THE
MEMOIRS
OF
KHOJEH ABDULKURREEM,
A CASHMERIAN OF DISTINCTION,

Who accompanied NADIR SHAH, on his return from HINDOSTAN to PERSIA; from whence he travelled to BAGHDAD, DAMASCUS, and ALEPPO, and after visiting MEDINA and MECCA, embarked on a ship at the port of JEDDEH, and failed to HOOUGHLY in BENGAL.

INCLUDING
The HISTORY of HINDOSTAN, from A.D. 1739 to 1749: with an account of the EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS in BENGAL, and on the Coast of COROMANDEL.

21254

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,
BY FRANCIS GLADWIN, Esq.

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£470
TO THE HONOURABLE

SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,

KNIGHT OF THE MOST HONOURABLE ORDER

OF THE BATH,

GOVERNOR, AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF,

OF FORT ST. GEORGE, &c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK,

\[\text{a dedication}\]

BY HIS MOST OBLIGED,

AND OBEIDENT SERVANT,

THE TRANSLATOR.
THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

ABDULKURREEM *, the son of Khojeh Akebut Mahmood †, and grand-son of Mohammed Bolaky ‡, was born in the land of Cashmeer ||, the semblance of the celestial Paradise §, the inheritance of our great ancestor; and like him was banished from his native soil; but with this difference, that Adam had first tasted the fruit of his sin.

Befriend me, for I am the Adam ** of this age;
None but the accursed Satan ††, will be my enemy.

* خوaja عاقبت محمد عبد الكريم
†† جنت نظير جنت نظير or resembling Paradise.
|| Cashmeer is filled, in all publick writings,
|
I now humbly address myself to the truly learned, who although they be perfect in knowledge and wisdom, are ready to excuse the defects of others.

At the time Nadir Shah * invaded Hindostan †, I dwelt in the city of Shahjehanabad ‡. I had long wished to have an opportunity of making a pilgrimage to Meccâ ¶, as well as to visit the holy shrines, and to kiss the feet of the true believers. Now since every one who heartily perseveres, will surely obtain the object of his wishes, it so happened, that I was introduced to Mirza Aly Akber §, who although nominally only keeper of the records, yet from there not being any prime minister, performed all the functions of that office. "Whatever " God resolves shall come to pass, he al- "so produces the means of its accom- "plishment." Summarily, Mirza Aly Akber presented me to Nadir Shah, who engaging his word, that I should be per-
mitted to perform the pilgrimage of Mecca, I entered into his service.

After my return from my travels, which proved longer than I had at first intended, some of my dearest friends, of whose love and affection I had experienced most substantial proofs, advised me to draw up a summary relation of my journey, and some account of the court of Persia; together with a narrative of the most interesting events in the History of Hindostan, since my arrival at Hooghly, which I have accordingly attempted in a plain and unaffected style.

*It is irksome to be teazed with old tales;*
*You had better tell only what you have yourself seen.*

*The story of Ferhad and Shireen* is become uninteresting;
*Like past Love, or an old Almanack.*

*Ferahd فرَاهُد* is a celebrated Persian Statuary, said to have cut many figures in the mountain of Beysicoon for his love of Shireen شیبرَین. This mountain is described by our author in the account of his travels through Persia.

*I relate*
I relate what I have beheld with mine own eyes;
Not mere hearsay, or antiquated fables.
No man in his senses would travel an unknown road;
Whatever the Pilgrim tells you, is from his own observation.

As I have entitled this little work a true Relation *, so I have kept the contents free from flattery and exaggeration, which too often stain the historic page. I have also avoided prolixity, as well as studied cadences, and flowing periods, which only serve to perplex the sense.

Hafiz exclaims, that, nevertheless, these are not all absurdities;
There being actually strange stories, as well as wonderful traditions.

* بناء دافع

In the translation we have omitted every thing relative to Nadir Shah, before his return from Hindoostan, the public being already in possession of those particulars from a most masterly pen.

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ERRATA
ERRATA.

Page. Line.
1       after 7th of Sefer, add or 4th May 1739.
15      after 8th Ramzan, add or 27th November 1739.
16      after 1st of Shawwal, add or 20th December 1739.
21—20  for twenty-four read twelve.
22      after 9th Moherrem, add or 25th March 1740.
       — after 3d Sefer, add or 18th April 1740.
24      after 5th of Rebby ul Awwal, add or 19th May 1740.
59      after middle of Shaban, add or end of October 1740.
84—2   for Afshan read Asfoun.
87—8   for Cutchkar read Kachur.
121—20 for Kerkooh read Kerkooh.
122—13 for Kerkooh read Kerkooh.
       Throughout for Zakariah read Zecharia.
132—21 for the read those.
133—24 for Aitij read Aly.
170—23 for mastigation read mastication.
199—14 for Syed read Syeds.
215—15 for Shiraz read Baghdad.
217—21 dele other.

Such as can have no doubt of the real reading or spelling, are omitted.
THE
MEMOIRS
OF
KHOJEH ABDULKURREEM.

NADIR SHAH marches from SHAH-
JEHANABAD, on his return to
PERSIA.

O
N the 7th of Sefer, A. H. 1152,
(or A. D. 1739), Nadir Shah re-
signed over to Mohammed Shah
the Empire of Hindostan; and marching
from Dehly, encamped at the garden of
Shalehmar *

He had given positive orders to Hajee
Folad Khan †, the Cutwal ‡ of Dehly,
that if any of his soldiers were found in

* حاجي فولاد خان
† شالمار
‡ کوتوال Superintendant of the Police.

the
the city after his march, to cut off their ears and noses, and then send them to him. However, many disgusted with his tyranny, ran all hazards by staying behind; some of whom incurred the punishment, whilst others were happy enough to elude the diligent search of the Cutch. As all the country on the Lahoor * road, had been totally desolated by the Kezlebashies † on their march to Dehly, Nadir Shah now resolved to take the route of Syalkote ‡, which being well inhabited, would afford him fresh plunder. Being the month of May the sun’s rays were exceedingly powerful, and the wind scorching hot, when the Persians unaccustomed to such weather, and who were clothed for a cold climate, were not able to support the fatigue, so that great numbers of men and cattle expired on this march. Those who survived the fatigue

* An order of soldiers among the Persians, as the Janizaries among the Turks. It signifies in the Turkish language red heads, and they are so called from the red caps, which they wore when first instituted by Sheikh Hyder, the father of Shah Ismail, first King of the Seffy Family.

†)

‡)

and
and heat of the journey, were restored to their health by the refreshing stream of Chenab *, which issuing from the neighbouring mountains, was at this season so intensely cold, that no man could stand in it up to his waist for one minute.

As soon as the bridge was formed over the Chenab, the inhabitants, who upon the approach of the Persian army, had fled to the mountains to avoid being plundered, came in the middle of the night, and throwing large trees into the river, the rapidity of the stream carried them with such violence against the boats, as broke the chains asunder, and a great number of people perished. Nadir Shah despairing of being able to repair the bridge, was under the necessity of crossing his army in boats; which detained him here some days. This halt, however, was of great service to his troops, by allowing them time to recruit their health and spirits. Men of all ranks were dissatisfied with his service, yet dared not

* ٌث

B 2  desert;
desert; but were compelled to submit to his severities, sooner than entail utter ruin on their families, who would have been made accountable for their conduct; and their property wherever it could have been discovered, would have been confiscated. Thus without either chain or yoke, they were held in cruel bondage; and whilst the instruments of their master's tyranny, were themselves the most abject and oppressed slaves.

Abulhassan Beg *, the Yekah Bashy †, was ordered to place truly people at the ferry, to examine all persons before they passed the river; and if any valuable jewels were discovered upon them, to seize and send them to the royal treasury. Upon the publication of this order, some came of themselves and delivered up the jewels they had got in plunder, and these were rewarded with dresses and other presents. From others were taken what they had concealed in the packs and saddles.

* An officer of high rank, but whose particular duty we have not been able to learn.
of their horses, camels, or mules. Some buried their stores in the ground, hoping that after the search was over, they might be able to return, and dig them up again; but from the strict orders of Nadir Shah, which were punctually obeyed, it was impossible for any one to recross the river: and thus the treasure remained in the bowels of its parent earth. Others, out of rage and indignation, threw into the river whatever they had concealed. The Yekah Bashy was directed to see that all the Hindostany prisoners were released, and given in charge to Zekariah Khan *, the Soobahdar of Lahoor, to be sent back to their respective countries.

When the army had crossed the Chenab, Nadir Shah informed his officers of his intention to march to Cashmeer; but upon its being represented to him that the roads were difficult for an army to pass, and that provisions would be found very scarce, he laid aside all thoughts of that expedition. Here Zekariah Khan took his leave and set out for Lahoor.

*مُزکریٰ خان

By
By repeated marches, without one halting day intervening, notwithstanding it rained almost incessantly, he arrived on the banks of the Jylum*. In the middle of the river, a camel loaded with gold plate took fright, and falling from the bridge of boats was drowned, and no part of the plate was ever recovered. At this place Nadir Shah sent back Mohammed Shah's artillery, and made them a present of the gold plate, which was sunk in the river. They of course exerted all their endeavours, but only lost their time. It is said, indeed, that they found a brass basin and ewer. Although it rained violently, he marched along the borders of Rawil Pundy †, and passing Hassan Abdal ‡, encamped on the banks of the river, which runs through the territory of the Afghans of Youlef Zei||. From hence he sent a detachment to subdue those Afghans, who had never yet been deprived of their independence. They had a deep river to pass, and the Afghans had burnt all the boats;

* جيلم
† رادول بندي
‡ افاغ سونی بزگ
|| but
but Nadir Shah ordered the men to cross on elephants, and swim their horses; by which means having gained the opposite side, the enemy, after a vigorous resistance, in which they suffered great slaughter, were obliged to submit; and to obtain quarter, engaged to pay a tribute, and to furnish Nadir Shah's army with thirty thousand effective men. Nadir Shah was glad to grant them these terms, for had he been detained a month longer on this expedition, the mountains of Cabul * would have been impassable, on account of the snow; whilst the state of affairs in Persia began to require his presence in that quarter.
Other Occurrences during Nadir Shah’s Expedition against the Afghans of Yousef Zei.

Soon after Nadir Shah’s arrival in the territory of Yousef Zei, he issued an edict to the governors of all the provinces of Iran *, whereby he granted a total remission of tribute from that kingdom for three years to come.

He appointed Ameer Hajee Khan † his ambassador to the Emperor of Turkey ‡, to whom he sent fifteen elephants and a few jewels, with some Cashmeery shawls, and other valuable productions of Hindostan. The party that accompanied him, were ordered to be mounted on fine horses richly caparisoned. The letter which he wrote to the Emperor of Turkey contained, amongst other matters, as follows: That the wall which Zobeideh Khatun || caused to be erected, to mark the road

* ایران The Persian Empire.  † امیر حاجی خان Qyfur Room.  ‡ نپر روم from
from Cufah * to Mecca †, has been demol-ished by the Arabs, who have destroyed the wells, and now plunder the pilgrims, verifying the verse of the Koran which says, "that the Arabs are the most hardened in-fidels." That it is therefore incumbent on the Emperor of Turkey, to order the go-vernor of that province to repair the road, and extirpate the bands of robbers that infest it; so that the Pilgrims of Iran and Turan ‡, may pass in safety by that route, which is their nearest way to Mecca; under the conduct of Ameer Hajee Khan, whom Nadir Shah had now ap-pointed to that office. That if on account of the war against the Christians, the Em-peror should find it inconvenient to pu-nish the Arabs, he need only signify as much to Nadir Shah, who would send an army of Kezlebashes, to deliver the right-eous from out of the hands of those mis-creants, which would be an act merito-rious before God and man. That whereas at Mecca the Imams || in the four orato-

* Turcomania.
ries of the four sects—*, pray for the Emperor of Turkey alone, Nadir Shah requested, that in the oratory of Shafei, which is situated on the side of Iran, his own name might be used. He also desired that Seffy Mirza †, who was at the court of Constantinople ‡, might be sent to him, for the preservation of peace and friendship; for that if this request was refused, a war would be the inevitable consequence; adding, that it is manly, to give notice of our intention. The above are all the particulars upon which I was able to obtain information.

Nadir Shah ordered the Darogah of the Feel-khanah || to send all the elephants before the army, through Ghuzneen §, and Kandahar **, to Herat ††, to prevent scarcity of provisions in the camp. Many

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* The four sects, are Henefee, Maleke, Shafei, Coftentiniah.

†† Master of the Elephants.
of these animals had been used to eat sugar-cane and various drugs of Hindostan, which not being procurable in many places through which they passed, afforded their keepers ample pretexts for extorting fines from the people of the country. And whenever an elephant died, the keeper, in order to exculpate himself with Nadir Shah, represented that it had happened from the want of the customary supplies, and thereby brought farther distress upon the country, from the effects of the Shah’s displeasure. Seventy-five elephants died between Cabul and Herat.

Nadir Shah being encamped on the banks of the river, three Afghans swam over from the opposite side in the middle of the night, and having entered the outer tent, were proceeding to his sleeping apartment; but the noise of their feet having awakened him, he removed to another place, and being ignorant of their number, thought it most prudent to observe silence. They entered the sleeping tent, and having failed in their main design, which was to have assassinated the Shah, they loaded
themselves with the most valuable effects they could lay their hands upon. The guards were soon alarmed, but the Afghans plunged into the water, dived like alligators, and swam across the river with their booty. In the morning, the guards who were stationed near the river were put to death, and all those of other posts, were punished with different degrees of severity, proportionate to their neglect of duty. As the season for passing the mountains would now soon be elapsed, he did not trouble himself to make any enquiry into the conspiracy, which would have detained him here. He crossed the river in the middle of the territory of Yousef Zei, where it is divided into five branches, over three of which bridges were constructed, the other two were fordable. These five streams unite at the ferry of Peishore *, which confluence is called the Attrock †. In ancient books it is called Neelab ‡.

* پیششور  
† اکل  
‡ نیلال
KHOJEH ABDULKURREEM. 13

The Nuffuckchee Bashee *, conform-
ably to the Shah's orders, having dis-
tributed his men upon the bridges, and at
the fords, took from the soldiers the re-
mainder of the Hindostany prisoners, and
gave them in charge to Hajee Askeree †,
the agent of Zakaria Khan, Soobahdar
of Lahoor, to be sent by him to their re-
spective countries.

Nadir Shah now bestowed the Soobah-
dary of Peishore upon Naffir Khan ‡, who
had held that government before.

The army proceeding by quick marches,
by the route of Jellalabad ‖, arrived at Ca-
bul, on the 1st of Ramzan, A. H. 1152.
This city is entirely desolated by the op-
pressions of the governor; but the neigh-
bouring country is rather in a better state.
The healthiness of the climate is well ascer-
tained by the robust make, and hearty
constitutions of the natives.
I visited the tomb of my paternal grandfather Khojeh Mohammed Bolaky*: and was much delighted with the gardens, and other places in this country.

* خواجہ محمد بولیکه
Nadir Shah marches to Sind, desolates that Country, and takes the Soobahdar prisoner.

Nadir Shah had sent orders to Khodayear Khan *, the Soobahdar of Sind †, to meet him at Cabul; but he having neglected to obey the summons, the Shah was enraged at his insolence, and resolved to punish him. Accordingly, on the 8th of Ramzan, he marched from Cabul through the Bungishat ‡. Fortunately there was not any fall of snow during this expedition, although from the season of the year, it might reasonably have been expected. But the men suffered great inconvenience, from the cold blasts of wind from the mountains; and amongst the passes they had to encounter a very rapid river, in which was lost near a fourth of the plunder of Hindostan; and a great deal of baggage belonging to the officers and soldiers.

* سند خداً گا گن گا
† اکبر
‡ بانگ

This
This destructive river winds in its course like a deadly snake, so that they were obliged to cross it twenty-two times. Numbers of camels and mules perished therein, and to add to this calamity, there was a scarcity of provisions for the cattle. Had it happened to snow, the whole army must inevitably have perished. After a most fatiguing march of twenty-four days, the army entered the territory of Sind, on the first of the month of Shawal. When we had got about half a furlong out of the pass, there was a very sensible change in the climate; and we saw fields cultivated with wheat and barley. We had now a double cause for rejoicing, for the conclusion of the fast of Ramzan, and our deliverance from the calamities above described. The next day it rained so violently, and such torrents issued from the mountains, that numbers of the people who had fallen behind perished. The Zemindars shut themselves up in their forts, and instead of tribute, promised nothing but cannon-balls; but the army halting, they were soon obliged to surrender. Not only their lives were spared, but they were exempted
exempted from plunder, upon engaging to transport the artillery to Khoda-abad *. For want of a sufficient number of cattle, men were compelled to be yoked; many died through fatigue, and ill treatment, whilst others were starved to death: the surviving few were permitted to return to their own homes.

The jungle of Tabre斯坦 †, or Mazenderan ‡, is nothing when compared with what we had to pass on the borders of Sind. Even Nadir Shah and the army missed their way and separated; and the camp followers were in the utmost confusion and distress. In one part the reeds took fire, which so frightened the camels, that many who had valuable loads, ran off with their riders, and were never more heard of. To add to these distresses, the inhabitants, by the direction of Khodayear Khan, had buried all the grain which they were not able to burn, and then took to flight. The army was in danger of perishing by famine, when the scouts disco-

* مازندران ‡ جنگل طبرستان † خدایاوا
D vered
vered some grain buried in the distant villages, which was divided amongst the troops according to the muster-rolls. For the cattle there was plenty of green wheat and barley, the country being highly cultivated. When we got through the jungle, we arrived at Larkaneh *, where Nadir Shah resolved to leave the baggage.

During the whole of this march, all the villages through which we passed were entirely deserted; and the only person that I saw was a fat Brahmin sitting upon the highway begging alms in the names of Ram † and Mahadeo ‡. I did all I could to persuade him to save himself by flight from the fury of the soldiers, who were near at hand, but he was so infatuated, that he would not stir, and even asked me, if I envied him the alms which he should obtain? During our conversation, a party of Bukhtyearees || came up, and binding the poor wretch hand and foot, they cut him in pieces, to try the sharpness of their swords.

* نادر

† ماندی ‡ رام
Nadir Shah marches against Khodayear Khan. He celebrates the Festival of the New Year, after the manner of the Emperors of Hindostan.

Khodayear Khan having crossed the river Attock, which is here called Sind, had retired with his family and most valuable effects to the fort of Amerkote *, situated in a sandy desert, entirely destitute of water. He had left a great deal of money and effects in boats on the river, that in case of emergency, he might escape that way. Nadir Shah hastened to Amerkote with a small detachment. On the very day that Khodayear Khan had resolved to embark with his family on board the boats, and lie concealed amongst the islands of the Sind, till Nadir Shah's return to Iran; Nadir Shah besieged the fort before sun-rise, when Khodayear Khan, by the advice of his friends, commenced

* امرکوت

D 2 menced
menced a negotiation, and offered to surrender if he was only promised his life, and that his family should not be disgraced. On account of the scarcity of water and provisions, Nadir Shah acceded to the proposed terms; and upon his coming to make his submissions, he only directed his motions to be watched, merely to secure his person; but strict orders were given, that no indignity should be offered to himself or any of his family. All the money and effects that were found in the fort, and on board the boats, were seized and sent to the camp at Larkaneh. Kho-dayear Khan is of a dark complexion, and afflicted with the leprosy. The inhabitants of Sind, who are Belooches *, pay him great respect on account of his virtues, considering him as their spiritual guide. His family had long possessed a Zemindarry in this country, and at present he is Soobahdar of Sind, on the part of the Emperor of Hindostan.

I was present when an inventory was

* An Afghan Tribe,
taken of the effects of Khodayear Khan, and saw amongst them many things that had formerly belonged to the Seffeyv Sultans, and which were recognized by the officers employed in taking the account. Upon inquiry it was found, that the Afghans of Kandahar when they plundered Iran, sent the most valuable articles to different places for sale.

Nadir Shah was exceedingly rejoiced at his success over Khodayear Khan. He celebrated the festival of the New Year at Larkaneh, and bestowed very considerable presents amongst his army. To those of the first rank he gave five hundred mohurs each; to others from one to three hundred mohurs; and every private soldier had two mohurs. The mohur was that of Hindostan worth twenty-four rupees. Of the first rank were Allavee Khan the Hakeem Bashy, Abulhassan Khan, Lutfullah Khan *, Naëfrullah Mirza †, and Thamas Khan ‡. Amongst the others

* طهاسب خان † نصر میرزا ‡ لطف اسخان
were Mirza Aly Akber *, keeper of the records, and Mirza Mohammed Isfahany †, Vizier of the household.

At this place Syed Mohammed Khan ‡, waited upon Nadir Shah, with dispatches from Mohammed Shah, and some valuable presents.

Nadir Shah appointed some of his officers to remain in Sind, and after receiving from Khodayear Khan two of his sons as hostages, conferred upon him the title of Shah Kuly Khan ||.

Before he left Larkanех, he returned an answer to Mohammed Shah’s letter. He also sent back Zekaria Khan to Lahore, from whence he had lately called him.

On the ninth of the month of Moharram, Nadir Shah marched from Larkanh
for Kandahar, by the road of Pesheng *. Between Sind and Kandahar lies a vast desert without water, called Desht Beydowllet †. The soil is so hard, and the springs lie so deep, that it is impossible to sink wells on a march.

On the third of the month of Sefer, we arrived at Kandahar. It had a very strong fort, which was destroyed by Nadir Shah, and near the place where it stood, a mud fort is built, called Nadirabad ‡.

After leaving Kandahar, the army forded the river Andab ‖, and crossed the river Kersek §, partly after the same manner, and partly in boats. Some of the plunder of Hindostan was also lost in this river.

By repeated marches, Nadir Shah arrived at the city of Ferah **, the governor of which he punished for having op-
pressed the inhabitants. This place is in ruins; but the adjacent country is delightful.

On the 5th of Rebby-ul-awwel, we arrived at Herat, and encamped near Gazergah *. From Kandahar to Herat, the towns and villages are mostly in a ruinous condition; but in travelling six or eight farangs, you will meet with one or two in a more flourishing state than others. This climate is very different from that of Cabul, for on the first of Moherrem, on the borders of the Bungishat, I saw wheat a cubit high, and three months after when I arrived at Herat, the harvest was not in more forwardness.

Herat must have been a fine city; but from the oppressions of the government, it is now in such a state of desolation, that the ground floors of the houses are ploughed up and sown with grain. The fruits of this country are very fine, particularly the musk melons, which are ini-
mitable. Here are ruins of magnificent mosques and tombs. During the summer the wind blows very strong, when they make use of wind-mills to grind their corn. These strong winds are a great blessing, as without them the country would swarm with insects; and the stagnation of air would endanger a plague.

In order to make the necessary preparations for an expedition against Turan, Nadir Shah remained a month and a half at Herat. He positively directed that persons of all ranks should leave their superfluous baggage at Herat; and that one tent should suffice for ten men. His own treasure, the Jewel-office, and Peacock-throne he sent to Meshed *. He appointed his son Nasser ullah Mirza to govern at Herat, and left along with him Allavee Khan the Hakeem Bashy.

*
A description of the Tent decorated with precious Stones.

WHEN Nadir Shah was at Dehly, he had such a profusion of jewels, that he ordered the Moabir Bashy *, to make up arms and harness of every kind, inlaid with precious stones, and to ornament a large tent in the same manner. For this purpose, the best workmen that could be procured, were employed a year and two months during the march; and when Nadir Shah arrived at Herat, the Moabir Bashy informed him that a great number of the following articles, richly inlaid with precious stones, were prepared viz. horse harness, sword-sheaths, quivers, shields, spear-cases, and maces; with Sundelees †, or chairs of different sizes, and a large tent lined with jewels. The tent was ordered to be pitched in the Dewan Khaneh ‡, in which were placed the

* معاصریشی His office resembles that of our Quarter Master General. † دیوان نامه The public hall. ‡ تکht
Tukht Taouflee *, or Peacock Throne, brought from Dehly, the Tukht Nadery †, with the thrones of some other monarchs, together with the inlaid Sundelees. Publication was made by beat of drum throughout the city, and the camp, that all persons had liberty to come to this magnificent exhibition, such as had never before been seen in any age or country. Nadir Shah was not pleased with the form of the tent, and besides being lined with green fattin, many of the jewels did not appear to advantage: he therefore ordered it to be taken to pieces, and a new one to be made, the top of which, for the convenience of transportation, should be separate from the walls; such as in Hindoostan is called a Rowty †. When he returned to Meshed from his expedition into Turan, this new tent being finished, was displayed in the same manner as the former one; but its beauty and magnificence are beyond description. The outside was covered with fine scarlet broad cloth, the lining was of violet coloured fattin, upon which were representations of all the birds and beasts
beasts in the creation, with trees and flowers, the whole made of pearls, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, amethysts, and other precious stones: and the tent poles were decorated in like manner. On both sides of the Peacock Throne was a screen, upon which were the figures of two angels in precious stones. The roof of the tent consisted of seven pieces, and when it was transported to any place, two of these pieces packed in cotton, were put into a wooden chest, two of which were a sufficient load for an elephant; and the screen filled another chest. The walls of the tent, the tent poles and the tent pins, which latter were of massy gold, loaded five more elephants; so that for the carriage of the whole were required seven elephants. This magnificent tent was displayed on all festivals in the Dewan Khanıeh at Herat, during the remainder of Nadir Shah's reign. After his death, his nephew Adil Shah *, and his grandson Shaltrokh †, whose territories were very limited, and expences enormous, had the tent taken to pieces, and dissipated the produce.

*Nadir*  
† Shahr 'X
Nadir Shah marches from Herat, on an expedition against Turan.

Having appointed Nassirullah Mirza, his second son, to govern in Iran during his absence, he set out upon his expedition against Turan, accompanied by Reza Kuly Khan Mirza his eldest son; and by quick marches arrived at Maroochâk *. This town is well inhabited, but all the water in its neighbourhood is very bad. Nadir Shah has compelled some people of the tribe of Shahooon † to settle here. Throughout Iran, and the bordering territories, are an infinite number of Elats ‡, or wandering tribes, and of whom the Persian army is chiefly composed. The most numerous of these tribes are the Akrad ‖, or Curds, the Aksar §, the Jelaroo **, the Keratchloo ††, the Ferdad Aly ‡‡, the Shamloo ‌‌

* Akrad ‖ Elats ‡ Shahoon † Shamoos § Jelaroos ** Keratchluos †† Ferdad Aly ‡‡ Shamloos ‌‌ and
and the Bukhtyearee *, &c. Like the A-
rabs of the desert, they wander about in
quest of good pasturage and water, which
when they have found, they pitch their
tents and remain till their cattle have
eaten up all the grass on that spot, when
they remove in search of more. Amongst
these people, riches and property signify
flocks and herds of camels, horses, oxen,
sheep, and goats. Some of them, however,
settle in towns, and apply themselves to
agriculture. These customs prevail also
throughout Turan.

From the borders of Maroochâk to the
town of Indekoo †, dependent upon Balkh,
there are very few buildings; and the
country being unfrequented, abounds with
game, and wild beasts. The soldiers kill-
ed such numbers of deer, that no body
would eat mutton. Thomas Khan Jelayir‡
an officer of high rank, having gone into
the jungle with a small party of chosen
men to hunt, a wild boar issued suddenly
from amongst the reeds, and his horse

* طبَّاسِ خان جلایر † انفرَقَ + گِنگری‡
† taking
taking fright, threw him. The boar then attacked him, when Gholam Khan* shot the tremendous beast with an arrow, and also cut him with his sword, upon which he quitted Thamas Khan, and seizing Gholam Khan killed him. He now returned to Thamas Khan, but he was again fortunately delivered from his clutches by another servant coming up, and killing the boar with a match-lock. Thamas Khan being very short and thick, and of a dark complexion, Nadir Shah laughed heartily at the relation of his adventure, and told him, that his little brother had used him very uncivilly.

Between Herat and Balkh, is a sandy desert, entirely destitute of water, three days journey in length; the exact breadth I was not able to learn; but it extends to the borders of Khovarezm, and to Kereh Kilpâk †, the entrance into the Desht Kipchâk ‡. It also marks the boundary between Bokhara ||, and Meru Shahjan §.

* Gholam Khan
† Kereh Kilpâk
‡ Desht Kipchâk
|| Bokhara
§ Meru Shahjan

Rustam
Ruslam *, the son of Zal †, marched by this road from Iran to Turan. Nadir Shah went to Turan through Maroochâk, Indekoo, and Balkh, and returned by Meru Shahjan; so that either way you must cross this frightful desert. In passing it this time, many men and great numbers of horses perished.

From Herat to Balkh, our route lay chiefly west. As Balkh had been some time in the possession of Nadir Shah, the army did not meet with any molestation on the march to that city. Yar Mohammed Khan ‡, the governor of that territory, obtained Nadir Shah’s permission to go to Mecca, and was furnished, at his expense, with every thing necessary for the journey. I afterwards met with this nobleman at Damascus, where he had been waiting a long time for the Caravan; and again on the road, and at Mecca I had frequently the pleasure of seeing him. After performing the pilgrimage of Mecca, he went to Surat ‖, and from thence

* رُسْلَم  † زال  ‡ مُحَمَّدُ بنُ هَارُوْن  ‖ سُوْرَة* into
into the Dekhan *, where he was received with great respect by Nizam-ul-Mulk †, who allowed him an establishment of one thousand rupees per mensem; which at the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was continued to him by the sons of that nobleman.

Balkh must have been a fine city before the rapacity of its governors had reduced the inhabitants to their present state of indigence. The city is gone to decay; but there are some beautiful seats in the neighbourhood.

* فنظام المملك † کرمن

F NADIR
Nadir Shah marches from Balkh to Bokhara.

At the time that the Persian army were employed in plundering Dehly, Nadir Shah turned his thoughts to the conquest of Turan; and for that purpose sent a great number of workmen from Dehly and other places to Balkh, to get ready a thousand boats against his arrival in that quarter, some for the construction of bridges, and others for the transportation of grain. Had he not taken this precaution, he must have failed in this expedition, for the King of Turan had destroyed all the boats on the river Gihoon *; and without carrying grain from Charjoo †, to the borders of Khovarezm ‡, being twelve days journey, it would have been impossible to have subsisted his army. He had long before determined upon this conquest, and when he marched into Hindostan, directed the governor of Balk to form granaries against

* خوارزن, or Oxus. † خورچ. ‡ خوارزم. his
his return. What a wonderful exertion of mind, what resolution and foresight, must this man have possessed, to have been able to form distant designs, whilst he was only entering upon the conquest of a mighty kingdom. To return from this digression. After he had made his arrangements at Balkh, and loaded the boats with all the necessary supplies, he detached Aly Kuly Khan, and Thamas Khan, to guard the eastern bank of the river Gihoon, whilst he marched with the army along the western side, to protect the boats, upon which alone they had now to depend for supplies. After passing the twelve stages through the desert, he arrived at Charjoo, where he threw over the river a bridge of boats. The next day Hakeem Ataleek *, the prime minister of Abulfiez Khan †, King of Bokhara, was introduced to Nadir Shah in public, but delivered his embassy in such a low tone, that not one of the bystanders could hear a word of it. But Nadir Shah an-

* F 2

†
fwered with a loud voice, "Unless he " comes himself, the operations of the ar- " my must proceed." He bestowed upon the ambassador a donation of a thousand mohurs of Hindoostan, twenty-five pieces of Yezdy brocade, a rich dress, and a horse with silver harness; after which he told him he might depart. The King of Turan, unwilling to make the submission in person, prepared for resistance. The Persian army crossed the bridge, and a detachment under the command of Thomas Khan, was ordered to scour the country about the city, to create alarms. The nobles of Turan, sensible of the impossibility of withstanding the arms of the conqueror of Hindoostan, prevailed upon Abulfizez to submit in the manner required; and accordingly an ambassador was sent to make the offer, and carried with him valuable presents. After a long conference, it was settled that Abulfizez Khan should wait upon Nadir Shah, and that hostilities should immediately cease. The ambassador received a dress and other presents.
The Nussuckchee Bashy was ordered to station people, to protect the suburbs from violence; and to prohibit all persons from entering the city. By this precaution, the city of Bokhara was not only preserved from plunder, but the soldiers paid the tradesmen the full value for everything that they got; but the distant parts of the country were ravaged by the Kezlebashies. Nadir Shah exacted from the city nothing but provisions, and absolute necessaries; for being master of all the wealth of Hindostan, he looked with contempt upon the humble possessions of the natives of Turan.
The interview of Nadir Shah and the King of Turan.

The day being fixed for the interview with Abulfiez Khan King of Turan, Nadir Shah directed all his officers to appear in their most magnificent attire, in order to impress the unfortunate Prince with astonishment and awe. The Princess Reza Kuly Mirza, and Aly Kuly Khan, were on this occasion permitted to be seated, whilst the nobility stood as usual.

Abulfiez, attended by only a few of his courtiers, came on horseback from the city; but he was obliged to alight before he arrived at the royal quarters, and was conducted to the tent of Nadir Shah by Thamaz Khan. When he entered the tent, Reza Kuly Mirza, and Aly Kuly Khan stood up, and paid him their compliments; whilst Nadir Shah only answered his salutation verbally, without deigning to rise from his throne. The different reception which he gave to Mohammed Shah, may be ascribed to his being awed
awed by the splendour and magnificence of the court of Hindostan; or to his not being then so far intoxicated with success, as to have forgotten the forms of respect due from one monarch to another. It is even possible that his breast was not yet bereft of every generous sentiment, and that he felt the double sensation of respect and of compassion. After sitting in this manner for near two hours, the King of Turan was conducted to a tent, pitched at some distance from Nadir Shah's quarters. Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim Isfahany was appointed his Mehimander *, or host.

The third day after the interview, Nadir Shah concluded a double marriage. Himself took to wife the sister of Abulsifez Khan; and his nephew Aly Kuly Khan, wedded the daughter of that monarch.

After the conclusion of these ceremonies, Abulsifez Khan, in token of his entire submission, sent to Nadir Shah, by Ha-

* مهماندار

keem
keem Ataleek, the diadem which he had himself worn, together with three hundred camels, two hundred horses, and twenty Persian manuscripts most beautifully written. Nadir Shah returned the crown to Abulfiez Khan, with a message that he was to consider himself King of Mahawerulnehr *. The cattle were sent to the stables; and the books were divided amongst Mehdy Khan † the Munshy ul Memalick ‡; Mirza Zuckee || and others. It seemed as if the books had been sent to exemplify the following verse of the Koran: "Those who possess learning, "and do not practise what it teaches, "resemble asses loaded with books." These were the only fruits of Nadir Shah's conquest of Turan, in making which he had nothing in view, but to show the irresistible force of his arms. He gave away upwards of three lacks of rupees in presents; and his military expenses amounted to an immense sum.

* The country beyond the River Gihoon or Oxus.  † The Secretary of State.  ‡ Bokhara
Bokhara *, from being the residence of the monarch, is the finest city in Turan. As I was the deputy of Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim, the Dewan of the household, who was ordered to entertain the King of Turan, I had the best opportunities of seeing every thing that is curious in the country, amongst which are the tombs of the holy men celebrated at full length by Jami, in his poem entitled Refhehat †. Also on account of my office, I had a share of every kind of provisions, and fruits, that were sent to Nadir Shah, by the governors of different places. The inhabitants of Turan, when compared with those of Turkey, Persia, and Hindostan, may be said to be poor in point of money; and the luxuries of life; but in lieu thereof, the Almighty has given them abundance of most exquisite fruits; with robust forms, and healthy constitutions, the greatest of earthly blessings.

* Bokara
† Refhehat
In reflecting upon the poverty of Turan and Arabia, I was at first at a loss to assign a reason, why those countries had never been able to retain wealth, whilst, on the contrary, it is daily increasing in Hindostan. Timour carried into Turan the riches of Turkey, Persia, and Hindostan, but they are all dissipated: and during the reigns of the four first Khalifs, Turkey, Persia, part of Arabia, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Spain were their tributaries; but still they were not rich. It is evident that this dissipation of the riches of a state, must have happened either from some extraordinary drains, or from some defect in the government. Hindostan has been frequently plundered by foreign invaders, and not one of its Kings ever gained for it any acquisition of wealth; neither has the country many mines of gold and silver, and yet Hindostan abounds in money, and every other kind of wealth. The abundance of species, is undoubtedly owing to the large importation of gold and silver on the ships of Europe, and other nations, many of whom bring ready money in exchange for the manufactures and natural
natural productions of the country. If this is not the cause of the prosperous state of Hindostan, it must be owing to the peculiar blessing of God.
Other Occurrences at Turan.

LUTF ALY KHAN *, the nephew of Nadir Shah, was sent to Samarcand † to enlist eight thousand Uzbecks ‡. And Nadir Shah having heard that the tomb-stone of Timour was a great curiosity, some pretending it to be a Bezoar, he ordered his nephew to have it transported to Meshed, along with the brazen gates of the Madresslah || or college adjoining to the tomb. Lutf Aly enlisted the Uzbecks, and also brought along with him to Meshed, the tomb-stone and gates: but in digging up the stone, it was broken into four pieces. As I was acquainted with the person who had the management of this business, I obtained a piece of the stone, which I brought with me into Hindostan to show to my friends. How wonderful are the vicissitudes of human affairs, which the Almighty causes to happen for the instruction of mankind! There was a time, when Ameer

Timour
Timour * governed with absolute sway, and in order to intimidate and humiliate the Emperor of Room †, sent him the following threat: "I will give up Room " to the plunder of the Turks ‡; and " will transport the soil of this kingdom " to Turan." And accordingly after the conquest of Room, forty camels were loaded with the earth of Constantinople, which was carried to Samarcand. When death bereft him of his worldly endowments, a slab of stone was sufficient to cover him; and even this was broken into dust.

The eye which seeketh for instruction, why looketh it not into the palaces of kings, To behold what they have suffered from the ravages of time?
The Spider is become the chamberlain at the door of Khusro ||;

 impropery called Tamerlane by European authors. † 료 The Turkish Empire. ‡ 자르 The Turcomans.  A King of Persia.

The
The Owl keepeth watch in the tower of Afrasiab.

Nadir Shah had conferred upon Thamas Khan Jelayer, the government of Cabul, Peishore, Ghuzneen, and Sind, &c. provinces which he had dismembered from the empire of Hindostan. When he took his leave to depart, Nadir Shah commanded him to conquer Bedakhshan before he went to Cabul; and knowing him to be of a cruel disposition, told him that the people of Hindostan were very sensible of injuries, and could not even bear ill language; and therefore he advised him instead of severity, to adopt lenient and conciliating measures. He implicitly followed his orders in conquering and desolating Bedakhshan; but being incapable of exercising humanity, he neglected that part of his instructions, and governed in Hindostan with the utmost tyranny and oppression. Thamas Khan was short in stature, corpulent, and

* A King of Turan, who conquered Iran, and was expelled and killed by Kai Khosru.  
†
ill formed, of a dark complexion, with a most detestable countenance; his skin hung in plaits like the hide of a rhinoceros; and his head and neck were only fit to be cut asunder. On the contrary, Nadir Shah was tall, had a beautiful complexion of red and white, with a fine animated countenance. I have brought these two portraits together, in order to shew, that nature had not designed Nadir Shah for a tyrant; as well as to exemplify an observation of Moullevy Room *, who says, that absolute vice does not exist, but that every one is bad only by comparison.

Nadir Shah sent Mohammed Houssein † to the King of Turan, desiring that out of friendship, he would command the Kandahar captives to be collected together from all quarters of his kingdom, and sent to Iran. Although Abulsieez Khan, in compliance with the request of Nadir Shah, used all his endeavours to

* The author of the Meinev.  
† collect
collect together the natives of Khorasan, who had been made prisoners at different times, yet many from having formed connections in Bokhara, refused to leave the country; and others were deterred from returning to Iran, by the accounts which they heard of the desolated state thereof; whilst the few who from being dissatisfied with their masters, went back to their native country, had very soon reason to repent of their folly.

Nassirullah Mirza wrote to Nadir Shah, that during the night, a chest of necessaries belonging to the Hakeem Bashy had been stolen; and that he was restrained from inflicting punishment in order to discover the thief, by the intreaty of the Hakeem Bashy, who was apprehensive left any innocent person should suffer from suspicion. Nadir Shah laughed at the Hakeem Bashy's scrupulousness, but ordered Nassirullah to comply with his humour, and to make good his loss from the public treasury.

NADIR
NADIR SHAH marches from BO-
KHARA. He gains a victory over
the TURKOMANS. Some other
events during his stay in KHO-
VAREZM.

NADIR SHAH's spies came with
intelligence, that a large army of
Turkomans *, were advancing to attack
him. Whilst he was reflecting hereon,
the Kerawels † brought him word, that
some of his soldiers who had gone into
the distant villages to plunder wood and
straw, had been taken prisoners by the
Turkomans; and that from some who had
escaped, had been learnt the strength of
the Khovarezm army.

Alarmed at these advices, he immedi-
ately confirmed Abulfiez Khan King of
Mawerulnehr, upon which occasion he
presented him with a crown set with
stones of considerable value, together with

H a mag-
a magnificent dress, three elephants, and a horse richly caparisoned.

Immediately after the above ceremonies were over, he marched for Charjoo; being greatly alarmed lest the Turkomans should seize the bridge, and the boats loaded with grain, which would have reduced him to great distress.

After a most fatiguing march, he arrived at Charjoo, and there made public thanksgiving to God. The next day the Turkomans, who had come by another road with intention to have destroyed the boats, arrived also at Charjoo, and were astonished to find themselves prevented in their first design: they, however, immediately made preparations for an engagement. Nadir Shah mounted his horse, and drew up his troops in battle array. A violent conflict ensued, and during the action, the Turkomans having possessed themselves of the ground between the river Gihoon and the Persian army, the Kezlebashies being greatly distressed for water, were nearly routed.
As soon as Nadir Shah heard that there was a scarcity of water, he sent for the two Sucka Bashees *, and for their negligence ordered their ears to be cut off. Then galloping in the front of the line, he upbraided his officers for their backwardness, and bid them prepare for another attack. The army, animated by his example, forgot their thirst; and rushing on with united fury, the Turkomans were totally routed, and fled towards Khovarezm. The troops being greatly fatigued, Nadir Shah did not think proper to pursue the fugitives; but returned to his camp. Three days after the action, he sent off Reza Kuly Mirza to Meshed, with all the superfluous baggage, and the wounded men.

He now wrote to the governor of Meru Shahjan †, informing him that after the conquest of Khovarezm, he should

* قاباشی An officer whose business it is to see that the camp is supplied with water, which is brought in skins.

† مروشایبان

H₂ march
march by the way of Meru and Kelat * to Meshed †. That from the river Gihoon to the borders of Meru being a sandy desert, the army could not march more than eleven farfangs a day, so that it would take them up four days to go from Charjoo to Meru. That for the first day’s march they would carry sufficient water from the Gihoon. That although at the second stage there is a large lake called Abissar ‡, yet for fear it should not be sufficient for so large an army, the governor of Meru should order about thirty Baghleyeh || wells to be sunk there. The well called Baghleyeh, and which is used in all sandy soils, is made after the following manner. According to the diameter of the well, they sink a frame of wood, stuffed with straw and grass, to line the inside of the well, and prevent the sand from falling into it. At the third stage he ordered him to make eighty wells of this kind. For the fourth day, he was ordered to dig a large reservoir, and to supply it with water, by
making a canal three farangs in length from the river of Meru. This last stage was fifteen farangs.

The day after Nadir Shah had dispatched these orders to the governor of Meru, he commanded Mehdy Khan also to direct him to make a great number of water bags for camels and mules, and to borrow as many more as he could find; which were to be filled with water at the new reservoir, and sent on five farangs, that the men might be able to allay their thirst on the march. The governor of Meru punctually executed these several commands.

I now return to speak something of the country about Charjoo, where the army halted some days. On the west is the sandy desert now described; on the south, at the distance of twelve days journey, is Balkh; on the north, at the distance of eight days journey, are the borders of Khovarezm, inhabited by the Uzbecks*; the river Gi-

* उज़बेक
hoon bounds it on the east, on whose opposite banks is the territory of Bokhara. This river runs from south to north, and is narrower at Charjoo than at Balkh; on the borders of Khovarezm it is not half so broad, and is there fordable during the winter. The reason of its being so shallow, is the number of canals that are dug from it, and in the Desht Kipchack *, and Kereh Kilpack †; it is entirely expended in watering the fields; and if at any time the water swells beyond the banks, it is absorbed by the sand. Some ancient authors have falsely asserted, that the excess flows into the lake of Khovarezm ‡. The river Sihoon || (or Cydnus) which is on the east of Mawerulnehr, flows from the north of Khojend §, and Benagut **, commonly called Tashkend ††, from whence it runs towards Turkestan ‡‡, and like the Gihoon is lost in the sands. At present, the Sihoon is called the river of Khojend, and also the river of Shash |||. One rea-
fon for my mentioning these particulars, is to shew that the large canals which are dug from these two rivers, are carried different ways, and so far from extending to Mazenderan, as some authors pretend, do not even reach to the lake of Khovarezm. The above information I obtained from some of the principal inhabitants of these countries. Another reason for my making this remark is, that the Sind *, the Ganges †, the Euphrates ‡, the Tigris §, and other large rivers which I have seen, discharge themselves into the sea; and on the contrary, the water of the Ghioon and Sihoon, is entirely expended in cultivation. On the east of the Ghioon is the territory of Maverulnahr, comprizing Bokhara, Samarqand, Tashkend, Hissar Shadman §, Kish **, or Sher-Sebz ††, Nekhsheb ‡‡, now called Kershhee ‡‖, &c. The water of the Ghioon, like that of the Euphrates, and Ganges, is very wholesome. On the west of the Ghioon is

خصار شماران § و جام فرات ‡ كش ‡ ست
قرشي ‡ نخش ب ‡ شهرسبز ‡ كش **
Khorasan,
Khorasan, of which Balkh is a dependency.

Abulhassan Beg, the officer who had charge of the boats, represented to Nadir Shah, that if the grain was left exposed to the weather it would be entirely spoilt, and that he could not procure a sufficient number of sacks to contain it. After some deliberation, Nadir Shah asked the Khansaman *, what quantity was remaining of the clothes that had been brought from Iran to camp for sale; who answered, that there were left fifteen thousand jackets and twelve thousand pair of long drawers. Nadir Shah ordered them all to be delivered over to the superintendent of the boats, to be filled with grain. This proved a most fortunate event, as I am now going to relate. After the victory over the Uzbecks, they had formed a design of burning the boats, and had sent spies to bring them intelligence. These coming in the night, and seeing the clothes stuffed with grain, concluded

* خانسان The Steward of the household.

they
they were men guarding the boats, and computed their number at about a thousand; and at the same time observing six thousand cavalry encamped on the bank of the river, they returned with such a report, as deterred the Uzbecks from their intended enterprize; and which if they had undertaken, they would inevitably have destroyed all the boats, when the army must have perished by famine.

After the departure of Reza Kuly Mirza, Nadir Shah made the proper dispositions for his march to Khovarezm. The road being chiefly through wilds, and thickets, he was apprehensive that the Uzbecks, from their knowledge of the country, might lie in ambush; and surprize him upon the road; he therefore did not think it prudent to march without order, as is the usual practice. He accordingly formed four divisions, one of which marched before, and another followed the baggage, whilst two other squadrons flanked the whole with long lines. If any one suffered his horse to move out of the ranks, the Nuffuckchee Bashy beat his

I

head
head against the pummel of his saddle. Strict orders were given to the troops, that if a party of Uzbecks should appear, not to quit the order of march, but only annoy them with fire-arms, till either they were supported by the Fouj Turreh *, or the Shah himself came up. Several times the Uzbecks appeared, but seeing the troops firm and compact in their ranks like a wall, they retired in despair. The commandant of artillery, with six thousand cavalry, was appointed to march along the side of the river, to protect the boats loaded with grain and the guns. A detached body was ordered to gain intelligence of the roads, and to hasten to the relief of any quarter that should be attacked.

* This seems to resemble our piquet,
NADIR SHAH marches to KOVAREZM.

IN the middle of the month of Shaban, Nadir Shah marched from Charjoo, in the order described above. And farther to provide against any surprize from the enemy, he gave positive orders, that no one should move before sunrise; by which means, as the army could only proceed slowly in a body, they were nine hours marching three farfangs, and there was such an intolerable cloud of dust, that you could not distinguish a person close to you, but by his voice. Many were in consequence afflicted with disorders in their eyes.

After marching through the uninhabited part of the country, the army arrived at Fiteneh *, the first village in Kovarezm. The inhabitants, in order to distress the Persian army, had carried all their grain into the fort, and burnt the

* "gras."
The Persians, in revenge, set fire to the village, and reduced every house to ashes; asserting that there was no crime in retaliation. The fourth day, after getting through the pass of Fiteneh, the army encamped near the fort of Hazarasp *. The fort was invested by the whole army, and for two days there was an incessant cannonade; but on our approach, the enemy had filled the ditch with water, which being unfordable, and overgrown with reeds, it was impossible to storm the place; and the artillery could not be brought near enough to do any execution. At this juncture, Nadir Shah's spies brought him intelligence, that Ilbers Khan †, King of Khovarezm, and Mohammed Aly Oushack ‡, the commandant of his army, together with their families and valuable effects, had thrown themselves into the fort of Jieyook ||, where they intended to wait the fate of Hazarasp; resolved, if the Persians conquered that place, to fly to Kereh Kil-

* مدرعلي سهق † غاسخان ‡ غازرس ‖ جيوق

påck,
pack, whither it would be difficult for cavalry to follow them even in the spring, and during the winter absolutely impossible. Nadir Shah called a council of his most experienced officers, who delivered their respective sentiments on the occasion, upon which he deliberated, and then formed his own resolution. He ordered a detachment of four thousand chosen men, to proceed immediately to the siege of Jieyook; and Abulhassan Beg, the clerk of the markets, was directed to spread a report amongst the soldiers, that on account of the severity of the cold, Nadir Shah had determined to set out the next morning for Khorasan. The next day when he broke up his camp, and began his march, the garrison of Hazarasp came out of the fort, and rallied the rear of the army, telling them, that the reduction of Hazarasp was not so easy a matter as the conquest of Hindostan. When they had continued these insults for some time, they re-entered the fort.

When Ilbers Khan received intelligence, that the detachment of four thousand
land cavalry were advancing by quick marches to the siege of Jieyook, he saw it would be impossible to escape, and therefore made preparation to give them battle. They came to an engagement, in which, after great slaughter on both sîdes, victory inclined towards the Turkmans; but when the Persians were nearly routed, Nadir Shah came to their relief at the head of seven thousand cavalry. Ilbers Khan and his troops, were now driven back into the fort. Mohammed Aly, his general, left his family in the fort, and fled towards Kereh Kilpâck, and although closely pursuèd made his escape.

When the remainder of the army joined Nadir Shah, he ordered the commandant of artillery to lay siege to the fort. A brisk cannonade was maintained on both sîdes for five days; when Ilbers Khan being deserted by many of his men, and seeing the bastions demolished, thought it most prudent to surrender at discretion. Himself, his children, and many of his principal dependents, were ordered into custody. The Turkmans, in their frequent
quent depredatory incursions on the borders of Khorasan, had made prisoners men, women, and children; so that every family had numbers of these slaves, who were employed in tillage, and in digging canals from the Gihoon to different parts of the country. Some of them who had been carried away in their infancy were now sixty years old, and the long change of climate and the manner of living, had absolutely altered their features, so that you could hardly distinguish them from the natives.

The day after the surrender of Jieyook, Ilbers Khan was commanded to collect together these captives from all parts of his kingdom, and in the course of ten or twelve days, seven thousand men and women were assembled in the Persian camp. The way that I came to know their exact number was, that when Nadir Shah ordered every one of them a donation of ten rupees of Hindoostan, the Nazir *, desired me to be present, to see that the

* ḉl a Superintendant.
money was duly distributed. After they had received this donation, Nadir Shah commanded that they should be sent to Khorasan, and maintained on the road at the expense of government. But like the captives in Bokhara, many who had formed connections in Khovarezm, and others who were alarmed at the accounts which they heard of Iran, returned on the road; others died on the way, from the severity of the cold, and the want of necessaries; and the rest, when they arrived at Khorasan, heartily repented of their journey.

Koba Kuly *, the Jarchee Bashy †, was commanded to seize seven thousand men and women of Khovarezm, and send them the nearest way through the desert to Mowloodgah ‡, there to experience all the hardships of slavery, after having enjoyed the happiness of freedom; and from this time the name of Mowloodgah was ordered to be changed to Jeiyookabad ||.

* The chief Herald.
† جَارِحُ الْبَشْرِيُّ
‡ مَوْلُودْگَاه
|| بِدْرُ أوَّل

because
because that the captives were chiefly natives of that city. A description of Mowloodgah shall be given in its proper place.

Although the expedition had cost Nadir Shah great labour and expence, without the smallest advantage in return, he was nevertheless very proud of this conquest, and gave many public entertainments on the occasion; of which Ilbers Khan and his family, had the mortification to be spectators.

The most flourishing cities in Khovarezm are Urkenj*, Jieyook, and Hazarasp.

Notwithstanding Nadir Shah was very illiterate and tyrannical, yet whenever he gained a victory, he attributed his good fortune to the power of heaven, and never failed to offer up public thanksgiving for it. And it is to this piety, that we must ascribe his great success.
On the other hand, some of his officers vainly boasted, that these victories were solely the fruits of their valour, which presumption drew on them the divine vengeance, and terminated in their destruction in the manner following.

After the conquest of the fort of Jey-yook, Nadir Shah by beat of drum, prohibited the soldiers from molesting the inhabitants. The Kezlebashches, regardless of these orders, and thinking to find this place full of money and jewels like Shahjehanabad, began to plunder; but after great search, could discover nothing but grain, and some furs. As soon as intelligence hereof was brought to Nadir Shah, he sent a party to seize the offenders, and bring them before him. All the officers amongst them from the commander of a thousand, to a Debashy *, he ordered to be beheaded in his presence, and the private soldiers he dismissed with the loss of their ears and noses. The execution lasted till sunset, when he com-

* A Commander of Ten.

manded
manded the headless trunks, with their arms, to be carried to the main guard, by which way every one passed, and there to lie exposed for two days as an example to others. I was present the whole time, and saw the wonderful hand of God, which employs such instruments for the execution of his divine vengeance. Although not one of the executioners was satisfied with Nadir Shah, yet no body dared to disobey his commands; a father beheaded his son, and a brother a brother, and yet presumed not to complain.

A few days after the above-mentioned public execution, Ilbers Khan was delivered from the miseries of this perishable world, by being privately strangled. His wives, children, and other relations, were made prisoners.

I frequently visited the places in the neighbourhood of Khovarezm, but there are not any buildings worth noticing. The climate is very healthy, which appears from the robust make, and hearty constitutions of the natives.

K 2

NADIR
Nadir Shah marches to Khorasan by the road of Meru Shajan.

After having settled affairs in Khorarezm, Nadir Shah conferred that kingdom upon Mohammed Tahir Khan*, a descendant of Chingez Khan†. He then marched back again to Charjoo, amidst a violent fall of snow.

At Charjoo he repudiated his new wife, the sister of Abulfiez Khan, and sent her back to her brother with a considerable sum of money, a quantity of jewels, and a female elephant. The daughter of Abulfiez Khan being young and beautiful, Aly Kuly Khan, her husband, took her with him to Iran.

The army halted some days at Charjoo; and then proceeded through the desert, which I have already described, to

Meru
Meru Shajan; and after a most fatiguing march encamped near that city. Many of the Afghans of Yousef Zei, being unprovided with horses and necessaries, died on the march through this desert.

Meru appears from its ruins to have been a fine city; but is at present in the same state as Herat. It was the capital of Sultan Sanjir *, celebrated by the poet Nezami †. This desert is the boundary of Meru and Bokhara; as well as of Balkh and Herat.

The weather was intensely cold; but Nadir Shah remained only ten days at Meru, and then marched to his native country Kelat. Each of the principal men of this place brought him a lamb and a pair of woollen socks, and received in return dresses and other presents. It had hitherto been a rule, to enter in the accounts the presents that were received of every denomination, but

* سلطان سنجر
† نظامی
he
he now indirectly ordered this custom to be discontinued.

One day, Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim, Dewan of the household, represented to Nadir Shah, that according to his orders, many articles were purchased in the markets, but that every thing was twice as dear as it ought to be. He smiled and said, "I am glad to give my countrymen a good price; pay them whatever they require."

The town of Kelat is surrounded by high mountains, so perpendicular as to be absolutely inaccessible. On the side of Meru is a large gate, where the guards examine every person who goes in or out. This leads to a pass so narrow as to admit only one horseman at a time, and over which the mountains meet at the top, in a most astonishing manner, forming a natural arch. The canal, upon which all the cultivation in Kelat depends, enters the town on the side of Meshed, and goes out through the pass of Meru.
Meru. At first the course of this stream ran over a bed of limestone which made it very unwholesome, but at the command of Nadir Shah, the governor Mahommed Ameen Beg *, altered some part of the channel, and by avoiding the limequarry, the water is now exceedingly good. For this piece of service, he was highly rewarded. The other Kelat †, which is written differently from this §, is dependent upon Kandahar. In this strong fortress, Nadir Shah deposited all his jewels and treasure which he did not immediately want; and then set out for Meshed, by the road of Mowlloodgah. This place which gave birth to Nadir Shah ||, and which was originally a village, is situated between Kelat and Abiurd $. On the spot where he was born a mosque is erected, on the dome of which are placed three golden vases one upon another, and at the top of all is

* محرمین - بیک
† The Kelat of Kandahar being written with ق
§ and the other with ڳ
|| Mowlloodgah, signifies the birth-place.

fixed
fixed a scimitar of the same metal, implying that the sword issued from hence. After those ornaments were completed, the architect was considering whether to inscribe upon the building the day of his birth or the present date, when Nadir Shah smiling, said, "At the time of my birth, there was not so much gold in Kelat and Abiurd together; what then must have been the state of my family? therefore don't hesitate about the matter, but make use of the present date." Here he also built a city upon the same plan as Shahjehanabad, but about a fourth part of its size, and a canal runs through the market place. At first it was called Mowloodgah, but for want of inhabitants it never rose to any figure; and when the captives were brought from Khovarezm to people it, the name was changed to Jieyookabad.

Abiurd is a populous town. It is also called Bawerd *; the Ash Bawerdy † is a well-known dish.

* باوردو a kind of soup thickened with flour.
† آش باوردویی After
After halting nine days at Mowloodgah, Nadir Shah marched amidst a fall of snow to Meshed Mokeddes *, where he arrived on the 19th of Zulkeddah, A. H. 1153 (or January the 24th, A. D. 1741.)

I shall now give a summary account of the most remarkable occurrences at Meshed.

Nadir Shah being displeased with his eldest son Reza Kuly Mirza, but for what cause I was not able to learn with certainty, ordered all his effects to be confiscated, and sent him prisoner to the city of Tehran †.

Sefder Mohammed Khan ‡, the ambassador from the court of Hindostan, waited upon Nadir Shah at Meshed, with some valuable presents from Mohammed Shah, from Kummereddeen Khan ||, the Grand Vizier, and many others of the Om-

* مشهد الحرام
† طهران
‡ قمر الدين خان
|| صدر جیرخان
L rahs
rahs * of Hindostan. He received a dress, and a donation in money.

Nadir Shah now commanded that the tombstone of Timour, and the brazen gates should be sent back again to Samarqand, and restored to their proper places. The transportation backwards and forwards, occasioned a very considerable expense.

Meshed is not without its curiosities. The walls are formed of triangular bastions, which is certainly a good method of fortification, for when a bastion is attacked, the men stationed in those on each side, can assist in its defence. The shrine of Imam Moufu Reza †, is in the centre of the city. The mausoleum is very lofty, has a large dome, and is finely ornamented. The mosque, and the offices belonging to it, are spacious and well contrived. The great market was for—

* امز्र Omrah the plural of Ameer ر a Prince, or nobleman of the first rank.
† Imam Mosse سال the eighth of the twelve Imams.
merly in front of these buildings, but is now within the enclosure, and has two large gates; a canal runs through the whole. The market on the west side of the city, and where the royal palace is situated, is called the upper street, and the road through the eastern market, is called the lower street. The shrine is surrounded by three screens of lattice work; the outer one is of high tempered steel, and is said to have cost more than if it had been made of pure silver; the second screen is of pure gold; and the third, which immediately encompasses the shrine, is of sandal-wood. The story which is commonly told in many countries, that the dome of the mausoleum is constructed of ingots of gold, is without foundation, it being only covered with gilt copper, like that of Zaffer Khan's at Shahjehanabad. Nadir Shah has repaired many of the old buildings, and built some new ones. His own mausoleum is in the upper street. When it was nearly finished, a facetious fellow wrote the following lines upon one of the walls.

L 2 There
There is not a song without your name;
The world is full of you, whilst your proper place is empty.

At first some laughed at the joke, but afterwards perceiving the force of the satire, they were afraid that if it should come to the ears of Nadir Shah, he might order many to be put to death in revenge of the affront; and therefore the lines were carefully rubbed out.

The city of Thous *, is now in ruins, and its decay has evidently been occasioned by the foundation of Meshed, which is only four farangs distant.

The canal which runs through Meshed, is very clear till it reaches the city, when it becomes muddy; which circumstance has occasioned many strokes of wit against its inhabitants.

The empire of Iran †, has on the east Sind ‡, Cabul §, Mawerulnehr ¶, and

Khova-
Khovarezm *; on the west, lie the territories of Room †, and Sham ‡; it is bounded on the north by Russia ||, Carcassia §, and Desht Kipchak **, and on the south by the desert of Nejd ‡‡.
Provincial Division of Iran.

Provinces. Chief Cities.

Khorasan.


Toon.

Beish. Jam. Lunger.

Irak Aghem.

Kom.

Hamadan. Kerman-
shahan.
Cazvin.
Provinces.

Fars.

Chief Cities.

Tehran.
Rameen.
Yezd.

Shiraz.
Jehram.
Bunder A-baffy.

Tebriz.
Gunjeh.
Carabaugh.
Nekhjewan.
Irivan.
Ardebil.

Shirvan.

Shamakhi.

Mazendaran.

Sary.
Ashreff.
Balferowsh.

Gilan, also written Resht.
Jeelan.

Lahjan.
An Account of Nadir Shah's expedition against Mazenderan.

THE army halted forty-two days at Meshed, and then during a heavy snow set out for Afterabad, by the road of Kojoon, another city of Khorasan. Some rain falling afterwards, the roads were so deep, that the loaded camels were left behind sticking in the mud. In the pass of Keramlee*, near a tenth part of the men with their baggage perished in the river. The rain having continued with great violence, a river, which runs between two mountains, was now so swelled, that it was hardly possible to pass it; and it is so serpentine, like that in the Bungishaut, that in the course of the march, we were obliged to cross it twenty-three times. The rain fell in torrents, provisions were scarce, and the fatigues of the march so insupportable, that every one would have preferred death to the continuation of such an existence. The

*کارامی

fifteenth
fifteenth day, Nadir Shah crossed the river on an elephant, leaving the army to encounter the deadly river, the noise of whose waves was as tremendous as the trumpet of Israfil *. However, compassionating their situation, he granted permission to those who chose it, to remain till the water should subside; but being destitute of all kinds of supplies, they gave themselves up for lost, and plunged their horses into the river. At every crossing, great numbers of men and cattle perished; and a considerable part of the Shah’s baggage was lost. After the officers and troops had crossed with great loss, it came to the turn of the camp followers. But the Almighty had mercy upon them, for the river fell so suddenly in the night, that before the next noon they had all crossed the river. After passing this river we arrived at Afterabad. It is a very populous city, but has not any remarkable buildings.

After halting six days at Afterabad, the

* Ισραήλ The Angel who is to sound the trumpet at the day of Judgment.
army began their march for Tehran, by the route of Mazenderan. I was told, that the road to Mazenderan was so overgrown with trees and thickets, and the mire so deep, that it was hardly passable, till Shah Abbas being very fond of travelling thither, ordered the wood to be cleared away, and for the distance of twelve days journey, had the road paved with stone; and that he might not be incumbered with tents, buildings were erected at every stage. These precautions were absolutely necessary, because as in Bengal, here are periodical rains. In the same manner that Jehangeer used to go to Cashmeer with a small retinue, Shah Abbas was wont to travel to Mazenderan. Ashreff, which is the finest city of Mazenderan, is at the distance of six farangs from the Caspian Sea *, and yet at night you can there distinctly hear the murmur of the waves. The people of Ashreff call this sea, the sea of Kulzum †, whereas the proper sea of Kulzum is in the Turkish empire. Mount Sinai ‡
is on its shore, and it unites with the main ocean. The sea of Mazenderan is called in ancient books the sea of Abgoon *, and the sea of Kherz ; but it has no connection with the ocean, being surrounded with land; namely, by Mazenderan, Heshterkhan †, Herman ‡, Dilem ‖, Shirvaa, and the territory of Kherz §, from whence, by this sea, ships bring furs to Iran. In length it is 275 farangs, and in breadth 225 farangs. The Desht Kipchack is also said to border upon it. It is more turbulent than the seas of Hind, Turkey, or Persia, because it is shallower, and has no communication with the ocean. Of a truth this observation holds good in regard to men, for those of the deepest understanding, are the least loquacious. The chief food of the inhabitants of Mazenderan is rice and eggs. The wheat of this country is intoxicating, especially to those who have never tasted the bread of Mazenderan, the Bang **

* دیلم 
† حرامان 
‡ آگوون 
§ اسکرخان 
‖ کبک 
** خرز

An intoxicating plant.
of Hindoostan, or the Affium * of Gazeroon †. The inhabitants say, that it is only a particular species, that grows amongst the rest, which has this property, and that upon its being separated, the remainder has no such effect. Some pretend that it is occasioned by the wind called Semoom ‡, blowing over the fields; but this is only an idle story; for in Arabia the Semoom ripens the dates, but does not make them inebriating. The people of Iran tell many laughable stories of the stupidity of the natives of Mazenderan, and Laristan §, but these are merely strokes of wit, for certainly they are not by any means deficient in understanding. It is remarkable that in Hindoostan, Cashmeer is stiled Jennetnezeer ¶, and that in Iran, Mazenderan is called Jennetnifshan**, both signifying the resemblance of Paradise, and that the natives of both kingdoms, abuse the poor inhabi-

* افیین Vulgarly called Opium.
† نازرون † a sultry wind, which destroys travellers.
‡ سهوم
§ جنُت نشان ** جنُت نامیر § اسلام
|| tants
tants of their respective Paradise; but it is no wonder, for the friends of God are always despised in this world, and are therefore the dearer to him.

After halting twelve days at Ashreff, Nadir Shah marched with the army to Tehran, through the jungle, over the causeway of Shah Abbass. It was his custom on a march, to be accompanied only by his Haram *, and the female minstrels, who sung the whole way; the army marching on all sides at the distance of about a mile; but as in this narrow road the troops could not march on either side, two men took the opportunity of concealing themselves in a thicket, where they lay in wait for him; and as soon as they heard the noise of his horses feet, rushed out like lions on their prey. One of them discharged a large arquebuss, the ball of which wounded Nadir Shah in the left hand, when he immediately flung himself from his horse, that they might suppose him to be dead, and not

* or Seraglio.
commit any further violence; and herein he succeeded, for the assassins ran away, believing they had dispatched him. The women of the Haram screamed out, which alarming the minstrels who were coming after at some distance, they redoubled the cry, and the eunuchs spread the alarm to the servants behind, when they immediately joined the Shah, and endeavoured to seize the assassins, but could discover no traces of them, excepting a bullet that they had let fall upon the ground. From this day, Nadir Shah discontinued travelling in courk*. The Omrahs were all in consternation, lest suspicion should fall upon any of them; and three days after they seized two Afghans, whom they accused of the crime. Nadir Shah, after an examination, was convinced of their innocence, and upon dismissing them ordered each a donation of 10 Tomans, or 200 Rupees. He reproved their accusers, and told them not to molest innocent men,

* **قَرُن** signifies *prohibition*, and is particularly applied to this manner of travelling, when *every one* is prohibited from approaching the Seraglio.
for that he knew very well who were his enemies. Some time after, it was discovered, that this attempt upon his life, had been made at the instigation of his eldest son Reza Kuly Khan Mirza, and Abdullah Beg *, the son of Mohammed Husein Khan Cutchkar †, the steward of the household. After a long investigation, both of them had their eyes plucked out, and were then committed to prison. Many people believed this to have been the judgment of God upon Reza Kuly, for the following piece of cruelty. During the tumult at Dehly, it was rumoured that Mohammed Shah had treacherously slain Nadir Shah, upon which many of his people fled in the night, and spread the report, till at length it reached Iran. Reza Kuly, the regent, was so apprehensive that the people, in revenge for his severities, would expell him, and again acknowledge Shah Thamas ‡, that he sent people to murder that innocent monarch, and his son Abbass Mirza ‖, who

* عباس محمد گیبیک
† شاه طهماسب
‡ عباس میرزا
were
were imprisoned at Sebzwar. This barbarity having been committed without the order of Nadir Shah, many believed that he now suffered in retaliation of his crime.

On the 24th of Rubby ul Awwel, A. H. 1154 (or May 28th, A. D. 1741), Nadir Shah arrived at Cazvin. Every house in this city has an aqueduct in the ground floor, some of which are three, and others eleven yards in depth. Shah Abbas, by means of a subterraneous aqueduct, brought water to this place, and it runs through the principal market in a small canal. The people of Iran are wonderfully fond of aqueducts.
A Disputation concerning a verse of the Koran, on which occasion Nadir Shah gives orders for the Pentateuch and Gospel to be translated into the Persian Language.

While Nadir Shah was engaged in the expedition against Turan, there happened a conversation concerning the diversity of religious sects, in which the following verse of the Koran was introduced, "Mohammed is the Apostle of God; and those who are with him are fierce against the unbelievers, but compassionate towards one another. Thou mayest see them bowing down, prostrate, seeking a recompense from God, and his good will. Their signs are in their faces, being marks of frequent prostration. This is their description in the Pentateuch *, and in the Gospel †." Nadir Shah required the

* توریت.  † نجیب. Enjeel.

expofi-
exposition thereof from the head Moulla *, who answered, that the sect of the Schiias †, apply it solely to Aly; whilst the Sunnies ‡ maintain that it is meant to describe all the four first Khalifs, there being a distinct character for each. Nadir Shah then asked, whether the Pentateuch and Gospel were now in existence? and being answered in the affirmative, he was resolved to decide the question by the heavenly books ||, and accordingly ordered Mirza Mehdy Isfahany § to repair to the Jews and Christians, and obtain by their means Persian translations of both those books. Mirza Mehdy immediately undertook a sea voyage; and from the dread of Nadir Shah's displeasure, laboured day and night to accomplish his er-

* Moulla is a person learned in the Mohammedan law.
† The sect of Aly.
‡ Those who acknowledge as lawful the succession of Abu-beker, Omar, Othman, and Aly.

|| Kuteb Semawy. So the Mohammedans call the scriptures, and reckon the Koran one of them. They say we have altered and corrupted those in our possession.
rand. Whilst Nádir Shah was at Cazvin, I was present when Mirza Mehdý arrived, attended by seven men learned in both books; and presented to him á Persian version of each. His mind being then totally engaged with the preparations for the war in Daghstán *, he deferred the disputation till his return from that expedition. He then called an assembly of the Moullas of both sects, at which the learned in the Pentateuch and Gospel were ordered to be present, to give testimony to the truth. After a long disputation, the Schiias were vanquished, and the doctrine of the Sunnies was pronounced to be orthodox. A declaration to that effect was drawn up, and all who were present affixed their seals to it, and copies thereof were sent to all quarters. In Hindostán it was circulated by Zákâria Khan, the Soobahdar of Lahooor, who was in the favour of both monarchs. This decision, was evidently a stroke of policy, and not matter of conviction; being principally designed to gain the good will of

* ۱۳۹۷

N 2

the
the Sunnies of the Turkish empire, who are so tenacious of their religious tenets, that their ecclesiastics are able to expel any Prince who offends against the divine law, and to raise another to the throne who will be obedient thereto. However they were not deceived by this artifice, and so far from becoming his friends, were unanimous in declaring war against him.

Nadir Shah, during his expedition in Hindostan, laboured under a dropical complaint, and having heard great encomiums bestowed upon the skill of Ha-keem Allavee Khan *, he prevailed upon him to leave Dehly, under an engagement, that after effecting the cure, he should have permission to make the pilgrimage of Mecca.

Nadir Shah always caressed him beyond any other of his court, insomuch that sometimes the Princes, his sons, would be standing without side of the tent in the

* ٖلا إدريخان
now, whilst he alone was in company with their father. In order that he might travel with the greater ease, Nadir Shah sent him his own Tukhtrewan *. He always partook of whatever the Shah ate or drank, and in every other respect all possible attention was shewn him. With the assistance of God, he performed a radical cure, without having laid Nadir Shah under any restraint of regimen; and he now asked permission to take his leave, according to promise. Nadir Shah being very unwilling to part with him, endeavoured to detain him by professions of friendship, and new acts of kindness; but the Hakeem Bashy being of an irritable disposition, could not bear the delay, and at last broke out in the following exclamation. "To retain a physician contrary to his inclination, can tend to no good, and may be productive of evil." Nadir Shah convinced that it would be impossible to prevail upon him to stay any longer, at last consented to his departure.

* * * literally a moving throne, a royal litter.

The
The sinful author of these pages, who from his great desire to make the pilgrimage of Mecca, and to visit the holy shrines, had entered into the service of Nadir Shah, obtained permission to accompany the Hakeem Bashy to Hijaz. Nadir Shah was then on his march from Cazvin, on an expedition against the tribe of Lezekee * of Daghistan, who some time before in an engagement had killed his brother Ibrahim Khan †. Being a brave and gallant nation, they fortified their passes, and made other preparations to repel the attack.

By the divine favour I now took my leave of Nadir Shah, and carrying all my property along with me, set out for Mecca.
The Author's Journey from Cazvin to Baghdad.

On the 16th of the month of Rebby-ul-Sany, A.H. 1154, or A.D. 1741, I set out from Cazvin along with Allavee Khan the Hakeem Bashy; and as Nadir Shah had issued orders to the governors of the provinces through which he passed, to pay him particular attention, we were well accommodated at every stage of our journey.

From Cazvin * to Hamadan †, is seven days journey. At the distance of a farfang from Hamadan, is the mountain of Alwend ‡, which for beauty may vie with the mountains of Cashmeer; and the pass through it is said to measure twelve farfangs. In the city of Hamadan is the tomb of Sheikh Abu Ali Sina ||, all in ruins. In the suburbs is the mausoleum of Avicenna, called by European authors 

* فزنين ‡ الون † أمدنان || شیخ ابو علي سینا

called
called Goombed Alweean *, where are interred many of the relations of Meer Syed Aly Hamadany †. Under the pavement of the mausoleum are spacious vaults containing the tombs. The descent to those catacombs is so contrived as to be entirely hidden when the pavement is laid down. During the reigns of the Khalifs of the house of Ommiah, the family of Aly were obliged to conceal their dead, as their furious persecutors would not suffer even the bones of a Syed, to rest in peace. How wonderful is the power of God! the Christians regard as a holy relic the hoof of the Messiah's as; whilst the Mohammedans persecute in this manner, the posterity of their prophet. Here is also shewn a large building, said to be the tomb of Judah, the son of Jacob ‡.

From Hamadan we proceeded to Tous || and Sirkan §.

٩٦ - The Memoirs of...
On the 22d we alighted at a caravanserai, at the foot of the mountain of Beyseifoon *. It is astonishing to see the apartments, with arched doors, and windows, and the reservoirs that are excavated in this mountain; also the statues of Khufro and Shireen † are of workmanship greatly excelling the sculptures that I have seen in the gardens of Dara Shekouh at Lahoor, and are said to surpass any thing of the kind that is to be found in Constantinople.

The 25th we arrived at Kermanshahan ‡, the inhabitants of which are chiefly of the Goordzengteh ³. At the distance of half a farang from the city, is the famous mountain of Tāk Buftan §. Out of the mountain is cut an arch large enough to admit two elephants abreast, in the middle of which is the statue of Khufro on horseback larger than life; and on the roof of the arch, as well as on other parts of the mountain, are car-

* خسرو و شیرین † بیسون
† طاق یساثان ‡ کورزکن
§ O ved
ved in relievo, the figures of birds and beasts. From Tāk Buştân to Madain *, which was the capital of Noushirvan †, and Khusro ‡, are seven stages. When we had satisfied our curiosity at Kermanšahan, we pursued our journey; and after resting at Chešmeh Aly ‖, and Chešmeh Kember §, on the fourth day, reached the village of Gilanick **, the extremity of Iran ***. This village is situated at the foot of a very large mountain, called Allah Akber ††. The road from Hamadan to Gilanick is very mountainous, and in the winter is covered with snow; but from hence to Baghdad ‖‖, the country is a perfect flat, and the climate so hot, that there are never any falls of snow. At Gilanick, Nadir Shah has built a strong fort, which is well garrisoned. From Gilanick you pass over a desert, through the middle of which runs a river, which is now considered as
the boundary between the empires of Turkey and Persia; but till the time of Nadir Shah the mountain of Allah Akber was reckoned the limit. During the decline of the Seffevian race, the Turks had encroached as far as Kermanshahan. The first stage is over this desert; our second stage was Behroze *, the third Belad-roud †; and on the fourth day we arrived at Baghdad. Ahmed Pasha ‡, the governor of Baghdad, sent out a person of rank to conduct us to the city, and during our stay we were treated with very great respect and attention.

The new city of Baghdad is very populous, and so extensive as to contain a great deal of arable land. It is situated on the east side of the river Tigris ||, and the old city is on the opposite bank. The latter is in a ruinous state, and without any fortifications; but new Baghdad is enclosed with a high wall, and bastions,
covered with earth, so that cannon cannot make any impression upon the works, the balls sinking into the earth; and the whole is surrounded with a deep ditch. Nadir Shah besieged it eleven months, without being able to take it. The Keblah * at Baghdad is rather more to the south than in Hindostan.

The palace of Noushirvan, of which some of the walls are still standing, is at the distance of six farangs from Baghdad, and 555 paces from the river Tigris.

* قبـِلَم That part to which people direct their face in prayer: towards the Caaba or temple of Mecca, to which place the Mohammedans, in whatever quarter of the world they are, turn themselves when at prayer.
The Holy Shrines at Baghdad.

On the west side of the Tigris, at the distance of half a farstang from the old city, are the tombs of Imam Musa Kazem * and Imam Mohammed Tuc-kee †, whom they call the Kazimain ‡ or the two Kazems; and the village has also obtained the same name. These are the two largest tombs in that quarter. Between them and old Baghdad are near a thousand tombs; amongst which the most remarkable is that of Sheikh Maaroof Kherkee † †, which as well as those of the two Imams, has a large mosque, but the establishment here is much inferior to that for the Kazimain. On the opposite side of the river, at half a farstang from the new city, is the shrine of Abu Hanifah Cufee §, with a mosque which is well attended; but those of

Juneyd
Juneyd Baghdadee *, Sirree Suckuttee †, Sheikh Munsoor Aumaree ‡, and Sheikh Daoud Tahiree ‖, are but ill served. Here are also the tombs of Behlole the wife §; and of Mansoor Hullaj **. I asked the people how there came to be a tomb for Hullaj, who was burnt and his ashes thrown into the Tigris. They said they had heard the same story; and could not give any information about his tomb. There is also a mosque, which was formerly a place of worship, belonging to a Jew, who was converted to the faith, upon Aly lifting up a stone and discovering to him a well; the particulars of which story are to be found in many histories.

Within the new city are many tombs of saints, with mosques and colleges belonging to them. That of Syed Abdul-kader Gilance ††, which is very richly en-

* خاشعید نیاواک
† خیردار و تیمک
‡ خیابان قصر
‖ خیابان قصر
** خیابان قصر
†† سید عبدالقاور کیانی

dowed,
dowed, is a very magnificent building; and on the south side of the gate of the Madressah *, or college, lies his son Abdulrezak †. Also the tomb of Sheikh Shahabedddeen Shoorvirdee ‡, amongst whose disciples was the famous Sheikh Sady ||, is a noble building, and richly endowed.

* مدرسه
† عبد الرزاق
‡ شیخ شهاب الدین سبوردی
|| شیخ سبزوار
The Author leaves Baghdad, and proceeds to Kerbela. *

After having visited all the principal shrines in Baghdad and its neighbourhood, we set out for Kerbela. Our first stage was to the caravanserai of Shoor, so called from the water of its wells being brackish. Fresh water is brought here for sale. The second stage is the town of Musleeb †, on the banks of the Euphrates ‡; and on the same river, at the distance of a farshang, are the tombs of the two sons of Moslem Ben Akeer ‖, who were martyred by Harith §. They are both buried under one dome, situated in the midst of a jungle. The third day, we arrived at Kerbela, fifteen farshangs from Baghdad.

Kerbela is a very populous city, partly owing to the late oppressive govern-
ment of Persia, which occasioned great desertions from thence to this place; as well as its convenient situation for trade, since the forming of the canal from the Euphrates. Hassán Pasha *, governor of Baghdad, began this noble work, and expended upon it 10,000 Tomans, or near two lacks of rupees, but died before it was finished. It was completed by Mirza Afshreff †, one of the nobles of Shah Thamas ‡, king of Persia. The environs of the city are finely diversified with groves of palm-trees and delightful gardens. The tomb of Husein, son of Aly ||, is within the city, together with that of his son Abdullah §; and the vault wherein are buried the other martyrs who fell with them. At the distance of twenty paces from the south window of the tomb of Husein, is a level spot where he was killed; and on the place where he fell, is an excavation about the size of a grave, which is filled up with earth brought from the place where his tents...
were pitched; this is covered with boards, and whoever comes to visit the shrine pays something to one of the Kâdsm *, for permission to carry away some of the earth, which is universally known by the name of Khâk Kerbela † (Kerbela earth) and has wonderful properties ascribed to it; and amongst others, it is said to have the power of quelling a storm at sea, upon flinging it against the wind. In the city are also the tomb and mosque of Abbâs Aley ‡, another son of Aley, but not by Fatemah ††; and the people here believe, that whoever swears falsely at this tomb, is immediately afflicted with some dire misfortune. At the distance of a farshang from the city is the tomb of Hour ‡ the martyr. Close to him lies the body of his mother, who having endeavoured to dissuade him from joining Husseîn, it is the custom for every one who visits his tomb, to throw a stone at that of his mother, by which means the tomb has been entirely destroyed, and nothing remains but the pile of stones, which is daily

* عبَّس ُعِلی † خَاصکُرَبَّلَا ‡ هُر ۳ فاطمَه †† in-
increasing. From Kerbela to Nejef Ash-
reff * through the desert, where there is
no water, is twelve farangs: and by the
city of Huhleh †, the route which we pur-
sued is sixteen farangs, viz.

From Kerbela to Huhleh, 7
to Zulkefel ‡, 5
to Nejef, 4

Huhleh is a populous city on the banks
of the Euphrates. On the same river, at
the distance of half a farang from Huhleh,
are the tombs of Job || and his faithful
wife, who attended him during all his mis-
fortunes. Near to the tombs is the spring
in which he cleansed himself: the water of
which is remarkably fine, and it is said to
be a sure remedy for the most obstinate dis-
orders. The tomb of Job is small, and now
very much neglected for want of a proper
endowment. After crossing two plains from
this city, you come to the tomb of Shoaib §
(Jethro). Near the altar in the mosque
of Jethro, as well as in many other

* Wala' Allah ‡ Shubib §
|| P 2 mosques
mosques that I have seen in the Turkish empire, there are tombs, which is expressly contrary to the Hadis: * "You shall not bury your dead in the mosques." And moreover as these mosques have not the true Keblah †, but look towards Jerusalem, I conjecture that they were originally Christian churches or monasteries, which after the Mohammedan conquest were converted into mosques. This is however merely a supposition of mine own, not supported by any authority. Before we arrived at Huhleh, we had heard from the country people of the shaking Minareh ‡ at the mosque of Jethro, and when we arrived there were greatly astonished to find the report true. This Minareh is situated in the court yard of the mosque, and is of such a breadth, as to allow of a stair-case above two yards wide. When you arrive at the summit of the Minareh, you are to place the ball on the top under your arm, and cry out aloud, "Oh Minareh, for the love of Abbafs Alyn, "shake." As I am always inquisitive after

* a saying of Mohammed.  

‡ قبّل

every
everything that is curious, I ascended the Minareh with several others, and we all did as above directed, but the Minareh stood as firm as a rock. I then desired the Kadem of the mosque to try his skill, and upon his laying hold of it, and crying out, the top of the Minareh shook in such a manner that we all clung fast for fear of being thrown off. The Hakeem Bashy, who was standing below, was highly diverted with the sight. We were utterly at a loss to detect the trick, although we made the Kadem repeat it several times.

From Huhleh we went to Zulkefel, where is the tomb of that prophet, and those of his four successors, magnificent monuments, well worth seeing. You descend to the tombs by four flights of steps, and it is there so dark, that you can scarcely distinguish objects.

From Huhleh we proceeded to Nejef-Ashreff. This city is not now so populous as Kerbela, on account of its distance from the river; and the country about it is ill cultivated. It is very unsafe to dwell
dwell withoutside the city; because the wild Arabs frequently infest the country to the very walls of Nejeff. The mausoleum of Aly, in the middle of the city, is a most magnificent structure, and the shrines inlaid with precious stones. Whilst we were here, Nadir Shah sent his Zirgir Bashy *, or chief goldsmith, to cover the domes of the mausoleums of Houssein, at Kerbela, and this of Aly, with copper spread with gold, like that of Imam Moufa Reza at Meshed †. In the city of Dehly, the dome of the mosque of Mozuffer Khan Rosheneddowlah ‡ is gilt, but in a more superficial manner than these; for I had frequent opportunities of observing the work, and saw that the plates of gold were of a considerable degree of thickness. Great sums of money have been expended in digging a canal from Nejeff to the Enphrates; and they had actually cut to the distance of three farfangs from Nejeff, when the death of Nadir Shah put an end to the undertaking. The length of the canal from the city to the Euphrates

* زرگیر‌نشین
† مظفرخان روشن‌الدل
‡ would
would have been thirty-five farangs, and it was intended that those parts of the banks which were rocky, should have been strengthened with stone and mortar; and where the soil was sandy, with copper and lead. The people of this city say, that the bones of Adam and Noah† are interred by the side of the tomb of Aly, but there is no vestige of such monuments. When Cufah was the capital of the Kha-
lifat, Nejeff was one of its dependencies. The grandeur of ancient Cufah is ce-
lebrated by historians; but as a punish-
ment for the wickedness of its inhabitants, there is not at present the smallest remains of magnificence, excepting the mosque wherein Aly received the wound of which he died. From this mosque to his tomb is the distance of a farang. Over the altar of the mosque is written in broad cha-
acters, in the Arabick language, "This " is the place where Aly, the son of Abu-
" taleb, was murdered; may the peace of " God be upon him." They pretend that this mosque was founded by the pa-

* ١٠١٨ ١٠٠٠
† ١٠١٨ ١٠٠٠
‡ ١٠١٨ ١٠٠٠

triarch
triarch Noah; but it appears to me to have been originally an idolatrous temple. The west wall, which the Mohammedans had covered with mortar, has, through length of time, and by being exposed to the inclemency of the weather, become bare in several places, where you may plainly discover figures cut in stone, and by close examination others may be traced under the plaster. This is the only wall of the old building remaining, the others being of modern construction. Besides the wickedness of the inhabitants of Cufah, which was one cause of the decay of their city, the Khalif Mansoor having built Baghdad, made it his capital, and Cufah and Madain were deserted; and to this day Baghdad is the largest city in the Arabian Irak.

From Baghdad to Medina * is 180 far-fangst through the desert, which Zobiedeh †, the wife of Harun al Rashid ‡, made passable, by ordering a wall to be built all the way.
way, and wells to be dug at proper distances. To Mecca* by the same route is 230 farsangs.
The Route of the Caravan from Baghdad to Mecca.

The nearest road from Baghdad to Mecca is across the desert, by the wall of Zobiedeh *. The intention in building this wall was not merely that blind people might be able thereby to find their way to Mecca; but it was also necessary to mark the road for the Caravan †; for the sands shift so frequently, that no path can be traced thereon. However, on account of the wars in which the wild Arabs are at present engaged amongst themselves, as well as their disagreement with Ahmed Pasha, he advised us not to think of going that road, as it would be extremely dangerous. We followed his advice, and determined to take the route of Aleppo ‡ and Damascus §.

Previous to giving an account of our journey, I shall insert a list of the stages
from Baghdad to Mecca, reckoning by hours, as is the custom throughout the Turkish empire. The hour and farang will be found to be the same thing, because in these calculations an astronomical hour, is the distance that a good camel when loaded will travel in that space of time, which will be found to be a farang, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ cause of Hindostan. Many Turks carry Europe watches in their pockets, and thereby easily calculate the stages of their journey.

It is necessary to observe, that the stages against which I have written the word desolated, although uninhabited, have springs of water. At these places the travellers strike a light with a flint and steel, and kindle fire to dress their victuals. Where I have remarked, that there is no water, those places are not only uninhabited, but the Caravan is obliged to carry water thither. The places opposite to which I have set no remark, are well inhabited. This list of roads I obtained, with much difficulty, from an experienced Meer Haaj, and se-
veral old camel drivers; and having a Europe watch in my pocket, I compared the flages with it, and found the account perfectly correct.

From Baghdad to Nekjeh, 5
To Ribath Messiah, 6
To Kera eth, 3
To the river Mareen, 4
To Kebeeree, 6
To the bridge of Banoo, 7
To Thawaa, 7
To the Kerkook, 7
To Altan Kobera, 7
To Belad Hyder, 7
To Abzirb, 6
To Kerakofh, 4
To Mouffel, 4
To Khaneh Khabr, 4
deolated.
To Kosel Kobera, 6
To Dumeeleh, 9 do.
To Jerakheh, 7 do.
To the town of Neffibeen, 7 do.
To Keraweh, 6 do.
To Fej Hissar, 6 do.
To Hillaee, 7 do.
To Clah Abbass, 9 do.
To Aterbee, 7 do.
To Jereehan, 5 do.
To the city of Orfeh, 5 do.
To Char Musfluck, 8 do.
To the town of Birjeek, 10 do.
To Ahel heskhee, 10 do.
To Bab ul Abiyeh, 8 do.
To the city of Heleb, 6 do.
To Khan Tooman, 3 do.
To Morakib, 9 do.
To Muck Sera, 6 do.
To Khan Sheikhan,

To the town of Hummee,

To the town of Hemse,

(Emessa)

To Hussneh, 9
To Musk, 12
To Kateefeh, 9
To Demelk (Damasculus), 12
To Zenoop, commonly called Khan Turkan,

To Vullee, 12
To Mufseeret, 8
To Mefruke, 10 no water.
To Ain Zerkeh, 15
To Belaih, 12 do.
To the Castle of Kitran,

To Ainul Husslee,

To Aferch, 14
To the Castle of Maan,

To
To Tehr ul Akebeh, 18

To the Castle of Huckman, 12

To the Castle of Zat ul Huj, 8

To Kaa ul Saar, 13

To the Castle of Betook, 6

To Tehr ul Aar, 18 no water.

To Hyder Kelafee, 6

To Birkeh Moazem, 18

To Darul Humra, 18 do.

To the Castle of Ala, 19

To the Beer ul Ghenem, (well of the sheep) 5

To the Beer ul Jedeed, (the new well), 18

To the Castle of Hend-seeyeh, 18

To Mujlisseen, 12

To Beer ul Nisf, 8

To
To the city of Medina, 10
To the Mosque of Shejereh, 9
To Kouboor us Shoadaa, (the tombs of the Martyrs), 14
To Hudeed, 13
To Bedre Hunain, 14
To Mutta ul Miemoon, 15
To Rabia, 19
To Kedeedeh, 14
To Wadee Asfan, 12
To Wadee Fatimeh, 12
To Mecca, 5

So that from Baghdad to Mecca, are 718 hours or farfangs, equal to 1795 Hindostanee coves, reckoning the farfang to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ coves.
Some particulars of the Author's Journey from Baghdad to Aleppo and Damascus.

FROM Baghdad we passed through the village of Nekjeh to the city of Sermen Rai *, commonly called Saimerah †. Here we visited the shrines of Imam Aly Nuckee ‡, and Imam Hassan Askeree ‖; who are both buried in their own houses, which are most magnificent buildings. The Kadees and all the attendants at these two shrines are very rapacious, and extort offerings from the pilgrims. The place where the Schiites § believe that Imam Mahdee ** lies concealed, is in the corner of a vault at Samerah. After travelling the intermediate stages mentioned in the route, we arrived at the city of Kerkooh, which in ancient books is mentioned as part of Chaldea. Here we saw

R the
the tombs of the prophets Daniel * and Ezra †; both under one dome.

Moussul is a large city, situated on the Tigris, and where is shewn the tomb of the prophet Gerjees ‡ (Saint George). Without the city, is the monument of the prophet Jonas ‖; both are large and magnificent buildings. After much enquiry, I learnt that these monuments were erected by order of Timour §, when he conquered this country. Between Kerkoooh and Moussul are very high mountains, which you leave on the left hand. The inhabitants of these mountains believe in two Gods, one the bestower of good, and the other the instigator of evil. If any one should repeat from the Koran, "I take refuge with God, from Satan the accursed," they would stone him to death. The village of Abzird, mentioned in the route, is inhabited by this detestable race. They do not allow circumcision, and expose their na-

kedness.
kedness. The river which runs by this village, is very difficult to ford without these guides; and they make the caravans pay very handsomely for assisting them in crossing over the camels. They are great robbers, as we had heard before we arrived at Moufful; and whilst we were there, we saw many instances of their depredations upon the poor inhabitants of that neighbourhood. On account of the recommendation which we brought from Ahmed Pasha, and the dread of Nadir Shah, whose protection we were known to be under, we were well entertained by the governors of all the places through which we passed, and met with no molestation upon the road; but many of the poor people belonging to the caravan were pillaged. We remained six days at Moufful, and then pursued our journey with the caravan.

Orfeh is a populous city, and has a well-cultivated territory dependent upon it. In the neighbourhood of the city they show you the place where Abraham *, by
the command of Nimrod, was thrown into the fiery furnace, at the foot of the mountain where the machine from which he was flung was constructed, and of which they pretend to point out some vestige to this day. Over the spring which is said to have issued from the midst of the fire, a mosque is erected, with a large reservoir on the outside into which the water runs; and in it are great numbers of fish, which will eat out of your hand, but no one is allowed to catch them. Adjoining to this mosque is the most beautiful garden I have ever seen in any part of the world. The city of Nimrod *, lay on the farther side of the mountain; but as a punishment for the wickedness of its inhabitants, it was desolated, and the road was changed to this side.

Between Moussilul and Orseh opposite to Fej, mentioned in the route, is the castle of Mardeen †, so celebrated in history. The governor having invited the Ha-
keem Baffy to an entertainment, I accompanied him; and we enjoyed a most delightful prospect from the top of the mountain. Timour was obliged to abandon the siege of this place, and with good reason, for a single man placed at the summit, by rolling down pieces of the rock, might defend the place against ten thousand assailants; so that it is absolutely impregnable.

Berjeek is a town pleasantly situated on the Euphrates, and well inhabited. Shah Ismail extended his conquests to this place. Nadir Shah carried his arms as far as Diarbekr, which is opposite to Chah Abbas, mentioned in the route; and Timour conquered the whole Turkish empire. But Timour, and Shah Ismail, commanded armies, by whom they were beloved; whilst Nadir Shah is hated by his soldiers, of which I have already given some instances; so that his successes are the more astonishing.

On the first of Shawal we arrived at Aleppo.
Aleppo *. The river at Aleppo is very beautiful, the bazars † are extensive, and the shops well disposed; no filth is suffered to lie in any of the streets or lanes. The people are handsome and well dressed, so that there appears an uncommon degree of elegance amongst every class of people. The shrine of the prophet Yahia ‡ (John the Baptist) is near the great mosque in the city of Aleppo. The looking glasses which in Hindoostan are called after this city, are not the manufacture of this place, but are brought hither from Europe, the same as it is with the Myrabolans of Cabul, which recals to my mind the following story. When I was at Bokhara with Mirza Ibrahim Isfahany, whom Nadir Shah appointed to entertain Abulfiez Khan the King of Turan, I had frequent opportunities of conversing with that monarch, who was very inquisitive about the geography of Hindoostan, and its natural productions; and once, when I was speaking of the fruits of Hindoostan, I observed that although the

* Heleb.
† پازار a market.
‡ گی plumbs
plumbs of Bokhara were universally famous, I had not yet been able to procure any there, that were equal to those I had tasted in Khorasan. He said, "This is like your famed Myrabolans of Cabul, where there is not a tree of that kind: in Bokhara, indeed, there are plumb trees, but not one that bears good fruit." The people of Aleppo, besides the engaging splendor of their appearance, are remarkably affable, and courteous. The following proverb is in use throughout the east. The people of Aleppo are splendid; those of Syria are fordid; the Egyptians are thieves; and the Hindostanees are the favourites of God. The environs of Aleppo contain nothing extraordinary. The pilgrims assemble from all quarters at Aleppo, and go in large bodies to Mecca with the Kafelah * or caravan †.

Hummee, and Hemse ‡, are both populous towns, and the inhabitants are so remarkably beautiful that the following story is told of their origin. When Nimrod

* قانلا *+
† للوان *
‡ Emeffe.
had formed the design of planting a garden, that should vie with the heavenly paradise, he ordered the most beautiful persons to be collected together from all parts, to represent the celestial Hours * and Ghilmans †; but dying before he could carry his plan into execution, these beauties of both sexes settled in these two towns; God knows the truth! Hummee is situated on the declivity of a mountain, to which the water is carried up from the river by an engine, said to have been invented by some great philosopher.

From the time we left Hemse till we reached Demeshk (Damascus), it snowed frequently, and the air was very cold. The ancient name of this city is Demeshk, as well as all the territory of Syria, but now the country is more commonly called Sham, and the city Sham Shereef ‡. The reason seems to be, that a new city called Sham was built near Demeshk, whose name in the course of time, has superseded

* حور Hour, a nymph of Paradise.
† غانم Ghilmans, a youth of Paradise.
‡ شام شريف Sham, the illustrious.
the other. The mosque of Beni Ommiah * is in the city of Demeshk, and is a very stupendous fabric. The monument of the prophet Zekeriah † is situated near it. The bazars of Damascus are more extensive, but neither arranged with such skill, nor are the shops so well furnished as those of Aleppo. Every house has a water course. The city is ornamented with delightful gardens, the trees of which bear an uncommon load of fruit. The olive tree flourishes in all the adjacent country. Jerusalem ‡ is only ten day's journey from Damascus, but the near approach of the departure of the caravan for Mecca, would not permit me to make an excursion to that place.

From Baghdad to Damascus, we travelled north, and from thence to Mecca our course was south, passing over the desert where Zobiedeh built the wall already mentioned. The people of Baghdad pray with their faces towards the west, and in Damascus the south is their Keblah.
Continuation of the Author's Journey through the desert to Medina.

In the month of Shawal the pilgrims assemble in the city of Damascus, and the Pasha of Damascus is always appointed by the edict of the Emperor of Turkey, Meer Haaj* or conductor of the caravan of Mecca. Without a considerable escort it would be impossible to pass the desert; and even when the caravan is strongly guarded, and the pilgrims are very numerous, the wild Arabs hang in such a manner upon their march, that if any straggle from the caravan, they are sure to be plundered. Another advantage from the appointment of the Meer Haaj is, that by obliging every one to pay implicit obedience to the regulations for marching and halting, the confusion is prevented, which would otherwise be unavoidable amongst so large a body without a head. The following are some of the regulations for

* Meer Haaj
for the caravan. Every one has his station assigned him in the line of march, which he must preserve during the whole journey. The people of Iran, and their camels, always form the rear. When the caravan halts, a particular spot is assigned for every string of camels, and where the master of them is allowed to pitch his tent. No one is suffered to infringe any of these regulations. When the stages are very long the caravan travels day and night; stopping an hour at each of the five stated times of prayer, when the camels are allowed to lie down with their burthens upon their backs: and at midnight they halt in like manner another hour. In order that those in the rear may know at night when the caravan is going to halt, the Meer Haaj lets off a rocket. This nightly halt is called Awafee *. The troops of the Meer Haaj guard the caravan on all sides; and the reason why he acts with such vigilance is, that if he conducts the caravan in safety, to and

* عوافي

S 2 from
from Mecca for seven years successively, the Emperor promotes him to the office of Grand Vizier*: and therefore particular care is observed in appointing to the government of Sham, a person duly qualified to fill the Vizarut †, the highest office in the Turkish empire.

When the caravan arrives at Musleeret, the third stage from Damascus, they purchase necessaries for passing the desert, which the wild Arabs bring to that place for sale: after having bought what they want, they pursue their march. The stages of this journey are longer than what are travelled in any other country, insomuch that the camels of Syria, which are larger and more powerful than those of any other place, are fatigued almost to death. At the same time, the zeal of the pilgrims who go all the way on foot, keeps up their spirits, and they perform the journey with surprizing ease and alacrity.

* Vizier Azem. † وزارت Vizarut We
We travelled as mentioned in the route, till we came to the pass in the mountains where the tribe of Thimud had hamstringed the camel of the prophet Salah. Here the caravan discharge fire-arms, beat their drums, and shouting and clapping their hands make a most astonishing noise; and the camel-drivers pretend that if they did not do this, their beasts would expire from hearing the lamentations of Salah's camel. In the neighbourhood of this city are seen the ruins of a great city, said to have been turned upside down, at the command of God, in punishment of the disobedience of this tribe to the word of his prophet. And here are also said to be the caves which they made in the mountains, to shelter themselves from the divine vengeance.

The castle of Ala is situated in these mountains. In its vicinity is the castle of Khyber, which was conquered by Alij. Here are still many Jews and Christians, who believe that nothing can

* خیبر ـ صالح ـ شموئیل ـ
† be
be more pleasing to God than the death of the pilgrims of Mecca, and for the attainment of any particular object, they make vows to murder them. Notwithstanding the Meer Haaj took every precaution in his power to protect the caravan, these assassins of Khyber robbed three of our pilgrims, and shot them with pistols. The Meer Haaj wanted to assault the place, and revenge the death of our unfortunate companions; but was dissuaded from the enterprise, by the interposition of the principal people of the caravan, who represented to him, that in case of delay, the season for the performance of the pilgrimage would elapse before we could reach Mecca.

The journey across the desert is exceedingly fatiguing, on account of the great length of the stages; and the travelling charges run very high: yet this part of the way is not without its delights, for the number of links which are along with the caravan, every camel having one, form a beautiful illumination; and the songs of the camel-drivers, called Hood-
Hooddee*, enliven the pilgrims and enchant the camels. After all, the fatigue would be supportable, were it not for the continual dread of the wild Arabs. * If I was to relate all the stories that I have heard of these fellows, I should swell my narrative to a large volume, and those who have never had an opportunity of seeing their tricks, would suppose me to be deceiving them with fictitious tales. I shall therefore content myself with mentioning only two or three of their feats, that are most commonly practised. During the night, when from the fatigues of the day the greatest part of the caravan are asleep upon their camels, half a dozen wild Arabs will get on each side of a beast that is richly laden. It is necessary to observe, that in loading the camels, all the merchandise is packed on one side, and the provisions for the journey on the other. Whilst some of these thieves are ripping open the bottom of the merchandise pack and taking out the goods, others support the opposite side with the
provisions, to prevent its slipping off, and waking the rider, who would alarm the caravan; but the instant they have taken out all the goods, they run off, when the camel, frightened at the sudden fall of his rider, and the remainder of the load, runs about in a rage, pulling the string to get loose from his companions; and frequently in the scuffle the poor man is trodden to death*. The swiftness of these Arabs is astonishing, of which I shall give two instances. In the plain of Arafat †, at noon, Hajee Mohammed Cazviny ‡ had pulled off his clothes to bathe, and whilst he was desiring Aka Aly || to take charge of his Kezlebash girdle, in which were 300 gold mohurs, an Arab snatched it out of his hand, and although the rogue was instant- ly pursued by horsemen, he made his escape. Another day Mehdy Beg Shira- zy §, was performing his ablutions, when

* A string consists of three camels, on the first is the shouterban or driver; the second carries the merchant; and on the third is this servant with merchandize and provisions.
an Arab came behind him, and seizing the ewer flew away with it like an arrow.

In the desert of Khyber, Mirza Mohammed Yacoub * died of a consumption; and we buried him in the sand.

From Ala we proceeded as mentioned in the route, till we reached Medina, where we paid our devotions at the shrine of the holy prophet, and other sacred tombs in that neighbourhood. When we had performed all the usual ceremonies at Medina, the caravan proceeded; and on the 6th of Zulhejeh we arrived at Mecca.

When I had completed my pilgrimage, I visited the most remarkable places in and about Mecca. At present the pavement round the mosque, as well as the place where the prophet was born, and the Mejed ul Gin †, are considerably be-

* مراکز کلمات بی‌تکرار
† مسیرا لجن The mosque of the Genii, built on the spot where it is pretended they appeared to Mohammed.
low the level of the city: probably this is the original level, and the city may have been raised by the accumulation of rubbish from delapidated buildings: I have made this observation in several other places of antiquity. The women of Mecca wear green apples about their necks, and think them very ornamental. Mafoud *, the present Shereef † or governor of Mecca, is a man highly respected and beloved by all ranks of people; and the pilgrims in particular, have every reason to be satisfied with his conduct.

* مسعود  † شريف
The Author embarks on board a ship at Jeddeh bound to Hoogly, in Bengal.

On the first of Reby ul Awwel, A. H. 1155 (or the 24th of April 1742), after staying three months at Mecca, I departed from that place to the port of Jeddeh *, which is two days journey. At a short distance from the town of Jeddeh, is the place where Eve † is said to be interred. The grave, which resembles a flower-bed, measures 197 of my paces. On the middle of the grave, a small dome is erected, and the ends are enclosed with wooden pales. The governor of Jeddeh is appointed by the Emperor of Constantinople; who also nominates the Shereef of Mecca, but he is always a descendant of the ancient Shereefs, who have been for the most part of the tribe of Beni Hassan ‡. If a man quarrels with another, and calls him a bastard, he
is cited before the Shereef and punished; because many of the principal persons of Mecca are born of concubines. The Europeans have a factory at Jeddeh; but the Shereef will not permit any one of them to go to Mecca.

After remaining a month at Jeddeh, I embarked on board a ship commanded by an European captain, that was bound to Bengal.

We staid fifteen days at the port of Mokha*, to take in water and provisions, as well as to traffic. Mokha is dependant upon Yemen †, the Prince of which territory is called the Imam ‡ of Yemen, and Sanaa || is his capital. The people of Yemen are chiefly of the sect of Zyled §. Here are the tombs of Sheikh Usman Shadely **, and Sheikh Abul Hassan Shadely ††. The author of

* صنعا || إمام † دين ‡ Zyled §
** شيخ عثمان شادلي
†† شيخ أبو الهيثم شادلي
the
the Neschat ui Uns * asserts, that all the wells in this country were brackish before these holy men were interred there, since when the water is perfectly sweet. It was now the month of June, when grapes, mangoes, and peaches, are common in the markets. Some of the houses are three, and others four stories high; and the house of the governor, whom they stile Dowlah †, consists of six stories.

When the captain had transacted his business at Mokha, we embarked and set sail; and passing the island of Secotorah ‡, famous for its aloes, came into the main ocean. It is said to be unfathomable, and which is the reason that no fish are to be found there. After twenty days sailing, when we had crossed the ocean, we saw a snake, at which the captain and his officers thanked God, it being a sign of our near approach to land. Three days after this we discovered on our left side, Ceylon ||, famous for cinnamon. This is a very large island, and its moun-

* سیان || سیقوطره ‡ دول † نغات الانس tains
tains abound with springs of fresh water. It is now in the possession of the Europeans. We saw Ceylon four days, and on the fifth it disappeared.

Four days after losing sight of Ceylon, we arrived at Pondichery *, a French settlement on the coast, near Arcot †. They obtained the Emperor's permission to erect a factory and warehouses, merely to carry on trade, instead of which they have built a large city on the sea-shore. We remained here twenty days to refresh our crew and carry on some trade. We then set sail for Cheenaputten ‡, (or Madras) in its neighbourhood, and where ships touch, on account of its being a very flourishing place. Through the negligence of the officers of the ship, and the night being dark, we got about four cose beyond it before morning, and the wind proving unfavorable, the ship, which with a fair wind will sail one hundred and fifty cose in twenty-four hours, was above eight days in gaining the port, which we had

* Pilcherry. † missed
missed by so inconsiderable a distance. On the ninth day after leaving Pondichery, the wind coming fair, we arrived at Madras in an instant. The English have long possessed this settlement on the coast of Arcot. Here they live entirely after their own manners and customs. The women of all ranks appear in public, and go about where-ever they please, the same as the men. After finishing our business at Madras, we weighed anchor and set sail for Hoogly.

God having hitherto granted us fair weather, I was not aware of the danger of a sea voyage. But when we approached Balasore *, which is at all times considered as a perilous navigation, we had such a violent storm, that it called to my remembrance the old saying, "That no wise man will make two voyages to sea; for in the first, he will experience sufficient danger to deter him from exposing himself to a second adventure." From the violence of the storm, the waves dash-
ed against the ship with such force, that she sprang a leak, and the captain and his officers had resolved to abandon their property, and escape in the boat at night, without informing the crew of their intention. But the Almighty, for the sake of the few righteous persons who were on board, spared the lives of the rest. The storm ceased, and the wind proved favorable, as it is promised in the divine book, "After difficulty cometh ease: and whoever placeth his confidence on the Lord, he will deliver him from out of his distress."

After escaping the perils above described, we arrived at a channel, where if the ship's course inclines too much to the left, she will strike upon a hard sand, and most probably perish. The officers are particularly careful when they come to this part of the river; and on account of the many losses that have here been sustained by European and native merchants, marks are placed on the water, to direct the vessel what course to follow, by pointing out the places to be avoided: the mark is a wooden
wooden float, resembling a wine vessel, which the Europeans call a pipe. Upon enquiry I was informed, that it is fastened by a rope to an anchor sunk in the bottom of the river, and the rope being covered with tar, the same preparation that is spread over the bottoms of ships, is not easily injured by the water. From Balasore to Hooghly you see about twenty of these floats. Providentially we had now a fair wind; and through God's mercy, arrived safe at the port of Hooghly in Bengal.
A Summary Account of Occurrences in Bengal, and different Parts of Hindostan.

From the weak state of the government of Mohammed Shah, and the factions that prevailed amongst the nobility, the Mahrattahs * of the Dekhan had invaded Bengal; and the port of Hooghly being in their possession, I was obliged to land at Frastdangeh †. The town of Calcutta ‡, built by the English, and situated on the other, or eastern, side of the river, is more extensive and considerable than Frastdangeh. There are various nations of Europeans, viz. French, English, Dutch, Portugese, Germans, &c. Their gardens are laid out in the European taste; the trees are cut into different forms with sheers, and produce a very pleasing effect. Living separate

* The French Settlement of Chundennagur, vulgarly called Chandernagore.
† from
from each other in their different settlements, they preserve their respective customs and manners, without any deviation from what they practice in their native countries. They have different churches, where they hold congregations. There are amongst them handi- craftsman of every denomination; and the natives have acquired many of their mechanical arts. The European soldiers, as well as their artists, are superior to those of any other country, of which the Mahrattahs are so sensible, that although Frasdangeh and Calcutta abound with all kinds of Europe mer-
chandize, and the distance between Fras-
dangeh and Hooghly, is not above two
cose*; and the former has not any for-
tifications, whilst the number of Europe-
an inhabitants is but inconsiderable, and the Mahrattahs swarm like ants or loc-
custs, they have never made any attempt upon that quarter, from the dread that the Europeans would unite their forces

* Major Rennell estimates the Crouh at two British statute miles.
for mutual defence. "Unanimity insures "prosperity; and destruction is the con-
"sequence of discord." The Europeans
excel in the use of cannon and muskets,
but are not skilful with the sword.

The Mahrattahs were first invited to
invade Bengal, by the contest between
Alyvirdy Khan * and Sirafraz Khan †;
the son of Shuja Khan ‡; of which the
following are the particulars. The part-
tizans of Alyvirdy Khan pretend, that
Sirafraz Khan, upon the death of his fa-
ther, at the instigation of evil counsell-
ors, wanted to act treacherously by Ha-
jee Ahmed, who with his brother Alyvir-
dy Khan, had been the confidential ser-
vants of the late Shuja Khan. Alyvirdy
Khan, who was Naib Soobahdar § of Ba-
har ¶, upon receiving intelligence of these
designs, marched from Azemabad towards
Moorshedabad, to give good advice to
the son of his patron, and deliver him
from the hands of evil counsellors, as
well as to relieve his brother from the

Delegate Khan † Sirafraz Khan + Deputy Viceroy. §
impending danger. Sirafriz Khan considering this conduct of Alyvirdy Khan bold and presumptuous, marched with troops from Moorshedabad to oppose him. The armies engaged, when Sirafriz Khan happening to be killed by a matchlock discharged by one of his own men, his troops were routed with great slaughter. But the friends of Sirafriz Khan assert, that the whole was a calumny fabricated by Alyvirdy Khan, in order to cover his real motives; for that instead of any wish to accommodate matters with Sirafriz Khan, he had previously determined to deprive him of his life, and usurp the government. Whatever might have been the motives by which Alyvirdy Khan was at first actuated, he now made himself master of the country, and of the immense treasure which had been accumulating from the time of Jaffer Khan *, who was Soobahdar † of Bengal, and Sirafriz Khan's maternal grand-father. When he had thus gotten possession of all this wealth, he freely employ-

* جعفرخان
† صوبهاور Viceroy.
ed part of it in bribery and corruption, and by adopting conciliating measures, with a wise and prudent administration, gained the affection of people of all ranks and conditions. Upon the death of Sirafraz Khan, many of his relations and dependents, apprehensive for their lives and fortunes, fled to Nizam ul Mulk *, the Nazim or Soobahdar † of the Dekhan, where by describing the riches of Bengal, having excited the avidity of the Maharrattas, who delight in plunder, they conducted by the road of Orissa ‡, an army of these free-booters, who distressed the ryotts §, plundered the country, and threw the government into great confusion. Frequent skirmishes ensued, in which Alyvirdy Khan had many men killed, and the Maharrattas suffered some loss; but from the fortitude and good conduct of Alyvirdy Khan, it was a drawn game; for on the approach of the rains, the Maharrattas being apprehensive of suffering from the inclemency of the climate,

* صوبدار or ناظم المک *
† ناظم †
‡ آو را "Ryott, a Peasant."
§ gave
gave up the war, and returned to the Dekhan, carrying with them an immense booty.

Alyvirdy Khan, Mehabut Jung *, by making large presents to Mohammed Shah, and bribing the principal Omrahs, obtained a grant of the Soobahdaries of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in his own name. His power in those provinces was absolute, but the Mahrattas having tasted the sweets of the first expedition, and being now better acquainted with the roads, and the nature of the climate of Bengal, invaded and plundered the country regularly every year †, till after many battles and skirmishes, with various success, it was mutually agreed, that the Soobah of Orissa should be ceded to them, in satisfaction of the fourth of the collec-

* مهابوت چنگ Mehabut Jung or the Terror of War, was his title.

† The Mahrattas always commence their military expeditions on the Hindoo festival of the Deesseh ۳۳، which falls on the 10th of the moon of the month of Asin, corresponding with part of September and October.
tions of the three Soobahs, and which proportion in their language is called Chowth *. From that time, they left Alyvirdy Khan in quiet possession of the other Soobahs.

Bengal † is an extensive and fertile country, yielding a very great revenue. The air, on account of the excessive rains, and the vicinity of the sea, is exceedingly moist.

On the 1st of Moharrem ‡, A. H. 1156, (or 14th of February 1743), I set out from Moorshedabad ||, after having resided there seven months. Being apprehensive of molestation from the Mahrattas, who were then dispersed about the country, I crossed the Ganges, and proceeded through Purnea §, and Tirhoot **, to Azeemabad ††. From the badness of the air and water, the inhabitants of Purnea are subject to chronic disorders; but they

* Bombay || Marseyabad ‡ Bukhār §, Čotim ||
** Tėrāt § pūrānī i §
†† Ḥithim Ābād or Patna ³; live
live happily under the government of Seif Khan *, brother of Ameer Khan †.

Azeemabad is a large and well built city: the Ganges, with the confluence of several other streams, runs by it, and after passing through Bengal, unites with the sea. At this place also, the Europeans have erected considerable buildings, and carry on an extensive trade. This part of the country is famous for beetle leaf, which is sent to great distances: and Patna rice being preferable to that of Bengal, is transported thither, and sold at a high price.

The Emperor Mohammed Shah, having been indisposed for some time, repeatedly wrote Hakeem Allavee Khan to hasten to court: wherefore, during the most intense heat, the sun being in Gemini, we left Patna, and travelling by the way of Benaris §, Allahabad ||, and Ferukhabad ǁ, arrived at Shahjehanabad on the
taras ולה٢٢ امیر خان + سیف خان *
فیخ آباد گی المواب ǁ 10th
10th of Jemady ul Sany *, A. H. 1156, (or 21st July 1743).

Throughout our journey, the Soobahdars †, and Foujdars ‡, of Hindostan, paid the highest respect to Allavee Khan, and entertained him in a manner suitable to his rank and character.

At this time Ameer Khan ‖, was Soobahdar of Allahabad, whither he had been sent contrary to his own desire, and the Emperor's inclination, to please Kummeredddeen Khan § the Vizier **, and Nizam ul Mulk ††, who made use of this method to remove him from court, because he was a man of sagacity, and played a deep game. Being thoroughly acquainted with the Emperor's character and disposition, he used to seek every opportunity of insinuating

* Soobahdar or Viceroy. † The Chief Magistrate of a District. ‡ A Ziraj. § Amir ul Din Khan. **Grand Vizier, or Prime Minister. †† Nizam ul Mulk.
into his mind suspicions against the Vizier, and the Turany Moghuls *, in order to further his own views. But their party being all powerful at that time, had him ordered away to Allahabad, of which place he had been appointed Soobahdar some time before. Ameer Khan, however, did not remain idle, but shortly after entering into a confederacy with Sefder Jung †, the Soobahdar of Oudh ‡, who with his Irany troops was able to cope with the Vizier's party, prevailed upon the Emperor to call him to court, whether himself also returned; and regaining his former influence, obtained for Sefder Jung the command of the artillery in the room of Saadeddeen Khan ‖. But Ameer Khan did not long enjoy the fruits of his policy, for on the 23d of Zelhejeh 1159 §, (or 25th December 1746), one of his own servants, from an old grudge, stabbed him in the Dewan Aum **, or public hall, at the

* صفرچالک صدیقه‌خانی
diafan عام ** سعدالدین خان

† سفدر جنگ
‡ سفدر جنگ
‖ سعدالدین خان

X 2 en-
entrance of the railing *. His relations accused several persons of being the abettors of this horrid transaction; but I do not think proper to mention their names, since, as is observed in the Koran, "Of a truth it is criminal to accuse any one upon mere suspicion." As he left no son, the Emperor had given orders for all his property to be confiscated into the exchequer †; but his troops being fourteen months in arrears, would not suffer his property to be confiscated, nor even permit his body to be buried, till they had received Tunkhas ‡ for their demands, which was not effected till four days after the murder.

When we arrived at Ferukhabad on our way to Dehly, the governor Mohammed Khan Bungish ||, was exceedingly ill. As soon as Allavee Khan had felt his

* At some distance from the throne is a railing, within which none but persons of rank are admitted.
† Although the Emperor is the absolute heir of all his deceased Munfreebards, yet he frequently relinquishes his right in favor of the relations.
‡ oun an Assignment.

pulsa,
pulse, and learnt the symptoms of the dis-
order, he sent for me to his tent and
said, "We must not continue here, for this
man will certainly die in the course of
six or seven days!" Afterwards when we
heard that Mohammed Khan died within
the period prescribed by Allavee Khan,
I asked him whether he was able to predict
the precise time of death, merely from
his physical skill, or from any miraculous
gift: he answered, that it was from long
practice in medicine, and experience of
the symptoms of disorders.
NADIR SHAH sends Ambassadors to MOHAMMED SHAH.

MOHAMMED ALY BEG * and MOHAMMED KURREEM †, ambassadors from Nadir Shah; being introduced to the Emperor, presented him a letter from their master, with an hundred elephants, some inlaid sword hilts and other articles, which being made after the fashion of Hindoos, were useless and of little value in Persia. They met with a gracious reception, and were honoured with rich dresses. Some days after, they told the Emperor, that Nadir Shah had commanded them to deliver a verbal message, setting forth, "that the large armies which he had "been obliged to maintain, to enable "him to carry on his wars in Turan, "Daghistan, and Turkey, had exhausted "his treasures, at the same time that he "had remitted three years tribute through-"out his dominions: that therefore it "would be brotherly in Mohammed

* محمد علي بک
† محمد کریم
" Shah,
"Shah, to assist him with fifty or sixty lacks of rupees." However, as no mention was made of money in the letter, Mohammed Shah gave the following direct answer to their application on that score. "My brother, the king of kings, when we parted, told me never to pay any attention to verbal messages, but only to give credit to what should be written in his letter. On account of the weak state of the empire, the Zemindars * fail in their remittances of the revenues, so that the expenditures exceed the receipts: moreover the letter is totally silent on this subject, and a verbal answer is surely sufficient for a verbal message." The China dishes, lignum aloes, sandal wood, and other articles required in the letter, were carefully sent. However, notwithstanding the valour displayed in the Emperor's words, himself and every one about him, were dreadfully apprehensive for the consequences, till they heard of the death of Nadir Shah.

* Zemindar = Landholders.

MOHAMMED
Mohammed Shah undertakes an Expedition against Aly Mohammed Khan * the Rohillah †.

In the month of Sefer ‡, A. H. 1158, (or A. D. 1745), the Emperor, at the instigation of Sefer Jung, undertook an expedition against Aly Mohammed Khan, who had made himself independent in Ownlah ||, Bungurh §, and other places. He had been originally a private soldier, and raised himself by degrees into consideration, by his valour and superior abilities. He rendered many important services to the empire, but at last having subdued the Rajah of the mountains of Khamawan ‡‡, and the adjacent countries, he entertained more ambitious views, and at last made himself independent of all authority. Sefer Jung, the Soobahdar of

* The Rohillahs are the Afghans of the district of Roh, bordering on Cabul.
† This Arabian month corresponded that year with part of February and March.
‡‡ Kābawa, Oudh,
Oudh, was alarmed at his progress, and considered him as a thorn in his side: he therefore carried on the war with vigour, and Aly Mohammed was on the brink of destruction. But Kummereddeen Khan, the Vizier, who was negotiating a marriage between his own son, and a daughter of the Rohillah Chief, being anxious to save him from ruin, assured the Emperor that Aly Mohammed was ready to make his submissions in person. The Emperor having been apprized, that Sef-der Jung in his advice, was chiefly actuated by selfish motives; and being desirous of pleasing Kummereddeen Khan, as well as in consideration of the exigency of his own affairs, consented to the proposal. Before the imperial army made its appearance against Aly Mohammed, he had taken the precaution to send all his treasure and valuable effects to Kaim Jung*, son of Mohammed Khan Bungish. The Emperor, therefore, considering the near approach of the rains, and the dissensions amongst the Omrahs, contented himself.

* with
with what had fallen into his hands, and returned to Shahjehanabad. It having been stipulated that Aly Mohammed Khan should reside in some other part of the empire, the Vizier had him appointed Foujdar of Sirhind *, on which place the Tunkhas for the payment of the Turany troops were granted.

* An
An Account of the Murder of Nadir Shah.

About this time, by letters from the ministers of Nadir Shah, and from the accounts of persons just arrived from Persia, was learnt the following intelligence.

Nadir Shah commenced his expedition against the Lezekee of Daghistan, for which he was making preparations when I took my leave of him at Cazvin. As he had conquered Hindoostan and Turan without experiencing any of the hardships of war, he vainly imagined that he should also now carry all before him, and arrogantly declared that he would make prostitutes of all the virgin daughters of their great men, and in retaliation of the blood of his brother, would decapitate five thousand Lezekees; and confiding solely in his own strength, sought not the aid and favour of heaven. But the Lezekees, who are remarkable for their strength and valor,
lour, gave him a different reception from what he had expected:

I have heard from many of the servants, who attended his person, that in the wars of Hindostan, Turan, and Turkey, he never neglected his ablutions; but would then humble himself by prostrating his forehead on the dust, and make prayers and supplications to God: and that particularly during the battle with the Omrahs of Hindostan, he alighted from his horse, rubbed his face against the earth, and made loud protestations of his own unworthiness. But in the war of Daghistan, he behaved in a manner quite contrary, being inflated with pride and arrogance, neglecting his duty to God: in consequence of which, he experienced a reverse of fortune; for the Lezekees, after having made great slaughter amongst his troops, took refuge in their mountains; and thus, although in fact victorious, he was obliged to give up the war, without having committed the rapine, and satiated his revenge, in the manner he had meditated and threatened. After his return from
from Daghistan, he stayed some time in Iran, to prepare for the Turkish war. He then marched to Kerkook, and after plundering Mouffel, Diarbeker, and other places in that quarter, which I have described, proceeded to Nejeff, and Kerbela, where he visited the shrines of the Imams, and then proceeded through Irak Agem to Khorasan.

Allavee Khan, when he was at the court of Persia, availing himself of Nadir Shah's favour and kindness, employed the opportunities, whilst he was prescribing medicine, to administer also wholesome advice, and which the Shah took in very good part. The Hakeem Bafhy was also continually exerting his skill to correct the impetuosity of his temper, for the benefit of mankind: and by a proper medical treatment, his disposition was so much improved, that for a fortnight together he would not order the discipline of the stick, much less command any one to be deprived of his eyes or life. And especially when the attempt was made to assassinate him on the borders of Mazenderan,
deran, in the manner already described, he did not punish any one, until he had coolly and deliberately investigated the matter. But after the departure of Alla-vee Khan, his own physicians; from the dread of offending him, suffered the peccant humours again to predominate, when he returned to his old courses; every day, for the most trilling offences, he would order some to be deprived of their eyes, and others of life. At last his cruelty had risen to such a pitch, that he had resolved to have a general massacre of his Persian troops, by the hands of the Afghans and Uzbecks, in whom alone he now placed confidence. But he was himself murdered the very night preceding the morning in which he had determined to put his bloody purpose into execution. The following are the particulars of this event. On the night of the 16th of Jemady-ul Sany, A. H. 1160, (or June 8th 1747), near the city of Khojoon *, three days journey from Mefned, Mohammed Kuly Khan Ardemee †.
who was of the same tribe with Nadir Shah, his relation, and Kushukchee Bashee *, with seventy of the Kukshek or guard, as well from a view to self-preservation, as at the instigation of their commander, bound themselves by an oath to assassinate Nadir Shah; but when the appointed hour arrived, fifty-seven of them being seized with a panic, refused to join in the execution of the plot. The other thirteen, however, at night tore down the Seraperdah †, and entering the Haram, killed the eunuch upon guard, who refused them admittance; they then proceeded to the Shah. The substance of the various accounts is, that they dispatched him with a matchlock ball, with blows, and wounds with swords and knives. It is said, that at first he raged and abused; and then humbly supplicated for mercy; but neither prevailing, he was obliged to submit to his fate.

* Commanding Officer of the body-guard.

† The veil, or curtain of the tent.
The women, with the jewel office and other valuable effects, having been sent on before to Kelat, under the charge of Nassirullah Mirza, escaped the fury and rapine of the assassins. At day-break when the principal Omrahs assembled together to investigate this astonishing event, they found the trunk of Nadir Shah lying headless on the ground, and an old woman lamenting over the head. The troops and the country people, now plundered the Shah's camp with that fury, of which he had set them the example in Hindostan, Turan, Turkey, and other places. His head was sent to Aly Kuly Khan, his brother's son, who had occasioned the conspiracy, in order to raise himself to the throne. From hence is to be learnt, that it is better for kings to repose confidence in their servants, than in their nearest relations. Nine days after the assassination, Aly Kuly Khan ordered the body to be removed to Meshed, where it was buried on the fifteenth day, in the mausoleum which Nadir Shah had prepared for himself.
A variety of contemptible anagrams were made of the letters which form the date of his death*, and amongst the rest the following: "In fire, in hell, with his "grandfather, and father †."

The date of his accession to the throne may be thus expressed. "It is good, in "what has happened ‡."

To speak the truth, Nadir Shah was a brave and experienced soldier, possessed of an acute, discriminating understanding, with activity, resolution, and foresight; he knew very well how to conquer, and to make himself obeyed, but he was totally ignorant of the true principles of government, for the prosperity of a kingdom; and the impetuosity of his temper, his cruelty and hardness of heart, made his name universally abhorred and detested. From a verse of Sheikh Mohammed

* Every letter in the Arabick alphabet, has a numerical value.

† في النار والسقرمح الجد والبدر

‡ في النار والسقرمح الجد والبدر

Z Aly
Aly Hazeen *, it should seem, that Nadir Shah's grandfather, Imam Kuly Beg †, was a skinner: however, as it has been observed by a respectable personage, we ought not, on this occasion, to give entire credit to the poet's assertion, since he was an enemy to the Shah, and fled into Hindostan from the dread of him. His age has not been exactly ascertained, for want of his horoscope. From the appearance of his countenance, the strength of his limbs, and the vigour of his faculties, he did not seem to be above fifty years of age. Some fix his birth in A. H. 1099, (or A. D. 1687); and I have somewhere seen it written, that he was born on the 27th of Ramzan 1102, or 13th June 1691. His beard was quite white, and he used to have it dyed black regularly twice a week. Having lost all his double teeth, he seldom eat food that required much mastication, and when he did, swallowed it without chewing. His front teeth were all found and firm in his head.

* This excellent Poet died a short time since at Benarís.  
† After
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After the death of Nadir Shah, his nephew Aly Kuly Khan, with the assistance of Thamas Khan Jelayer, and others of the nobility, mounted the throne, and assumed the title of Aly Shah. He got possession of ten crores* of rupees in money, with gold and silver bullion, and jewels to an incredible amount, with the peacock throne, and other riches, which Nadir Shah had deposited in Kelat. He put to death all the sons and grandsons of Nadir Shah, excepting Sharokh Mirza, the son of Reza Kuly Mirza, by a daughter of Sultan Husein. He appointed his own younger brother Ibrahim Khan, his viceroy.

* One hundred thousand is one lack گک; one hundred lacks are one crore گور; and one hundred crores are one arrib ارب.
Transactions at Lahoor, after the death of Zekaria Khan.

Just before the murder of Nadir Shah, died Zekaria Khan the Soobahdar of Multan, who had married the sister of Kummereddeen Khan. The Naib-Soobahdary was immediately conferred upon Meer Momin Khan *, and shortly after Yahia Khan †, the eldest son of Zekaria Khan, was appointed Soobahdar, through the interest of Kummereddeen Khan, whose daughter he had married. But before his arrival at Lahoor, his younger brother Hyatullah ‡, to whom Nadir Shah had given the title of Shahnowaz Khan §, having raised a large army, marched against him, and took him prisoner, and thereby got entire possession of all their deceased father’s estate. Shahnowaz Khan erased from his own seal the words, “devoted servant of Mohammed Shah,”
Shah," and in their place substituted this verse:

"O Lord thou art witness of my intention;

"Since my inclination is good, bestow good upon me.*"

In the border of the seal, instead of the Emperor's ancestors, he caused to be engraved the names of the twelve Imams, having abandoned the faith of the Sunnies, and embraced that of the Schias. When he had made himself master of the city of Lahoor, he extorted considerable sums of money from his father's officers, settled the revenues of the country, and took measures for continuing the war. Kummerdeen Khan used entreaties and threats, to obtain the enlargement of Yahia Khan, but in vain. However, it was shortly after effected, by the contrivance of their aunt, with the assistance of some other ladies of the family. They placed Yahia Khan in a tray, and covering it up, had it conveyed from an entertainment as a service of victuals; and he
having thus regained his liberty, travelled by unfrequented roads to Shahjehanabad. When Shahnowaz Khan discovered the trick that had been played, he punished all the accomplices of the plot; but he forgot his resentment against his aunt, upon her making the following sensible and affectionate declaration, "Had circumstances been reversed, said she, and you the prisoner instead of Yahia Khan, I should have exerted all my endeavours to have set you at liberty; for the heart of a parent feels most affection for the child who is in adversity. I am now in your power, dispose of me as you may think proper." Shahnowaz Khan, charmed at her goodness of heart, and sagacity, gave her no further trouble.

Shahnowaz Khan, who persuaded himself that the Vizier would not proceed to hostilities, whilst his son-in-law was in confinement, now that he had escaped, began to be alarmed for his own safety. To add to his distress, Ahmed Shah *

Abdallee,
Abdalleh*, upon hearing of the contest between the brothers, marched to Lahore.

*Abdalleh


AHMED KHAN, the son of Mohammed Zeman Khan Seldoze *, a native of Herat, is one of the chiefs of his tribe; on which account, Nadir Shah always kept a watchful eye over him; but the officers of all ranks, treated him in private with great respect: and on the day that Nadir Shah was killed, they declared for Ahmed Shah. The Kezlebashes attempted to crush him, but he eluded all their designs, and by the advice of Mohammed Sabir †, a dervish, proclaimed himself king at Kandahar. Before he came to that place, Mohammed Khan Shirazy ‡, the Beglerbeghy || of Cabul, Peishore, and Sind, accompanied by Naffir Khan §, arrived in that neigh-

* Governor,

† Baldrigiki

‡ Shirazi

§ Bakhshan

bourhood,
bourhood, with thirty lacks of rupees, which they had collected from those provinces, and were carrying to Nadir Shah: but upon the intelligence of his death, Nour Mohammed Khan *, and other neighbouring chiefs, divided the money amongst them. Ahmed Shah ordered them into custody, and made them refund the money, which enabled him to raise troops, and make other preparations for conquest. Ahmed Shah proclaimed himself king in Kandahar, in the same year that Nadir Shah was killed. Mohammed Tuckee Khan † was one of his principal Omrahs. When he had settled the revenues of Kandahar, Cabul, and Feishore, and appointed officers to collect the duties and tribute, he set out upon the conquest of Hindostan, at the head of twelve thousand men. He crossed the river Attock, and plundered all the way to Lahoor.

Shahnowaz Khan threw up an intrenchment, mounted cannon on the ramparts
ramparts of the fort, and prepared to make a vigorous defence. Baba * Sabir, the dervish, went into the city of Lahore, to visit the holy shrines, and see his mother, who resided there; as well as to endeavour to prevail upon the governor to surrender; but left his life in the attempt. I shall relate the particulars, in the manner they were told me by Mohammed Yar Khan †, Ahmed Shah's mint-master, who was intimately acquainted with the dervish. Baba Sabir, a handsome youth, was the son of a farrier of Lahore, and having an early inclination to abandon worldly pursuits, left his own country when very young, and travelled to Cabul, Kandahar, and Herat. A short time before the murder of Nadir Shah, Baba Sabir was pitching a little tent, and playing like a boy, when they asked him, "Dervish, what are you about?" He answered, "The kingdom of Nadir Shah being at an end, I am setting up the tent of Ahmed Shah." After the death of Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah having ob-

* A Father, is a title given to mendicants.
tained a kingdom as the dervish had predicted, whatever he asserted afterwards gained universal credit. By his advice, Ahmed Shah assumed the title of Door-
dowran*, or the pearl of the age; from whence he and his Abdallees were afterwards called Dooranee. When they came to Lahoor, the dervish insisted upon going to the city, notwithstanding all Ahmed Shah's endeavours to dissuade him from so rash an undertaking. He accordingly set out, attended by Mohammed Ya' Khan. When he entered the city of Lahoor, the spies of Shahnowaz Khan brought intelligence, that the magician of Ahmed Shah was come with intention to bewitch all the cannon: He was accordingly seized, and brought before Shah-
nowaz Khan, who at the intercession of Adeeneh Beg Khan†, received him with civility and respect: but not consenting to the dervish's proposal of surrender-
ing himself to Ahmed Shah, Sabir behaved with such insufferable insolence, that he and Mohammed Yar Khan were com-

* دوُرَوْرَان
† ويكن
mitted to prison. The next day Shahnowaz Khan's courtiers persuading him, that he would bring misfortune upon himself by suffering Sabir the magician to live, he gave orders for him to be put to death, and the sentence was executed in a cruel manner. But Mohammed Yar Khan, at the interposition of some of the courtiers of Shahnowaz Khan, to whom he had formerly rendered good offices, was set at liberty. Ahmed Shah was so enraged at the death of his spiritual guide and ambassador, that he instantly crossed the Rawee * to attack the enemy's intrenchments, when the Moghuls were seized with terror, and fled. Shahnowaz Khan, in despair at the desertion of his Moghuls, on whom he had placed his chief confidence, hastened to Dehly with his jewels and all his gold. However, Kummered-deen Khan was so much enraged at his former conduct, that he ordered him into custody. The fortune of this man verified the old proverb, Whosoever diggeth a pit for his brother, shall fall therein himself.

* راودی Shahnowaz
Shahnowaz Khan fled from Lahore in the month of Moharram 1161, (or Jan. A. D. 1747). Thus Ahmed Shah, without striking a blow, got possession of that city. For above a month after, he was continually extorting large sums of money from the inhabitants, and his army acted conformably to the words of the poet Sady, "If the king ordereth only half an egg to be taken by force; his army will fling a thousand fowls upon their spits."

I shall leave Ahmed Shah plundering Lahore, and proceed with my narrative.
The Prince Sultan Ahmed marches to oppose Ahmed Shah Durrani.

As from the Emperor's weak state of health, it would have been very inconvenient for him to have taken the field, the principal nobility advised him to send his son Sultan Ahmed to act against the Durranees; and represented that provided the prince went with the army, not one of the Omrahs would ask any supplies of money, or grants of jageer; but that if he sent an army without the prince, there would be required immediately sixty lacks of rupees for the troops of the Omrahs, besides new grants of jageers. The Emperor, however, had such an affection for his son, that he could not be prevailed upon to part with him at that time; but rather consented to exhaust his treasury, by issuing sixty lacks of rupees amongst the troops of Kummereddeen Khan, Sefder Jung, Zulfecar Jung, Ra-

* سلطان احمد

jah
jah Ifferee Singh *, son of Jysingh †, Saadeddeen Khan ‡, Bukht Singh ¶, and other Omrahs: and after granting additional jageers, ordered the army to proceed against the enemy.

When they arrived at Suniput §, intelligence was received, that Ahmed Shah was levying a large army at Lahoor, with design of marching to Dehly. The intelligence occasioned general consternation, from the dread that the same enormities which they had experienced from Nadir Shah, would be committed over again. Salabut Khan ** and Zulfechar Khan returned to the Emperor, and convinced him of the necessity of encouraging the troops, by the presence of the prince. Sultan Ahmed accordingly proceeded to Sunipur, with a fourth part of the imperial troops, and Zulfechar Jung was appointed his Ataleek †† or tutor. Rajah Iffere Singh.

** taking
taking advantage of the posture of affairs, applied for the command of the castle of Rinthore *, and in hopes of succeeding stayed behind: but Kummereddeen Khan, and Seider Jung, positively objected to the measure, from the persuasion that if such an important fortress got into the hands of the Rajpootts, it would be impossible again to dispossess them: they at the same time told the Rajah's agent, that if his master did not choose to join the army, he might return to his own country. Httere Singh being at enmity with his brother, who is married to a daughter of the Ranna †, and as other Zemin- dars were also ill disposed towards him, he thought it most prudent not to displease the Emperor, and accordingly joined the army.

Amongst the Omrahs who accompanied the Shahzadeh ‡, were the following, Kummereddeen Khan the Vizier, with his two sons, and the Turany Moghuls,

* رنوز † ع ‡ The King's Son, the Prince.
his dependents, Janish Khan *, Ahmed Zeman Khan †, Mohammed Atta Khan ‡, and Sefder Jung, with a few troops, and Isseree Singh, with a body of Rajpootts in saffron-coloured dresses. A person staining his clothes with saffron before he goes to battle, indicates that he is resolved to conquer or die; but this cowardly boaster, fled in the beginning of the action. Under the prince's standard marched also Naffir Khan ‖, who had been formerly Sooba-hudar of Peishore; and Mohyeddeen Aly Khan. The following great Omrabs remained with the Emperor: Ghazyeddeen Khan §, Intezam ed-dowlah **, son of Kummereddeen Khan, Jilaleddeen Hyder Khan ††, son of Sefder Jung, Ishak

* Janish Khan
† Nacran Khan
‡ Mumute Khan
‖ Naffir Khan
§ Ghazi duurr Khan
†† Jilal Khan

Afterwards the Nawab Shuja-ed-dowlah, Shuja-ud-dowlah, Shuja-ud-dowlah, Khan.
Khan *, Dewan of the Khalifeh †, or exchequer, Saadeddeen Khan, Khansa-
man ‡, or reward of the household, Abdulmejeed Khan Mejdeddowlah §, and
Rajah Bukht Sing Rathore ¶.

* حکیم خان
† خالص
‡ خانسار
§ راجپوت
¶ a particular tribe of Rajpoets.
The defeat of the Abdallees.

After a consultation of the principal Omrahs, it was determined, that the army should advance beyond the plain of Karnal *, which had proved so unfortunate to the troops of Hindostan, in the action with Nadir Shah; they therefore proceeded to the ferry of Matcheewareh †, and encamped on the banks of the Setlujé ‡. Here they received intelligence, that Ahmed Shah, after crossing the Rawee, had gone to Sirhind, and was now possessing himself of all the treasure and effects in that quarter: upon which the Shahzadeh with the army, turned back again, and marched towards Sirhind. When they arrived within four cose of Sirhind, a cannonading commenced on both sides, which was repeated for sixteen days, till the 22d of Rebby ul Awwel, A. H. 1161, (or 10th March 1748), when both armies...
drew up in order of battle. Kummedeen Khan was sitting in his tent after having performed his prayers, intending to proceed shortly to action, when a cannon-ball from the enemy, struck him on the side, and deprived him of life. His son Maayen ul Mulk *, immediately informed the Shahzadeh and Sefsder Jung of this dire event; and after calling together the officers of his deceased father's troops, represented to them the necessity of keeping his death secret from the army; assured them of his resolution to conquer or perish in the action, and desired that those who were not hearty in the cause would retire. They were all animated by his example, and promised to support him at the expence of their lives: then having caused it to be reported, that the Vizier not choosing to stir abroad that day, had appointed his son to act in his stead, Maayen ul Mulk mounted his elephant, and led on the troops to the charge. The Abdallees sustained the attack with valour; and the contest was bloody and

* معین‌الدوله*
obstinate on both sides. Maayen ul Mulk displayed great military skill and intrepidity. Janish Khan was killed. The Abdallees were now gaining the advantage, owing to the desertion of Ifferee Singh, and his troops, which left one of the flanks of the imperial army entirely exposed to the enemy, till Sefsder Jung advanced to its support; Maayen ul Mulk renewed the attack, the enemy suffered great slaughter, and at length were obliged to retreat. On account of the death of the Vizier, the Shahzadeh did not think proper to pursue the enemy, but encamped on the banks of the Setluje, where we will now leave him.
The death of Mohammed Shah.
A summary Account of his Ancestors.

I HAVE heard from well-informed persons, that the descendents of Ameer Timour, had not fully established their empire in Hindoostan, till the middle of the reign of Akber, and his attention was so much given to temporal affairs, that he neglected spiritual concerns. The wise administration of Alumgeer, gave splendour to religion; and from his judicious regulations the government obtained full vigour. This monarch, who introduced the collection of Jezyah * in Hindoostan, besides being pious, was learned, wise, and active in business: but the wars which ensued amongst his sons and grandsons, after his death, weakened the empire, and brought on its decline: in these bloody contests for the empire, perished all the old and experienced servants of the crown. Summarily, after

* Capitation tax levied from infidels.
the death of Alumgeer, bloody battles were fought between his sons Bahadre Shah, Azem Shah, and Sultan Kam-bukhsh*. By the will of heaven Bahadre Shah obtained the kingdom, and assumed the title of Shah Alum, or king of the world: he was pious, learned, courteous, and munificent to a fault; and had a numerous family. During the life-time of his father, he had made a vow, that if he should afterwards be king, he would gratify the desire of every one; and by a religious performance of this engagement, so incompatible with the laws of government, by excessive largesses and immense gifts, he exhausted the treasures accumulated by Shahjehan, and which his father had so greatly augmented. Nevertheless, out of regard to the nobleness of his designs, and his personal valour, the Omrahs, the army, the governors of provinces, and the Zemindars, respected his authority, and were ever dutiful, and obedient to his commands. On his demise, new wars broke out between

*کامبکش*
his sons Moezeddeen *, Azeem us Shan †, Raffieh us Shan ‡, and Jehan Shah §. Mo-
ezeddeen gained the throne, and took the
title of Jehandar Shah, or the possessor of
the world. He was very robust, possessed
courage, and military skill; but he had
reigned only eight months, when his ne-
phew Ferukhfeer, came from Bengal, and
took him prisoner in battle; and to the
utter disgrace of the victor, he was put to
death in a cruel manner. Shortly after,
Zulfeecar Khan experienced the like fate.
Ferukhfeer, owing his exaltation to the
two Syed brothers Hoosein Aly Khan §, and
Abdullah Khan **, loaded them with ho-
nours; but happening at last to displease
them, they deprived him of his crown and
life. Hoosein Aly Khan, who was Meer
Bukhshee ††, and Soobahdar of the Dek-
han, taking advantage of the misunder-
* مهرالدين
† عظم الامان
‡ رفيع الشان
§ حسین عاشقاران
** عبد اسلام
†† میر بخشی
| Pay-mater General.
| standing
Standing between his brother and Ferukhfeer, carried with him a pretender to the throne in a covered carriage. When he arrived at Dehly, he neglected to wait upon the Emperor, and after having alarmed his fears to the utmost, openly declared, that it was his intention to sacrifice the pretender to the Emperor's pleasure, by delivering him up at the first interview. After a long negotiation, it was agreed, that Husslein Aly Khan should make his own arrangements, in the government, and then come and pay his respects to the Emperor. He accordingly entered the fort, and sent his own men into the Haram, from whence they dragged out Ferukhfeer, and carried him to prison. In order to preserve the appearance of royalty, the brothers raised to the throne, Raffeih ul Dirjat *, son of Raffeih us Shan. Having now effectually resumed all the power of the government, the office of Vizier was conferred upon Abdullah Khan, and that of Meer Bukhshee upon Husslein

* رفیق الظریقات

C c Aly
Aly Khan, as before. Some people assert, that the following verses were written by Ferukhfeer whilst in prison: but others attribute the composition to his tutor, and say that he only repeated them.

The heart is intoxicated with madness; give it not wine.

It is habituated to fire; give it not water.

To every one who enquireth after the condition of my heart;

Breathe only a sigh upon the lip, give him no answer *

A few days after, Ferukhfeer was destroyed by poison: in order to be sure he was dead, they cut the soles of his feet, and then buried him.

* دول مست جنونست شر اش بدين
نکرده آتش آست آبیش ملبد
پرکس کم زاغوال دل ما بپرستد
آیا باب آرید وجوابش سید

Raffick
Raffeih ul Dirjat being of a weak constitution, and much addicted to drinking an infusion of poppy heads, reigned only three months and eleven days. Abdullah Khan and his brother then raised to the throne his brother Raffeih-ed-dowleh, and gave him the title of Shahjeehan. They made him march from Agra to oppose Naikoseer*, who had been set up in opposition by Metresain †, and others. Naikoseer was taken prisoner. Shahjeehan being sickly, like his brother, and addicted to the same intemperance, soon descended from the throne into the coffin.

At the death of Shahjeehan, his brother Roshen Akhter † was taken out of confinement at Dehly, and placed on the throne in the beginning of Zekahdeh A. H. 1131 (or in October 1719), with the title of Mohammed Shah. The grand entertainment which he gave on Sunday the 9th of Shawal 1133 (or July 22d 1721), was.

* نیکوسیر
† مر سین
‡ روشن اسمیر
The bright star.

Cc 2
on account of some astrological prediction. Mohammed Shah being at that time a very beautiful youth, a respectable poet made the following lines upon the circumstances of his accession.

_It was a bright star, now it has become the moon._

_Joseph† came out of prison, and was King ‡._

The ministers settled it, that during the seven months of Raffeih ul Dirjat and Raffeih-ed-dowleh the throne should be considered as having been vacant, and that time be added to the reign of Mohammed Shah, whereby they place his accession on the 1st of Rebby ul Awwel, which extends his reign to 30 years; whereas it was only twenty-nine years and six months.

* Joseph is called by the Eastern Poets, the Moon of Egypt.
† According to the Koran Joseph was King of Egypt.
‡ يوسيف از زندان برآریشان شد

Hussein
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Husslein Aly Khan, in order to be revenged upon Nizam ul Mulk, for having defeated and slaughtered his troops, made Mohammed Shah march against him on the 27th of Zilhejeh (or 18th Oct. 1720) in the second year of his reign. During the expedition, Meer Hyder Khan *, at the instigation of Mohammed Ameen Khan †, pretending to have received injuries from him, presented a false petition on the subject to Husslein Aly Khan, and whilst he was reading it, stabbed him with a knife; and repeated the blow till he expired; but the assassin was instantly cut to pieces. Mohammed Shah soon after gave up the expedition and returned towards Dehly, in order to oppose Abdullah Khan, who upon the news of his brother's assassination, took out of prison Sultan Ibraheem †, son to Raffeih us Shan, and declared him Emperor; and was marching at the head of a large army to take vengeance on the murderers of his brother. On Friday the 13th of Moherrem, in the 2d

* Meer Hyder Khan
† Mohammed Ameen Khan
‡ Sultan Ibraheem
year of the reign, (or 2d November 1720), a battle was fought, when Abdullah Khan being made prisoner, Mohammed Ameen Khan was appointed Vizier in his stead. Six weeks after his promotion, Mohammed Ameen Khan died a natural death, when the Emperor wanted to confer the Vizarut upon Khandowran, but the Turany Moghuls being dissatisfied with him, raised a tumult, when Enayutullah Khan, universally respected for his integrity and abilities, was made deputy Vizier, and Nizam ul Mulk grand Vizier; and when the latter came to Dehly, he was formally invested with the office, by receiving a khelut, or dress, and other honorary distinctions. But afterwards, differences happening between the Emperor and Nizam ul Mulk, the Vizarut was bestowed upon Kummereddeen Khan, on the 2d of Zekahdeh, in the sixth year of the reign, (or 11th July 1724). The Emperor from this time delivered
himself up to indolence and pleasure, till the invasion of Nadir Shah changed his joy into sorrow. During the reign of Mohammed Shah, there were continual dissensions amongst the Omrahs; so that whenever one began a business properly, some other, in order to promote his own selfish views, would be sure to counteract and frustrate his good intentions. The Emperor all the while looked on without daring to interfere, from the apprehension of experiencing the fate of Feruksheer and the two Syed. But what was worse than the feuds amongst the Omrahs, they had formed connections with the Zemindars; each Ameer in his turn, insinuating that if another ventured to rebel, he could be crushed by means of some particular Zemindar, the Emperor was thereby prevailed upon to strengthen one after another, till at length the Zemindars got possession of the whole power of the empire, and the Omrahs sunk into insignificance. It is, however, but just to observe, that those evils did not result from any peculiar depravity in the present nobility, but were the natural effects of
of a feeble government, when the authority of the monarch being treated with contempt, cabals and dissensions invariably arise amongst the nobility, and in their consequences are the ruin of the empire.

I have been told, that Mohammed Shah in his youth was of a robust make, and possessed a very good understanding; but in the latter part of his life, from sickness, and the constant use of opium, his mind, and his whole frame, were weak and debilitated. He was born on Friday, the 23d of Rebby ul Awwel, A. H. 1114, (or 5th August 1702), in the neighbourhood of Ghuzneen; and died at Dehly on the 27th of Rebby ul Sany 1151, (or 14th April 1748.)
## A Chronological Table of the Descendants of Timour, who have Reigned in Hindostan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Began to Reign</th>
<th>A.H. A.D.</th>
<th>Reigned</th>
<th>Y. M. D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zeheereddeen (a) Mohammed Bâber</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>1526</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neefeereddeen (b) Mohammed Hemayun</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>1530</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jillaleddeen (c) Mohammed Akber</td>
<td>964</td>
<td>1556</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Noureddeen (d) Mohammed Jehangeer (c)</td>
<td>1014</td>
<td>1605</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahabaddeen (f) Mohammed Shahjehan (g)</td>
<td>1038</td>
<td>1628</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohyeddeen (h) Mohammed Aurungzebe (i) Alungeer (k)</td>
<td>1069</td>
<td>1658</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) The supporter of religion.  
(b) The light of religion.  
(c) The conqueror of the world.  
(d) The defender of religion.  
(e) The glory of religion.  
(f) The bright star of religion.  
(g) The King of the world.  
(h) The reviver of religion.  
(i) The ornament of the throne.
## A Chronological Table of the Descendents of Timour, who have reigned in Hindostan

<table>
<thead>
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<td>A.H.</td>
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<td>1119</td>
<td>1707</td>
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<td>1124</td>
<td>1712</td>
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<td>1125</td>
<td>1713</td>
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<tr>
<td>1131</td>
<td>1718</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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| 1131 | 1718 | 0 3 15 |

| 1131 | 1718 | 29 6 0 |

- (i) The axis of religion.
- (m) The King of the world.
- (n) The valiant king.
- (c) The honour of religion.
- (p) The king who possessesthe world.
- (r) Of exalted degree.
- (q) Of happy disposition.
- (s) Of exalted fortune.
- (t) The afferst of religion.
At the time Mohammed Shah died, the Prince Sultan Ahmed was with the army at Sirhind; and Malekah ul Zemany*, Mohammed Shah's widow, who was a daughter of Ferukhfeer, in order to prevent any sudden commotions, enjoined Ghazyeddeen Khan, and some other Omrahs to keep the event secret, till the prince's arrival. Sultan Ahmed, on receiving intelligence of his father's death, set out immediately for Shahjehanabad, leaving Nizam ul Mulk governor of Lahooor.

* The Empress of the age.
Sultan Ahmed ascends the Throne.

At Paniput *, on the 2d of Jemadul Awwel 1161, (or April 18th 1748), the Nawab Seudder Jung, having made the necessary preparations for the inauguration of the new monarch, by setting up the imperial Chettr †, and other insignia of royalty, congratulated Sultan Ahmed upon his accession to the throne of Hindostan, and did him homage. The Emperor returned the compliment by saying, "I also congratulate you, upon the Vizarut." The other Omrahs who were present were honored with different marks of the royal favour. The Emperor directed that the following titles should be used in the pulpit and on the coin: Mojahideddeen, Abulnassir, Ahmed Shah, Bahadre, Padsha Ghazi ‡; or the warrior in defence of re-

* ٖلاَنِبٌ
† يُمْرَر or umbrella, is one of the insignia of royalty.
‡ مَجَايِدُ الْدِّينِ إِبْوَاتُ النَّصِيرِ إِبَّارُ وَبَادُعَ شَاهَ غَازِرٌ
ligion, the father of victory, Ahmed Shah, the valiant, the victorious king.

Those who were perfectly conversant in the proper forms, represented to the Emperor, that not one of the descendants of Timour had ever assumed the title of Bahadre, but had only conferred it upon their servants; however this remonstrance did not make him change his orders, and Bahadre was included amongst his titles. The Nawab Sefder Jung was formally invested with the Vizarut; the office of Meer Bukhshee, was obtained by Syed Selabut Khan Zulfebar Jung *, on the removal of Asof Jah †. Nizam ul Mulk ‡; Itemadeddowleḥ, son of the late Kumme-reddeen Khan, was appointed second Bukhshee; and the Nawab Abdulmajid

* سيد말ک‌خان ذوالفقار‌پاشا
† اسم که in dignity like Asof, who they say was Solomon's Vizier, is a title commonly given to the grand Vizier.
‡ نظام الیک the arrangement of the empire, the action being here used for the person.

Maj-
Mejeddowleh * third Bukhshee, or paymaster. These were the only changes that then happened, all the other Omrahs standing confirmed in their respective offices. The Emperor's mother, who was a concubine, named Oudhem Biey†, now obtained the title of Nawab Biey‡; and sometime after Nawab Koodsieh Sahebehzemany||. Jaweed Khan§, the eunuch, who had been many years in her service, was at her recommendation appointed Darogha** of the Abdar Khaneh††; the Feel Khaneh ‡‡, perfume office and of the Ghosul Khaneh ‡‡, with the title of Nawab

* عبد الإله خان میرالدوله Father of the present Abdullahed Khan.
† نواب بیضی The holy Nawab, the
tait Aroc Pāyābeyee Miftreis of the age.
‡ نواب قریصیمیش دزائی 
|| نواب قریصیمیش دزائی
§ جاویر خان ** Superintendant.
†† دروگر خان نواب قریصیمیش دزائی
‡‡ ابرارنامه The Water-house.
¶¶ علی‌نامه The Bath.

Bahadre
Bahadre *, Mân Khan †, the king’s maternal uncle, obtained a munseeb of six thousand, and the title of Moatekid ed dowleh ‡.

The following event which happened in the same year, was the cause of great commotions. On the festival of Zuhah ||, Seffder Jung, in returning from the Eedgah § to his own house, passed through the market place called Neegumbobdh **, when suddenly some thatches on the right side of the street appeared in flames, and there was discharged from that quarter a volley of matchlock and pistols balls. Several of the servants in the front of the procession were wounded, but fortunately the Nawab himself did not receive any injury. Notwithstanding all the enquiries that were made, the parties concerned in this audacious act could never be discover-
ed: however, as it occasioned suspicions in the mind of Sefder Jung unfavorable to the Emperor, he absented himself from court for three months. At last the exigency of the Emperor's affairs was such, that he was persuaded by his friends to pay the Vizier a visit, when by this condescension, and the most solemn protestations, Sefder Jung was satisfied of his innocence.

As soon as Ahmed Shah Doorany received intelligence of the feuds at court, he marched from Cabul for Lahoor. However Nizam ul Mulk, the Soobahdar of Penjab, stopped his progress, by promising to remit him annually fourteen lacks of rupees, in satisfaction of the revenues of some places ceded to Nadir Shah, for the payment of the expences of Cabul, and which Nadir Shah, till his death, received regularly from Zakaria Khan. Upon this negotiation, the Dooranees returned to Kandahar, and Penjab escaped the horrors of devastation and plunder.
An Account of the death of Aly Mohammed Khan the Rohillah, and of the contentions which ensued between his Sons and the Nawab Kaim Khan, Son of Mohammed Khan Bungish.

UPON the death of Kummereddeen Khan, Aly Mohammed Khan, Rohillah, Zemindar and Foujdar of Ownlah and Bungurh, was under the necessity of feigning a friendship with Sefder Jung the Vizier, and till his death acted with well-dissimulated humility. His sons, imitating his example, connected themselves with Sefder Jung: but he, sensible that his country could never be secure whilst the Afghans maintained any power in that quarter, resolved to extirpate them, by sowing dissensions between those of Roh and those of Bungish. There are various stories on this subject, but what follows, appears to be most probable and consistent. The Emperor and his ministers, secretly per-
suaded Kaim Khan * to destroy the sons of Aly Mohammed, by promising him possession of their territory. At the same time, Sefder Jung encouraged the sons of Aly Mohammed to make a vigorous opposition to Kaim Khan, and pretended to give orders to Nevil Roy †, the Naib Soobahdar of Oudh, to march himself with troops to the support of the Rohillahs. Accordingly, Kaim Khan took the field with a large army against the Rohillahs, resolved to destroy them; whilst the Rohillah Chief confiding on the assurances they had received from Sefder Jung, marched out boldly to oppose him, expecting to be soon joined by Nevil Roy. Kaim Khan, seeing the critical situation of affairs, resolved to attack the Rohillahs before they should be strengthened by their junction with Nevil Roy. The Rohillahs, now alarmed at their situation, sued for peace; but Kaim Khan refused to listen to their proposals, and pursued his operations with vigour. The Rohillahs, driven to despair, laid troops in am-
bush with cannon, and after a short skirmish took to flight. Kaim Khan, inflated with pride by the repeated solicitations for peace, and thinking he had now gained the victory, pursued the enemy carelessly, till he came in front of the ambush, when the concealed artillery was so well served, that he and all his principal officers were killed, and the whole army fled with precipitation to Ferukhabad. Thus the Rohillahs, from their humility, and not having confided on their strength, returned victorious to Ownleh and Bungurh. The Emperor and the Vizier, upon receiving intelligence of the death of Kaim Khan, had resolved to send an officer to confiscate his property, when they learnt that the mother of the deceased, had agreed to pay the Mahrattahs twenty lacks of rupees, provided they would extirpate the Rohillahs, and send her Saadullah Khan *, the son of Aly Mohammed, to be put to death, in retaliation of the blood of her son. As this invasion of the Mahrattahs, would have exposed the territory

* Saadullah Khan
of Sefder Jung to their devastations, he persuaded the Emperor to march towards Ferukhabad in the month of Moherrem 1163, or in Dec. 1749, to prevent the threatened irruption. When they arrived in Sircar Kowl *, it was agreed, that the Emperor with Ghazyeddeen Khan, Intezam ed dowleb, and some others of the Omrahs, should continue there; whilst Sefder Jung, with Abdulmajeed Khan Cashmeery †, and Lutfullah Khan Paniputty ‡, Shere Jung ||, &c. were to proceed to Ferukhabad, in order to confiscate the estate of the late Kaim Khan. But the mother of Kaim Khan, who was a woman of great penetration and prudence, having learnt these resolutions, repaired immediately to the Vizier's camp, attended only by 300 cavalry. After a long conference she agreed to send the Emperor fifty lacks of rupees, and faithfully fulfilling her engagement, the Emperor marched back to Shahjehanabad.

* in Agra.

** אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר יָשָׁמְשָׁם בְּאִי יִשְׂרָאֵל

† עַמְּדֵן אֵשֶׁבֶת כְּשָׁרָי

‡ שִׁיָּרֵה שָׁלֹשׁ
Some Account of the Nawab Moatemid ul Melouk, Syed Allavee Khan, Hakeem Bashy.

The name of this illustrious personage, is Mirza Mohammed Hashem *; his father was Hakeem Mohammed Hadi †; and his grandfather was Syed Mozuffereddeen, Hussein Allavee, of the stock of Mohammed Haneef ‡. Syed Mozuffereddeen was a learned physician of Beabanek || in Khorofan, and afterwards settled at Shiraz, which is the native soil of his descendents. Mirza Mohammed Hadi, his son, besides his skill in physic and surgery, which was famous throughout Iran, was a remarkable fine penman, and possessed other accomplishments in an eminent degree.

* حکیم مرزا حسن رادی
† سید مستوفر الدین حسنی علی خان زاودرون حضرت محمد صلی الله عليه و آله
‡ a Son of Aly not by Fathima, but of another marriage.
|| یاباک
degree. He lived like a Calender *, and was styled Mirza Hadi Calendery. During his studies, he wore the dress of the learned, but when he was composing verses, and in company at coffee-houses †, his habit was that of a Calender. The following are the most renowned of his pupils, who have visited Hindostan; Sheikh Mohammed Husein, Hakeem ul Memalik ‡, whose poetical name is Shohret ||; he was the greatest physician of his time, and a good poet. Hakeem Mohammed Ismail Shirazy §, who settled at Akberabad **, and was from thence called Akberabady, was a physician of great skill and extensive practice. Hakeem Aly

* قاسم ر a kind of Mohammedan monks, who despise worldly possessions.
† مقرب خان +
‡ شهير
|| Renown.
§ حکیم میثم معیل شیرازی
** آکبر آباد The City of Akber, Agra.

Nuckee
Nuckee Khan *, who was patronized by the Nawab Azeemullah Khan †. Also Hakeem Mortiza ‡, and Hakeem and Moulavee Nuffeira ‖, who went from Azeemabad to Shiraz. These with many other pupils of Mirza Mohammed Hadi, settled in Hindostan, the Dekhan, Iran, and other countries. The poetical name of Mirza Mahommed Hadi is Shehreer §: Allavee Khan had in his possession a dewan ** of his composing. He died in the year 1107, or 1695, aged sixty three years, and was buried near the tomb of Imam Moussa Kazim at Shiraz. He left behind him two sons, Mirza Mohammed Hafhem (or Allavee Khan) and Mirza Mohammed Husein ††. The latter was ve-

** نواب عظیم الدخان
† حکیم مولوی نصر
‡ حکیم مرتضی
§ شمر

Spark of fire.

** ویران

A Dewan is a series of Odes, running through the whole alphabet, all the rhymes of the first terminating in ی of the second in ب and so on.
ry learned in physic, as he has shewn by his commentary on the Canoonchee *. Mirza Mohammed Hasheem studied under his father, assisted by Moulla Lutfullah Shirazy †, and Akhoond Messieha Affey ††. He travelled from Shiraz to the Dekhan in A. H. 1111, or A. D. 1699, being then in the 34th year of his age, and was presented to Alumgeer during the siege of Sittareh ||; that Emperor honoured him with a khelut § and a munseb **, and placed him in the service of his son Mohammed Azem Shah. In consideration of his family descent and renowned skill, he obtained in marriage the daughter of Hakeem Mohammed Shefia Shushtereee †††. In the reign of Bahadre Shah, he obtained the

* or short Canons of the art of Physic.

† آخوند سید شیرازی

†† سازه‌کرد

§ خلعت

|| a Dress given on appointment to an office, and other public occasions.

**. دینیتی

††† حاکم مجد شفیع شوشتری

title
title of Allavee * Khan, with an increase of his munseb, and jageer †. Whilst he was in the service of Mohammed Shah, that monarch ordered him his weight in gold and silver, raised his munseb to six thousand, with a monthly stipend of three thousand rupees, and gave him the title of Moatemed ul Melook ‡. From the universal fame of his learning and skill, Nadir Shah, after the capture of Dehly, shewed him great respect, and under a promise that he should be permitted to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, he was prevailed upon to accompany that conqueror on his departure from Hindostan, as I have before related. He was continually busied either in writing prescriptions for the sick, or in literary pursuits, and yet to the age of eighty years, had never worn spectacle, and was possessed of all his other

* علوي خان The exalted Khan or Lord.
† جاکیر An assignment of land.
‡ معتمر الاله‌ک The truly Servant of Kings.

F f faculties
faculties in full vigour. Amongst his works one entitled *Jumma'il Jemara*, or the *Collection of Collections*, is of such extensive erudition, that if all the other books in physic were to be lost, the whole art would be found preserved in this volume. He wrote very good verses, and has been celebrated by many poets. He was born at Shiraz in Ramzan 1080 (or January 1669), and died of a dropsy, at Shahjehanabad on the 29th of Rejeb 1162, (or 3d July 1749). Conformably to the directions in his last will, his remains were interred near the tomb of Nizam ed deen Aulia †. As he had no children, the Emperor at his death issued an order for the confiscation of his property into the exchequer; but afterwards, at the interposition of Sefder Jung the Vizier, it was commanded that his estate, of every description, should be divided amongst his heirs in Bengal and Shiraz; and Ha-
keem Aly Nuckee Khan *, his sister's son, was intrusted with the distribution. A year before his death, he had dedicated his library to the use of the public, under the administration of Aly Nuckee Khan, and the books were lent to any one who wanted to study them.

* The maternal uncle of the Nawab Mohammed Reza Khan Mozaffer Jung whose father Nawab Hadi Aly Khan then enjoyed the office of Darogha of the Dar ul Chefa or Hospital at Moorhedabad, which is now held, but with reduced allowances, by Mozaffer Jung's elder brother, the Nawab Mohammed Husein Khan a very respectable character.

For the information of such of our Readers as are not conversant in the Persian language, it may be necessary to observe, that the explanations in the notes are, for the most part, in the singular number.

THE END.