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The History Of Hindostan; From The Earliest Account Of Time, To The Death Of Akbar; Translated From The Persian Of Mahummud Casim Ferishta Of Delhi

Together With A Dissertation Concerning the Religion and Philosophy of the Brahmins ; With An Appendix, Containing the History of the Mogul Empire, from its Decline in the Reign of Mahummud Shaw, to the present Times ; In Two Volumes

Ferishta, Mahummud Casim

London, 1768

Section I. General Observations. The Succession from Akbar to Mahummud Shaw. The growing Imbecility of the empire. Governors of the Provinces assume Independence. Their Intrigues at the Court of ...

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HISTORY

OF THE

MOGUL EMPIRE,

FROM

Its decline, in the Reign of MAHUMMUD
SHAW, to the Present Times.

SECTION I.

General Observations.---The Succession, from AKBAR to
MAHUMMUD SHAW. The growing Imbecillity of the
Empire.---Governors of the Provinces assume Inde-
pendence. Their Intrigues at the Court of Delhi.---
The Invasion of NADIR SHAW.

MAHUMMUD CASIM FERISHTA, the author of
the preceding history, finishes his account of the
kings of Delhi with the death of Akbar. The trans-
lator is still in hopes of being able to procure original and au-
thentic histories of the empire of Hindostan, from that period
down to the present times. He, therefore, will not break in

Vol. II. Appendix.

*A

upon



HISTORY OF THE DECLINE

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upon his design of giving, some time or other, to the public, a complete history of the reigns of the posterity of Timur in India, by retailing the very imperfect accounts already published in Europe.

But as, to translate from the Persian language is a task of labor and difficulty, his engaging further, in works of this kind, will depend entirely upon the reception the public shall give to his first attempt in that way. If he shall find that he is not capable to acquit himself, in some degree, to the satisfaction of the world, he will, in prudence, lay down his pen; and leave that field to men of greater abilities, who may hereafter turn their thoughts to the subject.

The transactions of the court of Delhi, since the invasion of Nadir Shaw, are very little known in the West. They have not, even in Asia, been hitherto committed to writing; and if the present confusions of the Mogul empire shall long continue, it is probable the memory of them will die with those who were principally concerned in them. This consideration has induced the translator of Ferishta's history, to throw together the most material events, which happened in the empire, since the memorable irruption of the Persians, in the year 1738. He derives his authority, for some of the facts, from a Persian manuscript, now in his hands, concerning six years of the reign of Mahummud Shaw; and as to the rest, he principally follows a short sketch of the affairs of the empire, given to him in writing, by his intimate friend the Rai Raiân, secretary of state to the present mogul.

To continue the line of connection, between the preceding history and the reign of Mahummud Shaw, who sat upon the throne of Delhi when the invasion of Nadir Shaw happened, it may not be improper, just to mention the succession of the kings,
from

from Akbar to that period. It is necessary to observe, that, after consulting the most authentic Persian histories, the author of this account finds himself obliged to differ from all the European writers, who have treated on the subject, with regard to the duration of most of the reigns.

Upon the death of Akbar, his son Selim ascended the throne, in Agra, upon Thursday the 20th of Jemmad ul Sani, in the 1014 year of the Higera. He, upon his accession, assumed the title of JEHANGIRE, and reigned twenty-two years, nine months, and twenty days, with much more reputation and success than could have been expected of so weak a prince. His death happened upon Sunday the 28th of Sisser, in the 1037 year of the Higera.

A. D.
1605

SULTAN KURRUM, the third son of Jehangire, mounted the throne at Agra, upon the 8th of Jemmad ul Sani, in the year 1037, and, under the title of SHAW JEHAN, reigned thirty-two years, three months, and twenty days. He was deposed by his third son, the famous Aurungzebe, who dated the commencement of his reign, from the first of Ramzan, in the 1069 of the Higera. Aurungzebe, upon his accession, took the name of Allungire*.

1627

ALLUMGIRE, having reigned fifty years, two months, and twenty-eight days, died, in a very advanced age, at Ahmednagur, in the Decan, upon Friday the 28th of Zicada, in the 1119 of the Higera.

1648

* Though Shaw Jehan was confined during the time his four rebellious sons, Dara Shekoh, Sultan Suja, Aurungzebe, and Morad Buksh, contended for the crown, yet as Aurungzebe prevailed over his brothers, and dated his reign from the year 1069, we have included the time of the civil wars in the reign of his father.

*A 2

Mahummud



- 1707 Mahummud Mauzim, Aurungzebe's second son, succeeded his father in the throne, under the title of BAHADAR SHAW. He died, after a short reign of four years and eleven months, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Moaz ul Dien.
- 1712 Moaz ul Dien, under the title of JEHANDAR SHAW, reigned eighteen months. Some writers do not include him in the succession of kings, as the succeeding emperor, the son of Azim ul Shaw, the second son of Bahadar Shaw, under the name of Firrochsere, dated his reign from the death of his grandfather.
- 1713 FIRROCHSERE, according to his own computation, reigned six years. He was blinded, and afterwards put to death, by the two SEIDS, upon the 12th of Jammad ul Sani, in the 1130 of the Higera.
- 1717 RAFFEIH UL DIRJAT, the son of Raffaih ul Shaw, the third son of Bahadar Shaw, was raised to the throne, by the ambitious Seids; and after a nominal reign of three months, was put to death by the same faction, by whose interest he had obtained the crown.---His brother RAFFEIH UL DOWLAT succeeded him; but he died in a few days.
- 1718 MAHUMMUD SHAW, the son of Jehan Shaw, and grandson of Bahadar Shaw, acceded to the throne of Delhi, in the month of Shawal of the year 1130 of the Higera.---Mahummud Shaw, having rid himself of the two Seids, Abdalla Chan, and Hassen Chan, who had so long tyrannized in the empire, raising and deposing kings at pleasure, gave himself wholly up to indolence, and the enervating pleasures of the Haram. The distractions, before Mahummud's accession, occasioned principally by the ambition of the Seids, gave the first mortal wound to the Mogul empire, under which it has ever since languished. Most of the Omrahs,
either

either envying or dreading the power of the Seids, formed ambitious schemes of independence in their respective provinces, which the aparent debility of the regal authority very much favored.

Cuttulich Chan, who, as Nizam ul muluck, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, being sensible of the weakness of Mahumud, maintained a great standing army, under a pretence of keeping the unsubdued Hindoo Rajas and Mahrattor * chiefs in awe. But the real design of this force was to found an independent kingdom for the Nizam in the Decan, as Hassen Caco Bemeni had done in the reign of Tuglick Shaw †.

To facilitate his ambitious views, the Nizam ul muluck began to extend his power in the Decan, by the reduction of the neighbouring Rajas. Though the revenues of his government must have been very considerably increased by these conquests, he remitted none to the Delhi; and, at the same time, to weaken the empire, he encouraged, or at least, permitted the Mahrattors to make hostile incursions into the interior provinces. These irregular marauders ravaged the kingdoms of Malava, Narvar, Biana and Ajmere, in such a manner, that no revenues could be paid by the unfortunate inhabitants.

The weak Mahummud, instead of checking this insolence by the sword, disgraced the dignity of the house of Timur, by submitting to become, in a manner, tributary to these despicable banditti. He agreed to pay them the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of those provinces, which had been subject to their

* These are they, who are known in Europe, under the disfigured name of Marattoes.

† This Hassen Caco mounted the throne at Kilbirga in the Decan, which city he called from himself, Hassen-abad, upon the 24th of Ribbi ul Achir, in the 748 of the Higera. He assumed the title of sultan Alla ul Dien.

depre-



depredations. From this pusillanimous conduct of Mahummud, we may date the irretrievable decline of the Mogul empire. That opinion, which supports government in every country, was now destroyed in India; and each petty chieftain began to start into a prince, as he had nothing to fear from a government which had betrayed such evident symptoms of timidity.

Chan Dowran Sumfam ul Dowla was, at this time, Amir ul Omrah, or captain-general of the empire. As the offices of paymaster-general and commander in chief of the troops are injudiciously joined in one person, in Hindostan, Chan Dowran had such an influence in the state, that he engrossed to himself all the ministerial power. He left, in short, nothing but their names in the government to the king and his vizier, Kimmir ul Dien Chan.

Chan Dowran was sly, artful, insinuating; of an active and intriguing disposition; in appearance assuming no authority, when, at the same time, he directed every thing. He executed, in public, as by the king's orders, whatever he himself had resolved upon in private. As the indolent Mahummud was even averse to the trouble of thinking, the suggestions of this artful Omrah, who was full of plausibility, and prompt to execute whatever he advised, were always grateful to the royal ear. The captain-general, though personally brave, permitted his master's authority to be daily insulted by despicable enemies. He foresaw that to take the field, without the king, would probably put an end to his influence over him; for he knew that the disposition of Mahummud was fickle and inconstant; and apt to be swayed to any thing, by every artful person near him.

Dowran made many unsuccessful attempts to persuade Mahummud to accompany him to the field. The dissolute monarch was not to be removed from the luxurious indolence of the

palace.



palace. The Mahrattors, in the mean time, continued their inroads. They ravaged the province of Guzerat, and raised the Chout as far as the Indus. They returned back from that river, by the way of Ajmere and Biana, and spread their devastations to the very gates of Agra.

The captain-general, though much against his inclination, found himself obliged to march against these plunderers. But, instead of chastising them, he ingloriously promised to pay them the Chout, upon condition they should immediately evacuate the provinces.

The barbarians, gaining courage by this submission, and trusting very little to promises extorted by fear, from Dowran, crossed the Jumna, near Calpee, with a design to plunder the province of Oud. Sadit Chan, who then possessed that subaship, opposed them, between the rivers in the district of Korah, and gave them a total defeat. They fled to Feridabad near Delhi, whither they were closely pursued by Sadit, who had, on his way, joined the imperial army under Dowran.

Before the united armies under Dowran and Sadit came up, the Mahrattors made an attempt to plunder Delhi. They were opposed, without the walls, by two imperial Omrahs, Hassen Chan and Amir Chan, the former of whom was killed in the action. The Mahrattors had now possessed themselves of the suburbs, when Kimmir the vizier, coming up with an army, put them to flight. But notwithstanding these repeated defeats, the Mahrattors found means to retreat, with a great booty to the Decan.

The king and his ministers, finding that the Nizam of the Decan favored the incursions of the Mahrattors, devised many schemes



schemes to inveigle him to court, that they might deprive him either of his life or government. The crafty Nizam, penetrating into their designs, conceived an implacable resentment against Chan Dowran, who, he knew, was at the bottom of the whole affair. But as the empire, notwithstanding its growing imbecillity, was still sufficiently strong to reduce the Nizam, had he broke forth in open rebellion, he thought it most prudent to obey the royal command. He, however, previously, strengthened his interest at court, by a coalition with many great Omrahs, who were disgusted with the insolence of Dowran.

Cuttulich Chan, having taken a step so necessary for his own safety, set out for court, leaving his son Ghazi ul Dien in the government of the Decan. He arrived at Agra, with a retinue, or rather an army of 20000 men; and, as he held the office of Vakeel Muttuluch *, he expected to command Chan Dowran, and to draw all the reins of government into his own hands.

Sadit Chan, Suba of Oud, pluming himself upon his success against the Mahrattors, aspired to the ministerial power. The king continued to favor Dowran, and to support him against the Nizam; for, however weak Mahummud was, he could not but see through that ambitious governor's designs, by his behavior for some years back. But, as the Nizam had, upon the spot, a force to protect his person, and a strong party at court; and as his son, a man of great parts, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, the king was assured, that to deprive Cuttulich Chan of his government, would occasion a revolt, which, in its consequences, might prove fatal to the royal house of Timur.

In the mean time, Sadit Chan, finding that he could not effect any thing against the united interests of the Nizam and vizier,

* For the nature of this office see the preface.

who



who had joined factions, was easily brought over to their party. The terms of this coalition were, that when the Nizam and Vizier should force themselves into the management of the affairs of government, Sadit Chan should be appointed buckshi*, with the title of Amir ul omrah, which Dowran at that time possessed.

The accession of Sadit and his party did not render the faction of the Nizam and Vizier sufficiently strong to turn Dowran from his high employ. He had absolute possession of the royal ear, and the army, who depended upon him for their pay, remained firm to his interest. The faction of the malcontents was reduced to despair; and Nizam ul muluck, to gratify his resentment against Dowran, concerted, with Sadit, a plan, which gave the last stroke to the tottering authority of the crown.

The famous Nadir Shaw, king of Persia, was, at this juncture, in the province of Candahar. The disaffected Omrahs resolved to invite him to Hindostan. They foresaw that a Persian invasion would occasion confusions and distractions in the empire, which must facilitate their own schemes of independence in their respective governments; it must, at any rate, ruin Chan Dowran, which was a very capital object to men possessed of such inveterate animosities against that minister.

Whether the Nizam did not even extend his views to the empire itself, admits of some doubt. Many sensible men in India think that he did; and affirm, that his opinion was, that Nadir Shaw would depose Mahummud; and, to secure his conquest, extirpate the family of Timur: he argued with himself, that as it was not probable that the Persian would fix his residence in Hindostan, he hoped, for his services, to secure to himself the vice-

* Paymaster-general of the forces.



A. D. 1738. royship of that empire; and that afterwards time and circumstances would point out the line of his future proceedings.

Full of these ambitious projects, and at the same time to avenge himself of his political enemy, the Nizam, in conjunction with Sadit, wrote to Nadir Shaw. That monarch received their letters at Candahar, and, in an answer to them, pointed out many difficulties which he had to surmount in the proposed invasion. He represented to them, that it would be extremely difficult to penetrate even into Cabul and Peshawir, which provinces Nasir Chan had governed for twenty years, with great reputation, and kept in pay a formidable army of Moguls and Afgans: that should he even force his way through the government of Nasir, there were five great rivers to cross in Punjâb, where Zekirriah Chan, subadâr of Lahore, would certainly oppose him; and that even should he get over those obstacles, the imperial army still remained to be defeated.

Nizam ul muluck, and his colleague in treason, endeavoured to remove the king's objections, by assuring him, that they would bring over the governors of the frontier provinces to their faction; and that, as they themselves commanded one half of the imperial army, little danger was to be dreaded from the other. Nadir Shaw began his march from Candahar, with a great army, about the vernal equinox of the 1149 of the Higera. He took the rout of Ghizni, and the governor of that city came out with presents, and submitted himself and the province to the king, agreeing to pay the usual revenues to Persia. Nadir Shaw continued his march from Ghizni to Cabul, which city he immediately invested. Shirza Chan, an omra of seventy years of age, was, at this time, governor of Cabul. Being summoned, he

March.



he refused to surrender, and made the proper dispositions for an obstinate defence. A. D. 1738.

The king of Persia finding that neither fair promises nor threats could induce Shirza to open the gates of Cabul, assaulted the place for six days together. In this desperate manner, many of the bravest soldiers, who suffer most upon these occasions, fell; without making any impression on the besieged: upon the seventh day, Nadir Shaw found means to bring over to his party Nafir Chan, governor of the province of Cabul, the son of that Nafir, who was, for twenty years, subadâr of Peshawir. That traitor, with the provincial army, presented himself at that gate of the city which was opposite to the side of the attack, and sent a letter to the gallant Shirza. He requested immediate admittance to the place, to prevent his being cut off by the enemy; insinuating, that his forces, when joined with the garrison, would be a match for the Persians in the field.

The unfortunate Shirza, not suspecting the treachery of the young Omrah, consented to receive within the walls the women and baggage of the provincial army; but insisted that the troops should encamp before the gate, till they should consult together what was best to be done upon this urgent occasion.

The women and baggage were accordingly admitted, with a proper guard, and Shirza, with a few attendants, went out to have an interview with Nafir. No sooner was Shirza out of the city, than the king of Persia began a general assault; while one Abdul Rahim, an officer of the traitor Nafir, seized upon Shirza, and confined him.



A. D. 1738. ^{Nov} The two sons of Shirza, ignorant of their father's fate, in the mean time defended the gates with great firmness and resolution; till one of them was killed by that part of Nafir's army that had been admitted into the city. The remaining brother, in this desperate situation, knew not which enemy he ought to oppose, while the garrison, struck with terror and confusion, deserted their posts upon the wall. Nadir Shaw took advantage of this panick, forced open the gates, took the place, massacred many of the inhabitants, and inhumanly put to death the gallant Shirza Chan and his son.

The king of Persia found in the treasury of Cabul two crores of roupees, and effects to the value of two crores more: in these were included four thousand complete suits of armour, inlaid with gold; four thousand of polished steel, four thousand mails for horses, and a great quantity of fine tissues and dresses, deposited in Cabul by Shaw Jehan. Nadir Shaw remained at Cabul seven months, before he would attempt to cross the Indus. He, in the mean time, kept up a correspondence with the conspirators in Delhi, and maturely settled his plan of operations. He, at length, put his army in motion, and directed his march to Pishawir.

Nafir Chan, subadar of Pishawir, had wrote, repeatedly, to the court of Delhi, for succours; but Chan Dowran, in his answers, affected to despise the king of Persia; and insinuated, that it was impossible he could meditate the conquest of Hindostan. He, however, promised, from time to time, that he himself would march with the imperial army, and drive the invader back to Persia. The disaffected Omrahs wrote, at the same time, to Nafir, to make the best terms he could with Nadir Shaw; ⁵



Shaw; for that there was little hopes of his being reinforced with any part of the royal army. A. D. 1738.

Nafir Chan, finding himself neglected by the court, after a faint resistance, surrendered himself prisoner to the king of Persia, upon the 20th of Shabân. He was soon after taken into favor by that monarch, and appointed one of his viziers. Nadir Shaw had, by this time, crossed the Attock or the Nilâb, one of the most considerable of the five branches of the Indus. He issued out an order to ravage the country, to spread the terror of his arms far and wide. Novemb. 20.

Daily advices of the approach of the Persians came to Delhi. A general consternation among the people, and a distraction in the councils of the government ensued. The king and his minister, Dowran, were so weak, that either they did not suspect the treachery of the disaffected Omrahs, or took no measures to prevent their designs. New obstacles were daily thrown in the way of the military preparations of Dowran, till the Nizam and his colleagues thought, that the procrastination which they had occasioned, had sufficiently weakened the imperial cause.

Upon the first of Ramzan, the Vizier, the Nizam ul muluck, and Dowran, incamped without the city, with a great train of artillery, and began to levy forces. Nadir Shaw, during these transactions, crossed the Bea, and on the first of Shawal appeared before Lahore. Zekeriah Chan, governor of the city and province, who was incamped with 5000 horse before the walls, retreated into the city. He, the next day, marched out and attacked the Persians. A general rout of his army was the consequence, and the conquerors were so close to the heels of the run-aways, that they possessed themselves of the gates.---Zekeriah
December 11
1739.
January.



A. D. 1739. keriah waited immediately upon Nadir Shaw, with a nazir of half a lack of roupees, was politely received by that monarch, and Lahore was preserved from being plundered.

February 14. The king of Persia continued his march towards Delhi, and upon the 14th of Zicada, appeared in sight of the imperial army. Mahummud Shaw was incamped upon the plains of Karnal; so that only the canal, which supplied Delhi with water, divided the armies. The Moguls had only possessed themselves of that ground about two days before the arrival of Nadir Shaw, and had thrown up entrenchments and redoubts before them, mounted with five hundred pieces of artillery. The army, which the king now commanded in person, consisted of 150,000 horse, exclusive of irregular infantry. This unweildy body of militia was composed of all sorts of people, collected indiscriminately in the provinces, by the Omrahs, who thought that a sufficient number of men and horses was all that was necessary to form a good army. Subordination was a thing unknown in the Mogul camp: the private soldier, as well as the Omrah, acted only by the impulse of his own mind.

The Persians, though not so numerous as the Moguls, were under some degree of regulation. The rank of Nadir Shaw's officers was determined; and his own commands were instantly and implicitly obeyed. Severe to excess, he pardoned no neglect or disobedience in his Omrahs. He has even been known to send an *essawil* * to a general, at the head of 5000 horse; with orders to make him halt and receive corporal punishment, for a misdemeanor, in the front of his own men. Though this rigor may be thought in Europe too tyrannical and repugnant to a military spirit; yet, in a country where the principles of honor are

* A mace-bearer,



little known, fear is the strongest motive to a strict performance of duty. A. D. 1739.

Sadit Chan, upon the 14th of Zicada, having out-marched his baggage, joined the imperial army. Just as he was receiving an honorary dress from Mahummud Shaw, advice came that the Herawils of Nadir Shaw had attacked his baggage. Sadit Chan requested of the king to be permitted to march out against the Herawils. The whole of this attack was a plan concerted between Nadir Shaw and the traitor, in order to draw the Moguls from their entrenchments. The king, however, laid his commands upon Sadit to wait until the next morning, when, "by the favor of God," he intended to march out, with his whole army, to give the Persians battle. February 14.

But so little did Sadit regard Mahummud's orders, that, as soon as he had quitted the presence, he issued out with 10000 horse, which he had brought from his government, and attacked the enemy. A mock engagement now commenced, between Sadit and a part of the Persian army; who were ordered to retreat before him. He sent repeated messages, from the field to the king, requesting more troops, and that he would drive the enemy back to Persia.

Mahummud, justly incensed at the disobedience of Sadit, would not, for some time, permit any succours to be sent to him. Chan Dowran, at length, prevailed with the king to permit him, with 15000 men, to support Sadit. When Chan Dowran came up to the field, Sadit, in a feigned attack, joined the Persians, and permitted himself to be taken prisoner. His design was to get the start of his partner in treason, Nizam ul muluck, in engaging the Persian monarch in his interest.



In the mean time, the troops of Sadit being strangers to the treachery of their commander, joined Chan Dowran, and continued the engagement. Chan Dowran was immediately attacked on all sides, by the bulk of the Persian army. He, however, for some time, maintained his ground with great firmness and resolution; and was at length unwillingly drawn from the field, though he had received a wound which soon after proved mortal, by three repeated messages from the king, commanding his immediate attendance.

Mahummud Shaw was, with good reason, apprehensive that Nizam ul muluck, who was then in the camp, was preparing to seize him, which made him so anxious for the presence of Dowran. When the wounded general appeared before the king, he told him the situation of affairs, and earnestly intreated him to permit him to return to the field, with the troops which were under his immediate command, as captain-general, consisting of 36000 men, together with two hundred pieces of cannon. "Grant my request," said he, "and you shall never see me return but in triumph."

The king was now perplexed beyond measure. He dreaded the designs of the Nizam, should Dowran be absent, and, at the same time, he durst not permit the traitor to march out of the lines, for fear he should join the Persians. He, therefore, fell into the common error of weak minds, and hesitated, in hopes that delay would give birth to a more favorable concurrence of events.---He was deceived: the happy moment, for the preservation of himself and the empire, was now upon the wing. His troops maintained still their ground, under Muzziffer, the gallant brother of Dowran; and a reinforcement would turn the scale of victory in their favor.

When



When Chan Dowran quitted the field, the command of those Moguls, who were engaged, devolved upon his brother Muzziffer. That brave Omrah made a violent charge upon the Persian army, and penetrated to the very door of Nadir Shaw's tent. There, for want of being supported from the camp, Muzziffer, Afil Ali Chan, Dowran's son, Raja Gugermull, Meer Mullu, Eadgar Chan, and twenty-seven officers of distinction, covered one small spot of ground with their bodies. Ten thousand common Mogul soldiers were slain in this desperate action; which had almost proved fatal to Nadir Shaw, for his whole army were upon the point of giving way; several great detachments having fled back forty miles from the field of battle. After the engagement, the few that remained of the Moguls, retired within the entrenchments*.

Chan Dowran, though wounded, had that night an interview with the Nizam ul muluck. It was agreed, that the whole army should next morning march out of the lines, and attack the Persians in their camp. But when the morning came, Chan Dowran's wound, which he had received in the arm, was so much inflamed, that he could not act, and, therefore, the meditated attack was delayed. In the evening of the 18th, a mortification ensued, which was then attributed to something applied to the wound by a surgeon bribed by the Nizam; and many in India still continue in the same belief. Be that as it will, Chan Dowran expired that night, amidst the tears of his sovereign, February 18. who had a great friendship for him.

* Frazer says, that only 4000 Persians were engaged; but we have reason to doubt his authority, as we derive our account from several persons, who were present in the action.



A. D. 1739.

When this brave Omrah, on whom alone the hopes of Mahummud Shaw rested, was dead, Nizam ul muluck stood unrivalled in the management of affairs. The whole authority devolved upon him, and the king became a cypher in the midst of his own camp. The traitor finding now the power of the empire in his hands, under a certainty of being able to dispose of the king at any time, according to his own pleasure, set a treaty on foot with Nadir Shaw, for the immediate return of that monarch into Persia. So little hopes had the Persian, at this time, of conquering the Mogul empire, that he actually agreed for the pitiful sum of fifty lacks of roupees to evacuate Hindostan.

Sadit Chan, who, we have already observed, was in the Persian camp, hearing of these transactions, used all possible means to break off the treaty. The regard of Nadir Shaw to his plighted faith, was not proof against the lucrative offers of Sadit. That Omrah promised to pay to the Persian two crores of roupees out of his own private fortune, upon condition he should reduce the Nizam, and place himself at the head of the administration. In the mean time, the Nizam, who was now appointed Amir ul omrah, by Mahummud, finding that Nadir Shaw broke the treaty, began to talk in a high strain, and to make preparations for coming to action with the Persians, to which the king strenuously urged him. But the active spirit of Nadir Shaw was not idle during these transactions. He possessed himself of several strong posts, round the Indian camp, and totally cut off their supplies of provisions. The Nizam perceiving that he must act with great disadvantage, if he should march out of his lines and attack the Persians, began to renew the treaty, and offered more than Sadit had done to Nadir Shaw.

Mahummud,



Mahummud, being informed that these two villains, without his communication, were making separate bargains, about himself and his empire, and that he even had not the shadow of authority in his own camp, took a sudden resolution to throw himself upon the clemency of Nadir Shaw. "A declared enemy," said he to the few friends who still adhered to him, "is by no means to be dreaded so much as secret foes, under the specious character of friends." Having, therefore, previously acquainted the Persian of his intentions, he set out in the morning of the 20th, in his travelling throne, with a small retinue, for Nadir Shaw's camp.

A. D. 1739.
February 20.

The king of Persia, upon the Mogul's approach, sent his son, Nisir Alla Mirza, to conduct him to the royal tent. Nadir Shaw advanced a few steps from his Muid, and embraced Mahummud, and, sitting down, placed him upon his left hand. The substance of their conversation has been already given to the public by Fraser: and, therefore, we shall only observe here, that Nadir Shaw severely reprimanded Mahummud, for his pusillanimous behaviour, in paying the Chout to the Mahrattors, and for suffering himself to be invested in his camp, in the very center of his dominions, without making one single effort to repel the invasion.

Nadir Shaw, after this conversation, retired to another tent, called to him his vizier, and consulted with him what was best to be done with Mahummud, in this critical situation. The vizier told him, that, should he confine the king, the Nizam, who commanded the army, would immediately act for himself; and, as he was an able officer, they might meet with great difficulty in reducing him. But that, should the king be permitted to return to the camp with assurances of friendship and protection,

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tection.



A. D. 1739. section, a party would join Mahummud, that would, at least, be a ballance against the influence of the Nizam.

Nadir Shaw saw the propriety of what his vizier advised. He immediately returned to the royal tent, and told Mahummud, that, as hitherto the imperial house of Timur had not injured the Persians, it was far from his intentions to deprive Mahummud Shaw of his kingdom. "But," said he, with a determined look, "the expence of this expedition must be paid, and, during the time of collecting the money, my fatigued army must refresh themselves in Delhi."

February 24. The emperor made little reply to Nadir Shaw's discourse. He was, however, permitted to return to his camp, and the Persian began to lay schemes to seize the Nizam. One Cafim Beg was employed in this affair. He, in Nadir Shaw's name, made the Nizam many protestations of friendship, and obtained a promise, that he would visit that monarch in his camp. He accordingly, upon the 24th, set out, and was, immediately upon his arrival in the Persian lines, seized, and, together with some great Omrahs who attended him, confined.

February 26. Mahummud Shaw, looking upon the Nizam's confinement as a plan laid by the traitor himself, in order that he might negotiate matters with the Persian with more security, determined to pay a second visit to Nadir Shaw.---That monarch had, by this time, secured most of the Mogul omrahs, one after another, and when Mahummud, upon the 26th, arrived in the camp, a tent was pitched for him near the royal pavilion. The unfortunate Mahummud was carried into his tent, and left for some time alone. A collation was brought him, and he ate very heartily; without betraying any symptoms of being affected with his unhappy situation.

situation. Nadir Shaw was greatly astonished when he heard of Mahummud's behavior, and exclaimed: "What kind of man must this be, who can, with so much indifference, give his freedom and empire to the wind? But we are told, by the wife, that greatness of mind consists in two extremes: to suffer patiently, or to act boldly; to despise the world, or to exert all the powers of the mind to command it. This man has chosen the former: but the latter was the choice of Nadir Shaw."

Though Mahummud was hindered from returning to his own camp, he was permitted to have all his domestics about him, who amounted to three thousand. A thousand Kisselbash horse-mounted guard upon him: but this pretended honor, which was conferred upon him, was a certain badge of his forlorn condition. In the mean time, Kummir ul dien, the vizier, Surbullind Chan, Nizam ul muluck, and all the principal Mogul omrahs, were kept in the same kind of honorable confinement. The Persian had now nothing to fear from an army without officers. He entered the camp, seized upon the ordnance, the military chest, the jewel-office, the wardrobe and armory.---He ordered three months pay to be immediately advanced to his troops, and the best of the artillery he sent off to Cabul.

Upon the 2d of Zehidge, Nadir Shaw moved from Karnal towards Delhi. The emperor, guarded by ten thousand men, marched a few miles in his rear. The Mogul army were, at the same time, ordered to march in two irregular columns, one on each side of the Persians, the front of whose column was advanced two miles beyond the other two. By continued marches, Nadir Shaw arrived upon the 8th in the suburbs of the city. He himself, at the head of 12000 horse, entered the city next day.

The

March 28



A. D. 1739.

The king of Persia, finding himself in possession of Delhi, called Nizam ul muluck and Sadit Chan into his presence, and addressed them in the following extraordinary manner: "Are not you both most ungrateful villains to your king and country; who, after possessing such wealth and dignities, called me, from my own dominions, to ruin them and yourselves? But I will scourge you all with my wrath, which is the instrument of the vengeance of God." Having spoke these words, he spit upon their beards, and turned them, with every mark of indignity, from his presence.

After the traitors were thrust out into the court of the palace, the Nizam addressed himself to Sadit Chan, and swore, by the holy prophet, that he would not survive this indignity. Sadit Chan applauded his resolution, and swore he would swallow poison upon his return home; the Nizam did the same; and both determined in appearance upon death, retired to their respective houses.

Sadit Chan, in the mean time, sent a trusty spy to bring him intelligence when the Nizam should take his draught. The Nizam, being come home, appeared in the deepest affliction: but having privately intimated his plot to a servant, he ordered him to bring him the poison. The servant acted his part well. He brought him an innocent draught, with great reluctance. The Nizam, after some hesitation, and having formally said his prayers, drank it off in the presence of Sadit's spy, and soon after pretended to fall down dead.

The spy hastened back to his master, and told him that the Nizam had just expired. Sadit, ashamed of being outdone in a point of honor by his fellow in iniquity, swallowed a draught of
real



real poison, and became the just instrument of punishment to his own villainy. The Nizam was not ashamed to live, though none had greater reason. He even prided in that wicked trick, by which he had rid himself of his rival, and afterwards actually enjoyed the intended fruits of all his villainies. A. D. 1739.

The Persian, in the mean time, placed guards upon the gates of Delhi, with orders to permit no person whatever to pass in or out without his special licence. These strict injunctions were given to prevent the inhabitants from evacuating the place, and from carrying away their wealth. He, at the same time, issued his commands, that no person whatsoever should be molested; but he demanded twenty-five crores, as a contribution for sparing the city.

Whilst the magistrates were contriving ways and means to raise this enormous sum, by laying a tax in proportion to their wealth on individuals, famine began to rage in the city, as all communication with the country was cut off. Upon the 10th Nadir Shaw ordered the granaries to be opened, and sold rice at a certain price. This occasioned a prodigious mob in all the public Bazars, particularly in the Shawgunge, or royal market. A Persian kiffelbath in this market, seeing a man selling pigeons, seized by force upon his basket. The fellow, to whom the pigeons belonged, made a hideous outcry, and proclaimed aloud, That Nadir Shaw had ordered a general pillage. March 10.

The mob immediately fell upon the Kiffelbath, who was protected by some of his own countrymen. A great tumult arose, and some persons, bent upon more mischief, cried aloud, That Nadir Shaw was dead; and that now was the time to drive the Persians out of the city. The citizens, who in general carried
arms,



A. D. 1719. arms, drew their swords, and began to cut to pieces the Persians, wherever they could be found. The report of the death of Nadir Shaw flew, like lightning, through every street in Delhi; and all places were filled with tumult, confusion, and death. It was now dark, and the Persians, who had been straggling through the city, returned to the citadel, except two thousand who were killed by the mob.

About twelve o'clock at night, the king of Persia was informed of these transactions. He immediately ordered what men he had with him under arms, and, putting himself at their head, marched out as far as the Musgid of Roshin ul Dowlat. He thought it prudent to halt there till day-light should appear. He, in the mean time, sent for the Nizam, Sirbillind Chan, and Kimmir ul dien, and threatened to put them to instant death, charging them with fomenting these tumults. They swore upon the Coran, that they were innocent, and he pardoned them.

March 11. When day began to appear, a person from a neighbouring terrace fired upon Nadir Shaw, and killed an officer by his side. The king was so enraged, that, though the tumult had, by this time, totally subsided, he ordered the officers of the cavalry to lead their squadrons through the streets, and some musqueteers to scour the terraces, and to commence a general massacre among the unfortunate inhabitants. This order was executed with so much rigor, that, before two o'clock in the afternoon, above 100,000, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, lay dead in their blood, though not above one third part of the city was visited by the sword. Such was the panic, terror and confusion of these poor wretches, that instead of bravely opposing death, the men threw down their arms, and, with their wives and children, submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter.

One



One Persian soldier often butchered a whole family, without meeting with any resistance. The Hindoos, according to their barbarous custom, shut up their wives and daughters, and set fire to their apartments, and then threw themselves into the flames. Thousands plunged headlong into wells and were drowned; death was seen in every horrid shape; and, at last, seemed rather to be sought after than avoided.

A. D. 1739.

The king of Persia sat, during this dreadful scene, in the Musgid of Roshin ul Dowlat. None but his slaves durst come near him, for his countenance was dark and terrible. At length, the unfortunate emperor, attended by a number of his chief Omrahs, ventured to approach him with downcast eyes. The Omrahs, who preceded Mahummud Shaw, bowed down their foreheads to the ground. Nadir Shaw sternly asked them what they wanted? They cried out, with one voice, "Spare the city." Mahummud said not a word, but the tears flowed fast from his eyes. The tyrant sheathed his sword, and said, "For the sake of Mirza Mahummud, I forgive."

No sooner had he pronounced these words than, according to our author, the massacre was stopt; and so instantaneous was the effect of his orders, that in a few minutes every thing was calm in the city. He then retired into the citadel, and inquired into the original cause of the tumult. Seid Neaz Chan, the superintendant of the royal market, for having been active in this affair, was put to death. Kifrah Chan, a brave Omrah, for having defended his house against the Persians who came to massacre his family, but who had not been concerned in the tumult, was beheaded.



A. D. 1739.

The tyrant's thirst for blood was not yet satisfied. He sent detachments daily to plunder the villages near Delhi, and to put all the inhabitants to the sword. Six thousand of the inhabitants of Mogulpurra were cut off for a very trivial offence. He sent a party into the royal market, where the tumult first arose, and ordered seven hundred persons to be seized indiscriminately, and to cut off their noses and ears.

When now all disturbances were quelled by the blood of the unfortunate Delhians, the king of Persia had leisure to pillage the city at pleasure. He seized upon the public treasure and the regalia of Mahummud Shaw. In the treasury several vaults were discovered, in which much wealth lay concealed, as well as many valuable effects. In the public treasury was found in specie, three crores of roupees: in the private vaults near two crores more. The Jewaer Channa* was estimated at twenty-five crores, including the Tucht Taoos, which alone cost ten. The royal wardrobe and armory were valued at five crores. Six crores were raised in specie, by way of contribution, upon the city, and about eight crores in jewels; all which, together with horses, camels and elephants, amount to about fifty crores, or sixty-two millions five hundred thousand pounds of our money.

Great cruelties were exercised in levying the contributions upon the city. Under an arbitrary government, like that of India, individuals find it necessary to conceal their wealth. Some Omrahs, therefore, who had very little were taxed very high, whilst others who were rich came off with a moderate sum. Many of the former, under the supposition, that they actually possessed more wealth, were, after they had given all they were

* The jewel-office.

worth



worth in the world, tortured to death; whilst others, to avoid pain, shame and poverty, put, with their own hands, an end to their miserable existence.

A. D. 1739.

Upon the 21st of Mohirrim, the king of Persia celebrated the nuptials of his son, Mirza Nasir Alli, with the daughter of Ezidan Buksh, the son of Kaam Buksh, and grandson of the famous Aurungzebe. The Shaw himself discovered a violent desire to espouse the beautiful daughter of Muziffer Chan*; but he was prevented by one of his wives, who had the art to command the furious spirit of Nadir Shaw, which the rest of the world could not controul.

During all these transactions the gates of the city were kept shut. Famine began to rage every day more and more; but the Shaw was deaf to the miseries of mankind. The public spirit of Tucki, a famous actor, deserves to be recorded upon this occasion. He exhibited a play before Nadir Shaw, with which that monarch was so well pleased, that he commanded Tucki to ask what he wished should be done for him. Tucki fell upon his face, and said, "O king, command the gates to be opened, that the poor may not perish." His request was granted, and half the city poured out into the country; and the place was supplied in a few days with plenty of provisions.

The king of Persia, having now raised all the money he could in Delhi, reinstated Mahummud Shaw in the empire, upon the third of Siffer, with great solemnity and pomp. He placed the crown upon his head with his own hand, and presented him with a rich chelat; distributing, at the same time, forty more among the Mogul omrahs. He then gave to the emperor some instructions concerning the regulation of his army; to which he

* The brother of Chan Dowran. He was slain in the battle at Karnal.



A. D. 1739. added some general maxims of government. He put him upon his guard against the Nizam, who, he plainly perceived, aspired above the rank of a subject. "Had not I," said the king of Persia, "foolishly passed my word for his safety, the old * traitor " should not now live to disturb Mahummud."

Every thing being ready upon the 7th, for Nadir Shaw's return to Persia, strict orders were issued to his army to carry no slaves away, nor any Indian women, contrary to their inclinations, upon pain of immediate death. Before his departure, he obliged Mahummud formally to cede to the crown of Persia, the provinces of Cabul, Peshawir, Kandahâr, Ghizni, Moultan and Sind, or, in general, all those countries which lie to the north-west of the Indus and Attoc. The whole of the treasure which Nadir Shaw carried from Hindostan, amounted, by the best computation, to eighty millions of our money.

When this destructive comet, to use the expression of our Indian author, rolled back from the meridian of Delhi, he burnt all the towns and villages in his way to Lahore, and marked his rout with devastation and death. "But before he disappears behind the mountains of Persia," says our author, continuing the metaphor of the comet, "it may not be improper to throw some light on the character of this scourge of Hindostan." Nadir Shaw, together with great strength of body, was endued with uncommon force of mind. Innured to fatigue from his youth, struggling with dangers and difficulties, he acquired vigor from opposition, and a fortitude of soul, unknown in a life of ease. His ambition was unbounded and undisguised: he never fawned for power, but demanded it as the property of his superior parts. Had he been born to a throne, he deserved it; had he conti-

* The Nizam was near ninety years of age.



nued a subject, his glories would have been less dazzling, but more permanent and pure. A. D. 1739.

In a country where patriotism and honor are principles little known, fear is the only means to enforce obedience. This rendered Nadir Shaw so cruel and inexorable, that often, in his rage and the hurry of action, he inflicted general punishments for the crimes of a few. Courage, which he possessed in common with the lion, was his only virtue; and he owed his greatness to the great defects of his mind. Had his eye melted at human miseries, had his soul shuddered at murder, had his breast glowed once with benevolence, or, had his heart revolted at any injustice, he might have lived to an old age, but he would have died without the name of Nadir*.

* Wonderful.

SECTION

