

1725. SHAMAKIE under the OTTOMAN dominion. The province of SHIRVAN was thus divided between these two parties, and the SHEMKALL of the LESGEES, who had submitted to the authority of the RUSSIAN emperor; but all of them pillaged at large.

WHILST the LESGEES gave proof of their inconstancy, the janissaries of the garrison of ERIVAN mutinied against ARIFI ACHMED, who was wounded in the fray, and saved himself by flight. In consequence of this revolt, they plundered his palace, and the GRAND SIGNIOR's chest. This insurrection was not attended with those effects which might naturally be apprehended. The troops soon repented of the violences they had committed, and returned to their duty: they sacrificed the authors of the disorder; and brought their general home in triumph. The PORTE, however, always disposed to shew a particular regard to the janissaries, appointed ARIFI ACHMED to the government of ERIVAN; but gave the command of the army to SAVI MUSTAFA, BASHA of EZEROUN.

THE campaign was opened in MAY, and ABDERRAHMAM BEG, son of AEDALLAH KOUPROLI, BASHA of VAN, gained some advantages over the PERSIANS, on the side of TAVRIS. After which he made himself master of the city of MARAND, and of the fortress of ZENOUS, without any resistance.

ABOUT this time LATIF KHAN, a nephew of SHAH HUSSEIN, upon the credit of his astrologers, appeared before HAMADAN with some troops, and according to their prediction he entered the town, but in a different manner from what he expected; for he was carried off by a detachment belonging to the garrison, and led into the city as a prisoner of war.

THESE advantages were followed by conquests of greater importance. The PORTE, not having succeeded against TAVRIS, determined to send a sufficient number of troops to reduce that place, where the number of inhabitants fit to bear arms was very large; and who, from a generous resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity, had sent their families and most valuable effects into the mountains of GHILAN. The command of the army designed against this city was given to ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, BASHA of VAN: eleven thousand TARTARS, who passed over into ASIA, by the way of CONSTANTINOPLE, were ordered to join him; and also the BEGLERBEG of NATOLIA, with the troops of his government. This general having collected a body of seventy thousand men, did not think it necessary to wait for these reinforcements; but put himself at the head of his army, and the thirtieth of JULY appeared before this great city.

THE PERSIAN general did not wait within ruinous walls, but took the field as soon as the TURKS appeared in sight. His army consisted chiefly of the inhabitants, who understood the use of arms, but had not been accustomed to military discipline; however, they determined to force their enemies to an engagement, before they had time to intrench themselves.

THE BASHA saw into their design : as soon as he perceived that the number of 1725, those who had marched out of the town amounted to twenty or thirty thousand men, in resentment of what had passed the preceding year, he fell on them with the fury of an enraged enemy. The PERSIANS stood their ground ; and fresh succours continually pouring in, they fought on both sides with equal bravery till night, when the PERSIANS, being routed on every side, flung themselves in the utmost confusion into the town.

THE TURKS were so eager in the pursuit, that they entered pell-mell with them, and the fight was renewed with incredible obstinacy. The inhabitants had thrown up intrenchments in the nine different quarters, of which this great city was composed, and defended themselves with the same bravery and resolution, which they had hitherto displayed on all occasions \*. The TURKS were four days and nights before they made themselves masters of seven of those entrenchments, notwithstanding they made repeated assaults : at length, on the third of AUGUST, about twenty thousand men, who had retired to the two last entrenchments, finding themselves unable to hold out any longer, offered to capitulate ; in consequence of which, they were permitted to retire to ARDEVILLE, with what effects they could carry with them.

Few sieges have been so bloody as this. The PERSIANS lost near thirty thousand men, and the TURKS about twenty thousand ; among whom were OSMAN BASHA of OURFA, who commanded the right wing of the army, the BASHA of CARAMANIA, and many other officers of distinction.

THE news of so important a conquest, was an agreeable surprize to the GRAND SIGNIOR ; and the more, as it was hardly believed that ABDALLAH KOUPROLI had as yet undertaken the siege. Soon after, the fortress of LORE surrendered to SAVI MUSTAFA. The BASHA of BAGDAT made himself master of several small towns <sup>b</sup>, situated within a few days journey of HAMADAN, in the road to ISFAHAN.

NOTHING more was wanting to complete the satisfaction of the OTTOMAN court, than to be revenged of the affront which one of her generals had received before the walls of GANJA, in 1723. SAVI MUSTAFA, who had conquered LORE, was charged with this new expedition : towards the end of AUGUST, he besieged the place with an army of forty thousand men, and after two days resistance, the commanding officer surrendered by capitulation.

SAVI MUSTAFA then marched into SHIRVAN, in hopes to subdue the LESGEEES ; but he did not succeed in this expedition : for the weather setting in very sharp, his soldiers deserted in such great numbers, that he was obliged to retire. To make amends for this disappointment, AHR submitted voluntarily to ABDALLAH BASHA, who confirmed the governor in his office.

WHILST

\* The taking of TAYRIS, as thus related by the TURKS, seems to be exaggerated with regard to the number and bravery of the PERSIANS, as if they meant by this circumstance to render the conquest the more distinguished. <sup>b</sup> These are called ASSISTAN, GEANGERE, FIROUZABAD, places which I do not find in any map, so imperfect are these with respect to PERSIA.

1725.

WHILST this general and SAVI MUSTAFA were carrying on their conquests in the northern provinces, a third army was ordered by the PORTE to force their way to ISFAHAN. This was commanded by ACHMED, now BASHA of BAGDAT, who availing himself of the present circumstances, had entered LORISTAN, and was advancing towards HEROMABAD, capital<sup>a</sup> of the country.

ALI MERDAN KHAN, VALI of this province, was in no condition to make head against the enemy, for all his troops did not exceed fifteen thousand men: he therefore retired into CHUSISTAN. His example was followed by the inhabitants of HEROMABAD, inasmuch that when ACHMED appeared before this town, he found it entirely abandoned. He entered without resistance, and with the same facility subdued the rest of the province.

In the mean while, the BASHA of MOSUL made incursions into the country of the BACTIARIS<sup>b</sup>, with a body of troops subject to the orders of ACHMED. These people were divided into two tribes, one called CAHAR LING, and the other EFH LING; they pretend, that under CONSTANTINE the GREAT they embraced the christian religion, which they have since renounced. They live all the year in tents. It is said, that the BACTIARIS joined to the LORIANS, would have been able to raise the siege of ISFAHAN, in the late revolutions by the AFGHANS, if the antipathy which reigns between these two neighbouring people, had not prevented their acting in concert upon that important occasion: this spirit of dissension now brought both nations into great difficulties. We have seen how the VALI of LORISTAN abandoned his country upon the approach of the TURKS. SEFFIE, KHAN of the BACTIARIS, took a less prudent step, though in appearance more generous: he marched with all the troops he could collect to meet the enemy: the fortune of the day was dubious for some hours; but the PERSIANS at length yielded to numbers, and saved themselves by flight.

AFTER this victory, the BASHA of MOSUL advanced within four and twenty leagues of ISFAHAN; and would doubtless have approached nearer, if he had not met with the advanced posts of the AFGHANS, against whom, as there was no declaration of war, he did not commit any act of hostility. The BACTIARIS, who were retired with their flocks into the mountains, sought for an opportunity to revenge their defeat; and harassed the TURKS by frequent and sudden attacks. The BASHA unaccustomed to this method of fighting, was more disposed to retreat than pursue his victory, when he was informed that the enemy had invaded BAGDAT. The VALI of LORISTAN, tho' unable to stand against the OTTOMAN army, carried the war into the TURKISH dominions, by which means he soon obliged them to abandon his province. The KHANS of AHOVAS and SUSTER, convinced of the facility of plundering a country

<sup>a</sup> DE L'ISLE calls the capital by the same name as the province, viz. LORISTAN.

<sup>b</sup> AHOVAS seems to be the proper name of the capital of this country, if it is neighbouring to LORISTAN; tho' in page 150, HONSAR near ISFAHAN is represented as the capital. BACTIARIA is a country which does not appear in maps under that name. It is sometimes confounded with the ancient BACTRIA, a country quite remote, bordering on or constituting part of INDEPENDANT TARTARY, on the eastern side of the CASPIAN SEA. DE L'ISLE has a BACTRIANI to the north of GEORGIA. We seem to be left pretty much in the dark with respect to the countries bordering on ARABIA; but this in question seems to be meant of that country, of which AHOVAS is the capital, according to DE L'ISLE.



try, which by the BASHA's excursions was left defenceless, joined him, and formed an army of near twenty thousand men. They entered the territories of BAGDAT, and spread terror and desolation over all the country, as far as the capital. The two daughters of the VALI, who fought by his side at the battle of GULNABAD, were induced by their filial duty and military genius to attend their father in this expedition; as they had also done in a late incursion towards BASSORA, from whence their father returned loaded with a considerable booty.

THE prudent conduct of the VALI produced the effect which he expected. As soon as ACHMED BASHA heard that the enemy were ravaging his government, he sent orders to the BASHA of MOSUL to rejoin his army, and left the VALI at liberty to return home by another rout. The TURKS lost a great number of men in this expedition: all the advantage they reaped from it, was the empty glory of having marched within three days journey of ISFAHAN.

## C H A P. IV.

*The RUSSIANS uneasy at the conquests made by the TURKS. Success of the RUSSIAN arms in PERSIA. The TURKS evade settling the limits of their conquests with the RUSSIAN resident. ASHREFF sends an ambassador to the PORTE. Character of this minister. He is admitted to an audience of the grand vizir. His conferences with the TURKISH ministers.*

THE rapidity of these conquests gave great uneasiness to the RUSSIAN ministers. Since the taking of TAVRIS, the GRAND SIGNIOR affected less condescension towards that court; and now the important successes of the last campaign, together with the slow progress of these new allies, greatly diminished the regard which had been shewn them before the death of PETER the GREAT.

THE inaction of the RUSSIANS in PERSIA, was owing to the circumstances of the court of ST. PETERSBURG. There was some reason to fear, that the throne was not so securely established, as to venture upon the pursuit of conquests in ASIA, by which nothing could be gained; and which, it is probable, were never meant on any other account than to check the TURKS, and to get possession of the silk trade. And as for the SWEDES and other neighbouring powers; being no longer restrained by the reputation which the CZAR had acquired, they might be the more disposed to seize the first favourable opportunity to renew, or form pretensions; for which sovereigns are never without reasons.

THE RUSSIANS, however, during this time had obtained some advantages in PERSIA. Lieutenant general MASTUSKIN having been informed, that the late vizir of RESHD had built a fort on the confines of GHILAN toward MAZANDERAN, with a design of molesting his foragers; he sent a body of troops, whither in the month of

JUNE,

The frequent mention of this circumstance gives the relation the air of romance; but because the original writers of these wars do mention it often, therefore it seems to deserve belief. We have only to consider them as male in inclination, as many women are.



1725. JUNE, and drove the enemy into MAZANDERAN. The vizir afterwards assembled his forces, and marched in order to fight the enemy; but the RUSSIAN infantry soon put them to flight. The demolition of the fort, and the taking of LAHIJAN, were the fruits of this victory. The SHAMKALL of TARKOU, having submitted with reluctance to the yoke imposed on him by the CZAR, engaged some of the neighbouring princes in his quarrel: he took the field at the head of an army, but soon had reason to repent this step; for a body of RUSSIANS attacked him on the twenty-sixth of SEPTEMBER, defeated, and drove him into the mountains. TARKOU, and several villages belonging to its independency, were pillaged and burnt; and his allies lost on this occasion one of their princes, with four of their chiefs.

BUT these advantages could enter into no comparison with the conquests made by the TURKS, who being now become masters of the several provinces adjudged to them by the partition treaty, reproached the RUSSIANS for keeping on the defensive, when, according to the treaty, they ought to have acted with vigor, in order to drive the AFGHANS out of PERSIA.

GENERAL ROMANZOFF, the RUSSIAN minister at the PORTE, was too expert a politician not to foresee the uneasiness he should be exposed to: he therefore solicited to go and settle upon the spot the respective limits. The RLYS EFFENDI represented, that the season was too far advanced; and moreover, that as the principal articles of the partition treaty were to be performed in SHIRVAN, it would be requisite to give time to SAVI MUSTAPHA to subdue the people of that province, who had lately blockaded SHAMAKIE. Thus ROMANZOFF had the mortification to see his journey postponed till the next year.

THE PORTE, not chusing to carry things to extremity, affected a condescension towards the RUSSIANS. The inhabitants of ARDEVILLE sent deputies to ABDALLAH BASHA, soliciting the protection of the GRAND SIGNIOR; but the TURKISH general knowing that this city was beyond the limits prescribed by the treaty, would not send any troops thither without orders. The grand vizir communicated this affair to the envoy and resident of RUSSIA, assuring them that these proposals should be rejected. This appearance of sincerity, already contradicted by the invasion of LORISTAN, and other conquests, did not last long. ABDALLAH BASHA received secret orders, in consequence of which he took possession of ARDEVILLE, as it were provisionally, and under the pretence that the rebel AFGHANS had a design upon it. OUROUMI, a city in the neighbourhood of TAVRIS, had lately imitated the same example, by submitting voluntarily to the TURKS. The irregularity of this proceeding occasioned fresh complaints, for the RUSSIANS alledged moreover, that the PORTE had committed a new violation of the treaty, by receiving an ambassador from the AFGHANS.

ASHREFF was so terrified at the progress of the OTTOMAN arms, that he addressed a manifesto to the inhabitants of MIANA, and some other frontier towns, exhorting them to submit to his dominion; after which, he attempted to reconcile by treaty, what he hardly thought himself able to obtain in the field. The negotiation was com-

committed to ABDUL AZIZ KHAN AN AFGHAN, who from a simple mule-driver, had, 1726. by his courage and resolution, attained to the posts of colonel and commandant of JULFA. He set out from ISFAHAN in SEPTEMBER; but having been detained twenty days at HARAMABAD by ACHMED BASHA, and twelve at HAMADAN, he did not reach SCUTARI till the twentieth of JANUARY this year.

THE arrival of this ambassador, induced the PORTE to believe, that the AFGHANS intimidated by the success of the OTTOMAN arms in the last campaign, would acknowledge the GRAND SIGNIOR as IMAM<sup>a</sup>, and sue for peace at any rate. However it was determined in council, that this minister should be received only as a simple messenger, deputed by a prince of the same religion as the TURKS. ABDUL AZIZ expected an audience as an ambassador from a king of the sect of the SUNNIS; but perceiving that the court did not intend to acknowledge him in any public character at all, he pretended to be ill, and desired to be removed to CONSTANTINOPLE. As it was the intention of the PORTE to grant him an audience, they easily consented to his request, which perhaps had been suggested to him: but instead of a galley, according to the custom observed towards ambassadors, he was sent in a simple gondola.

THE ninth of FEBRUARY, he was conducted to an audience of the grand vizir, with more ceremonies than he could reasonably expect, as the agent of a chief, whose sovereignty was not acknowledged by any crowned head. He persisted in vain that he would deliver ASHREFF's letter, to none but the GRAND SIGNIOR himself, which as the case stood was not practicable. The TURKS, who are not very scrupulous in regard to the privileges even of the most authorized ministers, finding they could not prevail upon him to deliver the letter, resolved to take it from him.

ASHREFF's proposals were very bold, and far from being couched in the most respectful terms. This prince in his letter assumed the pompous title of king of kings; he concluded it with four ARABIAN verses, the sense of which seems to be very romantic, as well as imperious, viz.

- “ The fabre and the lance are our sweet basil;
- “ We despise the daffodil and myrrh;
- “ Our drink is the blood of our enemies,
- “ And their skulls serve us for our cups.”

THE sentence on the signet<sup>b</sup> was of the same nature. “ The faithful observer of the commandments of the most high; the dust of the feet of the four friends, ABUBEKER, OMAR, OSMAN, and ALI, is ASHREFF, by the divine permission become the most illustrious of the sovereigns of the earth.”

THE apprehensions which had been entertained at CONSTANTINOPLE, concerning the humiliation of the AFGHANS, were now changed into indignation. As they looked

<sup>a</sup> The supreme head, both in spirituals and temporals, of the MAHOMMEDANS. See p. 199.

<sup>b</sup> They give this signet the name of BUL. It is an impression in ink, which serves instead of a signature. See Vol. I.

1726. looked upon the haughtiness of ASHREFF as unpardonable, the ministers were very desirous that the people should approve of the war, so that they spared no pains to inflame their resentments.

IN the mean time ABDUL AZIZ supported his master's interest, with a confidence answerable to the pompous title which that prince had assumed. The negotiation seemed to tend more to mortify the TURKS, than the refusal of the OTTOMAN court to acknowledge ABDUL AZIZ as ambassador, had humbled this AFGHAN. He behaved under these delicate circumstances, with great intrepidity, and as much confidence, as if he had been acknowledged in a public character; insomuch, that the ministers of the GRAND SIGNIOR began at length to be embarrassed. In the answer which the MUFTI, and the expounders of the law at CONSTANTINOPLE, gave to a letter written to them by the MIANGI and the expounders of the law at ISFAHAN, we find the principal points on which these conferences turned.

RELIGION was the object on which the AFGHANS founded their pretensions. ABDUL AZIZ reproached the TURKS, with having failed in an essential point of their faith, in not making all their efforts, as the AFGHANS had done, to destroy the monarchy of the SCHIAS. He allowed, that the GRAND SIGNIOR was lawful IMAM in TURKEY; but he added, that this did not hinder ASHREFF and his successors from being IMAMS in PERSIA; especially, as a single chief is not sufficient to govern countries so vastly extended, as those possessed by mussulmen. He maintained, that a conqueror, acknowledged by the grandees of a kingdom, was the lawful sovereign of it; and as such had a right to claim the towns and provinces which had been torn from it; since his sovereignty extended to those provinces and towns, as well as to places where his authority was established.

THE TURKISH commissaries appointed to treat with him, made answer, that the wars which the GRAND SIGNIOR had been obliged to maintain against the different christian powers, had prevented his destroying the empire of the SCHIAS: that he had deprived the SCHIAS of many considerable provinces, and as soon as the peace concluded with the princes of EUROPE afforded him leisure, he would accomplish the work. They added, that according to law and tradition, there could not be more than one IMAM at a time, unless their dominions were separated by the sea, which might prevent all communication: that this was not the case with respect to PERSIA; nor was ISFAHAN at such a distance, as to render the nomination of another chief necessary; since under the reign of OMAR, whose empire extended from MEC-CA to HAMADAN, a plurality of CALIPHS, had never been acknowledged; that the sovereignty of the conquests made by the AFGHANS, as well as of those made by the GRAND SIGNIOR, belonged of right to this monarch, in quality of IMAM; while the AFGHANS could pretend to nothing farther, than the moveable goods of the people whom they had vanquished; and they defied ABDUL AZIZ to prove the contrary.



## C H A P. V.

*The TURKISH ministers propose queries to the MUFTI, relating to the consistency of a rupture with ASHREFF. Answer of the MUFTI. The PORTE declares war against ASHREFF. The AFGHAN ambassador leaves CONSTANTINOPLE. CASBIN surrenders to ABDALLAH BASHA. Dispute between the TURKISH generals. Misunderstanding between the RUSSIANS and TURKS. ABDALLAH BASHA defeats TÆHMAS'S troops before ARDEVILLE.*

THE TURKISH ministers persisted in maintaining that there could be only one <sup>1726.</sup> IMAM, and that this IMAM ought to be the GRAND SIGNIOR, not only on account of his hereditary sovereignty, but because he had in his power the principal places of worship of the three written religions<sup>a</sup>. This dispute, the decision of which seemed to rest on the longest sword, was however supported by ABDUL AZIZ, who answered undauntedly, that if the musselmen of the two empires could acknowledge only the same head, this title was due to ASHREFF, as descended from the illustrious tribe of CORAICH<sup>b</sup>, to whom the dignity of CALIPH by right belongs, and as destroyer of the monarchy of the SCHIAS; and not to a prince born among a nation of an obscure original, who, not satisfied with granting peace to heretics, had, by a treaty contrary to the law, delivered into the hands of infidels, several cities<sup>c</sup> in which mosques had been erected.

THESE conferences served to increase the animosity of both parties. The PORTE was desirous of war; but as the MAHOMMEDANS look upon it as vile and dishonourable to declare war against a people of their own sect, the TURKS would have been glad at least, that ASHREFF should lay them under a necessity of breaking with him, or to find some proper reason for a rupture: the most plausible seemed to arise from the very nature of the negotiation, especially as ABDUL AZIZ in the course of the argument, pretended to prove his master superior in birth and dignity to the GRAND SIGNIOR.

THE letters which passed between the MUFTI of CONSTANTINOPLE, and the ME-ANGI of ISFAHAN already mentioned, were made public, and served as a manifesto; and perhaps had a stronger effect, than if it had borne that title; for it was made use of to conciliate the minds of the people to a rupture with the AFGHANS. The PORTE then demanded the FETFA<sup>d</sup> of the MUFTI, proposing the following queries:

“ 1. WHETHER it be permitted by the law, for the true believers to acknowledge  
“ and obey two different chiefs at one and the same time ?

I i 2

“ 2. IN

<sup>a</sup> MECCA, because of the temple, which they say ABRAHAM, father of the HEBREWS, built there, and as the place where MAHOMMED was born: JERUSALEM, respected by the JEWS, and much more so by the CHRISTIANS; and MEDINA, the seat of the empire, and burying-place of their prophet, and of the first CALIPHS his successors. <sup>b</sup> The tribe of MAHOMMED, one of the most illustrious of MECCA, who were distinguished by their care of the temple which was intrusted to them.

<sup>c</sup> BELGRADE ceded in 1718 to the emperor by the treaty of PASSAROWITZ, and DERBEND to the empire of RUSSIA.

<sup>d</sup> See page 107.

1726. "2. IN what manner they ought to act against a mussulman, who after subduing the capital of PERSIA, and some other towns contiguous to the conquests made by the OTTOMAN arms, should contest the GRAND SIGNIOR's sovereignty, annexed to the dignity of IMAM, and send letters demanding those conquests, under pretence that they constitute part of an empire which belongs to him of right, as possessor of the capital, and of the throne of the S. HIAS?"

THE MUFTI answered the first of these queries, "That a plurality of chiefs was declared unlawful by the assembly of the ASHABS<sup>a</sup>, unless there should be some barrier betwixt their territories, such, for instance, as the INDIAN OCEAN, which might hinder them to consult, and to assist each other."

ON the second query he determined, "That if the mussulman in question desisted from his pretensions, and submitted to the authority of the head of the faithful, every thing would be right; but if he persisted in his rebellion, his death was declared necessary by a precept of the law, which enjoined the destruction of him."

THESE FETVAS were followed by a declaration of war. THE GRAND SIGNIOR being affronted at the insolence of ASHREFF's seals, caused a signet to be made, with an inscription of the same romantic nature as that of ASHREFF's already related.

"The defender of justice, zealous for the four friends<sup>b</sup>,

"Is AHMED, son of the warlike MAHOMMED, ever accustomed to subdue his  
"enemies.

"By the eternal truth, ASHREFF is not the most illustrious of the kings of the  
"earth:

"He is a paste kneaded with the leaven of MIR VAIS, a rebel, a symbol of  
"ignominy."

IF we consider with what a blind enthusiasm some religious wars have been carried on in EUROPE, we shall not be surprized at these romantic preludes to the shedding of MAHOMMEDAN blood. After these contests, ABDUL AZIZ had his audience of leave from the grand vizir on the last day of MARCH, with very little ceremony. This minister however presented him with ten purses<sup>c</sup> for himself, one for his nephew, who had accompanied him in his journey, and another for his chaplain. He also sent a very fine watch for ASHREFF's ATHEMAT DOULET, in acknowledgment for a string of pearls which he had received from that minister. The next day ABDUL AZIZ took his leave of the MUFTI, and departed for BAGDAT under the conduct of a TURKISH AGA.

THE AFGHAN ambassador had scarce entered the province of DIARBÉKIR, when he was arrested by the commandant of KERKISIA, a fortress near the EUPHRATES. The PORTE, in order to authorize such proceeding, gave out that ASHREFF had  
set

<sup>a</sup> A name given to the companions of MAHOMMED.  
<sup>c</sup> Five hundred dollars of four shillings, each purse.

<sup>b</sup> ABUBÉKIR, OMAR, OSMAN, and ALI.

set the example, by confining, in the common jail, an officer whom ACHMED BASHA had sent to him. It may be presumed, that the GRAND SIGNIOR was unwilling this envoy should inform ASHREFF, of the repugnance which the TURKISH army shewed to the war.

1726.

IN the mean time the inhabitants of CASBIN made an offer to ABDALLAH BASHA, of submitting to the OTTOMAN dominion, on condition the GRAND SIGNIOR would be satisfied with sending them a TURKISH governor, but no troops. This general, however sent twelve thousand men under the command of ALI BASHA, one of his principal officers, who took possession of the town in the name of the GRAND SIGNIOR. MARAGA also fell under the dominion of the PORTE : but this conquest had like to have proved fatal, by the jealousy which arose between the BASHAS ABDALLAH and ACHMED, who both pretended to the government of that place. This town had always been in the district of TAVRIS, a circumstance which seemed decisive in favour of ABDALLAH ; and yet the reputation of ACHMED prevailed over every other consideration. ABDALLAH would have retired to OURFA, the capital of his government, if the GRAND SIGNIOR had not recommended his sacrificing his private resentment to the interest of his country.

THE RUSSIAN minister at the PORTE having learnt that a body of TURKS had advanced towards GHILAN, made his complaint, and was answered, that the RUSSIANS ought to repel any troops who should disturb them, contrary to treaty. It could not however be supposed, that this detachment had acted without orders ; hence it was inferred, that the TURKS had entered GHILAN, only to feel the pulse of the RUSSIANS, who were considered as enjoying the choicest province in the whole country, tho' in fact they drew but very little, if any advantage from it. It is reasonable to presume that the curiosity of the TURKS was excited by the solicitation of both the ENGLISH and FRENCH embassadors : the ARMENIANS, who were wont to bring silk to them from GHILAN, on account of these troubles discontinued their caravans, which was by no means satisfactory to the merchants of these nations.

THE OTTOMAN armies had in the mean time taken the field, and their first operations seemed to promise as much success as the preceding years. ABDALLAH BASHA received advice, that the PERSIANS had assembled troops near the conflux of the ARAS and the KURA, designing to attack ARDEVILLE. Upon which he detached ten thousand men against them, under the command of his son ABDERRAHMAN, and put them to flight.



## C H A P. VI.

*TÆHMAS SHAH endeavours to negotiate a treaty with the RUSSIANS and TURKS. ASHREFF fortifies ISFAHAN. He marches an army to meet ACHMED BASHA. Stratagem used by ASHREFF to evade a battle with the TURKS. ACHMED gives battle to the AFGHANS, and is defeated.*

1726. **T**ÆHMAS SHAH, after his escape from the snare which had been laid for him by ASHREFF, was now a fugitive in MAZANDERAN. This escape had convinced him, that the throne of his ancestors was recoverable only by force of arms; and seeing himself betrayed or deserted in every quarter, he determined to agree to the execution of the treaty of CONSTANTINOPLE. In consequence hereof he sent an ambassador to the court of RUSSIA; and at the same time he wrote to ABDALLAH BASHA, desiring this general to acquaint the PORTE of his resolution.

His letter, among other particulars contained as follows: "The vilest of our subjects, some miserable tribes of AFGHANS, have by the permission of the Supreme, revolted against their lawful sovereign, and made themselves masters of part of our dominions. You have taken advantage of this fatal conjuncture to attack us, and these hostilities have prevented our stopping the progress of the rebels. Such a behaviour we did not expect: who could have imagined, that an OTTOMAN general would have had recourse to artifice, to make himself master of TEFFLIS? How can we discover an enemy disguised under the veil of friendship? Does the bird know that the spray on which it perches, will one day make its cage?"

"THE RUSSIANS have offered us their assistance, but we refused it from a nation who are enemies to our religion. Being therefore under the necessity of punishing our rebellious subjects, we earnestly beg you will engage our illustrious father, the PADISHAH<sup>b</sup>, who is the refuge of the universe, to grant us a truce of three years; and we agree that the countries which he has conquered, shall always remain in his hands."

How advantageous soever these proposals might appear, the PORTE wavered in her determination. If she granted the truce, TÆHMAS might be enabled to recover his dominions, which he now yielded by necessity. On the other hand, if she continued deaf to his petition, he might throw himself entirely into the hands of the RUSSIANS. Under these circumstances, the GRAND SIGNIOR commissioned MUSTAFA EFFENDI, a man, who by his extraordinary abilities had raised himself early in life to very considerable employments, to examine upon the spot into the situation of affairs, under the specious pretext of negotiating the treaty which this prince had proposed.

TÆHMAS'S

<sup>a</sup> ARABIAN or PERSIC verses.

<sup>b</sup> A title which the GRAND SIGNIOR assumes, and which is explained by that of emperor, but carries with it also a different meaning, as the chief of the MAHOMEDANS both in spirituals and temporals.

TÆHMAS's offers to the court of RUSSIA did not meet with greater success. 1726. Prince DOLGORUKI, who commanded this year in the conquered provinces, detained the ambassador; and we do not find that any regard was shewn to the proposals: indeed it was not probable that the RUSSIANS should appear in behalf of the fugitive king of PERSIA, when they remained inactive with regard to their own conquest.

THESE negotiations of TÆHMAS did not create so great uneasiness at ISFAHAN, as the neighbourhood of the OTTOMAN armies. ASHREFF considering that all his forces would be insufficient to defend so large and ill fortified a town, had formed a project of a very singular nature. This was to build a second city within the inclosure of the first. The walls were made of earth, and about forty feet high; they were flanked with towers near fifty paces distant from each other, and surrounded with a large deep ditch. This new city included the old citadel, the great square, and the king's palace; and what is most surprizing, it was finished in less than three months, tho' it was above four miles in circumference.

ASHREFF having thus prepared a place of retreat, thought of rendering it more difficult of access to his new enemies. With this design he detached some troops, who ravaged the open country from this capital to the very gates of CASBIN.

ACHMED BASHA, who was marching towards ISFAHAN at the head of a formidable army, was therefore obliged to change his rout. He was not advanced far, when the inhabitants of CASBIN, excited by the emissaries of ASHREFF, declared for this prince, and drove away the garrison which ABDALLAH KOUPROLI had quartered in that city, contrary to the treaty which they had made.

ASHREFF, depending more on his cunning and politics, than on the strength of his armies, published several manifestos upon this occasion, by which he exhorted some other towns to follow the example of CASBIN: and in order to persuade them to it the more easily, he promised to exempt them from all imposts during the space of three years, if they would voluntarily submit to his dominion.

THIS prince, after the example of his predecessor, used all his endeavours to prevent the inhabitants of the capital knowing what passed abroad; yet they received some imperfect accounts concerning the motions and designs of the TURKS, which flung the city into a general consternation. The OTTOMAN army was apprehended to be very numerous, so that the fall of the AFGHANS appeared as inevitable. The PERSIANS and christians were equally desirous of changing masters, the one thro' aversion, and the others from views of commerce; but the recent remembrance of the miseries they had suffered, and the notion they had entertained of the cruelty of the TURKS, made them consider this new revolution as a misfortune, in which they were in great danger of being involved.

ASHREFF was not without anxiety, but he concealed all emotions of fear, with a seeming indifference. That he might not risk his whole fortune at once, by waiting for the enemy under the walls of his capital, he put himself at the head of his  
troops,

1726. troops, and went forward to meet them. His first camp was at SHAH BAGHI, a place distant five or six leagues from ISFAHAN. Here he spent some days in making the necessary preparations; after which he marched towards HAMADAN, by the same road which he knew ACHMED BASHA had taken.

THE TURKISH army was advanced within twenty leagues of that city, when their scouts brought him word that the AFGHANS were within sight. Towards the 20th of NOVEMBER, the two armies encamped within three leagues of each other; they had been in this position some days, when ACHMED BASHA resolved to try the mettle of an enemy, with whose manner of fighting he was not acquainted. With this view, he ordered two thousand horse<sup>a</sup>, supported by four thousand janissaries, to advance before the main body of his army; but this detachment having been conducted by guides not well acquainted with the road; within half a league of ASHREEF's camp, were surrounded by the AFGHANS, and cut in pieces, almost in sight of their general, who was in full march with his whole army to their assistance.

ACHMED, discouraged at this misfortune, ordered his army to entrench themselves. In the mean while ASHREEF had recourse to art and stratagem. The small number and the inexperience of his troops not permitting him to expect any advantage over his enemy by nobler methods; he endeavoured to sow the seeds of sedition in the TURKISH camp. He spared neither money nor promises to tempt those officers whom he thought least mindful of their duty; whilst his partisans in the OTTOMAN army handed writings about in form of manifestos, wherein he protested, "That it was with the greatest concern he saw mussulmen bent upon the destruction of each other; that this war, unlawful in itself, and dishonourable to religion, had already lasted too long. In regard to himself, he called GOD and MAHOMMED to witness, that he wished for nothing with so much earnestness, as to enter into a reasonable accommodation."

To this he added another expedient of a more public kind, but not less artful: he chose from among his nation four CHEIKS<sup>b</sup>, the most venerable for their age and knowledge; and ordering them to put on their ceremonial habits, he sent them as ambassadors to the BASHA's camp. These old men presented themselves unarmed, and were conducted to the general, who treated them with respect. After the usual compliments, the eldest of them addressing himself to the BASHA, in an audible but modest tone of voice, spoke to this effect: "ASHREEF, our sovereign lord, has sent us to desire you not to draw your sabre against mussulmen, who have obeyed the precept of the law in subverting the throne of the SCHIAS. He is surprised that the OTTOMANS should treat him as an enemy, and make an alliance with christians, with a design to strip him of a kingdom, to which his being a descendant of the prophet's own tribe, his religion, and his conquests, give him such just rights. He protests before GOD, that he lays all the blood that shall be spilt in this iniquitous war to your charge, if you oppose his establishing the true worship in his dominions, and reduce the AFGHANS to the hard necessity of defending themselves against their own brethren.

THIS

<sup>a</sup> Spahis, or ASIATIC cavalry.

<sup>b</sup> This ARABIAN word signifies not only an old man, but likewise a prince, a doctor, or the head of a community.



THIS audience was given, according to custom, in full assembly. The TURKISH 1726. general perceiving that this discourse made an impression on the minds of some of his soldiers, who were already influenced by the age and character of the deputies, made answer immediately; "That he was come into PERSIA in consequence of the "orders of the emperor his master; that musselmén<sup>a</sup> could not, according to law, "have more than one head in spirituals, as well as temporals; and that the GRAND "SIGNIOR being possessed of this title as successor to the CALIPHS, ASHREFF must "acknowledge him in that quality, or he should soon feel the effects of the strength "and courage of the OTTOMAN forces."

THE general had scarce finished, when the callers to prayer<sup>b</sup> gave notice that it was noon. The CHIEKS, attentive to the purpose of their commission, as well as their duty in point of religion, rose up immediately without making any reply, and joined in prayer with the TURKS. By this act they gave proof of the conformity of their religion: they concluded their prayer, begging with a loud voice, that the Almighty would please to open the eyes, and to touch the hearts of these musselmén their brethren. After this they withdrew, making fresh protestations that their master was innocent of the blood that was going to be shed. This artful conduct, strengthened by the secret intrigues of ASHREFF, soon began to produce its effects; for the deputies were hardly out of the camp, when they were followed by a chief of the KOURDS, with five thousand of his men.

THE BASHA being informed, that the CHIEKS were attended by more troops than he had sent to escort them, suspected some treachery, and dispatched a large body of horse after the deserters: part of this detachment joined the KOURDS, and the rest being much inferior in number, were obliged to suffer them to proceed unmolested to the enemy's army.

ACHMED being struck with this event, resolved to give the enemy battle. ASHREFF grown braver by necessity, and the reinforcement of these KOURDS, marched immediately out of his camp, and advanced towards the enemy. The TURKS quitted their lines, and ranged themselves in battalia: their army consisted of between seventy and eighty thousand men. The right wing was formed by twenty thousand KOURDS, who were all cavalry, under the orders of BABEC SULIMAN OGLOU, their prince. The left was commanded by SELICTAR MAHOMMED, and five other BASHAS, among whom were ABDERRAHMAM, son of the SERASKIER ABDALLAH, and HUSSEIN, also of the celebrated family of KOUPROLI. This army was also attended with a train of seventy pieces of cannon.

ASHREFF's forces consisted of seventeen thousand foot, among whom were twelve thousand AFGHANS, with coats of mail<sup>c</sup>; sixteen thousand horse, AFGHANS, PERSSEES, and DERGHEZINS, with forty harquebusses mounted on camels backs. This prince, surrounded by his principal ministers, was seated, according to the custom of the INDIAN kings, on a throne carried by an elephant. The

<sup>a</sup> This alludes to the sect of the TURKS being the only true believers.

<sup>b</sup> These are called MOEZINS.

<sup>c</sup> This is a light iron network about the head and shoulders, and sometimes they wear the same kind of armour on their bodies under their cloaths.

1726. THE TURKS gave the signal of battle at fix in the morning, by firing ten pieces of cannon. The AFGHANS returned it with five: upon which the SERASKIER charged them briskly at the head of the right wing, and repeated the attack three several times with great bravery, during which time his artillery kept an incessant fire; yet he was repulsed on every side, and obliged, towards three in the afternoon, to retire in disorder to his entrenchments. The TURKS lost twelve thousand men: their defeat would probably have been more complete, if ASHREFF had not forbid his men to pursue them.

This conduct might also be imputed to a new piece of policy. The greatest part of the OTTOMAN army had not engaged, and an eagerness of pursuit might have snatched the victory from him; especially as there was little reason to believe that the enemy, contrary to their custom in such cases, would keep the field.

## C H A P. VII.

*Artful Behaviour of ASHREFF. Situation of the PORTE. Preparations in TURKEY against the AFGHANS. The TURKS unsuccessful against the ARMENIANS. Prudent administration of ASHREFF. The TURKS send commissaries into PERSIA. A treaty of peace concluded in the camp of HAMADAN, between the TURKS and the AFGHANS.*

ASHREFF, after his victory, removed his camp to the field of battle. The event justified his prudence, for the next night, the KOURDS spread themselves along the lines of the TURKS, crying out, that as part of the army was gone over to the AFGHANS, they would also retire immediately; after which, taking an advantage of the disorder which they had occasioned, they began to plunder the baggage.

THESE seditious clamours produced the effect, which the authors of them intended. The SERASKIER perceiving that he should expose himself to no purpose, in venturing a second engagement, while his troops were thus disheartened and mutinous, decamped silently in the night; and leaving his baggage and artillery behind him, he retired to KERMANSHA.

THE AFGHAN prince did not interrupt his march: it was not his design to demolish an army which might be easily replaced, but to baffle the projects of the PORTE, by increasing the repugnance which the TURKISH nation in general shewed to this war. The same religious zeal, which has ever created such bloody contests between the TURKS and the PERSIANS, was now a reason not to fight with the AFGHANS. ASHREFF accompanied rather than pursued them, as far as the walls of this city: but not satisfied with having defeated his enemies, and driven them from his frontiers, which was acting merely on the defensive, he used other gentle expedients to disarm them. No sooner was he arrived near KHERMANSHA, than he sent deputies to ACHMET BASHA, who, upon the approach of the AFGHANS, retired with his scattered forces towards BAGDAT. Instead of proposing a negotiation,

as

was expected, these deputies declared publicly to the BASHA: "That their sovereign ASHREFF was of opinion that the spoils taken from people of the same religion, cannot be kept as a fair booty: as he possessed his dominions as a lawful prince, he did not think fit to act as a robber, by detaining the property of his brethren; for which reason he has commissioned them to acquaint the BASHA that he might send for his treasure and baggage, and, except arms, in general for whatever his troops left in their camp." To this act of generosity, ASHREFF added that of returning the prisoners he had taken, plainly intending to create friends of people, whom he had no further reason to fear, at least in the present campaign.

THE TURKS were the more affected with their repulse, as they had other troubles upon their hands. The death of PETER the GREAT, had not been attended with any of those changes, which they expected. This monarch's last will, supported by the grandees, and by the whole army, established the empress CATHARINE on the throne without any competition. VACHTANGA, the GEORGIAN prince, who was driven from TEFLIS, and retired to ST. PETERSBURG, was now sent to ASTRACHAN. The RUSSIAN empress being affronted at the little regard which the PORTE shewed to the representations of her ministers, required of this prince to take up his residence in that city, in the neighbourhood of his own country. This circumstance, joined to the inconstancy of the GEORGIANS, alarmed the TURKS.

SULTAN DELI, a nephew of the KHAN of the CRIM TARTARS, now headed a body of malecontents, and gathered new strength and courage, by a great number of CIRCASSIANS and other TARTARS, whom he drew to his standard. The reputation of his arms, and the desire of plunder, had lately tempted them to make an expedition towards AZOPH, from whence they returned loaden with spoil, before the KHAN had time to oppose them.

IN the mean time, things continued in some confusion on the western coast of the CASPIAN SEA. Prince DOLGORUKI made no progress on the side of SHIRVAN: the LESGEEES were masters of great part of that province, and were interested to oppose the intended partition; so that the RUSSIAN and TURKISH deputies had no opportunity to execute their commission. Towards the south, the ARABS, naturally fierce and impatient of any foreign yoke, would not submit without the utmost reluctance. The title of CORAISH, which ASHREFF assumed, joined to the desire of novelty, might engage them in that prince's party; and with such assistance he might easily become master of MECCA and MEDINA, and cause himself to be proclaimed head of the MAHOMMEDANS\*; whilst the troubles which had lately broke out in EGYPT, were not entirely pacified. The court endeavoured to insinuate, that ASHREFF had embraced the religion of the PERSIANS; but this artifice was easily seen through by the people. A war, undertaken against a nation of the same faith, was considered as odious and unlawful; and the most zealous attributed the loss of the battle to the divine justice, which had confounded the temerity of those who opposed the propagation of the faith, by declaring against the destroyers of the monarchy of the SCHIAS.



1726.

UNDER such circumstances this disaster might have been imputed to a person of less esteem than ACHMED BASHA, and, according to the usual policy of eastern countries, been sacrificed to the public resentment. But this general was the son of a man, whose head the PORTE had demanded several times to no purpose; and they were now to behave towards him with deference, that he might not declare in favour of ASHREFF, and by this means assume an independent sovereignty in his province.

The republic of VENICE had not forgot her rights to the MOREA, nor the emperor of the ROMANS his to BOSNIA: this prince, already dissatisfied with the ALGERINES, who had taken one of the ships belonging to the EAST INDIA company of OSTEND, was not only in peace with all EUROPE, but also closely connected with the RUSSIANS.

WITH regard to SHAH TÆHMAS, they did not treat him with such contempt, as to neglect demanding of him the cession of the provinces they had conquered; yet all the abilities of MUSTAFA EFFENDI, could not prevail on him to agree to the conditions proposed. Thus the TURKS, though masters of great armies, and strongly inclined to reduce all PERSIA to their obedience, saw themselves in danger of being forced to relinquish this favourite object. The GRAND SIGNIOR, however disgusted at his late disgrace, opened his treasures, and employed all his ministers in making dispositions for the next campaign. They embarked twelve thousand men at ALEXANDRETTA: six thousand men of EYDIN received orders to join them, as also a body of troops drawn from the standing forces of EGYPT: and concluding there was better reason to depend on christian subjects, who could not be worked upon by the artful insinuations of ASHREFF; they ordered the BASHA of NISSA, with twenty thousand ALBANIANS, and the BASHA of BOSNIA, with ten thousand BOSNIANS, to take the same rout towards PERSIA. The beginning of APRIL this year, ten men of war were also sent to SALONICA for fresh reinforcements.

THESE powerful succours were sent to ACHMED BASHA. The winter had passed without any action worth notice, except that of SAVI MUSTAFA, who marched out of GANJA of which he was governor, and dispersed the ARMENIANS in the neighbourhood of SHAMAKIE. These people taking advantage of the present circumstances, formed themselves into a kind of republic, which, as we have mentioned, distinguished itself by the total defeat of a body of six thousand men, whom ABDALLAH BASHA had sent against them the preceding summer. It was not long before they had their revenge also of the governor of GANJA. It was their custom to assemble in great numbers during EASTER, in a plain in that neighbourhood. Having received intelligence that the TURKS had formed a design to surprize them on this occasion, they took their measures, and not only defended themselves, but also drew the TURKS into their defiles, where they obtained an easy victory over them.

ASHREFF saw that the OTTOMAN court meditated his ruin; and though he had kept the field, and obtained a victory in the last campaign, he had hardly any other support than his own abilities to maintain himself upon the throne. His great point was to increase his reputation for piety and religion. With this design he obliged

obliged his ministers and principal officers to give him an exact account of their 1727. conduct and administration : at the same time, to demonstrate how much he meant to govern as a just prince, he sent to all his governors and great officers, a detail of his military operations, and of the manner in which he had governed since his accession to the throne.

THIS piece of policy was less necessary than he imagined. The vast preparations, which seemed to threaten his utter destruction, vanished of themselves. The new raised troops in TURKEY, who had been deceived with regard to the place to which they were at first ordered to march, obstinately refused to pass the frontiers of the empire. The desertion was so much the greater, as the apprehension of a general insurrection secured them from punishment. The people and the soldiers murmured alike against a war, which their honest, tho' superstitious prejudices, taught them to look upon as unjust and impious.

THE PORTE, alarmed at an opposition which defeated her projects, did not hesitate long upon what measures to take. She dispatched orders to the SERASKIER, ACHMED BASHA, to enter as soon as possible into a negotiation, and to conclude a peace with ASHREFF on the most honourable conditions he could obtain.

How pressing soever these orders were, ACHMED was in no hurry to comply with them. This general having received fresh succours from the KOURDS and ARABS, had formed an army of sixty thousand men ; with these he hoped to repair his loss in the last campaign, the disgrace of which could not be imputed to him. The temper of this general was too well known by the TURKISH ministers, to depend on an absolute compliance on his side : therefore they sent to him RICHIDI EFFENDI, a man of ability and experience in business. This minister arrived in SEPTEMBER at the army, which had already entered the plain of HAMADAN, when the AFGHAN army was not far off. The SERASKIER had at least the satisfaction of treating at the head of an army. He sent to ZOULA, prime-minister and general of ASHREFF'S troops, to acquaint him, that now was the time to decide their quarrel ; therefore he had only to accept of the conditions which he was commissioned to propose to him, or prepare for battle ; when he hoped to shew what an OTTOMAN general, at the head of a faithful army, was capable of performing.

THIS blunt manner of opening the conferences, contributed to hasten the conclusion of a peace, now become equally acceptable to both parties. The negotiation being referred to men of abilities and moderation, towards the beginning of OCTOBER a treaty of peace was at length signed in the camp of HAMADAN.

THE articles were as follows :

- I. THE GRAND SIGNIOR shall be acknowledged head of the musselmans, and the true successor of the CALIPHS.
- II. In this quality, the public prayer<sup>a</sup> shall be made in his name throughout all PERSIA.

III.

<sup>a</sup> КОТБАИ.

1727. III. THE provinces, cities, and towns, which he possesses in PERSIA, shall be ceded to him in perpetuity.
- IV. HE shall re-enter into possession of CHUSISTAN, retaken from him during the war.
- V. HE shall take possession, and hold in like manner, the cities of ZENGAN, SULTANIE, EBHER, TÆHIRAN, and their dependancies.
- VI. THE artillery, arms, and standards, taken from the OTTOMAN army in 1726, shall be restored.
- VII. ASHREFF shall be acknowledged by the GRAND SIGNIOR as lawful sovereign of the kingdom of PERSIA.
- VIII. HE shall be named as such after the GRAND SIGNIOR in the public prayers, and shall coin money in his own name.
- IX. HE shall appoint an EMIR HANDGEE to conduct the PERSIAN caravan, which goes every year in pilgrimage to MECCA<sup>a</sup>. This caravan shall, according to custom, take the road to BAGDAT; but the governor of that city shall not have a power, as formerly, to appoint a chief over it; nor shall it be subject to the authority of any of the GRAND SIGNIOR's officers.

THE treaty being ratified on both sides, the peace was proclaimed by circular letters through the OTTOMAN empire; and the GRAND SIGNIOR, by a solemn embassy, acknowledged ASHREFF as the lawful sovereign of PERSIA.

<sup>a</sup> This custom, as I have observed, had been discontinued by the PERSIANS, though the SUNNIS make a point of it.





Blackey delin.

Major sculp.

Nadir Shah

Published according to Act of Parliament.

## P A R T XI.

T H E

## B I R T H A N D L I F E

O F

## N A D I R K O U L I,

FROM 1687,

TILL HIS PUTTING TÆHMAS SHAH  
IN POSSESSION OF MESCHED IN 1727.

## C H A P. I.

*The name of the PERSIAN usurper, his birth, captivity, robberies, and employment in the service of a BEG, whom he murders; he marries the daughter of the deceased, and retires into the mountains: his engagement in the service of the governor of KHO-RASAN: he commands an expedition against the OUSBEGS, acquires great honour, and is afterwards disgraced.*

**T**H E Sovereign of the universe, who fixes the periods of empires, and re-<sup>1727.</sup> strains the wild ambition of princes, had now prepared an instrument of his vengeance to chastise the AFGHANS, whose cruelties had filled PERSIA with blood. Their triumphs drew near an end; the hour approached, in which the PERSIANS were to take ample satisfaction for all the ravages committed by those usurpers, from the death of CURGHIN KHAN <sup>a</sup>, to their invasion of PERSIA <sup>b</sup>, and for all the dreadful calamities they had occasioned during that period <sup>c</sup>.

ABOUT this time appeared, with a more distinguished eclat, NADIR KOULI, the history of whose life and actions will ever seem wonderful, because they are really so, and not the fictions of romance, or the flattery of panegyrists: characters like  
his,

<sup>a</sup> In 1709.<sup>b</sup> In 1722.<sup>c</sup> Till 1727.

1727. his, will excite the curiosity, and command the attention of posterity, so long as the lives of great men, and accounts of great actions, continue the object of historical enquiry. We shall here find a man, whose birth and beginning were so obscure, as with difficulty to be traced out; conducting to an issue, with amazing resolution and steadiness, opportunities he had worked out for himself; planning with deliberation and foresight, the fabric of his future fortune; and carrying his designs into execution, with an unwearied application, till, like other mighty conquerors before him, he became terrible to ASIA, and the undoubted arbiter of the east.

THIS great warrior changed his name, as he changed the situations of his fortune, which has occasioned some perplexity: his real name was NADIR KOUL, or NADIR KOULI<sup>a</sup>. NADIR, both in the TURKISH and PERSIAN languages, signifies wonderful; which epithet is used by the MAHOMMEDANS to design the particular attribute of the deity, as we ordinarily say the Almighty; tho' the use and custom of PERSIA gives it to people of the lowest rank of life. When SHAH TÆHMAS made him a khan<sup>b</sup>, as we shall have occasion to relate, he honoured him with the addition of his own name; and this last is one of the highest dignities that can be bestowed by the monarchs of PERSIA. He was then TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN<sup>c</sup>; and tho' KOUL signifies a slave, in this sense it is the highest badge of honour in the east. Afterwards, when he became the sovereign of PERSIA, he reassumed his name NADIR, with the addition of SHAH<sup>d</sup>. As he must be ever considered as an usurper, the name by which he has been most known, and probably will continue to be known, to posterity in EUROPE, is TÆHMAS<sup>e</sup> KOULI KHAN.

THOUGH authors seem at length agreed about his original name, their accounts differ in some particulars with regard to his birth and family, and first appearance in life. As to himself, he sometimes boasted of the meanness of his extraction; at others, policy or caprice induced him to claim a relation to GINGIZ KHAN, the great TURKUMAN conqueror, and also to TAMERLANE. I have not yet seen any account so satisfactory and consistent, as what I received in PERSIA; and I am the more inclined to acquiesce in it, because, tho' there are very few reports of things, in which the PERSIANS agree<sup>f</sup>, yet in the circumstances I am now about to relate, people of the most understanding, and of the best intelligence, unanimously concurred.

ACCORDING to these accounts, NADIR was born in the year 1687, at a village, or more probably in a tent, a few days journey<sup>g</sup> to the south-east of MESCHED, not far from KÆLAT<sup>h</sup>. He was descended from the AFSHARS, who are a tribe of TARS

<sup>a</sup> KOUL, in TURKISH, is a slave; and NADIR KOULI, signifies the slave of the wonderful: for the idiom of the language fixes the genitive on the antecedent noun, so that instead of NADIR KOUL, they say NADIR KOULI.

<sup>b</sup> Noble or chieftain.

<sup>c</sup> Which signifies the lord, who is a slave of

TÆHMAS.

<sup>d</sup> NADIR SHAH, or NADIR the king.

<sup>e</sup> This orthography seems most agreeable

to the PERSIAN pronunciation: but this, as well as other ORIENTAL words, are variously wrote by different authors, as TAMAS, TAHMAS, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Whether it has been from this cause, or that

few people have travelled in PERSIA, I find the several accounts which have been written of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, are, for the most part, very erroneous; so that in the prosecution of this work, I shall chuse rather not to say all that I have heard, than to advance any thing, of the truth of which I am in the least diffident.

<sup>g</sup> A day's journey is commonly reckoned twenty-four miles. <sup>h</sup> I do not find this place in the maps; but I shall have frequent occasion to mention it as a strong hold, and the repository of the treasure taken from the MOGHOLS.



TARS, and subjects of PERSIA: they live for the most part by husbandry, and supply the PERSIANS with horses and cattle. The name of NADIR's father was IMAM KOULI, whose situation of life was such, that he earned his bread by making caps and sheep-skin coats, which is the apparel of the lowest of the common people in PERSIA. NADIR himself was bred to no other employment than that of a shepherd, and being only thirteen years of age when IMAM KOULI died, he was left in so poor a condition, that he was obliged to gather sticks in the woods, for the support of himself and his mother, and carry them to market on an ass and a camel<sup>a</sup>, which were his only patrimony.

It is recorded of him, that when he was returning in triumph from his conquest of INDIA, he happened to pass near the place of his nativity, where he made a set speech to his chief captains, in which he related in what manner he had passed the early part of his life; and, in particular, mentioned the feeding his father's camel, concluding to this effect: "You now see, to what a height it has pleased the Almighty to exalt me; from hence learn not to despise men of low estate."

ABOUT the year 1704, when he was seventeen or eighteen years of age, the OUS-BEG TARTARS made an irruption into KHORASAN, where they put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried others into slavery; among the last were NADIR KOULI and his mother: she died in captivity, but he made his escape in 1708, and returned to KHORASAN. From this time we hear no more of him, till with some of his companions he robbed a flock of sheep<sup>b</sup>; the money which this produced, enabled him to retire into the mountains. We do not find that he continued the profession of a robber for any length of time, but entered into the service of a BEG, by whom he was employed as a courier. He was once charged with dispatches of importance to the PERSIAN court at ISFAHAN, and sent in company with another courier, as is frequently practised in PERSIA. Whether NADIR was ambitious of being the sole carrier of these dispatches; or whether his fellow-courier did not travel fast enough; or for some other secret reason, he killed him. After his arrival at ISFAHAN, he told his story so well, that he procured admittance to the ministers of SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN, to whom he assigned such plausible reasons for his conduct on the road, that he was not only acquitted, but received presents, and was sent back with answers to the letters he had brought. His master, however, received him with such

<sup>a</sup> In proof of this I was told an anecdote, pretty remarkable, and much to his honour. After he was exalted to the throne and sovereignty of PERSIA, a person named by SAIDAR, who had been his companion and fellow-labourer in ranging the woods, was created a khan, and granted the privilege of wearing the black heron's feathers on the left side: this is one of the highest marks of favour in PERSIA, for their kings wear these plumes upon the right, as a badge of their sovereignty. This man died at KISLAR, on an embassy to RUSSIA. NADIR, upon conferring those honours upon him, spoke these words, "Do not grow proud, but remember the ass, and the picking of sticks." And so late as 1745, KELEK BEG a yurbashi or captain, declared, that NADIR KOULI, having formerly borrowed of him fifty batmans of wheat, which is about the value of thirty shillings of our money, he had often importuned both NADIR KOULI and his brother, who was afterwards IBRAHIM KHAN, for payment of it; and that at length they did repay him thirty batmans of the fifty. What is still more remarkable, and more convincing of the truth; after he ascended the throne of PERSIA, he took notice of this incident in a public manner, and reproached KELEK BEG for his unmerciful importunity, but did not pay the balance of this debt of poverty, nor take any further notice of the man.

<sup>b</sup> Not of his father's, as some writers mention, for he was already dead; nor do we find (tho' his uncle might be in better circumstances) that his father was ever master of a flock of sheep.

1712. such a countenance, as gave reason to suspect that he meditated his destruction. NADIR perceiving this, resolved to kill his master; to which he was the more induced, from a violent passion he had conceived for his daughter, whom he had demanded in marriage, but was refused. After the murder was perpetrated, he took the lady away, and retired into the mountains. One effect of this enterprize was the birth of RIZA KOULI MYRZA, whose genius and disposition had so great a resemblance with his father's. This desperate action having acquired him a reputation for courage, some of the domestics of his late master the BEG, joined him, and they became robbers. In this station they continued for some time, plundering as favourable opportunities occurred. NADIR at length offered his service to BABULU KHAN governor of KHORASAN<sup>a</sup>, by whom he was accepted in the capacity of a gentleman usher<sup>b</sup>.

1714. It may seem strange, that a chief of a gang of free-booters, should be received into the family of a governor of a province, and have an honourable office bestowed on him. But this will not appear such a matter of surprize, if we consider the great extent of country, and that NADIR's robberies were for the most part in MAZANDERAN, which is three or four hundred miles distant from MESCHED. Add to this, that a man of personal strength and bravery generally meets with a favourable reception in PERSIA, without being much questioned concerning his manner of life. Besides, the revolt of MIR VAIS had alarmed the eastern provinces, as it gave occasion for the TARTARS to make frequent inroads: men of a promising figure, or remarkable for their gallant behaviour, were therefore sure of being acceptable; and thus we may reconcile the conduct of the governor of KHORASAN.

THE PERSIANS are all supposed to be soldiers upon occasion; and it may be presumed, that NADIR's reputation for courage and personal strength, were recommendations more prevalent than virtue, or any polite accomplishment. But without being bred at court, from the strength of his own genius and discernment, he was a master of the arts of address, and having a mind unrestrained by any moral consideration, he insinuated himself into the affections of those, whom he afterwards made no scruple to destroy. He behaved so well in this new service, that he won the heart of his master; and, under the specious pretence of desiring to please, he concealed his ambition. The satisfaction he expressed in his present situation, induced his companions to believe, that to be faithful in the cause he espoused, was the virtue he aspired at most; however, he affected a particular zeal for some, whilst he shewed a coldness for others, as they seemed more or less inclined to his interest.

1717. THE distresses<sup>b</sup> of PERSIA increasing, he had not been long in the service of BABULU KHAN, before a command in the army was given him, in which he behaved with

<sup>a</sup> BABULU KHAN had also the title of BEGLER BEG, or lord of lords: I have had occasion to explain, that there are not above three or four in the empire, of whom one is always fixed in KHORASAN. This province has been generally considered as a kingdom, and the government given to the king's son, or nearest relation. Some ages are past since a wall was built along this frontier, to prevent the incursion of the TARTARS, of which there are still some remains: but SHAH ABAS the GREAT removed several thousand families from other provinces, and brought them hither, alledging that a wall of flesh was the most effectual barrier against an enemy. NADIR after this example fixed several families of JEWS and CHRISTIANS, as well as NAHOMMEDANS, in MESCHED, to some of whom he lent money to trade, to others lands were assigned to cultivate.

<sup>b</sup> ESİK AGASSI.

<sup>c</sup> See pag. 123, 124, &c.

with great intrepidity, in several skirmishes with the TARTARS of KIEVA and BOK-HARA, who frequently made inroads on the frontiers of KHORASAN. EZADALLAH being already master of HERAT, and the KOURDS in the west making incursions into IRAC AGEMI; the TARTARS<sup>a</sup>, who are generally called OUSBEGS<sup>b</sup>, came this year in a body of above ten thousand men, and began to lay waste the most fertile plains of KHORASAN, plundering the inhabitants, and carrying many thousands into captivity. In this emergency BABULU KHAN collected all his forces, which did not exceed six thousand men, and of these part were infantry. His officers shewed a reluctance to try their fortune with so unequal a force, against a people of such known bravery as the TARTARS. NADIR KOULI had different sentiments of the matter; and from his experience of the valour of the KHAN's troops, offered his service to march at their head against these ravagers; declaring at the same time, that he would engage his life upon the event. NADIR's military virtues were evidently superior to those of the officers about the KHAN, though he was not now above thirty-three years of age. The KHAN was so sensible of this, that he had already given him the command of a thousand<sup>c</sup>; and not having the least doubt of his fidelity, he accepted the offer, and conferred upon him the command of his troops, during the intended expedition, whilst himself remained in the city, to keep good order, and prevent the inhabitants from following the example of those of HERAT, who had revolted three years before. Several of the officers refused to act under this new general, but their place was soon supplied by others, whom NADIR approved of.

THE OUSBEGS were already advanced to the banks of the river TEDJEN, within a few days march of MESCHED. NADIR having with great application provided what was necessary for the expedition, marched at the head of his troops in search of the enemy, who were pillaging at large. The news of the approach of a PERSIAN army brought them together, and they prepared for battle; their numbers being almost double to those under NADIR's command. We have no particular account of this action, but in general terms, that the TARTARS, according to their ordinary custom, charged with great fury. NADIR having selected a proper ground, and encouraged his men, stood the shock; and when the TARTARS by their own impetuosity were in some disorder, the PERSIAN troops made a general discharge of their fire-arms, then falling on with their sabres and battle-axes, put them to flight, destroying near three thousand men, and retaking all their plunder and captives, which were very considerable.

NADIR, elate with this his first victory, returned in triumph to MESCHED, where he was received with great expressions of joy. The fire of his ambition now began to blaze, nor could he suppress the consciousness of his services, but demanded to be confirmed in his office of general, under the command of BABULU KHAN. This governor assured him that he would write to court in his favour, and that nothing should be wanting on his part to reward his merit. Whether it was that BABULU

L 1 2

KHAN

<sup>a</sup> Of independant TARTARY.<sup>b</sup> OUSBEGS we have mentioned to signify free and independant.<sup>c</sup> Commanders of a thousand are called MIM DASHIS. As few readers can retain a remembrance of the explanation of PERSIAN words, I shall avoid them as much as possible; but when they necessarily occur, I shall occasionally mention their signification, tho' the same words should have been already explained in other parts of this work.



1719. KHAN did not act ingenuously, and agreeable to his purpose; or that the weak administration of SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN evaded the promotion of the brave NADIR, is uncertain. He was much incensed at his disappointment, and what added to his resentment, was to see a person much younger than himself, and a relation of BABULU KHAN, without either experience or abilities, placed in his command. Under these circumstances, NADIR demanded of the KHAN the reasons of so unjust a conduct; and with a ferocity peculiar to him, made no scruple to declare his opinion, that the KHAN had not acted as a man of honor. This insolent behaviour obliged the governor to alter his conduct; inasmuch that from the highest commendations of NADIR's valor, he condemned him to be beaten, in the severest manner, on the soles of his feet<sup>a</sup>. What contributed to this disgrace, was the envy of NADIR's abilities as a soldier, among several officers of distinction in the PERSIAN troops. It is easy to imagine that a man of so imperious a spirit, could but ill brook such indignities; he therefore retired from MESCHED to seek some new adventure.

## C H A P. II.

*NADIR retires to KÆLAT, and is well received by his uncle. From thence he retreats to the mountains, where he forms a strong party, and robs for several years. The AFGHANS take ISFAHAN. SEF O DIN BEG deserts SHAH TÆHMAS. NADIR's uncle obtains a pardon for his nephew of the SHAH. NADIR's treacherous conduct in seizing KÆLAT; he beats a strong party of the AFGHANS, takes NICHABUR, and reinforces his army with a thousand men.*

NADIR being thus turned loose into the world, applied his thoughts immediately how to retrieve his fortunes, and do himself that justice which he could not obtain of BABULU KHAN. His uncle<sup>b</sup>, a chief of one of the tribes of the AFSHARS, commanded at KÆLAT, a strong hold, about ten days journey from MESCHED: to him he applied, and complained of the hard treatment he had met in the king's service. His uncle entertained him for some time, till by his intrigues he began to discover ambitious designs, and thus becoming an object of jealousy, he was obliged to retire.

NADIR was now determined to seek a support by the arts of violence, in which he was a thorough proficient. Experience having taught him, that he could not procure a subsistence in a manner suitable to his vast desires, by any other means. It is probable, he had already planned a design of getting possession of KÆLAT; however, he retired, for the third time, into the mountains, where he returned to his old trade of robbery.

MAGH-

<sup>a</sup> This is common to persons of the highest rank in PERSIA. See Vol. I. p. 174.

<sup>b</sup> It may perhaps seem strange, that NADIR's father should have been a cap-maker, and his uncle chief of a tribe, and governor of KÆLAT; but not so strange as NADIR's own fortune. When, and by what means, the uncle became chief of a tribe, I know not; but it is not so difficult to comprehend, how one brother may be in easy circumstances, and the other poor; whilst we see so many revolutions in human affairs in EUROPE, and many more in ASIA.

MAGHMUD having invaded PERSIA, and compelled the unfortunate HUSSEIN to yield up his capital, together with his diadem, the provinces were involved in great confusion and distress. This event afforded the better opportunity to NADIR, to collect a body of men of desperate fortunes, many of whom had already served under him as soldiers. After robbing several caravans, he soon acquired riches enough to bring together the number of seven or eight hundred men of approved resolution; and having fixed a rendezvous in the mountains, they made incursions into KHORASAN, and the adjacent provinces, laying the country under such contributions as they pleased to impose.

THE AFGHANS, though in possession of ISFAHAN, were not sufficiently numerous to make a rapid conquest of the whole empire; several provinces and cities in the heart of it, as well as the frontiers, refused to submit; and thereby cut them out work for some time. As to TÆHMAS, the fourth son of HUSSEIN<sup>a</sup>, who made his escape from ISFAHAN, and was now considered as the lawful heir of the PERSIAN monarchy, he was rather a fugitive himself, than in a capacity of supporting order and government in those provinces not yet subjected to the AFGHANS; and was now content with an obscure life, in the province of MAZANDERAN. In the mean time, the TURKS as already related, seized upon the provinces in the west and south-west; and the RUSSIANS conquered the western coast of the CASPIAN, including great part of GHILAN. However, as soon as TÆHMAS was informed that the king his father had abdicated his right to the sovereignty, he, in quality of successor, took the title of SHAH, by which name we shall call him, tho' he can hardly be said to have been more than a nominal king.

WHILST he was negotiating secret treaties with the provinces that professed any fidelity to him, or sending embassies to implore the assistance of the neighbouring states, NADIR extended his lawless sovereignty in the eastern frontiers, living on spoil, and exacting what he thought necessary for the support of himself and his followers.

ABOUT five years passed under these circumstances; when at length, TÆHMAS collected a little army; but his father's fortune still pursued him. One of his principal generals, SEF O DIN BEG, a chief of the BAYOTS<sup>b</sup>, having given some offence and being apprehensive of punishment, fled from TÆHMAS's camp with the troops under his command, which were no less than fifteen hundred men, and joined NADIR KOULI, who was then in the same province of KHORASAN. The union of their forces composed a body of near three thousand men, which the adjacent country was compelled to support. This formidable body being within thirty leagues of KÆLAT, NADIR's uncle began to be much alarmed, lest his nephew should attempt to dislodge him from his strong hold. In order, therefore, to support a good understanding, he wrote to him in very obliging terms, intimating that he had now a fair opportunity of making his fortune, by engaging in the service of his lawful sovereign SHAH TÆHMAS; who, he was sure, would pardon him and all his followers.

<sup>a</sup> His eldest son was SEFFIE MYRZA, whom the ministers of SHAH HUSSEIN had once caused to be confined, from an apprehension that he had too much courage and sagacity to suffer that infamous administration, for which they were so distinguished; and it is presumed that this prince was afterwards put to death by the AFGHANS. <sup>b</sup> These are the inhabitants of DEST BAYAD, a district in KODHESTAN.

1727. ers. NADIR seemed to relish the proposal, and desired his uncle to procure the king's pardon, which he would gladly accept. Accordingly the uncle represented the case to the SHAH, who, tho' he knew NADIR to be a most notorious offender, yet, being in great need of so brave and experienced an officer, with so considerable a body of men, TÆHMAS immediately signed the pardon, and sent it to KÆLAT.

THE uncle no sooner received this writing, than he dispatched it to his nephew; upon the receipt of which, NADIR KOULI set out for KÆLAT, in company with SEV O DIN BEG, under an escort of an hundred men of his best troops. He had now a convenient opportunity of exercising his genius in the art of treachery. His uncle received him with great kindness, and entertained him and his followers as persons to whom he had done a signal service, and from whom consequently he apprehended no harm; at the same time he shewed them all the honor and regard due to persons of rank and condition. NADIR, on the other hand, had not forgot the indignities offered him five years before; neither was he ignorant of the motives of his uncle in procuring the pardon, nor of the king's views, in granting it: but whatever moral considerations ought to have influenced his conduct, his thirst of power silenced the dictates of conscience. Thus he determined to embrace the opportunity of an hospitable reception, and under the specious pretence of an obliged guest, to make a sacrifice of his benefactor. For this purpose he secretly left orders that five hundred more of his best men should follow him the next day, and conceal themselves near the fortress of KÆLAT, and there be ready at a signal appointed.

HAVING thus concerted his measures, the second-night after his arrival he ordered his hundred men within the castle to kill the centries, and shut up the rest of the garrison, to the number of two hundred men, in their baracs, whilst he went himself into his uncle's chamber and murdered him. As soon as he made the signal, his five hundred men were let in at the gates, and he became absolute master of the fortress without shedding much blood. Those of the garrison who did not chuse to share his fortune, he set at liberty. The next day he dispatched messengers with the news of his success, ordering the remainder of his men to join him. Instead of changing his residence continually, as the apprehensions of an enemy, or other reasons of convenience might render necessary, he now established his head-quarters in this fortress. KÆLAT includes a considerable spot of ground, the natural situation of which, with the assistance of some art, has rendered it almost inaccessible. The success of this enterprize was the more grateful to NADIR, as this place was not far distant from that of his birth: his poor relations and friends in the neighbourhood were relieved by his bounty, and the humanity with which he treated most of the inhabitants of the adjacent country, induced numbers to enlist themselves in his troops. He continued there for several months levying contributions, so that from this time he in some measure appeared as an independent sovereign, especially as SHAH TÆHMAS's authority was not acknowledged at MESCHED, MELUCK MAGHMUD, an ABDOLLE chief, having taken possession of that city some years before in consequence of his treaty with MAGHMUD the AFGHAN usurper.

NADIR thus becoming formidable, carried his views beyond the plunder of defenceless peasants: he aspired at the delivery of his country from her foreign enemies,



mies, particularly the AFGHANS, who had lorded it over the PERSIANS with the utmost barbarity for five years. But altho' he appeared as a sovereign, he did not pretend to wage war against the AFGHANS in any other name than that of SHAH TÆHMAS. As he was conscious that SHAH TÆHMAS must resent his killing his uncle, under pretence of accepting the royal pardon, he resolved to do some signal action, in behalf of the king, that might obliterate the remembrance of his conduct at KÆLAT.

WITH this view he prepared for an expedition against the AFGHANS, who were masters of the neighbouring city NICHABUR<sup>a</sup>, where they had a garrison of above three thousand men. NADIR's forces exceeded this number, but being unaccustomed to sieges, he determined to make use of a stratagem to draw the enemy out of their garrison. The AFGHANS, who considered NADIR rather as a free-booter than the general of a formidable body of forces, apprehended no great danger from his neighbourhood. Their troops, to the number of six hundred, were securely marauding, when NADIR detached about that number of his cavalry, who attacked them unexpectedly, and cut them to pieces. Upon this, the governor with his whole garrison issued forth, to fall upon the PERSIANS, who immediately retreated towards BANRAHAD, a defile in the mountains, which separates the provinces of KHORASAN and ASTRABAD; this was the rendezvous appointed. The AFGHANS pursued them for several leagues<sup>b</sup>, till they came to this defile: NADIR, in the mean while had marched with fifteen hundred of his men, and under the favor of a wood which covers these mountains, he concealed his men at the entrance of the pass. The AFGHANS, not suspecting any other enemy to be near, followed the six hundred men with an impatience of resenting the loss they had just sustained at NICHABUR. As soon as they had well entered the defile, which is very narrow, the PERSIANS faced about, whilst NADIR with his body of men in ambuscade fell upon them in the rear, with such impetuosity, that the astonished AFGHANS, incapable of acting with their cavalry, and suspecting themselves surrounded by a great army, became an easy prey, and few of them escaped the slaughter.

AFTER dividing the spoil taken upon this occasion, NADIR returned to NICHABUR, the gates of which were opened to him. He took possession of it in the name of SHAH TÆHMAS, charging his troops not to injure any of the inhabitants; declaring that his intentions were to deliver them from the tyranny and usurpation of the AFGHANS, and to support them in their fidelity to their true sovereign; as he knew that necessity only had induced them to submit to their late masters. The effects belonging to the AFGHANS he divided among his soldiers; and the humanity with which he treated the inhabitants, was so remarkable, that without forcing a single person to join him, he obtained a reinforcement of near a thousand men.

<sup>a</sup> NICHABUR, sometimes called IRAN, was formerly the capital of KHORASAN, till ABAS the GREAT established the tomb of IMAM KOULI RIZA at MESCHED. <sup>b</sup> The entrance of this defile is about eight or ten leagues distance from NICHABUR.

## C H A P. III.

NADIR KOULI *bears of the distress of SHAH TÆHMAS at FARABAD; desires his pardon, and obtains it. He joins his forces with those under the command of FATEY ALI KHAN, whom he afterwards kills, and acquires the sole command of the army. He conducts SHAH TÆHMAS to NICHABUR, and from thence to MESCHED. SHAH TÆHMAS's devotion in that city.*

172". **W**HILST NADIR was preparing at NICHABUR for new expeditions, he received intelligence that SHAH TÆHMAS was reduced to great extremities. This prince had been pent up in MAZANDERAN, as a kind of dependant on FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR<sup>a</sup>, who had during the troubles taken possession of that province, and also of ASHABAD, which being fortified by the mountains that surround them, the inhabitants not only refused to submit to the dominion of the AFGHANS, but also to that of their legal sovereign.

TÆHMAS sent a body of forces, whom the KHAJARS repulsed: but upon his taking a solemn oath to pardon them all, and that he would never, upon any consideration, touch the life of FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR, but always treat him as a faithful servant; the KHAN on his part swore allegiance, and the KHAJARS, who were naturally attached to the SEFFIE family, became the only safeguard of the king.

TÆHMAS in the mean while treated with the TURKS and the RUSSIANS, but was far from receiving succours from either. On the contrary, they divided great part of his dominions as already mentioned; insomuch that he was obliged to take up his quarters at FARABAD<sup>b</sup>; from whence, in case of danger to his person, he could embark on the CASPIAN SEA. These circumstances were favourable to NADIR, who made no doubt of procuring a full pardon for all his offences; indeed he had the more reason to expect it, as his last action against the AFGHANS had increased his military reputation, and made him considered, in some measure, as the instrument of providence for the delivery of his country. Under these circumstances he caused his forces to advance to the confines of MAZANDERAN, and sent to acquaint the SHAH of the affair of NICHABUR, with assurances that himself and his troops were entirely at his majesty's service: adding, that he desired to have the honor of waiting upon the king, to whom he would give an account of the reasons of his conduct at KÆLAT, which fortress he held at the king's orders. Tho' TÆHMAS had received impressions much to the disadvantage of NADIR, proposals of this nature seemed to promise some happy event, and were highly satisfactory. The SHAH therefore made answer, that he might come with all security, and should be received as his faithful servant. Accordingly NADIR, leaving his troops at some distance, set out with an escort of an hundred cavalry for FARABAD.

THE

<sup>a</sup> This was the father of MAHOMMED HUSSAN, by whom I was robbed. See Vol. I. page 206. FATEY ALI KHAN was a native of ASTRABAD, the inhabitants of which, as I have explained in Vol. I. page 206, are distinguished by the name of KHAJARS. <sup>b</sup> This is the place mentioned in Vol. I. page 141.

THE KHAJARS had engaged, that as soon as a favourable opportunity should offer they would recover MESCHED out of the hands of the rebel MELUCK MACHMUD. For this purpose FATEY ALI KHAN had recommended NADIR to the king, as a very gallant officer, and one whose assistance was much to be desired. The KHAN now received NADIR with open arms, and offered his service to introduce him to his majesty. NADIR's escort made but a contemptible figure with regard to their apparel and accoutrements, their merit consisting only in their strength and valor. He was not many days at court before he saw that the KHAN was treated with the respect of a sovereign prince, whilst TÆHMAS had only the name of such; and tho' he naturally considered his own merit as much superior to that of the KHAN, yet, not to appear his rival, he affected great humility, and would not even sit in the KHAN's presence without great importunity. 1727.

NADIR being introduced to SHAH TÆHMAS, acknowledged the great obligations he was under to his majesty for the free pardon which had been granted him; adding, that however strange his conduct might appear, the death of his uncle was so far from being a contempt of the royal clemency, that it ought to be considered as an expression of his gratitude to the king; for that the castle of KÆLAT was now at his majesty's command, which he had very good reason to believe it would not have been, had his uncle remained in possession of it. He then related the affair of NICHABUR, in which he made it evident, that he had given such a shock to the power of the AFGHANS in those parts, that it would very much facilitate the conquest of HERAT; and that he did not doubt but in a short time FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR and himself, should restore the kingdom to their majesties, the true descendants of the SEFFIES, whom those savage invaders the AFGHANS had so highly injured.

THIS discourse was uttered in so respectful a manner, mixed with so noble a boldness, that the SHAH could not but express his satisfaction, and told him, he hoped the hour would come, when he should be able to reward his services in a manner suitable to his great merit. NADIR then obtained a pardon for SEF O DIN BEG and all his followers, telling his majesty, that tho' he could not commend the appearance of his troops, he would answer for their experience, valor, and fidelity to their true sovereign.

MATTERS being thus adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of the SHAH and his new general NADIR, his troops, which now consisted of near five thousand men, were ordered to enter the province of MAZANDERAN, and to join those of FATEY ALI KHAN KHAJAR, so that the whole constituted an army of above eight thousand men. NADIR made it his study to cultivate a good correspondence with the KHAN, and by his humble deportment insinuated himself so much, that there seemed to be no jealousy entertained of him; whilst the superior genius which he demonstrated, gave him an apparent ascendancy in the esteem of the SHAH.

IN the mean while NADIR, whose ambition could not bear an equal, much less a superior, had secretly instigated his creatures to complain of the conduct of FATEY ALI KHAN, with respect to the bad order and payment of the troops, and the extra-



1727. vagant price of their cloathing. He also watched the KHAN very closely, and finding the king had already received impressions to the disadvantage of this general, he took a favorable opportunity of acquainting his majesty, that he had discovered a treacherous correspondency between the KHAN, and MELUCK MAGHMUD the rebel governor of MESCHED; and that under pretence of conducting the SHAH to the conquest of that city, as had been concerted, his intentions were to deliver him to MELUCK MAGHMUD, on condition, that whilst the latter was to continue master of that city, together with the whole province, which their joint forces were to subdue, the KHAN should remain in possession of the southern coast of the CASPIAN sea; and as a proof of what he advanced, he produced letters said to be wrote by the KHAN, and which he pretended to have intercepted.

It seemed improbable that the KHAN should really have held such a correspondency, after having had TÆHMAS in his hands for some time; nor is it believed, that any change of circumstances induced him to take such desperate measures. However, it was not the fortune of TÆHMAS to be much wiser than his father HUSSEIN; and he gave the easier credit to the report, as he recollected that the KHAN had been in arms against him not long before; and that NADIR, who had given such repeated proofs of his fidelity, could have no interest in deceiving him, to the ruin of that very man, who had so lately made a point of recommending him to his favor. NADIR affected a great concern, representing to the SHAH, that his duty to his sovereign was prior to all other considerations; and moreover, that it was impossible his majesty could with any consistency, entertain hopes of recovering his dominions, whilst he cherished a serpent in his bosom, and trusted himself in the hands of men devoid of fidelity.

TÆHMAS, at length, believing the fact, was much perplexed with regard to the oath he had taken, never to hurt, much less to touch the life of FATEY ALI KHAN. To this NADIR replied: "If your majesty has taken an oath, I have not;" and thus, by a tacit consent, the ruin of his friend and benefactor was resolved. FATEY ALI KHAN not suspecting such an intrigue against his life, came to court as usual; when NADIR ordered a colonel\*, who was one of his creatures, to take an opportunity of killing him: but the reputation of the KHAN, together with his majestic presence, awed the colonel so much, that he put this business on his servant, NADIR having thus executed this pretended service to his master, carried out the head on a spear, and presented it to the soldiers, declaring the reason of the KHAN's death; and that those who meant to be faithful to their sovereign, could not disapprove of the death of a traitor; that for his own part, he was resolved to sacrifice all the considerations of friendship and private interest, to the good of his country, and the restoration of his majesty to his dominions. These declarations satisfied many who were attached to the deceased. Those who affected to murmur, as if there had been foul play, and that the KHAN had been cut off through the intrigues of NADIR and his creatures, were seized and confined.

NADIR

\* This was the person whom I have mentioned in Vol. I. p. 211.

NADIR having thus removed the bar to his ambition, as a reward for this signal service was constituted a KHAN<sup>a</sup>, and had the command of the whole army given him. He now began to display all the talents of an able minister and a great general, insomuch that TÆHMAS trusted entirely to his conduct. He was a master of the art of improving advantages, and knew that his security, as well as the future advancement of his fortune, depended on that army, of which he was now the chief. As one of his peculiar characteristics was a piercing knowledge of men, he soon resolved which officers to discharge, and whom to put in their place. He gained the affections of the common soldiers by an unwearied attention to every circumstance that could tend to the promotion of their interest, particularly with regard to their being paid punctually, and buying their cloaths at an easy price.

His first care now was to engage his master to march his army into KHORASAN, where he assured him the inhabitants were ready to take up arms against the common enemy. The proper measures being taken to secure the pass of BANRAHAD, the army marched towards NICHABUR, the king himself commanding in person. TÆHMAS made his entrance there the 15th of MAY; on which occasion the inhabitants proclaimed their joy in the sincerest manner. Their wishes seemed to preface his restoration, which they were the more inclined to believe, from the pleasure they received in being the first city that was relieved from the yoke of the AFGHANS, at a time when they least expected so happy an event. It was an accession to their joy, that this revolution was brought about by a person whom they had considered only as a robber, and whose power as such they dreaded equally with that of the AFGHANS; but who was now verifying the assurances he had given them a few months before, that he meant to restore the PERSIAN diadem to the true heir of SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN.

THE AFGHANS in those parts, disheartened by the great loss they had suffered in the affair of BANRAHAD, and unable to recruit, retired from the neighbourhood of NICHABUR, without attempting to succour their ally MELUCK MAGHMUD, governor of MESCHED. Under these circumstances, NADIR found no difficulty to augment the SHAH's army. The anxious wishes of the people, to see themselves free from the yoke of the AFGHANS, and their desire of establishing their lawful sovereign, soon brought a strong reinforcement, insomuch that this general was now at the head of near eighteen thousand men, a larger army than had for a long time appeared in those parts.

NADIR, impatient under every unnecessary delay, prepared immediately to march with all his forces against the ABDOLLEES, who under the command of MELUCK MAGHMUD, had taken possession of MESCHED. These people no sooner heard of the defeat of the AFGHANS in the defile of BANRAHAD, and that SHAH TÆHMAS had entered KHORASAN with a numerous army, than they began to prepare for a defence: but MESCHED being a place of little or no strength, and the inhabitants intirely averse to the rebel government, they retired from that city; so that when NADIR arrived there with his troops, the SHAH made a triumphant entrance, without any effusion of blood.

M m 2

The

<sup>a</sup> This made him NADIR KOULI KHAN, but we do not find him called by that name, because he soon afterwards was honored with the name of the SHAH, and was called TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN.

1728. The citizens delivered from oppression, received TÆHMAS with the highest demonstrations of joy; and NADIR, who was personally known in that city, where BABULU KHAN had some years before treated him with great indignity, was now loaded with honors. The present situation of TÆHMAS's affairs, rendered him incapable of making his acknowledgments to NADIR in a pecuniary way; yet he was in the highest degree prodigal of his authority, as if he already meant to constitute him his sovereign, rather than his general. As the highest mark of dignity which he could confer on him, according to the custom of the PERSIAN kings, was to give him his own name, from hence forward he ordered him to be called TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN<sup>a</sup>; by which name we shall distinguish him, till he wrested the diadem from his master.

SHAH TÆHMAS thus lavish of his favors, may be supposed to have acted upon principles of gratitude, as men of probity are generally inclined to think this a duty; but where the expression of this virtue is also an honor conferred on him who receives it, nothing can be more reasonable than to expect a suitable return. However, he seemed to be ignorant, that when princes have nothing left to bestow, they seldom receive any return for those favors they have already conferred; nor is it strange that it should so happen with regard to princes, when we find it almost every day in common life.

THIS prince, who partook much of the genius of his father, with regard to the religious turn of his mind, rejoiced at so favourable an opportunity of paying his devotion at the tomb of IMAM RIZA<sup>b</sup>. It had been long observed as a duty of the kings of PERSIA<sup>c</sup>, to make a pilgrimage once in their life to this tomb, as the TURKS do to MECCA and MEDINA; and the perils which he had gone through since the battle of GULNABAD, with his providential restoration, by means of his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, naturally inspired his mind with a deeper sense of gratitude to heaven.

<sup>a</sup> Some authors mention this event after the battle of DAMGOON the next year; but it is probable that he might now have a double motive besides that of gratitude, as generosity, or policy, to make his name known in that of the general; which if we judge from the event, was however a very false policy.

<sup>b</sup> One of their prophets or chief exponents of their religion.

<sup>c</sup> SHAH ABAS the GREAT, who was an able politician, as well as a great soldier, observing that the PERSIANS carried great wealth out of his country every year in their pilgrimages to MAHOMMED's tomb, employed all his art to restore the reputation of IMAM RIZA; and not only discredited the notion of going out of their own country upon so long a journey, which in some measure was interdicting these pilgrimages, but knowing that his people had, as is indeed common among christians, a fond inclination to ascribe a more peculiar sanctity to some particular place; in order to shew them an example, he caused a very magnificent mosque to be built on the tomb of this prophet at MESCHED, and made the pilgrimage himself with all his court. By this shewing an example, MESCHED became a place of great resort, and journeys to ARABIA were out of fashion. The kings his successors made it a law to themselves, to begin their reign by a pilgrimage to this tomb; and in process of time, it was very rare for any PERSIAN of the sect of ALI to make the pilgrimages of MECCA or MEDINA.



## P A R T XII.

FROM THE

RECOVERY OF THE WHOLE PROVINCE OF  
KHORASAN IN 1728.

TO THE

EXPULSION OF SULTAN ASHREFF OUT OF  
ISFAHAN IN 1729.

## C H A P. I.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN *reduces KHORASAN and HERAT. He returns in triumph to MESCHED, with the head of the governor of HERAT. SHAH TÆHMAS sends an ambassador to the OTTOMAN court. The TURKS send SULIMAN EFFENDI into PERSIA. ASHREFF destroys SAID ACHMED KHAN governor of KHERMAN, and prepares to attack TÆHMAS SHAH. ASHREFF marches to DAMGOON, and is defeated; he retreats to ISFAHAN, and encamps his troops at MOURTCHAKHOR.*

**W**HILST TÆHMAS SHAH was offering up his prayers to the deity, TÆH- 1728.  
MAS KOULI KHAN presented incense to his idols of ambition and military glory, the only deities he seemed to reverence. Reasons of policy might induce the SHAH to remain in MESCHED, till his army should be in a condition to march towards ISFAHAN. As to his general KOULI KHAN, he recommended this step, as it left him at liberty to act with the more boundless authority in the army. The country of KHORASAN was well known to him in every part, in consequence of the many excursions he had made, as an officer in the army, as well as the chief of a band of robbers. The beginning of this year he marched at the head of a considerable body of forces, to reduce the other cities and towns of the province, which had revolted, and either established an independant government, or submitted to the AFGHANS.

THE news of SHAH TÆHMAS having entered MESCHED in triumph, where he now took up his residence, facilitated the enterprizes of KOULI KHAN. Thus the greatest part of the towns and villages sent deputations, and professed themselves entirely

1728. entirely devoted to the interest of their lawful sovereign. Before this year was ended, we find all the vast country of KHORASAN subjected, and the AFGHANS obliged to retire, without daring to give battle. NADIR returned to MESCHED, not so much out of inclination, as to make an appearance of respect for his master, and to consult about the future operations of the war.

It was about ten years since the inhabitants of HERAT, which is near the frontiers of KHORASAN, had in consequence of the victory obtained by the young EZADALLAH, shaken off the PERSIAN yoke, and erected themselves into a kind of republic<sup>a</sup>, together with the whole province of that name. It does not appear, that this young usurper yet remained in that government, which he had been the great instrument of forming, and for some time maintained the chief office in it. It is certain, however, that this republic became formidable to the neighbouring country, and was at this very time meditating the invasion of KHORASAN: but the success which TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN had against the AFGHANS at NICHABUR, and afterwards through the whole province of KHORASAN, put a bar to the execution of their project.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN having represented to the SHAH, the facility with which he could reduce HERAT, obtained a permission to march to that province, with about twelve thousand men. He no sooner encamped under the walls of the city, than the inhabitants, naturally inconstant, and dissident of their ability to oppose the fortune and valour of KOULI KHAN, submitted to him, and delivered up their chief, together with the garrison<sup>b</sup>. Here he treated the inhabitants with so judicious a mixture of mildness and severity, according to their different circumstances, that he secured their allegiance. He then left a garrison of his own troops, and prepared to march back to MESCHED, agreeably to the orders he had received from the SHAH. Being returned victorious, with the head of the late governor of HERAT, he began to form a more important enterprize, than that of marching southward through the deserts of SEGESTAN, as the AFGHANS had done five years before.

In order to detach the TURKS from the interest of ASHREFF, whom they had with great reluctancy acknowledged as sovereign of PERSIA; SHAH TÆHMAS had in the mean time sent an ambassador to the OTTOMAN court. This minister was received with more regard than he expected; for the news of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN's exploits, which had reached CONSTANTINOPLE, gave the TURKS a good impression of the state of the affairs of SHAH TÆHMAS. Tho' their interest was concerned to see PERSIA humbled, yet they had very little inclination to support an usurper, whose imperious spirit had carried him so far as to pretend to an equality with the GRAND SIGNIOR. But in order to be informed minutely of circumstances so interesting to them, they sent SULIMAN EFFENDI, an officer of trust, into PERSIA. Of him they soon learnt, that TÆHMAS already master of KHORASAN and HERAT, with a considerable

<sup>a</sup> It is presumed, as they were in alliance with the AFGHANS, whose seat of empire was ISFAHAN, and that the ABDOLLEES of HERAT were in some measure tributary to them. <sup>b</sup> This action has been represented as a battle, in which the ABDOLLEES had thirty thousand men; but I could never find any authority for that report, as a fourth part of that number in such a province would be considered a great army, under such distressed circumstances as the empire was then in.

derable army of choice troops, and a general of great reputation at their head, 1728. seemed to promise an approaching change in the PERSIAN empire.

IN the mean time ASHREFF, after giving a check to the TURKISH army, tho' it was the effect of accident rather than military strength, dreaded no evil from the fugitive TÆHMAS. He often mentioned him in terms so contemptuous, that to appearance he had persuaded himself of the impossibility of being molested by him.

AFTER a tedious siege, ASHREFF had at length made himself master of YEZD, which at different times had cost the AFGHANS much blood; KHERMANIA had also submitted to him. SAÏD ACHMED KHAN, who was a near relation of the royal blood of the SEFFIES, during the troubles had established an independent sovereignty in KHERMANIA, of which ASHREFF had not leisure to dispossess him by force of arms. SAÏD being in want of money to pay his army, and the impoverished state of the province rendering it impossible to raise sufficient contributions for that purpose, his forces at length deserted him. He then submitted to ASHREFF, who was not only the nearest potentate, but the only one who seemed to have any regal authority: desiring him, however, to remember that he had only acted upon the same principles as ASHREFF himself; and therefore hoped to be received with the respect due to his quality, and with all security to his person. Upon these conditions he professed an entire devotion to the service of this AFGHAN prince.

ASHREFF promised the KHAN his protection, under the sanction of sacred oaths, and let him know that he might repair to SHIRASS, with the people under his command, in all possible security. Here this crafty AFGHAN gave proof that his religion was subservient to his politics; for the KHAN was no sooner arrived in SHIRASS, than the governor sent him prisoner to ISFAHAN, where he was beheaded. The province of KHERMANIA, and the country on the sea coast quite to BENDER ABASSI, thus becoming subject to ASHREFF, his dominions were extended farther than he had forces to guard them. The cruelties and depredations committed from the AFGHAN invasion time till this time, having impoverished the inhabitants to an extreme degree, he was in no capacity to maintain an army sufficiently numerous to support his authority over so vast a tract of country. As to the PERSIAN soldiers, they were as reluctant to enter into the service of the AFGHANS, as the AFGHANS were diffident of their fidelity. From KANDAHAR recruits could hardly be expected in great numbers; for HUSSEIN KHAN, the governor of that province, since the murder of his brother MIR MAGHMUD in ISFAHAN, considered ASHREFF rather as an enemy than a friend. Besides it was but natural to presume that ASHREFF might be driven out of PERSIA, and he would hardly send him recruits, lest by that means he might retire into KANDAHAR, and with the same authority that he put MAGHMUD to death, he might also claim the sovereignty of that province.

SPIRITUAL and temporal power being interwoven in the closest manner by the MAHOMMEDAN law, the GRAND SIGNIOR is supposed to reign over the TURKS in quality of IMAM\*, and successor of the CALIPHS. From hence he claims an authority over all MAHOMMEDANS of the sect of the SUNNIS: ASHREFF, who was of that sect, could

\* Chief of religion.



1728. could not therefore with any consistency refuse to acknowledge him as such, without affecting an independent power. However he artfully contrived to make his submission procure him what was more effectual; for he obtained from the TURKS the acknowledgment of his being sovereign of PERSIA, and of his holding that dignity and power according to law. Having thus made a puissant protector of a formidable enemy, he lulled himself into a security, as if his dominion was built on the most solid basis. He had given RECHID BASHA, the TURKISH ambassador, the kindest reception, and shewed him many marks of honor, during his residence at ISFAHAN.

Not to be wanting in a suitable return, the TURKS made great preparations for the reception of the ambassador of ASHREFF, who arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE in JULY this year. Greater rejoicings could not have been made for the reception of a sovereign prince returning in triumph. It is however very remarkable, that this AFGHAN affected a contempt of all the grand appearances, the military shews, and the roaring of cannon; for without looking on one side or the other, as he entered CONSTANTINOPLE, he continued to read his khoran. It is natural to presume from this incident, that he endeavoured to raise the reputation of his countrymen for great sanctity, and a divine zeal for the MAHOMMEDAN law, as practised by the TURKS: this sort of conduct had, a little before this time, been the chief cause of saving his master ASHREFF, together with the AFGHAN army, from destruction. But the ambassador now over-acted his part, and gave the TURKS impressions to the disadvantage of his countrymen.

ASHREFF in the mean while enjoyed the sweets of peace. The love of pleasure is natural to mankind, and freedom from toil is generally supposed the best means to arrive at it. This prince was certainly a man of parts, very circumspect, and an intrepid soldier; but like most other ORIENTAL warriors of distinction, he had no sense of any moral obligation. He seemed now to be arrived at the highest point that the nature of his affairs would admit; and therefore it was natural to give some indulgence to his favourite passions. However he kept part of his troops in the field, whilst he followed the exercises of hunting, and gratified his inclination in building. As to the pleasures of the harram, they are but an ordinary consequence of MAHOMMEDAN voluptuousness, especially when supported by an unlimited authority.

THIS prince, who had hitherto considered NADIR KOULI in no other light than as a robber, began now to look upon him as a formidable enemy. SHAH TÆHMAS had been so much the ridicule of the court of ISFAHAN, that the news of his successes in the eastern parts of the empire did not seem to give the least alarm to the soldiers, nor even to the officers of the army. They gave him the name of SEK ZADE, in allusion to the word CHEIK<sup>a</sup> ZADE, the latter being son of the king, and the former son of a bitch: at the same time they expressed great satisfaction, that they should at length have an opportunity of getting him into their hands. However proper it might be to encourage the common soldiers to think thus contemptibly of their enemy; ASHREFF, who had certain intelligence of his force, and the valor of his troops,

<sup>a</sup> CHEIK EIDAR was the first founder of the SEFFIE dynasty.

troops, thought it high time to provide for the storm that threatened him. He <sup>1729.</sup> therefore cauled all his forces, as well those on the frontiers, as in the heart of his dominions, to be joined to the garrison of ISFAHAN. And in order to prevent any insurrection in favour of TÆMAS, at CASHAN, KOOM, CASBIN, TÆHIRAN, YEZD, and other great cities and towns in his jurisdiction, he ordered all the PERSIAN inhabitants, who were capable of bearing arms, to leave their habitations and retire, under pain of death : he did the same at ISFAHAN.

HAVING made this disposition, his whole force did not exceed thirty thousand men, some of which were DARGUZZIS<sup>a</sup> and HASSARAIS<sup>b</sup>; a force, however, not much inferior to that by which his predecessor had obtained the PERSIAN diadem. About the beginning of SEPTEMBER, he encamped his army without the walls of ISFAHAN. Within the city he left a garrison of two hundred men only, thinking that small number sufficient to keep this once vast capital in awe. To such misery was this unhappy city reduced, by the incessant massacres committed by MAGHMUD and himself, that few of its inhabitants were left, except old men, women, and children. After a few days he began his march, with the ordinary pomp of a PERSIAN king. He directed his course by CASHAN and KOOM, to the plains of DAMGOON, in the province of KOUMAS; where he arrived towards the close of the month, after having marched about four hundred miles<sup>c</sup>. His intention was to have entered KHORASAN, and by attacking TÆHMAS in his new-established empire, prevent his accumulating more strength.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN had employed the greatest part of this year in augmenting and disciplining his troops. In the former he met with some difficulties, for the people not having yet worn off the impressions, which the valor of the AF-GHANS had made on them; and knowing that they were to come to action immediately, joined him but slowly. He had, however, collected an army of near twenty-five thousand<sup>d</sup> men; in the compleating, as well as disciplining of which, he had given such proofs of his abilities, as inspired his master the SHAH with the greatest assurance of success. The measures which ASHREFF had taken, to prevent any revolt in favor of TÆHMAS, occasioned many to offer their service to this prince; for as they had been turned out of their habitations, resentment as well as necessity, carried them where they were sure of being received.

THE SHAH, thus upon the point of being restored to the throne of his ancestors; urged by an impatient desire to revenge the disgrace of his father, and the blood of so many thousands of his subjects, proposed to march to ISFAHAN, and compel ASHREFF to give him battle; but this proposal was over-ruled. His sagacious general represented to him, the inconveniencies that would attend the length of the march; and moreover, that the measures which ASHREFF had taken at ISFAHAN, were certain indications that he meant to seek his majesty; and consequently, that the

<sup>a</sup> I presume, the inhabitants of DERGHESIN in the neighbourhood of HAMADAN.

<sup>b</sup> These people are supposed to come from the eastern parts of CABUL.

<sup>c</sup> When I write miles without distinction, I mean ENGLISH miles.

<sup>d</sup> Some writers make them much under this number, and some much above it.

1729. the AFGHANS would be more hurt by the fatigue of their march, than benefited by the junction of fresh forces, seeing that ASHREFF had already collected all in whom he thought it safe to confide. He observed likewise, that the further the enemy came from ISFAHAN, the more difficult and dangerous would be their retreat. However, not to bring the war into KHORASAN, nor lose any advantages which his majesty's faithful subjects the KHAJARS, BAYOTS, or any of the neighbouring countries might afford, it was determined to make some advance to meet ASHREFF. After slow marches, he accordingly arrived with the king, and the whole army, near the city of DAMGOON, before ASHREFF had entered those plains. This situation was not far from that vast ridge of mountains, which run along the south coast of the CASPIAN SEA; these being well known to KOULI KHAN, he might in case of an extremity the more easily retreat. Having leisure to chuse his ground, he had already encamped his forces, and refreshed his men for some days, when ASHREFF approached with his whole army.

THE AFGHANS had been accustomed for some time to slaughter the PERSIANS, rather than to engage with them; and to put them to flight by their shouts, and the fierceness of their attack, rather than by their superior strength and knowledge of arms. As they were now equally confident of victory, they urged their general to begin the attack. ASHREFF soon discovered from the advantageous situation of the PERSIAN army, that he had to do with a general of experience, and against whom he must proceed with great caution, especially as his fate depended on the issue of the battle. Whilst he was thus unresolved, his officers represented to him, that upon the first report which should be spread of their being afraid to attack the PERSIANS, the peasants would no longer bring provisions to their camp, and that they should be compelled to fight hereafter at a greater disadvantage.

ASHREFF having therefore made a proper disposition of his forces, on the second of OCTOBER attacked the PERSIAN army with that impetuosity, which the AFGHANS had generally found successful. The troops of KOULI KHAN stood the shock, returning the enemy's fire with perfect order, so that the AFGHANS could make no impression on them. ASHREFF surprized, tho' not disconcerted, at the discipline and silence of the PERSIAN troops, brought off his squadrons from the charge, and had recourse to the expedient which he found of great use in his late action against the TURKS. He detached two bodies, each of three thousand men, commanded by the most experienced officers in his army, ordering them to take a circuit, and charge the enemy in rear and flank, whilst he attacked them in front. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, watchful in every quarter, prepared to receive the enemy; and repulsed them with such valor, as flung them into great confusion. After a general discharge of his artillery, it was his turn to attack; and falling furiously upon the AFGHANS, he obtained an easy victory.

WHAT loss was sustained on each side is uncertain. It may be presumed that of the AFGHANS was very considerable\*: their camels, harquebusses, with all their tents and baggage, fell into the hands of the conqueror. The AFGHANS being thus routed.

\* As they carried off only twelve thousand men from ISFAHAN, their loss here must have been near ten thousand.



routed fled to TÆHIRAN, which they reached in about two days, tho' the distance 1729. is near two hundred miles. From thence, after pillaging the inhabitants, and refreshing themselves, they made forced marches to ISFAHAN.

THE day after the arrival of the AFGHAN army, ASHREFF commanded all the people of his nation, inhabiting that city, to retire with their effects into the citadel<sup>a</sup>. These orders were executed in such a tumultuous manner, that it appeared as if the city had been taken by assault. The AFGHANS drove the other inhabitants from their houses, destroying most of their effects which were not portable, and pillaging the shops of every thing that was valuable. After this ASHREFF retired with his troops to MOURTCHAKHOR<sup>b</sup>, where he encamped in an advantageous situation.

## C H A P. II.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN *engages the SHAH to remain at TEHIRAN. The battle of MOURTCHAKHOR. ASHREFF murders SHAH HUSSEIN, and flies from ISFAHAN. The city taken by the PERSIAN army. The PERSIANS revenge themselves on the AFGHANS. SHAH TÆHMAS enters ISFAHAN, and gives his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, the power of raising money.*

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, now jealous of his glory, proceeded with the utmost care, to prevent a reverse of his fortune. The SHAH thinking himself secure of victory over the fugitive AFGHANS, impatiently desired to see ISFAHAN. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, on the other hand, acted as if he was apprehensive, that his sovereign would come in for too great a share in the reputation of his victories; and that his soldiers would consider themselves as acting, rather under their king, than under their general. This neither consisted with his desire of independency in the command of the army; nor with his ambition and thirst of applause. He therefore took occasion to represent to the SHAH, that his majesty's presence was no longer necessary to encourage his troops, since it was evident from their superiority at DAMGOON, that the enemy was rather to be despised than feared; that he did not make the least doubt, he should soon exterminate them; that so much depended on the precious life of their sovereign, should any misfortune happen to him, his subjects could have no security of being relieved from the tyrannic yoke of the AFGHANS; that the courage which his majesty demonstrated, at the same time it engaged the love and admiration of his subjects, it made them more anxious for the preservation of a life, of such inestimable value; that this was the sense of the army in general, which humbly intreated him to remain at TÆHIRAN, with a guard of six or eight thousand men.

N n 2

THESE

<sup>a</sup> An inclosed building, which had been made since the invasion of the AFGHANS. <sup>b</sup> This place is about twenty-five miles eastward of ISFAHAN, according to report; but DE LISLE does not mention it in his map.

1729. THESE reasons made that impression upon the SHAH, which the crafty KOULI KHAN wished. The SHAH having an entire confidence in his general, therefore suffered him to gather those laurels, which he might indeed have justly claimed as deliverer of his country, had he acted upon honest principles. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN accordingly marched without obstruction, proclaiming his victory in the name of SHAH TÆHMAS, and was every where received with acclamations of joy. He soon found his troops considerably augmented by crowds, who now voluntarily offered their service, to give a finishing stroke to the ruin of the AFGHANS.

IN the mean time ASHREFF, expecting to be attacked, had made every preparation necessary to receive the enemy: not only his sovereignty, but his life depended on the event. In the flattering hopes of repairing his loss at DAMGOON, he exerted all his skill in the choice of a proper situation for his camp; in erecting batteries for his cannon; in covering them by entrenchments; and making the most advantageous disposition of his troops.

THE 13th of NOVEMBER, early in the morning, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN appeared with his army in order of battle. The PERSIANS marched up to the AFGHANS, and sustained the whole force of their musquetry, and part of their cannon, without disorder. Being come close to the enemy, in their turn they gave a general discharge. So regular and intrepid an attack, might have disconcerted troops inured to the severest discipline. The astonished AFGHANS seeing such numbers fall, that hardly a single bullet failed of execution\*, thought only of saving their lives by flying precipitately from the field of battle. The loss they sustained on this occasion, was not less than four thousand men. The greatest part of the AFGHANS who fled, reached ISFAHAN by three in the afternoon, and ASHREFF himself, with a small number, returned at night. They pretended to have obtained a victory, but the cries and lamentations of their women and children in the citadel, soon discovered the contrary. There was also great confusion in other parts of the city, inasmuch that the miserable inhabitants, remembering the threats of the AFGHANS, in case a misfortune should at any time befall them, expected nothing less than a general massacre.

ASHREFF was in too great a panic to execute any such deed if he ever intended it, however he found time to glut his revenge, by imbruing his hands in the blood of SHAH HUSSEIN. This unfortunate prince, whom MIR MAGHMUD with all his horrid barbarity had spared, at length fell a sacrifice to the disappointment and rage of his cruel successor. Others of the royal blood are supposed to have fallen also on this occasion. As to the daughters and female relations of HUSSEIN, he took them from the harram, resolving to carry them off with him.

THE AFGHANS, having now no other expedient, prepared for flight, and were busied in collecting their spoil. Besides the number of beasts of burthen, to accommodate their women and baggage, they loaded several mules, and near three hundred camels, mostly with the treasures and rich effects of the royal palace. As soon as

\* The PERSIANS are excellent marksmen, and when they keep good order, they take aim, and must necessarily do great execution.

as night came on they left the city, in number about twelve thousand, after having reigned as conquerors of PERSIA, seven years and twenty one days. ASHREFF perhaps startled with the groans of the dying HUSSEIN, or having his whole mind employed in collecting his treasure, and providing for his own security, had forgotten that the inactivity of TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN afforded an opportunity of glutting his revenge by some more signal cruelty; but he had not marched two leagues, when he sent back his ATHEMAT DOULET, with a chosen party, it was supposed, with orders to fire the city, and massacre all those who might come in their way. This party was advanced to the royal gardens, within a mile of ISFAHAN, when some among the common people, concluding they were not come for any good purpose, collected several drums, which they beat in such a manner, that the AFGHANS, apprehensive that the PERSIAN troops had already entered the town, fled back without doing any mischief, and continued their rout towards SHIRASS. 1729.

THIS precipitate retreat having left the capital unguarded, the peasants of the neighbouring country, as well as the inhabitants, began not only to pillage the houses which were abandoned, but also to rob one another. This unbridled licentiousness created an infinite confusion. Two days passed under these melancholy circumstances, in which the weak were obliged to yield to the strong, without any recourse to either civil or military authority.

THE 16th of NOVEMBER, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN detached a body of fifteen hundred men, to disperse the mob; and take possession of the royal palace and gates of the city, in order to his own entrance. It may seem difficult to account for his not following the AFGHANS, after the battle of MOURTCHAKOR, which might have prevented their carrying off the riches of ISFAHAN: but we are to consider TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, as unbiassed by any particular affection for the PERSIANS; that his glory was not arrived to maturity; and that, besides the duty of a general to act cautiously with so artful an enemy as the AFGHANS, if we may judge from his conduct after he arrived at ISFAHAN, it is reasonable to conclude, his design was to husband the war, that his office as generalissimo might not become unnecessary.

AS soon as the KHAN entered the city, he took the proper measures for quieting the tumults of the people, occasioned by the pillage already mentioned. He also ordered diligent search to be made for all the AFGHANS, whom necessity or choice had induced to remain there. Of these, numbers had concealed themselves in the houses of their relations or friends, in hopes to elude the search. Many of them were brought into the public places, and executed. These were a kind of victims to the souls of thousands, who had been starved to death by the ambitious policy of MAGHMUD; or for the same reasons butchered in cold blood, during the reign of the AFGHANS. It is remarkable however, that TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN pardoned all those, of whom the inhabitants of the city made a fair report, with regard to the humane manner in which they had executed their respective offices. In the mean while, he received a deputation from the AFGHANS of CASBIN: these not only offered their allegiance to SHAH TÆHMAS, but also their service to engage immediately as soldiers in his army. Such a reinforcement could not but prove agreeable



1729. able to the PERSIAN general, and in the name of his master he promised them a kind reception.

THE spirit of revenge did not stop with the slaughter of the AFGHANS OF ISFAHAN: the people were furious at the sight of every object that could raise in their minds the least remembrance of their past sufferings. MAGHMUD, when he was near his natural death, was taken off by violence as related; yet, as he was the founder of the dominion of the AFGHANS IN PERSIA, they had at a considerable expence erected a magnificent mausoleum to his memory. This edifice, according to the custom of the east, was built in a grove, and inclosed with a wall. Though MAGHMUD had been so inhuman a murderer, yet the superstition of the partners in his victories, induced them to offer their prayers at his tomb. This increased the indignation of the inhabitants of ISFAHAN, and added a greater impatience to their desire of destroying it. Having obtained permission of the KHAN for this purpose, they levelled this edifice to the ground, with the fury of an enraged mob; they would not even suffer the repose of his bones; and, to add a yet greater mark of contempt and abhorrence, in the very place on which this mausoleum had been erected, they built a public jakes.

SHAH TÆHMAS, who was still at TÆHIRAN, having received notice of what had passed in ISFAHAN, prepared to take possession of his capital. He marched at the head of the greatest part of the forces which were left with him, and arrived the ninth of DECEMBER following at GAZE, a village about six miles distance from ISFAHAN. Here he was met by his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN; whom the SHAH no sooner saw, than he alighted from his horse, as if he meant to pay him homage. The general dismounted also, and ran to him in a respectful manner, to prevent this great mark of condescension; but the SHAH insisted upon walking a few paces with him, declaring that he could not shew too great a distinction to the person who had delivered his country, and driven his enemies from ISFAHAN. After a short conversation he mounted again, preceded by his running footmen\*; the KHAN following just behind him at the head of his troops.

TÆHMAS now made his entry into ISFAHAN, and was received with all those demonstrations of joy which the sudden change, from the execrable tyranny of the usurper ASHREFF, to the gentle deportment of their legal sovereign, could inspire. The remembrance of his misfortunes added all the tenderness of affectionate subjects, to the religious respect for the person of him who now appeared as the only survivor of the SEFFIE family. But the transports of his joy were in a great measure suppressed, when he heard of the fate of the king his father, and saw the palace, which eight years before contained all the splendor of a court, exhibiting only naked walls. The remembrance that he was restored to the throne of his ancestors, was not sufficient to silence the dictates of humanity, in a breast formed to gentle impressions. Though a king, he was not ashamed to weep. As soon as he entered the harram, an old woman threw her arms about his neck in transports of joy; as he knew that ASHREFF had carried away his sisters and other relations, he was the more surprized to find this person to be his mother. This lady had, ever since the  
invasion

\* Shatirs.

invasion of the AFGHANS, disguised herself in the habit of a slave, and submitted to all the offices of drudgery, which are ordinarily imposed on persons in that situation. 1729.

THE king, after enjoying the satisfaction to find one of his parents alive, prepared himself for the duties of a sovereign prince. He received all those who appeared before him in so affable and obliging a manner, that he won them entirely to his interest; and though their poverty was very great, they contributed liberally to the support of the army, which was increased to near forty thousand men. SHAH TÆHMAS, whose tenderness of nature became his crime, instead of commanding his general to pursue and extirpate his enemies, gave way to a melancholy turn of thought. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN took occasion from hence, to represent to him in a respectful manner, that his present situation ought to efface all remembrance of past disgraces; the SHAH replied to this effect: "How is it possible that my heart should be open to joy; are my own misfortunes, and those of my people to be forgotten, so long as the murderers of my father and brothers are yet at SHIRASS, where my sisters, and other female relations, are held in slavery by the vile AFGHANS?" This was, in fact, to reproach his general with inactivity; for it was in his breast to have pursued them, without giving them the least time to form any future project; but TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, true to his own principles, foresaw that the remembrance of his services would wear out of the minds of the people, unless to the office of generalissimo, he could add that of a prime minister, or at least possess a power adequate to it. He therefore took this occasion to represent to the SHAH, that he was very ready to march against the enemy, and finish the business of restoring to his majesty all his dominions; but that he knew an army was not to be kept together without pay; and moreover, he had learnt from the experience of LUTF ALI KHAN, towards the close of the late unfortunate reign of SHAH HUSSEIN, that the intrigues of a court often baffle the most glorious military operations; therefore, if his majesty meant to compleat the work which was so happily begun, a power must be granted him to levy money for the payment of the army.

THE king, who already designed to give his aunt in marriage to this general, and had actually made him BEGLER BEG of KHORASAN, was startled at his demand of this extraordinary power of levying money; being sensible that such a step was in some measure to yield up the sovereignty. He consulted with some of the principal officers, if there was any proper person to whom he could give the command of the army. Whether these officers were in the interest of the general or not, they declared their opinion, that the soldiers would not willingly serve under any other person than TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN; and consequently, that it would be best to comply with his demand for the present, and resent his insolence hereafter, when there should not be any such pressing occasion for his services. The ambitious KOULI KHAN, thus obtaining his point in so important an article, professed an entire devotion to his master's service. As a proof of this, he offered to take the field immediately, and go in search of the AFGHANS; and accordingly before the end of DECEMBER this year, the PERSIAN army began their march towards SHIRASS.

# P A R T XIII.

## FROM THE TOTAL DEFEAT OF THE AFGHANS IN JANUARY 1730.

TILL

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN IS CHOSEN KING  
IN MARCH 1736.

### C H A P. I.

*ASHREFF stops at SHIRASS. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN marches and defeats the AFGHANS the 15th of JANUARY 1730. Flight, distress, and death of ASHREFF. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN marches against the TURKS, and takes HAMADAN and TAVRIS; he makes a truce, returns to HERAT, reduces that province, and marches into KHORASAN. The SHAH marches to ERIVAN, obtains some advantages over the TURKS, and is afterwards defeated near the ARAS, and again at HAMADAN.*

1729. **A**SHREFF did not entertain the least thoughts, that the active TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN would remain long at ISFAHAN; on the contrary, he expected to be closely pursued. He had, besides his army, a numerous caravan, of which part consisted in camels loaded with the plunder of ISFAHAN; yet the first day he marched sixty miles. His intentions were to have taken the rout of KHERMAN, but hearing that the BALOUCHEES were in arms, and concluding they would have no regard to him as a fugitive prince, possessed of great riches, he determined to march to SHIRASS. Being informed that the PERSIAN army was loitering in ISFAHAN, he plundered and ravaged the province, as well as the city; and gave a loose to all that barbarity, which the complicated motives of revenge and avarice can suggest to a mind naturally cruel. To this he was the more induced, by the conduct of the PERSIANS in ISFAHAN towards the AFGHANS.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN having supported the rigor of the season with great constancy, after a march of twenty days arrived near ASTAKHAR\*. His troops had suffered

\* This city is near the ruins of the ancient PERSEPOLIS.



suffered very much by the severity of the season, and want of provisions, the AF- 1729.  
GHANS having laid the country waste; this occasioned a considerable diminution of  
the PERSIAN army by desertion, as well as mortality. The AFGHANS having fixed  
their camp in an advantageous situation, determined to try the fortune of another  
battle; whilst the PERSIAN troops, on their part, were impatient to give a finishing  
stroke to the AFGHANS. The 15th of January, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN attacked 1730.  
the AFGHANS with all his troops, with the same vigor as he had done at MOURT-  
CHAKOR, and put them instantly to flight; insomuch that he was apprehensive, by  
their feeble resistance, that they meant to draw him into an ambuscade. He had  
adopted it as a maxim, not to separate his troops; being sensible that when a de-  
tachment is routed, their flight often throws a whole army into confusion; and that  
the speed with which the vanquished fly, is but a precarious security to them, since  
the conqueror must overtake them at last.

AN excess of caution, may bring on the same consequences as rashness: the  
KHAN's great circumspection, upon this occasion, gave the AFGHANS an opportunity  
to concert measures for their secure retreat, with all their valuable effects. The  
houses, gardens, and narrow passages about the city of SHIRASS, were such as ren-  
dered the approach difficult; and the KHAN resolved to put nothing to an unneces-  
sary hazard, since it was plain that the pride of the AFGHANS was humbled to the  
dust.

THESE people had however taken a resolution to defend a passage in the north side  
of the mountains, which leads to the city; and dividing their men into platoons,  
made several discharges on the PERSIAN army. Finding this did not hinder the  
PERSIANS from marching on in regular order, they fled to SHIRASS. ASHREFF be-  
ing now reduced to the last extremity, sent two of his principal officers to TÆHMAS  
KOULI KHAN, with offers of delivering up the princesses, also the treasure and other  
effects belonging to the crown; on condition that he and his troops should retire  
out of PERSIA unmolested, and carry with them their families, arms, and baggage.  
To this the KHAN replied, that he would not comply with such proposals; on the  
contrary, that if they did not deliver up ASHREFF, he would put all the AFGHANS to  
the sword. These officers then pretended, that if the KHAN would grant them  
quarter, they would deliver up their chief: to this no definitive answer was given,  
but the deputies were permitted to retire.

IN the mean while ASHREFF, who was not ignorant that he had nothing to expect  
but a cruel death, if he fell into the hands of the PERSIANS, marched off in the  
night, and was got to some distance before TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN was informed of  
it. It may be presumed, that it did not give him any great concern that he had  
missed the recovery of the princesses of the royal blood, however he might be af-  
fected with regard to the treasure. In order to facilitate their retreat, the AFGHANS  
separated into different bodies; it therefore became the more difficult to prevent  
their flight. The KHAN was not perhaps so much concerned about this, as his  
army imagined; since every circumstance of his conduct proved that he was in his  
heart a TARTAR, and more disposed to favor that nation, than the natives of PER-  
SIA: thus we may, in some measure, reconcile a conduct seemingly so contrary to

1730. the natural activity of his genius. However, on his arrival at SHIRASS, he caused several of the AFGHANS, whom he found there, to be put to death: those of any distinction he sent prisoners to ISFAHAN with the news of his victory.

ALTHO' ASHREFF had made a sudden and secret flight, some of the parties, which the KHAN detached after him, overtook the AFGHANS, and a skirmish ensued, but the PERSIANS were obliged to retreat. It is not easy to figure the difficulties which ASHREFF encountered; his riches serving only to increase his danger. Besides the great distress he was in for provision and forage, in the dead of winter, he was perpetually attacked on every side by the peasants, till at length he was obliged to abandon his baggage, and after that to drop all the PERSIAN women and children, whom he was carrying into captivity. Some of his followers, transported with rage and jealousy, killed their women, to prevent their falling into the hands of their enemies.

UNDER these circumstances, it was impossible for them to keep together in any considerable body. Their division gave an opportunity to most of their captives to escape; and among these were the aunt and sister of SHAH TÆHMAS. As soon as these ladies returned to SHIRASS, they were conducted honorably to the court of ISFAHAN, and the former was given to TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN in marriage. Hunger and thirst, cold and fatigue, with incessant skirmishes, having dispersed the AFGHANS; ASHREFF had with him only two hundred men, when he was attacked by a body of the BALOUCHES<sup>a</sup>: he made a very gallant defence, but a length himself and all his people were cut to pieces.

THUS ended the usurpation of the AFGHANS, but not the calamities of PERSIA. The death of ASHREFF was but a prelude to those mischiefs, which NADIR, that scourge of heaven, was to bring on this unhappy country. The weakness of HUSSEIN's reign, had been the first apparent cause, which by a chain of effects could hardly fail to plunge this miserable nation into further misfortunes, not inferior to those it had felt under the cruel AFGHANS.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN remained about two months in SHIRASS, and refreshed his army. As soon as the spring approached, he directed his course towards HAMADAN: his name was already so formidable to the TURKS, that from his valor and experience, they dreaded the loss of those dominions, which they had conquered during the late troubles in PERSIA. If he was an object of terror to them, his conduct also gave umbrage at the court of ISFAHAN; the ascendancy he had obtained by means of the army under his command, rendered him already too great for a subject.

SHAH TÆHMAS had no sooner made a disposition of his interior government, than he sent an ambassador to the PORTE, to acquaint the GRAND SIGNIOR of his re-establishment in the government of the PERSIAN empire; and that he desired to live

<sup>a</sup> There are different accounts given concerning the place where this AFGHAN chief ended his life, but as the desert of SEGESTAN was his rout to KANDAHAR, it may be presumed that he was not very far advanced in that country when this event happened.

live in perfect amity with the TURKS: demanding, however, the restitution of his dominions, which they had taken during the troubles, and likewise all the PERSIAN prisoners. The ambassador had hardly opened his commission, when news arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE, that the PERSIAN army had already taken HAMADAN. The TURKISH ministry enraged at this proceeding, declined any further conference. The ambassador declared, that he believed the news was not true; or that those hostilities had been committed contrary to his master's intention, by some rebellious subjects. However, the TURKS resolved immediately to declare war against the PERSIANS, and accordingly made preparations to carry it on with vigor. 1730.

IN the mean while, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN had by his arbitrary proceedings, and the abuse of his authority, rendered his security absolutely inconsistent with peaceable measures; or, indeed, with any other situation than that of being at the head of an army. He had, in fact, beaten ABDALLAH BASHA, and taken HAMADAN, and following the TURKS to KERMANSHAH, completed the defeat of that army. After putting garrisons in these places, he marched for TAVRIS and ARDEVILLE\*, which the BASHA KOUPROLI was ordered to defend with forty thousand men; but KOULI KHAN having out-marched him, took these places. The TURKS being thus terrified at the progress of the PERSIANS, demanded a truce, to which TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN consented the more readily, as the ABDOLLEES of HERAT had revolted, and formed a considerable army. Upon this he returned back with a large body of his troops, and by a laborious march entered the country of ESFERAIN, and defeated the ABDOLLEES in a pitched battle. He then blockaded HERAT, which being unprovided for a siege, was obliged to submit. He put the governor and all the principal persons concerned in the rebellion to death, and leaving a garrison of his own men, he marched to MESCHED.

TÆHMAS SHAH concluded that the truce with the PORTE would not terminate in any accommodation: and indeed the TURKS taking advantage of the absence of KOULI KHAN, made great preparations for the march of the OTTOMAN armies. The SHAH therefore left ISFAHAN in OCTOBER, with an army of about twenty thousand men, directing his course towards TAVRIS, where he joined the troops left by his general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN. From thence he marched over the mountains of ARMENIA, in the height of winter, by which he lost a considerable number of his men. It was near the end of FEBRUARY when he reached ERIVAN. 1731.

ALI BASHA, SERASKIER of that province, had taken care to supply the city, not only for a siege, but also to act offensively against the PERSIANS when a favorable opportunity should offer: accordingly he caused six thousand of his men to march out of the garrison to attack the PERSIANS, with instructions to retreat at the first fire. This order was executed so well, that the PERSIANS having the appearance of a victory, followed the TURKS, and fell into the snare; for a masked battery of cannon was played on them so furiously, that they lost a great number of men. The BASHA at the same time marched out of his camp, and attacked the PERSIANS

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\* This city had been famous for the sepulchres of the PERSIAN kings, for colleges richly endowed, and mosques with costly ornaments in silver; but the TURKS during the troubles alienated the lands, and plundered the riches.



1731. in flank, so that the battle became very bloody on both sides; however, the PERSIAN valor was superior to that of the TURKS, who were driven back to their entrenchments. The SHAH then laid siege to the castle, but the TURKS having laid the country waste, he soon found his army in distress for provisions, and was obliged to raise the siege.

THE PERSIAN army then directed their course towards TAVRIS. ALI BASHA followed them, and soon met and joined the forces of BASHA KOUPROLI. The union of the TURKISH troops having rendered them superior to the PERSIANS, they attacked the PERSIAN army near the city ASTABAT, and defeated them, pushing some of their troops into the river ZENGUI<sup>a</sup>; many of them were drowned, and a great number taken prisoners. Among the latter was SEFFIE KOU LI KHAN, a general of distinction, who had been formerly the ATHEMAT DOULET of SHAH HUSSEIN. This person, now about sixty years of age, was remarkable for his knowledge and bravery. When he was brought prisoner to CONSTANTINOPLE, the GRAND SIGNIOR demanded of him, why at the late siege of TAVRIS he had suffered the chief MUL-LAH and his family to be massacred? He answered in an undaunted tone, "There are rascals in PERSIA as well as in TURKEY, and when a place is taken by assault, it is impossible for commanders to prevent disorders." Whatever might be the reasons which induced the OTTOMAN court to behave thus cruelly to this gallant officer, he was conducted richly cloathed, with his hands tied behind him, to a place near the seraglio, where the GRAND SIGNIOR glutted his resentment in seeing his head cut off. In the mean time, the PERSIAN ambassadors had been very ill treated, and even plundered on the road, so that the TURKS seemed to observe no terms with their enemies, but determined to lay waste the borders of PERSIA with fire and sword.

TÄHMAS SHAH had, before his defeat near ASTABAT, resolved to abandon TAVRIS, in order to provide for the security of HAMADAN, to which ACHMED BASHA was preparing to lay siege. The PERSIAN army reached the plains of HAMADAN in SEPTEMBER, being reduced from fifty<sup>b</sup> to less than thirty thousand men; with these were joined the garrison of the city, and a bloody battle ensued between the two armies, in which the TURKS were a second time victorious. The SHAH returned with his scattered forces to CASBIN; and HAMADAN fell again into the hands of the TURKS. Thus the OTTOMAN army gained this year, what they lost the year before.

DURING these transactions in the field, the situation of affairs in TURKEY was changed by intestine commotions. As they had much to lose, without a prospect of making any further acquisition, peace was become very desirable. ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, in consequence of the success of the PERSIANS the preceding year, had received orders to make a peace with them on the best terms he could. IBRAHIM BASHA, the grand vizir, conscious of his being odious to the people, was apprehensive that if success attended the arms of the PERSIANS in reconquering the provinces

<sup>a</sup> This river falls into the ARAS, a little below ASTABAT.

<sup>b</sup> It may be presumed that he collected a great number of forces in his march through PERSIA into the TURKISH dominions, besides the forces he found at TAVRIS.