



together, had never minded his motions, should ever trouble themselves about other matters of an inferior importance? or that, after having been so careless about Nadyr-shah's views and schemes, they should think of the motions of some Afghan banditties?

To return again to Nadyr-shah, that Prince, after the capture of Candahar, ordered that fortress to be ruined, and its inhabitants to be transported to Nadyrabad; and from thence he marched towards Ghaznin and Cabul. In his way thither he sent this message to the Curval of the latter place (267) "Know, that I have no business with Mahmed-shah's dominions: but as these frontiers are an inexhaustible mine of Afghans, and a number of those run-aways have joined him as well as you, I wish only to destroy that race of miscreants: be therefore under no concern or apprehension for yourself, and make every thing ready to receive me as your guest." After this message, he advanced and encamped under the very walls of the fortress, on the turrets of which the Cabulians, with the Curval at their head, appeared in great numbers, ready to defend themselves, without paying any regard to the admonition sent them. A body of Cuzzelbashies being ordered to escalade the walls and to undermine the fortifications, the Burghers on the first attack, called out for quarter; and quarter being granted, they came out of the gates and surrendered the fortress, and acknowledged themselves his subjects. Intelligence coming at the same time that several bodies of Afghans were skulking about in the mountains, troops were sent after them, and as many of those mountaineers as could be come at, were put to the sword. No news mean while coming from Mahmed-qhan-turkman the Envoy, Nadyr-shah made a choice of a certain number of considerable Cabulians, and sent them with a message to Mahmed-shah and his ministers. The envoys making haste, went by Lahor to Shah-djehanabad where they delivered their message, but where none would hear it, or if he did, none would comprehend it. It is reported by men of consequence and persons

(267) That fortress must have been so shockingly neglected as to have had not one Military man in it, for the Curval, is properly speaking a civil officer, a kind of justice of peace: he is the officer of the Police.





of veracity and credit, that whenever these Cab8lians, or any other persons of understanding that came from those parts, would open their mouths, and mention any thing of Nadyr-shah, Qhandö8ran turned the whole into ridicule, and used to add: *that the houses of this capital had very lofty roofs, (268) from which the Citizens were enabled to see Nadyr-shah and his Moguls from afar.* Himself with his friends and favorites looked upon this embassy and message of the Cab8lians as a farce contrived by the Vezir by Nizam-el-mulk, and by the T8ranians at court; and especially by Zekeriah-qhan the Viceroy of Cab8l, whom they knew to be a relation of the Vezir's: and they treated with contempt and with railery those that pretended there was no contrivance at all, but that the whole was mere matter of fact. In a country where the prime minister is actually under such an infatuation of mind, and where the intellects of those about his person, extend no farther, it is curious to see how they will manage to curb the aspiring grandees, and how they shall introduce order and subordination in the affairs of the empire! Nadyr-shah not tired with the repeated miscarriages of his envoys, dispatched from Cab8l another man under the escort of ten troopers. These being arrived at Djelalabad no sooner alighted at a house, than they were set upon by a mob that assembled about them and were all slain, after having been first disarmed; none escaped but the tenth, who found his way back to Cab8l, where he gave an account of what had passed. Nadyr-shah, who had been already full seven months in this province, busy in discovering bodies of Afghans, and in putting them to the sword, hearing of this affair at Djelalabad, lost all patience; and marching to that place, he surrounded it on all sides and ordered all the inhabitants to be massacred. It is very strange, but true, that many Qhylaats had been sent from court to reward those concerned in the murder of those ten men; and nothing prevented their being put-on by the perpetrators, but the general massacre that

(268) The houses at Dehly or Shah-djehan-abad are in general built of free stone, and the roof which is likewise of stone, being always flat, people sleep there for six months in the year, as they do in most parts of India, wherever the houses are of brick. See the note 75 of Section 6th,

followed





followed soon after. It is no less true, that on the first intelligence of Nadyr-shah's having entered the province of Cab8l, Qhandö8ran and Nizam-el-mulk had been ordered to march out and to oppose him; but they contented themselves with loitering their time in the City, after spreading several times the report of their marching out: a conduct which they thought to be a piece of refined policy, and a political stroke in the art of government. Nadyr-shah having sacked Djelalabad, marched to Pishavor, in the environs of which place he was encountered by Nassyr-qhan, governor of Cab8l, who, having joined to what troops he could muster a multitude of Afghans, which he brought together, resolved to make a stand in a certain defile and a narrow valley, as difficult as that of Qhaiber (269), and which he imagined to have put beyond insults. Nadyr-shah hearing of his preparations, sent him this short message: *I inform you that I shall be on such a day in such a place, from whence you will do well to retire, until I am passed.* The message produced no effect: that very day Nadyr-shah appeared; and having put to the sword every one that attempted to stand before him, whether Indian or Afghan, Nassyr-qhan himself was wounded, and fell in the hands of the Cuzzul-basbes; but on his informing them who he was, they carried him to Nadyr-shah, who in a few days after sent for him and honoured him with a Qhylaas. That Prince from Pishavor, advanced to the Ateck (270), which he crossed in boats, and he entered the Province of M8ltan, the Capital of which is Lahor. This unfortunate country exhibited already a scene of confusion and massacre: several thousands of banditties availing themselves of the weakness of government, coalesced into two opposite bodies, and these waging war amongst themselves, had put under contribution and ruined several of the best districts. On the approach of Nadyr-shah, Zekeriah-qhan proud of the troops he commanded, and of the artillery with which

(269) A narrow difficult valley in Arabia, East of Medina, where the prophet suffered much in reducing the Jews that inhabited those parts. Nor are the inhabitants even to day free from Judaism, being as fierce as ever.

(270) Ateck, comes from *Ateck* to stop; the Indus being in times of yore the last boundary of Hindostan towards Iran: a mighty river which none was suffered to cross without a pass from Cab8l; and Cab8l signifies consent, I agreed.





he could support them, came out of the city, and having chosen an advantageous post on the Ravi, the river that washes that city, he prepared for battle. But fools never know any thing of either war or peace; but when it is at their own expence. Nadyr-shah on descrying that multitude of Indians huddled together, spurred his horse into the water, and, with the few Cuzzel-bashes that were at hand, he pushed on to the opposite side, where he soon put to flight the foremost of those that seemed the best mounted and skilled; the rest, seeing this havoc, fled with the utmost consternation; and the Governor joined them, and took shelter within the City; whilst Nadyr-shah encamped close to the walls. Zekeariah-qhan, sensible now of his error, wrote a supplication to the Monarch to excuse the error of his conduct, and to offer a surrender; the offer being accepted, he came out, paid his respects, and was honored with a Qhylaati. From Lahor, Nadyr-shah proceeded directly to Shah-djehan-abad, from which city Mahmed-shah had likewise set out with his whole court and a numerous army: but he moved on with too much slowness, that in two months time he had only advanced to Carnal, a town seated at the head of the canal made by Aaly-verden-qhan; and this was just four days journey from the capital. There he encamped, and having a numerous artillery, he ordered it to be placed round the camp, and the guns to be made fast to each other by chains. Nadyr-shah on his march from Lahor had two or three times sent a message to the Indian Emperor, informing him of Mahmed-qhan Turkman's embassy to his court: to all which messages no answers were given, nor was the Ambassador himself dismissed: he was kept in camp, without any one being able to guess what might be the intent of such a strange Policy. Qhandöbran had long ago wrote to Radja-Djehising-saväi and to some other powerful Radjas, on the valour and prowess of whose Radjputs that minister reposed the highest confidence; and whose assistance he reckoned as certain; but it failed him; and every Gentoo Prince contented himself with amusing the minister with frivolous pretences, and far fetched excuses: every one kept himself at home; and not one of them did move a foot. The

Zekeariah-qhan  
Viceroy of Lahor  
is beaten and de-  
feated





Emperor and his whole court expected with impatience the arrival of Saadet-qhan; and the eye of hope was fixed on the ground he was to tread on the highway. What looks strange is, that although Nadyr-shah was now so very near, and his army was a numerous one, nevertheless not a man either public or private in the Hindostany army knew for certain where he might be; and the first intelligence received, was from the grafs-cutters (280), and other army men, who going out of camp at about eleven in the morning for the purpose of bringing forage and other necessaries, had advanced about three or four coffes in the plain; where having been set upon by some detached troops of the enemy's, they returned wounded to camp, which they filled with mighty reports of the heaviness of the blows they had received, and of the prowess of the Moguls. The camp was in a tumult in an instant; and a general panic seemed to have seized every mind; and eager was every one to see Saadet-qhan arrive: at last news came, that he was at hand, and on a Wednesday the fifteenth of Zilcaadah in the year 1150, Qhandö8ran advanced out of camp to meet him; and having embraced him, he brought him to the Emperor, who received that general with distinguished marks of favor and attention, and ordered him to encamp close to Qhandö8ran's troops. That general repairing to the spot, was waiting for his baggage, when news was brought that his baggage had been set upon by some of Nadyr-shah's light troops, which were committing much havock there. Saadet-qhan alarmed by such intelligence sent Qhandö8ran notice that he could not help going to assist his people actually engaged with the enemy; and he immediately advanced to the spot. Mean while this message having been imparted by Qhandö8ran to the Emperor, and by him to Nizam-el-mulk, the latter answered, that "it was already three in the afternoon, by which time Saadet-qhan's people must be spent by the length of their march; and that

(280) Horses in the field are fed in Hindostan with a kind of quickset grafs, which the grooms scrape from the open fields with a proper instrument. This same grafs is also dried into hay and sold in towns. Several kinds of corn are also added in the evening as barley, and a variety of beans.





“ it was unreasonable therefore to fight that day ; let his Majesty, added he,  
“ issue his commands to that General to contain his eagerness for a few  
“ hours until to-morrow morning, at which time the army being assembled,  
“ and in battle array with that numerous Artillery in their front, would march  
“ up to the enemy, and under his Majesty's auspices, would perform  
some glorious action.” This answer of Nizam-el-mulk's having been impart-  
ed by a message to Qhandöbran, the latter ascribed it to some neglect or  
jealousy in Nizam-el-mulk, and he returned for answer, “ that Saadet-qhan  
“ was already far off, and must undoubtedly be already engaged with the  
“ enemy ; and that it would be ungenerous indeed and cowardly to suffer so  
“ brave and so faithful a servant to be exposed alone to the enemy. Such neg-  
“ lect, said he, is very contrary to rule, and highly dishonorable to the ser-  
“ vice. Let others do as they please, for my part I must go, and support  
“ Saadet qhan.” He said, and immediately mounting his Elephant, which  
was standing in readiness, he marched forward, being followed by his own  
troops and by some light Artillery ; and there remained only two or three  
hours of day-light, when he arrived on the field of battle, where he took his  
post on Saadet-qhan's elbow, at about one mile distance from him. Nadyr-  
shah, on seeing his van engaged, left part of his army for the guard of his  
camp, and marching out with the main body, as far as the field of battle, he  
divided his troops in three parts, kept one with himself, and sent the two others  
to engage the two Indian Lords ; when the brave Cuzzel-bashes spurring their  
horses, rushed upon the enemy, and fell a wounding, killing and dismount-  
ing ; and in a couple of hours, they did so much execution, that the troops of  
those two Lords were thrown into the utmost disorder and fled, especially  
those of Qhandöbran's, who lost the bravest and most illustrious of his com-  
manders : These with Muzafer-qhan, his brother at their head, set-out in a  
body for the Regions of eternity. Of this number were Qhandöbran's eldest  
son, Aly-hamed-qhan, Sheh-zad-qhan, Yad-gar-qhan, with Mirza-akyl-beg





the Cuirass-wearer (281) and most of the men of his corps; as well as Mir-g818, son to Mir-mushreff, and Ratun-chund, son to Rây-qhoshall-chund. Qhandö8ran himself being severely wounded, and senseless, was carried away by a few friends, who on the dusk of the evening arrived at the army, where in consequence of that discipline so conspicuous in the camps of the Emperors of Hindostan, they found nothing of Qhandö8ran's encampment, but an empty waste, with not even a tree to afford shelter to that minister's, senseless and expiring body: the whole including treasure, furniture, tents, equipages, horses, and cattle, had been plundered by the Hindostanians and his own people. At last a small tent was sent by some person, and Qhandö8ran was stretched at his length upon the ground; where the Vezir Camer-eddin-ghan, and Nizam-el-mulk, together with the principal eunuchs of his Majesty's seraglio, came to visit him to condole on his misfortune, and to supplicate heaven for his conservation. Qhandö8ran, who was now come to himself, opened his eyes with difficulty, and finding himself going, he said these words: "as to me, my business is done: indeed we have done it ourselves: " now take care of your own concerns: let me tell you only a few " words: beware of letting the Emperor go to visit Nadyr-shah; and beware " of letting Nadyr-shah proceed to the city; better to avert that calamity from " hence, and to make him go back: procure this by every means in your power." The two lords, after hearing these words, and conferring a little together, returned to their homes; and Qhandö8ran, on the nineteenth of the same month departed this life, and repaired to the mansions of eternity.

Qhandö8ran  
slain.

Saadet qhan, taken  
by the Irani-  
ans.

MEAN while Saadet-qhan was still in the field of battle, and those of his men that had escaped the slaughter had formed into a body, and surrounded him on all sides, when the Cuzzel-bashes forming a general attack, one of them

(281) Cammel, signifies in Hindostany coarse blanket; it also signifies a quilted coat of arms; and there was a body of three thousand men at the Capital, accoutred in that garb. There are two quiltings, one with cotton, and one with the rejected parts of the *Cocoons*, always thrown away in manufactures of raw silk. This last bids defiance to the keenest sabre, and not seldom to the bullet. See the remark 82, Section 2d.





who was a young Turk, from those about Nishap8r, (282) and of course a townsman of Saadet-qhan's, having forced his passage, stood intrepidly before him, whilst the latter was shooting on all sides with his bow, and having recollected his features he cried out to him, "*Mahmed-amin, against whom art thou fighting? and on what soldiers dost thou reckon? Art thou mad?*" Saying this he fixed his spear in the ground, alighted, and making his horse fast to it, he got hold of one of the elephant's ropes, and mounted into the Häodah (283), where he presented his poinard to the other's throat. Saadet-qhan who knew the customs of Iran, made a sign of submission and surrendering to the man, was seized as prisoner by the claws of destiny and carried to Nadyr-shah. That Prince spoke a few words to him, and used him with much kindness; and it growing dark, he quitted the field of battle, and retired to his camp. Saadet-qhan being now informed of Qhand8rar's death, conceived that this was a favourable moment for succeeding to that Nobleman's office of Prince of Princes, which he had always kept in view; and with that intention he made a merit of his opening a negotiation with Nadyr-shah. That Prince agreed to conclude a peace, and to go back to his dominions, on being payed two corors of Rupees: and it was stipulated, that as soon as Nizam-el-mulk should come and provide for the payment of that sum, Nadyr-shah's sabre would be returned into the scabbard. This good piece of news was announced in a note from him to the Emperor and another to Nizam-el-mulk: the Emperor glad of the turn which his affairs had taken, at a time when both he, and his counsellor Nizam-el-mulk, had hidden their heads within the sleeve of trepidation and despair, and were at a loss what party to take, immediately dispatched Nizam-el-mulk with full powers to conclude. The latter being arrived in Nadyr-shah's

(282) Nishapoor or *Ne-shabor* *Ja-poor* his *shrub*, from the rose shrubs he found the ground beset with when he was rebuilding in Qhorassan, a town which had been ruined by Alexander. There are Affhars in Qhorassan as well as in Ad8r-bäyd an, a province at the western extremity of Persia the Affhars are a Turkish tribe, as are the Qandjars in Mezanderan and the Pehlies, and Zendies, &c. &c. elsewhere.

(283) The Häodah is the throne or Sedan on the elephant: it may admit two men, and with difficulty three. It is made of boards, and often cased with iron or brass, and so high, as to cover a man's breast. The Ambary is lower, and with a ceiling, and is for parade only.

camp,





camp, was introduced to that Prince by Saadet-qhan's mediation, where he promised to pay the two corors; after which, he returned in high spirits to his master, to whom he took care to set in the fairest point of view his own abilities and his zealous conduct throughout this treaty. The Emperor considering that this negociation had turned out much more favourably than he had reason to expect, loaded his counsellor with encomiums and favors, and heard with patience his requesting, as his reward, the office of Prince of Princes as well as the Qhylaat of that high dignity. That Monarch who hitherto had all along been agitated with fears for both his life, and crown, thought it incumbent upon him to comply with this general's ambitious demand, and to keep him contented; he therefore sent immediately for a Qhylaat and invested him with that high office. The next day being the twentieth, that Monarch on a note from Nadyr-shah, set out at day break for the Iranian camp with Nizam-el-mulk's advice and approbation. On his approaching, Nafr-allah-mirza (284) son to Nadyr-shah, came out by that conqueror's order to meet him; and on the young Prince's being described at some distance, Mahmed-shah ordered his Taht-revan or moving throne to be set down, and from thence he embraced him as a son; and taking him in his Taht-revan, he proceeded to Nadyr-shah's quarters. That conqueror on deservying the Indian monarch, got-up, advanced to the end of the carpet, and embraced him. After which he took him by the hand, carried him to his own Mefned or Throne, made him sit together with himself, and after having shewn him every mark of honour and distinction, he dismissed him with the utmost regard. As soon as he had set out for his own camp, news came to Saadet-qhan, that he had been supplanted in the dignity of Emir-ul-umrah, and that Nizam-el-mulk had been invested with it: this piece of news threw him into all the agonies of the most violent passion and resentment; and now listening only to his indignation, he waited on Nadyr-shah, to whom

(284) Nafyr-allah-mirza, signifies the Royal prince Nafr-allah; but Mirza-nafyr-allah, would only signify the writer, the man of letters, Nafrallah. Mr. Nafrallah.





he represented " that no one in the Hindostany camp had so much power as  
" Nizam-el-mulk, and none so much abilities to transact business; and what  
" so mighty a matter, added he, is a sum of two horrors, that your Majesty  
" should think of going back for so small a consideration; the two horrors  
" in India are such a sum, as myself, your slave, can afford, and which I  
" will pay out of my own private purse: But immense riches may be had  
" from the Emperor's camp, from his Palace, from those of his grandees,  
" and from the Bankers and the Merchants of the capital, on condition  
" only that you proceed to that city: nor is it so far off: only at forty coffes  
" from hence. Please to depart immediately." Nadyr-shah's eyes being  
" opened by such a speech, and his views enlarged by such a suggestion, he  
wrote a note to Nizam-el-mulk, commanding his attendance. The latter  
trusting to the treaty concluded, and to Nadyr-shah's word, set out without  
hesitation; being introduced to the presence, he received orders to come back  
in the evening, and to bring Mahmed-shah with him as to a second interview  
Nizam-el-mulk represented that such were not the terms of the treaty, but was  
answered, " that the treaty was still subsisting: I have, said that Prince, no  
" designs against Mahmed-shah's Empire, nor against his life or his honour;  
" only it is proper that I should see him again." This order with Nadyr-  
shah's pleasure, was transmitted by Nizam-el-mulk to his master; that Prince  
actually under the pressure of a set of circumstances which he could not go-  
vern, was fain to comply; and taking with him Emir-qhan, and Isac-qhan,  
with a few Pike men, and some servants and eunuchs, he set out for the Ira-  
nian camp; finding that his lords, and Monfubdars (285) with his whole  
household, were absolutely bent on following him, he stopped, and obliged  
them to go back; after which he hastened his pace, sitting on his moving  
throne: being arrived, he was desired to alight at a tent that had been pitch-

(285) Military men, enjoying the grades of 250, 500, 1000, to ten and twelve thousand Hories, with the effec-  
tual command sometimes of so many troopers, but in general of only one half of that number; and sometimes  
with the effectual command of so many troopers at two hories and even three hories each.





ed-up for him; and a moment after, he received this message: "send for the  
 " veiled ones of your sanctuary, together with your family, and household  
 " and camp, equipage and furniture; and likewise for your chancellery, and the  
 " officers attending the same: live easy and satisfied with us in our camp."  
 this message was followed by an order sent and published in the Hindostany camp,  
 giving leave to every one to remain where he was, or to return to Shah-Djehan-  
 abad; and most persons took the latter party. Mahmed-shah having sent for  
 his family and household and for his other officers, an order was brought by  
 a Nisikh-chy (286) to Camer-eddin-qhan, commanding his attendance; and  
 the Vezir complied immediately. A little before this latter transaction, Saadet-  
 qhan in company with Tahmasp the Djelair, an officer who commanded the  
 corps of that name, had set out for the capital with an order from the conqueror,  
 and another from Mahmed-shah, enjoining Lutf-ollah-qhan-faduc, Deputy go-  
 vernor of that city to open the gates of the castle, and to deliver every thing and  
 every office to those two lords. After their departure, Nadyr-shah himself set  
 out with Mahmed-shah in his company. As to the Hindostany army most of the  
 men on hearing of their monarch's detention, and of the Vezir's departure, took  
 fright and dispersed; and they were all killed or plundered by the Iranian parties  
 that were marauding; and many more by the Peasants, who rose every where  
 upon them. Most of them were slain; and those that were spared, were strip-  
 ped to their skin. On the eighth of Zilhij in the year 1159, Mahmed-shah  
 entered the city, and went to the castle where two days after Nadyr-shah fol-  
 lowed and took up his quarters. Mahmed-shah occupied his old apartments  
 attended by all the lords of his court and all his household, which took up their  
 abodes in the places and posts to which they were accustomed. On the tenth  
 of the month, which was the day of the Corban (287) or sacrifice, the Koot-

(286) A Nisikhchi, is an armed man enforcing an order. There were several thousand in Nadyr-shah's camp and court, some say six thousand: they inflict military punishments; and one of their duties is to stand in the rear of the army and to cut down every one that dares to fly. Their arms are a battle axe, a sabre and a bent pommel, called Qandjar.

(287) The Corban, is a sacrifice of at least one sheep, which every Musulman is on the tenth of Zilhij obliged to sacrifice with his own hand, in commemoration of Abraham's sacrifice.





bah was recited (218) in the principal mosque for Nadyr-shah. And the next day a report spread every where that he was no more. Some said that he had died of a natural death, and some, as if to cover Mahmed-shah, said that he had been killed by a Calmac-woman (289). Be that as it will, this report which ran throughout the city, filled it in an hour's time, although he was actually full of life in the Citadel; and the gates of it were open day and night: some of his Troops were encamped before those gates, many had taken up their lodgings throughout the City; and many had encamped on the strand which is betwixt the City and the River. Hardly had this false rumour spread throughout the City, than armed bodies of Hindostanics made their appearance in the principal streets, putting to the Sword, as many Cuzzel-bashes, as they could lay their hands upon; and as the latter, uninformed of the report, and unacquainted with the Country Language, were rambling about by two or more together, without suspecting any harm, they were massacred with ease; and although night came on, and it was expected that the tumult would subside, it took new force on the contrary; and those seditions, without taking a moment of rest, were more eager than ever. Nadyr-shah being informed of these matters, ordered his men to remain every one where he was, but armed and ready to take a revenge, and if attacked to repell force by force. It is observable, that of so many Indian Lords lodged or stationed all over the City, not one of them took the trouble to move about and to appease the tumult. Nay some of them that had taken from Nadyr-shah a number of Cuzzel-bashes as safeguards to their families and houses, suffered them to be massacred in those very houses, or massacred them themselves; in so much that although in the engagement at Carnal, there were no more than three men slain and twenty wounded in the Iranian army, this tumult cost Nadyr-shah more than seven hundred men. The day being now dawning, and the sedition raging with greater fury than

The Iranians  
set up and Mas-  
sacred on a re-  
port of Nadyr-  
shah's death.

(288) The Qothbah is a form of a prayer pronounced every Friday by the minister at the Mosque: amongst other matters it contains an appreciation for the reigning Prince, and always amounts to an acknowledgement of his sovereignty.

(289) There are in the Seraglio at Dehly two guards of armed women: Look at the remark 106, Section 2d.





Nadyr-shah  
incensed, orders  
a general Massacre  
of the inhabitants of the  
city.

ever, Nadyr-shah mounted his horse, and came out of the citadel with an intention to appease it; but on beholding the slaughter that had been made of his people, he ordered a general massacre to be commenced from that very spot; and as bodies of Cavalry and Infantry were departing on that errand, he directed them to leave not a soul alive wherever they should discover the body of a murdered Cuzzel-bash. In an instant the soldiers getting upon the tops of the houses, commenced killing, slaughtering and plundering the people's property, and carrying away their wives and daughters. Numbers of houses were set on fire and ruined. At about noon, when the number of the massacred had exceeded all competition, a general pardon was proclaimed by Nadyr-shah's order, and the soldier every where sheathed his sabre. In a few days the stench arising from so many unburied bodies, which were filling the houses and streets, became so excessive, that the air was infected throughout the whole city, and the passage barred in many places. On information of this, the Cutval received orders to bury the dead, and to cleanse and clear the streets. That magistrate, having brought all those bodies together in heaps, surrounded them with the beams and rafters of the ruined houses, and setting fire to the wood, the whole was consumed, without any distinction of Musulman or Infidel. A few days after, Saadet-ghan died of a Cancer which seized his foot; but the two Corors of Rupees which he had promised, were payed by his Nephew and Deputy Ab81-mans8r qhan, and brought to Nadyr-shah by Sher-jdung, who had been sent for that purpose with a body of a thousand Cuz zelbash horses. That Prince not content with the treasures and wealth found in the Imperial repositories, raised immense contributions on the inhabitants: after which, he drew from the Seraglio a Virgin Princess from amongst the descendants of the Emperor Shah-djehan, and married her to his younger son, Nasr-Allah-mirza, a young Prince who accompanied him in that expedition; and, as he was in haste to return to his dominions, he contented himself with severing from the Empire of Hindostan, and adding to his own, the whole of the Provinces of Sind, and Cab81, with some districts of Pendjab, that had always been set apart for the

pay

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pay of the garrisons of Cab81; but he restored the Empire of Hindostan to its owner. On his departure, he received from Mahmed-shah a sumptuous entertainment, in which this prince had appointed a number of the Lords of his court to perform each a particular function: that of Emir-qhan-umdet-ul-mylk was to present the Coffee (290). On mixing the Coffee in presence of the two monarchs, a sudden thought started in his mind, that if he did not present the first dish to Mahmed-shah his master and Lord, such a neglect would be construed into a want of zeal and respect, and would create suspicions besides; and if he did, such a preference might give offence to Nadyr-shah, a prince sanguinary and little scrupulous, and whose resentment no one could incur with safety. At last he filled up a dish, and putting it in the hands of Mahmed-shah, he said *your servant is too inconsiderable to put a dish of Coffee in the hands of the King of Kings; let your Majesty, who are my master and his brother, present it yourself.* The two monarchs, pleased with the ingenuity of his expedient, loaded him with encomiums; and his conduct was applauded both by the Hindostanics and the Iranians. And in fact, he was a man of an elegant deportment, as well as exceedingly ingenious, and full of delicate taste in whatever he did. After this entertainment, Mahmed-shah being sent for with all his grandees, which were formed into a circle, was presented with a Djica (291) by the hands of Nadyr-shah, who gave him also many advices and counsels, and returned him his crown of Hindostan; and that Prince having likewise decorated with a Qhyla at every one of the Hindostany grandees, he, on the Seventh of Sefer, in the year 1152, quitted Shah-djehan-abad, and departed for his own dominions.

(290) The manner of presenting and drinking coffee being so very different in Hindostan, from what it is in Europe, shall be explained in a subsequent note; the words made use of by Emir-qhan were more nervous and Laconic in a work which the translator has seen of his bon-mots: It was these, after having nearly presented the dish to Nadyr-shah, he suddenly stopped like one who recollected some mistake, and gave it to Mahmed-shah, with this apology "*let an Emperor do the Honors of his house to a King of Kings. I am too inconsiderable for that office.*"

(291) The Djica is an ornament of gold studded with jewels surmounted by an aigret: it is carried on the right side, but vertically. The aigret itself is made either of the Tail of a bird of Paradise, or of a sheaf of those glass-threads that come from Venice and from England, and imitate all the hues of the most brilliant Rain-bow





AFTER his departure, Mahmed-shah turned his views towards his own affairs: he was assisted by the counsels of the Vezir-Camer-eddin-qhan, by Nizam-el-mulk, and especially by Is-hac-qhan, a Nobleman lately come within the circle of administration, but who by his personal attachment, and by the many important services he had rendered in the engagement at Carnal, and throughout the whole war with Nadyr-shah, had greatly endeared himself to the Emperor. He was made Divan of the Qhaliffah or Exchequer-office. Emir-qhan was decorated with the title of Umdet-el-mulk or the greatest of the state, and the charge of third Pay-master-general; and that of Sedr was bestowed on Azim-ollah-qhan. On the twenty-ninth of the same month Mirteza-qhan, received the Qhylaot of Mir-t8rki, as did Naamet-ollah-qhan nephew to Nizam-el-mulk, that of Caräol-beghy. On the eighth of the first Reby, the Elephant-office was bestowed on Hady-aly-qhan, brother to Emir-qhan in a Qhylaot of six pieces, and Sëyd-selabet-qhan son to Saadat-qhan, was made Superintendant of the Ahedian guards, as was Emir-qhan himself of the Ala-shahians. The Post office and the Gazette office were bestowed on the Physician, Maafoom-aly-qhan. On the seventeenth of Shaaban the dignity of Mahi or fifth was bestowed on Isaac-qhan as well as on Selabet-qhan; Saad-eddin-qhan, Mir-ateshy, received the office of the registered favors.

After Nadyr-shah's departure Mahmed-shah endeavors to dismiss the T8ranian party from the administration.

AFTER all these promotions, the Emperor turned his thoughts towards the management of his own affairs: he had long ago harboured suspicions against the zeal and fidelity, not only of Camereddin-qhan and Nizam-el-mulk, but against all the T8ranians in general; nor had these suspicions received any alteration by their conduct all along the troubles of Nadyr-shah's invasion: Resolved, therefore, to weaken their confederacy, he was fearful to act openly; but, as he had given his confidence to Emir-qhan and to Isaac-qhan, he wished to hear their opinion about what line of conduct he ought to pursue. Emir-qhan who joined a deal of courage to the most keen discernment, was for the





the Emperor's acting openly, and for his dismissing Camereddin-qhan from the Ministry; and in his private conferences with the Emperor, he used to tell him, that should his Majesty vouchsafe to extend the Princely hand of his goodness so as to overshadow the head of his faithful servant, and steadily to persist in that resolution, he entertained no doubts, but that he might bring the affairs of the Empire under whatever regulation he should think proper. The Emperor who now reposed the highest confidence in his zeal and abilities, resolved to dismiss Camer-eddin-qhan, and waited only for the time when Nizam-el-mulk should be gone to his Viceroyalty of Decan; nor was the latter less desirous of revisiting countries where his authority had suffered from his absence in consequence of the troubles and confusion occasioned every where by Nadyr-shah's invasion; and in consequence of that spirit of insubordination and independence which betrayed itself in the behaviour and conduct of his son Nafr-tjung, whom he had left in Decan as his Deputy-general. Fearful of some disorders that would overset the tranquillity of those countries, he transferred his office of Prince of Princes to his eldest son Ghazi-eddin-qhan, who was also son-in-law to Camer-eddin-qhan, obtained the Emperor's consent for such a transfer; saw the young Lord invested with the Qhylaar of his new office, and then obtained leave to depart; after which he went out of the city and took up his abode in tents. On his departure the Emperor sent secretly the Scrutore of the Vezir-ship to Emir-qhan; but this nobleman who was somewhat sanguine in his temper, having commenced doing some open acts, and holding about Camer-eddin-qhan some disagreeable discourses, that proved equally unbecoming the dignity and station of the one, as well as the eminent rank of the other: the latter, who was soon informed of these new matters, wrote to Nizam-el-mulk; who still was encamped in the suburbs, and he asked what he thought ought to be done in such a conjecture? the Viceroy answered " that to resist his Majesty's will, or to oppose the pleasure of one's  
" master and Lord, was neither proper nor laudable; and that he had  
" nothing more to do, than to ask his Majesty's leave, and to come with him  
" in





“ in Decan.” On this intimation, the Vezir addressed a supplique to the Emperor in these terms : “ Your faithful servant is not conscious of ever having  
“ been guilty, and is far from being guilty now; but as a great alteration  
“ seems to have taken place in your Imperial mind, possibly on the suggestions  
“ of interested men; and your faithful servant is not a man to harbor thoughts  
“ of ingratitude or of disobedience, he is going to Decan with Nizam-el-mulk:  
“ let your Majesty confer the direction of the public affairs on whatever  
“ zealous subject you shall devise.” Camer-eddin-qhan having forwarded this supplique, went to Nizam-el-mulk’s encampment and took-up his abode under tents. The Emperor, who had little firmness and resolution in his temper, was surprised and confounded at the contents of this petition; and sending for both Emir-qhan and Iffac-qhan, he asked them their opinion on the posture of affairs. The former made the same answer which he had already made some days before: and the Emperor said nothing, but dismissed that Nobleman (292). After his departure he asked Iffac-qhan his opinion and conjured him by every thing sacred, as he valued his Emperor’s welfare, and that of the Empire, to say without disguise, and without regard to persons or times, whatever he thought advantageous to the public. Iffac-qhan who owed his preferment to Emir-qhan, and had promised that Nobleman that in whatever circumstances he might chance to be, he would never give an advice contrary to his benefactor’s opinion, declined answering, and remained silent. The Emperor astonished at his reluctance, urged him with the most soothing entreaties, and the most sacred oaths. The other answered in these terms: “ if I speak according to the dictates of my conscience, I commit a breach of a Solemn promise,

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(292) This dismissal, unless a man be in disgrace, is always done by presenting him with, and putting in his hands, a biri of paan. This biri of Paan is made-up of one or two leaves of paan, (which the Europeans are pleased to call Betel or Beetle, a word unknown to the natives) and these leaves are elegantly folded up with a little *Chana*, or Shell-lime; some decayed Cat Catchoo; and a few thin slices of *Sipari*, or *S8piari*, which the Europeans are pleased to call Arec, another word as unknown as the Betel. All that is contained in a bit of *Kila*, that is Banana leaf, alias Plantain which is as shining and as soft as Satin; and this leaf is folded up in the form of a Pyramidal Cone, and made fast by a Clove, as by a nail stuck in. Look at the note 116. Section 10th.

“ and





“ and break a serious agreement; and if I abide by the stipulations of that a-  
“ greement I become guilty of ingratitude to you, and likewise commit a  
“ kind of treason with respect to the public: better then to say nothing; and your  
“ Majesty shall vouchsafe to hold me excused.” The Emperor astonished at  
these words, became more eager than ever, and made use of so many intreaties  
and so many sacred oaths, that Iffac-qhan, unable to resist any more, delivered  
himself in this manner: “Although Emir-qhan is undoubtedly a man of merit,  
“ and a man of courage and counsel, yet he bears amongst the grandees of In-  
“ dia, a certain character of preferring a bon-mot to any consideration whate-  
“ ever, and of acting with an unbecoming airiness of language and behaviour;  
“ on the other hand, those who, like your humble servant, have been introduced  
“ to preferment by his means, and owe to his recommendation the honour of  
“ kissing the Imperial threshold, of paying their respects personally to Majes-  
“ ty, and of reaching to the highest dignities and honours: those, as  
“ well as myself, have not yet acquired any adequate weight in the eyes of the  
“ Hindoo Radjas, and of the grandees of Hindostan, or of the Lords of the  
“ court: in the eyes of all these powerful people, we are still the men of yester-  
“ day, and our station, as well as rank, is yet that of yesterday: those same men  
“ look up to Nizam-el-mulk and to Camer-eddin-qhan with the highest respect;  
“ and accustomed long hand to obey their dictates, and to conform to their plea-  
“ sure, Submission is become natural to them; and they think it an honour to be  
“ instrumental in putting their commands in execution: to fall out then with two  
“ such ministers on the bare strength of the abilities of such men as we are, cannot,  
“ in the opinion of your servant’s deficient mind, be productive of any good. As  
“ to the rest, whatever you shall have determined in your Imperial mind, will un-  
“ doubtedly prove to be the most advantageous party.” The Emperor at these  
words recovering as from a profound sleep, abandoned his late purpose, and  
resolved to live upon good terms with both Nizam-el-mulk and Camer-ed-  
din-qhan. The next day Emir-qhan came to court as usual, and on observ-  
ing an alteration in the Emperor’s air and appearance, he with much surprise  
asked





asked the reason of that change : the Emperor answered : " I have reflected on  
" the intended proceeding, and find that to discontent the T8ranian Lords,  
" who are now the main hinge upon which my affairs turn, is not a proper  
" measure; nor can it redound to my honour. It becomes therefore important  
" to the well-fare of this Empire, that they remain quiet and satisfied : and  
" it is incumbent upon you likewise, as you value your character of a zealous faithful servant, to abstain henceforward from any thing that may  
" raise dissensions, or give them umbrage," Emir-qhan thoroughly sensible  
of the great change that had taken place these two days, hastened out of  
town; and going to Nizam-el-mulk, he made him as well as Camereddin-qhan every apology in his power; and he desired them both to explain their  
intentions, as he was resolved to act in conformity to their pleasure. Nizam-  
el-mulk, after having passed many encomiums on Emir qhan, added, that as  
some coolness had of late taken place between him and Camer-eddin-qhan,  
he thought it expedient that he (Emir-qhan) should repair for sometime to  
Ilahabad, which after all, added he, is your Government and office. Emir-qhan  
promised to comply with their advise, and took his leave from them; and having  
likewise obtained the Emperor's consent, he set out of the capital, and encamped  
in the environs, where having spent some time in providing a field-equipage,  
putting his affairs in order, and appointing proper agents to act for him in his  
absence, he continued his voyage; whilst Iffac-qhan, who remained at Court,  
acquired the highest ascendant over the Emperor's mind, was held in the highest  
esteem, and became extremely respected by both Nizam-el-mulk and Camer-eddin-qhan.  
After this departure, there were some other changes at court. Ab8l-man8r-qhan,  
son-in-law to Saadet-qhan, who had been honoured with the Government of  
Ä8d, repaired to that capital, and applied himself to all the arts that could  
support and increase the power of his Government. Zekeriah-qhan was suffered  
to remain in his Government of Lahor and M8ltan, in which he had been  
continued





continued by Nadyr-shah himself; and that Governor's youngest son, who bore a character for courage and resolution, and who on his having accompanied Nadyr-shah and served him as guide in his expedition against the Afghan, N8r-mahomed-qhan-lëili, had been honoured by the Conqueror with the fir-name of Shah-nevaz-qhani (293), was suffered to continue in Pendjab, where he seemed to have no business but that of quieting the districts bestowed on him, and in enjoying their revenues.

After Nadyr-shah's departure, the scene that had been dull for sometime in the capital as well as in all the provinces, now became interesting in Bengal. Shudjah-qhan, whom we have seen Viceroy of Bengala and Azim-abad, and Orefla, departed this life and repaired to the mansions of divine mercy about the time when Nadyr-shah arrived at Shah-djehan-abad. It would be difficult to mention all the good qualities of that worthy man, and still more difficult to describe even a few of them in this book; for there was not a man in his service whom he had not essentially obliged by some personal favours: and finding his dissolution at hand, he made a present of two months wages to every nobleman, every man, Civil and Military; and to every soldier or trooper in his service, without excepting the servants of his household, or even the women that attended as menial servants in his Seraglio. And a few days before his decease he sent to ask pardon from every one of them, intreating their forgiveness. His benevolence was such, that, whoever had once chanced to have been of his acquaintance, was sure of receiving some favour; and even the old women he had seen at Burhan-poor, the place of his nativity, or which he remembered to have heard of, did not fail to experience his munificence, every one of them receiving a suitable pension. He was so impartial an observer of Justice, and a Judge of so much benignity, that the poorest suitor was sure of being in his presence upon a footing with his very son: and the fearful sparrow, certain of finding in his bosom a shelter against the hawk's pursuit, flew towards him with a perfect reli-

Admirable character of Shudjah-qhan, Viceroy of Bengal.

(293) The cherished one of the King's.



ance on his goodness: so that people acquainted with history, thought they lived in Nō8-shirvan's reign (294). he was of so beneficent a temper, that whenever any person endowed with some little capacity, or even with the air and language of a gentleman, appeared in Moorshoodabad, he immediately received information of his arrival and of the subject of his coming; and he in general waited three or four days until he heard of the man's having some friend in his Capital upon whose application, he always granted the whole or part of the strangers demand; else, if he observed that the man had neither acquaintances nor friends, he assembled his Court, and after having mentioned the man's arrival and his errand, he would observe that to all appearance not one man of the company knew any thing of the stranger", otherwise, added he "I suppose I should have received some application on his behalf already." After these few words he would pause a little to give time to some one present to take shame to himself, and to apply, in which case he always gave a favourable answer; else, he sent to enquire of the man himself, and to inform him, that since he had come from so far, he ought to have given him some notice of his circumstances, and also to pay him a visit: after this he sent him under hand a supply of money; nor was any of his servants daring enough to impose upon him in these matters; nor was such a custom in his household, as has taken so deep a root (295) and is practised every where and upon all occasions; I mean that the

(294) Nō8-shirvan or rather An8b-shirvan, one of the last kings of Persia of the Sassanian race. He reigned forty-four years, and proved one of the worthiest men that ever existed. The Prophet was born in his reign, and he even wrote him a letter, which the latter tore to pieces, passing upon him at the same time, as well as upon all the Arabs in general those sarcasms in four lines to be seen in the Shah-nameh: they are so curious that the reader will forgive his being reminded of them.

" From feeding upon Camel's milk and upon mice and Snakes,

" Matters are so much altered with this Arabian fellow,

" That he casts a wishful eye upon the throne of kings.

" Spittle be upon thy face, thou Arabian, upon thy face be spittle."

(295) The author seems to glance at the menial servants of the English, the best payed, and best rewarded servants upon earth, and yet through the carelessness of their masters, the most importunate and the most shameless exactors India. But however had he seen those of Afef-oddoulah's, he would have found them no ways inferior to the most begging servants of the English; and they are probably so many copies every where equal to their originals.

servants





servants or chopdars on carrying a thing from their masters to any one should plague him for a gratuity, and in case of refusal, should very cavalierly right themselves: a vile practice which from becoming natural to such low-minded people, has spread amongst some others of the better sort, who are not ashamed to imitate them. Such exactions, if at any time put in practice, never failed to come to his knowledge; and the guilty was sure of being dismissed the service; whilst the informer received a further bounty: Hence such shameful practices were unknown in his household and government. It is true that the people of his household itself were so generously used, that they never cast the eye of covetousness upon what was bestowed on others; and that living contented and in ease, they were little inclined to descend to supplications. Sometimes having got information of the stranger's necessities, he used to send for him; and if he perceived that he intended to take service with him, he admitted him with condescension and honour; and on his going home, he would immediately send him a sum of money with an apology in these few words, "In so very cheap a country  
" as this, even so small a matter may suffice; but God in case of need, can do a great  
" deal more for you." To every one of the persons in his service whom he knew personally, he used to send Qhoans or trays full of a variety of exquisite victuals: to some every day; to others every other day; and to some twice a week; and whoever had once been complimented with such a piece of liberality, was certain of it for ever; nor is there an instance of it's having ever been discontinued so much as once. Of all the persons personally known to him, whether gentlemen or others, he kept a note in a certain memorandum book of his, made up of Ivory-leaves; and it was his custom every night on his going to bed, to peruse it and to set down under some names such a sum of money, as he thought proper, (and this was sometimes a large one;) after which he sent for a Zemindar dilatory in his rents, or for his agent, and he informed him that having appointed such an one to be Sezavul or enforcer of payment over him, he wished that such a sum might be his perquisite.



This request was always complied with; and often with some addition from the Zemindar himself, who made it a point of honour to oblige a person so recommended. After sometime he always asked the Sezavul about what reception he had met with, and on a fair confession of his benefits, he used to hold the man in esteem and to increase his inclination to him; else, if he prevaricated, or concealed any thing, he from that moment ceased to repose any confidence in him. After having in this manner promoted the benefit of a certain number of persons, he erased their names, and noted down another set; and this secret practice of his he kept on foot during the whole course of his life. May god's forgiveness rest upon him, and may his goodness assign him a place amongst his elects! Amen.

THAT excellent man, after his decease, was succeeded, by his son Ala-eddölah-fer-efraz-qhan (296), who mounted the Mesned (297) and took possession of the three Söbahs; and it was he that received Nadyr-shah's letter which had been originally written to Shudah-qhan. But Aly-verdy-qhan who had been promoted to the deputy-ship of Azimabad by the latter, and did not much trust his son, whilst he saw distinctly the distractions that would follow in the Empire after Nadyr-shah's departure, paid little difference his new master, being entirely engrossed by the thoughts of securing himself in his office: and with that view he was actually encamped on the frontiers of his new government. Not that he had much to fear from the new viceroy of the three Provinces: this proved to be only a pious man addicted to the practices of

(296) Ala-eddöulah is a title, and signifies the sublime of the Empire; Fer-efraz-qhan is also a title, and signifies the lord with the sublime head or erect head.

(297) So often has this word been mentioned, that it becomes necessary to explain it. In the most Honourable place of the hall is spread a small carpet about six feet in length by four in breadth. Over this is a quilted covering, of one inch in thickness, and over that, a rich one, either embroidered or of brocade, fringed. The man is sitting upon this, with his back leaning on a very large and very thick pillow which is long and round and very rich likewise, with two couples of small cushions on each side of him, at about his knees; he has before him, but a little to the left, a sabre in a velvet scabbard, and a Cattari or some other poniard at his right. Close before him there is sometimes a cambric handkerchief, folded up square, with a small knife used as a penknife, to rip open letters occasionally presented. Not seldom there is upon the Mesned a Pan-dan or vessel containing Betel ready made and a handkerchief.





devotion, and extremely regular in his stated prayers, he fasted three full months besides the blessed month of the Ramazan, and was scrupulous in the discharge of the several duties prescribed through out the year; but at the same time he proved greatly deficient in that keenness of discernment, and that extent of mind, so indispensably necessary in a sovereign Prince: his soul wholly engrossed by those little practices of Religion, did not pay a sufficient attention to the affairs of state, and did not reach to those niceties and those qualifications so necessary in a man of his station and rank. It is true, he did not offer any Injury to the Rāy-rāyan, Alum-chund, Divan to his father; nor did he molest either Djagat-seat or Hadji-ahmed, two men of great abilities and influence, who with the Rāy-rāyan had had the absolute direction of affairs in the late administration; but he had resigned his heart and the helm of government into the hands of some men, who had personal wrongs to revenge: these were Hadji Lutf-Isah, and Merdan aaly-qhan and Mir-m8rteza and some others, who incensed from long-hand against Hadji-ahmed, dispretiated him every where, and teized him with taunting expressions that would have exasperated (298) any man. These incensed noblemen, intent on giving vent to their enmity and hatred against Hadji-ahmed, were every day busy in drawing his portrait in the most odious colours; and they went so far as to have produced in Ser-effraz-qhan's mind a total alteration on his account. This Prince took from him the feat of the divan-ship, an office which the Hadji had enjoyed ever since Shudjah-qhan's accession; and he bestowed it on Mir-m8rteza. He wanted also to deprive Ata-ollah-qhan, son-in-law to the Hadji, of the Fojdary of Raj-mahl, in order to give it to his own son-in law Hassen-mahmed-qhan. Hadji-ahmed intimidated by the influence of his numerous enemies, and finding himself aimed at on all sides, used to write every thing to his brother Aaly-verdy-qhan, and always with such exaggerations as magnified every unity into a thou-

He is succeeded  
by his son Ser-  
effraz-qhan,

Is soon dis-  
posed by Ali-  
verdy qhan.

(298) Hadji Hamed eternally intent on finding out new beauties for his master, Shudjah-qhan, who it is a fact, could not live four hours without some woman or other, had attempted the families of those noblemen, who always spoke of him with contempt, whilst Ser-effraz-qhan himself, hardly had any other name for him but the female of C8tni, the Bawd, the Procurer.

fand;





land; and as he had already formed his design, he under the cloak of zeal and attachment, persuaded the new Viceroy to disband great part of his forces, and to contract his expenses: an advice which the other had the weakness to accept; whilst at the same time through a natural indolence, and probably out of mistrust and fear, he listened to the Counsel given him by Manocher-qhan, who proposed to arrest and confine Hadji-ahmed's two sons, namely Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, who was coming from Azim-abad, and Sayd-ahmed-qhan who was arrived from his Fodjdary of Rungpore. But what strongly characterises the Viceroy's inconsistency is, that after having listened to such an advice, he had the weakness to disclose it himself to Hadji-ahmed, and to pretend to make a merit of this confidence, in order to dispel the old man's apprehensions, and to regain his heart. But there was another strange absurdity in his management: after making such a confidence, he affronted him again in the most glaring manner. Hearing that Ata-ollah-qhan's daughter, that is Hadji-ahmed's grand daughter, had been betrothed to Mirza-mehmed (299), grand son to the latter, who had been adopted by Ali-verdy-qhan, he wanted to break the compact, and to marry the young bride to his own son; and not content with forming himself in his court a party against his own interests, he contrived to procure it strength and support: He set on foot an inquiry into the management of the the public money at Azim-abad; and he recalled the troops that had been given by his father to Ally-verdy-qhan, and which these many years had conceived an attachment for the latter; and on their seeming to hesitate about coming back, he set up a resumption of all the grants and favors which Shadjah-qhan had bestowed on them, and took care to dis-

(299) Since called *Seradj-ed-dillah*, or the Taper of the Empire, elder son to Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan. The word Hadji as a title of honour and respect, is always annexed to the names of those that have made the Pilgrimage of Mecca, but never to the names of those that have only visited Medina, where the messenger is entombed, or any holy place. Men coming from Mecca let grow their beards, and are reputed to have shaken off their past vicious habits, and to have assumed a new way of life; nor are all the rites used in that Pilgrimage, and especially that of stripping themselves to the skin, and putting ones self for three or many more days in an Ebran which after all is a winding sheet, and their abstaining as much as possible from all actions appertaining to a living body, intended to convey any other idea but that of a man now dead to a former life, who raises to live a more virtuous one. The very length of the voyage, and the strangeness of the rites seem evidently calculated to wean a man from his accustomed habits. On the other hand, such extensive charities are imposed, and such a rigorous self denial is required, that a man after such a voyage seems to have become another person.





content them thoroughly. All these matters were minutely recorded by Hadji-ahmed, and carefully transmitted to his brother Ali-verdy-qhan, with the usual exaggerations and additions of his own; and to give more credit to his assertions, he used to superadd the sanction of Sayd-ahmed-qhan's testimony and seal, who on that occasion submitted to the weight of paternal injunction. It was after such proceedings as these, that Ser-efraz-qhan expected to gain the hearts of Hadji-ahmed and of his sons.

"A strange policy indeed, and a strange plan of an impracticable design."

ALLI-VERDY-QHAN thoroughly informed of these manoeuvres, and sensible that his affairs had come to such a pass, as hardly to be susceptible of any mending by the arts of dissimulation and forbearance, resolved to avail himself of his acquaintance and old connections with his friend Iffac-qhan, a nobleman who was now in complete possession of the Emperor's ear; and he wrote him a secret letter, in which he requested to have the patents of the three provinces transferred to himself under promise of sending to court a present of a coror of rupees, over and above the confiscation of Ser-efraz-qhan's wealth and estate, and over and above the yearly usual tribute of a Coror. To this he added another request: he wanted an Imperial order directed to himself, with injunctions to fight Ser-efraz-qhan, and to recover the three provinces from his hands. After having dispatched these two letters, he published that he had intentions of marching against the Zemindars of Bodjpr, a set of men famous in those parts both for their numbers and depredations, as well as for their refractory temper; and under that pretence he mustered and completed his troops which he always kept in constant readiness. At the same time he had the finesse of giving to Ser-efraz-qhan public notice of that pretended design of his, and mean while he stood up ready to avail himself of the first opportunity that should offer to promote his real views. At last ten months after Nadyr-shah's departure for Iran, and just thirteen months after Shudjah-qhan's decease, he received the Imperial command, drawn up in the stile he had requested; and being now resolved on marching against Ser-efraz-qhan, he had procured the day of his departure to be fixed by an eminent astrologer, on whose predictions he reposed an unlimited confidence.





confidence. Mean while he layed such obstructions on the roads, that no traveller could advance towards Moorhoodabad; and he secretly wrote to the Djaget-feat (300), Fetch-chund, his friend, that by such a day he would commence his march. The letter was dispatched by a trusty man who had orders to deliver it on such a day which was pointed out to him. All things being thus prepared Aaly-verdy-qhan on the latter end of Zilhij in the year 1152, set out on his expedition to Bodjp8r and he encamped about Varis-qhan's reservoir, which is at some distance from the city of Azimabad. On his departure he appointed for his deputy and Lieutenant, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, his youngest nephew and son-in-law; and he sent Sëyd-hedaïet-ally-qhan Affed-djung, the poor man's father (301), to command in the districts of Serefs and Coocembah, where the people were from a long time accustomed to respect his orders. Two days after that Nobleman's departure, he wrote him a short note, informing him that having taken the resolution of marching to Moorhoodabad, he recommended both him and Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan to the Almighty God; and I hope added he, "That you shall manage so, as to live always upon good terms with him, and that you shall act as emergencies require." The eve of his departure, he gave orders to assemble all the principal officers of his army, whether Musulmen or Hindoos; and on seeing them together in large numbers, he produced two men in the middle of the assembly: one a venerable Musulman of a known piety, with the glorious word of God in his hand; and the other, a Brahmin, who held a vase full of Ganga-water in his right and a twig of T8lly or Black-Rehian, in the other (302), these two emblems being held in the highest veneration by men of that persuasion; and the most sacred oaths being always taken on them. After a moment of silence, he requested the Musulmen to swear by the glorious Coran, and the Gentoos to lay their

(300) It appears by this passage that the words Djaget-feat which were thought to be a proper name, are a title, and we know that the word *feat* signifies in Gujrat, the place of Fetch-chund's nativity, a merchant and a Banker.

(301) Affed-djung, the Lion-in-war, was the title of Cholan-husseïn qhan our author's father. The words *the poor man*, in a polite style signifies *myself* or any thing belonging to me: and such expression of humility are common and in great number; but they must not be confounded with the words *the last of men*, or the lowest of men; for none but Sovereign Princes, or men of the highest rank, writing to persons of rank, have a right, to speak so humbly of themselves.

(302) There are several kind of T8lly: that mentioned here is a shrub three feet high, with longish leaves of a dirty green above, and of deep purple underneath. It is a shrub of the family of Balsams or Essiliscusses, and exceedingly fragrant.





hands on those emblems, and then he addressed the assembly in these words :

“ I am now going to fight my personal enemies, and as I know you for my old companions, on whose hands I must trust, and from whose valor I must expect success, I request that, if you intend to stand by me and to follow my fortunes, you please everyone of you, to take the most solemn oath that you shall not abandon me whether I rush into the water or into the fire, whether my adversary be an Afrafiab or a Roostem (279). Swear then that you shall be friends to my friends, and enemies to my enemies; and that be my fate what it will, you shall stand by me inviolably with your lives and fortunes.” Such an unexpected speech produced its full effect. Those old warriors who had been bred in his camp and were long ago attached to him and having received numberless favors at his hands, soon gave the example of taking a solemn oath, and of contracting the most solemn engagement : all of them swore, the Masulmen, by carrying the glorious word of God to their foreheads and eyes, and the Gentooes, by touching the Brahman’s feet, and the twig of Tilsley, and then drinking of the Ganga-water : they all joined in prayers for his prosperity, and with one voice, they promised to follow him, whethersoever he would lead. All this was done by the old officers who were already fashioned to his mind, and attached to his person ; and their example was followed without hesitation by the new ones. Aalli-verdi-ghan being now satisfied as to that important article, disclosed to them the secret of his expedition : and he informed them, that “ forced by the injuries offered to himself, to his brother, and to every individual in their families, he was marching against their oppressor, Ser-effraz-ghan, resolved to put an end to that tyranny : these words startled some of them ; but as they had taken an unconditional oath, and they were now too far engaged, they saw that there remained no other party for them, but that of abiding by their engagement and of following his fortunes. It being already night, the

(279) *Afrafiab*, a famous Turkish Conqueror in the antient Persian History, who reigned in Persia, after having conquered it. *Roostem*, and also *Rustum*, is a famous Prince of Persian extraction, with blue eyes, a red beard, and flaxen hair, who reigned in Sabulstan, an eastern province of antient Iran or Persia. The word *Efrasiab* signifying the man of the other side of the water, is Persian, and must be an appellative given by the Persians to their Conqueror, who was a Turk or Scythian, and of course, must have borne some Turkish name.





night, the assembly was dismissed; and the next morning, being the favorable day he at day-break turned Eastwards, and resolutely marched towards Moorhoodabad. He had a numerous well appointed army of old troops, and a good Artillery furnished with every necessary for action: by continual marches, without halting any where, he soon arrived at Shah-bad, which town has a fortification that shuts-up the passage intirely from the hill to the bank of the Ganga. There he concealed his army in a valley of the neighbourhood; and pitching upon Mustepha-Qhan the Afghan, an officer of approved zeal and tryed courage and conduct, he gave him a hundred horse, and put in his hands an order and pass of Ser-efraz-Qhan's, originally destined for another commander, but which Aaly-verdy-Qhan had found means to intercept. That officer had orders to advance in presenting his pass to the Garrison, which being only of a couple hundred Musqueteers, were not upon their guard; and he was then to turn about and to overpower them, so as to render himself master of the passage: after which success, he was to strike up his nagara, as a signal for the army to advance. Mustepha-Qhan advancing with his small troop within the valley, was hailed from the walls according to the custom, asked who he was, and what for he came, and ordered to stand still. The officer sent one of his men with the pass and the written order, which being perused by a writer, the latter ordered the gate to be set-open, and the troop to be admitted. Mustapha-Qhan marched in, and ordered his Nagara or Kettle-drum to strike-up, to which signal were added some shouts by his people: this signal being soon understood by the vanguard, concealed behind the hill, they marched round, and suddenly made their appearance, advancing in battle array with Ensigns displayed, and Musick playing. The Garrison alarmed at such a sight, shut-up the gate, and wanted to stand upon their deffense, when Mustepha-Qhan called out to them, that if they made the least motion, he would fall upon them directly and put them to sword. This threat having intimidated them, they all stood motionless, and suffered Mustepha-Qhan's people to set-open the gate: after which the troops of the vanguard passed without difficulty, took possession of all the posts; add this being the day in which  
the





the man entrusted with the letter to Djagat-Seat, had received orders to present it, the latter on perusing the contents, and comparing the dates, concluded that Aaly-verdi Khan, his friend must be by this time on this side of the pass of Talia-gary; and that in four or five days more he would be in the territory of Moorshoodabad. With an air seemingly alarmed, he immediately mounted, and with much consternation in his features, he presented to Serefraz Qhan the letter which he had just received from Aaly-verdy Qhan, whom he suspected, said he, to be now at Radjemahl; at the same time he produced another letter from Aaly-verdy Qhan to that Prince himself. The purport was this: "since, after the many affronts received by my brother Hadji-Ahmed, attempts have been made upon the honor and chastity of our family, your servant in order to save that family from farther disgrace, has been obliged to come so far, but with no other sentiments than those of fidelity and submission. Your servant hopes therefore that Hadji-Ahmed shall receive leave to come to me with his family and dependants." Serefraz-Qhan surprised and confounded at the intelligence, vented his resentment in fruitless reproaches, and then called a general assembly of his Ministers and general officers, where Hadji-Ahmed having been likewise sent for, the hall of public audience was set open, — and he gave Hadji-ahmed a severe reprimand, mixed with threats. The latter sensible of his danger, assumed a soothing tone of voice, and in his endeavours to pacify him, he advanced so far, as to promise that the moment he would be in camp, he would engage Aaly-verdi-qhan to return to his Government. This proposal was variously received by the assembly; some objecting to Hadjiahmed's being dismissed to his brother's camp; and some thinking that he ought to be trusted, and his promise put to the test. The matter remaining in suspense, Mahmed-ghóufs-ghan, an officer of character and reputation, who had been these many years attached to Shudjah-qhan, and thought he owed the same attachment to Ser-efraz Qhan, his son, opened an opinion that differed from them all: that officer prided in his sentiments of fidelity, as much as upon his personal prowess. I do not

" see





" see, Sayd he, raising his voice, what benefit can result from confining and imprisoning this old man; nor is it at all probable that Aaly-verdi-Qhan, on his Brother's being arrested, shall discontinue his operations, or alter his mind: it becomes then a matter of small moment, whether *Hadji-ahmed* be dismissed with full leave to repair to his Brother or not. If he proves as good as his word, it is very well; if he does not, I do not see what harm he has done us thereby. If we are ready and willing to Encounter Aaly-verdi-Qhan in the field, we little care whether he is joined by his Brother or not. *Hadji-ahmed* is but a single individual, and nothing more. By his being in his Brother's Camp, I do not see he can either add to or detract any thing from, the enemy's strength." *Mahmed-ghous-qhan's*, opinion having been unanimously approved, *Hadji-ahmed* received his dismissal; and he instantly set out for his Brother's Camp. Whilst on his march thither he repeatedly wrote, and he insinuated by the means of his friends, that *Mahmed-aaly-verdi-Qhan* (for such was his style) was in his heart as faithful and as zealous a servant, as ever. Let not my master think of marching with arms in his hands against a servant powerful, but full of sentiments of attachment and respect: let not your highness be at the trouble of moving from your palace: for he wants only to enjoy the honor of kissing your Princely threshold, that he may have an opportunity of explaining his complaints, of preferring his supplications, and of approving himself a respectful, dutyfull servant. This is his only aim: But should your highness, at the instigation of some interested men, despise the counsel offered by me your servant, and march out against him, I fear the man in his despair, and in the necessity of securing his life and his honor, will venture upon some steps that will prove his shame both in this world and in the other.

As very little effect was expected from dismissing *Hadji-ahmed*, there arose in the assembly a variety of opinions about the expediency of marching out, or of not marching, against the enemies. It was at last resolved to march out; and by the





the exertions of Merdan-aly-Qhan, who was greatly incensed both against Hadji-ahmed and Aaly-verdi-Qhan, the army, with Ser-efraz-qhan at its head, marched out and in three or four days arrived at Comrah. It was the Twenty-second of Muharrem in the year 1153 of the Hedjrah. At that town it halted a little, it being necessary to hear the report brought by two persons of note which had been sent by Ser-efraz-Qhan to examine Aaly-verdi-Qhan's views and designs. These were Sunnet, an eunuch, and Shudjah-cooly-Qhan, a Fodjdar of Hoogly. They were on their return from the enemy's Camp, and had brought with them another deputy, who came on the part of Aaly-verdi-qhan himself; and this was the physician Mahmed-aly-qhan. Their report amounted to this, that he was still a submissive dutiful servant; and to this testimony they added this message, as from his own mouth: "When people of princely generous dispositions  
" vouchsafe to raise any one to high stations and dignities, they look upon  
" him, from that moment, to be their pupil and ward, and think it incumbent upon  
" themselves to take care of his honor and character in the eyes of the world. Now  
" it is notorious that I, your dutiful servant, owe my well-being to your illustrious  
" family, which vouchsafed to raise me from the humility of dust to the splendor of  
" high preferment (an obligation which I am proud to remember); and as I wish to  
" inform the public, and to gain credit to my attachment (which I conceive to be  
" equalled by no one but your most zealous servants), I supplicate that you please  
" to grant me two requests: The first, that you condescend to turn away from your  
" presence, and to dismiss from your councils, some persons, who, having conceiv-  
" ed a jealousy at the elevation of our family, are ever busy in filling your princely  
" mind with new suggestions, like those that have already given rise to the present  
" troubles: These are, Merdan-aly-qhan, Mir-morteza-qhan, Hadji-lotf-Aaly-qhan,  
" and Mahmed-ghouls-qhan: after their departure, your servant, thinking his per-  
" son safe, shall make it a duty to pay you his respects: the second request is, that  
" should you think this favor to be of a nature not to be granted, then that you please  
" to retire to your palace, and from thence to issue your commands to them to march  
" into

His artful in-  
sidious manage-  
ment.





" into the field, and to fight me, your servant. If victory favours them, let them  
" avail themselves of its rights: they have gained their point; if they are vanquish-  
" ed, let them retire, and I shall then come myself, and lay my head at your feet.  
" In token of my sincerity, I herewith send you the volume of the glorious Coran,  
" on which I have taken the most sacred oaths."

THE glorious volume was accordingly produced by the physician Mahmed-aly-  
qhan; (a) but as the noblemen in question were in possession of the highest influence  
both over Ser-efraz-qhan's mind and over his court, and their minds were ulcerated  
against Hadji-ahmed, as well as against his brother and their children; the proposal  
for peace did not take root; but yet no proper preparatives were made for an imme-  
diate engagement, as the best officers suggested. Mean while, Hadji-ahmed being ar-  
rived at Radj-mahl, was received with open arms by his brother, who directly took  
him upon his elephant; being then upon his march. Hadji-ahmed, as if to fulfil  
the promise he had made at his departure, prevailed upon his brother to have his ele-  
phant turned about for some hundred yards, after which he returned to the road  
again. Ser-efraz-qhan hearing of the enemy's march, advanced to a village called  
Cheri or Cheria, a noted spot upon the banks of the Bagraty, whilst Mahmed-  
ghous-qhan pushed forward as far as the spot where the enemy was encamped on the  
water-side at Sooty: by which means, the river, which was every where fordable  
and about one arrow's throw over, intervened between himself and Ser-efraz-qhan;  
nor was the distance between him and Aali-verdy-qhan's camp, of more than  
five or six coses. Mean while messages and messengers were continually pass-  
ing and repassing betwixt the two camps, Ser-efraz Khan offering to receive  
Aali-verdy Qhan into favor again, and wishing to see him; and the other answer-  
ing in the strain he had already done. " In grateful remembrance of the favors  
" received from your father, said he once, I will never form any designs against

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(a) This glorious volume was only a brick properly fashioned and covered with Cloth of gold.

" you;





"you; but it is under condition only that you dismiss from your service those  
"enemies of our family, who by their rancorous suggestions have brought matters  
"to that state of difidence and disunion that draws to a crisis. Life, deliver  
"them over to me: and if you are averse to this also, then stand off: pitch your  
"tent upon that eminence yonder, and from thence look at our fighting against  
"each other. If I am victorious, I will certainly come to pay you my duty; and  
"if I am vanquished, you shall do with me whatever you shall think proper." As  
both parties seemed equally liable to difficulties, the interview did not take place.  
But although such friendly messages were daily exchanged, Djagat-Seat was never-  
theless busily employed in writing to every one of Aaly-verdy Qhan's commanders,  
and in conveying to them, every one according to his station, promissory notes,  
called Tips, usual amongst bankers, under the only condition of seizing his person  
and delivering it to Ser-efraz Khan. \* Some of these notes were received that very  
evening, by many, and amongst others, by Mustephra Qhan. That officer, in company  
with some others, as zealously attached to Aaly-verdy Qhan as himself, carried them  
to him, and exposed the contents to his view. "*If fighting is the matter, said that officer, let us fight tomorrow morning, without loss of time; for the next day, matters may take a very different turn from what they are to day.*" Aaly-verdy Qhan having reflected  
on the advice, gave his approbation; and that very moment, he ordered powder and  
ball to be distributed to the troops, being resolved to fight the next day. His army  
he divided in three bodies: one part under the Command of Nandoo Lal, a Gentoo  
officer of character, who was also entrusted with Aaly-verdy-qhan's standard, was  
opposed to Ghóufs-qhan; and he gave him orders to engage the troops on this side of  
of the river: with the two other bodies, he forded the river, and sent one of them in  
the rear of Ser-efraz-Qhan's troops with orders to fall upon them, as soon as they

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\* We know for certain, and this is the universal report, that this Manœuvre was played by Aaly-verdy Qhan himself, through Djagat-Seat, his friend, against Ser-efraz Qhan's officers; and we have been assured by one of them, still living, that himself had received such a Tip for 4000R. and had been desired to load the Artillery only with earth and rubbish. The universal report at Moorhoodabad is, that in fact some guns were served in that manner; and by the bye not a word is said by the author of Ser-efraz Khan's Artillery.

should





should see him engaged with his front, for which purpose he now advanced on Ser-e-fraz-khan, without quitting the river's bank. The body that had been sent forwards had orders to keep themselves concealed, untill they should hear the report of a gun, at which signal they were to fall at once both upon Ser-e-fraz Qhan's rear and camp. This body commenced its march in the darkness of the night at one in the morning, and was commanded by Nevaziffa-Mahmed Qhan, Aaly-verdy Qhan's eldest son in law, who had under his command Abdol-aly Qhan with Mustepha Qhan and Shimshir Qhan and some other Afghan Commanders. Aaly-verdy Qhan with his Corps followed, but at some distance; whilst Nandoolal in compliance with orders, marched slowly and silently opposite to Ghóufs Qhan. The engagement commenced at the dawn of the day; by which time Aaly-verdy Qhan being near Ser-e-fraz Qhan's front fired one of his guns: On the report of which the body that had preceeded, attacked Ser-e-fraz Qhan's troops, whilst Nandoolal engaged Ghóufs Qhan. Ser-e-fraz-Qhan who was then at his devotions, got up immediately, mounted his Elephant, and marched straight to Aaly-verdi-Qhan, at the very time when some of the enemies getting at his rear, had penetrated to the middle of his camp, where much plunder was acquired, and much slaughter made, Mirza-iredj-qhan's Son being slain, amongst others. Mean while Ser-e-fraz Qhan kept advancing, and was already passed his Nagar-qhana or band of musick, and the head of his army, when a bullet sent him to the mansions of eternity. He was accompanied by a number of men of distinction, amongst which were Mir-Camal, Mir-Ghádai, Mir-ahmed, Mir-seradj-addin, Hadji-lootf-ally-Qhan, and Corbān-aly-Qhan: and all these having in that game of hazard lost the capital of their existence, made haste to retreat into eternity: the Ráy-Ráyan, Aalem-chund being wounded, as well as Mirza-iredj-Qhan, returned into the city. On the other hand, Ghóufs-Qhan, who was engaged on the other side of the River with Nandoolal, gave him a compleat defeat, in which that Hindoo commander was slain. Whilst the enemy was flying on that side of the river, Ser-e-fraz-Qhan's Elephant, which his driver had now turned about, was descried sleeping towards the city; and Ghóufs-Qhan





Qhan ascribing this flight to his master's want of Courage, sent him a swift horseman with orders to bring the elephant back at any rate, and to inform his master that he Ghóufs-Qhan had defeated and slaughtered the enemies, and that now was the time to join him and to fall together upon those that yet stood their ground. All this while Aaly-verdi-Qhan, sensible at what critical point matters had come, was repressing the ardor of his people, and endeavouring to keep them together: he knew for certain that Ser-efraz-Qhan had been slain, but he knew likewise that Nandoolal had been defeated and killed; and that Ghóufs-Qhan of whose valor and abilities he entertained no doubt, was at the head of a body that kept a firm countenance; at the very time when he had the mortification to see that the troops he had sent forwards to fall on Ser-efraz-Qhan's Camp, were actually plundering and sacking those tents replenished with a rich booty, and had dispersed every where without leaving to their Commander a possibility of his rallying them again. Things were in that doubtful state, when the horseman dispatched by Ghóufs-Qhan, came and informed him that his Lord was no more. Astonished to the highest degree, he plunged into a sea of amazement and despair; and sensible that Aaly-verdi-Qhan, to whom his hatred to his family was known long ago, would now carry every thing before him, and that he had nothing to hope for at his hands, he resolved to perish in the field. Calling for his two sons, Mahammed-Cotob and Mahmed-pir, he commanded them to loosen his Cuirass and Coat of Arms from behind, and then turning to them, he said these very words: children, "nothing remains now for us, but to be slain in the field. Our lives are now as well as gone: we must wash our hands on that article, and rush upon that body that surrounds Aaly-verdi-Qhan to try if we can come at his person." That commander and his sons were in fact the overthrowing Lions of the field, and the irresistible Herculettes of their age: \* With the few that chose to stand by them, they advanced on the enemy with the

Heroical death  
of Ghóufs qhan,  
and of two sons.

\* The original says the Roostems of their age; and we have already been apprised that Roostem was the Hercules of Persia Like he the destroyer of monsters, and the overthrower of Tyrants; like he the progenitor of a long race of sovereigns, like he wore a Lion's Hide, but it was in the form of a close Coat, and like he he had a club in his hands, but it was an Iron one with eight Angles. Moreover the Persian Hercules had a moral Character, which the European had not; and the last deserved only to be the first Soldier in the other's Army

greatest





greatest intrepidity; for the rest of Ghóuls-Qhan's troops, that is the greatest part of them already apprised of Ser-efraz qhan's death, had turned about, had quitted the field, and were retreating towards the city; and but a very few of them chose to stand by a man resolved not to survive a defeat. With these few, he kept advancing, and was already close upon the enemy, when he received a wound from a musquet-ball. Still he continued to advance, and calling for his horse, with a firm resolution to single out Aaly-verdi-qhan, he was alighting from his elephant, when he was hit again by two musquet balls, which laid him dead on the field of battle. His two sons seeing their father dead, dismounted, let their horses loose, and taking to their sabre and buckler, they rushed on foot on the enemy, when on closing with them, they were shot at on all sides, and fell dead, weltering in blood and dust. Mahmed-c8t8b, the eldest, who bore a high character for prowess and bodily strength, finding himself going, fat on the field, without quitting either buckler or sword, and in that warlike posture, he breathed his last. He was afterwards buried in that very spot. Mir-dilir-aly hearing of Ser-efraz-qhan's death, refused to survive his good master and friend: and with sixteen men that stood by him, he rushed on the enemy, was slain fighting valiantly, and took his journey towards the gates of eternity. In fact, few soldiers and few leaders in Hindostan, ever proved so zealous as those of Ser-efraz-qhan's. Mir-shef-edin, who, with the corps under his command, had bravely encountered Aaly-verdy-qhan in person, and hit him with two arrows, finding that the day was lost, retreated and quitted the field. One of those arrows hit the bow he held in his hand, and the other made a slight wound on his right shoulder. In a word, every one of Ser-efraz-qhan's men exhibited proofs of attachment and valour; some fell in the field of battle; and some despairing of their fortune, retreated towards the city; and victory having now declared for Aaly-verdy-qhan, he immediately dispatched his brother, Hadji-ahmed, to Moorshoodabad, with orders to soothe and tranquilize the inhabitants of that great city, and to place guards on all the offices of the Government, and all the appartments of Ser-efraz-qhan's palace: with strict injunctions to establish order and safety throughout every quarter. Hadji-ahmed,





in compliance, with his orders, advanced with the swiftness of wind, and the rapidity of lightning; and being arrived early, he proclaimed every where the new prince, and thereby put an end to the tumults that had already risen.

Ali-verdi-ghan takes possession of Moorshedabad.

His singular speech to Serefraz-ghan's mother.

Two days after the battle, being about the middle of Sefer, in the year 1115 of the Hedjra, Aali-verdy-ghan marched slowly and leisurely into the city, but with the utmost pomp and magnificence. On his advancing to the Palace, and before his taking his seat on the musaud, he struck to the right, and went to the apartments where lived the princess Nefisa-hegum, daughter of Djaaser-khan, and mother to the late Serefraz-phan: Stopping at the gate, he assumed a respectful posture, took a moving tone of voice, and having made a profound bow, in which he inclined his body to the ground, he supplicated the princess's forgiveness, and sent in the following message:

"Whatever was pre-determined in the books of fate, has come to take place; and  
"the ingratitude of this worthless servant of your's is now registered in the unfading  
"records of history: But I swear, that so long as life shall exist in this blackened  
"face of mine, I shall never swerve from the path of respect, and the duties of the most  
"complete submission. I hope that the villainy and misdeed of this poor hurt  
"and afflicted slave of your's, shall as time be effaced from the mirror of your  
"forgiving mind; and that you shall, at some distant period of time, condescend to accept  
"in extenuation of my crime those demonstrations of perfect submission, and those  
"tokens of dutiful attachment which I am resolved to exhibit."

after this speech in which he seemed greatly affected, and to which not a word of answer was returned, he continued his route to the chehel Setan or forty Pillars, a Palace built by Shudjah-khan for public ceremonies, as well as for his residence: and being got within the hall of general audience, he took his seat in the mesnad of command, ordered the musick to strike up (282) and received the nuzurs of the crown

his

(282) We have already observed, that this musick, which is a mark of command and sovereignty, and is allowed to all Soobahs, consists of three Nagaras, or large Kettle-drums of iron, twice as big as those in Europe; two





Officers, of the military men, and of the principal citizens of Moorshoodabad, who hastened to pay him that token of acknowledgement: but all this was mere exterior. His person on account of the black ingratitude he had been guilty of towards his lord and benefactor's son, was viewed with sentiments of horror and detestation; nor was all his merit known at that early period. But in time he displayed such a virtuous conduct, and so moral a character; treated the nobility and the grandees with so much deference and respect; spread so indiscriminately the carpet of condescendence and benignity for both stranger and friend; applied himself so earnestly in gaining the hearts of both the powerful and defenceless; exhibited such a quick feeling for the services rendered him by those attached to his person, so much regard for the rights of distant consanguinity or old acquaintance; so much commiseration for the poor, and so much attention for the oppressed; with such a turn of mind for forgiveness of personal injuries: in one word he shewed himself so invaluable a man; that a total alteration took place in every heart; and those who at first could not bear to look on him, became in time so enamoured with his amiable deportment, and so attached to his person, that few instances have been observed in his time or in any other, of so zealous an attachment and so much affection or love. Upon the whole, altho' the slaying his Lord and benefactor's son was unquestionably one of the blackest actions that could be committed, and one of the most abominable events that could happen; yet it cannot

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roy.

or three D'houls, or ordinary drums; two or three Zoonahs, or haut-boys; two or three Kerrenas, or trumpets; one or two Zills, or cimballs, an instrument lately borrowed by the Europeans from the Turks, but played by the Turks and by the Persians, as well as the Indians, in a more delicate, curious, and scientific manner; lastly, a very long Kerrena, or rather speaking-trumpet: it is straight, and seven or eight feet in length, upon two or three inches diameter about the mouth. It imitates exactly the voice of a tall stout man, incomparably better than the speaking-trumpets at sea, which always convey an altered disagreeable sound. We have forgotten two or three Taaffes, or flat-kettles; one, twenty inches in diameter, and four in depth; one lesser; and one of one foot diameter, and ten inches in depth. All that is played either at the top of a main-gate of a fortress, or of a palace, or upon a building raised on purpose upon three lofty arches, and called therefore *Tin-pooliah*, named by the vulgar into *Tirpouliah*. All this forms a very animating musick, and at a distance a pleasing one; and the long trumpet distinctly heard at a mile distance, seems to be only the voice of a Nadyr-Shah, thundering out his orders to his army. The Concerto commences by one of the Taaffes, which is joined successively by all; but each sort of drum plays by itself, and by intervals, being re-inforced now and then by the others, and by the Nagaras. The long trumpet always sounds alone, or accompanied by a Taafs.

be

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be denied that Ser-efraz-Qhan had no talents for government, and no capacity for business; and that, had his Government lasted but sometime more, such a train of evils, and such a series of endless confusions would have been the consequence of his incapacity, that disorders without number, and disturbances without end, would have arisen insensibly, and would have brought ruin and desolation on these countries and their inhabitants. The Marhattas had already cast their eyes upon these Rich provinces: shortly after they attacked and invaded them on all sides; and lucky did it prove for the inhabitants of these countries that those merciless free-booters had to deal with such a man as Aaly-verdi-Qhan, who by his talents for both war and Government; and by the exertions of a Keen sabre become infatigable, as well as by the resources of his policy, found means to repress those ravagers, and at last to expell them intirely out of Bengal, as we shall succinctly mention in a short time in the course of these written leaves. Such exertions were not of a nature to be expected from Ser-efraz-Qhan and his ministers; nor were they men to oppose such a torrent with any effect: whereas his rival, to such a modesty of behaviour, and to so much purity of morals, joined political and military talents, and all the renown and power which victory and success could confer: the whole forming a character, which far from being equalled by any of his contemporaries or any of his successors, would hardly find a comparison in the records of past time. By a felicity peculiar to his government, his three nephews proved men of merit, and such as deserved to have such an uncle: every one of them, decorated with the military rank of seven-thousand horse, and raised to the highest dignities and offices of the state, seemed to have taken him for their pattern, and to have had nothing in view but the welfare of those entrusted to their care. But of every one of these, as well as of Aali-verdi-khan's children and family, mention shall be made particularly, whenever the thread of history shall come to reach their time.

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## E R R A T A

Page, 14 Lines, 18 Martine read Martin

- 16 — 5 And borders write and it borders
- 17 — 1 Register read Registers
- 23 — 24 Mubaric read Mubarec
- 24 — 17 To see it pass by read to see it pass by
- 27 — 25 To me wounded, to me, wounded
- 30 — 24 Fatigue of the way read thus fatigue of the way ;
- 33 — 5 His Uncle and this Nephew read and *his Nephew*
- 34 — 2 Transction read transactions,
- 34 — 23 Djitadet-djung read Djeladet-djung
- 35 — 1 Before them read behind them
- 35 — 18 Indispensible read indispensable
- 35 — 16 Ombrage read umbrage
- 36 — 18 Come to be read come out to be,
- 36 — 18 Literal read litteral,
- — Naffry-de-döula Viceroy of Decan read Naffyr-ed-döulah  
Viceroy of Decan
- 37 — last line On so many read in so many
- 38 — 6 Or of the books read for instance of the books
- 41 — 18 Mahomet but only read Mahomet only
- 42 — 16 Of Lord read Lord
- 1 — 7 The author has Mahmed for Aorengzib-aalem-ghir or all  
read the author has Mahmed-Aorengzib, for Aorengzib-  
aalemghir; for all
- — 17 Soltan Bahr read in two places, Soltan Bahr



Page 2	Line	9	A King, read a King;
— 3	—	20	Repeated about read aloud
—	—	29	Navvob read Navvab
—	—	33	Of the Sacrifice, of Isaac <i>dele the comma after Sacrifice</i>
— 4	—	31	G8aliar read G8djarat
— 5	—	25	Official read officiant
— 8	—	19	And fell in read and full in
— 12	—	16	Conservation read preservation
— 17	—	26	Lo8di lirin read L88di, Tirin
— 17	—	26	Particularraies read particular races
— 17	—	23	Patams read Patans
— 18	—	11	Horfes read horfe
— 18	—	12	Rai read Rai
— 18	—	19	Adminiftration, had <i>dele the comma</i>
— 18	—	29	Rai read Ray
— 18	—	13	Qharier-khan read Ghairret-qhan
— 20	—	10	Qhazi-ed-din-khan read Ghazi-ed-din-qhan
— 20	—	20	Subtiltie of read subtilties of
— 21	—		<i>Marginal note</i> Azem-shah read Azimush-shan
— 25	—	29	Immediate spare read immediate space
— 28	—	21	Suleiman-peni read Suléiman-Péni
—	—	25	Horfes read horfe
— 29	—	12	Possible to open but read possible to open an eye, but
— 30	—	10	Dora-shecoh read Dara-shecoh
—	—	28	Proposed read preposed
— 31	—	11	Seroh-8yur read Feroh-fyur
—	—	29	Eleganthe read elegant
—	—	30	Arranged read arranged
—	—	39	Ot Agat read Agathe





Page	Line	Margin	decisions read divisions
—	—	29	Several part read several parts
— 32	—	7	On foot without a veil, read on foot and without a veil
—	—	38	Than a small finger read than one half of a small finger,
—	—	26	Superior officers, read Inferior officers,
— 36	—	24	Bare-headed, read bare-headed,
—	—	26	Peasant read peasants
— 38	—	4	Horses read horse
— 39	—	15	Citidel read Citadel
— 42	—	22	Refractory Prince, read refractory princes
— 43	—		Liinitrophe or acad neighbouring
—	—	3	Superintendent read superintendant
— 44	—	12	Injurus read injuries
—	—	20	Ferock-fyur read Feroh-fyur
— 45	—	25	Sijahs read Shiahs
—	—	31	Getts new cloaths read gets his new cloathes
— 46	—	13	Ferock-fyur read Feroh-fyur
—	—	23	Ferock-fyur read Feroh-fyur
— 47	—	24	Of delays, being read delays. Being
— 48	—	15	Emperor read Emperor
— 49	—	9	Envoye read Envoy
— 50	—	1	heart when read heart, when
— 50	—	8	Horses read horse
—	—	26	On a set read onset
— 52	—	1	Than they resolved read than resolved
— 53	—	1	Added read and added
—	—	21	Horses read horse,
— 54	—	24	Horses read horse
— 55	—	9	Having arrived read being arrived





Page 58	Line 16	Ilah-abad, he read Ilah-abad : he
— 60 —	8	Pretensions yourself read pretensions to it yourself
— 61 —	18	Feroh-yfur read Feroh-iyur
— 63 —	3	D8obah read D88lah
— 64 —	19	Waited-for; read waited for,
— 65 —	4	Tuccerrub-khan read Tuckurrub-qhan
— 67 —	21	Fear, read, fears
— —	24	Djehandej-shah read Djehandera-shah
— 68 —	23	Escaped some read escaped from some
— —	25	That nellow read that mellow
— —	30	Distribution read distributions
— 69 —	1	Bahadyr-shah read Bahadyr-shah
— 70 —	17	Opiniated read opinionated
— 72 —	13	Is that the Gentoo read the Gentoo Prince
— 74 —	6	To represent as read to represent as,
— —	25	With keys (and locks read with keys and locks
— 75 —	15	From Court read from going to Court,
— 76 —	11	Or if remembrance read or if a remembrance
— 78 —	32	For besides that ; oply read for besides that only
— 79 —	14	And eminent read an eminent
— 80 —	3	To siffe read to stifle
— 82 —	25	Qhoadja-djaafter read Qhoadja-djafer
— —	28	For Arabian Land read for an Arabian Land
— —	83	Djafter read Djafer
— 83 —	29	Injudicious read injurious
— —		Syah read Shyah
— —		For where as Syahs read for whereas Shyahs
84 —	10	Admit, the same read admit the same





Page 84 Line 14 Djafter read Djafer

- 84 — 24 Aalimertera read Aali-m8rteza  
— 87 — 30 Behind read beyond  
— 88 — 23 Decam read deems  
— 88 — 32 Autern read Autumn  
— 92 — 24 Extricated himself read extricated him  
— 94 — 17 Occasioning losses read occasioning endless losses  
— 95 — 12 Forboded read foreboded  
— 95 — 13 Punctually; like, read punctually like  
— 98 — 7 Shewn the Emperor read shewn to the Emperor  
— 98 margin Ca8d-qhan-peni read D88d-qhan-peni  
— 100 — 33 Twelve hundred read thirteen hundred  
— — 5 Bessalat-qhan at read Bessulet-qhan both at  
— 108 — 6 Condolance read Condolence  
— 111 — 1 Finances read finance  
— 112 — 11 Having time read having no time  
— 113 — Of his finances read of finances  
— 113 — 27 Of the jewels read of jewels  
— 115 — 19 To put to order those read to put order to those  
— 117 — 18 The nor that read nor, that  
— 122 — 6 Horses and more read horse and more  
— 122 — 16 Any invasion read an invasion  
— 124 — 2 Depositing read depositary  
— 124 — 29 As Altimgha Altimgha read Altimgha irrevocable  
— 124 — 29 Maheradja read Maha-Radja  
— 126 — 14 To trust most read to trust above all others  
— 126 — 10 To make an accommodement read to make an agreement  
— 127 — 29 Alternately just read alternately, just  
— 129 — 21 To change his air read a change of air





Page 131	Line 1	The vacant read then vacant
--- 131 ---	6	Serond read Serondj
--- 131 ---	6	Diffentions read diffention
--- 132 ---	14	Hoped that the Viceroy read hoped the Viceroy
--- 183 ---	11	Thoughts of the Famine read thoughts of Famine
--- 134 ---	85	Amounting read amounted
---	22	He departed read he departed;
--- 139 ---	29	The grand Master an read the grand master ship of the ar tillery is
--- 142 ---	9	To and fro read to and fro
--- 142 ---	16	Sra read star
--- 146 ---	19	Afforded read offered
--- 146 ---	17	Tirpo8liah read Tinp68liah
--- 146 ---	17	To Muëzzendin read Muëzzeddin
--- 152 ---	30	Occasionally read occasionally
--- 168 ---	26	Abol-fetab read Abol-fatch
--- 159 ---	4	Dependence read dependance
--- 160 ---	19	Pafs in their custody read pafs the seals in their custody
--- 161 ---	6	For his loss, the read for his loss the
--- 161 ---	29	The besieged gurd-hur read the besieged. Gurd-hur
--- 171 ---	11	Painted red and white read paned red and white
--- 173 ---	19	Penes read <i>Fenis</i>
--- 175 ---		Nor is there any describing read nor is there describing
--- 176 ---	29	Were laying read were lying dead
--- 178 ---	8	Begun enerous read be ungenerous
--- 180 ---	25	Sancradji-malkar read Sancradji-malhar
--- 180 ---	26	Shpas read Shyahs
--- 198 ---	4	Unheard to this day read unheard of to this day
--- 198 ---	7	Layed their lives read layed down their lives





Page 191 Line 23 Becon read beckon

- 197 --- 21 Deposed read deposited  
--- 197 --- 11 Here lies read here lie,  
--- 199 --- 7 Qhandöran read Qhandö8ran  
--- 200 --- 6 A burthen read a burthen ;  
--- 200 --- 13 On a prince read a Prince  
--- 202 --- 1 So diverted read diverted  
--- 202 --- 27 Proposed read preposed  
--- 204 --- 17 Forms fake read form's fake  
--- 203 --- 24 Enadequate read inadequate,  
--- 204 --- 17 Throughout read through Ecberabad  
--- 212 --- 6 Sher-eken read Shir-effken  
--- 212 --- 19 Hgrenzebi read Aörenzebe  
--- 212 --- Last line the Princes read those princes,  
--- 218 --- 27 By death after read by death, after  
--- 217 --- 1 Booty into read booty in  
--- 220 --- 22 Infictions read infectious,  
--- 226 --- 1 By the arms read in the arms  
--- 226 --- 27 India the atur read India the atur  
--- 228 --- 3 Pontifically read Pontificate  
--- 228 --- 9 Affunder read affunder,  
--- 229 --- Beco8kiely read the Beco8iety  
--- 228 --- 4 Thereof read whereof  
--- 229 --- 12 Prophets read Prophet  
--- 231 --- 10 Quarter, of the horison read quarter of the horison  
--- 233 --- 26 Idiotic read idiot  
--- 233 --- 26 Himself read himself;  
--- 234 --- 17 Imposter read impostor  
--- 234 --- 10 Open it read open it;





- Page 236 Line 3 Bom8d read Nom8d
- 237 — 13 Now spreading read now spread
- 237 — 30 Shyah read Shyahs
- 239 — 2 That when read that one day when
- 239 — 15 Affistance, had read assistance. Had:
- 236 — 22 And Sects read and fots
- 232 — 26 Other would read other; it would
- 240 — 3 Abode by styling read abode; styling
- 240 — 10 Are the result, read is the result,
- 240 — 11 Years pait, read, years past,
- 240 — 20 Younger brother: died, read, younger brother, died,
- 241 — 24 Ministring anget, read ministring angel,
- 242 — 26 Gun-powder, Moaviah, read, gunpowder Moáviah.
- 247 — 4 His command; moreover, read, command; moreover,
- 249 — 22 Adjmir; also, read, Adjmir also,
- 251 — 24 Attend upon him, read, attend him,
- 252 — 29 Some big, read, some of them big,
- 255 — 21 Troubles, and the general, read troubles, the general
- 259 — 3 And left read had left
- 259 — 4 Ray nit Cont-nagur read Ray-nil Cunt-Nagur.
- 260 — 26 Arghans read Afghans
- 262 — 31 Emperor of Tartar read Emperors of Tartar
- 263 — 9 Dver-dad-qhan read Daver-dad-qhan
- 263 — 19 Djevahir-qhan read Djevaher-qhan
- 265 — 6 Allies, at him read rallies at him
- 265 — 9 Delicacies read delices
- 265 — 10 Condescendence read Condescension
- 268 — 1 And capable of read Capable of
- 268 — 14 Any of the property read any part of the property
- 268 — 26 Jealous area of read jealous of that





- Page 271 Line 8 To the Soldiers read to the Soldier  
— 272 — 2 To bring read to the business of bringing  
— 272 — 7 A few days after that officer read a few days after, that officer  
— 272 — 28 Are wanted read are wanted.  
— 274 — 19 Ascendant read ascendancy  
— 274 — 28 If a Musulmen read if a Musulman,  
— 277 — 19 Governor; after which read Governor, after which,  
— 277 — 6 They mutined read they mutinied  
— 278 — 27 To any one but read to any one; but  
— 278 — 30 There even read there: even  
— 279 — 29 To add the words read to add that the words  
— 279 — 29 That occur read which occur  
— 280 — 17 Reserved only read served only,  
— 281 — 22 Of the Provinces of read of the Provinces of  
— 282 — 23 Conquests and read Conquests; and  
— 283 — 28 Pagpoo read Nagpoo  
— 284 — 1 This year, read this year  
— 284 — 23 Contiguous tropic country read contiguous country  
— 285 — 1 Effected his retreated by a Valorous read, effected his retreat: by a Valorous  
— 287 — 27 Mahmed-qhan, the Lion read Mahmed-qhan the Lion  
— 296 — 29 Tavi read Taviz  
— 296 — 29 Inhabitants mostly read inhabit in tents mostly  
— 298 — 25 To adopt himself read to adopt himself  
— 299 — 15 Revenues greatly augmented read revenues greatly augmented  
— 299 — 30 Prince Muhmed-aaly read Prince, Muhmed aaly  
— 300 — 8 Succeeding they first read Succeeding, they first  
— 300 — 12 Of Supplications read of the supplications  
— 300 — 27 Daafer-qhan read Daafer-qhan





- Page 301 Line 25 Security, and was read security, was
- 303 — 9 Doubtless were characters read doubtless of such characters
- 306 — 4 Favorite, minister Qhando8ran; read favorite minister, Qhan-  
d08ran
- 306 — 12 Of forces read of troops
- 306 — 19 Mirza-Mihm read Mirza-Mahmed
- 306 — 25 This investiture read this investiture
- 306 — 32 That that Child read that this Child
- 308 — 22 To tremble, and many read to tremble; and many
- 317 — 25 Tenets to whoever read tenets whoever
- 320 — 2 Of Condolance; read Condolance
- 321 — 1 Depandance read dependance
- 322 — 20 Divided read divide
- 323 — 4 Seyds read Séyds;
- 325 — 3 Of the troops, appointed read of the troops appointed
- 325 — 11 Nevertheless read, and yet
- 328 — 21 Deligence read diligence
- 333 — 31 A Sagreed read I agree
- 333 — 16 Aaly-verden-qhan read Aaly-Merdan-qhan
- 336 — 15 Conversation read preservation
- 337 — 9 Made a sign of admission and read made a sign of Submis-  
sion, and
- 337 — 26 Nei-Shaboor Saporess. read Nei-Shab0r, Saporess
- 337 — 28 Ader-baydon read Ader-ba'y-Dian
- 337 — 28 Persia the Afshars read Persia the Afshars
- 337 — 29 Mezenderan and the read Mazenderan, and the
- 339 — 24 Iranian camp; finding, read Iranian Camp: finding,
- 340 — 25 Coorbah read Qhorbah
- 341 — 6 And those seditions, read and those Seditious
- 343 — 27 It was these, after read It was these: after
- 344 — 14 Of six pieces, and Séyd Solabet, read, of six pieces; and  
Séyd Solabet.

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(426)

End

