Nativity, and endeavour to recover his paternal Inheritance. On his Arrival there, his Uncle received him very kindly, and he lived with him and his other Relations some Time; but on his endeavouring to recover the Command of the Tribe, by first insinuating privately, and then insinuating upon it that it was his Right, his Uncle let him know he would not resign it, and treated him in a most contemptuous and slighting Manner. His other Relations did the same, which was Usage Nadir’s high Spirit could not bear; notwithstanding the State of Poverty he was reduced to; which was so very hard, that he was forced to borrow small Matters of any that would lend him, to procure the common Necessaries of Life. This was enough to beget desperate Resolutions in a Man who had deserved great Things from his Prince and Country, for the good Services he had done them; instead of which, as I have already observed, he was degraded and punished: And when he fled into
The History of

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
Reason that I could ever learn, but that they
found him a bold enterprising Man, and
superior to themselves in Point of Genius
and every other Respect. Nadir, in this
melancholy Situation, determined to get that
by Force, which he could not obtain by any
other Method; and having associated with a
Couple of stout Fellows of desperate Fortune,
went upon the Highway, and robb'd a small
Caravan of Three or Four Mules laden with
Merchandize, and found Means to dispose
of them, the Produce of which (letting aside
what they wanted for present Expences) he
laid out in Arms and Ammunition, and enlisted
privately in his Gang all the desperate Fel-
lows he could pick up. He set out a second
Time with about 20 or 25, and robb'd a
large Caravan of 30 Mules and Camels, laden
with Merchandize and Provisions, which he
carried to the Mountains, where Persons
came secretly to him with Arms, &c. and
exchanged them for Goods, much to their
Advantage.
Nadir Shah. 83

Advantage. In this Manner he frequently robbed, traded, and enlisted fresh Men into his Gang; most of whom were Soldiers who had formerly served under him, until he had got near 500 stout Fellows well mounted, with which Force he kept the Country in awe, and laid them under a Contribution, which they would not comply with, till he had first threatened, and afterwards performed his Resolution of carrying away their Cattle, and plundering and burning their Houses. But it will be proper here to take Notice, that he could not have reigned long in this Manner, but would have been pursued and overpowered by the King's Forces, if the Empire had not been involved in War. The Afghans, under Mir Vacez's Son, had taken Isfahan, and reduced the South-East Parts of Persia to their Obedience; the Turks had entered the Western Parts, and taken most of them; and the Muscovites had taken Possession of Gilan (the ancient Hyrcania) and other Places bordering on the Caspian Sea; so that Shab Thamas having but two or three Provinces left, which were surrounded by Enemies on all Sides, he could not spare any Forces to reduce Nadir Kuli; the Country
Country People were afraid to attack him, so that he lived on them, and exacted what he thought proper for the Support of himself and his Followers. At this Time, one Sef o'din Beg, a General in Shah Thomas's Army, and Chief of a great Tribe, called the Bayots, having offended the King, his Present 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 expen sive 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 pleased: He therefore wrote him a Letter, wherein he assured him, he was of Opinion that if he would submit, and go into the King's Service, his Majesty would grant a Pardon to him and all his People. Nadir seemed very well pleased with this Proposal, and wrote his Uncle, that if he could procure the Pardon he mentioned, he should be glad to
NADIR SHAH.

Accordingly his Uncle sent a Petition to Shah Tahmas, in behalf of his Nephew. His Majesty at first seemed not inclined to pardon a Man who had been guilty of such notorious Crimes; but being told the ill Treatment he had formerly met with, forced him to take such Measures in order to support himself, that he was a gallant Officer, and that his Troops might be of great Service to his Majesty, who was in want of such Men, the King comply'd, and sent a free Pardon signed to his Uncle, which he immediately forwarded to Nadir Kuli, who, upon the Receipt thereof, set out with Sef o'din Beg, and 100 chosen Men for Calor. 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 slighting him when reduced to the greatest Necessity. He had concerted with his Followers how to put it in Execution before he left the Mountains, and had ordered 500 more of his Men to set out the next Day after
ter him, and to lay concealed near the Castle of Calot (which they might easily do, it being a mountainous Place.) Accordingly having that very Night made proper Preparations, about two in the Morning, at a Signal given, those within fell on the Sentries, killed some, and seized the rest, whilst Nadir Kuli went to his Uncle's Chamber, whom having killed, he took the Keys of the Castle, and opened the Gates, in order to let in the 500 Men, who were ready at his Signal. His Uncle's Men, who were about 160, besides the Sentries, had taken the Alarm; but Nadir's People having secured the Doors of the Barracks where they lay, they could make no Resistance, so that they surrendered; and, being disarm'd, were set at Liberty the next Morning: there was not much Blood shed on this Occasion, not above fifteen or twenty being killed in all. Nadir immediately dispatched Messengers to those remaining in the Mountains, who came to him in a few Days. This happened about the Year 1726-7, upwards of six Years after he had been turned out of the King's Service in Masbad, as before-mentioned.

Nadir, by this Action, not at all to his Credit, had gratified his Revenge on his Uncle,
Uncle, and had all his Relations (who lived mostly in the Town, and the adjacent Villages near Calot) in his Power; but he shewed no resentment to any of them: On the contrary, he treated them with Civility and Respect; several of them entered voluntarily into his Service, and are now with him in great Posts. He continued in this Place for some Months ruling in an absolute Manner, and raising Contributions, for fifty Miles round, to what Amount he pleased. Shab Thomas was fully apprized of all that Nadir had done, and was highly displeased at the ill Use he made of the Pardon sent him, which was to destroy his Uncle, and get Possession of a strong Place, whence nothing but a great Force could dislodge him; but as his Affairs were in a declining Condition, every Day seeming to threaten his Ruin more and more, being hemmed in by the Turks on one Side, and the Afghans on the other, he judged it better to make use of the Rebel Nader's Assistance, than to weaken his own Force by attempting to destroy him. He therefore let him know, if he would submit and come to him, he should be graciously received, and admitted into the Service as a
Meh Basi, and that Sef o'din Beg should likewise be pardoned, and entertained in the same Station. Nadir accepted this offer, and having left one of his own Officers, with 500 of his Men, to command the Castle, he set out with the rest, and waited on the King, who at first rebuked him for what he had done, but told him and his People, that he had forgiven them, and did not doubt but their future Behaviour would make Amends for their past Offences. Nadir excused himself as well as he could, by telling the King the ill Treatment he had met with from the Prince of Khorasan, in being turned out of the Service at a Time when he ought to have been rewarded for his successful Expedition against the Tartars; and that the injurious Usage he received from his Uncle and Relations had forced him into the Measures he had taken to support himself; but as his Majesty had now generously pardoned him, he should endeavour to render himself deserving of the Clemency which had been shewn him.

As he had now frequent Occasions, he signalized himself by his Courage and Conduct, and was the Admiration of the King and the whole Army. The Turks (who before Nadir
dir Kuli's coming into Shab Thumus's Army, were always victorious, and seem'd determined to extirpate the Persian Race, and divide the Empire between the Afghans and themselves, with whom they had made Peace, and entered into an Alliance) were now frequently repulsed with Loss, tho' their Numbers were vastly superior to the Persians; and in all 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 his Station, frequent Opportunities of waiting on the King, he soon insinuated himself into his Favour. He had but one Rival to deal with, who was of any Consequence, namely, Fateh 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 assured His Majesty he had been a long Time sensible of the Abuses committed, and unless there was a Reformation in the Manner of paying
and disciplining the Army, the Troops would desert; that they already began to murmur at not receiving their Pay regularly, and complained of the exorbitant Deductions made out of it for Cloaths, &c. The King, on hearing this, was highly incensed against the General, and declared, if what was alleged against him was true, he would order his Head to be cut off. He having nothing to say in his own justification, but pleading it as a Custom, and what his Predecessors had always done, His Majesty ordered him to be executed on the Spot, and appointed Nadir Kuli General, who readily accepted of it, without the Formality of desiring to be excused on Account of his Inability to acquit himself as he ought in such a Post. This was in the Year 1727-8, and not above one Year since he was pardoned, and taken into the King's Service. Nadir having obtained that high Station, began to display Talents vastly superior to what he had discovered hitherto, and the King had so great a Dependence on his Management, that he seldom or never interfered in any Thing relating to the Military. Nadir, being sensible of the Trust reposed in him, was resolved to improve
prove it to his own Advantage, by removing those in the Army whom he had Reason to believe were not attached to him, and putting in those who were. He gain'd the Affection of the Common-Soldiers, by paying them with his own Hand the Moment he received the Money, and letting them have Cloaths at the first Cost. Finding himself in this happy Situation, he wish'd for nothing more than Action, but his Forces (being no more than 15 or 20000) were not sufficient to act offensively against the Turks: However, he annoyed them so much by Means of flying Parties, that they were glad to sit still in their Quarters; they sent to acquaint Shab Thamas, that if he would relinquish to them the Right of those Places they had already in Possession, they would make Peace with him, and leave him to recover the rest of his Dominions from the Afghans. Shab Thamas let them know he would consider of it, and desired a Truce till he could get an Answer from the Grand Signior to some Proposals he had to make him; to which the Turks agreed, promising to commit no Hostilities until they received Orders from the Port, and so their Confines were
were fixed to Hamadan on one Side, and Tabriz and Ardebil on the other. Shah Thama's sent a Messenger to Constantinople, with Offers of an Accommodation, but on Terms which he knew would not be granted; he gave private Orders to the said Messenger to pretend Sickness on the Road, and to delay his getting thither as soon as possible, so as not togive the Turks any Cause of Suspicion. Shah Thama's Design was only to gain Time that he might go and subdue Maluck Mahmud, Governor of Mushad, who had rebelled during the late Revolution, and set up as King. Having, thro' the Bravery of his General Nadir, taken the said Governor Prisoner, and seized his Effects, he set out with 13,000 Horse to chastise the Abdolles, a Tribe of Afghans, who had taken Possession of Herat in Shah Sultan Hosein's Time, and were now preparing a grand Army to invade Khorasan, and lay Seige to Mushad. The Abdollee Afghans met him about three Days Journey from Herat, with an Army of near 30,000 Horse. As they were reckoned better Soldiers than the Kandabar Afghans, who had taken Isfahan, the King seem'd to dread the Event of the Battle; but Nadir, whose Courage was invincible,
NADIR SHAH.

Invincible, assured the King he did not doubt of Success; that Victory depended more on Resolution and Conduct than on Numbers, and that he was satisfy'd his Majesty's Troops had both. Having drawn up his Army in order of Battle, he harangued them in the same Manner, telling them withal, that the Loss of that Battle would be the Ruin of Persia, and that they and their Generations would be made Slaves for ever, if they did not conquer that Day; after which a general Shout was given. The Abdollee Afghans, who were drawn up at some Distance, hearing their Shout, returned it, and advanced with great Fury to charge the Persians. Nadir kept his Men close, and being posted upon a rising Ground, he played upon them with some small Field-pieces, which did great Execution, not suffering any of his People to discharge their Small-Arms until the Enemy was within thirty or forty Yards, when they made a general Fire, which made such Havock among the Abdollees, that they were obliged to retire, and give the Persians Time to load again. In short, after several desperate Attacks, which the Persians sustained with an uncommon Valour, a general En-
gagement ensued, in which Nadir behaved with a most surprising Conduct, for, tho' his Personal Bravery naturally carried him too far, his Vigilance was such, that he always sent timely Assistance wherever it was required; at last, the Abdolees were entirely routed, 5000 were taken Prisoners, and near 15000 killed and wounded. The Loss on the Persians Side amounted to no more than 1500. After this, he marched to Herat, and besieged it for some Months, until the Enemy submitted, and had agreed to pay down a certain Sum, and give an annual Tribute on Condition they might have a Governor appointed by the King out of their own Tribe; which being granted, they swore Obedience to Shah Thamos, by whom they were to be treated in future as natural Subjects. The King, who was in the Army, but did not command, set out for Mush'ai. Nadir Kuli, having Orders to follow him as soon as possible, arrived there in August, 1729. About this Time the King received News that Asfurruf, the Afgban (who succeeded Mahmud, the Son of Mir Vaex, and was then in Possession of Isfahan) was preparing to come and attack him with a powerful Army,
Army. The said Asbruff, hearing of Nadir Kuli's Success, thought it dangerous to give such a Man Time to augment his Forces; he therefore determined to crush him in the Beginning: For which Purpose, having completed an Army of 30000 Men, he set out from Isfahan in September, 1729, and march'd towards Kborasan. This News alarmed Shah Thamas, and likewise his General Nadir; but his Troops, being flush'd with their late Victory, seem'd eager to be led against the Enemy. He was glad to find them in this Disposition, especially as he had but little Hopes of raising any great Number of Recruits, few People caring to enlist, as they knew they were immediately to enter upon a desperate Action; however, he augmented his Army to near 16000 Men exclusive of the Troops left in Garrison. Having set out from Mushbad, by slow Marches he came to a Place called Damgoon, where, posting himself advantageously, he waited the Enemy's Arrival. When Asbruff came there, finding Nadir Kuli so well situated, he was unwilling to attack him, but was over-ruled in Opinion by his Officers: They told him, that by his declining to come to Action, the Enemy
Enemy would obtain a cheap Victory; as the Country People (on hearing the Afghans were afraid to encounter the Persians) would rebel, and stop all Provisions from coming to the Army. Afsiruff then proposed to march directly to Musnad without attacking Nadir Kuli; which being rejected, the Signal was given for Battle. The Event convinced the Afghan Officers of their Error; for attacking them at that Disadvantage gave the Persians a compleat Victory. 'Tis true it cost them dear, having lost above 4000 Men. The Loss sustained by the Afghans was about 12000, among whom were some of their best Officers.

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

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

Thamas Kuli Khan,— (for so we shall call him until he is elected King) having refreshed his Troops at Damgoun, marched towards Isfahan. The Afghans, on his Approach, quitted several of their Garrisons, and fled towards the Capital, and in some Places the Persians cut them off, declaring openly for Shab Thamas, and sending to Kuli Khan what Supplies of Men and Money they could furnish; so that, by the Time he arrived at Casban, which is four Days Journey from Isfahan, his Army consisted of 40,000 Horse and Foot. The Afghans laid in great Stores of Provisions, and seemed determined to defend themselves to the last Extremity; but their Leader Abbruff chose to try the Event of another Battle before he suffered himself to be besieged. Having brought together all the Forces he could muster, which amounted to no more than 30,000, consisting of Afghans, Darguzzis, Hazarris, Persians, &c.

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

he marched out to a Place called Mourche Kbor, which is about thirty English Miles from the City, and encamped there, waiting Kuli Khan's Arrival, which not being so soon as he expected, he had sufficient Time to exercise his Cruelty on the Persians in and about Isfahan: At first, he ordered all the principal Men to be cut off; and afterwards all they could find in the Streets; so that for the Space of twenty Days, there was not a Persian to be seen abroad, none appearing but Women; who came out to buy the common Necessaries of Life. At last, Kuli Khan arrived at Mourche Kbor, where, engaging the Afgans, he obtained a complete Victory. Afsnuff, having lost 7000 Men, retired to Isfahan, where, calling a Council, it was resolved, that all the Inhabitants should be slaughtered; and the Palace and other Houses set on Fire; which being done, they were to march off with all the Effects they could carry with them. Just as they were on the Point of executing this barbarous Resolution, those whom Afsnuff had appointed to watch the Motions of Kuli Khan, sent to acquaint him, that the Persian Army was in full March towards the City. Upon which, Afsnuff
Afsruff ordered his Men to come to the Palace and load their Beasts with Money (of which there was a great Quantity) and then follow him, as they could only save themselves by Flight. This Order was executed with so much Dispatch, that before two o'Clock in the Afternoon there was scarce an Afghan to be seen in the City. The Persians, who before lay concealed, came out, and began to plunder all Houses without Distinction; even the Peasants from the Out- parts flocked in in great Numbers to have their Share of the Booty; but on the Arrival of 1500 of Thomas Kuli Khan's Troops, all the Rabble disappeared, and the Officers took Possession of the Palace, and placed Guards at the City Gates. The next Day being November, 1730, he entered Isfahan with his whole Army, and continued there, cloathing his Men, and dividing among them the Plunder recovered from the Inhabitants. It was a Matter of Surprise 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 Thomas's Arrival (which was three Weeks afterwards) he declared that unless his Majesty O2 would
would give him the Power of levying Money in all Parts for the Payment of the Army, he would decline the Command thereof, and return to his own Country, being well assured that the Persons who should be ordered to supply him would be negligent, and by that Means frustrate all his Designs. The King was averse to this Proposal, and had Thoughts of removing him, but could fix on no other who was fit to supply his Place; having found some of the principal Officers, he found them of Opinion, that it was better to comply with Kuli Khan's Humour for the present, and shew a proper Resentment of his Insolence when there was less Occasion for his Service; adding, that the Soldiers, at this Juncture, would be unwilling to serve under any other General. At last, His Majesty consented but with the greatest Reluctancy: For, in giving that Power, he (in Effect) parted with his Crown. He did not even stop here, but heaped more Honours upon him, appointing him Generalissimo and Beglerbeg of Kborajan, and giving him his Aunt in Marriage. After obtaining these Favours he seemed perfectly zealous for his Master's Service; and,
in order to convince the World of his Sincerity, would set out with an Army in the Middle of Winter against the Afghans, who, finding the Persians did not pursue them, when they quitted Isfahan, had taken up their Winter Quarters at Shiraz, and plundered and ravaged that Part of the Country in a barbarous Manner.

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

Ashruff, with about 1500 of his Men, marched directly towards Kandahar. In the Way most of them deserted him, having only 100 when he was surpriz'd and set upon by a Body of the Baluches; with these few he
he made a desperate and brave Defence, but being greatly overpowered, he and most of his Party were cut to Pieces.

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

Having secured, and left sufficient Garrisons in those Places he had lately recovered, he set out for Herat. After defeating the Abdolles Army, he laid Siege to the City, which
which being a Place of great Strength, held out until Famine obliged them to surrender. He put the Governor and all the principal Men to Death, and having peopled the Place with Persians, and left a Garrison of his own Men therein, he marched to Mustabad.

During this Time, Shab Thamas, who was at Isfahan, finding the Turks were sending Forces from Constantinople and other Parts towards the Frontiers of Persia, he raised an Army of 20,000 Men, and set out for Tabriz, where, joining the Troops left there by Thomas Kuti, he marched to Erivan, and defeating a Body of Turks, besieged the Castle; but not being able to supply his Army with Provisions there, he returned to Tabriz, and from thence intended to advance towards Carmania, but was prevented by Ahmed Basha, who, coming against him with a superior Army, entirely defeated him. A few Days after this Battle, the Basha sent him Word, he was impowered by the Grand Signior to conclude a Peace with him. The King came readily into the Basha's Proposals, which were, that each Party should remain in Possession of what they had then got.

When,
When Thamas Kuli Khan was informed of this Peace he was greatly enraged, and wrote to the King and several of the Nobility, acquainting them, he would soon wait on His Majesty, and convince him of the Necessity there was to break this scandalous Peace. Accordingly he set out with all Speed from Mushad, and in August, 1732. arrived at Asfahan with his whole Army, which amounted to upwards of 60000, all choice Troops. He waited on the King, and told him, He ought first to make an Example of those who advised him to such dishonourable Measures, and then carry on the War with Vigour against the Enemy. The King seeming unwilling to break the Peace he had concluded with the Turks, Thamas Kuli Khan told him, he had good Reason to believe most of the Courtiers were his Enemies, and had been endeavouring to prevail with His Majesty to take away his Life. The King assured him his Informations were not true. Upon which Kuli Khan presented the King with a Bundle of Letters, telling him, these would convince his Majesty, that he had just Ground for his Apprehensions. After which he took his Leave.
These Letters had been wrote to him privately by several of the Nobility at Court; in which they informed against each other, and acquainted him with their Designs against him. They also let him know what had passed in several Conversations with the King; at the same Time reflecting on his Majesty's Incapacity, and assuring Kuli Khan how much they had his Interest at Heart.

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

Thomas Kuli Khan, who with his Army lay encamped without the City, waited to know what Effect these Letters would have on the King; but finding he took no Notice of them, he consulted with the Chiefs of his Army, and acquainted them with the Steps he had taken. They agreed with him in Opinion, that the King's Intention was to destroy him and his Friends, and disband the Army; and that the late shameful Peace concluded with the Turks was chiefly with a
View of having more Leisure and Opportunity to accomplish his Designs. Kuli Khan told them, the only Expedient to save them and himself, would be to depose the King, and set up his Son in his Stead; by which Means they should have a fair Pretence of making a Rupture with the Ottoman Porte; His Officers came readily into this Scheme, which was executed in the following manner.

Kuli Khan invited the King to a Review of the Army; he accordingly went, and was exceedingly delighted with the fine Appearance they made, and the Performance of their Exercise, the Merit of which he publicly attributed to the General. As the King was riding thro' the Ranks, some of the Under-officers and Soldiers said aloud, "If your Majesty has any Commands, we are ready to execute them." This at first surprized Kuli Khan; but on recovering himself, he, with his usual Presence of Mind, addressed the King, desiring him to tell them they were to obey their General Thamas Kuli Khan, to whom he had given the sole Command of the Army; which his Majesty complied with, and then went to a Banquet which had been prepared for him in the General's
The King having indulged too freely in drinking Wine, (which 'tis supposed was mixed with some intoxicating Drug) he fell asleep on his Sofa. The General ordered his own People to carry him to a Seraglio in the Garden of Hazar Jerib. His Majesty's Servants who were then in Waiting, seeming to dispute Kuli Khan's Orders, by telling him, they would take Care of the King, were commanded to withdraw at their Peril; upon which they endeavoured to make their Escape, but were seized by the Guards, and confined.

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

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

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

Next Day after the King was sent away, Kuli Khan went to the Palace in great Pomp, attended by all the Officers both Civil and Military. He ordered the King's Son to be brought out of the Seraglio, who being then in his Cradle, was placed on the Throne; the Royal Diadem was put at the Head, and the Sword and Target fixed to the Side thereof; after
after which, with the proper Ceremony, he was declared King, by the Name of Shab, Abas the Third. Kuli Khan first swore Fidelity to him on the Koran, and the rest followed his Example.

This Mock Ceremony being over, he continued in the Palace until he had appointed proper Officers in the City, and removed those Governors of distant Province whom he did not care to confide in. Afterwards he set out with his Forces against the Turks, and meeting Ahmad 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 surrendering, when Topal Othman, Basha Seraskier, and several other Bashas came with an Army, which, including Servants, &c. was upwards of 200000 Men. Having advanced near Baghdad, they obliged Thomas Kuli Khan to raise the Siege, and give them Battle. The Persian Army, which then consisted of 120900 Men, charged so furiously, and seconded their Attacks with so much Vigour,
gour, that the Turks were on the Point of giving Way, when Kuli Khan's Horse was shot under him. Having fought some Time on Foot, before he could get re-mounted, his Standard-bearer concluded he was killed, and rode off with the Colours. This alarm'd the whole Army, who instantly faced about and fled: Kuli Khan endeavoured to rally them, but to no Purpose; the Turks pursuing with great Fury, made a terrible Slaughter of them: The Persians lost in this Action upwards of 60,000 Men, and the Turks nigh as many.

This Defeat would have discouraged any but Kuli Khan, who had a Soul superior to all Misfortunes. He stopp'd at Hamadan, where in a few Days most of the Troops who were dispers'd 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, since after what had been already done they could expect no Mercy from their Country, to which they must
NADIR SHAH. III

must never return but in Triumph: And should they give the Turks any Time to refresh and unite their Troops, they would certainly be an Over-match for them. His Officers being entirely of the same Opinion, he marched back with great Expedition, and fell upon the first Party of the Turks, who, imagining him to be at a great Distance, were not prepared to receive him. Having successively beat three considerable Bodies of them, he at last encountered Topal Othman Basha, at the Head of 60,000 Men, who being shot in the Beginning of the Action, his whole Army was soon routed, and put to Flight.

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

This unexpected Success had greatly raised his Reputation, and Volunteers came from all Quarters to offer him their Service. Having compleated a choice Army, he marched a second Time to besiege Baghdad, When
When the Siege was pretty far advanced, he received News, that Mahommed Khan Ballu-
che, one of his Generals, had rebelled, and proclaimed Shab Thamas King; that he had
taken the City of Shiraz, and had an Army of 30000 Men, which increased daily:
Whereupon Kuli Khan immediately raised the Siege, and marching with all Expedition
against the Rebels, was upon them when they least expected him. Upon the first Report
of his Troops being near, they marched out to attack them, imagining it was only a
small Detachment under the Command of one of his Officers, but they had not advanced
above 20 Miles before they met him at the Head of his Van-Guard, which consisted of 12000 Men. Mahommed Khan
Balluche being overjoyed to find him attended by so few, told his Officers, that Fortune
had delivered Thamas Kuli Khan into their Hands; that they might easily defeat him,
before he could have any Succours, as his main Army was a Days Journey behind.
But when they approached each other, and heard Kuli Khan thundering out his Or-
ders, they were struck with such a Panicke, that they fled, without sustaining his first
Attack.
Attack. Mahomed Khan Balluche, who was personally brave, having singled out Kuli Khan, rode full speed towards him; being repulsed, he fought his way back again, and intended to make his escape, by crossing the Gulf of Persia in an Arab vessel; but those treacherous people seized him, and, in hopes of a reward, carried him to Thamus Kuli Khan, who sent him to prison, in order to force him into a confession of his accomplices, and what treasure and effects he had. In this he was disappointed, for the moment Mahomed Khan Balluche was left alone, he hanged himself. They could find no papers that gave any account of the persons he corresponded with, or where his effects (which were very considerable) had been deposited. Thus ended this brave man, who was deservedly esteemed for several good qualities; he was as great (tho’ not so fortunate) a soldier, as any in the East, and judged to be the best horseman in Persia.

Thamus Kuli Khan spent a few days in Shiraz, being employed in putting to death some of the principal persons concerned in the rebellion, and seizing their effects. He afterwards returned to Isfahan, where settling
The History of

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

Having thus settled Affairs in Regard to those two Powers, he sent a general Edict to all the Rulers of Provinces, Chiefs of Tribes, and Governors of Cities and Towns, commanding them to meet him on a certain Day in the Plains of Chuli Mogham, on Pain of high Displeasure. At the Time appointed they appeared, to the Number of 6000 and upwards, at the said Place, where they found him encamp'd with an Army of 15000 Men.
NADIR SHAH. 115

Men. Thomas Kuli Khan ordering them to appear before him, he told them, the Reason of calling them together was to acquaint them that he had now subdued all the Enemies of the Persian Empire, except the Kandahan Afghans, whom he was determined to march against very soon; that, after he had reduced them to Obedience, he intended to retire, and end the Remainder of his Days in Peace and Tranquility, unless his Country should again require his Service; that he had made Peace with the Turks and Muscovites, and chartered the Tartars, and other Enemies on the Frontiers, in such a Manner, that (in all Probability) they would remain quiet for a long Time, so that it only remained with them to elect a King, either Shah Thomas their late Sovereign, or any other whom they judged the most capable; adding that he expected their Answer in three Days. After this he retired to his Tent, and gave Orders that the said Assembly should be entertained at the public Expence, during their Stay in the Camp. In the mean Time, Kuli Khan's Creatures took Care to intimate to the principal Persons, that they ought to compliment their Regent and General with an Offer
The Grandees came readily into the two first Articles, but as to the last they desired he would first hear what the Mullah Bashi (or High-Priest) had to offer on that Head before they should subscribe to it. Accordingly the High-Priest addressed him, and said, "As to Matters of Religion we have the Law of God, and the Traditions of his Prophet Mahommed to direct us; it is not for Princes to make Innovations therein; and therefore I, humbly hope, your Majesty will not begin your Reign with attempting to overthrow the Established Religion, as a Step of that Nature must be attended with dangerous Consequences." Then Kuli Khan immediately ordered him to be strangled, to prevent the People from attempting to second his Discourse, which they would certainly have done, if this sudden Execution has not deterred them from it. He then asked the People whether they would subscribe, and take Oaths to what he had proposed; which they tamely and readily submitted to: The next Day, being March 1735-6, he was proclaimed Emperor of Persia, by the Name of Na-
NADIR SHAH. 119

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

Having

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

سکه بیه زیر کردن سلطنت در جهان
نادر یزدی که خسرو کبیری ستان

Sicca bir Zir Qur'd nam e Sultanie dir Jahan
Nadir e Iran Zemmi v'Khosro e Geta Seta'n.

Which signifies,

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

On the Reverse in a Cypher,

الخیر فيها فتح

Al Khir fi ma va'keeb.

Which signifies,

What has happened is best.

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

And on the same Side is,

ضرب في خرم ان 1148.
Struck at Kirmán (or Carmanja) in 1148.

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

One
The History of

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

One of which has السultan نادر
Al Sultan Nadir, The Sultan Nadir, on one Side; and on the Reverse;

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

فاستسلطان بي سلطانين جهان
شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران

Hia Sultan, bire Salatin Jahan
Shah e Shaban Nadir Shah e Kera.

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

On the Reverse,
Khudall Allah Muluck bi. Zirb fi Ahmedabad, 1152.

Which signifies,
May God perpetuate his Reign. Struck at Ahmedabad in 1152.
bitter Enemies, for cutting off the Mullah Bashi, and for the Alteration they found he was determined to make in Religion; but, in order to prevent their being able to do him any Injury, he sent for the Chiefs of them, and ask’d in what Manner they employed the vast Revenues they had. The told him, that they apply’d them to the religious Purposes for which they were intended, such as Salaries for Priests, the Maintenance of Colleges, and a great Number of Mosques, in which Prayers were daily and hourly offered up for Success to the Arms of their Prince, and Prosperity to the Empire of Persia. He told them, that by Experience it was evident their Prayers had not been heard, since for fifty Years past the Nation has been on the Decline, and at last almost ruined: by Invasions and Rebellions, until God’s victorious Instruments (meaning his Army) had come to its Relief, who were now ready to sacrifice their Lives for the Defence and Glory thereof; that these poor Priests (pointing to his Soldiers) were in Want, and must be supply’d by some Means or other; that therefore it was his Royal Pleasure, that the greatest Part of the Church Lands and Revenues should be
be confiscated and appropriated towards paying the Army, which was accordingly done, and by an exact computation found to amount to near 1,000,000 Tomans, which is about 3,000,000 l. per Annum. The Priests were highly enraged at this Treatment, and did all they could to stir up the Army and People against him; the former, being above half Sunnis, only laughed at them; and the latter, when they considered that by this they were to be eased of a Part of the Taxes, were not dissatisfy'd with it. After this Kuli Khan sent for the Chiefs of the People, and acquainting them with what he had done, told them, if they wanted Priests, they must provide them at their own Expence; that, for his Part, having little Occasion for any, he would be at no Charge about them. He then published an Edict (of which the following is a literal Translation) ordering all his Subjects to conform to the Sunni Religion, on Pain of his Royal Displeasure.
A Translation of Nadir Shah's Edict for an Uniformity of Religion between the Schias and Sunnis.

ALL in high Stations, the Sadr of great Power, the Governor, Ministers of the Law, and learned Men of the Royal Residence of Isfahan, being exalted thro' the King's Favour, K.N.O.W. That while the abode of our Ensigns (on whom Victory attends) was at Sebrai Mogham †. It was agreed at several Meetings, that from henceforth, according to ancient Custom (being fix'd and establish-

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

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

† The same as Chuli Mogham.
The History of

ed in the Religion of Hanifa || and Jaffer §,
" as transmitted to us by our Predecessors
we do acknowledge the + directing Khalifs
(in all whom the high God is 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
Prayer, they mention these Words, All
the Friend of God †, according to the

|| Hanifa, one of the four great Doctors, so famous
for expounding the Mahomedan Law.
§ Jaffer, one of the Imâms, whose Opinion in several Points the Sunnis themselves pay the greatest regard to.
† Khalifa Râshid, the directing Khalifs, by which are always meant Aobucker, Aïmar, Othman, and Ali.
* By the Chief of Messengers is meant Mahommed.
† Ali vulli Allah, or Ali the Friend of God, is always annexed by the Schias to their Kelmah in this Manner,

La Ilah il Allah, Mahommed Râsoul Allah o' Ali
Vulli Allah. Which is literally, There is no God but
God, and Mahommed the Prophet of God, and Ali
the Friend of God.

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

Emir al Mominin,
Affad Allah, al Ghaleb, the Prince of the Faithful, the Lyon of God, the Victorious, were Mortifa Ali's Titles. He is said to be Elect, Praised, and Acceptable to God, because there is honourable mention made of him in the Koran.

§ The Sunnis and Schias.
♦ Mahommed.
* Mortifa Ali.

" high
The History of

"High Edict is known, let it be signified to all Mussulmen, High and Low, Great and Small, the Callers to Prayer in the City, its Dependencies, and the adjacent Countries, That from this Day henceforth, these Words, as differing from the Orthodox Custom, be not mentioned. It is also usual with the Governors in their Assemblies, after Fattaba and Tokbir†, to say, 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 expressly order that every Khan who is a Master of a Tabal || and En-sign, say it in this Manner, Thanks to the true King for all Benefits. From henceforward all Persons must observe these settled Regulations, and written Orders: For, whosoever deviates therefrom, will incur the Displeasure of the King.

† Fattaba is a prefatory Prayer, which is generally the first Soura or Chapter of the Koran. Tokbir is repeating three times these Words, اللهو اكبر Allah Akbar, which is to say, God is Greatest, before the Kelmah abovementioned.

|| Tabal is a small Drum, which General Officers have fixed to their Saddles.
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 secretly of that Perswation, as of the Schia established Religion; it was particularly agreeable to his Soldiers, who being chiefly Sunnis, became thereby the more attach'd to him. However impolitic these Steps might have seem'd at first, yet it was the only Method he could have thought of in order to establish himself and his Heirs on the Throne of Persia; besides the Advantages it already has and may still give him in his future Designs on his Neighbours, who are of the same Religion which he has now established in Persia.

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

* June 1736.
The History of
vealed by his Prophet Mahommed, and protect and defend them against all their Enemies.

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

In December, 1736, Nadir Shah set out from Isfahan, with an Army of upwards of 80000, chiefly Horse, and marched towards Kandahar, by the Way of Carmania, and was shortly after followed by Thomas Khan Vakeel with about 40000 more.

What happened after this, the Gentleman who favoured me with the above Memoirs is a Stranger to; excepting that on his Departure from Persia to India, which was in February, 1736-7, he heard Nadir Shah had besieged Kandahar. His Transactions since that Time, I shall continue as translated from some Persian Manuscripts,
NADIR SHAH. 129

Manuscripts, which I have mentioned in the
Preface.

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

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

While Nadir Shah was busy in securing
and fortifying Kandahar, and bringing over
to him the Zemidars of those Parts, Letters
came from Nizam al Muluck and Saadit Khan,
inviting him to march towards Hindostan.
In Answer to which, he objected the Diffi-
culties of getting thro’ the Defiles, passing the
great Rivers, and the many Encounters he
must
must expect to have with the Afghan, 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 surmount all these) his Fate will depend on his Success against a powerful Imperial Army. They soon satisfied him how unnecessary his Fears were, and that, before he cross'd the Attok*, he should have a Proof how able they were, and how much inclined to facilitate his Passage. Being encouraged by those Representations, he set out with an Army of 125,000 Horse, Kuxxlebash, Georgians, Turks, Khurasanis, Balkhis, &c. all inured to Fatigues and Hardships; they were well provided for this Expedition, and greatly encouraged thereto by the Hopes he gave them, of not only enriching themselves, but bringing Wealth and Glory to their impoverished Country, by the Plunder of India. In

* Attok is the Name of a River, that separates the Province of Labor from Peisbor. 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 Kban used all their Endeavours secretly to promote his Interest, and wrote to Sberzib Kban †, Governor of the Castle of Cabul, and Naşir Khan, Soubabdar of that Province (who was a Creature of Khandoran's) as also to Zekaria Khan, Ruler of the Province of Labor, to this Purport: 'Nadir Shah, being thoroughly informed of the State of Affairs in India, and that his Imperial Majesty and favourite Courtiers employ their Time in Wine and Women, has come to a Resolution to strike a Blow at this Empire. You well know that none of the great Ones here are fit to take the Field, much less to resist a Man who is conducted by Fortune. As this is the Café, you can have little Hopes of Assistance from hence; the best you can do will be to behave discreetly, and save yourselves.' These Letters cooled them pretty much, and had

† 'Tis customary in India to have two Governors, one to command the City, and another to command the Castle. The latter is generally for Life, and he must never stir out of the Castle, unless he is turned out by the Mogol. The Governor of the City is called Ḥakem, and he who commands the Castle is called Ḥakem Kullebdar.
The History of

the desired Effect with Naçir Khan and Ze-karia Khan.

Nadir Shah, having subdued Gborbund and Ghoznavi, and garrison'd them with his own People, came to Cabul and besieged it. Naçir Khan (before his Arrival) had left it, and marched to Peisbor; but Sherzib Khan defended both the City and Castle for 6 Weeks with the utmost Bravery, and wrote repeatedly to Naçir Khan, and to Court for Assistance; but none coming, both City and Castle were at last taken by Storm, and he and his Son were put to Death. Nadir Shah found Treasure, Jewels, Arms, &c. to a great Value, which, since the Great Mogbol Babr's Time, had been shut up in Vaults. When the Taking of Cabul was known at Court, the Emperor gave Orders to get his Troops in Readiness, and provide all Things necessary for taking the Field. As Rajab Jefing was more attached to Khândoran than to any of the other Omras, he repeatedly wrote to him to this Purport: 'Nadir Shah's Coming is a concerted Thing. You must
be watchful over the Moghol Omras †, who seem to be united in order to compass some treacherous Design. Naqir Khan and Sher-zei Khan have always been supported by the Court; one has sacrificed his Life to its Interest, and the other (afraid of his Life) has fled to Peiskor. If Zekaria Khan, Ruler of Labor, makes any Opposition, it will give the Emperor's Army Time to advance pretty far, in order to check this Invader; as for us Rajpouts we are ready to join the Royal Ensigns.

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

† By the Moghol Omras, he means those of Tartar and Persian Familles, whom the Indians, without Distinction, call Moghols.
The History of

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

* Peisbhanna signifies the Tents, &c. that are sent before to the Place where the Prince, or General Officer, designs to halt, or encamp.
† Peisbor is 202 measured Cofs from Dehli, 97 from Lahor, and 35 from Attok.
receiving any of their usual Allowance‡ from Court; Upon Nadir Shah’s paying them a certain Sum of Money, they not only let him pass unmolested, but several of them, lifted in his Army; the other Afgans hearing of this, followed their Example. So, leaving the main Army behind, with 10,000 chosen Horse of Kuzzlebash, in seven Days, he got to Pesto. Naṣir Khan, who with 7000 Horse had incamped without the City; not imagining he could get through the Passes so soon, upon hearing of his Approach with so large a Body of Horse, was greatly perplexed; several of his Auxiliaries left him, and few besides the King’s Men stood by him, who, after a brave Resistance, were defeated.

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

Kuzzlebash, are an Order of Soldiers among the Persians, as the Janizaries (or more properly Ingecherris) among the Turks. It signifies, in the Turkish Language, Red Heads, so called from the Red Caps they wore when first instituted by Sheik Hyder, the Father of Shah Ismail first King of the Seffi Family.
and Naqir Khan taken Prisoner. Some Afghans who, waiting the Event, were posted on the Hills, seeing Nadir Shah prevail, came and offered him their Service. After this Victory, he entered Peishwar and took Possession thereof. When the News of this Defeat came to Court, Nizam al-Mulk, Khondran, Kunnir o'din Khan, and the other Omars, according to the King's Order, on the second of January, 1738-9, marched out with a numerous Army, a large Train of Artillery, and other warlike Necessaries, in order to oppose this Conqueror; and halted at the Gardens of Shalimar. Nizam, who was the Conrider of this Storm, endeavoured all he could to propofle the Minds of the Soldiers with a Terror of Nadir Shah's Forces, and how vain it was to resist him; and, at the same Time, amused them to divert their going too far forward: But the King issued out Orders, that Nizam and the other Omars should advance with all Expedition, he himself intending to follow soon after them, Nizam al-Mulk, and the rest, according to these Orders, marched on, and encamped in the Plains of Karnal, which is Fifty-Five Cols.
NADIR SHAH. 137.

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

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

* The Cofs mentioned here are short computed ones, this Place being no more than 26 measured Cofs from Debli.
† There are Gardens at Labor also called Shalimar, as well as at Debli.
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 Beginning of Jumadi al avul 1151, which is about the middle of August.

BE it clear to the enlightened Mind of your high Majesty, that my coming to Cabul, and possessing myself thereof, was purely out of Zeal for Islam*, 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 Muffulmen. My Stay on this side the Attock is with a View, that, when these

* By Islam (which literally signifies Safety) is meant the Mahometan Religion.
† The Mabarattas or Ganius. Infidels
NADIR SHAH

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

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

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

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

* Nazem Munazem, the Orderer of what is to be ranged or put in Order; Motbir al Muluck, Trustworthy of the Kingdom; Aitmad al Dowlat, the Security of Fortune; these are the Titles of Kassum Beg Khan, who was Vizir.
† Arrizbegi is the Person who presents all Petitions, either written, or by Word of Mouth.
‡ Niquisbs are much the same as Corporals.
|| So called from the Place they come from.
§ Chaux are a kind of Guards.

1009
NADIR SHAH. 141

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

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

* Jeloudar signifies, belonging to his Train or Equi-

† Courd, a Native of Courdistan,

‡ Navob is a Title frequently given to the Omras in
India, derived from the Word Naib, Deputy, signifying that they are the King's Viceregents. In Perſia it is
given, among their other Titles, to the Wives, Sons,
and Daughters of the Royal Family.
4000 Shop-keepers, Mussulmen, who trade with the Shah's Money, he standing to the loss, if any happens.

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

* Nadir Shah.
NADIR SHAH.

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 Zeccadih, 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 fitted, and beat strongly in betwixt two Stone Walls. 'Tis five Foot high, three Foot thick, and from three to four Foot broad. The Front of it very smooth and even, beat hard with a heavy Trowel. One who is well skilled, can shoot his Arrow into it quite to the Head; whereas one that shoots ill (be he never so strong) can't put a third Part in. The Arrows for this Exercise have the Iron Part quite round, about four Fingers long, of the Size of the Reed, until near the Point, where they are somewhat thicker, from which Part they taper gradually to a sharp point. The Length, from the thickest Part to the Point, is from ½ to 1 Inch.

The History of

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

* Hind, the same as Hindostan.
† June 1738. ‡ 500,000 I. § October 1738.
ance came from Court; nevertheless he fought one good Battle, in which Nadir Shah was victorious. The Safis conducted him through unusual and short Ways to the City of Peisbor, which he took Possession of in the Month of Shaban*. Navob Naşir Khan, who had run away, was taken by the Afghans, and delivered up to Nadir Shah, who kept him confined for some Days; but, at last, made him one of his Vizirs.

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

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

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

|| A city in the Province of Ahehabad, famous for the Indian Worship, and their Colleges there.
petition without his fortunate Presence, and that he would resolve to put himself at their Head. Some Days passed in this Debate; at last it was agreed to send for Saadit Khan from his Province to take Care of his Majesty 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 Audib some Rebels robb'd him; however, after much Trouble, he got to Saadit Khan, who happened to be then so sick that he could not stir; with which the Emperor being acquainted, he sent Physicians with orders to cure him as soon as possible; in the mean while a Petition arrived from Zekaria Khan Babadr, Soubahdar of Labor, to his Imperial Majesty, and three Letters more to the Navobs †, to this Purport: NadirShab's Army (which is a great one) is arrived near this Place, and all the Zemidars have joined him; I with my little Army am ready to fight him. You must, by all Means, be ex-

* December 22, 1738.
† Nizam, Saadit Khan, and Kbandoran.
petition in succouring me, lest Things should be past Remedy.

Ieminabad, which is a considerable Place, and subordinate to Labor, was under Kullinder Khan, one of Zekaria Khan's Officers, with a Body of 10000 Horse. Emir Khan, one of Naçir Khan's Dependants, who now had submitted to Nadir Shah, with his own People and several Kuzzlebas, made an Attack by Night on the said Place, in which Kullinder Khan was killed, and Emir Khan possessed himself of the Place. Nadir Shah's Munaddi* being beat about, and his Government acknowledged there:

Upon hearing of this, Zekaria Khan, who had advanced 10 Cofs from Labor, with an Army of 20,000 Horse, retired into the City: Upon which News here, on the 9th of Shawal †, Khandoran Nizamal Mu-luck, and Kummir o'din Khan, marched on 10 Cofs, and the next Day 10 Cofs more, and so on, that they are now at Sonput, and Nadir Shah is yet in Peisbor.

P. S. Corn prodigious dear, the People distracted.

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

† January 9, 1738-9.
A Translation of a second Letter from the same Person, dated the 20th of Shaval, received the 8th of Zeccadih, 1151 *.

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

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

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

* January 19, 1738-9.
† Harol signifies the Vanguard, or any Number of Forces that are sent before the main Army. The Off-
  ficer who commands such a Body is also called Harol.
not come up as yet; they say he is arrived on the Banks of the Ganges. Things are in a terrible Confusion here, Numbers of creditable People and Merchants going daily away to distant Places, and to the Rajabs strong Holds; so Kuzzlebash had their Bellies ript up at Cabul, for only being present when some of their own People forced one of the Countrywomen.
A Journal of Nadir Shah's Trans-
actions in India, translated from
the original Copy, wrote at Dehli,
by Mirza Zuman, Secretary to Sur-
bullind Khan.

On the 12th of Zeccadib §, the
Royal Camp *, in Circuit about
seven Cofs, was pitched in the
Fields of Karnal; it was surrounded with
Mourchas †, on which were mounted near
5000 Carriage Guns, belonging to the Em-
peror and the Omras. In the Centre was
the Emperor himself, 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 Khandorun, Mazuzfer Khan,
Ali Hamed Khan, Mir Gullou, Shebdad Khan,

§ February 11, 1738-9.
* The great Moghol's Camp.
† Mourcha signifies Barricades, but generally the
Intrenchments and Breast-works about a Camp, or any
other Post.
and Khan Zuman Khan: on the Left, Kummir o'din Khan, Asim Allah Khan, Jani Khan, and Seyd Noor Khan; behind the Emperor was posted, Sirbulund Khan, and in the Rear of all was Mubammad Khan Bungali; behind Khandoran was Kirpa Ram, with the Jaiti, and behind the Vizir was Harnind Amir Kowtpouthi; on the Right, close by the Nakur-Khanum, were the Men of Behroz Khan, Ubah Khan, and Afflik Ali Khan; behind them was the Station of the Aheris; each of these Omras had his own proper Army, and the whole Number encamped amounted to 200,000 Horse and Foot. This same Day News was brought, that Hajer Khan, Nader Shah's Kurrul*, had advanced as far as the Village Tillauri (which is five Cofs from hence) with a Party of 6000 Horse; all Courts: On the

† The Jaiti are a Tribe of Rajpoots.
‡ The Place where all the Drums and Warlike Musick are kept.
¶ The Aheris are another Tribe of the Rajpoots.

* Kurrul signifies the advanced Guard that goes before the main Army; also the Officer that commands such a Body. It is the same as Harat already explained.

X 13th
154. The History of

13th * some Kuzzlebass Horsemens appeared at different Quarters of the Camp, and killed and took Prisoners several People who were coming from the Out-Parts thereto; four of the Kuzzlebass were likewise taken and brought to Nizam al-Mahuck. On the 14th * Nadir Shab having left one Boungab || at Shababah (which is one Stage from Serbind) and a second at Taniseer, he advanced with 40,000 Horse, partly Lance-men, Archers and Musqueteers, to the Village Tilkawuri, each Horsemans having two and some three Attendants, Grooms, and Camel-drivers, all robust young Men, compleatly armed and mounted, some on Camels, some on Mules, and others on KAbos §, not one in his whole Army being on Foot, even those who followed the Camp, and trafficked for Necestaries to the Men, were compleatly armed and mounted, the Number of all amounting to near 160,000. In the Time of Action the Master could not be distin-

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

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

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

guished
guished from the servant, nor the Tradesmen and Traffickers belonging to the Camp, from the common Soldiers, all in general being bold and resolute, and well qualified to execute the most desperate Attempt they could be employed in: There were also about 6 or 7000 Women, who had been taken Captives from the Turks and in Kandabar, who on a March could not be distinguished from the Soldiers; having a Barrami * 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 several Messengers came to Nizam al-Muluck with Offers of an Accommodation, all which he rejected, and would hear of nothing but War.

On the 15 †, Nadir Skah, being necessitated for Water, marched from Tillawuri, and encamped in a Place flanking Kbandwar’s Rear, at a Distance of four Cofs. This Morning Saadit Khan arrived in the Camp, and went to wait on the Emperor. About

* Barrami signifies a Cloak to cover one from the Rain, being derived from Barran, Rain.
† February 14, 1738-9.
nine o’Clock. News was brought that his Attendants * and Baggage (some of whom were at a Distance behind, and others had pitched their Tents without the Mourochis; between Nadir Shah’s Camp, and Khandoran’s Rear) had been attacked, and several of them killed and plundered by the Persians’ Van. Saudit Khan, upon hearing this, left the Dirbar †, and (with all Expedition) marched to his People’s Assistance. Khandoran being nigh, he, with his two Sons, and the rest of his Troops, joined him; as did also Mazuffer Khan, Seyd Hossan Khan, Khan Zuman Khan, Mir Gultou, Shebdad Khan, Affib Ul Khan, etc. In all twenty-two Omras and General Officers, each with a Body of his own Men.

Nadir Shah, who had just then arrived from Tillawuri, being apprized of this Affair, advanced towards that Quarter, and de-

* Mohammed Reza Khan, Saudit Khan’s Butthof, or Paymaster and General, was the Perzan first attacked by four or five hundred Kuzzlebobs; several of his Men were killed, and he was taken Prisoner.

† Dirbar signifies literally, the Door of Admittance, being a Word composed of در Dir, Door, and بار Bar, Admittance. *is the common Name for the King’s or a Governor’s Palace.
NADIR SHAH. 157

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

*Kejirs are a Tribe of Turcomans, and the Bachbirs, or Bactrians, are so called from Bakhtir, or Bactria, the Place they come from.
Wounds, was carried back to his Quarters; Mazuffer Khan, with several other Officers, were killed, and some mortally wounded; returned to their Camp; Seyd Hussian Khan, being wounded, marched towards Debi; and great Numbers lay dead in the Field of Battle.

When those who fled from the Engagement returned back, there was a great Turmoil, and a Letter that was wrote from Mahomed Shab’s Camp, a Day after the Engagement, it is said, that Nadir Shab fought with 50,000 Horse: And when Khandoran and Mazuffer Khan came with their Forces, he divided his Men into three Bodies, and at last routed the Moghol’s Army. Saadit Khan’s and Sherjung’s Elephants getting foul of each other, the Kuzzlebah surrounded and took them Prisoners. Khandoran received a Bullet in his Arm, and another in his Side. Mazuffer Khan was killed, jumping from his Elephant. Mir Gullou, Shehed Khan, Akbals Khan, Badgar Khan, and Khandoran’s eldest Son were killed, Akul beg Khan Kumaloosh, with his Son, and Abdal Rizak Khan, and Jaffar Khan, with his Son and Brothers, and Sirdar Muluck were wounded. Mirza Khoudabunda, Grandson to the great Mohabit Khan, was killed. Khan Zuman Khan was wounded by a Bullet in his Throat. Ghazi beg Khan was also wounded. On Nadir Shab’s Side seven principal Officers, and 2500 Men were killed, and about 5000 wounded with Swords, Cutters, and Bullets.
mult and Noise in the Camp, and most of the Tents and Effects of Khandoran, Mazufffer Khan, Saadit Khan, &c. were plundered by their own People.

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

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

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

Nizam
Nisam al-Mulk, Shirhillah Khan, Munimir ed-din Khan, and all the other Qoors that were left, stood with the Emperor in deep consultation until near the morning, when each returned to his own quarters.

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

The 17th also passed in Fear and Anxiety. This Day, according to an Order, from Noor Shab, Sandit Khan sent for his own Men and Baggage; some of them were

† The 15th of February. ‖ The 16th Ditto.
were scattered up and down the Camp, went to him, carrying along with them all that escaped being plundered of his Horses and other Effects. Nadir Shah had ordered a Tent to be pitched not far from his own Quarters, for Saadit Khan, Sherjing, and Khondaran's Son; their Baggage and Attendants he gave a Place to, without his Camp; none durst so much as come to see them, nor were they allowed to make use of any of their own Necessaries.

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

† February 17, 1739.

* Nizam al Muluck, with Azim Ali Khan, and several Horsemen, went out, and pitched a small Tent betwixt the two Camps, to which Nadir Shah's Att. maneul al Deolat, or Vizir (Kassum Beg Khan) came, and from thence conducted him to his Master, who embraced him fitting, and made him stand honourably, close by himself; he gave him a Cup of Sherbat, and made him eat at the Vizir's House; after which it was agreed, that Mohammed Shah should come and see Nadir Shah.
The 19th † also past in Deliberation, and at Night, Nizam al Muluck received a Khalaet ‡, on being appointed Mir Bukhshí § and Emír al Omra.

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

† The 13th of February.
‡ Khalaet, a Present of a rich Veil, Arms, &c.
§ Mir Bukhshí, or Chief Bukhshí, signifies Paymaster General, who commonly commands all the Forces. Emír al Omra, signifies Prince of Princes, a Title given to the Favourite Minister, who thereby becomes Head Omra.

* The 19th of February.
§ The Word in the Original is طیب رعی, Tábir Rūm, or a moving Throne.

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

* Vakeel signifies Agent, also Factor.
† Not in so Submissive a Manner as is done at the Moghol's Court.
‡ Mufsid is a particular Place in the Divan, commonly higher than any other, and large enough for two or three People to sit thereon. It is spread with a better and softer Carpet than any other Part, and is covered over with fine Linnen.

Y 2  Health
Health were over, Nadir Shah addressed him thus:

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

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

"The Ambassador was killed on the Peishor Side of the Attack, by some rebellious Rajoouts."
themselves into one general Snare, without having the Foresight to leave any behind, who upon an Emergency could make Head, and retrieve their Affairs. Besides this, you have foolishly cooped yourselves up in your 
Moorhats, not considering that if your Enemy was stronger, you could not remain within these Barricadoes without either Water or Grain; and if he was weaker, 'twas both unnecessary and disgraceful to suffer yourselves to be besieged by him; besides, if you thought lightly of him, and imagined him a rash inconsiderate Man, without exposing your own Person and Reputation so much, you ought to have detached a faithful and experienced Officer, who, in a little Time, might have found Means to distress and cut him off; but if you dreaded his Experience and Conduct, you had still the less Reason (after provoking him thus far) to venture your All at one Blow. Even when you had thus entangled yourself, I sent you Offers of an Accommodation, but you were so puffed up with your own childish Conceits, and foolish Resolutions, that you would not give Ear to any honourable Overtures, or con-

fult
sult your own Interest, until, at last, by
the Assistance of the Creator of the World,
and the Strength of the Arms of the victo-
rious Warriors, you have seen what has hap-
pened. Moreover, your Predecessors were
wont to take the * Jexiab from the Infi-
dels, and you in your Reign have given it
to them, having in these twenty Years,
suffered the Empire to be over-run by them.
But as hitherto the Race of Temur have
not injured or misbehaved towards the
Seifi Family, and the People of Perfa, I
shall not take the Empire from you, only
as your Indolence and Pride have obliged
me to march so far, and that I have been
put to an extraordinary Expence, and my
Men, on Account of the long Marches, are
much fatigued, and in Want of Necessaries;
I must go to Dehli; and there continue some
Days, until the Army is refreshed, and the
Peishcush, that Nizam al Muluck has agreed
to, is made good to me; after that I shall
leave you to look after your own Affairs.*
Mabommed Shab gave no Answer during the
whole Speech, but was fixed in a Silence,

* Jexiab is a Poll-Tax levied on all who were not
Mabommedans, especially the Hindu's,

which
which testified a good deal of Confusion and Shame.

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

* The 20th of February.
Bodies lay spread over the Space of seven Cofs; the said Beldars having strewed a little Earth on some of the Carcasses, returned back. It was reported that 400 of Nadir Shad's People fell in Battle, and that 700 were wounded, but of those that were killed not one was to be seen in the Field, they having buried them that same Night. Of the Hindostan Army, several were wounded in such a Manner, that they were not able to stir, nor had any the Compassion to bring them off the Field of Battle to be cured, so that in a little Time they expired among the rest of the dead Bodies: Three Elephants were also killed.

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

* February 20, 1738-9.

† A single Seer, which they call Seer Cicha, is 14 Ounces, 15 \frac{1}{2} Drams; but the Seer mentioned here is a Seer Pucca of 1 lb. 13 Ounces, 15 \frac{1}{2} Drams.

† Ghee is only Butter well boil'd and skimm'd, which is preserved in Jars; and keeps sweet a long Time, especially if a little Salt is put at the bottom of the Jar.
NADIR SHAH. 169

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

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

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

Mir Hossen Khan (who being wounded in the Battle, set out for Shab 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 Shab's Army. In their March the Kuzzlebash Horsemens carried off 27 Elephants, and 25 Camels, and in the Night Time discharged a great many Guns.

* The 21st of February. † The 22d Ditto.
The History of

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

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

In Mahommed Shah's Camp, what Grain was to be had, was sold from 2½ to 3 Rupees per Seer, and whoever went to Nadir Shah's Camp, were allowed to buy as much as they consumed there, but not to carry any away.

About 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 Bungusb, and Aunm Allah Khan, shall come into the Presence †, therefore look well after your People, that they be not dispersed, or straggle abroad; when you have secured that Point, come you hither also.

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

* The 23d Ditto.
† 'Tis common in the East, instead of Court, to use the Word حضرت Hazour, the Presence; and likewise the Word حضرت Hazurit, Presence, to signify Majesty.

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

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

* The 24th Ditto.

Z 2  On
On the 26th. Sirhullind Khan having obtained Leave, marched towards Nadir Shab's Camp, and, according to an Order, leaving his Men and Baggage on the Right-hand thereof, he, with Khan Zud Khan, three Horsemen, and four or five Servants entered the Camp, and pitched a Small Tent for himself near the Bargab †, close by Sadi dit Khan's Quarters.

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

† Bargab signifies the Place of Admittance, or the publick Divan, where Audience is generally given.

Hours
NADIR SHAH. 173

On the 27th †, Sirhullind Khan, being called, went to Nadir Shah's Dirbar ‡, he was ordered to attend the Toupchi Basbi || and the Nisikhchi Basbi *, who had each 200 Horse, and that, with the Assistance of Saad o'din Khan, the Toupchi Basbi should seize all the King's and Omars Ordinance; and the Nisikhchi Basbi, with Kummir o'din Khan's Help, the Treasury, Jewels, Tojshik-khana; and all the other Implements and Arms that belonged to the Emperor and the deceased Omars; and to send to Mabommed Shah, his Son Sultan Ahmed, and Malika al Zumani §, the Empress, and to give Orders to Kummir o'din Khan.

† The 27th of February.
‡ Dirbar signifies the King's or Governor's Palace.
|| Toupchi Basbi, the Master of the Ordnance.
* Nisikhchi Basbi, literally, Head Regulator, or Manager, an Officer who is generally sent to regulate Disorders, and make Seizures.
‡ Tojshik-khana, where all Arms, warlike Furniture, Implements, &c. are kept.
§ Malika al Zumani, literally, the Queen of the Times, Mabommed Shah's Empress.
The History of

8'din Kban and Saad 8'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 Babeers || and new enlisted Men go where they please.

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

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

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

|| Babeers, People employed for carrying Baggage.

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

† The 27th of February.
NADIR SHAH. 175

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

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

On the 20th *, in the Morning, Thomas Khan Vakeel was dispatched to Shahjebanabad, with 4000 Horse and Musqueteers to take Possession of the Castle; as was also Saadit Khan for the Safe-guard and Care of the City,

* The 18th Ditto.
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 Nisfikcbi Horsemen; they were strictly ordered to prevent any Harm or Damage being done to the Inhabitants of the City. Sirbulind Khan being ordered, went to his own Boungab.

On the 1st of Zelbujb* Nadir Shah began to prepare for his March to Shabhebanabad, and at four next Morning he set out, attended by 20000 choice Horsemen; 4000 Harquebusers were detached as a Kouruck † for that separate Quarter where the Mab made marched, betwixt which and the Army there was a Distance of near one Cois, no Soul on Pain of Death, either of the Persians or Indians, being allowed to pass that Way; each Party marched at the Distance of one

* The first of March.
† Kouruck. When the King's Women in Persia go out any where, a Number of Men go before-hand to those Places through which they are to pass, to signify the fame, that no Body may appear there. The Women are guarded by armed Eunuchs, and sometimes by a Body of Soldiers at a Distance, who if they find any Man or Boy in the Way, will kill him, or, at least, drub him very severely, and this is called the Kouruck.
NADIR SHAH. 177

Arrow shot from the other. Mahommed Shab, with 40 or 50 of his principal People, and about 10,000 Kuzzlebash Horfemen, and 2000 Harquebusiers, followed Nadir Shab 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 Shab; on another Side were the Men and Baggage of Nizam al Muluck, and Kummir o'din Khan, and next them Mahommed Khan Bungus with his Men and Baggage, each Party separated by a Distance of 4 and some 1 Coss, and between them marched Kuzzlebash 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 Coss 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 several Villages in the Way which they not only plundered, but likewise killed a great many of the Inhabitants, Paniput and Sonput were also sacked.
On Tuesday the 6th of Zelbujh * they marched from Sonput, and came to Nirela. In the beginning of the Night, Sirbullind Khan having feigned an Indisposition, had leave to go before to the City, and on the Morning he arrived at his own House.

On Wednesday the 7th † Nadir Shab arrived at the Gardens called Shallimár.

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

• The 5th of March. † The 7th Ditto.
‡ The 8th Ditto.
§ Aeysh Mahl, signifies the Place of Joy, one of the Apartments in the Castle. The Place they gave Mahommed Shab near it, was Suliman Bourge, or Solomon's Tower.

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

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

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

‡ The 9th of March.
with a great deal of Warmth and Passion in
Regard to the collecting the Peishcush Money, and used some hard Words to him. At
four o'Clock next Morning, Seadit Khan, who had been for some Time weak and indi-
disposed, departed this life. Some imagine he died thro' Anger for the Usage he met
with, and others are of Opinion Jealously
provoked him to take Poison.

On Saturday, which was the 10th of
the Moon, and the Eid Zoba (or Feast of
Sacrifice) after five Ghurris, and thirty
Pulls; the Sun entered Aries. This Morn-
ing Sirhullind Khan (being called) went to
the Castle, where with Thamas Khan Vakeel,
Mustapha Khan Arrizbegi, Nizam al Muluck,
and Kummir o'din Khan, he staid the whole
Day, deliberating on Means for collecting
the Peishcush Money. This Day at Noon
Thamas Khan had sent nine Nissikhchi Horse-
men towards Pabr Gunjb to order the
opening of the Granaries, and settle the

* This was a Present of 20 Crores of Rupees, which
Nizam had agreed should be paid to Nadir Shah.
† The 10th of March.
‡ Two Hours and twelve Minutes after Sun-rise.
§ Pabr Gunjb, the Place where Corn is sold.
Price of the Corn: Being arrived there, they caused them to be opened; and Wheat was sold ten Seers for a Rupee: As this Price did not turn to the Proprietors Account, towards Evening they assembled the Mob*, and a great many disaffected People joining them, they killed the above-said Nisikbebis, with several Kuzzlebasb, who had come over to buy Corn. After Sun-set they spread a Report that Nadir Shab was taken Prisoner, and some said he was poisoned, on which the Mob and Tumult exceeded all Bounds, all the idle Vagabond and disaffected People joining from all Quarters, with what Arms they could most readily find, poured like a Torrent towards the Castle. Of those of Nadir Shab’s Troops, who were posted without at the Foot thereof, some retired within, and others went towards the Reti†, (which is the Place ‘twixt the Castle and River) and several of them were cut off: Those of the Kuzzlebasb who had taken up their Quarters in Khandoran’s Palace, and

* The Promoters of the Mob were Seyd Neaz Khan, Shab Soar Khan the Son or Relation of Kouvrub Khan, and Raiban Nazr.

† Reti signifies Sand in the Indostan Language.
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: Seyed Neaz Khan, Son-in-Law to Kummir o’din Khan, had shut up in a Room several Nisfikbosis (whom he had taken before, as a Safeguard to his House) and now set Fire to it.

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

† The 11th of March.
‡ The Name of a Square Bazar.
not concerned. At first, they proceeded gently, which, instead of appeasing the Mob, made them more bold and insolent, and without the least Awe, they began to discharge Fire-Arms, and Arrows, at them. Nadir Shah went into the Mijjid of Roishin al Dowlat, which is near the Cutual's Chaboutra; the Inhabitants near that Mijjid got upon their Terrasses, and began to throw Stones; and, either from one of these Terrasses, or a Window thereabouts, a Musquet was designedly shot at Nadir Shah, which missing him, killed one of his Officers who stood next him: This made him give Way to his Passion, and order a general Slaughter to be commenced from that very Place; the Soldiers in an Instant getting upon the Walls and Terrasses, began to plunder and kill. This bloody Scene extended from

1 Mijjid is what is vulgarly called a Mosque.

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

* Chaboutra signifies a Tribunal.
184 The History of

the Serafa Ardvi †, which is before the Castle,
to the old Eidgah ‡, which is three Cost Dis-
stance, and on one Side as far as Jittli Tomb,
and on the other as far as the Tobacco Man-
dari and Poul Meetai ††. The whole Streets
of the Bazar, and the Alleys and Wards on
all sides, the Khanum's Bazar, and round a-
about the Jamib Misjid *, and the Cotton and
Jewellers Bazaars, were all plundered, several
Places they set on Fire, and whomsoever they
found in the Wards and Houses, Streets, Al-
leys and Shops, Great and Small, Men and
Women, they put to the Sword, even the
Brute Creatures did not escape their Fury;
several Women were made Prisoners. Lawf
Ali Khan, the Officer who was appointed to
slaughter and plunder towards the Square of
Saad Allah Khan and Dehli Gate, when he
came as far as Sirbullind Khan's House, he, in
a great Surprize and Fright, came out to meet

† Serafa Ardvi, where all the Bankers and Money-
Changers, belonging to the King and his Army, have
their Shops.
‡ Eidgah, the Place where all the People assemble to
Prayers, on the Two great annual Eids or Festivals.
†† Poul Meetai, a Bridge so called, because there are
a great many Confectioners Shops thereon.
* Jamib Misjid, the Cathedral, or great Mosque.
the said Officer, and representing to him, that the People of that Quarter were not to blame, he made them desist and stop his Men, on promising they should pay a Sum of Money. But in other Places the Slaughter, Plundering, and Burning, went on in a most barbarous Manner.

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

The Slaughter continued from eight in the Morning till three in the Afternoon; above 400 Kuzzlebash were killed, and of the Citizens (great and small) 120000 were slaughtered, others computed them 150000. What Treasure and Effects were plundered, some Nadir Shah had, and a great deal was destroyed by the Fire. In several of the Hindu Houses, where one of a Family survived, he used to pile thirty or forty Carcases a-top of one another, and burn them; and so they did in the Streets, notwithstanding which
there still remained so many, that, for a considerable Time, there was no such Thing as passing any of those Ways. When the Slaughter began, those who raised the Com-motion disappeared in an Instant, and left the innocent Shopkeepers, Bazaris, and many honest Families, to be butcheted 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 House, burnt about twenty Women of his Family, and was in Expectation of their entering every Minute and killing him; by Chance they missed that House, but he was so infatuated, that, finding himself disappointed, he went out, and bringing some of them back, shewed them the Way to his own House, telling them there was a good deal of Money and Effects therein. After they had plundered his House, they went their Way without killing him, which so enraged him, that he dispatched himself. There were great Numbers of People, especially Women and Children, burnt in their Houses.
NADIR SHAH. 187

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

On Tuesday the 13th ‡, a Party, who had been formerly detached by Nadir Shah to seize the Cannon at the Serai of Roub 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, Seidy Folad Khan received a Khalaet on being confirmed Cutil of the City. Proclamation was made by Beat of Drum,

* The 12th of March, 1738-9.
† About 10,000 Women threw themselves into Wells, some of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three Days. The Number of Prisoners released, Men and Women, were 50,000.
‡ The 13th of March, 1738-9.
§ Hazarri signifies Captain of a Thousand.

B b 2 ordering
ordering every Body to betake themselves to their several Employments, and to be under no Apprehension of the Soldiers any more. A Body of Men was sent to the Granaries at Pahr Gunjh, which they sealed up and put Guards on; Saadit Khan's Effects were seized, and Nizamul Muluck and Kummir o'din Khan made a Plush of some Money and Effects which they had given in an Account of, and was registered in the List; the Effects of Khandoran and Massisser Khan were likewise seized; the Jewels, Treasure and Goods of the former, (not reckoning what he had in the Camp) was computed at no more than one Crore of Rupees; but Massisser Khan's amounted to very nigh four Crore. This Day, according to the Shab's Order, Parties of Soldiers were planted as Guards all around the City to the Banks of the River, and in the Retee opposite to the Castle, to prevent any Persons going out without 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.
NADIR SHAH. 189

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

On Thursday the 15th †, as the great Number of dead Bodies that lay about the Castle, and in the Bazaars, 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 demolish'd Buildings.

On Friday the 16th ‡, a Firmán, exempting the Dominions of Persia from Taxes for three Years, was drawn up and dispatched by a Chopper ||. 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.
|| Chopper, an express Messenger.
The History of

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

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

* The Year's Arrears due to Nadir Shab's Men was 4 Crores, 98 Lacks, or 6,100,000 l.

|| Saadit Khan's Treasure, sent from Lucknow by Munsur Ali Khan, arrived the 25th of Mabirrim, or 23d of April; being 80 Lacks of Rupies, which is 1,000,000 l.

† The 17th of March, 1738-9.

† Beaura, signifies a forced Contribution.

On
NADIR SHAH. 191

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

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

* The 18th of March, 1738-9.

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

* Twenty Crores are 25 Millions Sterling.
his own Effects, and all the other Omras, wealthy People and Inhabitants. Such a Sum was not to be raised out of the King's Treasury, or the Omras Effects; for, in the King's, the Gold and Silver Coins did not exceed three Crore§: But, in the inward Vaults (which had been shut up and sealed for many Years, no Body knowing by whom they were sealed, or what they contained) there was found of Gold and Silver to a much larger Amount than the Money in the Treasury. 

Nizam al Muluck contributed a Peishcush of 1½ Crore || in Jewels, Treasure, and Goods, as did also Kummir o'dln Khan to the same Amount.

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

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

§ 3,750,000 l. || 1,875,000 l. * 1,250,000 l.
‡ 375,000 l. ‡ 3,750,000 l.
C c portion
portion to his Circumstances. Formerly Saad-dit Khan was ordered to collect this Money; After his Death, and the Slaughter and Plunder of the City, this Business was recommended to the Care of Sirbulind Khan, and the other Omras, which Thomas Khan, at this Meeting, pressed them about; Accordingly it was now agreed, that Azim Allah Khan, Chuckl Keisbuir, Vakeel of the Soubabdar of Bengal, Seeta Ram, and all the Manjubdars and Officers of the Chaboutra, &c. should meet at Sirbulind Khan's House, and make an End of this Affair. All Officers, Inhabitants, &c. who were suspected to be rich, were ordered to give in a List of what Money or Effects they were Masters of, to be laid before the Shah, that what he liked he might take, and what he forgave they might keep; and whoever pleaded Poverty, such Person should declare the same by a Writing under his Hand and Seal, that in Case it should be afterwards proved, that he had given in a false Account, he might be punished.

That Day the People before-mentioned came to Sirbulind Khan's House, and hav-
NADIR SHAH. 195

ing said until the Evening, and enrolled some Names, returned to their own Houses.

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

On Tuesday the 20th†, Sirbululind Khan being sent for, went to the Dirbar, where he received a Khabat of a rich Vest, from whence he returned Home to assist Asim Abok Khan, and the rest in the Business they were about.

On Wednesday the 21st‡, Rehman Big Amin Bashi, with 200 Horsemen and Musqueteers, were appointed to be under the Command of Sirbululind Khan, that he might

* The 19th of March, 1738-9.
† The 20th of March, 1738-9.
‡ The 21st of March, 1738-9.
sent them to the Mansubdars, &c. to oblige them to produce all their Elephants, Horses, and Camels, with Orders that what should be judged proper for the Shah’s Stables, should be immediately seized.

On Thursday* also they were employed the Day before.

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

There was an Order made, that Murid Khan ‡, with fifty of Sirbullind Khan’s Horse-men, should carry a Sirrapah and Firmân to Sujaat Khan, Subahdar of Bengal, and to take from him the three Years Treasure and a Peisburs: Accordingly 1000 Rupees ¶ were given out of the Shah’s Treasury to Murid Khan for his Expences, and 3220 Rupees § to the fifty Horse-men for their Charges.

* The 22d of March, 1738-9.
† The 23d of March, 1738-9.
‡ Murid Khan, (alias Mahommed Hadi) was sent in Company with Mir Tuckee Kuli beg.
¶ 125l. § 402l. 10s.

Saturday
Saturday, Sunday, and Monday *, were employed in the Peisbush Affair. During this Time they were busy in preparing Illuminations on the Banks of the River, and Fireworks for the Wedding of Nefr Alla Mirza, Nadir Shab's Son, who was to be married to the Daughter of Isfdan Bukhsh, the Son of Kam Bukhsh, and Grandson of Au-ring-zebe.

On Tuesday Night † the Marriage was consummated. Mahommed Shab made the young Princess a Present of Jewels to the Value of 5000 Rupees ‡, and in ready Money 50000|| more. Some Days after the Marriage, Nadir Shab sent her Jewels to the Value of five Lack of Rupees §.

The Council for ascertaining the Peisbush was continually held in the Castle, near the Divan of Justice, at which attested Thomas Khan, Mustapha Khan, and Mahommed Shab's Omras, until the tenth of Mobirrim * at Noon, and during that Time every Body was present at the said Place from Sun-rise to Sun-

† The 27th of March, 1739.
‡ 6250l. || 6250l. § 62,500l.
* The 28th of April, 1739.
set. All the Vakeels and Agents of the Man-
subdars, and other Officers, gave constant
Attendance, and at night each returned to
his own House 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 Fam-
ilies behind, and made their Escape out of
the City in the best Manner they could, be-
ing glad at any Rate to save their Lives; se-
veral of Mabommed Shah’s Omras were obliged
to stay the whole Day in the Castle, in a mean
Manner and perpetual Fear, with but one
Horse and a few Servants to attend them, and
at Night they returned to their own Houses.

In these Days of Mabirrim, no Person,
either of Hindostan or the Kuzzakeets, durst
so much as mention the Words, Taxia * or

* Taxia signifies Morning, and Mabirrim signifies
Death. It is customary with the Sabians, to make great
Lamentations annually for Martya Al’s two Sons,
Imam Hassan and Imam Hussain, on the first ten Days
of Mabirrim. The former was poisoned by his Wife
Yasda, at Medina, in the Caliphate of Meooh, on
Thursday the 7th of Safar, in the 56th Year of the Ha-
gira. The latter was killed in the Desert of Kirbid, by
Shimr, a Soldier belonging to Irrak, the Son of
Mauvis, Caliph of Syria, on Friday the 16th Mabir-
rim, in the 61st Year of the Hajiya.

Mabirrim.
NADIR SHAH.

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

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

† The 3d of April, 1739.
†† A Sort of Dagger were by the Indians.
§ The 4th of April, 1739.

Rai
The History of

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

Sitâ Ram, and Chuckl Keifœur †, were violently beat on the Back and Sides. When the List of Names was ready, Nadir Shah appointed Nizamul Muluck, Sirbullind Khan,||

* The 10th of April, 1739.
† Chuckl Keifœur, the Bengal Vakeel, being ordered to send for Seven Crores of Rupees, said, So much would make a String of Wagons from Bengal to Delhi; for which being roughly used, he went home, and murdered himself and Family.

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

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

* 3,750,000 l. † April 8, 1739. ‡ 125,000 l. || 625 l. § 1250 l.
* 15000 l.
by bad Usage, forced to dispatch themselves; and Numbers died of the Blows they received; those who came best off, had either a Leg or an Arm lamed; from Morning to Night, nothing was done or thought of; but gathering in this Money, in which no Barbarities were left unpractised, this so dispirited the Inhabitants, that if one Kuzzlebash Horseman came among 10,000 of them, he might safely use them with all the Severities he pleased. 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 Shab's Treasury, and seventy Lacks ‡ were made away with among his Omras, and some expended among the 1000 Horsemeh; a great deal was sunk in the undervaluing of Goods, for a Horse worth 500 Rupees ¶, was only rated at 5 Tomans §, which is 100 Rupees, and Shauls of 50 Rupees ¶ taken at one Toman, or Twenty Rupees ¶, and Jewels and other Goods,
in the same Proportion: What the Shab took was valued in this Manner, and received for so much in the Contribution Account; but what he had no occasion for was sold, and the Produce brought to Account, which was no Advantage to the Owners of the Goods, as there were no Buyers but the Kuzzlebasb.

Since the Day of the general Slaughter, wherever any Granaries were, the Kuzzlebasb seized them; this and the Roads being stopped to all Quarters, made Wheat 2 Seers a Rupee, Rice 1½ Seer, and Ghee ½ Seer. Things were at that Rate for about twenty Days; at last, Sirbullind Khan and Azim Alla Khan, having obtained a Pass and Licence, sent several Wagons to fetch Corn from Feridabad. Whoever had any Carriages, sent them, several of the poor People and Banians going along with them.

In a little Time Wheat was sold seven Seers for a Rupee, but no more Rice than 2½ Seers, and Geer ½ of a Seer; during this Time the Kuzzlebasb Horsemens were wont to go round about Feridabad, and other Places, marauding twenty and thirty Cows each Way, spoiling all the Fields, and plundering all the Villages as they went, and killing the
Inhabitants that made any Resistance. They gave their Horses, Camels, &c. Barley and Wheat-Straw instead of Grains, and the People of the City could have neither at any Rate, so that most of their Cattle died.

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

On Tuesday the 3rd Safer ‡, all the Omras were ordered by Nadir Shab to be present at Mahommed Shab's by five o'Clock in the Morning, where they put on forty-two Kbal-ets, sent thither by Nadir Shab for them. The Kbal-ets for Nizam al Muluck, Sir-bullind Khan, Kummer o'din Khan, and Mahommed Khan Bungyf, were:

* The latter End of April.
§ Khan Saman, Steward of the Houseohl.
† The 10th of June, 1739.
‡ The 1st of May, 1739.
NADIR SHAH. 205

A rich Atlas Vest.
A Hunting Coat, of a rich Stuff wove with Gold.
Four Yards of Tissue.
A rich Mandil or Turban.
A Peruhan Sabre mounted with Gold.
A Knife with a Sheath of enamell'd Gold.

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

About eight in the Morning, Mahommed Shah, seated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy, Umbrella, and one led Litter, with several of the Omras, went towards the General Divan, the Omras being mounted at a small Distance behind him; when they came near the General Divan, the Emperor ordered Saad o'din Khan to let none but the Head Omras, and a few of the Chief Man-subdârs 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
breakfafted together, and the Omras like-
wise had Breakfast given them. A little af-
ter, the following Things were brought in
for Mahommed Shab:

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

An enamelled Guttari.

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

‖ Sirpeach is a Band or Fillet richly wove, and some-
times set with Jewels, which is wore round the Turban.
* Bazoubund is a Bracelet.
but you yourself are constantly to keep 60,000 chosen Horsemens, at sixty Rupees per Month, one with another: Every ten Men to have one Debbashi *, 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, Soldiers, or others, to be idle or unactive. When an Occasion may require, detach a sufficient Number, under the Command of one, whom you can trust for Conduct, Courage, and Fidelity, and when that Business is over, recal them immediately, not letting any Person stay too long in Command, for Fear of bad Consequences. You are more particularly to beware of Nizams al Muluck, whom, by his Conduct, I find to be full of Cunning, and Self-interested, and more ambitious than becomes a Subject. Mahommed Shah knowing these Advices proceeded from Good-will, was very thankful, and desired 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, that he would appoint those whom he thought most deserving of the principal Posts. Nadir Shab said, 'That will not be at all for your Interest; such Officers will have little Deseunce for you in my Absence; when I am gone, dispose of every Post to those whom you think most worthy, and should they or any of them rebel, upon the first Advice, I'll send a Person to chastise them; if it be necessary, I'll send Forces; or, on Occasion, I can be with you myself in forty Days, from Khandakar, but upon all Events don't reckon me far off.'

After this, Mahommed Shab taking Leave, returned back to Aeysh Mebl, from whence he gave the Omras' leave to go Home.

On Wednesday the 4th *, Nadir Shab sent for Nizam al Multick, Sirbullim Khan, and the other Omras, and having enjoined them Obedience to Mahommed Shab, and threatened them in Case of their rebelling, took his Leave.

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

* The 2d of May, 1739.
find accused indirectly in regard to two things; one was his giving the Empire to Mahomed Shah, who being unequal to so great a task, the Affairs of India would become worse than formerly; the other, his giving Quarter to Nizam-ul-Mulk, who being so very subtle and crafty, it was more than probable he would raise Disturbances; but as according to the Decrees of Providence, and the Assistance of their own good Fortune, he had once passed his Word to them, he could not act contrary thereto.

On Friday the 6th, the Shah’s Peishkhanas went to Shalimar. 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 Mabirrax, but was delayed, on Account of Fajdar Khos Bahuche’s running away with his Men towards the Rajahs, on being demanded more than one Lack of Rupees, which he was first taxed with.
Captives, excepting Slaves bought with ready Money with a Writing from the Seller, attested by Witnesses declaring his Consent and Satisfaction, or Women lawfully married to them, and even those Slaves and Wives not to be carried away if in the least contrary to their own Inclinations; and that whoever should transgress any of these Orders should forfeit both his Life and Estate.

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

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

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

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

In the mean Time, Scidy Polad Khan, having seized several more of those Deserters, he was going to send them also; but on hearing how the others were treated, he waited on the Emperor, and represented the Matter to him. Mahommed Shab said: "He'll certainly kill these poor Wretches also, if they are sent; why should we be necessary to so 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 Tanmiser, and several other Villages. The Occasion of which was thus: The Army constantly sending out Parties to forage, and bring Corn and other Necessaries, the
Country People, who used to watch these Opportunities, attacked the Stragglers, and killed and plundered them of their Houses, and what else they had; in the Night-time also they were very troublesome, and stole whatever they could come at; which very much enraged the Shah, having lost above a thousand Mules, Camels and Yaks before he got as far as Labor. It was reported, that Nadir Shah, having called the Aminder of Karnal (which is the Place where he got his Victory) gave him 5000 Rupees towards popling a Village on the same Spot, he incamp'd, and directed him to give it the Name of Fattah abad.

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

Fattah abad, signifies the Habinatun of Victory.

* Bankers and Money Changers.

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

Nadir Shah, by continual and long Marches, passed by Labor, on one Side,

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

† 1,250,000 l. ‡ The 8th of May, 1739.
The History of

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

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

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

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

On Friday, the 20th, Emir Khan was

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I 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 Bukhsbi †.
Ishak Khan, with a Sirrapah, a Paleki with 
Net-work, and the Office of Duan Khalesib‖.
Azm Allah Khan, with a Sirrapah, and 
the Office of Sedr.
Abitsham Khan, Khandoran's Son, with a 
Sirrapah, and the Office of Darogba Khafi*.
On the 14th of Ribby al Avul †, Danelsh-
mund Khan, who, by Nadir Shah's Recom-
mandation, had got the Office of Khan Sa-
man, departed this Life. So, on the 16th †, 
Saad ed-Din Khan received a Sirrapah, and 
was promoted to that Office.

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

† The Third Paymaster.
‖ Duan Khalesib, the Accomptant General of the 
King's Revenues.
* Darogah Khafi, Superintendent of the Household.
† The 10th of June, 1739.
†† The 12th of June, 1739.
‖ The 22d of June, 1739.
ment, could not in the least awaken out of the heavy Sleep of Security, and Lethargy of Indolence, those People, who were so much intoxicated with the Wine of Pride, and Self-conceit. They all agreed in a general Ill-will to each other, and their whole Talk and Conversation was full of Envy and Detraction.

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

The Inhabitants, from the Terror of this Calamity, like People possessed, and in Fits, are quite stupefied, and not yet come to themselves, and what is still more strange, notwithstanding the Oppressions and Disgrace, the People of this Empire have met with, since Nadir Shab's Departure) the indecent Expressions, and beastly Actions of his Soldiers, are the constant Subjects of Discourse, in all Companies, related with a seeming Satisfaction and Pleasure, and by Way of Jest and Drollery; not being in the least affected with a Reflection on their
their past Disgrace and Misfortunes; but, on the contrary, seemed sorry for his going away, excepting Sirbulbind Khan, who, three Years ago, foresaw this Calamity, and retired from public Business, dreading the Consequence of Affairs being managed by such Omars as then bore Sway: His being an Instrument in collecting the Peishcubic was involuntary, and much contrary to his Inclinations, in which he help'd and favoured several People as much as lay in his Power, and that in so private a Manner, that they themselves knew not who assisted them: But hypocritical and ignorant Persons, who had neither Will or Power to assist those People, gave their Tongues too much Liberty in complaining of him: However, I refer this innocent Man's Character to the following Arabic Verses:

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

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

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

* The 25th of **May**, 1739.
NADIR SHAH. 219

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

After some 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 Mansubdars, who had run away out of the Field of Battle and Camp, as also Mabommed Khan Bungush, who (without Leave) had retired Home, were all discharged the Service.

Nizam al Muluck and Kummir o'din Khan wrote to Mabommed Khan, that if he came back, or sent his Son to attend at Court, it was probable his Mansub and Jaguir should still be continued to him, if not, he must expect no Favour. Mabommed 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 Shab's Departure from Shabjebanabad, the Loss sustained by the Emperor and the People

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

F f 2

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

The Particulars of what Nadir Shab carried away with him:

Jewels from the Emperor and Omras, valued at 25
Utensils and Handles of Weapons set with Jewels, with the Peacock Throne, and nine others set with precious Stones 9
Money Coined in Gold and Silver.

Rupees
Gold and Silver Plate which he melted down and coin'd 5

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

Fine
**Nadir Shah.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carried over</th>
<th>64</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fine Cloths and rich Stuffs of all Kinds</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Furniture, and other valuable Commodities</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warlike Weapons, Cannon, &amp;c.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

70

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

Nadir Shab had the Draught of the Castle and City of Shahjebanabad taken, and gave to the abovementioned Artificers, Horses, and what other Carriages were necessary for their Journey, allowing them a sufficient Pay. The Terms he entered into with them were, to follow their several Occupations for three Years in Kandabar; at the Expiration of which, they were to have Liberty, either to return Home, or continue there. But in their Way to Labor, several 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
222 The History of

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

From Labor to Karnal were killed on the Roads and in the Villages 8,000.
Killed in the Battle of Karnal 17,000.
Those killed during the Space of three Days after the Battle, in the Highways and round about the Camp, were 14,000.
Those killed on their March to the City, in Sonput, Paniput, and other Villages that were plundered 7,000.
Those killed in the general Massacre, by the exactest Computation 110,000.
After the general Massacre were killed in Rohi Allah Khan’s Serai, and the Villages and Fields round about where they went a marauding, which is about thirty Cofs each Way 25,000.
On their March back, in Tanifeer and other Villages 12,000.
Those who had laid violent Hands upon themselves, the Women who drown’d and burnt them selves 193,000.
NADIR SHAH. 223

Carried over 193,000

felves, as also those who died of

Famine and other Hardships, a-
mounted to about

7,000.

200,000:

A Translation of the Cession made by Mahom-
med Shah to Nadir Shah of all the Terri-
tories to the Westward of the River Attok.

Formerly, the Ministers † of his High

Majesty (who is exalted like Saturn ||,

fierce as Mars *, impetuous as the God of

War, King of the Kings of the Earth,

Prince of the Princes of the Age, the Sha-
dow of God and Refuge of Islâm, in Pomp

like Alexander, the Heavens his Court, the

Sultan who is merciful, and the Emperor

who is august, Nadir Shah, may God per-

petuate his Reign) had sent Ambassadors

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

|| Saturn being the most remote from the Centre of

the System.

* In the Original it is بهرام صولة مريخ سطوة Be-
heram Solat, Merikh Suttuvit. بهرام Beheram, in the
ancient Persic, signifies Mars, and مريخ Merikh, in to
The History of

to this Court, to treat of certain Affairs
which I intended to comply with; after-
wards Madommed Khan Turcoman arriv-
ed from Kandabar, to remind me thereof,
but my Ministers and Agents having delay-
ed the Ambassadors, and postpon'd an An-
swer to his High Majesty's Letter, raised
such a Misunderstanding between us, that
his successful Army having come to the
Confines of Hindoostan, both Parties encoun-
tered in the Fields of Karnal, where, after
a Royal Battle was fought, as Providence
would have it, Victory to Appearance rose
from the East of his undecaying Fortune.

As his High Majesty, who is mighty as
Jumshid†, and the greatest of the Tur-
comans, is the Source of Goodness and
Prowess; relying on his Honour, and
trusting to his Support, I had the Satisfac-
tion of an Interview, and enjoyed the Pleasure of
being entertained in his Paradise-like Com-
pany. After which, we came together to
Shajebanabad, where I brought forth to his
View, and with the proper Ceremony pre-
sented to him, all the Treasure, Jewels,

† One of the ancient Kings of Persia, remarkable
for his Greatness and Power.
NADIR SHAH. 225

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

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

Rise of the River Attok, with all the Passes
and Habitations, which the above said Water
and its several Branches comprehends and
surrounds, as far as Nala Sunkra, where it
empties itself into the Sea: In short, all
Places Westward of the River Attok, and
those Parts, and Westward of the River
Scind, and Nala Sunkra, I have annexed
to the Dominions of that powerful Sover-
eign, that from henceforth his Agents and
Servants may enter upon and set about the
Management and the securing of the above-
said Territories, taking the Government
and Command of those several Places,
Tribes and Inhabitants into their own
Hands; my Officers, Servants, &c. evac-
cuating the above said Places, as being seve-
red from my Dominions, and entirely re-
nouncing all Right they have or might for-
merly have had to command, controul or
collect any Revenues there; the Castle and
Town of 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 Hind-
doistan. Dated at Shajebanabad, the 4th of
Mobirrim†, 1152.

† The 2d of April, 1739.
NADIR SHAH is about fifty-five years, upwards of six foot high, well-proportion'd, of a very robust make and constitution, his complexion sanguine and inclining to be fat, but the fatigue he undergoes prevents it; he has fine large black-eyes and eye-brows; and, in short, is one of the most comely men I ever beheld. The injury the sun and weather have done to his complexion only gives him a more manly aspect. His voice is so uncommonly loud and strong, that he frequently, and without straining it, gives orders to his people at above a hundred yards distance. He drinks wine with moderation, but is extremely addicted to women, in which he affects great variety, and yet never neglects his business on their account; his
Hours of Retirement among the Ladies are but few, seldom entering their Apartments before Eleven or Twelve at Night, and is up and in Public by Five in the Morning. His Diet is simple, chiefly Pillow and plain Dishes; and, if public Affairs require his Attendance, he neglects his Meals, and satisfies his Hunger with a few parched Pease (of which he always carries some in his Pockets) and a Draught of Water. In the Camp, or in the City, he is almost constantly in Public, and if not, he may be sent to, or spoke with by any Person. He musters, pays and cloaths his Army himself, and will not suffer any Perquisites to be taken from the Soldiers by his Officers, on any Pretence whatever. He has Monthly Accounts transmitted to him of the State of Affairs in all Parts of his Dominions, and holds a Correspondence with his several private Spies in every Place: Besides, in every Province and City there is a Person called Hum Colam, appointed to inspect into the Governor's Actions, and keep a Register of them; no Affair of any Consequence can be transacted but in the Presence of that Officer, who, besides the Account the Governor is obliged to send Monthly,
NADIR SHAH. 229

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

When on a March, or in the Field, he contented himself to eat, drink, and sleep like a common Soldier, and ensures all his Officers to the same severe Discipline. He is of so hardy
The History of

a Constitution, that he has been often known, of a frosty Night to repose himself upon the Ground in the open Air, wrapt up in his Cloak, with only a Saddle for his Pillow; especially when, upon an extraordinary Enterprize which required Expedition, he has been obliged to out-march his Baggage, by which Means he has fallen upon the Enemy when they least expected him. He is never happy but when in the Field, and laments the Time he is obliged to stay in a City to refresh his Troops, in which (as in all Things else) he uses the utmost Dispatch. His Meals are over in less than Half an Hour, after which he returns to Business; so that the Servants who attend him standing are changed three or four Times a Day. He never indulges himself in any Kind of Pleasure in the Day-time, but constantly at Sun-set retires to a private Apartment; where, unbending himself at once from Business, he sups with three or four Favourites, and drinks a Quart, or at most three Pints of Wine, behaving all the Time in the freest and most facetious Manner. In this private Conversation no Person is allowed to mention any Thing relating to public Business; nor, at other Times, must they
they presume, upon this Intimacy to behave with more Familiarity than their Equals.
Two of his Evening-Companions happening to transgress in that Point, by taking the Liberty to advise him in Public, he immediately ordered them to be strangled, saying: 'Such Fools were not fit to live, who could not distinguish between Nadir Shab and Nadir Kuli.' He has been very kind to those who please him in private Conversation, and behave with a becoming Decency and Deference in Public, where they are taken no more Notice of, nor have they any more Influence over him than others of the same Rank.

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

He
The History of

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

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

tenal
NADIR SHAH.

Great Affection for him. They who knew the young Man (for I never saw him) judge he'll make full as great a Figure in the World as his Father; having given signal Proofs of his Courage and Conduct in several Battles, and of his great Abilities in other Respects while Nadir 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 easy until his Father's Return.

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

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

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

Referring to the page where the following words are particularly explain'd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Arrizbegi</th>
<th>140</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td>Asbruff</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Asof Jab</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Abdallab.</td>
<td>Attok</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Abdollees</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>Aumari</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>Rabman</td>
<td>Auringabad</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Auringzebe</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Abu Bucker</td>
<td>117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Abul Fazl</td>
<td>Azem</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Abul Mazaffar</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Ayesb Mahb</td>
<td>Azim</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>Azim al Shan</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Afsbans</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Afsbars</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>24, 31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Abeer</td>
<td>153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Ahmednagar</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Astmad al Dowlat</td>
<td>140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Akbar</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Akbarabad</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Ali</td>
<td>117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Aumguir</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Amead Bukbsh</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Aram Bann Begum</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Arjunmund Bann</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Arrib</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
<th>Babadr Shab</th>
<th>39</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Babar Banu</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Babeers</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Bajeerau</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Bakbitaris</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Bakbtir</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Bargab</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Barrani</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Baxoubund</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Beaura</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Bedar Bukht</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Beglerbeg</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Begum</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhagunur</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijapore</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boungab</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukhshib</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullind Akbter</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabul</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaboutra</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandni Chok</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauch</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin Kuleejb Khan</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choppar</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chot</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins of Nadir Shah</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coss measured and computed</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cours</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coree</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coris</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuttari</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuttal</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dam</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dara Shekowb</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darogha Khafs</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daur Bukhsib</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debbasbi</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debs</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirbar</td>
<td>156, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowlat Asfa</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duan</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duan Khalibb</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezabad</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eax o'din</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eidgab</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eildirm</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emir</td>
<td>55, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emir al Mominin</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emir al Omra</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enam</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fakirs</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farfah</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fattaba</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fattahabad</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fattehpour</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firmân</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fojibar</td>
<td>45, 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furrukhsir</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganims</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghazi o'din</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghee</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golconda</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gouzrân</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gouzrbans</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gualiar</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurris</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakem</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanbal</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanifa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanifa</td>
<td>117, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrol</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazarri</td>
<td>187, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herat</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hind</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindoostan</td>
<td>13, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Har al Nissa</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyder</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyder Kuli</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaats</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaffer</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaguir</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaguirdar</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamib Misjid</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jar ba Vafa</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeber Ara</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeberdar</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeberangur</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeban Shab</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeloudar</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jelstan Bukhs</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jezl Bukhs</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeziab</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jital o'din</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumsheid</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajirs</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambukhs</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandakar</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kajirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambukhs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandakar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabarajab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabarattas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabommed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mabommed</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malek</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik al Zumani</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansub</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansubdar</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manzel</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matim</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauxm</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazz o'din</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mebd Alia</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mimm Bafi</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mfr Bukbshi</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misjidd</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mogbol Omras</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobly o'din</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morad</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morad Bukbshi</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothir al Muluck</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mousbo</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munaddi</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musbadd</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutfidd</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muttefiddis</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadir</td>
<td>71, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadir Kuli</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naib</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nafar Khanna</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nafr jing</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nafr o'din</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navob</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazem</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazem Munaxem</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazar</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nefir Allah</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nefir o'din</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niquibs</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nsiikbshi</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nizam al Muluck</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nour Jeban</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nour Maobl</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nour o'din</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omra</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otbman</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pabr Gunjib</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjab</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parbez banana</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parvez</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattans</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peishlusb</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peishbor</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peishkbanan</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poumeetai</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafeeib al Dirjat</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— Dotolat</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— Kadr</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— Shaz</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabadars</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabman Bukbshi</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajab</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajab Sabou</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajpouts</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rani</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reti</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Rojshirazi**
INDEX.

Rojybinrai 28  Sudsval 207
Rupee 25, 26, 50  Sujab 28
  S.  Suliman Bourge 178
Sabou Rajah 33  Suliman Sbekeowb 32
Sebias 117  Sultana Nissa 22
Spind 10  Sultan Kbourm 23
Sedr 123  Sunnis 117
Seer Cacho and Pucca 168  Sutia Bamu 28
  T.
Selim 18  Taage Mahl 25
Selima 18  Tabal 126
Selimgur 54  Takht Revan 162
Sepeb Sbekeowb 38  Tazia 198
Sera, Serai, or Seraglio 67  Temur 1
Seraf 212  Thamas Kuli 97
Serafa qurdwi 184  Toisbik Khama 173
Settara 33  Tokbir 126
Shah 117  Toman 202
Shah 35  Towpsbi Bashri 173
Shahab o’din 24  V.
Shab Alum 39  Vakeat Babri 6
Shab Jeban 24  Vakeel 163
Shahjebanabad 3  Vanjarras 219
Shah zada 19  Vijnapore 32
Shakr nissa 19  Vinga 52
Shebriar 23  W.
Shber Askan 21  Walkab Jab 41
Sinnid 49  Y.
Sirpeach 206  Tabous 154
Sirrapab 48  Z.
Solar Year 2  Zebir o’din 6
Soubab 34  Zemi 46
Soubabadar 34  Zemidars 46
Stage 2  Zen al din 35

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kings of the Kings of</th>
<th>Gujarat</th>
<th>980</th>
<th>The Year they were conquered, and added to the Empire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>929</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malwa</td>
<td>967</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chhupore</td>
<td>967</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scind</td>
<td>980</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cofmtr</td>
<td>995</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>980</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Vol. II. Containing the second Ten Years of Shab Jeban’s Reign; with a Muster-Roll of the Standing Army, and an Account of the Treasury, Revenues, &c.

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Vackleat Babri. The Great Moghol Babr’s Commentaries of himself, from the Time he sat on the Throne, which was at Twelve Years of Age, until one Year before his Death. Containing an Account of his several Relations; as also the Princes who then govern’d in several Parts of Tartary.

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Powers
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ACATOLGUE of

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Khuarism, Ditto.
Atabakan, Ditto.
Ismaelians, Ditto.
Kara Khatai, Sultans.
The Mogbol Kings.

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Appendix. The Genealogy of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Kings, Philosophers, &c. mentioned in this History, in a Tree, to the Year 730.

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Oriental Manuscripts. 13

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III. A full Account of the Brahmin's Religion; their Books, and the Subject of them; the several different Sects, and what Points they differ in; with the whole Particulars of their Eating, Drinking, Marrying, Purifications, Worship, and burning when Dead. After which, follows an Account of the principal Mahometan Saints; the Places they are buried in, and the Days that their Tombs are chiefly visited. To the whole is added the remarkable Sayings of the Great Moghol Akbar, on sundry Subjects and Occasions; and a short Account of Abul Fazl, and his Family, by himself.

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