

on the Throne. He could have been very glad of an Accommodation with Prince *Thamas*; but after having forfeited his Faith to that Prince, there was no Room for new Overtures. He thought it his Business then to make Peace with the *Turk*, that he might more easily subdue the Prince; and with that View he sent an Officer of his Army to *Constantinople*, in the Quality of Ambassador. As this Officer was a Soldier of Fortune, very unfit for such a Negotiation, one *Emanuel Cheriman* an *Armenian*, the Head of the *Cheriman* Family, which was the richest and most considerable in all *Zulpha*, was joined with him in this Commission.

Eschref
proposes
a Peace
with the
Turk.

The Ambassador arrived at *Constantinople* on the 18th of *January* 1726. He was admitted to an Audience of the Grand Vizir, in Spite of all the Efforts of the *Russian* Ambassador to prevent it. The *Ottoman* Prime Minister received him at first in a favourable Manner; but the Ambassador beginning his Harangue with saying, *The Grand Sophi my Master*, the Vizir, who would not treat upon such Terms, as if between Equal and Equal, broke off the Conference, and all the Address of the *Persian* could never obtain another Audience.

Why he
did not
succeed.

Hitherto there had never been any open Rupture between the *Turks* and the *Agbwans*; but from this Time they looked on each other as Enemies. The *Porte* gave Orders for a considerable Re-inforcement to march into *Persia*, where nothing less than the Taking of *Ispahan* was proposed. *Eschref*, informed of the Intentions of the *Turks*, made such a Deso-

lation in the Neighbourhood round about, that he utterly destroyed all Means of Subsistence. The *Turks* received two or three Shocks on the Neck of one another, and at last were obliged to retire into *Georgia*, to recruit their shattered Forces.

The *Ottoman* Court now talked no longer in the same haughty Tone: She gave *Eschref* talks in a lower Strain.

The *Ottoman* Court now talked no longer in the same haughty Tone: She gave *Eschref* to understand, that she was not averſe to a Treaty of Peace, if, to ſave the Sultan's Honour, he would make the firſt Propoſitions. *Eschref* did not think it worth while to diſpute about Punctilios; he complied with what was required of him, and in return obtained an advantageous Peace, at leaſt as much ſo as his Affairs could give him Room to expect.

Eschref has another Enemy to fear.

Eschref now thought himſelf fully eſta- bliſhed on the Throne of *Persia*; but found he was widely miſtaken. There was at *Candabar* one of the Sons* of *Magmud*, who after the Death of his Father had been elected Prince of that Place, and of the Nation of *Agh-wans*. He bore with Impatience the Fortune of *Eschref*; made Preparations againſt him; and as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf in a Condition to

* The Author ſpeaks of a Brother of *Magmud* ſoon after, who was Prince of *Candabar*: It muſt be the ſame Brother he means here; for *Magmud*, who died at twenty-fix Years of Age, could not leave a Son to make ſuch a Figure juſt after his Deceſſe. The Hurry of the Preſs ſeems to have occaſioned ſeveral ſuch little Miſtakes in the *French*, ſome of which we have corrected without mentioning them.

attack him, began his March to dispute with him the Crown of *Persia*. He had at first some Success; but was soon obliged to return back to *Candabar*.

The Party of Prince *Thamas* now strengthened every Day. A Journey which he had taken into *Indostan*, and the Alliance he had contracted with the Mogul, had helped to re-establish his Affairs. And to complete his good Fortune, the Prince of *Candabar*, despairing ever to drive *Eschref* from the Throne, and chusing rather that the Crown should return to the lawful Claimant, than continue on the Usurper's Head, made an Accommodation with Prince *Thamas*, and served him ever after like a good and faithful Vassal. But what chiefly contributed to place this Prince upon the Throne of his Ancestors, was the surprising Valour and consummate Prudence of THAMAS KOULI KAN, the Man whose Name has been so loudly resounded, and whose History I have undertaken to write. Before I treat particularly of his Person and Actions, I must add a Word or two more of the *Persians*.

The *Aghwans*, being Masters of the Capital and other principal Cities of the Kingdom, had reversed all the Ranks that were established among the seven Nations who make up the Inhabitants of modern *Persia*. These Ranks are so ordered, that every one of an inferior Nation is obliged to pay his Respects to one of a superior, where-ever he meets him. The Ceremony consists in the Inferior's making a full Stop, with his Arms across, as if he waited for the Orders of his Superior; who, by saying *Seldm Eleik*, seems

to permit him to continue his Way. Every one who is deficient, either in this, or any other Point of Formality, to one of a superior Degree, is punishable according to the Rigour of the Laws.

By an Edict published by the *Aghwans* at *Ispahan*, and thro' all the Kingdom, the Ranks had been regulated in the following Manner.

Regulation of Ranks among the several Nations in *Persia*.

1. The *Aghwans*, as Conquerors of the Country. 2. The *Armenians*, who are dispersed in great Numbers all over the Kingdom. 3. The *Dergefins*, whom one of *Magmud's* Generals brought from one of the Extremities of *Persia* to people the Capital. They are of the Sect of *Sunni*, like the *Turks* and *Aghwans*. 4. The *Multani*, or *Multoni*, originally sprung from *Multan* in *India*. They are the greatest Merchants of *Ispahan*; *Banians* by Religion; very rich, and great Usurers. 5. The *Guebres*, or *Gauris*, descended from the antient *Persians*, who to this Day adore Fire, and are the mortal Enemies of the modern *Persians*. *Schah-Soliman* had begun to compel them to live like *Mahometans*, and *Schah-Hussein* had used them yet more rigorously. This was the Source of their Hatred. The *Aghwans* restored them to their antient Liberty. 6. The *Jews*. 7. The natural *Persians*. Such was the Order which the *Aghwans* thought fit to establish.

Let us now return to THAMAS KOULI KAN.

Many Nations having adopted this extraordinary Man, it would be difficult to decide what was his native Country. Sometimes he has passed for a *Servi*, at others for a *Hollander*,

lander, an *Englishman*, a *Frenchman*, a *Benedictine* stripped of his *Hablit*. I am sorry I cannot give my Reader an infallible Decision on so controverted a Point: But, to make him some Amends, I will here insert a Letter written on Account of a *German* Narrative, published by an Author who has thought fit to conceal his Name.

S I R,

“ I T is with Pleasure that I remember your Letter Goodness, in having communicated to me so many curious Remarks that you had made upon the People of the East, in your Travels thro’ *Asia*, and during your Abode in *Africa*. I think it my Duty, in Return, to send you some Anecdotes concerning the famous *Kouli-Kan*. I have just extracted them from a Relation published lately in *Germany*, by an Author who has not given us his Name; but who plainly enough insinuates that he was charged with many important Negotiations, as well in *Persia* as in *Tartary*; and on that Account he seems to deserve a much greater Share of Credit in what he says of the Extraction of this great General, than any Thing that has been published on that Head, without Foundation, in *France*, *England*, or *Holland*. concern-
ing the
Origin of
Kouli Kan.

It is about thirteen Years ago, that *Thomas Causoff Kan* (for so it is that his Name is written and pronounced in all the Country) began to make himself known in *Persia*, tho’ he had resided in that Kingdom a long Time before. He had passed thro’ all the Degrees of a Soldier, and his Valour had already advanced him to the Post of a Captain, before

he engaged in the Interest of *Schah-Thamas*, at a Time when that Prince, to withdraw himself from the Power of the Rebel *Mirweis*, and afterwards from that of *Esferef*, had taken Refuge at *Ardewil*.

The unfortunate *Sophi* well knew the great Abilities of *Causoli-Kan*, and believed he could do nothing better, than give him, with the greatest Confidence, the Command of his Army. It was evident from the Consequence that this Prince was not deceived; since the new General, with a select Body of Troops, entirely defeated the numerous Army of the Rebel *Esferef*, whom he took Prisoner and beheaded, after having put out his Eyes: A Punishment which that Usurper had but too much deserved, for his criminal Boldness, and unheard-of Barbarities. After so distinguished a Victory, *Causoli-Kan* conducted *Schah-Thamas* in Triumph to *Ispahan*, and re-established him upon the Throne of his Ancestors, about eight Years ago. The People, on this Occasion, gave extraordinary Signals of Joy. The Name of *Causoli-Kan* resounded on every Side, and was by so much the more grateful to the Populace, as it signifies in the *Persian* Language *Prince Deliverer*. The *Sophi* had also honoured him with his own Name of *Thamas*. Thus was the Fame of this great General repeated every where, and always accompanied with a thousand and a thousand Benedictions. But in order firmly to establish the Crown upon the Head of his Sovereign, he was yet to engage in very great Enterprizes.

The grand Point was to extinguish every Seed of Rebellion, especially in the Province
of

of *Candabar*, whence sprung the Usurpers *Mir-zéis* and *Esfhres*, and where still remained great Numbers of their Relations, and chief Accomplices. It was necessary to re-conquer the Province of *Surat* from the Grand Mogul, who had become Master of it during the Troubles, and who had supported the Usurpers in their Revolt; to oppose the Progress of the *Turks* and other neighbouring Powers, who, in Emulation of one another, had made Acquisitions upon this desolate Kingdom of whatever was for their Advantage.

Causoli-Kan took the two first Expeditions on himself, and left the third to the Sophi. Victory followed the Steps of this gallant General. The Province of *Candabar* was soon compelled to return to the Sophi's Obedience, and the Grand Mogul was obliged to restore all that he had taken.

After having issued the necessary Orders for the Security of the Countries he had newly recovered, his whole Thoughts were bent on succouring the Sophi, whom he supposed to be deeply engaged with the *Turks*. But how great was *Causoli-Kan's* Surprise, when he came near *Ispahan*, to hear that *Schah-Thamas* had just concluded a Peace with the *Porte*, the most ignominious that could be imagined; and that this effeminate Prince, without even having deign'd to go out of his Pavilion, or take any Care of his Affairs, had passed all this Time in his Haram, employ'd, or rather besieged, by Women only! The brave General, afflicted in the most sensible Manner, broke thro' the Laws of the Country, entering the Capital with an armed Force,

Force, and penetrating even to the Palace, where the Sophi sought to hide himself in vain. His own Slaves laid hold of him, and brought him to *Causoli-Kan*, who loaded him with the most bitter Reproaches. *Go*, said he, *weak and effeminate Prince, go and learn the Art of reigning! For my Part, I will never put up with a Peace so dishonourable, and so disadvantageous to thee and thy Empire.* At the same Time he ordered the Sophi to be conducted, under a numerous Guard, to the Fortrefs of *Casbin*, the antient Residence of the *Schahs*, and there to be shut up in an inaccessible Tower.

From that Day *Causoli-Kan* took the Name of Generalissimo, and renewed the War against the *Turks* with more Vigour than ever.

You know too well, Sir, the Success of this War, for me to follow my Author further in the Relation he gives of it. Besides, it is a Rule with me not to encroach upon the Rights of Messieurs the Journalists. They have taken Care enough to inform the World, that *Causoli-Kan*, dreading the Consequence of a new League to replace *Schah-Thamas* on the Throne, had ordered his Eyes to be put out in Prison, and placed the Crown upon the Head of his Infant-Son. But the following Particulars relate to the Origin of this Generalissimo, and will certainly appear to you quite new.

Our Traveller in many Places cites the Authority of one *Anthony Christedel*, a famous Merchant of *Isfahan*, who about six or seven Years ago made a Voyage into *Holland* and the *Low Countries*.

The better to clear up this Point (it is the Author who speaks) of the Origin of *Causoli Kan*, I will repeat a Fact here that *Christedel* has related to me, and affirmed more than once. Passing thro' a little City in *Brabant*, called in *French Tirlemont*, and in *Flemish Thienen*, the Burgomaster of the Place required to see his Passports; and having discovered that he was of *Ispahan*, enquired of him if he did not know the great *Persian* General, and what Countryman he was said to be? *Christedel* answered, that he had often had the Honour to see *Causoli-Kan*, and that it was whispered in *Persia* that he was a Native of *Brabant*. The Burgomaster assured him the Rumour was true, for he was their very Townsman at *Tirlemont*, and had a Sister now living there, who might easily be spoke with, her House being but a few Doors off. *Christedel* was very earnest to be brought into her Presence; but was not a little astonished to find only a mean Woman, with two Children, and very indifferently lodged. Her Husband was not at home. *Christedel* enquired, if she had nothing to send to her Brother, who was now such a great Lord: To which she answered smartly, that she did not want her Brother, nor her Brother her.

Christedel could never tell me this Woman's Family Name; and upon my often reproaching him for neglecting to enquire it, he used to tell me, that this could have done him no Service; because he should not have been such a Madman, as to have mentioned an Origin in *Persia* so disproportioned to the Quality of *Generahissimo*, and Regent of the King-

Kingdom. He added, that he had more regard for his Head, than ever to speak of this Discovery to any Person in whom he had less Confidence than in me.

This Merchant, as well as many other People whom I have examined at *Ispahan* and elsewhere, were ignorant what Name he went by before the People gave him that of *Causoli-Kan*. It was just the same with regard to his Religion, which no body could describe to me. In Appearance he is of the reigning Faith, a *Mahometan* of the Sect of *Ali*; but this is looked upon to be for Form's Sake only. Some of his Officers, who live in great Intimacy with him, assured me that he was not so much as circumcised. Most of the *Persians* believe him to be still a Christian in his Heart, and the more because he cherishes those of that Religion with peculiar Tenderness, giving equal Permission both to Catholics and Protestants to build as many Churches as they please for those of their own Communion, and taking them all under his Protection without Distinction. The *Jews*, and all the *Europeans* in general, of what Nation or Sect soever, have also full Liberty in *Persia* both of Conscience and Commerce.

Christedel related to me another Particular which I must not here omit. This Merchant, with four others, being just returned to *Ispahan*, about three Years ago, from a Voyage they had made to *Batavia* and *Holland*, *Causoli Kan* had them brought before him, and questioned them in *French* and *Dutch* concerning abundance of Things relating to Commerce. In particular he got in-

Information of the Price of the chief Commodities, the Profit that might be made on them, and the Custom-house Rates that were paid in every Country thro' which they were carried. He seemed surpris'd, that Nations who could bring into *Persia* all the Commodities of their own Countries, would not allow the same Liberty with regard to the Goods and Merchants of *Persia*. He gave them to understand, that after he had established Peace with the neighbouring Powers, and Tranquility in the Provinces at Home, he would promote the Flourishing of Arts and Sciences, and more especially of Commerce.

Such is the Idea, Sir, which this Traveller of Distinction gives us of *Causoli Kan*, that Deliverer of *Persia*, that Hero of *Asia*, that consummate General, before whose Prudence and Valour two Usurpers of the *Persian* Throne have already fallen, as well as the Power of the Great Mogul, the *Turk*, and other neighbouring Nations; that Conqueror, in a Word, who seems to imitate *Tamerlan* in what he had extraordinary and laudable, without any of his ill Qualities. Like that *Tartar* Emperor, *Causoli Kan* has risen by his own Merit, from the meanest Extraction to supreme Command. Like him, he is become the Terror of all the neighbouring States. But the *Persian* General hath hitherto contented himself with re-uniting to the Dominions of the *Sophi* what had been dismembered from them, without suffering his Ambition to lead him beyond the antient Limits of the Kingdom.

Causoli Kan has never sullied his Exploits by such Acts of Cruelty as *Tamerlan* is reproached with: But there is one Particular that elevates the *Persian* General infinitely above *Tamerlan*, and perhaps above all the Generals who ever were in the same Circumstances as himself*; I mean, that he might, and may at this Time, ascend the Throne with Impunity, and yet has never discovered that he has had the least Temptation that Way.

If I can discover any other Particulars of this Generalissimo, so worthy of being personally known, I will not fail to communicate them out of Hand."

I am, Sir, &c.

Some Persons will not readily give Credit to an anonymous Letter, but look upon *Christedel's* Negligence, in not enquiring the Name of *Kouli Kan's* Sister, as a Mark of Imposture, without regarding the Reason he brings in his own Excuse. For my own part, I cannot warrant the Truth of a Fact that hardly seems to be well established. But what follows I had from a Person of Credit, who lately passed through *Tirlemont*. He assured me that he was told there by People of good Figure, that *Kouli Kan* was a native of that City; that in his Youth he had been a little extravagant, and having demanded Money one Day of his Brother, who was

* This Panegyric has no longer any Foundation, the *Persian* General having now mounted the Throne, as every one knows, and as I shall relate in the Sequel of this History.

Parson of a Parish a little way out of Town, the Brother refused him; that *Kouli Kan*, in revenge, followed him into the Church with a Cudgel, and beat him most severely; that he afterwards made his Escape into *Holland*, from whence he got to *Smyrna*, and thence into *Persia*.

The Gentleman added, that they offered to conduct him also to the *Persian* General's Sister; but that having no Time to stay, he went forwards without seeing her, or being informed what was her Name.

I leave the Reader in full Liberty to pass what Judgment he pleases on these Facts; but must remark in the mean Time, that upon well considering the Matter, the Letter I have inserted seems to me a Forgery, written by some *Brabanter*. It may easily be detected by the Style*, notwithstanding the Pains I have taken to give it a little better Turn. Moreover our Author, or his Traveller of Distinction, is mistaken when he says that *Surat* did belong to *Persia*. Nor is he more exact in his History than in his Geography, but sometimes confounds *Mir-weis* with *Magnud*, and speaks of *Kouli Kan* as if he had made War on *Mir-weis*, which is absolutely false. I am very apt to think that the *Europeans*, jealous of the *Orientalis*, have invented all these Fables about *Kouli Kan*, in order to rob them of the Honour of having so great a Warrior born among them.

* This Peculiarity of Style is partly lost in the Translation.

What the more persuades me of this, is a Letter written from *Constantinople* by the Marquis de Villeneuve, Ambassador of *France*, who certainly ought to have better Information than the Burgomaster and Citizens of *Tirlemont*.

Extract of a Letter from the Marquis de Villeneuve at Constantinople, concerning Thomas Kouli Kan. Dated September 8, 1736.

Extract of
a Letter
from the
French
Ambassa-
dor at *Con-*
stantinople.

THAMAS Kouli Kan was born in a Village called *Afchis*, in the Province of *Corasan*, about four or five Leagues distant from *Mached*, famous for the Sepulchre of *Iman Bica*. His Father was a Shepherd, and the Son in his Youth followed the same Occupation. He was soon weary, however, of that humble Life. His great Talents, and boundless Ambition, made him think of advancing himself to somewhat above what his Birth gave him room to expect. He stole 700 Sheep from his Father, which he sold at *Mached*; and with the Money he made of them, got together several lawless Fellows, put himself at their Head, and began to rob the Caravans. Growing by this Method immensely rich, he continued his Robberies for seven Years successively, till the taking of *Ispahan* by the *Agbrwans*.

Schah Hussein, during the Siege of that Place, had sent Prince *Thomas* his Son into the Province of *Mazanderan*, to raise Forces, in order either to deliver the Father from the Danger which threatened him, or to revenge

venge the Cause of the whole Royal Family. *Kouli Kan* at that Time went by the Name of *Nadir Kuli*. He had under his Command about 6000 of the most resolute Fellows in the World, all well armed, well disciplined, and practised to Slaughter. With this Body he appeared before Prince *Thamas*, who was then at *Asterabad* in the *Tabriffan*, upon the *Caspian Sea*; offered him his Service, and swore, upon the Forfeiture of his Head, that he would re-establish him upon the Throne of his Ancestors, and revenge him on the *Aghwans*, if he would only promise him, in recompense, to make him his Prime Vizir. Prince *Thamas*, pleased with so unexpected a Supply, for which he had such great Occasion, accepted *Nadir Kuli's* Offer, embraced him with much Affection, and gave him the name of *Thamas*, as a Token that he would consider him hereafter as his other self. Our General then abandoned his Name of *Nadir*, and assumed that of *Thamas Kouli Kan*."

Kuli in *Persia* signifies *Slave*, and all the great *Persian* Lords hold it a peculiar Honour to bear this Title, to intimate that they are Slaves to the King, always ready to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in his Service. *Kan* signifies *Prince*, or *Chief*, of some Army, City, or Province. And *Kan*.

It may seem surprising, that Prince *Thamas* so readily accepted the Services of a Shepherd, and a Captain of Thieves. But if we consider the Extremity to which that Prince was reduced, we shall find nothing extraor-

Remarks
on the
Quality of
Captain of
Thieves.

dinary in his making use of all possible Means to advance his Affairs. Besides, in a large Kingdom, like that of *Persia*, agitated as it was at that Time, it is hardly known who is a Shepherd and who is a Gentleman. In all Appearance, *Kouli Kan's* Father was none of your miserable Sort of Shepherds, such as we see in *Europe*: And as to the Quality of Captain of Thieves, how many Princes are publick Robbers of their own Subjects? Do we not read in the History of *Germany*, that during the long *Interregnum* which preceded the Election of *Rodolph I.* Count of *Habsburg*, the greatest Part of the Princes and Counts of the Empire were at the Head of a prodigious Gang of Thieves, with whom they committed a thousand Murders and Robberies, so that it was impossible to travel with Safety in any Part of the Empire; and that these illustrious Leaders of Banditti were afterwards promoted to be Generals of Armies, according to the Degree of Merit which they had acquired in their former Occupation of Thieving?

Kouli Kan
gains the
Favour of
Prince
Thamas.

As for *Kouli Kan*, he soon gained the Favour of Prince *Thamas*, and the Hearts of the Soldiers. His Vigilance, Penetration, and Intrepidity, soon testified his Capacity for the greatest Enterprises. I have already said, that after the Death of *Magnud, Eschref* got Possession of the Crown of *Persia*. That Usurper made an Alliance with *Russia*, by the Mediation of several Places on the *Caspian-Sea*, which he gave up to that Power. He thought also to secure the *Ottoman Porte*, that he might turn his whole

whole Strength against Prince *Thamas*. The Prince, on his Part, made a Treaty with the Great Mogul, and received under his Obedience the Prince of *Candabar*, Brother of the Traitor *Magnud*. This Prince, emulous of *Eschref's* Greatness, meant no more at first than by joining Prince *Thamas*, whom I shall for the future call *Schab*, to drive the Usurper from the Throne, which he hoped afterwards to obtain for himself, either by Force or Fraud: But when he saw that the *Schab's* Affairs went on successfully, he changed his Battery, and behaved afterwards like a faithful Vassal.

Schab Thamas having consulted *Kouli Kan* upon their first Expedition, that General was of Opinion that they ought to besiege *Schiras*, in order to shut up *Ispahan*. Upon which the Army marched towards *Bender-Abas*, to cut off the Communication which *Eschref* had with that Place. The Troops were divided into two Bodies; one of which, under *Schab Thamas* himself, marched towards *Schiras*, to form the Siege; the other, under the Command of *Thamas Kouli Kan*, took another Route, to observe the Motions of *Seydal* General of the *Aghwans*, who with a considerable Body of Troops was encamped between *Ispahan* and *Schiras*, to cover the first of those Places, and at the same Time to be in Readiness to march to the Relief of the other. *Kouli Kan* advanced with such Expedition, that he came up with *Seydal* before that General had heard of any Design being formed against *Schiras*. The Proximity of the two Armies gave Rise to several petty

The Siege
of *Schiras*.

Skirmishes, in which *Kouli Kan's* Troops had always the Advantage.

Mean while the News of the Siege of *Schiras* came to *Eschref*, who learned from thence what he had to fear for his Capital. He lost no time, but got together all the Troops he could, and leaving a Garrison of 8000 Men in *Ispahan*, set out with the rest to join General *Seydal*, and march with him to the Relief of *Schiras*. *Kouli Kan*, upon the Report that *Eschref* had left *Ispahan*, reflected that if he continued any longer in his present Post, he should infallibly be encompassed by the two Armies, one of which only was more numerous than his. This obliged him to retire towards *Schiras*, to rejoin *Schah Thamas*. No sooner was he arrived, but he persuaded that Prince to raise the Siege, and march directly to give *Eschref* Battle. This Resolution being approved by all the Generals, the royal Army decamped, and went in quest of the Rebels, with whom they soon came up. Both Armies at first began to secure their Posts and intrench, and they were some Time in Sight of each other, before any thing was undertaken on either Side. *Kouli Kan* was of Opinion, that as they had fewer Troops than the Rebels, they ought to make good the Advantage of Ground.

Battle between the
Aghmans
and *Per-*
sians.

At four Days End *Eschref* came out of his Lines, to fall on Prince *Thamas*. The Attack was made in five different Places, with great Fury; but the *Aghmans* were every where repulsed, three several Times. *Eschref*, seeing this, resolved to make a last Effort, and began the Battle with more Bravery than before. The Wing led by the Usurper was opposed

opposed to the Troops commanded by *Kouli Kan*.

This brave General let the *Aghwans* advance within Pistol-Shot, and then discharged his whole Train of Artillery, which prodigiously thinned their Ranks. He then ordered his Horse to advance Sabre in Hand, and take the Enemy in the Flank.

Behaviour
of *Kouli Kan*.

This Order was executed with so much Bravery and Judgment, that the Rebels began to give Way at the first Shock. *Kouli Kan* sent to the *Schah* for Part of his Wing, to support the Attack, in hopes to bear down the Enemy: This being granted, they pressed the *Aghwans* so hard that they took to Flight. They endeavoured to recover their Lines, and dispute the Victory afresh; but were so closely pursued, that they were obliged to disperse. A prodigious Slaughter ensued, above 15,000 dead Bodies being found on the Field of Battle. *Eschref* retired to *Ispahan* with the shattered Remains of his Army, burning and destroying all that came in his Way, to deprive the *Persians* of all Means of Subsistence, in case they should advance to the Capital after their Victory.

The Re-
bels are
beaten.

General *Seydal*, who had suffered the least in this Action, retreated towards *Bender-Abas* with a Body of 10,000 Men. *Kouli Kan* followed him closely with an equal Number of Troops, overtook him before he had Time to intrench himself, and beat him so terribly, that hardly a twentieth Man escaped; the rest were all cut to Pieces. The *Aghwan* General, after this Loss, retired to the Side of *Candahar*: And *Kouli Kan* hav-

Kouli Kan
beats Ge-
neral *Sey-
dal*.

ing

ing so happily dissipated the Rebel Army, which rendered the taking of *Ispahan* very difficult, turned back and rejoined the *Schah* to march with him directly to *Ispahan*. This Victory was the *Æra* of *Schah Thomas's* good Fortune. All the *Persians*, whom Fear had before retained in the Rebel's Party, came over in Troops to the *Schah's* Army; and even some of the *Aghwans* engaged in his Interest. Six thousand of this Nation, who were in Garrison at *Caswin*, surrendered at the Approach of the royal Army, upon Assurance given that they should receive no Injury, but have a full Pardon. They opened the Gates of the City to the *Schah*, and took on in his Troops.

Eschref
abandons
Ispahan.

The Usurper *Eschref*, terrified at so rapid a Progress, did not think himself safe in *Ispahan*. Having got together all his Treasures, he with his Women, and 10,000 Men who still continued faithful, left this Capital, and took the Road of *Candabar*. Two Days after his Departure, the Van-guard of the royal Army appeared before *Ispahan*. The Gates were instantly opened, and the *Persian* Soldiers received by the Inhabitants with unspeakable Joy. There was Eating and Drinking for them in Abundance.

Schah
Thomas
enters in
Triumph.

Schah-Thomas entered this Capital in Triumph: The Name of *Kouli Kan* rang thro' all the Streets; every one called him his Deliverer. Two or three thousand *Aghwans*, who could not follow the Usurper, were yet remaining in *Ispahan*: The *Persians* would gladly have cut them to Pieces, if *Kouli Kan* had not ordered the contrary, and procured for them the King's Protection, with

with a general Amnesty. When he had obtained this of the *Schah*, he ordered it to be published by Sound of Trumpet, that no Person should disturb the *Aghwans* who had submitted, whom his Majesty would regard as his faithful Subjects, as if they had never been in Rebellion.

The *Persian* Army, in the mean Time, encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Ispahan*. It consisted of 50,000 Men, and was soon to be considerably augmented.

It was in *November*, 1729, that the *Aghwans* were expelled, seven Years after they had invaded the Throne of *Persia*.

Schah-Thomas sent Orders to the Governors of several Provinces to levy new Troops. It was now hoped, that *Persia* in a little Time would be able to regain from the *Turks*, the *Russians*, and the *Mogul*, what they had either dismembered from it by Force, or procured the Cession of, during the Troubles.

At first it was not known which Way the Usurper was fled; some Advices saying, he had been taken Prisoner by the *Turks*; others that he had killed himself in Despair: But these were all only flying Reports. When it was known for certain that he had retired towards *Candabar*, *Kouli-Kan* put himself at the Head of 15,000 Men, and prepared to go in Pursuit of him. He recommended it to the King to march against the *Turks* with the rest of his Army, assuring his Majesty, that as soon as he had rid him of *Eschref*, he would fly to his Assistance. *Kouli-Kan* set out in the Month of *December*, 1729, to
Eschref is pursued
 by *Kouli-*
every Kan.
 wards *Candabar*. The People thronged from

every Quarter to see the Deliverer of *Persia*: His Army increased considerably: and the *Jews* and *Armenians* advanced him immense Sums of Money. With all these Recommendations, it was impossible but he must be every where well received. Scarce was he within two Days Journey of *Candahar*, but he learned that the unfortunate *Eschref* had been before the Gates of that City, demanding an Asylum against the *Persian* General, who was in Pursuit of him; but that *Magmud's* Brother had refused him Admittance, and forbid him to come near. This was a hard Sentence for *Eschref*. *Candahar* was his native Place, where *Mir-weis* his Uncle had commanded in Quality of Prince, and *Abdalla* his Father, whom *Magmud* assassinated, had been Regent. Besides, he who governed there at present was *Magmud's* Brother, and consequently his Cousin-German. All these Reasons had augmented his Hopes of being received into *Candahar*, in spite of his particular Differences with the Prince of that City. His Rage, when he saw himself rejected by his Countrymen and nearest Relations, was violent. It threw him into a deep Melancholy, which degenerated into the same Disease that had seized *Magmud*. To complete his ill Fortune, the greatest Part of his Army, seeing no more to expect from him, and finding themselves in their own Country, deserted him; so that he had but a very inconsiderable Body of Troops when *Kouli-Kan* was on the Point of attacking him.

In this Extremity, it seems to have been *Eschref's* Business to have sought an Alliance with

with the Great Mogul, and to have put himself under the Protection of that powerful Monarch, who, spite of his secret Engagement with *Schah-Thamas*, would not have failed to support *Eschref*, for a Reason common to all Sovereigns,--that they love to fish in troubled Water. But whether his melancholy made him incapable of that Reflection, or that Heaven had resolved to punish him for his Usurpation and other Crimes, he made no use of the Support he might have drawn from the Great Mogul, nor even so much as thought to demand it. *Kouli-Kan* at last came up with this Usurper, and prepared for an Engagement, which very soon was decisive. The *Aghwans*, surrounded, were either cut in Pieces or taken. *Eschref* was among the Prisoners. *Kouli-Kan* no sooner had the Usurper in his Power, but he order'd both his Eyes to be put out, and some Days after had him beheaded. His Body was embalm'd and sent to *Ispahan*, where it was empaled, and exposed in the High-road. An ignominious, but just Punishment, for so cruel an Usurper as he had been. His Catastrophe is a fine Example of the Inconstancy of Fortune. But the preceding Month he reigned in *Ispahan*, as *Schah*, or King of *Persia*; all the Inhabitants of that Capital acknowledged his Laws, and dreaded his Cruelty; and in less than five Weeks behold him a Fugitive, pursued, taken, executed, exposed for a Spectacle to Passengers, and a Repast for the Birds of the Air!

All the Treasures that he had brought with him, fell into the Hands of the victorious *Kouli-Kan*. There were six Millions of Money

Eschref defeated by *Kouli-Kan*. Who takes him, puts out his Eyes, and cuts off his Head.

The Use that *Kouli-Kan* makes of *Eschref's* Treasures. ney in Specie, and the Value of the Jewels was inestimable. *Kouli-Kan* distributed the Money among his Soldiers, whose Affections he completely secured by this Liberality: and kept the Jewels and Precious Stones to himself, to make such use of as he should see convenient.

He sullies his Victory. *Kouli-Kan* sullied his Victory by putting to Death the chief Men of the *Aghwans*, notwithstanding their Protestations of Fidelity to the King of *Persia*. It is in vain to pretend the Necessity of it, to root out all the Seeds of Rebellion from so turbulent a Nation as the *Aghwans*. The Ways of Moderation and Clemency are always the most proper to conciliate the Affections of restless and malecontent People. The Children of these illustrious *Aghwans*, to the Number of 400, were sent to *Ispahan*, and the Nation was taxed at two Millions of Crowns, towards the Expences of the War.

Kouli-Kan enters *Candahar*. *Kouli-Kan* entered *Candahar* as a Conqueror, and disarmed all the Inhabitants. Eight Thousand of the most willing were enlisted in the *Persian* Army; and *Mogmud's* Brother, who had shut the Gates against *Eschref*, was continued in his Post of Governor; only a few trusty Persons were left to observe him, whose Advice he was ordered to ask on Occasion, that he might undertake nothing against the Interest of *Kouli-Kan*. This General then marched against several Places in the little Kingdom of *Candahar*, of which the *Moguls* had got Possession during the Troubles in *Persia*. He soon drove out these unwelcome Guests, and confined them within their own Frontiers.

tiers. He imposed a new Oath on the Inhabitants of the Places he had reduced in favour of *Schah Thamas*. Already the Victor threatened the hereditary Estates of the great *Mogul*, tho' defended by Armies three Times more numerous than his : But every Thing was to be dreaded from so bold and fortunate a General as *Kouli Kan*. The *Mogul* made these Reflections, and sued the King of *Persia* for Peace ; which was granted him upon Condition that he should no more intermeddle with the Affairs of that Kingdom. *Kouli Kan* employed about nine Months in his Expedition, and about as much more in restoring good Order, and securing the frontier Provinces, which he had brought again under the *Persian* Dominion.

His Progress.

Schah Thamas, in the mean Time, was less fortunate in his War with the *Turks*. Twice he had been beaten. A third Time he was victorious, by means of strong Reinforcements which he had received from the several Provinces of his Kingdom. This Monarch, far from taking the Advantages of his Victory, and pushing the Enemy to the utmost of his Power, amused himself only with excessive Drinking, and toying away his Time with his Concubines. His Generals had acted for him, and retaken *Tauris* from the *Turks*. Notwithstanding which, spite of these Advantages, the *Schah*, sunk in Luxury, caused Solicitations for Peace, under his Hand, to be made at the *Ottoman* Court.

The ill Conduct of *Schah Thamas*, which obliges him to solicit the *Ottoman* Court for Peace.

Kouli Kan had good Spies at Court, and in the Royal Army, who soon informed him of the Steps taken by his Majesty. He felt all

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Kouli Kan endeavours to divert him from the Peace.

the Indignation that a Warrior, eager after Glory, and jealous for the Honour and Grandeur of the State in whose Service he was engaged, can be supposed to have conceived. He sent an Express well escorted to the *Schah*, with Orders to assure him, in his Name, that he ought to beware how he made a Peace with the *Turks*, or gave up to them an Inch of Territory : That for his Part, he would come to his Support in a few Days, with an Army of between 25 and 30,000 Men; intreating that till then he would keep on the Defensive only.

Schah Tahmas makes a shameful Peace.

All this did not hinder the *Schah* from proceeding, and concluding the most shameful and disadvantageous Peace with the *Turks*, that *Persia* could possibly have made, if it had been reduced to the last Extremity. By this Treaty the *Ottoman Porte* remained in Possession of *Georgia*; obtained the Cession of *Curdistan*; *Adirbeitzen*, the City of *Tauris* excepted; and the Province of *Erivan*, with its Capital.

Kouli Kan is provoked at it.

Kouli Kan heard all these Particulars with a Resentment that is not easy to express. Just as he was ready to set forwards, in order to come and re-animate the Courage of his Master, which seemed entirely damped, he received Advice that this weak and timorous Prince had disbanded Part of his Army, sent the rest either into Garison or Winter-Quarters, and was returned to *Ispahan*, there to plunge himself in Softness and Effeminacy. This made him redouble his Diligence, to return with all possible Speed.

In the mean Time the *Turks*, sensible of Arrogance of the Weakness of *Schah Thamas*, grew extremely arrogant. They were for sentencing to Death the Bassa of *Bagdat*, who negotiated this Peace with *Persia*, for having given up the City of *Tauris*; persuaded that if he had insisted upon the Restitution of that Place, the timid Prince would not have dared to refuse it. The Grand Vizir preserved the Bassa's Life, by representing to the Divan that the *Persian War* had been destructive to the *Ottoman Porte*, which had lost therein the Flower of her Troops, and that they ought to think themselves very happy to get rid of it with so much Glory and Advantage. This Peace, so scandalous for *Persia*, was signed about the End of the Year 1731; and the *Schah* returned to *Ispahan*, gave himself up to Debauchery, leaving the Government of the State to his Ministers and Favourites.

Kouli Kan, in the mean Time, by long Marches came near the Capital of *Persia*. He received Informations by the Way, cautioning him to be upon his Guard with the King, who was forming some Design against either his Life or his Liberty. In Effect, *Schah Thamas* sent a Courier to meet *Kouli Kan*, and tell him, that now *Persia* was in Peace and the King had disbanded his Army, it was proper he should do the same by that under his Command. *Kouli Kan*, far from complying with this Order, answered the Messenger, "That the King had been at free liberty to act as he thought proper with regard to his own Troops; but that as for him, he was not inclined to make

Difference between
Schah
Thamas
and *Kouli*
Kan.

“ the same Use of his, and that he would
 “ soon come and give an Account to his Ma-
 “ jesty of the Reasons of his Refusal.” In-
 stead of disbanding his Army, the General
 now re-inforced it with all the Hands he could
 procure. A great Part of the Soldiers which
Schah Thamas had discharged, came and en-
 tered themselves under *Kouli Kan*, who ar-
 rived in the Neighbourhood of *Ispahan* with
 40,000 effective Men. When he was with-
 in a Day's March of this Capital, he signified
 to the *Schah* the News of his Arrival, and
 intreated his Majesty to send him Orders
 more for the Good and Glory of the State
 than the former. *Schah Thamas* persisted in
 his Resolution that the General should dis-
 arm, and would permit him to enter *Ispa-*
han with only 200 Horse. Whether he de-
 pended upon *Kouli Kan's* Obedience, or whe-
 ther his Debaucheries had deprived him of
 Reason, he took no Measures to put him-
 self in a Posture of Defence, but shut himself
 up in his *Haram*, and continued his usual
 Course of Life. In the mean Time *Kouli*
Kan, having received his Monarch's Answer,
 assembled together the Heads of his Army,
 and harangued them to this Effect :

Kouli
Kan's Ha-
 rangue to
 the chief
 Officers of
 his Army.

“ My Companions, said he, *Schah Tha-*
 “ *mas* has as ungenerous a Soul as his Father
 “ *Hussain*. He makes no Distinction be-
 “ tween brave Men and Cowards, between
 “ Fidelity and Treason. You are all worthy
 “ of Rewards, and yet he would have me
 “ disband you without any other Compli-
 “ ment, than that he has no more Occasion
 “ for your Service. Yet it is you and I who
 “ have done all, who have placed this uni-

“ grate-

“grateful Prince upon the Throne, and
“established him there; who extinguish-
“ed the Rebellion, and carried Ter-
“ror to the very Center of the *Mogul’s*
“Dominions. Who can recount the Pains
“we have suffered, the Fatigues we have
“borne in such long Marches, the Battles
“we have fought, the Blood we have shed,
“and the Hazards we have run? I will not
“mention the scandalous Peace which this
“*Schah* has concluded with the *Turks*, since
“there is not one among you but is now
“acquainted with it, but is touched with
“Indignation at it. You know also how
“he has dealt by the Army under his own
“Command. The Soldiers have been dis-
“persed as Men of no Use, and the Officers
“discharged without Recompence. Not e-
“ven the Generals but have been made sen-
“sible of the Effects of his Ingratitude. I
“beseech you to tell me, my dear Compa-
“nions, what Remedy should be applied to
“such Evils as these! Are you resolved,
“with me, to retrieve the Glory of *Persia*;
“to follow me into *Ispahan*, and require
“our *Schah* to give an Account of his Mal-
“Administration?”

Here *Kouli Kan* paused, and waited for the Assembly’s Answer. Their Sentiments were not divided; they all cried out, they were ready to follow their General wherever he would lead them, for the Honour and Advantage of the Kingdom. Upon this *Kouli Kan* gave Orders, that the Army should hold themselves in readiness to march the next Morning at Break of Day.

The Army marched accordingly, and arrived the same Day at the Gates of *Ispahan*. The Inhabitants of this City, who had the utmost Confidence in their General, and who besides had received no Orders to deny him Entrance, threw open their Gates.

As soon as *Kouli Kan* saw himself Master of *Ispahan*, he distributed his Troops in all the Quarters of that great City, took Possession of the most advantageous Posts, and replaced the Guards of *Schah Thamas*, at the several Gates, with Detachments of its own Troops. This done, he sent some Officers into the Royal Palace, to summon *Schah Thamas* to appear in the *Meydan*, and give an Account of his Conduct to the People and the Army. That unhappy Prince had no Inclination to come in the Presence of such Judges. He endeavoured to hide himself in the Bottom of a Wardrobe. His Eunuchs detected him there, and dragged him out, to bring him before *Kouli Kan*. This General had taken his Place in the *Meydan*, surrounded by all the great Men both of the Army and the Court. Every one waited for the Unravelling of this Scene.

No sooner did *Schah Thamas* appear, borne by his Eunuch's and Slaves, but *Kouli Kan* ordered some Troops to advance, to prevent any Disorder. The Murmur of the People ceasing, the General addressed himself to the King. He reproached him in the severest Terms for his Debaucheries, his Indolence, his Effeminacy, and his Cowardice. He entered into a Detail of the Faults he had committed during the last War with the *Turks*, and the scandalous Peace he had concluded.

He

He declared him an Enemy of his Country, and unworthy to fill the Throne of the Sophies. He added, that for the Good of the State he should be deposed, and his Son *Abas*, a Prince only five or six Months old, made King in his stead : And during the Minority of that Prince, that the Kingdom should be governed by wise and prudent Ministers, who had the Honour and Interest of *Persia* at Heart.

Kouli Kan deposes the Sophi, and raises his Son, an Infant, to the Throne.

No Man had the Courage to oppose this Alteration. *Schah Thomas* himself was so confounded at it, that he had not Power to speak a Word in his own Justification. He only shrugg'd up his Shoulders, in Token of Astonishment. After that *Kouli Kan* dismissed the Assembly, and left the King under the Guard of some trusty Officers. He then repaired to the Palace Royal, followed by a Crowd of Ministers and Generals ; went directly into the Apartment of the young Prince, who was lying in a Cradle ; ordered the Royal Crown to be brought, and put it upon the Head of this Infant. He then fell prostrate before the new King, and all the Grandees did the same. Being risen from the Ground, he took the Oath of Fidelity, holding two Fingers upon a *Koran* placed at the Foot of the Cradle. All the great Men followed his Example ; and a *Mahometan Persian* concluded the Ceremony, by muttering over some Prayers for the new King.

Kouli Kan afterwards turned himself towards the Ministers and Generals there present. " Nothing now remains, said he, but to elect a Generalissimo and Regent of the Kingdom. Let us chuse, Gentlemen, from among

among us, the Man that you shall think the most capable of exercising these two Posts in Conjunction."

Kouli Kan is declared Regent of the Kingdom during the Minority of the new King.

Not a Man offered to fix his Eyes upon any other than *Kouli Kan*. Even if they had not thought him the most worthy, he was too well supported for any one to dare offend him; and it is plainly enough seen, that though he left the Choice to the Assembly, he was not in the Disposition to give way to any other. He had already done too much for them to misapprehend his Meaning. All the Grandees therefore tendered the Honour to him, saluted him Regent of the Kingdom, and General in chief of the *Persian* Armies.

He chooses a Council.

Kouli Kan chose himself a Council, composed of the most sensible Men of the Court, and who were the most strongly attached to his Interest. It was to take care of the interior Government of the State, while the General was in the Field at the Head of Armies. As to *Schah Thomas*, *Kouli Kan* had him conducted into a Fortrefs, where he was deprived of Sight by the hot Iron, in order to strip him at once of all Hopes of ever remounting the Throne. The *Ottoman Porte* was struck with Surprise at the News of this Revolution. She gave all her Attention to penetrate the Views of *Kouli Kan*, and very soon had her Curiosity satisfied. That General sent a Memorial to the *Persian* Ministers who resided at *Constantinople*, to be presented in his Name to the Grand Vizir; in which he declared, "That on Account of
" the scandalous Peace which *Schah Thomas*
" had concluded with the *Porte*, that Prince

How he treats *Schah Thomas*.
He sends a Memorial to the *Persian* Ministers at *Constantinople*.

“ was judged unworthy the Throne of his
 “ Ancestors, and had been justly deposed by
 “ those Subjects who had the Interest of
 “ *Persia* at Heart.” He then demanded in
 the Name of the young *Schah Abbas*, the Re-
 stitution of those Provinces and States which
 had been so calmly ceded by the King his
 Father.

This Memorial threw the Council of the
 Grand Signior into an Astonishment not easy
 to express. At first they thought it not
 worthy of an Answer; but that Opinion was
 soon altered, and a very menacing Answer
 returned. The Sultan therein threatened with
 his Indignation all who had been concerned
 in the Deposition of *Schah Thamas*, if they
 did not immediately acknowledge him again
 for their Sovereign, and replace him on the
 Throne, which was his lawful Inheritance.
 Both the *Ottoman Perte* and the *Persian Court*
 were ignorant that *Schah Thamas* had been
 deprived of Sight: And the Divan hardly knew
 the Name of *Kouli Kan*, or at least were not
 informed of the Share he had in the Soldiers’
 Affections, and the People’s Confidence; for
 which Reason they thought to intimidate
 him. But *Kouli Kan* laughed at the Menaces
 of the Grand Signior, and prepared to shew
 his Ministers that he was in a Condition to
 make them change their Tone.

Effect of
 this Me-
 morial in
 the Grand
 Signior’s
 Council.

Kouli Kan
 laughs at
 their Me-
 naces.

As soon as this Answer came to Hand, he
 began in earnest to levy Troops, to secure
 the fortified Places with strong Garrisons
 and plentiful Magazines, and to give all ne-
 cessary Orders for disciplining the Soldiers.
 Some Provinces not appearing over-forward
 to contribute towards the Expences of War,
 either

either by furnishing their Compliments of Men, or sending in their proportionate Sums, the new Regent sent some Regiments to live on them at Discretion, till they had intirely satisfied his Demands. This Severity struck Terror through the other Provinces, and every one laboured, with uncommon Zeal, to execute the Regent's Orders.

He applies for and obtains the Friendship of the *Russians*.

There was a separate Article in the Peace which *Schah Thomas* had concluded with the *Ottoman Porte*, by which the two Courts of *Ispahan* and *Constantinople* mutually agreed to unite their Forces, to oblige the Court of *Russia* to restore to *Persia* all that she had taken from that Kingdom. *Kouli Kan*, who had nothing at Heart but to humble the *Turks*, well perceived that to undertake any Thing against them, he ought to be secure on the Side of *Russia*. For this Reason he thought proper to send a solemn Embassy to the Court of *Petersburgh*, to demand her Friendship. The Ambassadors succeeded in their Negotiation, and concluded an Alliance between the two Empires, which subsists to this Day.

War between the *Turks* and *Persians*. Advantages gained by the *Turks* during *Kouli Kan's* Absence.

In 1733 War was openly declared between the *Turks* and *Persians*, and Hostilities began on both Sides. *Kouli Kan* not being able at the Beginning to appear at the Head of his Army, because of some Affairs which detained him at *Ispahan* longer than he expected, the *Turks* obtained some Advantages. The Seraskier *Topal Osman*, who commanded them, fell upon and entirely defeated a Body of *Persians*; which Misfortune was followed by another, that had almost ruined the

Pers-

Persian Army. A Detachment of 30,000 Men had been sent to secure a certain Post. The Seraskier had Advice of it, and marched with all Expedition to meet them. The *Persians* took the best Step they could on this Occasion: They halted and entrenched themselves; being already too far from the Body of their Army, to have any Hopes of rejoining it before the Seraskier could attack them. *Topal Osman*, seeing them so well posted, did not think proper to force their Lines: But having his whole Army with him, he so extended it, as quite to surround the 30,000 *Persians*, and cut off all their Communication. It seemed impossible for them to escape, and their Provisions at most were but for two or three Days; after which they must either demand Quarter, or perish with Hunger. On either Side there was equal Danger; so that these 30,000 Men were far from being easy in their Situation.

Kouli Kan arrived very opportunely to deliver them from the Inquietude they were in. He had no sooner heard of the Condition of this Body of Troops, but he resolved to hazard all to disengage them. With this View, pretending an Inclination for Peace, he sent one of his Generals to make some Propositions to the Seraskier, and under Cover of this Embassy, introduced a Messenger into the *Persian* Camp, which was blocked up by the *Turks*, to advertise the commanding General that the next Day, at such an Hour, he would attack the Enemy; requiring him to do the same on his Part. *Kouli Kan* made such Expedition, that at his second Stage he was within half a Day's March of the *Turks*.

His

He beats
the *Turks*.

His Army was 40,000 strong, and that of the *Turks* consisted of 80,000. But the 30,000 surrounded *Persians* fell on so bravely, and did their Duty so well, that they contributed much to the Defeat of the *Ottomans*. The Battle lasted eight Hours. The *Turks* made a good Defence; but were at last broken, and put to Flight. Eight thousand *Tartars* and 18,000 *Turks* fell in this Action, and 12,000 of the latter were wounded. The Coming on of Night prevented the Taking a great Number of Prisoners, and favoured the Enemies Escape. They left their Artillery, however, and all their Baggage.

Receives
two
Wounds.
The Court
of *Russia*
compli-
ments him
on his Vic-
tory, and
sends him
Presents.
As does
also that
of *Vienna*.

Topal Osman was found dead on the Field of Battle. There were 9,000 *Persians* either killed or wounded. *Kouli-Kan* received two considerable Wounds, and had two Horses killed under him.

This Action happened in July 1733. *Kouli-Kan* dispatched an Express to the Court of *Petersburg*, to give Advice of his Victory to the Czarina; who wrote him a Letter of Felicitation on that Subject, accompanied with Presents of considerable Value.

The Court of *Vienna* also signified its Satisfaction on this Occasion; and it is said that the Emperor sent him a Sabre set with precious Stones of great Value, and a General's Truncheon finely wrought and gilt; and that the Express which was dispatched with these Presents, went by the Way of *Petersburg*. This will appear the more probable, if we consider that at the Time when his Imperial Majesty sent these Marks of his Good-will to the *Persian* General, the *French*, the *Spaniards*, and the *Savoyards* had begun

begun to invade his Dominions, and that it was for his Interest to have the *Turks* so employed elsewhere, that they could take no Advantage of these Invasions.

However that were, Hostilities continued between the *Turks* and the *Persians* in different Places, as in *Georgia*, the *Tabrislan*, and the *Curdistan*. The *Turks* were beat four Times in the Campaign of 1734. *Kouli-Kan* received a great Number of Wounds in these several Engagements, and had many Horses killed under him. He always appeared in Places of the greatest Danger, animating the Troops by his Example, and rallying with admirable Celerity those who gave Way. The Campaign of 1735 was the most bloody of all, and the most advantageous to the *Persians*. The Court of *Constantinople* had sent the Seraskier *Abdalla Cüprogli*, to command the Troops which were to act against *Kouli-Kan*; who in the mean Time was busy in re-inforcing his Army, and forming of Magazines. The *Turks* were ready to enter into Action; when *Kouli-Kan*, willing to keep them back, signified to the Seraskier, that he was not averse to Proposals of Peace, if he could but hope to obtain one on any tolerable Conditions. The Seraskier grew negligent on this Feint of *Kouli-Kan's*, and let him know that he had full and ample Powers to treat on that Head, and that nothing was wanting but to chuse out a fit Place for the Negotiations. *Kouli-Kan* mentioned some Places, which he knew would not be accepted, and by so doing protracted the Time. But as soon as he saw himself in a Condition to act, he threw off the

The War continues between the *Turks* and *Persians*.

Kouli Kan
takes
Teflis.

Mask, and advanced at the Head of 100,000 Men into *Persian Georgia*, of which the *Turks* were then Masters. He besieged *Teflis*, the Capital, and took it: And in a short Time after the *Turks* were driven out of all their Posts, in that Part of the Province which belonged to the Crown of *Persia*.

After that *Kouli-Kan* advanced towards *Armenia*, and began to lay Siege to *Erivan*; leaving a Body of 50,000 Men, who were newly arrived out of *Persia*, under the Command of two Generals, to provide for the Security of his late Conquests. As soon as he was arrived before *Erivan*, the *Janissaries*, who were there in Garrison, retired into the Castle, making a Shew of defending themselves to the last Extremity. This Castle is advantageously situated upon steep Rocks, and the Bassa who commanded it was an Officer of Conduct and Bravery. Spite of all this the *Persians* carried it in ten Days, after a general Assault, which the *Janissaries* sustained with a great deal of Prudence and Valour. The Bassa was killed upon the Breach; his Garrison put to the Sword; and the *Persians*, who never use to give Quarter to the *Turks*, nor receive any from them, massacred even Women with Child, and little Infants.

False Advice given to the Ottoman Court.

In the mean Time the *Ottoman Porte*, having received Advice from the *Seraskier* that *Kouli-Kan* was inclinable to Peace, had deputed the Bassa of *Widdin's* Brother to the *Persian* General, with very considerable Presents: But this Envoy, surpris'd to hear of the Progress of the Enemy, did not think proper to continue his Journey. In his Return, he had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands

Hand, of a Party of *Georgians*, who massacred his Escorte, consisting of a hundred *Turkish* Horse, and so terribly wounded the Minister himself, that it was with the utmost Difficulty he regained the Seraskier's Camp.

No sooner was the Progress of *Kouli-Kan* known at *Constantinople*, but the *Ottoman* Court concluded it had been the Dupe of that General, who all this while had thought of nothing less than desiring a Peace. The Sultan was extremely enraged at this, and dispatched Orders to the Seraskier to pursue the *Persians* wherever they went, and to give them Battle the first Opportunity. He also sent him Re-inforcements of Men and Horses, and considerable Sums of Money.

While *Abdalla* Bassa waited for these Supplies, he encamped under the Cannon of *Carfa*, or *Cars* *, a strong Fortress in *Turcomania*, not far distant from the Source of the *Euphrates*. *Kouli-Kan*, understanding that the Seraskier expected a strong Re-inforcement, and that as soon as he had received them he was to pursue and give him Battle, thought it his Business to draw him to an Engagement before the Arrival of the fresh Forces. He detached 25,000 Men from the Gross of his Army, put himself at their Head, and came up towards the Seraskier's Camp. This latter penetrating the Design of the *Persian* General, did not stir out of his Camp, but contented himself with making a Detachment of the best of his Troops, equal in

* This Fortress is so considerable, that the Sultan, among his Titles, bears that of Lord of *Carfa*.

Number to that of *Kouli-Kan*. He gave the Command of them to a *Bassa*, whom he enjoined not to engage, but only to observe the Motions of the Enemy. *Kouli-Kan* seeing this Body approach, thought at first it had been the whole *Turkish* Army, and retired to join the Gros of his Troops: But when he was informed that it was only a Detachment, he perceived he must use some other Stratagem to draw the *Seraskier* from his Post.

For this Purpose he turned all of a sudden from the Side of *Erivan*, making a Feint to retire into *Armenia*, as if he had found himself too weak to remain in an Enemy's Country, or perceived he could not procure there a commodious Subsistence. He did not doubt but the *Seraskier*, fearing he should escape, would be immediately at his Heels. In Effect, he was informed that the *Turkish* General had decamped, and made a Shew of pursuing him, but that it was after he had been re-inforced with 30,000 Men. On this Advice *Kouli-Kan* began to think of posting himself the most advantageously, to wait for the *Turks* in his Camp; whose Army, with the additional Troops, amounted to 110,000 Men. That of *Kouli-Kan* was above 20,000 less in Number, because of the Garisons he had been obliged to leave in *Teflis* and *Erivan*. But notwithstanding this Disproportion, *Kouli-Kan* posted himself so well, that he had Room to hope he should be able, at least, to dispute the Victory a long Time with the *Turks*, if they had the Resolution to attack him.

He

He disposed his Army in this Manner. His Artillery was placed upon an Eminence, in such a Posture, that it could not be seen, but very near at Hand. On the Right and Left of the Artillery, he posted the greatest Part of his Infantry in hollow Ways, Ditches, and Woods that entirely covered them. He then, with all Expedition, had the Declivity undermined, which led from the Eminence into the Plain, and placed his Cavalry in the Plain itself. The *Turkish* Army was not long before it appeared. It arrived in the Plain May the 25th 1735. *Kouli Kan* retired at its Approach, and the Seraskier ordered the *Tartars* and *Spahies* to pursue him, who fell upon his Rear-Guard, where he was in Person. A smart Skirmish ensued, which did not end but with the Day: The next Day it began again, while the Seraskier made the Dispositions for a Battle. At last the *Turkish* Army advanced, ranged in Form of a Crescent. *Kouli Kan* ordered his Cavalry to be extended, and placed the Foot that were still with him in the Center. A violent Wind, which blew the Dust and Sand in the Eyes of the *Turks*, hindered them from seeing there was so small a Part of the *Persian* Infantry, and that the rest were hid in Woods and Ditches. Suspecting nothing less than this, the *Ottomans* gave the Onset with terrible Outcries. *Kouli Kan* sustained the Shock of their Cavalry, as much as was necessary to animate them to the Engagement: But at the second Charge his own Horse retired, according to their Orders, towards the Top of the Eminence; and the Infantry did the same. The *Turks* began to

Kouli Kan's
Disposition to receive the
Turks.

cry out *Victory!* But the *Persian* Horse, well instructed in what they had to execute, divided in two Parts, and buried themselves in the Woods on the Right and Left. The Foot, which had been with the General from the Beginning of the Action, fled to the Top of the Hill. The *Turks* pursued them both with great Fury: And when the *Persian* General saw them far enough in the Snare, he gave the Signal for playing the Mines. They had a surprising Effect. Multitudes of Men and Horses were seen flying in the Air, who came down dead, or shattered to Pieces. Others were buried in those Gulphs which the Powder had made in the Explosion. The Horror of the *Turks* was equal to their Surprise, being intirely ignorant of this Way of Fighting. They saw the Earth open to swallow them up; but could not comprehend how it should be, as thinking that Mines were to be dreaded in Sieges only. But what completed their Consternation, was the Artillery, which now began to play, and which was so advantageously posted, that at the first Discharge it carried off whole Ranks of the *Turkish* Squadrons. The *Persian* Infantry then issued out of the Places where they had been concealed, and falling upon the Flanks of the Enemy, gave a brisk Fire, and put them all in Disorder. The *Turkish* Cavalry, no longer able to keep their Ranks, rushed upon the *Janissaries*, and drove them into equal Confusion. Then the *Persian* Cavalry, drawing up at the Edge of the Wood, fell upon the *Turks* with an inconceivable Violence.

Nothing

Nothing was now seen but horrid Slaughter, and universal Rout, which only the Night put an end to. The 29th, at Break of Day, the *Persian* Cavalry went in pursuit of the Fugitives. Those who were the best mounted, or had the best Legs, escaped the Sword of the Victors: All the rest were massacred, except a Body of *Tartars* and *Turks*, that were hemm'd in by the *Persians*, who, weary of the Work of Death, made them all Slaves. The Loss of the *Turks* was computed at 50,000 killed or wounded, without reckoning the Prisoners. The *Persians* lost about 8000 Men. This Action, or rather Slaughter, lasted nine Hours, and the Seraskier was found among the Dead, accompanied with nine Bassas. Five Bassas were taken Prisoners, among whom was *Mehemed*, lately arrived from *Constantinople* in the Seraskier's Army, with large Remittances of Money. All the *Turkish* Artillery, consisting of 35 Pieces of Brass Cannon, came into the Hands of the Victor; as did also the Baggage, and military Chest. *Kouli Kan* ordered the Money to be distributed among the Officers and Soldiers, according to their Degrees: And it must have been an immense Sum, since the meanest *Persian* Soldier had two *Sequins* * for his Part; without mentioning the magnificent Robes, and valuable Jewels, that were found in plundering the dead Bodies. *Kouli Kan* commanded all these Carcasses to be buried in deep Ditches, which were dug in the Field of Battle for that Purpose. He ordered Search to be made for the Bodies of

Kouli Kan
gains a
complete
Victory.

* Almost Twenty Shillings Sterling.

the Seraskier and the Bassas, who fell in the Action, and sent them to *Garfa* to be honourably interred.

Gengis
surrenders
to the
Persians.

The City of *Gengis*, which a Body of *Persian* Troops had blocked up for some Time, surrendered on the News of this Defeat. All *Mingrelia*, which is that Part of *Georgia* which belonged to the *Ottoman Porte*, submitted to the victorious *Kouli Kan*, who treated the Princes of this Province, hitherto Vassals of the Grand Signior, with great Clemency. All *Armenia*, *Diarbeck*, and *Turcomania*, were also the Fruits of this Victory.

The *Turks* perhaps had never lost so great a Number of Troops in one Day as on this Occasion, not excepting even the Battles of *Selanckemen* and *Zenta*; and perhaps never was Victory the Source of more Conquests than this which our *Persian* had now won. When we reflect on these Things, it is impossible not to admire the Inconstancy of Fortune. It was but six or seven Years ago, that the Kingdom of *Persia* had been in the most deplorable State; torn to Pieces within by Civil Wars, despised without, and exposed to a thousand Affronts from all her Neighbours. Now behold her in a quite different Situation; resuming her ancient Courage; in profound Tranquility at home, and formidable abroad. All this must be attributed to only one Hero, the invincible *Kouli Kan*.

AR ebel-
lion stirred
up in *Per-*
sia by the
Turks.

The *Turks*, seeing to what Condition they were reduced, considered how to procure a Diversion which might divide the Arms of this General, who was upon the Brink of stripping them of their best Provinces. They
made

made use of one *Laccia* for this Purpose, the Leader of a Gang of Thieves who infested the Frontiers of *Persia*. They sent him large Sums of Money, which enabled him to encrease his Band to the Number of 10 or 12,000 lusty Fellows, Part of whom were *Turkish Janissaries*.

Kouli Kan, on the News of this Rebel's Progress, left the greatest Part of his Army under the Conduct of an experienced General, and sat out at the Head of the rest to go and reduce him. He came up with him in the *Curdistan*, gave him Battle, and a Defeat. *Laccia* however escaped, got together the Remains of his little Army, and had the Courage to appear again in the Field. *Kouli Kan* allowed him no Time to repair his Loss, but in a second Engagement intirely dissipated his Forces, and took their Leader, who was impaled. Several of his Men suffered the same Fate, who were taken in the Pursuit.

And happily extinguished by *Kouli Kan*.

After so many glorious Exploits, *Kouli Kan* returned to *Ispahan* at the Beginning of the Year 1736, having now formed a Design to make himself King of *Persia*. The young King *Abas*, yet an Infant, was of a very feeble and delicate Complexion, and seemed also inclinable to Folly. Some pretend that *Kouli Kan* had ordered Potions to be given him, in order to weaken both his Body and his Understanding. Be that as it will, the Regent sent for the Grandees of the Kingdom about the Middle of *February*. Many Generals, and other principal Officers of the Army, were already at *Ispahan*: And as soon as the Nobility were arrived there, he

Design of this General upon the Crown of *Persia*.

ordered them all to assemble in one of the Halls of the royal Palace. Here he made them a Speech, which held a Quarter of an Hour, and run mightily on the Fatigues he had undergone in the three last Campaigns. He complained that many Districts of the Kingdom refused to obey his Orders, under Pretence that the King's Service did not require it; was very copious on the Disgusts he had met with in the Discharge of his Office of Regent; and concluded with declaring that he was resolved to resign it, in favour of him whom the Assembly should think the most worthy.

This Declaration surprised the most unwary Minds; but those of deeper Penetration saw what it drove at. They well enough perceived that he aspired at something more than the Title and Authority of a Regent, and that, if I may be allowed the Expression, he only took a Step or two back, to jump the further forward. In reality, *Kouli Kan* aspired to the Crown; but was loth to be branded with the Name of *Usurper*. He wished they would offer it him by a free Election, without the least Constraint: And he flattered himself, that this could not fail of coming to pass, in an Assembly composed chiefly of his own Creatures, who owed their Fortunes to him. As for the other, he had treated them with so much Lenity, that it was not likely they should form the least Opposition.

His Design opposed.

In the mean time those clear-sighted People, who had penetrated the Views of *Kouli Kan*, did not so much as whisper their Suspicions, for fear of exposing themselves to his Resentment: But as they were not well

well satisfied neither to have him for their King, they intreated him to continue in his Office of Regent, at least till the Majority of the young King: And that their Arguments for his so doing might be the more pleasing, they intermixed them with Encomiums on his Valour, his Prudence, and his Goodness. Their Harangues had a quite contrary Effect from what they had expected. *Kouli Kan*, in his Turn, seeing through their Intentions, as they had done through his, cunningly kept on the Mask, and persisted in his Resolution of laying down his Office. Immediately a low Murmur was heard through the Assembly, begun by the Officers of the Army, who could not bear to think of any other Commander than *Kouli Kan*. They declared they would obey no Man living but him. “ Well then, cried out one among them, since he will be no longer Regent, we must make him King. What Necessity is there that we should rest all our Hopes on an infirm and tender Infant? Are we desirous of such another Reign as that of *Schah Hussein*? Would the *Persians* be again governed by Women and Eunuchs? Had they rather see themselves pillaged by such infamous Ministers, their Estates ravaged by a hundred different Factions, than to elect a Hero for their King, who has delivered them from the Oppression of the *Aghwans*, and the Insults of the *Turks*? In order to be a King, is it not enough to merit a Crown, unless a Man be also born with it? I put the Question to you, *Persians*, all that are here present, in what Condition had we been, if our General had not been sent us
“ by

A Speech
in his Fa-
vour by
one of the
Assembly.

“ by the great Prophet who is Guardian of
 “ *Persia* ? Every one in this Assembly,
 “ perhaps, had either been ere now depriv-
 “ ed of Life, or driven from his Family and
 “ Fortune by that infinite Number of Ty-
 “ rants that had set up among us. Let us
 “ at once then unanimously acknowledge
 “ that Hero, who has freed the Kingdom,
 “ who has redeemed and even won it with
 “ the Point of his Sword, for our lawful So-
 “ vereign.”

Which is
 applauded.

This Harangue was applauded by all the
 Generals there present. The Ministers who
 did not approve it, far from opposing his E-
 lection, were the first to cry ought that
Thomas Kouli Kan, and he only, deserved to
 be King of *Persia*.

Kouli Kan continued his Dissimulation.
 As soon as the Murmur was over, he re-
 presented, that Royalty was a Burden too
 heavy for him, who had resolved to pass the
 Residue of his Days in Retirement, as soon as
 he had compelled the *Turks* to an honoura-
 ble Peace, for the Advantage of *Persia*. But,
 spite of his affected Modesty, a pleasing Joy
 was discernible on his Countenance, which
 sufficiently testified that the Choice of the
 Assembly was far from being disagreeable,
 and that his Refusal was purely a Matter of
 Form. For this Reason the great Men pre-
 sent, without shewing any regard to his Evi-
 sions, proclaimed him King of *Persia*. At
 last his Reluctance gave way to their Impor-
 tunity: But he protested at the same Time,
 that as soon as young *Abas* should be of Age
 to govern, he would restore to him the
 Crown, which he now willingly accepted at
 the

He is pro-
 claimed
 King.

the Solicitation of the Grandees, for the Good of the Kingdom. Vain Protestation, and made with no other View but to appease the Partizans of the Royal Family!

When *Kouli Kan* had accepted the Sovereignty, he was led up and placed upon the Throne of the Sophies, where the High-priest put the Crown on his Head with the usual Ceremony. He was saluted King by all the Assembly. The Ministers of State, Generals of the Army, and Nobility there present, severally took the Oath of Fidelity, swearing to maintain him upon the Throne of *Persia*, against all Competitors, at the Peril of their Lives and Fortunes.

The Citizens of *Ispahan* were informed, by the Acclamations within the Palace, of the new King's Election. They applauded what was done, and testified their Approbation of the Choice by Illuminations, which lasted several Days. But the Testimonies of Joy at this News were no where greater than in the Army, who discovered their Interest in this Event by the Discharge of their Artillery and Small Arms. All the Provinces likewise signified their Satisfaction by public Rejoicings, which, if they were sincere, were rather an Effect of the People's Love of Novelty, than of any Idea they could have of a real Advantage.

Kouli Kan, willing to shew that the Splendor of a Throne had not effaced the Memory of his Original, re-assumed his former Name of *Nadir*. This was a Proof indeed of his Modesty, but which does not atone for what there was odious in his Usurpation.

He re-assumes the Name of *Nadir*.

The History I have now given of *Schah Nadir's* Inauguration comes from good Authority, and I dare assure the Reader that he may depend on its being authentic.

It was not many Days after his Accession to the Crown, before the new King gave his Subjects to understand, that he should have no Desire to resign it back to Prince *Abas*, or any one else. All that boasted of their being descended from the Royal Family, to the Number of about fifty, were secured by his Order; and it hath since been given out, that he had them all privately put to Death.

He makes
sure of the
Royal Fa-
mily.

His Ufur-
pation cen-
sured.

Some endeavour to justify *Kouli Kan's* Conduct, with regard to the Descendants of the *Sophies*, by pretending that he did well to dethrone *Schah Thamas*, who had shewn himself unworthy of the Royal Dignity; and that with regard to the young Prince his Son, his natural Imbecillity, both of Body and Mind, rendered him incapable of Reigning. Without taking upon me to refute these Reasons methodically, I will only say, that admitting it had been lawful to depose *Schah Thamas*, it was far otherwise with regard to his Son; and that nothing could possibly authorise such an Outrage, since the Prince was too young for any Thing certain to be determined, either as to the Weakness of his Constitution, or the Incapacity of his Understanding. Have we not seen, do we not every Day see sickly Children, who in an Age more advanced grow strong and robust; and others, who in their Infancy seem of weak Intellects, that at the Age of Maturity turn out great Genius's

I thought proper to connect together all that relates to *Kouli-Kan's* Accession to the Throne of *Persia*, before I came to speak of the Preparations he made for the Campaign of 1736, notwithstanding the Report that had been current of an approaching Peace. In Effect, the *Turks*, disheartened by so many Disgraces and Losses, observing the extraordinary Preparations of *Kouli-Kan*, and foreseeing that they should soon be attacked by the *Russians* and *Germans*, had made Proposals for an Accomodation to our Hero, at that Time only Regent of the Kingdom of *Persia*, and who, having his particular Views, testified his Readiness to treat. He well knew, that this would be the most proper Time to get himself acknowledged King by the *Turks*, who being upon the Brink of a War with two powerful *European* Nations, would not be in a Condition to refuse any Thing on the Side of *Persia*.

Negotiations of Peace between him and the *Turks*.

The *Turks* wished for nothing so much, as to be delivered from the *Persian* War. It is always the most expensive War they engage in, and the most fatal to their Troops, on Account of the Distempers they are liable to. *Kouli-Kan* nominated *Abdul-Backi-Kan*, one of his Favourites, to treat of a Peace in his Name with the *Ottoman* Ministers. The Contents of his Instructions are not known; nor have we any better Information with regard to the Person of this Plenipotentiary. All we know is, that he was an intimate Confident of *Kouli-Kan's*, and privy to his Design of making himself Master of the Throne. It was for this Reason that he proceeded very slowly in his Journey, not de-

Why his
Ambassa-
dor feigns
himself
sick.

firing to reach the *Turkish* Territories before he heard the Success of his Master's Enterprize.

As the News of this Affair did not arrive according to his Expectation, and the Ambassador was already near the Frontiers of the *Ottoman* Empire, he feigned himself sick, and proceeded no farther till the Scene was unravelled, which he knew was then playing at *Ispahan*. When he was ascertained of *Kouli-Kan's* Election to the Dignity of King of *Persia*, he imparted the News to the *Ottoman Porte*; informing that Court, at the same Time, that he could not appear there, before the Grand Signior's Ambassador was arrived at *Ispahan*; and had acknowledged *Thomas Kouli-Kan*, on the Part of his Highness, for lawful King or *Schah* of *Persia*. This Incident gave great Uneasiness at the *Porte*: The Pride of the Sultan, on the one Hand, would not permit him to acknowledge the new King, and treat with him as an Equal; and the Terror of *Kouli-Kan*, on the other, made them extremely cautious not to affront him. Reasons of State at last prevailed, and it was agreed to acknowledge the new *Schah*. This Resolution was engrossed in a public Instrument, and sent to the *Schah Nadir's* Ambassador, who immediately communicated it to his Master, and received Orders back to continue his Journey to *Constantinople*. He was still to proceed however by very short Stages, and to stop at *Bolu*, nine Days Journey from *Constantinople*, till he received new Orders, and till he had certain Advice that the *Turkish* Ambassador had acknowledged *Schah Nadir* for King of *Persia*, and brought the same Acknowledgment in his Cre-

Credentials, under the Grand Signior's Hand.

The Seraskier *Achmet Bassa* was sent Ambassador from the *Porte* on this Occasion, to the *Schah*. Here follows a Translation of the Full Powers granted him by the Sultan, a Copy of which was sent into *Holland* by their High-Mightinesses Ambassador.

Most honoured and most illustrious Minister of the Affairs of our Empire, our most wise and most faithful Councillor, thrice happy Wali of Natolia, my Seraskier and Vizir in Asia, Achmet Bassa, whose Renown and Happiness we wish everlasting.

The Grand Signior's Full Powers to his Ambassador.

“ **H**AVING considered that the Differences between our sublime *Porte* and the Kingdom of *Persia* have caused the Desolation of divers Provinces, and the Ruin of many People in both Empires, the Bowels of our Compassion have been moved for the Misfortunes of so many innocent Persons, and have inclined us to renew the Union which ought to be between two People who profess the same Religion, and to change the Complaints of the Inhabitants whom War has laid Waste, into Benedictions for the Repose we would procure them, according to the Will of God, and the Wishes of our good Subjects.

We declare that as to the Agreement concerning Religion, and the Regulation of the Frontiers of the two Empires, proposed by the most serene *Schah* (who shines like a Star, and whose Enterprises may God prosper!) our Intention is that the Treaty made between *Persia* and our Predecessor *Amurath IV.*

should be the Basis of that which we would now conclude.

But as the most serene *Schah* has given us to understand, that he desires absolutely to put an End to the Differences of the Sects which divide the *Mahometan* Religion, promising to give the necessary Orders for that Purpose thorough the Extent of his Kingdom; and as he has at the same Time intreated us to add some new Points in Form of Preliminaries to the Treaty of *Amurath* IV. as well for the Good of Religion, as the Interests of the two Courts, having already dispatched on his Part the illustrious *Abdul-Backi-Kan*, to come to our Court in Quality of his Plenipotentiary; we have ordered this Instrument to be drawn up, in which we have caused to be inserted the three Preliminary Points which we are willing to consent to with regard to Religion.

I.

We will that the *Persians* have free Liberty to make the Pilgrimage of *Mecca*, and visit the other holy Places which are in the Countries under our Dominion, without the least Hindrance or Damage from any one, on any Pretence whatsoever. We will that they freely pass and repass through the Provinces of our Empire, without paying any Tribute or Custom.

II.

The *Schah*, on his Part, to terminate the religious Disputes in *Persia*, shall abolish the Sects of *Schienski* and *Syneiski*, and tolerate that of *Schawarmski*, which acknowledges the four Successors of *Mahomet*, *Abubecker*, *Omar*, *Osman*, and *Ali*: Nor shall he suffer any

any one to blaspheme the Names of those holy Persons.

III.

As the *Schah* has banished the Sect of *Sunni*, which only troubled the Consciences of his People continually with Disputes, and moreover has acknowledged us the Successor of *Mahomet* in Religion, we acknowledge him also for the lawful *Schah* of *Persia*. And we at the same Time give to thee full Power to sign the Treaty in our Name with the Ambassador of the *Schah*, in the Place where you shall meet together: And after the Exchange of the Treaty, thou shalt send back to us the Vizir *Haram Kwoley*, with the *Persian* Ambassador and his noble Retinue, defraying all their Expences upon the Road to the Place of our Residence. When thou shalt have consented to the Articles of the Treaty, thou shalt forget nothing to re-establish a good Understanding between the two Courts, to the Exclusion of the *Russian* Infidels, whom all good *Mussulmans* ought to detest.

By so doing thou shalt merit the Applause and Acknowledgment of True Believers. Given at *Constantinople* the 8th of the Moon *Zilchidefi*, the Year 1148."

I Cafi Asker Muhamed do certify that this Copy is conformable to the Grand Sultan's Original.

In the mean time the *Persian* Ambassador, accompanied by the Bassa of *Erzerum*, and a Retinue of 200 Persons, arrived on the 6th of *August* at *Scutari*, near *Constantinople*, and took up his Lodging in the House of the

The *Persian* Ambassador conducted to an Audience in Ge- Pomp,

General of the Bombardiers, where an Apartment was prepared for him. The *Kiaya* of the *Kaimacan** came thither to compliment him in his Master's Name. On the 10th of *August*, the *Kaimacan* having resolved to give him Audience, the Ambassador went on Board a Galley with the Marine *Bassa*. He was received into it under the Discharge of the Cannon. As he passed by *Leander's* Tower, he was saluted by five Pieces of Artillery there mounted. When he arrived over-against the *Seraglio*, he was complimented by a Discharge of the Cannon from all the Gallies there at Anchor. He landed at the Custom-House, where he found many of the Sultan's Officers ready to receive him, who made him a Present of 120 Horses magnificently caparisoned, out of his Highness's Stable, for himself and his Train. The Ambassador rested about an Hour at the Custom-House, and then proceeded in this Order. A Company of 100 *Janissaries*, in their Habits of Ceremony, went foremost. After them came the *Simen Bassa*, between two *Tcherbadgi*, and sixty of the Sultan's *Chiaous*†.

Twelve

* The *Kaimacan* is Governor of *Constantinople*, and performs the Office of Grand Vizir in that Minister's Absence. There is also a *Kaimacan* in the Army, who has the Rank of Lieutenant to the Grand Vizir.

† The *Chiaous* are a Sort of subaltern Judges, whose Business is to terminate particular Differences between Man and Man. They follow the Grand Signior in the Field. Their Arms are a Sabre, a Bow and Arrows, and a Staff like that of

Twelve of the Ambassador's *Chiaus*, with Turbans adorned with Ostriches' Feathers. His *Kiaya*; his Master of the Horse; his *Seličtar*, with a naked Sabre on his Shoulder; Sixty-four Fusileers on Foot, marching in two Lines; with their Arms on their Shoulders; two Pages, with Maces; the *Chiaus Bachi*; two led Horses: The Ambassador alone on Horseback, dressed in a *Persian* Habit turned up with Sable; his *Iman*, and his Secretary, with the credential Letters in his Hand. The Procession was closed by 86 *Persians*, richly dressed.

The *Kaimacan* regaled the Ambassador with a Present of the most exquisite Perfumes. At his Return from the Audience, the same Order was observed as in going. The Wind being somewhat high, the Gallies could not possibly row up to *Scutari*; so that the Ambassador was obliged to go on board a Saick belonging to the *Beslanga-Bachi*, and mounted with twelve Pieces of Cannon, which carried him to *Scutari*, with the same Ceremony that had been shewn him in coming.

From that Day the *Persian* Ambassador received extraordinary Honours at *Constantinople*, equal to what *Kouli Kan* could have expected, had he been there in Person. The Peace was soon concluded: And indeed the Porte had great need of it, being at that Time attack'd by two of the most formidable Christian Powers. The Treaty was con-

Conclu-
sion of
the Trea-
ty.
Condi-
tions on
both Sides.

our Couriers. Their Superior is the *Chiaus Basse*, who has the Charge of the State Prisoners. When the Sultan is determined to have the Head of any great Man, the *Chiaus* perform the Execution.

cluded

cluded and signed in the great Mosque of *St. Sophia*. By this Peace Things were re-established between the two Empires upon the antient Footing.

The *Turks* restored all that they had conquer'd from the *Persians*, from *Schah Abas* the Great exclusively, down to *Schah Thomas*; and the *Persians* gave up to the *Turks* whatever they had dismember'd from their antient Territories. The Sultan engaged to oblige those of his Subjects who had natural *Persians* among their Slaves, to set them at Liberty in the Space of two Months; as well those whom they had bought, as those they had taken in War either by Land or Sea. His Highness's Edict on this Occasion farther declared, that it was expressly forbidden, under pain of corporal Punishment, for the Merchants who dealt in Slaves, to buy or sell, for the future, any *Persian* of either Sex in the *Basars* or Markets; enjoining them to bring all such to the *Miry*, who should pay fifty *Piasters per Head*, of the Sultan's Money, to redeem and set them at Liberty, that they might retire wherever they thought proper.

The *Persian* Ambassador's Audience of Leave.

On the 22d of *October*, 1736, the *Persian* Ambassador had his Audience of Leave of the Grand Signior, who received him with great Marks of Distinction. He continued to pay Visits to the Grandees of the *Ottoman* Court till the 14th of *December*, when he set out from *Scutari* in his Way to *Persia*. He was escorted and maintained at the Sultan's Expence to the Frontiers of the Kingdom. Several *Turkish* Ecclesiasticks accompanied him home, who were to endeavour at a Union

nion between the two Sects of *Omar* and *Ali*. He received all imaginable Honours upon the Road. At his Departure, the Sultan made him a Present of 30,000 Piafters in Money, which is about 50,000 *French* Crowns, and a Sabre richly fet with Diamonds; besides delivering up to him 700 *Persian* Slaves, of both Sexes. All the *Grandeës* imitated his Highnefs, and rivalled one another in their Presents to his Excellency.

Some Time after this Ambaffador's Return into *Persia*, the Grand Signior called home his Plenipotentiary, and fent another Minister to *Schah Nadir*. But the *Persian* Monarch, thinking his Ambaffador might have made a more advantageous Peace with the *Turks*, appeared to be difatisfied with his Conduct, and testified his Reſentment by refuſing at firſt to ratify the Treaty. In all likelihood he would have choſen to renew the War, if he had not apprehended the Faſtions that were forming againſt him, of which he had certain Intelligence. In the mean Time the Ambaffador he had ſent to *Peterſburgh*, a little before his Acceſſion to the Crown, was received by the Empreſs of *Ruffia* with great Marks of Diſtinction: And when he had aſcended the Throne, he diſpatched an Expreſs to this Ambaffador, with a Letter to her Imperial Maſteſty. When his Excellency obtained an Audience of that Princeſs on this Occaſion, he delivered himſelf in a Speech to this Effect.

“ Moſt Auguſt Sovereign of all the *Ruſſians*, equal to the Moon in Happineſs and Power, who have Armies as innumerable as the Stars of Heaven, and who wear a Crown

The Peace he makes is not pleaſing to his Maſter.

The
Speech of
Kouli
Kan's Am-
bassador
to the Em-
press of
Russia.

“ Crown as brilliant as the Sun, may the God
“ of our Fathers ever bless your Govern-
“ ment. My Lord and Master the Sultan of
“ *Persia*, *Nadir-Ali-Bagatyr Chan*, whose
“ Throne may God establish, having resolv-
“ ed to renew the antient Friendship be-
“ tween your Court and that of *Persia*, and
“ willing to give Proofs of his Affection to
“ your Imperial Majesty, hath sent me, the
“ Lord *Migir Ali-Bec*, a Native of *Daghes-*
“ *tan*, with a Letter, in which my Master
“ the *Schah* of *Persia* notifies to your Ma-
“ jesty his Accession to the Throne of the
“ *Persian* Monarchy. I beseech your Ma-
“ jesty, as the most humble of her Slaves,
“ after having cast your Eyes on the said
“ Letter, to give an Answer to it in Writing,
“ and order it to be remitted to his most hum-
“ ble Slave, that he may communicate it to
“ the *Schah* his Lord and Master.”

The Empress caused the following Answer
to be given by Prince *Czerkofski*, Privy-
Councillor.

The Em-
press's
Answer.

“ Her Imperial Majesty has heard with
“ great Satisfaction of the Elevation of *Schah*
“ *Nadir* to the August Throne of *Per-*
“ *sia*, and heartily felicitates him upon his
“ happy Success. She prays God long to
“ preserve that Prince, for the Glory and
“ Aggrandizement of the Kingdom of *Persia*.
“ And as her Majesty entertains a great
“ Esteem for the *Schah* your Master, on
“ Account of the Valour and Prudence
“ he has manifested in all his Actions, she
“ is resolved to contribute all in her Power
“ to establish him on his Throne, and for
“ the Good of the Dominions of which he

“ is

“ is become Sovereign. Of this her Imperial Majesty will herself assure him, in the Answer she will return to his Letter with all Expedition.”

Some Days after the two *Persian* Ministers were admitted to another Audience, in which the *Daghestan* Lord, who delivered *Schah Nadir's* Letter, received the Empress's Answer. He then took Leave of her Imperial Majesty, and prepared for his Return into *Persia*. The 27th of *July* he went from *Petersburgh* to *Cronschlott**, and came back two Days after. A few Days more he employed to see the Rarities at *Petersburgh*; among others, whatever was most curious in the Academy of Sciences; the Mathematical and Philosophical Instruments, the Printing-house, the Library, the Anatomy-hall, the Physic-Garden, &c.

He took the Road of *Persia* in the Month of *December*. *Schah Nadir*, all this while, appeared every Day dissatisfied with the Peace his Minister had negotiated at *Constantinople*. He refused to ratify it, till the Beginning of an Insurrection among the *Aghwans* at *Candahar* obliged him to comply.

No sooner was it done, but the *Schah* turned his Resentment towards that turbulent Nation, and marched against the City of *Candahar* with 50,000 Men. The Expedition was attended with some Inconveniences,

A new
Rebellion
in *Persia*.

* *Cronschlott* or *Cronschloss* is a *Russian* Fort in *Carteia*, built in the midst of the Sea, four Leagues from *Petersburgh*. The *Czar Peter the Great* raised it to cover his Conquests, and the *Russian* Fleet is usually laid up at this Place.

notwithstanding the Precautions he had taken that his Troops should want nothing. When he was within a few Leagues of the Place, he learned that 7 or 8000 Rebels were encamped under the Cannon of the Ramparts. He sent several Parties to observe their Disposition, which when he had learned, he marched and attacked them. The Rebels being well intrenched, defended themselves bravely ; but after a long and bloody Battle, the Fortune of *Schah Nadir* prevailed. The Intrenchments were forced, and the Rebels, pushed on every Side, took to their Heels. A great Part of them jumped into the Ditches that encompassed the City, and were there drowned. The rest were either taken, killed, or got within the Walls.

Kouli Kan
besieges
Candabar.

After the Army had reposed a little, *Schah Nadir* opened the Trenches before *Candabar*. The Siege continued almost six Weeks, the *Aghwans* disputing every Foot of Ground : But at last, the *Persian* Artillery having made a considerable Breach, they began to storm it. The Rebels received them with great Courage, till finding the Place must of Necessity be carried, they demanded Quarter. The *Schah* made them surrender at Discretion ; ordered some of the most mutinous to be impaled ; disarmed the rest ; left a good Garrison to keep them in Subjection, and issued out such excellent Orders, that he had room to flatter himself they would never think of another Revolt. The Noise of this Expedition spread such a Terror among the Malecontents, that they submitted more than ever to *Schah Nadir*.

He

He returned to *Ispahan* about the Middle of the Year 1738. Scarce was he arrived there, before he ordered his Minister, who had negotiated the Peace at *Constantinople*, to be arrested, and with him the new Ambassador of the *Porte*. He had them both brought into his Presence, and commanded twenty Bastinades to be given his own Plenipotentiary, upon the Soles of his Feet. That being over, he asked the *Turkish* Ambassador what he had brought with him; who answering, that he was charged with a Letter from the Sultan, the *Schah* replied, that it was not worth while to come so far to bring a Letter; at the same Time falling on his own Minister, and beating him heartily. He then told the *Turk*, that for his Part, he had nothing to fear, being too old for a Bastinading: But he would have him to know, that he was extremely enraged with the *Ottoman* Court, for having taken Advantage of his Plenipotentiary's Stupidity, by concluding a Peace with *Persia*, of which they alone had the Advantage, notwithstanding they had been beaten. After this, he let him go out of his Presence, telling him, that he was at Liberty either to go or stay. Some Advices say since, that he afterwards had his own Ambassador beheaded.

Kouli Kan's Severity to his own Plenipotentiary, and Contempt of the *Turkish* Ambassador.

The *Ottoman* Court, informed of this Affair, did not think fit to resent it. Engaged in a burthensome War with the Christian Powers, she shut her Eyes at this Affront upon her Ambassador, and thought of nothing but appeasing the *Schah*. She accomplished it at last, by means of the Presents she made to those about his Person, who found

The *Ottoman* Court does not take the Affront.

the Secret so to divert their Master's Mind from this Object, that he forgot his Resentment, and applied to the establishing himself on the Throne; by securing those within the Kingdom, before he engaged in any more foreign Wars. He left the *Russians* to dispute the Field with the *Turks*, and was not displeased to see those two Powers so mutually engaged in weakening each other, resolving to fall afterwards upon which he thought proper; and if he has not hitherto put that Design in Execution, there wants no other Reason to account for it, than his Quarrel last Year with the Great Mogul. As the Occurrences of this War are not yet perfectly known, I will not undertake to relate them: Far from adopting what the Gazettes have with so little Foundation published; That *Schah Nadir* had deposed the Mogul, taken Possession of his Throne, and left the Regency of *Persia* to his eldest Son.

Particulars concerning the Person of *Kouli Kan*.

I will conclude this History with some Particulars concerning the Person of *Kouli-Kan*, now *Schah Nadir*. He is about fifty-five Years of Age; somewhat above a middle Stature; of a strong Constitution, and capable of the greatest Fatigues. He is fatter than the *Orientals* usually are; loves Wine, and all Sorts of strong Liquors; is very much given to Women, but not to the Neglect of the Affairs of his Government, to which he passes from Scenes of Pleasure with admirable Facility. He is every Day seen in public; a Thing before unheard of in *Persia*, where the Kings seemed to reign for no other End, but to shut themselves up in their Palaces. He often rides thro' the Streets of *Ispahan* on Horseback,

back, and frequently stops to ask Questions of any one he meets. He reviews his Troops in Person, and makes them exercise in his Presence. He keeps them to admirable good Order and Discipline, which does not in the least lessen their Affection to him. His Family consists of two Sons and three Daughters; but he has many other Children by several Concubines. His eldest Son is about thirty Years of Age, and was not long ago Governor of *Mached*. The Age of the youngest is unknown; but it is certain that he is Governor of *Herat*, the Capital of a District in the Kingdom of *Chorasan*. *Schah Nadir's* second Wife is of the Family of the *Sophies*, some say the Sister of *Schah Thomas*. He has had by her two Sons and two Daughters. His Father is dead, but not till since he had the Satisfaction to see his Son Generalissimo of the *Persian* Armies. His Mother was living in *October*, 1736. He has two Brothers, one of them Governor of *Kirman*, and the other of *Tauris*. He has put his Troops on the *European* Footing, and allures into his Service Officers and Engineers of the *English*, *French*, *Italian*, and other Nations. His Liberality gains him the Affection of all Strangers. So little covetous is he, that he gave an Engineer a Gratuity of 100,000 Tomans, for having made some Brass Pontoons, the Use of which the *Schah* was before unacquainted with.

A certain Greatness of Soul has been remark'd in him, beyond what could be expected in a Usurper: For though he has sometimes acted a quite contrary Part for Reasons of State, it is nevertheless certain that he has at
other

other Times shewn Tokens of Generosity. He has treated Prisoners of War with a great deal of Lenity: He has bestowed the Honours of Burial on the Dead; as in the Cases of *Topal Osman Bassa*, and the Seraskier *Abdulla Cuprogli*, whose Bodies he had taken up, in order to be interred according to their Dignity. He has those Ideas of Society which every reasonable Man ought to have; does not believe that a different Manner of Thinking in religious Matters ought to disunite Mankind, formed as they are for Commerce and Conversation; tolerates equally all the Christian Sects, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, *Papists*, and *Armenians*, provided they advance the Interest of Trade in his Dominions. When he took *Teflis*, the Capital of *Georgia*, the *Capuchin* Missionaries there established came to pay him their Compliments. He demanded whether they were *French* or *Germans*: To which having answered, that they were *French*, he told them he had a great deal of Friendship for their Nation, and a very high Esteem for the King of *France*, of whose Power he said he had received good Information. He made them sit upon magnificent Carpets, treated them with great Politeness, and assured them, that the *French* Nation should always find in him a hearty Protector. The *Capuchins*, seeing him so well disposed, took this Opportunity to ask his Protection for the *French* Jesuits at *Scamachi*, and the Church they were there in Possession of. When the *Schah* heard the Name of *Scamachi*, he gave a Sort of malignant Smile, and told them, that the City they spoke of had merited his Indignation, and

and he was resolved to raze it to the Gound, and exterminate the Inhabitants: That as for the Jesuits there establiſhed, he would do them no Hurt, but assign them another Place for their Habitation; that was not under the divine Malediction, as *Scamachi* was. The *Capuchins*, at taking Leave, presented the *Schah* with some Confections and Conſerves of their Preparation. He received them graciously, and gave them forty Ducats; telling them very politely, that he was sorry he could not, in a better Manner, return his Acknowledgment for the Regard they ſeemed to have for his Health; but that, unluckily, he had no more Money about him.

A little Time after his Elevation to the Throne of *Persia*, he was acknowledged for lawful *Schah* by the Grand Mogul.

In this Manner did *Kouli Kan*, a humble Shepherd, raise himself to the supreme Dignity of the most antient and most flourishing Kingdom in the World, where he yet reigns respected by his Neighbours, feared and esteemed by his Subjects, and adored by his Soldiers.

FINIS.



THE
HISTORY
OF
THAMAS KOULI KAN.

Part the Second.



WE have seen, in the first Part of this History, in what Manner *Kouli Kan* delivered the Kingdom of *Persia* from the Enemies that had over-run it; how he afterwards placed himself upon the Throne of the *Sophis*, vanquished the *Turks* in several Engagements, and at last besieged and took *Candahar*, the Center of the Rebellion.

I was obliged to stop there, in order to wait till Time, and the Memoirs that I then
B wanted,

wanted, might enable me to continue my Work. I had indeed heard of an Irruption made by this Conqueror into the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*; but as I had not good Information and Assurance of the Facts that were rumoured abroad, I did not think fit to extend my Narrative any farther, for fear of amusing the Public with fictitious Stories.

I am now no longer in this State of Uncertainty. I have not only a faithful Relation of all that occurred in the Expedition which *Kouli-Kan* made into the *Mogul* Empire, but likewise several Letters of this Hero's writing, Copies of which the *Dutch* Merchants, inhabiting *Persia*, received from *Camber-Ali* the *Persian* Secretary of State. These Letters were first translated into *Low-Dutch*, and it is from that Language they are now render'd.

It must have been remarked from the several Particulars related in the preceding Part of our History, that *Schach-Nadir* is not only brave in his Person, but very crafty also and politic, having joined to the Force of his Arms a consummate Prudence.

Kouli Kan
introduc'd
Discipline
among his
Troops.

Before him the *Persians* were ignorant of the first Principles of Military Art, Order, and Discipline. *Kouli-Kan* has instructed them in these, and, what is yet more, has made them conform to his Regulations. These Barbarians had formerly no other Way of fighting than the *Tartars*; they set up loud Cries, and turned their Backs with as much Facility as they first fell on. They now make their Attack in Silence, and keep their Ground in an Action, as well as the best Troops in *Europe*.

They

They were also unacquainted with the modern Manner of building Places of Defence : A few Towers of a very indifferent Construction, a scurvy Trench, and a Rampart of small Extent, made all the Fortification of their garison'd Towns. We now begin to see among them Bastions, half-Moons, and other regular Works, as in this Part of the World.

Their Artillery was still the worst in Order of any Thing amongst them, and they wanted good Cannoneers as well as good Engineers. *Kouli Kan* has an Artillery extremely well supplied. He gives us an Account of it himself, in a Letter that he wrote to the Governor of *Ispahan* upon the taking of *Candahar*; (1) a Translation of which here follows,

A Mandate (2) sent by Schach Nadir from *Candahar* to *Hattembeck*, Governor of *Ispahan*; a Copy whereof was sent to Bengal by the Officers of the India Company, and *Ispahan*, brought by two Couriers to the said Company, the 6th of May, 1738.

An Ordinance to the Governor of

BE it known to *Hattembeck* Governor of *Ispahan*, (after having assured him of our Royal Favour) that, by the Blessing of God, since the Day that this great Kingdom of *Persia* has fallen to our Lot, every Thing has succeeded according to our Wish, and that, by the Permission of the Most-High, our Arm is become so powerful, that no Fortrefs has been able to

B 2

withstand

(1) Vid. part I. p. 158. where the Siege of this Place is spoken of.

(2) This is the Meaning of the Persian Word *Regam*.

withstand it : Mountains have seemed as Chaff, and the Sea as a Valley before our Royal Countenance ; and it is by us that these Things are done.

The Inhabitants of *Candabar* having revolted against us, and obliged us to march against them, before we laid Siege to their City, we put them in mind of the Passages in the *Koran* against Rebel Subjects, and exhorted them to desist from their pernicious Revolt, turn aside from their evil Ways, and enter again into their Duty of Allegiance. Notwithstanding this, they continued in their abominable Obstinacy, and would not renounce their criminal Enterprize, confiding without doubt in the Strength of their Bulwarks. Their Leaders, like a Flock of black Ravens, lifted up their hideous Voices, and rejected our Counsels and Exhortations with Contempt and Mockery. For this Reason, seeing that neither the Commandments of God, nor our Counsels and Exhortations had any Effect, and that this obstinate People took Pleasure in their evil Designs, and grew more and more pertinacious, I have at last suffered my Wrath to break forth against them. Resolved as I was to become Master of their Fortrefs, I ordered my Troops to advance, and commanded them to attack the Quarter called *Sangee*, and the Redoubt which stands upon the Eminence on the Side called *Deda*.

My Soldiers having happily got Possession of the said Quarter of *Sangee*, I planted my Mortars thereupon, and threw Bombs into the City incessantly, the one following the other as close as Thunder follows Lightning.

This

This continued till the third of the Month *Sjehejed Tulharoem*, (3) when I ordered my Army to attack the Fortrefs by Storm, and to bring up my Artillery, which continued playing without Intermiffion upon the Redoubt on the Side of *Deda*, of which I could not as yet make myfelf Mafter. While my Field-Pieces thundered upon it, I commanded the *Bagtarians*, who ferve in my Army, to prepare for giving the Affault on that Side: Which they executed with fo much Courage and Intrepidity, that they got Poffeffion of it, in fpite of all the Efforts of the Rebels. And as the News of this happy Succefs cannot but give great Joy and Satisfaction to all the well affected in our Kingdom, who have waited for it with Impatience, I have difpatched *Mabmet Alibeck*, Standard-Bearer of this Army, which is like *Paradife*, (4) to bring the faid joyful Tidings.

You are not ignorant that it is an antient Custom in all the Cities and Provinces of *Persia*, upon the Reception of any good Piece of Intelligence, to pay the Contribution called the Courier's Fee: But confidering that our faithful Subjects have not been deficient for three Years paft in affifting us with all their Power, and furnifhing the extraordinary Expences which we have been obliged to be at, I remit to them the aforefaid Contribution; and willing that all Perfons of every Degree, be inform'd of this joyful News, by the public read-

B 3 ing

(3) Answering to the 12th of our Month of *March*.

(4) *Mafalis*.

ing of this our Mandate, we order the City Chamber to pay only 12 Tomans (1) of our own Money to the Bearer of it, and present him with the Habit of Honour, without taxing any private Person a Farthing towards the Expence of all this.

The present Letter shall be immediately sent to *Avisa*, *Congiloen*, and all the other Cities round about *Ispahan*, that the Inhabitants of the respective Countries may partake early of the agreeable Tidings, and have so much the more Cause to increase their Hopes. This Royal Mandate must be received with Esteem and Veneration. Given in our Camp before *Candahar* the 4th of the Month *Sjebejed Tulbaroem*, in the Year 1150. (2)

Underneath was the following Order.

“Whereas Bonfires and Illuminations may run our poor Subjects into burthensome Expences, we order that none be made; and will only that the Trumpets be sounded, and the Drums beat to the Royal March, and the other customary Flourishes.”

Kouli Kan After that *Kouli Kan* had every where reduced the *Aghwans* to Obedience, and put it on a War out of their Power to do any farther Mischief, he resolved to take Revenge on the Great *Mogul*, who had under-hand fed the Flame of Rebellion in *Persia*. It is an ill Sort of Policy, too common among Princes, to excite Insurrections against such of their Neighbours

(1) About one Pound Sixteen Shillings.

(2) March 13th, 1738.

as give them any Umbrage, to spare neither Treasures nor Intrigues to foment these Troubles, and at the same Time to assure this Neighbour publicly of the most pacific Intentions towards him, of a particular Esteem for his Person, and an eternal Friendship for all his Family. What is the Effect of all this? The Prince that is thus marked out for a Dupe, sees at last thro' the thin Disguise, and as soon as he has terminated the Affairs that have been brought on him at home, falls with all his Forces upon the Incendiary, who, not expecting such a Surprise, becomes the Victim of his false Politics. Effeminacy and a perfidious Temper are the Cause of all this: For a Prince who dreads the Power of his Neighbour, ought at the same Time that he raises him up Enemies at home, to declare open War against him, lest the other Expedient should become dangerous. Thus it proved with the *Great Mogul*, who pursuing the Maxim contrary to true Policy, brought on himself the Arms of the valiant *Keuli Kan*, which proved to him very fatal; as the Reader will see in what follows. But before I enter into a Detail of War, I must give the Reader some Idea of the Dominions, Power, and Riches of this *Indian Monarch*.

Mogol, Mogul, or Mongale, is the Name of Descriptive a Horde of *Tartars* in Great *Tartary*, North on of the of Mount *Imaus*. The Country inhabited by *Moguls* these *Moguls* is called *Mogulistan*, which every Empire. Reader should distinguish from the Empire of the *Great Mogul*. It was in *Mogulistan* that *Timur-Bec*, or *Tamerlane*, first drew Breath, and at the Head of the *Tartars* of his own

Country that he made those famous Conquests in *Asia*. He it was that founded the Empire of the *Moguls* in *India*, which is sufficiently known to us under the Name of *Indostan*.

This vast Country has *China* on the East, *Persia* on the West, that long Chain of Mountains on the North call'd *Imaus*, from which issue the *Ganges* and the *Sinde* or *Indus*, and on the South the Gulph of *Ganges*, and the Peninsula of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, where the Emperor possesses the Country of *Decan*, and the Kingdom of *Golconda*. The Province of *Candabar* borders upon the West of the *Mogul's* Dominions: It is no Wonder therefore that the Emperor dreaded a Neighbour so formidable as *Kouli Kan*; but it is surprising that he gave him Cause of Offence, and did not ward off the merited Blow. I have only to add, to what I have said concerning *Tamerlane's* being the Founder of this Empire, that of all the vast Territories conquered by that great Captain, this is the only Sovereignty that remains in his Family, and that his Descendants have kept Possession of.

A Chronological
Abridgment of
the Reigns
of the *Moguls*.

Miracha.
Abuchaid.

Miracha, third Son of *Tamerlane*, succeeded him in *Indostan*, the *Persian Irack*, and *Cabulistan*. He resided in *Herat*, and was kill'd in 1451, after a Reign of 46 Years. His Son *Abuchaid* had the Throne after him, and was driven from it on Account of his Indolence, but re-ascended it afterwards by valiant Actions. Excessive in his Virtues, as well as in his Faults, when he began to rouse from his Lethargy he became so active, that no body near him had any Repose. He unadvisedly attacked

Usun-

Ufumcaffan, and that rash War cost him his Life.

Scheik-Omar, *Abuchaid's* Son, reigned after him, but did nothing worthy of being recorded. His Son *Babar*, properly speaking, was the first *Indian* Emperor: For having abandoned his other Dominions, he retired in Disguise into *India*, and established his Residence there entirely. He gave Laws to the People he governed, which acquired him the Reputation of a wise Prince. He died in the Year 1530.

Homayum, the Son of *Babar*, ascended the Throne immediately upon his Father's Death. A Prince of the *Patanians*, or *Patans*, made War upon, and dethroned him: But *Homayum*, succoured by the King of *Persia*, repaired this Misfortune, and recovered his Empire. He died in 1552.

Ackbar, a Prince that even in *Europe* would have been regarded as a great Genius, succeeded next, and formed many glorious Enterprises. One was, to unite all his Subjects, *Pagans*, *Mahometans*, and *Christians*, in one Belief; for which Purpose he drew up a Body of Maxims, containing those Tenets in which all the Religions agreed. It is observed, that tho' he had this Design very much at Heart, he used only Caresses to put it in Execution, and chose rather to give it up, than to enforce it with Menaces and Torments. He was naturally humane, gentle, compassionate; and his Example may make some Sovereigns blush, who call themselves civilized and *Christians*. This good Prince poisoned himself by Mistake in 1605.

His Successor was *Selim*, his eldest Son, who

Gehan-Guire. who afterwards took the Name of *Gehan-Guire*. He reigned 23 Years, and during that Time made many Conquests. He died at *Bimber* in 1627.

Bolaqui. *Bolaqui*, the Son of *Bhadurcha*, and Grand-son of *Gehan-Guire*, succeeded under the Name of *Cha Geban*. He had revolted against his Predecessor, and his Reign was agitated with divers Troubles: For as if God had intended to punish his Rebellion, it so fell out that his Third Son *Aureng-Zeb*, or *Orang-Zeb*, rebelled against him, made him Prisoner, and together with his Liberty dispossessed him of his Throne. He died in 1666.

Aureng-Zeb. *Aureng-Zeb*, resolving to have no Competitor for the Empire, put to Death *Dara* his eldest Brother, obliged *ujab* the second to seek an Asyle in the Kingdom of *Arracan*, East of *Indostan*, and found Means to cut off *Morat* the Third, who had helped to advance him to the Imperial Dignity. *Aureng-Zeb* ascended the Throne in 1660, and died in 1707, aged 91 Years. He had for his Successor *Feragzier*, or *Cha-Alem*, who left his Crown after ten Years to his Son *Jehan-Cha*; and he reigning but a short Time, his three elder Sons, *Cha-Alem*, *Jebaan*, and *Ressi Ulkedder*, had the Sovereignty in their Turns and soon died; so that it came at last to *Mahmet-Cha* a Minor, the youngest of the four Brothers. It was this Prince that *Thamas Kouli-Kan* made to feel the Weight of his Resentment.

Mahmet-Cha's History and Character. *Mahmet-Cha* was brought up in the Seraglio, under his Mother's Care, who governed in the Name of her Son. This occasioned many

many Rebellions, conducted by the Grandees of the Kingdom, which however were all happily suppressed. When *Mahmet-Cha* was arrived at the Age of Majority, and governed by himself, the *Basirawds* (a hardy and courageous Nation inhabiting to the South of *Indostan*) revolted, and dared to make Incursions to the very Gates of *Deli*, the Place of the Imperial Residence. *Mahmet-Cha* overcame them, and every one expected he would have exterminated their Race: He, on the contrary, not only forgave the Multitude, but would not suffer even the Ring-Leaders of the Rebellion to be put to Death, in Hopes by his Clemency to attach them to his Interest. All the Accounts received from *India* do indeed agree in this, that *Mahmet Cha* is of a very gentle and pacific Nature. But this Inclination to Peace and Repose, proved fatal to him in the War he had with *Schach Nadir*; for having neglected the Occupation of Arms, his Troops were not able to withstand the Efforts of the Disciplined and Veteran *Persians*.

As to the Territories that compose the *Mogul Empire*, Authors enumerate Fifty-four large Provinces, of which the following Twenty three bear the Titles of Kingdoms; viz. *Deli*, *Agra*, *Labar*, *Asmit*, *Guzarat*, *Mallua*, *Patana*, *Batar*, *Brampour*, *Boglana*, *Ragemal*, *Multan*, *Cabul*, *Tatia*, *Bacar*, *Urecha*, *Cachemire*, *Decan*, *Nandé*, *Bengal*, *Ugen*, *Visapour* and *Golconda*. All these Kingdoms and Provinces form a Country of about Fifteen-Hundred Miles long, to reckon

Division
and Extent
of *Indo-
stan*.

on from the Kingdom of *Golconda* to *Kasni*, which lies upon the Borders of *Candabar*.

Soil and
Inhabi-
tants.

In this vast Extent of Territory some Parts are extremely fertile, even superior in that Respect to *Egypt*. Not only Rice and Wheat, but many Commodities unknown to *Egypt* are found there; as Indigo, Silk, Cotton, and many others which our Books of Voyages mention. Other Provinces are less fruitful, those in particular that are mountainous. In all *Indostan* there is but very little uninhabited Land, the whole Face of the Country abounding with Cities and Villages. The People are naturally slothful; yet do many of them, partly thro' Necessity and partly thro' Avarice, employ themselves in Manufactures of Silk, Brocades, Embroideries, Cloths of Gold and Silver.

Tributary
Kings.

The *Great Mogul* is not absolute Sovereign of all the Countries I have named. A few particular Districts have their own respective Kings, who pay a Tribute to the Emperor, and are obliged to take the Field with their Troops whenever he pleases to command. These Kings are Idolaters; and tho' the *Mahometans* are sworn Enemies of Gentilism, they tolerate these from a Political View, as they serve to counter-balance the Credit of the *Omrahs*, that is, the Grandees of the Court, who, tho' separately but weak in Comparison of the Emperor, become a very formidable Body when united.

These petty Pagan Monarchs are called *Rajas*, and their Soldiers *Ragipouts*, that is, the Sons of *Rajas*. They make a Vow either to conquer or die; then get drunk with Opium,

Opium, and will suffer themselves to be cut in pieces by their Enemies before they will turn their Backs. Besides the *Rajas* there are some Kings who only pay a Tribute, and are under no Obligation to serve in the Army: Such are the Kings of *Golconda*, *Visapour*, &c.

It must be imagined, that to guard this immense Tract of Land, there must be a prodigious Number of Troops: Nor indeed is there any Monarch in *Asia* who keeps so many as the *Great Mogul*. The Army, which encamps always at the Palace Gates, whether the Court be at *Agra* or *Deli*, amounts to 50,000 Horse, and 150,000 Foot. When the Emperor goes out, either into the Country or elsewhere, these two Cities resemble only a Camp that a vast Army has just quitted: For excepting the Quarters of the *Banians*, who are great Merchants, the rest is nearly depopulated. Besides this Army, every City of the Empire maintains continually a certain Number of Horse and Foot, who are always ready to march at the first Order. Add to these the *Ragipouts*, who make together no inconsiderable Body.

The Soldiers which the Cities furnish, assemble according to the Provinces or Kingdoms, and form a very large Army. The Kingdom of *Bengal*, for Example, furnishes 40,000 Horse, exclusive of the Infantry; the Kingdom of *Agar* furnishes 15,000 Horse; the Kingdom of *Deli* as many; that of *Cabul* 6000, and so of the rest.

To feed and support such a prodigious Number of Soldiers, there must be immense Revenues; and in these the *Great Mogul* is

no

no way deficient. He is Master of all the Effects in his Empire, and gives and takes them away, when and to whom he pleases. He raises and abases according to his Pleasure, with this particular Circumstance, that the Son of a General of his Armies, who has been the most rich, and the most loaded with Favours perhaps of any in the Empire, becomes in an Instant a mere Beggar, if he has no Merit, and is no more esteemed than if he sprung from the vilest Peasant.

Revenues
Fixed.

Besides this Prerogative which the King has of giving and taking away, he receives very large fixed Revenues, of which the following List was taken from the Archives of the Empire. But the better to understand it, I must first remark, that all the Kingdoms of *Indostan* are divided into *Sarcars*, that is to say Provinces, and that the *Sarcars* are subdivided into *Parganas*, signifying inferior Governments within the Limits of that Province, somewhat like the Hundreds in our Shires. In the second Place, the Reader ought to know, that according to the *Indian* Manner of Accounting, a Carol or Kourour is worth a Hundred Lacks, that a Lack includes a Hundred Thousand Roupees, and that every Roupee is equivalent to about Two Shillings and Sixpence Halfpenny English. †

The

† So that a Lack is about thirteen Thousand one Hundred and thirty Pounds, and a Carol about one Million three Hundred and thirteen Thousand Pounds, English Money. Some value the Roupee at Threepence Halfpenny less, but the Gross Sums here mentioned will not admit of it.

The Kingdom of *Deli* has within its Government eight *Sarcars* and two Hundred and twenty *Parganas*, which pay one Carol, twenty-five Lacks, and fifty Thousand Roupees.

The Kingdom of *Agra* reckons within its Limits fourteen *Sarcars*, and two Hundred and Sixty eight *Parganas*, which pay to the Emperor, two Carols, twenty-two Lacks, and three Thousand five Hundred and Fifty Roupees.

In the Kingdom of *Lahor* are computed Five *Sarcars*, and three Hundred and fourteen *Parganas*, the Revenue of which is two Carols, thirty-three Lacks, and five Thousand Roupees.

The *Sarcars* and *Parganas* in the Kingdom of *Asmir* pay two Carols, nineteen Lacks, and two Roupees.

The Kingdom of *Guzarate*, including nine *Sarcars* and nineteen *Parganas*, pays two Carols, thirty-three Lacks, and ninety five Thousand Roupees.

The Kingdom of *Mallua*, divided into eleven *Sarcars*, and two hundred and fifty small *Parganas*, pays but ninety-nine Thousand Lacks, and six Thousand two Hundred and fifty Roupees.

In the Kingdom of *Bear* are numbered eight *Sarcars*, and two Hundred and Forty-six small *Parganas*, which produce one Carol, twenty-one Lacks, and twenty-five Thousand Roupees.

The Kingdom of *Cabul*, divided into thirty five *Parganas*, affords but Thirty-two Lacks, and Seven Thousand Two Hundred and fifty Roupees. The

The Kingdom of *Tatta* pays five Lacks, and two Thousand Roupees.

That of *Bacar* pays only Twenty-four Lacks.

Tho' they reckon Eleven *Sarcars*, and a sufficient Number of *Parganas* in the Kingdom of *Urecha*, it pays no more than Fifty-seven Lacks, and seven Thousand five Hundred Roupees.

The Forty-six *Parganas* of the Kingdom of *Cachemire*, pay only Thirty-five Lacks, and five Thousand Roupees; tho' this Kingdom is called the Terrestrial Paradise of the *Indies*, on Account of its Fertility.

The Kingdom of *Illavas*, with its Dependencies, renders Seventy-seven Lacks, and Thirty-eight Thousand Roupees.

The Kingdom of *Decan*, which is divided into Eight *Sarcars*, and Seventy-nine *Parganas*, pays one Carol, Sixty-two Lacks, and Four Thousand seven Hundred and Fifty Roupees.

In the Kingdom of *Barar* they count Ten *Sarcars*, and a Hundred Ninety-one small *Parganas*, from which the Emperor receives One Carol, Fifty-eight Lacks, and Seven Thousand five Hundred Roupees.

The Kingdom of *Baglana* contains Forty three *Parganas*, and renders Sixty eight Lacks, and Eighty five Thousand Roupees.

The Province of *Candis*, which may also be called a Kingdom, produces One Carol, Eleven Lacks, and Five Thousand Roupees.

The Kingdom of *Nande* pays only Seventy-two Lacks.

That

That of *Bengal* pays Four Carols.

That of *Ugen* pays Two Carols.

That of *Ragemahal*, One Carol and Fifty Thousand Roupees.

The Kingdom of *Visapour*, and a Part of *Carnatte*, produce Five Carols.

Finally, the Kingdom of *Golconda*, and another Part of *Carnatte*, send up also Five Carols.

All these Sums, added together, amount to Three Hundred Eighty seven Millions, One Hundred Ninety four Thousand Roupees : And to take the *Indian* Roupees, as above, for about Two Shillings and sixpence each, *English* Money, the stated Annual Revenue of the *Mogul* Emperor amounts to about Forty three Millions, Five Hundred Fifty-nine Thousand Three Hundred Pounds *Sterling*.

Besides these fixed Revenues, there are some Casual Taxes, that bring him in great Riches. 1. He exacts a Tribute of so much *per Head* of all the Pagan *Indians*. 2. All Commodities, exported by Heathen Merchants, pay Five *per Cent.* of their Value by Way of Custom : The *Mahometans* are exempt from these Imposts. 3. There is a Sort of Tribute upon the Whitening of Linens or Cottons, of which there are vast Quantities in the *Indies*. 4. The Diamond Mines bring the Emperor in prodigious Sums; besides that he demands the finest, largest, and most perfect for himself. 5. The Sea-Ports, and in particular those of *Sindi*, *Barocha*, *Surat* and *Cambaya*, are subject to great Taxes. 6. But what most of all augments the Emperor's Revenues, is, that he is sole

sole Heir at Law to all the Moveables, Money, Effects, in a Word, to all the Wealth of those *Mahometan* Subjects who die in his Pay. By this Means the Widows of Governors of Provinces, and Generals of the Army, are often reduced to a very moderate Pension, and their Sons, as I before observed, (without Merit of their own) plunged into the meanest Beggary.

Arsenals, As to other Particulars; Except the Emperor's own, there are no *Arsenals* in the *Mogul's* Territories, every Commander of Troops being obliged to furnish Arms for his Men. For this Reason a *Mogul* Army appears with a Mixture of Mulkets, Scymetars, Bows, Swords, and Lances. But as to the *Imperial Arsenal*, we are assured that there is nothing in the World of that Kind more magnificent; all the Arms glitter with Precious Stones. His Artillery is numerous, and the Pieces of Cannon that he uses in War, for the most Part, are more antient than ours. It is not without Reason therefore, that some imagine the Use of Cannon and Powder was known in the *Indies* before the Time of *Tamerlane*, and that they attribute the Invention of them to the *Chinese*: For the *Moguls* have a Tradition, that the *Chinese* cast Artillery in *Deli*, at the Time that they were Masters of it.

Elephantr. The Emperor's Elephants make another Part of the Strength of his Armies, and are an Ornament of his Palace. He keeps to the Number of 500 of them, under large Porticos built on purpose. They have all pompous Names, like those which the *Europeans* give their

Men of War, Fire-ships, and Bomb-Ketches. One of them is called *Memum-Babarek*, that is to say, *The Majestic Mover*: Another is named *Dut-Hingar*, the *Terror of Armies*. The Furniture of these Creatures is of a surprising Magnificence. That in particular, which the Emperor rides, has on his Back a Throne shining with Gold and precious Stones. The rest are covered with Plates of Gold and Silver, Housings of Gold, Embroidery, Bells and Fringes of Gold. It looks as if the *Mogul* Emperor took Delight to exhaust Magnificence itself, in adorning these Animals, which are indeed the only Carriage he makes use of. The Elephant of the Throne, whose Name is *Orang-Gas*, that is, the *Captain of the Elephants*, is always followed by a long Retinue, and has a great Number of Officers in his Service. He never walks without Drums beating, Trumpets sounding, and Banners waving before him. The Maintenance of every Elephant is rated at 25 Roupees every Day, about Three Pounds, Three Shillings and Sixpence Half Penny *English*; but the Elephant of the Throne has three Times as much for his Allowance. Ten Servants are appointed to every Elephant, to take Care of and wait upon him. They are equally disciplined for Hunting or War; and by teaching them to attack Lions and Tigers, they are familiarised to Carnage in the Field of Battle.

The Emperor's Throne is valued at Four Carols or Kourours. Now Four Carols, at the Rate of one Hundred Lacks to the Carol, and One Hundred Thousand Roupees

The Emperor's
Throne.

to the Lack, amount to Forty Millions of Roupees; and allowing two Shillings Sixpence only for every Roupee, this Throne comes to about Five Millions *English* Money. Nor ought this Price to be thought extraordinary, if we reflect that it * stands upon Six large Pedestals of solid Gold, and is adorned with a Profusion of Rubies, Emeralds and Diamonds.

In a Word, it is very certain that the *Great Mogul* is the Richest and most Magnificent Sovereign in all *Asia*, and perhaps in the whole Universe: For those who have resided Ten whole Years in his Court, and been inquisitive about every Thing, affirm that he is, in this Respect, far superior to the *Grand Signior* and the *Schah of Persia* put together.

This is all that I thought it necessary to say of the *Great Mogul*, and his Dominions in general: But what follows I think may be properly added with regard to the Kingdom of *Cabul* or *Cabulistan* in particular, as that was the chief Theatre of the War between *Kouli Kan* and *Mahmet Cha*.

A particular Description of the *Mogul Empire*. It has *Tartary* on the North, from which it is separated by Mount *Imaus*, formerly *Caucasus*, and by the *Indians* called *Caf Dagni*. On the East it has the Kingdom of *Cachemire*; on the West *Zabistan*, and a Part of *Candabar*; and on the South, the Country of *Moultan*. The *Persians*

* See *Bernier's Travels in the East-Indies*, Vol. II.

ians have sometimes been in Possession of it, as the *Moguls* at other Times have been possessed of the Kingdom of *Candabar*.

The Rivers *Bebat* and *Nilab* have their Sources in *Cabulistan*, and cross it to fall into the *Sinde*, which is the *Indus* of the Antients. But tho' thus watered, it is not a very plentiful Country : For the Climate being extreme cold, in Comparison with the other Countries that compose the *Mogul* Empire, there is little Fertility but in such Places as are shadowed by Mountains. It is notwithstanding very rich, because a great Trade is carried on thro' it to *Tartary*, the Country of the *Usbecks*, and *Persia*. The *Usbecks* alone sell there above 60,000 Horses annually, and the Country is so commodiously situated for Commerce, that Supplies are brought to it from all Parts, of what it wants, and all Necessaries are to be had there at reasonable Prices.

The Capital of the Province is called *Ca-Cabul Ci-bul*. It is a very large City, and has twoty. good Castles. As two Kings have kept their Courts here, and several Princes have since had it for their Appointment, it abounds with Palaces. It stands in 33 Degrees and a half North Latitude.

In the Neighbouring Mountains grow *Mirabolans*, * which therefore the *Orientalists* call *Cabuly*. The same Mountains afford many Sorts of Drugs, and abound with Aromatic Woods. There are also Mines of Iron, that is fit for every Use. It is particularly

* An excellent Sort of Plums.

larly in this Province that they get those Canes, with which the *Indians* make Lances and Halberds. They are even planted in many Spots of Ground.

Religion *Cabulistan* is full of small Cities, Towns, of the *Ca-* and Villages, most of the Inhabitants of *bulistans*, which are Heathens, and therefore the *Pagods* are numerous. They reckon their Months by Moons, and with much Veneration celebrate the Feast they call *Houby*, which lasts two Days. Their Temples are then full of People, who come to pray and make their Offerings. The rest of the Celebration consists in Dancing along the Streets in Troops, to the Sound of Trumpets. At this Time they all dress in deep Red, and many go masked to visit their Friends. Those who are of the same Family eat together, and in the Evening they make Bonfires in the Streets. This Feast is celebrated every Year in the *February* Full-Moon, and it ends with destroying the Figure of a Giant, against whom a little Child draws Arrows in Representation of what their Priests tell the People. "God, say they, came down to the World in the Form of a little Child, and under the Name of *Cruchnan*. A great Giant, fearing to be destroyed by him, endeavoured his Destruction. But this Infant took Aim at him so dextrously with an Arrow, that he fell'd him down, and slew him." Some will have this to be an Emblem of Christianity, and pretend that the *Cabulistans* formerly professed that Religion. If so, they have terribly disfigured, by Superstition and Fable, what in itself is very simple. Their most considerable

ble Charity consists in digging a great Number of Wells, and raising of Buildings from Space to Space in the Highways, for the Convenience of Travellers. In these Buildings there is always a Place proper for those to reside in who are weary, and who carry Burthens; so that they may set their Packs down without Assistance. Such is the Kingdom of *Cabul*, and such are its Inhabitants. Let us now proceed to *Kouli Kan*.

We have in some Measure seen the Reasons which induced this *Schah* to make War upon the *Great Mogul*, *Mahmet-Gha*: The Progress and Success of that War is what we are next to relate.

Upon the Motions made by the *Persian* The Governor of *Candahar*, and the vernour of Extirpation of the Rebels, the *Souba*, or *Go-Cabul* alarmed: *Governor*, of the Province of *Cabul*, whose Name was *Nasir-Kan*, apprehended plainly that he was going to be attacked. He sent early Advice of it to the Court, which was then at *Deli*, and gave the *Mogolian* Monarch to understand, that he had not Troops sufficient to defend the Provinces committed to his Charge against the *Persians*. *Mahmet-Gha*, upon this, ordered considerable Remittances to be made him, by Means of which the Governor levied Troops, and fortified himself the best he was able. His Army, in a short Time, amounted to 50,000 Men. He took Possession of the Defiles between the Kingdoms of *Candahar* and *Cabul*, posted in them large Bodies of Troops, behind Entrenchments defended with deep Ditches, covered with a great Number of Trees that he caused

His Dispositions for a Defence.

to be felled, and supported with the necessary Artillery.

Kouli Kan was not ignorant of these Preparations ; but as he had still some Affairs to settle in *Persia*, he did not offer to interrupt them. At last he took the Field with an Army of 90,000 Men, and directed his March towards the Kingdom of *Cabul*. He attempted at first to pass the Defiles ; but found them so well guarded, that his Troops, brave as they were, were repulsed wherever they strove to penetrate. Any other than *Kouli-Kan* would have abandoned the Enterprize : He, on the contrary, found his Resolution and Courage encrease, in Proportion to the Difficulties he had to encounter ; and seeing that his Army, in Consequence of the good Orders he had given, abounded in Provisions and Ammunitions of War, he determined to wait patiently for some favourable Moment, wherein to surprize the *Mogulians*. It was not long before Fortune presented him with what he desired, the Means and Opportunity of penetrating into the Kingdom of *Cabul*.

Account of the *Patans*. There is a Nation in the Dominions of the Great *Mogul*, who came originally from the Banks of the *Ganges*, and had formerly expelled the Descendants of *Timur-Bec*, and got Possession of the Government of *Indostan*. This People, called the *Patans*, of whom I took Notice in speaking of *Hemayum*, the Prince they dethroned, and who was restored to the Throne by the Assistance of the *Persians* ; the *Patans*, I say, ever since that Time, have inherited an implacable Hatred against the

the *Moguls*, which they have never failed to give Proof of, when they had an Opportunity of doing them a Mischief. Of this there was now a remarkable Instance. A Soldier of that Nation, in the Army of *Nafir-Kan*, deserted and made his Escape to *Schah Nadir's* Camp.

As he demanded to speak with this Monarch, One of he was immediately conducted to him, and then con- had a private Audience that Instant. The ducts *Kou- Patan* told *Kouli Kan*, that he knew a cer- *li Kan* in- tain Way to bring him directly to *Cabul*, to *Cabu-* without the Governor's having the least Sus- *listan*. picion, who he was sure knew nothing of the Way he meant. Our *Persian* gave him Assu- rance of an abundant Recompence, in Case the Scheme he proposed could be put in Ex- ecution. The *Patan* knew the Country per- fectly well, and the Practicability of his Pro- ject: For the Seat of his Nation, under the Dominion of their *Rajas*, is between the King- doms of *Cabul* and *Candabar*. He conducted the Army from the Side of *Carabat* towards the West of *Candabar*, across many barren and desert Tracts of Land, where the Heats were excessive, and scarce a Drop of Water could be found: But the Example of their Leader restrained the *Persian* Soldiers from murmuring, and every one bore his own Hardship with Patience. At last they arrived at *Gafnin*, or *Gafna*, and from thence, after many Fatigues, at the Foot of the *Soliman* Mountains, which the Army traversed by a Way unknown, and impassable to any but the Soldiers of *Kouli Kan*. This Hero no sooner saw himself in the Territory of *Ca-*
C *bul*,

bul, but he rewarded his faithful Guide, and marched towards the Capital, turning a little upon the Right, and passing by *Allipafcha*, or *Alleboga*.

While he was upon the March, News was brought him that *Nafir-Kan*, trusting to the Guards he had posted in the Defiles, and the Difficulties his *Persian* Majesty would have to surmount, neglected most of the Precautions usual in Armies, and spent whole Nights in feasting and excessive Pleasures. One may imagine that the *Schah* did not neglect to improve this Information; He paid richly the Man who brought it, and hastened his March in order to surprise the *Mogul* General. He found him and his Troops in the utmost Security, and immediately drew up his Army to attack them. It is easy to conceive that in such a Situation, they made no long Resistance. In a Word, their Camp was almost surrounded, and forced the Moment it was stormed, Most of the Men were killed on the Spot, and the rest (except 3 or 400 who escaped by Flight) were taken Prisoners, to the Number of about 9000. *Nafir-Kan*, the Governor of *Cabul*, was among the latter. This Action happened a few Leagues below *Cabul*, in a small Plain surrounded with the Mountains of *Soliman*.

Where he
defeats
the *Mogul*
G vertor.

After the Defeat of *Nafir-Kan's* Army, all the other Posts in the Mountains were soon abandoned, none of the *Indians* attempting to make Head before the Conqueror. Perhaps the Reader will not be displeased to see here the Translation of a Letter, which that Monarch wrote to his second Son upon this Event.

A Letter and Edict of Schah Nadir, to his Second Son, Nassun Ulla Mirza, written from Biesjapour in Indostan, and sent by a Courier.

" In the Name of the Almighty and All-merciful God.

WE will that every one yield Obedience to our most dear and well-beloved Son, *Nassun Ulla Mirza*, whom we assure of our Royal Favour. Be it known, that trusting entirely in God, who is our Strength and our Support, we set out on *Tuesday* the 12th in the Morning from *Allipascba*, where we had rested our Army, and which is two Leagues distant from *Jillal-bata*, and arrived the Evening of the same Day at *Bariel-alb*. From thence, having put ourself at the Head of some Thousands of the most valiant of our Troops, we advanced by long Marches to *Himrod*, within three Leagues of *Biesjapour*, near which Place we are at this present. We learned at *Himrod*, that the Governor *Nafir-Kan* spent his Time in Diversions and Debaucheries, with the other Generals and chief Officers of his Army. Upon this Advice I advanced to his Camp, which I attacked at unawares, and immediately forced it. But a very few Soldiers escaped, the rest having been either killed or taken. Many Officers underwent the same Fate, and we find among our Prisoners the Governor *Nafir-Kan* himself. We have also taken all their Artillery, and all their Baggage. You will be informed of other Circumstances of this Battle by

His Letter thereupon to his Son.

the * Colonels *Mahmet Ibrahim-Beck*, and *Jeffii Chan-Beck*, whom I have dispatched to you, and who will give you a particular Detail by Word of Mouth.

Your Excellence, upon the Receipt of These, will order the Cannon to be discharged, the Drums to be beat, the Trumpets to be sounded, and all other Demonstrations of public Joy to be given. You will also send Advice of this Event to all our Superior Officers, that they with us may praise the Eternal, and render him Thanks for this happy and signal Victory.

After this Letter has been read, it shall be sent to *Jillal-abat*, to his Highness *Dioen Kuli-Beck*, chief Standard-Bearer of our Camp, who shall take Care to send it to *Cabul*, to his Highness *Jamoem Verdi-Kan*, and he shall transmit it to *Affir of Zulthoen* Governor of *Casmin*, and he to our most dear and well-beloved Son *Nassun-Ulla Mirza*, Vice-Roy of *Persia*, that he also may be informed of the Great Victory we have obtained. The whole shall be exactly followed and executed, according to the Tenor of our present Decree.

Given the 14th of the Month *Sjaboen Ulmbasan*, in the Year 1151." (According to the *English* Old Stile, November 28, 1738.)

At the Bottom of the Copy of this Letter that was sent into *Europe*, were these Words.

“ Thus

* So I translate the *Persian* Word *Mimbars* which signifies properly, Chief of a Thousand Men.

“ Thus wrote the Secretary *Cambet-Ali*, and his Words have been translated from *Persian* into *Dutch* as faithfully as possible.”

It is proper to remark, before we proceed, that *Kouli Kan* had surpris'd *Cabul*, the Capital of the Country, a few Days before the Battle. The Inhabitants, tho' they did not expect him, (no Man imagining he could pass the Defiles that were so well guarded,) did not however think it safe to irritate him, and surrendered as soon as he appeared. The *Schah* put a Garrison in the Town, with a *Persian* Governor. Cabul taken.

After this Conquest, he wrote to the *Great Mogul*, making him Propositions for a Peace. It is not the Custom of these Princes to have Embassadors resident at each other's Courts, much less to make formal Declarations of War, according to the Manner of the Christians. When they send an Embassy, it is only by way of Felicitation on some prosperous Event, or to give Notice of some extraordinary Occurrence. These are mere Casualties; and even on such Occasions, the Embassadors make but a short Stay, except at the Court of the *Great Mogul*, who sometimes detains them out of Pride, and refuses to give them an Audience of Leave, till they have been Witnesses of all the Pomp and Pageantry of his Court. As to War, they make no other Declaration of it, nor use any other Formality, than that of falling suddenly upon the Country they design to attack. For this Reason the Sovereigns always keep up a numerous Body of Troops, even in Time of Peace, and when they have most Reason to

Kouli Kan
sends to
the *Great*
Mogul.

be secure of their Neighbour's Friendship. After they have begun a War, they usually continue it a long Time, because neither Party will ask for a Peace, which they look upon as an infamous Mark of their own Submission. If they are obliged however to stoop to it, they commonly make the first Proposals themselves, and leave the Treaty to be concluded by their respective Ministers.

Substance
of his
Letter.

As *Kouli Kan* had taken Arms only for the Security of his Kingdom, he thought proper to prevent the Shame of his Enemy, and generously offered him to accommodate Matters. The Substance of his Letter, an exact Copy of which is wanting, runs thus. " That he was come at the Head of a powerful Army, to conquer a Country which had formerly belonged to *Persia*: That for his Part, he had always observed the Treaties that had been concluded between his Predecessors and the *Mogul* Emperors, by which this Kingdom of *Cabul* had been ceded to the latter; but that *Mahmet-Cha* having violated them, by fomenting under-hand the Rebellion of the *Aghwans*, he thought himself absolved from any farther Obligation by those Treaties; for which Reason he had entered the Kingdom of *Cabul* with an armed Force, and made a Conquest of it: That from the good Fortune which had always hitherto attended his Arms, he might flatter himself with Hopes of yet greater Success, in case he pursued his Point; but that notwithstanding, he offered him Peace, on Condition that the Kingdom of *Cabul* should be ceded to him in Perpetuity, to cover that of *Candabar*, and serve for a
Barrier

Barrier to *Persia*: That he demanded more-over all the Lands on the *Persian* Side of the *Indus*, from North to South, reckoning from the Source to the Mouth of that River; and this by way of Indemnification for the Expences of the War: Threatning, in case he did not accept of these Conditions, to carry the Arms of *Persia* into the Heart of *Indostan*, and attack him in the Capital of his Empire.

Pretty much like these were the Terms of *Kouli Kan's* Letter to *Mahmet-Cba*. They favour of that Spirit of Pride and Fierceness which Victory usually inspires; but did not in the least move the *Mogul*, nor abate any thing of the Haughtiness which the Monarchs of *Indostan* have always affected, and which is indeed common to all the Oriental Princes. It appears however, that *Mahmet-Cba*, in this, committed a great Fault: For if on one Hand we consider the Valour and good Fortune of *Kouli Kan*, the Discipline and excellent Order of his Troops; and on the other cast our Eyes on the Inexperience and Disorder that reigned in the Army of *Mahmet-Cba*; we cannot help concluding that his Pride and Contempt of the King of *Persia* were then out of Season; that it had been his Interest, and was in true Policy his Business to temporise, dissemble, and not expose himself lightly to a War, the Success of which, even then, had no advantageous Aspect on his Side. I own that *Kouli Kan* demanded a great deal. Not content with the Kingdom of *Cabul*, which he had already conquered, he wanted farther all the Countries on this Side the *Indus*, and which this

Reflections
on it.

Traſt included Part of the Kingdoms of *Moul-tan* and *Buckor*, quite down to *Tatta*, on the South; and to the Northward the whole Kingdom of *Cachemire*, or *Caffimere*, which makes a prodigious Extent of Country. Not to mention that the Kingdom of *Cachemire* has been ſo valued by the *Mogul* Emperors, that one of them uſed to ſay, he had rather loſe all *Indoſtan* than this petty Royalty, which is in Reality looked upon as the terreſtrial Paradise of the *Indies*, on Account of the Temperature of the Air, the Fertility of its Soil, and the Politenefs of its Inhabitants. But notwithstanding all this, the beſt Thing *Mah-met Cha* could have done, would have been to have made at once the Ceſſion demanded by the Conqueror, for whom Fortune ſo viſibly declared. This *Indian* Monarch, however took another Method, and published a Kind of *Maniſeſto*, full of abuſive Language againſt *Kouli Kan*, who received and read it in cool Blood, reſolving to answer it another Way than by the Pen of his Secretaries. This *Maniſeſto* is too ſingular to be intirely omitted here: I will attempt a faithful Tranſlation of it, forewarning the Reader that he muſt not aſcribe to me certain extraordinary Expreſſions, and even Ideas, which, odd as they may ſeem to us, are yet familiar enough to the Orientals.

Translation of the Letter or Manifesto which the Emperor Mahmet-Cha published against Schah Nadir:

The Supercription ran thus :

“ To Thomas Kouli Kan, Usurper of the Persian Throne. The Great Mogul's Manifesto

WE have a long while deliberated, whether we should write to a Man of such base and obscure Birth as thou art; and we reflected that it would be shameful for us, who are so much above all the Princes of the World, to enter into any Explanation with thee, who art nothing but an Usurper, an ungrateful perfidious Fellow, a Traitor, who hast never ceased to persecute thy temporal Lord and lawful Master, who had loaded thee with Benefits. But at last, we have resolved to demean ourself so far as to write to thee, to reproach thee with thy Crimes, and to exhort thee to Repentance; that thou mayest prevent the Indignation of God, and the Vengeance which our royal Hand is preparing for thee.

We have already given Orders to the Generals of our Army to re-take the Country which thou hast unjustly seized, to besiege Candahar; to drive from thence the Governor which thou hast appointed, and finally, to take thy Person, that I may cause that Punishment to be inflicted on thee which thy Crimes have deserved.

C 5 . . . Learn

Learn, Wretch as thou art, what it is to
tride with the Successor of *Tamerlane*, who
shines among other Sovereigns as the Sun a-
mid the Stars" —

Remarks
on the rest
of this
Piece.

I was going to translate on, when I saw so
many figurative Expressions, so many ab-
stracted and extravagant Thoughts, joined
to such a Number of barbarous Names, that
I was deterred from the Task, and thought
it my Duty to spare the Reader such a disa-
greeable reading; imagining it would be suf-
ficient to inform him, that in general this
Letter is full of what to us appears the most
gross Scurrilities, Rodomontades, and vain
Menaces. Add to all this the Quotations of
the *Alcoran*, and rough barbarous Names of
many Grandees of the *Mogul's* Court, who
are spoken of in this Manifesto, and you must
own that I have done the most prudently to
suppress the rest. The *Indian* Monarch fi-
nishes with saying, that he would send and
release *Schah Thomas* out of Prison, and re-
place him upon the Throne, and that *Kouli*
Kan should then have some Reason to repent
of his outrageous Attempts; that he might
however avoid the Sufferings which awaited
him; that the Pen of Mercy and Grace was
yet suspended over the Leaf of his Crimes, and
would efface them upon the least Tokens of Re-
pentance. Where hast thou, says the *Mogul*, seen
daring Heroes? Thou hast fought against Turks
and Georgians. I shall send Armies like unto
the Seas: Thou and thy Hosts shall not be able
to withstand them.

Our Hero, as I observed before, did not put
himself in much Pain about this Piece, and be-

believing that the best Refutation of it would be to push on the War with Vigour, he resolved to pass the *Indus*, and go in quest of the vain-glorious Monarch of *Indostan*, to put an End to the War by a decisive Battle.

Kouli Kan was still encamped near *Biesjapoer*, or *Pishore*, when he received the *Mogul's* Letter. This City is of no great Consequence, nor has it any good Fortification; yet there was in it a Garrison of 1000 *Indian* Horse, and some Hundreds of Infantry. The *Schah* sent a Summons to the Commander, requiring him to open his Gates; assuring him, that in case of Compliance, neither he nor his Garrison should receive the least Injury. The Governor having refused to surrender, *Kouli Kan* ordered the Place to be stormed, and it was immediately carried. Some of the Garrison, as is customary on such Occasions, were put to the Sword. But *Kouli Kan* saved the greatest Part of them, who immediately took on in his Army. The Town was abandoned to Pillage, and afforded the Soldiers a fine Booty.

The Taking of *Pishore*.

The *Persian Schah* did not stop here. Some Leagues distant from *Pishore* is a considerable City called *Attock*, situated upon the Confluence of the *Nilab* and that Part of the *Indus* to which it communicates its Name. *Kouli Kan* resolved to pass the *Nilab*, and make himself Master of this Place. There was no such Thing as a Bridge in this Country: But the *Schah* knew so well how to remedy this Inconvenience, by the Pontons which his *European* Engineers had built for him, that his Army very soon appeared on the other

Kouli Kan passes the River, and takes *Attock*.

Side

Side of the River. The Governor of *Attock*, surprized at this Expedition, and terrified by the Example of the Commander of *Pishore*, who was killed in the Carnage of that City, sent Deputies to the *Persian* Hero, and offered him the Keys of the Place. *Kouli Kan* put a Garrison in it, and made Dispositions for passing the River *Attock*, which is that Branch of the *Indus* already mentioned. Not a Creature opposed his Passage, which he performed without any other Loss than that of a few Camels loaded with Baggage, who fell down in the Water, and perished there with their Burthens.

The two Armies approach each other
 Mean Time *Mahmet Cha* was arrived upon the Eastern Banks of the *Indus*, at the Head of 400,000 Men. The *Persian* Army was very much diminished: The excessive Heat, and the Fatigue of bad Ways, had caused divers Maladies among them, which carried off abundance of Soldiers. They were not now, at the most, above 60,000 strong. Yet were they not in the least terrified at that vast Multitude of *Indians*, who came to dispute with them the Passage of the *Indus*. Every Thing seemed not only possible to them, but under the Conduct of *Kouli Kan* even easy. This Monarch detached one of his Brethren (he whom we spoke of in the first Part of this History as Governor of *Kerman*) with 6000 Men, and Orders to advance to the *Indus*, and chuse out a proper Place for passing over his Army. For this Purpose he had prepared a Number of Boats, the River being too large to have a Bridge laid over it.

The

The *Inde*, or *Indus*, by modern Geographers called the *Sinde*, takes its Rise in the Confines of *Little Thibet*, in the Mountains which separate that Kingdom from the Province of *Nagracut*. It runs along meandering from N. E. to S. W. separating first the Kingdom of *Cachemire* from the Country of *Ban-kiab*; next it traverses the Countries of *Attock*, *Moulton*, *Buckor*, and *Tatta*: then falls down into the *Indian Ocean*, after dividing itself into two principal Branches, which are its two Mouths, and form an Isle not much unlike the *Delta* of the *Nilus*. It receives in its Course the Waters of divers other less considerable Rivers, among which are those of *Nilab*, *Cow* or *Bebat*, *Lacca*, *Rawi*, and *Van* or *Via*. Every one knows that *Alexander the Great* passed the *Indus* with his Army, and made a Conquest of the Country which is at present called *Indostan*. His Name is still known in those Parts, and the modern *Indians* call him *Secander Filifons*, that is to say, *Alexander the Son of Philip*. The *Indians* of that Monarch's Time were, as they are at present, brave and courageous, witness *Perus* and his Army: But their Kings in that Age carried Luxury to an Excess beyond Expression, and perhaps surpassed even the *Mogul Emperors*.

(a) "When the King suffers himself to be A Passage
" seen in public (says *Quintus Curtius*) his from *Quin-*
" Officers *tus Curti-*
us, con-
cerning

(a) Quum rex se in publico conspici patitur, King P₂
thuribula argentea ministri ferunt, totamque iter, rui.
per quod ferri destinavit, odoribus complent. Au-
rea

" Officers carry Silver Censers before him,
 " and perfume all the Ways by which he
 " passes. He lies upon a Golden Litter, a-
 " dorned with Pearls that hang all round it.
 " He is clothed in a Lipen Robe, embroider-
 " ed with Gold and Purple. Behind the
 " Litter come his Gendarms and Body-
 " guards, many of whom carry Branches of
 " Trees, full of singing Birds, whom they
 " have taught to warble Variety of Tunes, in
 " order to divert him amidst his serious Affairs.
 " His Palace is enriched with gilded Columns,
 " entwined all along with Golden Vines, in-
 " termixed with Figures of Birds made in Sil-
 " ver; there being nothing in which they
 " more

rea lectica margaritis circumpendentibus recubat.
 Distincta sunt auro & purpura carbasia, quæ indu-
 tus est. Lecticam sequuntur armati corporisque
 custodes; inter quos ramis aves pendent, quas
 cantu seriis rebus obstrepere docuerunt. Regia
 auratas columnas habet; totas eas vitis auro cre-
 lato percurrit, aviumque, quarum visu maxime
 gaudent, argentæ effigies opera distinguunt. Re-
 gia adeuntibus patet, cum capillum pectus atque
 ornat: tunc responsa legationibus, tunc jura popu-
 laribus reddit. Dempstis soleis, odoribus illinun-
 tur pedes. Venatus maximus labor est, inclusa
 vivaria animalia inter vota cantusque pellicum fi-
 gere. Binum cubitorum sagittæ sunt, quas emit-
 tunt majore nixu quam effecto; quippe telum,
 ejus in levitate vis omnes est, inhabili pondere
 oneratur. Breviora itinera equo conficit: lon-
 gior ubi expeditio est, elephanti velunt currum;
 & tantarum belluarum corpora tota contegunt au-
 ro. Ac, ne quis perditis moribus desit, lecticiæ
 aureis pellicum longus ordo sequitur.

“ more Delight than in their variegated Birds
 “ of divers Colours. The King's Palace is
 “ open to all Comers; and while they comb
 “ and adorn his Hair, he gives Audience to
 “ Embassadors, and administers Justice to
 “ his People. His Sandals are taken off, and
 “ his Feet anointed with precious Odours.
 “ The greatest Exercise he takes, is with his
 “ Bow and Arrows to hunt and kill some
 “ Beast enclosed in a Park, while his Con-
 “ cubines surround him with Songs, and
 “ Vows for the good Success of his Sport.
 “ Their Arrows are two Cubits long, which
 “ they let fly with more Effort than Effect,
 “ their unmanageable Weight depriving them
 “ of Force. When he goes not far, he rides
 “ on Horse-back; but in a long Journey he
 “ is drawn upon a Car by two Elephants,
 “ whose monstrous Bodies are all adorned
 “ and caparisoned with Gold. And that no-
 “ thing might be wanting to this unbounded
 “ Luxury, a long Train of his Concubines,
 “ in Litters of Gold, follow in his Retinue.”

Such was the Life that the Kings of *India*
 led in the Time of *Alexander*, and, with very
 little Difference, such is the Life led by the
Mogul Emperors at this Day.

Kouli Kan's Brother, whom I mentioned to A Place
 have been detached to survey the Banks of found for
 the *Indus*, reported, that he had for a long passing the
 Time sought a commodious Place whereat *Indus*.
 to pass that River, and that he had at last
 found one some Leagues above *Hassan Ab-
 dol*, where the Channel was not extremely
 broad, nor the Stream over-rapid; but that
 the *Mogul* Cavalry appeared on the other Side,
 which

which would render the Passage difficult, and the Landing yet more so. *Kouli Kan* provided against this Inconvenience, by ordering a Range of long Barks, resembling Half-Gallies, to be built, and furnished with Artillery. This indeed required a considerable Time; but he employed such a Number of Workmen, and by the Help of the *Nilab* procured Timber so easily from the Mountains, that in a few Weeks the Work was finished.

Account of the Passage. Their Transport Vessels were ready prepared, and at the Head of these they put the floating Batteries, which, as they came near the opposite Shore, made a continual Fire upon the Enemy, till the Troops that were in the Boats could also use their small Arms. The *Indians* discharged a prodigious Quantity of Arrows, intermixed with Musket and Cannon Shot, which however did no great Damage: While the gallant *Kouli Kan*, getting into a small light Skiff, with only a few of his select Friends, advanced before all the Fleet, and jumped the first upon Shore. This little Company drove back a large Body of *Indian* Cavalry; but had at last been overpowered, if Succour had not opportunely arrived. Happily for them, the Troops disembarked under the Fire of the Artillery, and several Squadrons having formed themselves in an instant, fell upon the undisciplined disorderly Enemy, and put them to Flight.

The *Mogul*. Immediately the News was spread in *Mahmet-Cha's* Camp, that the *Persians* had passed the *Indus*. The *Mogul* Monarch, who lay with his Army a few Leagues from that River, no sooner heard what was done, but he began

began to perceive the Error he had committed, by putting himself in Competition with the fortunate *Kouli Kan*. His Pride vanished away, his haughty Menaces were changed into very different Dispositions, and he sunk at last into a total Despondency; so that the next Day, accompanied but with a few of the *Rajas* his Tributaries, he privately left the Army, with an Intent to hide himself from Danger in the most remote Part of his Dominions, after having laid waste all the Countries round, to prevent the *Persians* from following him. He was not however so expeditious in the pursuit of this Project, as to put it effectually in Execution. The *Mogul* Emperors had rather run the last Risk, than to abandon their *Seraglio*. That Multitude of women, who follow them almost wherever they go, are a perpetual Clog upon those Princes in their Journeys. Before *Mahmet-Cba* had got ten Leagues, two of his *Omrabs*, or Grandees, who each of them commanded a Body of Troops, overtook him: They had been informed of his dastardly Resolution, and were come to divert him from it, and engage him to return. Their Names were *Nezamelmolk*, who enjoy'd the Office of *Ajesia*, that is, High-Chancellor, and *Commaturudien-Can*.

What they represented to him was, that Things were not yet in such a desperate Condition; that the *Persian* Army was but a Handful of Men, in Comparison of those innumerable Forces who were under the Command of his imperial Majesty; that *Kouli Kan's* Troops were already fatigued with so many Labours and Inconveniencies, and above all with what they had

Is persua-
ed to
return.

had suffered in passing the *Indus* that their General, far from thinking to undertake any thing, would remain quiet, and esteem himself very happy if they did not attack him, but give him Time to repose his Troops, and re-establish their wasted Vigour; that finally, he ought to look upon the *Persian* Army, and upon *Schah Nadir* himself, as a Parcel of rash Fellows, who had only thrown themselves in the way of Destruction; that they were already half dead with Hunger and Weakness, and that, in order to defeat them, there was nothing more to do but to fall on as soon as possible.

Consents. These Reasons determined the *Mogul* to go back to his Army, but could not prevail on him to attack the *Persians*, who lay very still some Leagues above, only waiting till they were in a Condition to make their Appearance. The Gros of the *Mogul* Army, which remained under the Orders of one of the most powerful *Rajas*, was now reinforced by that Body of Horse, which always attends the Person of their Emperor. In all probability, if this Multitude of Forces united together had marched directly against the *Persians*, while their Strength and Spirits were yet languid, they might have purchased a cheap Victory: But instead of that, *Mahmet-Cha* took a Resolution to draw together all the Detachments he had sent out, and march towards *Labar*, to support the *Souba*, or Viceroy of that Kingdom, who seemed the most exposed to the Arms of the *Persian* Monarch. This Design was reasonable in itself, and moreover founded upon Advice received from the said

said *Soubo*, who was a very brave and able Commander. Upon hearing that *Kouli Kan* had passed the *Indus*, that Governor judiciously foresaw that he would endeavour to open himself a Passage through the Kingdom of *Labor* to *Deli*, the Capital of the *Indies*; especially as he had certain Intelligence, that the *Victor* held a Correspondence with some discontented *Rajas*, over whose Territories he was to pass, and augment his Army with their Troops as he marched along. The Necessity of going to cover the Kingdom of *Labor* seemed therefore indispensable, and the Emperor sent Orders to divers Detachments that he had made along the *Indus*, to re-join the Army.

While these Orders were executing, *Kouli Kan* seeing his Troops a little recovered, took the Field, and defeated a Party, and detached *Amier-bek-kan*, one of his Generals, with 6000 Men, to march towards *Emen-abad*, which may not improperly be called the Key of the Kingdom of *Labor*. Besides the Garrison which was in this Town, 10,000 Men defended the Avenues towards it, under the Command of *Fansdaar-Callinder-Can*. They were advantageously posted; but this did not hinder the *Persians* from defeating them, and carrying the City Sword in Hand. At the News of this Disaster, *Sikkeria-kan* (that was the Vice-roy of *Labor's* Name) advanced with 20,000 Men, fully resolved to make head against the *Persians* till *Mahmet Cba* should come up with all his Forces, and so take the Enemy in Front and Rear. But *Kouli Kan* foresaw all this; and, favoured by the discontented *Rajas*,
with