THE LIFE

OF

SHEIKH MOHAMMED ALI HAZIN.

CHAPTER I.

The Author's Ancestry.

I, a suppliant to the giver of all good gifts, Mohammed, called Ali, am the son of Abo Talib, son of Abd Allah, son of Jemal Eddin Ali, son of Ata Allah, son of Ismail, son of Is-hac, son of Nor Eddin, son of Mohammed, son of Shehab Eddin, son of Ali, son of Ali, son of Yacob, son of Abd Elwahid, son of Shems Eddin Mohammed, son of Ahmed, son of Mohammed, son of Jemal Eddin Ali, son of the most illustrious Sheikh, and model of the learned, Taj Eddin Ibrahim, known by the title of the Gilan Hermit—God sanctify their souls, and close in me their race with the best of seals! One of my ancestors, Sheikh Shehab Eddin Ali, having quitted the town of Asta, the home and burial place of the Great Sheikh, took up his abode at the seat of government, Lahijan, the
handsomest town of Gilan; and from that time forward Lahijan was the permanent dwelling of my ancestors. My grandfather, Sheikh Jemal Eddin, son of Ata Allah, was one of the most distinguished scholars of his time. Ahmed Khan, king of Gilan, out of regard for his ability, did his utmost to honour him, and took several degrees of science at his instruction. Going to the royal residence of Cazvin, my grandfather gained access to the Sheikh Jalil Beha Eddin Mohammed of Aumul, (God have mercy on his soul!) and formed a perfect intimacy with him; so that in his *Elucidation of the Miracle of the Mearaj,* or *Ascent of the Prophet,* one of my grandfather's sublimest investigations, he has taken occasion in the opening of that treatise to mention his companionship with the holy Sheikh. Of his compositions, one

1 *Gilan* is one of the northern provinces of Persia, on the southern shore of the Caspian sea. It is bounded on the west by Adzerbeijan, on the east by Khorasan. Its capital Lahijan is at a short distance from the sea, the port of which is *Resht.*

2 A Persian mathematician, who lived in the reign of Shah Abbas the Great. He was celebrated among his countrymen for a supposed peculiar power which he possessed over the magi and writers of talismans, and was one of the most pious devotees of his time. His works on various subjects are much read in Persia, particularly one entitled كشکول Kashkool, or the *Beggar's Wallet,* being an universal miscellany of literature.
is, an Explanation or Commentary in Persian on the Kolliat of the Canon,¹ which he wrote at the desire of Khan Ahmed Khan; another is, an Epistle or Treatise on the Confirmation of a Necessary Being, (that is, the Proof of a Divine Existence,) from which performance the magnitude of his learning may be computed; further, a Treatise on the Solution of Obscurities in the Section of Surds or Solids (a Treatise on Algebra). The last two compositions, in his own handwriting, I saw myself in the library of my learned father, on whose tomb be the earth light! Further, an extensive Commentary on the Fisos,² or Gems of Farābi, &c. Having completed his studies under the Lord of Investigators, Amir Fakhr Eddin of Samak of Asterabad, he felt an inclination to the composition of poetry, and assumed the poetical surname of Wahdat, or Unity. In truth his verses are the production of a true lover of the muses, and are incomparable for the chastity and elegance of their composition. I have seen a Divan³ of

¹ The Canon is the Medical Part of the Encyclopaedia of Science called Shafū, and compiled by Avisena. The Kolliat is the sum of the aphorisms or principles contained in the Canon.

² The Fisos is a philosophical treatise, the author of which was a native of Farab in the province of Fars.

³ A Divan is a collection of fugitive pieces of poetry, generally odes.
his, containing two thousand couplets, of which the following are a specimen:

It is good that friendship produce some effect;
That the beloved have some feeling for the lover.
My heart is gone to the fire temple of Love, and returns not;
It would return, had it wings and feathers unburnt.
We are exhausted and dead with fatigue in counting the stars and planets:
Should not the night of separation be relieved by the dawn of day?

These lines are also his,

I have consumed my heart in the fire under the arch of my beloved's eyelids;

Atishkadah is a temple of the Magi or worshippers of fire in Persia, to which the lover is supposed to be drawn to worship the flame of his affection. In the fifth verse his inability to sleep is intimated by his occupation of counting the stars during the night.
I have burnt the lamp of the Kaba in the temple of my Idol. Wahdat, in what state art thou, that sleep carries not away thy senses to forgetfulness?

We have exhausted our very source of breath in telling thee tales to amuse thy watchfulness.

His offspring was limited to one son, Sheikh Abd Allah, who having acquired the various sciences from his father, became endowed with a character of piety and of abstinence from worldly pleasures. Content with but a small part of the income and possessions he inherited, the remainder he expended on his friends and the necessitous. By him were left three sons, Sheikh Ata Allah, Sheikh Abo Talib, and Sheikh Ibrahim. The eldest of the three, Sheikh Ata Allah, who ranked as the first of the learned men of that country in jurisprudence and sacred history, and

The < &j«£ (Jjjai being much of the same shape is used metaphorically for the heart of the lover. The Kaba is the square temple at Mecca dedicated to the worship of the true God, and is opposed to the Sanam Khana or Temple for idolatrous worship, wherein the lover pays his devotions to the idol of his heart.

In the third verse the lover is addressed by the persons supposed to be watching with him and endeavouring to amuse him with romantic tales, till he fall asleep.
was in a high degree eminent for his devotion and his frequency in divine worship, died at an advanced age without children. *Sheikh Ibrahim*, the youngest of the brothers and a clever man in business, was possessed of high parts and an acute genius. Having taken the usual degrees of science, he rose to the first rank of his contemporaries. He wrote exceeding well in seven different forms\(^1\) of penmanship, and imitated the writing of the masters in the art with such nicety, that it was difficult to distinguish between the copy and the original. Having written out the *Sacred Volume* (Alcoran) and the *Sahifah Kamilah*,\(^2\) with interpretations, he sent them to my father in Isphahan, and from him I received them as a present. The fine writers of the greatest reputation in that city were much benefited by the sight of them. In epistolary composition and belles-lettres his ability was perfect. His productions in this department


\(^2\) The *Sahifah Kamilah* is a prayer-book in Arabic, written by the Imam Zein Alaabidin.
are celebrated, and are copied into the portfolios of the connoisseurs. In poetry and the style of allegory and enigma his taste was true. Sometimes he delighted in composing verses; and these few couplets are his:

For wine we have the blood of my heart; ask none from the flask:
Pearls drop from my weeping eyes; seek none from the sea.
It is idle to wander after Leila like Majnoon in the desert;
What you can find in your own breast, seek not in the wilds and forests.

Quatrain.2
In the rose-garden of time was no confidant for my secret;
In the temporal banquet was no performer for my melody.
Secretly it is impossible to modulate:
I held my tongue as there was none to accompany my voice.

In the third verse has not the usual meaning it is impossible, but is employed in the sense of it would be idle or foolish.

These verses are written in the allegorical sense of Sofyism,
I was yet in my childhood, when arriving with my father at Lahijan I had the happiness to enjoy the company of my estimable uncle; and in truth, whether for excellence of qualities, or purity of morals; cheerfulness of temper, or brilliancy of conversation, I have, to the present day, seen few to compare with him. Ten years before my revered father he passed to the divine mercy in Lahijan, leaving a son named Sheikh Mofid, and two daughters. After a little time the son also died in the bud of youth.

for an account of which see the works of Sir Wm. Jones and Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia.
CHAPTER III.

The Author's birth.—His surprising powers of memory.—His love for composition in prose and verse.—Mention of some eminent scholars of that time.

The summary of my own history and circumstances is as follows: My birth happened on Monday the twenty-seventh of Rabia Elakhir, in the year one thousand one hundred and three of the Hejra (A.D. 1692.) in the royal residence of Isphahan, and I still remember some things which passed whilst I was yet at my mother's breast. When I came to the fourth year of my age, I was appointed to instruction by my father. At that time the eminent Mawla, Molla Shah Mohammed of Shiraz, on whom be mercy! who was one of the most learned men of his contemporaries, arrived at Isphahan; and one day that he was a guest at my father's house, they set me before him for the auspicious commencement of my education under his blessed tuition. The Mawla, after the Bismillah, made me repeat three times the following verses: Lord, expand my breast, and lighten my work, and loose the knot from my
tongue, that they may understand my speech. Then he read the Fatiha* and caressed me. In two years' time I was capable of plain reading and writing, and took an extraordinary inclination to study. No occupation was more desirable to me than to read and write, and I perused many Persian books both in prose and verse. Being put to learn Grammar and Etymology I soon acquired them; and was taught some treatises of Logic. This science I took a particular affection to, and obtained an accurate knowledge of it. The master, who taught me, was surprised at my acuteness and alacrity, and by his approbation increased my ardour still more. From poetry my well adjusted mind received great delight, and I was much given to compose verses, but concealed this circumstance for some time. At length my master discovered it, and forbade me this pursuit. My father also did all in his power to divert me from it. Being unable however at once to change

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\text{Cor. xx. 17.} \quad \text{ربِ آذرِحُ لِي صَدْرِي وَبَسِرِ لِي أَمَيْرِي وَأَحْلَلَ عَقْدَةً}
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	ext{Cor. xx. 17.} \quad \text{ربِ إِنْ سَانِي يَفْتَهَرُونَ لِيَنَّا}.
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Lord, enlarge my breast, and make what thou hast commanded me easy unto me: and loose the knot of my tongue, that they may understand my speech. Sale, vol. ii. p. 135.

* The Fatiha is the first chapter of the Coran and is held in peculiar veneration by the Mohammedans, who repeat it in their devotions, as we do the Lord's Prayer.
my turn of mind, I wrote whatever occurred to me, and kept it secret.

When I was eight years of age, my father ordered me to be instructed in the proper reading of the Coran, which I studied two years under the Mawla, Melek Hossein, a reader of Isphahan, and an excellent man, who in that art was distinguished among his contemporaries; and having perused some treatises on the subject, and completed this course of study, I was fitted to delight the ear with the beauty of my recitation. My learned father, out of the great desire he had for my improvement, gave me some instruction himself, and I read with him Jami's Explanation on The Kafieh, Nazzam on The Shafieh, the Tahdzib and Commentary on The Isa Goji, The Sharh Shemsieh, Notes on Elocution and Logic, A Commentary on the Guide to Salvation, The Hikmet Alaain or Pure Wisdom, Notification and Compendium of Rhetoric, The Tamam Motavval, or The Whole Treatise at Length, The Maani Ellibib, The Jafirieh, The Mukhtasar Nafia, The Irshad.

1 Shafieh and Kafieh are the same as Sarf and Nahv, that is the Accidents and Syntax of Grammar.
2 Thus the Persians write in two words Porphyry's Eἰσαγωγή or Introduction to Logic.
3 Explication of Logic.
4 A Book on Theology.
5 Arabic Grammar.
6 A Treatise on Law.
7 A Compendium of Jurisprudence.
8 Law Directory.
Ways and Ordinances in Law, *Every Man his own Lawyer,* Fundamental Precepts of Law, and some other writings. My father also in my tender years conducted me to the learned in truth and science, the model of generous seniors, *Sheikh Khalil Allah* of Talcan, God sanctify his soul! who at that time was one of the retired hermits of that country, and intreated him to instruct and guide me. I attended him near three years, and though I read no particular book with him, yet every day he would give me a proposition or question on paper written with his own hand, and instruct me upon it: but it did not appear from what book the passage was taken. On the correction and sanctification of my defective soul he bestowed so much attention and diligence, that my tongue is unequal to their expression, and my heart incapable of gratitude for the benefits and obligations conferred on me by that truly ingenious man. Indeed were not my ability deficient, it would ever be employed in carrying my blessings upon the instructions and exhortations of that great man to the height, which they merit. He was one of the greatest and most learned doctors, and a congregator of sciences both manifest and secret. Should I attempt to give only a slight account of

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1. *مِن لا يحضِر الفقيه در حديث* literally *For him who has no Lawyer to attend him.*
2. Talcan is a town in the province of Gilan.
the qualities and excellences, the conversations and studies, the regulation of the time and manner of life of that exalted person, my discourse would swell to a book. I will merely add, that being himself possessed of an adapted genius, and taking occasional delight in composing verses, he soon perceived my inclination to poetry, and so far from forbidding or opposing it, he sometimes commanded me to recite any thing that I had composed; and from his jewel-dropping mouth was uttered my dedication to the Muses by the title of Hazin. The following quatrains is from the poems of that model of generosity:

O Tyrant! come and take thy seat in the heart of a Dervish:
Mine of Salt! settle on my wounded heart.

This it is extremely difficult to render into English. The close of an ode is termed in Arabic خلاص liberation or finishing, and is always effected by a sort of farewell address to the poet himself by his adopted poetical title, such as هنر, ماجمي, سعدي, حافظ. The celebrated Persian poets are known by no other name, and our Sheikh Mohammed Ali accordingly is simply called Hazin.

As the continual repetition of the word poetry would be tedious, I have instead of it occasionally used Muses, though this term is foreign to the Persian style. In speaking on this subject the Persians and Arabs have the advantage of a variety of forms of the same word.
On thy desertion my lap is become a rose-garden.
Sit one moment by the side of thy plantation.

About that time the Sheikh departed to the mercy of God, and my father consigned me to the instruction of the eminent scholar, Sheikh Beha Eddin of Gilan, who had been a pupil of the lord of philosophers, Mir Cavvam, on whom be mercy! and lived in retirement, devoting himself to the study of the extrinsic and speculative sciences. With him I studied some time, and read a number of books in the various departments of knowledge, among which I may mention several treatises on the Astrolabe, and a Commentary of Chaghmini. Being directed by my father to read books of Ethics, and meeting every day a company of beginners in this course of study, I passed a portion of my time in disputation with them, and

In Persian Poetry the quality of salt is equivalent to sweetness, and a mine of salt to the source of the sweets of love. *My lap is become a rose-garden* means, that in consequence of the flight of the beloved, the bloody tears of the lover, shed through the eyes from his heart, have strewed his lap with rose-coloured spots like flowers: and on the edge of this parterre, bekānare kishtē, he invites his mistress to sit.

1 A celebrated Astronomer.

2 می‌بحثه discussion or disputation is the word commonly
repeated before them, whatever I had committed to memory. The Almighty bestowed a blessing and an ease of heart on this season of my life, and notwithstanding the multiplicity of my occupations, still my leisure was not disagreeably straitened; but so restless and so much on the alert was I held by my love of disputation and reading, that I had no regard for sensual pleasures. Repeatedly, by my excessive lucubrations at night, the concern of my parents was excited. They exhorted and intreated me to go to rest, but in vain. What I did not learn at lecture I read in private, and committing it to memory I used to ask my father the difficult passages. But few indeed of the most studious scholars have found the means of perusing the quantity of various books and treatises of fixed science, which in a short space of time passed under my view. I had nevertheless an abundant affection for the worship and service of God, and took wonderful delight therein, keeping with lively devotion the holy days and nights and seasons, and being assiduous in the repetition of the appointed invocations. Not many even of the supererogatory acts of devotion and practical traditions were neglected by me; and so bright was the ray of soft warmth

used for teaching and giving lectures in opposition to reading, learning, and attending lectures.
in my heart, and so full the gay expansion of my bosom, that it is impossible for me to describe my state, as it then was. What I here say is by privilege of the proverb: *The commemoration of former blessings is the possession of the wretched.*

Alas, alas! how little I thought that my circumstances would draw to this destitution, and deadness of heart, and cold faintness, to which they are now declined; or that it would become necessary to adapt my palate to all this bitterness, and heart-melting poison of disappointment.

Poetry.

Whilst I breathed in the silent night of repose, a lotion assailed me

From the serpent, in whose teeth is a penetrating poison.

Literally, *And I passed a night, when a lotion or dirty wash assailed me, &c.*
My boundless grief, and the affliction that wounds my soul, is this, that for the few breaths of life, which may remain to me, there is no hope of better-being, nor of raising up the gale of my desire.

Lines.
Where is the season of spring, that I may satiate my desire of wine?
That, like the rose-bush, I may bring out the cup from my patched habit.

How truly spoke the Commander of the Faithful (Ali), upon whom be the salutation of peace! when he said: Be cautious in the establishment of your prosperity, for it is not everything which is fugitive, that ever returns.

Wine is here spoken of in a mystic sense, and is understood of the inebriation of religious fervour, which can be quaffed only by the rosy lips of youth, and enjoyed in no other season, than the brisk spring time of life.

Khircah is the religious habit of the Mohammedan friar, which, being made up of patches, gives to the wearer somewhat of the appearance of the rose-bush, covered with its leaves.

which means, Secure, if you can, the permanency of your happiness, for few things, that are transient, ever return, when once past.
Tranquillity is a thing, which comes not to my heart: 
My time of life is not such, that I can even desire it.

About the same period, by the blessing of the fear of God and my religious scrupulousness, granted me from heaven, I felt some perplexity and perturbation with regard to the Treatises of Derivative Practice, wherein are subjects of dispute among theologians, and my mind was not at ease on the decisions of the lawyers and the practice of the vulgar. I entered therefore deeply into this subject, and having made myself acquainted with the root and origin of the traditions, I studied many of the writings on The Purification of the Judgements by Sheikh Tosi, in the lecture-room of that industrious scholar Aga Hadi, son and successor to Mawlana Mohammed Salih of Mazenderan, upon whom be mercy! and looking into the authors of Traditions, and their allegations of authority, I referred to the books, whence the theologians draw their proofs. Having examined into their methods of deducing answers, I passed my view over the books of derivative rules of law: and bestowing abundant diligence on this matter, I obtained the peace of mind which my means afforded, on all the questions that oc-
curred to me, and on which I had to act. In regard, especially, to the confliction of opinion and want of correctness of some of the Muftis, which are a stumbling to the feet and a cause of perplexity, I gained to a certain degree my freedom from pure imitation.

At those times, after midnight, when my father arose, I used to read to him, before he engaged in his supererogatory acts of devotion, the *Tefsir Safi,* one of the compositions of the pious and learned Mawla, Mohammed Mahsan of Kashan, and completed its perusal. Notwithstanding my devotedness to study, and the variety of my daily occupations, I was fond of frequenting the society of clever and ingenious men, and mixed in a company of that class. One day in my father's house, a number of clever men were assembled together, and I also was desired to join them. In the midst of their discourse on various topics, one of them recited this couplet of Molla Mohtashim of Kashan:

O thou, in whose toil is the form of the tall of stature!
Grace being a creation of thy lofty figure!

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1 Clear Exposition.
2 After *I understand* and at the end of the hemistich
Of which when some of the company had expressed their entire approbation, my father said: I have seen the Divan of Mohtashim, and he is a copious and masterly poet: but his stile is without salt, and he has not that degree of sweetness, which might atone for it, though saltiness in stile is more pungent and always perhaps more agreeable to the taste than sweetness; as may appear from this his opening verse. The second hemistich only is right: the first is not conformable to nature; for to say the form is fallen into a toil is absurd. Were the word "form" away, and you said, "O thou in whose toil are the tall of stature!" the sentence would be proper and agreeable. The company acknowledged, what he said, as true. Then turning to me: I know, said he, that you have not yet abandoned poetry. If you can compose us a couplet in the same kind of ode, do so. At that instant, an opening verse came into my mind, and as his look again fell upon me, he comprehended, that I had thought of something, and he said: If you have composed any thing, recite it, and do not be ashamed. I said aloud, this beginning of an ode:

supply است, as also after رفعی. The substantive قد is governed in the genitive by the participle آفرد a thing created of.

صید از حرم کشخم جد بلند تو
فريداد از تطول مشکی زن تو
The ringlet of thy high curling lock draws the chase from the sacred enclosure:
Alas the tyranny of thy dark musky noose!

The company moved from their places, and burst into applause. Whilst they were uttering their commendations, another couplet came into my mind, and I repeated:

From thy coming thither, the streets, where dwell thy lovers, are made the envy of Mount Sinai:
Sit down, that the bruised particles of our souls may be burnt for thee, as a perfume against malignancy.

Upon this my learned father also praised me, and said, that what he had denied to be in the poetry of Molla Mohtashim, was found in this couplet. I recited another:

My heart’s affair through love is become difficult, and I am pleased:
Perhaps it may prove agreeable to your difficultly pleased mind.

The sacred enclosure means the territory of Mecca, within which it is unlawful to hunt or fowl.

shed rast toor az amandt kowy aashqan
bannesin ke bad xerde? janeha spond to

Sipand is properly wild rue, which being pounded small is used as a fumigation against malignant eyes, supposed to be peculiarly hurtful amidst the commendations of beauty: but the term is used generally for any perfume employed to the same end.

masrak sheh ast kard dil az usaq w xoshdlem
shayd resd baxaut marshak ysend to
In the same way, after a little consideration, I composed another couplet, and went on, till I had recited a complete ode. The company observed, that they had thought no one capable, at the present day, of composing verses in this unpredicated manner, and my father said, *Now, I give you leave to cultivate the Muses, but not to such excess, as to waste your time:* and made me a present of his own pen-case to write down this ode.

Shortly afterwards a severe accident occurred to me, which produced a languid intermission in my affairs. It was the fullness of spring and delightful weather, when going out one day with a number of friends into the country, I put my horse to its speed, and the animal fell in its course. My right arm was fractured, and did not heal in less than a year, though I was attended and dressed by skilful surgeons. I suffered bitter affliction, and though after some time the pain ceased, still my arm was useless, and a mere burden to my neck. Being habituated to the use of the pen, I took it in my left hand, and managed to write. During this period of distress and sorrow, I composed a great number of verses. One of these poems was a Mesnavi called *Saki Namah*, the beginning of which was thus:

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The Lover hopes that the acknowledged perplexity of his love-affairs may suit the temper of his mistress, who delights in creating difficulties.

خدايا توني آكه ار راز و بس
Thou alone, O God! art acquainted with secrets;
The pure-intentioned have their bliss from thee.
For me, inebriation and a corner in a wine-house:
For my liberty, the line of a cup.

The length of the poem was about one thousand couplets, and its composition elaborate and fervid. Thus I passed my time, till the Almighty granted me a recovery from disease and anguish, and my scattered senses inclined again to collectedness.

The third verse is literally, I and drunkenness, &c. meaning All I wish for is, &c. To comprehend the fourth, it must be borne in mind, that in granting emancipation to a slave, the Persians put into his hand a line of writing, in testimony thereof: and, as they affect to give a graceful curve to what they pen, such a line resembles the elliptical rim of a goblet, or of the wine in it, as usually beheld. The poet, in taking into his hand the wine-cup, regards himself, as ceasing to be a slave to the Law.
CHAPTER XLI.

Departure of the Author from Persia, and his sea-voyage from Bender Abbási to Tatah.—He goes from Tatah to Khodá Abad.—Arrives at Bhakorr.—Goes to Moltán, and resides there.—His apology for writing these pages.—Incident of the plague spreading in Moltán.—The Author removes from Moltán and comes to Lábór.—Removes from Lábór and arrives at Shahjehán Abád.—Retreats to Lábór.

In Bender Abbási were some revenue officers of the Great Khán, and at that time some also came from Mohammed Khan; and each party exercised both insolence and oppression. One day a severe act of tyranny was practised on some of the wretched inhabitants, and my distressed heart lost all patience at the sight of it. I was unable to remain quiet, and determined to quit the country. At that very time there was a vessel bound for the coast of Sind, and my resolution was fixed to go in it. This was the tenth day of Ramadzán the blessed, one thousand one
hundred and forty-six. A captain of the English European Company, being informed of my inten-
tion, came to my lodging, and began to dis-
suade me from going to India. He enumerated
some of the deformities in the qualities of that
empire, and endeavoured to prevail upon me to
go to Europe. Though he importuned me very
much on this subject, I would not consent; and
on that very day leaving every thing with an
adieu behind me, I went alone on board the ship
and sailed for Sind, or India, where I landed in one
of the harbours of Tatah.

It was the beginning of the month Shavwal when
I arrived in that town. I did not wish that any
person should know me in that country. But it
was almost impossible for it to be so; and the very
same day that I arrived at Tatah, a company of
merchants of that town, who had seen me in Fars,
became informed of my visit. A number of Persians
also were residing there, most of whom were among
my acquaintance. In short, this idea of remain-
ing incognito was not realized in any city of that
empire. Had it been possible, it would have
been the means of removing much of my inconve-
niences and afflictions, and many of my innume-
rable griefs; and to the degree that I am, I
should not be distressed with various anxiety and
anguish, and with the feeling of utter helpless-
ness. For in reality the hardship and pain of
being alone and without friends have always been
the companions and engrossers of my time from the day of my arrival here until the moment of writing this, which is the latter end of the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-four (A.D. 1742); yet in consequence of my celebrity, my body and soul have been worn out with the occasional visits and hourly conversations of the various classes of worldly persons, who have become frequenters of my house. To explain the nature of their character and business and the multiplied features of their occasions and arguments would not be worth the labour. To me, who do not reckon the time of my residence in this country as a portion of my real life, the beginning of my arrival on the shores of this empire appears as it were the end of my age and vitality. During this period of eight years I have seen the whole country from Tatah to the town of Dehli, known also by the name of Shâh Jehân Abâd; and whatever I had heard or found in books of the qualities, circumstances, and situations of this empire and its inhabitants, all has passed under my view; and I have moreover witnessed and been made acquainted with that which I had not heard, and which had never occurred to my mind or imagination.

After a residence of more than two months in Tatah I reproached myself with my want of patience, and for my departure out of Persia, and repented of not choosing to travel to the kingdoms
of Europe. But now the season of sea-voyages was past, and summer was come on; and to turn back to Persia or any other place it was necessary to wait for the next season. However in that town, from its want of water, its bad atmosphere, and the ugliness of its situation, qualities that form the common appearance of this whole empire, I found it impossible to rest. The people told me, 'You must go to the city of Khodâ Abâd, which is one of the most populous of India, and is but a few days' journey hence.' Much preparation is not required. You can go in a boat by the channel of the river which is made navigable from the neighbourhood of Tatah to the ridge of that city.' And so it was decreed that I should act.

Having embarked in a boat I arrived at Khodâ Abâd. Here from the violence of the heat and the unpleasantness of the air, the attacks of sorrow and my struggles with hardship and adversity, I was seized with a variety of severe diseases, and for the space of seven months I lay ill and abandoned to destitution of every friend. When some of my disorders abated, and I found it impossible for diverse reasons to remain any longer in that place, a strange perplexity presented itself to my mind.

Finally, by the imperious decree of fate, I again embarked in a passage-boat and arrived in the city of Bhakorr, which is distant only a few days' journey on the bank of the same river Sind, or Indus. Altogether my nature had no agreement
with the fashions and manners of this country, nor any power of patiently enduring them; and my friendlessness, want of means, and deficiency of ability were an additional source of desolation and grief. After a stay here of near a month, weakness and an alteration in my bodily constitution reduced me to an extreme, and having no other alternative I took my seat in a litter and departed in the direction of Moltân. Having performed the stages of that journey with excessive trouble, I arrived at a village near to the fortifications of that city and there halted.

The sight of these dominions became more and more hateful to me, and being continually in hope of my escape from them, I reconciled my mind to the incidents in the affairs of Persia, and bent my thoughts on my return thither. Its possibility however was not realized, and the length of my residence in this village, in solitude and want, approached to a term of two years, during which, amidst the anguish of my sufferings and the sourness of my humours, I sometimes employed myself in writing. To my scared wits and scattered senses this was the burden then I gave my song:

Lines.¹

Musician, strike up a tune, and Cup-bearer, give wine;

مطرب ساع پر کش و ساقی شراب ده
To Fortune give a fillip, and to the Sphere a repulsive answer.

During that residence I also composed a Treatise, called Kando 'L Marâm, (on the Explanation of Fate and Destiny and the Creation of Acts, with some other treatises.

And let it not be concealed, that the incidents and circumstances of the days of my stay in this country come not within the possibility of detail, and I should be ashamed to apply myself to the mention of even a summary of them, for they are absolutely unfit to be exposed and narrated; and were I to turn the reins of my pen to the description of the remaining adventures of my own life, I should inevitably be led to depict some of the crimes and shameful things in the circumstances and qualities of this country, traced as it is with foulness, and trained to turpitude and brutality; and I should grieve for my pen and paper. It is better that my readers should be left to picture to themselves the end and termination of my life, after the manner that I have described the beginning of my arrival in these regions.

I have merely conjectured a meaning for the word لاملا, having been unable to find it in any dictionary. It would have been better perhaps to have decided on reading لام.
This also should not remain concealed, that the whole affair of writing these pages, and my application to the task of drawing up an abstract of these adventures, was not the habit of my pen, nor the addiction of my mind; nor was it proper to my times, nor desired of my heart, nor familiar to my humble nature; but on the contrary my thought and opinion were strange to this propensity, and so cautious of it, that it never entered my mind. For, not to consider the unsuitableness of tale-telling with my circumstances and with the dignity and rank which I am bound to maintain, nor the smallness of the profit to be gained by descending to the meanness of such discourse, there were other prohibitions and blemishes attached to it, which rendered it unworthy of me. For some speeches may not improbably in the sight of the uninformed have an appearance of arising from a habit of ostentation, which is the main principle of the mean-principled, and in my opinion is the head and chief of all vices. But, praise and thanks be to God, my excessive deviation and declension from this propensity are so constitutional and have been carried to such a pass, as to have rather occasioned me obscurity in the world and fortuitous contempt. The true cause of writing this hasty sketch was, that at this time, which is the end of the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-four (A. D. 1742) sitting in a retired corner in the town of Dehli, I
was a prey to grief and disease, and my temper and mind were distracted. Full to the lip with anguish, I was utterly abandoned by ease and quiet, and, amidst the vacation of all employment and the assaults of my inward grief, there was nothing to engage my serious attention, at the same time that all my nights were sleepless. Having, therefore, no other choice of amusement, I scribbled in the course of two nights, as far as this place, whatever came to the tongue of my pen of the summary of my adventures. May the reader fold up this epitome in the lappet of forgiveness and indulgence! It is a memorial of the accidents of unpropitious fortune, of distracted affairs, and of an afflicted head and heart. "To God is my complaint from refractory fortune, and from odious men, of little shame, but abundant misery. Some of them are learned, some ignorant; some are princely commanders, some simple fools; and they have taken their lust for their lord. Ruin be upon them and perdition! O God, pour out patience on us, and take to thyself our spirits, which are resigned to thy divine command."
May it please God not to prolong our abode in this world, whose value equals not in the eye of the understanding a grain of pulse. The world turns away from ingenuous men with a frown, but accommodates itself to the mean wretch, who submits to every indignity.

From the intransitive meaning of the verb to be congregated is formed the noun a collected multitude, which in the accusative is used adverbially in the sense of altogether. But as is also interpreted to knit the brow, to frown, I have preferred taking as a principle in the latter sense, and in connexion with.

Two words in the last verse I have not been able to translate literally. indicates a person who submits to kicks and
Heavy is fallen on us the weight of the mountain of sorrow which crushes our bosom;
May God grant patience to our hearts, which have been removed from their place of rest.

And now, as the relation of some of my adventures subsequent to my arrival in this country has involuntarily fallen from my pen, there will be no harm, should I briefly conclude the description of the remainder.

After I had been a long time resident in Molτān an extraordinary event occurred. The channel of the river Indus, which passes along that territory, overflowed in the heat of summer, and covered the streets and fields; and much destruction ensued to the buildings and dwelling-houses of the whole country. All intercourse and business was carried on by means of boats, and numbers of persons were drowned. When the season of harvest arrived, the inundation abated from the fields and villages, and some of the high grounds were left dry. The aged persons of the place said, that it had happened in like manner an age before, and that after the decrease of the waters, the disease of pestilence became common, and an immense number of the population

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1 Persian.
perished. So it was this year. The people were attacked with a shaking fever, which was mostly intermittent; and very few recovered from this disorder, which absolutely admitted no remedy. They who applied medicines, and those who applied none, all alike perished; with the exception of a few who left the country, or in whose fate there was some delay. This calamity extended itself over a space of near five months; and I also was attacked with the full violence of the fever, in such sort, that not one of its symptoms escaped me. In the village where I dwelt not a single inhabitant remained on the spot, and in the depopulation which succeeded, even the most indispensable necessaries of life were not to be found. Of all things the most necessary was the attendance of a servant, who at this time was as rare as the phoenix; and if, by singularity, any person could be found in the commencement of the calamity, who was in health for the employment, after two or three days he fell sick, and was himself in need of a nurse and an attendant, till he died.

The hardship of living and of subsistence at all times in India is evident to every person who may have seen the rest of the kingdoms of the earth; and the causes and occasions of this hardship are more than can be numbered. In fact, all the situations and conditions of this country are condemned by fate to difficulty and bitterness of subsistence; but this sense of things is not revealed to its inhabitants, who, on the contrary, think
themselves more independent for the blessings of life, and more prosperous and easy in their circumstances, than any nation in the world. These hardships indeed, and their tumultuous struggles for livelihood, are agreeable to their natures and digestible to their stomachs. They are not even regarded, and are proper to every condition. Subsistence in these countries without the union of three things is almost impossible. These are gold in plenty, violence the most exorbitant, and utter insensibility. But to render possible the assemblage of these three requisites the constitution of the country is extremely emaciated and destitute of vigour, and the meanest thing cannot be procured without labour, and perplexity, and expectation. That quantity of business which in other kingdoms may be expedited with one man of industrious ability, here with ten persons comes to no conclusion; and whatever increase is given to your servants and train of officers, and to your means and appliances of power, the posture of your affairs becomes but the more untoward and disordered.

From Moltán I had no choice but to set off in all that distress for Lâhór, which city I reached with the greatest difficulty. After some time the fever left me, and health re-appeared. Having staid here, I think, three months, I found it disagreeable for some reasons to remain in that city any longer, and I was forced by necessity to travel. The roads and highways of this whole
empire are at all times unsafe and dangerous; and though I had an aversion to the idea, and felt disgust at the very thought of going to the town of Dehli, which is the residence of the Emperor of India, I could not help removing from Lāhōr and was carried to Dehli by the irresistible hand of fate. Here, after a stay of more than twelve months, I was disquieted by the attacks of anxious thought, and being firmly fixed in my intention of quitting this country, I returned to Lāhōr. The purpose of my mind was this, that having gone by the route of Kābol to Candahār, I would choose for my retirement in the province of Khorāsān any corner that might chance to suit me. Just about the time of my arrival in Lāhōr, the news came of the march of the army of the Kizil Bāsh to Candahār, with intent to subdue and rescue it from the hands of the Afghāns, and it was announced that they had already invested that fortress. A severe attack of illness also, which laid me on the bed of infirmity, was protracted to a considerable length; and the atmosphere having become heated, the season, in this country, of showers and heavy rain commenced, and my stay in Lāhōr concluded in being durable. I still was looking out for the news of the settlement of the affair of Candahār, that so serious an obstacle might be removed from my line of road: but the siege of that town and the disturbances in those confines were prolonged to a great extent.
A few words touching the history and circumstances of Hindostân.

I will now pen a short discourse respecting Hindostân.

To the versed in the truths of facts, and to the diligent searcher into reports and traditions it is not unknown, that the liberation and freedom of Bâber Mirzâ, son of Mirza Omar Sheikh, from obscurity and distraction, from perplexity and distress, and his mounting on the saddle of imperial command, were not effected but by laying hold of and hanging on the skirts of the august dynasty of the prince, equal in state to Solomon, the father of permanency, Shâh Ismaïl Safavi. For every person informed in the history of the children and grand-children of the Lord of Conjunction, Amîr Timôr Kôrkân, well knows, what their conduct was to each other, and the conduct
of the people towards them; that neglecting no single punctilio of altercation and bloody contention among themselves, they considered it their duty to murder or otherwise to injure one another; and that the people, in consequence of their disputes and tyrannical demeanour, being continually harassed with grief and affliction and every kind of calamity and provocation, felt the existence of that family as a weight on their hearts, and bending all their thoughts to a riddance of them, neglected no means in their power, nor any moment of opportunity to slay them as they could. The happiest in his life and circumstances was the Soltân, Hosein Mirza Bāīcar, who after the establishment of his authority, with reference to the others, was extremely moderate and quiet. But after his decease and the predominance of Sheibek Khan the Ozbek, and after the extirpation of the sons of that emperor by the violence and treachery of the latter, and the elevation of the standards of his own majesty and pomp, the affairs of the remaining members of the family of Timór came to such a pass of weakness, as must be generally known to all searchers of history. In short, the strength of counsel and the beam of regard of the Safavean prince, incomparable in lineage, the fame of whose majesty had spread from east to west and filled both horizons, having brought Bāber Mirzâ into the field of splendour, gave him wings and
pinions, and conferred on him all kinds of favours and continual assistance. He also, during the whole course of his life, both in the days of his empire in Hindostan, and before that, was in the habit of recurring for support, and of manifesting the sincerity of his friendship, to that august dynasty; sometimes by giving currency to its Khotbah and coin, as in Samarcand; sometimes by sending humble petitions and supplications of requests; and thus maintaining the satisfaction and contentment of the prince, equal in state to Solomon. His children also and grand-children on any occasion of weakness and necessity, and when they had some purpose in view, always preserved this custom of recurring for support and assistance to the sublime Safavean family, and held it as the central affection of their minds; but at the time of any calamity or frightful occurrence in Iran, or at the cessation of their interested views and wants by reason of their tranquillity and the absence of all violent disputes from every corner of their Indian empire, changing their former habit into affected haughtiness and exorbitant pride, they barred up the road of intimacy. This habit has been confirmed in the nature and constitution of the line of Baber; and it would appear that the disposition is an effect of the water and air of India; for it is evident that the people of this country cultivate no one's friendship without some selfish motive, and it is proved from ancient books and records, that also before the intro-
duction of Islamism the Râis and Rulers of these regions were of the same temper and character. Whenever the kings of Persia were either themselves in person on their march in this direction, or had despatched any of their military commanders, the Indians seeing they had no power of victory nor of contention within their reach, affected great wretchedness and debility, and shewed every kind of obedience and the utmost readiness in paying their imposts; but after the return of the Persians to their own country, in a short space of time and on the first occasion, those Râis of confused reason, at the sight of the despicable crowds of their dependents flocking round them as in a rookery, and on view of a few handfuls of Direms and Dînârs collected together, would be tempted with the temptation of pride, and in their own house, and as far as they were free to range, began to display their empty boastings and rash falsehood, so as forgetting their past circumstances, their promises and engagements, to change altogether the tenour of their conduct.

Such treatment as I have described on the part of the Persian Sovereigns, and similar practices to those I have detailed in the behaviour of the Indians, have been repeated many times. One occasion was in the reign of Minôchehr, by whose command Sâm son of Narimân, having marched into India, established Keisô Râj in the government. Afterwards Firôz Râï, son of
Keisö, set himself up in opposition and independence, and Keicobâd dispatched Rostam Dâstân to India, by whom Firôz was put to flight and ended his days in the jungles of that country. Rostam, having fixed Sôrj in the government, returned to Persia.

In like manner it happened in the reign of Sikander, and Ardeshîr Bâbek, and Kisrî Anôshîr-vân, and on other occasions, for the mention of which I have no room.

The reason wherefore the Kings of Persia would not retain the government of Hindôstân in their own hands is manifest to every clear-sighted person. No man, who has a residence and place of abode such as the provinces of Persia afford, which in their nature and essence are the best adjusted and most noble, and to all outward appearance are the most beautiful and perfect habitation in the known world, will ever be able of his own choice to reside in Hindôstân. Every person's nature is so formed, that without necessity he will never consent to a long abode in this country; and this feeling is common to the King, the peasant, and the soldier. Indeed this is the situation of every man, who with sound senses has been brought up in other air and water, especially if in the empire of Persia or Turkey; unless it be of him who inconsiderately and ignorantly comes into this country, and finds no possibility of returning; or of him that by reason of obsta-
cles and accidents has had no choice left him of remaining in a different place; and, having passed his former days in thorough hardship and poverty, unexpectedly arrives in this country at wealth and dignity, on which, being weak in his senses and mean in his disposition, he fixes his affections, and gradually acquiring the habits of his station, he at length becomes tranquil and familiarised.

I have read in the Chronicles of the Magi, that when Zahhâk, having appointed Gershâsb to the command of his troops, was about to send him to India, he gave him this commission and recommendation; that, having subdued the kingdom with all speed, he should deliver it into the hands of a Mihârâj, and return. “For,” said he, “should the army make some stay, and pass to acquaintance and familiarity with the people of those regions, it will be no longer of any service to me. I shall be compelled either to disband and set it loose in that country, or to give it up to slaughter; neither of which I think right; for the army is my right hand, which it would be madness to cut off.”

The master poet, Asadi of Tôs,1 in his Gershâsb Nâmeh has put this story into verse:

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1 Asadi, one of the most celebrated Persian poets of Khorâsân, was the master of Ferdowsi, to whom he gave the plan of the Shâh Nâmeh. The four thousand last verses of this poem, which begin with the conquest of Persia by the Arabs under the Calif Omar, are the composition of Asadi.
Mesnavi.

He thus gave instructions to Gershâsb:
"In India bid adieu to sleep.
"Spare not the blood of the soldiers,
"But continually put in action the flaming sword.
"With speed make an end of your important business,
"And strike on them as a wolf on a flock of sheep.
"Stay not the year out in that country,
"Lest the army step aside from fame and valour.
"Should four seasons pass over you there,
"You would no longer find a trace of manlihood or bravery.

In short, the truth as regards the conduct of the Safavean Soltâns towards the kings and princes of the line of Baber is not concealed from the nations of the world. Whenever the sovereigns of that race, according to their custom in times of self-sufficiency, shewed any neglect or delay in ob-
serving their obligations, or in performing the duties of friendship and alliance, and began to estrange themselves and affect independence, the other party, in the absence of all interested views and pretensions, and solely from a disposition to manliness and civility, again brought about a revival of that intercourse which the most sympathising and heartiest friendship demands. And, truly, some of the distinguishing qualities of the exalted Safavean race were generosity, fidelity, strict humanity, and kindly affection. History has ranked among its greatest wonders, what these princes have done towards their dependents, whether strangers or acquaintances, and even to their malignant enemies, in the day of their distress and flight to them for refuge, in granting them benefits and assistance, and every kind of aid and friendship, comfort and hospitality, sympathy bordering on perfect condescension, and the observance of every civility. This character they have placed on a high monument, and with them none either of their predecessors or successors have any pretensions to compete.

The late Soltân, Shah Soltân Hosein also, during the thirty years of his reign, observed the same conduct towards the line of Bâber, and whether for congratulation or consolation showed no neglect in sending to them his ambassadors. When the period of the reign of that august monarch terminated, and Shah Tahmâsh succeeded
to his throne, the Emperor of India, during all
that disturbance which prevailed in the province
of Irân, true to his ungrateful principles, never
gave a thought to the precepts of his fealty, but,
on the contrary, kept up an intercourse of amity
and alliance with Mir Veis the Afghân. With
Hosein also, the son of Veis the Afghân, at a later
period, when he had become the ruler of Can-
dahâr, notwithstanding that he had marched an
army into Moltân, and had left nothing undone
to depopulate and ruin that country, still after his
return twice was a communication opened by
way of embassy.
CHAPTER XLV.

Ambassadors are consecutively dispatched to India.—The envoy, Mohammed Khan, is detained in Shâh Jehàn Abâd.—Conquest and destruction of the fort of Candahâr.—Nâdir Shâh arrives at Câbol.—Murder of the Ambassador at Jelâl Abâd.—Nâdir Shâh marches to Jelâl Abâd.—General massacre of the inhabitants of that town. — Ibrâhîm Khân is killed in Shirâz.—Battle with Nâsir Khân, who is taken prisoner.—Arrival of Nâdir Shâh at Peshâver, and his passage of the river at Atak.

However, immediately after the conquest of Isphâhân and the extirpation of the Afghâns, Shah Tahmâsb sent one of his Omarâs on an embassy to Hindostân to inform Mohammed Shah of the recent occurrences. In his letter he gave him notice, that “whereas the rabble of the Afghâns, who have been traitors to this court and robbers of this country, have now met their due punishment, and the remnant of the sword are on their flight; and whereas from the terror of our victorious army there is no refuge for them but in India, you are requested not to give to
to those perverse wretches either road or room, and not to permit that they enter your territory." After some time Mohammed Shah wrote a reply couched in terms of no conclusion, and sent back the ambassador.

On the accession of the prince Abbâs Mirza to the place of his exalted father, one of the Omarâs was again deputed as ambassador to India, and a like message was inclosed in his despatches. A long time afterwards leave was given him to return, and by him were written precisely similar words, wherein was absolutely nothing of the soul of the business.

Nâdir Shâh, after a short interval, sent one of the most distinguished of his Kizil Bâsh to Borhân Ol Molk, who was the greatest of the Omarâs of India, and wrote a letter to Mohammed Shah and to him both. This ambassador, on his arrival at the frontier of the empire, was plundered by robbers; but after a thousand entreaties he recovered his despatches from them, and having reached his destination with the greatest difficulty, he executed the purpose of his mission. Unable, however, to find the means of returning he is still in this country.

When Nâdir Shâh had marched to Candahâr and invested that fortress, he again sent on the same mission Mohammed Khân the Turkomân, who was one of the Safavean Omarâs, and repeating the former message complained of the past
conduct. As soon as the envoy arrived at Shâh Jehân Abâd, he delivered his letter and was told to wait; but they were silent as to any answer: and however much he solicited permission to depart, it was of no avail. Sometimes they were unable to agree in their own minds on the question of writing any answer at all; at other times they were confused and perplexed, in case they wrote, what titles and forms of address they should use to Nâdir Shah. The truth of the matter was this: thinking the detention of the ambassador Mohammed Khân a stroke of state policy, they waited to see, if perchance Hosein the Afghân with the troops besieged in Candahâr gained the victory over Nâdir Shâh, and destroyed him or put him to flight; on which event there would be no need of writing any answer to his letter. As, however, the siege of Candahâr was protracted and the return of Mohammed Khân delayed, Nâdir Shah wrote a Firmân to him, which he sent by some horsemen of great speed in travelling, and questioning him as to the true state of the affair, commanded him to use his best endeavours in obtaining an answer, and enjoined him to quicken his return: but as no answer was forthcoming, and the ambassador could not obtain leave for his departure, this step led to no result.

The siege of Candahâr had now lasted near twelve months, and the city of Nâdir Shâh was built up and completed by its side. Nâdir Shâh
suddenly gave orders, that the army of the Kizil Bâsh should make an assault upon the fort, and scale the towers. The Afghâns were overthrown, and their strong ramparts were thrown open. Hosein was sent in fetters to Mazenderân.

During the course of some years, and since the time that the Afghâns were routed at Shirâz, a multitude of that nation had been in continual wandering. Making their way into Hindostân and settling in every place, most of them became attendant on the Sirkârs, and entered the Indian army. And, in truth, the obligation of repelling them which they imposed on Mohammed Shah was beyond the capacity of his power and government.

Nâdir Shâh, having issued an order for the destruction of the fortress of Candahâr, commanded that the market people and inhabitants of that place should be transferred to Nâdir Abâd, and set off on his march to Ghaznîn and Kâbol. To the governor of the fort of Kâbol he sent a message to say, that he had nothing to do with the dominions of Mohammed Shah; but that as those confines were the source and mine of the Afghâns, and a number of the fugitives had arrived there, the object of his coming was the total extirpation of that race: that he should therefore give no

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1 The name of this town is variously written Ghaznîn, Ghaz-nî, Ghaznah, and Ghaznô.
way to apprehensions on his own account, but do his best endeavours to comply with the rights and demands of hospitality.

Nâdir Shâh himself pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of the city of Kâbol. The governor and people of the place prepared themselves for war and contest, and it was of no avail to send them messages or to advise them. A detachment, therefore, of the Kizil Bâsh was ordered to attack them and destroy their fort; but at the first onset, and at the very beginning of the work of destruction, a portion of the inhabitants raised a cry of distress, and the besieged, having obtained pardon and clemency, evacuated the fort and performed the duties of submission. Wherever the Afghâns in those parts assembled in a body, the army of the Kizil Bâsh marched upon them and cut them to pieces.

Nâdir Shâh, being extremely annoyed at the detention of Mohammed Khân, gave some verbal messages to some of the principal men of Kâbol, and sent them to Shâh Jehân Abâd to carry them to the emperor and his ministers. For himself he remained stationary at Kâbol. The envoys came to Lahôr and thence proceeded to Shâh Jehân Abâd; but no one listened to a word from them, or if he listened did not understand. Again from Kâbol he despatched one of his troopers on the same mission, giving him ten horsemen to accompany him. When they arrived at Jelât Abâd, they alighted at a house. A mob of miscreants of that
place attacked the house round about, and first robbed them of their arms. Afterwards they killed ten of them, and the only one that escaped fled to Kâbol and represented the history of the occurrence.

The length of the stay of Nâdir Shâh in Kâbol was about seven months, and during that time he exercised vengeance and slaughter on the Afghans in those parts. Unable to rest after receiving the news of the murder committed on the ten persons of his messengers, he moved towards Jelâl Abâd, and having commanded a general massacre of the inhabitants of that city, he caused to perish an immense population. A singular circumstance was, that for the chief of the assassins of those ten persons a robe of honour had been destined to be sent from the court of Mohammed Shah, but was prevented by the massacre at Jelâl Abâd.

From the day that the news was reported in India of the arrival of Nâdir Shâh at Kâbol, Khân Dôrân, the Amîro ’L Omarâ or chief minister, and Nizâmo ’L Molk were appointed to carry on the war against him, and held their head quarters at Shâh Jehân Abâd. At the same time they spread the report of their being shortly about to march in the direction of Kâbol; and this also in their opinion was a stroke of state policy.

One of the remarkable events in Persia, which came to the ears of Nâdir Shâh in Jelâl Abâd, was the death of his brother Ibrâhîm Khân, whom
he had made Amiro 'L Omarà of Azerbâijân, whose residence was at Tabriz. As the expedi-
tion to Candahâr and Kâbol drew to a great length, a body of the Lezgís, having equipped themselves for war, led an army into the province of Shîrvân, which is in their neighbourhood; and Ibrâhîm Khân, having marched into the same province, gave battle to that nation, and was killed in the action. Nâdir Shâh, not giving much attention to this oc-
currence, dismissed one division of his army from further attendance on him and sent it into Shîrvân; and himself moved forward towards Peshâver.

Nâsir Khan, governor of the district of Kâbol, was at that time in Peshâver. With a detach-
ment of troops which he had with him, and collect-
ing also a body of the Afghans of that country, he took a position on the line of road, and in his own belief strongly fortified some high rugged banks and narrow vallies, and closed them to the passage of the enemy. Nâdir Shâh sent him a message, that on a certain day he (Nâdir Shâh) should come up, and that he (Nâsir Khân) had better move away from the road. This advice had no effect; and on the day appointed Nâdir Shâh arrived. An immense crowd of the Afghans and of Nâsir Khân's troops were cut to pieces in the valley, and the Khan himself was taken alive. After a few days he was treated with great honour and respect, and Nâdir Shâh having marched down into the city of Peshâver, effected the passage of the river of Atak in boats.
CHAPTER XLVI.

Remainder of the history of the Author.—His removal from Lâhôr and arrival at Sarhind.—Nâdir Shah arrives at Lâhôr. —The governor of Lâhôr is overthrown.—Nâdir Shah proceeds towards Dehli.—The Author sets out from Sarhind and arrives at Dehli.

In the province of Panjâb, especially in the city of Lâhôr, a terror like that of the resurrection arose. Seized with a violent illness I was confined to my bed in that town; and as I well knew the people of India, and, disgusted with their demeanour, was in utter hopelessness of any intellect or discretion in them, I burnt with grief at the condition of the weak and depressed subjects. During that whole space of time I had not found an opportunity of setting out in the direction of Khorâsân; and as I knew with certainty, that the situation of affairs must induce the coming of Nâdir Shâh into Hindôstân, and he had already entered the district of Kâbol, my journey, should
its performance be facilitated, would necessarily be directed by the same route as his. And as the disposition and peculiar views of the people of this country would, as by fate, determine them to believe that, without the least doubt, my going was the instigator of his coming; an opinion odious to my heart, and of itself a sufficient obstacle to my journey; whereas also, without regarding the hindrances produced by disturbance, the passage on that side was attended with extreme difficulty; for these reasons I had remained till then in Lâhûr. But now that so much tumult prevailed; that in the appearance and complexion of their affairs there was no hope for this people of any amendment, I found no patience in myself to behold the posture of their circumstances and property; and as by reason of the alteration in my own I was not in a condition on the other hand to associate with the army of the Kizil Bâsh, I was compelled in a state of languid convalescence and the most reduced weakness to remove from Lâhûr in the direction of Soltânpor. That whole province was in complete revolution. Every person put forth his hand to plunder and pillage, and some thousands of highway robbers beset the public roads. I was detained some days in the villages of those parts; afterwards I came to Sarhind. The whole of that time, whether on the road or at the stations, passed in fighting and contention and resistance for self defence.
Nādir Shāh now arrived in the skirts of the city of Lāhōr. Zakariah, the governor of that town, with fourteen or fifteen thousand regular horse and his own militia, having taken up a strong position on the bank of the river which passes close by the city, had formed his lines for battle. Both the peace and war of the Indians are of a strange cast. However, Nādir Shāh with a division of his army drove his horse into the water and crossed over; and some of the cavalry of the Kızıl Bāsh rode to the attack of the Lāhōr troops, of which those entitled with bravery and valour,¹ who were the most skilful in the management of their horses, instantly took to flight, and the rest, being thrown into disorder, were annihilated and confounded. At last the Governor with his followers retired into the fort, and Nādir Shāh pitched his camp adjoining the town. The Governor of Lāhōr sending a suppliant petition and apology begged for pardon; and having come into the presence of Nādir Shāh,

¹ The titles which every military man of superior rank in India has given to him or assumes, are شجاع the Arabic term for brave, warlike, and بهادر which, if for بهادر is a compound Persian and Arabic word, and means a possessor of glory and splendour. The words in the text are شجاعان و بهادران ایشان که در سوئاری ماهرتر بودند بکر.
he was treated with respect, obtained a robe of honour, and remained fixed in his former office.

Nâdir Shâh, leaving a body of troops in the castle of Lâhôr, moved forward on the route to Shâh Jehân Abâd. Mohammed Shâh, accompanied by all his Omarâs and his whole army, had for some time sallied forth from the city, and was coming to the encounter in full pomp and splendour.

For my part, leaving Sarhind, which was in utter ruin and was invested by an army of robbers, I set out towards Dehli, with a troop of footmen and musketeers, whom I had brought together and kept with me. Having passed through the midst of the army of Mohammed Shâh, which in the course of near two months had performed only four stages on the road, and was crowded together in the closest throng, I entered the city. Some days afterwards I took up a corner in that tumultuous town.
CHAPTER XLVII.

Nādir Shāh arrives at the plain of Karnāl, fights a pitched battle with Mohammed Shāh, and gains the victory.—Nādir Shāh takes up his quarters in the citadel of Shāh Jehān Abād.
—Revolt and general massacre of the inhabitants of Dehli.—Nādir Shāh takes Sind and Kābol to his own possession.—Mohammed Shāh is confirmed in his sovereignty.—Marriage of the son of Nādir Shāh.

Twice or thrice from Lahōr also, before he came up with the Indian army, Nādir Shāh sent a message to Mohammed Shāh to expedite the return to him of his ambassador Mohammed Khān. But although they carried the ambassador along with them on their march, they would not grant him his congé; and at that time it did not appear, what their design could be in keeping him. At length Nādir Shāh came up, the two armies met on the plain of Karnāl, which is four stages distant from Shāh Jehān Abād, and war was joined between them. The Indians having gathered their artillery around were closely hemmed in by their own field-pieces, and as a division of the
Kizil Bâsh had also formed a ring on every side of them, all intercourse with the exterior was closed to them and dearth and famine fell on that army, so that their condition turned out to be such as in the world of their pride they had never even imagined. Nadir Shâh divided his army into two parts; one he left to guard his camp, and with the other division he assaulted the Indians. Borhâno 'L Molk was taken alive: Khân Dôrân, the Amiro 'L Omarâ, and Mozaffir Khân his brother, and a number of the distinguished Omarâs, with an immense quantity of troops were slain. In the midst of the action night intervened. Mohammed Shâh and those who had escaped the sword, who were still an innumerable multitude, finding the cavalry of the Kizil Bâsh spread around them on all sides, were afraid to stir, and although they saw themselves unable to maintain their position, they remained on the spot. Whoever fled, if he fell not into the hands of the Kizil Bâsh, the peasantry of those parts put an end to his life; or if they spared his blood, they let him not go before they had stripped him naked.

Arabic Poetry.¹

When the raven guides a nation in its course

شعر

إذا كان الغراب دليل قوم

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The burial-grounds of the Magi are its noon-day dormitories.

In short, the Nizámó 'L Molk and Mohammed Shâh with some of his courtiers having repaired to the camp of Nâdîr Shâh to resign themselves and offer their excuses, met with clemency and forgiveness; and Nâdîr Shâh, having cheered and solaced Mohammed Shâh, gave him the glad intimation, that he should suffer no injury in his life, his empire, or his dignity.

Nâdîr Shâh, then, with both the armies entered

Finding no satisfactory explanation of the plural term ننادوس سلمه، لیا مانیل even in the Camôs, I have given it the sense which the context seems to indicate, and conjecture that its simplest form resembles the Latin word fundus, with which it seems to agree in meaning, as allusion is here evidently made to the manner of burying among the Magi, or Guebres. The noblest funeral which they think they can perform for their deceased friends, is exposing them to be devoured by the fowls of the air. After the body has lain dead for some time, they convey it on a bier of stone or iron, for wood is not allowed, as it is fuel for the fire, to the place of sepulture, which is a raised ground, made shelving towards the centre, and inclosed with a wall, sometimes twelve feet high and one hundred in circumference. In the middle is a door of stone, six feet from the earth, to admit the corpse, which is left to be torn and eaten by the vultures and other birds of prey, that crowd upon the walls. The prospect of a well furnished cemetery of the Magi is therefore similar to that of a field of slaughtered men.
the city, and took up his quarters in the castle of Shâh Jehân Abâd. Mohammed Shâh was also with him in the castle, and the Indian chiefs and soldiers settled in their habitations according to their former and accustomed arrangements. This was on the ninth of Dzo'lı hijjah, one thousand one hundred and fifty-one (A.D. 1739.). On the afternoon of the eleventh of the same month, the Indians spread a report that Nâdir Shâh was dead; some saying, that he had died a natural death, others pretending, that he had been assassinated by the treachery and contrivance of Mohammed Shâh. In whatever way, within the course of an hour, his death became the talk of the whole city, whilst he was sound and safe, sitting with a large assembly in the castle, the gates of which were open night and day, employed in the despatch of important business. Some portions of his army were quartered round the fort and in the houses of the city, and some were encamped on the bank of the river which joins the city. Briefly, in consequence of this mere lying report, troops upon troops of rash fools, furnished with arms and accoutrements of war, raised tumult and confusion in every skirt and corner of the town, and turned their endeavours to the slaughter and plunder of the Kizil Bâsh. This scene spread itself over the whole city. The Kizil Bâsh soldiers, who understood not the language of the Indians, and had
no acquaintance with the places, were scattered and walking about by ones and twos in every street and market; and the Indians coming suddenly upon them put them to slaughter. Though night came on, the mischievous promoters of the tumult gave themselves no rest, and the disorder continued to increase. After a true statement of the affair had been several times brought to Nâdir Shâh, he issued an order to his army, that every man should remain quiet in his place and station and not occupy himself with vengeance; and, that if the Indians made an attack upon them, they should keep themselves on the defensive. Not one of the Indian Omarâs that night, though fully aware of what was going forward, offered himself at all to allay the fire of this tumultuous revolt: on the contrary, some men whom at their own request they had obtained from Nâdir Shâh for their private security and protection, and had taken home with them, were slaughtered in their houses. And whereas in the battle of Karnâl only about twenty men of the Kizil Bâsh were slightly wounded with arrow shots, and not more than three were killed; in this scene of riot near seven thousand of them died by violence.

At day-break the tumult was still increasing in its vehemence. Soon afterwards, Nâdir Shâh rode down from the castle, and gave orders for a general massacre. To the division of horse and foot
charged with this service he said, that as far as the very spot, in every direction, where a Kizil Bāsh had been killed, they were not to leave alive a single Indian. The Persian troops, having begun their work of destruction and pillage, entered the palaces and dwellings of the city, and making an immense slaughter, carried away the property as plunder, and the women and children as slaves. A great part also of the city was laid waste and burnt down. When half the day was past and the number of the slain exceeded all calculation, Nādir Shāh sounded the note of mercy to those who survived the slaughter, and the troopers drew back their hands. After some days, the streets and houses being full of dead bodies, and the air contaminated, and the passage through the town being consequently difficult, an order for its purification was promulgated. The Kōtwāl, or civil governor of the city, having collected the bodies at every pass, with the rubbish and litter of the fallen buildings, burnt them all in heaps, without distinction of Infidel or Moslem.

Nādir Shāh now took possession of the imperial treasures; and quantities of gold were obtained also from the people. Being for certain urgent motives in haste to return, he detached from the empire of Hindōstān and the dominions of Mohammed Shāh, and annexed to the kingdom of Iran the whole of the province of Sind and the district of Kābol, with some places in the Pan-
jâb which are in assignment to the latter district.'

Having sent for Mohammed Shâh and the Indian Omarâs, he held an assembly, in which he gave the Jícah, or diadem, to the former, and to the latter presented robes of honour; and having imparted to them some wholesome advice, he left them in possession of the sovereign authority.

To his infant son Nasr Ollah Mirzâ, whom he had with him, he joined in the bonds of matrimony a daughter of one of the grand-children of the Emperor Awrang Zîb; and on the seventh of the month Safar one thousand one hundred and fifty-two (A. D. 1739.) having beaten the drum of retreat from Shâh Jehân Abâd, he set out on his return to his dominions.
CHAPTER XLVIII.

Shah Tahmâsb is put to death.—Duration of the dynasty of the Safavean Soltâns, may God illumine their evidence!—Conclusion of the history of the Author.

One of the remarkable events which occurred in Persia, on the same day, was the violent death of Shâh Tahmâsb Safavi in the town of Sabzavâr. As Nâdir Shâh had come to India, leaving his eldest son Rizâ Colî Mîrzâ for his lieutenant in Irân; and as on the very day that the public of Shâh Jehân Abâd had falsely raised the report of Nâdir Shâh's death, and made it the foundation of the subsequent tumult, the news was spread to their most distant provinces and travelled also into Persia; and as the falsity of the intelligence was not yet discovered, Rizâ Colî Mîrzâ, who resided at the holy Meshed, fell to think of his personal interests; and looking on the life of that youthful king as repugnant to the arrangement of his affairs, though he had not once during the
whole of that time set up any claim to sovereign power, and was attentively watched by his guards, he gave the signal for his death; and the officers having smote him to the ground, carried him to the holy Meshed and there interred him. His sons Abbâs Mîrza and Soleimân Mîrza, who were both tender infants, bade adieu also to this transitory world, and no children of him remained.

Arabic Poetry.

We count the Moshrif sword and the tall spears;
Yet fate kills us without a fight or struggle.
We are bound in the ties of the most ancient kindred;
Yet they do not secure us from the nightly villain.

شعر

نَعَدَ الْمُشْرِفْةَ وَالْمُؤَوْلِيَ
وَتَقَتَّلْنَا الْبَيْنَٰنَ بَلاً قِتَالٍ
وُتَرَتَّبَ الْسَوْابِقُ مَقْرَبَاتٍ
وَلَيْجِينَ مَنْ خَبَّتِ الْفَيْلِيَ

Little dependence can be placed on the grammar or orthography of the Persian manuscript, particularly in Arabic quotations: and I have not the opportunity of ascertaining the gender of the word منون whether it should be joined with يقتل or تقتل.

The word مشرفة in my manuscript is marked with a damma on the mim. In the Čâmös it is found with a fatha, as ob-
Abo 'ddorr Jemalo 'ddin Yâcôt, the Penman, has said, and his expression is most beautiful and ingenious;

Arabic Lines.

My fraternal friends I regarded as coats of mail;
And they were so, but for my enemies.

served by the Baron De Sacy in the 3rd Vol. of his Chrestomathie, p. 53. I thence insert the following quotation from a Geographical Dictionary in the Baron's possession.

"Meshârif is the plural of Moshrif and denotes certain villages near Hawrán, one of which is Bosra. It is from them that the swords called moshrefiyya derive their name. They are also said to be villages in Yemen. It is mentioned in The Warlike Expeditions, that the Army of Moavia was met by the troops of Heracl (Heraclius) in a village among those villages of Bâled, which are called Meshârif."

The Baron I think, with the humblest deference to his infinitely superior knowledge, has erred in translating the latter part of the quotation, bourgade qui porte le nom de Mescharif; as the plural noun, which is used for a collection of villages, such as is more than once mentioned in the present work, can hardly be meant for the distinct name of only one of them.
I thought them well aimed, sure striking arrows;
And they were so, but against my heart.
They say, our hearts are purified and drained;
And they speak the truth; they are drained of my affection.

One of the most singular incidents is this, that in circumstances where I had absolutely no thought or imagination collected or bent on these revolutions and events, suddenly it was whispered, as it were, to the ear of my soul, that the duration of the reign of the Safavean Soltâns is noted in the word Safavyên; and when I looked at it, I saw that it coincided; for although the exit of the prince, equal in state to Solomon, Shah Ismail from the court of sovereignty, Lâhijân, was in the year nine hundred and four, his session on the throne of royalty in the seat of government Tabriz was in nine hundred and seven; then the deposition of Abbâs Mirzâ from the name of Sovereign, and the usurpation of Nâdir Shâh, as has been described, took place in one thousand one
hundred and forty-eight; consequently the dura-
tion of the dynasty of this exalted race must be
two hundred and forty-two years complete, which
agrees with the numbers in *Safaviybn."

And now that a slight sketch of these events
has accidentally fallen from my pen, which has
no inclination any further to pursue the descrip-
tion of the residuary circumstances, it will abridge
in a few words the conclusion of my own history.
"God grant me a termination in paradise, and
make my state in the last life better than in the
first."

From the period of my arrival in Shâh Jehân
Abâd until the date of this, which is the latter end
of the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-
four (A.D. 1742.) three years and odd are past,
that my time has been spent in this town, and
that I have been continually in the thought of
moving and making my escape from this country,
where I am fallen so utter a stranger: but from
a multiplicity of insurmountable obstacles it has

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1 The numerical powers of the letters in the word هفريون
are 50 ن + 6 و + 10 ي + 6 و + 80 ف + 90 م = 242.

ختم الله بالحسنِ وجعل مناقلي
في الآخرة خيراً من الأولي
proven impossible. 'With the firm foot of patience and toleration I have measured three and fifty stations of the uneven road of life. My elemental frame, crushed by the assemblage of grief and diseases, and the powers of my soul, flagged and fallen away to indolence and neglect, have sunk the head within the breast-fold of lowliness. Now, weak and helpless, I sit listening for the note of departure.\(^1\) "If thou punishest me, I am one of thy servants; and if thou grantest me pardon, it is that thou art the indulgent, the merciful."\(^2\)

In my nature and disposition there was no principle of association with a strange country of men familiar with corruption and depravity; and as in coming I was not master of my own choice, nor yet am in going, I have done so much with the deepest blood of my heart;

Lines.\(^3\)

Arise, Hazin, from this lower world, arise!

\(^1\) Perhaps the Author had in view the verses of Hâfiz, though not exactly in tone with his feelings;

\(^2\) مرا در منزل جانان چه امس و عيش جوان هر دم جرس فرباد میدارد كه بر بنديد محیها

\(^3\) لَغُفِّرْ لِيَ فَاتَكَ أَنتَ آللّٰهُ الرَّحِيمُ

\(^4\) بر خير حزین از سر دنیا بر خیر
From this mouldering dung-hill, arise, like Christ, arise!
Thou art solitary in the midst of this strange assembly;
Arise from among them, thus alone arise!

"We pray to God for pardon, and that he change
our sorrow into joy, for he is beneficent, he is generous."