

condition to make war against her; the PERSIANS being entirely disposed to support a perfect amity with the dominions of her imperial majesty, whose interest they considered in common with their own. 1735.

THIS ambassador was also charged with a commission, to require the delivery of DERBEND, BAKU, RESHD, and all the places in the provinces of SHIRVAN and GHILAN, with the other districts situated on the coast of the CASPIAN SEA, which had been conquered by PETER the GREAT. Also that those TARTARS in the mountains of DAGISTAN^a, who had submitted to the RUSSIAN arms, should be again restored to the dominion of PERSIA.

IT was said that KOULI KHAN had in the vanity of his heart declared, that if the RUSSIANS did not retire, he would take a broom, and sweep them out. The RUSSIANS, apprehensive of a war with the TURKS, did not think those countries worth a contest: they had never received any benefit from them, but quite the reverse, for they only proved a grave to their armies. As to the revenues of those provinces since the year 1722, which were also demanded by the ambassador, the RUSSIAN ministry alledged, that so far from drawing any advantage from thence, the government had been at a great expence in the support of them.

IN consequence of this treaty now made with TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, her imperial majesty appointed a general officer to accompany the PERSIAN commissaries, in order to see the evacuation of the countries already mentioned, and to fix the boundaries of the two states; which was accordingly done soon after. The ambassador having received all the honors due to his character, took his leave of the empress the 13th of MARCH; and the court bore the expence of his journey to the frontiers, according to custom. The empress intended to send an ambassador to ISFAHAN, to compliment the young SHAH^b; and from thence to proceed to the army, in order to finish the negotiations with TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, which the PERSIAN minister had already begun.

THE TURKS had not yet recovered the shock occasioned by the defeat of TOPAL OSMAN; and the rapid progress of the PERSIAN arms during the preceding year had disheartened the court to such an extreme degree, that they would hardly have opposed the enemy, had there been no other object to preserve than the conquered provinces. The good intelligence between the RUSSIANS and the PERSIANS at the same time, gave great umbrage to the PORTE. The GRAND SIGNIOR comforted himself however, in hopes of an accommodation with the PERSIANS, and that the loss of GEORGIA would be repaired by his conquests in Christendom; the situation of the EUROPEAN powers at that time seeming to facilitate the success of the OTTOMAN arms. The PERSIAN troops, now increased to a hundred and twenty thousand men, KOULI KHAN absolutely refused to enter into terms of accommodation, unless the

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^b We find afterwards, that the RUSSIAN ministers were too sensible of the changes to which PERSIA was subject, to carry this design into execution.

1734. staple for all the commodities of these countries, together with those of EUROPE. It was also a place of defence.

THESE however were not sufficient reasons with the ambitious KOULI KHAN to preserve this city. Indeed, it is hard to say, if he made a sacrifice of it to his pride and resentment, more than to reasons of policy. The conquest of the LESGEES was an object he had very much at heart; and experience had proved, that this city was an asylum to them of late years; or at least, that it was the seat of rebellion, from whence SHIRVAN was invaded.

C H A P. IX.

The TURKS desire a peace. KOULI KHAN sends an ambassador to the RUSSIAN court.

ABDALLAH KOUPROLI gives battle to KOULI KHAN in the valley of ARTAKAVI, and is slain, together with twenty thousand TURKS. ABDALLAH BASHA retreats to CARS. CARA ACHMED appointed SERASKIER of the TURKISH army. FZIVAN taken. The TURKS declare war against the RUSSIANS. KOULI KHAN's conduct towards that nation.

THE rapid progress of the PERSIAN arms, made the divan of CONSTANTINOPLE in the highest degree desirous of peace with PERSIA: but TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, ambitious of new triumphs, proudly despised any accommodation, but what was judged to be very injurious to the honor of the GRAND SIGNIOR. The inclination of the PORTE was to commence a war with the christian powers; and great magazines were forming in BOSNIA, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to enter thro' VALACHIA into the UKRAIN. The OTTOMAN court was also very jealous of the good understanding between the RUSSIANS and the PERSIANS, and apprehended a treaty of alliance, by which the former were to make a diversion in favor of PERSIA on the side of ASOPH; whilst there was not less reason to apprehend, that with such assistance, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN might carry his arms into NATOLIA, and shake the throne of the OTTOMAN empire.

1735. WHAT favored this opinion, was the arrival, at the beginning of this year, of HUSSEIN KOULI KHAN as ambassador from ABAS, the infant SHAH of PERSIA, to the court of ST. PETERSBURG; his credential letters were signed with the seal of the general TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN. This minister informed her imperial majesty, that SHAH TÆHMAS being a weak prince, whose conduct threatened the ruin of PERSIA, the khans, and all the great lords of the state, had determined to depose him, and set up his son ABAS in his place. That they meant not to do the dethroned prince any harm, but to indulge him in all the pleasures to which he was inclined; but not to submit to his pacific disposition, with regard to their common enemy the TURK. That TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, whose valour and fortune was equal to that of ALEXANDER; and whose prudence and generosity were unrivalled, was determined to prosecute the war with vigor. That her imperial majesty might be assured he would never lay down his arms, whilst the GRAND SIGNIOR was in any

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condition to make war against her; the PERSIANS being entirely disposed to support ^{1735.} a perfect amity with the dominions of her imperial majesty, whose interest they considered in common with their own.

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1735. the TURKS would not only yield up all the conquered provinces, but also pay him the charge of the war.

THE OTTOMAN court was continually sending troops, ammunition, and money to ALEPPO and TREBISONDE, from whence the army under ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, BASHA of CAIRO, was supplied; this general had also succours from CAIRO, but as yet he kept close in his intrenchments in ARMENIA. The TURKS esteeming this as a holy war, were yet in spirits to try the fortune of another campaign; and the GRAND SIGNIOR gave orders to the SERASKIER KOUPROLI, to give battle to TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN, as soon as he should find himself sufficiently reinforced.

THE PERSIAN general having spent the beginning of this year in reducing GEORGIA, was now on his march to ERIVAN. Designing to bring the TURKS to an engagement, he sent a detachment of fifteen thousand men towards their camp. The SERASKIER, immediately concluded, that this motion could be made with no other design than to reconnoitre his situation; he therefore sent a body of his best cavalry to meet them, and after a short skirmish the PERSIANS retreated in confusion. The SERASKIER unwilling to lose so apparent an advantage, dispatched more troops after them, and followed himself at the head of his army, making forced marches, in hopes to intercept their junction with the main body of the PERSIANS.

ON the 10th of JUNE, TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN appeared with forty thousand men in the valley of ARPAKAVI, so that the whole force with him did not exceed fifty-five thousand. The SERASKIER, on the other hand, had an army consisting of eighty thousand men. At the approach of the TURKS, the PERSIAN general broke up his camp with a seeming precipitation, and retired towards ERIVAN. After several forced marches, being arrived at the streight previously designed for the action, he concealed a body of his men in a wood, whilst another strong party was covered in a valley. In this situation he prepared to receive the TURKS.

THE van of the TURKISH army thus saw themselves at once attacked in flank and rear by the PERSIANS, who came out of the defiles; and the action became very bloody. The SERASKIER, after fighting very bravely for near five hours, and having two horses killed under him, at length met the same fate as his predecessor TOPAL OSMAN. Besides him, fell DEMIR BASHA, and MUSTAPHA BASHA, generals of the first rank; the last was a kinsman of the GRAND SIGNIOR. They lost also four other BASHAS, with twenty thousand men, the greatest part of whom were killed, the rest taken prisoners. The PERSIANS likewise made themselves masters of thirty-two pieces of cannon, with the military chest and baggage.

THIS victory was obtained the cheaper, as the rear of the TURKS could not come up, and consequently had no share in the action. These retired as soon as they found their van totally defeated; but they were followed by the PERSIANS for near three leagues; insomuch that many were constrained to fly to the neighbouring cities, and others into the mountains. ABDALLAH BASHA carried off eight thousand TURKS to CARS, a city in the UPPER ARMENIA.

THE news of this defeat flung the whole city of CONSTANTINOPLE into the utmost consternation. The TURKS concluded from hence, that not only the conquered countries must submit, but that it would be dangerous to the whole empire to continue the war any longer. The MUFTI and all the court appeared with very sorrowful countenances. Fresh orders were therefore sent to ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, with full powers to negotiate a peace with TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN. The friendship which the PERSIAN general had professed for this BASHA, was a circumstance which served to support the drooping spirits of the OTTOMAN court; the BASHA had also acquired so great a reputation, that his enemies as well as his partizans, often stiled him ACHMED PADISHA^a. CARA ACHMED, who had been for some time lieutenant to the governor of BAGDAT, a good soldier, and well versed in the liberal arts, was now sent to supply the place of the SERASKIER KOUPROLI.

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN was no sooner master of the field, than he dispatched an officer to the RUSSIAN court, to inform them of his victory. The designs which he had now formed, required a peace with the TURKS; but he still promised to do nothing without the consent of the empress of RUSSIA. However, if we may judge from the event, he was desirous of engaging the RUSSIANS in a war with the TURKS, as the most effectual means of promoting his own designs, to which this second important victory did not a little contribute.

AFTER this battle he immediately laid siege to ERIVAN, the capital of ARMENIA; the garrison having no expectation of succours, soon demanded to capitulate, and were permitted to retire to CARS; but part of the inhabitants were removed into KHORASAN. From thence he sent a strong detachment to ERZEROU^b; and by the end of this year's campaign he recovered all the conquered provinces.

IF we consider to what a wretched state PERSIA had been reduced six years before, when TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN appeared at the head of her forces, we must impute this rapid success to his military genius and fortune. What a prodigious change was it for a country devoured by rapine, whose subjects were despised abroad, and plunged into miseries at home, to give laws to a powerful monarchy in so short a time! It is natural to think, that in the height of his triumphs, ASIA would not have bounded his conquests, had his passion been only for military glory; but every circumstance of his conduct proved that he aspired at more than triumphs; and that his ambition of sovereignty was equal to that of conquest; neither of which could be long supported without vast funds, and these hardly were to be obtained by pursuing the war against the TURKS.

BEFORE we enter upon the relation of any new event, we must go back to the situation of the OTTOMAN court. The defeat of the SERASKIER KOUPROLI was attended with a further change of ministry at CONSTANTINOPLE. ISMAEL BASHA, the grand VIZIR, who had been the chief adviser to prosecute the war with PERSIA, was deposed the 12th of JULY, and though a relation of the GRAND SIGNIOR, was banished to the isle of CANDIA; MAHOMMED BASHA succeeded him; the last was also ap-
pointed

^a The emperor ACHMED, TURKISH ministers.

^b At ERZEROU the peace was concluded by the PERSIAN and

1735. pointed SERASKIER of the army intended to be sent against the RUSSIANS. This minister accordingly marched out of CONSTANTINOPLE in great pomp and ceremony, with the standard of the prophet MAHOMMED carried before him. The RUSSIANS, who naturally expected this event, were very vigilant in marching an army early into the field; infomuch, that ASOPH was besieged before the TURKS had taken care to provide a sufficient garrison. This place being at the mouth of the river DON on the PALUS MÆOTIS, and communicating with the BLACK SEA, the laying siege to it created great alarms at CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE ministers of the several christian potentates interposed their mediation, to prevent the great effusion of blood, which the RUSSIAN war must necessarily occasion; but the TURKS were inexorably bent to pursue it. KOULI KHAN pretended to make it an article in the peace he was negotiating with the TURKS, to include the RUSSIANS. This was a ministerial stroke, which answered a double purpose. He knew the TURKS were entirely averse to it, and consequently their refusal gave him the better plea to make his own terms; and, at the same time, he secretly wished to involve his new friend, as well as his old one, in a war that should keep them well employed for some time, whilst he pursued the favorite projects which he had planned. For this purpose, it was also necessary to start all the difficulties imaginable, in order to protract the issue of the conferences at ERZEROU. ABDIL BAKI KHAN, the PERSIAN ambassador, met ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, but nothing could be concluded this year. The TURKS made no difficulty to yield up and restore all the countries conquered from PERSIA since the time of SHAH HUSSEIN, with those which had been separated from that empire during that reign; but KOULI KHAN, not satisfied with this, made pretensions on BAGDAT, and demanded to be paid the expences of the war.

THE issue however made it appear, that it was not his intentions to exact such rigorous conditions, but to gain time, and dispose of the governments of all the conquered countries in a satisfactory manner. He also endeavoured to persuade the RUSSIAN court, that he meant to prosecute the war, notwithstanding the treaty with the TURKS was already commenced.

P A R T XIV.

FROM THE

ELECTING OF TÆHMAS KOULI
KHAN KING OF PERSIA IN 1736,

TILL HIS

RETURN FROM HIS MEMORABLE EXPEDITION INTO
INDIA IN 1740.

C H A P I.

The young SHAH ABAS dies. The RUSSIANS evacuate DERBEND, and yield up their conquests in PERSIA. TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN declared king. Conditions of accepting the diadem. The MULLAH BASHI put to death. NADIR coins money, and seizes the lands of the church. Edict concerning the sect of the SUNNIS and SCHIAS.

THE beginning of this year ripened the plot. PERSIA, trembling at the effects of her own conquests, saw herself in the hands of an usurper, whose military abilities rendered him the idol of his army. The young prince ABAS, who was of a complexion extremely delicate, died. Whether his death was intirely according to the course of nature, is not declared: it is probable, however precarious the life of this infant-king might have been, that some art was used, in order, that so feeble an impediment should not obstruct the designs of the ambitious TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN. 1736.

THE 10th of MARCH, as I have more than once observed, is the PERSIANS new-year's day, when it is the custom of their princes to assemble the governors of the provinces, and demand an account of their administration. This was a favorable occasion to convoke all the governors, elders, and great officers, together with the generals of his army, in order to communicate the success of his arms, and to consult what further measures were necessary to be taken for the common good. The rendezvous was appointed in the plains of MOGHAN, near the banks of the ARAS, where he had assembled the greatest part of his forces, consisting of near an hundred thousand men. He acquainted the nobles and governors, that the reason of calling

1736. them together was, that they might know from him how God had been pleased to bless his arms with success, and to restore all the dominions which had been torn from the late family of the SEFFIES. That he had delivered PERSIA from the yoke of the AFGHANS, and was in treaty with the TURKS, with whom he hoped soon to make such a peace as would be agreeable, since the GRAND SIGNIOR must be obliged to accept of the conditions which he should prescribe. That he had also concluded a peace with the RUSSIANS, who had restored all those dominions belonging to the PERSIAN empire, which they had conquered fourteen years before: in short, that he had left nothing to be done except the conquest of KANDAHAR. But as it was necessary for the support and continuation of the glory of the monarchy, that they should have a person at the head of their armies, who might prevent such fatal consequences as they experienced in the preceding reign; and as it was his intention to enjoy the remainder of his life in repose, he desired to resign his office; for which reason they must make choice of a new general. Moreover, as it had pleased God to deprive them of the young ABAS, they must elect a king also. If they thought SHAH TÆHMAS could govern them with valor and wisdom, they had only to recall him; but if he was not capable, they must fix their choice upon some other: that so important a business required mature consideration; he therefore recommended it to them, and desired their answer in three days.

THERE was hardly a sensible man in the assembly, but saw through the thin disguise of these propositions; and many saw it with indignation, who had not virtue enough to declare their real sentiments. KOULI KHAN retired to his tent, and left the deputies to their own contemplations: he ordered that they should be entertained at the public expence, and treated with all the respect imaginable. It is reasonable to presume, that he had already made his sentiments known to the principal officers, whilst it was obvious to every common soldier, that military glory, and a despotic authority, were his ruling passions. The great care and tenderness which he had upon all occasions shewn them, necessarily engaged their wishes to see him their sovereign, as well as their general. Under these circumstances, what voice could the deputies of the people have, but such as was agreeable to the army?

THE three days being expired, the deputies waited on the general with a petition, representing, "That as God had been pleased to make use of his arm to restore the glory of the PERSIAN monarchy, none was so worthy of the diadem as himself; that their lives and fortunes were redeemed by him, and to him therefore they ought to be devoted."

TÆHMAS KOULI KHAN then replied: "It is true, that since I led the people to battle, divine providence has been pleased to favor my designs. You have yourselves been witnesses of the amazing success of the PERSIAN arms. It was not my intention however in calling you together, to receive this mark of your gratitude; but since heaven has decreed that my feeble arm should be the instrument of that almighty power which governs all things, I will consent to your proposal, under certain conditions. It will rest on yourselves to support your own choice, and assist me to exalt the nation to as high a pitch of glory as the greatest kings of the former ages have done. But if you will make me your king, you must remem-

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ber to comply with the conditions which I now require: First, You must make the diadem hereditary in my family. Secondly, You shall not entertain in your houses any of the family of your old kings, much less mention any thing tending to rebellion. And lastly, you shall not curse OMAR, OSMAN, and ABUBEKIR, nor observe the tumultuous meetings at the commemoration of HUSSEIN's death. And as a great effusion of blood has been occasioned by the religious differences of the sects of the SCHIAS and SUNNIS^a, which, in my opinion, are not in themselves essential, an assembly of the priests shall be called to regulate these differences."

It may, I think, be presumed, that NADIR SHAH, for that is the name by which we must now call him, elate with his victories over the TURKS, had flattered himself that he might one day unite the PERSIAN and OTTOMAN dominions under the same head. But although this dazzling object floated in his imagination, he could scarcely hope to make a speedy conquest of the minds of the people, or that he could reign over both nations, whilst they remained of different sects. It is true, he was bred a SUNNI, and from thence might seem to incline that way; in reality, the tenets of both parties were equally indifferent to him.

THE KHANS and deputies of all the provinces came readily into the two first articles, which seemed more particularly to regard their allegiance to their new sovereign. As to the commemoration of the death of HUSSEIN, the son of ALI, we have already explained, that this festival^b regarded the ecclesiastical government; but since it might be made an occasion of tumultuous assemblies, injurious to his interest, NADIR wisely guarded against it. With respect to the last article, they desired the high priest^c might be heard: he was accordingly brought into the presence of the new sovereign, where he spoke to this effect: "It is not for earthly princes to direct in what manner the God of heaven and earth ought to be worshipped. We have our law, as delivered down by divine authority, through the mediation of the prophet^d; that is our guide: and as all changes in religious matters are subject to very dangerous consequences, I hope no means will be taken to sully the lustre of your victories, by a step so derogatory to the welfare of the true believers." Such a speech as this, might have easily fired the hearts of a people naturally inclined to enthusiasm; but perhaps this honest priest was the only man who dared to speak his mind; the only one, at least, of any eminent authority, who had courage to check that imperious spirit, which already shewed itself in NADIR, though he had not yet received the ensigns of royalty: but as if heaven had marked him out for deliverance from the cruel bondage of NADIR's government, he was soon silenced with a bow-string. This well-meaning priest might, however, have checked his zeal; for as the matter was to be referred to priests of the different sects, the consequence was very natural, that it would remain as they found it: nor did the tacit consent of the people to these proposals, produce any particular effect, with regard to the uniformity of religion.

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^a See Vol. I. page 232. also page 104. of this volume. To this we may add, that as the SUNNIS, who are the sect of the TURKS, acknowledge the khoran as expounded by the doctors, MALEK, SHAFI, HANBAL, and ABUL HANIFA; so the PERSIANS or SCHIAS adhere to ALI, and are guided by their own IMAMS, who have expounded their ecclesiastical law.

^c MULLAH BASHI.

^d MAHOMMED.

^b See page 104. of this volume.

1736.

THE next day, being the 11th of MARCH, the general was proclaimed king, under the name of NADIR SHAH^a, and the people paid him homage as such, which he accepted with an air of dignity mixed with arrogance. The ARMENIAN patriarch, who was in the camp, performed part of the ceremony, by buckling on his sabre; but as to the plume^b and diadem, which, as already observed, is the more essential mark of royalty, he changed it himself from the left-side to his right; as if he meant to shew, that to his own arm only he was indebted for his exaltation.

THUS did the aspiring genius of this instrument of divine wrath accomplish his end; thus did he reach that point which CÆSAR could not attain; tho' in valor, generosity, and strength of mind, this celebrated ROMAN was not inferior to the PERSIAN usurper; whilst he excelled him in learning, politeness, and humanity, to which NADIR indeed had no pretensions. CROMWELL also was baffled in his aim at the crown of ENGLAND; neither his skill nor cunning, nor his valor nor resolution, could acquire him the name of king. ROME, tho' corrupt to an extreme, and ripe for a change of that form of government, by which her people had arrived at so high a pitch of glory, had yet some honest and gallant spirits, who thought the killing of a tyrant warrantable, at least not so great an evil as slavery. In ENGLAND, there were numbers whose principles were untainted, and who saw the error which had been committed, in attempting to change the monarchy into a republican government. But in PERSIA, ignorance and want of foresight, with universal corruption of manners, prepared the necks of the people for the yoke to which they now submitted; and it was but a few years after, that they saw pyramids of human heads erected on that spot, where they chose their king^c.

NADIR being arrived at the summit of his ambition, began to exert that boundless authority with which he was invested; however, he tempered his natural fierceness and cruelty with some tokens of munificence: he entertained all the deputies of the people for three days, and treated them with great civility; among other shews and amusements in the camp, as that of shooting an arrow at a gold plate, which was fixed on a lofty pole; those who shot down the mark were to receive it as a reward of their skill, together with a coat of honor.

THE motto, which he chose upon this occasion for his seal, was this:

AS THE JEWEL WAS FALLEN OUT OF THE RING OF FAME AND GLORY, SO GOD HAS RESTORED IT IN THE NAME OF NADIR.

THE coins which he caused to be struck had these inscriptions:

NADIR KING OF KINGS, AND GLORY OF THE AGE.

ANOTHER WAS:

COINS PROCLAIM THROUGH THE EARTH, THE REIGN OF NADIR, THE KING WHO CONQUERS THE WORLD.

^a THE PERSIANS generally put the title of SHAH after the name, tho' EUROPEANS use it before and after indifferently.

^b These are of the feathers of black herons stuck into a tube, supported by a stud of precious stones.

^c See Vol. I. page 232.

THE

THE assembly were at length dismissed, to appearance very well satisfied; the priests only resented the death of their chief, the MULLAH BASHI, and the little regard which their new sovereign shewed to the national religious tenets. NADIR, who did nothing by halves, was determined to pull off the mask. As soon as he arrived at CASBIN, whither he next directed his march, he convoked all the ecclesiastics of the city and neighbouring countries, and demanded of them in what manner the revenues of the church were employed? They answered, in the support of priests, colleges and mosques, in the last of which incessant prayers were offered to heaven for the success of the arms of their sovereigns; to which he replied to this effect: "It is certain that you have been very remiss in your duty; and that the Almighty is not pleased with the prayers of such men as you are. It is now near fifty years since the empire has been on the decline, and was at length plunged into the deepest misery, till the victorious instruments^a of the most wonderful, by exposing their lives for its defence and glory, have at length restored it. These are the priests to whose services we are indebted; therefore the revenues and lands of the church shall be appropriated to their support^b."

It is easy to imagine, what impressions the priests would receive from being plundered of all their revenues; but as much the greatest part of the army, particularly all the TARTARS, were of the sect of the SUNNIS, they treated their complaints with derision; whilst the people in general, apprehending that they should be relieved from their taxes, in proportion as the church revenues were applied to the support of the army, felt no great reluctance in submitting. Religion, indeed, seemed to be almost at the same low ebb as morality, or they never would have chosen NADIR KOULI for their king. He left the people however at their liberty, with regard to the support of priests at their own expence, but continued to exact a conformity to the SUNNIS, agreeably to what he had mentioned in the plains of MOGAN; and for this purpose he published the following edict:

The decree to unite the two sects of the SCHIAS and the SUNNIS, which divide the PERSIANS and the TURKS.

"ALL in high stations, the SEDR^c of great power, the governor, ministers of the law, and learned men of the royal residence of ISFAHAN, being exalted through the king's favor, shall KNOW, that while the abode of our ensigns, on which victory attends, was at MOGAN^d, it was agreed, that according to the ancient custom transmitted down to us by our predecessors in the religion, as explained by HANIFA^e and JAFFER^f, from henceforth we do acknowledge the directing CALIPHS^g, in whom the most high is well pleased, as the successors of the chief of messengers^h; and that, whenever there is occasion for it, the people shall mention the names of the four with great respect.

"BUT,

^a His army. ^b What these revenues amounted to, my authorities do not tell me. If it was one million sterling, it bears one fifth proportion to the whole revenue, according to the calculation in Vol. I. page 297.

^c The SEDR is a person of authority in the empire, who has the management of church lands, and of the revenues, for the maintenance of public schools, salaries to learned men, and other pious uses.

^d The plains where he was chosen king. ^e HANIFA, one of the four TURKISH doctors, famous for expounding the MAHOMMEDAN law.

^f JAFFER, one of the four ^g ABUBEKER, OMAR, ^h MAHOMMED.

1736.

“ BUT, whereas in some places of these kingdoms, at the time of calling to prayers, and standing up to pray, the people mention these words, ALI, the friend of GOD^a, according to the usual practice of the SCHIAS^b, but contrary to those who are of orthodox faith. This we declare to be repugnant to the true religion, and contrary to the agreement and covenant entered into. Besides, it is apparent to the world, that as the prince of the faithful, the lion of GOD, the victorious^c, is elect, praised, and acceptable to the Lord of glory; his rank and interest at the court of unity, will not be increased by vulgar testimony, nor the full moon of his power diminished by the omission of these words. But the ill consequence of this form is, that both sects^d, who equally acknowledge the chief and prophet^e of both worlds, are provoked to animosities, which are offensive to the prophet, and to the prince of the faithful^f. Therefore, as soon as this high edict is promulged, let all musfulmen, high and low, the callers to prayer in the cities, their dependencies, and adjacent countries, KNOW, that from this day henceforth, these words^g, which differ from the orthodox custom, shall not be mentioned. It is also usual with governors in their assemblies, after their prefatory prayer^h, to say, may the king, from whom all our fortune flows, live for ever, As a prayer for perpetuating a mortal man is vain, and of no effect, we command that every KHANⁱ, who is master of a drum^k and ensign, say it in this manner, thanks to the true king for all benefits. From henceforward, let all persons observe these settled regulations and written orders: for, whosoever deviates from them, will incur the displeasure of the king of kings. Written in the month SAFER, 1149^l.”

WHATEVER policy might induce NADIR to make a difference in the form of prayer, it seems to have betrayed him into an absurdity. He might apprehend his interest to be concerned in being acknowledged the “ true king;” yet his observation on perpetuating a mortal man, seems to be more vain, than the thing itself, which he calls so; since “ living for ever,” can only allude to immortality after death; or, according to the eastern manner, the longest period of life.

^a Is always annexed by the SCHIAS to the KELMAH, viz. there is but one GOD, MAHOMMED is his prophet, and ALI his friend.

^b The sect of the PERSIANS.

^c MORTISA, ALI's titles.

^d The SUNNIS and SCHIAS.

^e MAHOMMED.

^f MORTISA ALI.

^g ALI, the friend of GOD.

^h FATTAHA and TOKBIR, is a prefatory prayer, which is generally the first chapter of the khoran. TOKBIR is repeating three times these words, ALLAH, AKBAH, GOD is greatest, before the KELMAH above-mentioned.

ⁱ I presume that the order extended to all persons to use this form.

^k TABAL, or small drum, which general officers ordinarily wear fixed to their saddles.

^l JUNE, 1736.

C H A P. II.

NADIR SHAH marches to CASBIN, and sends an ambassador to TURKEY. The GRAND SIGNIOR's orders to ACHMED BASHA concerning peace. All the conquered provinces yielded up to PERSIA. NADIR SHAH marches to ISFAHAN. Great preparations for an expedition against KANDAHAR.

THOUGH it was impossible this edict could meet with universal approbation, we do not find that any remonstrances were made against it. It was a very politic step upon the whole, as it was not only contrived to avoid expensive and bloody wars with the TURKS, but also calculated to continue the diadem in his own family, who were well known to be SUNNIS; and according to the former constitution of the empire, would otherwise find it as difficult to establish a lineal succession, as a roman-catholic prince in a protestant country. 1736.

NADIR, during his stay at CASBIN, took the usual oath, "To govern the people according to the laws of GOD, as revealed by his prophet MAHOMMED; and to protect and defend the PERSIANS against all their enemies." From hence he dispatched a minister to the OTTOMAN court, to acquaint them of his accession to the throne; he also ordered another to the court of ST. PETERSBURG for the same purpose. The empress of RUSSIA in return, ordered her resident in PERSIA to present her congratulations; and presuming that he had already made peace with the TURKS, she demanded what the conditions of it were, that she might see if there was any thing contrary to the treaty which she had lately concluded with the PERSIAN empire. NADIR still persisted, "That he would enter into no accommodations with the TURKS injurious to the interest of her imperial majesty: that if his ministers had done any thing, it was without his orders;" though, at the same time, the ambassador appointed for TURKEY was one of his prime counsellors and favorites.

ON the other hand, the TURKISH ministry endeavored to persuade the people, that in consideration of their yielding up all the conquered provinces, the PERSIANS would make a diversion in their favor against the RUSSIANS, who, during this interval, had made themselves masters of AZOPH. The GRAND SIGNIOR, who feared NADIR when he was only general of the forces of PERSIA, was the more desirous of cultivating a good understanding with him, now that he was exalted to the throne of that empire.

IT was already expected, that NADIR would turn his arms towards INDIA; but in the present situation of his affairs, it was by no means convenient to give either the RUSSIANS or the TURKS any cause to believe, that he meditated an enterprize against a country at so great a distance. The former had reason to complain of his conduct, in regard to his treaty with the TURKS; whilst these were compelled only by the necessity of their affairs, to submit to terms which they thought highly injurious to their honor and interest. Hence he judged it necessary to practise all his arts to prevent those resentments, which might have obstructed his favorite design.

1736:

THE GRAND SIGNIOR no sooner received notice of NADIR's being advanced to the throne of PERSIA, than he repeated his orders to ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, to conclude the treaty already begun at ERZEROU. On his part he sent GHENTCH ALI BASHA to that city; whilst NADIR SHAH appointed ABDUL BAKI KHAN as his ambassador to CONSTANTINOPLE. The orders which ACHMED BASHA received from the OTTOMAN court were couched in the following terms:

" THE most honoured and respected minister of the empire, most renowned, wise, and trusty counsellor, the most happy ACHMED BASHA, our SERASKIER and vizir in ASIA, whose fame and felicity is everlasting, shall know, That certain differences have happened between our sublime and exalted court, and the kingdom of PERSIA, which have been the cause of immense losses and sufferings to the inhabitants of the frontiers, insomuch, that many districts are entirely ruined. As we are moved with the most tender compassion; and desirous to establish a lasting tranquillity; we have resolved to make these reciprocal losses the occasion of a strict friendship; thus to obey the orders of providence, and preserve the people from misery.

" WE have already informed you of our design to enter into a convention with his renowned majesty the SHAH, who shines as SATURN, and whose vows are heard by the Almighty. The treaty made by our predecessor AMURATH the IVth. is proposed as the foundation of this convention. We have learnt from your letters, that the most famous and happy SHAH is disposed to reform the errors of the religion of PERSIA, and has agreed that several articles concerning the faith shall be inserted in the treaty. As the two courts have proposed to conclude this covenant, the illustrious ABDUL BAKI KHAN, on the part of the SHAH, is invested with the character of ambassador for this purpose. We agree to the three following articles:

" I. THAT henceforward the PERSIANS shall be at liberty to visit the tomb of MECCA, and other religious places, without impediment, and shall be free of all duties whatsoever: and in order that every article shall be exactly observed, a plenipotentiary on our part shall always reside at the splendid court of ISFAHAN; and one on the behalf of the SHAH shall remain at our court.

" II. THAT the SHAH, as a pure effect of the greatness of his soul, will cause the differences in religion to cease, by abolishing the sect of the SCHIAS, and for the future tolerating only the SUNNIS, who acknowledge the four successors of MAHOMMED, ABUBEKER, OMAR, OSMAN, and ALI, to the end that there may not be any farther disputes about religion.

" III. AFTER the SHAH shall have re-established good order in his dominions, and extirpated the SCHIAS, from whence arose eternal disorders and disputes concerning the public exercise of religion, and shall have acknowledged us, the successor of MAHOMMED, we shall on our part acknowledge him as SHAH.

" AND

“ AND notwithstanding that we have already given you this full power, we authorize you again happily to conclude the treaty with the ambassador ABDUL BAKI KHAN, in the place which you shall chuse to make the exchange; and afterwards, you are to send the treaty to our splendid court by the vizir KORMAN WALEY, who will conduct the ambassador ABDUL BAKI KHAN, with all his attendants. For this purpose we have dispatched CAPIDUSI BASHA to conduct him hither, and defray his expences on the road. 1736.

“ WHEN you shall have received the present, and comprehended the contents of this commission; above all exert yourself to establish a good understanding between the two courts. The prayers of the faithful will aid you in attaining the extirpation of the sect of the SCHIAS, and to exclude from the treaty the unbelieving RUSSIANS. By this means you may expect the exalted favor of our majesty, and the acknowledgment of all true believers. These are our orders, by which you are to regulate yourself. Given the 8th of the month ZILCHILDESI, 1148^a. I, CASI ASKER MAHOMMED, a servant of the true GOD, do attest that this copy is according to the original of the SULTAN.”

THE conferences at ERZEROUH still continued, and tho’ the TURKS submitted to every thing which the SHAH seemed inclined to insist upon, yet nothing was finally determined. ABDUL BAKI KHAN was ordered to proceed to CONSTANTINOPLE, where he continued to practise the arts of evasion, no doubt by the instruction of his master. The OTTOMAN court was extremely offended at this conduct; but as peace was absolutely necessary, near the close of the year the treaty was concluded. NADIR was acknowledged as sovereign of PERSIA. All the conquered provinces were yielded back to that empire; and a full permission was granted for the PERSIANS to visit the tomb of MAHOMMED. The last article was however of very little moment, since the true policy of the PERSIAN state was to prevent their subjects from making that pilgrimage.

IN the mean while, NADIR marched with his army from CASBIN to ISFAHAN, with a view to settle the interior government of the empire. This was not the place which he desired most to favor; however its situation with regard to the TURKS and the RUSSIANS, and some affectation of popularity, with respect to the ancient metropolis of the empire, drew his attention. His natural inclination to avarice, turned his thoughts to the encouragement of commerce; in which, however, he had not the least skill, nor patience to see things brought to maturity. The interest of the ARMENIANS began to revive. The distinction of CHRISTIAN and MAHOMMEDAN was weakened, not only as a consequence of the confusion which had long reigned in PERSIA, but also as an effect of blending the two sects of the SUNNIS and SCHIAS.

A CARELESS indulgence, as well as a fierce persecution, seem equally destructive of true religion. Moral duties, and mutual confidences, are the natural effects of religion, and as essential to the encouragement of commerce, as to the support of a state in general. What prospect then had the PERSIANS of a happy reign, under

1736. a man whose whole life had been guided by principles diametrically opposite to these duties?

THE insatiable avarice of the eunuchs and ministers of the weak and unfortunate HUSSEIN, had suffered many of the public buildings in ISFAHAN to fall to decay, and private houses were in no better condition^a; the AFGHANS had not repaired them, nor was NADIR inclined to recommend any expence of that nature. The same passion of covetousness possessed his breast, as it had done those of the eunuchs in the former reign, though the objects they pursued were very different. However, he caused the walls to be repaired, and put the city in a better state of defence. He also made a distribution of several lands, in order to their cultivation, reserving to himself a considerable part of their produce. To those whom poverty had reduced to the lowest ebb, he caused grain to be given, also such small sums as were necessary to provide the utensils of husbandry. Thus he consulted, in some measure, what was essential to the support of the state; but at the same time, the chief object of his care was the maintenance of his army.

THOUGH the late campaign had been attended with such great success, yet the common accidents of war had lessened the number of his forces; for which reason, he sent into all parts for recruits. This distressed the inhabitants in a double respect, as those fit to bear arms were the most proper for husbandry; and the more his army was augmented, the greater necessity he was under for a large supply of money. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in general, had been declining very fast some years before the fatal invasion of the AFGHANS; during their reign, the state was plunged still deeper in misery; and, since their expulsion, scarce any thing had been heard but the din of war.

THERE is something amazingly productive of satisfaction in the notion of conquest. Every subject in a military government, is apt to raise himself in his own esteem, in proportion to the achievements and victories of his sovereign; tho' such victories may be the very occasion of their misery. NADIR had indeed made a rapid progress in his conquest; but this served only to delude the people with an imaginary felicity, no longer durable than the first transport of a tumultuous joy.

THE sums which NADIR wanted for the prosecution of his designs were very considerable, and could not be collected without the utmost severity. He therefore sent his officers^b to all the cities and provinces in the empire, where money, provisions, horses, arms, or any of the implements of war could be procured; charging them to execute their commissions with the utmost dispatch, as the close of the year was appointed for his intended expedition.

It is reasonable to presume, that he had projected the conquest of the MOGHOL's empire. What encouragement he had to expect success, we shall have occasion to relate. In the height of his victories over the TURKS, he would scarce have directed his arms a different way, without good assurance that this enterprize was practicable. He made, indeed, no other profession than that of subduing the AFGHANS
of

^a See Vol I. page 155, 156.

^b MUHASSILS, or collectors of taxes, and other such kind of duty.

of KANDAHAR; an undertaking by no means below his character as a great captain. 1736. PERSIA was delivered from the yoke of those people, but not revenged. Their invasion was considered as a rebellion, and as such ought to be chastised; nor were these people in themselves a contemptible enemy, either with regard to their numbers, their situation, or their bravery. HUSSEIN KHAN, the brother of MAGHMUD, who enjoyed the sovereignty of KANDAHAR, had refused to come into PERSIA, at the summons which NADIR sent to him; and as he had put himself in a condition of defence, it was very plain he meant to support the independency of the AFGHANS.

AFTER the conclusion of the peace with the TURKS, NADIR sent another ambassador to the GRAND SIGNIOR, with several magnificent presents, among which was an elephant of a very extraordinary size. Having therefore nothing to apprehend from any of his neighbours; the end of this year he prepared to set out on his eastern expedition.

C H A P. III.

A succinct account of the incursion of the MAHARRATTAS, and the enmity between NIZAM AL MULUCK, governor of DECCAN, and DEVRAN KHAN, the first minister of MAHOMMED SHAH, emperor of HINDOSTAN, with the general state of his court from 1720 to 1736, preparatory to the expedition of NADIR SHAH into INDIA.

BEFORE we enter upon a relation of the famous march of NADIR SHAH into INDIA, it may be proper to give a short account of the situation of affairs at that time in the MOGHOL's empire.

IN 1720, SULTAN IBRAHIM having rebelled against MAHOMMED SHAH of INDIA, ABDALLAH KHAN general to the former took occasion to pillage the rich throne of the MOGHOL^a of its diamonds, and raised a great army. This general was soon defeated, and taken prisoner^b; the young SULTAN was confined, and the government seemed to be again established. Some time after NIZAM AL MULUCK^c, governor of

DECCAN,

^a This throne was made by SHAH JEHAN, and reported to have cost eleven millions sterling. ^b This general died some months afterwards of his wounds, and it is remarkable that forty-five women of his wives, concubines, relations, and domestics, burnt themselves in one room, the day after his death. Formerly, none but the wives of the BRAHMINS or INDIAN priests had this barbarous privilege; but since the government has devolved upon the RAJAS, it has been often practised for some of the wives of princes and others to burn themselves when their husbands die. Some of these princes are independent of the MOGHOL, and govern distinct tribes, called RAJPOOTS, who are esteemed the best soldiers in INDIA. This custom of burning is strictly forbid by the MAHOMMEDAN, which is the established religion; but some of the SEYD and PATTAN families, through the mere force of pride fall into this custom; and, to evade the laws, set their apartments on flames, and thus destroy themselves. There is no compulsion to this sacrifice in any part of INDIA; but the minds of the people are so strongly tainted with an opinion of its being honourable to the surviving relations of the party, that money has been often given to obtain the consent of a governor for the liberty of destroying themselves. ^c This word signifies him who puts the empire in order.

1736. **DECCAN**^a, grown too powerful for a subject, could not be contained within the bounds of duty, but appropriated the revenues of his province towards the maintenance of an army, which he employed in subjecting the adjacent countries.

He pretended to keep the **MAHARRATTAS**^b from making inroads into the dominions of the **MOGHOL**. These people had imposed a heavy tribute on their neighbours, and taken possession of several places of consequence. They made incursions as far as the province of **MALVA**, killed the governor, and seized all his treasures. From thence they directed their course to **GUZURAT**, the inhabitants of which they treated as conquered people; after which they returned eastward as far as **GUALIAR**, laying the country under contribution. The peasants implored the protection of the emperor, and the whole court was under great alarms.

THE GREAT MOGHOL therefore ordered an army to be raised; and **DEVAN KHAN**^c, his first minister and also his vizir with several other **OMRAS**^d, were appointed to command it. Instead of giving battle to the **MAHARRATTAS**, whose numbers were much inferior to the emperor's troops, they made a composition to pay a fourth part^e of the revenues of **DEHLIE**, on condition that they would retire, and lay down their arms. These lords then returned home in pursuit of their pleasures. The whole court was devoted to amusement, and appeared in some measure in such circumstances as that of **SHAH HUSSEIN** had lately been, in **PERSIA**.

THE pusillanimous conduct of these generals, was the occasion that **BAJERAU**, at the head of his **MAHARRATTAS**, took up arms again the next year, notwithstanding the contribution agreed for had been punctually paid. They plundered many places, and intended to march as far as **AKBAR ABAD**^f. Upon this, **DEVAN KHAN** and the vizir marched against them a second time, and got up with them a little after they passed the river **JUMNA**, intending to penetrate the province^g of **SAADIT KHAN**. But this general having notice of their design, marched against them with a great force, and defeated them. **DEVAN KHAN** and the vizir having joined **SAADIT KHAN**, pursued the **MAHARRATTAS**, who were intercepted by a strong body of **MOGHOLS**, and put to flight. The offence which **SAADIT KHAN** took at the compromise made by **DEVAN KHAN** with these free-booters, together with the great opinion he had conceived of his own merit, were the chief occasion of his retiring to his province discontented.

In the mean time, **MAHOMMED SHAH** was not ignorant that **NIZAM AL MULUCK** was the real author of these disorders; which it would hardly be possible to prevent, unless he returned to court. The emperor therefore sent him an invitation under the strongest assurances, not only of security to his person, but also that nothing should

^a It is sometimes wrote **DEKHN**.
the hither **INDIA**.

^b These people are sometimes called **GANIMS**; they inhabit whom they call **BUKHAHI**.

^c He was the paymaster general of the empire, a title given to persons of the first rank in **INDIA**, as already explained; this word is also wrote **UMERAS**.

^d **OMRA** is the plural of **EMIR**, signifying prince or great, a title given to persons of the first rank in **INDIA**, as already explained; this word is also wrote **UMERAS**.

^e This they call **CHOT**, a tribute which has been often attempted to be imposed on the more peaceable **INDIANS**.

^f The city of **AGRA**, this was formerly the capital.

^g Mr. FRASER and Mr. OTTER mention this as the province of **ARUDH**, which the former places beyond **PENJAB**; this must be a mistake, or the **MAHARRATTAS** must have travelled over a vast tract of country.

should be wanting to give him pleasure. This man was the most distinguished for his abilities of any of the INDIAN lords, whose cabals were the chief occasion of plunging the state into difficulties. He had often recommended the administration of justice as practised in the reigns of the former emperors, particularly that of his old master AURINGZEBE^a; but the unhappy situation of the court rendering his advice ineffectual, he retired to his government very much disgusted. He was irritated against DEVRAN KHAN and other OMRAS, who had acquired an ascendancy over the emperor, and crossed all the measures which he had proposed, whilst he saw the court abandoned to buffoons and loose women.

NIZAM AL MULUCK having been solicited to return to court, at length resolved to comply: but he left his son GHAZI O'DIN KHAN to command in his province. He did not acknowledge that he had favored the incursions of the MAHARRATTAS; on the contrary, he declared that he had supported himself when the SEYDS^b would have taken his government from him; adding to this effect: "It pleased the Almighty that I baffled all their designs, in consequence of which I was misrepresented at court. Your majesty also, induced by their intrigues, intended to come against me with a mighty army, but heaven diverted the design, and you did me the justice to believe me a faithful servant." The credulous emperor, persuaded of his integrity, would have made him his vizir, but he pleaded that he was a DER-VEISH, and therefore not inclined to accept of so high a station; that there were many persons about the court more capable of executing so high an office, and consequently he desired to be excused.

NIZAM AL MULUCK however met a very gracious reception, and was honored with the title of ASOF JAH^c. He soon discovered that things were not mended; that DEVRAN KHAN had his master's ear, and took pains to render him ridiculous: even in the emperor's presence he mentioned him with the highest mark of contempt, giving him the name of a cheat^d. Such insolences as this could not be relished by a man of his spirit: he at length declined coming to court, and secretly meditated revenge.

A TRUE sense of humanity, and a right knowledge of mankind, can alone support us under such circumstances. If either of these is wanting, the corruption of the heart is apt to lead us to destroy those, who are the occasion of our humiliation. When the imagination is set at work, pride suggests a thousand expedients; and where power is added, what mischiefs will it not effect? But whilst the shaft is aimed at one, they forget that millions may feel the wound.

NIZAM AL MULUCK having made a double inter-marriage of his son and daughter, to the son and daughter of the vizir, hoped to establish an interest with him, in opposition to the other INDIAN lords; and what he could not rectify by his counsels, to confound by his intrigues. The vizir however took the opposite party, and declined,

^a This prince died in 1707, after a happy reign of fifty lunar years. ^b HOSSAN ALI KHAN and ABDALLAH KHAN, who favoured the young SULTAN IERAHIM already mentioned. ^c ASOF JAH signifies in rank as ASOF, the name of him who is pretended to have been vizir to SOLOMON.

^d MAIMOUNGI. This word signifies a quack doctor or cheat; but here applicable to his cajoling address.

1733. declined all violent measures, except such as gratified his own avarice. This enraged the haughty INDIAN so much the more; and rather than not gratify his private resentment, he resolved to use the arm of a foreign enemy. He knew that SAADIT KHAN, governor of AUDIH, was become a malecontent as well as himself; he therefore entered into a secret correspondence with him, and it is said they both joined to inform NADIR SHAH of the state of affairs at the MOGHOL's court.

THO' it is granted, that NIZAM AL MULUCK might be actuated by a spirit of revenge, it seems to me highly probable that NADIR did not stand in need of such instruments, for the execution of his ambitious designs. It can hardly be imagined, that he was ignorant of the general state of affairs in that empire, or of the immense riches possessed by the GREAT MOGHOL. He knew also the valor of his own troops, and the effeminacy of the INDIANS: how easy is it then to believe, that a project of this nature might be formed by so ambitious a man, whose necessities for the support of his army would tempt him to a desperate enterprize?

BUT it is not my business as an historian to enter very deep into the more secret springs of his conduct, which can be determined only by consequences, and of these every reader ought to be permitted to judge. Where the causes of events cannot be clearly traced out, the mind may exercise its faculty, in passing that judgment which seems most consistent.

IT appears to me, that though NADIR had the wisdom to keep his own counsel, he had taken the resolution of marching into INDIA, in that exultation of heart, which arose from his great success against the TURKS. The war in which they were already engaged with the RUSSIANS, was certainly an additional reason of his carrying his design into execution.

HAVING resolved upon this expedition, he nominated his son RIZA KOULI MYRZA^a regent of PERSIA. This young man had already given several marks of a genius very like his father's, so that from a similarity of disposition NADIR added the affection of a friend to paternal love, and flattered himself into a belief, that the government would be secure in the hands of his son.

^a His father being now declared king, the title of MYRZA, or prince, of course belongs to the son; and by this name we shall hereafter call him.

C H A P. IV.

Reflections on the different characters of ALEXANDER the GREAT and NADIR SHAH. Moral considerations on false glory. Motives to ALEXANDER and NADIR's invading INDIA. NADIR leaves ISFAHAN in DECEMBER 1736. Conduct of HUSSEIN KHAN, governor of KANDAHAR, and of the AFGHANS. RIZA KOULI MYRZA subdues the OUSBEGS of BALKH and BOKHARA. His indiscreet conduct in PERSIA. INDIAN lords correspond with NADIR.

IN reviewing the expedition of NADIR SHAH into INDIA, the detail of which 1736. contains the most memorable part of this history, the reader will indulge the inclination, to which the subject naturally leads me, of making some comparison between this enterprize, and that of the celebrated MACEDONIAN hero. It evidently appears, that these ravagers of the eastern world, ALEXANDER and NADIR, were actuated by the same predominant passion; an unbounded desire of conquest. ALEXANDER indeed had the strongest desire of fame and glory; NADIR added to his delight in military achievements, an insatiable thirst of accumulating riches. The one reigned by right of birth; the other by an usurped power; a power which could not be supported without a great military force, nor that force without great treasures.

As an ordinary effect of their intrepidity and rapid conquests, both were the idols of their soldiers; till NADIR became cruel and avaricious. ALEXANDER was most beloved; NADIR most feared. The one affected a love to mankind; the other did not so much as pretend to act upon principles of humanity. Both appear to us as objects of terror and astonishment; but whilst some mixture of love, or compassion, is due to ALEXANDER's memory; NADIR can only excite our hatred. The one had a real generosity in his nature, and a nobleness of sentiment, cultivated by a liberal education; the other, though superior in natural parts, was cunning, deceitful, and illiterate.

HAD ALEXANDER been born to an humble fortune, perhaps he might have given greater proofs of true heroism, than as a mighty prince and conqueror: his heart was formed to a love of virtue, but not in a degree equal to his power. Though he was not cruel, he killed his intimate friend^a; though continent^b, he burnt a city^c to please a strumpet. Is it a virtue to distress mankind! A conduct so injurious as his, may intitle him to the fame of a conqueror: but not of a hero. NADIR himself had qualities, which are sometimes called virtues: yet we are sure that no prince, without renouncing humanity, can be in love with such a character; nor can future ages produce an imitator, without exhibiting a picture shaded with gloom and horror.

HUMAN nature in all ages and countries is the same; but the secret causes by which one man differs so much from another, are not so apparent as the effects of different

^a CLITUS.^b With respect to the wife of DARIUS.^c PERSEPOLIS.

1736. different educations. There are few countries which have not had their ALEXANDERS or their NADIRS; men actuated by a certain heroic spirit of military enthusiasm; confounding all the rules of morality and religion; exerting a boundless power of doing mischief; committing actions as much superior to the comprehension of vulgar minds, as contradictory to all the precepts of true philosophy; and, in short, proving by one constant pursuit, that the corruption of human nature may carry mankind much farther to do evil, by the subserviency of others as wicked, tho' not so brave as themselves; than all the principles of virtue can lead us to do good, for want of virtuous instruments.

If we look back to past ages, we find the world distressed by men of this stamp, under the specious name of conquest. How intoxicating is the love of fame in the breasts of princes, whose genius is peculiarly military, and whose only delight is in war! The vain boast of triumphs seems to divert them from all thoughts of morality, and tempts them to deify themselves in their own esteem. Amidst the din of war, a true sense of humanity is confounded, and heaven itself appears amiable only in its thunder.

THE natural greatness of the mind of men born to empire, seems to find no object adequate to it, except in conquest and power. Men of understanding indeed discover the delusion; age and experience open their eyes, and bring them down to the level of other mortals; it convinces them that the exercise of reason, in whatever station heaven has placed us, is the only solid glory; this passion for conquest will then appear in its true garb of distress and horror. Religion steps in to unveil this pretender; and by shewing us what the rule of the divine administration is, opens a scene of real and transcendent joys, which carries up the mind to the true source of greatness.

WHAT just reason can be assigned for the invasion of INDIA by ALEXANDER? As to his conquest of DARIUS, tho' it may be censured by historians as rash and extravagant, as unguided by experience, and unsupported by wisdom; yet if we consider the events previous to it, we shall find his conduct correspondent with the rule of princes in later ages. The expedition of XERXES, and other attempts made by the PERSIANS to enslave the GRECIAN republics, could not be easily forgotten. To prevent any future design of the same nature, was to take the first favorable opportunity of humbling the PERSIANS. There was no other way to silence their scruples, to gratify their jealousy, nor to appease their resentment.

THE PERSIAN monarchy in the reign of DARIUS began to sink, in some measure, under its own weight. Wealth had created luxury; luxury, corruption; both these contributed to the disunion and effeminacy of the people, and rendered them an easy conquest. If the unhappy circumstances of PERSIA at that time, were a concomitant motive to ALEXANDER's invasion, it did not invalidate the stronger reasons of self-preservation.

NADIR had been less criminal, if the same motives had carried him into INDIA; but his expedition was certainly founded as much in avarice as ambition, and a fond notion of glory.

It is now two thousand and eighty-six years since ALEXANDER made his expedition into INDIA. Will the fame of NADIR last so long? The arts and learning of GREECE, afforded the means of transmitting down the feats of the MACEDONIAN hero in a clearer manner, than the lights we receive from PERSIA under her present circumstances, even in regard to what happened but as yesterday. Some events however may be traced out, and afford that sort of pleasure, which the mind feels in the contemplation of objects of terror, whilst we enjoy, in a calm repose, all the transporting charms of liberty, and all the happy effects of a well regulated government.

ABOUT the end of DECEMBER 1736, NADIR SHAH began his march with eighty thousand men, of which the greatest part were cavalry. In a short time he was followed by a body of near thirty thousand men, under the command of TÄHMAS KHAN his lieutenant^a. The shortest rout to KANDAHAR would have been by KHERMAN; but it was hardly possible that so vast an army could be supported in a barren and desolate country: he therefore marched towards CASBIN^b, from whence he directed his course through KHORASAN; but we have no particular mention of him afterwards, till his arrival near KANDAHAR.

WE have already given a short account^c of this province, the source of those numerous calamities in which PERSIA was involved. What reputation the inhabitants had acquired as warriors, has also appeared in the course of this narrative. HUSSEIN KHAN, the brother of MAGHMUD, who was murdered by ASHREFF, commanded in this place; he was a soldier of approved resolution, and actuated not only by the ambition of remaining independent, but also by the hopes of revenging himself of the PERSIANS for the slaughter of his countrymen. He strengthened his alliance with the TARTARS of BALKH and SAMARCAND, and also with the several princes of the mountains, who were in hopes of screening themselves from the tyranny of the PERSIAN yoke. The force he collected is said to have been above thirty thousand men; and the quantity of provisions laid into the city of KANDAHAR was sufficient for a very long siege.

THE KHAN, however, did not shut himself up immediately within walls, but determined to try if he could not stop the progress of so mighty an army, conducted by so experienced a general. The great reputation of NADIR did not intimidate those brave mountaineers the AFGHANS, who had so often triumphed over the PERSIANS. HUSSEIN KHAN therefore marched a large body of his men to the banks of a river, which is a branch of the HINDMEND. They supported themselves there for some time, and disputed the passage; but at length were obliged to retire, after the loss of near two thousand men. NADIR then advanced, in order to invest KANDAHAR. As he had no heavy artillery with him, it was impossible he should reduce a fortification so advantageously situated, by any other means than by famine; he determined therefore only to blockade it.

Z z 2

HUSSEIN

^a VEKIL or VEKEEL.
is very natural to suppose, had that rout been practicable to a great army.
of this volume.

^b Some accounts mention his going by the way of KHERMAN, which

^c Page 97, & seq.

1737. HUSSEIN KHAN was not insensible of his danger; he offered to acknowledge NADIR's sovereignty, and as a tributary prince to pay him homage, on condition he would retire to HERAT without committing any further hostilities. This was too mean an object for NADIR's ambition: their terms not being accepted, the besieged resolved to try the fortune of arms. The garrison made many sallies, which cost much blood on both sides: one in particular, about the beginning of AUGUST, with the greatest part of their troops, who attacked the PERSIANS with such impetuosity, that it was with the utmost difficulty they stood the shock.

NADIR caused a number of houses to be built under the walls, as he had done before at BAGDAT; assuring HUSSEIN KHAN, that he would not decamp till he had taken the place. The communication with PERSIA was supported, by means of the numerous detachments which were sent to scour the country. TÆHMAS KHAN, NADIR's lieutenant, arriving with a reinforcement of thirty thousand men, the PERSIANS were in a condition to disperse all the flying parties which had incommoded their camp.

It is remarkable, that in the several sallies made by the AFGHANS, they took a great number of horses belonging to the PERSIANS, and carried them into the city: these being food familiar to them, contributed in a great degree to draw out the siege to an extraordinary length. NADIR being mortified with such delays, at the close of the year entered into a treaty with HUSSEIN KHAN, and confirmed him in his government, upon condition that he would surrender the town; and that his army might be recruited with those foldiers who had behaved so gallantly in the defence of the place.

DURING the siege of KANDAMAR, NADIR SHAH knowing the difficulties he should encounter, sent orders to RIZA KOULI MYRZA, whom he left at MESCHED, to march with a body of troops and attack the OUSBEG-TARTARS of BALKH*, in order to make a diversion, or at least to prevent any succours coming to the AFGHANS from that quarter. The prince succeeded in this enterprize; and from thence marched against the OUSBEGS of BOKHARA, who, in the mean while, had made incursions into KHORASAN. Having brought these TARTARS also into subjection, he returned victorious to MESCHED.

THIS young prince was in nothing inferior to his father, except experience and judgment, as he plainly shewed, now that he was at liberty to act as the sovereign of PERSIA. NADIR had appointed his brother IBRAHIM, governor of ADERBEITZAN, and made him independent of his son. He also charged the prince to undertake nothing of moment as far as the distance of their situation, and the circumstances of affairs would admit, without the advice of his uncle IBRAHIM. The LES-
GEES,

* This is the place where TAMERLANE received the ensigns of sovereignty in 1370. This great conqueror was born at KEISH, a day's journey from SAMARCAND, in 1336, and spread his conquests over the neighbouring countries into INDIA, as far as DEHLIE. ASIA MINOR, SYRIA, and EGYPT, also submitted to him, and he was victorious over BAJAZET the emperor of the TURKS. He fell sick at ATRAR, upon his march against the TARTARS on the borders of CHINA, and died in FEBRUARY 1405. SAMARCAND in his time was a city of great note; but the incessant wars of that country, have reduced it to a mean condition.

GEES, taking the advantage of NADIR's absence, invaded SHIRVAN. Ibrahīm Khan, 1737. who resided at TAVRIS, put himself at the head of a body of forces to oppose their progress, and coming to an engagement with them, was killed in the field.

RIZA KOULI MYRZA being now free of all bars to his authority, displaced HATEM BEG from his government of ISFAHAN, tho' he was reputed a man of skill and integrity. What added to this imprudence, he placed in his room a man of a low birth and cruel disposition*. This action was followed by many others of a more oppressive nature; insomuch that whilst NADIR was victorious abroad, the people laboured under a tyrannical yoke at home: this served to foment that fatal spirit of rebellion, to which the PERSIANS were too prone without such provocation.

To return to NADIR, whom we left in possession of KANDAHAR. During the tedious siege in which he had been engaged, some discontented lords, belonging to the MOGHOL's court, are said to have held a treasonable correspondence with him; among these were NIZAM AL MULUCK, governor of DECCAN, who was at DEHLIE, and SAADIT KHAN, governor of AUDIH: NADIR, who was a master of intrigue and negotiation, being informed of the state of the MOGHOL's court, and the feeble condition of that prince's army, flattered the passions of those who were disposed to revolt, or secretly to favor his designs; and amused them with promises of his protection, and other private advantages, which would accrue to them in consequence of the success of his enterprize.

BEFORE NADIR could penetrate into INDIA, he had several difficulties to encounter. He was too good a general to make an absolute declaration of his intentions^b, tho' they were apparent enough. It was near the middle of this year, before he began his march to CABUL. That he might leave no enemy behind him, some time had been spent in negotiating with the princes^c of the country bordering on KANDAHAR, who were tributary to the GREAT MOGHOL, particularly those of LANGOR, BOST, and GIARURA. To some of these he made large presents, and others he engaged in his service. Thus he had a fair prospect of extending his conquest to the utmost of 1738. his wishes; however, he endeavoured to persuade the INDIAN OMRAS, that he considered the enterprize as impracticable.

NIZAM AL MULUCK was informed that NADIR directed his march towards CABUL: in order to intimidate NACIR KHAN, who commanded the province and city of CABUL, and SHERZIH KHAN, who was governor of the castle, he wrote to them, representing the great difficulty of opposing the fortune and valor of NADIR SHAH; and as there was little reason to hope they would be succoured by the imperial troops, they might do well to consider, in what manner to provide for their own security. He wrote also to ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR, who, as well as NACIR KHAN,

* It is remarkable that the PERSIANS are very unskilled in the art of physic, notwithstanding their faith in physicians is very great. This governor happened to labour under a distemper, which after some months had baffled the skill of those who undertook his cure, for which reason he ordered them to be fined, and severely beaten; such was the man whom the regent had preferred to the government of ISFAHAN.

^b Most accounts make him ostentatious in this instance also, tho' it was by no means consistent with his safety, either in regard to the TURKS, or the enemy against whom he designed to march.

^c These are called RAJAHS, who are the chiefs of those people who are distinguished by the name of ZEMIDARS, which signifies possessors of lands.

1738. KHAN, was in the interest of DEVRAN KHAN. The last was the great object of hatred to the two discontented lords. It was suggested to NADIR, that if he could secure a passage through CABUL and LAHOR, where the bravest troops of INDIA were stationed, he would find little resistance in penetrating as far as the capital.

THE first place in NADIR'S rout was GHORBUND^a, which he garrisoned with his own people: from thence he marched to GHOZNAVI^b. The PATTANS in their mountainous residences obliged the PERSIANS to keep continually upon their guard, and had frequent skirmishes with them.

THE terror which had been spread at the taking of KANDAHAR, facilitated the conquest of places so much inferior in strength. CABUL, esteemed the gates of INDIA on that side, was the next object that obstructed his passage. This city is situated on the river MEHERAN^c, well fortified, and very difficult of access. It was formerly of great consideration among the INDIANS, and submitted to their empire, upon condition of the sovereign's being crowned there. NACIR KHAN, governor of the province, retired with his forces to PEISHOR: but SHERZIH KHAN defended the city with the utmost resolution for a whole month; repulsing the attacks of the PERSIANS with his cannon and musketry, and killing a great number of them.

If this general had been supported, he might have bid fair to repel NADIR'S forces, and oblige him to abandon his enterprize. Before the reduction of KANDAHAR, SHERZIH KHAN dispatched couriers to NACIR KHAN, whose jurisdiction extended over the whole province; also to ZEKARIAH KHAN, governor of LAHOR, representing his dangerous circumstances, and intreating them to send him succours. He also acquainted the court with the progress of the enemy; but this produced no effect. Fear had seized the minds of these lords, and they determined to follow the advice of NIZAM-AL MULUCK, and submit to the fortune and victorious arms of the PERSIAN king.

NADIR carried on the siege of CABUL with great spirit. To convince the INDIANS of his determined resolution to preserve the exactest discipline towards them, as well as to support his own authority, he caused the bellies of eighty of his own soldiers

^a Sometimes wrote GOUR-BEND. This is a defile in the mountains of SABLESTAN, and the entrance into the country of GOUR, a district to the north of KHANJAN. Three days journey from thence is MIMEND. The other considerable places in this country are RUSTACK, and the forts of ZAFER and BAGLAM, near which it is pretended are rich mines. Between GHORBUND and ABIBARAN are several districts of a delightful country.

^b This is sometimes called GAZNIN, or GAZNA. It is said to be a commercial city, the distance of eight days journey from BAMIAN, a mountainous country, where the air and water are remarkably wholesome and agreeable. The TURKISH writers represent, that in this country are no venomous animals, and that the people live to a great age. It was also the residence of the princes of the dynasty of the GAZNEVIDS; though some, I believe, by mistake place this city in KHORASAN. See the Note page 98, of this Vol. ^c This river is also called HAZARRE, or a thousand, on account of the great number of towns, which are situated on the banks. It runs from the north to the southward of this city, and then takes its course to the east. After passing NEKIERHAR, four days journey lower, and PEISHOR, two days journey farther, it goes to DEVAV, a great city, situated on the conflux of the waters of PENTCHIKIURE, which come from the mountains of KIOUBER in the west. Half a league from CABUL is a village and a fort of the same name; and in this country are iron mines and aromatics.

soldiers to be ripped open, for no other crime than being present when one of their comrades forced an INDIAN woman.

NADIR erected batteries ^a upon the eminences near CABUL, with which he played incessantly upon the town; and, at length, having made a sufficient breach, in the month of JUNE he took the place by storm. Great part of the garrison was put to the sword; among these SHERZIH KHAN and his son fell a sacrifice, though their valor deserved a better fate. The conquest of this place put the PERSIAN king in possession of a considerable treasure, with a great value in jewels, arms, cloathing, and provisions. The former had been shut up in vaults ever since the reign of BAHR SHAH the GREAT MOGHOL; and were now of the greater consequence to NADIR, as they enabled him to pay his army. Besides, this success was an earnest of the vast acquisitions his soldiers must certainly make, if they succeeded in the enterprize, which it was now apparent their king had resolved on.

C H A P. V.

The news of the taking of CABUL arrives at DEHLIE. Measures taken to oppose the PERSIAN army. Jealousy between NIZAM AL MULUCK and DEVRAN KHAN. NADIR sends an embassy and writes to MAHOMMED SHAH. The difficulty which NADIR encounters in going from CABUL to the banks of the INDUS. PEISHOR taken. ZEKARIAH KHAN, governor of LAHOR, acquaints the court of his situation. The INDIAN army marches to KARNAL.

WHEN the news of the taking of CABUL arrived at the court of the GREAT MOGHOL, this prince with all his lords were thoroughly alarmed, and determined that there was no time to lose in assembling an army to oppose the PERSIANS. What added to the terror of the court, were the advices of RAJAH ^b TCHI SENGUE, who commanded a body of warlike people ^c about CASHMIR ^d. This prince being entirely in the interest of DEVRAN KHAN, acquainted him, "That the enterprize of NADIR SHAH had for some time appeared to him, as a step concerted with some

^a The artillery he had with him, was such as was portable upon camels; of which we shall remark further.

^b This is the title given to the feudatory INDIAN princes. ^c These are called RAJPOOTS, and are esteemed the best soldiers in INDIA. There are several tribes of them subject to the RAJAHS, of whom some are independent of the MOGHOL.

^d CASHMIR, or as it is wrote CISHMIR and KICHEMIR, is bordered by LAHOR, TEBET, and BIDDUKSHAN, and is represented as a most delightful and fruitful country. The mountains with which these people are surrounded are so strong a fortification, that, according to the TURKISH writers, hardly any of the eastern ravagers have penetrated into their country. They never felt any of the calamities which GINGHIS KHAN, the great TURKUMAN conqueror, spread over the east. Their capital is called SERINER, and the river which passes through their country, is very considerable, and communicates with the TCHENHAY above MULTAN. The inhabitants of this country are also remarkable for their vivacity, and the beauty of their persons. The inclemency of their climate might naturally incline them to voluptuousness, but they live much according to nature, their pleasures being for the most part innocent and simple. They love dancing and drinking wine in moderation. They are idolaters of the religion of the MAGI, and many of them are devoted to mortification. They are also remarkable for the manufacture of the fine silk used all over the east.

1738. "some of the lords^a of the MOGHOL's court; therefore he must be on his guard; that SHERZIH KHAN was already fallen a sacrifice to his fidelity; and that NACIR KHAN had deserted his province and fled to PEISHOR: at the same time he offered his service to join the royal ensigns, and recommended to DEVRAN KHAN to undertake the command of the imperial army; whilst ZEKARIAH KHAN did his utmost to oppose the progress of the enemy through LAHOR."

DEVRAN KHAN was sensible of the fidelity of this prince, and saw that nothing but military force could save the capital from plunder, or prevent all the fatal consequences of war, against so formidable an enemy as NADIR. He therefore represented to the emperor, the necessity of marching in person at the head of his army, as far as LAHOR, where he might join the KHANS ZEKARIAH and NACIR. This advice was approved by NIZAM AL MULUCK, who pressed the execution of it; and to shew a greater tenderness for his master, he added, that his majesty ought not to expose his person, but to stop at LAHOR; whilst himself, and the other chiefs, advanced with the army towards CABUL, to give the enemy battle.

THE royal tents^b, with all the parade of an INDIAN monarch, were ordered to the gardens of SHALIMAR, a small distance from DEHLIE. The GREAT MOGHOL himself was upon his departure, when DEVRAN KHAN, to the surprize of the whole court, gave orders to suspend the intended expedition. This to all appearance arose either from his jealousy that NIZAM AL MULUCK was in correspondence with the enemy, or from his contempt of the counsels of a man whom he abhorred. Such was the disunion of that court on whom the unhappy INDIANS depended at this time for their safety.

NIZAM AL MULUCK being informed of so unexpected a change of counsels, returned to court, and renewed his intreaties, that the army might march to LAHOR: but the discord which reigned among the chiefs, confounded all their measures. The officers, who knew that DEVRAN KHAN was devoted to the interest of their master the GREAT MOGHOL, paid an implicit obedience to him, in all the expedients he tried to obstruct the expedition. Thus it was difficult to determine, whether DEVRAN KHAN did not act more like an open traitor, than NIZAM AL MULUCK as a secret one.

NADIR having made himself master of CABUL, disguised his future designs under the cloak of friendship. For this purpose, he sent an ambassador with a letter to MAHOMMED SHAH the INDIAN emperor. The contents are as follows:

"Be it clear to the enlightened mind of your high majesty, that my taking CABUL is entirely out of zeal for religion^c, and friendship for you. I never imagined that a king of mussulmen would be tributary to the wretches of DECCAN^d.
"MY

^a There are several of these MOGHOL OMRAS, who are TARTARS, and some who are PERSIANS by journey, and who seemed now to be the greatest objects of the jealousy of the RAJAH. ^b PEISH-conflux of is the term given to the royal tents and their appendages in INDIA. ^c This he calls Half a league which is meant safety; and here the word is meant to denote the MAHOMMEDAN religion. and aromatics. ^d ARRATTAS, whom I have already mentioned as the chief disturbers of the MOGHOL's empire are idolaters, and were at this time very powerful.

" My stay on this side the *INDUS* ^a, is with a design, that when these infidels shall
 " move again towards *HINDOSTAN* ^b, I may send a victorious army to drive them
 " to the abyfs of hell.

" *HISTORY* abounds in proofs of the friendship which have subsisted between our
 " kings and your majesty's royal predecessors. And now, by *MORTISA ALI* I swear,
 " that I neither had, nor yet have any other view, than to express my friendship;
 " and shew my concern for religion. I always was, and will be a friend to your
 " illustrious house, whatever suspicions you may entertain to the contrary."

It is very hard to reconcile the contents of this letter upon any principle of common probity; but this indeed was what *NADIR* had the least pretensions to.

THOUGH we have observed that *CABUL* is the key of the western and northern parts of *INDIA*, there is a considerable tract of country between that city and the *INDUS*, which has been generally considered as the barrier. The cheapest and most practicable method for the execution of *NADIR*'s designs, was to cultivate a good understanding with the people of those quarters. The *SAFIS*, a tribe of *PATTANS*, in that country, are remarkable for their valor, and might have given him great trouble. He therefore entered into an alliance with them, making part of the plunder of *CABUL* the price of their friendship.

HIS next step was to engage in his interest *NACIR KHAN*, who was at *PEISHOR*. Tho' this chief had not the courage to remain in or near *CABUL*, the frontier town of his district; yet he was not totally intimidated. The court sent him no supply of troops, but assisted him with a remittance of forty lacks ^c of rupees; by means of this sum he might raise forces to join the *PATTANS* of that province, and oppose the enemy. In expectation therefore of further reinforcements from *DEHLIE*, he levied men, and prepared to fight the *PERSIANS*.

NADIR having left a strong garrison in *CABUL*, sent several messengers to *NACIR KHAN* to invite him to a submission; and then continued his march towards *PEISHOR*. Passing the *BEHAT* ^d, and the cou^e, he advanced into the narrow defiles, which cover that province. Here several *INDIAN* princes assembled their troops, cutting down trees, breaking up roads, and using other inventions to obstruct his march. The frequent attacks of these mountaineers, incommoded him for near a whole month, during which space he lost a considerable number of men.

THOSE

^a This river is called *ATTOK*, which is the name given by the *ORIENTALS* to the upper part of the *INDUS*.

^b The empire in general is called *HINDOSTAN*, but here more particularly applicable to the province of *DEHLIE*.

^c A lack is an hundred thousand rupees of 2 s. 6 d. consequently this sum makes five hundred thousand pounds.

^d The ancient name when *ALEXANDER* invaded *INDIA* WAS *COPHANE*.

^e *CHOASPE*. The borders of these rivers were then inhabited by the *ARASQI* and other nations, mentioned by ancient historians.

1738.

Those who are versed in military affairs, know that it is difficult for an army to pass thro' defiles, even when there is no enemy to oppose it; but a long tract of mountainous country, inhabited by people accustomed to arms, must expose the most formidable body of troops to great danger. NADIR was at length obliged to enter into a treaty with their chiefs: he declared that he meant them no harm; and represented to them that they were certainly enemies to their own interest, by appearing in arms against him, when he was ready to receive them under his protection; to make them presents; and even to engage them in his pay, that they might share his fortune in the war.

It was a favorable circumstance to NADIR, that the INDIAN court had kept these mountaineers in arrears for their pay. All the ordinary emoluments^a which were wont to be allowed them, the corruption of the MOGHOL's ministers had withheld during four years. The governors of the neighbouring provinces had deserted their posts, or neglected to arm themselves in a manner suitable to the occasion. Under such circumstances it might be expected that these people would listen to NADIR's propositions. At length they not only opened a free passage to him, but numbers of them enlisted themselves in his army, insomuch that it soon became as strong as when he left KANDAHAR. The SAFIS in particular, after they had joined the PERSIANS, conducted NADIR the safest and shortest way to PEISHOR.

It is natural to conclude, that the PERSIAN king expected that such acts of hostility would alarm the INDIAN court, and not only occasion the greater preparations to oppose him, but probably induce them to remove a great part of their riches. Whatever his motive might be, he sent another embassy to the GREAT MOGHOL. MAHOMMED KHAN, TURKUMAN^b, was chosen for this purpose, and dispatched in the month of AUGUST, with offers of friendship, and to demand the sum of four crores^c, and four provinces^d; as if NADIR by this means intended to enter into a composition, or to render the refusal a more specious pretence for further hostilities.

PEISHOR not lying directly in the rout, NADIR left the main body of his army, and marched with a detachment of cavalry towards that city. NACIR KHAN had collected a body of troops, but few of them had any experience: the greatest part not suspecting that the PERSIAN army could have passed the defiles with such expedition, were seized with fear, and deserted upon the approach of the enemy. NACIR KHAN was thus left in the neighbourhood of PEISHOR, with seven thousand men only; however he caused an intrenchment to be thrown up, and with this small body he made a gallant defence for some hours; but the PERSIANS at length forced his lines, and most of those who escaped the sword, were taken prisoners.

NACIR.

^a The revenues of this mountainous country being insufficient to maintain a body of troops able to guard the frontiers, a certain sum of money was appointed to be annually remitted to them; but of late years it had been neglected.

^b The same may be observed here of TURKUMAN, as before of TURKANE, viz. that these officers are distinguished by their countries.

^c A crore is an hundred thousand; so that the demand was for five hundred thousand pounds; consequently this demand was for five millions.

^d These the INDIANS call SOUBAHS. SOUBANDAR is often used as governor of a province.

NACIR KHAN fled, but the neighbouring PATTANS being now disposed to court the friendship of the PERSIANS, delivered him up into the hands of NADIR SHAH. The proof this general had given of bravery and fidelity, under such great disadvantages, engaged the esteem of the PERSIAN king. He imprisoned him for some days, but afterwards promised him that protection which he had not received from the MOGHOL's court; and by threats and fair words he won this brave man to his interest. The effect of this victory was the taking of PEISHOR, which NADIR soon after entered in triumph. Nothing is said concerning the riches of this city, tho' we must assign some proportion of wealth to it, since it is represented of considerable extent, and the capital of a province.

ON the news that PEISHOR was taken, and that NADIR SHAH was preparing to pass the INDUS, the MOGHOL's court, already in great disorder, was struck with terror. From PEISHOR to DEHLIE is four hundred and fifty miles^a. In this distance are several rivers and difficult passes, which it was expected would retard the march of the PERSIAN army. The court was also flattered with hopes that ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR, would form an army capable of stopping the progress of the enemy. These circumstances however being insufficient to remove their apprehensions, a whole crore of rupees^b was at once issued out of the treasury for enlisting men; and five hundred carriage-guns of different kinds, with three thousand harquebusses, were appointed for the expedition, besides a great number of barbed elephants, with all other appurtenances of oriental warriors.

DEVAN KHAN and NIZAM AL MULUCK, had the joint command of the army. This circumstance alone was sufficient to have rendered the best projected design abortive. We need not go so far as INDIA, to see the sad effects of those enterprizes, which are left to the joint management of men at enmity with each other. The third of DECEMBER they pitched their tents in the neighbourhood of DEHLIE. SAADIT KHAN, the governor of AUDIH, was sent for to court to join the other chiefs, or to command the emperor's guards. This prince was already disposed to retreat to CASSI BENARIS^c, but the chiefs intreated him to continue with them; representing, that his absence would be dangerous to the state, under such critical circumstances.

ZEKARIAH KHAN, in the mean while, acquainted the court of the dangerous situation he was in; that several of the tribes in the mountainous country had joined the PERSIANS; therefore if they did not send him an immediate support, he could not make head against the enemy. The merchants and many other persons of the greatest property in LAHOR, in the mean while retired with their effects.

THE pomp and ceremony of the imperial army of INDIA, was at length settled. This was one of the most brilliant and numerous, tho' not the most formidable, that had for many ages appeared in the east. It consisted of near two hundred thousand fighting men, of which a great part was cavalry. MAHOMMED SHAH, the

A a a 2

GREA

^a They reckon it two hundred and two coss, each coss of four thousand yards, or two miles and a quarter.

^b One million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

^c A city in BENAR

of ALEHABAD, famous for the devotion which is paid there.

1738. GREAT MOGHOL, commanded in person, and nothing essential to the majesty of his throne was wanting, except wisdom, valor, and unanimity.

At length, after slow marches, and receiving several reinforcements on the road, they pitched their tents in the plains of KARNAL, fifty-five leagues from the capital. The young prince, SULTAN ACHMED, had an equipage prepared for him with great pomp and splendor, and was appointed commander of the van guard ^a.

THE circuit of the camp was very large ^b, fortified with intrenchments, and a great part of it strengthened with artillery. In the center were the emperor's own quarters ^c; those of NIZAM AL MULUCK fronted them; and under him was the particular ordnance of the court, and the train belonging to it. On the right wing was DEVRAN KHAN, the prime minister, with five other lords under his command. KUMMIR O'DIN ^d KHAN, with three OMRAS, commanded on the left. Behind these were many general officers, whose names would rather confound than delight the reader, and among them were the JAATS and AHEERS ^e. Though the sovereign commanded in person, yet each lord seemed to be uncontrollable with regard to the respective body under him.

NIZAM AL MULUCK, instead of taking pains to encourage his soldiers, represented the valor and fortune of the PERSIAN king as irresistible. It is probable, that the inexperience of the INDIANS in the art of war, must in any case have rendered them inferior to the veteran soldiers of NADIR SHAH; but if we consider the unhappy situation of this numerous army, it seemed to be collected only for the derision of the PERSIANS.

C H A P. VI.

NADIR's pomp when he entered the INDIAN territories. His manner of passing rivers. Short account of the INDUS: NADIR passes this river. JEMINABAD and LAHOR taken. NADIR arrives on the plains of KARNAL.

VICTORY seemed now to court the ambitious NADIR: elate with the hopes of giving laws to this vast empire, he affected a more than common state.

COSSIM KHAN was his ATHEMAT DOULET ^f: he, with the ARRIZBEGI ^g, were the persons through whom most of the orders were given, and petitions preferred. NADIR's

^a They call this the HAROL, which signifies either the van-guard, or the title of the officer that commands any body of forces, which advances at the head of an INDIAN army. ^b Some writers mention it as twelve miles; but we cannot suppose they made intrenchments so far, or that they could defend so vast a circuit. ^c These are called MOURCHA, which signifies either barricadoes or intrenchments; from whence we may infer he had a particular intrenchment within the main circuit of the camp. ^d These words signify the moon of religion. ^e This person was the vizir to

GREAT MOGHOL already mentioned. ^f These are two different tribes of the RAJPOUTS. ^g This person was the vizir to

page 110 of this volume. Signifies supporter of power, or as some construe it, the security of fortune. ^h is the same person whom I have mentioned in Vol. I. page 175. This man was also honored with the title of NAZEM MUNAZEM, or him who sets things in order; and MOTHIR AL MUMLAH, or the presenter of petitions.

NADIR'S sentences, as at other times, were very summary, and his business dispatched in a short time. He required information of every thing that passed, and observed a strict administration of justice: he attended business very regularly, sitting in his tent of audience till noon; and after reposing himself a short time, he returned again, and remained there till the evening. His CHIAUX^a were kept to their duty more than usual, to proclaim his victories as he passed along; besides these and his great officers of state, a considerable number of young men with standards of red silk adorned with silver, were ordered to attend upon extraordinary occasions. 1738.

THE great preparations which were making at the MOGHOL'S court to oppose his progress, seemed to give him no sort of concern. On the contrary, he prepared himself to receive the homage of the INDIAN lords, and first of ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR. After establishing a garrison at PEISHOR, he advanced to the banks of the INDUS, where he arrived the beginning of JANUARY. He had already taken his measures for the passage of that river. MAHOMMED BEG^b, was previously detached with a considerable body of troops, to build a sufficient number of boats, by means of which he might throw a bridge over the river. NADIR'S ordinary method was to use two iron chains^c, to which he fixed the skins of beasts blown up; these floating upon the surface, supported the several parts of a small bridge of timber, which he carried with him. This chain being secured on both sides of a river, served also to hold a regular bridge of boats.† 1739.

THE INDUS of the antients, now more generally denominated the SCIND, is one of the most considerable rivers in all ASIA: in INDIA only the GANGES exceeds it. In this place it divides the provinces of LAHOR and PEISHOR, and is commonly called the ATTOK, from a great fort on the eastern side. It is subject, like the NILE, to be overflowed, and like that is one great cause of the fertility of its banks: here are also numbers of crocodiles. Its course from north to south is computed to be nine hundred miles^d, or forty-two days journey. The several branches of it take different names; the chief of which are the SHOUB or SIELMEQUES^e, the SHANTROU^f, the RAVI^g, and the VIAH^h; thus forming five streams, the province of LAHOR is for that reason called PENGABⁱ; and is one of the most fertile countries in HINDOSTAN.

ZEKARIAH KHAN did not attempt to oppose the PERSIAN army at their passage of the ATTOK. His real design was to submit, agreeably to the counsel he had received from NIZAM AL MULUCK; however, to save appearances, he made preparations for a defence. NADIR marched directly to YEMINABAD, a city of some note

^a The nine hundred guards mentioned in Vol. I. page 170, 171. ^b This is the same MAHOMMED afterwards made a KHAN, who was admiral of the CASPIAN in 1744, and of whom I received such uncivil treatment. See Vol. I. page 150.

^c Some writers mention that NADIR SHAH carried with him on camels a number of pieces of boats, to be joined upon occasion. This may be easily confounded with the parts of a bridge, which he did carry with him for the passage of small rivers, and which upon an extremity might answer his purpose over greater rivers.

^d These are sometimes called leagues, as but the map by no means allows above twelve or fifteen degrees, consequently it cannot exceed nine hundred miles; but if we take in the course of the several large branches of it, the miles may be calculated leagues.

^e HYDRAOTES.

^f Or five waters.

^g HYDASPES.

^h GOD DAR-

1739. note in the jurisdiction of ZEKARIAH KHAN. Here KULLINDER KHAN commanded with a body of ten thousand men, designing to oppose the PERSIANS. NACIR KHAN, who now had a post in NADIR'S army, was entrusted with the attack of this city, which the PERSIANS took, and killed the INDIAN general. NADIR had sent to ZEKARIAH KHAN to invite him to a submission; the messenger was called before the general divan, and treated with some incivility. This however was but an effect of policy to disguise his resolution to surrender. He then marched out, and advanced above twenty miles from LAHOR, with an army of twenty thousand men. As soon as he heard the fate of YEMINABAD, he retreated back immediately to the capital of the province. Here also he made a shew of defence, but after three days capitulated, on condition that the city should be spared.

THIS is the country of which PORUS was king, when ALEXANDER made his memorable expedition into INDIA. The neighbouring provinces were then ruled by their respective sovereigns, as we now find them divided by the jealousy and corruption of their chiefs. The scene of his first exploits in INDIA was on the banks of the GURÆUS*, which he passed. The eastern side of this part of the INDUS was called TAXILA. Here we find that MOPHIS, king of the country, submitted to ALEXANDER, who confirmed this INDIAN prince in his dominion, or in other words, did not commit any violence or injustice towards him. As an effect of the generosity of the GRECIAN hero, MOPHIS received the name of TAXILES. What future ages may think of modern histories, I am no judge; but there are numerous circumstances in antient accounts, even in authors of the highest reputation, which appear as the fumes of superstition or the creatures of fancy: we must not however be ingenious to undeceive ourselves in things of an indifferent nature, so long as they give us pleasure. We know how hard it is to come at the truth of things which happened yesterday.

PORUS the sovereign of LAHOR, was exceeded by the skill and fortune, rather than by the valor of the MACEDONIAN conqueror. He led on his chariots of war and embattled elephants, disdaining to yield. In this he seems to have judged ill; if he had sacrificed to the pride of the GRECIAN instead of his own, and only paid the tribute of a formal submission, he might probably have saved the lives of twenty-three thousand INDIANS, who are said to have died that day in defence of their liberty. Under the notion of clemency, ALEXANDER then restored to him the kingdom which he could not keep; nor was there one good reason why he conquered it. The only truly beneficent action he did, was to reconcile TAXILES and PORUS.

AFTER subduing PERSIA, and all the country as far as this place, happily for the INDIANS, ALEXANDER'S soldiers were at length tired of their knight-errantry, and insisted upon returning home; he therefore made this the boundary of his victory in the east, though he had designed to march as far as the GANGES. He returned to BABYLON with the name of a conqueror, tho' with much less treasure than NADIR SHAH. In his way home he subdued all the country on the banks of the INDUS. He sent part of his forces in ships down that river into the INDIAN ocean;

* This is called at present NILAB, being the upper part of the INDUS.

ocean; from whence they entered the gulph of PERSIA, and directing their course ¹⁷³⁹ up the TIGRIS, arrived at BABYLON. Those, who marched by land, crossed SABBESTAN and SEGESTAN, not without several encounters with the inhabitants of those countries, in which much blood was spilt. Thence traversing PERSIS^a, which owned the conqueror; after a perilous and laborious march he arrived at the seat of his empire, having been absent twenty months.

To return to NADIR, he remained at LAHOR eight days, and refreshed his army in the gardens of SHALIMAR^b; he then passed the river SHOUL, and traversing SERHIND and TANISEER, he arrived with forty thousand men in the neighbourhood of a village called TILLAUURI, which is not far from the plains of KARNAL. Here he halted to reconnoitre the situation of the INDIAN army, and determine what measures to pursue. After a march of twenty-five months for eighteen hundred and fifty miles^c, he was almost arrived at the fruition of the desired object. It was not difficult in a general of common sagacity to foresee, that so vast a multitude of people would not be able to support themselves long in that situation; and they must either disperse, or come to an engagement.

C H A P. VII.

The number of the PERSIAN army. SAADIT KHAN arrives at the INDIAN camp. He and DEVKAN KHAN begin the engagement. NADIR's stratagem to draw the INDIANS to battle. SAADIT KHAN taken prisoner, and DEVKAN KHAN mortally wounded. NADIR's manner of opposing the INDIAN elephants. Loss of the INDIANS in the field. Distress of the INDIAN camp after the battle. Interview between NADIR and NIZAM AL MULUCK; also between the PERSIAN king and the GREAT MOGHOL. Numbers of the INDIANS slain in marauding. MAHOMMED SHAH delivers himself into the hands of NADIR. INDIAN effects seized up in DEHLIE.

NADIR was now within ten miles of the INDIAN army. On the 12th of FEBRUARY he dispatched HAHDGEE KHAN with his advanced guard^d, consisting of six thousand of the best troops of KOURDISTAN. His whole army amounted to near one hundred and sixty thousand men, of which a third part were servants and domestics: these having collected a sufficient number of camels, horses^e, and mules in their rout, were all mounted, and some of them compleatly armed. Their women also being not less than six thousand, were dressed with great coats^f of crimson cloth, after the manner of the men, and not to be distinguished at a distance; so that the whole made a very formidable appearance.

NADIR

^a Now FARSIKISTAN. ^b These gardens are of the same name as those of DEHLIE. ^c This computation is from ISFAHAN, viz. from that city to CANDAHAR is reckoned one thousand and forty miles, and from thence to DEHLIE eight hundred and ten. ^d KOURROOL, which is the same as the HARROOL of the INDIANS. ^e There are in the highland country of CANDAHAR and CABUL a small kind of horses called YABOOS, which are very serviceable. ^f These are called BARRANNI; BARRAN signifies rain, from whence the name of this coat is derived.

1739. NADIR finding the water at TILLAUVERI insufficient to supply his soldiers, advanced two miles nearer the INDIAN army; and the 14th of FEBRUARY he encamped not far from the rear of DEVRAN KHAN, at a time when SAADIT KHAN was just arrived in the camp of the GREAT MOGHOL, with a reinforcement of twenty thousand men. Whatever the nature of SAADIT's treason might have been, as soon as he saw his fellow-soldiers in distress for provisions, and ready to be overwhelmed by a powerful and fortunate army, the impulse of his heart carried him instantly to the tent of MAHOMMED SHAH, and with the freedom of a soldier he told his sovereign, that there was no time to be lost in giving battle to the PERSIANS; that if the other generals refused to follow him, he would commence the attack with such part of his troops as were come up; desiring rather to die sword in hand, than fall ingloriously into the power of an enemy through the necessity of hunger.

NIZAM AL MULUCK, who seemed never to have intended to bring things to the extremity of a battle, opposed this counsel; pretending, according to the superstition of the MAHOMMEDANS, that the day was not fortunate; and as there was no necessity, they ought to defer it. SAADIT KHAN, though suspected of being leagued with this treacherous minister, had too much ardor as a soldier to be restrained by any such consideration.

In the mean while, the six thousand KOURDS detached by NADIR SHAH, through the desire of booty, had fallen on a party of the INDIANS, and began to pillage the baggage of DEVRAN KHAN. There was no time to debate: SAADIT KHAN mounted his elephant, led on his forces, and repulsed the KOURDS. DEVRAN KHAN, now roused by a jealousy of the glory of a man, who he knew wished his disgrace, brought his men also to the charge immediately, with a design to support SAADIT KHAN: thus the engagement grew warm on both sides.

NADIR, being apprised of what was passing, sent a body of troops to assist his van; and jealous of supporting the reputation of his arms in his first encounter, he detached three thousand of his best troops in three different bodies, and placed them in ambush. He also sent a small body of five hundred men against DEVRAN KHAN, and another of the same number against SAADIT KHAN, in order to draw them further into the field. Having then made a proper disposition of the main body of his army, he advanced at the head of a thousand AFSHAR horse to direct the battle.

THIS disposition had the desired effect. The three thousand men in ambuscade falling upon the troops of SAADIT KHAN, put them to flight, and took their general prisoner. DEVRAN KHAN being followed by above twenty OMRAS and general officers, at the head of their respective bodies, supported his ground with great resolution, till the engagement became more general. At length having received a dangerous wound, he fell extended upon his elephant, and was carried off the field. A report that he was dead spread a dismay through the whole INDIAN camp.

THERE was a circumstance pretty remarkable, which I find omitted by those who have given us an account of this battle. They mention indeed the elephants, but

not what use was made of them. These formidable animals were conducted at the head of the INDIAN army, and armed for battle. They have ever been represented in eastern wars as objects of great terror; their size, the castles upon their backs, and all the apparatus of war have been described by historians, painters, and poets, in a light which fills the imagination with dread. NADIR was not ignorant in what manner the INDIANS fight, and therefore caused a number of stages to be made, and fixed each across two camels. On these stages he laid naptha, with a mixture of combustibles, and ordered them to be set on fire. It is well known with what terror these huge animals behold this element: thus instead of over-turning the PERSIAN forces; at the approach of the camels the elephants turned about, and put a great part of the INDIAN army into confusion. 1739.

In this battle seventeen thousand INDIANS were slain, among whom were a great number of persons of the first distinction. Those who fled from the field, spread terror and confusion through their whole camp. Several took the opportunity of plundering the tents of their own commanders. Numbers, who attended the baggage brought into the field, fled towards DEHLIE, which afforded a favorable opportunity to the PERSIANS to kill and pillage at discretion. In this action not half of the INDIAN army was engaged, and only about fifty thousand of the troops of NADIR SHAH; he lost on his part only two thousand five hundred men, who were interred the same night; but there were near twice as many wounded.

DEVNAN KHAN lost his eldest son, and the wound he himself had received, proved mortal. His great loss of blood occasioned his fainting; when he came to his senses, he had the additional affliction to find all his tents and baggage plundered; this obliged his attendants to carry him to the tents of MAHOMMED SHAH, to whom he had been reported as killed. The sight of his favorite minister, under these melancholy circumstances, gave the emperor the deepest concern. In a short time, this lord died of his wounds, which seemed to give him less pain, than to behold his enemy NIZAM AL MULUCK triumphing in the favor of his master, and planning schemes to gratify his base resentment.

In this confused state of affairs in the INDIAN camp, NADIR SHAH advanced to the quarters of NIZAM AL MULUCK. This general had been joined by several other lords, who drew up their forces in a line of battle, as if they meant to stop the progress of the enemy. Night coming on, prevented the PERSIANS from pursuing their victory. The INDIAN camp was now so very thin, that from the emperor's own quarters to those of NIZAM AL MULUCK, which was near two miles, hardly any people were found. In the night a grand consultation was held, in which NIZAM AL MULUCK related in the most affecting manner, the deplorable state to which the fortune of that day had already reduced the court; expatiating upon the fatal effects of war, and the danger to which the emperor's person was exposed: that every moment brought news of the death of some person beloved by his majesty, and of great consequence to the state; his opinion therefore was to accommodate matters with NADIR SHAH, since they could no longer depend on the success of their arms.

1739. THE INDIAN monarch, though no warrior, was more inclined to trust to the fortune of a second battle, than to consent to an accommodation, which could be bought only at the price of immense treasures, and must upon other accounts be inglorious. But those on whom he most depended had been killed or dangerously wounded; so that no proper person could be found in whom to confide the command of his forces: nor was he less at a loss as to the direction of his councils. Whatever suspicions he might entertain of NIZAM AL MULUCK, the ascendancy which this minister had acquired, in some measure obliged the INDIAN emperor to trust him implicitly.

THE death of DEVRAN KHAN, having at once removed the bar to the ambition of NIZAM AL MULUCK, as well as the object of his hatred; full power was given him, to treat with the PERSIAN monarch. The third day after the battle, the ceremonial being previously adjusted, NIZAM AL MULUCK and AZIM ALI KHAN who was appointed to attend him, pitched their tents between the two camps; and a PERSIAN officer was sent to conduct these INDIAN lords into the presence of NADIR SHAH.

THE PERSIAN monarch received them in a gracious manner, causing them to sit in his presence, and then spoke to this effect: "It is now four months since I sent my ambassador to MAHOMMED SHAH your master, to demand of him the payment of what is due to PERSIA; why has he detained my people, and given me no answer; and at length obliged me to make so long and laborious a march?" NIZAM AL MULUCK excused himself, alledging that he had been in his government at DECCAN; that as soon as he came to court he had used his endeavours to bring the affair to a conclusion, but that his demands were greater than the empire could answer.

NADIR smiled at the excuse, and shewed him the accounts of the MOGHOL's treasure; adding to this effect: "The grand-father of MAHOMMED SHAH and uncle of JEANGUIR, once demanded of PERSIA the succour of ten thousand men. PERSIA sent them, and bore the expence, on condition of being reimbursed; which has never yet been done. By the treaties of alliance subsisting between the two empires, they ought reciprocally to support each other. PERSIA having been long rent with civil wars, the same force has been demanded of you; but no answer was ever made. I have borrowed large sums, for which I pay interest, to retake from the TURKS the provinces which they had possessed themselves of belonging to PERSIA. The neglect of the treaties on your part, has been the cause of the misfortunes which have happened to PERSIA: who is to repair these injuries? I had intended to put your emperor and his troops to the sword, but I will favor them; go and tell him to come to me, and we will make up our quarrel in a convenient manner."

THE

* It is said that NIZAM AL MULUCK went so far as to make him the servile compliment, that the desire of seeing a king of such renown, and to kiss the dust of his feet, was so great, that they purposely neglected his request. The ORIENTALS deal much in hyperboles; but such a compliment as this would rather have insulted the common sense of the prince to whom it was paid, than gratified his pride. According to what is related, this INDIAN did actually invite NADIR into INDIA, hardly foreseeing what would happen.

THE 18th of FEBRUARY was accordingly appointed for the meeting of the two monarchs. MAHOMMED SHAH, emperor of HINDOSTAN, seated in a royal litter^a, issued from his camp, attended by AZIM ALI KHAN, GHAZI O'DIN KHAN, several eunuchs, and about two hundred horse. TÆHMAS KHAN, the lieutenant^b of the PERSIAN king, met the GREAT MOGHOL half way, and paid him the honors due to his rank. TÆHMAS then required the eunuchs and cavalry to halt; and attended the INDIAN monarch with the PERSIAN guard only. At the entrance of NADIR'S camp he was met by NESR ALI MYRZA, who was sent by the command of his father to conduct the GREAT MOGHOL to the royal tent. NADIR SHAH came forth to receive him, and having placed him on his left side, after the ordinary compliments, he addressed him to this effect: "Is it possible that you should have thus abandoned the care of your own affairs to oblige me to make you this visit? I sent you two ambassadors; one of them, contrary to the laws of all nations, and to the friendship subsisting between us, was murdered at PEISHOR; nor did your ministers send me any satisfactory answer to my letters which reached your hands. When I entered your dominions, you never deputed any one to ask me who I was, or what my intentions were. Even when I advanced to LAHOR, and sent you a message of salutation, I received no answer. When the commanders of your forces were awakened out of their lethargy, instead of negotiating for a reconciliation, they met in a tumultuous manner to stop my progress. Afterwards you cooped yourselves up in your intrenchments, without considering, that if your enemy was stronger than you, it was impossible to remain in that situation without being starved; and if he was weaker, it was as dishonorable as unnecessary. At length, without any precaution, you put all to the issue of one blow. Tho' I saw how you were entangled, I made you offers of accommodation^c; but you was so ill advised, or puffed up with childish conceits, that you neglected the terms of my friendship, and abandoned your own interest. Now you see to what streights you are reduced by the victorious armies of PERSIA. How little able you have been to govern your own people, appears by your granting for several years a tax^d to infidels^e, by whom it ought to have been paid; and you have suffered them to over-run your country.

"However, as the race of TEMUR has never done any remarkable injury to the sovereigns of PERSIA, I will not take the empire from you; I only mean to indemnify myself for the great expence of this war. After I have refreshed my army at DEHLIE, and received the subsidy^f which must be paid, I will leave you in possession of your dominions."

MAHOMMED SHAH heard this speech with that silence, which testifies sorrow and confusion. It was some consolation to receive assurance of his life and empire; but language so foreign to that of a court, could not but touch the heart of a king, whose weakness did not amount to insensibility. It may perhaps appear a little strange,

^a TAKHT REVAN, which signifies a moving throne. ^b VAKEEL OF VERIL. ^c I do not find any mention made of such offer after the INDIAN army was assembled on the plains of KARNAL, to which this seems to allude. ^d This tax, called the JEZIAH, was wont to be paid by those who were not MAHOMMEDANS. ^e By infidels he means the PAGAN MAHARRATTAS.

^f This is called a PEISCUSH, or present from an inferior to a superior. The sum agreed for was twenty crores, which we shall have occasion to mention.

1739. strange, that the captive monarch should be suffered to return to his own camp; but our surprize will cease, if we reflect that NADIR had nothing to fear from his military force; and as riches were his chief object, the more gently he conducted himself towards the INDIANS, till he should arrive at DEHLIE, the less danger there would be of their concealing or destroying their treasures.

MAHOMMED SHAH retired to his camp, in some degree relieved from his inquietude; tho' he knew not into what difficulties the avarice of the conqueror might plunge him. He then ordered the dead bodies, which lay spread for near the space of twelve miles, to be interred; but those who were wounded and unable to move, were left to expire, there being no one that could afford them any succour. At the same time, the military chest, with all the treasure of the GREAT MOGHOL, was brought to NADIR.

SOME of the INDIAN lords, who were forward to ingratiate themselves with the conqueror, represented that there were many thousand horses and camels belonging to the soldiers and followers of the MOGHOL's camp; and as by his clemency these people had received quarter, they ought not to think it any hardship to deliver such as his officers should think proper to chuse. To this he replied; that the bread of soldiers depended, in a great measure, on their horses; and that the loss of these in their present circumstances, might expose them and their families to beggary; and as he had given them quarter, they should depart unmolested.

THE INDIAN camp had been in great distress almost from the very time they assembled in the plains of KARNAL. Representation being now made, that the sutlers^a by their extortions had raised the price of bread to an exorbitant degree, MAHOMMED SHAH ordered their shops to be broke open. This answered no other purpose, than to waste and disperse the little provision that remained; so that a pound of wheat was not to be had for less than the value of four shillings. What had contributed to render the provisions so excessive dear, was the vigilance of the flying parties of the PERSIAN army, who within forty miles round the camp, cut off not less than fourteen thousand INDIAN marauders. A body of NADIR's troops, who at this time were sent to TANISEER, slaughtered a great number of the inhabitants, plundered the town, and returned to their camp with a considerable booty.

THE next day, after the bodies of the INDIANS were interred, NADIR sent an officer with a detachment to take possession of the equipage of the GREAT MOGHOL; causing it to be proclaimed in the camp, that every one might retire without fear of being stopped or insulted. He also sent his master of the ordnance^b, together with the officer who makes seizures^c, each with five hundred horse, to seize all the ordnance and implements of war belonging to the emperor, and the lords of his court. He required moreover that MAHOMMED SHAH, with his son SULTAN ACH-

MED,

^a BANIANs, who are mostly trading people in INDIA. They are of a particular sect, who believe the transmigration of souls, whether of man or beast; from whence they are very harmless in their conduct, lest they should injure one of their own friends or relations, in the appearance of a bird or beast.

^b TOWFCHI BASHI.

^c NASSACKHCHI BASHI.

MED, and his empress MALIKA AL ZUMANI^a, with their domestics, should repair¹⁷³⁹ to his camp: accordingly a royal tent was prepared for them in front of his own, and a thousand PERSIAN soldiers were appointed as their guard.

IN the mean while NADIR SHAH dispatched his lieutenant TÆHMAS KHAN to DEHLIE, with four thousand horse, to take possession of the castle. SAADIT KHAN was charged with the care of the city, together with the houses and effects of the inhabitants; and strict injunctions were given him that no injury should be done to any of them. This INDIAN general on his arrival published the SHAH's orders, adding, that none of the citizens should dare to molest the PERSIANS. The governor of the castle being informed of what had passed on the plains of KARNAL, made no scruple to pay an implicit obedience to the summons of NADIR's lieutenant, and admitted him, together with all his troops. The palace was also prepared for the reception of the PERSIAN monarch. All the valuable effects were sealed up, and a list prepared of the OMRAS, and all the wealthy inhabitants of the city.

NADIR being master of all the jewels and of the military chests of the INDIAN camp at KARNAL, gave a gratuity of three months pay to every soldier in his army. He then made choice of two hundred pieces of cannon, with their carriages, out of the INDIAN ordnance, and sent them with other effects under a strong convoy to CABUL.

C H A P. VIII.

March of the PERSIAN and INDIAN armies from KARNAL to DEHLIE. NADIR's entrance into DEHLIE. SAADIT KHAN destroys himself. Massacre of DEHLIE. NADIR's conduct after the massacre.

THIS disposition being made, NADIR began his march towards DEHLIE. His advanced guard^b consisted of four thousand men, who served to escort his harram; twenty thousand of his best cavalry guarded them at a proper distance. About two miles behind was MAHOMMED SHAH, attended by fifty of his principal courtiers, and escorted by twelve thousand PERSIANS. The INDIAN lords, at the head of their respective troops, marched at the distance of a mile from each other, having great bodies of the PERSIAN army between them. NADIR himself brought up the rear, with the gros of his army; the whole composed a number of near three hundred and fifty thousand men^c, who covered near twelve miles in length, and three in breadth.

IN this manner they proceeded five days march, till they came to SONPUT. This place, together with PANIPUT, and several villages, were plundered by the PERSIANS, as

^a This word signifies the queen of the times. ^b Коврукъ. See Vol. I. page 169. ^c Before the late engagement the INDIAN army alone was near this number, including all their attendants; but a great part of these had been dispersed, and numbers of them killed.

1739. as they marched along. From SONPUT they advanced to NIRELA, and the next day ^a in the evening they arrived at the gardens of SHALIMAR. NADIR SHAH declined going into the city in the night, as well on account of the safety of his person, as the regard to his state. He ordered MAHOMMED, the GREAT MOGHOL, seated in a royal litter, and preceded by his standards, with two hundred of the servants of his court, to march forward into the city. These were convoyed by four thousand PERSIAN horse, who accompanied the INDIAN monarch to his apartment ^b.

NADIR encamped with his forces without the gates. The next morning he marched with great circumspection thro' the city to the castle ^c, attended by a body of twenty thousand men. MAHOMMED SHAH had already given notice to the inhabitants, when the PERSIAN conqueror was to enter that city ^d; ordering that all the houses and shops should be shut, and according to the awful respect shewn to eastern kings, that no person should presume to appear in the streets. This order was executed with great exactness; for of the vast number of inhabitants, there were no spectators of his triumphant entry: a mournful silence reigned throughout the city, as if it prefiged some dreadful calamity.

NADIR having taken possession of the castle, was immediately attended by MAHOMMED SHAH, towards whom he behaved with great civility. He distributed his troops into their quarters, and took all the necessary measures that due obedience should be paid to his orders, till the articles of peace were regulated with NIZAM AL MULUCK. In the mean while he enjoined his NÆSSAKHCHI ^e in the strictest manner, that whoever presumed to injure any of the natives, should be punished with the severest bastonading, or with the loss of their ears or nose, according to the nature of their offence.

THE PERSIANS, however polite in their manners, are but rude in their apparel and customs, compared with the delicacy of the INDIANS. In NADIR's army were also many TARTARS, whose rough and savage aspects made such impressions on the INDIANS, that they avoided as much as possible all communication with them.

SAADIT KHAN, who seems to have been a man of warm passions, and of an inconstant disposition, was now as forward to recommend himself to his new master NADIR, as he had been ambitious at KARNAL, of exerting himself in the defence of his true sovereign. He went out to the gardens of SHALIMAR to meet NADIR SHAH, and accompanied him till he alighted at the palace of DEHDIE. This lord had flattered himself with hopes of being admitted to a private audience, in which it was presumed he intended to recommend certain measures for the interest of the PERSIAN king. NADIR, who had always distinguished himself for his penetration, spoke with great harshness to him, and demanded why he had not begun collecting the subsidies.

THIS

^a The seventh of MARCH.

^b This they call the AESH MAHL, which signifies the place of joy.

^c Castle is used synonymously for castle, citadel, or palace, viz. place of defence.

^d This was the ninth of MARCH.

^e These are the order of soldiers who are charged with the punishment of offences, as already mentioned.

THIS reproof touched SAADIT KHAN to the heart; his jealousy was fired, and he concluded that NIZAM AL MULUCK had done him some ill office. Under this anxiety of thought, it is probable the remembrance of his infidelity recoiled upon him. He knew that to be suspected by a prince of such a temper as NADIR, was but a remove from ruin. Under these circumstances he retired; and despair drove him to the fatal expedient of taking poison.

SUCH is oftentimes the fate of men who swerve from the paths of honor, and bewilder themselves in the mazes of iniquity. Those principles which entice them to forsake the interest of their country, in order to gratify a private passion or resentment, hardly ever support them under a change of fortune, or the pressure of calamities.

WHAT had passed on the plains of KARNAL, and the havock created by the sword and famine, was but a prelude to the distress which heaven permitted to fall upon the unfortunate inhabitants of DEHLIE. The next day ^a after NADIR's arrival, was a feast of sacrifice ^b with the INDIANS, and the new years-day of the PERSIANS. NADIR's lieutenant, TÄHMAS KHAN, sent several PERSIAN horsemen of the NÄS-SICKHCHI to the granaries ^c, ordering them to be opened, and the price of corn to be fixed. This not being done to the satisfaction of the proprietors, occasioned the assembling a mob. SAYD NEAZ KHAN, and several other persons of distinction, put themselves at their head, and killed the PERSIAN horsemen.

AFTER this unwarrantable act, a report was soon spread that NADIR SHAH was slain ^d; upon which the tumult increased. All idle persons and men of desperate fortunes joined them, and marched towards the castle. A party of PERSIAN horse, which was posted near the entrance, were forced to retire with some loss. In the mean while, several PERSIANS whom SAYD NEAZ KHAN had taken as a safe-guard to his house, were treacherously shut up in a room, and burnt alive. The soldiers who were lodged in the palace of the deceased DEVRAN KHAN, and other great houses and caravanserais, were obliged to retreat to their quarters, and remain under arms the whole night. The cannon and harquebusses on the ramparts of the castle, as well as those in the houses occupied by the PERSIANS, were discharged at the mob, but without quelling the insurrection.

THE next morning NADIR, at the head of a strong party of his troops issued out of the palace, with an intention to suppress the tumult. Whether the discovery of the dead bodies of several of his soldiers, fired him with the desperate resolution of ordering the inhabitants to be massacred, does not clearly appear ^e. If we may judge from his natural cruelty and insatiable avarice, it is not unreasonable to believe, that he at once delivered up the city, without any limitation, to slaughter, and pillage. His orders were in an instant obeyed: a place taken by storm never exhibited

^a The 10th of MARCH.

^b EID ZOHA.

^c These are called PAHR GUNJH.

^d These

people seem to have been in the same circumstances of delusion as the PERSIANS, in their rebellion five years afterwards at ASTRABAD, who first took arms, and then flattered themselves, and even reported, that NADIR SHAH was dead.

^e Mr. FRAZER, who has given the authorities for most of the transactions in DEHLIE, says, that the soldiers were at first ordered not to do any harm to the innocent. But soldiers are bad judges in such cases.

1739 exhibited a greater scene of horror. The PERSIAN soldiers having spread themselves, broke open houses and palaces, slaughtering with an unbridled fury, with very little distinction of age or sex. This bloody scene extended above six miles ^a.

MANY who had fled from the neighbouring country to take refuge in the city, assembled in a body to defend their lives; these were joined by jewellers, money-changers, and rich shop-keepers. The physician of the court put himself at their head, and despair supplied the place of strength and resolution. These unhappy people fought bravely for some time, but being so little accustomed to the use of arms, they had only the satisfaction of dying sword in hand.

LUTF ALI KHAN conducted this bloody business in one quarter of the town; SIRBULLIND KHAN rushed from his palace, and prostrated himself before the PERSIAN general, representing that the inhabitants of that part of the city were innocent. This INDIAN lord, whose venerable aspect had charms to arrest the murdering hands, begged for the lives of his fellow-citizens, and offered to pay a large ransom, which was accepted, and the slaughter ceased.

IN the mean time NIZAM AL MULUCK, stung with remorse at the sight of so sad a spectacle, and conscious of his guilt, in being in some measure the occasion of it ^b, went and threw himself at NADIR's feet, intreating his mercy, for the unfortunate remains of so flourishing a city. After a torrent of reproaches, NADIR gave orders for the recall of his soldiers.

THIS carnage lasted from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon; about four hundred of the PERSIANS were killed, but of the citizens not less than one hundred and ten thousand. All the jewellers and goldsmiths shops were plundered, and many of them set on fire. Private houses had no better fortune: and the palaces of the great partook of the common ruin. Next morning the inhabitants were ordered, under the severest penalties to bury their dead. These unhappy people had not even time to distinguish the MAHOMMEDANS from the PAGANS: the latter, tho' abominable to Mussulmen even after death, were either tumbled into one common grave, or consumed together in funeral piles, after the manner of the PAGANS.

As to those who were shut up in houses, numbers of their bodies were not brought out for burial till after NADIR's departure: what horrid spectacles they were then, the reflection is shocking to humanity. Many who were jealous of their honor killed their wives, and then committed murder on themselves. Numbers were burnt in their houses, especially women and children; nor did the sword spare even the infant at his mother's breast. Horror and despair had plunged the inhabitants into such distress, that near ten thousand women threw themselves into wells; of these, some were afterwards taken out alive ^c.

WHEN

^a DEHLIE is represented to be a very large city, which is supposed to have been a motive to the invasion.

^b Because of his treasonable correspondence,

^c One remarkable incident happened of a certain man who burnt twenty women of his family; and then finding that the soldiers had missed his house, went out to acquaint them he had large effects; these the soldiers took, but left him unhurt in which he murdered himself.

WHEN the slaughter began, the mob who had been the apparent occasion of it disappeared, and left the innocent to suffer. The leading people of this fatal tumult had been so infatuated, as to think that a mob might effect what the imperial army of INDIA had hardly any chance of executing: several of these were taken prisoners, among whom was SAYD NEAZ KHAN. The vizir and NIZAM AL MULUCK pleaded hard for him, but in vain; NADIR ordered his belly to be ripped open, and in this deplorable manner he expired. 1739.

THE prisoners brought before the PERSIAN king amounted to several thousands; Of these the greatest part were women, of whom many, contrary to the discipline he had established, and contrary to the sacred rights of humanity, had upon this occasion suffered the most infamous treatment. NADIR ordered them to be conducted to their respective houses, where they retired in circumstances of the deepest distress.

THE amount of the loss in houses, effects, and riches, in so opulent a city, must have been very considerable: but in such a confusion, it is probable many valuable things were destroyed. Large sums were brought into NADIR's treasury; and the booty which the PERSIAN soldiers reserved to themselves, as afterwards appeared, was very important.

BEFORE the massacre at DEHLIE, a party of the PERSIAN forces had been sent to seize the cannon at the palace of an INDIAN lord. These had been also treacherously set upon and murdered, by a body of TARTAR MOGHOLS^a. NADIR being informed of this accident, sent a large detachment, who fell upon those people and slaughtered near six thousand of them. The PERSIANS brought away the ordnance, together with three hundred persons of the chief rank among them. NADIR caused the heads of these immediately to be struck off, and their bodies to be thrown into the RETEE^b.

AFTER this, a proclamation was made, that all persons should pursue their employments, and that none of the PERSIAN soldiers should hurt or molest them. To prevent the ordinary consequences of such calamities, NADIR gave orders that the granaries should be sealed up^c, and guards set over them. He also commanded several parties of cavalry to invest the city, that no person might go out of it without a particular licence. Many whom hunger and misery induced to leave this dreadful scene, were arrested by the PERSIAN guards, who cut off their ears or noses.

So severe a conduct was soon followed by the distress of many thousands, who had been plundered of their money and effects; for provisions were become excessive dear. The people who were not the proper inhabitants of the city applied to NADIR SHAH, chusing rather to die by a speedy effect of his anger, than to perish more

^a These are called MOGHOL POURA.

^b The river of DEHLIE.

^c In PERSIA as well as RUSSIA, the sealing up doors by means of a bit of string with some bees-wax impressed with a seal, is looked upon more sacred than any lock.

more slowly with hunger. These went to him in a body, and in tears of anguish and distress prostrated themselves, and begged for bread. Even the cruel NADIR was touched with their misfortunes, and gave them liberty of retiring to FERID-ABAD, in order to buy provisions.

C H A P. IX.

Male administration of RIZA KOULI MYRZA, regent of PERSIA. Rebellion of the ARABS against the PERSIAN government. Conduct of the PERSIAN ambassador at CONSTANTINOPLE.

DURING this scene of misery and devastation at DEHLIE, PERSIA still groaned under a tyrannical government. RIZA KOULI MYRZA the regent, by practising all the arts of cruelty and extortion, soon incurred the hatred of the people. In order to cover his rapacious avarice, he took the specious name of a merchant: thus he arbitrarily monopolized the raw silk on his own terms, and obliged the manufacturers to take it of him again at the price he was pleased to impose. In the vanity of his heart he wrote to his father, to acquaint him that he had gained a million five hundred thousand crowns^a, without doing wrong to any man. NADIR, jealous of such extraordinary abilities in his son, desired him to explain himself. RIZA KOULI answered, that he had turned merchant, and obtained it by commerce, of which he sent him a certificate^b.

THE SHAH, who was not to be easily imposed on, represented to him the injurious consequences of such proceedings; that if he had so great a passion for trade, a fishery^c should be appointed him, from whence he might draw a considerable profit, without invading any property, or diminishing the advantages which belonged to fair traders, by whom nations are enriched. Upon the whole, he was so much displeased at his son's administration, that he sent a decree, confirming all governors and magistrates in their posts, till he should return from INDIA. This incident was so contumelious a reproach to the prince, that it laid the foundation of his rebellion, as we shall have occasion to relate.

THE PERSIANS rejoiced at the success of their king over the INDIAN monarch; and the value of the riches taken from that prince were represented as inestimable. What tended to flatter them into the hopes of HALCYON days, was the arrival of a messenger, who brought a decree^d from NADIR SHAH, which exempted them from taxes for a whole year, to commence from the tenth of MARCH. The officers, who had

^a Seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

^b This certificate of his fair-dealing was indeed testified by the merchants of RESHD, but it was obtained by compulsive means, through the interposition of his principal agent HADCHEE SADDUK.

^c At a time when the success of the herring-fishery seems to be suspected by many, it may be worth while to reflect on this advice of NADIR SHAH; his notion seems to arise from reason and nature, without discourse or argument; for fish is so small an article of the food of the PERSIANS, that it seems strange that NADIR should stumble on the thought.

^d This is called a RAGAM. FIRMAN, which is a name given it by some, I imagine to be more proper to INDIA.

had begun to collect the money, were ordered to refund; which they performed accordingly, 1739.

AMIDST all these rapid victories, PERSIA was not free from alarms. Some of her subjects in the south took the advantage of the SHAH's absence, and threw off their yoke. NADIR had ordered seven of his ships to be prepared in the PERSIAN gulph, for some expedition which he had meditated^a: the PERSIAN commander took this occasion to seize the barks belonging to the HOULES, a tribe of ARABS, and would not permit any of them to cross the strait of ORMUS. This gave occasion for a revolt, in which the PERSIAN ships were taken by these ARABIANS, and several of them burnt.

TAGHI KHAN, the governor of SHIRASS, soon after embarked a great number of men in small vessels^b, and went to chastise the rebels. In the mean time the MASCATS, another tribe of the ARABS, fitted out several ships, apprehending a visit from the PERSIANS. Their fears were soon removed, for the HOULES were an over-match for their enemies: the PERSIAN forces were repulsed, with the loss of near two thousand of their men. This event however encouraged the IMAN^c of MASCAT, to accept the offer of a defensive alliance with the HOULES, in order to support their mutual liberty, against all attempts of the PERSIANS.

BUT the greatest uneasiness was created by the TURKS. NADIR, notwithstanding his great distance, endeavoured to possess them with the terror of his arms; that they might not take advantage of his absence to make a peace with the RUSSIANS and invade PERSIA. He sent two ambassadors to them from KANDAHAR, of whom the last, MAHOMMED RIZA KHAN, arrived at CONSTANTINOPLE in NOVEMBER last year; and in the beginning of the next month was admitted to an audience of the GRAND SIGNIOR. The KHAN assured his highness in the most elegant and exalted terms, "That his master, the SHAH, had the greatest desire to live in perfect amity with him; but that the means of doing this was to yield up DIARBEEKIR^d, in the same condition it was in during its subjection to the PERSIAN empire. He also pretended to the UPPER ARMENIA: and further insisted that the GRAND SIGNIOR should renounce his alliance with the GREAT MOGHOL; that the new fortifications made at BAGDAT, since the provisional treaty of peace, concluded three years before, should be demolished; and that the PERSIAN caravans should have every where a free passage in the dominions of the OTTOMAN empire."

THESE demands appearing capricious as well as insolent, the TURKISH ministers, though they dreaded a war with PERSIA, seemed by no means disposed to comply with them; on the contrary, they declared that the GRAND SIGNIOR would make a peace with the emperor of the ROMANS, and the empress of RUSSIA, and engage in a fresh war with PERSIA, rather than submit to such dishonorable conditions.

C c c 2

What

^a It is said they were intended to sail round, and go up the INDUS, to carry troops to join the army, which was on the march to INDIA; how practicable this might be, I cannot determine. We are told ALEXANDER came down the INDUS.

^b Tarranquins.

on the opposite side of the gulph.

^c The chief of the ARABIANS.

^d This country was formerly part of MESOPOTAMIA, and the ancient boundary of the kingdom of ASSYRIA.

1739. What added to the distress of the PORTE, was the rebellion of SARE BEN OGLOU in NATOLIA. NADIR might flatter himself into a belief of selling his friendship for some very valuable consideration; but his interest was to keep the TURKS deeply engaged in a war with RUSSIA; that so he might find them the more weakened, when he should return to fill up the measure of his victories over them.

THE PERSIAN king sent an ambassador also to the court of ST. PETERSBURG, with which he had a more natural interest; but that court was also very sensible how little his friendship was to be depended on; however, it was some satisfaction that he was very far from having entered into any close connection with the TURKS, tho' he was not engaged in a war with them.

C H A P. X.

NADIR gives his soldiers a gratuity. Contribution of AUDIH brought to DEHLIE. SIRBULLIND KHAN appointed chief collector of the contributions. His declaration to NIZAM AL MULUCK. Barbarous treatment of the INDIANS in collecting the contributions. The value of the treasure collected.

WE return now to INDIA, to see how the mighty ravager conducted himself after spilling so much innocent blood: we shall find that his avarice was in no respects inferior to his cruelty. These indeed are vices twin-born from the regions of darkness, and increase in malignity in proportion to the power by which they are supported.

NADIR being now master of vast treasures, paid his army their arrears^a, and in order to encourage them to bring in their plunder, he added a gratuity also. These payments were made in his own coin, which was struck upon this occasion, with this inscription:

“NADIR the master of fortune, and the king of kings, is the most powerful prince of the earth.”

The reverse was:

“MAY God perpetuate his reign.”

THE great business was the collection of those vast sums, which NADIR exacted of the GREAT MOGHOL and his subjects. TÆHMAS KHAN had been charged to watch over the conduct of SAADIT KHAN. This INDIAN general^b had accepted the commission of compelling his countrymen to deliver up their riches, agreeably to the respective quotas to be levied on them. Upon his decease, his nephew, MAHOM-

MED

^a Twelve months pay for one hundred and forty thousand men, at the ordinary computation, is three million four hundred thousand pounds; but it is probable that the riches he found at CABUL, enabled him to pay his army on the occasion of his taking that place; and consequently he did not disburse near so large a sum on this occasion.

^b I use the terms general and lord as words that are familiar and emphatical, and convey, I think, a stronger idea than the INDIAN names. It may, however, be proper to remark, that NABOB or NAVOB is the ordinary title given the OMRAS or INDIAN lords who are governors; NAIB signifies a deputy or viceroy, such as SAADIT KHAN we may suppose was in AUDIH.

MED KHAN, was called upon to deliver in an account of all his uncle's effects, which amounted to a million sterling^a. Great part of this was brought from his government, under an escort of a thousand PERSIAN horse; but the sum was two hundred and fifty thousand pounds short of what SAADIT KHAN had engaged to pay. 1739.

SIRBULLIND KHAN, already mentioned as the person by whose intercession the massacre was stopt in his quarter, though poor, was much respected: the corruptions of the court had not tainted his integrity. NADIR excused him from paying any tax himself, as knowing his inability; but these very reasons rendered him worthy of the greatest trust; hence he was appointed to collect from other people the free gift^b, and contribution^c. His age and infirmities in some measure obstructing his vigilance, NADIR acquainted him, that if he meant to avoid the weight of his anger, he would do well to exert himself. Two hundred soldiers were assigned him as a guard in the execution of this office. He was also charged to oblige all persons in public employment^d, to produce all the horses, camels, and elephants, belonging to the crown, that proper choice might be made of them for the use of the PERSIAN army.

It is some consolation to honest men under the circumstances of SIRBULLIND KHAN, that they may alleviate a misfortune, and execute their charge with humanity; when a person of a different character would aggravate the evil, and render it still more calamitous. He saw to what extremities he must reduce the inhabitants in the execution of this dangerous commission, but there was no remedy. TÄH-MAS KHAN and MUSTAPHA KHAN^e, pressed him to enter upon the office assigned him. The old man, in the fulness of his heart, addressing himself to NIZAM AL MULUCK, who was then present, spoke to this effect: "I have long foreseen the misfortune which has overtaken us; I often represented to the emperor the danger of an easy security, and desired him to send a trusty ambassador with large presents into PERSIA, to divert the storm which was breaking out on that side. We might have appeased the resentment of the SHAH, and lived with him in friendship; but the courtiers would not listen to my advice; they imagined that what I said was with a view to some private interest; and whilst they neglected to second my counsel, they proposed no kind of expedient to avert the impending danger: at length, we see to what a calamitous issue things are reduced. For my own part, had I been possessed of money, I would have sent it all to KANDAHAR, rather than have given any provocation to the SHAH to have made so extraordinary an expedition. However, we have now no remedy; we must raise the immense sum of twenty crores^f, if the money is to be found, which God only can tell whether it be possible to raise under the present distressed condition of the capital."

NIZAM.

^a Eighty lacks of rupees, or one million sterling. The sum promised was a crore, or one hundred lacks, equal to one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

^c This is called the *EEAVRA*, or forced contribution.

^b This they call the *PEIRUSH*.

^d *MANSUBDARS*.

^e This was

the man to whom I was under such singular obligations in the camp of NADIR SHAH in MARCH 1744.

^f Twenty-five millions of pounds. This was the sum which NIZAM AL MULUCK after the battle of KARNAL had agreed to pay the SHAH, exclusive of the jewels, gold, plate, and other rich goods belonging to the emperor and the lords of his court.

1739. NIZAM AL MULUCK made no reply to this speech. In whatever degree he was answerable for the misfortune, he saw too plainly the mistake he had committed, as the sum demanded of himself was no less than one crore and a half^a. He, together with the vizir and DEVRAN KHAN, had received one crore^b, which had been issued out of the royal treasury for the military chest, when they marched against the PERSIANS. Of the two former NADIR demanded an account of this sum; he also ordered them to send to their respective governments for all the treasure, belonging either to themselves or the crown.

NIZAM AL MULUCK represented, that when he left DECCAN, he established his son as his deputy, giving him possession of all his effects; that all the world knew his son had refused to deliver up his government, and was no longer in his power; that NADIR himself was only capable of reducing him and the rebellious princes of DECCAN. This answer, which was in some degree true, served to divert the SHAH from pursuing a point in its nature hardly practicable. It was very plain he thought it unsafe to penetrate deeper into the country, lest he should never get out of it again.

KUMMIR O'DIN KHAN, the vizir, was treated with greater severity. He endeavoured to elude the payment of the large contribution demanded of him; NADIR therefore caused him to be exposed openly to the sun, which is reckoned a punishment contumelious as well as painful, and in that country dangerous to the health. At length, he extorted from him a whole crore of rupees^c, besides a great value in precious stones and elephants. His secretary, who was also a man of fortune, was taxed in a large sum, and delivered to SIRBULLIND KHAN, in order to be tortured if he did not pay it; however, he prevented this persecution by a dose of poison.

A sum of money was now issued out of the treasury for the charge of fifty horsemen, who were ordered to march to BENGAL, with directions to the governor to send seven crores of rupees^d. The VAKEEL^e of that kingdom, who was then present at DEHLIE, said that so much money would load a string of waggons to reach from thence to the capital. Being severely beaten for his sarcasm, he went home, and revenged himself by taking poison together with his whole family.

THE INDIANS of distinction seem to have a great sensibility of such indignities. The gentler treatment to which they had been accustomed, gave them very different impressions from what the PERSIANS received in the like circumstances.

IT is not easy to conceive with what rigor these contributions were levied; and what numbers destroyed themselves with their own hands, to be delivered from the tortures and punishments with which they were threatened. No barbarities were left unpractised: the tax imposed was strictly exacted, tho' in the computation of the respective abilities of the inhabitants, numerous mistakes were made. Besides,

^a One million eight hundred seventy thousand pounds.

^b One million two hundred fifty thousand pounds.

^c One million two hundred fifty thousand pounds.

^d Eight millions seven

hundred fifty thousand pounds. I never heard that he received any money from thence, tho' the province was alarmed, and in many places disposed to submit. The riches of DEHLIE seemed to fill up the measure of his avarice, great as it was.

^e The lieutenant governor.