



“ I come only to request of you a travelling equipage, and some money to defray my charges.” This speech which was delivered with all the frankness of an old soldier, astonished the by-standers, and the Gentoo Prince more than any: he had his enemy in his power: nevertheless, struck with the General’s high character, and with the anecdote it brought to his mind, he thought his honor concerned in obliging him to the utmost of his power; and sending for his Steward and treasurer, he ordered them to comply with whatever directions Serbslend qhan should give them. A little before the end of the visit, the General having again mentioned the former friendship that had subsisted between him and the Gentoo Prince’s father, offered to renew the ties of it, and to strengthen them a new; he took down his own plain turban, and put it upon Abi-sing’s head, and raising up the latter’s turban, which was enriched with a variety of gems of mighty value, he put it (224) upon his own; after which they embraced each other again in token of friendship and brother-hood; and he departed content and satisfied to his own camp: where the money and equipage arriving soon after, he quitted the country and took his journey towards the Capital. But all this manœuvre gave much discontent at Court; and Qhand8öran informed that contrary to his own pleasure and to the Imperial command, he had dared to come to a battle with an Imperial Governor; after which only the General had thought of setting out for the Capital; he was exceedingly incensed; and he so far exasperated the Emperor against him, that a general order was sent to the guards of the high-ways to stop him whenever he should make his appearance, with injunctions to hinder his advancing one step farther until he had obtained a pardon for his misdemeanour. Moreover two hundred guards extraordinary, were sent, one half towards the road of Adjmir

(224) The turban being a very delicate piece of Malmal or thin Muslin of about two feet in breadth and from fifty to a hundred feet in length, may be embroidered; and in dresses of Ceremony, and in Qhyllants, it is embroidered; but cannot be enriched with jewels: the Surpitch, however, is often enriched with jewels. It is banded round the Turban close to the forehead, and accompanies the face elegantly. The Gentoo Prince probably wore on his Turban a Calghy; and this is always an aigrette of jewel work, and also a Ser-bend, which is also a piece of jewel work, and is layed flat on the fore part of the Turban.



and the other half towards that of Acber-abad, in which station they waited his coming. The General being arrived about this last City, was stopped short by the Imperial order, and forbidden from advancing farther. Ser-b8lend-qhan, obliged to tarry for several days at that city in order to deprecate the Emperor's displeasure and to obtain leave to proceed to court, was fet upon by the disbanded troops that accompanied him: they mutined, rose upon him, and fiercely asked their arrears, and were ready to commit insolencies. Luckily for him, that Saadet-qhan was then in that City: this Viceroy, who remembered to have once served under Ser-b8lend-qhan, and to have been promoted by him to a higher command, was shocked to hear the insults likely to be offered to his old commander; and he sent him a respectful message importing, "that if he were pleased to refer these mutineers and their arrears to him, his faithful servant and grateful well-wisher, he would undertake to satisfy their claims." This generous message instead of soothing the General's grief, served only to wound his pride: he politely declined the offer, and answered "that thanks be to Providence, matters had not come yet to such a height, as that he should prove burthenfome to his friends." After this answer, he went into the apartment of the Ladies (225), and taking some gold which he kept within for a resource, he discharged the arrears due to those troops, and the tumult subsided of itself.

THE inconsiderate and disgraceful insults that had been offered to so meritorious a man as Ser-b8lend-qhan; and the ungrateful and impolitical behaviour of the Ministers in general, put Nizam-el-mulk upon his own guard: he took warning and resolved to give them full occupation henceforward by engaging the Marhattas to invade Hindostan; he applied to Ba-

(225) It is needless to report here that we always translate the word *Haram* and *Haram-sira*, by the word sanctuary, and those words signify full as much, a place forbidden to any one, but it is not needless to repeat that publick money is often kept within the seraglio, as a place highly respected; and that private money, or rather the privy purse, is always kept there, even private men keep their money there.





Badjirão, the principal man of the Court of Saho Radja (226), who was a General of a high character in those parts and of a high pedigree, as drawing his origin from the Radjas Simbha and Sevāi, the founders of that Empire. He proposed to him to conquer the Malva from the hands of Radja G8rdhur, the actual Governor of that fine province; and to recover the Gudjrat from the hands of Radja Abi-sing-rathor; or at least to ruin and desolate those two countries, so as to render them of no use to his enemies. Nothing being more welcome at all times to the Marhattas than such proposals, Badjirão and the other Marhatta rulers, assembled a mighty army with which they invaded both the Malva and the G8djrat at one and the same time; in the latter they gained several advantages over Abi-sing's Lieutenants and plundered a great extent of country; but this was not the case in Malva: Radja Gurdhur, who commanded in that country with a small body of troops, could not bear to see his country ravaged; and being a man of valor and even of temerity, he engaged several times Badjirão, after having in vain requested assistance from the capital. His repeated supplications to the throne, and his representations to the ministers, produced nothing; and that brave man, having consumed his small force in that war of endless skirmishes, at last fell himself, and was stripped of the garment of existence. He was succeeded in his command by Radja Dia-bahadyr, a relation of his, and son to the brave Chébiléram; who pursuing Gurdhur's plan, did not cease to harass the Marhattas, giving them no rest, and taking none himself; and he wrote to the principal ministers, "that so long as he lived, he would prove like a wall in the passage of the enemy towards Hindostan; but that after his death the ministry might depend upon their spreading like an inundation all over the Empire." None of these representations produced any thing; and that brave man was at last slain in an engage-

The Marhattas, excited by Nizam-ul-mulk, invade the Malva.

Which is vigorously defended by its Governor.

(226) Sa8h-Radja signifies, it is said, the glorious King; Savāi is the name of that warlike Prince that gave so much exercise to Aorengzib, and sound means to plunder the rich city of Surat of one Coror.—But as we have been mentioning so many Gentoo words, it will not be improper to add the words of Sevāi, Nagur and Rhatar that occur in this work are names of clans or of Gentoo families of consequence





ment, in which he departed the confines of this fragile world. It was in the year 1143 of the Hedjra. The minister little affected by this death, appointed Mahmed-qhan-bangash to succeed him, with full powers to manage the affairs of Malva; and the latter advanced as far as Oodjēin; but as the country was ravaged on all directions by the Marhattas, he could not take root in it; and the court dissatisfied with his luke-warmness, gave his government to Radja Djehi-sing-sevāi. It was in the year 1145, and this was also done by Qhandö8ran's advice. The new Governor, who inclined to the Marhattas, by principle of religion, proved full as luke-warm in his administration; and did nothing worth notice. However his advice prevailed; for three years after, the Court, whether out of weariness, or out of some new principle in politics, thought proper to confer the government of that country on Badjirāo himself; and in that manner the Malva passed under the Marhatta dominion. Nor did the G8djrāt meet with a better fate: the Marhattas availing themselves of Abi-sing's incapacity and neglect, made themselves masters of the whole country; and this conquest, which occasioned an infinity of losses to the inhabitants, reserved only to exhibit in glaring colours, all the incapacity of the minister, and all the weakness of the administration. To remedy such disorders required the strong hand of valor, and the curbing grasp of zeal and prowess; but this was more than could be expected from a set of men destitute of personal courage, and lost to all sense of honor. And indeed what figure can the fox cut in the lion's den? and what can be expected from a wooden sword opposed to a keen steely-blade? Qhandö8ran having fancied to himself that the evils that were undermining the Empire of Hindostan could be remedied by dint of policy; and lost countries, recovered by art and cunning, expected to bring every thing into order again by a knack at negotiation, and by tricks of leger-de-main: he even had the folly to think that such powerful enemies as Nizam-el-mulk and the Marhattas, might be reduced to order by keen raillery, and overawed by a battery of bon mots playing in proper time.

The Marhattas conquer both the Malva and the G8djrāt.

This





This was just lighting a fire upon the surface of a piece of water. But in general this minister was exceedingly unlucky: every scheme which he projected, turned out to the detriment and dishonour of the Empire; so that the factious grandees, sensible of the debility of administration, were confirmed in their schemes of independence and revolt: the field of dissension grew wider and wider; and the materials of a revolution becoming daily more abundant, seemed now to be assembled in heaps. Such a state of things required quite another man than Qhandöbran: and to lop of that towering tree of insubordination and independence which was perpetually shooting forth new branches on all sides, required the sinewy arm of some active valorous prince, who after having felled it down with repeated blows of his battle-axe should find sagacity enough in himself to dig out all its roots, and to tear them one by one; Nothing less could answer the necessities of the state than the exertions of such vigorous ministers, as a Zolficar-qhan and a Hosséin-aly-qhan, two men, who with a strong arm, would have bent the necks of refractoryness within the string of their bows, and strangled it at once.

THE Marhattas now established in their conquests of Malva and G8djrät, found their views enlarged; and encouraged by the stillness and pusillanimity of an administration that seemed motionless, and gave but faint signs of life, they now commenced aspiring to some more acquisitions, being continually busy in providing quarrels with the Imperial governors their next neighbours: little by little they stretched their feet within the frontiers of the provinces, of Ecber-abad and Ilah-abad, drove the Fodjars next to their own conquests and insensibly extended their limits to the detriment of the Imperial territory. Whilst the Marhattas were perpetually encroaching on the Imperial territory, Mah-med-qhan-bangash, styled the Ghazenfer-djung, or Lion in war, had assembled a good army from his own chät, that is from the Rohilla Afghans, and a train of artillery from his fortresses, which he marched into the country of Bundelcund, a dependence of Ilah-abad, with intention to make a conquest

of





of it, and to drive away the Radjas Cheterfal and Naga, the most powerful Princes of that region. He advanced into the very heart of the country, made himself master of all the strong holds; and having seized on the capital, he resolved to take his rainy-quarters in it, in order to accustom his new subject to the yoke. The dispossessed Radjas with the other princes of that tract, sensible of the weakness of the Empire, and making as little account of the Minister's resentment as of his influence and attention, turned their views towards the Marhattas of the great Nagp8r (227): (a city and regio. that ought to be reputed a dependence of Aoreng-abad, since it is in the Province of Barar, which is on the back of the Bundelcund;) or possibly they applied to the generals left by Badjirao at Oodjein, the capital of his new conquest of Malva. Be it as it may, the dispossessed Radjas, on promising a sum of money and a cession of part of their territory, obtained an army of Marhattas, with which they returned into Bundelcund, where Mahmed-qhan-bangash, had thought himself so secure in his conquest, that he dismissed the greatest part of his Afghans to their homes, retaining only a small body; and as he had been too little time in the country to be informed of all its inlets and passes, the dispossessed princes found means to be upon him, before he had any advice of their coming. He had hardly time to mount his horse and to march with what little force he found under his hand; but being soon over powered by numbers, and obliged to quit the field, and to think of some place of shelter, he after wandering two or three days, found a fort called Djëit-gur, where he had just time to throw himself with his troops and followers, and where he was immediately besieged; and the Radjas with their Marhattas were so intent in their business, that not a blade of straw could find its way to the fort. As a great multitude of all sexes and ages had taken shelter in it,

Mahmed-qhan-bangash, invades the Bundelcund and is besieged.

(227) Great Nagpoor is so called from its extent, and also to distinguish it from Chota or little Nagpoor, which is a town in the western dependencies of Bengal. Great Nagpoor is at four or five hundred cosses south west of Calcutta, and the residence of a family of Marhatta princes that are powerful and seem to act almost independently from the court of Pona.





a scarcity of provisions was soon felt; and it soon ended in a complete famine. Cows, horses, and asses came soon to be eaten; things horrid became food; and a dead beast attracted a thousand eyes. Nor was it possible to receive any supply without, or to get out of the fortress. Such a state of distress could not long remain concealed from Mahmed-qhan's family. On the first news of the blockade, his consort and children had quitted Feroh-abad, the place of their residence, and had repaired to the capital, where with cries and tears they had implored the minister's assistance, and the Emperor's attention; no man took notice of them, or minded their desolation; and this forlorn family in despair, applied, as a last resource, to their own tribe and clan, the Afghans of the Pahl-cund. The mother sent her veil round amongst their principal men; and Caïm-qhan, the eldest son, addressed them himself. Such a spectacle produced a full effect; the Afghans touched with the deep distress of so principal a family, resolved to make an effort in its behalf, and to save their countrymen from impending destruction; and having put up with the little money and jewels which the mother and son could afford to distribute amongst them, they assembled in numbers, and appointed that son himself to lead them to action, as their general. The Afghans by incessant marches, arrived in the nick of time, attacked the besiegers, and getting to the gate of the fortress, they drew out Mahmed-qhan-bangash and their countrymen, and carried them safe to Ilah-abad: an action ever memorable, by which this worthy son immortalized himself, in saving his father's life. But the ministers likewise performed their part from the capital; and as a punishment to Mahmed-qhan-bangash, for his having miscarried in his expedition, lost a battle, and suffered himself to be blockaded, they deprived him of his government of Ilah-abad; which was transferred to Ser-bblend-qhan, whose misdemeanors were now forgiven. This general accepted the employment, but sent thither his son, Qhanè-zad-qhan, as his deputy; and himself remained in the capital, but however, without much appearing at Court, his discontent being such that he mostly kept himself in his own house.

Heroically  
rescued by his  
own son, who  
saves his father's  
life.

A





Strange events  
at the end of the  
year 1135, and  
at the beginning  
of the next.

A STRANGE accident closed the end of this year, the Qhaff-qhana of Hälder-c8ly-qhan's (228), took fire of itself, and smothered its master. But the beginning of the next year, was no less remarkable in singular events: On Wednesday, the eighteenth of the second Djemady, in the year 1136, two or three hours after sun rising, Mahmed-yar-qhan, Nephew to Shäistab-qhan the ancient lord of lords, a nobleman who so early as the times of Aörensäib, had always enjoyed the government of the Province of Shah-djehan-bad or Dehly, departed his life on a sudden, and repaired to the mansions of divine mercy; and a few days after, being a Friday, the office of Mir-ateshy or Grand Master of the household and of the artillery, vacant by Hälder-c8lys-qhan's demise, was entrusted to Muzafer-qhan (d), brother to Qhaff-qhan. In this same year the Magazine of powder that went by the name of B8shan-el-mulk's, having taken fire, blew up, and carried with it the steeple of Fir-roz-shah's, with the buildings adjoining; and the whole was torn from its foundations and thrown at some distance. In this year also the brave Nedj-eddin-aly-qhan repaired to the mansions of divine mercy; and his government of Adjmir was bestowed on Muzafer-qhan, who was already entrusted with the high office of Mir-ateshy or Grand Master of the Imperial household. On the Wednesday of the tenth of the second Djemady, in the year 1141, the Emperor felt an accession of fever and sickness; but it ended in a full recovery. In the same year, being the month of Shaaban, news came to court that the Marhattas of G8djrät, had advanced into the contiguous country of Radja Abi-fing's. The Gentoo Prince who had just been expelled from that kingdom, finding his hereditary dominions attacked, ob-

(228) A Qhaff-qhana is a small room made up of four walls and a tent like roof, the materials of which are solely, of Qhafs, a long grass, that sinks deep in the ground, and exhales an agreeable smell. These walls being constantly kept sprinkled with plenty of water to the hot weather, emit by their innumerable interstices a sweet scented Zephyr, that lulls the soul to sleep, while travellers fill dead on the high way, and poor labouring people, perish by scores. General Carnac once demanded of Ghudja-eddoulah whether he suffered most from heat or from cold? from neither, answered the Hadoulany prince: I make my own climate. The walls are only one inch thick, and being bound with twine, may be put-up and folded down exactly like those of a tent.





ained leave, and repaired in all speed to Djodehi-p8r-Merta, his capital. About the end of this same year, it being a Friday, the Pendjabi shoe-makers and some other Mussulmen tradesmen, rising in a body, excited a great disturbance. In the disorders usual in the days of Hooly (227), one of their body, a man highly respected for his having been in pilgrimage to Mecca (228), happened to be killed by the Gentoo jewellers, and that too, unjustly; his brethren shocked to see their complaints unattended to by a set of inattentive ministers, who rather inclined to favor the adverse party; and unmindful by a groupe of grandees, little addicted to religious considerations, and who paid no attention to the account they would have one day to render in the other world; left the body for three days together unpurified and unburied (229), resolved not to meddle with it, unless they had revenged the man's death. The grandees, taken up, every one of them with concerns of their own, were busy amongst themselves; and not one of them thought of affording either justice or consolation to those injured people. The shoe-makers incensed at such a neglect, raised a sedition, took possession of the great mosque and forbade divine service to be performed or any prayers to be said, or any body of Mussulmen to assemble there, until their wrongs were redressed: the Cazi of the

Great sedition  
at Dehli, on account of a Hadji  
murdered.

(227) The Hooly is a Gentoo festival where not only gaming is allowed for three days, but all kinds of rioting and disorders, such however as may be expected from a nation of an amazing meekness and a prodigious tameness. Yet frays happen sometimes between the Gentooes, on one hand whose holy days, being fixed on solar calculation, are immobile, and the Mussulmen on the other, whose festivals and other ceremonies, being lunar, wander throughout the whole year. The Hooly lasts three days, the third of which at about eleven at night, they burn it, that is the populace, naked, and besmeared with dust thrown at each other by handfuls, burn doors of straw, stragling wood and any thing combustible they can find or snatch at. Once in my time there happened a fray between the Mussulmen that were in their Muharrem or days of mourning, and the Gentooes that were in their Hooly or days of frolic; and both parties applied to an Englishman, the chief or Governor of the country. At what time asked the Governor does your festival fall every year? at this very time, answered the Gentooes, and never at any other. And your mourning, at what time does it recur every year? sometimes at one season, and sometimes at another, answered the Mussulmen. Then, your mourning said the Englishman, is the aggressing party, and it is you that are in the wrong: an answer that did honour to the man's good sense, and quashed the dissention.

(228) Every one that goes to Mecca and performs the pilgrimage there, lets his beard grow and prefixes the word Hadji or Pilgrim, to his name; and this name is held in veneration.

(229) The body of a Mussulman deceased is immediately shaved, washed with a great deal of water poured upon it, and a quantity of dried rose-leaves and other sweet scented things are put under his armpits in bits of cloth, and other parts of his body; nor can it be buried unless these rites have been performed, as well as many others.





city having attempted to pacify them, met with nothing but insults and disgraces. The tumult being upon the increase, at last attracted the attention of the Court; and Camer-eddin-qhan the Vezir, as well as Zaafer-qhan the minister, were sent on a Friday to perform their devotions, and to see divine service performed in the Cathedral. They came with their own retinues and a number of other Lords, and were preparing to commence prayers, when the afflicted and much injured people, commenced cursing and reproaching them for their mal-administration as well as their shocking supineness and odious luke-warmness in what ever concerned Religion; and proceeding from words to deeds, they fell upon them and put them to flight. Zaafer-qhan being closely pursued, took shelter under the bucklers of the Afghan soldiers that accompanied him; the shoemakers pursuing their blow, continued throwing their slippers at those guards and at the Lords and their soldiers, and put them to flight again. The Vezir alone, stood his ground; and on his ordering some unboxed rockets to be fired and thrown over their heads, the seditious were reduced to silence, and impressed with some fear, and the tumult subsided a little; the Vezir finding them reduced to some order, addressed them in modest terms; and by employing, by turns, expressions of severity and consolation, he prevailed upon them to disperse. The Poet has said:

It is appended  
by the Vezir  
Camer-eddin-  
qhan.

“ Firmness and condescendence must be employed together:

“ The Chirurgeon that opens the vein brings his bandage with him.”

The tumult had risen to such a height, that most of the grandees were insulted; and as the people were preparing to proceed farther, some great event as terrible as the day of Judgement might have taken place, but for the Vezir's exertions.

At the end of the year, between the months of Shevval and Zilcaadeh, there arose for forty days together out of the ground, such an abominable stench all over the city, that the poor and rich being equally affected by it, were attacked by an epidemical fever that filled the houses with sick; the shops





shops and markets were shut up; the streets became desert, and the city looked like a place forsaken by its inhabitants. People said that they had never seen or heard of such a calamity. The stench and sickness (230), commenced at Patna, and Allahabad, from whence it proceeded to Ecberabad and Dehly, and continued spreading over Paniput and Serhend, until it extended to Lahor, stopped. By a favor of divine providence, none of the sick died; they recovered, except a very few, whose last hour was already arrived. This strange event was followed by a stranger one; the winter proved so very severe this year in Shah-djehan-abad and old Dehly, and its environs, that the water would freeze in vessels of copper which were all burst. Running waters, and the river itself froze likewise. This happened for three nights together in the month of Redjeb of the year 1143. It also rained ice in several places: this frightful year ended by an expedition which the Emperor undertook.

An infection  
pervades all  
Hindustan.

Strange frost  
in Dehly.

The Emperor  
under pretence  
of a hunting-  
party, sets out on  
an expedition.

On a Tuesday, being the fifth of Redjeb, of the year 1145 of the Hedjra, he set out of the Citadel of Shah-djehan-abad with his Vezir, Camer-eddin-qhan, the Lord of Lords Qhando8ran, and his whole court, and marched to Eazabad and Berhot and Soniput, where he encamped, spending a whole month in the pleasures of a general hunting. Returning from thence, he alighted at a seat and garden called Betal-caatra (231), where he amused himself with the beauty of the place: from thence he advanced to the banks of the river Djumna, which he crossed at Fero8-bah8ha's seat and garden, where he stayed ten or twelve days. There, hearing that the Marhattas had made an incursion as far as Ecberabad, he resolved to march and to chastise that race of free-booters; and advancing two stages more as far as the little river of Heniden, he encamped

(230) It is remarkable that the famous plague of the twelfth Century that depopulated all Asia and all Europe commenced by another such stench which came out of the ground, on the North of China and spread all over the northern world.

(231) Betal-caatra the name of a seat and garden at some distance from Shah-djehan-abad or Dehly. It must be observed that all gardens and seats in Hindostan are open to all Comers; nor does it require the owner's leave to go in, and to amuse one's self with dancing, music, and entertainments from morning till sunset. A garden, an artificial pond, a well, and a cistern, are always deemed pious and public works.



at the Sera (224) of Bunghil, where he stopped seven or eight days. But the free-booters having dispersed and quitted those parts, on the report of his march, he returned by Talputt to Feridabad, and on the month of Sevval, he under the auspices of fortune and prosperity, alighted at his palace, the seat of glory and royal pomp.

THIS hunting party of the Emperor's seemed to be only a prelude to something more serious: for on the sixteenth of Ramazan, in the year 1144 of the Hedjra, about three hours and a half after sun-rising, Muzafer-qhan, brother to Qhandö8ran and Grand-master of the household, received orders to march and chastise the Marhattas: he was invested with a Qiyilat, which he put on; and without giving himself time to go home, he marched at once out of the city and encamped at the seat of Djivandas. It is true that the Marhattas, after having completed the conquests of G8djrät and Malva, had continued their ravages and incursions, on finding that no one moved from the capital to oppose their usurpations; but it is no less true, that they had been satisfied with settling contributions, and then had rested a little: however, so soon as they saw that no notice was taken of their motions, they recommenced again, assumed the dominion of those districts, and by encroaching upon one or two territories more, they kept the Imperial frontier in a retrograding posture; till at last through perpetual encroachments and continued industry on one hand, and the most shameful neglect and most barefaced supineness, on the other, they possessed themselves of all the territories as far as G8aliar, which is a famous and important fortress of Hindostan, and quite in the neighbourhood of Echerabad. Elated with these successes, they talked of nothing but of new conquests, being encouraged thereto chiefly by Nizam el-mulk who blew the coals of animosity and confusion; and excited them incessantly to new expeditions. The Marhattas, sensible of the weakness of the Empire,

(224) A Sera, is a Caravan Sera built of stone, brick, or straw for the accommodation of travellers. Numbers of villages are built close to them, as well as towns.





and convinced of the pusillanimity of its ministers, did that as a compliment to Nizam-el-mulk's interests, which they would have done of themselves without any such motive or invitation: assured then of so powerful a support they advanced to the very gates of G8aliar, and pushed their contributions, as far as Ecber-abad on one side, and as far as Adjmir, on the other. Qhandö8ran, who was too knowing not to feel the consequences of such encroachments, but who thought it improper to march himself against them, sent his brother Muzaffer-qhan, to put a stop to those encroachments: this was a man so full of his own valour and prowess that he endlessly talked of it. The Emperor dismissed him with a deal of distinction; and he set out at the head of the Imperial troops, as well as of those belonging to several Lords, who to the number of two and twenty were commanded to attend him: so that the whole formed a fine spectacle, and a vast multitude that covered the plain. Muzaffer-qhan invested with full power, and at the head of a numerous army and a numerous artillery, put his foot in the stirrup of authority and command, and marched out to encounter the enemy, resolved to give the Marhattas battle. But these free-booters accustomed to wage war only by skirmishes and incursions, without ever coming to a general engagement, never made a stand before him, but kept him marching and pursuing, as far as Serondj, where Muzaffer-qhan thought proper to stay. On this the Marhattas returned, surrounded his camp, and by continual skirmishes, so streightened his quarters, that provisions and necessaries became scarce in his army; but he contented himself with conserving his person, and waiting for orders from his brother and from the Emperor. An order for his return being at last arrived, he was satisfied with bringing his army entire, and he returned to the capital, where on a Tuesday being the thirteenth of Muharrem, in the year 1147, he had the honor to pay his obeisance to the presence, and was complimented with a plate full of jewels and ~~which~~ <sup>after which</sup>, he repaired to his own palace which had

The Marhattas continue their encroachments, and despite the general sent against them.

been





been at all times the scope of his wishes; and where alms were (233) distributed by him, *exvotoes* payed by his friends, and Nuzurs offered by his favorites and flatterers, in thanksgivings to providence for its exertions in extricating so illustrious a general from the manifold dangers of that mighty expedition; all, all with one common voice extolled the amazing abilities and the astonishing conduct he had exhibited in that dangerous campaign; and they felicitated him and themselves on his safe return, as on a piece of good luck that had been beyond their most sanguine hopes; but yet people that knew the man, and were unconnected with him, did not fail to mention often the following verse:

“ You to perform such a business! Is it so that the braves behave ?”

This year the forgiven prince Aly-tebar (234) son to Aazem Shah, took his journey towards the mansions of divine mercy, it being the sixth of Moharem, and he was buried close to his mother Kerpa-p8ry (235), in the Mausoleum she had built for her self. On the twenty fourth of the second Djemady in the same year, the trust worthy of the Empire, the Vezir Camer-eddin-ghan, and the Prince of Princes, Qhandö8ran, were both appointed to chastise the Marhattas. Both these heroes set out together, and after having fought the Marhattas for a long time together, they returned to the city together; and this expedition ended like that of Muzafer-ghan's. On the return of these generals to the capital, the accursed free-booters attacked and plundered the town of Sanbehr, which is only at a hundred cosses from Shah-djehanabad. The Fodjdar of that place, by name Fahr8, to redeem himself and the town from sack and plunder, agreed to give them four elephants, and three lacs of rupees, with some other effects; and he punctually performed his part:

(233) These *exvotoes* and ceremonies are customary when a man comes back from an expedition or a voyage. See the remark 59, Section 1.

(234) The word forgiven is used out of respect, and signifies the *deceased*. Aly Tebar, signifies of illustrious race, and also of high destiny.

(235) Kirpa-p8ry is certainly a *Gentoo* name; and she must have been either a *Gentoo* Princess, who would not, like the others, assume a *Mussulman* name, or some dance-woman, taken into the seraglio.

but





but the freebooters after having been payed to the full, layed their hands upon his person, and plundered him so effectually, that he was left with no other property in the world, than the clothes on his back. The Cazy or Chiefjustice of the place, unwilling to trust to those infidels, gave way to what they call in Hindostan, a point of honor, that is, he put to the sword his Confort, his children and his whole family; and then taking to his arms, he with a few friends defended his house to the last drop of his blood; and it cannot be denied, but that he behaved valiantly, and performed feats of prowess and bodily strength. It was after such calamities all over the Empire, that the elements seemed to have conspired against the inhabitants of the capital. On the eighteenth of the second Reby of the year 1148, in the evening of the Wednesday, a rain commenced that continued for thirty hours together with so much violence, that most of the houses fell down in the capital; and the little stream at the Sera of Roshen-ârâ, rose to such a height, that several streams of five feet in depth, ran through all the streets: and news came that the city of Echer-abad had likewise felt the same calamity at the same time.

A terrible  
rain of thirty  
hours.

WHILST the Empire labored under the confusion we have mentioned, and every one was making his particular profit of the troubles to push his own point, no wonder that a Zemindar, that is, a man restless and refractory by nature and by trade, should aspire at independence. Adjadj8, a Zemindar of the Checlaw of Corra, availed himself of the weakness of the ministry, to revolt against the Fodjar of that district, under whose command he was; and having killed him, and plundered his effects, he moreover took possession of his family. The Fodjar was no less a person than Djan-neffar-qhan, brother to the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan. The latter shocked at the enormity of the crime, sent Azim-ollah-qhan his kinsman, to punish the Zemindar, and to rescue the deceased's family and confort from his hands. But Adjadj8 who was accustomed to miserie, and knew how far he had become obnoxious, quitted his usual residence to Azim-ollah-qhan, and retired to some part

Flagitious enormity of a  
Zemindar.

of





of his country which he knew to be of difficult access. This retreat having betrayed Azim-ollah-qhan into a mistake of the man's being but of little consequence, he concluded that his commission was not an object worth his while, and he made only a short stay in the country; where he left Qhadjem-beg-qhan, a T8ranian, with some other commanders, whilst himself was repairing to the capital. But no sooner did Adjadj8 hear of the other's departure, than become prouder than ever, he yielded to the violence of his temper, and quitting his strong holds, he suddenly fell upon Qhadjem-beg-qhan, and his troops, which he put to the sword. Camer-eddin-qhan on hearing such an intelligence, was confounded; but being himself too deficient in personal courage and in firmness of mind to remedy evils of such a nature, he applied to Saadet-qhan, Governor of A8d, whom he entreated, if he had any regard for the Mogul name, and any zeal for the Musulman religion, to come and chastise that turbulent scelerate. Saadet-qhan, who was a man of personal prowess, and a zealous assertor of his Religion, no sooner received the letter, than he resolved to undertake the expedition. He was already upon his march to the capital on some other business, when receiving Camer-eddin-qhan's letters, he quitted the main-road, and struck upon his right, with intention to chastise the Zemindar. The latter wanted to amuse this general also with fair words; but finding that the other would not catch at such a bait; and being besides a man of much pride and courage, as well as elated by his late successes; he resolved to stand his ground and to fight: and he only waited for the enemy's arrival to commence the attack. It happened that the Viceroy fatigued with his day's journey, was just retiring to his tent to take some repose, when Adjadj8's spies, who were just at hand, went and informed their master that the Viceroy was a tall stout man, dressed in green, with a flowing white beard; and they added that he had just got into his tent. The Zemindar who just waited for such an opportunity, getting directly from out of his ambuscade, presented himself at the head of his troops. On  
fight





fight of this Saadet-qhan got upon his Elephant, and was exerting himself in putting his troops in battle : he advanced with what people were at hand, and in the condition they were at that time. It happened that Saadet-qhan having stripped himself of his dusty clothes, had just put on a white apparel ; and that one of the foremost of his commanders who advanced to engage, was Ab8-t8rab-qhan, the T8ranian, one of his ancient and best officers, who was that day dressed in green, and was remarkable by a long flowing white beard, as well as himself. Adjadj8 having spied that officer upon an elephant, took him to be Saadet-qhan himself ; and with a number of braves that followed him, he ran on a full gallop to that part ; and soon joined the elephant, when brandishing his spear, he gave the old officer such a violent blow, as pierced him through and through, the spear coming out at his back, and lodging itself into the board of the häodah. Saadet-qhan's foremost troops intimidated by the man's prowess, and by the execution done by that select body which accompanied him, commenced to fluctuate, and to lose courage ; when Saadet-qhan himself with a chosen band flew to their assistance ; and after having discharged showers of arrows on him and his followers, he closed at once with him, and engaged Sabre in hand. At this very moment a Gentoo officer, called Durdjun-fing, a relation of the Zemindar's, but from a long time in Saadet-qhan's service, having discovered the man, pointed him out to his master, and spurring his horse, he engaged him with reproaches mixed with blows ; and Adjadj8 receiving at the same time two wounds, one by a stroke from Durdjan-fing, and another by an arrow from Saadet-qhan, fell down and was under trodden. From this moment a zephir of victory, seemed gently to raise the drooping standards of that General ; and the divine favour blowing in full upon his troops, gave his troops a complete victory. The victorious General took possession of the enemy's camp, and ordered the Zemindar's head to be sent to the Emperor, and his skin stuffed with straw to be presented to the Vezir : after which leaving to Ab8l-Man8r-

The Zemindar is chastised.





qhan, his nephew and son in law, the greatest part of his troops, with the command of the country, he pursued his march to the capital; and on the seventh of Redjeb in this same year he payed his obeysance to the Emperor, to whom he presented a Nuzur of one thousand and nine Eshreffies, with a curious poinard and fabre. The Emperor honoured him with a rich Qhylaat, to which he added a poinard and a fabre, enriched with jewels, a horse and an elephant. Two months after he was recalled to the field again by letters from Ab 81-Man-18r-qhan, from Sheli-abbollah, and from some other commanders of his, who repeatedly informed him that the Marhattas, whom A. 1743 had called to his assistance, were at hand.

Around this time, it being the sixth of Zilcaad in the same year, Yad-gar-qhan the Kasmirian, a particular friend of Qhandö8ran's, and a shrewd, subtle, well-spoken man, was dispatched to Radja Djehi-sing-sevâi, and to Badjirâo the Marhatta Generalissimo, which latter had been heretofore sent by the Radja Sahoo, with orders to make conquests in Hindostan. The envoy was entrusted by the Emperor with a patent for the two provinces Malva and G8djrâ, which Badjirâo held already by the tenure of the sword, and with a commission to gain that general over to the Imperial service, by a promise of mighty honors and a variety of rewards; Radja Djehi-sing's part was to act as mediator in this affair. It was in this same year and on the fourteenth of Zilhidj, at about three hours before midnight, that Zaafer-qhan departed his life: a Lord that had acquired a character for many valuable qualifications, but especially for his munificence and the benignity of his disposition. He had contracted an intimacy with Shah-bigah, a Fakir, whom he had made the director of his conscience, having taken him for his Tutelar saint, and submitted to his directions in every thing. But it is time now to leave those small occurrences, (and indeed whatever came to pass at the capital had this long while ceased to deserve a better appellation); and let us turn our eyes towards those Eastern parts of the Empire, which after having lain in obscurity and obli-





on for such a length of time, now emerged at once to become a theatre fertile in those important events that have paved the way for the conquest which strangers have made in them, and which they have stretched as far as the neighbourhood of the capital of Hindostan. The scene opens at Azimabad.

I AM not informed which governors succeeded Nufret-yar-qhan in the government of that province: I only know that in the year 1140 Fahr-eddollah, brother to Zaafer-qhan, having obtained the government of that province, remained five years in it; but as he was a man that could neither read nor write, and was light-headed besides, his actions favored of neglect and ignorance. He was also very proud and very prone to anger; and at the same time so inconsiderate, that for a small subject, he fell out with Shieh-Abdollah, a man of consequence in those parts, who seemed to be the main hinge of all the government-business in that province; for he had been for a length of time always employed by every governor, either as his deputy, or as a general-farmer of the Revenue: he had connections with almost all the Zemindars, was greatly respected by every one of them, and had acquired the good will of the troops, as well as of every individual in the province, where he was universally respected. Fahr-eddollah incited by a sense of jealousy, set up several chicanes against him, and he made him so uneasy, that the other thought it expedient to quit his house at Azimabad, (a house which he had bought with his own money,) and to repair to the other side of the Ganga, where he had built a mud fort, about the town of Sevan, and bought several villages with a deal of ground, where he now retired much discontented. The governor not satisfied with this retreat, crossed the river after him, and besieged him in the said castle; and he wanted no less than to obtain possession of the fort and to seize and ill use his person. The man reduced to extremities, applied to Saadet-qhan, governor of A8d, his next neighbour; to whom he exposed his situation, with the subject of the difference: and on his being sent for by him, he sallied out of the fort, forced bravely his pas-





fuge through Fahr-eddö8lah's camp, and effected his retreat : by a valorous action, in which he eluded Fahr-eddö8lah's inimical designs, and approved himself a foldier as well as a financier. Sheh-Abdollah being arrived at Saadet-qhan's court, was received with distinction and honour ; and the inimical Governor having missed his prey, returned to the capital, where he some time after commenced a quarrel with Qhadja-Mutaassim, whom he greatly disoblged. This Qhadja or Fakir, was no less a man than a brother of Qhandö8ran's, who under the garb of a Fakir, and the resignation of a religious retired from business, lived at Azimabad in all the splendor of a nobleman of the first rank. Shocked at the imprudence and the imperiousness of the Governor's behaviour, and at the levity of his actions, he quitted Azimabad, and repaired to the capital, where on his brother's enquiring about the subject of his coming, the other informed him of the Governor's tyranical conduct. The minister who had already heard of it, procured Fahr-eddö8lah's dismissal from his appointment ; and having annexed the government of Azimabad to that of Bengala, he sent the patents of it to Shudjah-qhan, who on the demise of Djaaser-qhan, his father-in-law, had succeeded him in that government. And as those Eastern countries are now going to cut a capital figure in our history, it will not be improper to introduce their actual ruler to the reader's acquaintance.

Introduction  
to the revolutions  
in Bengal.

(236) SHUDJAH-EDDÖ8LAH, alias Shudjah-qhan, the then S8bahdar or Viceroy of Bengala, was a native of B8rhamp8r, a city in Decan ; and by origin, an Afshar, which is a tribe of Turks dwelling in Qhorassan, a province of Iran (237) : he was one of the principal men of that city ; and

(236) His titles were Muatemen-el-mulc—Shudjah-ed-dö8la,—Shudjah-ed-din-Mohammed-qhan, Bahadyr,—Assed-djung. The trust worthy of the Kingdom, the valorous of the Empire, the brave Shudjah eddin-Mohammed-qhan. The lion like in battles.

(237) The Qhorassan, or Eastern parts of Iran or Persia, as well as the northern ones of that Empire, from Tarviz to Meshhed are full of Turkish tribes that inhabit tents mostly, and seldom follow any other profession than that of soldiers, shepherds, and husbandmen. Those are the foldiers that fill the Persian armies ; for the originary Persians are made no account of, and are called Tats, Taats, or Tradesmen, and Tatars or Burghers by derision ; altho' there are some Persian tribes that are excellent foldiers, for instance, the Bahtyaris or Loris, which are all mountaineers, and yet all cavalry. Kerim-qhan was a Bahtyari, or Lori ; but Nadyr-shah, was an Afshar.





having contracted an alliance with Djafer-qhan another man of consequence of the same city, he lived with that Nobleman, who in Aorengzib's time had become Divan of Bengala, and in process of time, had obtained likewise the Nazam, or Military Government of the same province (238). By means of the alliance between them, every preferment obtained by Djafer-qhan proved an accession of influence to the son-in-law likewise; and the father-in-law having joined in his person the distinct offices of Divan and Nazam of the two Governments of Bengala and Sressa, procured the S8bahdary, or Viceroyalty of the latter province for Shudjah-qhan; who went and established his residence there, not only in order to inspect himself the affairs of his Government, but also because there had arisen such a diversity of tempers and opinions between these noble persons, that they could no more live together upon those terms of concord which decency prescribed; the son-in-law therefore wished to live at a distance from his father-in-law. He was a man of a moderate temper and a lover of justice; and he bore a character for many valuable qualifications that had acquired him the esteem and respect of all the world. Djafer-qhan was the very reverse of him, and universally known for such. Another subject of difference, was the dislike taken at Shudjah-qhan, by his consort Zinet-en-nessa-begum (239), daughter of Djafer-qhan and mother of Ser-efraz-qhan. This Princess, who was of a virtuous disposition, and a pattern of chastity, had her heart alienated from her husband, not only on account of his being upon such bad terms with her father, but especially on

(238) The Nazam is the governor of the province a military man who commands the troops and fortresses, and inspects the distributive justice. The Divan is the superintendent of finances, something very like the Intendant in France, but quite independent from the Nazam, on whom he is a check. But when a Governor joins both those offices in his person, he is called a S8bahdar or Viceroy.

(239) *Zinet-en-nessa*, signifies the ornament of the sex. Begum, pronounced Bieem by both Turks and Tatars, or Tartars, is a title of Turkish origin and the feminine of Beg, which signifies Prince, both in Tartary and in Turkey, but means no more than a trooper both in Persia and in India, a trooper of Mogol origin. As to her husband's incredible ardor for women, it is notorious that he could not live four hours together without a woman; and in full audience, and whilst actually occupied in business of state or in rendering justice, he used to step behind a partition, and to come back after a full half hour: his excuse for such strange absence is no less singular. "Gentlemen, I am cursed with the most hungry and most unruly Tatt8 (Poney) on the face of earth; he is eternally teasing me for grain."





account of his excessive proneness to the love of women. She parted with him, and taking her son with her, she chose her residence in Moorhoodabad, a city founded by her father, and named with his title which was Moorhood-cshly-qhan; where she lived in great splendor and where she would have probably continued to enjoy tranquillity, had not fate fuscited a man predestined to overturn her family, and to change the face of these countries. There appeared at this time at court a person called Mirza-mahmed, husband to a lady, who being herself of the Afshar tribe, was allied to Shudjah-qhan. This Mirza-mahmed had with him an elder son of his, by name Hadji Ahmèd, and a younger son Mirza-mahmed-aaly, since known under the name of Ali-verdy-qhan, and the title of Mehaber-djung. This Mirza-mahmed had been in the service of Aazem-shah the forgiven; and on his master's death, he was reduced to the utmost poverty and distress, having lived a long time out of employment, and being obliged to support a family, equally numerous and indigent. In this extremity Mirza-mahmed-aaly, son to Mirza-mahmed, betook himself to the expedient of sending his mother and father to the court of Shudjah-qhan; and this happened in the beginning of Mahmed-shah's reign. That governor glad to oblige a relation, conferred several favors on Mirza-mahmed, took him into his service, and shewed him so much kindness, that Mirza-mahmed-aaly, the son, resolved to repair likewise to the court of Bengal and Sressa; a resolution which he effected with the utmost difficulty, on account of his being intirely destitute of the means of performing so long a journey. He at last arrived at the court of Sressa; and being a man of a keen genius, of an insinuating turn of mind, and of a temper capable of the most delicate affairs, to the niceties of which he knew how to adopt himself; he soon joined to these civil qualifications, the military ones of an intrepid bravery, and an undaunted prowess; and he acquired so great a character, that Shudjah-qhan congratulated himself on the acquisition of so excellent a subject, and looked on his arrival as upon an event of unexpected good luck, that pro-

nosticated

Origin of Ali-ver-di-qhan's family and power

Ali-verdy approves himself a man of great and many-fold abilities.





notified the rise of his protector's family; in so much that Mirza-mahmed-aaly rose in favor and in credit from day to day, and was promoted to the highest offices; and now the plant of inclination and attachment having taken a firm footing between these two persons, and its strength having been tried and confirmed by experience; Mirza-mahmed-aaly sent for his brother Hadji Ahmed, with the consorts, children and relations of the whole family, which then lived at Shah-djehanabad; and the latter having accordingly assembled the whole of them, he travelled into Bengal, from whence he repaired to the court of Sreffa, where being arrived, he was, as well as his younger brother, taken into favour and promoted to offices and employments; and as the two brothers were both men of abilities, of much versatility of mind, and of such a perseverance as was capable of surmounting the greatest difficulties, they strengthened so much Shudjah-qhan's government, as to become the foundation of that elevation to which it rose in the sequel. Particular arrangements were introduced into the department of finances, and the revenues greatly augmented by their application and their industry; but Mirza-mahmed-aaly, who to the political abilities of his brother, joined a brilliant character, as a soldier, and had always displayed a greater extent of genius, than either his father or brother, came soon to eclipse all his relations, as well as all the persons in Shudjah-qhan's service, in so much that he became in time exposed to the shafts of envy, both from relations and strangers; this envy had risen to a pitch, when his protector, who kept several of his agents at court, obtained for him a grade of honor with the appellation of Mahmed-aaly-verdy-qhan (240): a distinction which jealousy could not bear.

ALL this while Djafer-qhan continued displeased with his son-in-law; and as his life was drawing to an end, he conceived the project of procuring the Nizamet of Bengal for Ser-efraz-qhan, his grandson by Zinet-en-neffa: a young

Djafer-qhan  
Governor of  
Bengal, thinks  
of procuring  
his patent for  
his own son,  
Ser-efraz-qhan

(240) These words signify the qhan or Lord bestowed by Aaly, or Aaly's gift. Verdy is Turkish for he gave, and qhan signifies Lord or Prince. Mahmed-Aaly are both Arabic.





prince, who had already the Divan-ship or Intendance of that province: full of that scheme, he wrote to his agents at Court, and spared no pains and no expense to obtain an object that had now become the wish of his heart, and on the completion of which he expected to be succeeded by his grand-son in both those offices. This project having come to the knowledge of Shudjah-qhan, the latter applied to both Aly-verdy-qhan, and to Hadji Amed, his brother, for advice. The two brothers agreed in giving one and the same counsel: and in pointing at one and the same method of succeeding they first of all, recommended some acquaintances of their's, men of talents, and of a ready speech, to be dispatched immediately to the court of Shah-djehan-abad, with full powers to treat; and then, they brought the minutes of supplications which it became necessary to write to the Emperor, to the Vezir, and to the Prince of Princes, Qhandö8ran. These were drawn up in an elegant, conciliating style, calculated to soothe and to persuade: and they requested the parents of Divan and Nazem in Shudjah-qhan's name, for both the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. With these credentials, the Envoys were dispatched to the capital and ordered to make the utmost dispatch. Other trusty men of the military kind, were at the same time dismissed upon some pretence from Shudjah-qhan's service, but in fact, were only dispatched by various roads to Moorhoodabad, with orders to keep themselves disjointed, but in the environs of Djaaser-qhan's palace, so as to be night and day, ready to execute such new orders as would be sent after them. But as the rainy season was at hand, and it was foreseen that the inundation would necessarily preclude all communication from Cateck to Moorhoodabad, a vast number of boats of all sizes, and for all uses, were therefore provided, and a multitude of boat men, assembled and kept in pay, to the end that on the very first intelligence of Daafer-qhan's demise, Shudjah-qhan might, without hinderance, proceed to Moorhoodabad immediately. A secret post was also established betwixt Cateck and Shah-djehan-abad, not only for the sake of receiving as soon as possible the desired





patents, but also for being every day furnished with intelligence from both that capital and Moorhoodabad. At last a letter of undoubted credit having informed Shudjah-qhan, that Djafer-qhan had hardly five or six days to live, he set out from Cateck, taking with him Aly-verdy-qhan, and such a number of friends and troops as he thought sufficient, and he proceeded hastily to Moorhoodabad, sometimes by water, and sometimes by land, just as opportunity served. He had a son by a lady different from Djafer-qhan's daughter: It was Mahmed-tacky-qhan, and him he appointed his deputy at Cateck. Whilst he was proceeding with so much expedition, he received certain intelligence that Djafer-qhan was dead; and a few days after being yet upon the road, he received the patent for which he had applied to court. This spot proving so auspicious to him he stopped a while, and called it, Mubareck-menzil, or the auspicious stage. From thence he proceeded with as much expedition as a simple courier, and in a few days he arrived at Moorhoodabad; where without giving himself time to take breath, he directly repaired to the Chehel-s8t8n, a place raised by Djafer-qhan on forty pillars (241) for such solemnities; and sending for the Vacaa-navis or gazetteer, and the Sevaneh-nuvis or crown-intelligencer, with some other crown-officers, and the principal men of the city, he produced his patents, got them read aloud by those two officers, and having procured himself to be acknowledged as the lawful S8 bahdar of the two provinces, he took possession of the Meshed, sat in it, and ordered the Imperial musick to strike-up in rejoicing; after which he received Nuzurs of acknowledgment and congratulation from every one present. What is very singular, is that, his son, Ser-éfraz-qhan, an unsuspecting young man, fast asleep in the lap of ignorance and security, and was actually at a country seat about two miles from the city, in the full confidence that he was the designed and undoubted heir of Djafer-qhan his grand-father in his offices and estate; and

But is supplanted by his son-in-law, Shudjah-qhan.

(241) Chehel-s8t8n signifies forty pillars: it was a building with a stone Cupola, leaning on forty columns of stone, and open on all sides. This building occupied the site of what they call to day Seradj-eddoulah's palace, but exists no more.

that





Ser-Efraz-qhan  
submits to his  
father.

Excellent cha-  
racter of Shud-  
jah-qhan.

that there was no man daring enough to dispute his title; nor did he know any thing of what was passing within the city. The first intelligence he had, was from the found of the Imperial Nagara (242) and from the musick which had struck up. Confounded and astonished at the intelligence that was soon brought him, he stopped short, and asked his principal courtiers, and the principal officers of his troops, what they thought was to be done? most of them answered unanimously, "that as his father had received and proclaimed his patents; had taken possession of the Mesned of command as well as of the palace and the city; had been peaceably acknowledged; and was master of the treasury; there remained no other party, but that of submission." This unanimous opinion of their's having been submitted to by the young man, he left his princely retinue behind; and taking only a few servants, he advanced briskly; and whether he would or not, he kissed his father's feet, presented his nuzur, congratulated him on his accession, and dropped every thought of dispute and contention. This inauguration being over, Shudjah-qhan turned his mind, (and he had an excellent one) towards putting in order the affairs of Government and finance.

His chief councillor and adviser was Aly-verdy-qhan: But he availed himself likewise of the abilities of Hadji-ahmed, the latter's brother, and of those of Rây-aalem-chund, an antient divan or minister of his, who was really a Hindoo of merit, and such as deserved all the confidence and trust reposed in him. He also called to his councils several well-wishers of his, and especially Djagat-feat-fatch-chund, a famous banker of those days, whose wealth was reckoned by corors, and who has never had his equal. All this assistance was only for public business; but in private matters, and in every difference between man and man, he would trust to no one whatever; but sending for the parties, and listening patiently and leisurely to the tales of each, he accurately summed-up the reasons of both sides, and with much subtilty drew

(242) A large Kettle drum of Iron.





up his conclusions from them, pronounced the sentence, and had it executed with dispatch and punctuality. No recommendation, no intreaties from the nearest relation, would avail, if they proved to militate against the justice arising from a thorough examination of the case. His equity and humanity were no less conspicuous to the Zemindars and other land-holders of Bengal. These under Djaater-qhan's administration had been mostly kept in prison and confinement, and tormented in such a variety of manners, that it would be a pity to spend any paper or ink in describing or mentioning them. It is doubtless such were the characters and morals that the Poet Saady had in view when he wrote these verses :

" Never be guilty of such actions as dishonour your family and person,

" For fear lest people one day should curse both your person and family.

Shudjah-qhan, after having firmly established his Government, dismissed such Zemindars and other land-holders, as he found to be innocent, and free from crime or fraud; as to the others, he ordered them to be all brought into his presence and to form a circle round his person; and this being done, he asked them, how they would behave in future, should he release them from the miseries of confinement and restore to them the blessing of liberty and the sweets of free air? The poor people, who had been for years languishing in confinement, and had undergone a variety of torments and racks, surprized at this address, broke forth in encomiums on his generosity and goodness; and after supplicating heaven to grant him a long series of prosperous years, they unanimously raised their voices, and promised that henceforward they would pay their rents with a thousand times more punctuality than they had done heretofore, and would moreover, prove obedient and dutiful in whatever services his goodness might think fit to command. This promise they couched down in a particular writing, which was authenticated by the proper formalities, and after having opposed their hands and seals to it, they confirmed their promises with the most sacred oaths, and with the most solemn execrations against any one that should act contrary to its tenor. This

matter





matter being over, Shudja-qhan sent for a number of rich Qhylaats, in which they were dressed every one of them according to their respective rank and station; in so much, that there was not a man in that assembly that did not receive a suitable present: after that ceremony they were all dismissed to their regretted homes, with injunctions to transmit henceforwards their rent by the means of Djagat-feat.

It is in consequence of so much benignity of temper, and such a celestial distribution of justice, that the kingdom of Bengal, which in books is called the terrestrial paradise, came to enjoy so much prosperity, as to exhibit every where an air of plenty and happiness quite analogous to the title it bore. The inhabitants of that happy region enjoyed under his government every ease and benefit, which a government founded on justice and benignity could bestow; and every one of them were unanimous in offering up their supplications to heaven for his conservation and prosperity. As soon as the Zemindars were dismissed, he turned his views towards the distribution of offices and employments; and first of all he continued his eldest son, Ser-cfraz-qhan, in the Divanship of Bengal, as he did Mahmed-tacky-qhan, his second son, in the government of Orissa. The government of Djehan-ghir-nagur-Daca he bestowed on his son-in-law M8.ishood-C8ly-qhan. The family of his friend and favorite Ali-verdi-qhan, could not fail to partake of that distribution of graces and employments; and as the favorite had three nephews, to whom he had given his three daughters, they were promoted equally. Säyd-ahmed-qhan, second son of Hadji Ahmeded, was appointed to the Fodjdary of Rungp8r; and Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, the youngest, to that of Acbar-nagur; *vulgo* Radjemahal. But Nuvazish-mahamed-qhan, the eldest, was invested with the office of Paymaster of the forces (243). These were particular offices: for in the general affairs of government and finance, he had formed a kind of council composed

He promotes  
Ally-verdi's re-  
lation to offices  
in state.

(243) The paymaster of the forces very often acts as Major-general: Nay, at Delhi, he is always the second commander of the Imperial forces, the Sipah-salar or generalissimo, being the first.





of Aly-verdi-qhan—Hadji Ahmed—the Rāy-rāyan (244)—Aalem-chund, and the Djagat-feat-fateh-chund; and these were invested with the power of binding and loosing, and acted as his chief ministers. Matters remained in that state, until Fahr-eddöslah being dismissed from his government of Azimabad, that province was annexed to the Viceroyalty of Bengal, and the patents of it were sent to Shudja-qhan by Qhandöbran, his particular protector.

SHUDJA-QHAN on being invested with the new government, turned his thoughts towards discovering a proper subject to send thither, as his deputy; and several persons were proposed to him by his council, to all of whom he objected: at last he resolved to send one of his two sons. But Zinet-en-neffa, his consort, would not consent to her being parted from her son, who acted already as Divan of Bengal; And on the other hand, she objected to Mahmud-taky-qhan, as to a stranger; so that her husband at last became of the same opinion. He reflected that the Bahar was a country that required a curbing hand; that it bordered on the A8d, the Ilah-abad, the Barar and the dependencies of Äoreng-abad, with the governors of which countries, it ought to keep a correspondence; and he concluded that such a post could not be properly filled by any but by Aly-verdi-qhan. On his proposing him to his council, his choice was unanimously approved, as none of his counsellors had any views of his own; and they paid many encomiums to the penetration of his mind, in singling out the very man wanted. The appointment being published, Shudjah-qhan resolved to decorate Aly-verdi-qhan with new titles, and new honors, and dignities. The title of Bahadyr or valiant and that of Mehabet-djung, or the formidable and majestic in battles; an addition to his military grade that should raise the whole to the command of

Aly-verdi-qhan appointed Viceroy of Azimabad.

(244) Rāy-Rāyan, is a title given to Gentoos only, and signifies the Counsellor of Counsellors, Chief of Counsellors.





five thousand horses: a fringed Paleky (245), a standard, and a kettle-drum, were the new honors which he wanted to confer upon him, and for which he immediately applied through his agents to the Emperor, and to his favorite minister. Qhandöbran. Zinet being informed of the new appointment, expressed her approbation; and willing to confer an obligation on Aly verdi-qhan, she sent for him to the gate of her apartment, and having ordered a rich Qhylaat to be put upon his shoulders, she conferred upon him the Government of Bahar, as from herself (246). And it was only after this investiture, that Shudjah-qhan himself sent for him, and presented him on his part also, with the Qhylaat of the Deputy-ship or Niabet of Azim-abad, to which he joined the patent of it, with an elephant, a sabre, and a quantity of jewels. A number of forces was appointed to serve under him; after which he was dismissed, with injunctions to bring the province under a proper order and subordination. History ought to remark that a few days before this elevation, a grand son was born to Aaly-verdi-qhan from his youngest daughter (247), married to his youngest nephew, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan; and as he had no son of his own, he called him Mirza mahmed, after his own name, adopted him for his son, and had him educated in his own house. He ascribed to his auspicious birth, that sudden flow of honors, dignities, and favor; and on that account he redoubled his affection for him. Aly-verdi-qhan before his departure obtained leave to carry with him two of his sons-in-law, with

Birth of Mirza-Mahm  
Seradj-ed dölla  
grand son and  
Neph-w to Ally-  
verdy-qhan by  
whom he is a-  
dopted.

(245) The fringe of such a Paleky, (for all Palekies have one) is made in the form of a net-work; the standard, is a large one, always carried upon an elephant, and slit at half its length. The kettle-drum is made of beaten iron, and twice as big as an English one.

(246) This investiture shews that she thought herself, and was thought by her husband and by others, the real and sole heirs of Djaaser-qhan's Government and estate. Nor are such instances uncommon in Indian history, or in the Eastern histories; nor is it extraordinary to see women take the lead in administration. The mother of the Turkish Emperor, then a minor, assembled the Grandees, and from behind a curtain, spoke to them, and recommended to them diligence in their offices, and fidelity to her son, whom she called her young Lion.

(247) His youngest daughter was Amna-begum, who became famous in Moorshoodabad after her husband's death by her amours and gallantry.—This Mirza-mahmed, is the same as Badshah-C8ly-qhan, alias Seradj-ed dölla. The reader will observe with wonder and amazement that, that child to whose auspicious birth all the honors then heaped on his family were attributed, and at whose coming into the world it made the first strides towards dominion and sovereignty, proved to be the very person in whom both the family and sovereignty ended for ever.

Moorshoodabad





several of his relations; and after a prosperous journey, he made his entry in Azimabad: and having stayed a whole year in the province, he returned to Moorshoodabad to pay his respects to his benefactor and master, was received with every mark of distinction and favor, and sent back to his Government; nor was it long before he received the patent of those dignities and those honors that had been devised for him by his protector. He received from court the fringed Paleky, and the standard and kettle-drum, with the other insignia of his dignity; and these did not contribute a little to the exaltation of his character in the minds of the people, by adding so much lustre to his pomp and retinue. But he was not dazzled by them: being a man of wisdom and industry, endowed with a lofty enterprising mind, ever intent on high designs, he soon observed how precarious was his situation; and he therefore commenced his administration by introducing order in the city, augmenting and improving his forces, gaining the hearts of the subjects, attaching the military to his person, and chastising and bringing to order the Zemindars and other refractory persons and insurgents of the province. Above all he made it a standing rule to bring into his service as many military of character as he came to hear of in the neighbouring provinces; and by these means he in a little time found himself at the head of an army, well appointed, and furnished with every thing that could insure success. Intent on adding to his power, and preparing himself for higher achievements, he was alert in chastising such of his dependants as attempted to go astray from the path of duty; and he made them serve for an example. He had taken into his service one Abdol-kerin-qhan, an Afghan Rohila, who commanded fifteen hundred of his countrymen, and had such an opinion of his own strength and prowess, as to make little account of others; and in reality he deserved the high opinion he had conceived of his own self. Aly-verdy-qhan who had made use of him in many an arduous occasion, could not be but satisfied with his services; but he wanted likewise to reduce him to the rules of subordination, and to repress

X x 2

that





that forwardness of his, which prompted him to stretch his feet beyond the carpet of obedience and submission. The Afghan proud of his prowess, minding no superior, and fearing no one, set his master at defiance, and continued to be guilty of actions that strongly favored of an assuming refractory temper, and of a spirit of independence that spurned at controul. Aaly-verdy-qhan reflected, that to dissemble with him any longer would only add to his presumption and excite that of others; and that to connive at his excesses and insolencies any more, might prove highly imprudent, and even dangerous; and he was convinced at the same time, how exceedingly improper it would be in a person of his high station to defer the punishment of a head-strong man, whose punishment ought to be held up in terror to others. The day then being fixed for that execution, Aaly-verdy-qhan ordered a number of his trustiest men to keep themselves in the hall of audience, and to fall upon him with their sabres, as soon as that Afghan should enter, and presume to answer to a reprimand which he intended to give him. Effectively the next day the man as usual presented himself with ten of his followers, armed; but as he had always at the gate a couple of hundred of his men ready to support him, and he was himself a man of great personal strength and prowess, it was not an easy matter to come at him, or to find people that could match the man. Three such men having been pitched upon at last, were ordered to attend and to dispatch him: the next morning the execution took place, so that the smoke that used to arise from the heads of the refractory, was at once diffipated. The soldiery began to tremble, and many of the Zemindars, who had hitherto proved refractory and had acted with all the freedom and insolence to which the weakness of the former administration had accustomed them, were set upon one after another, and severely chastised. Some were torn out by the roots, and some, that were guilty likewise, but who had shewn tokens of submission and attachment, were not only forgiven but taken into favor, and they attached themselves to his person. In consequence of such a vigorous administration, which never abated from its vigilance; he

But

Aali verdy-qhan's excellent conduct in his Government.





found means both to conserve Shudjah-qhan's good will and esteem, and to strengthen his own power, and influence.

BUT before we go on with that great man's history it is proper we should enter upon some events that have happened either in the capital of the Empire or in its environs; after which we shall resume our account of Aaaly-verdy-qhan and the affairs of Bengal.

WE have already mentioned that Yad-ghar-qhan the Cashmirian had been sent from Court to the Marhatta camp to commence a negociation with Badjrão by the mediation of Radja-djehi-sing-sevâi: and that these two envoys had been entrusted with the Patents of the governments of both Malva and Gudjrar for that Marhatta General. As this extraordinary step and this condescendance on the Emperor's part did not produce the effect expected; and as it was so far from extinguishing the flames of the Marhatta ambition, that it seemed to have added fuel to that nation's presumption, to have inspired them with higher and higher notions of themselves, and to have excited new encroachments and fresh insolencies on their part; it was resolved to have recourse to force. On the seventh of Zilcaadah of the year 1149 of the hedjra, about six hours after sun rise, the Lord of Lords Qhanö8ran departed on an expedition for chastising those free-boaters: that General on receiving his leave was honoured with a belt; and that minister with a view to acknowledge this mark of distinction, set out immediately, without so much as going home. He marched out of the city and encamped at Talpat which is nine cosses from Shah-djehan-abad. On the twentieth of the same month, the supreme Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan was equally honored with a belt, and set out likewise on the same expedition; and to change his station (248), he went and encamped at

(248) To change his station: this expression to an English reader requires a Commentary: all the hindostanees being extremely addicted to astrological predictions, and to the observation of lucky and unlucky days, and also to the *Ilagbara*, which is another kind of divination, the highest as well as the lowest of them, will not move a foot, unless it be precisely at the time pointed out by the heavenly bodies; and when that moment of departure is come, they quit their houses and repair to some other spot upon the road, be it even as little as two hundred yards distance, that their journey be deemed commenced at that precise hour.





An expedition  
against the Mar-  
hattas by both  
Qhandöbran and  
the Vezir.

Char-bag (249). On that same day Qhandöbran at the head of his own troops, and of those numerous bodies of Imperial Cavalry that had been put under his command, to the amount of about forty thousand horses, marched forward with a numerous train of artillery, and all the necessaries for a campaign, and he encamped in the territory of Ecber-abad. There he was joined by several eminent Radjas with their troops; and his forces now became so numerous, that his army covered the plains, and struck the eyes with admiration and terror. It was expected he would advance directly upon the enemy; instead of that he who had set out to fight the Marhattas, contented himself with loitering his time at about forty cosses from the capital. Most of his troops, divided betwixt fear and hope, like men in suspense betwixt life and death, were anxiously waiting for what might happen. Nor did the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan behave with more earnestness. This minister had set out, at the head of a numerous body of Moguls and Hindostanees, attached to his person and in his own pay; and he had joined them to a whole army of TStranin-Moguls, all antient servants of the Emperor, and all in such high estimation, that the whole province of Sehrind had been assigned to them for their pay: with such a numerous army, he had marched towards Adjmir, with intention to make an end of the Marhattas. He had with him every necessary for a campaign and an infinity of volunteers, who fought for opportunities to signalise themselves and to acquire promotion. The pomp and eclat of his march are hardly to be described; but after marching a little on the frontiers of that province, he stopped short to wait for the arrival of the Marhattas: such was the cant-expression. Here he was joined by Mahmed-qhan-bangash, who having quitted Feroh-abad, his residence, (a town which was built and named in honor of Feroh-für his protector), was come with a good body of troops; and he waited also for the arrival of the Marhattas. But not one of those illustrious warriors, and not one of those famous generals had

(249) Char-bagh a particular seat near the Capital in the middle of four gardens, as its name imports, which has been raised near Dehli, in imitation of a charming spot near Isfahan in Iran, called Char-bagh likewise.





resolution enough to advance himself on those devoted free-booters, to give them a thorough defeat, and to acquire a character in the Empire by chastising them properly for their repeated insolencies. Qhandöbran without moving from his place, was perpetually contriving schemes, the purport of which communicated to Djehi-sing; and the latter after having added what further occurred to his mind, transmitted the whole to the Vezir. As to Radja Abi-sing-rhator, instead of repairing to camp, he retired to his capital, where he addicted himself to a course of intoxication, which he kept up by the use of opium. He slept the whole day, and spent the whole night in asking what was to be done; but yet he knew so well his own backwardness that whenever he was sent for by Qhandöbran, he used to exculpate himself by alledging the necessity of defending his own hereditary dominions, and by bringing forwards some such futile excuses. On the other hand, Camer-ed-din-qhan, the Vezir, sometimes out of himself, and sometimes intent only on conserving his army, spent his time in consulting with his friends, and with the T8ranians, his country-men. But his suspense continued, and he kept his eyes fixed on the succour which he expected from Nizam-el-mulk. The latter, who had quitted the court exceedingly disgusted with the Emperor, and with his favorite Qhandöbran, payed but little attention to the troubles that were ruining Hindostan: he even wished to see the ministers as well as all the grantees humbled to the dust, by any means whatever. On the other hand, the Emperor had conceived too strong suspicions against him, and was too much obfeded by Qhandöbran, to resolve on an application to him; he had even so bad an opinion of all the T8ranian grantees of his court, that he made it a point to abstain from consulting any of them. Mean while, whole days and nights passed in consultations and incertitude; and no decisive part was taken; and indeed no principle of life and action could be communicated by those impotent Lords, and those Monsubdars and dignitaries so fertile in excuses, who swarmed in the capital as well as in camp, and most of whom were men

The Imperial  
Generals prove  
defective both  
in courage and  
in Talents.

of





of no capacity at all. As to those amongst them, that were capable of thinking, they did not dare to open any advice, that might clash with Qhandö8ran's opinion; and the Emperor himself, whose favorite he was, and on whose mind he had acquired an unbounded influence followed by an absolute power over the whole Empire, was unwilling to listen to any thing that might give him umbrage. That Prince used to write both to Qhandö8ran on one hand, and to Camer-eddin-qhan, on the other, whatever came into his mind; and these two did not fail to excuse themselves by far-fetched reasons, and out of the way considerations. Letters and consultations were perpetually passing and repassing between the Emperor and Qhandö8ran; and as an open communication was maintained betwixt the city and camp, it came at last to be the general wish of the court, that an agreement should take place with the Marhattas. Qhandö8ran himself, now fully sensible, that to give a compleat defeat to those free-booters, was more than he could perform and much beyond his courage, thought it best to leave both peace and war in a profound obscurity, and to envelope them both in a cloud of delicate policy that left every thing in suspense. Such a management he thought to be a shrewd stroke of politicks; but mean while to extricate himself from his difficulties, he set out on his return to the capital. Things were in this woeful state, when by one of those strokes of providence, and by an unexpected piece of good fortune, news came that the Marhattas had been chastised by Saadet-qhan in the manner they deserved; and this intelligence tranquilized the minds of the whole court.

THIS exertion was the more unexpected, as Saadet-qhan had no other Government than that of Ä8d, and no other office or command, than that of the Pike-man of the presence; in number of troops and in plenty of money he was reputed inferior to most of the grandees of the Empire; and more-over his Government being on the north of the Ganga, he seemed to have no concern at all with those that were on the south of that mighty river, and

still





still left, with the Marhattas themselves. But he was likewise a man of great personal courage, full of a sense of honour, jealous of the glory of the Empire, always intent on some high undertaking, and fond of military glory and renown: Shocked to see the pusillanimous behaviour of men at the head

\*Sadet-qhan  
alone is successful  
against the Mar-  
hattas.

such numerous armies, and fired with indignation at the incessant encroachments, and endless insolencies of the Marhattas, he resolved to avenge the honour of the Empire, and to take that task upon himself, as a particular business of his own. Full of those high notions, he reviewed his troops, (and these were always kept in readiness,) augmented their number, furnished them with such ammunition and such a quantity of provisions as he thought necessary; and joining to them a train of Artillery, he quitted A8d his capital, taking with him his Nephew and son-in-law, Ab8l-man8r-qhan; and he marched at the head of his army, firmly resolved to fight the Marhattas. With this view, he crossed the Ganga, and wanted likewise to cross the Djumna, in order to give assistance to Radja Behdäör, a friend and a dependant of his. This Radja being besieged in his fortress by an army of Marhattas, had applied to Saadet-qhan for assistance. The latter answered him by this short note: *Be sure not to be dismayed, and be sure not to give them one farthing; for look; I will be with you instantly.* After writing so much, he set out: but as the Radjas of Bundelcund had joined the Marhattas, and both were intent in watching the fords of the Djumna, such a passage was become difficult, and not to be performed in haste; and mean while the Radja his friend had received a great defeat, and was reduced to the last extremity. At the same time, Malräo, who was one of the greatest Generals of Badjiräo's army, having found means to cross the Djumna, and to turn Saadet-qhan's rear, without his suspecting any thing of the matter, had fallen at once upon the province of Atäya and was actually burning and sacking every thing from the gates of that city, to the seat of Moty-bagh, which is close to Ecber-abad; wherever he passed he left nothing but slaughter, desolation and ashes: from

thence





thence he turned towards the towns of Saad-abad and Djelâir, and was going to serve them in the same manner; when Saadet-qhan, on the 22d of Zilcaadah of the year 1149, suddenly appeared in the Marhatta's rear, like a storm that threatens destruction from afar; and finding the free-booters dispersed, he fell so vigorously upon them, that he never ceased killing and slaughtering until he had chased them beyond Ytimad-abad, which was at four coffes distance from the field of battle. Heaps of dead where to be seen every where, and the road for eight miles together was strewn with corpses. Three Generals of character were taken prisoners; and Malrão himself being severely wounded, thought himself happy to make his escape with a few followers. The main of the run-aways, having thrown away their booty, fled towards the Djumna; and having in their hurry and consternation, mistaken one place for another, they plunged in to a part of the river that had no ford, where disappearing in the eddies of annihilation they perished in shoals. Malrão with the few that kept pace with him, found with infinite pains his way to Badjirão's camp, to whom he presented himself in the most dismal condition, for this Generalissimo of the Marhatta Empire, was then encamped at Cöutélé, a little town inhabited by Sëids, close to Gwalior. Whilst that wretched was flying, Saadet-qhan was pursuing incessantly at the rate of ten coffes a day and more, until he reached the town of Deholp8r-bari, which is at eighteen coffes from Echer-abad, and on this side of the river Chunbul, where he had heard that Badjirão was encamped with the main army, and where he intended to attack and serve that Generalissimo in the same manner, he had served Malrão, so soon as he should have done with the remains of the run-aways. He wished by such a double victory to recover the sullied honor of the Hindostanies; but finding after a fruitless pursuit that not one man of that accursed race was to be discovered, he returned to his own camp, where he gave two days rest to his troops. At the end of that time, he published that every trooper should keep himself ready to march with four days provisions





tions and water; and that if any one should be found in his tent after the hour of departure, his horse would be hamstring (240), and himself carried in derision round the camp. Mean while he ordered a number of ox-skins and other leathern vessels to be filled with water; and a vast quantity of cakes to be baked, to the end that the troops might not want for either victuals or water, in the intended pursuit. Some light artillery he loaded upon elephants, and a quantity of wall-pieces and swivels upon camels; and having distributed his water and provisions upon his mules, camels, and other beasts of burthen, he published that he was resolved to pursue the enemy beyond the Chunbul, and that he would be the first at the head of his troops to throw himself into the water, and the foremost to give his men an example of courage and perseverance. Whilst he was setting out on this expedition which had now engrossed his affection, letters came from Qhandöuran. That minister had heard of Saadet-qhan's bravery and decisive conduct, and stung to the quick by a success that reflected so much dishonor upon himself, he wanted either to join that general and share in the honor of the expedition, or by withholding him from it, to make him a sharer in his own inaction and disgrace. With these ideas he wrote him several letters, in which under the most "sacred oaths, he assured him that he was setting out to join him, "and recommended his waiting a little until he might proceed with him on "the destruction of those free-booters, but by all means advised him to avoid "all precipitation." Saadet-qhan who had just mounted his horse, found himself stopped short by these letters of the minister's, and greatly at a loss how to act. Nevertheless, he thought proper to suspend his march; and three or four days after, he was joined by Qhandöuran who on the approach of the Marhattas, had been ordered by the Emperor to join Saadet-qhan with several other lords and commanders. All this while the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan was

His Ardor  
damped by the  
Vezir and Qhan-  
döbran's jea-  
lousy.

(250) The Hindostany troopers find themselves not only in victuals, cloathing, arms and accoutrements, but also in horses, and this is the main reason of their backwardness to face any fire of artillery or musquetry: their whole fortune is at stake.

encamped





The Marhattas avail themselves of this supposition to turn the rear of the Imperial Army and plunder to the suburbs of the Capital.

encamped at thirty cosses from the capital on the high road of Adjmir; and Mahmed-qhan bangash, with his body of troops, was also on that side, waiting the arrival of the enemy. On the junction of Qhandouran with Saadet-qhan, six or seven days were spent in visits and entertainments; and this delay having been perceived by the Marhattas, they availed themselves of it to recover breath from Saadet-qhan's pursuit; and turning suddenly his rear, they marched straight to the capital, which they rightly supposed to be empty of troops; this they did with so much rapidity, that on the eighth of that Zilhidj of that same year they were at Toghl8c-p8r, under the command of Badjirao, generalissimo of that nation. As that town was filled with an immense multitude of Mussulmen and Hindoos from the city, who had flocked thither both on a principle of devotion, and on parties of pleasure, they were all leisurely plundered. An immense booty was made here; and the Marhattas having passed the night near Qhadja-c8t8b-eddin's monument, the next day, which was Arefat (251) day, they plundered the street inhabited by the jewellers, and sacked and burned all the shops of that town. About noon they proceeded farther and sacked the town of Palem; from whence the shoals of runaways and wounded flying into the city, filled it with dreadful accounts of what they had seen and felt; and the citizens, without further inquiry, lost both their courage and senses, filled the city with a general uproar; and the whole soon became one continued scene of dismay and confusion. The Emperor hearing of this sudden approach of the enemies, ordered the few lords and troops that were about his person, to rally forth and to repel the Marhattas: on his order, Emir-qhan, Radja Bahqt-mul, and Mir-hassen-qhan-gocal-tah, with Munevver-qhan, brother to Zaafer-qhan, and Abdol-Maab8d-qhan, and the Hindoo Shi8-sing, Colonel of the corps called Amberies, with many other commanders, sallied forth, and advancing out of the city to an advantageous

(251) The Arefat-day is always the ninth of the month of Zilhidj; and is so called because the Pilgrims at Mecca, return that day to that mount to perform the sacrifice or Corban, which always falls on the tenth. The mountain itself is so called, because Adem and Hovah, after some hundred years separation, met again on that spot, and knew each other.





post near the Cazif-fera and the Laal-catra, they extended their ranks, and presented battle to the enemy. Mir-hassien-qhan and Shy8-fing who had more courage than either experience or prudence, advanced farther; although Emir-qhan who was endowed with both, repeatedly sent them word to stop, and to observe that to fight the Marhattas at this particular time, so as to part from their main, was a step utterly improper: He thought it better that they should keep together with the others. But this advice made no effect on those two imprudent men; they would not hear it, and continued advancing. The Marhattas at first appeared at a distance by one or a few at a time, until they had drawn them farther and farther into the plain; and then they all at once fell upon them, and with their short spears and long swords commenced such a terrible execution as threw the whole into the utmost dismay. A man wounded found means to escape, and running-up to Emir-qhan, he had the boldness to reproach him with backwardness and neglect: "What are you doing here, said he, whilst a Seyd and an Imam is cutting down?" Emir-qhan who was a man fertile in bon-mots, and of such a turn of mind that for any thing in the world he would have not missed an opportunity of giving way to his vein for raillery, heard the message with a smile, and even at such a moment he had the *sang froid* to answer: "friend, we are perfectly satisfied with twelve Imams; if some one has a mind to be a thirteenth and chuses to be cut down, we have no objections to it (252)." As the people of Hindostan have not that skill (253) in the art of fighting on horse back, which characterises the Marhattas, most of them were slain, and their leader Mir-hassen-qhan, with the few that

(252) Emir-qhan, as a pretended Shya, admitted only twelve Imams or Pontiffs, descended from Hussein, and according to their tenet, to whoever should admit any other for an Imam is a reprobate and deserves death.

(253) Whether Indians are less skilled than other nations in fighting on horseback is very much to be doubted; for they have been fitted by nature, for good horsemen, and in fact they prove always so, having much longer shanks and longer legs in proportion than Europeans and Moguls. They have also in general no more than from nine to eleven ribs, whereas those nations have them from ten to twelve and fourteen. Hence the navel with an European is at the middle of his body, whereas with an Indian it is four inches higher: hence there is no groom in Hindostan, who will not jump readily upon his master's horse, without any stirrup or help: hence the generality of the Indians are so light-footed, that they make nothing of following and preceding Englishmen on a full gallop, whether the latter be in a coach or on a fleet horse. Common servants have been seen who would run down a hare.





remained, with him, made his retreat, wounded, and hardly alive, and the run-aways despoiled of their arms and horses, crept back every one to his house. Emir-qhan and the other commanders, after having tarried at the post the whole day, on the dusk of the evening returned to their tents. Meanwhile the plundering and sacking of Togh18c-p8r, and the danger which threatened Shah-Djehan-nabad having been rumoured abroad, the Lords at the head of the armies in the environs of the capital, knowing that the Emperor was left alone, and that the Marhattas had suddenly disappeared, hastened to court with the rapidity of so many Couriers. The Vezir Camey-eddin-qhan who was the nearest of all, being only at thirty coffes, arrived the first; and having had on the ninth of Zilhij a skirmish with the Marhattas, he on the next day, which was the day of the sacrifice, encamped in the suburbs of the capital, at which fight the Marhattas retired a little farther. Saadet-qhan on his side, quitted Ecber-abad where he was, and having measured sixty five coffes in two days, (254) he arrived on the evening of the second day at Talpat which is close to the city. Qhandöuran who had set out with him, arrived some time after; and the third day Mahmed-qhan-bangash joined them. As the Marhattas had already felt the weight of the blows dealt out by Saadet-qhan, and they had plentifully drank of the water (255) that flowed from his fabre, they did not like to see him again and in such numerous company; and being besides heavily loaded with booty, they wheeled round and retreated, burning, and sacking, and utterly destroying in their retreat the towns of Rivari and Bat8di; after which, they marched on to Malva and Gudjrat, their new conquests, ruining and destroying every thing in their journey, but without tarrying any where. The result of all those troubles and movements was, that the Emperor observing that of so many generals and Lords, not one but Saadet-qhan had thought of attacking the Marhattas or

The Emperor  
with his whole  
Council contents  
to pay a tribute  
to the Marhattas

(254) The b ades so much esteemed all over the East are of a steel, that looks waved, and hence such a fabre if it has those waves very close and short, is called Ab-dar or watry; and the waves themselves are called *ab*, water. Hence so many allusions and metaphors quite natural to one, that has seen Persian and Hindostannee fabres.

(255) About one hundred and fifty miles.





of pursuing them; and that they had all of them availed themselves of some excuse, to remain where they were, without moving a foot; he fell into a state of despondence, and concluded with his whole council that it would be expedient to put an end to all his anxiety by paying them a *chout*, or tribute.

THAT prince although completely convinced that Nizam-el-mulk was the contriver and director of this incursion, was likewise sensible how difficult it would be to punish him for such a conduct; and thinking it better to use policy, he wrote him several letters full of kindness; gave him the title of Affeddä (256), raised his military grade to eight thousand horses, and flattered his pride so much, that the other resolved to come to court. Leaving therefore his second son Nizam-eddöulah-nafr-djung (257), for his Deputy and Lieutenant in the kingdom of Decan, he set out for the capital; but the rumour of his coming being spread every where, Qhandöuran hurried with all his might the agreement with the Marhattas, to prevent his having any concern in the treaty. It was stipulated that they would henceforwards approve themselves the servants of the Imperial court, and obey his Majesty's commands, as well as the directions of his ministers, without keeping up any correspondence with Nizam-el-mulk, or siding with him in any manner. This was the purport of the agreement; but the Marhatta General perceiving the pusillanimity and cowardice of the grandees at court, and sensible of the want of discernment in the minister, made a treaty with both parties, and kept fair with both the court and Nizam-el-mulk. The latter being arrived at Shah-djehan-abad On the 16th of the first Reby in the year 1150 payed his respects to the Emperor; and about a month after, the Qhylaät of the two governments of Malva and Gudjrat, were conferred on his eldest son Ghazi-eddin-qhan on the dismissal of Djehi-sing and Badjiräo. On the Friday following news arriving of the decease of Abdol-femed-qhan, the fa-

(256) The wife minister that sits instead of Affef, Minister to Sulëiman or Solomon.

(257) Nafr-djung is the prince assassinated in his own camp by some malcontents supported by Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry.





mous Viceroy of Lahor, a Qhylaats of consolation was bestowed on the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan his brother; and other Qhylaats of condolance were sent likewise to that General's family at Lahor, together with a particular one to Zekeriah-qhan, his son who received thereby a confirmation of the Governments of Lahor and M8ltan. At the same time Nizam-el-mulk in obedience to the Emperor's command, marched out to chastise Badjirāo; and he advanced to Acbar-abad; and having fixed as his deputy in that city, a relation of his own, he marched to Malva by crossing the Djumna at Acbar-abad; and having passed to Atva, he recrossed that river at Calpi and arrived in the Bundelcund, where he arrested the Radja or Prince of the Country. From thence he advanced to Bhopal, which is a town of the dependency of Malva. Badjirāo hearing of his design, came out from the Decan at the head of a mighty host, and meeting Nizam-el-mulk on the plains of that town, several bloody engagements took place; but as none of them proved decisive, the latter who now received intelligence that Nadyr-shah had invaded Hindostan, thinking the Marhattas but a small object in comparison, preferred an accommodation with Badjirāo, and leaving those enemies behind, he returned to the capital with all expedition.

TROUBLES and evils of this magnitude were reckoned but small objects by a set of Traiterous grandees, who intent only on ruining each other, made no account of the consequences, if they could but compass their private ends; nor did they make any scruples, when necessary for their purpose, to shed the blood of Musulmen, and to slaughter a whole race of Sēyds. Séif-eddin-aaly-qhan, one of those noble persons attached to the late Abdollah-qhan, had, on that Vezir's defeat, retired upon his paternal estate, where he subsisted upon a small revenue afforded by a Djaghir of Imperial gift and a Taallook of land (258), which had been hereditary in his family. This slender subsistence,

(258) In order to understand thoroughly this affair, the reader must be informed that a Djaghir is a grant of lands in free hold, or for a quit-rent or for some expected service, but in general, revocable at the donor's pleasure; and a Taallook, is a spot of land either purchased by the acquiror's money or held by him under a fixed rent or as a copy hold; whereas a Zemindary is always held in Capite. It is often hereditary, but not always. The atemgah is a Djaghir irrevocable, and of course falls within the description of charity-land.





just enough to support life, he shared with a number of old, impotent, or ruined persons of his family and dependence; and it was this small estate that proved an eye sore to Camer-eddin-qhan and to the T8ranians, who unable to bear the sight of a Sëyd, and cherishing in their bosoms an enmity to the whole race, were resolved to extirpate every relation of Hossëin-aaly-qhan's. With this intention Camer-eddin-qhan appointed one Hushmet-qhan to the command of the checlaw or division of Soharen-poor, who had orders to take possession of, and confiscate the lands and estates held by Sëif-eddin-aaly-qhan and the other persons and dependants of Hossëin-aaly-qhan's family. That wretched being arrived on the spot, extended the hand of usurpation and violence on the possessions of the Prince of the children of Adam (259), and wanted to deprive Sëif-eddin-aaly-qhan and those unfortunate people of that little which constituted their very subsistence. Reduced to the last extremity, and at a loss how to escape from the claws of that wretched, they, according to the sentence, *despair knows no laws*, rose in their own defence, and deprived their oppressor of the garment of life. This act of necessity was highly resented by the Vezir and his brother Azim-ollah-qhan; and those men that had put up patiently with Djan-neffar-qhan's death, and with a miscreant Gentoo's taking possession of a Musulman's consort and family; those men that had made so small account of so black a crime; and had so little sense of honor and shame, as to have not thought so much as once how to take an adequate revenge for such an enormity; those very men now looked upon such an act of necessity, and the killing of Hushmet-qhan by a Sëid's hand (260), to be a flagitious affront that concerned the honor of government, and reflected upon the unfulfilled cha-

Ruin of the  
town of Djan-  
sita.

(5) Mo'ammed.—the authors bigotry and narrowness of mind is throughout this story exhibited in strange colours; and he all a long makes nothing of a private man's raising the standard of rebellion, against an established Prince, whom he had fought with an armed hand, who had suffered him hitherto to live quietly, and whose followers he had undoubtedly served with resurrections and confiscation, had his party prevailed.

(260) This notion of the peculiar blessing attending the being killed by a Sëid's hand is hardly known in India, but to this day after a lapse of twelve Centuries, it is so rooted amongst even camel-drivers of Mecca, Medina and Taif, that the meanest of them on being detected in a theft on loading and unloading a traveller's things on their camels, never fails to reprimand him by these very words *what art thou grumbling for? am I not thy Lord and master?* any dispute about such a pretension would be followed by a blow, and then by a stab.





rafter of its ministers; and nothing now could expiate such an enormity, but spilling the blood of an illustrious Seïd and putting to the sword a whole family of needy people. The expedition was thought of importance enough, to require no less an appointment than that of that second Ab8soffian, (261), his own brother, Azim-ollah-qhan, who with the remains of the army of Damascus, that is with a body of T8ranians under his command, and a body of Rohillas under that of Aly-Mahmed-qhan Rohilah, joined some other troops of Ferid-eddin-qhan, and Ozmet-ollah-qhan's, both Sheh-zadas of Lucknow, the latter of whom was Fodjdar of M8rad-abad on the part of Camer-eddin-qhan, and they marched to destroy the Nobleman in question, and all the Seïds of Barr (262). Those wretches animated by a diabolical spirit of revenge, being arrived in that country, ranged their troops in order of battle; and Seïf-eddin aaly-qhan on his side having put himself at the head of his dependants and kinsmen, and the few that chose to stand by him in that critical moment, both parties advanced against each other, the injured Seïd, being resolved to defend his honor, life and property: he was inferior in numbers, and destitute of artillery and of some other necessities; nevertheless he drew so much strength from his own despair, that he repulsed Azim-ollah-qhan, and made him lose a great deal of ground: he was even going to send this wretched with his miscreants to their destined seats at the bottom of hell, when another army of accursed RohilaAfghans made its appearance on the Seïd's flank, and poured such a violent fire of musquetry and rockets, as made all those Seïds with their Lord at their head drink of the cup of martyrdom. After that they advanced to Djanstitah, a town where the unfortunate

(261) Absoo-soffian, an uncle of Mohammed's had always approved himself an inveterate enemy to the Prophet, but with the author a bigotted childish Shya, he had another flaw, he was father to M8aviyah, who set at nought Aly's pretences to the Qhalifat, or supreme dominion, and sent from Damascus, his residence a numerous army to fight him.

(262) The Musulmen of India divided themselves into four races: Moguls, or white men—strangers and these are called a race of Kings—Parans, or Afghans, or a race of soldiers; Shehs or a race of learned men: and these last are either converted Gentoos or descendants from arábians, as the word Sheh-zadah implies; lastly Seïds or a race sacred, that is those pretended to be descended from the prophet; and in no other country of the world is the appellation of Seïd, so much usurped or so much respected.





Sëid had taken up his residence, as having been built and peopled by his illustrious ancestors; and listening only to the dictates of insolence and avidity, plundered and sacked it, throwing themselves on the houses of those unfortunate Sëids, nor were they ashamed to lay their prophane hands upon those chaste Sëidancee matrons that had never set a foot on a street, and to expose their nakedness (263), to the open air after having covered their heads with the ashes of woe and defilement. That unfortunate town became for some days a picture of the Last Day's desolation. The cries and lamentations that incessantly came from so many impotent people striped of their all, and the screams that rose from those desolate habitations emptied of their contents, found their way as far as the cupola of the seventh Heaven. For it is reported by persons worthy of credit, that for several days together after the perpetration of all these enormities, such an uncommon redness overspread the horizon morning and evening, that it seemed as if the hem of tyrannical heaven had been steeped in the blood of those unfortunate people, and the eye of the day and night had been shedding tears of blood on the fate of those afflicted women. These violences exercised upon Sëids, and the consequent redness of the horizon gave room to the conjectures of those that were versed in history; and persons skilled in unravelling Physical causes, and who, to that knowledge of times and Phenomena, added an acquaintance with the niceties and particulars that are the result of the heavenly bodies, were all unanimous in affirming, that this country would infallibly be afflicted by some General massacre and a variety of miseries, as a punishment for the Vezir's blind obstinacy, and as a chastisement for the violences exercised by that accursed Azim-ollah-qhan on the descendants of the Prophet: For they affirmed that such and the like calamities had always been portended by such an extraordinary redness of the Sky.

(263) A Sëidancee is a Sëid woman; in India Sëydancees make it a point never to take a second husband, altho' in other respects they take freedoms enough in all conscience: Nevertheless some of them carry the point so far as to starve themselves to death, or to take poison after losing a husband.





## Contents of the Fourth Section.

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**B**Y this time Qhandö8ran's power and influence had risen to a height; but such a strange perversity had grown up in his mind, or he was naturally so very unfortunate, that whatever he took in hand or contrived, was sure to miscarry, or to be productive of some mischief; and so soon as he had done any thing, he always had reason to repent of it: such was his treaty with the Marhattas, mentioned in the foregoing sheets; and this is to be understood as a sample from a quantity, and as a handful from a heap. His connivance at the speculation exercised in the article of public money sent to Cabul; and

his





his neglect in the guard of the narrow passes and defiles of that province are of that number, together with the little attention he paid to the complaints of the troop, appointed to guard those inlets of that mountainous province; nor can it be doubted but that to such a neglect is owing the mighty calamity which Hindostan suffered from Nadyr-shah's invasion. For had he attended to the payment of the Mountaineers, destined to guard those difficult passes; and had he taken for the conservation of that province, such other precautions as the case required, it is probable that Nadyr-shah would not have thought of invading Hindostan; or if he had, that he would not have found in his passage those unexpected facilities that so much expedited his march. Nasyrqaan, the Governor of that important province, was a pious man, that spent his whole time either in hunting, or in devotions and in reading the Coran; he had never made the least representation to Qhandöbran on the latter's withdrawing, as of no purpose, the pension of twelve lacks a year, which used to be sent for the guards and garrisons of those parts. Hence the vallies and and defiles of the province were left unguarded both by the Governor, who did not mind them, and by the minister who did not think them of so much importance, as to trouble his head with them. Hence the guards being ill-paid, abandoned their posts, and the garrisons being utterly neglected, invited the invaders; and the report of the minister's inattention, and of the weakness of government, being rumoured every where, every one without fear of controul or examen, thought only of cutting for himself without minding any consequences. The roads and passes being neglected, every one passed and repassed, unobserved; no intelligence was forwarded to court of what was happening; and neither Emperor nor Minister ever asked why no intelligence of that kind ever reached their ears. But this neglect was followed by another still more ruinous in its consequence.

Qhandöbran by neglecting the narrow passes of the Province of Cabül puts it in the power of Nadyr-shah to invade Hindostan with ease.



It is a singular observation that the Princes of the illustrious race of Sefi (264) never had the least occasion to apply to the Emperors of Hindostan for any service; and on the contrary that Emperors of Hindostan, namely, Sultan Babr and Sultan H8maï8n, took refuge in the Courts of the immortal Shah-ismaïl and of his virtuous son Shah Tahmasp, (that precious gem worthy of a place in paradise,) and that they were cherished and assisted by those Princes in the recovery of their dominions. Nevertheless it is certain and notorious that the Emperors of the Sefevian race, although no ways influenced by necessity, or any views of their own, kept by Embassies and congratulations, a constant intercourse with the Emperors of Hindostan, and thereby exhibited proofs of their good nature and civility; nevertheless so uncivil was the Court of Shah-djehanabad under Mahmed-shah, and so unattentive to those marks of amity and friendship, that it seemed intirely insensible to them, or even had assumed opposite sentiments: for on the subsiding of the civil wars in the Empire of Iran, and on Shah-Tahmasp the second's taking possession of the Throne of his ancestors, and driving from thence the Afghan invaders, Mahmed-shah, so far from taking any becoming concern in that event by a congratulation or any other mark of attention, on the contrary had kept a friendly correspondence with the Afghan Pir-vëis, and had thereby opened a door for messages and letters, although Pïr-vëis's son had never made any difficulty of invading M8ltan and putting every thing to fire and sword in that province, during the little time his family kept possession of Candahar. It is no less certain that Shah-tahmasp, after possessing himself of Ispahan his capital, and destroying the Afgan power, had sent one of his Lords to the Hindostany court with an account of these events, and also some letters that insinuated that those ungrateful and perfidious mountaneers having been chastised according to their deserts

(264) The Sefevian family, of which there are several branches now in India, and in Bengal, in the year 1786 87 is the appellative name of the Imperial family that had reigned in Persia about two hundred and fifty years, and has been expelled by Tahmasp-esly-qhan, since called Nadyr-shah: however it is not Sefi, but Sheh-händer who founded that family.





and driven out of Iran, had now no place left in the world for refuge, against the destroying arm of the Iranian troops but the Empire of Hindostan; that is was therefore incumbent upon the prudence of the Hindostany Court to refuse admittance to those miscreants within their territories. However neither the ~~letter~~ nor the embassy were taken notice of, but after a deal of time, and it was only to return an ambiguous frivolous answer by the same ambassador. On the Imperial Prince Abbass-mirza's mounting the throne of Iran, another such embassy and another such request was sent from that Court into Hindostan, and this minister too after a deal of time, was dismissed with such another letter as the preceeding, a letter full of words that said nothing to the purpose. Another envoy came again from the same quarter on Nadyr Shah's being firmly established on the throne; and it was a Cuzzul-bash (265) of character who brought it; but the ambassador having been plundered by banditties on the road, it was with the utmost difficulty, and not but after many entreaties that he obtained from them to return him his credentials; and these proved to be one letter for Saadet-qhan, who had now become one of the most considerable Lords of Hindostan, and one for Mahmed Shah. With all the pains imaginable, he performed his journey to the capital, and delivered his message and letters, but with out having the means of returning home. Nor did Mahmed-Shah or any of his Ministers much mind his distress. They were wholly absorbed in wondering at so many envoys and so many messages sent from Iran: but surprised at the same time to hear that Hossain-qhan, the Afghan had taken possession of Candahar, where he got himself crowned, and from whence he made incursions into M3ltan, a Province of Hindostan; they sent for Nizam-el-mulk from Decan with intention to avail themselves in case of need of the abilities of an old General, who had served with distinction under Äoreng-zib the conqueror, and passed for a wolf that had seen

(265) *Cuzzul-bash* signifies red head, a name given to a body of twelve thousand men raised for his guard by the first Shah-ismail, and which the Turks are pleased to give in derision to the whole nation of Iran or Persia.





Nadyr-shah  
sends another  
Ambassy to Del-  
hi, and then ten  
messengers.

much bad weather, was much experienced in the ways of the world, and thoroughly apprised of the difference betwixt day and night. They kept him at court, although he wanted to return to Decan; and they were resolved to put his abilities and his experience to the test, should any untoward emergency come to take place; for about this time Nadyr-shah had advanced as far as Candahar, which he besieged; and from thence he had sent again Mahmed-qhan the Turk-inan, with a repetition of his former message, and a complaint upon the former subjects. The envoy being arrived at the capital, delivered his letter and message, and was desired to wait a little, but with no positive answer, although he insisted upon his departure. The ministers disputed amongst themselves, sometimes about the purport of the answer, and sometimes about what stile was to be used, and what title should be given to Nadyr-shah: they went so far as to think it a piece of good policy to delay the Ambassador's return; and they waited to see whether the Afghan-hussain-qhan, after having ruined Nadyr-shah's forces before Candahar, would not so far weaken that prince, as to reduce him to nothing; after which there would not be any occasion to write an answer at all. Mean while the siege of Candahar being converted into a long blockade, and Mahmed-qhan not making his appearance, Nadyr-shah wrote him a letter, and sent it by a few horsemen; the letter inquired about the reasons of so much delay, and it recommended diligence, and a speedy return, with an answer. But all this did not hasten his departure; and he continued to be detained under a variety of pretences, without being able to obtain any answer at all. The blockade of Candahar drawing to a length, Nadyr-shah ordered a town to be built over against it, which he called Nadyr-abad; and from thence the siege was renewed, and assaults given; until at last a body of Cuzzelbalhes escalated the walls, put the Afghans to the sword every where, and took the fortresses to-

(266) A province in the north of Persia or Iran, called *Mazenderan* from the mazy-woods with which it was in ancient times overspread, and with which it is to this day surrounded, the word *maze* having the same signification both in English and Persian. Nor is this particular to be doubted of as besides the words *father*, *mother*, *daughter*, *brother*, *to tame*, *to chew*, *to stand*, *to stir*, with the words *poor*, *bore*, *but then*, *bill*, *bog* &c. and above a hundred more all monosyllables, or at most dissyllables, are both English and Persian,





gether with Hussein-qhan, who was sent to end his days in Mazanderan where he was confined.

It must be observed, that since the signal defeat given the Afghan's at Shiraz in Iran, they had led a wandering life without King and without Government; in so-much that most of them, hard pressed by their enemies, had spread all over Hindostan where they had turned husbandmen in some parts, and soldiers in others, settling themselves in several provinces of that Empire, where they incorporated with the other subjects. Aly-mahmed-qhan, called Rohilla, was one of them. In the battle against Séif-eddin-aaly-qhan, he had rendered an important service to Azim-ollah-qhan, that had recommended him to the notice, and also to the favor of the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, who gave him in free gift some Lands and some Djaghirs dependent on the Qaliffah office. This man, although only an adoptive son to an Afghan, being originally a Gentoo-Ahîr or herdsman, found means to approve himself a man of courage and abilities; and having taken into his service, and assembled about his person those herds of Afghans that were continually flying from Candahar, he formed them into an army, and by their means spread his authority in the countries contiguous to his Djaghiry lands, such as Anöblah, Sumbul, Moradabad, Bedahon, Berheily and some others, of which he took possession. From this narrative it will appear that the proposal made to Mahmud-shah for shutting the passages of Cabül, so as to prevent the Afghans from flocking into India, was in fact beyond his power; for the garrisons of those parts having been totally neglected; the customary remittances in money from the Capital, suppressed; and the guards of the defiles and difficult passes, left unpaid and unthought of, whilst the Governor himself was contented with residing at Lahor; where was the man that would mind those troops of free-booters, and those shoals of Afghan banditties that were continually passing and re-passing? and even supposing that any one had such a mind, where was the power to enforce a prohibition? and how probable could it be that a set of ministers, who, with such a man as Nadyr-shah at their elbows, for years

together