

as there were no purchasers of their effects, except the PERSIANS, hardly a quarter of their value was paid. The consequence of this was, that many left their fortunes and families at the mercy of the PERSIANS, and made their escape to ACBAR ABAD. Here the governor received them, determined to resist any of the flying parties who should appear in his district; for which purpose he appointed six thousand horse to protect those who fled to him for shelter.

MEAN while all the inhabitants of any consideration were obliged to declare under their hand-writing, what money and effects they were possessed of; that if it should be afterwards found they had concealed any thing, they might be punished with the utmost severity; and in this process a suspicion was often deemed a proof.

THE commissioners appointed for the collection sat every day, from sun-rise till evening, during which time there was very little respect shewn to persons. At length, about the middle of APRIL, the sum of four crores^a was extorted from the merchants and common people. In the royal treasuries were found three crores^b of money; but in the inward vaults, which had been shut during many reigns, they discovered a much larger value^c. Nor must we forget to mention the peacock throne, which was rich in jewels, and valued at a prodigious sum. The whole of the treasure amassed upon this occasion, is estimated as follows:

	Crores.	£.
Jewels taken from the GREAT MOGHOL and the INDIAN lords	25	31,250,000
The peacock throne, with nine others, also several weapons and utensils all garnished with precious stones	9	11,250,000
Gold and silver plate, and money, which NADIR melted down into large INGOTS	30	37,500,000
To these we may add the rich manufactures of many kinds	2	2,500,000
Cannon, warlike stores, furniture, and other valuable commodities	4	5,000,000

^a Five millions of pounds.

^b Three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

^c The different relations we have had of this extraordinary rapine, are for the most part upon the marvellous; and several writers have suffered their imaginations to travel much faster than their judgment. I could never come to the bottom of the matter in PERSIA. The PERSIANS talked only of heaps of treasure, and thousands of camels, and mules loaded with gold and silver and precious stones. Mr. FRAZER's account, which I adopt, makes it in general seventy crores, which seems to be the highest calculation that the nature of the thing will warrant; this is equal to eighty-seven millions five hundred thousand pounds of our money. Of this sum, thirty-seven millions five hundred thousand pounds is computed in gold and silver.

C H A P. XI.

NADIR marries his second son to the niece of MAHOMMED SHAH. The presents he makes to that prince and the INDIAN lords. The GREAT MOGHOL's cession of all the country on the west of the INDUS. NADIR's advice to that prince. He begins his march from DEHLIE, and musters his army. Value of the damage done the INDIANS.

1739. **W**HILST NADIR was thus glutting himself with treasures, he affected to establish a lasting friendship with the GREAT MOGHOL. With this view he demanded CAMBACHE, the niece of that prince, in marriage for his second son NESR ALI MYRZA. Their nuptials were accordingly consummated on the 27th of MARCH, with some appearances of that satisfaction which such alliances generally create in the families of princes. MAHOMMED SHAH was in no circumstances to make his niece presents suitable to his own rank, or her condition; however, he sent her fifty thousand rupees in money^a, and as much in jewels. NADIR himself added to these the value of five hundred thousand rupees in jewels^b.

It might be presumed that this alliance was calculated for political ends, either to preserve his authority over the INDIANS, or to retain some part of his conquest by right of dowry to the young princess: but this was not the case. NADIR knew that he could not support his sovereignty over so vast a country, and govern a people so different in manners, tho' of a genius milder and more tractable than the PERSIANS^c, by any authority but what was derived from the sword. So far then as such authority could be extended, he might reasonably hope to support his conquest, and farther than this, alliances by marriage could be of no signification. Besides, the marriages of MAHOMMEDAN princes, who take several wives, ought to be considered in a different light from those of christian kings; tho' it is a means sometimes used among them, as well as christians, to consolidate their friendships.

PERHAPS NADIR took this occasion to make the first mention of his desire that the province of CABUL, with all the country on the western banks of the INDUS, from the fort of ATTOCK, should be yielded to him. And what difficulty could the trembling monarch of HINDOSTAN make, to abandon his right to those provinces, whilst he found himself in the hands of a conqueror, who considered it as an act of clemency to grant him even his life?

DURING these transactions in DEHLIE, the PERSIANS marauded for thirty or forty miles round the capital, plundering the villages, laying waste the fields, and killing the inhabitants who resisted. Numbers of these were left without any provender for their cattle, which added greatly to their distress.

NADIR, who was determined that due obedience should be paid to all his decrees; remembered that which related to the conformity of the SCHIAS and SUNNIS. The
fast

^a Six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

^b Five lacks, or sixty-two thousand five hundred

^c The PERSIANS are polite and gentle in their deportment, and submissive to their superiors; but their taste for arms, and their repugnance to be ruled by a tyrant and usurper, has been proved sufficiently.

fast and repentance, in commemoration of the death of IMAM HASSAN, and IMAM HUSSEIN^a, falling out in the month of MARCH, he caused it to be proclaimed, that no person whatever, either of his own army, or of the subjects of the GREAT MOGHOL, should presume to mention the words TAZIA^b or MATIM^c. This however did not hinder, but that some of his own soldiers, in the camp without the city, beat their breasts, and made lamentations according to their former custom; for which they were severely punished.

THE scene was now drawing near a close. The grandeur of a great prince and a conqueror called on NADIR for some acts of generosity. Those INDIAN lords, who had been employed in using their influence and authority to collect the vast treasures he had amassed, were intitled to some regard, tho' it were but a mark of honor.

FOR these, forty-two presents^d were provided, consisting each of three, four, or five pieces of gold or silver stuffs, according to their respective ranks. Those appointed for NIZAM AL MULUCK, SIRBULLIND KHAN, the great vizir, KUMMIR O'DIN KHAN^e, and MAHOMMED KHAN BUNGUSH, an INDIAN general, who had also been of great service to the PERSIAN monarch, were much more considerable, consisting of three rich vestments, a turbant, with a PERSIAN sabre and knife, the handles of which were mounted with gold, and enameled. This ceremony was performed on the first of MAY, and all the OMRAS were ordered to attend at the general divan, where MAHOMMED SHAH their own sovereign was present: they were also entertained with the morning's repast^f.

Upon

^a The two sons of ALI often mentioned. ^b Signifies mourning. ^c Death. ^d These are called KHALAET, which properly signifies perfect or accomplished; a robe of honor given by the king. See page 110 of this volume. ^e Signifies the moon of religion. They tell a remarkable story of this person, with relation to his son BEDREDDIN KHAN, who disappeared at KARNAL, and it was reasonable to presume fell in the field of battle. Soon after this time, the RAJAH of PERVER met a young man in the habit of a DERVEISH, whom he took to be BEDREDDIN KHAN, whose person was well known to him. The RAJAH having a great friendship for the vizir, sent an express to court, to inform that minister of the joyful news that his son was found. In the mean while, the young man was received by the RAJAH with the utmost politeness and affection, and clothed in the richest manner, agreeable to his supposed quality. The VIZIR was transported with joy at the news, and received the compliments of his friends upon this happy occasion. Orders were dispatched immediately to the RAJAH, to send the supposed son to court; a rich palanquin was prepared, and mounted on an elephant, and the young man was conveyed with great pomp by five hundred horse as far as ACBARABAD, where he was received with great marks of distinction by the soldiers and domestics, whom the vizir had sent to meet him. From thence he was conducted to the capital. The young man was no sooner arrived there, than the vizir received him with open arms, and shed over him the tears of joy and paternal affection: the resemblance was so great, that the vizir entertained not the least jealousy, but imagined his supposed son jested, when he declared in the same manner he had done to the RAJAH, that he was NOT BEDREDDIN KHAN. The delusion was carried so far, that he was introduced to the harram, and presented to his supposed mother. His countenance, his stature, his voice, and air, persuaded this lady also that he was her son; but as he still persisted that he was not, her curiosity induced her to examine his body, as BEDREDDIN KHAN had a mark in a particular place. What pen can describe her sorrow and confusion, when she discovered that he was not her son! The indignity of a stranger being brought to her apartment aggravated the misfortune; whilst the young man complained of their incredulity, by compelling him to submit to such an extremity. Under these circumstances, the vizir offered to adopt him as his son, and by that means at once wipe off the stain, and enjoy some part of the pleasures of a father, in the society of one who so much resembled his real son. But neither was this practicable, for the true father of this young man, who thought he had lost him, was no sooner informed of the adventure, than he reclaimed his son, with the joy that is natural to a tender parent. ^f This we may call either breakfast or dinner, as their custom is not to eat till about 11 o'clock, after which the PERSIANS only eat once more in the day. See Vol. I. pag. 155.

1739. UPON this occasion, the GREAT MOGHOL himself received marks of the friendship of the PERSIAN monarch, viz. a crown, a bracelet^a, a fillet^b, and a girdle richly set with jewels. To these were added an enamelled dagger^c, and two swords, the handles of which were set with jewels. NADIR SHAH with his own hand placed the crown on the GREAT MOGHOL's head, as if he meant to signify, that to his arm the INDIAN monarch was indebted for his dominions. He also declared with an imperious air, which at once argued his contempt of the INDIANS, and the most lofty conceit of his own power, that if the lords of the court were omisive in their duty, he would call them to a severe account; that they ought to consider him always as near, since he could be with them from KANDAHAR in a very short time.

WHETHER any particular ceremony was performed upon the MOGHOL's yielding up the INDIAN dominions which NADIR claimed, does not appear; but this seems to be the proper place to mention the extraordinary cession made to the PERSIAN king, which was as follows:

"MAY GOD perpetuate the reign of NADIR SHAH, who is exalted as SATURN^d, in glory like MARS^e, in pomp like ALEXANDER^f, sovereign of the kings of the earth; the shadow of the Almighty, and the refuge of ISLAM^g, whose court is the heavens^h.

"THE ministersⁱ of the sultan, who is merciful, and the emperor, who is august, formerly sent ambassadors to us to treat of certain demands, with which it was our purpose to comply. The ambassador MAHOMMED KHAN TURKUMAN, not long since arrived here from KANDAHAR to remind us thereof: but our ministers having delayed the ambassador, and postponed answering the letters of his sublime majesty, it at length produced such a misunderstanding between us, that his victorious army came into HINDOSTAN. We encountered in the fields of KARNAL, where victory arose in the east of his undeclining fortune.

"As his sublime majesty is mighty as JUMSHEID^k, the greatest of the TURKUMANS, and the source of goodness as well as valor; relying on his honor, we had

^a Which the INDIANS call BAZOUBUND.

^b This they call a SIRPEACH, which is wore round the turban: persons of great distinction generally have them set with precious stones.

^c Which the INDIANS call CUTTARRI.

^d SATURN is eighty-seven thousand miles distant from the earth; hence, tho' it appears so small, astronomers mention it as twenty times the diameter of the earth. The ring, which surrounds his middle like an arch, contains forty-five diameters of the earth. How does the mind labour to reach the vast expanse; yet is not this more to infinite space than a moment to eternity!

^e There is also a comparison made with MARS, viz. "impetuous as the god of war:" but this seems to be dropping the figure with regard to MARS as a planet. Being placed between JUPITER and the SUN, it might imply power and glory. It is true, a more apt meaning might have been cloaked, if the INDIAN or PERSIAN astrologers agreed with those of EUROPE, with regard to the appearances of MARS, with a ruddy troubled light, supposed to be encompassed with a cloudy atmosphere; if they had dared under the notion of a panegyric to tell a bold truth.

^f Some writers have translated this, "the second ALEXANDER;" and from thence make many remarks on the supposed model which NADIR followed, tho' his motives seem to have been very different from that of the GRECIAN hero.

^g By this is meant the true faith. ^h It is hard to say which of these three compliments is the greatest bombast, or the most ill applied.

ⁱ As they often use the third person plural; when they speak of princes, they also express an awful respect, not by ascribing their actions to their ministers, but substituting the instrument for the agent.

^k This was one of the antient kings of PERSIA, remarkable for great power.

“ had the satisfaction of an interview, and enjoyed the unmixed delights of his heavenly company. After this we came together to SHAJEHANABAD^a, where all the jewels and treasures of the emperors of HINDOSTAN^b were presented to him: and, in compliance with our request, his sublime majesty was graciously pleased to accept of some of them.

“ BUT in regard to the illustrious family of JURGHIN^c, and the honor he professes for the original tree of TURKAN^d, out of the greatness of his soul, and the overflowings of his humanity, he has been pleased to restore to us the crown and gem of HINDOSTAN.

“ IN consideration of this act of generosity, which no father has ever shewn to a son, nor any brother to a brother, we make over to him all the countries to the west of the river ATTOK^e, and of that of SCIND^f, and NALA SUNKRA^g, which is a branch of the SCIND. That is to say, PEISHOR with its territories; the principality of CABUL and GASNA, HAZARIJAT, the mountainous residences of the AFGHANS, with the castles of BUCKHOR, SUNKOR^h, and KHOUDABAD; the passes, territories, and abodes of the TCHOUKIS and BALLOUCHEES, with the whole province of TATA: also the castle of RAM; the towns of CHUN, SUMAWALI, and KETRA, with all the castles, towns, ports, villages, and open country, from the first rise of the river ATTOK, with all the country comprehended within its branches, till it empties itself into the sea at NALA SUNKRA.

“ THESE we freely give up to the dominion of the powerful sovereign of PERSIA, and from henceforward our officers and subjects shall evacuate the same, and resign the property and government to the PERSIAN king, to be disposed of at his pleasure. We renounce all our right to command, controul, or collect revenues, in any of those dominions. But the castle and town of LOHRE BENDER, with all the country to the eastward of the river ATTOCK, and of the waters of the SCIND, and NALA SUNKRA, shall, as before, belong to the empire of HINDOSTAN. Dated at SHAJEHANABAD the fourth of MOHIRRIM, 1152ⁱ.”

THIS acquisition of dominion was an object of no less consequence, than all the treasures of which NADIR robbed the MOGHOL, particularly the province of PEISHOR; if we may judge from the great revenues which he drew from that conquest: nor was there any other danger of his losing it, than what naturally arose from the circumstances of his own government. The seat of the PERSIAN empire, which he had established in KHORASAN, was also calculated for the support of his conquest, had Providence permitted him to establish by the arts of peace, what he had thus acquired by the sword. But as the GREAT MOGHOL became a prey to NADIR by

D d d 2

the

^a DEHLIE.^b INDIA.^c This word is sometimes wrote GOURGAN; but they both equally allude to TEMUR BEG OF TAMERLANE, of whom the INDIAN emperors are descended.^d This also I understand to allude to TAMERLANE.^e I have already observed that this is part of the INDUS.^f Part of the country on the west of the INDUS often goes under this denomination, as well as the INDUS itself.^g This is sometimes called NALA SENGURE, which seems to be the island between the INDUS and what DE LISLE calls the river DINTADE.^h This is sometimes wrote SEKIR.ⁱ DEHLIE, the 2d of APRIL, 1739.

1739. the fault of too great gentleness; so NADIR's excess of severity necessarily rendered him odious, and consequently hastened his fall with a more prodigious ruin.

NADIR had now returned the INDIAN diadem to the legal possessor, seemingly with a much greater indifference, than ALEXANDER restored to PORUS the kingdom which he had conquered from him, with an additional territory. MAHOMMED SHAH was not an object of jealousy, as he seemed no ways inclined to war, or to commence any future contest: whereas PORUS signalized himself in military achievements. ALEXANDER indeed abandoned INDIA entirely; probably because he could not keep it, and therefore can claim the less merit: NADIR retained a considerable share of his conquest, on a presumption that he could keep it. Shall we say that honor or generosity was concerned in either case? Little more than what arises from the virtue which is passive, because there is no temptation or inclination to offend.

NADIR being now prepared to march back into his own country, took occasion to give a lesson of advice to the GREAT MOGHOL; and under the cloak of friendship, to recommend such a conduct as tended most to the security of the new conquest, which had been just yielded to him. It is said he spoke to this effect: "You ought by all means to take possession of the lands assigned for the support of your governors^a, and pay each of them their appointments with ready money out of your treasuries. Let none of them keep any forces of their own: you will then have the less occasion for a numerous standing army; however, you ought to support a body of sixty thousand choice cavalry, at the annual expence of sixty^b rupees each. Every ten men ought to have one corporal^c, every ten corporals one captain^d, and every ten captains one commander of a thousand^e. Acquaint yourself with the country, family, and name of all your officers, with their respective merits and inclinations. Never suffer either them or the common soldiers to be idle or inactive. When occasion requires, detach a sufficient number of your troops under the command of a brave, faithful, and experienced officer; but when he has executed his business, recall him. By this means you will have the less to fear, with regard to the consequences of too great a power.

"As to the great officers of your court, be careful in your choice of them, and do not prefer those who are artful, ambitious, or self-interested. Were I to chuse them, they would shew you very little respect in my absence; but you may depend, if any of them prove rebellious, I will send to chastise them. If necessary, I can be with you myself in forty days from KANDAHAR^f, and never reckon me far off."

THIS advice seemed to be in some measure agreeable to NADIR's own maxims of government; tho' the frontiers which he had to guard required so many forces, that he

^a These are called JACUIRS, or lands appointed for payment of the salaries of the respective governors, which naturally gives them a kind of sovereignty, by collecting the taxes, and converting them to their own use. The advice here seems to be very just.

^b Sixty rupees, or seven pounds ten shillings, is but thirty crowns of PERSIA, whereas NADIR's soldiers cost him a hundred crowns, including officers. But servitude is cheaper in INDIA.

^c DEH-BASHI.

^d SUDIVAL.

^e HAZARRI,

sometimes called MIMBASHI.

^f The distance is computed between seven and eight hundred

he was often obliged to employ such commanders as he had soon reason to distrust. 1739. He recommended to SIRBULLIND KHAN, NIZAM AL MULUCK, and other OMRAS belonging to the court of MAHOMMED SHAH, to be faithful to their master; telling them, that a religious adherence to their duty to their own sovereign, would be their best security against his resentment.

THE fourth of MAY he issued out orders for his army to march, and proclamation was made, that no INDIAN should presume, under pain of death, to conceal any one belonging to his army. He also gave orders, that none of his officers or soldiers should carry with them any male or female slaves, except such as had been bought with money, and with the public consent of the parties; and that, even women lawfully married to them, should not be taken away without their consent. Some of the officers used the most gentle entreaties, but none of the INDIAN women could be entirely prevailed on to leave their country; NADIR therefore obliged these officers to send back the few women who had accompanied them out of the city. It was doubtful if this rigor arose from the regard which he always shewed to the freedom of that sex, as far as MAHOMMEDAN principles allow; or from a fear lest these women should be a means of supporting a correspondence with the INDIANS, not consistent with his system of politics.

As soon as he arrived at the gardens of SHALIMAR, he ordered a muster of his army. Four hundred men being missing, strict search was made, and sixty of them were discovered, and brought to the camp, where he gave a proof of the severity of his discipline, by causing their heads to be cut off. This induced the INDIANS out of pure mercy to conceal the other deserters.

NADIR carried with him a hundred and thirty writers, among whom were several who understood the finances of the empire, of which he was particularly desirous of acquiring an entire knowledge. He also obliged three hundred maifons and builders, two hundred smiths, two hundred carpenters, and one hundred stone-cutters, to engage in his service, in order to go into PERSIA. His intentions were to build a city after the model of DEHLIE, a draught of which he carried with him. This new city was proposed to be called NADIR ABAD^a; which at the same time that it transmitted his own name to posterity, might remain a monument of his conquest in INDIA, and of his victory obtained over the GREAT MOGHOL. He allowed these artificers large pay, and provided them with horses and other necessaries for their journey: he also agreed, that after the expiration of three years, they should be at liberty to return home. However this design might flatter his vanity, it was never carried into execution: part of these INDIANS deserted before they reached LAHOR, and the continual wars in which he was engaged after his return into PERSIA, diverted his attention from this project.

BESIDES the jewels, gold, silver, and other valuables already mentioned, he took with him near three hundred^b elephants, ten thousand horses, and as many camels,

^a The city of NADIR. ^b Some accounts say he took a thousand elephants, which seems to be much too great a number to have been collected, or to be of any use. These animals indeed carry large burthens.

1739. camels, of which many were loaded with spoil. Most of the gold and silver was melted into large ingots, and slung over the backs of camels, horses and mules. If we reckon one half part of the thirty crores^a, already mentioned, to be in gold; and the other in silver; according to the ordinary computation of loads, even for common journies in PERSIA, it would require five thousand seven hundred camels, and two thousand and fifty horses and mules^b. The manufactures, furniture, and warlike weapons, it may be presumed, would require a much greater number.

It is computed that the houses and goods destroyed by fire, and the fields which were laid waste, amounted to near twenty crores^c; we may therefore reckon upon the whole, that this PERSIAN ravager spoiled the INDIANS of above one hundred and twenty millions of pounds.

As to the number of souls who were plunged into eternity upon this unhappy occasion, they are not reckoned less than two hundred thousand; of whom fell between LAHOR and KARNAL, in the battle, and a few days afterwards, forty thousand; in the massacre one hundred and ten thousand; in the villages, and those who died by famine, fifty thousand. We will now leave the INDIANS to repair by industry and commerce, the havock created by their avaricious enemy, and follow NADIR in his march.

C H A P. XII.

NADIR continues his march from the gardens of SHALIMAR. An instance of his vanity and avarice. His cruelty towards numbers of the peasants. Contribution of LAHOR. His passage over the CHANTROU obstructed. He returns back towards LAHOR. Confederacy of the AFGHANS and INDIANS to oppose his passage through the defiles. He seizes the plunder belonging to his own soldiers. His march to PEISHOR. KHUDAYAR KHAN refuses to acknowledge the sovereignty of NADIR, and is reduced. NADIR pursues his march to KANDAHAR. He sends his treasure to KÆLAT, and conquers KHIEVA and BOKHARA.

THE necessary dispositions being made, on the 6th of MAY NADIR pursued his march from the gardens of SHALIMAR, directing his course to the plains of KARNAL, where the INDIANS first owned him as their conqueror. According to the ordinary consequence of vast possessions, the precautions he took, seemed to argue a greater inquietude for the preservation, than he had shewn solicitude for the acquisition, of his riches.

WHEN

burthens; but except it be for artillery and such like uses, camels, horses, and mules, answer the purpose better. This is a long-lived animal, and yet I could never hear that there were such numbers in PERSIA; the number in the camp did not reach to thirty, and those which NADIR sent into TURKEY and RUSSIA did not exceed twenty. ^a Thirty-seven millions five hundred thousand pounds. ^b From this review of the matter we may presume it was a larger sum than ever was collected in one treasury: whatever it was, it is dissipated. ^c Twenty-five millions of pounds.

WHEN he arrived on the plains of KARNAL, he sent for the chief ^a of the town of that name, and commanded him to build a village on the spot he had encamped, and to call it by the name of FATEH ABAD ^b: for this purpose, it is said, he gave him five thousand rupees ^c. It is not improbable, that an inclination to continue the memory of his victory, might induce him to be at this expence; but this sum, so very inconsiderable, plainly proved how strong the passion of avarice was become in his breast, amidst such vast riches.

As the army was marching, the peasants watched their opportunities to plunder or kill the soldiers, who were sent out to provide necessaries; they also pillaged the exterior parts of the camp in the night, insomuch that the PERSIANS lost above a thousand camels, horses, and mules, before they reached TANISEER. The SHAH, enraged at this behaviour, gave orders for plundering that town, and putting the inhabitants to the sword. Other towns and villages suffered the same fate; and by this conduct he frightened those into compliance, whom he could not by any other means engage to supply his army.

ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR, having made his submissions to NADIR, when he passed through the province of PENJAB in his way to DEHLIE; it was apprehended that the inhabitants had nothing to fear: but this KHAN no sooner heard of the massacre at DEHLIE, and of the severity with which the contributions had been exacted in that city, than he foresaw the storm that was gathering. Resolving therefore not to be taken at a disadvantage, he summoned all the merchants, money-changers ^d, and wealthy inhabitants, to bring in their quotas towards raising a crore of rupees ^e. This sum was deemed the utmost which they could pay.

NADIR was no sooner arrived at the gardens of SHALIMAR, than he dispatched ABDUL BAKI KHAN, with a considerable body of troops, to demand a large contribution of LAHOR; and having passed through SERHIND, he was drawing near to this capital of the province, when ZEKARIAH KHAN went out to meet him. The crore of rupees was presented, with the strongest protestation that this sum was the utmost which the city could raise; that if it was his pleasure to pillage or to slaughter the inhabitants, they were unable to resist his forces, and therefore resigned to whatever should be determined. ABDUL BAKI KHAN had orders to demand a larger sum; but this just representation being made to the SHAH, the crore of rupees was accepted, and the PERSIAN army continued their march.

WHEN they arrived on the banks of the CHANTROU, the bridge of boats prepared for their passage had been carried away by a sudden swelling of the waters; NADIR therefore directed his march back, and entered the province of PENJAB, whence a body of horse was dispatched to LAHOR, to demand provisions. The inhabitants, who had hardly recovered from their dread of fire and sword, at the late approach of the PERSIAN army, and were impoverished by the contributions they had paid, now thought only of saving their lives by flight. ZEKARIAH KHAN was no sooner informed of the panic with which the people were struck, than he went and threw himself

^a ZEMIDAR.^b Signifies the habitation of victory.^c Six hundred pounds.^d SERAFS.^e One million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

1739. himself at NADIR's feet, and begged that he would not approach nearer the city, engaging at the same time that the bridge should be repaired without delay. It was accordingly performed, and the army passed over.

NADIR then directed his course towards REHNAS, a fortified city on the eastern banks of the INDUS near SUVAT, a branch of that river. Thence advancing to ATTOK, he attempted to pass the INDUS, into the dominions which had been lately yielded up to him. Here the want of a sufficient number of boats to form the bridge obliged him to halt: and this delay afforded time to the AFGHANS and the INDIANS, who inhabited the western side of the river, to take up arms. The vast booty which the PERSIANS had amassed, was a temptation not to be resisted. They resolved to try their fortune, if by uniting their forces they could seize some part of the plunder.

WHAT their efforts would have produced, had they been carried into execution, it is not easy to determine. The PERSIAN king certainly thought himself in danger, and chose rather to negotiate for a free passage, than run a hazard where there was nothing to gain. The consideration of a vast treasure, had rendered the fierce and intrepid NADIR cautious and circumspect. His mind, ever fertile in expedients, now suggested to him to write to NACIR KHAN, the late governor of CABUL, whom he had left at PEISHOR, commanding him in the most express terms to use his interest to disperse the tribes, who were assembled in the mountains. The KHAN immediately sent for the chiefs of this confederacy, and persuaded them to decline their enterprize, for which, according to his instructions, he engaged to give them ten lacks of rupees^a. However large this sum might appear upon another occasion, it was an object of very little consideration compared with the bulk of NADIR's treasure; he therefore remitted the money without delay, and purchased a free passage^b.

WHILST the bridge was preparing for his passage over the INDUS, messengers arrived from the court of the GREAT MOGHOL, requesting in behalf of that prince the redemption of two rich feather jewels, belonging to the head-dress of the sultana. Upon this, orders were given for searching the royal treasury, but no such jewels could be found. It was reasonable to presume that they had been brought away from the INDIAN court, and of course they must be in the possession of some officer or soldier in the army. This suggested to NADIR sufficient reason to challenge all precious stones as his property; accordingly he ordered strict search to be made, and that all should be brought into the treasury under penalty of death. Numbers of the foldiers, whose passion for gain was not perhaps inferior to that of their general, enraged to see the fruits of so long and perilous a march ravished from them, threw them into the INDUS; and others concealed them in the earth: insomuch, that although great quantities were collected, this extraordinary resolution it is believed cost some millions of crowns value to PERSIA. The jewels, plundered both by the private men and officers, must have been very considerable: the presents and bribes which they received, amounted to a great sum, particularly on the unhappy occasion
of

^a One hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds.

^b It is said that other inhabitants of the mountains afterwards made the same demand, which he refused to comply with.

of the massacre of DEHLIE, when many of the INDIAN lords and persons of distinction saved their lives by the mere force of their great riches. A great part of this, especially jewels which could be easily concealed, was not till then brought into the royal treasury^a. The quantity of precious stones, delivered up to NADIR upon this occasion, amounted to a great value; but neither of the jewels in question appeared till a considerable time after, when one of them was found among the sequestered effects of a general officer, who was put to death; the other was never discovered.

It is amazing to consider the ascendancy which NADIR had acquired over his army, and that such a step as this did not produce a revolt^b; but his address in fowing the seeds of jealousy and distrust among his soldiers was such, that they were afraid of each other; and this ever proved his best security. Numbers of them might now be more inclined to desert, than to give up their valuable plunder; yet the circumstances they were in, with regard to an enemy's country, was an insuperable obstacle.

AFTER passing the INDUS, he directed his march to PEISHOR, where he halted for some days: here he left a PERSIAN general, with a considerable body of forces, but confirmed NACIR KHAN in the government of that province, and conferred several honors on him, in acknowledgment of his great services. From thence, continuing his rout towards CABUL, he detached ABDUL BAKI KHAN, with five thousand horse, to receive homage from KHUDAYAR KHAN, governor of PEKIER^c. This KHAN had refused to pay homage to NADIR, now sovereign of that country; and collected a considerable body of forces to oppose the PERSIAN army. Finding that his late master the GREAT MOGHOL had not been able to support him, he resolved to try if he could obtain an independent sovereignty.

ABDUL BAKI KHAN soon arrived on the frontiers of this country, but was in no situation to reduce KHUDAYAR KHAN by force. He therefore sent to acquaint this INDIAN lord of his arrival, and at the same time to advise him to make a ready submission. This offer being rejected with contempt, ABDUL BAKI informed the SHAH of the circumstances which he was in. NADIR being now near KANDAHAR, sent his treasures and heavy baggage under a numerous convoy into that strong fortress, and then directed his course south-east through the country of HAZARIJAT. KHUDAYAR KHAN was no sooner informed of the march of the PERSIAN army, than he burnt a forest, laid waste the open country, and used his endeavors to poison the water.

NADIR

^a See Vol. I. page 173. for the quantity of large stones on horse furniture. ^b I was told in PERSIA, that he took from the soldiers all their money also, except one hundred crowns; some accounts mention two hundred and fifty crowns; but I have some difficulty in believing either. As to jewels they would be subject to discovery in the sale of them, which would not have been the case with money. ^c This country is to the south of CABUL on the INDUS, bordering upon MULTAN: I do not find it laid down by DE LISLE. There are several forts and strong places in it, such as LOUHERI, SERIER, and TEKIER. The people in this country are partly MAHOMMEDANS, and partly PAGANS.

1739. NADIR was no sooner informed of the desperate measures which this INDIAN lord had taken to support himself, than he sent his commands to ZEKARIAH KHAN, the governor of LAHOR, and also to his son HAIAT ULLA KHAN, governor of MULTAN, to repair to his camp immediately, and to furnish his army with provisions. How great soever their reluctance, necessity obliged them to pay a ready obedience to the summons. ZEKARIAH KHAN was reputed an able politician; and this task now required the exercise of his abilities; since he had not only to provide the PERSIAN army with provisions, but also to obtain the submission of KHUDAYAR KHAN. The latter offered to make such presents as his circumstances permitted, with condition that the PERSIAN army would pursue their rout to KANDAHAR, without making any irruption into his territories; otherwise he persisted in his defiance.

THIS was a language to which the victorious king of PERSIA was not accustomed; he therefore ordered ZEKARIAH KHAN to bring to him those chiefs of the country who had submitted, as hostages for the good behaviour of their people; and at the same time to conduct his army by a rout, where they might be properly supported, in order to compel KHUDAYAR KHAN to surrender.

AS soon as NADIR arrived in the neighbourhood of KHUDDABAD^a, the INDIAN chief retired with his riches to EMIR-KIOUT, a strong fort on the opposite side of the river HEST-NUD. ZEKARIAH KHAN renewed his entreaties in terms so persuasive, that at length assurance being sent that NADIR would pardon what was past, and accept a moderate present, KHUDAYAR KHAN consented to send his son, and to make his submission. This young lord was very kindly received, and entertained in a sumptuous manner, together with all his numerous attendants. In the mean while, NADIR ordered some parties of his troops to take possession of the boats in which the INDIANS came, and by favour of the night to repass the river. This was performed so well, that the INDIANS who guarded the fort of EMIR-KIOUT, taking them for the retinue of their KHAN's son, suffered the PERSIANS to enter, and take possession of it. The KHAN himself had time to make his escape, but at length thought proper to capitulate, and give up all his riches.

THE news of this affair having reached the MOGHOL's court, a report prevailed, as if the insatiable avarice of NADIR was bringing him a second time into the INDIAN territories; these apprehensions alarmed the whole country, and occasioned a great consternation. Several of the princes^b who commanded in the mountains, formed a confederacy to oppose his passage; and his not invading their dominions, was imputed to the great preparations made to oppose him.

IT is very hard to believe, that a canine appetite for gold should so far efface all sentiments of honor and clemency in the mind of NADIR, as to induce him to commit so flagrant a violation of the treaty lately concluded with the MOGHOL, and to obliterate the remembrance of his being a king, by an act so unworthy. The power derived from force only, can be no security, when princes throw off even the mask of justice, and as it were declare war against the rational species. Whatever
suspicion

^a We are left entirely to seek for this city; the country to the west of the INDUS, towards the INDIAN sea, seems to be very little known to the map-makers.

^b RAJAS.

suspicion he might lie under on this occasion, he gave great proofs of esteem for 1739. ZEKARIAH KHAN, by making him several presents, and sending him to DEHLIE with a number of fine horses for MAHOMMED SHAH. The INDIANS also were soon afterwards delivered from their fears, by the joyful news that the PERSIAN army was past KANDAHAR.

WE have already observed, that whilst NADIR was in KANDAHAR, his son RIZA KOULI MYRZA had made an incursion as far as BALKH, which submitted to him; but he was not able to subdue the OUSBEG TARTARS of KHIEVA and BOKHARA^a, who, during the troubles in the PERSIAN empire, had made frequent inroads into KHORASAN, and carried many thousands of the inhabitants into slavery. These people are remarkable for their vivacity and love of liberty. As they are for the most part of the sect of the SUNNIS, they hate the PERSIANS; but the difference in religion has not occasioned such frequent contests, as their neighbourhood and strong propensity to rapine. KHORASAN had often suffered by their depredations, nor had they been intirely quiet during the absence of the PERSIAN army in INDIA. NADIR had some time before sent ambassadors to the KHAN of KHIEVA, demanding the PERSIANS, numbers of whom were detained in slavery in that country. But these TARTARS were intoxicated with their former success, and having enjoyed an uninterrupted security for many years, seemed to have lost all sense of danger. Contrary to the law of nations, which even in this country are deemed sacred, with respect to the representatives of kings, they put the PERSIAN ambassadors to death; only one, the least considerable in rank, was sent back to his master without his nose and ears. Such a proceeding could not but incense the imperious NADIR, and draw on the fire of his resentment.

THE occasion was now favorable for the reduction of these people. NADIR having detached a large body of his troops from KANDAHAR to KÆLAT with his treasures, took the rout through the kingdom of BALKH. He passed the river AMO, (the) and arrived in the neighbourhood of BOKHARA about the beginning of OCTOBER, with an army of near fifty thousand men. The OUSBEG TARTARS who inhabit this city and its district, submitted to him immediately. He set at liberty the PERSIANS who had been detained in captivity, and inlisted about twelve thousand of the inhabitants who were fit to bear arms; these OUSBEGS being esteemed the best soldiers in TARTARY. In consequence of the ready submission of the KHAN of this country, NADIR invested him with the government of all the territories of BOKHARA to the north of the AMO, and also made very valuable presents to him and his dependents. *the Pers the Gr Jan Des Zi*

THE KHAN of KHIEVA was of different sentiments, and took the field with about twenty thousand men. He had hardly ever seen a more formidable army, and flattered himself with success: but as soon as he heard of the superior numbers of the PERSIANS, and that NADIR himself was at their head, he retired with precipitation towards his capital. The PERSIAN king being informed of the situation of the enemy, made such forced marches, that the OUSBEGS were obliged to stop at SHANKA^b.

E e e 2

Here

^a Some antiquaries are of opinion, that these people are the descendants of the tribe of ISRAEL, whom ALAMAZAR, king of ASSYRIA, sent into MEDIA. ^b A city about half a day's journey to the eastward of KHIEVA.

1739. Here the KHAN made a brave resistance, but was at length obliged to surrender. NADIR having challenged him with the murder of his ambassadors; he excused himself, alledging that it was done by the OUSBEGS without his knowledge. To this the PERSIAN king replied; "If you have not abilities to govern the few subjects who inhabit your territories, you do not deserve to live; and for the affront shewn me in the murder of my ambassadors, you have no title to die like men; you shall die like dogs." He then ordered the executioners to cut the throat of the KHAN and about thirty of his chief attendants; a punishment esteemed the most ignominious among the PERSIANS. Upon the news of the fate of this KHAN, all the towns and villages surrendered except the capital.

NOTWITHSTANDING the defeat of their army, the inhabitants of KHIEVA shut their gates against the conqueror, resolving to oppose him to the last extremity. Several of them, who were apprehensive of the consequences of so rash an enterprize, attempted to leave the town, and were put to death as deserters. The number of their PERSIAN slaves was so great, that some were cruelly put to death in cold blood, merely out of fear of their rising, and the rest were imprisoned. The 8th of NOVEMBER NADIR SHAH incamped on the east side of KHIEVA: he sent several messengers and demanded a parley, but the OUSBEGS absolutely refused to grant it. The PERSIAN army therefore invested the city, and planted eighteen cannon, and sixteen mortars^a, at different places. They also raised machines of wood, from whence they could see over the walls: and after throwing up a breast-work, to guard themselves from the enemy's small shot, they attacked the town. These TARTARS were yet possessed of a few field-pieces, which they had taken from the unfortunate prince BECKAWITZ^b. On the 14th the SHAH ordered the town to be battered in breach^c. The engineers did their part so well, that the inhabitants soon became sensible of their rashness. Several breaches being now made, and the ditch almost filled, NADIR gave orders for storming: upon this the OUSBEGS surrendered at discretion. An inventory was taken of every thing in the city; and all the foreigners^d were ordered to appear before the SHAH.

THE 28th of NOVEMBER NADIR marched from KHIEVA, taking with him near twenty thousand PERSIANS who had been in captivity, with eight thousand OUSBEGS as recruits. He left a governor of his own appointing, attended only by a few PERSIANS,

^a Whether these had been carried into INDIA is not said; it may be rather presumed they were brought from thence, as they had the conveniency of elephants, which bear very great burthens. It has been often said that NADIR carried heavy cannon with him into INDIA, by breaking them into pieces, and calling them a-fresh when he had occasion for them; but this account favours too much of the marvellous. Besides these, the PERSIANS had many field-pieces, and very long swivel guns. The last were fixed on pack-saddles, and carried by camels: these carried cartridge-shot to a great distance, and made great havoc; I have already mentioned them under the name of *harquebusses*. See page 155 of this volume.

^b See account of this expedition, Vol. I. page 126, 127. ^c Mr. THOMSON and Mr. HOGG, mentioned in Vol. I. page 237. were in the town during this siege, and weighed one of these balls; but I am inclined to think they were fired from mortars.

^d Among these were the two ENGLISH travellers above-mentioned. NADIR SHAH enquired of them what their business was. Being informed they were merchants, he told them they were at liberty to trade through all his dominions; and if any wrong was done them, and they were not redressed by his officers, they should apply to him; they were then dismissed, and a passport was given them. These persons reported, that many, even of the meaner soldiers in the PERSIAN army, had cloaths of rich silk, and plenty of INDIAN money.

SIANS, as if he was sure of the obedience of these TARTARS, or thought them not worth an army to keep them in awe. 1739.

C H A P. XIII.

NADIR returns to PERSIA. RIZA KOULI MYRZA murders SHAH TÆHMAS, and makes an attempt against his father's life. Conduct of NADIR towards his son. He arrives in the neighbourhood of ISFAHAN.

NADIR having now conquered all his enemies on the eastern frontiers of his dominions, prepared to return into PERSIA. His chief concern was the security of his vast treasure; he therefore marched to KÆLAT, which is a few days journey to the southward of MESCHED. Here he established a sufficient guard of his best troops, and conferred the command on a brother of LUTE ALI KHAN.

It has been already remarked, that the first year of NADIR's absence had given his son RIZA KOULI MYRZA such a taste of power, that he exerted it in the most wanton manner on several occasions, to oppress the people, and to indulge his avarice*. We have also taken notice that his father, upon being informed of these arbitrary proceedings, thought proper to restrain his authority. The beginning of this year a report prevailed at ISFAHAN, that the PERSIAN army had been defeated in INDIA, and that NADIR SHAH was slain. RIZA KOULI MYRZA received this account with a seeming satisfaction. In a real or affected persuasion that it was true, he in some measure assumed the regal authority. He began, by causing the unfortunate SHAH TÆHMAS to be put to death, together with all his family, who were prisoners at SEBSAWAR. The circumstances of the tragical end of this prince, seem to prove that NADIR was not dissatisfied with this action, and would hardly have called his son to any severe account for it, had not the motive been an impatient desire of wearing the diadem himself.

The person, employed in this regicide, was MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN^b. He had been remarkably active in seizing this unfortunate prince; and it is probable he was now fearful, that if NADIR had met with any misfortune, TÆHMAS would be restored again to the throne of his ancestors. The murder was said to have been committed after this manner: MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, under the pretence of friendship, represented to TÆHMAS that his life was threatened, and therefore advised him to retire either into TURKEY or RUSSIA, and that himself would facilitate his escape. As soon as this prince was in his possession, he reproached him with cowardice,

* Among other particulars it is related of him, that in a visit he received from the ARMENIAN patriarch, he demanded of this priest his cap and crozier, which were set with precious stones, alledging that he had occasion for them, for his father's government, and the use of his army.

^b This is the same person with whom I had such particular connections at ASTRABAD.

1739. cowardice, told him he was unworthy to wear a crown, and at the same time gave a signal to his groom^a to kill him.

Thus fell the last of the descendants of the famous ISMAEL SEFFIE, whose race had filled the throne of PERSIA for near two hundred and fifty years. It has been seen how remarkable this prince was for a series of misfortunes, during the last seventeen years. Providence seemed to have often interposed for his deliverance; and tho' neither his resolution nor abilities were extraordinary, yet in a less corrupt state he might have rendered his subjects happy, and by supporting his family, prevented that effusion of blood which has exhausted PERSIA of its inhabitants, if not totally subverted that ancient monarchy.

NADIR, though returning in triumph, loaded with spoil, was now to suffer one of the bitterest calamities. As if Providence had ordained it as a punishment for his enormous offences, his eldest son RIZA KOULI MYRZA, for whom he had a paternal tenderness, formed a confederacy with a few other persons, to deprive his father of his life. For this purpose he employed a certain AFGHAN foldier to shoot the king, as he was returning from KÆLAT.

It has been already explained, in what manner the PERSIAN kings travel upon common occasions, detached from their army. The SHAH was arrived in a narrow pass covered with wood, in the mountains which separate the provinces of KHORASAN and ASTRABAD^b, having with him only his women and eunuchs. Here it was the intrepid AFGHAN dug a pit to conceal himself, from whence he might take his aim with the greater exactness. He fired his piece, and the bullet passed under NADIR's right arm, and shot him in the left hand; the horse also being wounded in the neck, through pain or surprize fell. The AFGHAN was preparing to issue from the wood, and finish his business with his sabre; but the eunuchs, drawing their sabres to protect their master, rendered the accomplishment of his purpose impracticable. A considerable reward was immediately offered for apprehending the assassin, and a promise of pardon if he would discover himself. Many of the inhabitants of the mountains were brought before the SHAH: some of them had offered sums of money to the soldiers to excuse their appearance. This was urged as a proof of their guilt, but NADIR commanded that they should be released, with this reflection: "These people are innocent. The man who has made so daring an attempt on my life, must be a person of distinguished bravery, whose courage is not inferior to my own."

It was not long a secret, that the contriver of this assassination was no less a person than RIZA KOULI MYRZA, whose manners we have already observed had so great

^a The person who was put to death in the rebellion of ASTRABAD. See Vol. I. page 134, 135.

^b This pass is supposed to be the same through which ALEXANDER pursued BESSUS the BACTRIAN traitor. ^c The discovery of this assassin was not made till above a year afterwards, when NADIR recollecting a certain man who had often distinguished himself in the field of battle, enquired after him; and being informed that this man had absented himself at such a time, it immediately occurred to him that he must certainly be the person who had shot at him. The SHAH therefore ordered that the man should be sought for, and brought before him. He was accordingly found in KANDAHAR, and conducted to the camp, where he confessed the fact. NADIR said to him, "You are a very brave fellow; but to prevent your taking such good aim, you must lose your eyes."

great a resemblance with those of his father. The prince being brought before his father, he intreated him to think of his crime, to ask pardon, and promise obedience. "Consider," says NADIR, "I am your general, your sovereign, your friend, your father. Consider the duty you owe me in these several relations. Reflect on the small acknowledgments which I require of you. You are in my power, but I would not have you perish. Live, be happy, and a king, whenever Providence shall take me from the earth." He employed several of his principal officers to persuade his son to repentance, but RIZA KOULI was inflexible, and obstinately persisted that he had done no wrong in attempting his father's life. He told him to his face, "You are a tyrant, and ought to die. I know the most you can do is to kill me." The afflicted NADIR between rage and tenderness said, "No: I will not take your life, but I will make you an example to all the princes of the earth; I will cut out your eyes." RIZA KOULI, with a fierceness peculiar to himself, replied, Cut them out, and put them into"

NECESSITY thus obliged NADIR to deprive his darling son of his sight, and himself of all hopes of making him his heir. The genius and intrepidity of this young man had filled NADIR with sanguine expectations of continuing the diadem in his family, which indeed could hardly be expected from a successor of less resolution than himself. Some days after this event, NADIR commanded that his son should be brought before him, and enquired of him with a mixture of paternal tenderness, concerning his health. The son, still repugnant to every sentiment of filial affection, and not rendered less daring by his distress, replied, "You have not blinded me so much as you have blinded all PERSIA: what the consequence must be, time will discover." It is remarkable, that NADIR never after permitted his son to have any women, nor would he trust him in any place but under his own eye.

IN FEBRUARY this year, the SHAH arrived with his army in the neighbourhood of ISFAHAN. The satisfaction which the PERSIANS felt upon his return, arose chiefly from the hopes that his immense riches, the fruits of a three years campaign, would free them from the heavy burthen of supporting a numerous army: how ill grounded their expectations were, we shall soon have occasion to relate.

* It must be observed, that the indecent mention of a woman of honor and distinction, is no less disrespectful in PERSIA, than in the polite parts of EUROPE; consequently it is the highest indignity to mention in gross terms the favorite wife of a king.

P A R T XV.

FROM THE

RETURN OF NADIR SHAH to
ISFAHAN FROM HIS INDIAN
EXPEDITION IN 1740.

TILL

HE WAS ASSASSINATED IN 1747.

C H A P. I.

*Reflections on the vanity of military exploits. NADIR sends a pompous embassy to RUSSIA, and another to TURKEY. Circumstances of the TURKS. NADIR's demands on them. His war with the ARABIANS. His conduct towards the ARME-
NIAN patriarch. His project of introducing a new religion into PERSIA. He orders a translation of the evangelists. Comparison of his character, and that of
AKBAR, formerly emperor of INDIA.*

1740.

THE affliction which NADIR must naturally have felt from the misfortune which happened to his darling son, gave place in some measure to the gratification of his vanity. It is reasonable to presume from the genius of this man, that more than half the joy of his triumphs would have been lost, but for the reflection of the figure he should make in the esteem of other princes.

ACTIONS, truly heroic, like those of the deity, whose beneficence we should strive to imitate, derive no real excellence from applause, being in themselves invariably good. The natural greatness and rectitude of the soul can never be expressed in actions destructive to mankind: and what for the most part are pompous triumphs, or the spoils of plundered provinces, but so many monuments of cruelty, ambition, or avarice? yet when our conduct will not bear the test of reason, our passions prompt us to seek a vain applause, and still we glory.

WHAT reflections NADIR might now make upon himself, are not objects of our instruction so much, as those which we ought to make on him. As to his immense
treasures,

treasures, they served for little more than to enlarge his desire to support his tyrannical power, by the mere notion of his wealth; and to render PERSIA more emphatically miserable. But notwithstanding his extreme avarice, he sent a magnificent embassy with presents of great value to the RUSSIAN court, and another to the GRAND SIGNIOR. 1740.

THE ambassadors to the RUSSIAN empress were SAIDAR KHAN^a, and HUSSEIN KHAN, with a retinue of two thousand persons, who convoyed ten elephants with several jewels and other rich presents. SAIDAR KHAN died at KISLAR, but HUSSEIN proceeded to ASTRACHAN, where he was required to stop, till proper orders were sent from court for his entertainment. Such embassies gratify the pride of those princes by whom they are sent, but create a vast expence^b to those who are to receive them. It was not till the end of OCTOBER^c the next year, that the ambassador made his public entry into ST. PETERSBURG, which was in several respects magnificent, tho' part of the PERSIAN retinue made but a mean appearance. The court was not wanting in shewing this PERSIAN minister all the honor due to his rank. His business was to acquaint the sovereign of RUSSIA, of the great feats of his master in the conquest of INDIA, and of the immense spoil which he had brought from thence; a specimen of which he presented to the RUSSIAN empress, in the elephants^d, jewels, and other valuables with which he was charged; that his master had also restored the INDIAN monarch to his dominions, and now offered his friendship to the sovereign of RUSSIA, with whom he was willing to enter into a defensive and offensive alliance^e.

WE have already mentioned, that during his absence in the late expedition, he sent ambassadors to the GRAND SIGNIOR, demanding a passport to travel through the OTTOMAN empire to MECCA. The TURKISH ministry considered this request as capricious, since it could never be presumed that such consent would be granted; and if he meant to take the liberty of making that pilgrimage with an army; it would rather be with a view to plunder the place of its immense riches, than to offer up his prayers of thanksgiving for his successes in INDIA. The TURKS were indeed afraid that he meant to feed his insatiable avarice with this precious morsel. What added

^a This is the person mentioned in the note, page 257, who died at KISLAR. He was an old man, and reputed very brave, and a lover of justice, but otherwise not tender of spilling blood. I was told the following circumstance concerning him; he was once observing that he wanted something to try his fabre; upon which a very old man in the company, acknowledging that he had lived long enough, offered his neck: SAIDAR took him at his word, and struck off his head.

^b It was said, that this ambassador made a demand of no less than two hundred sheep, two thousand pounds of rice, and other provisions in proportion for his daily support.

^c The policy of princes in that part of the world, especially when things are in a precarious state, is often the cause of these delays: some time had been spent in the adjustment of the ceremonials, and in making provision for so numerous a retinue; for not less than twelve or fifteen hundred persons attended this ambassador to ST. PETERSBURG.

^d There are several of these yet remaining in ST. PETERSBURG, which, tho' entirely useless, are supported for curiosity, and the honor of the sovereign. The ordinary food of these animals was rice, meal, and such like; but the RUSSIANS have very judiciously taught them to eat hay.

^e It was said this ambassador demanded ship-carpenters, which the RUSSIANS refused, objecting that they had none except foreigners, who were engaged to serve them for a certain time, but that they had no power to send them out of their country. The prosecution of the design which NADIR had formed of building ships on the CASPIAN SEA, was the cause of the early ruin of our CASPIAN trade.

1740. added to their terror, was the consideration of the extraordinary interposition of providence in the peace which he had made with them, in consequence whereof he had employed his forces in so distant a country, and was coming home loaded with the spoils of INDIA. It could hardly be expected that his military genius would suffer him to be long idle: and looking on themselves almost as the only power against whom he could turn his arms, they concluded a peace with the RUSSIANS and IMPERIALISTS, and made great preparations for marching an army into ASIA.

SOME time after NADIR sent an envoy to acquaint the PORTE, that notwithstanding they refused him a passage to MECCA, it was his intention to live in friendship with the GRAND SIGNIOR. The new ambassador, whom he charged with his compliments to the OTTOMAN emperor, carried several rich jewels, nine elephants, and a great number of camels, as a present: and according to the dignity he assumed, and the splendor of eastern monarchs, his retinue was composed of near two thousand persons. As their motions were slow, they did not arrive till the beginning of the next year. The grand VIZIR received this ambassador with the utmost demonstration of esteem; however, when the purport of his commission was demanded, he seemed to be offended, declaring that he would communicate it only to the GRAND SIGNIOR in person. The TURKS soon found that NADIR was no less arrogant in his proposals of the terms of friendship, than ostentatious of his riches, as appeared by the prodigality of his presents; under these circumstances they were induced to watch the ambassador as a secret enemy.

NADIR again renewed his claim to all the provinces and cities which in ancient times belonged to the crown of PERSIA; and insisted that the TURKS ought to pay the expence of the late war, or yield some provinces as an equivalent. These demands appeared to the TURKS imperious and exorbitant, and they concluded that the SHAH of PERSIA meant only to find a pretext to break with them. As the late wars had exhausted their treasuries, and the army was in arrears, orders were sent to the BASHAS in all their respective governments, to collect the taxes, and remit them immediately to court.

IN the mean while NADIR employed himself in reducing the ARABIAN rebels^a, who had revolted during his absence: the OUSBEGS of KHIEVA had also taken up arms, and destroyed the PERSIAN KHAN who had been appointed their governor, together with all the native subjects of PERSIA, whom NADIR had left in that city. The ARAL TARTARS made inroads, and involved that country in great distraction, so that all communication was cut off, and preparations were made to attack them afresh. For this purpose NADIR marched with a numerous body of forces to TÆHIRAN, in order to defend the province of KHORASAN, in case it should be invaded, or to send detachments against the OUSBEGS^b.

WE have already seen in what manner he acted as to the affair of religion. The beginning of this year, a dispute happened between the ARMENIAN patriarch, and some

^a The HOULES.

^b It may be presumed that he sent fresh forces against these TARTARS, for he had a free communication with them in 1744, and was supplied with recruits from KHIEVA and BOKHARA.

some ROMISH missionaries. The matter being necessarily referred to NADIR, he fined the patriarch twenty-four thousand crowns, alledging that priests had no occasion for riches; that they only served to perplex the mind, and take it off from pursuits of a religious nature; but as to himself, the support of his army rendered money very necessary.

It will not appear a subject of surprize, that a prince who had the courage to appropriate to himself by an arbitrary act all the revenues of the clergy of the national religion, should tax the chief of his subjects of a different persuasion. We find him indeed often aiming to confound the distinctions of the religions already professed by his people, as if he meant to introduce one of his own contriving. About this time he ordered a sumptuous mausoleum to be built at MESCHED, in which he proposed to have his body laid: towards this no cost was spared; the jasper tomb in which TAMERLANE was laid at BALKH^a was brought from thence at a great charge; however, as it did not suit the place, he returned it to its ancient mansion. It is remarkable that this mausoleum was erected entirely by christians; at the same time as he caused an ARMENIAN church to be built by his MAHOMMEDAN subjects.

To attempt any desperate invasion of the liberties of mankind, no method seems to be more effectual than that of depreciating or subverting the established religion of a country^b. The subject of religion will ever be of the highest moment to mankind; since it is only another word to express the belief of the being of a God, and the immortality of the soul; but at the same time that it has taken root in the hearts, and influences the conduct of one part of mankind, it has served as a political engine, or the instrument of temporal advantages to those who are vulgarly said to have no religion. PERSIA was once chosen as a more peculiar scene, where the Almighty manifested his power in a very singular manner; but many ages have past since the substance of religion seems to have been changed for the shadow. We find, however, a remarkable aptitude in the PERSIANS to the belief of things relating to a future state.

NADIR took frequent occasion to mention the feats of ALI in terms of contempt; arraigning his conduct, as a soldier, for leading his army into the deserts of ARABIA, where numbers perished for want of water. "And why," says he, addressing himself to the people, "instead of praying to ALI do you not call on God?" In his religious schemes he appeared to have a complicated motive: he sought to amuse his people, and at the same time to increase his fame, by establishing a new faith, after the manner of his predecessors. As he had destroyed the SEFFIE family, which had been established on the throne of PERSIA on a principle of piety and faith; so he seemed desirous to be the original of a new race of kings, on the basis of new tenets in religion. This motive was so peculiarly adapted to the genius of the

^a It is thought by some that the remains of this TARTAR hero were deposited at SAMARCAND, which might be the case originally, and upon the decay of that place the tomb be brought to BALKH. ^b With some exceptions however. The people of GREAT BRITAIN owe their liberty, in a great measure, to the reformation.

^c ALLAH is the name they give the deity. It is remarkable, that the TARTARS when they believe themselves to be dying, repeat this word, "ALLAH, ALLAH," continually, as their only invocation, till they waste their spirits, and expire.

1740. The PERSIANS, that we may naturally conclude he expected to derive from hence a security to himself and his family.

TOWARDS the close of this year, he caused a translation of the four evangelists to be made into PERSIC. It seemed, however, from the manner in which he conducted this business, to be more the effect of caprice, than of any steady and consistent plan. The affair was put under the direction of MYRZA MEHTIE, a man of some learning, who being vested with a proper authority for the purpose, summoned several ARMENIAN bishops and priests, together with divers missionaries of the ROMISH church, and PERSIAN MULLAHS, to meet him at ISFAHAN. As to the latter, they could not be gainers; since the change, if any took place, was to be in prejudice of MAHOMMEDANISM. Besides, NADIR's conduct towards them had been severe to an extreme, and unprecedented; many of them therefore gave MYRZA MEHTIE large bribes to excuse their appearance.

AMONG the christians summoned on this occasion, only one ROMISH priest, born in PERSIA, was a sufficient master of the language, to enter upon a work of so critical a nature. As to the ARMENIANS, tho' they are born subjects to PERSIA, and intermixed with the inhabitants, yet there are very few of them who understand the language fundamentally. It was natural to expect, that MYRZA MEHTIE and the PERSIAN MULLAHS, would be more solicitous how to please NADIR, and support the credit of MAHOMMEDANISM, than to divest themselves of prejudices, and become masters of so important a subject. This translation was dressed up with all the glosses which the fables and perplexities of the khoran could warrant; their chief guide was an ancient ARABIC and PERSIAN translation. Father DES VIGNES, a FRENCH missionary, was also employed in this work, in which he made use of the vulgate edition. They were but six months in completing this translation, and transcribing several fair copies of it.

1741. IN MAY following, MYRZA MEHTIE, with the PERSIAN MULLAHS, and some of the christian priests, set out from ISFAHAN for the PERSIAN court, which was then held in the encampment near TÆHIRAN. NADIR received them with some marks of civility, and had a cursory view of the performance. Some part of it was read to him; on which occasion he made several ludicrous remarks on the mysterious part of the christian religion; at the same time he laughed at the JEWS, and turned MAHOMMED and ALI equally into ridicule. Under such circumstances, it was impossible this performance should produce any good effect. He observed that the evangelists did not agree in their accounts, more than the MAHOMMEDAN and christian priests; therefore he must remain under the same difficulty that he was in before: that out of both, if it pleased God to give him health, he would engage to make a religion much better than any which had been yet practised by mankind; with several other vague reflections of the like nature. He then dismissed these church-men and translators with some small presents, not equal in value to the expence of their journey.

It seems as if NADIR had his religion to seek; but this project, under the present state of affairs, and considering the passion he had for military achievements, was very ridiculous,

ridiculous, and by no means agreeable to that seriousness with which oriental princes are general inclined to treat this important subject. What exalted notions ought not the contemplation of the christian religion to inspire in us, when we observe the cruelty and extravagant principles of government, which generally prevail at the courts of MAHOMMEDAN princes! In how shining a light do those appear, whose hearts are warmed with a generous desire of acting up to the dignity peculiar to the christian religion! Nor ought it to be objected, that avarice and ambition have often involved the christian world in distress; when we have such irresistible proof of those proceedings being diametrically opposite to the principles of christianity.

To set the different characters of two eastern princes in contrast with each other, we shall in the note here subjoined give a letter, wrote by JILAL O'DIN^a MAHOMMED AKBAR, emperor of HINDOSTAN, to the king of PORTUGAL in 1582. This letter^b seems to exhibit a remarkable proof, how the same freedom of sentiment may operate

^a The aggrandizer of religion; a title which he prefixed to his name when he mounted the throne.

^b "GLORY eternal to the true king, whose dominions are safe from decay, and whose kingdom is everlasting. The extent of the heavens, and the boundaries of the earth, are but minute parts of his creation; and infinite space but a small point of his productions*. He has regulated the order of the universe, and the government of the sons of ADAM, by the understanding of kings, who exercise justice. By his decrees, the ties of love, and bonds of affection, are fastened; and he has implanted in the various beings and creatures of his workmanship, the passion of inclination and union, with a mutual tendency to society; and praises without end are due to the souls of prophets and apostles, who walked in the paths of righteousness, and directed the way to obtain everlasting felicity.

"Those who have improved their understandings, and studied the laws of nature, know, that this terrestrial world is but a mirror of the spiritual one; and that nothing is more desirable than love, or more sacred than friendship, inasmuch as the æconomy and good order of the world is owing to affection, and the harmony of minds. For wherever the sun of love shineth on the heart, it clears the soul from the darkness of mortality. How ought these qualities to be diligently sought by princes, whose friendly correspondence is the cause of happiness to the world, and to the inhabitants thereof! For this reason it has been my constant and earnest endeavor, to strengthen the ties of friendship, and the bonds of union, among the creatures of the Almighty; especially among kings, whom God by his favor has so highly exalted, and so peculiarly distinguished from the rest of mankind.

"Your royal majesty, who is endowed with intellectual knowledge, and supports the ordinances of JESUS, stands in no need of praise or description. Our neighbourhood† with your renowned majesty, renders our friendship and alliance indispensably necessary; but as a personal conference is not practicable, the want thereof must be supplied by embassies, and mutual correspondencies, that our affairs, and the desires of our hearts, may be manifested to each other.

"Your majesty knows, that philosophers and divines, in all nations, and in all ages, concerning the visible and intellectual world, agree, that the former ought not to be of any consideration, compared with the latter: yet even the wise men of these times, and the great ones of all nations, labor and toil to acquire the perishing things of this visionary state; and consume the greatest part of their lives, and their choicest hours, in procuring material delights, being swallowed up, and dissolved in fleeting pleasures, and transitory joys. Notwithstanding these obstructions, and the extensive business of my government, the most high God, through his eternal favor and perpetual grace, has inclined my heart always to seek him. And as he has subjected the dominions of many powerful princes to me,

* The MAHOMMEDANS, according to the stile of the eastern languages, of which our scriptures are in most parts a remarkable specimen, begin their letters, and most of their other writings, with the praises of God. † Alludes to the possessions which the PORTUGUESE had at that time in INDIA.

1741. operate either on the virtuous or on the vicious side. The emperor AKBAR, tho' not so great a warrior, had as liberal a mind, as NADIR SHAH. If we may believe this letter was dictated by the heart, how different were the objects that engaged their attention! The one consulted the arts of peace to render his subjects happy; the other delighted only in war; and we see what calamities attended it.

C H A P. II.

Revolt of the MUNTISIKS from the TURKISH government. Short description of them and their country. The city of BASSORA under alarm from the ARABS. Conduct of ACHMED BASHA. BASSORA threatened with a siege by the PERSIANS. NADIR marches against the LESGEEES; and meets with several repulses in DAGISTAN. The RUSSIANS alarmed at his approach. The LESGEEES desire the protection of RUSSIA. The PERSIANS make war with the ARABIANS, and are repulsed. Distress of PERSIA. Dangerous situation of the TURKS. They reduce the ARABIAN rebels. Great preparations in PERSIA for a war.

IN the beginning of this year, the MUNTISIKS, with some other tribes of ARABIANS, who had lately been under ACHMED BASHA, threw off the TURKISH yoke. These people generally encamp during the summer season in the district of BASSORA. The EUPHRATES, which waters this country, renders it very agreeable, at the same time that grain, vegetables, and pasturage, are in great abundance. It is remarkable that this, as well as the other tribes of the ARABIANS, appear to be a very

"I endeavor to govern them with understanding. All my subjects are happy; for his will, and my duty to him, is the end of all my desires and actions.

"Mankind are for the most part chained with the bonds of fashion and constraint, regarding the customs of their forefathers, or their cotemporaries and relations; and without examining the arguments or reasons for it, give an implicit assent to that religion in which they have been brought up: thus depriving themselves of the means of discovering the truth, which is the business and end of reason. For my own part, I sometimes converse with the learned of all religions*, and profit by their respective discourses. But as the veil of language interposes, it is expedient that you send unto me such a person as can distinctly relate and explain his faith. It has already reached my fortunate ears, that the heavenly books†, the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and Gospels, are translated into ARABIC and PERSIC. Should a translation of these, or any other books of general use and advantage, be procurable in your country, let them be sent to me.

* For a further confirmation of our friendship, and to secure the foundation of affection and unity, I have sent my trusty friend, the learned and honorable SEYD MAZUFFER, whom I have particularly favoured and distinguished: he will personally communicate to you several matters, in which you may confide. Always keep open the doors of embassy and correspondence; and peace be to him who follows the guide. Written in the month RIEBI AVAL 990 ||."

* He was fond of the BRACHMINS or INDIAN priests, for which ABDALLAH KHAN, chief of the TARTARS at that time, complained much in his letters to him.

† Among these are reckoned the scriptures of the CHRISTIANS by some MAHOMMEDANS, who object only that we have corrupted the gospel; whilst others pretend, that when the khoran was brought on the earth, the gospel was taken into heaven.

|| APRIL 1782.

very different people in the field, from what they are in great cities. When they are associated with the neighbouring nations, they are gentle and polite: but when they take the field, the fresh air inspires them with different sentiments, and their expertness in the use of the lance and sabre, renders them fierce and intrepid. Their skill in horsemanship, and their capacity of bearing the heat of their burning plains, give them also a superiority over their enemies; hence every petty chief in his own district considers himself as a sovereign prince, and as such exacts customs from all passengers.

THEIR conduct in this respect has often occasioned their being considered in no better light than robbers, though many of them are hospitable and generous, as well as brave and sober. Towards those who ask their protection they are remarkably disinterested: numbers of them are distinguished for their vivacity and penetration; they have also a reputation for poetry and astrology. They generally marry within their own tribe: their women are very chaste; indeed they make it death to be otherwise; and there are several instances of fathers killing their own daughters for incontinence; yet for robbery or murder in the field they seldom punish. The different tribes are often at war with each other, and the pillage acquired by this means is looked upon as an honorable possession. When they plunder caravans travelling through their territories, they consider it as reprisals on the TURKS and PERSIANS, who often make inroads into their country, and carry away their corn and their flocks. In this part of ARABIA, antiently called CALDÆA^a, is seldom seen either cloud or mist.

THE jurisdiction of ACHMED BASHA had extended as far as the PERSIAN gulph, and included BASSORA. The OTTOMAN court being now jealous of ACHMED, his government was abridged, and confined to that of BAGDAT; the revenues of the BASHA were consequently decreased one thousand purses^b, which rendered him indifferent in regard to the preservation of BASSORA. This city had been for some time under alarms, the MUNTISIKS threatening to pillage it; which indeed was practicable, had they made the attempt, the inhabitants being unprovided for a siege. The commander exerted himself to put the place in a posture of defence, and at the same time wrote to ACHMED BASHA to come, or send troops to his assistance. The BASHA was then upon an expedition against the KOURDS BILBAZ. As soon as he heard of the revolt of these ARABIANS, he returned to BAGDAT, and after collecting a body of forty thousand men, he marched to the relief of BASSORA.

To all human appearance ACHMED might have destroyed these ARABIANS; but after some light skirmishes he returned to BAGDAT. He had artfully sown divisions among the chiefs^c of the ARABS, particularly the MUNTISIKS and BENILAMES; by this means he became their arbitrator, and turned the scale, insomuch that he appointed and deposed their chiefs, as he found it most for his interest: this was the reason for his declining to fight them. Besides, he thought it necessary to return immediately to his government; for he foresaw, that NADIR SHAH would attack the
TURKS;

^a This is the country bordering on the government of BAGDAT northward from BASSORA.

^b Garrouches or puries, each of five hundred dollars, at three shillings, are equal to seven thousand five hundred pounds.

^c These they call CHEIKS.

1741. TURKS; and if he engaged himself at the head of an army out of his jurisdiction, the PORTE might probably insist on his taking the command against the PERSIANS, to which he was not the least inclined. He knew that by such means he should put himself in the power of the GRAND SIGNIOR, whose good will he had some reason to suspect; or at least that he should engage with an enemy, against whom he apprehended he should make the best defence within his walls.

IN the mean while the ARABIAN HOULES continued to act vigorously against the PERSIANS, who could not support the war against them for want of ships. These people made several descents on the PERSIAN coast, and carried off great numbers into slavery. The end of this year, NADIR sent an officer to require the delivery of his subjects in BASSORA, which was threatened with a siege by the PERSIANS; whilst the coldness of ACHMED BASHA towards the TURKISH interest, rendered him suspected of holding a correspondence with the PERSIAN king, and gave great occasion of alarm at CONSTANTINOPLE.

THERE is a proverbial saying among the PERSIANS, "If any PERSIAN king is a fool, let him march against the LESGEES;" by which is plainly understood, that however potent an army may be, the situation of the mountains of DAGISTAN is such, and the people are so brave, that the success of an expedition against them must be very precarious. NADIR, whom no PERSIAN king exceeded in vanity or ambition, determined to try his fortune against them. They had given him great offence upon several occasions, particularly by that incursion during his absence in INDIA, in which his brother IBRAHIM KHAN was slain; nor was SHIRVAN ever free from their inroads; so that great part of that province was rendered desolate. The end of this year NADIR marched at the head of thirty-five thousand men into SHIRVAN, and from thence directed his course into the mountains of the LESGEES. In order to facilitate his progress, he caused vast quantities of wood to be hewn down on both sides the road, designing to frustrate any attempt which these TARTARS might make to lie in ambuscade. In this he seemed also to have a further view. The attack which his son had lately made on his life in the straits of ASTRABAD, rendered him the more circumspect; nor was he ignorant that the LESGEES are as crafty as they are brave*.

1742. ABOUT the beginning of this year he entered DAGISTAN. Here he found a very different people from the INDIANS, whom he had so lately conquered. Instead of marching through open and fertile plains, inhabited by a rich and effeminate people, he was to climb up mountains, in many places inaccessible, and which in general served as a natural bulwark to those vallies, where only he could expect to find provisions. These were defended by a stout hardy race of men, whose love of liberty had through ages rendered them invincible: and if he could penetrate thro' the defiles into these vallies, his enemies might still take shelter in their mountains, and render all his attempts abortive.

THE terror of his arms had however induced some of them in the southern parts to send hostages, and make their submission. Of these he removed a considerable number

* See Vol. I. page 256 to 259.

number into KHORASAN, as well to people that province, as to prevent their future irruptions into the PERSIAN dominions. This step served only to irritate the other LESGEES. NADIR having left one of his generals with a body of eight thousand men at a pass, which commands an entrance into the mountains, he marched forward in pursuit of the CARACAITA^a LESGEES: these having retired, and drawn him deep into their country, alarmed the inhabitants of the hills. After uniting some considerable bodies of their forces, they came down during the night, and put his whole army into the utmost confusion. They even attacked the royal tent, took away some of NADIR's treasure, and several of his women.

IN the mean while, the PERSIAN general, who was left with a body of forces to secure the communication with SHIRVAN, was also attacked with great fury. The LESGEES surprized these troops^b, and having the advantage of a wood and rising ground, they made great havock among the PERSIANS, before the latter were able to repulse them.

AFTER many fruitless attempts, NADIR found his army in great distress for provisions. SHIRVAN had been impoverished to an extreme degree, so as not to be able to supply him, nor was the communication open for caravans; he therefore directed his course to DERBEND, the inhabitants of which soon felt the fatal effects of his neighbourhood. Here he began to be extremely sensible of the great use of ships, by means of which he might receive a supply of provisions from the southern coast of the CASPIAN SEA. This circumstance calls to mind a memorable transaction of this year, with relation to the conduct of JOHN ELTON^c, the ENGLISH factor, whose injudicious engagement gave so great offence to the RUSSIAN court, and so fatal a wound to our CASPIAN commerce: but there has been already too much said on this subject, to need any further observation.

THIS mighty conqueror was now brought so low, that the remains of his shattered forces, reduced to twenty thousand men, must have deserted or totally perished, had they not been supplied by the RUSSIANS. Every part of the world furnishes us with instances, of the love of gain carrying private men beyond the bounds prescribed by laws. I never could conceive, that NADIR entertained the least thought of invading the RUSSIAN dominions, but it was sufficient matter of alarm that he attempted to subdue the LESGEES; therefore orders were sent from court, that no provisions should be conveyed as merchandize to the PERSIAN army. However, the traders of ASTRACHAN had assurance of so vast a profit, that they could not resist the temptation, as I have already explained^d: but DERBEND notwithstanding suffered such distress, that a great part of the inhabitants perished by famine.

THE long continuance of the PERSIAN army on the RUSSIAN frontiers, created a suspicion at the court of ST. PETERSBURG, that NADIR would make pretensions to
KISLAR,

^a This word signifies black villagers. These are esteemed some of the bravest people among the LESGEES.

^b A FRENCH missionary who was present in the PERSIAN camp upon this occasion, informed me of several particulars of the great bravery of the PERSIANS.

^c We find ELTON

was at NADIR's camp. See Vol. I. p. 101.

^d Vol. I. p. 85.

1742. KISLAR, as being built on the PERSIAN territories. This is certain, that he took great offence at the conduct of a RUSSIAN officer towards some of his troops, who approached too near to that fort; but for this, satisfaction was made him by the court. Though the temptation of gain had thus engaged the RUSSIAN merchants to supply the PERSIANS, yet the court of ST. PETERSBURG was so far alarmed at their approach, that great magazines were ordered to be formed in ASTRACHAN. This city was also put in a state of defence, and a body of troops, to the number of twenty thousand, under the command of general TARAKANOFF, were ordered to file off towards KISLAR.

THE LESGEES had intimated their desire of putting themselves under the protection of RUSSIA, from the time of NADIR's first invading their country; and it certainly was the interest of that empire to support the independency of those brave mountaineers, who form so safe a barrier against the PERSIANS. The arrival of the RUSSIAN troops indeed contributed to defeat NADIR's designs, and he found himself obliged to abandon an enterprize to which his skill and fortune were not equal.

As soon as the RUSSIAN general arrived in the neighbourhood of DAGISTAN, the LESGEES made application to him; and from an apprehension of the danger they might be exposed to, in case NADIR was determined to prosecute his design of reducing them, they wrote to this commander as follows:

" Most honored and most accomplished general and commander in chief,

" OUR most humble petition consists in this: all the inhabitants of DAGISTAN having been informed that you are arrived near the frontiers of KISLAR with an imperial army, and that your intention is to defend and protect the subjects of her imperial majesty in ANDREWSKA, KOSLKOFF, and BAXAN, as also all the chiefs and rulers of the states bordering on the dominions of her imperial majesty: after longing expectations of your arrival, we have sent our deputies in the name of the whole nation to desire your intercession, that her imperial majesty may receive us under her puissant protection, and permit us to be her slaves. We are determined to hold the golden border of her imperial robes, and in spite of all the evils that may threaten us, we will not be dragged from them, nor seek any other protection, nor acknowledge any other sovereign than God and her imperial majesty.

" WE hereby take a solemn oath of allegiance to her imperial majesty, whom we most humbly implore to protect us against our enemies, and in her exalted clemency to give a favorable answer to our petition. And that her puissant majesty may know in what numbers our troops consist, we send you a list as follows:

" ACHMED

" ACHMED KHAN the OUSMAI has	-	-	-	12,000 men 1742.
" The tribe ^a of APARZ	-	-	-	13,000
" ACHMED KHAN lord ^b of SCHUNKETIN	-	-	-	2,700
" In the districts of KANSCHUKUL	-	-	-	8,000
" In ABY	-	-	-	5,000
" In ABUGAL and KALACKSKY	-	-	-	7,000
" In CARACK ^c	-	-	-	7,500
" In the districts of KUSTI 500. In KLY 2,500	-	-	-	3,000
" In GEDAT 4000. In KINJODE 1000; and in KURADA 1000	-	-	-	6,000
				<hr/> 66,200 ^d

THESE people, known to the world, but particularly to the PERSIANS, for their bravery and steady love of liberty, now defended themselves against the conqueror of INDIA, the most powerful of all the monarchs of the east. NADIR saw, though too late, that he had committed a very false step; nor could he retire, without weakening his interest in PERSIA, and his reputation in general. He was sensible moreover that these very LESGEEES would be encouraged by his retreat, to insult all the frontier country, and treat the PERSIANS in those parts as a conquered people, unless he employed a more numerous body of forces to guard SHIRVAN, than consisted with his other designs. However, of the two evils, it seemed the greatest to waste his time and destroy his troops, when he might employ them usefully in other important projects.

FROM this time we find NADIR secretly disgusted with the RUSSIAN court; however, after his return into PERSIA he sent for the minister of her imperial majesty who attended the army, and told him, " that he was surprized it ever should be " imagined he intended to invade the RUSSIAN dominions; that it was true he had " not been treated with respect, RUSSIA having failed to send a solemn embassy to " congratulate him on his exaltation to the throne of PERSIA; but as he understood " there had been great changes at ST. PETERSBURG, he excused that formality: " at the same time he desired the minister to dispatch a courier to his court to inform the empress, " that he was intirely disposed to support the peace and good understanding which subsisted between the two empires."

DURING the course of this unfortunate expedition in the north, affairs in the south seemed to presage as little felicity to PERSIA. TAGHI KHAN who commanded in SHIRASS, was sent by the king into the country of NIMROUZ ^e, in quality of general and admiral, with orders to build ships at BENDER EBOU CHEHRE. This KHAN was no sooner arrived upon the coast; than he demanded of the FRENCH, the DUTCH, and other EUROPEAN NATIONS, ships and ship-builders: and at length, either by money or forcible measures, he obtained a fleet of ships. One great instance of NADIR'S

^a HORDA.

^b BEG.

^c These I presume are the CARACAITA, who distressed

NADIR'S army so much.

^d This number seems greatly to exceed what these people have been generally thought able to bring into the field, tho' the several divisions of them may have easily created mistakes as to their strength.

^e I find most of the maps which have fallen under my inspection, are very deficient with regard to these places. The ARABS inhabit the north coast of the PERSIAN gulf, and part of the banks of the TIGRIS and EUPHRATES, besides their proper country of ARABIA.

1st 42. NADIR'S cruelty exercised towards the people at this time, was that of obliging them to cut timber in MAZANDERAN^a, and transport it to BENDER ABASSI. In a strait line, this is six hundred and sixty miles, and if we consider the circuit they must take to render the road practicable, we must calculate at least one third more: so that it was very plain from this proceeding, that he did not so much consider how things were to be done, as that his commands should be executed at all events. Great quantity of timber was cut on this occasion; but very little if any of it was transported farther than the district of VERAMEH, where it probably remains to this day.

THE ARABIAN IMAM or chief of MESCAT being deposed, fled with his family and treasures on board his ships then in the port, and sailed to KHURFEKIAN^b, where he landed. From thence he proceeded to JUFAR, where was TAGHI KHAN with the PERSIAN forces. His intention was to put himself under the protection of the PERSIANS, on condition they would assist him to recover his dominions from his rebellious subjects; but his design being discovered, several of his followers abandoned him, and carried the vessels again to MESCAT. This incident was attended with the junction of the HOULES and MESCATS. The new chief of the latter being informed that TAGHI KHAN, at the instigation of the deposed IMAM, intended to direct all his force against that city, retired with his troops to MATRA, a place a league distant. MESCAT being thus abandoned, the PERSIANS entered it without any precaution: and the ARABIANS taking advantage of the false security of their enemies, surprized and put them to the sword. The MESCATS were also victorious at sea.

WHEN NADIR WAS thus engaged in war by land and sea, and at the same time forming a great army with design to act against the TURKS, PERSIA groaned under the burden of insupportable taxes. The treasures of INDIA served only to increase the misery of the people, by affording them a frequent and melancholy subject of reflection on the avarice of their king. Notwithstanding the vast projects which NADIR had formed, and the numerous forces he was preparing, in order to carry his designs into execution, he had not yet touched his INDIAN treasures, since they were deposited at KALAT. What could be the effect of such a conduct? Exorbitant taxes, exacted with all the aggravating circumstances which inhumanity can suggest, drove thousands to despair. Whole villages and towns retired into the mountains, to avoid the barbarous treatment shewn them by the SHAH'S collectors. Crowds of the people fled into the northern parts of INDIA, where their king had so lately triumphed; and great numbers put themselves under the protection of the TURKS. On the southern coast some fled into ARABIA; and not a few took every opportunity of transporting themselves by sea into the MOGHOL'S empire. In the heart of PERSIA things took the same course. The ARMENIANS and others, who were equally distressed by exactions, left their habitations under the pretence of commerce or religious pilgrimages; insomuch that the RAHDARS^c were ordered to examine

^a See Vol. I. page 150.

^b This place is on the southern coast of the PERSIAN gulf.

^c RAHDAR is the term given to those who are fixed at certain posts in the highways, either to examine passengers, or receive toll. According to an antient establishment, they are obliged to support a certain number of men, to patrol and keep the road clear; and upon this account are entitled to a tax upon all caravans of merchandize, as well as passengers.

examine passports. The freedom of egress, which used to prevail, was much interrupted, on this occasion, orders being given to the DARUGAS^a, and also to the RAHDARS of great cities, not to let any one pass near the frontiers without passports. As these were responsible if any person missed them, they were very vigilant in their duty. The PERSIANS usually travel with their women, and all the furniture necessary to life; under these circumstances it was very difficult for them to escape, had they been sure of bread in foreign climates.

THIS was one great reason why JULFA^b was not totally abandoned by the ARMENIANS. The government of ISFAHAN, which is reckoned twenty-four leagues long, and as many broad, comprehends the districts of TCHI, MARBIN, KIERARIDGE, KAHAB, BARAAN, PERHAYAR, ELKHAN, and ROUNDESTER. Some of these were formerly well peopled; but now they exhibited only a dreary waste, most of the inhabitants being fled or dispersed: numbers had taken a precarious refuge in the mountains of LORISTAN; their lands were left untilled, and their houses mouldered into ruins. In short, all the distresses of an unsuccessful war, or the invasion of a barbarous enemy, could not plunge the people into greater misery than the victories of their tyrannical king, who seemed more solicitous to humble his own subjects, than his enemies.

THIS conduct was not less owing to the little love he bore to the PERSIANS, than to his apprehensions of their seditious spirit, which he dreaded more than the armies of the INDIANS, TURKS, or TARTARS. If he could have cut the PERSIANS off at one stroke, as CALIGULA wished in regard to the ROMANS, it is not unreasonable to believe that NADIR would have rejoiced to have done it; had it been possible to re people the country from any other quarter. Every circumstance of his conduct seemed to prove this; since without altering his measures, which gave such high provocation to rebellion, his chastisements were so extreme, that he was not satisfied without killing or putting out the eyes of all^c the people, who appeared in arms against him.

DURING the course of this year, the PORTE was agitated with variety of fears, in regard to the armies of PERSIA. The name of NADIR had spread such a terror on the minds of the TURKS six years before, as this period of time had not subdued. The revolt of the ARABIANS, who often blockaded BASSORA, was a further circumstance of alarm, lest these people should join their enemy, for as such they considered NADIR SHAH, though he had not yet declared himself.

THE conferences held at ERZEROUM in JANUARY produced no effect. NADIR had ordered his son with a body of fifty thousand men to remain in and about HAMADAN, where he caused a great quantity of artillery to be cast. The TURKS therefore thought it necessary to keep a numerous body of troops in the confines of BAGDAD: but the hopes of accommodation still continuing, the GRAND SIGNIOR sent MURIFF EFFENDI into DAGISTAN, where he desired an audience. NADIR declined entering into this business, but promised the TURKISH minister to give him an answer on the plains of MOGAN. After his expedition against the LESGEES, he explained

^a Lieutenant of the police.^b The suburb of ISFAHAN.^c Vol. I. p. 215.

1742 plained himself in some measure, by requiring the restitution of all the provinces in ARMENIA, ASIA MINOR, and GEORGIA; which were formerly conquered by TAMERLANE. The TURKS were so alarmed at this declaration, that besides the great army which was assembled near BAGDAT, another was ordered to meet on the banks of the EUPHRATES near ERZEROUM.

TOWARDS the close of the year, NADIR wrote a letter to the GRAND SIGNIOR, couched in general terms, in which he expressed an inclination to cultivate a good understanding with the PORTE. He also wrote to the BASHA of BAGDAT, making proposals of accommodation in terms, as if the two powers had already been engaged in a war. These steps were considered in no other light, than as a design to lull the court into an easy security; and by no means relieved the inquietude of the SULTAN and his ministers.

THE SWEDES having declared war the middle of this year against the RUSSIANS, they made great solicitations at the OTTOMAN court, to engage the TURKS to break with their enemies, in order to create a powerful diversion in favor of SWEDEN. The TURKS, however, saw the danger on the side of PERSIA too well, to be drawn into any such snare; especially as they had so lately accommodated their differences; nor did that most remarkable revolution which happened in RUSSIA at the close of the last year, occasion any change in the measures of the PORTE.

WHAT served to support the spirits of the GRAND SIGNIOR was the reduction of the ZU-BEIT and MUDANS, two tribes of ARABIANS, who had revolted. ACHMED BASHA finding that these people had offered to put themselves under the protection of NADIR SHAH, sent SULIMAN, his lieutenant*, with a considerable body of forces, who defeated those ARABIANS, and returned home with a rich booty. The TURKS have often occasion to use severity on these people, who are naturally turbulent and inconstant. To keep them poor therefore has generally been the best expedient to keep them humble. The successes which SULIMAN had obtained, were likely to answer a double purpose, by awing these tribes, and by intimidating others.

THE TURKS were also relieved from their anxiety, with regard to the designs which the PERSIANS might have formed against BASSORA. NADIR had caused several magazines of provisions to be collected on the frontiers of that district; but in SEPTEMBER he ordered them to be sold. This was a circumstance happy to this city and its neighbourhood in two respects. The war with the ARABIANS had occasioned a scarcity, while ACHMED BASHA not chusing to trust to the professions of his friend NADIR, had amassed great quantities of provisions in those parts, and sent them to BAGDAT. This supply was therefore the more welcome to BASSORA, where the swelling of the EUPHRATES had occasioned an inundation, which produced an epidemical disorder.

WE have lately seen an instance of the force of gain, with regard to the RUSSIANS: the love of it often triumphs over every other consideration. The TURKS reaped some benefit from buying of these provisions; but at the same time they sold great

* KIAYA OR KIHAYA.

great numbers of horses in KOURDISTAN, and other places in the OTTOMAN dominions, to the PERSIANS. A course of uninterrupted campaigns had so far ruined the PERSIAN cavalry, that they could not have continued the war against the TURKS, without these succours: notwithstanding which the avarice of the BASHAS and governors induced them to connive at the practice, insomuch that this year above sixty thousand horses, besides a great number of camels and mules, were sold by the TURKS and ARABIANS for the use of NADIR's army.

C H A P. III.

NADIR's projects to distress the TURKS. Critical circumstances of ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT. NADIR leaves DAGISTAN. Intrigues of the OTTOMAN court. NADIR sends ambassadors to BAGDAT. The GRAND SIGNIOR declares war against the PERSIANS. NADIR's plan of operations for the campaign.

THE dread of war still perplexed the affairs of the OTTOMAN court. That very conformity of religion, which they had so earnestly solicited, in order to prevent the effusion of blood, now became an object of their terror. The decree which NADIR had published upon his accession to the throne, not seeming to operate effectually on the minds of the PERSIANS, towards the close of this year he caused it to be proclaimed, that as he had acknowledged the belief of the SUNNIS for the orthodox faith, he required all his subjects to follow his example.

UNDER the circumstances of fear, this declaration created a suspicion in the TURKISH ministry, that it was an artifice of NADIR SHAH, by imitating the conduct of ASHREFF^a, to taint the minds of the TURKS with religious prejudices; and the same success which that prince had met, with regard to his security against the TURKS, NADIR might possibly find in his conquest of TURKEY.

ACHMED, BASHA of BAGDAT, was critically situated between the powerful and ambitious NADIR, and the jealousy of the TURKISH court: the former, tho' he professed himself a friend to the BASHA, aspired at the conquest of BAGDAT; whilst the latter was concerned to see this government already in some degree dismembered from the OTTOMAN empire. Had BAGDAT been in less skilful hands, it might very probably have fallen a sacrifice to the PERSIANS; and yet many of the TURKS gave ACHMED BASHA the odious appellation of NIZAM AL MULUCK, in allusion to the treachery which was imputed to that INDIAN lord, as already related.

IN whatever light the conduct of the BASHA might appear to the PORTE, it was his parts and generosity which supported him, and not his treason. By these he engaged the friendship of almost every one who had any connexion with him: his officers served him with the utmost fidelity, and considered their own fortune as inseparable from his. But this generosity had likewise its mixture of evil, as by this

^a See Part X. Chap. VI. of this volume.

1742. this means his coffers were generally empty; inſomuch, that he was often obliged to demand money from the court. He had now exacted fix hundred purſes^a from the ARABIANS, whom his lieutenant, SULIMAN BASHA, had lately defeated. The JEWS of BAGDAT were alſo obliged to ſupply him with two hundred purſes. Their chief banker was accuſed of an illegal commerce with the daughter of a TURKISH EMIR^b, and would have ſuffered death, if they had not paid this pecuniary mulct, together with ſeven hundred purſes which was due to the banker from the BASHA; but this event, whether the JEW was really guilty or not, ballanced the account.

THE good underſtanding which was ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt between NADIR SHAH and the governor of BAGDAT, gave the TURKS no ſmall inquietude. They were in no condition to compel him to give up his government; and out of fear of driving him to any deſperate expedient, they diſſembled their apprehenſions, and worked ſecretly to accompliſh their purpoſe. Among other ſteps, the court ſent ſeveral BASHAS to BAGDAT with troops, under pretence of putting the city in a ſtate of defence againſt the armies of PERSIA; but this expedient did not take effect. The BASHA ſaw through the diſguiſe which the court put on, and reſuſed to give any admittance to thoſe troops, repreſenting to the GRAND SIGNIOR, that his own forces were ſufficient to defend the city and its diſtrict.

IF ACHMED could have been ſuppoſed capable of joining his forces to NADIR SHAH, with a view to conquer TURKEY, ſuch a junction was practicable; but if he had no ſuch deſign, (as indeed how could a man of his parts commit ſo groſs an abſurdity?) the conduct of the OTTOMAN court was very imprudent with regard to her own ſafety. The circumſtances of the BASHA rendered it neceſſary, that the GRAND SIGNIOR ſhould be kept in fear of the PERSIANS, as a deciſive blow on either ſide might oblige him to yield up his government; and it was plain enough that NADIR was preparing for ſome important enterprize.

HAD the TURKS been in circumſtances of ſupporting a war againſt PERSIA, the perplexed condition in which NADIR found himſelf in DAGISTAN, rendered the occaſion favorable; however, it was ſome conſolation to them, that the rapid courſe of his arms had met ſuch a check, as might afford them time to collect troops, and alſo treaſure to ſupport them.

1743. IN FEBRUARY this year, NADIR abandoned his enterprize on DAGISTAN; and leaving DERBEND, he marched to the plains of MOGAN, not without apprehenſions that the TURKS would make ſome irruption into his dominions, before he could put himſelf at the head of his forces.

THE GRAND SIGNIOR had reaſon to be perſuaded that he never ſhould have a ſolid peace with NADIR, till he had an opportunity to humble him. The PORTE was willing

^a Six thouſand pounds. ^b We may obſerve in how different a light the conduct of the TURKS and PERSIANS appears. Formerly, the latter were equally ſtrict with regard to their women, but we find, under NADIR's reign, all diſtinctions of MAHOMMEDAN and CHRISTIAN were levelled. See Vol. I. page 210, 211. It is true the JEWS are held in much greater abomination than the CHRISTIANS.

willing to think, that his successes arose from his intrigues, and the force of his bribes, as well as his valor and military knowledge. Upon this principle, they began to consider him as less dangerous, in a presumption that he would have no advantage over them by treasonable practices. Their eyes being also more open to their interest, they saw the fault which they had committed, in losing many favorable opportunities; and prepared in the most effectual manner to take measures to free themselves from any future alarms.

THE VIZIR ALI BASHA employed all his skill and interest to displace ACHMED, BASHA OF BAGDAT: he even carried his resentment so far, as to tamper with OSMAN BASHA, commander of the citadel of BAGDAT; and to promise him the government of the city and province, if he could by any means remove ACHMED. This proposal not being accepted, the vizir, according to the ordinary course of eastern intrigues, tried ACHMED; and orders were dispatched to him to send the head of OSMAN. Being surprized at so extraordinary a commission, in prejudice to a man against whom he had no cause of complaint, he acquainted OSMAN with the affair. This produced an explanation on both sides: the mutual confidence which from thence arose, established their friendship; and they had soon after the pleasure of seeing their enemy dispossessed of his office. ACHMED was at length confirmed in his governments, both of BAGDAT and BASSORA; the GRAND SIGNIOR's decree for this purpose arriving in APRIL. The court had wisely judged this to be the best expedient, to remove the offence given the BASHA, together with their own jealousy.

It is probable that NADIR made some attempt to corrupt ACHMED. The vile principles of other men, which he had so often found subservient to his ends, might have induced him to play off his diabolical engines, and try the efficacy of gold. MYRZA ZEKI, a person much in the confidence of NADIR, was sent by him to BAGDAT, in the character of ambassador to the BASHA, who received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and a profusion of magnificence. The ambassador acquainted the BASHA, that his master intended to make the pilgrimage of IMAM ALI, and other places in the neighbourhood of BAGDAT, where the PERSIANS were wont to pay their devotions; and that he would send four KHANS with troops to escort him. The BASHA could by no means relish this information, as it seemed to conceal some secret design foreign to the pretence of religion; however, in return for the honor which had been done him in this embassy, he sent his kinsman MAHOMMED KIAYA, as well to attend the ambassador, as to carry letters and magnificent presents for NADIR: among the latter were ten beautiful horses richly caparisoned. This embassy produced no other effect, than to confirm that esteem which the PERSIAN king had always expressed for the BASHA.

WHILST these negotiations were carried on, the PORTE saw the storm ready to burst forth. The eleventh of JUNE the horses tails were hung out of the seraglio at CONSTANTINOPLE as a signal of war. At the same time orders were given to strengthen the OTTOMAN army on the banks of the EUPHRATES near ERZEROU.

THE

* This officer they call MUHOPIZ. They have generally governors of citadels distinct from the city and province.

1743. THE PERSIANS had already commenced hostilities; and BASSORA and BAGDAT were invested almost at the same time, the former by a body of thirty thousand PERSIANS, who were joined to some tribes of ARABIANS. They took immediately the fort of GURDILAN on the side of the river opposite to that city, they also ravaged several small towns and villages, and put many of the inhabitants to the sword, taking their women into slavery. The territories of BAGDAT, which were hardly recovered from the calamities they had suffered ten years before, were also pillaged and laid waste.

THE TURKS however collected a great army on the side of ERZEROU, and another at DIARBEEKIR, and determined to make head against the enemy. The PERSIAN troops which were before BASSORA and BAGDAT, were therefore ordered to leave those places and join at MOSUL, and from thence to advance to DIARBEEKIR. The plan for the operations of the campaign being formed, NADIR himself at the head of a great body of forces marched to VAN, with a design to hem in the TURKS at ERZEROU, and force them to a battle; and then to attack the OTTOMAN dominions in two different parts at the same time, and push his conquest as far as the capital. He had been some time making preparations to take the field; but he did not begin the campaign with so much ardor as in his former war against the TURKS. The repulse he had met in DAGISTAN, had in some degree diminished his reputation; whilst the acquisitions which his troops had made in INDIA, rendered them to all appearance less desirous of war.

THE love of ease, and the cultivation of the arts of peace, will ever be grateful to mankind; but even success in war must tire and distress. The most fortunate campaigns have generally been attended with great labor, and seldom without the loss of many lives to the victors; yet according to the common notions of mankind, to wade through rivers of blood is the glory of military achievements: so much does a vicious self-love counteract the great designs of Providence.

C H A P. IV.

The TURKS put themselves in a state of defence. The BACTIARIS and BALOUCHES revolt. The TURKS send a pretender into PERSIA, who is joined by a great body of LESGEES and PERSIANS in SHIRVAN. They are defeated by the PERSIAN forces under the command of NESR ALI MYRZA. Rebellion of TAGHI KHAN in SHIRASS suppressed.

AFTER a campaign of near fourteen years, the ardor of the PERSIAN soldiers began to abate, whilst the TURKS recovered from their apprehensions. MOSUL was put in a condition of defence, and the PERSIANS endeavoured in vain to make themselves masters of it: they lost a great number of men before the town, and were obliged to raise the siege. ALI BASHA, governor of DIARBEEKIR, commanded a numerous army, and had taken all the precautions of an experienced general, to

stop

stop their progress, had they even succeeded at MOSUL; but that blow failing, prudence forbid their advancing, whilst an unconquered country remained behind them. 1743.

NADIR found the TURKS every where prepared for his reception: a number of fortified towns, defended by an enemy become brave by their experience, seemed resolved neither to be won by his intrigues, nor to be subdued by the terror of his name. Superiority of numbers, and the mere dint of valor were therefore his only resources; and as he was sensible that his conduct had rendered the PERSIANS every where ripe for a revolt, the loss of a battle would probably have been his ruin. As the TURKS kept only on the defensive; the issue of the war could not easily be determined by any decisive blow. Under these circumstances NADIR retired to the neighbourhood of KERKOU, where the TURKS suffered him to remain unmolested.

In the mean while near two thousand families of the BACTIARIS, whom the PERSIAN king had transported to the province of KHORASAN, returned to their own country; where they retired into the mountains, resolving to shake off the PERSIAN yoke. NADIR being apprehensive that others would follow their example, sent a great body of OUSBEGS to keep them in awe. The BALOUCHES also refused to send any further supplies of men or money; and a body of PERSIAN troops, which had marched against them, was defeated.

A GREAT part of the frontier country to the south, and also the inhabitants of the sea-coast, finding NADIR's government insupportable, took up arms at the same time; TAGHI KHAN, the governor of FARSISTAN, followed their example. This KHAN was also a BEGLERBEG, and had been much esteemed by NADIR: he was permitted to wear the heron's feather on the left side, and to ride upon an elephant; which was not granted but to two or three persons in the whole empire. The several expeditions which this KHAN had made against the MASCATS, having been attended with very ill fortune, his reputation with the king was much declined. KHALBELLI KHAN, a relation of the SHAH, and an officer under TAGHI KHAN, was become so great an object of jealousy to NADIR, that he gave orders to TAGHI KHAN to send him his head; but the BEGLERBEG made use of his interest with his master, and saved KHALBELLI. Soon after TAGHI KHAN himself was suspected of treason; and under pretence of esteem and great confidence, NADIR charged his relation to send the KHAN prisoner to the camp. The mutual regard which subsisted between these two lords, naturally produced an explanation; and they both saw that their security depended only on their abilities to oppose the tyrant, whom late disappointments had rendered extremely cruel.

UNDER these circumstances, they previously concerted their measures, and resolved to rebel. To facilitate this design, it was agreed that TAGHI KHAN should set out for the camp, as if he meant to give an account of himself to the SHAH; and that KHALBELLI should in a day or two send after him, upon the pretext that a rebellion was breaking out, and therefore his presence became absolutely necessary at SHIRASS. Accordingly the BEGLERBEG returned, and under pretence that the neighbouring people had taken up arms against the king, he collected a body of

H h h 2

troops

1743. troops to the number of seven thousand, and seized all the naval force on the PERSIAN gulf.

WHILST these storms were gathering in the south, the TURKS thought the occasion very favorable to foment a rebellion in the north. The most proper instruments for their purpose were the LESGEES. The resentment of these people for the attempts against them the preceding year, made them wish for some good opportunity of distressing the PERSIANS. The TURKISH ministry were sensible that NADIR's government was already become odious; and that possibly any pretender they might set up under the notion of being of the royal blood of the SEFFIE family, might make a diversion in their favor. For this purpose therefore they engaged a certain PERSIAN named SAUN^a, who pretended to be the younger son of SHAH HUSSEIN. The TURKS also insinuated that SEFFIE MYRZA, the elder son, was yet alive under their protection. SAUN had made his appearance in PERSIA some years before, in the habit of a DERVEISH, privately insinuating that he affected that garb to conceal his birth: he was then taken by IBRAHIM KHAN, NADIR's brother, who, in contempt, cut off the tip of his nose, and set him at liberty. This man was from that time called BINNIE BURIDE, or snip-nose.

THE inhabitants of SHAMAKIE now received the pretender with great demonstrations of respect, and he soon collected an army to the number of sixteen thousand men, of which the greatest part were LESGEES. These brave mountaineers had made incursions in the neighbourhood of DERBEND from the time of NADIR's leaving that city; and kept the garrison in perpetual alarms. Taking the advantage of the night, they laid a quantity of gunpowder in the broken parts of the walls, and setting fire to it, did great mischief, tho' they could not accomplish the taking of the place: this artifice was repeated several times. They often came in large bodies, in the night, and letting fly clouds of arrows at the troops who guarded the walls, immediately changed their situation; so that the PERSIANS were at a loss how to aim their artillery. All the arts of persuasion, as well as violence had been used to bring these TARTARS to a submission. The garrison made repeated sallies, and had frequent skirmishes with them; both sides exercising cruelties unwarrantable by the law of arms^b. Those who surrendered themselves without fighting, and promised under an oath not to bear arms against the SHAH, were dismissed by the PERSIANS. A decree was also sent amongst the LESGEES, that whoever would trade with PERSIA, should be free of all duties, and that passports should be granted for the safety of their persons; but this had little or no effect.

THE continuation of these hostilities kept DERBEND almost in as great distress as when NADIR left it. All the males who were above sixteen, were obliged to bear arms; and the young women above fourteen, were given as wives to the new recruits, by an arbitrary act of the governor; whilst the scarcity was so great, that numbers died for want.

THE

^a This word is also pronounced SAAM.

^b It was not uncommon for the PERSIANS to cut off the legs of the LESGEES, or to cut out their eyes, with this cruel taunt, that they might then make the best of their way home.

THE beginning of this year the pretender SAUN marched into SHIRVAN, at the head of an army mostly composed of LESGEES. They were pillaging at large, when a body of two thousand PERSIANS in NADIR'S interest, endeavoured to stop their progress, but were entirely routed. The whole province being thus threatened with desolation, NADIR sent his son NESR ALI MYRZA at the head of twenty-five thousand men. The LESGEES, in conjunction with great numbers of the people of the province, made an obstinate resistance; but after much bloodshed they were defeated near the conflux of the KURA and ARAS. It was here NADIR was chosen king; and on the same spot, where the people had given such proof of their weakness and corruption, was now erected a monument of their misery and distress. NADIR caused a pyramid of human heads^a to be built in token of his victory, and to deter the few remaining inhabitants from any future rebellion.

SAUN fled with seventy men only, but was soon taken. The SHAH ordered his son to cut out one of the eyes of this rebel, and that he should be then sent to the OTTOMAN court, with this message: "That NADIR disdained to take the life of "so despicable a wretch, though the GRAND SIGNIOR had espoused his cause, as a "descendant of the family of the SEFFIES^b."

THE consequence of this rebellion was the ruin of almost the whole province of SHIRVAN. In the mean while, the revolt of TAGHI KHAN became a very serious affair; he was one of the last of the ancient PERSIAN nobility, and tho' he had been unfortunate in his naval war against the ARABS, he had the reputation of an able statesman and a gallant officer; qualities which rendered him so much the greater object of jealousy. NADIR detached a body of eighteen thousand^c men to SHIRASS, under some of his most experienced generals. This was a force so much superior to that of TAGHI KHAN, that being in no capacity to meet them in the field, he shut himself up in the city.

WE have already seen, to what deplorable circumstances the city of SHIRASS, the capital of FARSISTAN, was reduced in 1724, and again in 1729: it was now once more doomed to be a scene of distress and slaughter. TAGHI KHAN defended the city for some weeks, but at length it was taken by storm: the inhabitants were punished with the utmost severity; and a great part of their effects were pillaged, under the pretence of sequestration, for the use of the king. Most of those who had been in arms were put to the sword, or deprived of sight. TAGHI KHAN, attended by a party of his friends, fled in the disguise of shepherds, but were soon discovered by the treachery of their own servants. He was brought to ISFAHAN with his favorite wife, and about forty of his nearest relations and dependents.

THIS lady was violated before her husband's face by a common soldier; which was the highest indignity that could be offered to this nobleman, and contrary to NADIR'S usual regard to women. His relations and friends were put to death; and himself,

^a See Vol. I. page 269.

^b It was remarkable, that SAUN was thus suffered to escape for the second time. He was a rank predestinarian, and concluded that he was yet reserved for some extraordinary event.

^c The twenty-five thousand men, mentioned in Vol. I. page 15, part of them I imagine were sent against the other rebels in that neighbourhood.

1744. himself, after being deprived of one of his eyes, was castrated. Strict orders were given, that all possible care should be taken, that the operation should not affect his life. It was said, that NADIR had made an oath^a never to put TAGHI KHAN to death; and was therefore wanton in his cruelty, without touching the life of this lord. It is probable, that the SHAH thought him an honest man, and a more able general, than many belonging to his army; and as he had given him his life, expected from him the greater marks of fidelity. Upon what other principle can we reconcile NADIR's conduct; who, after thus gratifying his resentment, gave this KHAN the government of CABUL? What particular circumstances might induce him to take so extraordinary a resolution, my authorities do not mention: it seems to be an effect of that caprice and whim, which we find upon many occasions, as if he affected to establish a rule of conduct, contrary to the fundamental principles which common experience has taught mankind^b.

C H A P. V.

Rebellion of ASTRABAD. ENGLISH merchants plundered. NADIR returns from TURKEY into PERSIA. Report concerning his abdication. Distress of PERSIA. The TURKS make great preparations for war. NADIR marches into the TURKISH dominions. Battle fought near ERIVAN. The TURKS defeated.

THE flames of civil war now spread themselves like a torrent. In JANUARY this year, the KHAJARS of ASTRABAD also threw off the yoke, and chose MAHOMMED HASSAN^c as their leader. After joining a body of TURKUMAN TARTARS their neighbours, they took the capital of the province, seized the SHAH's treasure, and plundered a valuable caravan belonging to the BRITISH RUSSIA company, who were at this time attempting to open a new trade over the CASPIAN sea to MESCHED, now considered as the capital of the empire.

THERE cannot be a greater demonstration of the fatal effects of a tyrannical government, than the extreme rashness of the inhabitants of this province. MAHOMMED HASSAN had held a correspondence with SAUN, and acknowledged him as sovereign. He proposed, that whilst SAUN was conquering on the western coast, he would reduce the southern parts bordering on the CASPIAN sea. It was with difficulty he raised a little army of three thousand men; and SAUN, tho' he headed sixteen

^a It seems as if oaths were deemed very sacred things among the MAHOMMEDANS, and that the vilest of men were not vile enough to disregard their engagements, to which they call the Almighty to witness.

^b Mr. OTTER mentions, that TAGHI KHAN no sooner arrived at CABUL, than he rebelled; but I never heard that CABUL did rebel till after the death of NADIR SHAH, or just before, when THAMARAS KHAN commanded the PERSIAN forces on the INDIAN side. It is true, that many events have happened, which for want of correspondence, and from the wild disorders of a country rent with civil wars, have never reached EUROPE. I have already observed, that for my own part I adopt only what I have particular reason to believe is true, and those events which appear but imperfectly related, with regard to circumstances, the reader will ascribe to the manner in which they have been handed to us. ^c The son of FATEY ALI KHAN, mentioned in page 266.

teen thousand, was not able to support himself against the numerous forces of NADIR; yet the temptation of plundering the treasure and caravan, drew the infatuated followers of HASSAN into destruction. The minute circumstances of this rebellion are related in my first volume^a. I have therefore only to add, that this army of KHAJARS and TURKUMANS were in the following month defeated by fifteen hundred of the SHAH's troops from KHORASAN; and by their loss in battle, executions, and sequestrations, the whole province was ruined. From this time NADIR took the resolution of sending a body of forces, and to build a fort on the eastern coast of the CASPIAN, with a view to awe the TURKUMANS; but the want of water in their desert prevented the execution^b.

WHETHER reasons of policy, or any other motive prevailed, NADIR certainly gave frequent proof of his regard to equity; and there is a justice due to the worst of men. That which was shewn on this occasion to the BRITISH merchants, ought to be remembered; for he caused the whole amount of their loss to be paid to their factors.

THE fortune of this eastern spoiler seemed now to decline very fast: and the general defection of the PERSIANS rendered the prospect of his future reign very gloomy. The flames of rebellion, which thus broke out in so many different quarters, reduced him for the present to the necessity of abandoning his designs against the TURKS; and in the month of MARCH this year^c, he returned into the plains of HAMADAN.

It is not said whether NADIR had any children by the aunt of SHAH TÆHMAS; but his unfortunate son RIZA KOULI MYRZA, to whom a sister of that prince had been given in marriage, had a son by her, whose name was SHAHROKH, now about ten years of age. It was suggested that NADIR designed to abdicate the regal power in favor of SHAHROKH, as being lineally descended on the mother's side from the SEFFIE family, and that himself would retire to KÆLAT to end his days in repose. This opinion seemed to arise rather from the confused state of affairs, than from the probability that NADIR really meant to abdicate the crown, or that he could consistently with his own safety give up the command of his army. Nor was it probable that SHAHROKH, who was born in such distracted times, whose father had been deprived of sight for rebellion against his own parent, and whose mother had poisoned herself, to avoid the cruel death of several of her relations, who were ripped up; it is not, I say, probable, that such a person, however entitled by birth, should ever arrive at a quiet possession of the regal dignity.

UNDER such distraction of the state, and the jealousy of the usurper, to name a successor would have been to dethrone himself in his own apprehension. Every thoughtful man foresaw^d what confusion must necessarily follow the death of NADIR, although this event was so much desired by the people. It was most natural to imagine,

^a Chapters XXX. XLII. XLVI.

^b See Vol. I. page 220.

^c See Vol. I. page 164, 165, 166.

^d I have often discoursed on the subject with the FRENCH jesuits in GHILAN, who foretold a great part of the calamities, which have since happened, as a natural consequence of that desperate state to which PERSIA was reduced.

1744. imagine, that as NADIR had put out the eyes of his eldest son RIZA KOULI MYRZA, the second son NEZR ALI MYRZA, should be considered as the presumptive heir of the PERSIAN diadem. This prince however gave no marks of a spirit equal to so dangerous a charge. ALI KOULI KHAN, the son of IBRAHIM KHAN^a, was therefore considered as the person most probable to succeed. This opinion was favored by his being made governor of KHORASAN, and by a certain popularity of conduct, not such as gave umbrage at this time, but tending to make impressions of his generosity.

I HAVE related in what misery^b PERSIA was involved by NADIR's avarice, joined to a restless spirit of conquest, and a fear of disbanding his army. In the most civilized countries we often find, that after a long series of war peace is attended with many evil effects, especially from the lawless conduct of those who want skill, industry, or honesty to get their bread. But in a country so lost to a sense of moral duties, and so impatient under the yoke of an usurper, NADIR's soldiers would have been the first to rebel, as soon as they should be discharged. They already cursed him, not in their hearts only, but with their tongues; declaring, that he had no sense of humanity, and therefore his talents as a soldier could never render him worthy to reign over them: besides, the native PERSIANS in his army were much inferior to the number of the TARTARS, and consequently the former considered themselves as acting under the influence of men whom they despised. The people in general, grown desperate by seeing their substance torn from them, were kept from rebellion no longer than they were awed by a military force. Yet they were reduced to so hard a dilemma, as to tremble at the prospect of a change.

SUCH was the situation of PERSIA in the middle of this year, when nothing could give a stronger proof how much mankind are scourges to themselves in consequence of their own villainy, than that a people who had been regardless of their lawful king, now groaned under the tyranny of an usurper who trod on their necks with such boundless cruelty. Nor was it less amazing how a country almost deserted, could find provisions to supply an army.

It is easy to imagine the satisfaction which the PORTE received at the rebellions in PERSIA, which made a discovery of the real weakness of their enemy. But they were still alarmed on account of ACHMED BASHA: the reluctance he had shewn to act against the PERSIANS, by which he designed to maintain himself the better in his government, was construed by his enemies at court as a desertion of his master's cause; and consequently that the least he could mean, was to erect an independent sovereignty.

THE TURKS, harrassed with war for so many years, grew clamorous, and a change in the ministry was threatened. Their fears perpetually represented NADIR SHAH as destroying their armies, and laying waste their country, without a prospect of peace.

The

^a IBRAHIM KHAN, NADIR's eldest brother, the same person who was killed by the LESGEEES. It was said that NADIR did declare ALI KOULI KHAN his successor; but the authority is the more to be doubted, as the thing appears inconsistent, whilst NEZR ALI MYRZA had so great a share in the command of the army.

^b Vol. I. page 156.

The court endeavoured by all possible means to soothe the people: it was even declared that a peace was concluded with PERSIA, by the interposition of ACHMED BASHA. The design of this was to remove the suspicions which were entertained of ACHMED BASHA, and at the same time to give the people hopes of repose. The court however had experienced such caprice, inconstancy, and want of faith in NADIR, that they could make no dependance on any treaty with him, but such as was made sword-in-hand. Many projects were formed to bring vast armies into the field: it was even proposed to embark some bodies of the CRIM TARTARS on the BLACK SEA, and land them at TREBISONDE; and to bring troops from EGYPT, and land them at ALEXANDRETTA, to endeavour by this means to cover their dominions in the ancient MESOPOTAMIA. In short, all possible expedients were tried to set bounds to so dangerous a neighbour, whose fortune had prevailed over the numerous rebellions raised against him.

In JULY, NADIR marched back again into the TURKISH dominions, seemingly with a view to support his troops in the enemy's country, which he could no longer do in his own. All the frontier of the TURKISH dominions had been so long a prey to great armies, that they were become waste. In the mean while, the taxes drawn from his people being insufficient for the current service, he was obliged to have recourse to his INDIAN treasure, but in such small proportions, as afforded very little relief to the people.

NADIR remained some time between CASBIN and HAMADAN, with an army of thirty thousand men; with these he awed his subjects, particularly the inhabitants of the coast of the CASPIAN, who were in general ripe for a revolt. In this situation he could also support a correspondence with his armies on the side of INDIA, and with that body of forces which he had left near KERKOUR. In the mean time he expected to be joined by his forces which had been sent to the south against SHIRASS, and the neighbouring country.

TOWARDS the close of this year, an action happened between the PERSIANS and TURKS, near CARS; but as it was by no means decisive, it served for little more than to support the spirit of animosity, and prevent that peace which the TURKISH ministry so anxiously sought: at least we do not find that the PERSIANS were driven out of the TURKISH dominions, nor that CARS was taken, agreeable to the common reports of that time. On the contrary, the TURKS maintained their ground with such resolution, as rendered all the attempts of the enemy abortive.

THE PERSIAN army passed the winter near their own frontiers. The SHAH seemed to think it necessary to keep himself in readiness against the intestine commotions of his own country, and at the same time to watch the motions of the TURKS, who were resolved to make their greatest efforts the next campaign.

NEAR the end of this year, ACHMED KHAN, a PERSIAN general, fled to CONSTANTINOPLE from the tyranny of the SHAH. The TURKS received him with diffidence, lest his pretended flight should be one of those stratagems which their artful enemy NADIR had so often played against them. The KHAN however gave them

1744. such convincing proofs of the real cause of his abandoning his late master, that he was received into the confidence of the TURKISH ministers. He flattered them into a belief, that if they would exert themselves, and send a large army into the field, the PERSIANS, being once intimidated, would desert in whole squadrons. This opinion was founded on his knowledge of the great disaffection of many of the officers and soldiers in the PERSIAN army.

THE LESGEEES, remembering their defeat in SHIRVAN, the beginning of last year, were anxious to see their haughty enemy humbled to the dust. For this purpose they sent two ambassadors to CONSTANTINOPLE, offering to assist the TURKS with a body of men, in consideration of a certain sum of money. They represented at the same time, how bravely they had defended their liberty against the usurper NADIR, and that they still persisted in their resolution of defending themselves. It had not been the custom of the LESGEEES for some ages to leave their mountains, to engage in the service of any foreign prince, nor have they often marched farther than SHIRVAN and GEORGIA to fight their own battles; but their present circumstances induced them to make this offer, to engage in the TURKISH service, as the SWISS do in that of FRANCE. The PORTE received these ambassadors with great marks of distinction, and gave them very fair promises; but we do not find that they were so satisfactory to the crafty LESGEEES, as to engage them to send any succors to join the OTTOMAN army: indeed it was not without the utmost difficulty the GRAND SIGNIOR could raise money to pay his national troops.

1745. This year began with preparations for the most powerful army which had yet appeared in the field against the PERSIANS, towards which SERVIA, BOSNIA, and ROMANIA, all contributed their quotas. This numerous army was to be assembled at CARS, in order to open the campaign by the first of APRIL. The TURKS seemed thus determined to make the most vigorous efforts, and free themselves from the dread of their enemy; which could not be done by keeping within their walls. This task was the more difficult, as a continued series of ill fortune had intimidated the OTTOMAN ASIATIC forces; neither were the EUROPEAN troops in the least disposed to pass over into ASIA, as it had generally proved their grave.

In the mean while, the suppression of the rebellions of SHIRVAN, SHIRASS, and ASTRABAD, had in some measure humbled the PERSIANS: though, groaning under a tyrannical government, they were in no condition to withhold their obedience. NADIR being satisfied that he had nothing to fear from his own people for the present, left his son NESR ALI MYRZA with a body of thirty thousand men on the frontiers of PERSIA, and marched his army the beginning of this year into GEORGIA, where he found it most easy to support them, without any danger of molestation. This step gave the TURKS some satisfaction, as it enabled them to form their army; and afforded a temporary relief to those towns, against which they apprehended the PERSIAN king would turn his arms.

If the TURKS were ambitious of striking a decisive blow, NADIR also behaved as if he meant to bring the war to an issue at one battle; for he took no measures to obstruct the junction of the OTTOMAN forces. About the middle of MAY he sent orders

orders to his son to advance towards ERIVAN, and near the end of JULY both the PERSIAN armies arrived in the neighbourhood of that city. 1745.

TWO years thus passed in rumors of war, and perpetual apprehensions of battles, without any blow being struck worthy of historical record: at length the fatal day arrived. The TURKS having had so long a time to compleat their army, their forces were more numerous than in any of the former campaigns against the PERSIANS: the SERASKIER, MAHOMMED BASHA, was at the head of a hundred thousand men. As soon as he heard of the motions of the PERSIANS, he left ERZEROU, and advanced to CARS, where he joined ABDALLAH KOUPROLI: the army under this BASHA consisted of thirty thousand men. The junction of these forces, supported by a numerous train of artillery, flattered the TURKS into a belief, that it was now their turn to triumph over an enemy who had been so long an object of their terror. MAHOMMED BASHA directed his course towards ERIVAN, and during his march, he drove several parties, consisting of four or five thousand PERSIANS, from their entrenchments and advanced posts.

NADIR SHAH was encamped with fifty thousand men about ten leagues from ERIVAN, and his son, NESR ALI MYRZA, with thirty thousand, was advanced near the same distance. The vanguard of the latter being met by the TURKS, a skirmish ensued, and the PERSIANS immediately retreated to join the main army commanded by the SHAH himself. Upon this, NADIR began to move, and sent a body of his forces to attack the TURKS in the rear, which was executed according to his intention. Being arrived within two leagues of the enemy's camp, he pitched his tents on a rising ground, nearest that body of the TURKS commanded by ABDALLAH BASHA. The main body of the OTTOMAN army was encamped advantageously, and defended by entrenchments, and a numerous artillery.

MAHOMMED BASHA had made some marches to meet the king of PERSIA, with design to give him battle. The third of AUGUST he detached a large body of cavalry, supported by a train of artillery; these troops being formed into order of battle, advanced upon the PERSIANS, whilst the BASHA kept his whole army in readiness to succour them. NADIR gave orders for a detachment of his troops, inferior in number to that of the TURKS, to meet them; and after the first discharge of their musquetry, to attack them with their sabres. The battle lasted from morning till noon with equal fortune, when the SHAH advanced in person at the head of a strong reinforcement, and brought on a general engagement. The TURKS disputed the victory with great obstinacy, but in the evening they retired to their camp in confusion. They lost above twenty thousand men, great part of them infantry, who were killed in the field of battle, besides a considerable number of prisoners. The PERSIANS pursued them as far as their trenches, and then returned to their own camp a little after sun-set.

A LOSS of such importance could not but dishearten the TURKS, who now seemed inclined to remain within their lines. The SHAH, taking advantage of the terror into which he had thrown the enemy, cut off their communication with CARS; by which means they were deprived of a support. Necessity therefore compelled them

1745. to leave their trenches a second time, not so much with design to give battle, as to make a desperate retreat. The eighth of AUGUST they advanced with a large train of artillery, and cannonaded the enemy with great fury. The PERSIANS supported the shock, and by the help of their own cannon drove them back into their trenches. The TURKS being now more closely blockaded in their camp; the ninth of AUGUST, as soon as night came on, they abandoned their entrenchments, and leaving their artillery and baggage, retreated towards CARS.

NADIR no sooner perceived their motions than he ordered a body of his men to follow them. The PERSIANS flung them into disorder, and made great havock: the next day as they followed the TURKS, five leagues on the other side the river ARPATSCHAI, a forced engagement ensued, in which the SERASKIER, MAHOMMED BASHA, was slain. The PERSIANS then returned in triumph to their camp with five thousand prisoners, and the head of the SERASKIER. The TURKS acknowledged their loss upon the whole to be twenty-eight thousand men, and three BASHAS, besides the commander in chief; among these was ABDALLAH KOUPROLI, the son of the SERASKIER KOUPROLI, who was killed in an engagement with the victorious NADIR nine years before.

IT is remarkable, that NADIR proceeded in this action with the utmost caution, not suffering any of his troops to enter the TURKISH camp after the enemy had deserted it, till he was certain that this was no stratagem to engage his men to plunder, and expose them to be attacked at a disadvantage. The loss of the PERSIANS on the occasion of this victory was about eight thousand men, and some of their generals: NADIR himself had two horses killed under him in the first battle.

THE remains of the TURKISH army arrived at CARS without baggage, artillery or ammunition, and without any order, discipline, or commanders of any note; inasmuch that the hopes of the whole campaign were frustrated; and their enemies remained masters of the field. However, they had less to fear from this event than from their former misfortunes in the PERSIAN war, since they had the utmost reason to hope that the farther NADIR marched into their country, the more he would be distressed by the rebellions which were ready to burst forth on every side of his PERSIAN dominions. The TURKISH ministry therefore still persisted in supporting the war; and in DECEMBER following the PORTE published a manifesto setting forth the reasons of this resolution, in order to convince the people of the necessity of this measure, till NADIR SHAH should accept proposals of peace less dangerous and dishonorable to the OTTOMAN empire than any he had offered. To confirm their resolution, the grand VIZIR sent orders that all the troops in NATOLIA should hold themselves in readiness to march, in order to join the army at CARS.

C H A P. VI.

NADIR makes a peace with the TURKS. The RUSSIANS send an ambassador to NADIR.

Revolt of the GEORGIANS. NADIR's barbarities at ISFAHAN and KHERMAN.

Revolt of TAMARAS KHAN, and ALI KOULI KHAN.

NADIR saw too well the danger impending from intestine commotions in PERSIA, to entertain any thoughts of pursuing his victories against the TURKS: he rather chose to enter into as speedy an accommodation with them as possible. For this purpose he sent ALI BEG, with a retinue of sixty persons, as ambassador to the GRAND SIGNIOR. The 17th of JANUARY this minister was conducted with the ordinary ceremonies to an audience of the OTTOMAN emperor, who received him with great marks of respect. The VIZIR at the same time informed him, that he might be assured, notwithstanding the misfortunes they had met with in the war with PERSIA, unless the SHAH would make propositions more consistent with the honor of the GRAND SIGNIOR, it would be impossible to agree to a peace. As this ambassador had no full powers to negotiate, but was chiefly charged with a letter expressing the good intentions of his master: the GRAND SIGNIOR replied, that he was sincerely disposed to conclude a peace, as soon as the SHAH would agree to such terms as might render it solid and lasting; and that in conformity to the SHAH's proposals of friendship, he would immediately order plenipotentiaries to the frontiers of PERSIA: that these, together with ALI BASHA the SERASKIER, who commanded at CARS, might agree with the SHAH on a place most convenient to open the conferences. Accordingly, towards the close of FEBRUARY, three ministers were dispatched, being a few days only before the departure of the PERSIAN ambassador from CONSTANTINOPLE. In order that these conferences should produce their effect, directions were given to hasten the preparations for the next campaign, in case NADIR should, according to his ordinary practice, amuse the TURKS with the notions of an accommodation, whilst he meant only to gain time for pursuing the war with the more vigor when it better suited his convenience. 1745.

It is very evident that he had no desire of peace with the TURKS, any otherwise than as his own preservation rendered it necessary. In the beginning of the last campaign he had declared in very familiar terms, what mighty presents he would make his soldiers, after he had set up his standard on the ramparts of CONSTANTINOPLE; a project not altogether improbable, could he have found the art of sacrificing his avarice to his ambition, and by that means deliver his people from the miseries under which they groaned. 1746.

It was remarkable in all the wars which NADIR waged against the OTTOMAN empire, that the EUROPEAN TURKS no sooner entered ASIA, than they became enervated. Besides, the cloathing of the TURKS being so much longer than that of the PERSIANS, the former were under a very great disadvantage in battle; and yet, such

The TURKS I am told have a method of tucking up their garments, but still they are not so much engaged as the PERSIANS.

1746. such is the reverence of mankind for the practice of their forefathers, or their jealous fears of changing for the worst, that we find the TURKS still adhere to the same military dress. In EUROPE, where superstition does not so much abound, or at least is differently modified, the custom of loading soldiers with unnecessary cloathing is changed, in almost every country distinguished for the knowledge of military affairs. To all appearance NADIR would have continued superior to the TURKS, unless he had pushed his fortune too far, as generally is the case with princes of his genie; but Providence sets the bounds, which they have not the prudence to fix.

AFTER the battle of ERIVAN, NADIR marched to HAMADAN, to wait the arrival of the TURKISH ministers, who were sent to prepare the way for MUSTAPHA EFFENDI, the GRAND SIGNIOR's ambassador. In order to prevent the evasive conduct which NADIR had ordinarily practised towards the TURKS, this ambassador was ordered to return to CONSTANTINOPLE before the year expired. The PORTE, sensible in what circumstances the SHAH was, had just grounds to believe that the happy period was at length arrived, in which they might agree to fix the boundaries of their respective dominions; and prevent that distrefs and effusion of blood, in which the ambition of the PERSIAN king had involved the OTTOMAN empire.

ALI BEG, the ambassador of NADIR SHAH, set out towards the end of MARCH, a few days after MUSTAPHA EFFENDI. He left the TURKISH court, with a view to make report to his master of the favorable sentiments of the GRAND SIGNIOR, with regard to their mutual tranquillity. In the mean while, fresh reinforcements were sent to CARS and ERZEROUM, in order to give the greater weight to their negotiations. The TURKS seemed resolved to suffer the inconvenience of supporting a very numerous army, rather than afford occasion to NADIR for making any exorbitant demands on them. The expence of maintaining these forces on the frontiers of their ASIATIC dominions was very great, the country being every where laid waste; yet this step seemed to be absolutely necessary, whilst NADIR was at the head of so formidable an army.

THE greatest part of this year passed in negotiations, till at length MUSTAPHA EFFENDI brought this important affair to a happy issue; and a peace was concluded, upon the foundation of that of AMURATH IV. except that the PERSIANS were to enjoy the liberty of making the pilgrimage of MECCA, without acknowledging the TURKISH jurisdiction; and to have also a liberty to establish a PERSIAN priest at the town of MESCHED ALI, near BAGDAT. The titles which NADIR assumed upon this occasion were, "The most exalted and most generous prince; brilliant as the moon, and resplendent as the sun. The jewel of the world; the center of the beauty of mussulmen, and of the true faith of MAHOMMED. This sovereign, whose troops are equal in number to the stars, and who sits on the throne of XERXES."

THE GRAND SIGNIOR, not to be out-done in pomp of words, arrogated the titles of "The sovereign who is the shadow of GOD; the mirror of justice; the asylum of the true believers; the king of kings, whose troops are equal in number to the stars;

“ stars; the true successor of the CALIPHS; the servant of the two sacred and noble cities^a; the lord of the two countries, and of the two seas^b; sultan, son of a sultan; the most powerful, the most formidable, most magnificent, most generous emperor SULTAN MAHOMMED the conqueror, son of MUSTAPHA the conqueror.”

THE SERASKIER, ALI BASHA, who commanded on the frontier of PERSIA, was ordered to return into EUROPE, to take possession of his government of ~~ESNIA~~. The GRAND SIGNIOR'S court was in great joy on account of this peace^c; especially as NADIR declared himself an adherent to the doctrine of HANNIFA, in opposition to those expounders of the MAHOMMEDAN law, whose opinion the PERSIANS had generally adopted. The renovation of their treaty with the courts of ST. PETERSBURG and VIENNA, added also to their satisfaction, and induced them to believe it would be permanent. The next great object of their attention, was the preparation of a splendid embassy to ISFAHAN, near which city NADIR was encamped with his forces. In the mean while, the PERSIAN monarch appointed MUSTAPHA KHAN his ambassador to the GRAND SIGNIOR.

WE have already observed that the RUSSIAN court had not yet sent any formal embassy to NADIR, since his accession to the throne of PERSIA: it was therefore thought high time to perform this ceremonial, and obviate the ill effects which a seeming disregard might produce, now that NADIR had no foreign enemy against whom to employ his forces. The impressions which the RUSSIANS as well as the TURKS had conceived, prevented in a great measure the belief, that the fate of this mighty conqueror was so near at hand. KNEZ GALITZEN was accordingly appointed ambassador^d on the part of her present imperial majesty of RUSSIA.

NADIR having left his northern dominions, sent into GEORGIA to demand all the sons of their nobility to attend his camp. A step of this nature could not but give these brave people great offence, especially as it seemed to indicate his jealousy of them, and that he meant to hold their sons as hostages, with a view to retain the people in their obedience. The GEORGIANS resolved to take up arms rather than submit; and to this they were the more induced, by the reports that the flames of rebellion had reached the eastern parts of PERSIA. Thus encouraged, they repulsed a body of PERSIAN troops, which were sent into their country to levy taxes, and keep them in awe.

WHILST NADIR was in the neighbourhood of ISFAHAN, he received intelligence that a rebellion was breaking out in the borders of KHORASAN. This province, which had received such distinguished marks of his favor, was reduced to the same degree of misery as the other parts of the empire^e: but the ABDOLLEES of HERAT were the most impatient of the yoke. Under these circumstances, what could be expected from the cruel avaricious NADIR? From an incessant fatigue and labor of mind, attended with some infirmities of body, he had contracted a disposition, which

^a MECCA and MEDINA.

The treaty was not signed till the 11th of JANUARY 1747.

Vol. I. Chapters LIV. LV. LVI. and LVIII.

^b Generally understood the ARCHIPELAGO and BLACK SEA.

^c See account of this embassy,

^e See Vol. I. page 296.

1746. which in the generality of mankind is called by the name of peevishness, but in him was a diabolical fierceness, with a total insensibility of human sufferings. His avidity, as common to sickly minds, increased with his years; and in order to indulge it, he seemed resolved to perform some master-stroke of cruelty. During his stay at ISFAHAN, he committed barbarities beyond any of the former years of his reign. This ancient city, long esteemed the paradise of the PERSIAN monarchy, had in common with all PERSIA felt the fatal consequences of invasions and civil wars. The tyranny of NADIR had made a great progress in that ruin, which he now seemed determined to complete. He made the heaviest exactions on the city and the adjacent country, and put to death numbers of the inhabitants: among these were several INDIAN and ARMENIAN merchants, whom he caused to be burnt alive. It was pretended that they had bought some horse caparisons belonging to SHAH HUSSEIN, from which they had cut off the pearls, without accounting with him for their full value. However true this might be, it could not be deemed a sufficient reason for such barbarities. It is probable, that he suspected the ARMENIANS held a correspondence with the rebel GEORGIANS; and that the INDIANS in their commerce with KANDAHAR, might take occasion to mention the state of affairs in the northern and western parts of the empire.

1747. IN JANUARY 1747, he left ISFAHAN, and marched with his forces to KHERMAN. Here his cruelties were not inferior to those he had exercised at ISFAHAN; being restrained by no ties of justice, nor the tears of the miserable; by no regards of hospitality, nor even the protection due to strangers: among other outrages, he caused the interpreter of the DUTCH factors to be beaten with sticks, after the PERSIAN manner, till he expired; pretending, that a PERSIAN of distinction had deposited in his hands a large sum of money.

FROM KHERMAN he proceeded to MESCHED, where he continued to practise the greatest barbarities; few persons of any note, whether military men or merchants, PERSIANS or ARMENIANS, escaped without the loss of one or both their eyes. He then directed his course to KÆLAT, the grand repository of his treasure. It was imagined, that he intended to put things in readiness for his reception in that strong place, after the execution of his projects.

UPON the breaking out of the rebellion in the province of HERAT, he had given orders to his nephew ALI KOULI KHAN, then at MESCHED, to march against the ABDOLLEES with a large body of forces; strictly enjoining him, that whatever the exigencies of affairs might be, not to unite his troops with those of TAMARAS KHAN. The latter commanded in the eastern frontiers, and was reputed a man of great experience and knowledge of war^a: he also had the same injunction with regard to ALI KOULI KHAN; however, they entered into a correspondence, which produced a mutual regard, and terminated in the junction of their forces.

NADIR was thus extremely alarmed; it seemed as if he was betrayed on every side, and most of all by his own nephew. Things being thus circumstanced, he wrote to ALI KOULI KHAN, to send TAMARAS KHAN to him as a prisoner; and apprehensive

^a It is said that this KHAN had formed a regiment of infantry after the EUROPEAN manner.