To Dr. Richard Mead, Physician to the King, Fellow of the College of Physicians in London, and of the Royal Society,

These Sheets (as a grateful Acknowledgment of the Favours received) are, with great Submission, dedicated by His most obliged

Humble Servant,

James Fraser.
As the Public is ever favourable to Works of this Nature, I shall make no Apology for the present Undertaking. But to satisfy my Readers what Pains I have been at not to impose upon them, and what Opportunities I have had of being informed, I beg leave to present them with a short Account of the following Sheets.

The Abstract of the Moghol History is extracted from the 6th Vol. of Tarikh Rozit al Sufa, Vakeát Babri, Maçir Jehanguiry, Padshahama, and Tarikh Alumguiri, &c. A particular Account of which will be found in the Catalogue of Manuscripts at the End of the Book. As I have so large and choice a Collection
Collection of Eastern Histories for that Purpose, the Authenticity of it will not be disputed.

As to that Part which gives an Account of the State of Affairs in the Moghol Empire before the Persian Invasion, with the Springs that effected the same, I have translated it from a Persian Manuscript sent to Dr. Mead, by Humfries Cole Esq; Chief of the English Factory at Patna in the East-Indies. That the Facts therein are true, I am well assured; having myself lived in India above Ten Years, the last Three of which, I held a constant Correspondence with some Persians and Moghols there, and that frequently on the Subject of Nadir Shah's Expedition.

The Account of Nadir Shah's first Exploits I have been favoured with from a Gentleman now in England, who resided several Years in Persia, speaks that Language, and has been frequently in Company with that Conqueror.

The Journal of his Transactions in India, with the Letters and Cession of the Provinces, were transmitted from Dehli, by the Secretary of Sirbullind Khan (whom Nadir Shah had appointed to be one of the Commissioners for levying the Contributions) to Mirza Moghol,
The PREFACE.

hol, Son to Ali Mahommed Khan at Ahmedabad; who being my intimate Friend, gave it to me.

I have been as full in the Notes as possible, and explained whatever Terms I thought required it: Several proper Names and Words I have expressed in the Original Characters, which I thought would be entertaining to those who know any Thing of the Arabic or Persian, and not disagreeable even to those who do not, as they are immediately after set down in Roman Characters, with a proper Explanation. As several of these Terms have occurred more than once, I have annexed an Index of them, referring to the Page in which they are particularly explained.

In the Abstract of the Moghol History, I have reduced the Dates of the Hegira to the Year of our Lord, but in the remaining Part I have kept the Original Dates, and put ours in the Notes.

The learned Reader will please to observe, that in two or three Persian Words, I have been obliged to make use of the Letter B. instead of P. there being no such Letter in the Arabic Types, which I have been favoured with by the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge.
at the Recommendation of his Lordship the Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry.

The Oriental Manuscripts, of which I have annexed a Catalogue at the End of these Sheets, have been collected from the Year 1730 to 1740, and purchased with no small Labour and Expence, at Surat, Cambay, and Ahmedabad in the East-Indies; excepting a few which I bought at Mocha in Arabia, from some Persians who passed that Way on their Pilgrimage to Mecca.

The first Master under whom I studied the Persic, was a Parfi, (or one of the Race of the ancient Persians) now at Surat. The second was a Mullah of one of the Mosques there, whose Name is Fakhr o’dîn. When I was at Cambay, I studied under Shékh Mahommed Morad, a Man famous in those Parts for his Knowledge of the Mahommedan Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws. During my Stay in that Place, I employed three Hours each Day with one Srî Nât Veaz, a learned Brahmin, whom I allowed a Sallary on that Account; it was by his Means I procured my Sanskerrit Manuscripts, which (I believe) is the first Collection of that Kind ever brought into Europe.
A Short History of the Hindostan Emperors of the Moghol Race, beginning with Temur.

Temur, * the Son of Emir Targhai Khan and Takina Khatun, was born on the 6th of April, 1336, during the Government of Kazan Khan, in the City of Keish, (commonly call'd Shehrjobz, or the Green City)

* Temur is known in Europe by the Name of Tamerlane, a Corruption of Temur Lugh, which signifies Lame Temur, an Appellative seldom or never given him by the Eastern Historians. His Name and Titles at Length are Koteb al Dunia v'al din Emir Temur Gourjan Saheb e Kiran, which is to say, The
which is one Stage distant from Samarqand: And on the 8th of April, 1370, then aged 35 + Lunar Years and 17 Days, sat on the Throne in the City of Balkh. From which Time until his Death, which was Thirty-five Years Eleven Months and Five Days, he subdued the better Part of the Earth, and obtain'd Victories that might eclipse the Glory of all the Exploits before his Time. He conquered Maswaralnahr (or Transoxane Tartary) Biddukhshan, Khuarism, Turkestan, Zahulistan, Kabul, Ghor and Hin-

The Axis of (or on whom turns round) the World and Religion, Prince Temur of Gourgân, Lord of the Conjunction; it being said, there was a fortunate Conjunction of the Planets at his Birth. ڪئے Kotb literally signifies the Pole or Extreme of the Axis; a Part being put to signify the Whole. Temur signifies hardy, and strong, being deriv'd from the Tartar Word چے Temr, Iron, which the modern Turks by Corruption write جد Demr.

† The Stages, which in Tartary and Persia they call جھی Manzel, are from 25 to 30 English Miles.
‡ The Lunar Year they reckon 354 Days, 22 Gurris, 1 Pull. The Solar Year they reckon 365 Days, 15 Gurris 30 Pulls, 22½ Peels; 60 Peels making 1 Pull, 60 Pulls 1 Gurri, and 60 Gurris 1 Day. This is according to the Bramim's or Indian Priest's Calcula- tion, and what the Moghols and other Mahommedans in India chiefly go by.

dostan
of the Moghol Emperors.

as far as Dehli, all Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt.

In the Year 1398, he set out on his Expedition to India; and on the 16th of December the same Year, he took the Capital Dehli, having then an Army of near 100,000 Horse. But finding a general Conquest of India would be attended with much Difficulty, and the keeping it afterwards impracticable, he bent his Thoughts on an Expedition against the Turks; and Three Years Eight Months after the Taking of Dehli, in the latter End of 1401, with an Army of near 200,000 Horse he set out against Eildirm || Baiazed, the Son of Sultan Morad Khan (corruptly call'd Amurath;) and on the 18th of July, 1402, on the Plains of Angora in Galatia, defeated him and his numerous Army. On the 19th at Night Baiazed,

* India in the East is known by the Name of Hindostan, which signifies the Country of the Hindoos or swarthy People, Hindu being swarthy or black. The Capital thereof is Dehli, which late Shah Jehan removed thither from Agra, is as often known by the Name of Shah Jehanabad, or Shah Jehan's Habitation.

|| Eildirm, which in the Turkish Language signifies Lightning, was Baiazed's Surname.
with his Son Moysi; were taken Prisoners, and presented to him.

After this Victory, all Asia Minor submitted to him, and the Khotbah * was read at Mecca and Medina in his Name.

On Wednesday the 8th of February, 1405, while on his Expedition to Khata †, he died at the Village Atrar, which is distant from Samarcand Seventy-six Farsangs ‡. His Body was brought to Samarcand, and buried in a Tomb, which he himself had caused to be erected for that Purpose, having lived Seventy Years, Eleven Months and Twenty-two Days.

His Sons were,

1. Jebanguir Mirza, who died in 1374, at Samarcand, in Temur's Life-time, aged Twenty Years.

2. Shekh Aumar Mirza, who was kill'd in Temur's Life-time, in January 1394, being Forty Years old.

* Khotbah is the Harangue read by the Mullahs on Fridays in the Mosques, in which the Prince who then governs is mention'd and pray'd for.

† Khata or China.

‡ Farsang is about four English Miles.
of the Moghol Emperors.

3. Mirza Miran Shah, born in 1367-8, and kill'd the 9th of April, 1408.

4. Shabrokh Mirza, who reigned after his Father for the Space of Forty-three Lunar Years and Four Months, and died in March, 1447, having lived Seventy-two Years.

**Sultan Mahommed Mirza**

Was the Son of Mirza Miran Shah who with his Brother Mirza Khulil lived at Samarcand, and in the Reign of their Uncle Shabrokh they both died. The precise Times of their Birth and Death are not recorded in any authentic History.

**Sultan Abuseyd Mirza,**

The Son of Sultan Mahommed Mirza, was born in 1427. sat on the Throne at the Age of Twenty-five, and on the 18th of May 1469, was kill'd, having reigned Eighteen Lunar Years, and lived Forty-three.

**Aumar Shekh Mirza,**

The Fourth Son of Sultan Abuseyd Mirza, was born at Samarcand in 1456. After his Father's
Father's Death he held Possession of Farghana, Khogend and Auratia (anciently called Astrushna) and died on the 7th of June, 1494, having lived Thirty-nine Lunar Years.

Zehir o'din Mahommed Babr,

The Son of Aumar Shekh Mirza. The best History of his Actions, is the Commentaries wrote by himself, call'd Vakeat Babri ||. He was born the 12th of February, 1483, and on the 8th of June, 1494, aged Eleven Lunar Years, Seven Months, and Twenty-nine Days sat on the Throne at Andjan. While he governed in Mawar-alnahr, he had frequent Conflicts with Shahan Khan Ousbek. After conquering Cabul, Kan-

† Formerly the Khalifs gave Titles to the Mahommedan Princes; such as Defender of Religion, the Champion of Religion, &c. And since the Destruction of their Empire, the Princes have assumed such as they like best. Sultan Babr took the Title of Zehir o'din, the Supporter of Religion; and the Name Mahommed, which signifies prais'd, is prefix'd (or understood to be so) to almost every Mussulman's Name.

Vakeat Babri, signifies Babr's Occurrences.
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dabar, Biddukhsfan, Ghoojarni, and the Places dependant on them, he made five different Expeditions into Hindostan. In the first Four he was unsuccessful; but in the Fifth, on the rst of May, 1526, near the Village Maltia, he gave Battle to Sultan Ibrahim Loudi, who had 100,000 Afghans *, and 1000 armed Elephants, and totally defeated him, and that numerous Army, tho' he had scarcely 12,000 effective Men.

He afterwards subdued all that Empire, excepting the Kingdoms of Decan, Guzerat, and Bengal. Eleven Months and Five Days after this Battle, he engaged Rana Sanga, the most powerful of the Indian Princes; and tho' the Army of the latter was incredibly numerous, and had many armed Elephants, he got the Victory.

He died on the 25th of December, 1530, in Charbaghi near Agra, on the Banks of the River Chun, †, from whence his Body was carried to be interred in Cabul, having lived

* Afghans are the several Tribes of Mahomedans, who inhabit the Northern Parts of India; there are some of them spread all over India, known by the Name of Pattans; they are esteem'd the best Soldiers in the Country.

† The River Chun, is often called Jumna.

Forty-
Forty-nine Lunar Years, Four Months, and One Day; and reign'd Thirty-seven Years, Eight Months, and Two Days: Thirty-two Years Ten Months and Three Days before the Conquest of India; and Four Years Nine Months and Twenty-nine Days after the Conquest thereof.

Nessīr ʿdīn Mahommed Hemaīun,

Son to Zebir ʿdīn Mahommed Babr, was born in the Castle of Cabul, on the 4th of March, 1508; and on the 28th of December, 1530, sat on the Throne at Agra.

In November, 1534, he set out to conquer Malva and Guzerat. Sultan Bahadr, who had engaged with him, and was defeated, fled to Mundou; and being pursued, went from thence to Chanpanere; from Chanpanere to Canbaet (or Cambay); and from Canbaet to Diu. Hemaīun after staying some Time at Canbaet, return'd.

Having, in the Year 1535, subdued Malva and Guzerat, in 1538 he conquer'd Bengal; but in 1540, being forsaken by his good

Hemaīun took the Title of Nessīr ʿdīn, the Aflister of Religion.
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Fortune, he was driven out of his Country by the Usurper Sher Khan the Afghan, from which he was absent five Years five Months and fifteen Days. The Particulars of which, with his Reception in Persia, and the Assistance given him by Shab Thamas, Son to Shab Ismael, is fully set forth in Akbarnama †, Padshahnama, Tebeat Akbarsahi, Tarikh-alum Arai, and Montekheb al Tuarikh Bendauni; being too prolix to insert here. At last, on the 1st of September, 1545, he took Kandahar from Mirza Askeri, who govern'd it as Mirza Camran's Deputy; and on the 16th of November, 1545, he took Cabul from Mirza Camran; and in the Spring 1546, conquered Biddukhsban from Mirza Suleman, who had revolted and taken the Government thereof into his own Hands. In the Beginning of December, 1554, he set out from Cabul for Hindostan; and on the 22d of February, 1555, came to Labor. On the 27th of May, the same Year, he came to Serhind; and on the 20th of June, encountered and defeated Zecandir Sour. This

† These are five Histories; the first Three and the Fifth of the Moghol Emperors, and the Fourth of the Persian Kings of the Sufi Race.
Secandir was Son-in-Law to the Usurper Shér Khan. His first Name was Ahmed, and he governed Panjab * under Selim Khan, after whose Death he took the Government into his own Hands, calling himself Secandir, and possessing all from the River Scind † to the Ganges.

On the 24th of January, 1556, Hemaiun departed this Life, and was buried in a Monument erected on the Banks of the River Chon, having lived Forty-nine Lunar Years, Four Months and Ten Days, and reigned Twenty-five Years Ten Months and Five Days.

Jilal ‡ o'din Mahommed Akbar,

Son to Neffir o'din Mahommed Hemaiun, was born in the Fort of Amrkowt on the 12th of

* بجاوب Panjab is the ancient Name of the Province of Labor; it signifies the five Waters or Rivers, so many running through that Province and falling into the River Scind.

† The River سند Scind, is that known by the Name of the Indus.

‡ اكبر Akbar took to himself the Title of جلال o'din, which signifies, the Aggrandizer of Religion.

October,
October 1542; and on the 12th of February 1556, being then Thirteen Solar Years and Four Months old, was proclaimed Emperor at Calanore in the Province of Labor. He was reckon'd a great and good Prince, and was very fortunate, having, in his Reign, made several Conquests, and reduced almost all India to Obedience. The Particulars of which are to be seen in Akbarnamâ, a History compos'd by his Secretary and Vizir Abul Fazl*, and in Tebeat Akbar Shahi, and Montekleb Tuarikb Bedawmi. As he was professedly fixed to no Religion himself, so he was a Persecutor of none. In 1582 he wrote a Letter to the King of Portugal, desiring he would send to him a Translation of the Scriptures into Arabic or Persian, and at the same

*Abul Fazl was the Title given to this Great Man, and signifies, the Father of Excellence. His Writings testify him to be the most learned, and the best Writer then in the East. He was murder'd by Order of Sultan Selim, on Suspicion of being the Occasion of a Misunderstanding that was between him and the Emperor his Father. Abbar greatly lamented his Death, and so did all who had any Regard for Letters; he having left several Things unfinisht'd. His History of the Moghil Emperors, he carried on to the 38th Year of Akbar's Reign.
A short History

Time a learned Person to explain the Christian Religion. One Coronimo Xavier, a Relation of the famous St. Francis Xavier, was sent; who having learned the Persian, in the Year 1602, presented the Mogol with the Gospels translated into that Language, entirely intermix'd with their Legends, which he imagin'd would make it the more acceptable to Akbar. As I thought the Letter would not be disagreeable to some of the Readers, I have inserted a Translation of it, in which I have kept as close to the Original as possible.

A Letter from the King of Kings to the Ruler * of the Franks.

"GLORY † inconceivable to the TRUE KING, whose Dominions are safe from the Disaster of Decay, and his King-

* As the Portugezsa had made several Conquests on the Coasts of India, it is probable Akbar imagin'd their King was the most powerful Prince in Europe, and so calls him Firman roaie Farang, or the Ruler of the Franks or Europeans.

† It is customary with the Mahometans to begin, not only their Letters, but also most of their other Writings; first, with the Praise of God, and then with the Praise of the Prophet.
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do its issue from the Caunnity of shifting. The wondrous Extent of the Heavens
and Earth is but a minute Part of the
World of his Creation, and infinite Space
but a small Corner of his Production.
A Governor who has regulated the Or-
der of the Universe, and the Management
of the Sons of Adam, by the Understand-
ing of Kings who exercise Justice. A De-
creer, who by the Ties of Love and Bonds
of Affection, has implanted in the various
Beings and several Creatures the Passion
of Inclination and Union, and the Affec-
tions of mutual Tendency and Society.

And Praises unbounded, an Offering to
the poor Souls of the Company of Pro-
phets and Apostles, who walked in the
truest Paths, and directed the rightest
Ways, in general and particular.

It is well known that (with those who
have stored themselves with Knowledge
and Studied Nature) nothing in this lower
World, which is a Mirror of the spiritual
one, is preferable to Love, or more sacred
than Friendship. In that they ascribe the

* As Har was no son of Medians, he makes no
particular Mention of Muhammad.

Decono-
Oeconomy and right Disposition of the World to Affection and Harmony. For whatever Heart the Sun of Love shines on, it clears the whole Soul from the Darkness of Mortality; and how much more is this requisite in Princes, the good Correspondence of whom is the Cause of Happiness to the World and the People therein. For which Reason it has been my earnest and entire Endeavour to promote and confirm the Ties of Friendship and Bonds of Union among God's Creatures, especially among the high Rank of Kings, whom God by his Favour has peculiarly distinguished from the rest of Mankind; particularly with his * Royal Majesty, who is endowed with intellectual Knowledge, is the Reviver of the Ordinances of Jesus, and stands in no Need of Praise or Description. Our Neighbourhood † with that renown'd Prince making an Alliance and Friendship more indispensibly necessary; and as a personal Conference is impracticable on

* By his Royal Majesty, he means the King of Portugal.
† The Portuguese Conquests on the Coast of India, made them Neighbours.
account of many Obstacles and several weighty Reasons, the want thereof can only be supplied by Embassies, and a mutual Correspondence. Since it is certain that these only can make up the Loss of a personal Conversation and Interviews; we hope they will be mutually carried on, without any Interruption, that the Affairs and Desires of each may be manifested to the other.

Your Majesty knows that the Learned and Divines of all Nations and Times, in their Opinions concerning the World of Appearance and the Intellectual, agree in this, that the Former ought to be of no Consideration in Respect to the Latter; yet the wise Men of the Times, and the Great ones of all Nations, toil much in perfecting themselves, as to this perish- ing and showy State, and confine the best of their Lives, and the choicest of their Time, in procuring apparent Delights, being swallowed up and dissolved in fleeting Pleasures and transitory Toys. The most High God, merely with his eternal Favour and perpetual Grace, notwithstanding to many Obstacles, and such
"a World of Business and Employment, has disposed my Heart so as always to seek him: And tho' he has subjected the Dominions of so many powerful Princes to me, which to the best of my Judgment I endeavour to manage and govern so, as that all my Subjects are contented and happy; yet Praise be to God, his Will and my Duty to him, is the End I propose in all my Actions and Desires. And as most People being enchained by the Bonds of Constraint and Fashion, and regarding the Customs of their Ancestors, Relations and Acquaintances, without examining the Arguments or Reasons for it, give an implicit Faith to that Religion, in which they have been bred up, and remain deprived of the Excellency of Truth, the finding of which is the proper End of Reason; therefore at Times I converse with the Learned of all Religions, * and Profit by the Discourses of

* Abdallah Khan, Prince of Tartary, in his Letters to Akbar (of which I have got Copies) and him to a severe Account, for being so fond of the Brahmin or Indian Priests, and so indifferent as to the Mahomedan Religion.
each. As the Vail of a Language inter-
poses betwixt us, it would be expedient
you would oblige me with such a Per-
son as could distinctly relate and explain
the above Affair. It has also reached my
fortunate Ears, that the heavenly * Books,
such as the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gos-
pels, are put into Arabic and Persian: Should
a Translation of these, or any other Books,
which might be of general Benefit, be
procurable in your Country, let them be
sent. For a further Confirmation of our
Friendship, and securing the Foundation
of Affection and Unity, I have sent my
trusty Friend the Learned and Honour-
able Seyd Mazuffer, † whom I have par-

* The Mahomedans call the Scriptures جبرین God's Book, or the heavenly Books, and
reckon their Koran one of them. They have a great
Regard for them all; but say, we have quite altered
and corrupted those in our Polieision, especially the Gos-
pels.

† I am not certain if this Letter, and the Embassa-
dor went any further than Goa; but it is well known,
that upon this Occasion, one Geronimo Xavier, a Je-
suit, was directed to learn the Persian Language, and
sent to the Moghol's Court. This Letter I translated
from the 4th Tome of Abul Fasiel's Collection of Let-
ters.
particularly favoured and distinguished; he'll communicate several Things personally to you, in which confide. Always keep open the Doors of Correspondence and Embassy; and Peace to him who follows the Guide.

"Written in the Month * Ribbi al-avul, 990.

Akbar died at Agra on Tuesday, 12 October 1605, aged Sixty-three Solar Years and one Day; having reigned Forty-nine Solar Years, eight Months, and one Day. His Body was interred in the Burying-place of Secandra, near that City.

He had three Sons,

Sultan Selim; † afterwards Jebanguir.
Sultan Morad, † who died by excessive Drinking in the Year 1598, in Deccan.

* April, 1582.

† سليم Selim, which is a proper Name for Men, signifies, peaceful, safe, secure; and سليم Selim is a proper Name for Women, of the same Signification.

† مراد Morad signifies wished for, desired; being derived from مراد Eradib, the Will.

Sultan
of the Moghol Emperors. 19

Sultan Daniel, who died by the like Demouch in the said Province in the Year 1604,

And three Daughters,

Shahzadah Khanum.
Shakr Nissa Begum.
Aram Banu Begum.

Nour a’din Mahommed Jehanguir,

Son to Jalal a’din Mahommed Akbar, was born at Fatehpour ** (formerly called Sikri)

Shahzada Khanum, the Royal Lady; Shahzada, signifying royally born, and Khanum, Lady.

Shakrissa, the sweetest of Women with the Addition of Begum, which signifies, Princess.

Aram Banu Begum, signifies the calm and peaceful Princess.

Nour a’din, the Light of Religion, and Jehanguir, the Conqueror of the World, which

Sultan Selim assumed, when he became Emperor.

Fatehpour, signifies the Place of Victory.

which
which is twelve Cofs * distant from Agra, on the 19th August 1569, and called Sultan Selim. On the 21st October 1605, being then aged about 36 Solar Years, he sat on the Throne at Agra, and took to himself the Title and Name of Nour o'din Mabommed Jechanguir.

After a Reign of twenty two Solar Years and six Days (the last eight of which he had been afflicted with an Asthma) he died at Chingarbiisti, being then on his Return from Cashmir to Labor, on the 27th of October 1627, aged fifty eight Solar Years, one Month, and twenty nine Days. His Body was carried to Labor, and there inter'd.

He was a weak Prince, and too much over-ruled by the beautiful Nour Jehan † (or Nour Mabli) which made the last ten Years of his Reign

*A Cofs is the Measure they commonly go by in India, in computing Distances; they are of two Sorts. Feribi, or measured, which are 4000 English Yards each; and Rfimi or computed, which are from 2000 to 2500 Yards, according to the different Provinces. Those mentioned here, are the measured Cofs.

† Nour Jehan, signifies, the Light of the World. She was also called Nour Mabli, or the Light of the Seraglio. She was Wife to one Shér Afkan Khan, of a Turkoman Family, who came from Persia.
Reign very uneasy to him, and unfortunate to the Empire. The Omras, who knew her Original, were resolved to oppose all her Schemes; but she persuaded the Emperor to break thro' all Rules, in order to advance her Father, Brother, and other Relations to the highest Employments.

After his Death she endeavoured to secure the Empire for Sbehriar, who was Jebanguir's Son by a Slave, and married to her Daughter by her First Husband Sher Askan Khan. But Asof Khan and Eradet Khan, as Sillam Kheurm (who was Son-in-law to the former) was far off, and that the three

Persia to Hindostan in very indifferent Circumstances. As she was exquisitely beautiful, of great Wit, and an elegant Poetess, Jebanguir was resolved to take her to himself. He sent her Husband, who was esteemed the bravest Man in the Service, with some Troops to command a Place in Bengal; and afterwards sent another with a greater Force to cut him off. When he was killed, Near Jeban was soon prevailed upon to be an Empress. The Coins struck in Jebanguir's Reign, with the Signs of the Zodiac, were not, as is generally thought, in Europe, done by his Empress's Order, nor did she reign one Day, as the common Opinion is; but she ruled the Person who reigned, for above twelve Years.

Shor Askan signifies, the Lyon Over-

of the Moghol Emperors. 21

young
young Princes his Sons, Dara Shekowbh, Sultan Sujab and Auringzebe, were in Nour Jeban's Hands, in order to disconcert her Scheme, and protract the Time until he came, immediately proclaimed Sultan Davr Bukhsh (alias Bolaki) Son to Khosro, Emperor.

Jebanguir had Three Sons and Two Daughters by the following Empresses:

By the Daughter of Rajah Bovandasi*, who poisoned herself in 1601, because the Emperor did not take the same Notice of her Son as he did of Sultan Khourm.

Sultana Nissa Begum, † born in 1586.

Sultan Khosro, ‡ Father to Sultan Davr Bukhsh or Bolaki, || born in 1587. He died in Confinement in the Year 1622.


† Sultana Nissa, the Queen of Women.

‡ Khosro, is the Name of one of the Persian Kings of the Kaian Dynasty, who was great and powerful, and has been since generally applied to any great or powerful Prince, and used as a proper Name in some Royal Families.

|| Davr Bukhsh, signifies, God's Gift.
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By the Daughter of Khojah Hossan, Sultan Parvez *, born in the Year 1589.

By the Daughter of Rajah Kesfoudaft Rattor, Bahar Banu Begum †, born in 1590.

By the Daughter of Rajah Oudesung, Sultan Khourm ‡, born in 1592, who succeeded his Father, and took to himself the Name of Shab Jeban.

Jebanguir had also Sultan Jebandar || and Sultan Shebrier ** Twins by a Concubine, born in 1605; which last being Nour Jeban’s Son-in-law, the endeavoured to secure the Empire to him: But on Shab Jeban’s Accession to the Throne in 1627, he and Bolaki, with Sultan Daniel’s Three Sons,

* Parvez, a proper Name with the Ancient Persians, it signifies victorious. In the Pehluvi Language, it signifies Fish, and some imagine it’s added to Hossan’s Name, because he had a great liking to Fish. Others say, that Hossan Parvez signifies the powerful and victorious King.

† Bahar Banu, the blooming Princess.
‡ Sultan Khourm, the joyful Prince.
|| Jebanguir, the Possessor of the World.
** Shebrier, the Friend of the City.

Gursiaft
Gurstasp *, Teyomars, and Hoifbung were put to Death.

**Shahab o'din Mahommed ShahJehan**

Third Son to Nour o'din Mahommed, Jehanguir was born on Wednesday, the 5th January, 1592, and sat on the Throne in Agra, the 1st February, 1628, being then Thirty six Solar Years and Twenty-eight Days Old. On the 29th March, 1647, being the 20th Year of his Reign, he removed the Seat of his Empire from Agra † to Dehli, calling it Shahjehanabad; where on the Banks of the River Chun he built a noble Castle and Palace, with Gardens and other Conveniencies,

* Gurstasp, Teyomars, and Hoifbung, are ancient Persian proper Names of Men.

† Shab o'din, the bright Star of Religion, and Shah Jehan, the King of the World, were the Titles Sultan Khourm assumed on his Accession to the Throne.

* Agra, is often called Akbarabad or Akbar's Habitation, he having kept his Court there, as Dehli, is called Shah Jahanabad, or Shah Jahan's Habitation.

which
of the Moghol Emperors.

which cost above fifty Lacks * of Rupees. After a successful, and, till then, happy Reign of Thirty Solar Years, Four Months and Eighteen Days, he was first confined by his eldest Son Sultan Dara Sbeckowb, and at last deposed by his Third Son Sultan Auringezebe; and confined in the Castle of Agra, where he died on Sunday the 21st of January, 1666, aged Seventy-four Solar Years and sixteen Days; being, all the Time of his Confinement, attended by his beloved † Daughter Jehan Ara Begum. His Body was interred at Agra, in the magnificent Monument he caused to be erected for his Empress Mehd Alia ||, and which had cost Sixty

A Lack of Rupees is 12,580 L. and 50 Lacks is 629,000 L. A Rupee is the Silver Coin struck in the Moghol Mints, with an Inscription of his Name and Titles, the Year of his Reign, and the Place it was struck at. It weighs from 7 dw. 10 1/2 gr. to 7 dw. 11 gr. and has from 1 to 2 Parts in 100 Allay. 100,000 is 1 Lack, 100 Lacks are one Crore, and 100 Crores one Asrib.

† Some People suspected he had a criminal Conversation with his own Daughter, long before his Confinement.

|| E Mehd Alia was also called مه آئی. Yanae Mahb, or the Groom of the Seraglio.

Lack₉
Lacks of Rupees. The Empire flourished exceedingly in his Time, comprehending no less than Twenty-three Provinces, Names and Yearly Revenues of each follows:

|     | Krores of Dams\[
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dehli</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmir</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowlatabad</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berar</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guzerat</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alehabad</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babar</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malwa</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khandeish</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audib</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{L.}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Dehli} \\
\text{Agra} \\
\text{Labor} \\
\text{Ajmir} \\
\text{Dowlatabad} \\
\text{Berar} \\
\text{Guzerat} \\
\text{Bengal} \\
\text{Alehabad} \\
\text{Babar} \\
\text{Malwa} \\
\text{Khandeish} \\
\text{Audib} \\
\text{Multan}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{2,812,500} \\
\text{2,812,500} \\
\text{1,875,000} \\
\text{1,718,750} \\
\text{1,718,750} \\
\text{1,651,250} \\
\text{1,562,500} \\
\text{1,250,000} \\
\text{1,250,000} \\
\text{1,250,000} \\
\text{1,250,000} \\
\text{937,500} \\
\text{87,500}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{100} \\
\text{90} \\
\text{90} \\
\text{60} \\
\text{55} \\
\text{55} \\
\text{53} \\
\text{50} \\
\text{40} \\
\text{40} \\
\text{40} \\
\text{40} \\
\text{30} \\
\text{28}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{771} \\
\text{24,093,750}
\end{array}
\]

\* 60 Lacks of Rupees are 750,000 L.

|| A Dam, which is the fortieth Part of a Rupee, and only imaginary, is what the Land Revenues are computed by. A Rupee is 2 s. 6 d. Sterling.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Carried over</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oud</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>24,093,750</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>62,5000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashmir</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>486,750</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatta</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25,0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkh</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25,0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandahar</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>218,750</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biddukhsban</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>125,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tillingana</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>937,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buglana</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>62,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>880</td>
<td>£27,500,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Five last Provinces were added to the Empire by him.

The Number of his Forces, as they were paid out of the Revenues in 1647, amounted to 911,400 Horse and Foot.

He had several Children, as follows:

By the Empress Mehd Alia, Daughter of Afs Khan, whose First Name was Arjunmund Banu Begum *, Seven Sons and Four Daughters.

* Arjunmund Banu, the noble Princess.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hur al Nissa Begum</td>
<td>1612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehan Ara Begum</td>
<td>1614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Dara Shukow</td>
<td>1615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Sujah</td>
<td>1618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roisbunai Begum</td>
<td>1617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Auringzebe</td>
<td>1618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Ameed Bukhs</td>
<td>1620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suria Banu Begum</td>
<td>1622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Morad Bukhs</td>
<td>1624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Loots Allab</td>
<td>1627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Dowlat Afza</td>
<td>1628</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those mark'd with an Afterism died before their Father was deposed.

* حور النسا Hur al nissa, the most angelick of Women.
* جهان ارا Jehan ara, the Ornament of the World.
* دارا شکو Dara Shukow, in Pomp like Darius.
* سعید Sujah, Valiant, endued with Fortitude.
* روشن رازی Roisbun rai, of an enlightened Mind.
* اورزند زیبی Auring-zebe, the Ornament of the Throne.
* امید بخش Ameed Bukhs, the Giver of Hopes.
* نوریا بالو Suria Banu, the shining Princess. Suria literally signifies the Pleiades.
* مراد بخش Morad Bukhs, the Giver of Desires or Wishes.
* لطف الله Loots Allab, the Favour of God.
* دوست آفزای دوئlat Afza, Increase of Fortune.

By
of the Moghol Emperors. 29

By a Daughter of Mazaffer Hosein Mirza Grandson to Shah Ismael King of Per-

One Daughter.

Parbez Banu Begum * born in 1611.

Mohy o'din Mahommed Auringzebe, Third Son to Shah Jahan, was born the 22d of October, 1618. In the latter End of 1656, Sultan Dara Shekowh, endeavouring to possess himself of the Empire, confined his Father Shah Jahan; which Auringzebe having Notice of, begun to make Preparations; and giving out that it was with a Design of securing the Throne to his Brother Morad Buksh, then at Ahmedabad †, he wrote to him to set out with his Forces and join him at Eugene ‖, which is the Capital of the Province of Malwa.

Parbez banu, signifies the abstinent Princess.

† When Auring-zebe became Emperor, he assumed the Titles of Mohy o'din, the Reviver of Religion, and Alumgair, the Conqueror of the World.

Ahmedabad, the Capital of the Province of Guzerat, so called from Sultan Ahmed, who was King of that Province, and kept his Court in that City. It is 224 measured Cofs distant from Debi.

Eugene is 126 measured Cofs from Agra.

On
On the 4th of February, 1658, he marched from Auringabad* in Deccan, with 25,000 Horse, his Son Sultan Mahommed, having sat out before him, the 24th of January the preceding Month. Both the Brothers join’d at Eugone, near which Place they encounter’d and defeated the Maharajah + Jesvint Sung, and Kassim Khan, who were sent by Dara Shewob to oppose them. After which they marched towards Deblı, and in the Fields of Kejouh, near Agra, gave a total Overthrow to the Army of Sultan Dara Shewob, who fled towards Labor; upon which Auringzebe enter’d the Castle of Agra, and on the 20th of July, 1658, he sat on the Throne, and was proclaim’d Emperor

* Auringabad, the Capital of the Province of Dewlat Abad, which is 265 measured Cofs distant from Deblı. Auring-zebe had it so called after his own Name.

+ Maharajah signifies the great Prince; Maha being great or mighty in the Sanskerrit or Bramin’s Language. This Title is given by the Moghol to the Rajahs of Marwar of the Rattor Family. The Capital of their Country is Jubbapore, which is 176 Cofs distant from Deblı. The Rajpouts of Marwar are esteemed the best Soldiers in India.
of the Moghol Emperors. 31

in the Town of Eazabad, * having first confined his Brother Morad Buksh, notwithstanding he had swore by the Koran to be true to him.

Having taken Possession of Dehli, he sent his Father from thence to be confined at Agra†; and on Sunday the 2d of January, 1659, he set out for Bengal, where, at a Place called Kwara, he defeated his Brother Sultan Sujah, and obliged him to fly.

On the 15th of May, 1659, being then aged Forty Solar Years, Six Months, and Twenty-three Days, he sat on the Throne, and was proclaimed a Second Time, and ordered that for the future, the Beginning of his Reign should be dated from the first Ramassan, in the Year 1069 of the Hegira, or the 12th of May, 1659.

Sultan Dara Shewub being taken Prisoner, was brought in Triumph to Dehli, and sent to Khefrabad †, where he was murder'd by Furungzebe's Order, the Night of the 28th of August, 1659.

* Eazabad is 2½ measured Cofs distant from Dehli.
† Agra is 44 measured Cofs distant from Dehli.
‡ Khefrabad is 52 measured Cofs from Dehli.

The
The 14th of January, 1661, he sent his own Son Sultan Mahommed, and Suliman* Shekowb, Son to Dara Shekowb, to be confined in the Castle of Gualiar †.

In 1664, going against the Rajpouts ‡, his Son Sultan Mahommed Akbar revolted from him, and joined them. Aurungzebe pursued him to Deccan, from whence he found Means to get by Sea to Persia.

During his Reign, which was about 50 Lunar Years, he was constantly in the Field.

He conquered Vijapore||, from Secander and Hyderabad**, from Sultan Abul Hossan, besides several other Territories and strong Holds in Deccan; having twice taken the

*Suliman Shekowb signifies, august as Solomon.

† Gualiar is 28 Cofs from Agra.

‡ The Rajpouts are the most warlike of the Indians. There are several Tribes of them, all Subjects to those Rajahs or Indian Princes, who are in a manner independent of the Moghol.

|| Vijapore, or Bijapore, as pronounced by the Moghols, is 357 measured Cofs from Dehli.

** Hyderabad, which was formerly called Bhagugur, is 371 Miles distant from Dehli. There is a Castle in this Province, called Golconda, by which Name the whole Province is chiefly known in Europe.

famous
famous Sevā Rajah, * who as often found Means to make his Escape.

The Revenues of the Empire were greatly increased in his Time, for excluding Balkh, Kandahar and Biddukhsan, which Shah Jehan possessed, and were afterwards left, there was a Revenue of 12071876840 Dams, which (at 320 Dams to a Pound Sterling) is 37,724,615 £. from the Twenty-one following Provinces:

* The present Sahou Rajah, who keeps his Court at Settara in Deccan, is a Descendant of this Sevā Rajah. He is Prince of the Maharattas, or Ganims, who have of late Years acquired a surprizing Power, making great Inroads into the Mogul's Territories, and levying a Tribute from several Provinces. They have lately taken the Island of Salset, the Castle and Town of Bagaim, with other Places, from the Portuguez. They have above 200,000 Horse in the Northern, Southern, and Inland Provinces.
## The Nineteen old Soubahs § or Provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Revenue in Dams</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dehli</td>
<td>Dehli</td>
<td>1221960137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>1146760157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmir</td>
<td>Ajmir</td>
<td>652345362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alehabad</td>
<td>Alehabad</td>
<td>456543248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjhab</td>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>826132107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audi</td>
<td>Audib</td>
<td>322327829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>214442936</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cabul</td>
<td>Cabul</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Cashmir</td>
<td>Srinagr</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guzerat</td>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babar</td>
<td>Patna</td>
<td>407161000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scind</td>
<td>Tatta</td>
<td>91816816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowlatabad</td>
<td>Auringabad</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makua</td>
<td>Eugene</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berar</td>
<td>Brampore</td>
<td>614025000</td>
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<td>Bedr</td>
<td>Zafferabad</td>
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<td>Bengall</td>
<td>Dacca</td>
<td>524636240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odissea</td>
<td></td>
<td>142820000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total      |            | 9880211840       |

---

§ Soubah signifies a Province, and Soubah dar, the Lord Lieutenant of a Province.
The Two New Soubahs,

Hyderabad  
Vijapore

1113360000  
1078305000

12071876840

At 320 Dams. per l. are 37,724,615 l. 2s. 6d.

On Friday, the 21st of February, 1707, Auringzebe died at Ahmednagur, * in the Province of Dowlatabad aged Ninety Lunar Years and 14 Days, having reign'd about Fifty Lunar Years. He was buried there in the Place of Shab Zen al din.  

* Ahmednagur is distant from Dehli 280 measured Cots.

† ملک شاب زن السلام از دین. Zen al din signifies the Ornament of Religion; and Shab, which signifies King, is a Title frequently given to Derveshes. This Zen al din was a remarkable Sauton, who kept his Cell near that City, and was buried there; which being reckoned a sanctified Place, Auring-zebe, in his Will, directed he should be interred there. As this Prince was very zealous, or at least pretended to be so, for Mahometanism, those of that Religion make a great Merit of visiting his Tomb, especially on the 28th of the Month Zeadib, which was the Day he died on.
At the Time of his Death, his Third Son Azem Shab was with him, and his Second Son Mahommed Mauzm, at Cabul.* He had left a short Will; of which, for the Satisfaction of the Curious, I shall here give a Translation.

A Translation of Auringzebe's last Will.

"I came empty-handed into the World, and empty-handed I quit it. Whoever of my fortunate Children shall chance to rule the Empire, let him not molest Mahommed Kambukhsb, † should he rest contented with the Two New Sousbahs‡.

"There cannot be a better Vizir than Emir al Omra.||

"Let all the King's Servants be true and faithful to Mahommed Azem Shab.

* Cabul is 266 measured Cofs from Dehli.
† Mahommed Kambukhsb, Auring-zebe's fifth Son.
‡ The two new Sousbahs are Vissapore and Heyderabad, so called, as being lately conquered by Auring-zebe.
|| Emir al Omra, which signifies the Prince of Princes, is the Title generally given to the Mir Bukhsb, or Pay-master-General and Treasurer.

"Whoever
"Whoever shall chance to have the Empire, let him not turn out or molest those born or bred up in my House. "If the Division I formerly made proves agreeable to my Children, it will prevent a great deal of Confusion and Bloodshed. "There are two imperial Seats, Agra, and Delhi; whoever settles in Agra may have the Province thereof, Deccan, Malwa and Gazarat. "And who resides at Delhi may have Cabul and the other Provinces. "I came naked into the World, and naked I go out of it. Let no Ensigns or royal Pomp accompany my Funeral; let Hamid odin Khan, who is faithful and trusty, convey my Corps to the Place of Shab Zen al din, and make a Tomb for it, in the same Manner as is done for Dervishxes: * let not my fortunate Children give themselves any Concern about a Monument. "There is in my private Treasury 57382 Rupees, § let a 1000 Rupees § be distributed among the Poor at my Funeral.

* The Tombs for Dervishxes are made low and plain, without any manner of Ornament.
Auringzebe had Five Sons:
Sultan Mahommed,
Mahommed Mauzm, who succeeded his Father in the Empire,
Mahommed Azem,
Mahommed Akbar,
Mahommed Kambukhsb.

Darab Shekowb had Two Sons:
Suliman Shekowb,
Sepeh Shekowb.

Sultan Sujab had Two Sons:
Zen al din Mahommed,
Bullind Akbter.

Morad Bukhsb had one Son:
Iesd Bukhsb.

Mauzm signifies great, glorious.
Azem signifies the same.
Akbar, is the Comparative Mood of
Kebir, great.
Kambukhsb, the Giver of Desires or Wishes.
Suliman Shekowb, august, or in Pomp like Solomon.
Sepeh Shekowb, of military Pomp.
Zen al din, the Ornament of Religion
Bullind Akbter, of high Stars, or great Fortune.
Iesd Bukhsb, God's Gift.
Kotab * o'din Bahadr Shah,

Upon Aurungzebe's Death, Azem Shah, with his Father's Troops, set out from Deccan towards the Capital, as did also Mahommed Mauzzm from Cabul, in order to decide their Fortunes in Battle. On the Banks of the River Chun, near Agra, both Armies encountered. They were by far the most numerous that for several Ages had come together in India. Mahommed Mauzzm having 150,000 Horse, and 178,000 Foot, exclusive of the Auxiliaries furnished by the Rajahs; and the other Brother nigh as many. In short, Azem Shah's Forces were defeated, and himself killed. Mahommed Mauzzm was proclaimed Emperor, taking to himself the Title of Kotab o'din Babadr Shah, and Shah Alum. He made Mahommed Khan his

*Sultan Mahommed Mauzzm, on his Accession to the Throne, assumed the Titles of Kotab al din, the Axis of Religion, Bahadr Shah, the valiant King, and Shah Alam, the King of the World. Notwithstanding Kotab signifies only the Pole or extreme Part of the Axis, yet it is used here to signify the Whole.

Vizir;
Vizir; Zulfecar Khan his Mir Bukhshi, or Paymaster-General; Daud Khan, Soubabdar, or Lord-Lieutenant of the Provinces of Decan; and Assad Khan Absolute Agent, whom leaving to take Care of the Capital, he went himself against his Brother Kambuksh, who had left Vijapora, and settled at Hyderabad; where, after some little Resistance, he was taken Prisoner, and died that same Night of his Wounds.

Babadr Shah went afterwards to Labor to suppress some religious Riots, and died shortly after, having reign'd about Six Years.

He had Four Sons,

Mauz o'din, called also Jebandar Shah;
Mahommed Azim, Azim Al Shan;
Raffeieh al Kadr, Raffeieh al Shan;
Khojista Akhter, Jehan Shah.

Mauz o'din, signifies the Honour or Glory of Religion.

Jebandar Shah, the King who possess the World.

Azim, signifies great.

Raffeieh al Kadr, of exalted Power.

Raffeieh al Shan, of exalted Rank.

Khojista Akhter, of happy Stars.

Jehan Shah, King of the World.
His Brother Sultan Mahommed Azem had Two Sons,
Mahommed Bedar Bukht, a
Mahommed Wallah Jah, b
His Brother Sultan Mahommed Kambuksh had One Son.
Iesdan Buksh, called also Rahman Buksh, a whose Daughter has been lately married to Nesrallah Mirza, c Nadir Shab's Son.

Jehandar Shah.

Jehandar Shah, Jejan Shah, and Raffeesh al Shan, Sons to Babadr Shah, having joined against their Brother Azim al Shan, defeated and killed him. His Treasure falling into the Hands of Zulfaer Khan, who was in Jehandar Shah's Interest, they marched against the other two Brothers, Jehan Shah and Raffeesh al Shan, and having overcome them, put them to Death. Their Deaths

---

a Bedar Bukht, whose Fortune is awake.
b Wallah Jah, of august Rank.
c Iesdan Buksh, God's Gift.
d Rahman Buksh, the Gift of the Merciful.
e Nesr Allah, signifies, assisted by God.
secured the Empire to Jebendar Shah, and Zulsewar Khan became his Vizir.

He was a weak Prince, and so foolishly fond of one of his Wives, called Lal Koar, who was of an obscure mean Parentage, and a Singer by Profession, that he endeavoured to fill the Places of the greatest Trust and Honour in the Empire with her base Relations, which so disgusted Seyd Abdallah Khan and Seyd Hossan Khan, two Brothers of great Authority in the Empire, and who had a Body of choice Troops, that they resolved to place Mahommed Furrukhsir (Son to Azim al Shan, then at Bengal) on the Throne. This Prince, notwithstanding he had but little Treasure, got Numbers to join him. At first he defeated Eaz o’din, *Jebendar Shah’s Son; and afterwards Jebendar Shah himself (thro’ his People’s Treachery and Cowardice) was defeated near Agra, and obliged to fly, tho’ he had near 100,000 Horse and Foot.

Jebendar Shah had one Son; Eaz o’din.
Azim al Shan had one Son:
Mahommed Furrukhsir. ||

* Eaz o’din, signifies the Glory of Religion.
|| Furrukhsir, signifies of happy Disposition.

A fteeb
of the Moghol Emperors.

Raffecib al Shan had Three Sons:
  Raffecib al Dirjat*,
  Raffecib al Dowlat, † and
  Sultan Ibrahim.

Jehan Shah had One Son:
  Mahommed Shah, who is the present Emperor.

Mahommed Furrukhsir,

Son to Azim al Shan, being settled on the Throne, Seyd Abdallah Khan was made Vizir, with the Title of Koteb al Muluck ‡ and Iar ba Vafa. And Hossan Ali Khan made Mir Bukhshi, or Paymaster-General, with the Title of Emir al Omra ††.

The Emperor was only so by Name; for these two had the absolute Management of every Thing. Furrukhsir, at last, with the Advice, and at the Instigation of Khandorah and Mir Jumla, began to contrive Means to

* Raffecib al Dirjat, of exalted Degree.
† Raffecib al Dowlat, of exalted Fortune.
‡ Koteb al Muluck, the Axis of the Empire, and Iar ba Vafa, the grateful Friend.
†† Emir al Omra, the Prince of Princes.
cut off the two Brothers. They, on the other hand, were intent on nothing so much as enriching themselves. They turned out Nizam al Muluck * (Ghazi o' din Khan's † Son) from his Government of Deccan, and Hossan Ali Khan went thither himself. At last, the two Brothers finding the Emperor grew jealous of their Power, resolved to remove him, and put a more passive Prince in his Stead. Having got Ajeet Sang the Maha Rajah (whose Daughter ‡ was married

*Nizam al Muluck, is a Title signifying he who arranges and puts in Order the Empire. His first Name was Ghazi o' din Khan, which in the Tartar Language, signifies, the Sword-drawing Lord. Some People, by Corruption, pronounce it Chucklas Gaun.

† Ghazi o' din, signifies the Champion of Religion. Nizam has also a Son called by the Grandfather's Name Ghazi o' din Khan, who has lately got the Title of Nasr Jing, which signifies victorious in War.

‡ It is a Custom with the Moghol Emperors to make Alliances with the Indian Rajahs or Princes, by marrying their Daughters, who, as soon as they are taken into the Harram or Scraglis, are converted to Mahommedanism, by pronouncing in Arabic these Words, There is but One God, and Mahommed his Prophet, and learning a few Prayers.
of the Moghol Emperors. to Furrucksh to join them, they confined him. Shortly after, they blinded him, by drawing a red hot Wire over his Eyes: And on the 16th of February, 1719, offering him a Thousand In dignities and Insults, put him to Death, after a Reign of Seven Years.

'Twas in this Emperor's Reign that the English East-India Company obtained a Firmán * exempting them from paying any Duties in his Dominions, of which I have here subjoined a Translation.

ALL GOVERNORS, People in Offices, Jaguirdars †, Fojbdars ‡, Croris §.

* Firmán, signifies literally an Order, but it is used for a Patent or Grant from the Emperor.

† When one is preferred to be a مانسبدار Mansub dar, or Commissioned Officer, by the Moghol, he either pays him out of the Treasury, or else allots him as much Lands in some of the Provinces, as the Salary and Wages of his منصب Mansub, or Post, comes to. The Lands so allotted are called the جاجیر Jaguir, and the Officer who receives the Revenues as his Pay, is called the Jaguirdar.

‡ Fojbdars are Officers who have the Command of a Body of Horse, and take Care of the Suburbs of a City, and the Out-parts.

§ Croris are those Officers who collect the Revenues of the several Villages, and often farm them of the Lord Lieutenant of the Province, or of the Jaguirdar.
Rabadar*, Gouzirbans †, and Zemidar‡, who are at present and shall be hereafter in the Soubah || of Ahmedabad, and in the fortunate Port of Surat and Cambay, being in hopes of the Royal Favour; KNOW, That at this Time of Conquest which carries the Ensign of Victory, Mr. John Surman and Khojah Serbad, § Factors to the English, have represented, by the Means of those who stand on the Steps of the high Throne, "That Customs on English Goods all over the Empire are pardoned, except at the Port of Surat; and that at the said Port, from the Time of the

* Rabadar are those who have the Charge of the High-way.
† Gouzirban are they who collect Duties on the High-roads.
‡ Zemidar, are the Rajahs or Indian Princes, &c. who have free Estates, and a Tract of Land at their own Command, only paying a small Acknowledgment to the Great Moghol. This Name is composed of Zemin, Land, and Dar, a Possessor.
|| Soubah signifies a Province.
§ Mr. John Surman, an English Gentleman, and Khojah Serbad, an Armenian, were the principal Persons sent from Bengal to the Moghol's Court to solicit for this Grant.

" Emperor
of the Moghol Emperors.

"Emperor who is pardoned *, whose Place of Rest is Eternal, Shahab o' din Shab Seban, 2 per Cent. was settled as Customs. From the Time of him who has approach ed the Most Merciful, whose Place is everlasting, Mohy o' din Mahommed Aur ringzebe Aluanguir, 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) per Cent. was appointed, and in other Places none molested them on this Account. And in the Time of the Emperor who is pardoned, whose Place of Repose is Heaven, surrounded with the Favour of the Almighty, whose Rank is most Sacred, Abul Mazuffer + Babadr Shab, 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) per Cent. was settled, and is in Force until now: By reason of the Oppressions of the Muttesfiddis ‡ there, 'tis three Years since they have withdrawn their Factory. In the Soubahs of Babar and Odisea, this Nation pays no Customs; and in the Port of Hugly, in the Province of Bengal, they Yearly give Three § Thou -

* This is a softer Kind of Expression used by the Mahomedans in mentioning deceased Persons.
+ أبو الملتقى Abul Mazuffer, signifies the Father of Victory.
‡ Muttesfiddis are the King's Officers.
§ 375 l.
A short History

land Rupees Peisbush * in lieu of Customs; they are in hopes that, according to the Custom of other Ports, in the Port of Surat likewise, a yearly Peisbush may be settled in lieu of Customs; they agree to a Yearly Peisbush of Ten Thousand Rupees.

The Order which subjects the World to obey it, and which must be strictly followed, is issued forth: That since they agree to Ten Thousand Rupees Peisbush at the Port of Surat, take it Yearly, and besides that molest them on no Account: And what Goods or Effects their Factors bring or carry away by Land or Water, to and from the Ports of the Provinces, and other Parts, looking upon them to be Custom-free, let them buy and sell at their Pleasure; and if in a Place any of

* بيشکش Peisbush, which literally signifies, presented, or drawn before, is the Term for a Present from an Inferior to a Superior; as are also these Words, نظر Narzr, presented to View, كيزران Gowzran, laid before, &c. And whatever Superiors give to their Inferiors, which is generally Robes, Arms, Horses, Elephants, &c. is called a Khabat and Sirrapab; and if Money, an Enam.

† 1250 l.

their
of the Moghol Emperors. their Effects should be stol'n, use your utmost Endeavours to recover them, delivering the Robbers to Punishment, and the Goods to the Owner; and wherever they settle a Factory, or buy and sell Goods, be assisting to them on all just Occasions; and whomever of the Merchants, &c. they may have a just Demand on by Accounts, according to Equity, give the English their Due, and let no Person injure their Factors. They have likewise humbly represented, "That the "Duans * in the Provinces may demand the Original Sinnid†, or a Copy with the "Nazem or Duan's ‡ Seal affixed; to produce the Original in every Place is impracticable; they are in hopes that a Copy under the Kazzi's|| Seal shall be credited,

* The Duans are the Seconds or Deputies to the Lord Lieutenants of Provinces, and Governors of Cities. They are the General Accountants, and the Revenues pass thro' their Hands.
† دن Sinnid, signifies, a Grant or Patent.
‡ Nazem is the Governor, or Person who acts for him.
|| ْKazzi, or, as some pronounce it, Codi, is the Judge, who, among the Mahommedans, decides
and they not demand the original Simid, or molest them on Account of a Copy with the Naxem or Duan's Seal: And in the Island of Bombay, belonging to the English, where Portuguese Coins are Current, that according to the Custom of Chinapattan †, the fortunate § Coins may all Causes; he being generally a Person of the greatest Repute and Learning, a Copy attested by him is thought sufficiently authentic.

As the Island of Bombay (which was made over to the English in King Charles the Second's Time) belonged first to the Portuguese, their Coins passed current there, until the English East India Company had the Privilege of coining Rupees.

‡ Chinapattan is Madras, or Fort St. George, on the Coromandel Coast, where the English did coin Rupees.

§ By the Fortunate Coins (which they call مبارک Sica Mobarek) are meant Silver and Gold Rupees, which last they call مبر Mehr, or Sun, and ought to weigh 7 dw. 3 ½ gr. and are in Value equal to 12 Silver Rupees weighing 7 dw. 10 ½ gr. each. The Inscription on this present Emperor's Money is, The Fortunate Coins of the valiant Emperor Mahommed Shah, in the Year struck at in the Year of the glorious Reign. The first and last Blanks are for the Year of the Hegira and Reign, and the Second for the Name of the Place.
be strick; and that whoever of the
Company's Servants being in Debt, runs
away, may be sent to the Chief of the
Factory, and that on Account of the
Fojhdari*, and the other forbidden Arti-
cles (by which Means the Company's
Factors and Servants are vex'd and dis-
couraged) they be not molested.

* The strict and high Order is issued
forth, that a Copy under the Kazzi's Seal
be credited, and that in the Island of
Bombay, fortunate Coins strick according
to the Custom of the Empire, be current;
and whoever of the Company's Servants,
being indebted, runs away, let him be
taken and delivered to the Chief of the
Factory, and let them not be molested on

As the Fojhdar is the Person who has the Com-
mand of the Suburbs and Out-parts, where it is chiefly
that intoxicating Liquors are allowed to be sold, and
disorderly Houses kept, he used to take up Sailors, and
other Europeans, whom he found there, and not release
them without a Sum of Money, which created the
Chiefs of the Factories, and the Company's Servants,
a deal of Trouble. This Article in the Firman
is to redress that Grievance, and suffer them to pass
Wines, and other Liquors and Necessaries, without any
Molestation.
Account of the forbidden Articles. "They have likewise represented, that in Bengal, Babar and Odisssea, the Company have Factories, and that they are willing to settle in other Places. They are in hopes that wherever they settle, Forty Vingas || of Ground may be graciously bestowed on them, by the Emperor; and that their Ships sometimes, by Reason of Tempeasts, run ashore, and are wreck'd, the Governors of the Ports do in an oppressive Manner seize the Goods, and in some Places demand a quarter Part." The Royal Order is issued forth, that they act according to the Customs of the Factories in other Provinces, in regard to this Nation (who have Factories in the Imperial Ports, and Dealings at Court, and have miraculously obtained a Firman exempting them from Customs.) Take Care in a just Manner of the Goods of their Ships that are wreck'd or have lost their Passage, and in all Affairs act according to this Great Order, and demand not a new Grant Yearly. In

|| A Vinga is somewhat less than the third Part of an Acre.
of the Moghol Emperors. This be punctual, written on the 4th of Sаfаr in the 5th Year of this Glorious Reign.

On the back Part of the Fирmán, was the Vизir's Seal, with his Titles, as follows:

The Security of Fortune, and trust-worthу of the Empire,
Chief of the Oмras of exalted Rank,
Chosen among the Khаns of the High Court,
Manager of the Empire and its Riches,
Director of its Fortune and Grandeur,
Master of the Sword and Pen,
Exalter of the Standard and Ensign,
Vизir of а true Judgment,
Of one Colour, (і. е. Ingenuous and Sincere)
Prop of the Empire,
Supreme Manager of its Affairs,
The Victorious General,
The grateful Friend, and
Pattern for all Vизirs.

* January 6th, 1716-7. Раffеееіh
RAFFEIEH AL DIRJAT.

The Seyds, after having made away with Furruskhor, took Raffeieh al Dirjat, Son to Raffeieh al Shan, out of the Castle of Selimgur †, where the Royal Family are confined, and placed him on the Throne. He had not reigned above Three Months, before they murdered him, and sending for his Brother

RAFFEIEH AL DOWLAT,

Placed him on the Throne, who in a few Days afterwards died a natural Death, and was succeeded by the present Emperor

NASR O’DIN MAHOMMED SHAH, ||

Son to Jehan Shah, who being raised to that Dignity by the Seyds, Hoissan Ali Khan and

† Selimgur, signifies Selim’s Castle, being built by a Prince of that Name.

|| Mahommed Shah, on being made Emperor, took to himself the Title of ناصر الدین Nāṣr o’din, which signifies, the Supporter and Assister of Religion.

Abdallab
of the Moghol Emperors.

Abdallah Khan, they kept the Power so much in their own Hands, that he had nothing, except the Name of Emperor, which made him eagerly wish for an Opportunity of making himself independant, and revenging the Death of his Uncle's Son, Furrukhsir.

In October, 1720, Mahommed Shah, accompanied by Hosfan Ali Khan, and several Omras*, set out from Agra with a numerous Army, in order to reduce Nizam al Muluck, who had grown very powerful in Deccan.

Having marched Nine measured Coss the First Day, the Emperor called a Divan that Night, and after a short Stay withdrew. As soon as he was gone, Mahommed Amin Khan Heydr Kuli Khan§, Master of the Ordnance, Khandoran, and several others of the Omras, who were most attached to the Royal Fa-

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* Omra, is the Plural of Emir, which signifies, Prince, and is a Title given to all the Nobility of the first Rank, in the Moghol's Empire, and in Tartary.

§ Heydr Kuli, signifies, the Slave of the Lion, Heydr, which signifies, a Lion, being one of the Appellatives given to Ali Mortisa, and Kuli, in the Turkish Language, signifies, a Slave.
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daily, drawing their Swords, fell on Hossein Ali Khan, and killed him with two or three of his Friends. Upon this Mahommed Shab laid aside that Expedition, and returned towards Dehli, in order to cut off Seyd Abdallah Khan, the other Brother, who was in that Capital with a great Force; and who hearing of his Brother's Murder, had taken out Sultan Ibrahim, Son to Raffeeib al Shan, and proclaimed him Emperor. Gathering together what Treasure he could, and having broke to Pieces the famous Throne, (which cost Shah Jahan nine Crores § of Rupees) in order to pay his Soldiers, he soon compleated an Army of 50,000 Horse, and marched out to engage Mahommed Shab, who had encamp'd at Serkad, which is Twelve Coss from Mhetra.

On the 2d of November, 1720, both Armies engaged; and after an obstinate and bloody Battle, Abdallah Khan's Forces were defeated, and himself desperately wounded and taken Prisoner.

§ One Crore is Ten Millions. So that Nine Crores of Rupees, at 2 s. 6 d. each, amounts to 1,250,000 l. Sterling.
of the Moghol Emperors.

The young Sultan, whom he had brought with him to countenance his Rebellion, being taken, had no other Punishment inflicted on him, but being sent back to his old Quarters the Castle of Selimgur.

Upon this Victory the Emperor made great Rejoicings, and appointing Mahommed Amin Khan Vizir, returned to Dehli.

Abdallah Khan being brought before him, the Emperor said to him, 'Traitor, see what thou hast done.' To which he answered, 'I took you out of a Prison, and gave you an Empire. My Brother being murdered by your Order, as I was at the Head of an Army, Self-preservation directed me to make use of it; Providence decreed you the Victory, use it as you think proper, by treating this Clay as your Revenge or Interest may prompt you.' Then the Emperor said to him, 'What Harm had Furrakhsir done to you?' To which he answered: 'He grew jealous of mine and my Brother's Power, and as it was inconsistent with our Interest to resign it into his Hands, we thought it dangerous to lose any Time in removing him. Had Providence permitted us to have been so prudent
prudent hitherto, we should not have come
to this tragical End. But when Fate de-
stines one to Ruin, it begins by blinding
the Eyes of his Understanding.' Then the
King ordered him to be confined, and four
Servants allowed to attend him, and said,
'As for the young Sultan he is not to blame;
were he to be punished, it would distract
his poor Mother; let him remain with
her.'

Heydr Kuli Khan was in great Favour,
and afterwards made Soubabdar * of Ahmed-
abad. Noufrit Ear Khan was made Soubab-
dar of Ajmir, Sir Bullind Khan was sent for
from Cabul to be one of the Vizirs; and
Kandorou was made Mir Bukhshbi ‡ with the
Title of Emir al Omra §.

Furruksir's Mother desired that Abdallah
Khan, the Murderer of her Son, might be
delivered to her. Mahommed Shab sent her
Word that it was unlawful to kill two Per-
sons for the Murder of one, and that Hossam
Ali Khan was killed in Retaliation. He then
ordered that Abdallah Khan should lodge in

* Soubabdar is Lord Lieutenant of a Province.
‡ Mir Bukhshbi is Paymaster-General and Treasurer.
§ Emir al Omra signifies the Prince of Princes.
the Palace of Asof all Dowlat, have a Pension of 3000 Rupees Monthly, thirty Household Servants, seventy Menial Ones, withProvisions of all Kinds from the Royal Kitchen, five Women to attend him, and proper Guards over him. He did not live long to enjoy this generous Allowance, dying a few Months afterwards of his Wounds. Five and Forty Women, most of them his Wives and Concubines, and some his near Relations, burnt † themselves in one Room the Night after he died.

† In ancient Times, none but the Wives of the Brahmins (or Indian Priests) had the Privilege of burning themselves with their deceased Husbands: But since the Government fell into the Hands of the Rajpouts, 'tis customary, when any of their Princes die, for one or more of his Wives to be burnt with him. There is no Compulsion to this Sacrifice, as some People wrongly imagine; 'tis entirely of their own accord, and often they are dissuaded from it. Sometimes indeed, when a vain-glorious Passion prevails over natural Affection, the Widow's Relations would gladly have her burn, as it raises the Character of their Family, by making it remarkable for virtuous and loving Women. Yet, according to their Religion, 'tis more meritorious to behave chastely and decently in their Widowhood, until Death, than burning; because one is but a short Pain, and the other a State of Trial. The Moghuls have endeavoured
In the Year 1721-2, the Emperor wrote to Nizam al Muluck, then at Deccan, desiring his Presence at Court, and that he would appoint him Vizir; but if he declined it, he should nominate whomsoever he should judge to be the most deserving. To which he answered: "I am a Dervish, and not ambitious of so high a Station. I was contented with the Province of Malwa, when the Seys intending to dethrone me, I was obliged to take Arms. By the Divine Assistance I baffled their Designs, and secured myself. At last your Majesty, by their Instigation, set out against me with a mighty Army. Here the Almighty protected me likewise. In the Beginning one of the Brothers was killed; and as you knew me to be a devouted to discourage this Custom as much as possible; but since Money is omnipotent in that Country, as well as in many others, a small Bribe generally purchases the Content of the Governor, or Commanding Officer. Lately the Seys and Pattan Families, in several Parts of India, have, thro' their excessive Pride, got into this Custom; and as it is strictly forbidden by their Religion (which is the Mahomedan), they do it privately, by setting an Apartment on fire about their Ears."
faithful Servant, you laid aside that Ex-
pedition, and returned to Deblî, where,
being settled to the Satisfaction of all
People, you have now condescended to
distinguish me, the meanest of your Slaves,
with this extraordinary Mark of your Fa-
vour; which I only decline, as knowing
myself unequal thereto, and that there are
many about your Court more capable and
desirous of such an Employment than I."

As Nizam would not come to Court,
Mahommed Amin Khan was continued Vizir,
and after his Death, his Son Kummir o’din
Khan* succeeded him in that Office, and
enjoys it now.

Nizam continued at Deccan, as Soubahdar
of Vijapore, Hyderabad, Aurungabad, &c.
and though he acknowledged himself a Sub-
ject, yet made no Remittances to Court, but
appropriated the Revenues to the maintaining
of an Army, which he said was to keep in aw
the Mabarattas or Ganims, the Sabou Ra-
jab’s Subjects in Deccan; whom notwithstanding he permitted to plunder and lay
waste several of the King’s Provinces. They

* Kummir o’din signifies the Moon of Re-
ligion.

imposed
imposed a Tribute of one quarter Part of the Revenues, which they call Chot, in many Places, and some Parts they have taken entirely to themselves. He well knew, that with the Maharattas Assistance, he could defy any Attempts that could be made against him from Court. At last, in the Year 1738, the Maharattas becoming very formidable, and Nadir Shab having besieged Kandahar, he was prevailed on to come to Court, as shall appear more particularly in the Sequel.

Kandahar, is distant from Dibbi 358 measured Cofs, and from Isfahan 463.
The State of Affairs in India before the Persian Invasion, with the Motives that induced Nadir Shah to undertake that Expedition.

As the Emperor's Affairs became daily in a worse Situation, and that thro' the Indolence of the Vizir, and his being entirely taken up with his Diversions, there was no Prospect of a Remedy; His Majesty resolved to send for Nizam al Muluck, who being one of Aurungzebe's old Emirs, and of great Experience, his Presence might give a new Turn to Affairs. Accordingly Orders were issued forth for his Appearance; in Compliance with which, leaving his Son Ghazi o'din Khan to command in Deccan, he came to Dehli, where he met with a gracious Reception, was made Absolute Agent, which

* The Great Moghol.

† Emir signifies Prince or Commander, being the Name that the Nobility are distinguished by, the Plural of which is Omra.
is greater than Vizir, and honoured with the Title of Asof Jah. Khandoran, who was Bukhsi, or Paymaster General, had the Emperor's Ear so much, that whatever he requested was granted, His Majesty being entirely governed in all His Actions by him. As Nizam al Muluck was for settling Affairs upon the same Footing as they were in Aurungzabe's Time, and proceeding in Regard to the Administration of Justice, according to Law, and as was done in the Reigns of former Emperors; whatever he requested on that Score was denied him, and all his new Schemes opposed and laugh'd at by the Omras. He observing the Weakness of the Emperor, and the Dissoluteness of his Courtiers, who employed their Time in the Company of loose Women and Buffoons, waited on His Majesty, and framing an Excuse, told him the Affairs of his Province required his Presence. On his Arrival at Deccan he entered into a Concert with Rajah Sahou, and con-

† Asof Jah is a Title commonly given to Vizirs. It signifies, in Place and Rank as Asof, who, they say, was Solomon's Vizir. At the same Time that they honour their Vizirs with this Title, they flatter their own Vanity, by comparing themselves to Solomon.
trived it so, that Bajeeeran || should march as far as Deblk, and plunder and lay waste all before him; that, at length, the Emperor, and those about him, might be roused out of their Indolence, and be sensible of their ill Conduct. The Maharattas soon over-run the Province of Mahwa, killed Guerdir Bahadr, the Governor thereof, and seized all his Treasure and Effects. After having laid waste and destroyed all the Country around, they returned to Deccan. As no Notice was taken at Court of these Inroads, next Year they marched towards Guzerat, where, notwithstanding the Inhabitants agreed to pay a quarter Part *, they plundered and distressed them in a severe Manner: They also ravaged the Country round about Gualiwar, which being near the Capital, the Court was alarmed, and Khandoran, with Kunnir o'din Khan and other Omras, sent with a powerful Army to chastise them; but these great Officers thought Peace the safest Measure,

|| A famous General of the Maharattas or Ganima, who is lately dead.

* A Quarter Part of the Revenues, which they call Cbst, is the Tribute the Maharattas have endeavoured to impose on several Parts of India.
agreed to pay the Quarter Part, and returned Home. Notwithstanding this Agreement, and the Money being paid, the Mabarattas did not spare those Places from being plundered, but even resolved to march as far as Agra to receive the Quarter Part for Debli. The aforesaid Officers set out again, and came to the City of Agra: A little before their Arrival, the Mabarattas had crossed the River Jumna, with an Intent to march into Audib, the Province governed by Saadit Khan, who having Notice of their Design, march'd against them with a strong Body, and after an obstinate Engagement defeated them, took two of their principal Officers, and killed 5000 of their Men. With the Remains of their Army they marched to Feridabad, which is Ten Coss from Debli. Upon which Khandoran and the Vizir, being joined by Saadit Khan, went in pursuit of them: The Mabarattas had left that Place Three Hours before the Omras Arrival, and marched towards Kalka, near Debli; which being a Place of Worship for that Day, the greatest Part of the Inhabitants had assembled there: They robb'd them of all they had, but spared their Lives; and knowing the City
City had but few Forces therein, they intended to plunder it; of which the Emperor being informed, he ordered Emir Khan and Hossan Khan, with all the Companies belonging to the Train of Artillery, to go and oppose them. They accordingly marched out, and after an Engagement of a few Hours, Hossan Khan was killed, and Emir Khan, with the rest of his Army, almost routed, and the Maharattas on the Point of entering the City, when the Vizir, who had out-marched the other two Omras, came to his Assistance; the Enemy was soon defeated, and put to Flight: The Vizir pursued them to Adaverdi Khan's Serai,† which is Seven Coss from Deblæ, where coming up with them, and having no Inclination to fight, he secretly made up Matters: Upon which they marched back to Deccan. Saadit Khan being somewhat puffed up with his own good Services, and incensed at this shameful Compromise with the Ganimés, marched

† Serai, or Sera, signifies any great Building or Palace. 'Tis the same that, by Corruption, is in Europe called Seraglio, which may as properly be applied to any other Palace, as to that where the King's Family live. By prefixing the Word Caravan, it signifies, a Building for the Reception of Travellers and Passengers.
towards his own Province, without waiting on his Majesty; but the other Omras enter'd the City, and paid their Respects to him.

The Emperor was again inclined to send for Nizam al Muluck, thinking that while he continued in Deccan he should be always in Fear of (or actually disturbed by) these Excursions of the Mabarattas. Mehr Parvir, his Grandmother, who had great Interest with Nizam, at his Request, wrote him a Letter, full of Assurances that he should have the entire Management of Affairs at Court, provided he came without Delay. He complied with her Request, but met with a worse Treatment than formerly. The Omras not only disregarded him, but took all Opportunities of affronting him, especially Khandoran and his Creatures, who when he came to pay his Respects at Court, used to ridicule him, saying to each other, _Observe how the Deccan Monkey dances._ This Usage having wrought him up to the highest Pitch of Resentment, he was resolved to revenge himself by distressing the Empire, and destroying Khandoran and his Creatures. He imparted his Design to the Vizir, Kummir 6din Khan, imagining he would join with him.
him. But notwithstanding the Alliance between them (Nizam's Son being married to the Vizir's Daughter, and the Vizir's Son to Nizam's Daughter) he could not engage him to join in any Plot detrimental to the public Interest; on the contrary, he used his Endeavours to dissuade him therefrom, by representing to him the Infamy of sacrificing his Country to private Resentment. When Nizam perceived he would not come into his Measures, he applied himself to Saadit Khan, the Soubabdar of Audib, who then had a great Body of Men, was an Officer of Experience, and had lately raised his Reputation by his Action with the Maharattas; and, what was still more to the Purpose, had since that Time stood ill-affected towards the Emperor and Khandoran. Having entered into an Agreement, it was resolved that Nadir Shah, Ruler of Persia, who then was besieging Kandahar, should be the Instrument to distress the Emperor, and remove Khandoran from amongst them.

But before I relate the treacherous Correspondence carried on between Nizam, Saadit Khan, and Nadir Shah, with the Invitation they
they gave him to march towards Hindostan, which was the principal Motive that encouraged him to undertake that Expedition, I shall give a brief Account of the Life and Actions of this Famous Conqueror, who of late has made so much Noise in the World, which I had from a Gentleman who knew him personally, and was in Persia during the Time of the Great Revolution which happened there; that is, from the Time the Afghans invaded Persia, and Mahmud Khan, the Son of Mir Vaez, took the Capital thereof Isfahan, making Shah Sultan Hosein Prisoner, with all his Sons, which were Twenty-three, excepting Thamas Mirza (afterwards Shah Thamas, who made his Escape during the Siege) until Nadir Shah set out for Kandahar to reduce to Obedience Hosein Khan, a Brother of the said Mahmud Khan.
THE HISTORY OF NADIR SHAH.

NADIR SHAH †, known in Europe by the Name of Kuli Khan, was born at Calot in the Province of Khorasan ||. His Father was Chief Nadir Kuli, which signifies, God's Slave, or literally, the Slave of the Wonderful. It is composed of Nadir, wonderful, which, with the Mahomedans, is one of God's Attributes, and Kuli, which, in the Turkish Language, signifies Slave. In this Manner the Arabs, and other Mahomedans, compose most of their proper Names, by prefixing the Word عابد Abd, Slave, to God's Name, or any of his Attributes, thus: عبد الله Abdallah, the Slave of God, عبد الرحمن Abd o' Rahman, the Slave of the Merciful, &c.

|| Khorasan is one of the most eastern Provinces of Persia, which its Name imports, signifying, towards the
Chief of a Clan of the Affbars * Tribe, and Governor of a Fortress belonging to that Place, wherein a sufficient Guard was kept to prevent the Oubeg Tartars from making Incursions into Khurasan. It commanded one of the Passes, and was so situated by Nature that a Handful of Men might easily defend it against a numerous Army. The Father of Nadir Kuli (for that was his first Name) dying during his Minority, his Uncle took the Command of that Fortress, which had been Hereditary in the Family for many Years, under Pretense of keeping it until Nadir Kuli was of Age; but when he was grown up, the Uncle pretended he was still too young to take such a Charge; and insinuated to the Clan, he was a Youth of a fierce and tyrannical Disposition, not fit to command them, unless, instead

the Sun; خور, signifying, the Sun, in the ancient Persian. The Persians generally pronounce it Khorasun, making an ṭ before an m, or an n, found like an u, which, they think, gives the Words a sweeter and softer Sound. But in Tartary, and all over the Moghol's Empire, the Words are pronounced as they are wrote.

* The Affbars are a Turcoman Tribe, divided into two or three Clans.
of mild Treatment they chose to be sway'd with a Rod of Iron. The Affars being well
finished with the Uncle, desired him to con-
tinue their Chief, declaring that as they al-
ready had sufficient Experience of his Ca-
pacity and Humanity, they would not run
any Risque by submitting to his Nephew.
Nadir Kuli being thus thrust out of his Right
by the Cunning of his Uncle, and being of
too great a Spirit to live in a State of Subser-
viency among his Relations, went to Muh-
jad, a City famous for the Sepulchre of
Imam Ali Reza, and there entered into the
Beglerbeg's Service, as one of the under Ma-
sters of Ceremonies; in which Office he be-
lieved so well, that the Prince soon gave him
the Command of a Troop of Horse. In the
frequent Skirmishes he had with the Tar-
tars he gave such Proofs of his Conduct and
Courage, that in a few Years he was made
Mum Bashi, or Commander of 1000 Horse,

* Muhjad is a City in Khorasan, which, since Shah
Abas's Intention of making it a Place of Pilgrimage,
has been of more Note than Herat, the ancient Capital
thereof.

† Beglerbeg is a Title signifying, in the Turkish
Language, Lord of Lords.
in which Station he continued till he was about thirty two Years of Age, behaving on all Occasions with the greatest Gallantry and Resolution. He was esteemed and respected by those whom he chose to be familiar with; but others who were not so intimate with him, and to whom he behaved with Reserve, made little Account of him. He so well disguised his Ambition, that, altho' determined to push his Fortune to the utmost, when a proper Opportunity should offer, he took the greatest Care to smother whatever might give the least Jealousy or Offence to his Superiors, seeming perfectly happy in the Station he had obtained, until the Year 1720. when the Ousbeg Tartars, by Surprize, entered Khurasan with a Body of 12000 Horse, and began to commit Hostilities. The Beglerbeg not having above 4000 Horse, and 2000 Foot in Readiness to march against them, called a Council of his Officers, and told them if an immediate Stop was not put to the Progress of the Tartars, they would lay waste and plunder the whole Province, and, according to their Custom, carry off Man, Woman, and Child, with every Thing of Value they could lay their Hands on;
on, in consequence of which he must lose his head. The General Officers declared the force his Highness could then muster was not near sufficient to encounter the Enemy with any Probability of Success, and that the King would blame him should he attempt it, and thereby only throw away the Lives of so many brave Men. The Beglerbeg perceiving their timorous Disposition, declared he would put himself at the Head of what Troops he had, and try his Fortune, it being better to run any Hazard than sit down tamely, and be idle Spectators, while the Tartars ravaged the Country, and carried away the Inhabitants to perpetual Slavery. Nadir Kuli, who was present at this Council, (but whose Station did not entitle him to speak until the Opinion of those of the same Rank was asked) got up, and desired that he might be indulged to offer something on this Occasion: Which being granted, he said, It was then no Time to deliberate; that the Enemy were advancing towards them, and in a few Days would force the Generals to do what at present they seem'd to have no Inclination to; that he could not enough commend the brave Resolution.
tion of the Prince in offering to go in person, and give them battle, tho', at the time, there was no necessity for His Highness to run so great a risk, since if any accident happened to him the whole province would be lost; that it would be more advisable to remain in the city Musnad to take care thereof with what forces he could gather from the adjacent parts, and let the army set out immediately, in order to give the enemy battle, or to secure some desiles and narrow passes to prevent the Tartars advancing until his Highness could send succours: that for his part, he assured him he was, by experience, so well satisfied of the bravery of the troops they then had, that if he would honour him with the command of this expedition, he was so well assured of success, that in case he miscarried he was willing to forfeit his head. The Prince was so pleased with an offer of this kind, that he did not wait for any of the Generals' opinions; but immediately told him, you have, in your present station, when occasion offered, given such proofs of your conduct and personal valour, as leaves me no room to doubt of your future behaviour; I do therefore
therefore give you the Title of General, with
the Command of all the Troops now here;
and order you to march with them, as soon
as possible, against the Tartars, and either
give them Battle, or take such Measures as
may seem to you most proper, in order to
put a Check to their Progress. Accordingly a
Commission pro tempore was prepared and
signed for Nadir Kuli to command in this
Expedition as General, and the Prince af-
sured him, if he succeeded, he would use all
his Interest at Court to get him confirmed.
Although the Common-Soldiers were well sa-
tisfied to have Nadir Kuli to command
them, yet all the General Officers, and most
of the Mim Bashis, his Seniors, refused to
act under him, which the Prince being in-
formed of, desired they would stay with him:
and that others, whom Nadir Kuli appointed,
should act in their stead. Accordingly seve-
ral Officers were promoted in order to supply
the Places of those who staid; and the
Troops set out with Nadir Kuli at their
Head, with the same Resolution that he did,
to conquer or die. The Tartar General, who
lay about four Days Journey from Musnad,
hearing the Persians were in quest of them,
called
called together all his Forces, who were put a marauding in different Parts. Nadir, who bent his March directly towards him, on his Arrival, found the Tartar at the Head of his Troops ready to give him Battle; upon which he drew up his little Army on an Eminence, and told them, that half the Tartars at least were a foraging, and left to guard the Captives and Plunder; that he was assured they had not above 6 or 7000 Men, tho' they were drawn up loose in order to make the greater Show; and that he should not doubt of Victory had they been twice as numerous, from the Experience he often had of their Courage on other Occasions, which he was assured they would then exert to the utmost, as thereon entirely depended the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of their Countrymen. The Tartars charged with their usual Fury, which the Persians, animated by the Example of their young Leader, sustained with all the Intrepidity imaginable. Both Parties being brave and equally resolute, a bloody and obstinate Action ensued, in which the Victory for a long Time seemed doubtful: At last Nadir's Fortune prevailed; for having slain the General with his own Hand, the
the Tartars were immediately put to Flight, the Persians pursuing and slaughtering them for several Miles. In this Battle upwards of 6000 Tartars were killed, and of the Remainder not half returned to their own Country, being either killed or taken Prisoners by the Peasants.

This Victory gained Nadir Kuli immortal Honour; and the Beglerbeg assured him, on his Arrival at Mushbad, that he had wrote to the King to make him General under him, that is, Lieutenant General of Khorasan. But Shab Sultan Hosein, who was then King of Persia, being a weak and indolent Prince, never regarded the Services Nadir had done him, but appointed in that very Post, which he ought to have, a young Nobleman who had never seen any Action. This Affair was managed by the great Interest the other General Officers had at Court, who (tho' afraid to undertake it themselves) were highly chagrin'd at Nadir Kuli's having had the Command of the Tartar Expedition: The King's Weakness giving them a fair Opportunity of indulging their Resentment, by procuring the Disgrace of this brave Man, who had no Friends at Court to sollictit for him.

Being
Being highly incensed at this Treatment, he waited on the Prince, and told him, he had depended on his Promise to no Purpose, for instead of being confirmed in his Post, he was degraded and disgraced for his good Services, and a young Fellow appointed to Command the Army, who was only fit to be shut up in a Seraglio with Women; that he observed, he was a Person nearly related to his Highness, whence he concluded he was raised to that Station by the very Interest promised him: The Prince assured him of the contrary, and as he had endeavoured to serve him, was highly displeased at his daring to tax him with a Breach of Promise. Nadir, by insisting on what he had said and dropping some other unguarded Expressions, so far trespassed on the Prince's good Nature, that he ordered him to be bastinadoed on the Soles of the Feet, till his Toe-Nails dropt off, and turned him out of the Service. The Reader must not be surprised at this Sort of Punishment to a Field Officer, for it is frequently inflicted on those in the highest Stations, if they incur the King's Displeasure, and all the Nobility are liable to undergo it, if they disobey the Commands of
of their Superiors in a Post subordinate to them. Nadir was now set adrift, and having no Friends at Court, had no Hopes of being re-inflated; this made him turn his Thoughts on retiring to the Place of his Nativity, and endeavour to recover his paternal Inheritance. On his Arrival there, his Uncle received him very kindly, and he lived with him and his other Relations some Time; but on his endeavouring to recover the Command of the Tribe, by first insinuating privately, and then insisting upon it that it was his Right, his Uncle let him know he would not resign it, and treated him in a most contemptuous and suffering Manner. His other Relations did the same, which was Usage Nadir's high Spirit could not bear, notwithstanding the State of Poverty he was reduced to, which was so very hard, that he was forced to bor-row small Matters of any that would lend him, to procure the common Neceffaries of Life. This was enough to beget desperate Resolutions in a Man who had deserved great Things from his Prince and Country, for the good Services he had done them; instead of which, as I have already observed, he was degraded and punished: And when he fled into
the Arms of his Relations for Relief, and claim'd his Birth-right, found that withheld from him by his Uncle; and all those who by Ties of Blood, ought to have been his Friends, turned his Enemies, for no other Reason that I could ever learn, but that they found him a bold enterprising Man, and superior to themselves in Point of Genius and every other Respect. *Nadir*, in this melancholy Situation, determined to get that by Force, which he could not obtain by any other Method; and having associated with a Couple of stout Fellows of desperate Fortune, went upon the Highway, and robb'd a small Caravan of Three or Four Mules laden with Merchandize, and found Means to dispose of them, the Produce of which (setting aside what they wanted for present Expences) he laid out in Arms and Ammunition, and enlisted privately in his Gang all the desperate Fellows he could pick up. He set out a second Time with about 20 or 25, and robb'd a large Caravan of 30 Mules and Camels, laden with Merchandize and Provisions, which he carried to the Mountains, where Persons came secretly to him with Arms, &c. and exchanged them for Goods, much to their Advantage.
Advantage: In this Manner he frequently robbed, traded, and enlisted fresh Men into his Gang, most of whom were Soldiers who had formerly served under him, until he had got near 500 stout Fellows well mounted, with which Force he kept the Country in awe, and laid them under a Contribution, which they would not comply with, till he had first threatened, and afterwards performed his Resolution of carrying away their Cattle, and plundering and burning their Houses. But it will be proper here to take Notice, that he could not have reigned long in this Manner, but would have been pursued and overpowered by the King's Forces, if the Empire had not been involved in War. The Afghans, under Mr Vacez's Son, had taken Isfahan, and reduced the South-East Parts of Persia to their Obedience; the Turks had entered the Western Parts, and taken most of them; and the Muscovites had taken Possession of Gilan (the ancient Hyrcania) and other Places bordering on the Caspian Sea; so that Shah Thamas having but two or three Provinces left, which were surrounded by Enemies on all Sides, he could not spare any Forces to reduce Nadir Kuli; the Country...
Country People were afraid to attack him, so that he lived on them, and exacted what he thought proper for the Support of himself and his Followers. At this Time, one Sef' o'din Beg, a General in Shab Thamah's Army, and Chief of a great Tribe, called the Bayots, having offended the King, his Persian Majesty was determined to take away his Life, which Sef o'din Beg being privately informed of, he fled from the Camp in the Night with 1500 of his own Men, and not knowing where to take Sanctuary, he went to Nadir Kuli, and joined him. By this Addition to his Force, he had now got upwards of 2000 Men, and was become very formidable and expensive to the Neighbourhood. Nadir's Uncle began to dread the Strength of his Nephew, who not being above 100 Miles off, might come and attack him whenever he pleased: He therefore wrote him a Letter, wherein he assured him, he was of Opinion, that if he would submit, and go into the King's Service, his Majesty would grant a Pardon to him and all his People. Nadir seemed very well pleased with this Proposal, and wrote his Uncle, that if he could procure the Pardon he mentioned, he should be glad to
to accept of it. Accordingly his Uncle sent a Petition to Shab Thamaz, in behalf of his Nephew. His Majesty at first seemed not inclined to pardon a Man who had been guilty of such notorious Crimes; but being told the ill Treatment he had formerly met with, forced him to take such Measures in order to support himself, that he was a gallant Officer, and that his Troops might be of great Service to his Majesty, who was in want of such Men, the King comply'd, and sent a free Pardon signed to his Uncle, which he immediately forwarded to Nadir Kuli, who, upon the Receipt thereof, set out with Seif o'din Beg, and 500 chosen Men for Calot. On his Arrival there, his Uncle received him very kindly. Next Day he made a grand Entertainment for him and his Followers, which he intended to have continued for three Days, far from apprehending any Treachery from his Nephew, who now meditated Revenge for the Injury done him in withholding his Right, and slighting him when reduced to the greatest Necessity. He had concerted with his Followers how to put it in Execution before he left the Mountains, and had ordered 500 more of his Men to set out the next Day af-
ter him, and to lay concealed near the Cattle of Calot (which they might easily do, it being a mountainous Place.) Accordingly having that very Night made proper Preparations, about two in the Morning, at a Signal given, those within fell on the Sentries, killed some, and seized the rest, whilst Nadir Kuli went to his Uncle's Chamber, whom having killed, he took the Keys of the Castle, and opened the Gates, in order to let in the 500 Men, who were ready at his Signal. His Uncle's Men, who were about 160, besides the Sentries, had taken the Alarm; but Nadir's People having secured the Doors of the Barracks where they lay, they could make no Resistance, so that they surrendered; and, being unarmed, were set at Liberty the next Morning: there was not much Blood shed on this Occasion, not above fifteen or twenty being killed in all. Nadir immediately dispatched Messengers to those remaining in the Mountains, who came to him in a few Days. This happened about the Year 1726-7, upwards of six Years after he had been turned out of the King's Service in Musnad, as before-mentioned.

Nadir, by this Action, not at all to his Credit, had gratified his Revenge on his Uncle,
Uncle, and had all his Relations (who lived mostly in the Town, and the adjacent Villages near Calot) in his Power; but he shewed no resentment to any of them: On the contrary, he treated them with Civility and Respect; several of them entered voluntarily into his Service, and are now with him in great Posts. He continued in this Place for some Months ruling in an absolute Manner, and raising Contributions, for fifty Miles round, to what Amount he pleased. Shah Thamas was fully apprized of all that Nadir had done, and was highly displeased at the ill Use he made of the Pardon sent him, which was to destroy his Uncle, and get possession of a strong Place, whence nothing but a great Force could dislodge him; but as his Affairs were in a declining Condition, every Day seeming to threaten his Ruin more and more, being hemm'd in by the Turks on one Side, and the Afghans on the other, he judged it better to make use of the Rebel Nadir's Assistance, than to weaken his own Force by attempting to destroy him. He therefore let him know, if he would submit and come to him, he should be graciously received, and admitted into the Service as a
Mim Bashi, and that Sef o'din Beg should likewise be pardoned, and entertained in the same Station. Nadir accepted this Offer, and having left one of his own Officers, with 500 of his Men, to command the Castle, he set out with the rest, and waited on the King, who at first rebuked him for what he had done, but told him and his People, that he had forgiven them, and did not doubt but their future Behaviour would make Amends for their past Offences. Nadir excused himself as well as he could, by telling the King the ill Treatment he had met with from the Prince of Khorasan, in being turned out of the Service at a Time when he ought to have been rewarded for his successful Expedition against the Tartars; and that the injurious Usage he received from his Uncle and Relations had forced him into the Measures he had taken to support himself; but as his Majesty had now generously pardoned him, he should endeavour to render himself deserving of the Clemency which had been shewn him.

As he had now frequent Occasions, he signalized himself by his Courage and Conduct, and was the Admiration of the King and the whole Army. The Turks (who before Nadir
dir Kuli's coming into Shah Thamas's Army, were always victorious, and seem'd deter-
mained to extirpate the Persian Race, and divide the Empire between the Afghans and
themselves, with whom they had made Peace, and entered into an Alliance) were
now frequently repulsed with Loss, tho' their Numbers were vastly superior to the Persians;
and in all those Actions and Skirmishes, Nadir, tho' he had but an inferior Command,
yet he shared the most Honour; till at length the King made him a Lieutenant-General,
having removed two of his principal Officers to make Way for him. As Nadir had, by
his Station, frequent Opportunities of waiting on the King, he soon insinuated himself into his Favour. He had but one Rival to
deal with, who was of any Consequence, namely, Fatteh allah Khan Kajar, with whom, in Appearance, he kept a strict
Friendship; but the very Moment the King (being set on by his Creatures) had called that
General to an Account for his Management, in Regard to the Army, Nadir Kuli assured
His Majesty he had been a long Time sensible of the Abuses committed, and unless there
was a Reformation in the Manner of paying

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and disciplining the Army, the Troops would desert; that they already began to murmur at not receiving their Pay regularly, and complained of the exorbitant Deductions made out of it for Cloaths, &c. The King, on hearing this, was highly incensed against the General, and declared, if what was alleged against him was true, he would order his Head to be cut off. He having nothing to say in his own Justification, but pleading it as a Custom, and what his Predecessors had always done, His Majesty ordered him to be executed on the Spot, and appointed Nadir Kuli General, who readily accepted of it, without the Formality of desiring to be excused on Account of his Inability to acquit himself as he ought in such a Post. This was in the Year 1727-8, and not above one Year since he was pardoned, and taken into the King's Service. Nadir having obtained that high Station, began to display Talents vastly superior to what he had discovered hitherto, and the King had so great a Dependence on his Management, that he seldom or never interfered in any Thing relating to the Military. Nadir, being sensible of the Trust reposed in him, was resolved to improve
prove it to his own Advantage, by removing those in the Army whom he had Reason to believe were not attached to him, and putting in those who were. He gain'd the Affection of the Common-Soldiers, by paying them with his own Hand the Moment he received the Money, and letting them have Cloaths at the first Cost. Finding himself in this happy Situation, he wish'd for nothing more than Action, but his Forces (being no more than 15 or 20000) were not sufficient to act offensively against the Turks: However, he annoyed them so much by Means of flying Parties, that they were glad to sit still in their Quarters; they sent to acquaint Shab Thamas, that if he would relinquish to them the Right of those Places they had already in Possession, they would make Peace with him, and leave him to recover the rest of his Dominions from the Afghans. Shab Thamas let them know he would consider of it, and desired a Truce till he could get an Answer from the Grand Signior to some Proposals he had to make him; to which the Turks agreed, promising to commit no Hostilities until they received Orders from the Port, and so their Confines were
were fixed to Hamadan on one Side, and Tabriz and Ardebil on the other. Shah Thamas sent a Messenger to Constantinople with Offers of an Accommodation, but on Terms which he knew would not be granted; he gave private Orders to the said Messenger to pretend Sickness on the Road, and to delay his getting thither as soon as possible, so as not to give the Turks any Cause of Suspicion. Shah Thamas's Design was only to gain Time that he might go and subdue Meluck Mahmud, Governor of Muskud, who had rebelled during the late Revolution, and set up as King. Having, thro' the Bravery of his General Nadir, taken the said Governor Prisoner, and seized his Effects, he set out with 12000 Horse to chastise the Abdollee, a Tribe of Afghans, who had taken Possession of Herat in Shah Sultan Hosein's Time, and were now preparing a grand Army to invade Khorasan, and lay Seige to Muskad. The Abdollee Afghans met him about three Days Journey from Herat, with an Army of near 30000 Horse. As they were reckoned better Soldiers than the Kandabar Afghans, who had taken Isfahan, the King seem'd to dread the Event of the Battle; but Nadir, whose Courage was invincible,
invincible, assured the King he did not doubt of success; that Victory depended more on Resolution and Conduct than on Numbers, and that he was satisfy’d his Majesty’s Troops had both. Having drawn up his Army in order of Battle, he harangued them in the same Manner, telling them withal, that the Loss of that Battle would be the Ruin of Persia, and that they and their Generations would be made Slaves for ever, if they did not conquer that Day; after which a general Shout was given. The Abdollee Afghans, who were drawn up at some Distance, hearing their Shout, returned it, and advanced with great Fury to charge the Persians. Nadir kept his Men close, and being posted upon a rising Ground, he played upon them with some Small Field-pieces, which did great Execution, not suffering any of his People to discharge their Small-Arms until the Enemy was within thirty or forty Yards, when they made a general Fire, which made such Havock among the Abdolleees, that they were obliged to retire, and give the Persians Time to load again. In short, after several desperate Attacks, which the Persians sustained with an uncommon Valour, a general Engagement
gagement ensued, in which Nadir behaved with a most surprising Conduct; for, tho' his Personal Bravery naturally carried him too far, his Vigilance was such, that he always sent timely Assistance wherever it was required; at last, the Abdolleees were entirely routed, 5000 were taken Prisoners, and near 15000 killed and wounded. The Loss on the Persians Side amounted to no more than 1500. After this he marched to Herat, and besieged it for some Months, until the Enemy submitted, and had agreed to pay down a certain Sum, and give an annual Tribute on Condition they might have a Governor appointed by the King out of their own Tribe; which being granted, they swore Obedience to Shab Thamaez, by whom they were to be treated in future as natural Subjects. The King, who was in the Army, but did not command, set out for Muskad. Nadir Kuli, having Orders to follow him as soon as possible, arrived there in August, 1729. About this Time the King received News that Asbruff, the Afghan (who succeeded Mahmud, the Son of Mir Vaex, and was then in Possession of Isfahan) was preparing to come and attack him with a powerful Army.
Army. The said Afbruff, hearing of Nadir Kuli's Success, thought it dangerous to give such a Man Time to augment his Forces; he therefore determined to crush him in the Beginning: For which Purpose, having completed an Army of 30000 Men, he set out from Isfahan in September, 1729, and march'd towards Khurasan. This News alarmed Shah Thamas, and likewise his General Nadir; but his Troops, being flush'd with their late Victory, seem'd eager to be led against the Enemy. He was glad to find them in this Disposition, especially as he had but little Hopes of raising any great Number of Recruits, few People caring to enlist, as they knew they were immediately to enter upon a desperate Action; however, he augmented his Army to near 16000 Men exclusive of the Troops left in Garrison: Having set out from Mufraid, by slow Marches he came to a Place called Damgeon, where, posting himself advantageously, he waited the Enemy's Arrival. When Afbruff came there, finding Nadir Kuli so well situated, he was unwilling to attack him, but was over-ruled in Opinion by his Officers: They told him, that by his declining to come to Action, the Enemy
Enemy would obtain a cheap Victory; at the Country People (on hearing they were afraid to encounter the Persians) would rebel, and stop all Provisions from coming to the Army. Ashruff then proposed to march directly to Musbad without attacked Nadir Kuli; which being rejected, the Signal was given for Battle. The Event convinced the Afghan Officers of their Error; for attacking them at that Disadvantage gave the Persians a compleat Victory. 'Tis true it cost them dear, having lost above 4000 Men. The Loss sustained by the Afghans was about 12000, among whom were some of their best Officers.

After this Defeat Ashruff retired towards Isfahan, having scarcely a third Part of the Troops he set out with, a great Number of his Men (especially the Persians he had taken into his Service) having deserted after the Battle.

Shah Thomas, who was present in this Action, and an Eye-witness to the Conduct and Valour of his General, told him he had nothing to present him, worthy his Acceptance, but his own Name, and ordered that, for the future, he should be called Thomas Kuli.
with the Addition of Khan, which signifies Lord.

Thamas Kuli Khan, (for so we shall call him until he is elected King) having refreshed his Troops at Damgoun, marched towards Isfahan. The Afghans, on his Approach, quitted several of their Garrisons, and fled towards the Capital, and in some Places the Persians cut them off, declaring openly for Shab Thamas, and sending to Kuli Khan what Supplies of Men and Money they could furnish; so that, by the Time he arrived at Casbah, which is four Days Journey from Isfahan, his Army consisted of 40000 Horse and Foot. The Afghans laid in great Stores of Provisions, and seemed determined to defend themselves to the last Extremity; but their Leader Asbruff chose to try the Event of another Battle before he suffered himself to be besieged. Having brought together all the Forces he could muster, which amounted to no more than 30000, consisting of Afghans, Darguзвis, Hazarris, Persians, &c.

* Thamas Kuli, signifies Thamas's Slave. The greatest Honour a Persian King can confer on any Subject, is giving him Liberty to make use of his own Name, although it is only to signify, he is his Slave.
he marched out to a Place called Mourche Khor, which is about thirty English Miles from the City, and encamped there, waiting Kuli Khan's Arrival, which not being so soon as he expected, he had sufficient Time to exercise his Cruelty on the Persians in and about Isfahan: At first, he ordered all the principal Men to be cut off, and afterwards all they could find in the Streets; so that, for the Space of twenty Days, there was not a Persian to be seen abroad, none appearing but Women, who came out to buy the common Necessaries of Life. At last, Kuli Khan arrived at Mourche Khor, where, engaging the Afghans, he obtained a compleat Victory. Ashruff, having lost 7000 Men, retired to Isfahan, where, calling a Council, it was resolved, that all the Inhabitants should be slaughtered, and the Palace and other Houses set on Fire; which being done, they were to march off with all the Effects they could carry with them. Just as they were on the Point of executing this barbarous Resolution, those whom Ashruff had appointed to watch the Motions of Kuli Khan, sent to acquaint him, that the Persian Army was in full March towards the City. Upon which, Ashruff
Afsharoff ordered his Men to come to the Palace and load their Beasts with Money (of which there was a great Quantity) and then follow him, as they could only save themselves by Flight. This Order was executed with so much Dispatch, that before two o'clock in the Afternoon there was scarce an Afghan to be seen in the City. The Persians, who before lay concealed, came out, and began to plunder all Houses without Distinction; even the Peasants from the Outparts flocked in in great Numbers to have their Share of the Booty; but on the Arrival of 1500 of Thamas Kuli Khan's Troops, all the Rabble disappeared, and the Officers took Possession of the Palace, and placed Guards at the City Gates. The next Day being November, 1730, he entered Isfahan with his whole Army, and continued there, cloathing his Men, and dividing among them the Plunder recovered from the Inhabitants. It was a Matter of Surprize to most People that he did not pursue the Afghans; but in a few Days afterwards it appeared he had some private Reasons for it: For, on Shah Thamas's Arrival (which was three Weeks afterwards) he declared that unless his Majesty would
would give him the Power of levying Money in all Parts for the Payment of the Army, he would decline the Command thereof, and return to his own Country, being well assured that the Persons who should be ordered to supply him would be negligent, and by that Means frustrate all his Designs. The King was averse to this Proposal, and had Thoughts of removing him, but could fix on no other who was fit to supply his Place; having sounded some of the principal Officers, he found them of Opinion, that it was better to comply with Kuli Khan's Humour for the present, and shew a proper Resentment of his Insolence when there was less Occasion for his Service; adding, that the Soldiers, at this Juncture, would be unwilling to serve under any other General. At last, His Majesty consented but with the greatest Reluctancy: For, in giving that Power, he (in Effect) parted with his Crown. He did not even stop here, but heaped more Honours upon him, appointing him Generalissimo and Beglerbeg of Khorasan, and giving him his Aunt in Marriage. After obtaining these Favours he seemed perfectly zealous for his Master's Service; and,
in order to convince the World of his Sincerity, would set out with an Army in the Middle of Winter against the Afghans, who, finding the Persians did not pursue them, when they quitted Isfahan, had taken up their Winter Quarters at Shiraz, and plundered and ravaged that Part of the Country in a barbarous Manner.

Kuli Khan, thro’ the Severity of the Season, had lost upwards of 3000 Men; but, as his March was to the Southward, the Weather grew daily more favourable. Having arrived near Shiraz, Ashruff and his Afghans marched out with a Resolution once more to try their Fortune in Battle; they fought desperately for some Hours, but at last were put to Flight, having left a great Part of their Treasure and most of their Women and Children behind them. A strong Detachment of the Persians were sent in Pursuit of them, who made several of them Prisoners.

Ashruff, with about 1500 of his Men, marched directly towards Kandahar. In the Way most of them deserted him, having only 100 when he was surpriz’d and set upon by a Body of the Baluckes; with these few he
he made a desperate and brave Defence, but being greatly overpowered, he and most of his Party were cut to Pieces.

Thomas Kuli Khan, having staid about a Month in Shiraz, set out for Hamadan, in order to recover it, with other Places formerly belonging to the Persians, which the Turks had seized during the late Troubles. On his Arrival there, Abdallah Basha came against him with all his Forces, who, being worsted, fled towards Carmanshah: Thomas Kuli pursued him thither, and defeated him a second Time. Having staid a few Days at Carmanshah, and fixed a Garrison there, he set out for Tabriz. As soon as he recovered and secured that important Place, he detached a strong Party to Ardebil, which the Enemy had quitted on their Approach. The Turks, being thus unsuccessful, demanded a Truce; which Thomas Kuli granted the more readily, as the Abdolles at Herat rebelled a second Time, and had a powerful Army in the Field.

Having secured, and left sufficient Garrisons in those Places he had lately recovered, he set out for Herat. After defeating the Abdolles Army, he laid Siege to the City, which
which being a Place of great Strength, held out until Famine obliged them to surrender. He put the Governor and all the principal Men to Death, and having peopled the Place with Persians, and left a Garrison of his own Men therein, he marched to Muskud.

During this Time, Shah Thamas, who was at Isfahan, finding the Turks were sending Forces from Constantinople and other Parts towards the Frontiers of Persia, he raised an Army of 20000 Men, and set out for Tabriz, where, joining the Troops left there by Thamas Kuli, he marched to Erivan, and defeating a Body of Turks, besieged the Castle, but not being able to supply his Army with Provisions there, he returned to Tabriz, and from thence intended to advance towards Cormalshah, but was prevented by Ahmed Basha, who, coming against him with a superior Army, entirely defeated him. A few Days after this Battle, the Basha sent him Word, he was impowered by the Grand Signior to conclude a Peace with him. The King came readily into the Basha's Proposals, which were, that each Party should remain in Possession of what they had then got.

When
When Thamas Kuli Khan was informed of this Peace he was greatly enraged, and wrote to the King and several of the Nobility, acquainting them, he would soon wait on His Majesty, and convince him of the Necessity there was to break this scandalous Peace. Accordingly he set out with all Speed from Mushad, and in August, 1732. arrived at Isfahan with his whole Army, which amounted to upwards of 60000, all choice Troops. He waited on the King, and told him, He ought first to make an Example of those who advised him to such dishonourable Measures, and then carry on the War with Vigour against the Enemy. The King seeming unwilling to break the Peace he had concluded with the Turks, Thamas Kuli Khan told him, he had good Reason to believe most of the Courtiers were his Enemies, and had been endeavouring to prevail with His Majesty to take away his Life. The King assured him his Informations were not true. Upon which Kul Khan presented the King with a Bundle of Letters, telling him, these would convince his Majesty, that he had just Ground for his Apprehensions. After which he took his Leave. These
These Letters had been wrote to him privately by several of the Nobility at Court; in which they informed against each other, and acquainted him with their Designs against him. They also let him know what had passed in several Conversations with the King; at the same Time reflecting on his Majesty's Incapacity, and assuring Kuli Khan how much they had his Interest at Heart.

The King was astonished when he perused these Letters, and finding the Treason too general to be taken any notice of, unless he resolved to cut off the greatest Part of the Nobility, he destroyed the Letters, being determined to wait for a more convenient Opportunity of resenting their Villany.

Thana Kuli Khan, who with his Army lay encamped without the City, waited to know what Effect these Letters would have on the King; but finding he took no Notice of them, he consulted with the Chiefs of his Army, and acquainted them with the Steps he had taken. They agreed with him in Opinion, that the King's Intention was to destroy him and his Friends, and disband the Army; and that the late shameful Peace concluded with the Turks was chiefly with a
View of having more Leisure and Opportunity to accomplish his Designs. Kuli Khan told them, the only Expedient to save them and himself, would be to depose the King, and set up his Son in his Stead; by which Means they should have a fair Pretence of making a Rupture with the Ottoman Porte: His Officers came readily into this Scheme, which was executed in the following manner.

Kuli Khan invited the King to a Review of the Army; he accordingly went, and was exceedingly delighted with the fine Appearance they made, and the Performance of their Exercise, the Merit of which he publicly attributed to the General. As the King was riding thro' the Ranks, some of the Under-officers and Soldiers said aloud, "If your Majesty has any Commands, we are ready to execute them." This at first surprized Kuli Khan, but on recovering himself, he, with his usual Presence of Mind, addressed the King, desiring him to tell them they were to obey their General Thomas Kuli Khan, to whom he had given the sole Command of the Army; which his Majesty complied with, and then went to a Banquet which had been prepared for him in the General's...
The King having indulged too freely in drinking Wine, (which 'tis supposed was mixed with some intoxicating Drug) he fell asleep on his Sofa. The General ordered his own People to carry him to a Seraglio in the Garden of Hazar Jerib. His Majesty's Servants who were then in Waiting, seeming to dispute Kuli Khan's Orders, by telling him, they would take Care of the King, were commanded to withdraw at their Peril; upon which they endeavoured to make their Escape, but were seized by the Guards, and confined.

After Kuli Khan had secured the King, and placed Guards over him, he returned to his Tent, where most of the General Officers, who had been present at this Scene, were attending. He asked them, what was to be done further with the King? They replied, Nothing more than what is already done: But he soon persuaded them it would be necessary to keep him confined in some remote Part of the Empire: and accordingly three Days afterwards he was sent to Mazandran, attended by a Guard of 6000 Men, among whom were very few Persian Troops, being

P 2

chiefly
chiefly Afghans, and others of the Sunni Religion.

After seizing the King, he sent a strong Detachment to the City, to take Possession of the Palace, and place Guards at the City Gates, and in some of the principal Streets. Early next Morning he was proclaimed by Beat of Drum, that no Persons, on Pain of Death, should stir out of their Houses: At Noon finding every Thing was quiet and easy, a second Proclamation was made, ordering all People to carry on their Business and several Occupations, and go abroad, as usual.

The Persians made secretly great Lamentations, imagining their King was killed; but being informed he was alive, they flattered themselves with Hopes that the Army would rise in his Defence.

Next Day after the King was sent away, Kuli Khan went to the Palace in great Pomp, attended by all the Officers both Civil and Military. He ordered the King's Son to be brought out of the Seraglio, who being then in his Cradle, was placed on the Throne; the Royal Diadem was put at the Head, and the Sword and Target fixed to the Side thereof;
after which, with the proper Ceremony, he was declared King, by the Name of Shah Afsi the Third. Kulı Khan first swore Fidelity to him on the Koran, and the rest followed his Example.

This Mock Ceremony being over, he continued in the Palace until he had appointed proper Officers in the City, and removed those Governors of distant Province whom he did not care to confide in: Afterwards he set out with his Forces against the Turks, and meeting Ahmed Basha at the Head of a numerous Army, within a few Days Journey of Baghdad, he entirely defeated him, and marched towards the City, which he laid close Siege to. The Garrison being very numerous, defended it a long Time, but a terrible Famine raging amongst them, they were on the Point of surrendering, when Topat Othman, Basha Seraskier, and several other Bashas came with an Army, which, including Servants, &c. was upwards of 200000 Men. Having advanced near Baghdad, they obliged Thomas Kulı Khan to raise the Siege, and give 'em Battle. The Persian Army, which then consisted of 120000 Men, charged so furiously, and seconded their Attacks with so much Vigour,
gour, that the Turks were on the Point of giving Way, when Kuli Khan's Horse was shot under him. Having fought some Time on Foot, before he could get re-mounted, his Standard-bearer concluded he was killed, and rode off with the Colours. This alarm'd the whole Army, who instantly faced about and fled: Kuli Khan endeavoured to rally them, but to no Purpose; the Turks pursuing with great Fury, made a terrible Slaughter of them: The Persians lost in this Action upwards of 60000 Men, and the Turks nigh as many.

This Defeat would have discouraged any but Kuli Khan, who had a Soul superior to all Misfortunes. He stopped at Hamadan, where in a few Days most of the Troops who were dispersed joined him. He told them he had certain Intelligence the Turks had given over Pursuit, and had divided their vast Army into lesser Parties, for the Convenience of foraging and getting Provisions, of which they were in great Want: He was determin'd to go and attack 'em one Party after another, and either conquer or die, since after what had been already done they could expect no Mercy from their Country, to which they must
must never return but in Triumph: And
should they give the Turks any Time to
refresh and unite their Troops, they would
certainly be an Over-match for them. His
Officers being entirely of the same Opinion,
he marched back with great Expedition, and
fell upon the first Party of the Turks, who,
imagnining him to be at a great Distance,
were not prepared to receive him. Having
successively beat three considerable Bodies of
them, he at last encountered Topal Othman
Basha, at the Head of 60,000 Men, who
being shot in the Beginning of the Action,
his whole Army was soon routed, and put
to Flight.

Since this Battle the Turks have not ap-
peared in the Field against him, but suffered
him for two Years successively to take one
Place after another, some by Storm, and
others by Capitulation, till he had recovered
all the Territories they had seized during the
late Troubles.

This unexpected Success had greatly raised
his Reputation, and Volunteers came from
all Quarters to offer him their Service.
Having compleated a choice Army, he
marched a second Time to besiege Baghdad.
When the Siege was pretty far advanced, he received News, that Mahommed Khan Ballu-
che, one of his Generals, had rebelled, and proclaimed Shab Thamas King; that he had
taken the City of Shiraz, and had an Army
of 30000 Men, which increased daily:
Whereupon Kuli Khan immediately raised
the Siege, and marching with all Expedition
against the Rebels, was upon them when they
least expected him. Upon the first Report
of his Troops being near, they marched out
to attack them, imagining it was only a
small Detachment under the Command of
one of his Officers, but they had not advanc-
ed above 20 Miles before they met him at
the Head of his Van-Guard, which con-
fisted of 12000 Men. Mahommed Khan
Balluche being overjoyed to find him attended
by so few, told his Officers, that Fortune
had delivered Thamas Kuli Khan into their
Hands; that they might easily defeat him,
before he could have any Succours, as his
main Army was a Days Journey behind:
But when they approached each other, and
heard Kuli Khan thundering out his Or-
ders, they were struck with such a Panick,
that they fled, without sustaining his first
Attack.
Attack. Mahommed Khan Balluche, who was personally brave, having singled out Kuli Khan, rode full speed towards him; being repulsed, he fought his way back again, and intended to make his escape, by crossing the Gulf of Persia in an Arab vessel; but those treacherous people seized him, and, in hopes of a reward, carried him to Thomas Kuli Khan, who sent him to prison, in order to force him into a confession of his accomplices, and what treasure and effects he had. In this he was disappointed, for the moment Mahommed Khan Balluche was left alone, he hanged himself. They could find no papers that gave any account of the persons he corresponded with, or where his effects (which were very considerable) had been deposited. Thus ended this brave man, who was deservedly esteemed for several good qualities; he was as great (tho' not so fortunate) a soldier, as any in the East, and judged to be the best horseman in Persia.

Thomas Kuli Khan stayed a few days in Shiraz, being employed in putting to death some of the principal persons concerned in the rebellion, and seizing their effects. He afterwards returned to Isfahan, where settling...
some Affairs, he set out for Georgia, and took the Capital Teflis by Storm, upon which the whole Country submitted to him; from thence he marched to Erivan, the Capital of Armenia, which having recovered, he afterwards took Shamakhi by Capitulation, and Ganjan by Storm. In the mean Time, he sent a Messenger to the Russians to desire them to relinquish Gilan and the Silk Countries, according to their Promise, otherwise he should be obliged to pay them a Visit; as they had no Inclination to enter into a War with him, they evacuated all the Places on this Side the Caspian Sea, except Derbend and Buchu, which he had given up to them. Upon this he concluded a firm Peace with them, and not long after made a Peace with the Turks.

Having thus settled Affairs in Regard to those two Powers, he sent a general Edict to all the Rulers of Provinces, Chiefs of Tribes, and Governors of Cities and Towns, commanding them to meet him on a certain Day in the Plains of Chuli Mogham, on Pain of high Displeasure. At the Time appointed they appeared, to the Number of 6000 and upwards, at the said Place, where they found him encamp'd with an Army of 15000 Men.
Men. Thamas Kuli Khan ordering them to appear before him, he told them, the Reason of calling them together was to acquaint them that he had now subdued all the Enemies of the Persian Empire, except the Kandahar Afghans, whom he was determined to march against very soon; that, after he had reduced them to Obedience, he intended to retire, and end the Remainder of his Days in Peace and Tranquility, unless his Country should again require his Service; that he had made Peace with the Turks and Muscovites, and chastised the Tartars, and other Enemies on the Frontiers, in such a Manner, that (in all Probability) they would remain quiet for a long Time, so that it only remained with them to elect a King, either Shab Thamas their late Sovereign, or any other whom they judged the most capable; adding that he expected their Answer in three Days. After this he retired to his Tent, and gave Orders that the said Assembly should be entertained at the public Expence, during their Stay in the Camp. In the mean Time, Kuli Khan's Creatures took Care to intimate to the principal Persons, that they ought to compliment their Regent and General with an Offer
of the Crown, tho' at the same Time, they were certain he would not accept of it. When the Time was expired, they waited on him with an Address; in which, after setting forth the signal Services he had done to his Country, they begg'd he would accept of the Crown and take the Charge of the Empire upon him, and that they (as faithful Subjects) would assist him on all Occasions with their Lives and Fortunes. 

Thomas Kuli Khan told them, that he thank'd them for the Honour they had done him, which was contrary to his Intention in calling them together, yet as he look'd upon the Voice of the People to be the Voice of God, he must submit to the Cares of a Crown, and sacrifice his own Eafe to the public Good, not doubting but (by the Blessing of the Almighty, and their unanimous Concurrence) he should raise the Persian Nation to as great a Pitch of Glory as any of their former Kings had done. And, in order to set out right, and have a perfect Understanding with them, he should require three Things to be solemnly confirmed by them:

I. That they should make the Crown Hereditary to his Heirs for ever.

II. That.
II. That no one, on Pain of Death, and Confiscation of Effects, should presume to take up Arms in Favour of the late Royal Family, or any Branch thereof, on any Pretence whatever, nor so much as mention any Thing tending to Rebellion.

III. That, as great Disturbances and Mischiefs had always arose between them and their Neighbours, the Turks, Indians, and Tartars, on Account of the Difference of Religion, he desired a Number of the Religious of both Sects might assemble to consider of, and resolve upon, an Uniformity; adding, that as the Points in which the Sunnis and Schias * differed were not very essen-

* The Sunnis are those Mohammedans, who acknowledge as lawful the Succession of Abubuckr, Aumur, Othman, and Ali, and receive the Koran and Mohammed's Traditions in the Sense they are expounded by their four great Doctors, Abul Hanifa, Malek, Shafi, and Hanbal.

The Schias are they who dispute the Lawfulness of the Succession of Abubuckr, Aumur, and Othman, and maintain that Mortisa Ali (according to the Prophet's Will) ought immediately to succeed him. They pay no Regard to the Opinions of the abovementioned Doctors, but are entirely guided by their own Imams.
ialect, he was of Opinion an Accommodation might be easilly effected.

The Grandees came readily into the two first Articles, but as to the last they desired he would first hear what the Mullab Basbi (or High-Priest) had to offer on that Head before they should subscribe to it. Accordingly the High-Priest addressed him, and said, 'As to Matters of Religion we have the Law of God, and the Traditions of his Prophet Mahommed to direct us, it is not for Princes to make Innovations therein; and therefore I humbly hope your Majesty will not begin your Reign with attempting to overthrow the Established Religion, as a Step of that Nature must be attended with dangerous Consequences.' Then Kuli Khan immediately ordered him to be strangled, to prevent the People from attempting to second his Discourse, which they would certainly have done, if this sudden Execution has not detered them from it. He then asked the People whether they would subscribe, and take Oaths to what he had proposed; which they tamely and readily submitted to. The next Day, being March 1735-6, he was proclaimed Emperor of Persia, by the Name of Na-
dir Shah, on which Occasion Coins, with a pompous Inscription *, were struck in his Name.

Having

* On Nadir Shah's being proclaimed King, Coins were struck in his Name with the following Inscription.

سکه بیر زر کردن نام سلطنت در جهان
نادیر ایران نمی‌چیند خسرو کبیدی ستان

Sicca bir Zir Curd nam e Sultanit dir jehan
Nadir e Irân Zemmi vâ Khsro e Geti Setan.

Which signifies,

Coins and Money have proclaimed through the Earth, the Reign of Nadir of Persian Soil, and the King who conquers the World.

On the Reverse in a Cypher,

الخیر في ما وقع

Which signifies,

What has happened is best.

The Numerical Letters of the said Motto, make up 1148, the Year he usurp'd the Crown.

And on the same Side is,

ضرب في كرمان 1148
Struck at Kirman (or Carmania) in 1148.

Dr. Mead has one of these, with two other different Coins, which have been struck in Nadir Shah's Name.

One
The History of

Having entertained the Assembly in a grand Manner, for the Space of three Days, he dismissed them with Presents, and treated them all with great Civility, excepting the Priests, who he found were commenced his

One of which has 

السلطان نادر 

Al Sultan Nadir, The 

Sultan Nadir, on one Side; and on the Reverse, 

خُلد الله ملكد ضرب في قتلهار 


The other, which was struck in India, after his Victory at Karnal, has on one Side.

هشتسلطان پر سلطانی جهان 

His Sultan, bir Salatin Jehan 

Shah e Shahan Nadir Shahb e Kewan.

Which is to say, 

Nadir, the Master of Fortune, and King of Kings, is 

the most powerful of the Princes of the Earth.

On the Reverse, 

خُلد الله ملكد ضرب في احمداباد 

Khoud Allah Muluck bi. Zirb fi Ahmedabad, 1152

Which signifies, 

May God perpetuate his Reign. Struck at Ahmedabad in 1152.
bitter Enemies, for cutting off the Mullah Bashi, and for the Alteration they found he was determined to make in Religion; but, in order to prevent their being able to do him any Injury, he sent for the Chiefs of them, and ask'd in what Manner they employed the vast Revenues they had. The told him, that they apply'd them to the religious Purposes for which they were intended, such as Salaries for Priests, the Maintenance of Colleges, and a great Number of Mosques, in which Prayers were daily and hourly offered up for Success to the Arms of their Prince, and Prosperity to the Empire of Persia. He told them, that by Experience it was evident their Prayers had not been heard, since for fifty Years past the Nation has been on the Decline, and at last almost ruined by Invasions and Rebellions, until God's victorious Instruments (meaning his Army) had come to its Relief, who were now ready to sacrifice their Lives for the Defence and Glory thereof; that these poor Priests (pointing to his Soldiers) were in Want, and must be supply'd by some Means or other; that therefore it was his Royal Pleasure, that the greatest Part of the Church Lands and Revenues should be
be confiscated and appropriated towards paying the Army; which was accordingly done, and by an exact Computation found to amount to near 1,000,000 Tomans, which is about 3,000,000 l. per Annum. The Priests were highly enraged at this Treatment, and did all they could to stir up the Army and People against him; the former, being above half Sunnis, only laughed at them; and the latter, when they considered that by this they were to be eased of a Part of the Taxes, were not dissatisfy'd with it. After this Kuli Khan sent for the Chiefs of the People, and, acquainting them with what he had done, told them, if they wanted Priests, they must provide them at their own Expence; that, for his Part, having little Occasion for any, he would be at no Charge about them. He then published an Edict (of which the following is a literal Translation) ordering all his Subjects to conform to the Sunni Religion, on Pain of his Royal Displeasure.
A Translation of Nadir Shah's Edict for an Uniformity of Religion between the Schias and Sunnis.

ALL in high stations, the Sadr* of great power, the Governor, Ministers of the Law, and learned men of the Royal Residence of Isfahan, being exalted thro' the King's favour, KNOW, That while the abode of our ensigns (on whom Victory attends) was at Sebrai Mogham†. It was agreed at several meetings, that from henceforth, according to ancient custom (being fix'd and established-

† This Edict is translated from a Copy in the Original Persian, which Dr. Mead was pleased to favour me with.

* The Sadr is a person of great authority in the Empire, who has the absolute Management of Church Lands, and what Revenues are appropriated towards the maintaining of public Schools, Salaries to Learned Men, and other pious Uses.

† The same as Ghuli Mogham.
ed in the Religion of Hanifa|| and Jaffer §,
as transmitted to us by our Predecessors)
we do acknowledge the directing Khalifs
(in all whom the high God is pleased) as
the Successors of the Chief of Messengers *;
and whenever they present themselves,
mention the Names of each of the Four
with great Respect. Moreover, in some
Places of these Kingdoms, at the Time
of calling to Prayers, and standing up at
Prayer, they mention these Words, Ali
the Friend of God †, according to the

† Hanifa, one of the four great Doctors, so famous
for expounding the Mahommedan Law.
§ Jaffer, one of the Imáms, whose Opinion in several
Points the Sunnis themselves pay the greatest Regard
to.

† Khalif Rasbedeen, the directing Khalifs, by which are always meant Abubucker, Aumar, Othman, and Ali.

* By the Chief of Messengers is meant Mahommed.

† Ali wulli Allah, or Ali the Friend of God, is always annexed by the Schias to their Kelmah in this Manner,

La Ilah il Allah, Mahommed Rasoul Allah o' Ali
Wulli Allah. Which is literally, There is no God but
God, and Mahommed the Prophet of God, and Ali
the Friend of God.

 usual
usual Method of the Schias, and contrary
to those who are Orthodox. This is repug-
nant to Religion, and contrary to the
Agreement and Covenant enter'd into:
Besides, it is evident to the World, that
as the Prince of the Faithful, the Lyon
of God, the Victorious ||, is elect, prais'd
and acceptable to the Lord of Glory, his
Rank and Interest at the Court of Unity
will not be increased by vulgar Testimony,
nor the full Moon of his Power be di-
 diminish'd by omitting these Words. The
ill Consequence of this Form is, that both
Sects §, who equally acknowledge the
Chief and Prophet t of both Worlds, will
by this Difference be provoked to Animo-
fities, which are disagreeable both to the
Prophet and to the Prince of the Faithful *.
Wherefore, as soon as the Purport of this

Emir al Mominin, Affad Allah, al Ghaleb, the Prince of the Faithful, the Lyon of God, the Victorious, were Mortisf Ali's Titles. He is said to be Elect, Praised, and Acceptable to God, because there is honourable mention made of him in the Koran.

§ The Sunnis and Schias.
† Mohamed.
* Mortisf Ali.
high Edict is known, let it be signified to all Mussulmen, High and Low, Great and Small, the Callers to Prayer in the City, its Dependencies, and the adjacent Countries, That from this Day henceforth, these Words, as differing from the Orthodox Customs, be not mentioned. It is also usual with the Governors in their Assemblies, after Fattaba and Tokbir †, to say, May the King from whom all our Fortune flows, live for ever. As a Tokbir for perpetuating a mortal Man is vain, and of no Effect, I expressly order that every Khan who is a Master of a Tabal ‖ and Ensign, say it in this Manner, Thanks to the true King for all Benefits. From henceforward all Persons must observe these settled Regulations, and written Orders: For, whosoever deviates therefrom, will incur the Displeasure of the King.

† Fattaba is a prefatory Prayer, which is generally the first Soura or Chapter of the Koran. Tokbir is repeating three times these Words, Allah Akbah, which is to say, God is Greatest, before the Kelmah abovementioned.

‖ Tabal is a small Drum, which General Officers have fixed to their Saddles.
This Edict was received with great Joy by Numbers of his Subjects, as many being secretly of that Perswasion, as of the Schia established Religion; it was particularly agreeable to his Soldiers, who being chiefly Sunnis, became thereby the more attach'd to him. However impolitic these Steps might have seem'd at first, yet it was the only Method he could have thought of in order to establish himself and his Heirs on the Throne of Persia; besides the Advantages it already has and may still give him in his future Designs on his Neighbours, who are of the same Religion which he has now established in Persia.

Shortly after he was elected and proclaimed King, he went to the City of Kazvin (or Kasbin) where the Ceremony of Inauguration of the Persian Monarchs is performed. Having girt on the Royal Scymitar, and put the Imperial Crown on his Head, he took the usual Oath, which is, To govern the People according to the Laws of God, as revealed...

June 1736.
revealed by his Prophet Mahommed, and protected and defend them against all their Enemies.

After this, he marched with his Army to Isfahan, where he continued some Time, making Preparations for his Expedition to Kandahar. During his Stay there, he received the Compliments of the neighbouring Powers: The Grand Signior and Moghol acknowledged him as Emperor of Persia, and at the same time congratulated him on having established the true Orthodox Religion in his Empire, and discouraged the former Heresy.

In December, 1736, Nadir Shah set out from Isfahan, with an Army of upwards of 80,000, chiefly Horse, and marched towards Kandahar, by the Way of Carmania, and was shortly after followed by Thamas Khan Vakeel with about 40,000 more.

What happened after this, the Gentleman who favoured me with the above Memoirs is a Stranger to; excepting that on his Departure from Persia to India, which was in February, 1736-7, he heard Nadir Shah had besieged Kandahar. His Transactions since that Time, I shall continue, as translated from some Persian Manuscripts,
Manuscripts, which I have mentioned in the Preface.

The same Gentleman has also favoured me with a personal Description and Character of this great Heroe, which I shall reserve for the Conclusion of these Sheets.

Nadir Shah, having securely established himself, and settled his Affairs in Persia, he left his Son Reza Kuli Mirza to command there, and set out with his Army towards Kandahar. Hosein Khan, the Governor thereof, having laid up great Stores of Provisions and Ammunition, held out for 13 Months; at last, being reduced to Straits, he fell out with his Men, most of whom died bravely fighting. Hosein Khan and his Son being taken Prisoners, the Persians entered the Castle, and took Possession thereof.

While Nadir Shah was busy in securing and fortifying Kandahar, and bringing over to him the Zemidars of those Parts, Letters came from Nizam al Muluck and Saadit Khan, inviting him to march towards Hindostan. In Answer to which, he objected the Difficulties of getting thro' the Defiles, passing the great Rivers, and the many Encounters he must
must expect to have with the Afghans, and the warlike Nations of those Parts, the Opposition he must expect from Naqir Khan, Soubbadar of Cabul, and Zekaria Khan, Ruler of Labor; and, last of all (should his Fortune surmount all these) his Fate will depend on his Success against a powerful Imperial Army. They soon satisfied him how unnecessary his Fears were, and that, before he crosses the Attok*, he should have a Proof how able they were, and how much inclined to facilitate his Passage. Being encouraged by those Representations, he set out with an Army of 125,000 Horse, Kuzzlebash, Georgians, Turks, Khorasanis, Balkhis, &c. all inured to Fatigues and Hardships; they were well provided for this Expedition, and greatly encouraged thereto by the Hopes he gave them, of not only enriching themselves, but bringing Wealth and Glory to their impoverished Country, by the Plunder of India.

* Attok is the Name of a River, that separates the Province of Labor from Peišhur. There is but one Place where an Army can be conveniently transported, the Stream being so rapid in most Parts. There is a Castle commanding that Passage, called the Castle of Attok.
the mean Time, Nizam al Muluck and Saadit Khan used all their Endeavours secretly to promote his Interest, and wrote to Sherzih Khan †, Governor of the Castle of Cabul, and Naqir Khan, Soubahdar of that Province (who was a Creature of Khandoran's) as also to Zekaria Khan, Ruler of the Province of Labor, to this Purport: 'Nadir Shah, being thoroughly informed of the State of Affairs in India, and that his Imperial Majesty and favourite Courtiers employ their Time in Wine and Women, has come to a Resolution to strike a Blow at this Empire. You well know that none of the great Ones here are fit to take the Field, much less to resist a Man who is conducted by Fortune. As this is the Case, you can have little Hopes of Assistance from hence; the best you can do will be to behave discreetly, and save yourselves.' These Letters cooled them pretty much, and had

† 'Tis customary in India to have two Governors, one to command the City, and another to command the Castle. The latter is generally for Life, and he must never stir out of the Castle, unless he is turned out by the Magdel. The Governor of the City is called ḥākim, and he who commands the Castle is called ḥākim Kullehbar.
The History of

the desired Effect with Naçir Khan and Ze-karia Khan.

Nadir Shah, having subdued Ghurbund and Ghoznauvi, and garrison'd them with his own People, came to Cabul and besieged it. Naçir Khan (before his Arrival) had left it, and marched to Pejskor; but Sherzib Khan defended both the City and Castle for 6 Weeks with the utmost Bravery, and wrote repeatedly to Naçir Khan, and to Court for Assistance; but none coming, both City and Castle were at last taken by Storm, and he and his Son were put to Death. Nadir Shah found Treasure, Jewels, Arms, &c. to a great Value, which, since the Great Mogul Babr's Time, had been shut up in Vaults. When the Taking of Cabul was known at Court, the Emperor gave Orders to get his Troops in Readiness, and provide all Things necessary for taking the Field. As Rajah Jeffing was more attached to Khandoran than to any of the other Omras, he repeatedly wrote to him to this Purport: 'Nadir Shah's Coming is a concerted Thing. You must
be watchful over the Moghol Omras†, who seem to be united in order to compass some treacherous Design. Naçir Khan and Sherzib Khan have always been supported by the Court; one has sacrificed his Life to its Interest, and the other (afraid of his Life) has fled to Peishor. If Zekaria Khan, Ruler of Labor, makes any Opposition, it will give the Emperor's Army Time to advance pretty far, in order to check this Invader; as for us Rajpouts we are ready to join the Royal Ensigns.

Khandoran knowing him to be well-affected, represented this to the Emperor, and told him, it would be very imprudent in him to leave the Capital, and take the Field; However, it was at last agreed, that the Army should march to Labor, that the Emperor should accompany it so far, and that from thence it should proceed towards Cabul, under the Command of Nizam al Muluck, and the other two Omras; for which Purpose,

† By the Moghol Omras, he means those of Tartar and Persian Families, whom the Indians, without Distinction, call Moghols.
The History of

the Peishkhabna* was ordered out to the Gardens of Shalimar; but after it was sent thither, to every Body's Surprize, Kbandoran came back to the Palace, and delayed the March, whereas Nizam seemed to be for hastening it all in his Power. The Emperor's Servants, who knew Kbandoran to be attached to their Master, contrived all the Impediments they could think of, so that Nadir Shab had not only Time to secure Cabul, but was far advanced in his March to Peishor †, where the Afghans and Mountaineers very much incommode him, and kept him in Play for Seven Weeks; in which Time he had a great many Men wounded and killed. Seeing there was no forcing the Passes, without much Bloodshed, and that the Afghans had fortified themselves on the Tops of the Hills; he sent them Offers of Accommodation, which they came into the more readily, as the Soubabders had sent no Assistance; and that they had been four or five Years without

* Peishkhabna signifies the Tents, &c. that are sent before to the Place where the Prince, or General Officer, designs to halt, or encamp.

† Peishor is 202 measured Cols from Dehli, 97 from Labor, and 35 from Attok.
receiving any of their usual Allowance‡ from Court: Upon Nadir Shah's paying them a certain Sum of Money, they not only let him pass unmolested, but several of them lifted in his Army; the other Afghans hearing of this, followed their Example. So, leaving the main Army behind, with 10,000 chosen Horse of Kuzzlebâsh ||, in seven Days he got to Peishor. Naçir Khan, who with 7000 Horse had incamped without the City, not imagining he could get through the Passes so soon, upon hearing of his Approach with so large a Body of Horse, was greatly perplexed; several of his Auxiliaries left him, and few besides the King's Men stood by him, who, after a brave Resistance, were defeated.

‡ As the Revenues of those mountainous Parts and the Passes, are not sufficient to maintain a requisite Number of Troops for the Defence thereof, there was a certain Sum appointed to be yearly remitted thither, which of late had been neglected.

|| Kuzzlebâsh, are an Order of Soldiers among the Persians, as the Janizaries (or more properly Ingecherris) among the Turks. It signifies, in the Turkish Language, Red Heads, so called from the Red Caps they wore when first instituted by Sheikh Heydr, the Father of Shah Ismael first King of the Sufi Fa-
mily.

and
and Naqir Khan taken Prisoner. Some Afghans who, waiting the Event, were posted on the Hills, seeing Nadir Shah prevail, came and offered him their Service. After this Victory, he entered Peshawar and took Possession thereof. When the News of this Defeat came to Court, Nizam al Muluck, Khandoran, Kummir o'din Khan, and the other Omras, according to the King's Order, on the second of January, 1738-9, marched out with a numerous Army, a large Train of Artillery, and other warlike Necesities, in order to oppose this Conqueror; and halted at the Gardens of Shalimar. Nizam, who was the Contriver of this Storm, endeavoured all he could to prepossess the Minds of the Soldiers with a Terror of Nadir Shah's Forces, and how vain it was to resist him; and, at the same Time, amused them to divert their going too far forward: But the King issued out Orders, that Nizam and the other Omras should advance with all Expedition, he himself intending to follow soon after them. Nizam al Muluck, and the rest, according to these Orders, marched on, and encamped in the Plains of Karnal, which is Fifty-Five Cols.
Coss * distant from Dehli. The Emperor also set out the 18 of January, 1738-9, and on the 4th of February joined them.

Nadir Shah having secured Peishbor, and crossed the Attok, marched directly towards Labor; Zekaria Khan, Soubadbar thereof, had (to Appearance) fortified the Place in the best Manner possible, and having entrenched himself without, seemed eager to engage the Enemy, but as soon as Nadir Shah's Troops came within Sight of the Intrenchments (having had his Lesson from Nizam al Muluck) at a Signal given, he and all his Forces retreated to the Castle, from whence they cannonaded the Persians three Days, after which, having capitulated, one of the Conditions being, that the City should be spared, a Thousand Kuzzlebaš took possession of the Castle, and Nadir Shah having staid one Week in the Gardens called Shalimar† of that City, he, with his whole Army, by continued Marches, arrived at the Village Tillawuri, which is near Karnal.

* The Coss mentioned here are short computed ones, this Place being no more than 26 measured Coss from Dehli.
† There are Gardens at Labor also called Shalimar, as well as at Dehli.
Before I begin with the journal of Nadir Shah's Transactions, after his Arrival at Karnal, I shall trouble the Reader with Translations of some genuine Letters; which having been wrote before the Persian Army crossed the Attock, I thought this the properest Place for inseriting them.

A Translation of a Letter from Nadir Shah to Mahummed Shah, received the Beginning of Jumadi al avuli 151, which is about the middle of August.

Be it clear to the enlightened Mind of your high Majesty, that my coming to Cabul, and possesseing myself thereof, was purely out of Zeal for Islam*, and Friendship for you. I never could have imagined, that the Wretches † of Deccan should impose a Tribute on the Dominions of the King of Mussulmen. My Stay on this side the Attock is with a View, that, when these

* By Islam (which literally signifies Safety) is meant the Mahommedan Religion.
† The Maharattas or Ganims.
Insidels move towards Hindostan, I may send an Army of the victorious Kuzzlebabs to drive them to the Abyss of Hell. History is full of the Friendship that has subsisted between our Kings, and your Majesty's Predecessors. By Ali Murtiza, I swear, that (excepting friendship, and a Concern for Religion) I neither had, nor have any other views; if you suspect the contrary you may; I always was, and will be a Friend to your illustrious House.

About the latter End of August, an Ambassador came with another letter, demanding four Crores of Rupees (5,000,000l.) and four Soubabs or Provinces.

† The Province of Debbi, in particular, is called by this Name; but it is generally used to signify the whole Empire.


He has 36,000 Horsemen with himself; Kassum Beg Khan is Nazem Munazem, Mothir al Muluck, and Aitmad al Dowlat *; the Son of Maurli, is Arrizbegi †. Questions and Answers are entirely managed by these two, and besides them, none have the Power of preferring Petitions, or representing any Thing to him; of the above Army 1000 Horse are Hajee Bashis, called also Niquibs ‡, and 1000 are Shamkhi ‖, and 1000 are Chaux §, who go before, crying out, Victory to the King of Kings; 1000 Horse his special Guards, and

* Nazem Munazem, the Orderer of what is to be ranged or put in Order; Mothir al Muluck, Trustworthy of the Kingdom; Aitmad al Dowlat, the Security of Fortune; these are the Titles of Kassum Beg Khan, who was Vizir.

† Arrizbegi is the Person who presents all Petitions, either written, or by Word of Mouth.
‡ Niquibs are much the same as Corporals.
‖ So called from the Place they come from.
§ Chaux are a kind of Guards.
1000 Horse, his jéourdár*, who alight and march on Foot close by his Person, but in Fight none of them attend him. Whoever runs away, or turns his Back, is ordered to be cut off.

5000 Horse are detached with Hajee Beg Khan, a Courd†, who is General. At present we are arrived at Peisbor to fight Navob ‡ Načir Khan; 1000 Horsemen of his own People are along with Juan Kuli Beg Basbi, and 2000 Oufbeg Horsemen from Gunj, 2000 Horse Rijee, 2000 Horse of the Turcomans, and 1000 Horse Kuzzle-bash, are under the Command of Sirdar Beg Asfhar; 4000 Afghán Horse with Séf Khan and Shabin Khan, the Officers of Hosein Khan, Governor of Kandabar, and 12000 Horse are lately arrived with Nadir Kuli's Son from Balkh, of which 1500 are sent back, and the rest kept. There are

*Jéourdár signifies, belonging to his Train or Equipment.
†Courd, a Native of Courdistan.
‡Navob is a Title frequently given to the Omras in India, derived from the Word Naib, Deputy, signifying that they are the King's Vicegerents. In Persia it is given, among their other Titles, to the Wives, Sons, and Daughters of the Royal Family.
4000 Shop-keepers, Musulmen, who trade with the Shah's Money, he standing to the loss, if any happens.

After Morning Prayers, he sits on a Throne, the Canopy of which is in the Form of a Dome, and of Gold; 1000 Young Men with Royal Standards of Red Silk, and the Lance Tops and Tassels of Silver, are disposed regularly, and at a proper Distance; 500 beautiful Slaves, from 12 to 20 Years old, stand one half on his right Hand, and the other on his left; all the great Men stand fronting him, and the Arvizbegi stands between in a Readiness to represent whatever he is desired; and every Body has his Cause decided at once; Bribery is not so much as known here. He has particular information given him of every Thing that passes; all Criminals, Great and Small, Rich and Poor, meet with immediate Death. He sits till Noon, after which he dines, and then reposés a little; when Afternoon-Prayers are over, he sits till the evening Prayers, and when they are

**Nadir Shah.**
over, he hoots five Arrows into the Khak Towda*, and then goes into the Women's Apartments.'

A Translation of a Letter wrote by Sir-bullind Khan's Secretary at Dehli, to Mirza Moghol, Son to Ali Mahommed Khan, at Ahmedabad, dated the 15th of Shaval, 1151 †, and received the 6th of Zeecadi, 1151 ‡. It is a true Account of the State of Affairs at Dehli, and the Reports that were Current there before Nadir Shah's Arrival.

Nadir Shah's coming has been talked of these eight Months past. He came to Khandahar, and from thence

Khak Towda is a Heap of fine Mold, well sifted, and beat strongly in betwixt two Stone Walls. 'Tis five Foot high, three Foot thick, and from three to four Foot broad. The Front of it very smooth and even, beat hard with a heavy Trowel. One who is well skilled, can shoot his Arrow into it quite to the Head; whereas one that hoots ill (be he never so strong) can't put a third Part in. The Arrows for this Exercise have the Iron Part quite round, about four Fingers long, of the Size of the Reed, until near the Point, where they are somewhat thicker, from which Part they taper gradually to a sharp point. The Length, from the thickest Part to the Point, is from ½ to 1 Inch.

to Cabul, which is the Limits of Hind, from thence he sent an Embassador to Mahommed Shab. When we heard here of the Embassador’s coming, and Cabul being taken Possession of, which was in the Month Ribby al avul. The Emperor’s Peishkhanna was sent out for an Expedition against Nadir Shab; which on Account of the Disharmony of the Omras, was kept in Suspence. About forty Lacks by Bills at different Times were remitted to Navob Naüzir Khan, Souvbahdar of Peishor, that he, joining with the Afghans of that Quarter, might make Head against Nadir Shab; the said Navob enlisted Men, and prepared to fight, expecting to be supported by an Army from Shahjehana-bad; notwithstanding which, until Rijub, nothing was put in Execution. Nadir Shab at Cabul cultivated a Friendship with the Zemidars of that Quarter, and brought over to his Side the Tribe of the Safis, who are famous in those Parts. There were several Messages passed and repassed between him and Naüzir Khan, to whom no Affi-

* Hind, the same as Hindostan.
† June 1738. ‡ 500,000 l. § October 1738.
ance came from Court; nevertheless he fought one good Battle, in which Nadir Shah was victorious. The Safis conducted him through unusual and short Ways to the City of Peishvar, which he took Possession of in the Month of Shaban*. Navob Nasir Khan, who had run away, was taken by the Afghans, and delivered up to Nadir Shah, who kept him confined for some Days; but, at last, made him one of his Vizirs.

When this News arrived at Court, on the 1st of Ramazan †, the Emperor sent Khandoran, Nixam, and Kummir o’din Khan against Nadir Shah; and, besides their own Jaugirs, advanced them one Crore || of Rupees out of the Treasury to enlist Men, and gave them 700 Carriage-Guns, and 3000 Harquebusses, and ordered the chief Omras to attend them; for which Purpose they marched out this Day, and pitched their Tents in a Place close by the City, and began to enlist Men. Saadit Khan, being sent for from his Province to join them, had

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November 1738. † December 3, 1738.

1,250,000 l.

U already
already crossed the Ganges in his Court, but was ordered to go back, which he did. The Omras have been divided in Opinion and Interest a long Time; for which Reason several unbecoming Messages now passed between them. The Emperor, who consulted Khandoran's Ease and Pleasure, ordered Nizam al Muluck and the Vizir to leave him at Court, and they to go on with the Expedition; but they excused themselves. In the mean Time, News was brought, that Nadir Shah (by Naqir Khan's Advice) had put on the Indian Dress, and sat on the Throne in the Manner of the Indian Emperors, and that his Forces had crossed the Attock, and were on their March to Labor. On this News the Emperor was quite confounded, and, sending for the Superintendant of the Boats, asked him how many Days it would take to go by Water to Patna or Kashi Benaris. It being told the Vizir and Nizam al Muluck, that the Emperor had such a Design, they petition'd him, that these Slaves (meaning themselves) might not go upon the Ex-

|| A city in the Province of Anehabad, famous for the Indian Worship, and their Colleges there.
petition without his fortunate Presence, and that he would resolve to put himself at their Head. Some Days passed in this Debate; at last it was agreed to send for Saadit Khan from his Province to take Care of his Majesty in Shahjebanabad, and that the other Omras should march on towards Labor. Accordingly, on the 20th of Ramazan *, one Mourid Khan was dispatched to Saadit Khan; in the Road to the Province of Audib some Rebels robb'd him; however, after much Trouble, he got to Saadit Khan, who happened to be then so sick that he could not stir; with which the Emperor being acquainted, he sent Physicians with orders to cure him as soon as possible; in the mean while a Petition arrived from Zekaria Khan Bahadr, Soubahdar of Labor, to his Imperial Majesty, and three Letters more to the Navobs †, to this Purport: Nadir Shab's Army (which is a great one) is arrived near this Place, and all the Zemidars have joined him; I with my little Army am ready to fight him. You must, by all Means, be ex-

* December 22, 1738.
† Nizam, Saadit Khan, and Khandoran.
petitioned in succouring me, lest things should be past remedy.'

Teminabad, which is a considerable Place, and subordinate to Labor, was under Kullinder Khan, one of Zekaria Khan's Officers, with a Body of 10,000 Horse. Emir Khan, one of Naçir Khan's Dependents, who now had submitted to Nadir Shah, with his own People and several Kuzzulebash, made an Attack by Night on the said Place, in which Kullinder Khan was killed, and Emir Khan possessed himself of the Place. Nadir Shah's Munaddi * being beat about, and his Government acknowledged there: Upon hearing of this, Zekaria Khan, who had advanced 10 Coss from Labor, with an Army of 20,000 Horse, retired into the City: Upon which News here, on the 9th of Shaval †, Khandoran Nizam ul Mukluk, and Kummir o'din Khan, marched on 10 Coss, and the next Day 10 Coss more, and so on, that they are now at Sonput, and Nadir Shah is yet in Peisbor.

P. S. Corn prodigious dear, the People distracted.

* A small Drum that is beat about to notify or proclaim any Thing.

† January 9, 1738-9.
A Translation of a second Letter from the same Person, dated the 20th of Shaval, received the 8th of Zeccadih, 1151.

I wrote you the 15th, with an Account of Affairs at Shabjehanabad and Labor to that Date, and of the Omras being marched as far as Sonput. On the 18th of this Month arrived News, that Zekaria Khan (being wrote to go to Delhi by Naçir Khan, Soubabdar of Cabul, now Nadir Shah Vizir) sent Kefaat Khan, one of his principal Officers, to Nadir Shah, who used him kindly, and presented him with two Shauls; after some Conference, he sent his own Ambassador along with him to Zekaria Khan, who called the Ambassador into his General Divan, and to Appearance spoke very roughly to him, and at last confined him; after which he marched out of the City to fight Nadir Shah's Army: When the Fight began, and one Discharge of the Cannon was made, as they were preparing a second, the Kuzzlebash and Georgians fell in among them with their Swords, and

* January 20, and February 7, 1738-9.
† January 18, 1738-9.
made a great Slaughter. Zekaria Khan, upon this, retired into the City, and Nadir Shah's Men pursued so fast, that they got in at the same Time. Zekaria Khan went to his own House, and Nadir Shah's Army to the Castle, who was immediately proclaimed there.

On this News there was a sad Confusion here. The Emperor, on Thursday the 19th*, in the Morning, sent for the young Prince Sultan Ahmed, who came to wait on him in great Pomp and Splendor, sitting in a Paleki adorned with the richest Jewels; at ten o'Clock he mounted and came out of the Castle with an Intent to go upon the Expedition against Nadir Shah, and made the Prince (whom he had dignified with Titles and nominal Employments) his Harol †, and sent him before to the Gardens of Shalimar: To-morrow they design to continue their March till they overtake the Omras, to whom they wrote not to advance any further until they join them; Saadit Khan is

* January 19, 1738-9.
† Harol signifies the Vanguard, or any Number of Forces that are sent before the main Army. The Officer who commands such a Body is also called Harol.
not come up as yet; they say he is arrived on the Banks of the Ganges. Things are in a terrible Confusion here, Numbers of creditable People and Merchants going daily away to distant Places, and to the Rajahs strong Holds; so Kuzzlebash had their Bellies ript up at Cabul, for only being present when some of their own People forced one of the Countrywomen.
A Journal of Nadir Shah's Transactions in India, translated from the original Copy, wrote at Dehli, by Mirza Zuman, Secretary to Surbullind Khan.

On the 12th of Zeccadib §, the Royal Camp *, in Circuit about seven Coss, was pitched in the Fields of Karnal; it was surrounded with Murchas †, on which were mounted near 5000 Carriage Guns, belonging to the Emperor and the Omras. In the Centre was the Emperor himself, and fronting him were Nizam al Muluck's and Saad o'din Khan's Murchas, on which were mounted the Emperor's own Ordnance, attended by the Train belonging thereto: On the right Hand were Khandoran, Mawsuffer Khan, Ali Hamed Khan, Mir Gullou, Shehda Khan, etc.

§ February 11, 1738. 9.
* The great Moghal's Camp.
† Murcha signifies Barricades, but generally the Intrenchments and Breast-works about a Camp, or any other Post.
and Khan Zuman Khan: on the Left, Kummir o’din Khan, Azim Allah Khan, Jami Khan, and Seyd Neaz Khan; behind the Emperor was posted, Sirbullind Khan, and in the Rear of all was Mahommed Khan Bungush; behind Khandoran was Kirpa Ram, with the Jaats †, and behind the Vizir was Hernind Amul Kowtpoutli; on the Right, close by the Nakar-Khanna §, were the Men of Bebrox Khan, Isbak Khan, and Affib Ali Khan; behind them was the Station of the Aheers ||; each of these Omras had his own proper Army, and the whole Number encamped amounted to 200,000 Horse and Foot. This same Day News was brought, that Hajee Khan, Nadir Shah’s Kururol *, had advanced as far as the Village Tillaouri (which is five Cols from hence) with a Party of 6000 Horse, all Courds: On the

† The Jaats are a Tribe of Rajpouts.
§ The Place where all the Drums and Warlike Music are kept.
|| The Aheers are another Tribe of the Rajpouts.
* Kururol signifies the advanced Guard that goes before the main Army; also the Officer that commands such a Body. It is the same as Harol already explained.
The History of

13th  Some Kuzzlebafh Horsemen appeared at different Quarters of the Camp, and killed and took Prisoners several People who were coming from the Out-Parts thereto; four of the Kuzzlebafh were likewise taken and brought to Nizam al Muluck. On the 14th  Nadir Shah having left one Boungah  at Shahabad (which is one Stage from Serbind) and a second at Tanisheer, he advanced with 40,000 Horse, partly Lancemen, Archers and Musqueteers, to the Village Tillawoori, each Horseman having two and some three Attendants, Grooms, and Camel-drivers, all robust young Men, compleatly armed and mounted, some on Camels, some on Mules, and others on Yabous §, not one in his whole Army being on Foot, even those who followed the Camp, and trafficked for Necessaries to the Men, were compleatly armed and mounted, the Number of all amounting to near 160,000. In the Time of Action the Master could not be distin-

† February 12, 1738-9. † February 13, 1738-9. || Boungah signifies the Baggage, and all the Furniture appertaining to a Camp.

§ Yabous are a Sort of small Horses, which are very hardy and serviceable.
guished from the servant, nor the Tradesmen and Traffickers belonging to the Camp, from the common Soldiers, all in general being bold and resolute, and well qualified to execute the most desperate attempt they could be employed in: There were also about 6 or 7000 Women, who had been taken Captives from the Turks and in Kandahan, who on a March could not be distinguished from the Soldiers, having a Barrani* over their own Clothes, girt round with a Girdle, their Faces veiled with a fine Cloth, a Shaul folded round their Heads in Form of a Turban, and booted and armed as the Men.

This Day several Messengers came to Nizam al Muluck with Offers of an Accommodation, all which he rejected, and would hear of nothing but War.

On the 15†, Nadir Shah, being necessitated for Water, marched from Tillawori, and encamped in a Place flanking Khandoran's Rear, at a Distance of four Cofs. This Morning Saadit Khan arrived in the Camp, and went to wait on the Emperor. About

* Barrani signifies a Cloak to cover one from the Rain, being derived from Barran, Rain.
† February 14, 1738-9.
nine o'Clock News was brought that his Attendants * and Baggage (some of whom were at a Distance behind, and others had pitched their Tents without the Mournsh, between Nadir Shah's Camp, and Khandoran's Rear) had been attacked, and several of them killed and plundered by the Persians Van. Saa
dit Khan, upon hearing this, left the Dir
bar †, and (with all Expedition) marched to his People's Assistance. Khandoran being nigh, he, with his two Sons, and the rest of his Troops, joined him; as did also Mazuzfer Khan, Seyd Hossan Khan, Khan Zuman Khan, Mîr Gullou, Shehbad Khan, Aflîb ali Khan, &c. in all twenty-two Omras and General Officers, each with a Body of his own Men.

Nadir Shah, who had just then arrived from Tillauvri, being apprized of this Affair, advanced towards that Quarter, and de-

* Mahommed Reza Khan, Saadit Khan's Bukhschî, or Paymaster and General, was the Person first attacked by four or five hundred Kuzzliebsh; several of his Men were killed, and he was taken prisoner.

† Dirbar signifies literally, the Door of Admittance, being a Word composed of گر Dir, Door, and اب Bar, Admittance. 'Tis the common Name for the King's or a Governor's Palace.
tached 1000 Courds, 1000 Kajirs *, 1000 Bakhtiaries, and 1000 Harquebusiers, in all 4000 Horse, 3000 of whom he planted in three different Places in Ambush, 500 Harquebusiers he sent towards Saedit Khan, and the other 500 towards Khandoran to draw them into the Field; In which having succeeded, the Horsemen who lay in Ambush poured in upon them in three different Places, and engaged them in a most obstinate Manner. Besides these 4000 none else of Nadir Shah's Men joined in that Action, excepting that he himself, attended by a 1000 Affchar Horse, rode to and from all Quarters to encourage and direct these Men: The rest of the Army (according to his Order) stood drawn up at a Distance, each Nation separate, ready at a Signal to come to his Assistance; but, as it happened, there was no Occasion for them; these 4 or 5000 having fought obstinately until near the Evening, when the Emperor's Forces gave Ground, Saedit Khan, Sheerjung and Khandoran's youngest Son, were taken Prisoners; Khandoran, having received several mortal

* Kajirs are a Tribe of Turcomans, and the Bakhtiaries, or Bactrians, are so called from Bakhtir, or Bactria, the Place they come from.
Wounds, was carried back to his Quarters; Mazuffier Khan, with several other Officers, were killed, and some mortally wounded, returned to their Camp; Seyd Hassan Khan, being wounded, marched towards Dehli; and great Numbers lay dead in the Field of Battle.*

When those who fled from the Engagement returned back, there was a great Tu-

* In a Letter that was wrote from Mahammed Shah's Camp, a Day after the Engagement, it is said, that Nadir Shah fought with 50,000 Horse: And when Khandoran and Mazuffier Khan came with their Forces, he divided his Men into three Bodies, and at last routed the Moghol's Army. Saadit Khan's and Sherjing's Elephants getting foul of each other, the Kuzzlebah surrounded and took them Prisoners. Khandoran received a Bullet in his Arm, and another in his Side. — Mazuffier Khan was killed, jumping from his Elephant. — Mir Gullou, Shehbad Khan, Akblasi Khan, Badgur Khan, and Khandoran's eldest Son were killed. Akul beg Khan Kumlofsb, with his Son, and Abdal Rizak Khan, and Jaffir Khan, with his Son and Brothers, and Sirbar Muluck were wounded. Mirza Khoudabunda, Grandson to the great Mohabit Khan, was killed. — Khan Zuman Khan was wounded by a Bullet in his Throat. — Ghazi beg Khan was also wounded. — On Nadir Shah's Side seven principal Officers, and 2500 Men were killed, and about 5000 wounded with Swords, Cuttars, and Bullets.
multitude and Noise in the Camp, and most of the Tents and Effects of Khandoran, Mazyufar Khan, Saadit Khan, &c. were plundered by their own People.

Amidst this Confusion the Emperor went towards Nizam al Muluck's Mourocha, who was in the Front, and in conjunction with the Vizir and other Councillors went without the Mourochas, and drew up their Men in a Line of Battle, with a Design to put a Stop to the Enemies advancing any farther; but, had not the Night come on, these Precautions would have served them in little stead, and that Day would have put an End to the whole affair. About an hour after Sun-set the Emperor returned back to his Tent.

Several of those who escaped out of the Field, as also those who attended the Baggage and Carriages, fled towards Delhi; a great many of whom were killed and plundered in the Way.

The Camp in some Places was very thin of Men, so much that when at Midnight, the Emperor sent for Nizam al Muluck, the Space from his Mourocha to the Emperor's Tent (which is about three Quarters of a Cofs) was found entirely empty.

Nizam
Nizam al Muluck, Sirbullind Khan, Kum-mir o'din Khan, and all the other Omras that were left, staid with the Emperor in deep consultation until near the morning, when each returned to his own quarters.

On the 16th, finding the camp so thin, and being apprehensive of the Kuzzlebash's attacking them, they contracted the circuit thereof, and their Mouchkas into the compass requisite to contain the number of troops they had left, which was the space between the Emperor's tent and Nizam's Moucha, and there they stood under arms the whole day, every minute expecting the Enemy's approach. Towards the evening a small tent was pitched for the Emperor, and all the troops were disposed of to their respective posts, where they continued under arms the whole night, and their horses saddled, without either hay or corn.

The 17th also passed in fear and anxiety. This day, according to an order, from Nadir Shah, Saadit Khan sent for his own men and baggage; some of them who

† The 15th of February. || The 16th Ditto.

were
were scattered up and down the Camp, went to him, carrying along with them all that escaped being plundered of his Horses and other Effects. Nadir Shah had ordered a Tent to be pitched not far from his own Quarters, for Saadit Khan, Sherjing, and Khandoran's Son; their Baggage and Attendants he gave a Place to, without his Camp; none durst so much as come to see them, nor were they allowed to make use of any of their own Necessaries.

On the 18th, Nizam al Muluck * and Azim Ali Khan went to accommodate Matters to Nadir Shah's Camp; after a Stay of six Hours, they returned back; what they might have done there, was kept a Secret. Towards the Close of the Evening, Khandoran died of the Wounds he had received.

* Nizam al Muluck, with Azim Allah Khan, and several Horsemen, went out, and pitched a small Tent betwixt the two Camps, to which Nadir Shah's Ait-maud al Dowlat, or Vizir (Kassum Beg Khan) came, and from thence conduced him to his Master, who embraced him sitting, and made him stand honourably, close by himself; he gave him a Cup of Sherbat, and made him eat at the Vizir's House; after which it was agreed, that Mahomed Shah should come and see Nadir Shah.
The 19th of February in Deliberation, and at Night, Nizam al Muluck received a Khalaet, on being appointed Mir Bukhsbi and Emir al Omra.

On the 20th in the Morning the Corps of Khandoran was carried out of the Camp to the Village Karneal, and the Emperor sitting in a royal Litter, with a Canopy and an Umbrella, one led Horse and a Drum, attended by Ghazi odin Khan, Azim Allah Khan, the Vizir's Son, and several Eunuchs, with about 200 Horses, marched out of the Camp, and when he had gone a little Way, by a Sign he forbade the Horsemens to accompany him any farther, then with his Eunuchs and the above-said Omras (each of whom had not above two or three Servants to attend him) he went on to Nadir Shah's Camp;

† The 18th of February.
‡ Khalaet, a Present of a rich Vest, Arms, &c.
|| Mir Bukhsbi, or Chief Bukhsbi, signifies Paymaster General, who commonly commands all the Forces. Emir al Omra, signifies Prince of Princes, a Title given to the Favourite Minister, who thereby becomes Head Omra.
* The 19th of February.
§ The Word in the Original is تخت روان Revan, or a moving Throne.

when
when he was about half way, Thamas Khan Vakeel came to meet him, and did him the usual Honours. Afterwards Nefr Allah Mirza, Nadir Shah's son, who came in a Royal litter, having alighted, paid his Respects according to the Form of his Country. The Emperor ordering his own litter to be set down, embraced Nefr Allah Mirza, after which they both marched on until they came as far as the Train of Ordnance; here all the Attendants were obliged to stay behind, only the Emperor with two or three Eunuchs, and the Omras abovementioned, were allowed to pass; when they came to the Door of the Royal Tent, and the Emperor was alighted, Nadir Shah came forth to receive him, having embraced him, he seated him close by himself on the same Musnidd; after the accustomed Forms of Salutation, and the Enquiry after each other's

* Vakeel signifies Agent, also Factor.
† Not in so submissive a Manner as is done at the Moghol's Court.
‡ Musnidd is a particular Place in the Divan, commonly higher than any other, and large enough for two or three People to sit thereon. It is spread with a better and softer Carpet than any other Part, and is covered over with fine Linnen.

Y 2

Health
Health were over, Nadir Shah addressed him thus:

"It is strange that you should be so unconcerned and regardless of your own Affairs, that notwithstanding I wrote you several Letters, sent an Ambassador, and testified a Friendship for you, your Ministers should not think proper to send me a satisfactory Answer; and by Reason of your Want of Command and Discipline over your own People, one of my Ambassadors, contrary to all Laws, has been killed in your Dominions.

Even when I entered your Empire, you seemed under no Concern for your Affairs, nor so much as sent to ask who I was, or what was my Design. When I advanced as far as Labor, none of your People came with a Message or Salutation, nay, not with an Answer to my Salutation to you: Afterwards when your Omras were awaked out of their Lethargy and Indolence, they prevented all Means of a Reconciliation; and coming tumultuously with an Intent to stop my farther Progress, they brought

*The Ambassador was killed on the Either Side of the Attock, by some rebellious Rajpoots.*
themselves into one general Snare, without
having the Foresight to leave any behind,
who upon an Emergency could make Head,
and retrieve their Affairs. Besides this, you
have foolishly cooped yourselves up in your
Mourchas, not considering that if your
Enemy was stronger, you could not re-
main within those Baricadoes without ei-
ther Water or Grain; and if he was weaker,
'twas both unnecessary and disgraceful to
suffer yourselves to be besieged by him; be-
fides, if you thought lightly of him, and
imagined him a rash inconsiderate Man,
without exposing your own Person and Re-
putation so much, you ought to have de-
tached a faithful and experienced Officer,
who, in a little Time, might have found
Means to distress and cut him off; but if
you dreaded his Experience and Conduct,
you had still the less Reason (after provok-
ing him thus far) to venture your All at
one Blow. Even when you had thus en-
tangled yourself, I sent you Offers of an
Accommodation, but you was so puffed up
with your own childish Conceits, and fool-
ish Resolutions, that you would not give
ear to any honourable Overtures, or con-
sult
sult your own Interest, until, at last, by the Assistance of the Creator of the World, and the Strength of the Arms of the victorious Warriors, you have seen what has happened. Moreover, your Predecessors were wont to take the *Jeziah from the Insi-
dels, and you in your Reign have given it to them, having in these twenty Years, suffered the Empire to be over-run by them. But as hitherto the Race of Temur have not injured or misbehaved towards the Seffi Family, and the People of Persia, I shall not take the Empire from you, only as your Indolence and Pride have obliged me to march so far, and that I have been put to an extraordinary Expence, and my Men, on Account of the long Marches, are much fatigued, and in Want of Necessaries; I must go to Debli, and there continue some Days, until the Army is refreshed, and the Peisbush, that Nizam al Muluck has agreed to, is made good to me; after that I shall leave you to look after your own Affairs.'

Mahommed Shab gave no Answer during the whole Speech, but was fixed in a Silence.

* Jeziah is a Poll-Tax levied on all who were not Mahommedans, especially the Hindus.
which testified a good deal of Confusion and Shame.

To this Discourse, there was none present but Jassuul Khan, Behroz Khan, and Ghazi o'din Khan; towards Evening the Emperor returned back to his own Camp, and several of his officers having represented to him, that the Baniasts made the Grain very dear, he ordered their Shops to be plundered, which, instead of mending the Matter, very much increased the Dearth of Provisions.

On the 21st*, in the Morning, Nizam al Muluck, the Vizir, Azim Allah Khan, and Ghazi o'din Khan, went to Nadir Shah.

On their taking Leave to return, Nizam was honoured with a Present of a Coat, Vest, and a Horse; the Vizir, Azim Allah Khan, and Ghazi o'din Khan, each with a Coat and Vest; at nine o'Clock at Night, they waited on Mahommed Shah, and communicated to him what had passed in their Conference, which was not made publick. That same Day the Emperor ordered 500 Beldars to bury the Corps of those who fell in the Field of Battle, the Number of whom were found to be 17000, all of the Hindostan Army, and the

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* The 20th of February.
Bodies lay spread over the Space of seven Cols; the said Beldars having strewed a little Earth on some of the Carcasses, returned back. It was reported that 400 of Nadir Shah's People fell in Battle, and that 700 were wounded, but of those that were killed not one was to be seen in the Field, they having buried them that same Night. Of the Hindostan Army, several were wounded in such a Manner, that they were not able to stir, nor had any the Compassion to bring them off the Field of Battle to be cured, so that in a little Time they expired among the rest of the dead Bodies: Three Elephants were also killed.

On this Day (which is the 21st *) there was no Grain to be had without great Trouble, and that at the Rate of 1 and 1½ Seers § of Wheat, per Rupee, and 2 to 4 Rupees per Seer of Ghee †; the Reason of which was, that since the Day of Battle the Camp

* February 20, 1738-9.
† A single Seer, which they call Seer Cachia, is 14 Ounces, 15½ Drams; but the Seer mentioned here is a Seer Pucca of 1 lb. 13 Ounces, 15½ Drams.
‡ Ghee is only Butter well boil'd and skimm'd, which is preserved in Jars, and keeps sweet a long Time, especially if a little Salt is put at the bottom of the Jar.

was
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was in a Manner besieged, and no Provisions allowed to come to them, nor durst any of the Soldiers go without their Murchas. In Nadir Shah's Camp (as they went out a foraging for 20 or 40 Cows round) Wheat was sold at the rate of 12 Seers for a Rupee.

The Numbers of those killed since the Battle, on the Roads, and round about the Country, by Nadir Shah's Men, when they went out a Marrauding, amounted to 14 or 15000 Men.

On the 22d * Kassum Beg Khan came from Nadir Shah's Camp, and stayed with Nizam al Muluck until the Evening.

Mir Hossan Khan (who being wounded in the Battle, set out for Shah Jahanabad) being afraid of the Dangers upon the Road, returned back, and came to the Camp this Day.

On the 23d † the Camp was removed to the Side of Karnal, opposite to Nadir Shah's Army. In their March the Kuzzlebash Horsemens carried off 27 Elephants, and 25 Camels, and in the Night Time discharged a great many Guns.

* The 21st of February. † The 22d Ditto.
On the 24th * Nizam being sent for, went to Nadir Shab's Camp, where he, with five or six of his Attendants, was kept.

Several of the Kuzzalebash being sent against Taniseer, having plundered the said Place, and slaughtered the Inhabitants, returned with a great Booty.

In Mahommed Shab's Camp, what Grain was to be had, was sold from 2½ to 3 Rupees per Seer, and whoever went to Nadir Shab's Camp, were allowed to buy as much as they consumed there, but not to carry any away.

About eight o'Clock at Night, the Vizir received a Firman (or Order) from Nadir Shab, to this Import, 'Kummir o din Khan Vizir, Know, that to-morrow Mahommed Shab, Sirbullind Khan, Mahommed Khan Bungush, and Azim Allah Khan, shall come into the Presence †, therefore look well after your People, that they be not dispersed, or straggle abroad; when you have secured that Point, come you hither also.

When the Emperor was appriz'd of this, he sent for Sirbullind Khan, and all the other Omras, with whom he held Council,

* The 23d Ditto.
† 'Tis common in the East, instead of Court, to say the Word حضر و, the Presence; and likewise the Word Hazerit, Presence, to signify Majesty, until
until Midnight; at last the Emperor declared that Affairs were now gone beyond his Power, and that he must do one of three Things; To-morrow to march out and make one desperado Push, to determine his Fortune at once, or put an End to all Thoughts and Misery by a Dose of Poison; or else submit peaceably to what Terms may be imposed. The Emperor's Inclination (tho' he did not then declare it) was for the last of these.

On the 25th * Sirbulhind Khan, Mahommed Khan, &c. were ready each with his own Men, that in Case the Emperor should make a Push, they might not be unprepared, and if on submitting, he should go to Nadir Shah, and bid them come, they should follow his Fate. But neither one nor the other of these Resolutions was fixed on that Day; Grain was not to be had on any Terms, and old carrion Beef, notwithstanding there was a great deal of it, was sold, 1½ Seers, for a Rupee. At Night arrived a Note from Nadir Shah to this Effect: 'Sirbulhind Khan, be of good Cheer, and perfectly composed, get yourself hither before Mahommed Shah sets out.'

* The 24th Ditto.

Z 2  On
On the 26th * Sirbullind Khan having obtained Leave, marched towards Nadir Shab's Camp, and, according to an Order, leaving his Men and Baggage on the Right-hand thereof, he, with Khan Zad Koan, three Horsemen and four or five Servants entered the Camp, and pitched a small Tent for himself near the Bargab †, close by Saudit Khan's Quarters.

About nine o'Clock that Morning, Mabommed Shab (according to an Order) being seated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy and Umbrella, set out for Nadir Shab's Camp, attended by Emir Khan, Ishak Khan, and some Eunuchs. On his Arrival he alighted at a Tent, which had been pitched the Day before by Nadir Shab's Order, for that Purpose, in the Front of the Camp, where he was allowed to have as many of his Domesticks of all Sorts as were necessary, and 1000 Kussellebash Horsemen were detached as Guards round him. About 8 o'Clock in the Evening, Mabommed Shab being called, went to wait on Nadir Shab; after three

* The 25th Ditto.

† Bargab signifies the Place of Admittance, or the publick Divan, where Audience is generally given.
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Hours Stay he returned to the Camp, and there was an Order, that none of the Omras should be allowed to go to see him.

On the 27th † Sirhullind Khan, being called, went to Nadir Shah's Dirbar ‡, he was ordered to attend the Towpchi Basbi ¶ and the Nisfikkbi Basbi † †, who had each 200 Horses, and that, with the Assistance of Saad o'din Khan, the Towpchi Basbi should seize all the King's and Omras Ordnance; and the Nisfikkbi Basbi, with Kummir o'din Khan's Help, the Treasury, Jewels, Toishik-khanna ‡ ‡, and all the other Implements and Arms that belonged to the Emperor and the deceased Omras, and to send to Mahommed Shah, his Son,ultan Ahmed, and Malika al Zumani §, the Empress, and to give Orders to Kummir.

† The 26th of February.
‡ Dirbar signifies the King's or Governor's Palace.
¶ Towpchi Basbi, the Master of the Ordnance.
† † Nisfikkbi Basbi, literally, Head Regulator, or Manager, an Officer who is generally sent to regulate Disorders, and make Seizures.
‡ ‡ Toishik-khanna, where all Arms, warlike Furniture, Implements, &c. are kept.
§ Malika al Zumani, literally, the Queen of the Time, Mahommed Shah's Empress.

o'din
The History of 

O'din Khan and Saamidin Khan, that all the
Emperor's old Servants and Soldiers be con-
tinued in their Places, and brought along
with them, but to let the Babiers || and new
enlisted Men go where they please.

Accordingly they went and seized all these
Things, and sent the Emperor's Son, with
Malika al Zumani, and the rest of the Mahb.*
(according to Nadir Shah's Orders) to Ma-
hammed Shah.

This Day there were great Disorders and
Confusion in Mahommed Shah's Boungab, in-
somuch that a great many Things were plun-
dered and lost, and several out of Fear leav-
ing their Tents and Effects, ran to and fro,
looking out for a Corner to secure their Lives,
especially the Artisans and Servants.

On the 28 †, Mahommed Shah, with his
Men and Baggage, leaving only the Ordnance
behind, went towards Nadir Shah's Camp:

|| Babiers, People employed for carrying Baggage.
* Mahb signifies a Place, but particularly where the
Women are kept. It is also called Harram (i.e. prohi-
bited, or unlawful, in Regard to Men) and in Turkey
'tis called Serai, which signifies the same as Mahb. The
Women therein are also called Mahb, which is the Sig-
nification it bears here.
† The 27th of February.
In the Way he discharged the Badeers and new lifted Men, letting them go where they pleased. The Omras and the Emperor's old Servants, according to an Order for that Purpose, took up their Quarters at one Side of the Camp, being separated by a small Rivulet. The Effects of Mahommed Shab and the Omra, which were brought, were put into Nadir Shab's Possession; and having picked out 200 Cannon with their Carriages out of Mahommed Shab's Ordnance, they sent them with some Treasure and other Effects then seized (accompanied by 1000 Horsemen, which belonged to the Emperor's Train of Artillery, and 2000 Kuzzlebash) to Kabul, to be from thence carried to Khandahar.

This Day Nadir Shab gave three Months pay as a Gratuity to every Man in his Army, Soldiers, Servants, Attendants, &c. just as he had done before at Kandahar upon taking it.

On the 29th *, in the Morning, Thomas Khan Vakeel was dispatched to Sabjebanabad, with 4000 Horse and Musqueteers to take Possession of the Castle; as was also Saadit Khan for the Safe-guard and Care of the City.

* The 18th Ditto.
and the Houses and Effects of the Omras; and Azam Allah Khan, for the Superintendency of the River, each with his own Men and Baggage, and several Nissikhobi Horsemen; they were strictly ordered to prevent any Harm or Damage being done to the Inhabitants of the City. Sirbullind Khan being ordered, went to his own Boungah.

On the 1st of Zelbujb* Nadir Shah began to prepare for his March to Shahjebanabad, and at four next Morning he set out, attended by 20000 choice Horsemen; 4000 Harquebusers were detached as a Kouruck † for that separate Quarter where the Mahl marched, betwixt which and the Army there was a Distance of near one Col., no Soul on Pain of Death, either of the Persians or Indians, being allowed to pass that Way; each Party marched at the Distance of one

* The first of March.
† Kouruck. When the King's Women in Persia go out any where, a Number of Men go before-hand to those Places through which they are to pass, to signify the same, that no Body may appear there. The Women are guarded by armed Eunuchs, and sometimes by a Body of Soldiers at a Distance, who if they find any Man or Boy in the Way, will kill him, or, at least, drub him very severely, and this is called the Kouruck.
Arrow shot from the other. *Mahommed Shah,* with 40 or 50 of his principal People, and about 10,000 *Kuzzlebach* Horsemen, and 2000 Harquebusiers, followed *Nadir Shah* at a Distance of one Coss: On one Side was *Sirhullind Khan,* with his own Men and Baggage; next him the Men and Baggage of *Mahommed Shah;* on another Side were the Men and Baggage of *Nizam al Muluck,* and *Kunnur o din Khan,* and next them *Mahommed Khan Bungush* with his Men and Baggage, each Party separated by a Distance of 1 and some 4 Coss, and between them marched *Kuzzlebach* Horsemen to prevent their joining, and make each Party march the Way that was appointed for them. The Compass of Ground they covered in their March, was five Coss in Length, and three in Breadth, and this Method was observed every Day's March.

After five Days continual marching they came to *Sonput;* there were several Villages in the Way which they not only plundered, but likewise killed a great many of the Inhabitants, *Paniput* and *Sonput* were also sacked.
On Tuesday the 6th of Zelhujh * they marched from Sonpu, and came to Nirela. In the beginning of the Night, Sirbullind Khan having feigned an Indisposition, had Leave to go before to the City, and on the Morning he arrived at his own House.

On Wednesday the 7th † Nadir Shah arrived at the Gardens called Shallimăr.

On Thursday the 8th ‡, Mahommed Shah, by Nadir Shah's Order, being seated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy and Umbrella, two Standards, about 200 Horse and Foot of his own Servants, and 4000 Kuzzlebasb Horse-men entered the Castle. After which they gave him a Place near Aeysh Mahl §. Nadir Shah having heard, that the People of the City were of a seditious and turbulent Temper, did not care to enter in the Night Time. But this Morning, attended by 20,000 Horse, he marched with all the Caution imaginable to the Castle, leaving the rest of his Army encamped without the City:

* The 6th of March. † The 7th Ditto. ‡ The 8th Ditto.
§ Aeysh Mahl, signifies the Place of Joy, one of the Apartments in the Castle. The Place they gave Mahommed Shah near it, was Suliman Bourge, or Salmen's Tower.
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After he had alighted, Mahommed Shah came to congratulate him, and they breakfasted together. They were in Conversation until the Evening, during which Time Nadir Shah behaved with the greatest Complaisance and seeming Affection to him. He issued out Orders in the most peremptory Manner, to prevent the Soldiers wronging or insulting any of the Inhabitants, and enjoined the Nisfshahis, who have the Inspection of these Things, to spare no Punishments, such as cutting off Ears and Noses, and bambooeing to Death, whoever molested the Indians; for which Reason, none of the Kuzzlebash, either high or low, durst injure any of the Natives; but most of the People were so frighten'd at the terrible Aspect of these Men, and the barbarous Figure they made, that they avoided (as much as possible) having any Dealings or Conversation with them.

On the 9th at Night, Nadir Shah, having called Saadit Khan before him, spoke

† The Persians, however polite and luxurious, in Regard to the more Western Nations, are but rude and hardy, as to their Apparel, Diet, and Living, in Comparison with the delicate India Mogholi and the Persians, who have lived some Time in that Empire.

‡ The 5th of March.
with a great deal of Warmth and Passion in Regard to the collecting the Peisfcush Money, and used some hard Words to him. At four o’Clock next Morning, Saadit Khan, who had been for some Time weak and indisposed, departed this life. Some imagine he died thro’ Anger for the Usage he met with, and others are of Opinion Jealously provoked him to take Poison.

On Saturday, which was the 10th † of the Moon, and the Eid Zoba (or Feast of Sacrifice) after five Ghurris, and thirty Pulls ‡, the Sun entered Aries. This Morning Sirbullind Khan (being called) went to the Castle, where with Thomas Khan Vakeel, Mustapha Khan Arrizbegi, Nizam al Muluck, and Kummir o’din Khan, he stayed the whole Day, deliberating on Means for collecting the Peisfcush Money. This Day at Noon Thomas Khan had sent nine Nissikkchi Horsemen towards Pahr Gunjb §, to order the opening of the Granaries, and settle the

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* This was a Present of 20 Crores of Rupees, which Nizam had agreed should be paid to Nadir Shah.
† The 10th of March.
‡ Two Hours and twelve Minutes after Sun-rise.
§ Pahr Gunjb, the Place where Corn is sold.
Price of the Corn: Being arrived there, they caused them to be opened, and Wheat was sold ten Seers for a Rupee: As this Price did not turn to the Proprietors Account, towards Evening they assembled the Mob *, and a great many disaffected People joining them, they killed the above said Nissikhchis, with several Kuzzlebash, who had come over to buy Corn. After Sun-set they spread a Report that Nadir Shab was taken Prisoner, and some said he was poisoned, on which the Mob and Tumult exceeded all Bounds, all the idle Vagabond and disaffected People joining from all Quarters, with what Arms they could most readily find, poured like a Torrent towards the Castle. Of those of Nadir Shab's Troops, who were posted without at the Foot thereof, some retired within, and others went towards the Reti †, (which is the Place 'twixt the Castle and River) and several of them were cut off: Those of the Kuzzlebash who had taken up their Quarters in Kbandoran's Palace, and

* The Promoters of the Mob were Seyd Neaz Khan, Shih Soar Khan the Son or Relation of Kourrib Khan, and Raiban Nazr.
† Reti signifies Sand in the Indostan Language.
other great Houses, kept a strict and careful Guard the whole Night; several Cannons, Harquebusies and Musquets were discharged from the Castle and the said Houses, to keep the Mob at a Distance; all this Time they were encreasign, and became more and more furious: Seyd Neaz Khan, Son-in-Law to Kummir o’din Khan, had shut up in a Room several Nissikkchis (whom he had taken before, as a Safeguard to his House) and now set Fire to it.

On Sunday the 11th †, about eight o’Clock in the Morning, when the Tumult was in its Height, Nadir Shab being highly provoked, walked out of the Castle, and mounting his Horse, went from thence towards Chandni Chok ‡, to quell the Mob, who were committing great Disorders in that Quarter, and in the Way perceiving a great many of the Bodies of his own People, who had been killed in the Night, he sent a strong Party to endeavour to suppress them, and in Case Threatning and fair Means were ineffectual, he licensed them to cut them off, but on no Account to injure others who were.

† The 11th of March.
‡ The Name of a Square Bazar.
not concerned. At first, they proceeded gently, which, instead of appeasing the Mob, made them more bold and insolent, and without the least Awe, they began to discharge Fire-Arms, and Arrows, at them. Nadir Shah went into the Misjid of Roijbin al Dowlat, which is near the Cutwal's Chaboutra; the Inhabitants near that Misjid got upon their Terrasses, and began to throw Stones; and, either from one of these Terrasses, or a Window thereabouts, a Musquet was designedly shot at Nadir Shah, which missing him, killed one of his Officers who stood next him: This made him give Way to his Passion, and order a general Slaughter to be commenced from that very Place; the Soldiers in an Instant getting upon the Walls and Terrasses, began to plunder and kill. This bloody Scene extended from

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Nadir Shah. 18

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\[ Misjid is what is vulgarly called a Mosque. \]

\[ The Cutwal is a Magistrate who, in all Cities, has the Care of punishing those who drink or sell intoxicating Liquors, and keep disorderly Houses; with several other Affairs, which are not of Consequence enough to be brought before the Governor. \]

\[ Chaboutra signifies a Tribunal. \]
The History of

the Serafa Ardui †, which is before the Castle, to the old Eidgah ‡, which is three Coss Distance, and on one Side as far as Jittli Tomb, and on the other as far as the Tobacco Mandavi and Poul Meetai ||. The whole Streets of the Bazar, and the Alleys and Wards on all sides, the Khanum’s Bazar, and round about the Jamib Misjid *, and the Cotton and Jewellers Bazaars, were all plundered, several Places they set on Fire, and whomsoever they found in the Wards and Houses, Streets, Alleys and Shops, Great and Small, Men and Women, they put to the Sword, even the Brute Creatures did not escape their Fury; several Women were made Prisoners. Loutf Ali Khan, the Officer who was appointed to slaughter and plunder towards the Square of Saad Allah Khan and Dehli Gate, when he came as far as Sirbullind Khan’s House, he, in a great Surprize and Fright, came out to meet

† Serafa Ardui, where all the Bankers and Money-Changers, belonging to the King and his Army, have their Shops.
‡ Eidgah, the Place where all the People assemble to Prayers, on the Two great annual Eids or Festivals.
|| Poul Meetai, a Bridge so called, because there are a great many Confectioners Shops thereon.
* Jamib Misjid, the Cathedral, or great Mosque. the
the said Officer, and representing to him, that
the People of that Quarter were not to blame,
he made them desist and stop his Men, on
promising they should pay a Sum of Money.
But in other Places the Slaughter, Plunder-
ing, and Burning, went on in a most bar-
barous Manner.

Nadir Shah, after he had given the Or-
ders, returned back to the Castle; about two
o'Clock Mahommed Shah and Nizam al Mu-
luck waited on him, who having made great
Intercession for the city, the soldiers were
ordered to desist, and it was proclaimed by
Beat of Drum, that none of the Inhabitants
should be any longer molested.

The Slaughter continued from eight in
the Morning till three in the Afternoon; above
400 Kuzzlebash were killed, and of the Ci-
tizens (great and small) 120000 were slaugh-
tered, others computed them 150000. What
Treasure and Effects were plundered, some
Nadir Shah had, and a great deal was de-
stroyed by the Fire. In several of the Hindu
Houses, where one of a Family survived, he
used to pile thirty or forty Carcases a-top of
one another, and burn them; and so they
did in the Streets, notwithstanding which

B b there
there still remained so many, that, for a considerable Time, there was no such Thing passing any of those Ways. When the Slaughter began, those who raised the Commotion disappeared in an Instant, and left the innocent Shopkeepers, Bazaris, and many honest Families, to be butchered by the enraged Kuzzlebash; several, jealous of their Honour, not only killed their Women, but laid also violent hands upon themselves; one of these unfortunate Wretches in particular, when the Soldiers came near his House, burnt about twenty Women of his Family, and was in Expectation of their entering every Minute and killing him; by Chance they missed that House, but he was so infatuated, that, finding himself disappointed, he went out, and bringing some of them back, shewed them the Way to his own House, telling them there was a good deal of Money and Effects therein. After they had plundered his House, they went their Way without killing him, which so enraged him, that he dispatched himself. There were great Numbers of People, especially Women and Children, burnt in their Houses.
On Monday the 12th *, the Prisoners, especially the Women †, according to Nadir Shah's Orders, were all conducted back to their own Houses, but with Eyes full of Tears, and in Circumstances not to be described or uttered.

On Tuesday the 13th ‡, a Party, who had been formerly detached by Nadir Shah to seize the Cannon at the Serai of Roub Allah Khan, having been cut off by the People there, in Conjunction with those of Moghol Poura, who were chiefly Tartar Moghols, a strong Body was sent over thither, who slaughtered between 5 and 6000 of these People, and brought bound with them about 300 of those belonging to the Ordnance, also the Hazarris § and head Officers. This Day, Seidy Folad Khan received a Kbalact on being confirmed Cutchal of the City. Proclamation was made by Beat of Drum,

* The 12th of March, 1738-9.
† About 10,000 Women threw themselves into Wells, some of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three Days. The Number of Prisoners released, Men and Women, were 50,000.
‡ The 13th of March, 1738-9.
§ Hazarris signifies Captain of a Thousand.

B b 2 ordering
ordering every Body to betake themselves to their several Employments, and to be under no Apprehension of the Soldiers any more. A Body of Men was sent to the Granaries at Pakr Gunjb, which they sealed up and put Guards on; Saadit Khan's Effects were seized, and Nizam al Muluck and Kummir o'din Khan made a Peisheush of some Money and Effects which they had given in an Account of, and was registered in the List; the Effects of Khandoran and Mazuffer Khan were likewise seized; the Jewels, Treasure and Goods of the former, (not reckoning what he had in the Camp) was computed at no more than one Crore of Rupees; but Mazuffer Khan's amounted to very nigh four Crore. This Day, according to the Shab's Order, Parties of Soldiers were planted as Guards all around the City to the Banks of the River, and in the Retee opposite to the Castle, to prevent any Persons going out without Licence, but to hinder none from coming in: All those who were brought bound from the Serai of Rough Allah Khan, had their Heads cut off, and were thrown into the Retee.
On Wednesday the 14th *, a number of Fakirs **, wanting to go out of the City, with a Design to travel and beg abroad, the Out-Guards cut off their Noses and Ears, and made them return back again.

On Thursday the 15th †, as the great Number of dead Bodies that lay about the Castle, and in the Bazars, and other Places, caused a very offensive Stench, they pressed most of the People they met with in the Streets, and employed them in removing the Bodies. Some, by tying Cords to the Feet, they dragged without the City, some they threw into the River, and those whom they imagined to be Hindu's, they piled forty or fifty of their Bodies a-top of each other, and burnt them with the Timber of the demolished Buildings.

On Friday the 16th ‡, a Firman, exempting the Dominions of Persia from Taxes for three Years, was drawn up and dispatched by a Choppah ||: At the same Time the Ar-

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* The 14th of March, 1738-9.
** Fakirs are Beggars, or poor People.
† The 15th of March, 1738-9.
‡ The 16th of March, 1738-9.
|| Choppah, an express Messenger.
The History of

ears * formerly due to the Soldiers, as also one Year's Pay before-hand, and six Months Pay as a Gratuity, was given to all his People, even to the Servants, and those who trafficked for Necessaries in the Camp (each of these having a settled Pay from Nadir Shab.) Nisar Mahomed Khan was sent with 1000 Kuzzlebash Horsemen, to bring Sauid Khan's || Treasure from Pourib.

On Saturday the 17th †, Sirbullind Khan, according to an Order, went to the Dirbar, where he staid until the Evening. Nadir Shab let him know, he was pretty well assured, that under a Pretence of old Age and Infirmity, he did not care to stir about in collecting the Peishcush Money and Beaura † from the People in Offices, Merchants, &c. However, his Advice to him was, to behave with more Activity in that Affair, and make an End of it very soon.

* The Year's Arrears due to Nadir Shab's Men was 4 Crores, 88 Lacks, or 6,100,000 l.
|| Sauid Khan's Treasure, sent from Lakhnow by Munsoor Ali Khan, arrived the 25th of Moharrim, or 23d of April; being 80 Lacks of Rupees, which is 1,000,000 l.
† The 17th of March, 1738-9.
† Beaura, signifies a forced Contribution.

On
On Sunday the 18th, the said Sirbullind Khan went likewise to the Dirbar, where were present Nizam al Muluck and Kummir o'din Khan, and he stayed there until Noon; Thamas Khan and Mustapha Khan pressing them concerning the Money, Sirbullind Khan told Nizam al Muluck as follows: "I have a long Time ago foreseen this Disgrace, and frequently represented to the Emperor, that before Things were past Remedy, he ought to take some Measure, and not thro' too much Security, reckon any Accident unworthy his Care and Prevention; I desired him to employ some experienced and faithful Person, and to give him full Power, that with a Sum of Money and other valuable Things, as a Peisheush, he might make up Matters, prevent the impending Calamity, and live, as formerly, with the Shah in an amicable Manner.

Every Body imagined I couched some Designs and Self-Views under this Advice; they themselves would contrive no Expedient, nor would they rely on the Contrivance of another, until, at last, Affairs come to this calamitous and disgraceful

The 18th of March, 1738-9.

"Issue."
"Issue." To this Nizam al Muluck made no Answer. Then Thamas Khan addressing himself to Kunnir o’din Khan, repeated to him the Substance of what Nadir Shah, at first Meeting, reproached Mahommed Shah with: Afterwards he told him, "What is past shall not be remembered. Now my Shah wants the Money, use all Means you can to raise it, and bring not yourselves into any further Disgrace by being dilatory." Sirbullind Khan answered, "Undoubtedly we will raise it, wherever it is to be found." Thamas Khan asked him, if he had not Money himself. Sirbullind Khan said to him, "If I had had Money, I would have sent it to you to Kandabar, and prevented you the Trouble of coming hither." In short, by what passed at this Meeting, it was known, that Nadir Shah, after his Victory, and having established his Power, had demanded of Nizam al Muluck, twenty Crore * of Rupees (exclusive of the Jewels, Gold Plate set with precious Stones, and other fine Goods, seized of the King’s, and other Omras) to be collected in the best Manner he could out of the King’s Treasury.

* Twenty Crores are 25 Millions Sterling.
his own Effects, and all the other Omras, wealthy People and Inhabitants. Such a Sum was not to be raised out of the King's Treasury, or the Omras Effects; for, in the King's, the Gold and Silver Coins did not exceed three Crore §. But, in the inward Vaults (which had been shut up and sealed for many Years, no Body knowing by whom they were sealed, or what they contained) there was found of Gold and Silver to a much larger Amount than the Money in the Treasury. Nizam al Muluck contributed a Peisbucth of 1½ Crore || in Jewels, Treasure, and Goods, as did also Kummir o'din Khan to the same Amount.

Saadit Khan had formerly agreed to pay one Crore * of Rupees, and made good thirty Lacks † thereof, which was all that had escaped being plundered; he promised to send for the Remainder from his Soubah.

Sirbullind Khan, on Account of his Poverty, was excused from any Share, and three Crore ‡ of Rupees were appointed to be levied on some Mansubdârs, Muttesiddys, Officers, and the rich Inhabitants, each in Pro-

§ 3,750,000 l. || 1,875,000 l. * 1,250,000 l.
† 375,000 l. ‡ 3,750,000 l. C c. portion
portion to his Circumstances. Formerly Sha-
dit Khan was ordered to collect this Money. After his Death, and the Slaughter and Plun-
der of the City, this Business was recom-
mended to the Care of Sirbullind Khan, and the other Omras, which Thomas Khan, at this Meeting, pressed them about: Accordingly it was now agreed, that Azim Allah Khan, Chuckl Keisvur, Vakeel of the Soubabdar of Bengal, Seeta Ram, and all the Mansubdars and Officers of the Chabourtra, &c. should meet at Sirbullind Khan's House, and make an End of this Affair. All Officers, Inhabi-
tants, &c. who were suspected to be rich, were ordered to give in a List of what Mo-
ney or Effects they were Masters of, to be laid before the Shah, that what he liked he might take, and what he forgave them they might keep; and whoever pleaded Poverty, such Person should declare the same by a Writing under his Hand and Seal, that in Case it should be afterwards proved, that he had given in a false Account, he might be punished.

That Day the People beforementioned came to Sirbullind Khan's House, and hav-
ing said until the Evening, and enrolled some Names, returned to their own Houses.

On Monday the 19th * they all met there again, and were taken up all that Day in the enrolling of Names, and preparing the List. This Day Seyd Nedd Khan who, the Night before the Slaughter, had shut up several of the Kuzzebash in a Room, and burnt them) was, by Nadir Shah's Order, strangled with a Shaul, and Sheh Soar Khan and Raiban, who in that Night were the Promoters of Mischief, were punished likewise. The first had his Head cut off, and the second his Belly ripped up.

On Tuesday the 20th †, Sirbullind Khan being sent for, went to the Dirbar, where he received a Khalaet of a rich Vest, from whence he returned Home to assist Asem Allah Khan, and the rest in the Business they were about.

On Wednesday the 21st ‡, Rehim Beg Amin Bashi, with 200 Horsemen and Musqueteers, were appointed to be under the Command of Sirbullind Khan, that he might

* The 19th of March, 1738-9.
† The 20th of March, 1738-9.
‡ The 21st of March, 1738-9.
sent them to the Mansubdars, &c. to oblige them to produce all their Elephants, Horses, and Camels, with Orders that what should be judged proper for the Shab's Stables, should be immediately seized.

On Thursday* also they were employed as the Day before.

On Friday the 23d †, Sirbullind Khan, Azim Allah Khan, &c. according to an Order, met at the Castle, where was held a Council for ascertaining the Money of the Peishcush.

There was an Order made, that Murid Khan ‡, with fifty of Sirbullind Khan's Horsemen, should carry a Sirrapah and Firmán to Sujaat Khan, Soubabdar of Bengal, and to take from him the three Years Treasure and a Peishcush: Accordingly 1000 Rupees ¶ were given out of the Shab's Treasury to Murid Khan for his Expences, and 3220 Rupees § to the fifty Horsemen for their Charges.

* The 22d of March, 1738-9.
† The 23d of March, 1738-9.
‡ Murid Khan, (alias Mohommed Hadi) was sent in Company with Mir Tuckee Kuli beg.
¶ 125l.  § 402l. 10s.
Saturday.
Saturday, Sunday, and Monday *, were employed in the Peishcush Affair. During this Time they were busy in preparing Illuminations on the Banks of the River, and Fireworks for the Wedding of Nesr Alla Mirza, Nadir Shah's Son, who was to be married to the Daughter of Tesdan Bukhsh, the Son of Kam Bukhsh, and Grandson of Au-ring-zebe.

On Tuesday Night † the Marriage was consummated. Mahommed Shah made the young Princess a Present of Jewels to the Value of 50000 Rupees ‡, and in ready Money 50000 || more. Some Days after the Marriage, Nadir Shah sent her Jewels to the Value of five Lack of Rupees §.

The Council for ascertaining the Peishcush was continually held in the Castle, near the Divan of Justice, at which assisted Thamas Khan, Mustapha Khan, and Mahommed Shah's Omras, until the tenth of Mobirrim * at Noon, and during that Time every Body was present at the said Place from Sun-rise to Sun-
All the Vakeels and Agents of the Men-
subdars, and other Officers, gave constant
Attendance, and at night each returned to
his own House without having a Sentry or
Guard over them. In those Days, and also
afterwards, several People finding Affairs go
hard with them, left their Effects and Fam-
ilies behind, and made their Escape out of
the City in the best Manner they could, be-
ing glad at any Rate to save their Lives; se-
veral of Mahommed Shab's Omras were obliged
to stay the whole Day in the Castle, in a mean
Manner and perpetual Fear, with but one
Horse and a few Servants to attend them, and
at Night they returned to their own Houses.

In these Days of Mohirrim, no Person,
either of Hindostan or the Kuzzlebash, durst
so much as mention the Words, Tazia * or

* Tazia signifies Mourning, and Mâtim signifies
Death. It is customary with the Schias, to make great
Lamentations annually for Mortija Al's two Sons,
Imâm Hossan and Imâm Hossin, on the first ten Days
of Mohirrim. The former was poisoned by his Wife
Yinda, at Medina, in the Khalifship of Mauvia, on
Thursday the 7th of Safar, in the 50th Year of the He-
gira. The latter was killed in the Desert of Kirbala,
by Shimr, a Soldier belonging to Imâd, the Son of
Mauvia, Khalif of Syria, on Friday the 10th Mohir-
rin, in the 61st Year of the Hegira.
Matin. Some of Nadir Shah’s Soldiers, who were incamped without the City, having one of these Nights made a Noise of Mournning and beating their Breasts, were severely punished by him. During this Time, a great many People were very hard pressed for their Quota’s of the Peishcush, insomuch that severall, to save their Credit and Reputation, killed themselves. Amongst the rest, Alim Allah, the adopted Son of Scidy Folad Khan; and his Naib, who acted entirely in all Things belonging to the Cuttual’s Office, having been ill used, and publickly disgraced, on the fifth of Mohirrim †, cut open his own Bowels with his Cuttari ‡, and died soon after.

On the 6th ||, Mijilisi’s Rai, Kummir o’din Khan’s Dian, was sent for by Thamas Khan, who ordered one of his Ears to be cut off in his Master’s Presence. Kummir o’din Khan was going to intercede for him, which Thamas Khan perceiving, he told him, in an angry Tone, “It will be your Turn by and by,” which presently silenced him, and Mijilisi’s

† The 3d of April, 1739.
‡ A Sort of Dagger were by the Indian.
|| The 4th of April, 1739.
Rai taking the above usage to Heart, killed himself afterwards, on the 12th *. Several of the King’s Mutteghidys were so beat with Sticks, in Thamas Khan’s Presence, that the Blood flowed out about their Faces and other Parts.

Sita Ram, and Chuckl Keishvor †, were violently beat on the Back and Sides. When the List of Names was ready, Nadir Shab appointed Nizam al Muluck, Sirbullind Khan||,

* The 10th of April, 1739.
† Chuckl Keishvor, the Bengal Vakiel, being ordered to send for Seven Crores of Rupees, said, So much would make a string of Waggons from Bengal to Delhi; for which being roughly used, he went home, and murdered himself and Family.
|| Sirbullind Khan pressing very hard upon the People, Kamiah Khan, Relation to Kummir o’ din Khan, with Arrib Khan, and others, killed themselves, after paying in several Lacks; and the Complaints thereof coming to Nadir Shab, Twenty Lacks of Rupees were remitted to great Men, who were found indigent. Sherif Kubi Khan, Son to Khadr al Nissa Begum, and several Eunuchs, complained to Mahommed Shab of Sirbullind Khan’s ruining People, and his Exactions, and that he wanted Three Lacks from him; Mahommed Shab sent for Abdul Baki Khan, one of Nadir Shab’s Vizirs, who manages betwixt them Two, and bid him acquaint his Master therewith, who sent for Sirbullind Khan, whom he found innocent of what was laid to his Charge.

Kummir
Kumnar o’din Khan, Azim Allah Khan, and Mortiza Khan, the Brother of Murid Khan, to collect the Money; he told them, he expected they would collect the said three Crore *, and pay it in ten Days Time: They divided the Sum and Names into five Parts, and had a 1000 Kuzzeh-bash Horsemens, 200 each, that in Case any of their Lift made Delays in paying their Quota, they might oblige them thereto by Blows: So that on the 10th † at Noon, the said Omras, with the appointed Horsemens, set about collecting the Money: The People, in Respect to their Circumstances, were very unequally taxed, for some who were Masters of ten Lacks ¶, were only set down 5000 ||, and others who could not muster 10,000 $, were set down 12,000 *: This was not owing either to the Favour or Ill-Will of the Managers, but to their own good or bad Luck; and when the Sums were once ascertained, there was no Redress to be had. Many of them, during the collecting of the Money, were,

3,750,000 l. ‡ 125,000 l. || 625 l. $ 1250 l.

April 8, 1739.

D d by
by bad Usage, forced to dispatch themselves, and Numbers died of the Blows they received; those who came best off, had either a Leg or an Arm lamed; from Morning to Night, nothing was done or thought of, but gathering in this Money, in which no Barbarities were left unpractised. This so dispirited the Inhabitants, that if one Khuzdar: a Horseman came among 10,000 of them, he might safely use them with all the Severities he pleased. This Work went on until the Day Nadir Shab left the City, when near four Crore * were collected from the People. Three Crore †, and thirty Lacks of Rupees, were paid into Nadir Shab's Treasury, and seventy Lacks ‡ were made away with among his Omras, and some expended among the 10,000 Horsemen; a great deal was sunk in the undervaluing of Goods, for a Horse worth 500 Rupees ‖, was only rated at 5 Tomans §, which is 100 Rupees, and Shauls of 50 Rupees * taken at one Toman, or twenty Rupees ‡, and Jewels and other Goods.

* 5,000,000l. † 4,125,000l.
‡ 875,000l. ‖ 62l. 10s.
§ 12l. 10s. § 6l. 5s.
‡ 2l. 10s.

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in the same Proportion; what the Shah took was valued in this Manner, and received for so much in the Contribution Account; but what he had no occasion for was sold, and the Produce brought to Account, which was no Advantage to the Owners of the Goods, as there were no Buyers but the Kuzzlebash.

Since the Day of the general Slaughter, wherever any Granaries were, the Kuzzlebash seized them; this and the Roads being stoppt to all Quarters made Wheat 2 Seers a Rupee, Rice 1½ Seer, and Ghee ½ Seer: Things were at that Rate for about twenty Days; at last, Sirbullind Khan and Azim Alla Khan, having obtained a Pass and Licence, sent several Waggons to fetch Corn from Feridabad. Whoever had any Carriages, sent them, several of the poor People and Banians going along with them.

In a little Time Wheat was sold seven Seers for a Rupee, but no more Rice than 2½ Seers, and Geer ½ of a Seer; during this Time the Kuzzlebash Horsemen were wont to go round about Feridabad, and other Places, marauding twenty and thirty Coss each Way, spoiling all the Fields, and plundering all the Villages as they went, and killing the
Inhabitants that made any Resistance. They gave their Horses, Camels, &c. Barley and Wheat-Straw instead of Grass, and the People of the City could have neither at any Rate, so that most of their Cattle died.

The latter End of Mobirrim *, Danish-mund Khan (whose Brother Mullah Ali Akbar was the Shah's Mullah Bashti) was, by Nadir Shah's Recommendation, raised to the Mansub of 7000, with its full jaguir, besides the Post of Mahommed Shah's Khan Saman §; but a few Days after Nadir Shah's Departure he fell sick, and on the 14th of Ribby al-Awal † departed this Life. Excepting him, Nadir Shah recommended none else to the Emperor.

On Tuesday the 3d Saefer ‡, all the Omras were ordered by Nadir Shah to be present at Mahommed Shah's by five o'Clock in the Morning, where they put on forty-two Khalaets, sent thither by Nadir Shah for them. The Khalaets for Nizam al Muluck, Sirbullind Khan, Kumner o'din Khan, and Mahommed Khan Bungush, were:

* The latter End of April.
§ Khan Saman, Steward of the Household.
† The 10th of June, 1739.
‡ The 1st of May, 1739.

A rich
A rich Atlas Vest.
A Hunting Coat, of a rich Stuff wove with Gold.
Four Yards of Tissue.
A rich Mandil or Turban.
A Persian Sabre mounted with Gold.
A Knife with a Sheath of enamell'd Gold.

The rest of the Khalaetu were different, some had five Pieces, some four, three and two, and some had only one Piece of Gold, or one Piece of Silver Stuff, according to the Rank they bore.

About eight in the Morning, Mahommed Shah, seated in a Royal Litter, with a Canopy, Umbrella, and one led Litter, with several of the Omras, went towards the General Divan, the Omras being mounted at a small Distance behind him; when they came near the General Divan, the Emperor ordered Saad o'din Khan to let none but the Head Omras, and a few of the Chief Manjubdars go further. At the Door of the General Divan all the Omras alighted, and followed on Foot to the Door of the private Divan, where Nadir Shah was; there the Emperor came off his Royal Litter, and went in;
in; after they had mutually embraced, they breakfasted together, and the Omras likewise had Breakfast given them. A little after, the following Things were brought in for Mahommed Shab:

A Crown set with Jewels.
A Sirpeach ||, Ditto.
A Bazoubun *, Ditto.
A Girdle, Ditto.
A Sword, the Handle set with Jewels.
A Sword with a straight Blade, such as most of the Deccanners use, called Dhoup.

An enamelled Cuttarri.

The Crown Nadir Shab put on with his own Hands, making him an Apology at the same Time. After giving him some Advice, he took Leave of him. The Substance of the Advice was as follows: 

In the first Place, you must seize all the Omras Jagûrs, and pay each of them according to their Mansubs and Rank, with ready Money, out of the Treasury. You are to allow none to keep any Forces of his own,

|| Sirpeach is a Band or Fillet richly wove, and sometimes set with Jewels, which is wore round the Turban.
* Bazoubund is a Bracelet.
but you yourself are constantly to keep 60,000 chosen Horsemen, at sixty Rupees per Month, one with another: Every ten Men to have one Debbashi *, every ten Debbashi's one Sudival †, and every ten Sudivals one Hazarri ‡. You ought to be well-acquainted with the Merits of each, their Name, their Family, and Nation, not allowing any of them, Officers, Soldiers, or others, to be idle or unactive. When an Occasion may require, detach a sufficient Number, under the Command of one, whom you can trust for Conduct, Courage, and Fidelity, and when that Business is over, recal them immediately, not letting any Person stay too long in Command, for Fear of bad Consequences. You are more particularly to beware of Nizam al Muluck, whom, by his Conduct, I find to be full of Cunning, and Self-interested, and more ambitious than becomes a Subject. Mahommed Shah knowing these Advices proceeded from Good-will, was very thankful, and desired him, as his Empire depended on

* Debbashi, an Officer over ten Men.
† Sudival, an Officer over a Hundred.
‡ Hazarri, a Captain of a Thousand.
him, that he would appoint those whom he thought most deserving of the principal posts. Nadir Shah said, 'That will not be at all for your interest; such officers will have little deference for you in my absence; when I am gone, dispose of every post to those whom you think most worthy, and should they or any of them rebel, upon the first advice, I'll send a person to chastise them; if it be necessary, I'll send forces; or, on occasion, I can be with you myself in forty days, from Khandahar; but upon all events don't reckon me far off.'

After this, Mahommed Shah taking leave, returned back to Acreb Mebl, from whence he gave the Omras leave to go home.

On Wednesday the 4th *, Nadir Shah sent for Nizam al Muluck, Sirbullind Khan, and the other Omras, and having enjoined them obedience to Mahommed Shah, and threatened them in case of their rebelling, took his leave.

It was reported that Nadir Shah declared before some of his Omras, such as Thamas Khan, Louf Ali Khan, and others, that he

* The 2d of May, 1739.
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had acted indiscreetly in regard to two Things; one was his giving the Empire to Mahomed Shah, who being unequal to so great a Task, the Affairs of India would become worse than formerly; the other, his giving Quarter to Hazamul Muluck, who being so very subtle and crafty, it was more than probable he would raise Disturbances; but as according to the Decrees of Providence, and the Assistance of their own good Fortune, he had once passed his Word to them, he could not act contrary thereto.

On Friday the 6th, the Shah’s Peishkhan-na went to Shalimar. A Munaddi went about to give Notice, that after the Troops should begin to march, none of the Kuzzahs, or others belonging to the Army, should tarry in the City, and forbid any Person to entertain or conceal any such in their Houses, and that none belonging to the Army should carry along with them any Male or Female

† The 4th of May, 1739.

† Nadir Shah’s March was to have been the 27th Mobhirim, but was delayed, on Account of Fojdar Khan Beluchi’s running away with his Men towards the Rajah, on being demanded more than one Lark of Rupees, which he was first taxed with.

E e Captives,
Captives, excepting Slaves bought with ready Money with a Writing from the Seller, attested by Witnesses declaring his Consent and Satisfaction, or Women lawfully married to them, and even those Slaves and Wives not to be carried away if in the least contrary to their own Inclinations, and that whoever should transgress any of these Orders should forfeit both his Life and Estate.

Upon this almost all who were married in Delhi sent back their Wives on finding them unwilling to leave their Native Country, only a few of the Chief Commanders and Officers, by the mildest Means and Intreaties, prevailed on some to seem contented to go, which Nadir Shah, after some Day's March, being informed of, he ordered them all to be immediately sent back.

On Saturday the 7th §, Nadir Shah moved to Shalimar, and gave positive Orders, that all the Soldiers should quit the City that Day.

On Sunday *, before his March from these Gardens, he ordered his Army to be mustered; and it was reported to him, that

400 Soldiers and Servants had deserted. The Shab ordered Scidy Folad Khan, the Cotal, to find out those People, and send them with a Guard to the Army, and commanded several of the Nisikbebis and Rikas likewise to assist. The Cotal, after great Search, found about sixty, and sent them away with a Party of his own Horse and some Nisikbebis; they reached the Army near Serbind, where the Shab ordered all their Heads to be cut off.

In the mean Time, Scidy Folad Khan, having seized several more of those Deserters, he was going to send them also; but on hearing how the others were treated, he waited on the Emperor, and represented the Matter to him. Mabommed Shah said: 'He'll certainly kill these poor Wretches also, if they are sent; why should we be accessory to so much innocent Blood? Let them go where they please.'

Nadir Shah, by continual Marches, arrived near Labor, and we are informed, that he plundered and killed the People of Tannfer, and several other Villages. The Occasion of which was thus: The Army constantly sending out Parties to forage, and bring Corn and other Necessaries; the Country
Country People, who used to watch their Opportunities, attacked the Stragglers, and killed and plundered them of their Horses, and what else they had; in the Night-time also they were very troublesome, and stole whatever they could come at, which very much enraged the Shab, having lost above a thousand Mules, Camels and Tabous before he got as far as Labor. It was reported, that Nadir Shab, having called the Zemidar of Karnal (which is the Place where he got his Victory) gave him 5000 Rupees towards peopling a Village on the same Spot he incamped, and directed him to give it the Name of Fatteb abad.

Some Days before he left Dehli, he sent Part of his Army before to Labor; when they approached the Place, and Zekaria Khan was apprized thereof, he called together all the great Men, Merchants, Serafs, and wealthy People of the City. At their Meeting it was agreed, that the Khan and they should go out of the City, and send a Message to the Commanding Officer, in these

Fatteb abad, signifies the Habitation of Victory.

Bankers and Money Changers.
Words: 'If your Design be to slaughter the Inhabitants, Lo! we are here present; if Plunder be your Intent, the City is deserted, and our Effects left there; or, if Money be what you want, the Soubabdar and Citizens can raise no more than one Crore +; so whatsoever your Intentions or Orders are, that execute: This is a small City, and not able to withstand the Fury of an Army, as Dehli is.' On Receipt of this Message, the Commanding Officer thought proper to represent the Affair to his Master, who ordered him to receive the Crore of Rupees, and to molest them no further. After the Payment of the Money, he drew off, and joined the main Army upon their March.

Nadir Shab, by continual and long Marches, passed by Labor, on one Side.

On Tuesday, the 10th †, Sirbullind Khan, having placed Guards about the Castle, commanded as Chief Officer for that Day; Next Day, he was ordered to come off, and to mount Guard only on Mondays. After going from the Castle, he went to see Nizam al Muluck, who happening to be in Kummir

† 1,250,000 l, † The 8th of May, 1739.
The History of

O'din Khan's House, he had an Opportunity of visiting both, and then returned to his own House.

Until this Day, a great many of the Bodies killed on the Day of the general Maccare, lay putrified in some of the Streets and Bazars.

On Thursday, the 12th ||, in the Morning, Azim Allah Khan, and in the Afternoon, Kummir o'din Khan, went to visit Sirbullind Khan.

On Sunday, the 15th *, the Emperor came from Aesh Mebl, to the General Divan, where he sat four Gurris §, during which Time, the Omras came to pay their Obeisance, making their Presents at the same Time. Nizam al Muluck, on returning from the Castle, went to Sirbullind Khan's House; for since Nizam al Muluck's coming from Deccan, until the 11th Instant, neither of them had been to visit each other.

On Friday, the 20th †, Emir Khan was

† The 18th of May, 1739.
* The 13th of May, 1739.
§ One Hour 36 Minutes.
|| The 10th of May, 1739.

honoured
honoured with a Sirrapah, a Paleki, with Net-work, and the Office of third Bukhsí.

Ishak Khan, with a Sirrapah, a Paleki with Net-work, and the Office of Duan Khalesib.

Azim Allah Khan, with a Sirrapah, and the Office of Sadr.

Amisham Khan, Kondoran's Son, with a Sirrapah, and the Office of Darogha Khafs.

On the 14th of Ribby al-Avel, Danish-mund Khan, who, by Nadir Shab's Recommendation, had got the Office of Khan Saman, departed this Life. So, on the 16th, Saad o'din Khan received a Sirrapah, and was promoted to that Office.

From the Day that Nadir Shab left Deblí, until this, which is the 26th of Ribby al-Avel, nothing was done or proposed, in regard to the State of Affairs in the Empire. Even this Blow, which is sufficient to give an Idea of the Trumpet of the Day of Judg-

† The Third Paymaster.

|| Duan Khalesib, the Accomptant General of the King's Revenues.

* Darogah Khafs, Superintendant of the Household.

† The 10th of June, 1739.

†† The 12th of June, 1739.

|| The 22d of June, 1739.
ment, could not in the least awaken out of the heavy Sleep of Security, and Lethargy of Indolence, those People, who were so much intoxicated with the Wine of Pride, and Self-conceit. They all agreed in a general Ill-will to each other, and their whole Talk and Conversation was full of Envy and Detraction.

Of the Buildings that were in Part demolished, and damaged, in the Day of the general Massacre, some that suffered least, are inhabited again, and the rest remain deserted; which, if not begun to be repaired before the Rains set in, will be quite destroyed.

The Inhabitants, from the Terror of this Calamity, like People posseb’d, and in Fits, are quite stupefied, and not yet come to themselves, and what is still more strange, notwithstanding the Oppressions and Disgrace, the People of this Empire have met with, since Nadir Shah’s Departure, the indecent Expressions, and beastly Actions of his Soldiers, are the constant Subjects of Discourse; in all Companies, related with a seeming Satisfaction and Pleasure, and by Way of Jest and Drollery; not being in the least affected with a Reflection on
their past Disgrace and Misfortunes; but, on the contrary, seemed sorry for his going away, excepting Sirbullind Khan, who, three Years ago, foresew this Calamity, and retired from public Business, dreading the Consequence of Affairs being managed by such Omras as then bore Swave: His being an Instrument in collecting the Peisbush was involuntary, and much contrary to his Inclinations, in which he help'd and favoured several People as much as lay in his Power, and that in so private a Manner, that they themselves knew not who assisted them: But hypocritical and ignorant Persons, who had neither Will or Power to assist those People, gave their Tongues too much Liberty in complaining of him: However, I refer this innocent Man's Character to the following Arabic Verses:

They say for certain that God has a Son,  
And say for certain the Prophet is a Magician;  
Neither God nor his Prophet has escaped  
The Tongues of Slanderers, and how shall I?

Ff  When
When after the Battle, Nadir Shah had sent for Mahommed Shah and his Boungah to his Camp, one of his Omras represented to him, that in the Hindostan Camp there were 100,000 Horses and a great many Camels, and as those People had, by his Clemency received Quarter, should he order what Camels and Horses were fit for the Royal Stables to be seized for his Use, it would not be so great a Hardship upon them. To which the Shah answered: 'I have given these People Quarter in all Respects; besides, the Bread of Soldiers depends on their Horses, most of them are in wretched and indigent Circumstances; should they lose their Horses, they and their Families would be reduced to Beggary and Starving. It would be far from Humanity to treat them ill, now they are at our Mercy; therefore don't molest or insult them on any Account.'

Mahommed Khan Bungush had, for a long Time, been in Expectation of the Soubabdari of Alehabad, especially after Nadir Shah's Departure; but not finding he was likely to succeed, on the 27th of Safar*, he made off and went towards his own Zemidari. In his

* The 25th of May, 1739.
Way he plundered several Villages, and meeting the Vanjerras †, who were carrying Corn to Shabjebanabad, carried them along with him.

After some Days, Ali Hamed Khan, Ali Amjid Khan, Ali Asghur Khan, Khan Zuman Khan, Terab Ali Khan, Azem Khan, and others, in all Twenty-two Omras and Mansubdars, who had run away out of the Field of Battle and Camp, as also Mahommed Khan Bungush, who (without Leave) had retired Home, were all discharged the Service.

Nizam al Muluck and Kunnir o'din Khan wrote to Mahommed Khan, that if he came back, or sent his Son to attend at Court, it was probable his Mansub and jaguir should still be continued to him, if not, he must expect no Favour. Mahommed Khan returned for Answer: 'If my Request is complied with, I will come, if not, I will go on to my own Zemidari.'

Since the Battle of Karnal, until Nadir Shah's Departure from Shabjebanabad, the Pious sustained by the Emperor and the People

† People who go a Trading in great Drovers, and carry their Goods on Oxen.
within and without the City, in Jewels, Treasure, Goods, Effects, and destroying of Fields, setting aside the Loss of the Buildings, amounted to very near one **Arrib** of Rupees, out of which **Nadir Shab** carried away to the Value of 70 **Crores** in Jewels and other Effects; and his Officers and Soldiers 10 **Crores**. The Charges of his Army, while he continued there, the Arrears, Pay and Gratuity advanced them, with what Goods were destroyed by Fire, and Fields laid waste, made near 20 **Crores** more.

The Particulars of what **Nadir Shab** carried away with him:

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\[ 125,000,000 \text{l.} \]
\[ 87,500,000 \text{l.} \]
\[ 12,500,000 \text{l.} \]
\[ 25,000,000 \text{l.} \]
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Carried over 64
Fine Cloths and rich Stuff of all Kinds 2
Household Furniture, and other valuable Commodities 3
Warlike Weapons, Cannon, &c. 1

70

Elephants 1000, Horses 7000, Camels 10,000, Eunuchs 300, Writers 130, Smiths 200, Masons or Builders 300, Stone-Cutters 100, Carpenters 200.

Nadir Shah had the Draught of the Castle and City of Shabjehanabad taken, and gave to the abovementioned Artificers, Horses, and what other Carriages were necessary for their Journey, allowing them a sufficient Pay. The Terms he entered into with them were, to follow their several Occupations for three Years in Kandahar; at the Expiration of which, they were to have Liberty, either to return Home, or continue there. But in their Way to Labor, several of them made their Escape, and returned hither.

Since Nadir Shah's entering this Country, until his getting to Labor in his March back, 200,000
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200,000 of the Inhabitants of this Empire were destroyed, as follows:

From Labor to Karnal were killed on the Roads and in the Villages 8000.
Killed in the Battle of Karnal 17,000.
Those killed during the Space of three Days after the Battle, in the Highways and round about the Camp, were 14,000.
Those killed on their March to the City, in Sonput, Paniput, and other Villages that were plundered 7,000.
Those killed in the general Massacre, by the exactest Computation 110,000.

After the general Massacre were killed in Roub Allah Khan's Serai, and the Villages and Fields round about where they went a marauding, which is about thirty Coss each Way 25,000.
On their March back, in Taniseer and other Villages 12,000.
Those who had laid violent Hands upon themselves, the Women who drown'd and burnt them 193,000.

...
NA DIR SHAH. 223

Carried over 193,000 selves, as also those who died of Famine and other Hardships, amounted to about 7,000.

200,000.

A Translation of the Cession made by Mahomed Shah to Nadir Shah of all the Territories to the Westward of the River Attok.

Formerly, the Ministers of his High Majesty (who is exalted like Saturn, fierce as Mars, impetuous as the God of War, King of the Kings of the Earth, Prince of the Princes of the Age, the Shadow of God and Refuge of Islam, in Pomp like Alexander, the Heavens his Court, the Sultan who is merciful, and the Emperor who is august, Nadir Shah, may God perpetuate his Reign) had sent Ambassadors.

In the East it is not polite to say to a Prince, he did or said such a Thing, but that his Ministers and Servants did it.

Saturn being the most remote from the Centre of the System.

In the Original it is Beheram Solar, Merikh Suttuvit. Beheram, in the ancient Persian, signifies Mars, and Merikh, in
to this Court, to treat of certain Affairs which I intended to comply with; afterwards Mahommed Khan Turcoman arrived from Kandabar, to remind me thereof, but my Ministers and Agents having delayed the Ambassadors, and postpon'd an Answer to his High Majesty's Letter, raised such a Misunderstanding between us, that his successful Army having come to the Confines of Hindostan, both Parties encountered in the Fields at Karnal, where, after a Royal Battle was fought, as Providence would have it, Victory to Appearance rose from the East of his undecaying Fortune. As his High Majesty, who is mighty as Jumshaid,† and the greatest of the Turcomans, is the Source of Goodness and Prowess; relying on his Honour, and trusting to his Support, I had the Satisfaction of an Interview, and enjoyed the Pleasure of being entertained in his Paradise-like Company. After which, we came together to Shajebanabad, where I brought forth to his View, and with the proper Ceremony presented to him, all the Treasure, Jewels;

† One of the ancient Kings of Persia, remarkable for his Greatness and Power.
and precious Effects of the Hindostan Em-
perors; his Majesty, in Compliance with
my Request, accepted of some: And out of
the Greatness of his Soul, and abundant
Humanity, in Regard to the illustrious Fa-
mily of Gourgan, and the Honour of the
Original Tree of Turkan, was graciously
pleased to restore to me the Crown and Gem
of Hindostan.

In Consideration of this Favour, which
no Father shows to a Son, nor no Brother
to a Brother, I make over to him all the
Countries to the West of the River Attok,
the Water of Seind, and Nala Sunkra which
is a Branch of the Water of Scind: That is
to say, Feisbor with its Territories, the Prin-
cipality of Cabul, Ghooznawi, the moun-
tainous Residences of the Asghans, the Ha-
varijat and the Passes, with the Castle of
Buckar, Sunkar, and Khoudabad: The rest
of the Territories, Passes, and Abodes of
the Chokias, Balluches, &c. with the Pro-
vince of Tatta, the Castle of Ram, and the
Village of Terbin, the Towns of Chun,
Stonawali and Ketra, &c. Places depen-
dant on Tatta: All their Fields, Villages,
Castles, Towns, and Ports from the first
Rise,
Rise of the River Attok, with all the Passes and Habitations, which the aforesaid Water and its several Branches comprehends and surrounds, as far as Nala Sunkra, where it empties itself into the Sea: In short, all Places Westward of the River Attok, and those Parts, and Westward of the River Scind, and Nala Sunkra, I have annexed to the Dominions of that powerful Sovereign, that from henceforth his Agents and Servants may enter upon and set about the Management and the securing of the aforesaid Territories, taking the Government and Command of those several Places, Tribes and Inhabitants into their own Hands; my Officers, Servants, &c. evacuating the aforesaid Places, as being severed from my Dominions, and entirely renouncing all Right they have or might formerly have had to command, controul or collect any Revenues there; the Castle and Town of Lobry Bundar, with all the Countries to the East of the River Attok, Water of Scind, and Nala Sunkra, shall, as formerly, belong to the Empire of Hindostan. Dated at Skajebanabad, the 4th of Mobirrim ‡, 1152.

† The 2d of April, 1739.
A Personal Description and Character of Nadir Shah, which I had from the Gentleman who favoured me with the Account of his Exploits before his Expedition to India.

NADIR SHAH is about fifty-five Years, upwards of six Foot high, well-proportion’d, of a very robust Make and Constitution, his Complexion sanguine and inclining to be fat, but the Fatigue he undergoes prevents it; he has fine large Black-eyes and Eye-brows; and, in short, is one of the most comely Men I ever beheld. The Injury the Sun and Weather have done to his Complexion only gives him a more manly Aspect. His Voice is so uncommonly loud and strong, that he frequently, and without straining it, gives Orders to his People at above a hundred Yards Distance. He drinks Wine with Moderation, but is extremely addicted to Women, in which he affects great Variety, and yet never neglects his Business on their Account; his Hours
Hours of Retirement among the Ladies are but few, seldom entering their Apartments before Eleven or Twelve at Night, and is up and in Public by Five in the Morning. His Diet is simple, chiefly Pillow and plain Dishes; and, if public Affairs require his Attendance, he neglects his Meals, and satisfies his Hunger with a few parched Pease (of which he always carries some in his Pockets) and a Draught of Water. In the Camp, or in the City, he is almost constantly in Public, and if not, he may be sent to, or spoke with by any Person. He musters, pays and cloaths his Army himself, and will not suffer any Perquisites to be taken from the Soldiers by his Officers, on any Pretence whatever. He has Monthly Accounts transmitted to him of the State of Affairs in all Parts of his Dominions, and holds a Correspondence with his several private Spies in every Place: Besides, in every Province and City there is a Person called Hum Calam, appointed to inspect into the Governor's Actions, and keep a Register of them; no Affair of any Consequence can be transacted but in the Presence of that Officer, who, besides the Account the Governor is obliged to send...
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Monthly, transmits his Journal by a separate Conveyance whenever he thinks proper, without permitting the Governor to peruse it; he has no settled Salary or Gratuity for his Trouble, but is rewarded or punished just as Nadir Shah finds he deserves. This extraordinary Caution in a great Measure prevents the Governor's oppressing the People, or entering into any Conspiracies or Rebellions against him. He is extremely generous, particularly to his Soldiers, and bountifully rewards all in his Service, who behave well. He is, at the same Time, very severe and strict in his Discipline, punishing with Death those who commit a great Offence; and with the Loss of their Ears, those whose Transgressions are of a lighter Nature; he never pardons the Guilty of what Rank soever, and is highly displeased, if, after he has thoroughly examined the Affair, any Person presumes to intercede in their Behalf, before which they may give their Sentiments with Freedom.

When on a March, or in the Field, he contented himself to eat, drink, and sleep like a common Soldier, and ensures all his Officers to the same severe Discipline. He is of so hardy a Con-
The History of a Constitution, that he has been often known, of a frosty Night to repose himself upon the Ground in the open Air, wrapt up in his Cloak, with only a Saddle for his Pillow, especially when, upon an extraordinary Enterprize which required Expedition, he has been obliged to out-march his Baggage, by which Means he has fallen upon the Enemy when they least expected him. He is never happy but when in the Field, and laments the Time he is obliged to stay in a City to refresh his Troops, in which (as in all Things else) he uses the utmost Dispatch. His Meals are over in less than Half an Hour, after which he returns to Business; so that the Servants who attend him standing are changed three or four Times a Day. He never indulges himself in any Kind of Pleasure in the Day-time, but constantly at Sun-set retires to a private Apartment; where, unbending himself at once from Business, he sups with three or four Favourites, and drinks a Quart, or at most three Pints of Wine, behaving all the Time in the freest and most facetious Manner. In this private Conversation no Person is allowed to mention any Thing relating to public Business; nor, at other Times, must they
they presume, upon this Intimacy to behave with more Familiarity than their Equals. Two of his Evening-Companions happening to transgress in that Point, by taking the Liberty to advise him in Public, he immediately ordered them to be strangled, saying: ‘Such Fools were not fit to live, who could not distinguish between Nadir Shah and Nadir Kuli.’ He has been very kind to those who please him in private Conversation, and behave with a becoming Decency and Deference in Public, where they are taken no more Notice of, nor have they any more Influence over him than others of the same Rank.

His Mother, who was living in the Year 1737, (at the Request of some who were attached to the Royal Family) intreated Nadir Shah, some Time after he had seized the King, to restore him, not doubting but his Majesty would make him sufficient Amends, by creating him Generalissimo for Life. He ask’d her ‘whether she really thought so?’ She told him, ‘She did.’ Upon which he smil’d and said, ‘If I was an old Woman, perhaps I might be inclined to think so too, and desired her to give herself no Trouble about State Affairs.’
He was married to Shah Thomas's Aunt, the youngest Sister of Shah Sultan Hussein, by whom, I heard, he had one Daughter. He has several young Children by his Concubines, and two Sons by a Woman he married in his Obscurity. The eldest, Reza Kuli Mirza, is about twenty-five Years of Age. He was trained up from his Childhood in the Army, where from a Subaltern he has been gradually advanced to the Rank of a General, and appointed Vice-Roy of Persia, during his Father's Expedition to India. The second Son, Nisr Allah Mirza, who is about twenty-one Years of Age, is nominal Governor of Musnad and the Province of Khorasan, having a Person to direct and manage for him.

His eldest Son, when he ranked as a Lieutenant, had only that Pay to subsist on, and in all other Stations had no more than his Commission entitled him to. His Father regarded him no more than he did the other Officers, and permitted him to associate with them, giving him to know, that if he was guilty of any Crime or Breach of Duty, he should be punished with as great Rigour as any of the rest. On his behaving well he not only promoted him, but increased his Paternal
ternal Affection for him. They who knew the young Man (for I never saw him) judge he'll make full as great a Figure in the World as his Father; having given signal Proofs of his Courage and Conduct in several Battles, and of his great Abilities in other Respects while Nadir Shah was in India. By my private Advices from thence I'm inform'd, that he govern'd the Empire with great Skill, and kept every Thing quiet and easy until his Father's Return.

Among Nadir Shah's extraordinary Faculties, his Memory is not the least to be admired, there being few Things of Moment that he ever said or did, but what he remembers; and can readily call all the principal Officers in his numerous Army by their Names. He knows most of the private Men who have served under him any Time, and can recollect when and for what he punished and rewarded any of them. He dictates to one or two Secretaries, and gives Orders about other Affairs at the same Time, with all the Regularity and Promptness imaginable.

In Time of Action, I'm told, he is equally surprising, it being scarce credible how quick he is in discerning the Odds on either Side,

H h and
and how active in succouring his Troops. If any of his General Officers give Ground without being greatly over-powered, he rides up and kills him with a Battle-ax (which he always carries in his Hand) and then gives the Command to the next in Rank. In all the Battles, Skirmishes, and Sieges he has been engaged in (altho' he generally charges at the Head of his Troops) he never received the least Wound or Scar, and yet several Horses have been shot under him, and Bullets have grazed on his Armour.

I could relate many other remarkable Things that I have seen and heard of this great Hero, whose Actions already are sufficient to convince the World, that few Ages have produced his Equal. As he has performed such Wonders when he had hardly Money or Men, what may we not expect from him now he is possess'd of so immense a Treasure? 'Tis probable he may live thirty Years longer; and in that Space of Time, if his Designs are attended with the same Success he has hither-to met with, to what Pitch of Grandeur may not a Man of his unbounded Ambition and Courage arrive at?
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Dielman il Bauri, Ditto. 
Siljowkian, Ditto. 
Khuarism, Ditto. 
Atabakan, Ditto. 
Ismelian, Ditto. 
Kara Khapai, Sultans. 
The Mogbel Kings.

V. Concerning the Imams, or Antiftes of the Mahometan Religion; the Readers, Elders, and Learned Men, who, through their Piety and Exemplary Life, arrived to a State of Excellence: With some of their most remarkable Sayings.

VI. An Account of the City of Kauzin, its Situation, Buildings, Canals, Tombs, Misjids, &c. with an Account of the several Families, and great Men that have sprung from that Place.

Appendix. The Genealogy of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Kings, Philosophers, &c. mentioned in this History, in a Tree, to the Year 730.

KELMAT TUBAT. All the remarkable Sayings of the Great Mogbel Auring-zedo; with Copies of all the Letters, Notes, &c. he wrote himself.

AVIN AKBARI. Composed by a Society of Men assembled for that Purpose. By Jilal d'in Makommed Akbar, the Great Mogbel. Containing,
I. A particular Account of each Province, City, Town, and Village of the Mogbel's Empire.
Oriental Manuscripts. I

The Extent of each Province in Cost's and Measure of all the cultivated Fields belonging to them, in Fingas. Their Latitudes and Longitudes; the latter taken from Jezair Khaled, or the Canarie Islands. The Revenues and Income of each Place. The Quota of Men each Province and Government is obliged to furnish. The Kinds of Grain and Commodities each produces; with an Account of the Powers who formerly bore Sway in each Province, and the several Sorts of People who now inhabit those Places.

II. A full Account and Lift of the Great Moghol's Army. The Wages, Salary, and Office of each particular Servant, or Officer about him. The Manner of training and feeding all his Elephants, Camels, Mules, Horses, Oxen, &c. with an Account of the Grooms, Servants, &c. who attend them. An Account of the Attendants, Salaries, and daily Expenses allowed for the Harram, or Scraglio. A Lift of all the Imperial Implements used in Peace and War; such as Scepters, Standards, Drums, Tabbals, Battle-Axes, &c. and all the Weapons used in Hindostan, with their different Prices. Account of all the different Sorts of Weights, Coins, and Measures used in the Empire; with the Charges and Method of Refining and Coining Gold and Silver in the Royal Mint; with the several Inscriptions, Weight, and Value of each Coin. The Receipts of several Sorts of Dishes served up to the Moghol's Table. Receipts of the different Sorts of Perfumes used at his Court. Account of all the different Flowers, sweet Woods and Gums, with their Prices, and Places of their Produce. Ditto of all the Herbs, Fruits, &c. at the different Seasons of the Year. Account of the Moghol's manner of Hunting, Exercice,
Exercife, fighting Elephants, and other Diversions. The Ceremonies and Manner of Marrying in the Royal Family; their Rejoicings, Feastings, &c. The Names and Description of the different Sorts of Apparel, Ornaments, and Jewels used by the Men and Women at Court. The Moghol's Manner of holding a Divan, and receiving People, and the Obedience and Honours they do him. His Method of employing his Time.

III. A full Account of the Brahmins's Religion: their Books, and the Subject of them; the several different Sects, and what Points they differ in; with the whole Particulars of their Eating, Drinking, Marrying, Purifications, Worship, and burning when Dead. After which, follows an Account of the principal Mahommedan Saints; the Places they are buried in, and the Days that their Tombs are chiefly visited. To the whole is added the remarkable Sayings of the Great Moghol Akbar, on sundry Subjects and Occasions; and a short Account of Abu Fazl, and his Family, by himself.

POETRY, &c.

S H A H N A M A. I Vol. Fol; containing 60,000 Couplets of Verses. Composed by the Prince of Poets, Molana Hossian Firdowsi, Native of Tous, who, in Majesty of Stile, and Harmony of Numbers, has surpassed all who wrote in that Language.

The Subject is, The History and Wars of the ancient Kings of Persia, until the Conquest of their Empire by the Arabs, in the Reign of Fejdgerd Shebriur.

There
There is a Lexicon prefixed to it, explaining all the difficult and ancient Words to be met with in the Book.

**Kulliat Khacani.** Of the whole Works of that famous Poet, Afzal o‘din Ibrabim Khacani ebn Alal nail al Shirwani. It contains several Books on various Subjects.

**Shir o Dua Khacani.** Being a Comment on one of Khacani’s Books, call’d his Duan; explaining what seems mysterious and obscure. By Mohomed Daud Ali Shadiabadi.

**Kulliat Achi.** The whole Poetical Works of Mo‘lama Achi Shirazi. He is very much admired for a certain Sweetness and Smoothness peculiar to his Poems. It contains the following Books on various Subjects.

- Sehr Halal
- Shuma o Purvani
- Ketab Kusrayd
- Ketab Ghezildit
- Kusrayd Mozoub


- Seljuti al Zabab, 1st Tome.
- Seljuti al Zabah, 2d Ditto.
- Seljuti al Zabah, 3d Ditto.
- Kussh Salmaan o Abjill
- Teshit al Aherar
- Sejti al Ahfer
- Hof Zilikbar
- Lekh Mazmoun
- Kherad nama Secander

*Du’an*
Duan Avud.
Duan Sani.
Duan Saliq.
Rissalith Maimai Kobir.
Rissalith Maimai Mottevissir.
Rissalith Maimai Sagbir.
Rissalith Maimai Alghur.
Rissalith Arouz.
Rissalith Kafia.
Babaristan.
Munsbiat.
Mousica.

Duan Khosro. In Four Vols. A Book greatly esteemed in the East. It is on the Subjects of Divinity and Love; wrote in a Spiritual Strain, and is generally sung to Musick.

Toheit al Irakan; which is also one of the Books of Kuliat Khacani. It is a beautiful Poetic Description of several Rivers and Places, in Persia, Diarbeir, (or Mesopotamia) and Arabia.

Isof Zulikba, or the Loves of Joseph and Potiphar's Wife. It is also comprehended in the Twenty One Books of Kuliat Jami.

Delforz nama. }
Hal nama } Are both Poems on the Subject of Love.

Duan Hafiz. The Poems of Mahommed Shuns o dîn Hafiz al Shirazi. They are wrote in a sublime Stile, and a little mysterious. They are used in the East, as the Sortes Virgillianae in Europe, and much credited on that Score.
Secander Nama. The History and Actions of Alexander the Great. Composed by Nizami, in Verse.

Secander Nama Behri. Ditto, more compendious, by another Hand.

Methnowi Manivi Molusc. By Mabommed ben Mabommed ben al Hossein al Balkhi, afterwards al Rum. This Book, which is in great Esteem among the Mabommedans, is entirely on the Subject of Religion and Moral Duties.

Khosro Shirin. By Nizami. A Poem; celebrating the Loves of Khosro King of Persia, and his beautiful Mistress Shirin.

Niteejih al Tabbib.

Sakina, Nama Zibouri.

Kblaffih Bostan. An Extract of Sadi's Bostan.

Duan Anwirri. Being the Works of the famous Poet Anwirri.

Duan Peerzaada.

Birzou Nama.

Kussayd Kelim.

Temour Nama. The History and Actions of Temour, in Verse. Dedicated to Shab Thamus.

Kuddrit al ajar Ghazali Mushaddi.

ACatalogue of
Behr al Abrar. By Hafsmith Tatari.

Hidika Hakim Sinai:

Nozhit al Atriwah. With an Explanation, by Abdal Wabel Ibrahim.

Ethics, Politics, Novels, &c.

Lyvameh al Asbrack fi Mokarem al Akhblac. By Jani Mahommed ibn Asaad Duani, and dedicated to Sultan Hossan Beg, Babadr Khan. It is a Treatise of Moral Philosophy, containing Rules and Directions for tempering the Passions and Appetites; each Moral Duty, and vicious Habit, being fully treated of under their distinct Heads. This Book is divided into Three Sections. The First of which considers Man in Regard to his own Person singly, as a Member of Society, and what Duties are incumbent on him. In the Second, he is considered as the Head of a Family, and Rules laid down for his Management, in Regard to each of those whom he has under his immediate Care. In the Third, he is considered as Head or Ruler of a Society or Kingdom, and Directions laid down for his Government in that State. Towards the latter End are annex'd, Plato's Instructions to Aristotle; containing sundry excellent Advices: As also a Translation of the Secret of Secrets, or Aristotle's Instructions to Alexander the Great, regarding his Conduct in Persia, which, by Order of the Khalif Maimun, was translated from the Original Greek into Arabic.

Akhlack Nasri, A Treatise on the same Subject, and disposed in the same Order, by Nasr o'din.
Oriental Manuscripts. 19

O'min Mabommed ben Mabommed ben Hossan al T FOSS.

Destour al Vizira. The whole Duty of a Vizir, with proper Rules and Directions for his Management, in regard to all Ranks of People, from his King to the meanest Subject. It is dedicated to Emir Fakher o' din ben Hossan.


A Treatise of Ethics, much esteemed in the East. Divided into Forty Chapters, each treating of a different Head. The whole interspersed with pleasant and improving Narratives, adapted to the Subject.

Ayar Danish. The History of which Book is thus. The ancient Brahmins of India, after a great deal of Time and Labour, compiled a Treatise, (which they called Kuruk Duman) in which were inserted the choicest Treasures of Wisdom, and the perfectest Rules for governing a People. This Book they presented to their Rajaks, who kept it with the greatest Scarcity and Care. About the Time of Mahommed's Birth, or the latter End of the VIth Century, Noisbervan the Juff, who then reigned in Persia, discovered a great Inclination to see that Book: for which Purpose, one Barzuvia, a Physician, who had a surprising Talent in learning several Languages, particularly the Sanskrit, was introduced to him, as the properest Person to be employed to get a Copy thereof. He went to India, where, after some Years Stay, and great Trouble, he procured it. It was translated into the Pehlevi Language by him, and Barziumehr the Vizir. Noisbervan ever after, and all his Successors the Persian Kings, had this Book in
in high Esteem, and took the greatest Care to keep it secret. At last, Abu Jaffer Munford To
Nikky, who was the Second Khalif of the Afoffi
Reign, by great Search, got a Copy thereof in the
Pehluvi Language, and ordered Imám Hossan Ab-
dal Mokaffa, who was the most Learned of that
Age, to translate it into Arabic. This Prince,
ever after, made it his Guide, not only in Affairs
relating to the Government, but in private Life
also.

In the Year 380 of the Hegira, Sultan Mäahmud
Ghazi put it into Verse. And afterwards, in
the Year 515, by Order of Bberam Shab ben
Mëloua, that which Abdal Mokaffa had tran-
lated, was re-translated into Päxä, by Abul
Mela Näsfer aliab Mästofä; and this is that Ku-
lila Dümna, which is now extant. As this latter
had too many Arabic Verfes, and oboflote
Phrases in it; Molanä Ali ben Hossein Væzæ, at
the Requell of Emir Sobéli, Keeper of the Seals
to Sultan Hossein Mirza, put it into a more
modern Stile, and gave it the title of Anuar
Sobéli.

In the Year 1002, the Great Moghol jalal odin
Mabômmäc Akbar ordered his own Secretary
and Vizir, the Learned Abul Fazl, to illustra-
te the obscure Pallages, abridge the long Digres-
sions, and put it into such a Stile as would be
most familiar to all Capacities; which he ac-
cordingly did, and gave it the Name of Ayar
Danisb, or the Criterion of Wifdom.

Anuar Sobéli. An Edition of the same Book,
what in Sultan Hossein's Time,

Kulila Dümna. The Edition wrote in 515, by
Bberam Shab's Order.
Açar Aflouit, or the Vestiges of Chastity. A Novel. In which the Author has given the Character of a virtuous chaste Woman.

Touti Nama. By the famous Nakhseebi. In this Book, the whole Discourse is feigned to have passed betwixt a Parrot and her Mistress, whose Husband had gone a distant Voyage. In which she artful Tricks and Ingratitude of Women are laid open by a Relation of several curious and surprising Intrigues, which the Parrot relates every Night, in order to divert the Time, and bring on the Morning, to prevent her going to her Gallant, until her Husband's Return.

Dowzd v Kazzi, or the Thief and the Judge. Being a Dispute betwixt the Kazzi of Baghdad, and a Thief, who had laid Hold of him as he was going out to his Country Garden, about an Hour before Day-light. The Thief happens to prove too hard for the Kazzi, for he cites more Passages from the Koran, to justify his robbing him, than the Kazzi can well answer.

Mahaverat. Rules and Directions for behaving in Company; with a Relation of several famous Repartees, witty Answers, and inoffensive Jests; with a Collection of Proverbs, and the best Passages out of the most eminent Poets, on the several different Subjects that can happen in Conversation.

Negaristan. By Mayin Jouini, in the Time of Sultan Abouseyd Bahadr Khan. Dedicated to his Vizir Mohammed Rifehid. It is wrote in a beautiful Stile. It contains some Hundreds of very pleasant and improving Relations, which are true
true in Fact, and regarding each of the following Heads, viz.

I. A virtuous Disposition.
II. Abstinence, and Self-Denial.
III. Humanity towards our Fellow-Creatures.
IV. Love and Friendship.
V. Council and Advice.
VI. Greatness of Soul, and Mercy.
VII. The many Advantages arising from the Knowledge of Arts and Sciences.


Tokuim al Akhlack. A Treatise of Ethics; digested into a very regular Method.

Pund nama. A Treatise, containing several good Instructions: By Shebb Ferid otar.

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ARTS, SCIENCES, &c.

Danish nama é Jeban. A Treatise of Physics. By Ghyath o' din Ali ebn Ali Emiran al Hoseini, al Isfahani. It is divided into Ten Sections, Twenty Divisions, and an Appendix; which treat of the following Subjects.

The Universal Intelligent, and Universal Soul. The Heavenly Bodies; their Order, the Time and Manner of their Revolutions.

Concerning the Elements.
Concerning a Body.
Of a Simple and Compound Body.
That there is no Vacuum.
The Theory of Vapours, Exhalations, Wind, Clouds, Rain, Snow, Hail, Dew, Thunder, Light-
Lightning, falling Stars, Redness of the Sky about the Horizon, several Suns appearing at once, Rain-bows, Halo’s, Earthquakes; Sounds, Wind, and Fire, coming out of the Bowels of the Earth; Springs, Fountains, Hills, &c. Produce of all Sorts of Minerals, Stones, &c. Reason of their different Weights, Colours, Tastes, and what Planets govern each. Vegetables; their Theory, Production. Account of the Vegetable Soul, and its Faculties. Production of brute Animals; Account of their Soul, and its Faculties. Creation of Man; Account of his Intellectual Soul, Faculties, and his Form. Account of the Continuance of Production. The Production of Animals by Generation, the Manner and several Degrees of the Formation of a Fetus, its Position in the Womb, its Birth, and the Causes of Male and Female. Account of the outward and inward Senses; where they differ in Man and Beast; how Objects strike the Senses and Mind. Of the Immortality of the rational Soul. Of Misery and Happiness. Of Predestination and Providence. That it is possible a Man may be inform’d of hidden Things, and what is not to be perceived by the Senses, both in Sleep and awake, and the Manner thereof. In Seven Discourses. Of Dreams, and the several Sorts of them. Of Inspiration, Prophecy, and the Degrees of Prophets, Miracles, Sorcery, Magick, an Evil Eye, &c. and living by little or no Food. Of Opticks; the Theory of Sight, Light, and Colours. Proving the Earth and Water to be of a Spherical Form.
Geographical Definitions and Paradoxes.

Abu Ali Sina's Advice.

A Treatise of Anatomy; with the Use and Functions of the several Parts.

_Mijmouh Tet v' Gherib._ By Isof ben Mahommed ben Isof al Tabib. Dedicated to the Great Mogbol Nessir o' din Mahommed Hemalun. Containing,

_Hesz Sebt_, or Rules for the Preservation of Health, in Regard to Eating, Drinking, Exercise, Rest, &c.

Names of Medicines, in the Indian Language.

_Jameh al Fovaed_, or an Account of all Disealess incident to the several Parts of the Body, from the Head downwards; with Remedies for each. Cures for venomous Bites. Receipts and Remedies for several Disealess. In Verse.

_DIR ANASIR v' havasba._ Concerning the Four Elements, and Five Senses.

_Rissalih Fovaed al Sabian_; or Instruction to Youth.


_Rissalih dir Mareset Astrolab._ Concerning the Use of the Astrolabe.

_Rissalih Heyit._ A Treatise of Geometry.

_Rissalih Hissab._ Of Arithmetick.
Hissab ahl Tinjam. The Accounts used by Astronomers.

Dir Mussahit. Mensuration of Superficies's, Solids, &c.

Takhlis al Mostab. In Arabic.

Arouz. "The Method of composing Verses of all Kinds.

Reml, or Geometry. These Eight Treatises by Abdakwabid Gilani.

Khatfah Atatoun fi elum adad. In Arabic. By Shekh Malek Mogrebibi.

Elum Munazerih, the Art of Disputing and Pleading.

Elum Hislab, of Arithmetick, &c.

Al Gebr u Makabla, of Algebra.

Elum Duwavin, the Method of writing the best Stile, with Quotations from the most approved Authors, on several Subjects.

Esszit Bid'eb, The Art of Composing and Ranging the several Parts of a Discourse in the best Manner.

Elum Mithal.

Estiarib on Elum Bayan. By Molana Asam o'din.

Elum Ziræt. A Compleat Treatise of Husbandry and Gardening; wherein is set down the proper Season and Manner of managing all Kinds of Grain.
Grain, Fruit-Trees, Greens, &c. The Prognosticks of the Weather; with an Account of the Physical Uses of the different Fruits and Herbs; how to destroy or drive away all Kinds of Vermin, or hurtful Reptiles; with the Method of making Wine.

MIZAN.

AJINASS FEAL.

PANJH GUNJH.

NEHV Zeriri.

MESBAH.

SHIRREH Moula Jami.

These Six Books are the Rudiments, Grammars, &c. that are necessary, in order to read, write, and pronounce the Arabic Language.

SEB RISSALIH & TIRANDAZI. Three different Treatises on the Art of shooting with Bows and Arrows; with the Method of making Bows, and all Kinds of Arrows. The Art of Shooting on Horseback, at full Speed, either forwards or backwards.

ZEECH ULOGH Beg. By Mubomed Mirza ULOGH Beg, Grandson to Temour. It contains the different Era's, and Manner of counting Time, in all Places. The Festivals and remarkable Days, as all the different Nations hold them. The Chinese Computation of Time, and their Era; with a Treatise of Astronomy and Astrology.

DIR KHAYASS Chowb Chini, Cea, v Koava. A Treatise on China-Root, Tea, and Coffee; explaining the Natures and Physical Uses of them; with the Method
Method of preparing each, especially the China-Roost, when used as a Diet-Drink in the East.

Rissālih Munṭik. A Treatise of Logick.

Rissālih Ḥejāt. Of Geometry, and the Doctrine of the Sphere.

Rissālih Avneq. Another Treatise on the Art of making Verlès.

Dir Elum Kubb. The Rules for writing the Persian Characters.

Fars nāma. Wrote by Nizam o'din Ahmed, at the Command of Sbāb Albūf the IIId. It is a Treatise on Horses; the Method of Riding and Managing them; the Marks by which they are known; with Receipts for all the Diseases incident to them.

Anis al Abukain. The Method of reading and understanding the Persian Poets, and discovering the Beauties in them.

Juwahr nāma. A Treatise on all precious and valuable Stones, from the Diamond to an Agate; the Places they are found in; with the Method of understanding them, and the Prices of each.

Tokvim fars. A Persian Almanack.

Beraḳ al amul. Containing an Account of the Great Moghol's Revenues from each Province in general, and each Town and Village in particular, throughout the Empire; with a List of all the Posts, Offices, &c, therein.
A Catalogue of

Maima, namba v Tarikha.

Elum Khourd as bindi.

Heelha Ismaeli (or, Al alat abroubianiat) A Book of Machinery, containing about 300 Figures. It was composed by Aboolexx Ismael al Geniri, and is divided into six Parts.

Part I. Of strange Clocks and Clepsydras.
II. Vessels of a strange Structure.
III. Musical Instruments.
IV. Hydraulic Engines and Machines for raising weighty Things from deep Places.
V. Vases for Drinking, Plates, &c.
VI. Several Sorts of Machines.

wrote in Arabic, and dedicated to Kara Ershad al Aleki.

Dictionaries, Vocabularys, &c.

Farhang Jeybanguiri. By Mir Jemal o'din Hossein Avjou ebn Sukhr o'din Hossan. Dedicated to the Great Moghol Nour o'din Mahommed Jeybanguir. 'Tis compiled from Forty Eight different Dictionaries, and contains all the Words modern or ancient, that properly belong to the Persic Language, with their true Vowels, and their several Significations; each Signification authorized by a Quotation from some eminent Author. The Introduction is divided into Twelve Sections, relating to the several Changes the Letters and Words have undergone, the Syllables and Words that are added for Ornament in Writing; with a Copious Grammatical Dissertatation, necessary to be perused, for the more perfect Knowledge of the Persic Language; with an Appendix, explain-
ing those Words of the Zend, which are not to be found in the Body of the Book.

**LETTER AL LOGHAT.** By Abdal Latif ben Abdallah Kehir. A Dictionary in great Esteem.

**FARHANQ ADAT AL FAZLA.** By Kazzzi Khan Pedr Mahommed Dehlu; known by the Name of Bed-barwal. It contains chiefly the ancient Persian Words.

**AKD AL JEVABR.** A Vocabulary.

**LOGHAT ARABI, FARSI, U TURKI, Ditto.**

**NISSAB SABIAN, Ditto.**

**FARHANQ ISOFI.**

**ALFAZ ADVIA.** By Nour ul din Mahommed Abdallah Hakim Ain al Muinck Shirazi. Dedicated to the Great Mogbol Shabab o din Mahommed Shab Ieban. It explains, in an Alphabetical Order, all Drugs, and Medicines; their Qualities, Virtues, Doses, &c. with the Names of each, in the Arabic, Persian, and Indian Languages. To which is added, an Appendix, fully treating of Bezoars, Mummy, China-Root, Tea, Coffee, and Tobacco.

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**LETTERS, FORMS OF WRITING, &C.**

Abul Fazl. In Three Tomes. Being Copies of all the Letters wrote by the Learned Abul Fazl (Secretary and Vizir to the Great Mogbol Jilal o din Mahommed Akbar) in his Master's Name, to the several Kings and Powers he corresponded.
responded with. They are reckoned the best writ of any Thing in that Language.

Insha Jufi. Rules and Precedents for writing to all Degrees of People, from the King to the meanest Subject. Also Forms of all Kinds of Writs, Bonds, Receipts, Firmans, Conveyances, Petitions, &c.

Insha Harkerin v Burbemun. Containing the same as Insha Jufi.

Jinab Abewi. Forms of Letters to Parents, Relations, &c.

Insha Khot Nisbb.

Sehifa Shahi. By Hosssein ben ali al Vaez al Kashfi. Dedicated to Sultan Hosssein. It contains Rules and Precedents for writing to Princes, and all Ranks of People, in the most elegant Manner, and in so regular and well-disposed a Method, that Persons of an ordinary Capacity, with moderate Application, may soon attain to a very good Stile in that Language. With several Copies of Persic and Arabick Writings, by the most eminent Masters that have been in Persia, India, or Tartary, for the Two last Centuries.

DIVINITY.

Two Korans.

Tafsir Bedawi. Bedawi's Comment on the Koran in Arabic. Tafsir


**Oriental Manuscripts.**

**Taafsir Hossini.** Hossain Vacez, his Comment on the Koran in Persic.

**Taafsir Kasbani.** A large Comment on the Koran, according to the Sebeus Doctrine. By Fatteh Al-lab en Shuckr Allah al Kasbani. In Two large Folio Volumes. The Two first Comments are according to the Sunnis.

**Miskat.** A Book containing all the authentic Traditions of Mubammed, in Regard to Points of Faith, Worship, &c. and what is not determined in the Koran, whether by Inspiration, or as his own Opinion, which are called Abadis, Kaddis, &c.

**Shirreh Sourat al Zaba.** Explanation of the Sourat al Zaba, (a Chapter of the Koran so called) By Baba ben Mahmad, ben Ibrahim.

**Quray.** Prayers for all the Set-Times of the Day and Night. By Shekh Mabommed ebn Ibrahim al Kadri.

**Quray Mawam.** Mabommedan Prayers for the different Festivals, Feasts, Months, &c.

**Tokmil al Inan u Tokviet al Ikan.** An Explanations of all the Articles of Faith in the Mabommedan Religion. By Abdalbuck ben Sef o'din al Turk al Dehlevi al Bokhari.

**Al Munam fiy Motkod, or Akaed Toreisbi.** Dedicated to Silkbar Sultan Atabak. It is divided into Three Parts, and each of these Parts into Ten Chapters.

Part I. Concerning a Belief and Faith in God.

II. Ditto
II. Ditto in the Angels, Reveal’d Religion, and the Prophets.

III. Ditto, other particular Points; such as are most confentaneous to the true Orthodox and primitive Faith.

Rissalih Shok afza. A Spiritual Work, by Othman Birgi ben Albedad.

Kunz al fovaedw Shirreb al Akaed; of the same Nature as Toknîl al Imân in Verse.

Aitkad nama: upon the same Subject. By Molana Abdorabman Jami.

Khavass Souratba. The Properties of each Sourat, or Chapter in the Koran, in Verse.


Jameh Abassi. A Collection of the Mahommadan Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws, according to the Schias. By Baba o’din Mabommed Amili; dedicated to Shab Abasf. In Twenty Parts, and each of these Parts divided into many Sections and Chapters.

Part. I. Purifications of all Kinds.
II. Prayers; their Forms, Times; what are necessary and supererogatory.
III. Zikât, or what is set aside of one’s Effects for charitable and religious Ules.
IV. Fafts, Festivals, &c.
V. The whole Ceremony of a Pilgrimage to Mecca.

VI. Alms,
Oriental Manuscripts. 33

VI. Alms, appropriating to pious Uses, Charity, and freeing Slaves, fighting with the Infidels; its several Laws and Rules.

VII. The Visitation of Mahommed's, Mortifa Ali's, and the Imams Tombs; with the Days of their Births and Deaths.

VIII. Concerning Promises, Vows, Oaths, and the Performance of them.

IX. Buying, Selling, Sureties, Pledges, and Partnership.

X. Hiring, Renting, Lending, Pawnning, and appointing Agents.

XI. Marrying for ever, and for a limited Time; with all its Laws and Rules.

XII. Divorces, and Rules.

XIII. The Laws of Hunting, and all Sorts of Game.

XIV. Killing of Animals for Food; what are lawful and forbidden.


XVI. Law-Suits, Cases of Equity, and how they are to be decided.

XVII. Concerning Contracts and Last Wills.

XVIII. Sharing of Heritages, Legacies, &c.

XIX. The Punishments that are by Law inflicted on Theft, Adultery, Fornication, Sodomy, &c.

XX. The Price of Blood for Murder, maiming, wounding, being bit by one's Dog, &c.

E. MIJMOUTH
A Catalogue of

Mijmoukh Khani. A Book of the Mahommedan Civil and Ecclesiastical Law in all its Branches. By Kumal Kr. m. Dedicated to Beberam Khan. At the latter End is a Calculation of what Number of Letters of each Sort there is in the Koran.

Khlissit al Fekih. A compleat Body of the Mahommedan Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws, according to the Sunnis, as regulated by Abul Hamza; and wherever he differs from the other Three Malek, Shafi, and Hanbal, Notice is taken there of. These Four last Books are what the Mufassis and Kazvis are guided by, in whatever they decide or determine; and what directs all sorts of People, as to their Purifications, Prayers, and all other Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion.

Khotbah. A Form of the Harangue spoke by the Mullah on every Friday in the Mosques, wherein the Prince who governs is mention'd and pray'd for.

Jahan Ara Begum, Sitter to Aurung-zebé, her History of the Ajmir Saints.


Dir Mazhub Aramin. A Treatise wrote by an Armenian Priest, who turned Mahommedan in Shab Hossin, King of Persia his Time, or 1123 of the Hegira; in which he endeavours to expose the Christian Religion, as practised by the Armenians and Roman Catholicks, by quoting several Parts of their Missal, and describing their Forms of Worship. It is dedicated to Shab Hossin.
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The Zend of Zeratustri, in the ancient Persic Character.

A Translation of all the Remains of Zeratustri, or Zoroaster, into Persic; with several other Pieces, is as follows.

Liturgy of the antient Persians.
Concerning Women, Heaven and Hell.
Dialogue betwixt Minukberad and Ormisd.
Account of the antient Kings.
Account of the several Books of their Religion, before they were destroyed by Alexander, and what was the Subject of each.
Zeratustri's Conference with Ormisd.
Account of the first peopling of the Earth; with the several Excellencies peculiar to the Month Fระวین.
Concerning the Soul and Death.
Account of the Creation.
Ormisd and Aberman, the Two Principles.
The Guardian Angels.
Religion explain'd.
Explanation of some Terms used in their Religious Offices.
Concerning the Existence and Nature of a Deity.
Explanation of the 101 Names of God.
Of the Nature of Sin, necessary good Works, Works of Supererogation, Charity, Obedience, &c.
State of the Blessed in Heaven, and Wicked in Hell.
Resurrection, and last Judgment.
Daftan Neisber-

Furruknana, } preceded Times, intermix'd
Daftan Mirghou Zin. } with Morality.
 Ardaverasnama.
A Catalogue of

Letters from the Gebers in Persia to those in India.
Of the Good Angels Assistance, and the Evil's Resistance.
Account of Zeratushri's Conference with God, in Regard to the Soul; the several Kinds of Sin, Women, Worship, Religion; the Worship of the Fire; Gurtaff's Soul; State of the Blessed and Wicked. A Prediction.
Of Marriage; Purifications of Women; Offices to the Dead; Religious Duties; the Merits of each explain'd.
How particular Angels preside over every Action.
The Ghabahnars and Festivals to be observed.
The Ceremony of the Kusti.
Continuance of the World; the Resurrection, its Manner, the Method of Judgment and Punishment; how the Soul is disposed of after Death.
Ketab sud dir; in Verse. In 100 Parts.
Mar nama.
Mudit Dutia et ajaehha.
Explanation of a Confession of Sins.
Prayers, &c. to be used in setting out on a Journey, or commencing any Work.
The Purifications that are to be used on all Occasions.
Several Questions and Answers relating to Cases in Religion and Law.
Rules in Eating, Drinking, &c.
Worship of the Sun and Fire.
Another Conference of Zeratushri's with God.
Abkam Hakim Jamasp, concerning several Things in the Time of Gurtaff.
Predictions concerning the latter Times.
Account of the ancient Kings.

Prayers
Oriental Manuscripts. 37

Prayers of sundry sorts.
Poems on the Months, and their Guardian Angels.
Form and Method of Bathing and Purification.

On Divinity, and other subjects, in the Sanskerrit, or the Brahmin's ancient language and character; being all in loose leaves.

Aitch Pouran. 601 Fol.

Bhagviti Pouran. 620 Fol.

Vesvaghik Shaifter. 105 Fol.

Mans Smriti Dirhm Shaifter. 280 Fol.

Mithaka, Dirhm Shaifter. 523 Fol.

Aninvitti, Dirhm Shaifter. 124 Ditto.

All these Pourans and Shawlers are Glosses and Comments on the Vedeb. They contain every particular relating to the Brahmin's Religion, and a great deal of ancient History.

Bhagviti Gita. A Translation of which into Perse, is already mentioned.

Ramniv, or the History of Rajab Ram, intermix'd with Divinity. In Three Parts. Containing 367 Folio's.

Krishn Kritis, or Krishn's History and Worship.

Proucrud Chander osdub. Deeds of the ancient Rajab's.
A Catalogue of
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Anubbidra. A Part of the Vedh, showing the Character, and the Manner it is writ in.
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Koak Shafter.

Sanskreet Alphabet, with the Method of joining all their Letters.

The Banian Alphabet. Ditto.

Five Brahmin Almanacks, from the Year 1739, to 1743.

Three Eclipses, as calculated and drawn out by Shri Nath Vedaz, a Brahmin, at Cambay.


Tirumma Bhagvitt Gita. A Translation into Persian, of the Gita. This Book the Brahmins call, The Marrow of the Vedas. It gives a Light into the most mysterious Part of their Religion, and explains the Substance of the Vedas.

Muham al Babrain, (i.e. the uniting of both Seas.) A Treatise wrote by Sultan Dara Sbekowb, eldest Brother to Auring-zebe; in which he endeavours to reconcile the Brahmins Religion with the Mahomedan; citing Passages from the Koran, to prove the several Points. It was his writing this Book, and conversing so much with the Brahmins, that chiefly lost him the Empire; for Auring-zebe made a Pretence of that, and consequently had all the bigotted Mahomedans to join him.

The Gospel of Geronimo Xavier. — In April 1582. The Great Moghol Jalal o'dn Mahommed Akbar (who
(who was fix’d to no Religion) wrote a Letter to the King of Portugal, by Sayy Mazuzfer, desiring to send him a Translation of the Scriptures into Arabic or Persic; and at the same Time, one who was capable of explaining to him the Christian Religion. — One Geromina Xavier, a Jesuit, and Relation to the famous St. Francis Xavier, was appointed for that Purpose, who having learned the Persic Language (as he says) in the Space of Eight Years; with the Assistance of Molana Abdal Settar ben Kassun Labori, composed this Book, and presented it to the Moghol in April 1602.

The Moghol’s Letter, which is curious in its Kind, is to be found in the first Volume of Insha Abdal Fazl. This Manuscript is the Original one that Xavier presented to the Moghol.