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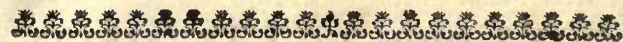
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THE
HISTORY

OF THE DATE
Revolutions of PERSIA.

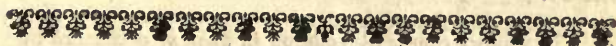
VOL. II.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE LATE
Revolutions of PERSIA.

VOL. II.





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THE
HISTORY
OF THE LATE

Revolutions of PERSIA;



Taken from the MEMOIRS of

Father KRUSINSKI,

PROCURATOR of the

JESUITS at ISPAHAN;

Who lived Twenty Years in that Country, was employ'd by the Bishop of *Ispahan*, in his Negotiations at the *Persian* Court, for the EMPEROR and KING of France; and was familiarly conversant with the greatest Men of all Parties.

Done into ENGLISH, from the Original, just publish'd with the Royal Licence at Paris.

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1783

HISTORY

of the

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THE

HISTORY

Of the LATE

Revolutions in Persia.

PART II.



Irr-Maghniud and the *Aghvans* were never so near Ruin, as when they understood that General *Lust-Ali-Kan* was at the Head of his Troops in the Neighbourhood of *Chiras*, and ready for a March to lay Siege to *Candahar*. This Army struck the greater Terror into the Rebels, for that Part of it only had forced them in a City they had taken, and routed them with the Loss of all their Baggage. They found they had to do with an able experienced General, who did not make War like a

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Knight Errant, and who before he began his March for *Candahar*, had so well manag'd his Matters, both as to Time and the necessary Provisions, that 'twas almost impossible for him not to succeed. They were informed that this General would be before *Candahar* while the Harvest was yet standing, which would be a great Prejudice to them; and that he was so well provided with all Sorts of Necessaries, that he could subsist his Army for several Months together.

All these Considerations, and the Prospect of approaching Miseries, which seemed inevitable, had struck such a Terror into *Candahar*, that all Mens Minds were bent to Peace. To forward this, the People were told what *Myrr-Weis* said at his Death, which was, That in case the *Persians* continued to harraß them, they should make Peace on any Condition whatever. The wisest Part of the Nation, who consented to the Revolt against their Wills, being hurried into it by the Multitude, and who lik'd it the less, for that they saw it tended only to the Advancement of a particular Family, were for taking hold of this Opportunity, and said aloud, That they were now just in that Situation which *Myrr-Weis* himself, Author of the Rebellion, had mark'd out for them to put an end to this Affair by a good Agreement.

This was talk'd with the more Liberty, for that *Myrr-Maghmun* having lost Credit

Credit by his Defeat, and being embarrass'd with a Siege he was about to sustain, durst but faintly oppose it. It made great Impression on the People, who soon come to themselves when they begin to be afraid. 'Tis indisputable, that if *Luft-Ali-Kan* had arrived with his Army before *Candahar*, the City would not have stay'd till the last Extremity before it talk'd of an Accommodation, and that it would have submitted with the whole Province before the End of the Campaign. But *Schah Hussein's* evil Destiny put him upon ruining himself in an Enterprize which would have established him on his Throne. By hearkening to the Calumnies of two Traitors, who destroyed the first Minister, and General *Luft-Ali-Kan*, he deprived himself of the Counsels and Assistance of the two most able Men in his Kingdom, each in their Way.

When *Myrr-Maghmun* heard the strange Tragedy that had been acted in the Court of *Persia*, the Disgrace and Imprisonment of the General, the only one of all the *Persian* Captains of whom he was afraid; the Dispersion of the Army, and the Waste of all the great Preparations that had been made with so much Care and Expence for the Siege of *Candahar*; and saw that by the Imprudence even of those who were most interested in his Destruction, he found himself deliver'd from the greatest and most pressing Danger

he had ever been in : he pass'd all at once from the utmost Disquiet and Despair to the most perfect Security, and the most flattering Hopes. He then resum'd an Air of Command in *Candahar*, and soon effac'd the Impressions of Fear and Discouragement, which the approaching Arrival of a formidable Army, and the Threat of a Siege that could not but be fatal to them, had imprinted on the Minds of the People some Months past. And as the first Part of the Counsel of the late *Myrr-Weis* his Father had been made use of to incline their Minds to Peace and Reconciliation, so he used the second to stir them up to undertake every thing against *Persia*. He therefore represented to them, by himself and his Partisans, that they were just then in the Situation mark'd out by the late *Myrr-Weis*, for them to attack the *Persians* even in *Ispahan*. That they had nothing to fear from the Court, who had done themselves more Mischief than their greatest Enemies could do them. That they could not in a long time get such an Army together, which they had lately ruin'd by their own ill Conduct; and tho' they could muster such an Army, they would never find a General of the Genius and Capacity of him whom they had lately discarded. That they had no Troops but what were broken ones, and no Captains but what wanted Experience; and they could now only oppose them with such Armies,

as for these ten or twelve Years past they had always beaten and put to flight.

This and the like Discourses spread among the People with Dexterity, made the more lively Impressions upon them, because the pitiful Conduct of the Court of *Persia*, where so great was the Trouble, that no good Order was taken for any thing, gave them new Strength. However, Time was necessary for them to recover themselves after so great a Consternation of the People terrify'd with their Danger. Whereupon *Myrr-Maghmud* resolved to shut himself in *Candahar* during the Year 1721, and to make it his Business to put himself in a Condition to defend the City resolutely in case he was attack'd. In the mean while he would observe what Turn Affairs would take in the Court of *Persia*, that he might form Resolutions according to Events and Conjunctions.

He spent all the Winter in providing the Place with all Sorts of Necessaries. In the Beginning of the Spring, a Rumour of the Irruption of the *Lesgians* in *Szyrwan*, and the neighbouring Provinces, drew his Attention that way; and thence he had his Eye on the Court of *Persia*, to see what Efforts they would make to defend the Frontiers. But when he saw them let the Spring, and the greatest Part of the Summer pass without shewing any Vigor against the *Barbarians*;

That they seem'd no more concern'd at the Ravage of their fairest Provinces, than if they did not belong to the Crown; when he understood by his Spies and Correspondents in the Court itself, that they were in a most stupid Dejection, and lamented their Misfortune without knowing how to remedy it; that they were in want of every thing; that they had no other Troops to act, nor Money to raise them, and no skilful Generals to command them; that every one would excuse themselves, and avoid serving at a Conjuncture, where nothing but Dishonour could be acquir'd; and when even, if there was any Hope left of doing some good, the Example of *Lust-Ali-Kan* shewed that it was more dangerous to succeed than to miscarry; that the King shut up, and, as it were, swallowed up in the Luxury of his *Haram*, where he endeavoured to shake off all Thoughts of his Affairs, and would not hear talk of them, thinking to keep from him the Evils which threatned him, by concealing them to himself, or making as if he did not know them; that every thing was at the Discretion of some Confidants and Eunuchs, Men without Genius, Knowledge, Experience, and as much oppos'd by the Publick for their Incapacity, as they were hated for their Pride and their Avarice; and that in fine, there was no Understanding in the King, no Zeal in the *Grandees*, no Trust in the People, no Help in
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the Ministry; he imagin'd, that in so general a Disorder, wherein all the Parts of the Monarchy began to be shaken, and the Provinces were abandon'd to the first Invader, it wou'd be his own Fault, if he did not come in for a Share of the Wreck of this Empire, and seize on the Provinces that were near his own, and commodious for his Government; and afterwards push his Fortune as far as it would go. He flattered himself, he should meet with the less Obstruction, for that the Prince of *Georgia* had taken an Oath never to draw Sword in the Service of *Persia*; and he need not fear meeting *Georgian* Troops in his Way, which he thought the only ones that could thwart his Designs.

Upon this he drew his Plan, which was to begin with the City of *Kirman*, to seize it, and make it a Place of Arms: From whence he might advance into the Heart of *Persia*. But this Enterprize being more than an Excursion, required great Forces, and Preparations to succeed in it: He employed the rest of the Summer, all the Autumn, and even the Beginning of the Spring, in assembling a powerful Army, and providing Necessaries for it. He so well concerted his Measures, that in *December* 1721, he found he had a numerous Army on foot, well supply'd with every thing, and ready to undertake whatever he would have them. He left his elder Brother in *Candahar* to command there in his

Absence, and send him the Succours and Recruits he wanted; and marched himself at the Head of his Army towards *Kirman*, before which City he arrived in *January 1722*.

We must not proceed further in this Expedition of *Maghmud's*, till we have considered the Number of his Forces at his Departure from *Candahar*. This is a Point upon which 'tis incredible how many different Conjectures there are, and what appears most astonishing in it is, that even those who were in *Ispahan* during the Siege, are almost as far from the Truth, as those who living out of *Persia* cou'd not judge but by common Reports, and the Reputation of *Maghmud's* Exploits.

As the City of *Ispahan* is the most famous in the *East*, and exceeds *Constantinople* in Bigness, Populousness, Magnificence of Buildings, and Riches: When it was said that the *Aghevans* had made themselves Masters of it, after having defeated the *Persians* in twelve set Battels, a Circumstance very remote from the Truth, and had compelled the King to surrender himself a Prisoner at Discretion; one had a Conception of *Maghmud* as another *Tamerlane*, who drew after him an Army of several Hundred thousand Men, and ravaged the Nations like a Torrent, which nothing cou'd resist; insomuch that the *Turks* were alarm'd in the Extremity of *Egypt*. As to the twelve set Battels, they are reduced to one inconsiderable Battel, and two or three Combats

Combats of four or five thousand Men. The rest were nothing but Skirmishes of two or three Troops of Horse at the most. But as Renown magnifies Objects, and one judges of the Resistance *Persia* made, more by the Grandeur she was formerly in, than by the Weakness and Annihilation into which she fell during the Reign of *Schah Hussein*, one could not but presume she must needs have been overwhelmed by a terrible Inundation of *Barbarians*.

On the other hand, the *Europeans* who were in *Ispahan* in the Time of the Siege, and had Opportunities to observe the Camp of the *Aghvans* with their Spying-Glasses, could not discover above 14000 Men: Nay, some have sunk so low as 8000 in their Calculations; which is not likely to be true, as to either of the two Numbers; for how could one of the greatest Cities in the World, as *Ispahan* is, be shut up by so small an Army, that nothing could go in or come out? No body deserves more Credit in this Matter, than the Author of my Memoirs. He was at *Zulfa*, a great Town inhabited by *Armenians*, half a League from *Ispahan*; and he was the last *European* who left it to retire into the Capital, when the Rebels came to *Farabat*, which is almost contiguous to *Zulfa*.

He took Advantage of the Conveniency which that Situation gave him, to observe the

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the Enemies Army very narrowly, while they were defiling off to enter *Farabat*, where it encamped. Besides that he cou'd of himself get sufficient Knowledge of them, he had still more Opportunity to do it by his Access to, and Favour with *Efik-Aghari*, one of the General Officers of the Rebel Army, on account of Medicines which he gave him that did him some good.

He says then, that conferring one day with that General, and asking him, With what Number of Troops they began their Expedition? *Efik-Aghari* answer'd, That when they departed from *Candahar* they were about ninety thousand Men. Upon which the Author of the Memoirs insinuating that some pretended to say they were not above fourteen thousand, or eighteen thousand Men at most, reckoning four thousand Men of the Nation of *Bolves* which had joined them: And how, reply'd *Efik-Aghari*, can one imagine we should be such Fools, as to come up to *Ispahan* with so few Troops? There were above 14000, added he, who fatigued at the Siege of *Kirman*, and despairing of Success, turned back and went home, and many dy'd at that Siege.

It is therefore certain, according to the Testimony of this General Officer, who had no Reason to overdo it in this Matter, that about twenty thousand Men march'd from *Candahar* with *Maghmud* at his setting out ;
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but as the Author of the Memoirs observes, there must be compriz'd in that Number, not only all the Soldiers, but those that took care of the Baggage, or were Servants to the chief Officers, and look'd after their Horses; tho' the most considerable of the Army did not think it any Disgrace to them to fodder and rub down their own Horses. 'Tis very sure, and unanimously agreed on, that there were 60000 Camels to carry their Baggage, and that so great a Quantity of Beasts of Burthen required a great Number of Servants to manage them. 'Tis true, that in time they were made Soldiers, and the Slaves they took performed their Offices, 'Tis also certain, that tho' the Army consisted chiefly of *Aghvans* of the Province of *Candahar*, yet there was a good Number not only of *Aghvans* of *Hazary*, but also of *Guebres* or *Gaurs*, antient *Persians* who worship the Sun, of Soldiers out of the *Mogul's* Country, and Adventurers of all Nations, who liv'd by pillaging, and engaged in Wars only for the Plunder, But in fine, every thing being well examin'd and weigh'd, the Author, who is a *Polander*, and had seen several Encampments of Armies of different Nations in *Poland*, such as *Muscovites*, *Swedes*, *Saxons*, *Cossacks*, and others, says, that if a Judgment was made of *Maghimud's* Army by comparing it with those he had seen in *Europe*, and with the Compass of Ground the like Encampments took

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in, the Number of *Maghmud's* may be about 40000 Men regular Troops. The News Papers make them 100000, which is more than double of what they were. Then we may safely reckon the Army, at its Arrival before *Ispahan*, to be 40000 Men. To which if we add the 14000 that dy'd at the Siege of *Kirman*, or left the Service, being weary of the Fatigue, it may be computed that when *Maghmud* march'd from *Candahar* he had 54 or 55000 Men. But as he might have increased his Army by the Junction of fresh Forces, one can determine nothing with Certainty, as to their Number. At the most, when he laid siege to *Ispahan*, it seems plain that he had not more than 40000 Men; which Siege was the most considerable and glorious Exploit in this great Expedition of the *Agh-vans*.

Maghmud began it with the Siege of *Kirman*, which he surprized two Years before, and was driven from it a little while after by General *Luft-Ali-Kan*. I shall not enlarge on the Situation of that City, of which something has been said already, when Mention was made of the Check *Maghmud* met with there. But I must not omit giving some Account of the Condition it was in, when he besieg'd it a second time. This City must have been changed very much from what it was when *Tavernier* was there. For he speaks of it as a great ruined Village, and consequently

quently in no Condition to sustain a Siege. When *Maghmud* attack'd it in 1722, it was divided into two Parts, the Upper Town and Lower Town. The latter made no Resistance, being delivered to *Maghmud* by the Town *Guebres* or *Gaurs* that delivered it to him in his first Expedition. But the Upper Town was not so easily conquered: General *Lust-Ali-Kan* had so well provided it with all Necessaries for a Siege, after he had driven away *Maghmud*, as has been related, that it was now in a good Condition to make a vigorous Defence against the Rebels. It has been observed already in our Description of the *Agh-vans*, that as terrible as they are in the Day of Battel, and in the open Country, they are nothing so in Sieges, which they don't understand. They are not capable of subjecting themselves to the Method of the *Europeans*, who gain their Ground Inch by Inch, as soon as they see no Way of carrying a Place by Assault; for after having made an Attempt on it, if they are repuls'd with Loss, they presently give over the Enterprize as impracticable.

This is what happened at *Kirman*, where the Upper Town made so brave a Resistance, that *Maghmud* lost abundance of Men there, and was forsaken by 14000 of his Forces, who discourag'd at their first ill Success return'd back to *Candahar*.

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Their Retreat made him fear that he should be left by his whole Army, if he was obstinately bent on the Siege ; which determin'd him to march to *Ispahan*, not so much in hopes at first to force so great a City, as to engage his Army to advance further into *Persia*, that they might think no more of returning home. Perhaps he had also the Plunder of that City in View, which must needs be very great, the Riches of the Provinces that surrounded it being shut up in *Ispahan*. But he had no Thoughts of laying a formal Siege to it upon his first Approach, nor flatter'd himself with being able to master it, after having miscarried before a little City in the Province. However, he quite abandon'd his Design upon *Kirman* ; and not having Troops enough to spare for a Blockade, he resolved to deprive it of the Means of subsisting, by ruining the Country all about it, which he believ'd would oblige the Place to surrender. As if a City, which had free Egress more Ways than one, could be reduced by Famine, whatever Ravages were committed in its Neighbourhood ; which indeed made great Desolation round the City of *Kirman*. From hence *Maghmud* set forward directly for *Ispahan*. 'Tis about twenty-five Days Journey a Horseback from the former City to the latter, according to *Tavernier* ; and as the Difference is great between a Day's Journey for a Traveller, and that of an Army's March ;

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it must be fifty Days from *Kirman* to *Ispahan*, or rather more, if we judge of the March of *Maghmud's* Army by that of *European* Armies. But as all the Troops in *Persia* are Cavalry, and *Maghmud's* Army was composed of Nations accustomed to long Day's Journeys in their ordinary Excursions, and had no Train of Artillery with them, there is great Likelihood that they made but 14 or 15 Days of it. 'Tis certain at least by my Memoirs, that *Maghmud* came before *Kirman* in *January*; the Day of the Month is not specified; and that on the eighth of *March* following he was within four Leagues of *Ispahan*. Now supposing he arrived at *Kirman* the eighth of *January*, and was fifteen Days before the Place, he left it not till the 23d of that Month, which to the eighth of *March* make five and forty Days only. This March may be said to be one of the boldest that ever was made, not so much for its Length, as for the difficult Ways, which for the greatest part were vast Deserts, on moving Sands flying about every where, as dispers'd by the Winds. There was no Water all along, but what was kept in Cisterns for the Use of the Caravans, plac'd so as to refresh them when they put up at Night. But these Cisterns serving only for Caravans of 4 or 500 Men, and 7 or 800 Camels, were nothing for an Army of 40000 Horse, and 60000 Camels with Baggage.

We shall have a better Idea of the Risk such an Army must run in such a Route, by knowing what happen'd to the Army of Sultan *Amurat* in a March shorter than *Maghmud's* was, as from *Tauris* to *Ispahan*. *Amurat*, as we are told by *Tavernier*, having taken and burnt *Tauris*, marched towards *Ispahan* in 1638, in the Reign of *Schah Sephi*, then King of *Persia*, who being informed that Sultan *Amurat* was advancing at the Head of an Army of 100000 Men, took no notice of it, and only said coldly, Let him come, we know how to make him repent it, without being at much Pains about it. Accordingly he let him come within fifteen Days Journey of *Ispahan*, and then on a sudden turning off the Springs every where before and behind his Army, which being convey'd through the Country in Canals was easy to do, above half of the *Turks* perished of Thirst in the middle of those vast Desarts, where the Army of *Amurat* had imprudently engaged itself. The rest retired shamefully, and with much Difficulty.

The Desarts which *Maghmud's* Army was to cross in his March from *Kirman* to *Ispahan* were more impracticable; but that Army had many Advantages which *Amurat's* had not. The first, in that it was composed of Troops, who knew what Difficulties they were to encounter, and what Time the March would take up. So that they took the necessary

cessary Precautions against any notable Damage which might happen. The second Advantage was, in that the *Aghvans* and the other Nations in *Maghmud's* Army were wont to live upon a very little ; insomuch that during all that long March, they contented themselves with some Corn baked over the Fire : The chief Officers and *Maghmud* himself feeding no better than the Soldiers.

The Resolution this Leader of the Rebels took to abandon the Siege of *Kirman*, and march to the Capital, was so sudden, and so out of the common Rules, that it was not so much as dreamt of at *Ispahan*. 'Twas reported, that after having had the Lower Town of *Kirman* betray'd to him, he had attack'd the Higher Town, where the Governor, who had Store of Ammunition of all Kinds, promised to defend himself all that Campaign, and longer. On this the People at *Ispahan* depended ; the more, because they were not ignorant of the Unexpertness of the *Aghvans* in Sieges, and how soon they were tir'd with them. Thus it was not doubted, but that their Army would come to nothing ; and they knew nothing of the contrary, till it was advanc'd within a few Days Journey of *Ispahan*.

'Tis easy to conceive, what Astonishment and Consternation this News, so little expected, must cause in a City, where no Precautions had been taken against an Enemy, who

they thought was Nine hundred Miles off. Indeed how could they imagine, that *Maghmud* would hazard an Army of Forty thousand Men in those vast Desarts, where the smallest Caravans cou'd hardly subsist.

Nevertheless, the Danger being so pressing, Troops were rais'd in haste in *Ispahan*, out of those People that were best able to serve. These new Levies were joined with the King's Guards, and some old Troops then in the City, making together an Army of Fifty thousand Men; which was sufficient at least to bear the first Shock of the Enemy, and keep them at a Bay.

When they were told that the Rebels were within a Day or two's Journey of *Ispahan*, it was debated in the King's Council, whether to stay for the Enemy where they were, or go forth and meet them. The wisest Men were of Opinion, that the City should be cover'd by a Camp well fortify'd, from whence frequent Sallies might be made to inure the Soldiers to Action, without coming to a general Battel: That in the mean time all Passages should be seiz'd to cut off the Enemies Provisions; and it was proper to temporize, to draw the War out into Length, and give the Veteran Troops in the Provinces Time to come to the Assistance of the Capital. Others, on the contrary, whose Temper was more impetuous and violent, and who, according to the Manner of the *Persians*, consider'd

sider'd a Point of Honour more than the Safety or Ruin of the Kingdom, thought it a Disgrace to them to temporize with *Barbarians*, who by the Rashness of their Enterprize shew'd plainly enough, that they thought the carrying on a War like the Inroads and Robberies which they were wont to make on their Neighbours. They represented, that twou'd be an easy Matter to destroy an Army of Scoundrels, more us'd to plundering than fighting; and besides, harra's'd with Fatigue, and that they should not be permitted to take Breath. They added, that Advantage ought to be taken of the Ardor and good Dispositions of the new Levies and Voluntiers, who demanded nothing but Battel; and that that good Disposition and Ardor wou'd soon be pall'd by the Tedioufness of a Camp, if they were inclos'd in it as in a Prison.

This Opinion was supported by the Generals, who, making sure of the Victory, wou'd not let others have the Glory of saving the Capital, and pursuing the War; and was carry'd as the most noble and gallant Advice. Whereas the King's Interest, and the Security of the Kingdom, requir'd Counsels that were more useful and more safe. The Royal Army, pursuant to the Sentiments of their chief Commanders, advanced towards *Giulnabar*, a large Town, four Leagues from *Ispahan*, on the Side the Enemy was approaching it; and without knowing the State of the Rebel

Army, their Strength and Designs, it was resolved to attack them. The Choice of the Day was all the Difficulty. For this, Orders were expected from Court, after consulting with the Astrologers for a lucky Day, which was fix'd on the 8th of *May*. ???

One of the greatest Blunders committed on this Occasion, was the dividing the Command of the Army between two Generals, who did not agree; one of them was called *Machmet-Wali*, the other was the new *Athemat Doulet*. *Wali*, in the Relation that has been before-mention'd, is put for the particular Name of their General, which is an Error; for *Wali* is an Office, like Lieutenant-General with us, who, tho' absolute in his Command, depends on a Superior. Besides these two Generals, there were two other Lords, who commanded each a particular Body; the first was *Mirza Rosthum-Kan*, Brother to the Prince of *Georgia*, who headed a Troop of 400 Georgians of the King's Guards. The second was *Alimerdan-Kan*, one of those Lords that possess'd hereditary Principalities in *Persia*, whom the publick Voice preferr'd to the general Command of the Army, as being an Officer who was thought most worthy of it. He had under him a Battalion of old Soldiers out of his own Principality.

Before the Attack was made, the Manner of it was concerted by the two chief Generals, and these two Lords. It was agreed, that

that while *Rosthum-Kan* and *Alimerdan-Kan* attack'd the Enemy by Wings, each on his Side, *Machmet-Wali*, at the Head of 3000 *Arabs*, should take the Rebels in Rear, and endeavour to surprize their Camp; and that then the other General, taking Advantage of the Confusion which the breaking into their Camp would put them into, should fall upon them in Front, and engage them with the rest of the Army. Nothing could be better ordered; and the Rebels, as will be seen, had been totally routed, if each had done his Duty according as had been concerted. The two Lords, who were to give the Onset, did it with Success, and put the Enemies Wings into Disorder. By this first Shock the Rebels were a little shaken; but they took themselves to be utterly lost, when they heard by the Clutter and Cries in their Camp that it had been forced, and that *Machmet-Wali* was Master of it. Thus they were now between two Enemies, and now was the critical Minute for deciding the Fortune of *Persia*. *Myrr-Maghmud*, Chief of the Rebels, who rode an Elephant, saw better than any body the great Peril they were in, and ordered the swiftest Dromedary to be got ready for his Escape, if a Change did not happen. 'Tis certain, as the *Aghvans* confess'd, that if the other General of the Royal Army had only had Patience to stand in Sight of the Enemy a quarter of an Hour longer, without being

any thing more than a Spectator of the Battel, the Rebels had been utterly discomfited and destroy'd; and as they were in the middle of *Persia*, and 400 Leagues from home, they could never have escaped, and not a Man of them would have returned to *Candahar*. But what will not Jealousy do, even at a Time when common Safety requires the best Agreement? This General, who did not love *Machmet-Wali*, and concluded that the latter having forced the Rebels Camp, and by that means put their Army into Confusion, would have the Honour of this great Victory, had rather all was lost, than that *Machmet-Wali* should acquire so much Glory. And having extended the Front of his Army in the very Instant when 'twas thought he was going to fall on, he turned his Back and fled before the Enemy had struck a Stroke. The King's Guards finding themselves abandon'd by the main Body, follow'd their Example; though their Commander, at the Head of some brave *Georgians* his Countrymen, fought his way through the first Ranks of the *Aghvans*, who at last surrounded him, and being overpower'd with Numbers, after he had two Horses kill'd under him, he was slain in the midst of the Enemy. *Ali-Merdan-Kan* lost one of his Brothers, and got off with a Wound. *Machmet-Wali* seeing the Disorder the Royal Army was in, stay'd no longer to pillage the Rebels Camp which he had forced, but carry'd off

Maghmud's

Maghmud's Treasure, and joined the Royal Army in its Retreat. In the *Mercury* for November 1726, this General is accus'd of being the Occasion of the Loss of the Battel; which is very false. He did not then betray his Master; and if the *Persian* General had done his Duty as well as he did, the *Aghvans* had not now been Masters of *Persia*.

Such was the Success of the Battel of *Giulnabat*, the most considerable that was fought till the taking of *Ispahan*. The King's Army lost but 2000 Men. The *Aghvans* had as many killed, and they did not pursue those that fled, being apprehensive of some Stratagem in so unaccountable a Flight; besides, their Horses were tir'd with their long March, and not fit to engage the fresh Cavalry of the *Persians*, who in the above-mention'd *Mercury* are said to have lost 15000 Men, tho' the Author of my Remarks, who was on the Spot, reduces their Loss to 2000. The Rebels remain'd entire Masters of the Field of Battel, and the Royal Army's Camp, where were 25 Pieces of Canon, that had not yet been once fir'd, and where without reckoning the other Riches, *Maghmud* found the Military Chest, which made more than Amends for his Treasure taken by *Machmet-Wali*.

'Tis the general Opinion of all those that were capable of judging, that if *Myrr-Maghmud* had improv'd his Victory by pursuing

the Royal Army to *Ispahan*, he might have enter'd and master'd it the same Day without a Blow. For tho' the Loss of 2000 Men was no great matter, yet the Rout of the King's Army had struck such Terror into the Citizens, that their Heads were almost turn'd with it. They ran away from their Houses and Shops, which they left open. They abandon'd to the Rebels whatever they had in the World, and straggled up and down with Looks wild enough to frighten all they met, seeking out Holes to hide themselves, and not thinking of shutting the City Gates, and placing Guards there. Afterwards when they did think of it, and forc'd Men to take Post there, they quitted it as fast as they came, and ran away from the City.

But *Myrr-Magbmud*, who knew not the Importance and Extent of the Advantage he had got, had it not in his Head to attack *Ispahan*. He remained quiet in his Camp several Days; and what seems incomprehensible, the very Man who form'd so rash and perilous an Enterprize thro' Desarts horrible and dry, on purpose to insult the Capital of one of the most powerful Kingdoms of *Asia*, and who saw his Temerity crown'd with Success by the Victory he had gain'd, did not improve it, because he was wary and circumspect, and even timorous; but when he had nothing to fear, and there was but one Step for him to mount the Throne, he seem'd to be afraid of his
good

good Fortune ; and while his Name made all *Ispahan* tremble, and every Body thought he was just upon entering the City, he was the only Person who was diffident of his Success, and durst not trust it any farther.

In the mean time, the *Persians*, of whom several were preparing for Flight, detach'd some *Arabs* to reconnoitre his Camp, and see what was doing there. These Spies found all Things in Tranquility, and so little Disposition to go upon any new Attempts, that when they had made Report of it, some Soldiers were sent to bring off the twenty five Pieces of Canon that were taken, which they accomplish'd without Opposition from the Rebels. For, as they hop'd to return soon into their own Country, they did not mind them ; and while the *Persians* were thinking of flying on one side, the *Aghvans* thought of retreating on the other.

This Resolution was the Result of a Council of War held after their Victory ; where it was consider'd, whether they should advance to *Ispahan*, and besiege it ; or return to *Kirman*, and make another Attempt on that City, which last was the Opinion that prevail'd in the Council.

They thought their Honour was concern'd in the Conquest of *Kirman*, which they had been forced to abandon. They flatter'd themselves they should easily effect it at their Return ; for that they imagin'd the *Persians*, discourag'd

courag'd by their late Defeat, durst not take the Field to relieve that City; and also for that having ravag'd and ruin'd all the Country about it, 'twas impossible to supply the Place with Provisions. They therefore promis'd themselves to reduce it infallibly by Famine; and their Intention was to canton their Army about it, and to make it a Place of Safety during the War. On the contrary, it appear'd not practicable to them to lay Siege to such a City as *Ispahan*. They doubted not but the whole Kingdom wou'd be in Motion to succour the Capital; and they were not strong enough to make head against so many Troops as would fall upon it from all the Provinces around it; nor well enough furnish'd with Necessaries to run the risk of having their Provisions and Ammunition cut off on all Sides.

Upon these Considerations it was resolv'd to retreat, and march back towards *Kirman*; and the next eight Days were taken up in preparing for their Departure: all which time the *Aghvans* kept close in their Camp. But to leave no Temptation for the *Persians* to disturb them in their Retreat, 'twas thought proper to give them an Alarm, to intimidate and keep them in Awe. Then with this View, the very Day on which they were to begin their March back, they sent a Detachment of 9000 Men towards *Ispahan*, as if it had been the Van of their Army advancing

cing to besiege it. This Detachment was order'd to insult the City, and terrify it by a false Attack; after which they were to cover the Retreat of the Army, and serve as the Rear-Guard.

The Resolution was accordingly executed. The 17th of *May* the 9000 Men advanced towards *Ispahan*, and the Army was in a Disposition to begin their March in the first Watch of the Night. The Camels were loaden, and the Army on the Point of marching to deliver *Persia* from the greatest Danger it had been in a long time, when *Schah Hussein*, who to be freed from all Inquietude need only to have kept in his Palace a few Hours in his wonted Tranquility, bethought himself of a Step which cost him his Crown; and that was, to send an Offer of a vast Sum of Money, if he would retire.

In the Evening of the 17th of *May*, a Day more fatal to *Persia* than the 8th, on which she lost the Battel of *Giulnabar*, at the Instant when the Rebels were about beginning their March back, there came to their Camp an Express from *Machmet-Wali*, the Generalissimo of the Forces of all the Kingdom. This Messenger had Orders to represent to *Maghmud*, in his Lord's Name, that he should not give way to those flattering Hopes, which his first Success might have inspir'd him with; since Fortune chang'd daily, and frequently did not open fair Paths, but to lead to Precipices; that

that there was Danger, and consequently Temerity in pushing too far ; and on the contrary, 'twas Wisdom to know how to be moderate in Prosperity, and to secure the present, rather than be carry'd away with Views more distant : That if he was capable of giving into such Sentiments of Moderation, and hearkening to friendly Counsels, he had it in his Power to return to *Candahar* with more considerable Advantages than he cou'd ever have propos'd to himself from the Fruit of the most happy Expedition : That he had brought the King to yield to such a Condition of Peace in his Favour, as he would have thought himself happy to have obtained after several Years continual Success. Which Conditions were as the King had order'd him to propose : That his Majesty should for himself, and all the Kings of *Persia* his Successors, renounce all Right to the Sovereignty of *Candahar*, and the Country its Dependences : That he should acknowledge himself to be Prince and absolute Master without depending on *Persia* ; and as he had Occasion for Money to pay his Troops, a considerable Sum, to be agreed upon, should be paid down at his Departure.

These Propositions, which the *Aghvans* did in no wise expect, agreeably surpris'd them, by shewing them all the Advantages of a Victory, of which till then they knew not the Importance. These Men who were just getting
a Horse

a Horseback to return, and so far from thinking to oblige the *Persians*, that they thought only of securing their own Retreat, and wou'd have been very well satisfy'd to have stipulated that they might not be disturbed in it, changed their Minds, as soon as they found that their Removal, which had been resolved on by themselves, would be so dearly bought. They imagin'd the Affair deserv'd further Consideration, and put off their Departure. A Council of War was held to examine the Matter, and to come to a Resolution on the Propositions which had been made them.

The Council was much divided in Opinion about it, and the Difference of Judgments occasion'd the putting it off; when one among them started a Medium, between those who were for accepting the Offers of the Court, and those who were for rejecting them. His Name was *Myangi*, and they all came into his Opinion, on which they had long set a Value. He was an *Indian*, had had the Care of *Maghmud's* Education, was very much esteem'd, and not a little govern'd by him. The Credit he was in with this Chief of the Rebels, acquir'd him as much with the Nation, and gave him great Authority in Council, tho' he was a Foreigner. He represented, that if the Word and Faith of the *Persians* could be depended on, they need not hesitate about accepting such advantageous Offers: That they made War only to obtain, after
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abundance of Fatigues, what was offer'd them, to be freed not only from the Servitude of the *Persians*, but from all manner of Dependance upon them, and to be restored to the full Enjoyment of all those Rights and Privileges which their Ancestors enjoyed before them. But considering what little Trust there was to be put in a Nation so treacherous as that of *Persia*, the Extent, the Strength, the Riches of that vast Monarchy ; if they shou'd treat with them, he demanded, Who would be Guarantee of the Treaty ? To whom should they apply, to force the Court of *Persia* religiously to observe such Treaty, which she made only to rid herself of a present Embarrassment, and gain Time ? Who wou'd protect them against her Power, when being rais'd out of the Dejection into which she was now fallen, she came down thundering upon them with all her Forces ? However, he did not thence conclude that these Propositions should be rejected absolutely, but that as they could not depend on the Sincerity of the *Persians*, the Guaranty should be contained in the Treaty itself, by inserting a new Condition, which would secure the rest ; which was, That the King of *Persia* should give his Daughter in Marriage to *Myrr-Maghmud*, together with the Province of the *Aghvans* of *Hasaray* ; that all the Nations of the *Aghvans*, as well those of the Sect of *Omar*, as those of the Sect of *Hali*, that were

Hasa-

Hasarayans, may be reunited under the Dominion of one Sovereign; which wou'd enable them the better to make head against the *Persians*, if the latter should attempt to molest them. That besides this, the King of *Persia* would not easily be brought to make War against his Son-in-law; and this Marriage would be a specious Pretext to give a Colour to the Alienation of a Province, the Sovereignty of which he could not entirely assign over to another, if he had no such sufficient Pretext to dismember it from the Monarchy, as the Settlement of his Daughter gave him.

Myangi's Counsel was receiv'd with Applause; and upon this an Answer was drawn up to *Machmet-Wali's* Propositions, and the Express that came from him carry'd it to his Master.

This Answer contained Pretensions which the Court of *Persia* did not expect; and caus'd Suspicions that the General had put the *Aghvans* upon making those Demands, from these Considerations.

Machmet-Wali was Prince of *Hacvuza*, a Part of *Arabia*, dependent upon *Persia*. His Territories, which are considerable, border on the *Aghvans* of *Hasaray*, and himself was of the same Sect with the *Aghvans* of *Candabar*; that is, of the Sect of *Omar*, the same with the *Turks*. His Father, thirty Years before, endeavour'd to throw off the Yoke, and

and make himself independent of *Persia*; and he was with some grounds suspected to be desirous of accomplishing what his Father cou'd not; which rais'd a Jealousy that he was secretly in the Interests of the *Aghvans*, to engage them to assist him in the Rebellion he was projecting; and as they were very powerful, their Assistance wou'd be a great Support to him, which might put him upon advising *Maghmud*, under hand, to demand the King's Daughter in Marriage, with the Cession of a Province bordering upon his own. There was further this Appearance of Treachery, that it was he who taking Advantage of the Fright the Citizens of *Ispahan* were in on the Approach of the 9000 Rebels, had prevail'd with the King to make Proposals to *Maghmud*; who upon that had made a Stop, and sent him several Propositions, which the King might not have heard of, if *Machmet-Wali* had not insinuated what Demands he should ask; not but that he behav'd like a gallant Man in the Battel of *Giulnabar*, as has been seen. However, his Chagrin to have the Victory snatch'd out of his Hands by the Jealousy of the *Persian* General, who so basely and so unseasonably left him; and his imagining that the Affairs of the *Persian* Court were not easy to be retriev'd, might dispose him to think of making his Advantage of the Conjunction and Successes of the *Aghvans*, to deliver himself from a Yoke which all Princes bear with Regret.

Whether

Whether the new Propositions came originally from the *Aghvans*, or not, 'tis certain the Court of *Persia* did not like them; and that which seems very odd in it is that of the two Propositions, the one of *Maghmud's* Marriage with the King's Daughter, the other of the Cession of the Province of *Hazaray*, the King easily consented to that which he ought to have made most Difficulty about with regard to Interest of State; and would not hear of consenting to that which he should most readily have comply'd with. As *Myrr-Maghmud* was already Master of a Part of the Province of *Hazaray*, which he had conquer'd; so *Schah Hussein* thought he gave him nothing in giving him the other Part; but he would by no means agree that his Daughter should be marry'd to a Rebel, who was not of the Blood Royal. His Delicacy here was very *mal à propos*; as if *Myrr-Maghmud*, who was no more to be look'd upon as a Rebel, but about to be acknowledg'd a Sovereign and independent Prince, was not otherwise as well descended as the *Moulaks* or Priests, to whom *Schah Abbas II.* Grandfather to *Schah Hussein*, and *Schah Soleiman* his own Father, had with full Approbation marry'd the one his Sister, and the other his Aunt, as we read in *Sir John Chardin's Travels*, which I have often cited. 'Tis true, *Schah Abbas II.* marry'd his Sister to a Priest, in Punishment for an

Intrigue she had engaged in ; but when his Son *Schah Soleiman* marry'd another Sister of *Schah Abbas* to a Brother of the same *Moulah* or Priest, he did not do it for a Punishment ; and the Princess accepted of the Marriage without any Resistance, as may be seen in *Soleiman's* Coronation, *p.* 245. and tho' *Soleiman* afterwards advanced those two *Moulahs* or Priests to the Dignity of *Sedre*, that is, Archbishop or Primate, to make the Husbands of those two Princesses more illustrious ; 'tis most certain they were no more than plain Priests when they marry'd them. *Schah Hussein* therefore rejected the Marriage Article which related to his Daughter ; but to soften it a little, he offer'd the Rebels a Sum of Money in lieu of it.

The Facility with which the King consented to the most important of their Propositions increas'd their Pride and Insolence, and they insisted on the other Article the more for it. They also stood, in their turn, on the Punctilio of Honour every whit as *mal à propos* as the King had done. For tho' Fortune had given a good Turn to the Measures they took on this Occasion, yet one can't help observing, taking things according to the Situation they were in, and the Uncertainty of Events, that nothing could be more impolitic. All the Country they demanded was yielded to them in Sovereignty, with immense Sums of Money ; and they might have gone home full of Glory and Riches : whereas in
boggling

boggling about the Marriage Article, wherein *Maghmud* was particularly concern'd, they expos'd themselves not only to the Loss of all the Advantages they had obtained, but even to Destruction. It is true, that the Refusal of a Marriage which they propos'd as a Cement of the future Peace, render'd the Treaty the more precarious ; but that was not their Consideration, they considered it only as their Honour was engaged in it. They thought themselves despis'd by Men, who did not think them worthy of their Alliance ; and the whole Nation took fire upon that : Insomuch that an Accommodation, wherein the most essential Interests were provided for, was broken off by a false Notion of Honour, on which both Sides most imprudently piqu'd themselves. The *Agh-vans* would hearken to no Propositions, and renouncing all the Advantages which had been offer'd them, they resolv'd to continue the War till they had forced the *Persians* to grant them such a Security for their Liberty and Independence as they should require ; or that a superior Force obliged them to retire.

The Court of *Persia* finding the Rebels were resolv'd to continue the War, set about Preparations for the Defense of *Ispahan* ; and the first Step they took towards it was one of the greatest Faults they could have made, and that which contributed most to the Loss of the Capital of the Kingdom.

In the Beginning of this History, Mention is made of a magnificent Country Palace, named *Farabat*, which *Schah Hussein* had built at incredible Expence. This is the same House which *Gemelli* calls *Saratabat* in his Travels to *Persia*, *Lib. 1. Chap. x.* but as to that and other things, one has more Reason to confide in a Man who liv'd 20 Years at *Ispahan*, than in a Traveller who view'd things as it were *en passant*. This Palace stood a little League from the City, was encompass'd with very high and strong Walls, and well mounted with Cannon. 'Tis certain, if a good Garison had been thrown into it furnish'd with Provisions, it might have been a Bulwark to *Ispahan*, and have given the Enemy much Trouble. But not contented with giving them a Pretext to continue the War by boggling at an Article of their Propositions, they seem'd to give them the Means of carrying it on at their Ease, and with all Commodiousness. The first Resolution they took when they understood the *Aghvans* were drawing near *Ispahan*, was to abandon that House; and they did it so precipitately, that they did not give themselves time to draw off the Cannon to *Ispahan*. So they bury'd it.

The *Aghvans* lost no time in making their Advantage of this Fault. Some Squadrons which they sent out for Intelligence, no sooner learnt that *Farabat* was abandon'd than they hasten'd thither, and seiz'd the

the Place the 19th of *March* without the least Resistance from the *Persians*. They were immediately followed by the rest of the Army, who finding it to be a commodious Place for settling a Camp with Security, did there make a Settlement.

The Fault the *Persians* committed in leaving *Farabat* to the Rebels, was not only a great Damage to the *Persians* of itself, but in its immediate Consequence the Loss of *Zulfa*, a Town in its Neighbourhood. Before I enter into the Detail of these Transactions, I think myself obliged to give some Account of a Place, the taking of which was of so great Importance for the Siege of *Ispahan*, and contributed so much to the Conquest of that Capital.

Zulfa is a large Town, big enough to be call'd a City, inhabited by a Colony of *Armenians*. 'Tis pretty near *Ispahan*; and the *Armenians* came so far off to settle there on this Occasion :

About 150 Years ago, *Armenia Major* was subject to the *Turks*; but not being able to bear the *Ottoman* Tyranny, it threw off the Yoke. *Schah Abas* the Great, who then reigned in *Persia*, and was a Prince of an enterprizing Genius, watched all Opportunities to aggrandize himself, and did not lose this. He gain'd the Love of that Nation by sending them great Succours of Men, Arms, and Money to maintain their Revolt. When he had

thus disposed them in his Favour, he insinuated that a Juncture might happen when *Persia* would not be able to aid them, as much as she was willing to do, and that his Successors might not be so well inclin'd towards them; that they were not strong enough to stand by themselves, and if abandon'd would be in Danger of falling back to *Turkish* Servitude; that being situated as they were between two potent Empires, they could not support themselves, but by having a Prop in the one or the other: So that they had only to think which would be most eligible, whether to make their Peace with the *Ottomans* as well as they cou'd, if they believed they were to be trusted, or to yield themselves up to *Persia*, whose Government they knew to be infinitely more mild than the *Turks*, and with whom they might stipulate what they thought would be most advantageous for them.

While these things were talk'd of by the Emissaries of *Schah Abbas*, that Monarch shew'd a great Esteem for the *Armenian* Nation, and even for their Religion. He was a very politick Prince, and would sometimes let the *Armenians*, who came to Court, see a little Cross he wore under his Robes, giving them privately to understand he was a Christian in his Heart, but durst not yet declare himself publicly for fear of a Defection in the Army; but if they once united to his Dominions, he should think himself strong enough to open his Mind freely.

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These Discourses touch'd closely. The *Armenians*, an easy, simple People, believ'd every Word he said, and yielded themselves up to him; but when he was once Master of the Country, he thought of nothing but how he might make sure of it; and to prevent any Molestations from the *Turks* on that Side, he resolv'd to dispeople that Province, and make a Desert of it, to serve as a Barrier between him and the Grand Signior.

To execute this Project, he drew the *Armenians* out of their Country, and dispers'd them up and down in *Persia*. Those of them that came from *Zulfa*, a City of *Armenia*, were canton'd near the City of *Ispahan* on the other Side of the River *Senderou*, where they fix'd their Habitations, and in Remembrance of their native City gave the Place the Name of *Zulfa*. 'Twas a small Town at first; but other *Armenians* removing thither afterwards from several Parts of *Persia*, it became considerable, not only for Number of Inhabitants, but for its Commerce. *Schah Abbas* was one of those Princes that are born to make a Kingdom flourish, and one of those Genius's that extends their Cares to every thing. Wherefore finding the *Armenians* were a laborious People, capable of Application and Fatigue, and very thrifty, he thought they would be very proper for Commerce: But they being so impoverish'd by War that they could not set up any Trade, he lent them

great Sums of Money out of his Treasury without Interest. His Ministers, narrow-soul'd Men, represented to him, that if he had a mind to advance so much Money, it was better his Subjects had the Benefit of it than Strangers, or at least he should have Interest for it. But *Schah Abas*, a Prince superior to his Ministers as much in Judgment as in Dignity, shew'd them that it was more advisable to reserve the *Persians* for the Wars, and not let them degenerate by trading, for which they were in no wise proper; that they lov'd Expence, and after they had squander'd what he should give them, they would go and settle somewhere else, and leave his Capital without Defence, as had happen'd to him before, according to *Tavernier*, Lib. I. c. 4. On the contrary, the *Armenians* were thrifty Men, good Managers, and being in the middle of his Kingdom, he had rather they should be Traders than Soldiers. With respect to Interest, he convinced them that he should receive more than they imagin'd; that if he put the Money, which lay dead in his Coffers, to Brokers at Interest, 'twou'd at most but bring him in 15 *per Cent.* whereas the Trade, which he was about to enable the *Armenians* to set up, wou'd produce *Cent. per Cent.*

'Twas with this View that he excepted them from Service in the Wars, but permitted to take Arms for their own Defence, when the *Persians* fail'd in giving them necessary Assistance.

sistance. There are other People in *Persia* on the same Foot ; that is, they pay certain Tributes, and are exempted from Military Services. These are term'd *Raja*. As for the rest, who pay no Tribute, such as the *Georgians*, they are obliged to mount a Horseback, and serve as often as the King requires them.

Schah Abas not only exempted them from serving in the Wars ; but, that nothing might interrupt them in their Traffick, he tolerated their Religion, which was freely exercised at *Zulfa*, where are Abundance of Churches, as publickly as in any of the Christian Princes Dominions in *Europe*. Further, to protect them against the Tyranny of his own Officers, and that they might have a Person at Court to support their Interests, he appointed one among them, who under the Name of *Kielenter*, was Chief of the Nation. *Tavernier* calls him *Kelonter*, and *Gamelli Kalenter*. This Officer was as the King's Lieutenant at *Zulfa*, and had all the Authority. To gain him the greater Respect, the King allow'd him to have *Szatyr*s, a sort of Sergeants on Horseback ; whereas others rode only Asses and Mules. He also assign'd him the last Place among the *Grande*es of the Court when the King feasted them. In fine, he granted them all the Privileges which might contribute to their Security, and keep the *Persians* from molesting them. True it is, he

he tax'd them more heavily than when they were subject to the *Ottomans* ; but then they were better able to pay by the Means which *Schah Abbas* had given them to enrich themselves. There were among them, even under the later Kings, who were worth from 100000 to two Millions of Crowns ; and there was one of them, who after he had laid out immense Sums on building Churches, &c. left at his Death above two Millions in Specie, without reckoning Jewels and other considerable Effects.

Thus was *Zulfa* an *Armenian* City ; and so properly *Armenian*, that a Mussulman was not suffered to live in it. Tho' generally 'twas called a Town only, it may very well have the Name of a City, on Account of its Bigness : And *Tavernier* himself, who makes it half a League broad, says, it might pass for a pretty large City. *Gemelli*, who does not speak of its Largeness, says, 'tis three Miles long, which according to his usual Computation, make a League ; and nine Miles about, because of the great Gardens it encloses. It is two Miles and a Half from *Ispahan*, according to him ; *Tavernier* reduces the Distance to half an Hour's journey for a Man on Foot. Both agree, that the Houses are generally better built at *Zulfa* than at *Ispahan* ; of which *Zulfa* is to the South, separated from it by the River *Senderou* ; from whence there is a long row of Trees that reaches to *Ispahan*, and at the End of it a
fine

fine Bridge over that River which leads to *Zulfa*. Besides this Bridge there are three others ; one above that of *Zulfa*, and the two others below it. 'Tis difficult to say exactly how far the River *Senderou* is distant from each of those two Cities. *Gemelli* does not speak of it, and *Tavernier* contradicts himself ; for having said at first, that the *Senderou* runs between *Ispahan* and *Zulfa*, at an equal Distance ; he observes some Pages after, that *Zulfa* is not above three Musket shot from the Bridge which leads to it. This gives one Reason to think that the latter is much nearer the River than *Ispahan* ; and for the Distance of the two Cities, it may be fixed by what the Author of my Memoirs says of *Farabat*, which is farther from *Ispahan* than *Zulfa*, which by his way of reckoning is fifteen hundred Paces, or half a League distant. These Particularities seem'd to me not improper, they relating to a City which was the Camp of the *Aghvans* all the while they laid siege to *Ispahan*, and in my Opinion one cannot give the Reader too much in the Description of Places which are distinguished by great Events.

Zulfa being more commodious than *Farabat* for attacking *Ispahan*, the *Aghvans* made themselves Masters of it the next Day after they seized *Farabat* : The *Persians* accuse the *Armenians* of Treachery, in delivering their City to the Rebels ; and the Author of
my

my Memoirs apologizes for them. I shall only relate the Fact as to the taking of it; let the Reader judge of the Manner of its being taken, and to whom to impute it.

As soon as the *Aghvans* became formidable to the *Persians*, the latter began to suspect the *Armenians*, for no other reason than that they presumed those whom they had ill used, wou'd not be sorry to change Masters. It must be confest, that since the Reign of the great *Schah Abas* great Infringements had been made on their Privileges by his Successors, yet none of them did it so enormously as *Schah Hussein* had done. I shall not here enter into the Detail of their Grievances; 'tis certain neither their Lives nor their Estates were in Safety. Under the former Kings Justice was done them according to *Lex Talionis*; but since *Scab Hussein* came to the Crown, the *Moulabs* pretended it was a shameful Thing that a Mussulman's Head shou'd pay for an Infidel's, that is, in their Phrase, a Christian's. And on this Principle they got it to be established, not by Law but Custom, in all the Provinces, that every Mussulman who kill'd an *Armenian* should only be condemned to pay the Defuncts Family, for their nourishment as much Corn as an Ass can carry. A new and fine Law this! Some Years before the taking of *Ispahan*, a *Mahometan* Thief broke open a House at *Zulfa*, and having pillag'd it, kill'd the Mistress of the House, with her six Children. The Neighbours

bours running at the Cries of the Mother and her Children, who were murdered, and seizing the Thief, hurry'd him away with a great Noise before the King's own Tribunal, loudly demanding Justice, and insisting upon delivering the Murderer, that Vengeance might be taken on him according to the Custom in *Persia*. The Peoples Minds being much heated, Judgment was put off till next Day ; when *Schah Hussein*, by Advice of the *Moulahs*, who dictated the Sentence to him, condemned the Criminal to have only his Little Finger cut off in the Market-place of *Zulfa*, for a Murder committed upon seven Persons ; on the contrary, it would have cost an *Armenian* his Life, if he had but wounded a Mussulman, who was breaking open his House.

I shall only add one Instance more, which, tho' not so odious, will however give one an Idea of the Insolence of the *Persians* with respect to the *Armenians* ; of whom a very considerable Merchant, named *Stephen Kardelans*, having built a very high Wall, for the Security of his House and Gardens, some *Persian* Lords took it so ill, that they agreed together to break down the Wall, and enter his House : Accordingly they came to *Zulfa*, attended with a good number of Men a Horseback, having Flambeaus and Musick ; they demolished part of the Wall, and got into the *Armenians* House. 'Tis true, they stole nothing ; but they drank there all Night long ;
and

and tho' they took some Presents he gave them, they broke his Arm when they went away, to let him know, as they said, he must not think to defend himself by Walls from being beaten by them when they had a Mind to insult him.

The *Armenians* might so highly resent the Vexations and Tyranny of the *Persians*, as to render themselves suspected by the latter, who had reason to apprehend that they would join the *Aghvans* as soon as they made their Appearance ; and to deprive them of all Means of doing hurt, the *Persians* disarm'd the *Armenians*, making use of this Pretext for it.

It being dangerous to do it with a high Hand so near the Rebels Army, it was therefore proclaim'd at *Zulfa*, that the *Armenians* should appear at *Ispahan* with their Arms in as great a Body as they could ; for that the King's Guards being order'd to march against the Rebels, his Majesty would do them the Honour to place them near his Person. Pursuant to this Proclamation a numerous Body of them came to *Ispahan*, where they were drawn up in Ranks, as if to be muster'd, and immediately the Command was given, that they should lay down their Arms, and return to *Zulfa*, with Menaces, that severe Fines should be laid on all those that were found to have Arms in their Keeping.

The *Armenians* of *Zulfa* are Traders, and have

have nothing in their Heads but Trade. They are far from being brave, as may be seen by one Example, which would have been hardly credible, if the Author of my Memoirs had not been an Eye-witness of it; He tells us, that travelling in the Year 1718, in Company with 200 *Armenians* arm'd, they were stopp'd by Robbers, not above eight in all, who demanded their Money; some *Armenians* of *Kanpalu* were of Opinion, that they ought to bind them Hand and Foot, and deliver them to the Governor of the next City; but the *Armenians* of *Zulfa*, who were the Majority, wou'd hazard nothing, and chose rather to come to a Composition with the Robbers at three Piaſtres a Horſe, which two hundred Men paid to thoſe eight Thieves.

But had the *Armenians* been ever ſo brave, what Reſiſtance could they make againſt the *Aghvans*, when their Arms were taken from them? All they could do, when they ſaw them coming to *Zulfa*, was to give the Court notice of it, and deſire Succour. They even offer'd to maintain the Troops themſelves; but their Offers and Deſires were to no purpoſe. In the mean time the Army of the Rebels approaching nearer and nearer, they ſent Advice of it to the *Persian* General, who promiſed them Aſſiſtance; but failing them in it, they were obliged to make the beſt Defence they could; and for two Hours together they ſuſtain'd a very vigorous At-

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* The author does not recollect the
 real reason for the
 taking such a course
 but it was probably
 the best possible

task in the Night-time. They thought of a Stratagem on this Occasion, and made the Enemy believe they had a strong Garrison of *Persian* Troops, calling one another, during the time of the Combat, by *Persian* Names. They waited only for the promis'd Succours to sally on the Rebels ; but no Assistance coming, they were forc'd to stand on the Defensive, and even to abandon a little Intrenchment thrown up in haste, which the Enemy seized.

Tho' the Assault was over in two Hours, the Rebels attempted to surprize the City in the Night ; and a Gaur, who was with them, having found Means to make a Hole in the Wall, big enough for his Purpose, an Elephant was brought up to it, and by Means of that Hole he threw down a good Part of the Wall.

Nazir-Ulla, one of the principal Officers of the *Aghvans*, commanded that Attack, and made himself Master of the Breach. However, he would run no farther risk in the Night-time ; and, contenting himself with placing a good Guard there, he ordered his Troops to be ready against the next Day.

The Inhabitants of *Zulfa* saw then there was no hesitating about the Matter, nor any Course to take safer than to submit to the Enemy ; to which End they dispatched the principal Citizens to the Camp of the Rebels, to make the best Terms they cou'd. Indeed they

they had staid too long to procure very good ones ; they were at the last Extremity ; and the *Aghvans* Masters of a Breach, which gave them Entrance into the City ; so that they would grant them no better Terms than to surrender at Discretion, and to buy off their Lives and Goods for Threescore and ten thousand Tomans, about 400000 Pounds of our Money. To which was added, that they should deliver up fifty young Girls of the best Families of the *Armenians*.

These Conditions, the last especially, were very hard ; but they must submit to them, or be plunder'd ; and the Delivery of the Girls being what could be soonest done, that Article was first comply'd with. 'Twas a most moving Sight, to see those poor Creatures snatch'd out of their Mothers Arms, and to hear the Shrieks both of Mothers and Daughters. All the Women of *Zulfa* fill'd the City with Groans and Lamentations. Amidst their Cries and Screeches the fifty young Girls were taken away, as the Lot fell, and carried to *Farabat*, the Enemies Camp. Their Cloaths, Gowns, Head-dresses, Diamonds and Pearls, were all deliver'd up with them, as had been particularly stipulated. Some of them were so affected, to see themselves in the Hands of *Barbarians*, that they died for Grief upon their coming to *Farabat*. Even the *Aghvans* cou'd not help being mov'd at this Accident ; and

Pity finding Place in their Hearts, they treated them with more Humanity than one cou'd naturally expect from Men of their Character; for fearing others might also die in the Extremity of Grief, they sent those back that seem'd in such Danger; and after they were Masters of *Ispahan* they restored the Rest to their Parents, there being much more beautiful Women for them in the Capital.

As to the Article concerning the Money, the *Armenians* very unseasonably rais'd Difficulties, and paid dearly for their Avarice; the *Aghvans*, as rustick as they were, being too cunning for them. The former pretending that their chief Effects were in *Ispahan*, to avoid raising the Sum demanded; the *Aghvans* took them at their Words, and oblig'd the chief Citizens to give Bond for Payment of the seventy thousand Tomans, either when the Capital was taken, or Peace was concluded, if the War should end in a Treaty.

The *Armenians* thought they had made a rare Bargain, as thinking there would never be a Treaty, nor *Ispahan* ever be taken; and if the *Aghvans* should be defeated by the Succours that were coming from all Parts of the Kingdom, they would have other things to think of besides forcing them to clear those Bonds, which then would not do them much Service. The Argument was plausible; but the *Aghvans* argu'd otherwise; and from the Un-

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certainty of their Success, did not so entirely depend on the Bonds the *Armenians* had given them, as not to take Measures to prevent their being totally frustrated of the Effect.

They therefore let the *Armenians* understand they did not believe there was Cash enough in *Zulfa* to pay the Sum stipulated; but having Occasion of Money, they would content themselves with what was then in the City, and wait for the Rest till the Time of Payment should elapse. To this End, the Houses must be all search'd; which should be done very orderly, and a just Account shou'd be given of whatever was found, and Restitution made, after the Sum they were bound for was deducted. Such a Speech from those in whose Power they were, convinc'd the *Armenians* they were out in their Reckoning, and had done better if they had paid the Money down, and not have expos'd their Houses to be pillag'd instead of being search'd; the pretended Searching being indeed a Pillage; which, excepting that there was no Murder committed, was accompanied with all sorts of Violences and Cruelties, usual in the Sack of Cities. The Rebels at first carried away all the Gold, Silver, Jewels and rich Moveables, they could lay their Hands on, after having narrowly look'd into every Corner of the Houses. When nothing more was to be found, they put the Owners to the

Torture, to compel them to discover their hidden Treasure. They haul'd them out of their Houses, and bastinado'd them on the Soals of their Feet till they cou'd hold out no longer, and in the Excess of Pains discovered what they had conceal'd themselves, and what they knew was conceal'd by their Neighbours. There was one Citizen only, *Dominique Jaques Kardelans*, an ancient Man, of one of the best Families of *Zulfa*, who, tho' tormented more than any *Armenian*, having received above 4000 Strokes, and lost the use of his Tongue for some time, could not be compell'd to discover any Person. He cry'd out, while he was under the Torture, *They might take all that was in his House, but he knew not what belong'd to others.*

'Twas very difficult to save any Thing from such rapacious *Barbarians*, who had made the most strict Search every where. And it is generally thought, that what the *Aghvans* got by Plunder, far exceeded the Sum they demanded by Stipulation. They found in the Houses of the *Kardelans*, Brothers, 60000 Pounds in Specie; and about 40000 Pounds in the House of *Arat Cheriman*, one of the richest Merchants in *Zulfa*. The happiest now was he who had least. The *Aghvans* using Violence only to draw Money out of them, the Poor came off well enough. The Rebels sold what they had plunder'd from the Rich to them at the meanest

meanest Prices; almost for nothing. Thus the present Revolution in *Zulfa*, made Beggars of the Rich, and rich Men of the Beggars. The Behaviour of the *Aghvans* shew'd, that they rather thought of making their Market, to be gone, than to lay Siege to *Isfahan*; which they would never have attempted, had they not had Encouragement by Persons even in the Court of *Schah Hussein*, who was basely betray'd.

Though the Court's abandoning the City of *Zulfa*, notwithstanding the repeated Instances that were made for Assistance; and the cruel Treatment the Citizens had met with from the Rebels, was enough to vindicate their Fidelity; yet they were look'd upon as Traytors, who held Intelligence with the Rebels, and had deliver'd their City to them; and 'tis incredible how the *Persians* were enrag'd against them for this pretended Infidelity.

Nothing however was more unjust than this Reproach, which the Court dwelt much upon, to lay on the *Armenians* the blame of an Event, which indeed cou'd not reasonably be laid to any one's Charge but their own. Their Conduct, with respect to *Zulfa*, was such, as every one must think was with a Design to let the Rebels possess themselves of that City. The Court had not only taken the Citizens Arms away, and sent them no Assistance; but also had hinder'd *Mirza Sefi*,

the King's eldest Son, from assisting them, as he was preparing to do ; for when, disarm'd as they were, they defended themselves against the *Aghvans*, that Prince, who at the Head of a great Body of Cavalry, was marching towards *Zulfa*, to support them, the *Persian-General* laid hold on the Bridle of his Horse, saying, the King would not suffer him to expose himself, for fear any ill Accident shou'd happen to him, which would discourage the Army. It has always been thought, that the false Politicks of the Court sacrific'd *Zulfa* and the *Armenians* to the Safety of the Capital ; in an Opinion, that when the *Aghvans* had loaded themselves with Riches, they wou'd march off with the Booty they had got. These Political Refinements are like Chymical Remedies ; one runs great Risk in making use of them. The Mischief of such Faults in Policy is, that a real and certain Good happens to the Enemy, while the Fruit expected from it is always uncertain and often chimerical. If the Court had been sure that the *Aghvans* would have returned home after they had plunder'd *Zulfa*, their giving up that City would have been excusable ; but nothing having been stipulated as to that, they might well have been afraid without Imputation of treachery, that the taking of *Zulfa* would make it so easy for the Rebels to streighten *Ispahan*, and form the Siege, as must needs be a Motive for them to undertake it. It is true, 'twas the Advice
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and Exhortation of those that afterwards betray'd the King, which determin'd the *Aghvans* to push their Point, and besiege the Capital: But it's no less true, that instead of hearkning to such Advice, they would have taken it to have been a Snare laid in their Way, had they not been in Possession of *Zulfa* and *Farabat*. The Court of *Persia* were thus guilty of two great Faults: The first, in abandoning *Farabat*, by which the Rebels got one Foot into *Zulfa*. The second, in not defending *Zulfa* to the last Extremity; because they might by fortifying themselves there, have kept a Communication open by the Bridge of *Zulfa*, and have had plentiful Supplies brought to *Ispahan*. Thus had the Capital of *Persia* been kept out of the Hands of the *Barbarians*, who could not have reduced it but by Famine.

'Twas the 19th of *March*, as has been observ'd, when the *Aghvans* enter'd *Farabat*; and they possess'd themselves of *Zulfa* the next Day. As they at that Juncture thought much more of returning, than of besieging *Ispahan*, they were for losing no Time; and because the Day following the 21st of *March* was the first Day of the Year in *Persia*, where it begins at the vernal Equinox, they resolv'd on that Day to give a New-Year's Gift to *Ispahan*, by a kind of general Assault; which was rather a Bravado than a real Attack. The River *Senderou* cutting off all Communication betwixt the City of *Ispahan* a

Mile off, and the *Aghvan* Army on the other side of it; and besides, the Bridge being well guarded, and the *Senderou* overflowing the same Day, the Assailants could not come near the City. Thus the pretended Assault ended in the Exchange of some Pistol-shot, and the firing some Cannon across the River. The Artillery was all out of Order, and could do no great Damage; and the Shourings on both sides decided nothing. There were some Blows given, and Blood spilt on this Occasion, near the Bridge of *Abusabat*, guarded by the *Persians*; for the *Aghvans* making as if they gave ground, to draw the *Persians* away from the Bridge, in pursuit of them; the latter, tho' veteran Troops, quitted their Post to charge them; and the *Aghvans* facing about, there was an Engagement, in which there were about 200 *Persians* slain, who sold their Lives dearly, having kill'd at least as many of the Rebels. As to the general Assault, if it deserves to be so call'd, it lasted six Hours, and serv'd as a Shew to the Inhabitants of the City that was to be assaulted; who got upon their Houses, which are flat a-top in *Persia*, and look'd very quietly and safely on the Combatants fighting with a River between them. The Manner with which the Rebels began the Attack, made the Citizens of *Ispahan* recover themselves a little out from Terror with which they were struck at the Loss of the Battel of *Giulnabat*.

nabat. They were ashamed of being alarm'd at the Approach of Men, who appear'd so little terrible in Action : By this means, what the *Aghvans* design'd to terrify the People of *Ispahan*, only serv'd on the contrary to animate them.

Myrr-Maghmud had too good Intelligence in that Capital, not to be informed of the Miscarriage of his Attempt, which had been somewhat too hasty. He knew they made a Jest of his general Assault ; and that he had lost more Reputation by that Action than he had acquired by his Victory at *Giulnabat*. He was heartily vex'd ; and being resolved to have his Revenge as soon as possible, he scarce gave his Troops a Day's Rest, tho' in truth he scarce they were more tired with hollowing than fighting. The 23d of *March*, which was *Monday* in *Passion-Week* that Year, was pitch'd upon for a new general Assault, in which *Maghmud* pretended to retrieve his Reputation. But to enable the Reader to judge better of this second Action, the most considerable during the Siege of *Ispahan*, I must here briefly describe the Situation of the Place where it happen'd.

The River *Senderou* runs South of *Ispahan*, about a Mile from that City. It passes from the West to the East ; and in the Space of a League has four Bridges over it, at an equal Distance of a Mile, leading to the City.

That

That Bridge which is most to the West, and above the rest by the Course of the River, is a very plain one, but very commodious for the *Armenians* of *Zulfa*, who Trade to or from the West ; because, if it was not for that Bridge, they must take a great Compass about, and cross the whole City of *Ispahan*, to gain the great and long Alley of *Tcharbag*, which reaches from that Capital to the Bridge of *Zulfa*.

This Bridge is the second in Order, towards the East ; and leads to *Zulfa*, whence it takes its Name. 'Tis one of the finest Pieces of Workmanship that is of its Kind, according to *Tavernier's* Description of it, to which I refer ; taking notice here only of as much as relates to my Subject. 'Tis 350 Feet long, and from 20 to 60 Feet broad. There's on each side of it a Gallery of 25 or 30 Feet high, and 8 or 9 Feet wide ; so that one may pass in the middle of the Bridge without being perceived by any one on each side of the River. Nothing can be a better Representation of it than the Bridges of *Paris*, which have Houses on them ; such as the Bridge of *Notre-Dame*, and the *Change* Bridge.

The third Bridge, passing down the River Eastward, is just such another Bridge as that of *Zulfa* ; at least with respect to the Galleries on each side of it. It is called the Bridge of *Gaures*, because it leads to their Dwellings ; and 'twas on this Account that

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Schah Abas the II. Grandfather to *Schah Hussein*, built it, on purpose to prevent their passing by the great Alley *Tcharbag*, which before this Bridge was built, they must pass in their way home from *Ispahan*.

The fourth Bridge is an Old one, a Mile below the *Gaures*, and something like the first. 'Tis called the Bridge of *Chiras*; it being the Road-way from *Ispahan* to the City of *Chiras*.

Of these four Bridges the second and third were so easy to defend, by Means of their Galleries; that the *Aghevans* did not attempt to force their Passage that way. The other two were quite open. The first, tho' *Tavernier* does not tell us its Name, shou'd be the Bridge of *Abusabat*, at which the Rebels made their first Attack the 21st of *March*; and it was at the Bridge of *Chiras*, as my Memoirs observe, that they made their second in the Manner we are about to relate.

They came up with all possible Resolution and Bravery; and while one Part of them offer'd to Ford the River, the other attack'd the Bridge itself, and at last possessed it, after a vigorous Resistance. The Officer, who commanded at that Post, was an Eunuch; a Man of a good Head and Heart, as he shewed on this Occasion. His Name was *Achmet Aga*. When he saw the *Persians* giving way, and the Rebels in Possession of the other End of the Bridge, he ran thither with some
old

old Soldiers to support them, and soon recover'd part of the Ground that had been lost. While both Sides were fighting on the middle of the Bridge, without any great Advantage on either, a Carpenter of *Curlande*, named *Jacoub*, who was pretty knowing in Artillery, charged some Cannon that were upon the River Bank on *Ispahan* side, and having pointed them against the *Aghvans*, and taken right Aim, he discharged his Cannon so well that he clear'd the Bridge of one Part of the Rebels, and obliged the other to gallop off as fast as they could. The Eunuch, not contented with having recovered the Bridge, for the Defence of which he had fought, follow'd the *Aghvans* with his best Troops, and did great Execution.

The Rebels had been ruin'd, if the General of the *Persian* Army, *Machmet-Wali*, had fallen upon them on his side with his *Arabs*; and the *Persians* would have had full Revenge for their Disgrace at *Giulnabat*. But this General, whose Pay was 1000 Crowns a Day, found his Account too well in lengthning out the War, to put an End to it so soon.

One cannot have a better Conception of the Advantage, and the Greatness of the Service done to *Persia* by the Eunuch *Achmet Agha*, than by the Dejection and Consternation this Shock threw the *Aghvans* into. They kept close in their Camp several Days, none
daring

daring to appear out of it; and judging of them by the Caution they took to prevent all Irruption upon them, one would have taken them for Men who rather expected to be besieged, than Troops who intended to lay siege to the Capital of a great Kingdom. It was now that they thought in good Earnest of retiring, and repented of their not hearkening to the advantagious Proposals which had been made them after the Battel of *Giulnabat*. They were willing to reassume the Treaty; and were the first to sollicite the *Armenians* to interpose in the Matter.

Had the latter been dispos'd to take this Mediation upon them, *Persia* had infallibly been sav'd; the *Aghvans* wanting only an honourable Gate for them to go out of this Affair. But such was the Situation of the miserable Inhabitants of *Zulfa*, that they were not proper to negotiate a Treaty, which cou'd not succeed without their total ruin. They knew how much the Court and City of *Ispahan* were set against them; that nothing less was talk'd of there than the Destruction of their City by Fire and Sword, as soon as the Rebels were gone. That the very Women talk'd so in the Markets, loading them with Curses, and threatning to tear the *Armenian* Children out of their Mothers Bellies. Besides this, they judg'd very rightly, that the *Aghvans* would not march homewards till they

Armenians

they had again sack'd their City ; and that even the *Persians* would abandon them in a Treaty to the Discretion of the *Barbarians* ; that the greatest Part of them had no better course to take than to follow the Rebels to *Candahar* ; and the latter were so well persuaded of it, that they promised them as a Favour, to take them with them, if the Peace was concluded by their Means. These Considerations made them deaf to the Sollicitations of the Rebels for their mediating an Accomodation, which they would by no Means hearken to. And this is the strongest and justest Reproach that the *Persians* have against them ; and if ever the latter should again be Masters, the *Armenians* have nothing to think of but quitting the Kingdom, unless they would expose themselves to the Fury of an enrag'd and powerful Enemy.

While *Myrr-Maghmud* was in vain pressing the *Armenians* to engage in a Negotiation of Peace with the *Persian* Court, he learn'd by his Spies in *Ispahan*, and other Advices, that the *Persians* thought of nothing less than of attacking him ; and though they had been so disposed, they were in no Condition to undertake it. He found he had taken a false Alarm ; but what encourag'd him most was, the new Engagement he enter'd into with *Machmet-Wali*. The latter, upon the Exclusion of the *Athemat-Doulet* was left sole General of the Royal Army. The

The *Athemat-Doulet*, after having betray'd the publick Cause, came off with so slight a Mortification, and continu'd in the Office of Prime Minister. Thus *Myrr-Maghmud* having nothing to fear on the Part of the General of the *Persian* Army, resolv'd to let the Time slide, and to watch for an Opportunity to resume his Project more successfully; which Resolution was the more suitable to him; for that, if he had really an Intention to retire, he would have been obliged to stay till his Horses were in Case for it, which were now only Skin and Bones, and not at all in a Condition for so long a March.

It is not certainly known, whether *Machmet-Wali*, General of the *Arabs*, had then formed any Design to dethrone the King; 'tis still presum'd that he thought only of weakening him, and strengthening *Myrr-Maghmud*, that he might one Day, by favour of his Assistance, render himself Independent in his Principality of *Hacvusa*. Certain it is, he was then in strict Intelligence with *Myrr-Maghmud*, who, perhaps, did not discover to him the full Extent of his Views; and it was not till after he had made sure of *Machmet-Wali*, that he determin'd to push the Siege of *Ispahan* to the utmost.

As soon as this Resolution was fix'd, he apply'd himself to furnish his Camp with all sorts of Necessaries for so important an Enterprize, which he foresaw would run out into

into Length ; the *Aghvans*, as has been observ'd, knowing nothing of a Siege ; and he could have no Hopes of taking the Capital but by Famine, which would consume Time, and consequently a great Quantity of Provisions.

The rest of this Month of *March*, and all *April*, he employ'd in getting these Provisions to his Camp ; which was facilitated by a tacit suspension of Arms on one side and the other ; for from the 23d of *March*, when the *Aghvans* were repuls'd at *Chiras* Bridge, to the Beginning of *May*, neither Side attempted to pass the River by which they were both separated.

But if the *Aghvans* did nothing on the City Side, they made up for it on that of the Country, where they plunder'd the neighbouring Towns and Villages, and brought away all the Provisions and Forage. Some of the Towns stood out against them, and could not be forced by them ; but most of them were reduced, by cutting off their Water, and a great many were forsaken by the Inhabitants, who fled where they cou'd with their Effects. All the Detachments sent out by the Rebels, returned loaden with great Booty ; so that the Camp was soon full of all sorts of Provisions, sufficient to supply them several Months.

In the mean while *Myrr-Maghmud* amus'd the Court of *Persia* with divers Negotiations ; Couriers were always going and coming from *Ispahan* to the Camp, and from the
Camp

Camp to *Ispahan*; and by the help of these publick Negotiations, secret ones were carried on; and some by Emiffaries, who went by Night more than by Day; so that *Maghmud* having bound his Party well together, by means of his Correspondents in the Capital, who informed him of the Condition every thing was in, and being well provided with all Necessaries for hazarding a Siege, resolv'd in the Beginning of *May* to open himself a Passage on the River, cost what it would.

He made his Attack at the Bridge of *Abusabat*, the Westermost of the four Bridges over the *Senderou*, which he had attempted in vain the next Day after the taking of *Zulfa*. He found not so much Resistance in the second Attack as he met with in the first. The *Georgians*, who had the Charge of defending it, were for the most Part drunk or asleep; so that they were at no more Trouble than passing over their Bodies in mastering the Bridge. This Passage being once open, part of the Army follow'd, and spread themselves about *Ispahan*, which they began to invest on all Sides the same Day. They then fortified the Passes so strongly, that nothing could go in or come out of the City.

It was not till then thought in the neighbouring Countries, that the Rebels did seriously intend to form the Siege of *Ispahan*; People still flatter'd themselves, that after they had plunder'd *Zulfa*, and the Neighbourhood,

they wou'd return with their Booty. In this Imagination they neglected laying up Stores in the Capital ; but when they understood the Rebels had pass'd the River, and block'd up the City on all sides, they began to awake, and to consider how to succour it. This general Movement might have produc'd something, had there been an able Chief to have kept them together, with sufficient Authority to have united the several Cantons, and have obliged them to act in Concert : But there was no little City nor Town which wou'd not act of itself. Further, two Factions in the same City cou'd not resolve to suspend their Animosities, to join together against the Common Enemy ; and, as if the Rout of the Rebels, and the raising the Siege of *Ispahan*, had been at their Disposal, and in their Power, each Faction would reserve the Glory to itself, and was afraid lest the contrary Party shou'd have a share of it. Thus the War was carried on by Parties. All the different Bodies of Troops, which, if join'd together, wou'd infallibly have beaten the Detachments *Maghmud* sent out into the Country during the Siege, were defeated in twelve Encounters, which were call'd Combats, tho' not worthy of that Name, and made a great Noise all over *Asia*, where they were talk'd of as so many set Battels, in which the *Aghvans* had always the Advantage.

The only one of all these Actions, that deserves Attention, and may be call'd a Combat, was that where a Body of 5000 Men, raised by *Ali-Merdan-Kan*, Prince of *Loristan*, was cut in Pieces by the Imprudence of his Brother ; for while that General was making other Levies to joyn those 5000 Men, and was preparing a great Convoy for *Ispahan*, his Brother, jealous of the Glory he was about to acquire, found Means to debauch his Men by giving them Money, and engag'd them to follow him against the Enemy ; but being a raw Soldier, he behaved so ill, and led them so unadvisedly, that the 5000 Men were totally routed, and he himself escaped with Difficulty, the Fight having been very bloody.

This was one of the *Persians* most considerable Losses since the Battel of *Giulnabat* ; and caused so much the more Affliction over all the Kingdom, by how much the *Persians* had placed all their Hopes in this small Body of the Army, which consisted indeed of pick'd Men, and, above all, in the Capacity of the brave *Ali-Merdan-Kan*, who had form'd it.

But no Body was so much concern'd as this Lord, who was doubly interested by the Loss itself, and by the Hand from whence it came. He was at an infinite deal of Pains to assemble these 5000 Men, chosen Troops, who wanted only a good Commander. He pretended not to give Battel to the *Aghvans* with a Number of Men so inferior to theirs ; proposing nothing more

to himself than to force one of their Posts, and to make way for his great Convoy, which was quite ready to enter *Ispahan*. It was very practicable, and in all likelihood would have succeeded. 'Tis also certain, that the Confidence People had in his Ability would have animated the Besieged; and his Vigilance and Authority, would have been too hard for the Artifices of a General, who betray'd the Party which he headed. On the Eve of the Day when he was to execute his Project, he saw all his Measures broken by the blind Jealousy of a Brother, who, tho' younger, and without Capacity, had all his Life long been labouring to supplant him. This unlucky Brother obtained his End some Years before; and manag'd his Intrigues so well with the Eunuchs and Ministers, that he got himself put in his Brother's Place in the Principality of *Loristan*, and the latter to be confin'd at *Kirman*.

Whatever Cause of Resentment *Ali-Mer-dan-Kan* had against the Court, he hearken'd to nothing but his Zeal and his Duty, when he heard the *Aghvans* were marching towards *Ispahan*. He made his Escape from the Place of his Exile, to go and support the tottering Throne of a King by whom he had himself been stripp'd of his Principality. He was at the Battel of *Giulnabat*, and had given evident Proofs of his Fidelity and Courage. Since that fatal Day his sole Business had been to find out Means to succour his King in the
most

most pressing Necessity. All his Cares, his Credit, and his Wealth, had been thus employ'd ; and at last he saw himself in a Condition to undertake it, when he found in his own Brother an Enemy, who ruin'd all his Hopes. He had pardon'd his former Treasons, but could not stand out against this last ; and having him in his Power, he rid himself of him, tho' not without great Regret, and very sorry he was that there was no other way for him to put an End to his Treasons. The Victory gain'd by the *Aghvans* on this Occasion was compleat ; but they made that use of their Advantage which *Barbarians* are wont to do ; for having given Quarter to those that surviv'd the Battel, and laid down their Arms only, on their swearing to spare their Lives, they cut the Throats of all of them, a few excepted, from whom they hop'd to receive great Sums for their Ransom.

So black a Perfidy remain'd not without Punishment ; and on this Occasion it was that the Town of *Ben-Ispahan*, who had given the Rebels more Trouble than any City in *Persia*, began to signalize herself against them. This Town is not above three Miles from the Capital whose Name it bears. 'Tis pretty strong, and situated as to be able to make a Defence. The Inhabitants of the Towns and Villages about it, alarm'd by the Defeat of the *Persian* Army, had removed

thither with their Effects, as to a Place of Safety. The Men of *Ben-Ispahan*, ready to take hold of all Opportunities to fall on the Rebels, were inform'd, that the Body of *Aghvans*, who had defeated *Ali-Merdan-Kan's* little Army, retreated very negligently, and brought with them all the Baggage and Provisions design'd for *Ispahan*, which they found in the Enemies Camp. On this Advice they waited for their Return; and falling briskly upon them, they, without much Difficulty, defeated Troops, fatigu'd with a long Fight, who not expecting to be attack'd, march'd in Disorder, and all the Security which was a natural Effect of so late a Victory. The Men of *Ben-Ispahan* recover'd by this all the Booty the Rebels had taken from the Army of *Ali-Merdan-Kan*. They were carrying home the Provisions and Baggage when *Myrr-Maghmud* disdain'g that a simple Town shou'd put such an Affront on him in sight of the Capital, which he was besieging, resolved to revenge it in Person; and mounting on Horseback, put himself at the Head of a great Body of Troops, with which he march'd against the Men of *Ben-Ispahan*, who retir'd in good Order. He was receiv'd with more Resolution and Vigor than he expected, or had met with from the *Persians*. The Men of *Ben-Ispahan* beat him, and cut off most of the Troops he had with him. He himself was hard put to it to make his Escape, full of Confusion and

and Rage at his being forced to leave, to the Discretion of the Conquerors, several Prisoners of Importance, some of them his nearest Relations, whom he could not get out of their Hands. He was no sooner returned to his Camp, than out of fear that the Men of *Ben-Ispahan* would use Reprisals, and treat their Prisoners as *Ali-Merdan-Kan's* Soldiers had been treated by his own Troops contrary to their Oath given, and the Law of Nations ; he in haste sent an Express to the King, to pray him to interpose his Authority to save their Lives ; promising that if those *Aghvan* Prisoners were well us'd, he might expect an Accommodation. The King immediately dispatch'd an Officer of his Court, nam'd *Mirza Raham*, whom the *Aghvans* themselves conducted to *Ben-Ispahan*. But the Officer came too late ; He saw the dead Bodies of those Prisoners fixed upon Stakes, among whom were an Uncle of *Myrr-Maghmud's*, one of his Brothers, and two of his Cousins ; and that Officer complaining that the Men of *Ben-Ispahan* had been too quick, they reply'd boldly, That *Barbarians* who broke their Oaths, ought not to be surpris'd that they had so treated those Men to whom they had promis'd nothing.

This cruel, tho' just Execution, destroy'd all Hope of a Peace by a Treaty. The Rebels, who by the Usage their Fellows met with from the Men of *Ben-Ispahan*, saw

what they were to expect from the *Persians* if they got the Mastery, resolved to give no Quarter; and the same Day massacred all their Prisoners, as so many Victims due to the *Manes* of their Countrymen thus treated at *Ben-Ispahan*.

However, they were strangely dispirited by the Check they had just met with from those Men. Instead of pressing the Siege of the Capital, they contented themselves with furnishing well the principal Posts in the Neighbourhood of that Place, and securing the Passage of the Bridge of *Abusabat*. The rest of the Army returned to the Camp at *Farabat*, leaving but few Troops even at *Zulfa*.

Here was a fair Opportunity to deliver *Ispahan*, had it been taken hold of; and that it was not, was no Fault of the *Armenians* of *Zulfa*. Tho' the *Persians* had accus'd them of favouring the *Aghvans*, it is certain the King had not more faithful and more intelligent Spies than they had been, from whom he received constant Advice of whatever pass'd in the Rebels Camp. *Myrr-Maghmun* himself discover'd some of them, whom he put to a cruel Death for their Treachery. When they saw the Dejection the *Aghvans* were fallen into since their late Defeat, they not only informed the King of it, but were the first that solicited and press'd him to take Advantage of that Conjuncture, and to stifle all Reproaches, well or ill grounded; they ex-
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horted him to make himself Master of *Zulfa*, shewing how easily it might be done, offering to be themselves assisting in it, by putting the few *Aghvans* that remained there to Death, as soon as they saw the Royal Army advance.

True it is, the *Aghvans* were in such a Condition that the *Persians* would have met with no great Resistance; and if they had secur'd *Zulfa*, the City of *Ispahan* had been delivered. The Bridge of *Abusabat* attack'd on the Side of *Zulfa* and that of *Ispahan* at the same time, could not have held out; and that Passage being cut off, there would have been no Communication left between the Rebels in the Posts about *Ispahan*, and the rest of the Army encamp'd at *Farabat*; and had no other Profit accru'd by this Enterprize, than opening a Passage for a great Convoy of several thousand Camels loaden with Provisions, which waited for the Moment in the Neighbourhood, the Place had at least been revictualled, and the Courage of the besieg'd been rais'd; for they feared Famine much more than the *Aghvans*.

The King highly approved of the Proposition, and immediately order'd the General to march with the Army, and put it in Execution. But the latter, who for some time had betray'd him, and was so deeply engag'd with *Myrr-Magbmud*, that he thought justly enough he should be undone, and all would come
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out if the King continu'd Master, eluded that Order by making shew of executing it. He at first march'd his Army out at the City Gates, but soon after march'd them in again under various Pretences. Sometimes he said he had Advice, that *Ali-Merdan-Kan's* Army, the Defeat of which was not yet known, were just upon arriving, and the Junction of their Troops would render the Execution of the Project more certain ; and sometimes he seem'd to doubt the Sincerity of the *Armenians*, and did not think it fit to trust the only Army the State then had on their bare Word. And as the *Persians* stood in need of him, and durst not seem to suspect his Fidelity, they were forced to accept his Excuses, and lose the fairest Opportunity which ever offer'd for the Deliverance of the City.

'Twas about the same time, that News came of the Defeat of *Ali-Merdan-Kan's* Troops, which they had not heard of before ; and what augmented the Desolation which this Misfortune caus'd, was further Advice that there was no Hope of Succour from the Prince of *Georgia* ; which happen'd thus :

When the King was inform'd of the Loss of the Battel of *Giulnabat*, the Rupture of the proposed Accommodation, and the Approach of the *Aghvan* Army towards *Isfahan*, and saw he was like to be besieg'd, he thought the surest way to free himself from this Embarrassment, was to send for the Prince
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of *Georgia*, on whose Capacity and Valour he might rely. The Difficulty was how he should regain that Prince, on whom the greatest Affront had been put, by signifying to him an Order for him to return home, just as he was about breaking in upon the *Lesgi-ans* with an Army of 60000 Men; and it could not but be known that he had then sworn at the Head of his Forces, never to draw Sword for the King, or the State. The King was sorry after he had carry'd things with so high a Hand, to see himself oblig'd to have recourse to the *Georgian* Prince; but such was the Extremity to which he was driven, that 'twas resolv'd to set every thing aside, and endeavour to regain and appease him; for which *Schah Hussein* took the best Course that could be. He sent him the most magnificent Presents; to these he join'd a Letter, the Contents of which did not run so much upon Justification and Apology, as his Sorrow and Excuses for what had pass'd, conceived in such Terms as might more than make him amends, coming from a King to his Vassal. He confess'd he had been in the wrong to snatch the Arms out of his Hands, when he was on the point of chastising his Enemies, and those of the State; and acknowledg'd at last, notwithstanding the Suspicions which had been without grounds rais'd against him, that he never had a more true and faithful Friend. He then shewed him, that

that the Time was now come for him to prove himself so, by giving him essential Marks of his Friendship in the pressing Necessity to which he was reduced; and after having set before his Eyes what he had done upon Occasions for his Family, and his whole Nation, he added, that if Gratitude obliged him to nothing with regard to him, something was at least owing to the Blood of the Princes, *Restom-Kan* and *Kostrow-Kan* his Brothers, and so many *Georgians*, whom the *Aghvans* had most barbarously murder'd. On Prince *Vachtanga's* Answer to this Letter depended the Safety or Loss of the Kingdom; for it is still the general Belief in *Persia*, that if that Prince had only made a Shew of marching to the King's Assistance, the *Aghvans* would not have staid for his coming, but have made what haste they could home: Spite prevail'd on this Occasion; tho' when the Voice of Duty was too weak, that of Compassion at least ought to have been heard. *Vachtanga* saw his King suppliant, as one may say, upon his Knees, imploring his Protection in the most extreme Peril, without being mov'd. A Word only would have sav'd him; and such was his implacable Resentment, that he refus'd him even that. But to prove that when a Person is wanting to his King, he is wanting to himself, and that when a Throne falls, those to whom it was a Support must fall with it, Heaven permitted that Prince

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Vachtanga should be one of the first Victims of his own Hard-heartedness; for after the taking of *Ispahan*, the *Turks* made an Irruption into *Georgia*, when it was drain'd of Soldiers; and *Vachtanga* being in no Condition to resist them, was forced to fly. He took Refuge at *Petersburgh* in *August*, 1725. and found there more Compassion in his Misfortunes than he had had for his King's; the *Czarina* giving him a very kind Reception, and assigning him an honourable Pension, on which he has subsisted ever since; a Fugitive outed of his Dominions, to which there is no Appearance that he will ever return. When all Hope of Succour from *Georgia* was over, the *Persians* began to conceive new Fears. For the first Alarms on the Arrival of the *Aghvans*, and the taking of the Bridge of *Abusabat*, had not for some time given them much Disturbance; tho' the latter being in the Enemies Hands, the City was shut up by it, and all Communication from without cut off. They hop'd the News of the March of *Vachtanga* would have rid them of an Enemy who block'd up the City, but that was all. They made no Attempt to force it; or if they did, they appear'd to be such Novices in Attacks of Places, that their Assaults were only a Sight for the Citizens of *Ispahan*, who from their Houses Tops look'd on them as such for their Amusement. The first Months of the Siege pass'd in this manner,

manner, the Inhabitants of the Capital living in as great Security as if they had not been besieged. But the Defeat of all the small Bodies that were coming to their Assistance at last awaken'd them, and renewed their Disquiets both in Court and City, especially when they despair'd of *Vachtanga's* coming. 'Twas believ'd that all those small Bodies of Troops which the Rebels had beaten, miscarry'd in their Enterprizes more thro' want of Conduct than want of Zeal, and by engaging the Enemy apart; whereas if they had been all joined under one Chief, whose Authority might be sufficient to unite them, and keep them in some Order, their Enterprizes would have been more successful.

They cast their Eyes on Prince *Thamas*, *Schah Hussein's* third Son, to be their Chief. His two Eldest had already been in their Turn declar'd Successors to the King their Father. *Mirza-Sefi*, the eldest of all of them, took a Disgust in a Month's Time, as is seen in its place, or perhaps we are made to believe so. The second Son, who was afterwards substituted in his room, was more unhappy; for the Eunuchs, who were Masters of every thing, having taken Umbrage at his Conduct, got him to be again confin'd in the *Haram*, from whence he had been taken. Those that have suffer'd Outrage to a certain Point being never brought upon the Stage again, and the Name and Authority of a Son of the King being

being wanted to unite all the Provinces, and all Parties under one and the same Command, the third Son was preferr'd to his two elder Brothers, tho' he had not yet appear'd in the World.

He was for this purpose taken out of the *Haram*, as the Kingdom's last Hope ; and to qualify him to compel Obedience, the King declar'd him his Successor in the Throne with great Solemnity. He also made him his Lieutenant, with full Power throughout all *Persia*. After he had been publicly recogniz'd as such, the Question was, how he might with Safety pass through the Rebels, who invested the City on all Sides. A good Escorte of 500 stout Soldiers were pick'd out of the Band called *Kagiat's* for that Service. They were hardy and trusty Fellows, of approv'd Fidelity. They conducted him so well by private Ways, that maugre all the Obstacles they met with, the Prince was in twenty-four Hours March upon a Stretch brought to a Place of Safety.

Prince *Thamas* was now in a Condition to act ; but he did not find things in the good Disposition which the Court flatter'd themselves with. Most of the People in the Country round about *Ispahan* were dishearten'd with the ill Success of all their Attempts, and had retired into remoter Provinces. It was not easy to make them return, and reassemble to oppose the Rebels. As to the Troops
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on the Frontiers, those that were on the Borders of the *Lesgians* could not quit their Posts, which, so weaken'd were they by several Losses, they could hardly maintain. The same Excuse serv'd for those that were posted on the *Turkish* Frontiers. Others excus'd themselves on account of some pretended Privileges granted them by *Schah Abbas*, by vertue of which they said they were not to serve any where but on the Frontier. Others, quite dispirited by ill Successes, were gone home, where they in Peace look'd on the Tempest, by which they were themselves to be soon overwhelm'd. 'Twas to no purpose for Prince *Thamas* to send Order after Order, telling them that the Necessities of the Kingdom, and the Danger of the Capital, ready to fall into the Hands of *Barbarians*, ought to prevail over all other Considerations. He was not able to make himself fear'd, and his Orders therefore were not obey'd; the least Pretence was sufficient to disobey him. Thus tho' there were 50000 regular Troops on the Frontiers, 20000 towards *Karabegie* on *Turkey* Side, 9000 *Kagians* on the Side of *Tartary*, 12000 towards *Hyrkania* and Mount *Caucasus*, and 7000 on the Borders of the *Great Mogul*, Prince *Thamas* could get little or no Succour.

There was another Militia in the Kingdom establish'd by *Schah Abas*, which would have been very serviceable to Prince *Thamas*, if they

they had not been neglected in the last Reigns; especially that of *Schah Hussein*. It consisted of the Nobility to whom *Schah Abas* gave Lands, on Condition they shou'd serve with a certain Number of their Vassals when required; something like the *Timariots* in *Turkey*; excepting that those *Timariots* are only for Life, and a sort of Commanderies which descend not to their Childern; whereas in *Persia* they are Hereditary, which was the Occasion of ruining that Militia. For having been a hundred Years in possession of these Lands from Father to Son, ever since the Reign of *Schah Abas*, they look'd upon them as Estates of the Family: And the little Care that was taken to keep them to their Duty, gave them Reason to think so. A Piece of Negligence the more blameable, for that this Militia consisted of 300000 Men, and were a sure Ressource on any sudden or pressing Occasion; but now were come to nothing, for want of being employ'd from time to time. Whence it was, that hardly any of them appear'd at Prince *Thamas's* Summons. Most of them pretended they were not oblig'd to march, but in a general Expedition, where the King commanded in Person; and if some of them furnish'd their Contingency, by sending a few of their Peasants, these Soldiers, ill paid, and worse disciplin'd, had not march'd half Way, before they were as much fatigued, as others are at the End of a Campaign; and return'd

Home again. Prince *Thamas* finding so little Zeal and Assistance in the natural Subjects of the Kingdom, who as *Persians* ought to have interested themselves more in the Preservation of the Monarchy, expected much less from the Fidelity of the little Princes dependant on *Persia*, who did not think so much of succouring it, as of taking advantage of the present Disorder of Affairs to shake off their Dependancy; a Servitude they endure no longer than they are compell'd to it, nor than when they can set themselves free with Impunity. Thus the Prince's going out of *Ispahan* produc'd nothing of what was expected for the Relief of the City; and all the Benefit it did the King his Father, was the preserving him as a last Resource for the Royal Family, in the Fall with which they were threaten'd.

'Tis evident by what has been said of the ill Disposition in which Prince *Thamas* found Things when he was at Liberty to act, that he was by no means in a Condition to do any thing considerable for the Deliverance of *Ispahan*. He cou'd not get out till about the latter End of *May* at soonest, and the City being surrounded towards the End of *October*, the Space of five Months Time between them was not enough for him to get a sufficient Strength to relieve it; especially considering how disinclin'd the People were to that Service.

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However, there are some who pretend this Prince might have done more than he did. What Grounds they have for it I can't tell. They say there was Design and Artifice in it, and that it had been suggested to him, that if the Siege of *Ispahan* was rais'd, it might well happen to him, as to his two elder Brothers, who after they had been declared Successors to *Schah Hussein*, were degraded thro' the Jealousy and Intrigues of the Eunuchs, and confin'd in a Corner of the *Haram*, without Hope of ever getting out again: That upon this Suggestion, he resolv'd to let *Ispahan* be taken, proposing to himself to come afterwards at the Head of all the Troops of the Kingdom to drive away the *Aghvans*, which would secure to him his Right of Succession to the Crown, and render it incontestable. These Suspicions are perhaps ill-grounded: but it must be allow'd, that Prince *Thamas's* Conduct contributed a great deal to strengthen them. For while his Father was reduc'd to the last Extremity in *Ispahan*, he pass'd his Time in Diversions and nuptial Rejoicings; insomuch, that he receiv'd the fatal News of the taking of the Capital, the very Day he was married with the utmost Pomp, and in the midst of Fire-Works and Illuminations made on that Occasion. This dreadful News put an End to the Festival, which was not at all suitable to it.

In the mean time, the Citizens of *Ispahan* finding no Advantage by the Prince's leaving the City, that the *Aghvans* shut them up closer every Day, and that there was no Prospect of any Succour, grew tumultuous, and ran to the King's Palace, which he had not stirr'd out of from the beginning of the Siege to that Hour. They cry'd out, that 'twas a Shame to suffer themselves to be undermin'd by little and little, without one bold Effort for their Deliverance; and since there was nothing to be expected from Without, they demanded to be led themselves against the Enemy, while they were yet able to fight. They were referr'd to the General, who never wanted Reasons to elude their Instances. Sometimes he amus'd them with the approaching Arrival of Prince *Thamas*: sometimes he seem'd to comply with their Zeal, and wou'd put himself at the Head of a Number of them, as if he wou'd attack the Enemy; but they were scarce out of the Gates, before he had some Excuse or another to bring them in again: as particularly, that the Hour was not favourable, the *Persians* being very superstitious, and much given to observe Hours and Seasons.

But it not being possible in their present Situation, to amuse the People any longer, who grew weary of Delays, and lost all Patience, they mutiny'd, and crowded again and again to the *Haram*, crying out, Let the King put himself at our Head, and lead us
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against the Enemy. Good Words were at first given them, and they were put off with a Promise of the King's Answer the next Day. But the People not trusting to this Promise, cry'd out again, that they wou'd see the King; and the Sedition increas'd so much, that the Eunuchs fir'd Ball on the Multitude out of the Palace Windows, which dispers'd them, and suppress'd the Sedition for that time, tho' it had a very ill Effect afterwards. For the Citizens seeing there was no Hopes of any Help from the King, who slept over the Miseries which threatn'd him, and cou'd not be drawn out of his Palace, as much as his Life and Crown were in danger, lost all Courage, and every one thought of himself only, and how to deliver himself from the Danger which seem'd inevitable. To this End they withdrew in such Numbers by little and little, with the tacit Connivance of the *Aghvans*, who were not sorry to see the City dispeopled, that when the Famine came upon them, and they resolv'd to try one Effort, there was not People enough left to make it.

Achmet-Agha, the brave Eunuch who so well defended the Bridge of *Chiras*, and had signaliz'd himself on several other Occasions, seeing how things were going, and that all wou'd soon be lost, if the People did not recover their Spirits by some vigorous Action, put himself at the Head of some old Troops

which he commanded, and attempt'd to force one of the chief Posts of the *Aghvans*. The Blow wou'd have been the more important, for that if it had succeeded, the City wou'd have been revictual'd for a long time, there being several Thousand Camels loaden with Provisions three Leagues off, which Convoy waited only for the opening a Passage to enter *Ispahan*. *Achmet* attack'd the Post very valiantly, and had without doubt carry'd it, if *Machmet-Wali* had contributed ever so little towards it ; but the latter, instead of supporting him, basely forsook him, and himself and his Troops were repuls'd. *Machmet-Wali* fearing his Remonstrance, was beforehand with him, and complain'd to the King, that the Eunuch had encroach'd upon his Office, and fought on his own Head ; that his Sally was unseasonable, and had lost a Part of the King's best Soldiers. The King suffer'd himself to be impos'd on by this Misrepresentation, and being accusom'd to fall out with no body but those that serv'd him best, was very angry with the loyal Eunuch when he return'd, and chid him for fighting without Order. *Achmet* bore all his Anger with the Bravery he shewed in Battel. He told him plainly he was dupe'd by a Traytor who betray'd him, and endeavour'd only to palliate his Treason, when by the Extremity of Famine he should be reduced to deliver himself to the *Aghvans* ; that as for his own Part,

he would meddle no more, but would dye at his Majesty's Feet before the Traitor should gain his Ends ; that he might not have the Affliction to see him pull'd from his Throne by the Treachery of a Wretch in whom he confided, and who was more his Enemy than the *Aghvans* themselves. He then withdrew, and his great Soul not being able to bear such unjust Reproaches, he took Poison, and the next Day was found dead in his Bed. He was generally belov'd and esteem'd, and accordingly universally lamented. Every body mourn'd for the Loss of the only Man that had hitherto kept up their Hopes ; and his Loss threw those into Despair, that had not till then look'd on their State as desperate. The *Aghvans* never thought themselves so sure of taking the City, as when they heard of his Death ; which their General took care to acquaint them with, as soon as himself knew it. *Achmet* was the only one of the *Persian* Generals, whom they dreaded for his Conduct and Courage ; and it is certain, if he had been General in the room of *Machmet Wali*, they would not so obstinately have continu'd the Siege of *Ispahan*. Though he was an Eunuch, he had nothing of the Meanness of that Sort of People, and would sometimes speak to the King with that Freedom and Resolution, which none were capable of but himself. As this one Instance makes appear ; in that he once by his own Authority

took the Meat design'd for the King's Table, and distributed it among the Soldiers, making a Jest of the Household-Servants who carry'd the Dishes, and telling them, Neither the King nor the Courtiers would ever think of a Remedy for the Famine, while their own Bellies were full. *Schah Hussein's* Loss in the Death of this faithful Servant was the greatest he ever met with ; and tho' he was concern'd at it, 'twas not so much as he ought to have been. Thus fell a Man, whom the Perils of War had spar'd, by the Malignity of Envy. Indeed it was *Schah Hussein's* Fate to do himself more Mischief than his Enemies cou'd do him, and to part with his most faithful Servants, as soon as they were in a Condition to make others afraid of them.

By what *Achmet* said to the Domesticks concerning the Famine, when he took away the King's Dinner, one may be sure it rag'd all over the City. This Scarcity was also a Consequence of the King's and his Ministers ill Policy, who if they had been directed by the *Aghvans* themselves how to behave most for their Advantage, could not have done otherwise than they did.

For, as if they thought there was not People enough in *Ispahan* to consume the Provisions there as fast as might be, the first Ordinance that was published on the Arrival of the *Aghvans*, even before the Passages were clos'd, and one Side of the City lay

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open,

open, was a general Prohibition that none should leave the Capital; not only Citizens who had Houses there, but Foreigners, and all those that were there upon Occasion. This first Fault was not the worst; the next was still greater; which was an Order to admit the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns and Villages, driven thither by the Fear of War, and they were there very welcome: which so fill'd it with useless Mouths, and all Sorts of Rabble, that tho' the City is very great, and the Streets very wide, there was hardly any passing in it.

Though such a vast Multitude must make a prodigious Consumption, the Hope of Succours to free the City in a little while, hinder'd the taking any Precautions for Supplies, and Provisions continu'd at a reasonable Price till the End of *May*: They grew dearer in time, yet the Price was still tolerable. In *July* and *August* the Citizens began to eat Camels, Mules, Horses and Asses, and there was no other Meat in the Markets. A Horse's Carcass at the End of *August* was worth 1000 Crowns. In *September* and *October* they eat Dogs and Cats, of which so many were devour'd, that one would have thought the very Species was lost there. The Author of my Memoirs reports, that he saw a Woman in the *Hollander's* Quarter holding a Cat in her Hand, and going to strangle it, and tho' the Cat in defending itself had made her Hand all bloody, she did

did not let go her hold, but at every new Claw or Bite she receiv'd, would cry out, *Thou striv'st in vain, I'll eat thee for all that.* Corn failing in *September*, a Pound of Bread was sold for thirty Shillings, and in *October* for above fifty. The City of *Ispahan* being so full of Trees, that according to *Tavernier* it looks more like a Forest than a City, Part of them was fell'd in the Famine Time, and the Leaves and Bark sold by the Pound. The Roots of Herbs made into Meal were eaten. Shoe-Leather being boil'd was for a time the common Food; at last they came to eat human Flesh, and the Streets being full of Carcasses, some had their Thighs cut off privately. For this Inhumanity was not tolerated; and some being taken eating human Flesh, they were bastinado'd for it. But the Fear of Punishment did not hinder the increasing of the Evil, which grew at last to an horrible Excess. For several Children were stolen and eaten, half dead as they were of Famine; and that the most monstrous Barbarities, which we read with so much Horror in the Relations of the most cruel Famines, might not be wanting in that of *Ispahan*, there were Mothers who kill'd and eat their own Children. The Mortality, which is the inevitable Consequence of the like Calamities, was answerable to the Excess of Misery in *Ispahan*. It was so great, that no Care was taken to bury the dead Corps, which were flung out into
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the Streets in so great Numbers, that there was no going without passing over them, to which People at last accustom'd themselves. But notwithstanding this Disorder, which any where else would have caus'd a Plague, *Ispahan* was preserv'd by the Serenity of the Air of the Climate. However, there being such Heaps of Carcasses in every Street, the Citizens threw them time after time into the River *Senderou*, on that Side where it run nearest to the City. The Quantity so thrown in was so great, that the Water of the River was totally infected by it, and so corrupted, that it was a whole Year before it was drunk, or any of the Fish eaten that was taken in it. People of Quality suffer'd as much as the Vulgar; and one may judge of their Sufferings in general by the Streights to which a *Persian* Lord was reduced. This Lord having sold all he had by Piece-meal to subsist his Family, finding there was no more Food to be had, he resolv'd to deliver himself and them from a cruel Famine, for which he saw no Remedy; and having order'd a Dinner a little more sumptuous than ordinary, he privately poison'd all the Meat, so that himself and all his Family, even to the meanest Domestick, found an End of their Miseries; none of them, himself excepted, knowing how it came.

But what is more surprising than all I have said, is, there was a poor blind Man in *Ispahan*, who

who before the Siege, and during the whole Course of it, liv'd only by begging, and was alive when the *Aghvans* made themselves Masters of the City, where he continu'd his old Trade of begging, and still liv'd by it under their Dominion; which was not a little extraordinary, that in a Place where the Wealthiest dy'd of Hunger by thousands, Providence should take care of the Subsistence of a Beggar, who depriv'd of Sight had nothing but his Voice to help him. This Example is at least proper to shew us, that Beggary has Resources which sometimes are not found in the greatest Riches.

I cannot better finish this Account of the Mortality in *Ispahan*, than by a Computation of the Number of those that dy'd, which the Author of my Memoirs tells us he should have been better able to give in, if he had not found Means to get out of *Ispahan* before the End of the Siege. He reports, that when he arrived in *Europe*, he read Letters from the *Armenians* of *Zulfa* to some of their Countrymen in the Place where he was, importing that there dy'd in *Ispahan* during the Siege 10,40000 Person. Upon which he says, that as he durst not assure one that the Number of the Dead ran up so high; so that after having been on the Spot himself, he durst not deny it. Certain it is that the City of *Ispahan* is a great deal bigger and more populous

pulous than *Constantinople* ; that by the Con-
course of the People from the Country Towns,
and Villages in the Neighbourhood who fled
thither on the approach of the *Aghvans*,
there was more than double the Number of Peo-
ple in the City than before. And after it was ta-
ken, there were not 100000 Souls in the Place.
Upon all which, the Reader may compute
as he thinks fit ; observing (as does the Author
of the Memoirs,) that from the Arrival of
the *Aghvans* at *Farabat*, not 20000 had pe-
rish'd by the Sword. As for the *Aghvans*,
they lost very few Men after they began to
invest the City. Not that they were not
within reach of the Cannon of *Ispahan*, where
there were 400 mounted in several Places ;
but tho' every one of those Pieces was dis-
charg'd 400 times at least, which makes
160000 Shot, they were so ill fir'd, that there
were not 400 *Aghvans* kill'd by it. One
may judge of the Skill of the *Persian* Engi-
neers, by a Question of the *Topli-Baszy*, or
Great Master of the Ordnance, who when
the Rebels arriv'd at *Giulnabat*, ask'd the
English at *Ispahan*, if there were Cannon in
Europe that would carry twelve Miles ; and
if they thought there were any Guns among
his, that would carry as far as *Giulnabat* ?

When *Myrr-Maghmud* was inform'd by
his Spies, that he had nothing to apprehend
on the King's Part, who was depriv'd of all
Means of doing him Hurt by the Divisions at
Court

Court and ill Councils; that the City was every Day more and more weaken'd by the Mortality and the Desertion of the Inhabitants; and that the Eunuch *Achmet-Agha*, the only Man he fear'd was dead, he thought of nothing but strengthening his Posts, and securing the Avenues to *Ispahan*, to hinder any Succors entring the Place. And as he doubted not but he should soon reduce it by Famine, so he made no Attack for two Months together. He sent back those *Persians* that had yielded themselves to him; and sometimes he massacred them to strike Terror into the rest. Nevertheless, he still carry'd on a Negotiation with the King for the Surrender of the City: and tho' this Prince consented to every thing, even to his Abdication, *Maghmud* spun out the Business into Length, purely to augment the Misery of the Citizens.

'Tis true, he might have forced the City in the Beginning of *October*, if he had storm'd it, as his principal Officers wou'd have had him do, representing to him that the Consternation which would seize all *Persia* on the News of the Sack of the Capital would very much facilitate the Conquest of the rest of the Kingdom: and that besides, he could have no better Title, according to the Laws of the *Alcoran*, to mount the Throne, than by conquering Sword in Hand. But *Myrr-Maghmud*, who knew well that he ran no Hazard by delaying, and was not willing to abandon the
King's

King's and Grandee's Treasures to Pillage, which must have been done, had the City been taken by Storm, put it off on various Pretences, whatever Instances were made to him to give the Assault. Sometimes he pretended a Regard for his Troops, which were too dear to him to be needlessly expos'd; and at other times, that somebody at least shou'd be left alive for them to command in *Ispahan*.

While he was thus eluding the Sollicitations of his chief Captains, the Negotiations with the Court were still carry'd on; and the Extremity of the Famine having at last taken hold of the King's Palace, as well as the rest of the City, Necessity reduc'd that Prince to solicit the Conclusion of a Treaty, the first Article of which was his own Dethronement, which he seem'd more eager about, than *Myrr-Maghmud* himself.

In fine, on the 28th of *October*, *Schah Hussein*, who had nothing left in his Palace for his Subsistence, came to his final Resolution; and to prepare Mens Minds for it, after having cloath'd himself in Black, he went out of his Palace, and ran thro' the principal Streets of the City of *Ispahan*, deploring his and his Kingdoms Misfortunes with Sighs and Groans. The Misery and Desolation to which he saw the People reduc'd, touch'd him when it was too late. He did his utmost to comfort them, telling them

them that the new King wou'd govern them better ; excusing his own ill Conduct by the Advice of his Ministers, for which he appear'd mightily troubl'd. The melancholy Words, and the Fall of a Prince who was driven from his Throne after a Reign of twenty-eight Years, had all the Effect one can imagine on his Subjects, who never had an Aversion to him ; and by his extreme Humanity, a Virtue little known to his Predecessors, he had always made them bear with him, tho' they despis'd his Indolence and his slavish Subjection to his Eunuchs. But whatever Reason there was to condemn his Misgovernment, and tho' by his Weakness and Carelessness, he had dug the Pit into which he was falling, yet his Faults were forgotten, and their Hearts were wholly taken up with his Misery. The Greatness of his Disgrace, swallowed up all other Reflections ; and the People being more troubl'd for their King than for themselves, abandon'd themselves to Lamentation, and made more piercing Cries, than all the Horrors they had endur'd during a long Siege cou'd force from them ; which were heard even as far as *Zulfa*.

In the midst of this dreadful Desolation, *Schah-Hussein* return'd to his Palace ; and the next Day, the 22d of *October*, he dispatch'd Plenipotentiaries to the Camp of the *Agh-vans*, to conclude and sign the Articles
of

of Capitulation; which were agreed on and sign'd the same Day.

And on the Day following, the 23^d. of *October*, remarkable for so strange an Event, the *Aghvans* sent Horses for the King, and his principal Officers; there being not one left in *Ispahan*, where all were eaten during the Famine. *Schah Hussein* and his Train mounted the Horses the *Aghvans* had sent, and went thro' the City towards their Camp. Tho' the People had been prepared for this Ceremony, they had much ado to support themselves at the Sight of it. They did not burst out into Cries, as they had done two Days before: A sullen, doleful Silence express'd more Sorrow; and was more moving than their loud Laments. And in their wondering, ghastly Looks one might see that such Astonishment, Pity, Consternation, and Despair had seiz'd their Hearts, as stifled all Complaints. In the mean time, *Schah Hussein* advanced sorrowfully to his fine House at *Farabat*, in an Equipage very different from the Royal Pomp with which he was wont to go to that Palace of Pleasure, adorn'd with all that Cost and Art could produce to render it delightful. It was the only House whose Preservation he had at heart, as has been already observ'd, and the first which his Rebel Subjects took from him. His Ministers and Officers griev'd more for their Master's Disgrace than he did himself; because they

forefaw better the difmal Confequences of it. They follow'd him with down-caft Looks, and an Air of Confufion and Defpair ; in which might alfo be difcovered the fecret Indignation of mortify'd Pride reduc'd to creep to *Barbarians*, whom the leaft Subalterns at Court were wont to treat with the utmoft Contempt and Infolence.

While *Schah-Huffein* was drawing near the Camp of the *Aghvans*, the Chiefs of that Nation endeavoured, tho' in vain, to prevail with *Myrr-Maghmud* to go forth and meet him ; which was decent for him to do, inafmuch as the King was to be his Father-in-law : But *Myrr-Maghmud*, as is common with Perfons advanced on a fudden above their natural Sphere, who are always fearful of doing too much, was not gain'd by their Representations, but proudly resolv'd to expect the King in one of the Halls of the Palace ; and when he enter'd, would hardly move a ftep or two to receive him.

Schah-Huffein, on the contrary, no fooner faw him, than he ran to him with open Arms, and after having embrac'd him, and kiss'd him with great Tokens of Friendship, he took his Crown out of his Bosom, and put it on his Head, declaring him, in Prefence of the Grantees of both Nations, his Succeffor to the Throne, to the Exclufion of his own Children and their Pofterity. He then pray'd him, according to the Conditions of the Treaty,

to

to regard him for the future as his Father ; not to meddle with his Wives ; to treat the Princes of the Blood Royal as his younger Brothers, and to take care that they wanted nothing in the *Haram*, where they were to be shut up according to the Custom of *Persia*.

He also recommended to him the good Government of the Kingdom ; an exact Distribution of Justice ; not to overburthen the People with extraordinary Taxes, and to content himself with what they had been accustom'd to pay.

Whether it was that *Myrr-Maghmun* observ'd that his Haughtiness had displeas'd the Grandees of his own Nation, or that the King's humbling himself and yielding up the Royalty so frankly, had mollify'd his hard Heart, he began to shew a little more Humanity, and invited *Schah-Hussein* to sit down with him on a Sopha ; where he took a lower Seat for himself, and gave him the left Hand, which is the Place of Honour in *Persia*. *Schah-Hussein*, after this, deliver'd to him a Writing sign'd by himself and all his Ministers, which transferr'd the Sovereignty to him and his Family ; without stipulating any thing more for the King and his Children, than the Preservation of his own Honour and the Lives of his Children. Upon which the *Mufti*, or Chief Priest of the *Aghvans*, advanc'd ; and having said some Prayers over the depos'd King

and the new one, both bending before him, he pronoun'd a set Form of Curses and Ex-
 ecration which he threaten'd should fall on
 the Head of either of the two who broke
 the Articles both had agreed upon.

As soon as this Ceremony was over, the
 Grandees of both Nations did Homage to
 the new King according to the Manner of
Persia: that is, by prostrating themselves
 thrice before him and afterwards kissing his
 Knees. The same Day the *Aghvan* Troops
 were sent to take possession of *Ispahan*.
 They posted themselves in the principal
 Quarters of the City, and secured the Royal
 Palace, which was open to them. At the
 same time, a General Amnesty for what had
 past, was proclaim'd: and the next Day, the
 new King, attended by the *Persian* Mini-
 sters, and the Chief Officers of his Army,
 march'd to *Ispahan*; while *Schah-Hussein*
 with an Escorte of *Aghvans* took another
 Way to it.

Sultan Maghmud, (for so we must now
 name him,) made his Entry into the Capi-
 tal with all the Splendour of a Conqueror.
 He went directly to the Palace of the *Per-
 sian* Kings; and being conducted to the
 stately Hall, where those Kings were install'd
 at their Accession to the Crown, and re-
 ceiv'd the Homage of their Subjects, he
 plac'd himself on the Throne, and took the
 Oath of Fidelity of the Ministers of State,
 Eunuchs

Eunuchs, the Grandees of the Kiugdom, the principal Citizens of *Ispahan*, and the Military Officers: All whom he afterwards magnificently treated. The same Day Provisions were brought into the City in such Quantities, that as much Bread might have been bought for one Crown, as the Day before wou'd have cost two hundred: which was a great Relief to the famish'd Citizens. The Proclamation of the Peace, and the Security which was in *Ispahan*, by the good Order and Discipline of the *Aghvan* Soldiers, invited all those together again that had left it during the Siege; by which it was soon re-peopled.

Myrr-Maghmun finding himself in the peaceable possession of the Throne, signaliz'd the Beginning of his Reign by an Act of Justice which one would not have expected from an Usurper; and he was very politick in doing it. He caus'd all those who had corresponded with him to be seiz'd and executed for Treason in betraying their Sovereign; their Memory was branded with Infamy, their Estates confiscated, and their Bodies left without Burial. There was none but *Machmet-Wali*, General of *Schah Hussein's* Army, whom he was content only to imprison for Life; because as 'twas believ'd, he had taken an Oath not to put him to Death. But he seiz'd his Estate, and bestow'd the Hereditary Principality

pality of *Havusa* upon a Cousin-German of *Machmet's*, who had serv'd in the *Agh-van* Army; engaging to put him in possession of it, as soon as he could bend his Arms that Way. He declar'd openly that there was no Good to be expected from Men who had betray'd their King; and that they would betray him in his Turn, if Opportunity offer'd.

On the contrary, he shew'd a great deal of Esteem for the *Athemat-Doulet*, who had been very faithful to his King, and testify'd publickly, that he took well his Restrictions to the Oath of Allegiance when he was sworn; and humbly pray'd that it might not be expected of him to draw his Sword against Prince *Thamas*. Which was a laudable Instance of Fidelity: but we must allow that it came a little too late, after the bad Service he had done his old Master in turning his Back so unseasonably as he did at the Battel of *Giulnabat*. 'Tis true, what he then did was more out of Jealousy of his Colleague in the Generalship, than with Design to betray his Master: but the Damage done *Schah-Hussein* by it, was not the less; and that Desertion was the first Cause of his Ruin.

Nothing can be more reasonable and wise, than Sultan *Maghmud's* Conduct in his Disposal of the Administration of his Government. He consider'd that if he employ'd

ploy'd Ministers of his own Nation, it would be long before they would understand the Management of Affairs: and besides, the Publick would not have the same Confidence in Foreigners, as in their own Countrymen. On this Account it was, that he kept the Prime Minister in his Place, and had a particular Esteem for him: and all other Ministers in their several Jurisdictions were continued. But not to trust too blindly to their Fidelity, he joyn'd one of his own Nation to each of them; from whence he reap'd double Advantage: for at the same time that these Overseers had a strict Eye on the Conduct of the *Persian* Officers, They also instructed themselves in the Business of the several Offices.

There was only one Post, that of *Divan-Beg*, or Chief Justice, which he bestow'd on an *Aghvan*, a Man of known Probity, as the *Persians* themselves acknowledg'd, in the Course of his Ministry; and were surpris'd to see Justice dispers'd with more Integrity, Uprightness and Disinterestedness by a *Foreigner* and a *Barbarian*, than it had ever been by their own Magistrates. Indeed the new King so well regulated Matters, and govern'd with so much Equity and Moderation, that it may be said of him, that he only wanted a lawful Title, and a Right to reign, better acquir'd, and less odious, to be a Prince without Reproach.

Sultan *Maghmud* employ'd a Month in settling Matters in the Capital; and having well establish'd his Power there, he thought of securing it abroad. He had the old King and the Princes of the Blood, except Prince *Thamas*, at his Mercy in *Ispahan*; and nothing could have given him any Disturbance in the possession of the Throne, if Prince *Thamas* had been also in his Hands. He judg'd rightly, that as long as there was a Sprig of the Royal Family remaining at liberty, it would not be easy for him to secure the Sovereignty in his own; and that the *Persians* would always be ready to take hold of any Opportunity to return to the Obedience of their old Masters: which determin'd Sultan *Maghmud* to reduce the City of *Casbin*, where he understood Prince *Thamas* then was.

He gave this important Commission to *Aman-Ulla*, a Commander in whom he put most Confidence, and who was next to himself the chief Man in the Nation and Army. He gave him 8000 Men of his best Troops, and sent him about the End of *November* to *Casbin*, with Orders to demand the Place: and in case it was not surrender'd to him, to take it by Force; and especially to seize Prince *Thamas*, and send him to *Ispahan*. He reckon'd that if he cou'd once make himself Master of the City of *Casbin*, which heretofore was the Capital of the

the Kingdom, till *Schah-Abas* the Great remov'd the Court to *Ispahan*, the other Cities of *Persia* would follow her Example and submit.

The City of *Casbin* was very much fallen to Decay in 150 Years time; for so long ago it was that the Kings of *Persia* ceas'd to make it the Place of their Residence. *Tavernier* speaks of it as a great Village, perhaps because 'tis encompass'd with Walls, and half of it is Gardens: but so are most of the Cities in *Persia*. 'Tis situated in the Province of *Hierak-Agemi*.

Prince *Thamas*, who was then there, having Information of the *Aghvan* General's March, and of his Designs, left the Town which was defenceless, bid the Inhabitants make the best Terms they could with the Rebels, and reserving himself for some other Occasion, retir'd to *Tauris*.

The Citizens of *Casbin* being taken unprovided in a City open on all Sides, and having no Troops to oppose the *Aghvans*, receiv'd them without any Resistance. *Aman-Ulla* finding himself Master of so great a City, did not forget himself, but resolv'd to do there as *Maghmud* had done at *Ispahan*, and got as much Riches as he could; which he exacted in so violent and tyrannical a manner, that he provok'd the Inhabitants to enter into a secret Conspiracy against him and his *Aghvans*, who being dispers'd up and down the
City

City in *Caravanferas*, and publick Houses as well as private, were the more easily to be master'd. The Conspirators, who were indeed the greatest Part of the Citizens, agreed to fall upon them in the Night-time; and because an extraordinary Signal might have alarm'd the *Aghvans*, there was to be no other than blowing a Horn, the usual Way of calling People to the Bath. Measures being concerted for this Enterprize, the Inhabitants observed that the *Aghvans* got together in the Afternoon preceding the Night when it was to be executed, in greater haste than ordinary. They thought by this that they were discover'd; and to go through with their Work before they were prevented, they took Arms immediately, and fell upon the *Aghvans*, who tho' surpriz'd, defended themselves at first well enough, but at last were overpower'd by Numbers, and 4000 of them put to the Sword. The rest fled in the greatest Disorder imaginable, leaving their Baggage and all their Pillage behind them.

Had the People of *Casbin*, when they laid this Plot, got Troops ready to intercept the Runaways, or had Prince *Thamas* known of it, and placed an Ambuscade to cut them off, which he might easily have done, and then have march'd to *Ispahan*, where the Inhabitants would infallibly have risen at his Arrival, he without doubt would have recover'd
the

the Crown, and not an *Aghvan* would have been left alive. Of the 8000 Men whom *Aman-Ulla* brought to *Casbin*, the choicest Troops of his Nation, half were kill'd in *Casbin*; 500 of those that escap'd the Fury of the People retir'd to *Candakar*; and as to the others, of whom the greatest Part were wounded, several dy'd of their Wounds, of Cold, Hunger, and Want, scarce 1000 of them fit for Service returned to *Ispahan*. Their General *Aman-Ulla*, who was himself wounded dangerously, was cur'd by the Skill and Care of a *French* Surgeon named *Hermet*; but out of too great Greediness of Wealth, he not only lost what he had pillag'd at *Casbin*, but also what he had heap'd up before, which with his Baggage he left to the Discretion of the Men of *Casbin*.

The Remains of this broken Army returned to *Ispahan* in *January* 1723. The Consternation which seiz'd the *Aghvans* on the News of this Defeat, and of the sad Condition which the few Soldiers who sav'd themselves were in, was so great, that if the *Persians* of *Ispahan* had known how to make their Advantage of it, they were able to have destroy'd their Conquerors by a general Rising: But there being no body to head them, and each Man jealous of his Neighbour, and all betraying one another, they gave the *Aghvans* time to look about them, and recover out of the Fright they were in; after which

Magh-

Maghmud acted the most cruel and bloody Tragedy that ever was known.

This Usurper, who saw with a Glance of his Eye the Danger he was in, and that he ow'd his Safety only to the Cowardice and Baseness of the *Persians*, perceiv'd that with the few *Aghvans* he had, who were not the tenth Part of the People of *Ispahan*, he was every Day expos'd to Destruction, if they should ever come to the Knowledge of their own Strength, or any *Persian* Lord have Zeal and Resolution enough to undertake any thing : This Consideration struck him so home, that not thinking himself safe in *Ispahan*, as long as there were *Persians* enough left there to make head against him, if they had a mind to it, he resolved to massacre them, as we are about to relate.

He chose the 25th of *January* for this strange Execution. In the Morning he sent to invite 300 *Persian* Lords and chief Citizens to a royal Festival, and as fast as they came they were murder'd, and their dead Bodies, after they were stripp'd, flung naked into the Square of *Meidan*, just before the King's Palace. None of the massacred *Persians* was more pity'd than the Son of *Mirza Rostom*, of the House of the Princes of *Georgia*. He was a Youth of about twelve Years of Age, who had been adopted even by one of the *Aghvans*. He threw himself into the Arms of some of the Chiefs of that Nation,

Nation, conjuring them with Tears to save his Life. They kept him in the middle of them, and would have sav'd him, but he was snatch'd from them, and as he stuck to a Tree, the cruel Butchers slew him without Mercy.

Maghmud was not contented with the Death of the *Persian* Lords; that there might remain none of their Race, he caus'd their Children to be also massacred with the same Barbarity, or greater if possible. There were about 200 young Gentlemen, as well *Persians* as *Georgians*, who were bred up in a College to acquire Learning, and the Knowledge of military Exercises. These were taken thence, and led out of the City; and when they were in the Country, the *Agh-vans* let them go, and bad them run for their Lives; which the poor Lads endeavouring to do, those *Barbarians* follow'd them, as if they had been hunting of Game; kill'd them in Sport, and strow'd the Field with their Carcases. The Pretence for such horrible Cruelty was a sham Plot said to be formed by these young Gentlemen against the Life of *Maghmud*; but the Usurper's Aim was to secure his Usurpation by the Extinction of all the Nobility.

The unmerciful Fury of this *Barbarian* stopp'd not there. There remain'd about 3000 *Persian* Soldiers of *Schah Hussein's* Guards, and others who had sworn Fidelity to the Usurper, and had been incorporated in his
Troops.

Troops. He was afraid these Men would upon Occasion turn against him; and to free himself from that Danger, he order'd them to be drawn up in one of the Courts of the Palace, under colour of receiving a Bounty, which the Kings of *Persia* were wont to give their Guards, and consisted of a Feast of *Pilau*, Rice and Meat mixed together; and while they were eating it, their Arms were taken from them, and then the *Aghvans* fell upon them and slew them all. 'Tis certain, the Usurper ran a great Risk here; and if those Wretches, knowing they were to be disarm'd, had defended themselves, 'twou'd have caus'd an Insurrection in the City, and probably have ended in the Death of every *Aghvan* in it.

This is what happen'd on the 25th of *January*; but on the following Days there was a continual Search made after the *Persian* Soldiers, and all *Persians* fit to bear Arms; of whom so great a Number were massacred, that many Houses were left empty; and as the Carcasses were always flung out into the Gardens, there were none even in the most by-places which were not full of them.

The Conspiracy at *Casbin* had infallibly been the Ruin of the *Aghvans*, if it had been carry'd on in Concert with *Ispahan*; but what the *Persians* ought to have done, the Usurper suppos'd they design'd to do, and that they would rise in the Capital as they
 rose

rose in *Casbin*, if he had not prevented it by murdering the Ringleaders of it. To give a Colour to this Accusation, he spar'd the Lives of about twenty-five *Persian* Lords, to have it thought that they had discover'd the Plot. But the true and only Motive of this Butchery, was the Necessity he saw himself under, having so few *Aghvans* with him, to disable the *Persians* to undertake any thing against him. However, this great Slaughter was so little a Security to him, that he propos'd to dispeople the City of *Ispahan*, and put Foreigners in the Places of the *Persians*, as he did not long after; and to do it with the least Risk, he began with causing it to be publish'd, That he gave Liberty to all *Persians* to retire; which was not so much a Permission, as a tacit Command to them to be gone, at least to all those that were able to bear Arms: for though a great Number left the City, the secret Search for the rest was continu'd; and the *Barbarians* having made choice of a certain Number of young *Persians*, to train them up in Arms, the same Pretext was made use of to take off the others, whose Throats were cut in private.

If all this Slaughter was tamely born by the *Persians* of *Ispahan*, without daring to defend themselves, or even to murmur, it was not the Fault of the Men of *Ben-Ispahan*, their Neighbours, who after the Capital was taken, did not give over solliciting

ting them to rise, promising them all manner of Assistance on their Part. Nay they went farther : for tho' the *Ispahaners* attempted nothing against their Tyrants, the Men of *Ben-Ispahan* made Excursions in the Night-time to the very Gates of the Capital, where they kill'd several *Aghvans*, and from whence they brought off several Pieces of Cannon. It is more than probable, that if Prince *Thomas*, who amus'd himself elsewhere, had come then with some Troops, as the *Persians* gave out to their great Damage, he wou'd infallibly have caus'd a great Revolution in the City by the Help of the Men of *Ispahan*. But nothing could stir them up ; so that the *Aghvans* exercis'd their Cruelty, and glutted their Avarice without Controul. I say their Avarice, for that was uppermost in all their Barbarities : and 'twas observ'd that they fell upon the most rich, without giving much Disturbance to those by whom they cou'd get nothing, and whose Poverty was their Safeguard. And tho' according to the Custom of the *Indians*, and the Nations bordering on them, the *Aghvans* made it a Duty of Religion to appease the Manes of their Countrymen slain at *Casbin*, by the Effusion of the Blood of the *Persians*, they chose no Sacrifices but what were rich ; and the more willingly they made Victims of them, because the more Wealth was to be got by their Spoils.

Tho'

Tho' a great Quantity of Provisions had been brought into *Ispahan* after the End of the Siege, and the Retreat of a great Multitude of *Persians* who took hold of the Permission that was given them to go forth, had diminish'd the Consumption; yet the *Aghvans* had not been there three Months, before the Scarcity began again to be felt; and it was not possible for it to be otherwise. The Neighbourhood of *Ispahan* was destroy'd during the Siege; and the Towns and little Cities that stood out against the Rebels while the War lasted, continued to do so after the Treaty was concluded, repulsing them as oft as they came to attack them. So that the Provisions which the City was supply'd with at first being consum'd daily, without any new Supplies, the *Aghvans* were near starving in the midst of all their Conquests.

It was therefore requisite to send somebody to fetch in Necessaries, which none were in haste to furnish them with. *Nazyr-Ulla*, one of the principal Captains of the *Aghvans*, a Man us'd to robbing, at which he was very dexterous, was pick'd out for this Commission. He took 3000 Men with him, and was order'd to compel the Towns and Villages of the Province to carry their Provisions to *Ispahan*, and to plunder the Places that refus'd to do it. He accordingly subdued some Towns which were de-

fenceless; forc'd others, and sold the Inhabitants for Slaves. But finding more Resistance than he expected, most of them repulsing him very courageously, he resolv'd to break into the Middle of *Persia*, and fall on those Provinces that had not suffer'd in the War. To this Purpose, he drew off to North-west of *Ispahan*; and, crossing the Desarts, he made an Irruption of two hundred Leagues in length by Ways which were thought impracticable: and coming on the Provinces on a sudden, he struck Terror into all the Country, each Man providing for his own Safety. The Towns, Villages and Houses were forsaken, and the Enemy became Master of All, without striking a Stroke: and he manag'd his Matters so well, that at three Months End, he return'd to *Ispahan* with 50000 Camels loaden as well with Provisions as other Booty. 'Twas high time for that Supply to arrive, or *Ispahan* must have endur'd a second Famine. What is most astonishing, is the Indolence of the *Persians* from whom *Nazyr-Ulla* met with no Resistance in the Compass of above 400 Leagues going and coming, with less than 3000 Men; every one contenting himself with getting into a Place of Security, and looking quietly on, while their Country was pillag'd, and their Goods carry'd off by a Handful of *Barbarians*, against whom no body durst make head; except a Stud-Keeper who had about

2000 Men with him, as a Guard to the King's Horses feeding in the Fields of *Arabia*. He had the Courage to attack this little Army of *Aghvans*; and succeeded so well as to bring off a good Number of Camels loaden with sufficient Booty to make amends for the loss of the King's Horses, which he had been oblig'd to abandon in pursuit of the Enemy.

One of the greatest Advantages which the Usurper *Maghmud* got by *Nazyr-Ulla's* Excursion, and which he was very glad of, was the repeopling of *Ispahan* by it: *Nazyr-Ulla* bringing back with him a Colony of People, whose Fidelity was not suspected.

Between *Babylon* and *Hamadan*, there was a Nation that occupy'd the Plain, and liv'd the greatest Part of the Year in Tents. This Nation was call'd *Dergesins*. They liv'd heretofore in *Mesopotamia*, when *Schah-Abas*, the Restorer of the *Persian* Monarchy, made them pass the *Tigris*, and gave them those Plains to inhabit; permitting them to follow the Sect of the *Sunnis* in their Religion, which was *Mahometan*, and the same as the *Turks*, and was profess'd also by the *Aghvans*.

Nazyr-Ulla having penetrated as far as their Country, gain'd upon them so much, that he engag'd them to quit it to go and settle at *Ispahan*. 'Tis pretended that the principal Persons of the Nation invited him

to come amongst them, on purpose to negotiate with him on this Transmigration; which the other *Dergesins* were not very well pleas'd with, preferring their Tents to the fine Houses at *Ispahan*. There was about 100000 Souls in all their Families, a strong robust People, of whom a good Number list'd in the *Aghvan* Troops, and form'd a Body of 6000 Men.

But with this new Reinforcement the *Aghvan* Army was not half so numerous as when they came before *Ispahan*; and the Transmigration of the *Dergesins* did not fill a tenth Part of the vacant Places occasion'd by the Siege. Wherefore the Usurper *Maghmud* took other Measures to recruit his Army, and repeople the Capital. He sent *Eszik-Aghasi*, Master of the Household, with great Sums of Money to *Candahar* to raise Men. He was also loaden with Presents for the principal Families in that City, and for his particular Friends. And several of the *Aghvans* out of Love to their own Country and their Families, having return'd by Troops to *Candahar*, and even whole Companies having march'd back with flying Colours, without demanding a Discharge: To prevent the like for the future, *Maghmud* order'd that the Families of those that were left with him, and the others that were to be list'd, shou'd transport themselves to *Ispahan*. For which Transportation he sent

8000 Camels to *Candahar*, besides those that were taken up by the way for that Service. The first Caravan that came from thence to *Ispahan*, arriv'd in *June*, after a March of three Months; for 'tis no less from *Candahar* to the Capital.

Other such Transportations were made in the two following Years, but none so large as the first we mention'd. Nay, the last Caravan consisted only of 3000 Camels, which came in *Maghmuds's* Life-time, and with which arriv'd his own Mother, in an Equipage that ill suited with the Greatness of her Son's Fortune. Since the Death of *Myrr-Weis*, she had married an Officer of the *Janisaries* nam'd *Osman-Pascha*. She let the first Caravans go without her, because she cou'd not resolve to leave her own Country, and perform a March of three Months cross Deserts and Places uninhabited to see her Son. But she was told so much of his Power and Riches, that at last her Curiosity and Ambition were mov'd by it, much more than her motherly Affection: she set out with the last Caravan, and arriv'd at *Ispahan*, mounted on a Camel which, except Scarlet Housing, had nothing to distinguish it from the rest. She had no Women, no Officers, no Servants with her when she cross'd the *Meidan*, and came to the principal Gate of the new King's Palace half naked, and what Cloaths she had

all in Tatters, ravenously gnawing a great Rhadish she held in her Hand, more like a Witch than the Mother of a great King.

The *Aghvans* must needs have a great Contempt for the *Persians*, to undertake these Transmigrations with so few Precautions as they did. 'Twas three Months Journey from *Candahar* to *Ispahan*: The *Aghvans* were not Masters of an Inch of Ground in all that Way. Besides, the *Persians* had a strong Garison eight Days Journey from *Candahar*, called *Systan*, by which the *Aghvans* must necessarily pass, after a very troublesome and fatiguing March over sundry Desarts, where there is not a drop of Water. Further, they must march thro' Defiles, where a small Body of Troops might stop whole Armies. Nevertheless, tho' the Caravans had but very weak Convoys, they always travell'd quietly, none offering to give them the least Disturbance. In which one can't tell what most to admire, the Negligence of the *Persians*, or the Security of the *Aghvans*, who would soon have been reduc'd to a very small Number, if the Communication between *Candahar* and *Ispahan* had been cut off, and no Recruits could have come from the former, without which the *Aghvans* could not have maintain'd themselves; but would have thought themselves happy, if they could have got home again by abandoning their new Conquest. Their Army being reinforc'd, as well
by

by Recruits from *Candahar*, as by the 6000 *Dengefins* whom *Nazyr-Ulla* had lifted, as also by a good Number of *Turks* taken into *Maghmud's* Party, he began to think of employing them abroad, having nothing at home to oppose him; and Prince *Thamas* giving him Leisure by very unseasonable Occupations, as will be seen hereafter.

Though the *Aghvans* were Masters of *Isfahan*, their Dominion did not extend beyond the Walls of the Capital, where they were, as one may say, invested by the little Towns round about it, which still held out against them. Those that *Nazyr-Ulla* had subdued in his Excursions, remained not long in Subjection: They took Arms with more Heat than before. So that *Maghmud* was forced to send another Army to reduce the neighbouring Cantons, before he ventur'd to let them penetrate farther into the Kingdom. *Zeberdest-Kan* was charg'd with this Commission. He was not an *Aghvan* by Birth, but having been taken by them in an Excursion twenty Years before, when he was very young, he had distinguish'd himself very much amongst them; and from a Slave and a Mule-Driver, as he was at first, he like another *Ventidius* was advanced to one of the chief Commands in the Army. *Ventidius*, as is well known, was taken in *Ascoli*, and led in Triumph by *Pompey's* Father. He also was a Mule-Driver at first, but he rose to be

General of *Mark Anthony's* Army against the *Parthians*, whom he vanquish'd in two set Battels, in the last of which their King *Pa-corus* was slain. The Fortune of *Zeberdest-Kan* was not unlike that of the *Roman* General's; and in the Execution of his Commission, he did not stand trifling about Towns and Villages as *Nazyr-Ulla* had done, but attack'd a Castle, called *Giez*, three Hours Journey from *Ispahan*, being convinced that if he made himself Master of that Place, which was strong for a *Persian* Castle, all the Towns and Villages of that Canton would soon submit to him. However, he would not easily have master'd it, had it not been for a *Gaure*, who being us'd to dig up the Earth for making Pits, dug a subterraneous Passage, by which he conducted him into the Middle of the Castle, where he surpris'd the Garison, when they least suspected any such Design against them. The taking of this Castle, which he furnish'd with good Troops, made all the neighbouring Country yield to him; and what was of much more Importance, dispos'd the Inhabitants of *Ben-Ispahan* to enter into a Treaty of Accommodation, which till then they would never hear of.

It has been shewn already, that no City in *Persia* had given the *Aghvans* so much Trouble as that Town had done, whose Reputation only had kept the neighbouring Cantons from submitting. *Zeberdest-Kan*, who had
before

before been tampering with them, had no sooner taken the Castle of *Giez*, than he renew'd his Negotiation, offering the Men of *Ben-Ispahan*, in the Name of the Usurper, not only their own Conditions, but also to have them sign'd by all the Officers of the Army, who should be Guarantees for the Performance of them. The taking of the Castle of *Giez*, the Distance of Prince *Thamas*, who shew'd no Life in him, and the little Likelihood there was that they should long hold out by themselves against all the Power of the *Aghvans*, made them more inclinable to hearken to his Proposals; to which they at last agreed, and came to an Agreement with the Usurper. But as much as they had been his Enemies before the Accommodation, they were as faithful to him after it; and 'twas well for him they were so. *Maghmud* not forgetting the Mischiefs they had done him, especially the Death of one of his Brothers, and of several other of his Relations, whom they cruelly murder'd after they had defeated him in Battel, set divers Machines at work to make them take a false Step, that might justify his breaking the Capitulation. He sent Emissaries to propose a Rising, and suggest to them the taking up Arms again. Tho' these Emissaries were not suspected at *Ben-Ispahan*, but were thought to act sincerely; yet the Force of the Oath they had taken to *Maghmud*, and the strict Obligation they took themselves

selves to be under by it, prevail'd over all other Considerations ; insomuch that very far from hearkening to these treacherous Emissaries, they sent them bound to *Maghmud*, who by this Act of Fidelity began to be reconciled to the People of *Ben-Ispahan*. But that which gain'd his good Will entirely, was a signal Piece of Service they did him by delivering up *Luft-Ali-Kan*, the Man whom he most dreaded of all the *Persian* Nation. The Usurper was so pleas'd with *Zeberdest-Kan's* good Conduct and Success in the Expedition of *Giez*, that he preferr'd him to all the Officers of his Nation in his Choice of a General to succeed *Nazyr-Ulla*, the most stout and successful of all his Generals, who dy'd in the manner we are about to relate.

At the same time that he sent *Zeberdest-Kan* to reduce the Cantons about the Capital, he order'd *Nazyr-Ulla* to march against *Chiras* near the *Persian* Gulf with the *Aghvans* under his Command, and the 6000 *Dergesins* who had list'd under him. 'Tis twelve Days March from *Ispahan* to *Chiras*. The Terror of his Name only made him Master of all the Towns in his Rout ; for he was the most famous of all the *Aghvan* Generals. Several Cities sent their Keys to him ; and tho' he expected to find more Resistance at *Chiras*, he doubted not to take the Place after some Attacks ; but a Musket-shot took him in the first Assault, and by his Death put an end

end to all his Hopes, to the inexpressible Grief of his Army, which he us'd to lead to Conquest; and who gave too sensible Tokens of their Grief, by the cruel funeral Rites with which they honour'd him, according to the barbarous Superstition of that Nation, who learnt it of the *Indians*. For after the whole Army had march'd round his Body with Colours downwards trailing on the Ground, they made their Slaves and *Persian* Prisoners perform the same Ceremony, and then cut their Throats at his Feet. They slew the finest of his Horses, cut their Carcasses to bits, and divided the Flesh among the Soldiers for a funeral Feast, as is the Custom among the *Aghvans*; and no funeral Oration could fit him better, than the Dejection his Army fell into on his Death. They lost most of that warlike Fierceness which they acquir'd by fighting under him, who never was beaten, and whom they thought invincible. They confess'd they did not expect to have such another General; and if they themselves had not then known the Importance of their Loss in him, the sudden Revolution caus'd in the Canton where they were would have convinc'd them of it. In effect, no sooner was the Death of *Nazyr-Ulla* known, than all the Places that had submitted to him in his March revolted and took up Arms again, as if they had yielded more to the Reputation of the General than the Strength of his Army; and

and this one Man being dead, all the rest of the *Aghvans* could not make them afraid. He was very human to those that submitted to him, contrary to the Custom of his Masters. In an Irruption he made on the Side of *Perie-Disaret*, three Days Journey from *Ispahan*, he found several great Towns inhabited by *Georgians* of the King's Guard, who swore Obedience to him. *Schah-Abas* after having drawn their Ancestors from *Georgia*, plac'd them in this Canton, which they began to inhabit one hundred thirty Years before. He oblig'd them at the same time to embrace the *Mehometan* Religion, dispensing with their drinking Wine, without which they wou'd not have conform'd to *Mahomet's* Doctrine. *Nasyr-Ulla* being inform'd of these Particulars, was the first to press them to return to their old Religion. In order to which he sent for a *Georgian* Priest from *Ispahan*; which he did less out of Affection to *Christianity*, than out of Hatred to the Sect of *Rafi*, which is that of the *Persians*; A Sect much more odious to the *Sunnis*, or Followers of *Omar*, such as the *Turks* and the *Aghvans*, than *Christianity* itself. He was pretty tall, but otherwise ill shap'd enough. He was a great Friend to the *Armenians*, and their declar'd Protector. He was term'd *Kior-Sultan*, or the Blind Lord, because he us'd to keep one of his Eyes shut. He learn'd the Trade

Trade of War by robbing: for before the last Wars of *Candahar*, he often plunder'd the Caravans, and sometimes made Incursions as far as *Ispahan*. The Usurper *Maghmud*, who knew what a Loss his Death was to him, caus'd a stately Monument to be erected for him near the *Armenian Church-Yard*, and gave an Endowment to two Priests to pray for him near his Tomb, and to keep a Holy Fire there, he being of the Religion of the *Gaures*, who worship Fire. As he was always successful in his military Enterprises, he was suspected of Sorcery, which 'twas said he learn'd of the *Indians*, always made use of in War, and ow'd some of his Victories to it. But as much a Sorcerer as 'tis pretended he was, he could not ward off the Musket-ball that kill'd him: and whatever Suspicion he lay under on that Account, it does not hinder the *Agh-vans* from visiting his Tomb with great Veneration, and honouring him not only as a Hero but as a *Santon*, or Saint of the Nation.

How discourag'd soever the Army before *Chiras* was at the Loss of this famous General, they did not give over the Siege. They resum'd it with more Vigour than before, under the Command of *Zeberdest-Kan*, who was sent to be their General, and had the Glory to be preferr'd to all the general Officers

cers of the Nation, in succeeding the most renown'd Captain in their Armies.

The Governor of *Chiras*, who till then had distinguish'd himself above all the other Governors of Places in the Defence of this; and had been very careful to get it well fortified, forgot however one thing, without which, all the Fortifications in the World signify nothing: and that was to furnish it well with Provisions. He grounded his Hope of keeping the Place, much less in his Ability or the Valour of his Garrison, than on the Capacity and Experience of an old *Arabian* War-Officer nam'd *Hagi-Bakir*, who was grown old in the Trade of Arms. He gave him a great Sum of Money to engage him to defend the City during the Siege: and promis'd him a much greater in case it was rais'd. It was therefore this old Officer who, properly speaking, commanded in the Town, where nothing was done without his Order.

The Governor of *Chiras's* good Opinion of his Lieutenant, made him commit a Fault which was prejudicial to the Preservation of the Place. For thinking himself safe in a Man whom he look'd upon as perfect in the Trade, he took no Care about any thing else. Instead of taking Advantage of the good Disposition of the Inhabitants, who by frequent Sallies on the Besiegers, had so fatigu'd them, that they despair'd of being
able

able to continue the Siege, he would not permit any more Sallies, and stifled, very *mal a propos*, the Ardor of a People dispos'd to do well, by keeping them shut up in the City. But Provisions beginning to fail, the Garison was soon diminished by the Flight of those who found Means to make their Escape by By-ways. They could do it the more easily, because the *Aghvans* were glad to see the Town growing empty, and lent them a helping Hand, by opening or selling a Passage to all that would leave it. The City not being able to hold out long for want of Victuals, *Hagi-Bakir* made the last Effort to supply it. He sally'd at the Head of 6000 Men; but when he would have re-enter'd the Town, his Retreat was cut off by a Body of 800 *Aghvans*, who routed his little Army, and kill'd *Hagi-Bakir* himself with 200 Men, who stood by him and fought to the last Gasps. As victorious as the *Aghvans* were, they would have been oblig'd to raise the Siege for want of Provisions, if the Convoy that *Hagi-Bakir* sally'd out to meet had not fallen into their Hands, by which they were enabled to continue it: For if the Scarcity was great in the City, 'twas greater in the *Aghvan* Camp, by the Precaution that was taken to shut up all the neighbouring Towns. But that Convoy brought Plenty into the Camp, and then the Besiegers waited with Tranquility for the Surrender of the Besieged to their Mercy; which the Citizens

zens of *Chiras* were soon compell'd to do, after having lost about 20000 Men, who dy'd of Famine. The Governor finding he could hold out no longer, sent his Brother to the *Aghvan* Camp to treat; but he found then the Truth of that great and old Maxim of War, That there is no Time more dangerous, nor necessary to keep a Guard, than that of treating; for the *Aghvans* detaining the Officer that was sent to them, gave the Assault when 'twas least look'd for, and found so little Resistance from the Besieged, who expecting a Capitulation had neglected their Posts, that they carry'd the Place, and put all to the Sword whom they could lay hands on. All the rest would have had the same Fate, if the Officers had not put a stop to the Fury of the Soldiers, and sav'd the rest of the Inhabitants from Slaughter, that there might be some left whom they might command.

But tho' the Men's Lives were sav'd, their Goods were abandon'd to Pillage; and the *Aghvans* did on this Occasion a Piece of Justice much to their Honour: for while they were pillaging the Houses, finding in a private Man's House, more Corn than would have serv'd the Garrison three Months, they were so shock'd at the Hardheartedness of that rich covetous Wretch who had sacrific'd his Country, and the Lives of above 20000 Men to his Avarice; that tying him up to a Stake in sight and in the middle of his Granary, they left him there to be starv'd to Death.

Such

Such was the End of the Siege of *Chiras*, which lasted ten Months. The *Aghvans* lost 2000 Men, without reckoning the *Dergesins*. As many of the City Garison perish'd. The Loss on both Sides, was at the first Irruption of the *Aghvans*, and at the Sallies which were permitted in the Beginning of the Siege: but after the Governor forbad them, there was hardly any body kill'd; the *Aghvans* having given no Assault except that by which they forc'd the City without much Resistance.

After they had supplied *Chiras* with a sufficient Garrison, they sent a Detachment of 400 Men towards the *Persian* Gulph, who penetrated as far as *Bender-Abassi*. At the News of this Irruption, the few *Persians* who were scatter'd up and down in the Farms and Houses about the Country; retir'd with their Effects to the Isle of *Ormus*. The *English* and *Dutch* Companies Factors kept close in their Houses, where the *Aghvans* durst not attack them. They got off for some Provisions, with which they furnish'd the Soldiers, without admitting them into their Houses. Thus after an Excursion of two Months, and without reaping any Benefit except terrifying the *Persians*, the *Aghvans* return'd less in Number than they came. For the Air of *Bender-Abassi* being very unhealthy, and even mortal for Strangers the greatest Part of the Year, the Malignity of the Climate carry'd off most of the 400

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Men, of whom not above 40 joyned the Army.

The Reader no doubt is in Pain to know what is become of Prince *Thamas* all this while ; and here it is proper to speak of him, since 'twas during the Siege of *Chiras*, that he began to put himself in motion against the *Aghvans*. He left *Casbin* at the Approach of *Aman-Ulla* who possess'd himself of that Place, at the head of 8000 Men ; and from *Casbin* retir'd to *Tauris*. He was scarce arriv'd there, but forgetting the Situation he was in, which render'd the Way of Insinuation and Intreaty more proper than that of Authority and Command, he sent to signify to *Vachtanga*, Prince of *Georgia*, with as much Haughtiness as the most powerful and absolute King of *Persia* could have done, that he should come to *Tauris* to do him Homage and receive Orders.

There was no likelihood that *Vachtanga*, who did not hearken to the Supplications of the Father, would be in a Humour to submit to the imperious Command of the Son. And indeed he received it with a Disdain and Contempt, which Prince *Thamas*, weak and impotent as he was, did not think fit to put up. So that instead of thinking to drive the Rebels out of the Capital, and several other Cities of the Kingdom which they had seiz'd, he went very unseasonably to reduce a Vassal who remain'd at home in Quiet, and
whom

whom it had been easy to have brought to Reason, if he had rid himself of the *Agh-vans*. Both Sides wasted themselves in a Civil War, the Consequence of which was only the weakening of both. The *Lesgians*, Neighbours and old Enemies of the *Georgians*, presently made their Advantage of the Weakness to which *Georgia* was reduced by this War. The *Turks* broke into the Province afterwards, and made themselves Masters of it without much Opposition, and are its Masters to this Day.

Prince *Thamas* did not behave better with respect to the *Armenians*, than he had done towards the Prince of *Georgia*. For instead of gaining by good Usage a Nation from whom he might have drawn great Succours, he began with over-burthening them with Taxes and excessive Contributions, which he levy'd without any Mercy, and with all manner of Rigor. Not content with ruining them, he would also force them to take Arms for him, and thought to reduce them to it by Terrors, in pillaging and sacking some of their principal Towns. The *Armenians* seeing themselves driven to the last Extremity, and having no Hopes of being better treated by a Prince who had no manner of Regard to them, at last took Arms, and canton'd to the Number of 40000 in the Mountains of *Kapan* near *Tauris*. Prince *Thamas* would needs force them with the few Troops he had,

but was so well beaten every time he attack'd them, that after several useless Attempts, wherein his Men were cut to pieces, he grew discreet at his own Expence, and found it necessary to send to them for an Accommodation. Both Sides treated with Sincerity; and the Prince was sensible of the great Assistance he might have had from them against the Usurper and the Rebels, by the important Services they did against the *Turks*, if instead of provoking them by the most crying Extortion and Indignities, as he did at first, he had carry'd himself moderately towards them, and gain'd their Affection, which they were well inclin'd of themselves to give him Proofs of. In the mean time the Siege of *Chiras* continuing still, made him turn his Eyes that way; and he at last seem'd to call to mind that the most dangerous Enemies he had, and those whose Progress ought most to alarm him, were the *Aghvans*. He had then with him 8000 chosen Troops train'd up in Wars. They were few in Number, but as many as were necessary to deal with the *Aghvans*, whose separate Body before *Chiras* was not numerous; and had those 8000 Men been well led, they might have promis'd themselves Success upon Occasions. But Prince *Thamas* himself ruin'd all his Hopes in that respect by the ill Choice of a General, whom he plac'd at the Head of this little Army. He was a Man of no Merit, especially as to War, and ought

ought to have been suspected by him with regard to the *Aghvans*, he being of the same Sect in Religion with them. His Name was *Fredon-Kan*; and as soon as he had got the Command of the Army, instead of marching against the *Aghvans*, he fell on the *Armenians* of *Perie*. He charged them with having courted Protection of the *Aghvans*; and under that Pretence he sack'd their Towns, and according to the barbarous Custom in *Persia*, he sent Prince *Thamas* some hundreds of Heads of the Prisoners he had taken, as if they had been Heads of *Aghvans* kill'd in Fight. He did this with so little Precaution, that 'twas seen by the Tonsure of the Pates, that some of the Persons slaughter'd were *Armenian* Priests. He retir'd after this notable Exploit to the City of *Kiulpekient*, where he settled his Camp; but as soon as he heard of the Approach of the *Aghvans*, he ran away, and his Army follow'd his Example.

The City of *Kiulpekient* had till then stood out against the *Aghvans*, and repuls'd them as often as she had been attack'd; but she lost Courage now, seeing herself abandon'd by the very Army that was sent to her Assistance: and a barb'd Elephant approaching the Walls to make a Breach, so terrify'd them, that every one fled towards a Fort joining to the City. But the *Aghvans* came too close on the Heels of them, cut off their Retreat, and slew the greatest Part of them. The few

who got into the Fort were so frightened at the enormous Size of the barb'd Elephant that appear'd in Sight from the Walls, that they presently surrender'd, and submitted to the Conqueror ; so that in less than an Hour, the Usurper *Maghmud*, who was in Person in this Expedition, routed an Army, forc'd a rich City, and reduc'd a Fort that was in a good State of Defence.

The Loss of *Kiulpekient* drew after it that of *Cachan*, one of the most famous Cities of *Persia*. The Inhabitants of this City had already suffer'd much by Famine ; and the Waste the *Aghvans* had committed in all the neighbouring Towns and Villages, depriv'd them of all Means of Subsistence by Supplies from thence : so they judg'd rightly, that if they were attack'd, their best way would be to surrender.

But when they understood what had pass'd at *Kiulpekient*, they thought it most advisable to be beforehand with the Conqueror, and sent to invite *Maghmud* to come and take Possession of their City, where he was received with great Pomp. The Usurper staid there some Days ; and that the good Treatment this City met with for submitting to him of herself might tempt other Cities to do the like, he behav'd towards the Citizens of *Cachan* with great Generosity and Humanity. He then returned to *Ispahan* full of Glory, and highly pleas'd with his new Conquests,

quests, which were celebrated with Fire-works, and all publick Demonstrations of Joy usual on the like Occasions.

The Usurper *Maghmud* enjoy'd in Tranquility all the Satisfaction which he could take in his late Prosperity, when it was troubled by a bold Stroke of *Aman-Ulla*, one of the Chiefs of the Nation, who pretended to be upon a Par with him; and complaining that he had not kept the Agreement they had made, offer'd to retire with his Troops.

To have a right Notion of this Matter, we must suppose that when the *Aghvans* undertook this Expedition in the Year 1722, they thought of nothing less than of dethroning the King of *Persia* their old Master. Their Views reach'd no farther than the making themselves Masters of *Kirman*, to secure their Retreat when they made Incursions into the Provinces on the Borders, and sometimes in the Heart of the Kingdom.

As *Aman-Ulla* was independent of *Myrr-Maghmud*, and had a Body of Troops of his own, he engaged with *Maghmud* on an equal Foot, and not as an Inferior or Subaltern; and the Agreement was, that they should divide in halves what they should get by their Enterprize, be it what it would.

Things having since taken a more advantageous Turn than they expected, as soon as *Myrr-Maghmud* saw himself seated on the *Persian* Throne, that he might avoid a

Competition with *Aman-Ulla*, he gave him 8000 Men, good Troops, to seize *Casbin*, and settle himself there as he was settled at *Ispahan*. *Aman-Ulla* enter'd it without Resistance: But as he was accountable to nobody for his Actions, and did not think the Terms of their Treaty sufficiently made good, till he had drawn as much out of *Casbin*, as his Associate had done out of *Ispahan*, he so provok'd the Citizens of *Casbin*, by his Extortions and Violences, that they rose, as has been said in its Place, and drove him out of their Town, very much wounded, and stripp'd of all he had, after having kill'd 4000 of his Men, and reduc'd the rest of his little Army to a very sorry Condition.

Aman-Ulla, disappointed in his Hopes of enriching himself by the Plunder of *Casbin*, was no sooner cur'd of his Wounds and return'd to *Ispahan*, than he trump'd up the Treaty between him and *Maghmud*. He talk'd big of his Rights, and pretended to the Half of whatever had been taken, even the Treasures of *Schah-Hussein*, and to be joynt King with *Maghmud*, pursuant to their Agreement.

His Pretensions were just according to the Letter of that Treaty; and *Maghmud* could take no Advantage of his having marry'd one of *Schah-Hussein's* Daughters, since *Aman-Ulla* had espoused another of them. So that they were on the same Terms with respect to

to their Right by Marriage. He press'd him daily more and more; and perceiving *Maghmud* evaded his Instances, without doing him Justice in dividing the Kingdom and *Schah-Hussein's* Treasures, he fell out with him, and fully convinc'd him, that every thing was to be expected from his Resentment.

The Princess he had married, finding him in this Disposition, did not miss that Opportunity to do her Brother Prince *Thamas* Service; and set him so against *Maghmud* by aggravating his Treachery, and representing him as a cruel Tyrant, capable of sacrificing every thing to his Ambition and Interest, that she determin'd him to joyn Prince *Thamas* and act against the Usurper, whose Spoils were to be divided between them.

These Remonstrances had all the Effect the Princess promis'd to herself. *Aman-Ulla* march'd from *Ispahan* at the Head of his Troops about the End of *December* 1723: and taking the Crown with him, directed his March to *Candahar*. But instead of continuing that Rout, he turn'd off towards the Provinces where Prince *Thamas* was Master, without declaring his Intentions.

The News of this, soon reach'd *Ispahan*; and *Maghmud* was so frighten'd at it, that he mounted his Horse immediately, and with the few People that were ready to accompany him, he rode after *Aman-Ulla*; leaving
Orders

Orders for his Troops to follow him with all possible Diligence.

He overtook *Aman-Ulla* at four Days end ; and the Remembrance of old Friendship stifling all Reproaches which they might have made each other, they embrac'd with great Affection : and *Aman-Ulla* was won by *Maghmud's* Cares and Promises. But the Usurper conceiving the great Danger he should have been in by his Friend's Desertion, took Care to provide against it for the future, by making himself sure of him in a way which should not offend him. He caus'd him to mount his own Horse to do him honour, equip'd with all the Pomp which is suitable to Royal Majesty : And after having embrac'd again, and renewed their former Oaths on the Points of their naked Swords, he sent him back to *Is-pahan* with a Body of Cavalry, which under the Name of an Escort was his Guard. He also directed the Governor of the Capital to have a watchful Eye over him till his Return, but not to seem to have any Intention to set a Guard upon him. In all other respects he was to do him all sort of Honours, and see that he wanted for nothing to his entire Satisfaction. But notwithstanding so much Respect and Ceremony, *Aman-Ulla* perceiv'd that indeed he was no better than a Prisoner ; and resented it so highly, that when *Maghmud* came back from his last Expedition, he could not be prevail'd

vail'd upon to wait on him. He thought he was more at Liberty than when the Usurper was present. But *Maghmud* soon convinced him of the contrary. For *Aman-Ulla* going from *Ispahan* with his usual Train, to visit his Brother's Tomb, *Maghmud* sent an Officer after him with Orders to thrust his Spear into *Aman-Ulla's* Horse's Belly ; which was done accordingly. 'Tis true he had another given him to carry him back to *Ispahan*, but he was so exasperated at this Affront, that when he came back, he kill'd with his own Hand, the the finest Horses in his Stables ; and perhaps had done more Mischief, if *Maghmud* had not run to appease him.

They were again reconcil'd at this Interview ; and the Usurper gave him his full Liberty, tho' to his own Prejudice ; for *Aman-Ulla* made no Use of it, but to destroy him ; being one of the Heads, and the most zealous one of the Conspiracy which was form'd against *Maghmud*, who was their Victim not long after.

When he sent *Aman-Ulla* to *Ispahan*, at the time he prevented his going to Prince *Thamas*, as has been related, he made *Aman-Ulla's* Troops take an Oath of Fidelity to him, and joyn'd them to his own. He then march'd towards that Part of *Arabia* call'd *Kiok-Kilan*, which depends on *Persia*, to bring it under Subjection to him. But he suffer'd so much
from

from the bad Air of the Climate, and the Incursions of the *Arabians*, that he lost all his Baggage, and almost all his Troops; not a sixth Part of them returning with him. Nay, there would not have been a Man sav'd, had it not been for the Assistance given him by *Kasin-Kan*, a *Persian* Lord, who possess'd a Principality in that Neighbourhood, and had been always faithful to *Maghmud* since his Accession to the Crown of *Persia*.

The Usurper came to *Ispahan* with the sad Remains of his shatter'd Army, himself very much vex'd and dejected. He would not be receiv'd in a solemn Manner, as he had been last Year. He only distributed 50000 *Tomans*, about 300000 Pounds among his Troops, as some Amends for the Loss of their Baggage, and to help them to buy more. But they were so diminish'd, that they could do him no great Service, so he employ'd them in reducing the Towns and Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Ispahan*.

During these Transactions, Prince *Thamas* who did not think himself strong enough to drive out the *Aghvans*, bounded his Ambition with the Preservation of *Tauris*, and what was left of the *Persian* Monarchy unconquer'd by the *Barbarians*. But on a sudden he found he had an Enemy on his Hands more formidable than the *Aghvans*. The *Turks*, not contented with seizing *Georgia*, enter'd

enter'd *Persia*, and advancing to *Tauris* laid Siege to it.

Happily for Prince *Thamas*, he had just put an End to the domestick Dissentions among his Party ; and by his mild Behaviour gain'd over those whom his unseasonable Pride had disgusted ; especially the *Armenians* of the Mountains of *Capan*, who by joyning him, put him in a Condition, not only to make head against the *Turks*, but also to attack them in their Intrenchments : which he did, and with so much Vigour, that he obtain'd one of the most glorious and compleat Victories, that had been known since the Beginning of the *Persian* Troubles ; for there were 20000 *Turks* slain in the Battel, and almost as many taken Prisoners. The *European* Gazettes attribute this Victory to *Myrr-Magh-mud*, which is the more false, for that the *Aghvans* never came to Blows with the *Turks*, whom they look on as their Brethern, being of the same *Mahometan* Sect, and always living with them in a good Understanding. •

At the same time that the *Turks* besieg'd *Tauris*, another Army of theirs, under the Command of *Achmet* Basha of *Babylon*, laid Siege to *Amadan*, a City famous for the Tombs of *Mordecai* and *Esther*, as is pretended in *Persia*. As soon as Prince *Thamas* had deliver'd *Tauris* by the Defeat of the *Turks*, he sent Part of his Army under the

Conduct

Conduct of *Flagella-Kan*, against the Basha of *Babylon*, to oblige him to raise the Siege of *Amadan*. But whether that General had not so much Capacity as was necessary for such an Enterprize, or that Fortune repented of her favouring the *Persians*, they were routed by the Basha, who found himself at liberty to continue the Siege without Interruption.

However, the Besieg'd, notwithstanding the Defeat of the Forces sent to their Relief, defended themselves still with great Resolution; and the *Turks* had lain before the City two Months, without making much Progress in the Siege, when a *German* Renegado, a good Engineer, gave them Entrance into the Town by a Mine. There would have been nothing but Fire and Sword, if the Basha had not in Compassion to the Inhabitants, caus'd one of the Gates to be open'd, for all that cou'd to make their Escape that Way; which most on that Side of the City did. All the rest, without Distinction of Age or Sex were put to the Sword.

Prince *Thamas* was greatly afflicted at this Loss, as well as at the Defeat of his Troops. He was angry with *Flagella-Kan*, and had Reason to be so. But instead of a moderate Reprimand, which that Officer deserv'd, he insulted him in such a Manner, as only serv'd to sowre him yet more. He sent him a Calaat or Vest of Gold Brocard, being of that
sort

sort worn by Women ; to shew him he was fitter to handle a Distaff than a Sword : which Affront *Flagella* so highly resented, that he immediately went over to the Usurper *Maghmud*, and carried 400 Men with him.

About this time happened the Adventure of the *Georgian* Woman, famous for her Courage, and the Novelty of the Resolution she took to revenge the Death of her Husband. Being informed that he was slain by the *Aghvans* at the Battel of *Giulnabat*, she departed from the furthest Part of *Georgia* disguised like a Man, and travelled above 400 Leagues to *Ispahan*, where mingling among the *Aghvans*, 'tis reckon'd she kill'd above 50 of them at several times, as Sacrifices to the Manes of her Husband. She was at last taken in one of those Executions, and brought before *Maghmud* full of the Wounds she had received, and those she had given herself to escape the Cruelty of the *Aghvans*. Her Sex being known, the Barbarian could not but admire the Greatness of her Soul. He order'd Care to be taken of her, and that she should be treated with all the Respect due to her Sex and Courage.

He was very impatient for the new Levies from *Candahar*, who arriv'd towards the End of the Year 1724. He list'd a good Number of *Dergesins* at *Ispahan* out of those of that Nation who had lately settled there,

there, and with some *Turkish* Troops taken into his Pay, he form'd as fine an Army as that with which he at first sat down before the Capital.

Finding he should frequently be necessitated to have Recruits from *Candahar*, and that therefore nothing would be of more Importance, than to secure the Communication between that City and *Ispahan*; he thought he could not better employ his Troops than in the Execution of this Project.

About ten Days Journey from *Ispahan*, in the Rout to *Candahar*, there is a pretty strong City, called *Jest*, or *Yesd*, which was a great Obstacle to that Communication, and very lately had given him a Proof of it by the Loss of 2000 Recruits coming from *Candahar*. The Men of *Jest* attack'd them in their Passage, and gain'd such a compleat Victory, that hardly one of them was left alive to carry the News to *Ispahan*.

This was not the first Vexation this City had given him; he still remember'd that two Years before, when he was marching towards *Ispahan*, he was repuls'd from this City, which he thought to carry by Assault, with the Loss of abundance of Men. Tho' this Check griev'd him much, yet he did not think fit to defer his March to the Capital by besieging it. But as if it had been order'd, that those very Events which seem'd most favourable to *Schah Hussein* should turn to
his

his Ruin, it was found that the Advantage *Jest* had obtain'd over *Myrr-Maghmun* contributed to the taking of *Ispahan*. For the Court of *Persia* had conceived such a Contempt of this Rebel and his Troops, that they scorn'd to take any of those distant Precautions, which are in no case to be neglected on the Approach of an Enemy's Army. 'Twas thought Weakness to provide before-hand in the Capital of the Kingdom against an Enemy, who had just miscarried before a little City in the Province; and it being a much shorter way, under an indolent King who hated Business, to defy Danger, than to use any Endeavours to ward it off; the Court was willing to believe they had nothing to fear; and that this imaginary Security could not be better grounded in the Minds of the People, than by abstaining from taking necessary Measures to render it real and solid.

By this means *Maghmud's* Disgrace before *Jest* was so far from being prejudicial to him with regard to his Design against *Ispahan*, that on the contrary it facilitated the Conquest of that Capital. But his Resentment against it reviving by the Loss of the 2000 Men that had been lately defeated in the same Place, and the Necessity of securing the Communication between *Ispahan* and *Candahar*, determin'd him to turn all his Forces against the City of *Jest*, and to make himself Master

of it. He went upon this Enterprize with the more Confidence, for that he was at the Head of an Army capable of undertaking every thing with Success, and had a good Train of Artillery; besides which, he held Correspondence with some in the Town, the *Gaures*, who inhabited a Quarter of it. In the mean time, the Citizens of *Jest* having Information that he was coming against them, prepared to defend themselves; and to deprive him of all Means of subsisting his Army, they laid all their Neighbourhood waste, ruining all the little defenceless Towns and Villages thereabouts. They furnished themselves with Provisions in abundance, and had a strong Garison in the Place. These Preparations, which were more than sufficient against open Force, could not secure them against Surprise and Treason; but very luckily they discover'd the Intelligence between the *Gaurs* and *Maghmud*, a little while before the Arrival of the Usurper's Army, and put all those Traitors to the Sword without sparing one of them, and then prepar'd to defend themselves with the more Security, for that they had no Enemies to fear but those without, whose Forces did not frighten them.

Maghmud came before the Place at the End of *December* 1724. and the Impossibility he saw there was of maintaining his Troops in a Country quite ruin'd, obliging him to hasten his Projects, he gave Order for a general Assault.

fault. The *Aghvans* attack'd it on all Sides; and not knowing that the Correspondence they had with the *Gaures* within the City was discover'd, they went on with all the Assurance of Men who reckon'd their Success was infallible; but they found every where a Resistance unexpected by them. They were in all Places repuls'd, and forc'd to give over the Assault. They now saw that the Town would not be carry'd so easily as they had imagin'd. The Men of *Jest* did not stop here; but taking Advantage of the Disorder they perceiv'd the Besiegers to be in, they sally'd upon them, and cut a great Number to pieces, put the rest to Flight, and took all the Baggage of the Army, which they brought into the Town in Triumph.

The Usurper *Maghmud*, who thought to recover in this Expedition the Reputation he lost in the last, was so dismay'd at these two successive Disgraces, and especially the latter, which he least look'd for, that he deem'd it to be an Effect of the Wrath of Heaven; and persuading himself that he could succeed in nothing till he had appeas'd it, he resolv'd, in order to it, to make a Retreat according to the superstitious Custom of the *Indians*, brought into *Candahar* by its Neighbourhood to *India*, and much prevailing there. The Manner of this kind of Retreat is thus:

The People shut themselves up in a subterranean Grotto, where no Light enters. The

Young and the Old suffer extremely ; for all the Nourishment they have is a very little Bread and Water ; not enough to keep them from starving : They scarce indulge themselves in a Moment's Sleep, which coming from Heaviness and Faintness is rather a Fatigue than a real Repose. The rest of the Time is taken up in Agitations of the Body, accompanied with loud Cries and deep Groans. These Agitations weaken them by Degrees, cause Convulsions and rambling Thoughts, which they take for Extacies ; and while they are in them, they fancy they see Spectres, and Apparitions ; which tho' the Effect of a troubled Brain only, is a new Torment to them.

This sort of Retreat lasts forty Days ; and *Maghmud* staid so long in his subterranean Vault. He then came forth, pale, meager, and reduc'd almost to a Spectre himself. The Effect of this ridiculous Piece of Superstition, was the turning his Head, and putting him out of his Senses, which he never recover'd again : and this was what lost him his Crown first, and then his Life.

From that Moment he became restless, wild and suspicious ; taking Umbrage of his best Friends, and believing that whoever came near him aim'd at his Life and his Throne. He was in the first Fit of this Hypochondriack Humour, when the Escape of *Mirza-Sefi*, *Schah-Hussein's* eldest Son, who
was

was formerly declar'd his Successor, threw him into a Transport of Rage, which caus'd the horrible Tragedy we are about to relate.

Mirza-Sefi having found Means to get out of the *Haram*, fled to the Province of *Bachtyaci*, where 'tis thought he still is, and is the same whom the *European Gazettes*, upon ill Information, pass for a supposititious Prince. The Usurper was so terrified at this News, that he resolv'd to murder all the Princes of the Blood, to prevent their making him uneasy for the future. On the 7th of *February*, 1725, in the Afternoon, he order'd all those Princes to be brought into a Court of the Palace, among whom were three of the paternal Uncles of *Schah-Hussein*, old and decrepid.

He commanded their Hands to be ty'd behind them with their Girdles, and, assisted by two of his Confederates who seconded him in this cruel Butchery, he massacred them with his Sabre. There were only two left, and those very young, who ran into the Arms of *Schah-Hussein*. This Prince hearing a Noise, and the Cries of dying Persons, came to the Place where the Slaughter was committed. At the sight of so many Princes weltering in their Gore, he could not forbear making the Tyrant bitter Reproaches. He stood between *Maghmud* and the two young Princes, his Children, whom the Usurper would have butcher'd even in his Arms; and in endeavouring to defend them, receiv'd a Wound

in his Hand. The Tyrant, as barbarous as he was, could not help being touch'd at the sight of the Blood of the King; and suffer'd him to save the two little Princes, to comfort him for the Loss of the rest.

'Tis not certainly known how many of them were murder'd. Some say one hundred and five; others a hundred and eighty; and others more than that. We should not be surpris'd to hear of so many Princes of the Blood in the *Eastern Courts*. We might rather wonder there were no more; since in the Reign of *Schah-Hussein*, thirty Cradles have been carry'd into the *Haram* in a Months time only. So that the Number would be infinite, if the greatest Part of them did not dye in their Infancy.

After this bloody Execution, *Maghmud* acted always like a Fury, and never shew'd the least Sign of sober Sense. The *Aghvan* Physicians who were with him, try'd all the Secrets of their Art, to restore him to his Senses; but their Remedies did not operate. They had Recourse to the *Armenian* Clergy, to rehearse that Part of the Gospel over the Head of the Usurper, which they term the *Red Gospel*: A Custom in vogue among the *Persians*, who pretend that several Cures have been done by it, on Persons disturb'd in their Minds, with the same Symptoms of Madness as *Maghmud* had. The *Armenian* Clergy came to the Palace in solemn Procession,

Procession, wearing their sacerdotal Habits, and bearing lighted Wax Candles in their Hands. They were honourably receiv'd there by the Courtiers rang'd on each Side, whose Looks modest and religious, and their great Silence and Respect shew'd their Veneration for these *Christian* Priests. After the Ceremony was over, they were reconducted to *Zulfa* in the same Order, by a Crowd of Court-Lords. The Usurper hapning to have a lucid Interval a little after the Ceremony, sent the *Armenians* two thousand Tomans, or 4000 Crowns in Specie, and as much in Effects which he had taken from them, promising with an Oath to restore the rest, if God was so gracious to him, as to restore his Health. He also return'd a thousand Tomans in the same Manner, and with the same Promise, to the *Dutch* Factors, from whom he had taken 40000 Tomans, or 2400000 Livres; and 20000 Tomans, or 1200000 Livres to the *English* Merchants: which to both Companies, amounts to 3600000 Livres. But these Restitutions did neither the one nor the other much Good. *Maghmud's* Successor made them void, as the Effects of a disorder'd Brain; and order'd those Sums to be brought back to his Treasury. In a Letter inserted in the *Mercurey*, *January* 1727, it is said he had forc'd the *Dutch* to pay him 800000 Tomans, which would make 48 Millions of Livres;

And the *English* 200000 Tomans, or 12 Millions; all which is false and exorbitant. The Sum I have specified, as in my Memoirs, is large enough in conscience.

Maghmud's lucid Interval lasted not long: and the Palsy, or as others pretend, the Leprosy, joyning to the Delirium, one half of his Body rotted; and his Bowels became so disorder'd, that he voided his Excrements at his Mouth; and in the horrid Torments he endur'd, he turn'd his Fury against himself, and tore his Hands with his Teeth.

While he was in this sad Condition, Prince *Thamas* had an Advantage over one of the *Aghvan* Generals, which allarm'd that Nation. This Prince with great Difficulty got 15000 Men together; and finding he was not strong enough to make head against the *Turks*, who broke into *Persia* three several Ways, he resolv'd to carry on the War against the *Aghvans*: and falling upon one of their Generals call'd *Seidal*, as he was marching to the City of *Casbin* with 7000 Men, he attack'd and defeated him.

The *Aghvans* were allarm'd at this News, and finding there was no Hope of any thing from *Maghmud*, who was not fit for Business, they thought of chusing him a Successor. The Right of this Succession, fell naturally to the Usurper's elder Brother; but he was actually at *Candahar*; and there being

430 Leagues Distance from that City to *Ispahan*, along a Country not yet subdu'd, he could not venture thence without a little Army, whose March would take up three or four Months time. In the mean while, the Affair was pressing, and their Condition was like to grow worse every Day, till some Order was taken about it. This Reason induc'd the *Aghvans* to proceed immediately to a Choice of a Successor to *Maghmud*: which Choice fell upon *Aszraff* his Cousin German; who was then in Confinement at *Ispahan* on the following Occasion.

Aszraff was the Son of that Brother of *Myrr-Weis* who succeeded that famous Rebel in the Command of the Nation; and whose Head his Nephew *Maghmud* had cut off, in order to put himself in his Place, as is elsewhere related. Tho' *Maghmud's* Power was increas'd by that Murder, and he had since acquir'd so much Credit with the *Aghvans*, that *Aszraff* was oblig'd to dissemble his Resentment for his Father's Death; yet he kept it still in his Mind: and whether for that Reason, or out of his Moderation, which was his particular Character, and which always preserv'd him in the Esteem of the *Aghvans*, his Countrymen, even while he was in Prison, he always oppos'd, as much as was possible, his Cousin *Maghmud's* ambitious Projects; and was always of Opinion, that *Schah Hussein's* Proposals of Peace ought to have been accepted.

Such

Such a Disposition of Mind could not be grateful to *Maghmud*, and began to make him suspicious of *Aszraff*. But he became more so, and with more Reason, during the Siege of *Ispahan*, on account of two Facts he was inform'd of; the one was, that out of Compassion to the Want *Schah Hussein* was reduced to in his own Palace, where he had not Food, he caus'd 7000 Batmens of Corn to be convey'd to him, about 84000 Pound Weight; each Batmen being 12 Pounds A-verdupoix. The second Fact was still more considerable, and more odious, which was his treating with the Court of *Persia* to come over to them with his Troops, on Payment of a certain Sum which he demanded, to be distributed among them. Had the Money been paid, *Aszraff* had certainly join'd the *Persian* Army. But the Court of *Persia*, out of a Piece of ill-tim'd Husbandry, put off the Affair with so many Delays, in Expectation of *Ali-Merdan-Kan's* coming with Provisions, that *Aszraff* grew weary, and broke off the Treaty; which he would never after renew, tho' the Court much desir'd it. The Intrigues between them were not so well conceal'd, but that *Maghmud* had some Intimations of them; and to prevent their being accomplish'd, drew off *Aszraff* from the Post where he commanded, and where he had a Conveniency to carry on his Correspondence with the Court of *Persia*;
and

and being obliged to dissemble till he was Master of *Ispahan*, he did not discover any Discontent against his Cousin ; but when he took him from his Post near the Capital, he pretended 'twas to give him a more honourable and more important Commission, by ordering him to cover the Siege : Which he did as long as it lasted. But as soon as *Maghmud* had possess'd himself of *Ispahan*, he caus'd him to be arrested and kept in Prison all his Reign ; that is, two Years and six Months.

He was a Prisoner, when by an unhop'd-for Revolution he was taken thence and placed upon the Throne. Tho' the Necessity the *Aghvans* were in to remedy the present Disorders oblig'd them to so sudden a Choice of a Chief, and made them cast their Eyes upon *Aszraff*, as the nearest Relation of *Maghmud* ; yet their high Esteem of his Merit and Capacity determin'd them to chuse him, as much as his Affinity to the Usurper. They respected him not only as a Man of Wisdom, Moderation and Equity, but as the greatest Captain of their Nation, since the Death of *Nasyr Ulla*. Nay, they gave him the Preference of the latter in the Comparison they made of them, saying, *Nasyr-Ulla* had been the more successful Robber, but *Aszraff* the more able and experienc'd General. He gave signal Proofs of it in the Battel of *Giulnabat* ; and all the World allow'd, that the Victory the

Aghvans obtain'd was owing to his good Conduct and Valour.

The Majority of the Suffrages being in his Favour, the principal Persons of the Nation, and the chief Officers of the Army, ran tumultuously to the Prison, where they saluted him King the 22d of *April*, 1725. From thence he march'd to the Palace, where he met with some Resistance from *Maghmud's* Guards, who were *Aghvans* of the Province of *Hazaray*, of the *Persian* Sect, and stood out for their Master. They sustain'd the Assault with all the Courage and Vigor that could be expected from their Fidelity to *Maghmud*; but being only, as one may say, an handful of Men within the Palace, while all without declar'd for *Aszraff*, they were forc'd to submit after an Hour's Dispute, and *Aszraff* became Master of the Throne upon which his Countrymen were eager to place him. But as he always had the Revenge of his Father's Death at heart, whose Head *Maghmud* had cut off, so he would not be placed on the Throne till that of *Maghmud* was brought him. He also order'd all *Maghmud's* Guard, consisting of 500 Men of the *Aghvans* of *Hazaray*, to be put to the Sword, and all his Ministers and particular Confidents, who were murder'd the same Day.

The Principal of all *Maghmud's* Ministers, and he whom he most trusted, was *Almas-Kullar Aghasi*, General of the Artillery, who fled,

fled. But *Aszraff* sent after him. The Messenger overtook him, and brought him back to *Ispahan*, where he was put to the Torture, to force him to declare where his Treasures were. He endur'd the first Torture with great Resolution; and to avoid another, he slew himself, after having slain his Wife to prevent her being expos'd, as he fear'd she might have been.

The Death of this Minister, who was in general Esteem, and whom every body thought worthy of a better Fortune, was Cause of Grief even to *Aszraff* himself, who saw immediately that all the Odium of it would fall upon him. He was indeed a Man of an unblameable Conduct, and whom no body had complained of ever since the *Aghvans* were Masters of *Ispahan*. The *Persians* themselves commended him, and the *Europeans* and Christians look'd on him as their Protector and Friend. No Person was so much trusted by *Maghmud* as he was: But he made no other Use of the Favour he was in, than to mollify him, and as much as he could to hinder his violent Actions. 'Twas very wrong to torture him to find out his conceal'd Riches. He never was at any Trouble to heap up Treasure; and very far from extorting any thing from any one, it was a Law with him to take Presents from no body. He said often, he would be a charge to none; and that without drawing on himself the Curses of the

the People by pillaging them, there was Treasure enough in the King's Finances, which was entirely at his Disposal, to answer the Expence which his Rank requir'd. For that Expence was very moderate: A little satisfy'd him; and he liv'd after the Fortune of the *Aghvans*, no otherwise than he had done before it. He was as generous as compassionate, of which he gave a remarkable Proof on this Occasion. A Widow of *Ispahan* being almost dead with Grief at seeing an *Aghvan* Officer about to carry away her only Son a Slave to *Candahar*, pretending the Mother had sold him for fifty Sequins, *Almas-Kullar* was extremely concern'd at the poor Woman's Trouble; and tho' he could not force the Officer to give back her Son, he bargain'd with him for the Lad, giving him 150 Sequins, and the Choice of any Horse in his Stables; for which the Boy was deliver'd him, and he restor'd him to his Mother. An Example of Generosity and Humanity that one could hardly expect from a barbarous Nation, and would have done Honour to the best Time of ancient *Rome*. *Aszraff*, who wanted only this Man's Riches, which he thought was great, because he had it in his Power to acquire Wealth, was the more troubled at his Death, for that he was sensible of his Merit, and intended to make use of him.

This Minister's Merit and Probity, did honour to *Maghmud's* Choice and Confidence, who

who was himself of a very different Character. And as this modern Conqueror has made a very considerable Figure in the *East*, one cannot but have a little Curiosity about what concerns his Person. I shall therefore give his Picture as I find it in my Memoirs. He was middle-siz'd, and pretty squat : his Face broad, his Nose flattish, his Eyes blue and squinting a little, his Look fierce. His Physiogmony had something rough and disagreeable in it, discovering a Cruelty in his Nature. His Neck was so monstrously short, that his Head seem'd to grow to his Shoulders. He had scarce any Beard ; and what he had was carotty. His Eyes were generally down-cast, and he look'd always as if he was musing. Every Morning he exercis'd himself in wrestling half an Hour with some of the most robust of his Officers ; and spent the rest of the Day in other Exercises proper to harden and strengthen his Body. Five Sheep were brought him daily with their Feet ty'd, for him to cut them in two with his Sabre. He was very dexterous at flinging a little Javelin, call'd *Girid* in *Persia*, and never fail'd of striking the Mark he aim'd at. He was so nimble in mounting his Horse, that without a Stirrop, he would lay hold of the Horse's Mane with his left Hand, and clapping his right on his Back, would leap into the Saddle. He slept very little, and never made use of Mattresses in a Campaign. He went the Rounds himself,

himself, accompanied with some of his most trusty Friends, to visit the Centinels in the Night ; not only in the Camp, but in *Isfahan* it self. He was very sober in his Diet and Drink, contenting himself with what he found : and as an Effect of his Sobriety, he was so exactly continent, that he never had Commerce with any Woman but his Wife, *Schah-Hussein's* Daughter, by whom he had a Son, whose Eyes 'tis thought his Successor has put out, if he has not taken his Life away. He was extremely severe in military Discipline : more fear'd than belov'd by his Soldiers ; they valu'd him for his Intrepidity in braving the greatest Dangers, and cry'd him up as a Man capable of the boldest Enterprizes, and whose Boldness was generally successful. But they did not wish him well, for these two Reasons : The first, because he sometimes took away the Booty from them : The second because he treated them with great Severity, even sometimes to Decimation : They knew also he had conceiv'd great Indignation against them, after his last Defeat at *Jest* ; and had dropt a Word, that he wish'd they were then as great Beggars as when they came to *Isfahan*. But what they prais'd him for above all things, was his inviolable Fidelity in Friendship when he had once sworn it. We have an Instance of it in his Conduct towards *Aman-Ulla*, even in the Moment when he saw he was betray'd by him : and 'tis certain, that
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another in his Place, would not have boggld at ridding himself of a Man of that Make, equally unfaithful and dangerous, who had first broken the most essential Obligations of Friendship. Such was the Character, and such the Picture of this Conqueror of *Persia*; who at the Age of twenty-six Years, (he being scarce more when he dy'd,) had made himself terrible to all the *East*. Tho' he had reign'd but two Years and a half, and dy'd very young, one may say he had run his whole Career in the taking of *Ispahan*; he having done nothing himself that was considerable afterwards, but miscarry'd shamefully in his two last Expeditions. Thus he was more qualified to make Conquests by the Boldness, or even the Temerity of his Projects, than to secure them by wise and suitable Measures. Quite contrary to this, his Successor and Cousin *Aszraff* had all the Phlegm and Capacity necessary to establish Dominion in a Kingdom conquer'd to his Hands: but was too judicious, and too bounded in his Views, to undertake a Conquest, or risk himself and his Army.

Nothing demonstrates to us the Design of Providence to deprive the Family of the *Sophi's* of the Crown, better than the Choice and Use it made of the two Usurpers whom it plac'd on the Throne one after the other. Such a Man as *Maghmud*, determin'd to run all Risks without considering Consequences, was the only proper Man to under-

take a Siege whereby he had certainly perish'd, if of an infinite Number of Faults, one still greater than the other, which the *Persians* committed, but one only had not been made. Heaven permitted him to succeed, contrary to all appearance; and when that Usurper by his Fury, Rage, Transports, and Cruelty, was no more fit to carry on his Work, Providence took him from the World, and put in his Place, a Man who had all necessary Qualities and Talents to perfect what the other had begun: he was sharp, subtle, intelligent in his Interests, and knew perfectly well what Value to set upon them.

He was regular in his Proceedings, and gain'd his Ends by the most effectual Means, without leaving any thing to Hazard if he could help it. He conceal'd all his Designs with an outside of Moderation and Probity, to which the People were often Dupes; and by favour of which, the most tyrannical Acts of Violence, pass for Acts of Justice.

His Politicks, which resembl'd those of *Tiberius*, except that they were not so dark and so cruel, rais'd him to the Throne in a like Manner, and with the same Dissimulation that *Roman* Emperor affected on the same Occasion. He excus'd himself; he blamed his Predecessor *Maghmud's* Ambition; he laid the Crown at *Schah-Hussein's* Feet, and press'd him to resume it, as he only had a Right to it. But the more he press'd *Schah-Hussein*,

sein, the more that Prince look'd on his Instances as so many Snares, and would not therefore hearken to them; declaring openly, that He preferr'd the Quiet he enjoy'd, to all the Glitterings of a Diadem: that he look'd on the Event which oblig'd him to abdicate his Throne, as a Decree of Providence: that from the very Moment of his Abdication, he never had the least Temptation to recover it, and should think he acted contrary to the Orders of Heaven, if he did but so much as listen to the Proposal. However, he complain'd very movingly of *Maghmud's* Cruelty towards the Princes his Children, and all his Family, and the little Regard he had had to his Person and Wants; adding that he promis'd himself from the Humanity of *Aszraff*, that he should be better us'd, and that he would make such Provision for him, as might enable him to pass the rest of his Days in Peace. He clos'd what he had to say, with offering him one of his Daughters, and inviting him to marry her.

Aszraff seem'd affected with *Schah-Hussein's* Discourse and Complaints, and suffer'd himself to be persuaded to take the Sceptre: and his Behaviour to the abdicated King was such, as made the People curse the Memory of his Predecessor, and gave them a fair Idea of his future Government. For after he had express'd his Sense of *Schah-Hussein's* Affliction for the Murder of so many Princes, and his

Abhorrence of that barbarous and bloody Massacre, he order'd the Bones of those slaughter'd Princes to be gather'd together, (for *Maghmud* had left them unbury'd in the Place where they were murder'd,) and put into Coffins, which were carry'd on Camels taken out of the King's Stables, to the City of *Kom*, seven Days Journey from *Ispahan*, where the *Persians* had a Garison, and were still Masters. He sent with this Convoy, rich Tapistrys, Golden Brocards, Tissues and other Decorations, for the Mosque where these Corps were to be deposited ; with a thousand Tomans to be distributed among the Santons and Poor of the Place, to pray for the Souls of those Princes. When this mournful Convoy came out of the Palace Gates to proceed to *Kom*, the whole City ran to meet it, and receiv'd it with Funeral Lamentations and Cries ; nor did they leave following it till it was past the Suburbs ; having at least this Comfort, that they had the Liberty to deplore their Misfortunes and those of the Royal Family. This Convoy arriv'd at *Kom* without any Accident, and was receiv'd there with new Lamentations, and great Honour. There was none but the Conductor of this mournful Caravan, who was a *Georgian*, that suffer'd ; and he was the Victim of a barbarous Custom in *Persia* : for it being the Usage in that Country to beat those that bring bad News, they pull'd out this *Georgian's* Eyes, but receiv'd the rest of

the Officers very honourably. However, the Corps of the murder'd Princes were not buried till Orders came from Prince *Thamas*, on whom that City still depended.

Thus did the new Sultan begin to reconcile himself with the *Persians*, and by an Act of Humanity which cost him little. He did it at the Expence of his Predecessor's Memory; to whom tho' he was oblig'd for that Barbarity, of which himself reap'd all the Benefit.

He did another thing in favour of *Schah-Hussein*, that gain'd him the Hearts of the *Persians* as much as the former: for he assign'd him fifty Tomans, or a thousand Crowns a Week for his Privy Purse; whereas *Maghmud* allow'd him no more monthly; and to find some agreeable Amusement, he ordered that his Advice should be follow'd in the royal Buildings *Maghmud* had begun to erect within the Walls of the Palace. *Afzraff* continued the Work, and commanded his Builders to take Directions from *Schah Hussein*, whose Time had almost always been employ'd in Building, which was his chiefest Delight; and besides that, it was the best Amusement he could have thought of for the depos'd King. The Buildings were like to be the more perfect for it, since no body understood that Art, or had a better Taste in it, than *Schah Hussein*, who indeed hardly understood any thing else.

In fine; to answer his Desires in every thing, he marry'd one of his Daughters, as he had press'd him to do. For this Marriage he repudiated his Wife, and by it he not only gave the old King the Satisfaction to see him his Son-in-law, but acquir'd a new Right to the Crown.

He shew'd himself as good a Politician in his Conduct towards the Conspirators who plac'd him in the Throne. After having made his Advantage of their Crime, he thought it for his Safety to punish an Insurrection which had been so beneficial to him; and which to leave unpunish'd might be pernicious. He had not been King eight Days, when he arrested all those that had been concern'd in the Conspiracy. Some of them he put to Death; some he shut up in Prison, and confiscated the Estates of all of them. By which Stroke of Policy he got a double Advantage, in delivering himself from the most turbulent and seditious Officers, and filling his Coffers with their Treasures, which they had pillag'd from the Citizens of *Ispahan* at the taking of that City. These Treasures were immense; for the Conspirators were the principal Officers of the Army, and those that got most of the Pillage: And it had been agreed between *Maghmud* and them before they enter'd *Ispahan*, that the King's Treasures should be his, but that they should have all the rest they could find in the City. Besides, when *Maghmud* slew 3000 of
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the chief *Persian* Lords after the Rebellion at *Casbin*, and *Aman-Ulla's* Defeat, he gave their Goods and their Wealth to those very *Aghvan* Officers, whom *Aszraff* now stripp'd of all ; much to his Profit, as from all [this will be easily conceiv'd.

Farther, the prodigious Riches he got by it may be calculated by what he made of the Confiscation of *Aman-Ulla's* Estate only. This Man, who was at first but a Santon, or Dervis, tho' some pretend he was Prince of *Kabul*, a Province between *Candahar* and the Territories of the *Great Mogul*, grew immensely rich in the Reign of *Maghmud*, with whom he claim'd an equal Share of the Crown, as has been seen in the preceding Pages. And tho' the Usurper did not relish the sharing the Crown with him, he gave him full Liberty in every thing else, suffering him to pillage and plunder at pleasure. He made him *Athemat-Doulet*, or Prime Minister of the Kingdom, after their last Reconciliation ; and the very Presents he took upon his entring on that Office amounted to 9000 Tomans, or 540000 Livres. From whence we may infer, that his Treasures equalled those of the greatest Kings. I shall give but one Instance of his Greediness, by which guess may be made of his Avarice and Extortion in all his Management. This Robber, amidst the most unbridled License to take whatever he would, did not disdain to practise the grossest Cheat to enrich himself. The Directors of

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the *English* Factory sent him considerable Presents at his Entrance into *Ispahan* to obtain his Protection. Among the rest was a Jewel worth 700 Tomans, or 42000 Livres. *Am-an-Ulla* got a counterfeit Diamond, and sent it back to the Factory in the place of the other, saying, he had rather have the Value of it in ready Money ; which they were obliged to pay him. Tho' *Maghmud* comply'd with him in all things, the dividing the Crown excepted, and made him otherwise as great and as powerful as he could ; yet he was one of the most vehement Conspirators against him in favour of *Aszraff* : In whom he found a more cunning and subtil Master than *Maghmud* was. Tho' *Aszraff* made Advantage of his Treason, he was glad to have a Colour for punishing him, and possessing himself of the Treasures he had scrap'd together ; as also for getting rid of a Man, who having disputed the Crown with his Predecessor, might think perhaps he had more Right to it than himself.

Sultan *Aszraff* got not much less by *Mian-gi's* Confiscation. He had been *Maghmud's* Governor in his Youth ; and all the Operations of the War had been directed by his Counsels. He was an *Indian* of *Kabul*, and pass'd for a Magician. The *Aghvans* themselves attributed to his Sorcery all the Success they had met with in their Enterprize. *Maghmud* had such a Respect for him, that he never appear'd before him, but
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with his Hands on his Breast crosswise, as Children of Quality always appear before their Fathers in *Persia*. He kiss'd his Hand very submissively, and would never sit till *Miangi* bad him take a Seat near him. His Authority was so great, that what he order'd was done without Contradiction, even tho' it was to the Prejudice of *Maghmud's* own Orders, who never once oppos'd his Opinion or his Pleasure. He was look'd upon as a Man of extraordinary Sense and consummate Prudence, and was at the Head of the Usurper's Council, where his Advice was always predominant. 'Tis not said he was one of the Conspirators, nor is it likely he was of the Number. His Riches were the sole Cause of his Ruin. The new King took all he had from him, but promis'd to send him to his own Country with a Reward suitable to his Services.

Zeberdest-Kan, who had so successfully serv'd *Maghmud* in the War, was the only Man of all those that had been arrested for the Conspiracy, who was set at Liberty ; and he ow'd it only to his good Conduct at *Chirras*, where he commanded. For Sultan *Afz-rass*, who had besides a good Opinion of his Capacity in War, and intended to take him into his Service, gave him his Pardon on the many Testimonies that were produced of his good Behaviour in his Government ; to which he sent him back with Remittances for 20000 Tomans rais'd out of the Confiscations.

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There were but two considerable Officers of the *Aghvan* Army, General *Sendal*, and *Machmet* of the Nation of the *Bolvoza*, who were not meddled with. All the rest were involv'd in the common Misfortune, which the new King's own Brother was not exempted from. He was younger than *Aszraff*; a lively young Man, who seeing his Brother on the Throne, was afraid he should be serv'd as the Kings of *Persia* were wont to serve their Brothers, and be shut up in the *Haram*. He did not come off so well; for having made his Escape, and being taken and brought back to *Aszraff*, who had sent Messengers after him, he caus'd his Eyes to be put out, by placing a Plate of Gold burning hot upon them, and then he was confin'd in the Place he was so much afraid of. *Maghmud's* Mother had also a Share of the Disgrace into which his Friends fell. *Aszraff* resenting that she had refus'd to interceed for him with her Son when he was a Prisoner, order'd her to be shut up a whole Night in the Court, where lay the rotting Carcasses of the Princes of the Blood, whose Throats her Son had cut; but the next Day he alter'd his mind, and treated her with Distinction and Favour, promising to send her home to *Candahar* with considerable Riches, and in the mean time making Provision for her Entertainment according to her Rank.

The Imprisonment of the Conspirators, the most powerful Men among the *Aghvans*, the
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Confiscation of their Estates, and above all, the Death of most of them, had delivered him from those of that Nation who could have given him any Umbrage; and his Humanity with respect to the Corps of the Princes of the Blood, whom he caus'd to be buried in the Sepulchre of the *Persian* Kings, from whom they descended, had made very advantageous Impressions of him on the Minds of the People; who besides, were not capable of undertaking any thing against him: neither was there any Fear of them in case of a Revolt, unless they had a Chief to head them, which must have been one of the Nobility; his Predecessor's murdering 300 *Persian* Lords at a time, made him pretty safe on that Score; but there were still twenty-five left, whom *Maghmud* had spar'd; whom happily for him, *Aszraff* found a Pretence to rid himself of; which will be explain'd in giving a Relation of his artful Conduct with respect to Prince *Thamas*, who was very near falling into the Snare he had laid for him.

We must first suppose that during *Maghmud's* Sickness, which lasted two Months, *Aszraff*, imprison'd as he was, held Intelligence with Prince *Thamas*, by Means of those twenty-five *Persian* Lords whom *Maghmud* had not put to Death with the rest. He and they wrote the Prince a Letter, inviting him to *Ispahan*, and promising him to declare for him. He assured him, that he should no sooner
appear

appear with his Troops, than his Friends would take him out of Prison, and he and they would joyn him with a great Part of the *Agh-van* Army. All he demanded for himself and them, in recompence of so important a Service, was the Preservation of their Lives and their Estates, which he must article for in the best Form, and with the surest Guaranty that could be. A Treaty was concluded on this Foot, before *Maghmud's* Death, while *Aszraff* was still a Prisoner. He had receiv'd a Writing from Prince *Thamas*, wherein he engag'd himself in the strongest Terms, calling down upon himself the most horrible Curses, if he did not punctually and inviolably perform all and every of the Conditions stipulated in that Treaty.

Things stood thus, when by a most sudden and unhop'd for Revolution, *Aszraff* was taken from the Prison, and plac'd on the Throne. This unforeseen Change of Fortune, made him soon change Sentiments with respect to Prince *Thamas*, but not his Manner of Conduct. Tho' the Engagements he had enter'd into with that Prince to drive *Maghmud* from *Ispahan*, could not subsist after the Usurper's Death, yet he still affected great Friendship for Prince *Thamas*, and to be always ready to treat of Peace with him. He began with sending Expresses to all the Cities which own'd Prince *Thamas* as their Sovereign, to let them know, that his Troops
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should not give them any Disturbance, till it was determin'd who should be Master. He at the same time, sent Ambassadors to the Prince with a Present of ten fine Horses in Royal Harnesses, and a Proposal of an Interview and a Conference with him, at a Place between the City of *Kom* and that of *Tehran*, to regulate their Interests, and by proper Measures taken in concert, to hinder the Destruction of so great a Monarchy.

Before this Embassy reach'd Prince *Thamas*, or he knew of *Maghmud's* Death, and the Choice of his Successor, he had a new Advantage over General *Seidal*, who coming upon him with an Army stronger than before, was beaten, and more shamefully routed than in the former Overthrow ; but he had an Opportunity by his Defeat to do the new Sultan a greater Piece of Service, than a Victory would have done him.

As soon as *Aszraff* was seated on the Throne, the twenty-five *Persian* Lords, by whose Canal, during his Imprisonment, he carry'd on his Treaty with Prince *Thamas*, sent that Prince Information of the Revolution which had happen'd at *Isfahan*. They told him in general, that the Face of Things was alter'd, and he must not depend on the Stipulations he had made with *Aszraff*, but must think of other Measures.

Those that carried these Letters were upon the Road, when the Battel was fought between

tween Prince *Thamas* and *Seidal*, and very unhappily for themselves and the Lords who sent them, they fell into the Hands of that General, who intercepted them as he was retreating to the Capital after his Defeat. He seiz'd the Bearers and the Packets, and sent them to the new Sultan.

Tho' there was nothing very criminal in the Information those *Persian* Lords had given Prince *Thamas*; nor any Treachery in their informing that Prince of the Change that happen'd at *Ispahan*, since *Aszraff* had himself employ'd them to mediate between him and Prince *Thamas*: yet the new Sultan made that a Colour to cut off those five and twenty Lords, after which there would be none of the *Persian* Nobility left to advise the Prince what Measures to take against him. So that he took hold of this Occasion, the Information they gave Prince *Thamas*, which he made High Treason, to serve them as *Maghmud* had serv'd the 300: and inviting them to his Pleasure-House at *Farabat*, as if to hunt with him, he caus'd them every one to be murder'd. And as this Murder could not but raise Diffidence in the Mind of the Prince whom he design'd only to amuse with an Embassy to surprise him, he immediately took the Field with an Army of 20000 Men, the most he could get ready in haste, and march'd to the Place where the Interview was appointed to be. The Prince decoy'd by that Embassy, and the
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kind Offers of the new Sultan, mistrusted nothing, but advanced securely towards the Place of Conference, and having much less Number of Troops with him than the Sultan, he had doubtless been surpris'd by him, if the Nearness of Danger had not made him bethink himself of Precautions. He thought it was not prudent to trust to an Enemy's Word without examining Places and Disposition of things beforehand. To that Purpose he detach'd one of his Lieutenants, *Aslan-Kan*, to get Intelligence ; and the latter finding *Aszraff* was approaching with an Army, instead of a small Body of Troops as an Escort, and that without stopping at the Place of Rendezvous, he continu'd his March towards the Prince ; he sent his Master notice of it, that he might stand upon his Guard.

Prince *Thamas*, who had lately got two Victories over the *Aghvans* commanded by General *Seidal*, had such Confidence in his Troops, and in his good Fortune, that tho' he was much weaker than *Aszraff* in Numbers, he was resolv'd to attack him ; and would have done it, if Jealousy, which had sown Division in his little Army, had not spoil'd his Design. They consisted of Forces of two Nations, *Kagiats* and *Kitzibasz*, or as *Tavernier* calls them, *Keselbachs* or *Red-Heads*, so term'd from the Red Caps they wore formerly. The *Kagiats* were more in Number ; and taking Advantage of the Prince's

Want of them, they told him they were ready to spend their last Drop of Blood in his Service, and would answer for the Victory ; but in Recompence, they demanded that to honour their Militia he would promise to chuse for the future the *Athamat-Doulet*, or Prime Minister, out of it. This the *Kizit-basz* oppos'd, and the two Bodies divided upon it. The Prince's Authority, which they obey'd but just as much as they pleas'd, was too weak to reconcile them, and *Thamas* was oblig'd to give back, instead of attacking the Enemy. He retir'd into the Province of *Masandran*, near the *Caspian* Sea, and the *Agh-vans* assaulted the Cities of *Kom*, *Sava* and *Tehran*. They took the two former, but were repuls'd by the latter with very great Loss. One can't tell where the Author of the Relation inserted in the Second Volume, for *December*, 1726, learn'd that Prince *Thamas* retir'd at first to this City, whence, according to him, he made his Escape in the Night ; and that *Aszraff* afterwards forc'd and sack'd the Town, out of Spite at his missing Prince *Thamas* there. It is false that Prince *Thamas* retir'd thither ; and *Aszraff* was so far from taking the Town, that he was beaten off, and compell'd to raise the Siege, with the Loss of a great many Men. After the Prince had secur'd himself in *Masandran*, he was no more talk'd of. The Discord and Dissentions that grew among the few Troops he had, depriv'd him of all Means of

of making head against the *Turks* and *Muscovites*, who each broke in on a Part of the Kingdom; much less against the *Aghvans*, who were Masters of the Capital, and most of the inland Provinces.

The *Muscovites* did not push their Conquests much beyond the Borders of the *Caspian* Sea; but the *Turks* carry'd theirs farther within Land. If they were defeated by Prince *Thamas* before *Tauris* in 1724, they had their Revenge at *Amadan*, the most considerable City in *Persia*, equal in Bigness and Strength to *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*; for the Bascha of the latter City possess'd himself of *Amadan*, after having cut to pieces the Relief Prince *Thamas* sent it, as has been said in its place. But all these Exploits were only a Prelude to what they were to do in the following Year 1725. They then enter'd *Persia* three several ways with three Armies. One fell upon *Georgia*, where they found no Resistance; this Province having been ruin'd, first by the Civil Wars between Prince *Thamas* and *Vachtanga* Prince of *Georgia*; then by the *Leshgians*, who seiz'd *Teflis* the Capital, and destroy'd it, and all that was in it, with Fire and Sword. The City of *Gengea*, Capital of a Principality of the same Name, famous for the Silk Trade, and one of the fairest and richest Cities in *Persia*, held out but two Days, and surrender'd to the *Turks* by Capitulation.

The Army that enter'd *Persia* on the Side of *Erivan* took that Place by Storm at the first Attack; and there were 30000 *Armenians*, who could not get into the City, put to the Sword, whatever the *Turkish* Officers could do to prevent it. But the *Fanisaries* remembring their Loss before *Tauris* last Year, where the *Armenians* spar'd none, were so enrag'd against them, that there was no saving them out of their Hands. The Citadel sustain'd a Siege of two Months, at the End of which it was surrender'd by the Interposition of the *Armenian* Patriarch. Besides the 30000 *Armenians* who were kill'd at the taking of the City, there was a great Number carry'd into Captivity, driven along like so many Herds of Cattle. Their Number diminish'd so during these Wars, that at the End of 1725, there were not half so many in *Persia*, as before the coming of the *Aghvans*. The only *Armenians* that continued to make Resistance, were those that retired to the Mountains of *Kapan*. None had contributed more than they to the Defeat of the *Turks* before *Tauris*. They drove them away a second time; but being abandon'd by Prince *Thamas*, they made peace with the *Turks*, who granted them what Conditions they would have. 'Twas agreed, that upon Payment of a certain Tribute they should have no Garison, but only a small Number of *Turkish* Officers to command there in the

Erivan Town ^I *Armenians* ^{Grand} *the* *Turks* *for* *2* *months*.

Grand Signior's room. The *Turks* being very well pleas'd that they should render themselves irreconcilable to the *Persians* their old Masters, permitted them to make Inroads into *Persia*, and plunder their Towns and Villages. They made use of this Permission, like Men who had not forgot the Insults and Injuries they had suffer'd from the *Persians* for more than a hundred Years past. They now pillag'd them in their turn, and in different Places took from them considerable Booty.

Tauris, heretofore the Capital of *Persia*, and the greatest City of the Kingdom next to *Ispahan*, fell into the Hands of the *Turks* in the Year 1725, and was almost as soon taken as besieged. *Osman Basha*, who commanded at this Siege, had caus'd the Christians to be told, that they should retire with their Effects into the Churches, assuring them they should come to no Damage. He even publish'd an Order in his Camp, that no Churches should be pillag'd, tho' the Town was taken by Storm. But this Basha being one of the first who was kill'd in the Assault, his Order did not take place; and the *Turks*, as much to revenge the Death of their General, as out of Resentment for their Loss before the City the Year preceding, put all to the Sword without Distinction. The Slaughter lasted five Days, and above 200000 Men were slain.

In the mean time, *Achmet Basha*, who made himself Master of *Amadan* in 1724, made an Irruption on the Side of *Ispahan* in the Year 1725. He left a strong Garison in *Amadan*, and advanced with his Army as far as *Hurmavat*, within three Days Journey of *Ispahan*. This Country is occupy'd by the *Bachtylians*, who live there under Tents. They pretend to have authentick Titles, by which they prove that their Ancestors were converted to the Christian Faith under Constantine the Great. If the *Lorians* their Neighbours would have acted in concert with them at the Arrival of the *Aghvans*, these two Nations would have been strong enough to have repuls'd them, and delivered the Capital. But an antient Antipathy between them hinder'd them from joining; and they were not potent enough each by itself to make head against the Rebels.

At the Approach of *Achmet Basha's* Army, the *Bachtylians* retir'd to the Mountains with their Families and their Flocks, which are all their Wealth; and as they knew all the Defiles in the Country, they watched their time to fall upon the *Turks*. They incommoded them so much, and kept them in such continual Exercise by their unexpected Attacks, that *Achmet Basha* was obliged to march back in *October* 1725; the rather, for that he was recalled by the Irruption of the *Arabians*, who wasted the Country about

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Babylon with more Fury than ever. *Achmet* lost abundance of Men in this Expedition, and with no other Fruit of it, than having struck Terror into the Cantons where he pass'd. This was one of the Sieges of *Ispahan*, which the *European Gazettes* say the *Turks* made, without the least Foundation; for they came not within two Days Journey of the City. The same *Gazettes* are as much out in what they say of the Advantages which the same *Achmet Basha* obtain'd over *Ali-merdan-Kan* the *Persian* General, who beat him several times, and once made himself Master of his Baggage. This General had with him two of his Daughters who follow'd him in Mens Cloaths, and 'tis said fought by his Side at the Battel of *Giulnabat*. He took them with him in his Incurfions towards *Balsora*. He ruin'd all that Coast which belongs to the *Turks*, and returned in Triumph with a great Booty. There was no *Persian* Captain so formidable to the *Turks*. They look'd upon him as the Thunderbolt of War, and never durst stand before him. The *Persians*, whose *Achilles* he was, grounded all their Hopes upon him, and no body was more proper than he to support and perhaps re-establish Prince *Thamas's* Affairs. But that Valour which should have the more endear'd him to the Prince, render'd him the more suspected by him; insomuch, that he tamper'd with one of his Brothers to betray and destroy him.

Thus was *Alimerdan-Kan* oblig'd to leave him, spite of his own Inclinations, and provide for his own Safety.

While these things past in the *Western* Provinces of *Persia*, Prince *Thamas*, who had retir'd to the Province of *Masandran*, understood that the City of *Meszat*, on the Confines of Great *Tartary* was besieg'd: 'tis spoken of already in this History : it suffices to say here, that *Meszat* is to the *Persians*, what *Mecca* is to the *Turks*. Prince *Thamas* who was in no Condition to go by himself to the Relief of this City, applied to a neighbouring Prince, Vassal to the Kingdom of *Persia*, to whom he sent rich Presents, to engage him in the Enterprize. *Melik-Magmoud*, so was that Prince nam'd, receiv'd the Presents, march'd to the Relief of *Meszat*, and rais'd the Siege : but instead of restoring it to Prince *Thamas* after he had deliver'd it, he seiz'd it to his own Use, and joyn'd it to his Territories. There are several other little Princes on the Coast of the *Persian* Gulph, Vassals to the Crown of *Persia*, but more in Name than Effect, each of them being too weak to render himself absolutely independant. They had not thrown off the Yoke, but they were not at all helpful to Prince *Thamas*, whom they assisted neither with Men nor Money. 'Tis impossible but they must follow the Fate of the rest of the Kingdom, and become an Accession of Victory to the *Aghvans*. Happy

py if the latter do not reduce them to a Dependence more troublesome than was that with which the Kings of the Race of *Sophy* were contented.

The *Lesgians*, a barbarous Nation whom we have often spoken of, and who dwell under Mount *Caucasus*, between *Georgia* and the *Caspian* Sea, were too much accustom'd to pillage *Persia* in the most peaceable Times, to be idle Spectators, now every thing was in Disorder; so that they broke in upon the neighbouring Provinces, which they plunder'd and wasted. After they had ravag'd *Georgia* with the utmost Inhumanity, they left it on the Approach of the *Turks*, to do the same by the Province of *Szyrwan*, in their Neighbourhood, between the *Caspian* Sea and *Erivan*. They made themselves Masters of *Szamaki*, the richest City in *Persia*, and the strongest of the Province. They also seiz'd several lesser Cities; but the *Muscovites* coming upon them soon after, they abandon'd all of them, and extended their Conquests along the Coast of the *Caspian* Sea, as far as the Province of *Ghilan*, which bounds that Coast, turning from *West* to *South*, and which they entirely subdu'd. Thus there remain'd only to Prince *Thamas*, the Province of *Masandran*, South of the *Caspian* Sea, and some Cantons in the other Provinces; and even there, they obey him no more than they please, and rather out of Compassion to

his Misfortunes, than from any other Motive.

The Affairs of *Persia* being in this Situation, *Aszraff*, who had miss'd his Blow, as to surprizing Prince *Thamas*, was no sooner return'd to *Ispahan* from that Expedition, than he thought of taking effectual Measures to establish himself in the Kingdom. He was not afraid of Prince *Thamas*'s hurting him, but he saw a more dangerous Enemy to make head against, and that was the *Grand-Signior*. He was sensible that if the War lasted two or three Years longer, even tho' he should have the better of the *Turks*, he would find himself drain'd of Men, and forc'd to succumb in the midst of Victories. He had no Hopes of Recruits from *Candahar* Side, where *Maghmud*'s Elder Brother was Master, and more dispos'd to dispute the Crown with him, as Heir to his Brother, than to help to maintain him in his Usurpation. Besides, tho' his Dominion extended over a great Part of *Persia*, he was not absolute Master of all the Ground he had gotten. There were many fortified Towns, not only in the Provinces, but even about *Ispahan*, which he had not yet reduc'd. He thought it was of more Importance to him entirely to subdue the Provinces of which he was Master, than to dispute the rest with the *Turks*. He could not regulate Matters at home, as long as he had the *Ottomans* upon his Hands: wherefore he resolv'd to
treat

treat with them on the best Conditions he could; and to that Effect, he sent an Ambassador to the *Porte* about the End of the Year 1725.

The Person he made choice of for this Embassy, was an *Aghvan*, who from a Mule-driver, was advanc'd to be a Colonel. But because a Man of that Stamp was not very proper to manage a Negotiation, he gave him only the Title of Ambassador, and joyn'd with him *Manuel-Cheriman*, Head of the Family of that Name, the most noble and considerable of all the *Armenian* Families at *Zulfa*, to act and negotiate according to his Intentions, with the *Grand-Signior's* Ministers.

In the mean time, the War still continu'd between the *Turks* and *Aghvans*, but without gaining an Inch of Ground one of the other; which at last determin'd the *Turks* to make Peace with *Aszraff*. I shall touch very lightly upon the Operations of the War in the two last Years: my Memoirs, which go no farther than the Year 1725, taking no Notice of them. As to Gazettes and News-Papers, there's no depending on them: they are either dry and barren, or fictitious and false. I shall make no further Mention of Military Events, than as they have Relation to the Treaty which put an End to it, and as those Events did facilitate or retard it.

At the End of the Year 1725, *Persia* was divided between four Powers. *Aszraff* possess'd the greatest Part of the Inward Provinces. The *Turks* were Masters of near 150 Leagues in Length, from the City of *Amandan*, which is towards the 27th Degree North Latitude, to the North of *Georgia* in the 43d Degree of the same Latitude. The *Muscovites* were Masters of all the Western Coast of the *Caspian* Sea, and of the Province of *Ghilan*, which bounds it, turning to the South; that is, from 37 Degrees of North Latitude, to 45; being 160 Leagues of Country in Length: but their Conquests are very narrow towards the Coast of the *Caspian* Sea, and do no where extend much in Breadth, being scarce a Quarter as considerable as those of the *Turks*. The Prince who has most Right to all these conquer'd Provinces, that is, Prince *Thamas*, has the least Share of them: for he has nothing but the Province of *Masandran*, to the South of the *Caspian* Sea, where his Authority is not much reverenc'd. The other Three pillage it, and are all willing to treat with him to preserve their Conquests. 'Tis true, as to *Aszraff's* Accommodation it is out of the Question: for since the Conference that was propos'd, and his Intention to surprize Prince *Thamas* at it, there is no Likelihood that the Prince will give Ear to any such Proposition on his Part; and the Usurper himself does not think of it. But

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as to the *Turks* and *Muscovites*, it is not their Fault that the Prince does not put his Fortune into their Hands.

The *Muscovites*, who made their Conquests rather like cunning Men than greedy Men, thought of nothing but of keeping theirs. They fear'd no body but *Aszraff* or the *Grand-Seignior*. If they had been Masters of the Fortunes of Prince *Thamas*, this would have made them entirely easy on the side of *Aszraff*, who out of Apprehension of their assisting him with Forces to support his Title, would have given them no Disturbance in their Conquests. But without that Advantage, it was not difficult for them to keep what they had got, since a middling Army in the Province of *Ghilan*, wou'd cover them on the Side of *Persia*. They were more expos'd on the Side of *Georgia*, from whence the *Turks* might attack them : and 'tis on this Account, that they have been labouring these two last Years to obtain Commissioners to fix the Bounds of both Empires, with relation to their new Conquests, pursuant to a Treaty concluded between the *Czar* and the *Grand-Signior*.

As to the *Turks*, who after the taking of *Ispahan*, and the Dethronement of *Schah-Hussein*, had in their Hearts devoured all *Persia*, they were not very forward to perform that Part of the Treaty. Not content with being Masters of the vast Country they had already conquer'd, they aim'd still to possess themselves
of

of what the *Aghvans* and *Muscovites* had got. They were doubtless the most powerful of all the Competitors, and therefore supposed that whatever Turn Affairs took, the Reckoning must be made up with them, and their Conquests wou'd be confirm'd to them whenever they thought fit to make a Peace. This is the Reason why they were so difficult in appointing Commissioners to fix the Bounds of those Conquests, and to conclude a Treaty with the *Aghvans* which was two Years in negotiating before they came to a Conclusion. All that time they were treating with Prince *Thamas*, whom they often promis'd to restore to the Throne of *Persia*; and probably they might intend it, because 'twas for their Interest: For that Prince would not only have given up to them that Part of the Kingdom, which they had possess'd themselves of, for his Restoration, but they would have kept him in so great a Dependance upon them, that under the Title of King, he should have had no more Power in *Persia*, than a Bascha of *Babylon*.

Sultan *Aszraff* saw what both the *Turks* and *Muscovites* aim'd at; and being convinc'd that while he was at War with such powerful Enemies, he should never be able to settle his new Dominion on a solid Foundation, he bent all his Views to a Peace with the *Turks*, as the Enemy he was most afraid of, and to whom he offer'd to sacrifice all the Country they had conquer'd in *Persia*; Prince *Thamas* himself
having

having made the same Offers, if he was re-establish'd by their Means.

Notwithstanding that the proud *Mussulmans* gave themselves very haughty Airs, during the whole Course of the Negotiations between *Aszraff* and them, yet he bore them all, and continu'd the Treaty. He perceiv'd they rais'd so many Difficulties, in Hopes of some great Event, which would make them entire Masters of Peace or War on their own Terms; wherefore he stood on the defensive, and would not run the Risk of a general and decisive Action, except he could take them at a certain Advantage. By this wise Management, he gain'd his Ends of them at last, and oblig'd them to sign the Peace he had demand'd of them two Years before.

His Ambassador arriv'd at *Constantinople* the 18th of *January*, 1726. He had been expected some Time; and on a Rumour of his coming, the *Muscovite* Envoy made Instances with the *Grand-Vizier*, that he should not be admitted to Audience. The Pretence for his opposing it, was, that the Ministers of the Chief of the *Persian* Rebels could make no Propositions to the *Porte*, but what must be prejudicial to *Muscovy*; and therefore could not have Audience without striking at the Treaties concluded between the late *Czar* and the *Grand-Signior*. But the *Grand-Vizier* answer'd, That according to the Laws of the *Ottoman* Empire, he could not avoid hearing

hearing all *Mussulmen* who had Affairs with the *Grand-Signior* his Master; and all the *Muscovite* Minister could obtain, was the Communication of what was treated of with *Aszraff's* Envoy, who was favourably receiv'd; and as soon as he arriv'd, Commissioners were appointed to enter upon a Negotiation on the Propositions he had to make.

But all these favourable Dispositions vanish'd at the first Audience the *Grand Vizier* gave *Aszraff's* Minister; who having given his Master the Title of the *Grand-Sophi*, the *Vizier* would not treat on that Foot, and upon an Equality with a Head of Rebels: and indeed it so shock'd him, that he would hear him no more, but dismiss'd him without Conference, assembl'd the *Divan*, declar'd Sultan *Aszraff* an Enemy to the *Grand Signior*, and order'd his Ambassador to depart *Constantinople*. There had not till then, been open War between the *Turks* and *Aghvans*; but now the former began to think of carrying it on against the latter with Vigour, and propos'd nothing less than to besiege *Aszraff* in *Ispahan*.

The *Ottoman* Army consisting of 70000 Men, they took the Field early, and having surpris'd *Casbin*, which the *Aghvans* then possess'd, they marched to *Ispahan*. *Aszraff* being informed of their coming, so wasted all the Country between the Capital and *Casbin*, that the *Ottomans* found not where-

wherewithal to subsist, and were forced to take By-Roads, where the Country was not wasted so much. While they were on this March, the Inhabitants of *Casbin*, excited by *Aszraff's* Emissaries, rose upon the *Turkish* Garison, and drove them out of the City, which was again garison'd by *Aghvans*. The *Turks*, who were posted in the Neighbourhood of *Ispahan*, were attack'd by *Aszraff's* Troops, and worsted. That Usurper had so well provided for the Defence of his Capital, that the *Ottomans* thought it would be in vain to besiege it. There were 25000 *Aghvans*, regular Troops, within the City, and a great Body without, who continually harass'd the *Turks*, and had the better of them in all Engagements. These Disgraces, and the Improbability of their being able to subsist long before the Place, after the Country about it was left so desolate, made them retire into *Georgia* much diminish'd in Number. And thus ended the Campaign of 1726, in which Sultan *Aszraff* by his good Conduct acquir'd both Advantage and Honour.

The *Turks* finding by this, that things would not take such a happy Turn for them as they expected, renew'd their Negotiations with Prince *Thamas*. 'Twas reported then that he inclin'd to accede to the Treaty concluded between the late *Czar* and the *Grand Signior* for preserving their Conquests in *Persia*; which he consented to abandon to them,

them, on condition that they joined together to re-establish him on the Throne, according to a Resolution taken in the *Turkish* Divan the 7th of *July* the same Year, 1726. Which Resolution was however more easily taken in the Divan, than executed in *Persia*, where the *Turks* were much more baffled by *Aszraff* in the Campaign of 1727. They were beaten first by a Body of *Aghvans*, who attack'd them in their Quarters of Refreshment. This Defeat was so entire, that the *Janisaries* and *Tartars* intimidated by certain Prophecies which *Aszraff* spread among them by his Emissaries, surrender'd themselves Prisoners of War. The second time they were beaten, was near the City of *Amadan*, where *Aszraff* in Person defeated a Body of 16000 Men, who were coming to the Relief of *Marsaim*, which he was about to besiege. Nay, 'tis said that pursuing the *Turks* to the Gates of *Amadan*, he enter'd it with them, and took the City.

Besides that *Aszraff* was a great Captain, one thing gave him a particular Advantage over the *Turks*, which was his pretending that he only defended himself against Men whom he always regarded as his Brethren, being not only of the same Religion, but also of the same Sect of the *Sunnis*. He protested when he was in the Heat of Battel, that it was Death to him to be forced to draw his Sword against them, and almost ask'd them
pardon

pardon for killing them ; which he was necessitated to do for the Preservation of his own and his Friends Lives.

All these Misfortunes, and the Loss of a great Convoy the *Turks* were sending to *Persia* by the *Black Sea* which was cast away, together with the Mutiny of Part of the Army for want of Pay and Provisions, obliged the *Porte* at last to think seriously of Peace. They had lost near 150000 Men of their best Troops. The Grand Signior's Treasure was exhausted, and the *Jews*, who were not reimburs'd their Loans, refus'd to lend any more. Nothing is so burthensome even to the greatest Princes as new Conquests, where the Officers and Soldiers are the Gainers, while the Princes are at all the Expence, without having the least clear Profit. All these Considerations determin'd the *Ottoman* Court to put an end to a War, in which for two Years they had been the Losers. Accordingly they dispatch'd *Berthullah Effendi*, a Man of great Capacity, to conclude a Treaty of Peace with *Aszraff* ; which was not difficult to accomplish as soon as the *Turks* were in earnest ; Sultan *Aszraff* having always offer'd to yield up to them all they had conquer'd in *Persia* before they declar'd War with him.

It was only requir'd of him, that as a Salvo to the Grand Signior's Honour, he would write him a Letter, wherein he should protest he never took Arms against the *Turks* but in

his own Defence, and that he demanded Peace. *Aszraff* made no Scruple of this; and the *Divan* of *Constantinople*, contented with the Compliment, gave Orders for concluding the Peace; which was agreed upon and sign'd by Sultan *Aszraff* and the *Serafquier* who commanded the *Turkish* Army in *Persia*, about the End of *September*, 1727: and the News of it arriving at *Constantinople* the 18th of *November* following, was the same Day proclaim'd at the Gate of the Hall of the *Divan*, and in the principal Places of the City. The most considerable Articles of the Treaty, were,

- I. That Sultan *Aszraff* should remain in possession of the Throne of *Persia*, under what Title he thought fit.
- II. That the *Grand-Signior* should not assist the Enemies of the new Sovereign.
- III. That he should recognize as legitimate, and lawfully contracted, *Aszraff's* Marriage with the King of *Persia's* Daughter; and that the eldest Son by that Marriage should enjoy all the Prerogatives of the eldest Son of a Sovereign.
- IV. That the Conquests which the *Grand-Signior* had made in *Persia*, comprehending

ing *Tauris* and *Amadan*, should remain to him.

V. That Sultan *Aszraff* should restore to the Commanders of the *Ottoman* Troops, all the Artillery and military Stores he had taken from them at several Times.

VI. That he shall consent that the *Turks* recover Possession of the Territory of *Houvets*, which an *Arabian* Prince had seiz'd ; and shall joyn, if Need be, his Troops with those of his Highness, to drive out the Usurper.

VII. That the *Grand-Signior* shall grant a full Pardon to *Sultan-Dely*, who with the *Tartars* his Vassals or Subjects, joyn'd the Troops of *Aszraff* in the last Years of the War.

VIII. That the *Grand-Signior* shall name Commissioners as soon as possible, to settle with *Aszraff* the Limits of the two States, which shall hereafter be their Boundaries.

Besides these Articles, there were some secret ones, which were not thought proper to be made publick : but 'tis rumour'd that the *Grand-Signior* and Sultan *Aszraff*, have
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agreed punctually to assist one another to recover those Provinces that have lately been conquer'd, and that belong to their States.

Thus was the Revolution confirm'd according to all Appearance, by this Treaty, which gives *Aszraff* a solid Settlement on the Throne he has in possession. The natural *Persians*, who are most interested to dethrone him, do not seem to be in a Situation to attempt it. Almost all the old Nobility in *Persia* are destroy'd. The People are of themselves capable of nothing: besides, they are so kept under, and in so humble a Condition, that nothing can be apprehended from them. Of seven different Nations that now inhabit *Persia*, the *Persian* is the lowest in Rank, and is oblig'd to yield to the others in every thing: for in *Persia*, as in all Countries where *Mahometism* prevails, Rank is equally regulated; and a private Man of a conquer'd Nation, gives Precedence to a private Man of a superior State whenever he meets him. This Ceremony consists in that the Inferior holds his Arms across his Breast, and stands before the Superior, as if he waited for his Commands; and the latter by saying *Selam-Eleik*, seems to give him Liberty to go on in his Way. All private Men that fail in this or any thing else which marks the Difference between Superior and Inferior, are punishable by the Laws: by which the Nations are rank'd in the following Manner, pursuant to an Edict publish'd

publish'd in *Ispahan*, and all over the Kingdom, since the *Aghvans* conquer'd it.

The *First* Rank is assign'd to the *Aghvans*, as Conquerors of *Persia*.

The *Second* to the *Armenians*, who are scatter'd up and down the Kingdom in great Numbers.

The *Third* to the *Dergesins*, the People whom *Maghmud* brought from the Extremities of *Persia* to dwell at *Ispahan*, above 100000 in Number. They are of the same *Mussulman* Sect as the *Aghvans*, i. e. the Sect of the *Sunnis*, as the *Turks* are.

The *Fourth* Rank is assign'd to the *Multany*, who are *Indian Banians*, so call'd from the City of *Multan*, one of the principal Cities of *India*, and the nearest to *Persia* on *Candabar* Side. The first *Indians* that dwelt in *Persia*, came from the City of *Multan*: they drive the principal Trade at *Ispahan*, are great Usurers, and have almost all the Money of the Capital in their Hands.

The *Fifth* Rank is assign'd to the *Gaures*, ancient *Persians*, who worship Fire, and the greatest Enemies to the modern *Persians*. *Schah-Soleiman* began to make them turn *Mussulmans*; and *Schah-Hussein* his Son, continu'd to force them to do it, which is one of their greatest Causes of Hatred to the *Mahometan Persians*: but the *Aghvans* have given them the free Exercise of their Religion.

The *Sixth* Rank is to the *Jews*.

The *Seventh* and *Last* Rank is to the Natural *Persians*, who are treated like Slaves by the six other Nations.

Tho' the *Armenians* are *Christians*, their great Number and Riches engag'd the *Agh-vans* to prefer them to the other Nations; and being perswaded that there is none more interested in supporting their Power, since they would be the first Victims to the Vengeance of the *Persians*, if the latter should recover their Dominion, they have granted them great Privileges; and have also given them a Superiority over the Natural *Persians*, which cannot fail to keep up the Division and Animosity for ever between these two Nations.

T'is order'd in their favour, by an Edict publish'd at *Zulfa*, that all Processes rising among them shall be determin'd by Judges of their own Nation; and all *Armenians* who appeal to any other Judge shall be fin'd.

In the Reign of the *Sophis*, the *Armenians* at *Zulfa* were plunder'd in the Night-time, and 'twas Death for an *Armenian* to wound a *Persian* ever so slightly, tho' in his own Defence. But since the taking of *Ispahan*, they were permitted to do Justice themselves on those nightly Robbers; and they have done it boldly, by hanging up some, cutting off the Ears and slitting the Noses of others, according to their Crimes. They dispatch'd seven in
one

one Day, who had not only robb'd a House in the Night, but had murder'd the Master of the Family.

In fine, there is not one of the six Nations we have mention'd, who have not a particular Interest to keep the Natural *Persians* low, and support the Authority of the *Aghvans*. There's all the Reason in the World to believe that their Power will be more and more establish'd; especially under the Government of a Prince so wise and experienc'd, as he who now reigns in *Persia*, and who has perfected this great Revolution. One has Cause to look upon this Event as an extraordinary Lesson of Providence to all Princes, especially those of *Asia*, where most of them stagnate in Sloth and Effeminacy, and to whom may justly be apply'd the Words which a great King, and a great Prophet seems to apply to them, *Be wise now therefore, O ye Kings; be instructed, ye Judges of the Earth.*





A P P E N D I X.

SINCE the first Publication of this History, which, according to Advices from *Turky*, is now printing at *Constantinople* from the Translation of *Ibrahim Effendi*, Director of the new Printing-House there, such strange Revolutions, and so many different Scenes have happen'd in the Kingdom and Affairs of *Persia*, as would afford Matter enough for almost another Volume, and 'tis not unlikely that in a Year or two more, a third may be added to these two. Mean time the Bookseller has been induc'd to print this Addition of Particulars which are judg'd too material to be postpon'd.

As the Second Volume concludes with the Treaty between Sultan *Aszraff* and the *Turks*; the first thing that offers worthy of Remark, is the Ratification of that Treaty by *Aszraff*, as it was sent to the Grand Signior, of which the following is an exact Translation:

“ In the Name of God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, We *Aszraff*, *Emir Kan*,
 “ and *Chan* of *Persia*, most humbly beseech
 “ him who is in the Seat of the Holy Pro-
 “ phet

“ phet, the most exalted of Emperors, more
 “ powerful and intrepid than *Alexander*, So-
 “ vereign of two Seas, Master of two Parts
 “ of the World, Protector of *Jerusalem*,
 “ Master of the two Temples of *Mecca* and
 “ *Medina*, surpassing *Darius* in Pomp and
 “ Grandeur, and, like him, Sovereign of the
 “ Kingdom of *Persia*, wearing Crowns shin-
 “ ing with Glory, the most formidable and
 “ dread Lord, the Refuge of the Orthodox,
 “ (may God prolong his Days for ever) to
 “ be pleased to approve and ratify the Arti-
 “ cles of Peace * which have been settled in
 “ the following manner, *viz.* That we send
 “ every Year an *Emir Hadagi* to *Mecca*: That
 “ for the future the *Persians* shall have full
 “ Liberty to visit the Tomb of *Ali*; That
 “ they be likewise allow’d to traffick in all the
 “ Places of the *Ottoman* Empire, and enjoy
 “ the same Privileges as heretofore; That
 “ there shall be constantly an Ambassador
 “ from us at the *Ottoman Porte*; That the
 “ *Porte* be obliged by this Treaty to use
 “ their good Offices with the Czar of *Mus-*
 “ *covy* to obtain the Liberty of *Ussëin Beg*, a
 “ Mussulman of the Nation of *Leskis*; That
 “ we shall send every Year into the Treasury
 “ of the Commander of the Faithful, 1500
 “ Purfes as a free Gift: Last of all, We

* These probably were the *Secret Articles* hinted at in Page
 195. Vol. II.

“ swear by the Holy *Alcoran*, the Book sent
 “ from Heaven, and by the Miracles of our
 “ Holy Prophet, to keep and maintain this
 “ Treaty, and cursed be those of our Posterity who infringe it.

“ The Grand Signior is intreated by us,
 “ who humble our selves at the Foot of his
 “ Throne, to be pleased forthwith to ratify
 “ these Articles, of which solemn and authentic Instruments have been delivered, *viz.*
 “ one on the Part of *Ahmed Pacha* into our
 “ Hands, and one reciprocally on our Part
 “ to *Ahmed Pacha*.

Sign'd in the Original,

Mehemet Emir Aszraff Kan.

'Tis to be noted there was a further Stipulation, That Prince *Thamas*, Son to the old *Sophi*, should make no Pretensions to the Throne of *Persia*, except in case Sultan *Aszraff* died without Issue; That Prince *Thamas* should reside in *Constantinople*, or some other Place of the *Ottoman* Empire, to prevent his raising any Insurrection in *Persia* against *Aszraff*; That the Grand Signior should employ his good Offices with the Czar of *Muscovy*, to induce him to restore to *Aszraff* such of his Conquests in *Persia* as are inhabited by Mussulmen; and that, in case of Need, his
 sublime

sublime Highness should employ his Forces for that End.

'Tis moreover to be observ'd, that *Azraff* propos'd much the same Terms to the *Porte* in 1725. but they were then haughtily rejected.

Thus ended that War betwixt the *Turks* and *Persians*, which, whether it was properly a religious War, as some think, or whether purely Political, and for the sake of Territory, which is left to the judicious Reader, cost the *Turks* near half a Million of Lives, including those that fell in the Field by Sickness, as well as by the Sword, besides above 40 Millions of *Sultaninas* of Gold advanc'd for most part by the *Jews* and *Greeks*; and 'tis assur'd on the other Hand, that the *Persians* lost above half a Million of Men, massacred by the *Ottomans*, when they took such Places Sword in Hand as made any Resistance.

The next Year, viz. 1728. a new Candidate started up for the Throne of *Persia*, who claimed the Succession as Brother and Heir to that famous Usurper and Tyrant *Myr-Weis*. This Pretender, like his Brother, was Haughty, Cruel, Avaritious, Dissolute, and had all the ill Qualities that make up the Character of a consummate Tyrant. He had already slain by the Sword, or otherwise, a great many Persons who were so courageous

as to resist him ; and at the same Time plunder'd their Houses and carry'd off their Wives and Daughters: Upon advice also that Prince *Thamas*, the old *Sophi's* Son, was arriv'd at *Meschet* with 20000 Men, he was so enrag'd that he put to Death some Children whom he kept as Hostages. *Afzraff's* Life-Guards at *Ispahan* were so insolent and licentious at the same Time, that there was no Kind of Disorders but what they daily committed, not only with Impunity, but with their Master's Countenance, insomuch that they hang'd their Commander for refusing their Pay before he had received it. The Merchants, especially the *Europeans*, were oblig'd from Time to Time to ransom themselves, and if they were not able to make prompt Payment, either their Goods and Effects were confiscated, or their Houses plunder'd ; so that when the *English* had gone a great way in restoring their Factors, and got a Guard to secure their Warehouse of Goods, yet the same was plunder'd, and the Factor oblig'd to fly with what he could save to *Gambroon*.

The Reader will naturally imagine the distracted State of *Persia* at this Juncture, when the Kingdom was thus harass'd by three contending Parties, viz. that of *Afzraff*, that of *Myr-Weis's* Brother, and that of Prince *Thamas*.

It

It happen'd that at the beginning of this Year, *Aszraff* received News of the Defeat of 4000 of his Men by the *Russians* about *Rodofel* and *Temschin*, which so alarm'd him, that, fearing the Consequences, he declar'd, by Express to M. *Leweskow*, Governor of *Ghilan*, that *Wekil*, Cham of *Casbin*, who commanded the said 4000 Men, had no Orders to attack the *Russians*, but only to observe them, and that he would punish the Guilty. Accordingly he sent for the said *Wekil* and *Oschan Mahomet*, to answer for their Conduct; but whilst they were upon the Road, with a Guard of 100 Men, *Aszraff* order'd them to be attack'd between *Casbin* and *Caschan* by the *Kotcheves* of *Chabesquet*, who are valiant Soldiers, and entirely devoted to him, in which Assault *Mahomet* was kill'd upon the Spot, and *Wekil* made Prisoner, whom the *Kotscheves* afterwards bound and sent to *Ispahan*; but the latter having found Means to gain some of the Soldiers, made his Escape, upon which *Aszraff*, tho' it was perhaps only to blind the *Russians*, seem'd to be very much incens'd, and swore that he would revenge it. *Aszraff*'s Party was so lessen'd by this Time, that rather than go to War with the *Russians*, he was willing to yield them *Daghestan*, and to settle the Limits with them, on Condition that they would not enter into a Treaty

O 4

with

with Prince *Thamas*, nor give him any Assistance,

In *July* the Year following, *viz.* 1729. an Ambassador arriv'd at *Constantinople* from the Sultan *Aszraff*, with a Retinue of 700 Persons, and as he cross'd the Canal of the *Black Sea* he was saluted with the Discharge of 100 Pieces from the Seraglio, the Arsenal, and the Men of War and Gallies. It appear'd that all the Business he came about was to deliver a Letter to the Grand Signior, because after he received an Answer to it, he set out for *Ispahan*, much pleas'd with the Honour he had receiv'd at the *Porte*; but he stay'd long enough to be a Spectator of a terrible Fire which happen'd at *Constantinople* on the 27th of *July*, when, in less than ten Hours, 12000 Houses were reduc'd to Ashes, besides several Mosques and other publick Edifices, and a great Number of People perish'd in the Conflagration, tho' all possible Means were us'd to stop the Violence of the Flames.

This Year a Treaty of perpetual Peace and Friendship was concluded betwixt *Aszraff* and *Peter II.* the Czar of *Muscovy*, which was confirm'd by the Sultan's Brother-in-law, who came to *Moscow*, for that Purpose, at the Head of an Embassy, with 100 Men and 140 Horses in his Retinue, and Presents of fine Horses, Sattins, Brocades, &c.

By

By this Treaty, which was sign'd at *Riascosche*, in the Province of *Ghilan*, the 13th of *February*; the Czar consented that *Persia* should remain in Possession of the Provinces of *Astrabat* and *Mazandran*; but that if those Provinces should happen to be given to any other Power, and to be recover'd by the *Russians*, the same should for ever remain under their Dominion, and the Treaty was to be declared void. The Czar was to keep all his Conquests upon the *Caspian-Sea*, and the Territories of the *Russian* Crown in *Persia* were to extend from *Derbent* to the River *Araxes*. The Ambassadors and Envoys of both Powers were to be treated with due Honours, and a free Trade was to be promoted between both Nations upon paying the customary Duties for their Merchandize; with full Liberty for erecting the necessary Houses and Warehouses, and for the Passage of the Caravans on both Sides.

Not long after this, Prince *Thamas* advanc'd with a gallant Army towards *Ispahan*, while another, sent by the Great *Mogul*, march'd into *Persia*, which oblig'd *Aszraff*, who was universally hated by the People on account of his Cruelties, to divide his Forces.

This very Year, the following Letter appear'd from Prince *Thamas* to the Grand Signior, sent to *Constantinople* by Signior *Effendi*,
an

an able and trusty Minister, who had been dispatch'd for some Months past to *Van*, a City of *Georgia*, one of the *Persian* Provinces, to inquire into the State of Affairs there. Some People, I remember, look'd upon the Letter as a Forgery, because it does not begin in the Oriental Stile, with the Praise and Invocation of God ; but others suppos'd that the *Persian* Prince had employ'd a Jesuit, or some other *European*, for his Secretary. Whether it be genuine or not, we think it worth inserting.

“ It is very surprizing that your High-
 “ ness, in Violation of the uninterrupted
 “ Friendship between the Ancestors of my
 “ Family and Yours, (upon account of which
 “ Friendship you ought to succour the Friends
 “ of your Friends) should enter into a League
 “ against us in Favour of a Person unknown,
 “ and a Traitor to his Sovereign. This Con-
 “ duct is contrary not only to the Laws of Na-
 “ ture, but also to those of God ; for it is at-
 “ tacking God himself to lift up one's Hand
 “ against Persons that are Sacred. I am at
 “ this Day true and lawful Heir to the Fa-
 “ mily of the Kings of *Persia*. I am the
 “ Son of King *Hussein*, and by the particu-
 “ lar Providence of God I escap'd being
 “ murder'd with the King my Father, and
 “ almost the whole Royal Family. I am
 “ making all possible Efforts to recover the
 “ Do.

“ Dominion of my Ancestors, and to pluck
 “ the Throne from under the Feet of the
 “ Usurper that has invaded it : And as my
 “ Cause is Just and Praise-worthy, I do not
 “ in the least doubt but God will assist me,
 “ for they are his Battles that I fight, and
 “ he being the Defender of the Oppressed,
 “ will give new Strength to those that take
 “ my Part, so that the Wicked shall be
 “ punish’d according to his Demerit. After
 “ me, there are other Princes of my Family
 “ to whom the Crown of *Persia* ought to
 “ descend successively. Your Highness can-
 “ not be ignorant that I have yet Subjects
 “ enough left, of Fidelity and Courage suffi-
 “ cient to restore me to my Patrimony : And
 “ you may be persuaded that the Princes of
 “ my Blood are held in such Veneration
 “ among them, that they think it their Duty
 “ to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in
 “ their Service. Wherefore I leave it to
 “ your Highness to consider, whether ’tis a
 “ truer Argument of Greatness of Soul, to
 “ succour an oppressed Prince, who is lawful
 “ Heir to the Throne that has been possess’d
 “ by Kings that were Friends and Allies to
 “ the *Ottoman* Race, than to enter into a
 “ League against him with a Tiger, [a Mon-
 “ ster not known in the World, but for his
 “ Perfidiousness and Outrages, which will
 “ render him the Detestation of future Ages.

“ If

“ If your Highness will not second the Justice of my Claim, be Neuter, at least, in this Dispute ; for notwithstanding all that I have heard, I can never be persuaded that your Highness can act against my Interest, in Favour of *Aszraff*, who is known to you only for Actions which ought to make you abhor and detest him. ”

The next Year, *viz.* 1730. Prince *Thamas* obtain'd a great Victory over Sultan *Aszraff*, and oblig'd him to quit *Ispahan*, of which he took Possession, as well as of several other Towns, and *Aszraff* finding himself abandon'd, was so much dejected, that he fell sick.

Mean time Prince *Thamas*, after the Reduction of the Capital City, was proclaim'd King and Emperor of *Persia*, and in *November* made his publick Entry into *Ispahan*, amidst the Acclamations of an infinite Concourse of People, who had got together from all Parts to see their new Sovereign ; he enter'd at the Head of Part of his Army, commanded by his Couli Kan, or Colonel General, after being receiv'd without the Town by all the Grandees of the Kingdom, and conducted to the Palace of his Predecessors, where he receiv'd the Homage of his new Subjects. Some Days after his Entry, that Prince sent Couli Kan with 40000 Men, to hinder Sultan *Aszraff*, who
was

was fled towards *Schiras*, from retreating into the Province of *Candahar*, his own Country. Prince *Thamas*'s Army was considerably augmented, not only by the *Persians*, who had all abandon'd Sultan *Aszraff*, but also by the Foreign Troops of several Nations which were in his Pay: And being furnish'd by the *Armenians* of *Julpha*, and particularly the *Jews*, with Sums of Money sufficient to enable him to recover the Places dismember'd from his Monarchy, he went and laid Siege to the Town of *Schiras* with an Army of 50000 Men.

One of his Lieutenant Generals having in the mean Time apprehended *Aszraff* on the Frontiers of *Georgia*, Prince *Thamas*, in order to intimidate the Garrison, which he found obstinately resolv'd to make a vigorous Resistance, erected a Scaffold near enough to be seen by the Inhabitants, on which he caused *Aszraff*'s Skin, while he was alive, to be torn with Curry-Combs, and then had his Head lopp'd off and stuck upon a Pike. But the Garrison still refusing to surrender, notwithstanding the Death of their Protector, Prince *Thamas* gave the Town a general Storm, in a manner so furious and well executed, that his Troops made themselves Masters of it, and put the whole Garrison to the Sword.

After

After the Conquest of *Schiras*, the other Towns that were in Possession of the Rebels submitted to Prince *Thamas*, so that the *Angians*, the most warlike People of all *Persia*, who took Part with *Myrr-Weis*, and afterwards with *Aszraff*, were totally destroy'd or dispersed.

After this, the Sophi *Thamas* besieg'd *Tauris*, and receiving Intelligence that a great Body of *Turks* were on their March to relieve it, he posted himself in an advantageous Place, and attack'd them with so much Conduct and Bravery, that he obtain'd a compleat Victory.

In 1731 the Sophi, whose Army was augmented to 140,000 Men, laid Siege to *Eriwan*, and receiving Intelligence that 50000 *Turks*, most of them Horse, were advanc'd within twenty Leagues of that Place in order to raise the Siege, he left a sufficient Number of Troops to carry it on, and march'd with the rest to meet the *Ottoman* Army, which he attack'd with such Vigour, that after a bloody Fight, the *Turks*, already fatigu'd with their long March, were oblig'd to retire in Disorder, with the Loss of above 16000 Men kill'd on the Spot, besides twenty Pieces of Cannon taken, and all their Baggage. The Battle lasted till Night, which was said to be the Reason that the *Persians* took but 2000 Prisoners. After this Action the Sophi *Tha-*

mas having rejoin'd his Army before *Erivan*, summon'd the Governor to surrender in three Days, threatning in case of Refusal to put him and his Garrison to the Sword.

But about this Time a bloody Battle was fought between the *Turks* and *Persians* near *Hamadan*, in which a great Number of Men fell on both Sides, and the *Turks* remain'd Masters of the Field. This determin'd *Sophi Thamas* to sue for Peace, and in the mean while he propos'd a Cessation of Arms; which being readily granted, publick Rejoycings were made upon it for three Days successively at *Constantinople*; and the *Persian* Ambassador, who had been kept in Prison there for several Months, was set at Liberty.

The Treaty which ensued upon it was attended with no less than the Deposition and Banishment of the King of *Persia*, by the General of the *Persian* Forces; a Revolution so surprising in all its Circumstances, that it would hardly gain Credit were it not for the following authentick Account of it, transmitted from the Court of *Russia* to their Minister in *London*.

“ In the Year 1731. a Treaty of Peace
 “ was concluded between *Sophi Thamas* of
 “ *Persia*, and the *Ottoman Porte*, being
 “ brought about by the Contrivance of their
 “ respective Plenipotentiaries. By this Treaty
 “ the *Turks* did actually surrender up to the
 “ *Sophi*,

“ Sophi, Part of their Conquests in *Persia*,
 “ as far as the River *Arax*, reserving to
 “ themselves the best Provinces and Towns
 “ of *Persia*, even beyond the said River, and
 “ tho’ this Treaty proved altogether disad-
 “ vantageous to the Sophi, yet, according
 “ to their Stipulations, he found himself
 “ oblig’d to ratify it.

“ Some Time before this Treaty was in
 “ Agitation, *Tachmas Kouly Kan*, Generalis-
 “ simo of all the Forces in *Persia*, a Man of
 “ great Authority and Power over the Sophi
 “ and People, had been oblig’d to march,
 “ with Part of the *Persian* Troops, to the
 “ very Borders of *India*, to quell a Rebel-
 “ lion that the Subjects of *Kandahar* and
 “ *Giratt*, call’d *Agrans*, had form’d against
 “ their Sovereign, who met at first with
 “ great Resistance from the Rebels, tho’ af-
 “ terwards he oblig’d them to submit; and
 “ having totally defeated them, and banish’d
 “ all their Leaders into another Country, got
 “ at last a peaceable Possession of the famous
 “ City of *Giratt*, and of all the Depend-
 “ cies thereof; and having established new
 “ Governors both in that and other Cities,
 “ and pacify’d the whole Province, he left it
 “ last Spring, in order to return to *Ispahan*,
 “ to wait upon the Sophi.

“ It was in his Way home that he re-
 “ ceived the News that a Peace was con-
 “ cluded

“ cluded between the *Ottoman Porte* and his
 “ Master, and being farther informed upon
 “ what Conditions the Treaty was agreed to,
 “ he very much resented it, and without
 “ giving Notice to the *Sophi*, having an ir-
 “ reconcilable Enmity against the *Turks*, he
 “ immediately published a *Manifesto*, in
 “ which he assumed the Title of Lieutenant
 “ of the Kingdom, and declared to all his
 “ Countrymen, that the Treaty lately con-
 “ cluded with the *Turks* was very detrimen-
 “ tal to the *Persian* Kingdom, by giving up
 “ to the Enemy the best of their Provinces,
 “ and not insisting upon the Liberty of the
 “ *Persian* Prisoners in the Hands of the
 “ *Turks*, so contrary to the Laws of God
 “ and all Nations, and so derogatory to the
 “ Interest and Honour of the *Persian* Mo-
 “ narchy.

“ And for that Reason, *I Tachmas Kouly*
 “ Kan (adds he in his *Manifesto*) am going in
 “ Person with a numerous Army against our
 “ Enemies the *Turks*, in order to regain our
 “ Provinces so shamefully given up to them,
 “ and to procure to the *Persian* Prisoners their
 “ Liberty. And therefore he orders in the
 “ said *Manifesto*, that all the Subjects of the
 “ Kingdom do take up Arms against their
 “ Enemies the *Turks*, in order to avenge the
 “ Cause of their Country ; and in case any
 “ Man should either oppose or contradict his
 Vol. II. P “ said

“ said Orders, he licenses all Persons to kill
 “ such Opposer, of what Condition soever
 “ he be, and to seize all his Effects.

“ Not long after, the *Russian* Court re-
 “ ceived an Express from General *Levashol*,
 “ who commands in chief the *Russian* Troops
 “ in *Persia*, with the News, that the said
 “ *Tachmas Kouly Kan*, attended with 30000
 “ chosen Men, arrived on the 15th of *Aug-*
 “ *ust* last, O. S. at *Ispahan*, (where the So-
 “ phi was with his whole Court) and in-
 “ camp’d himself before the said City in one
 “ of the Sophi’s Gardens; and three Days
 “ after his Arrival waited on the Sophi (who
 “ received him but coolly) and on his Re-
 “ turn from Court, he put many of the So-
 “ phi’s Domesticks under Arrest.

“ On the 21st of the same Month the So-
 “ phi went, in Person, out of the City to
 “ visit *Tachmas Kouly Kan*, who receiv’d his
 “ Majesty, at the Head of his commanding
 “ Officers, with all the Respect due to his
 “ Royal Person; and having conducted him
 “ to his Tent, desired his Majesty to sit
 “ down, and waited on him there as a Slave
 “ does upon his Master. The Sophi asked
 “ the General what Reason he had to put his
 “ Domesticks under Arrest? To which *Tach-*
 “ *mas Kouly Kan* replied, with a haughty
 “ Air, *Because your Majesty has no need of*
 “ *such Persons, who are only kept in Laziness.*

“ At

“ At which the Sophi being very much of-
 “ fended, got up to go home ; but the Ge-
 “ neral stopt him, desiring his Majesty to
 “ give him Leave to speak a Word to him
 “ in private ; and with that conducted him
 “ to the adjoining House, where he kept
 “ him all that Night.

“ The next Day, being the 22d of *August*,
 “ the General went into his Tent, and as-
 “ sembled all the Officers of his Army, and
 “ being seated, made the following Decla-
 “ ration to them.

“ *That the Sophi was altogether unfit to*
 “ *govern the Kingdom, and had by his evil*
 “ *Conduct brought an Infamy upon their Coun-*
 “ *try, and by his imprudent Directions, lost*
 “ *a great Number of Persians : That hitherto*
 “ *they had been obliged to bear all this, for want*
 “ *of a Successor to the Crown ; but now, says*
 “ *he, since the said Sophi has a Son three*
 “ *Months old, named Abas, I think it proper*
 “ *to settle the Crown upon him, the Father*
 “ *having rendered himself totally unworthy of*
 “ *it ; and I promise to be as faithful to the*
 “ *Son as I have been hitherto to his Father,*
 “ *whom I think it expedient to keep from this*
 “ *Time under a strong Guard, allowing him,*
 “ *during Life, a sufficient Maintenance.*

“ Upon this there was, for a while, great
 “ Silence amongst the Officers ; but at last,
 “ some of them having approved his Decla-

“ ration, the General immediately gave Or-
 “ ders to bring him the Feather (a Royal
 “ Mark of Authority) from the Sophi’s Head,
 “ which being done, he kiss’d it, and laid
 “ it down by his Side. The General then
 “ sent for the Sophi’s Wife, and the Prince
 “ her Son, who were both publickly con-
 “ ducted before the Army (the Mother be-
 “ ing covered) to the aforesaid Tent; soon
 “ after which she was re-conducted again
 “ to the Palace, and a little Time after,
 “ the Prince her Son was sent back to
 “ her, with the Turbant and the Royal Fea-
 “ ther on his Head. Then the General or-
 “ dered a new Coin to be struck, and new
 “ Seals to be made, bearing the young King’s
 “ Name, Sophi ABAS. In the mean Time
 “ all the old Ministers and other Persons of
 “ Distinction, who were of the deposed
 “ King’s Party, were put under Arrest, and
 “ banish’d to the Province of *Chorazan*, to
 “ which Place also the dethroned Sophi was
 “ sent on the 25th of *August* last, under a
 “ Guard of 1,500 Men.

“ The 26th *Tachmas Kouly Kan* was mar-
 “ ried to a Sister of *Shach Kuseins*, the
 “ Widow of *Mirza Dawdan*, who has a
 “ Son twelve Years old.

“ On the 28th *Tachmas Kouly Kan* entred
 “ with all his Army into the City of *Isfa-*
 “ *han*, and took up his Lodgings in the
 “ Royal

“ Royal Palace; and the same Day he or-
 “ dered a magnificent Cradle to be set up
 “ in the Chamber nam’d *Kell-Sultan*, in
 “ which the new Infant King was laid, and
 “ at the Side of the Cradle was put the
 “ Turbant, the Royal Feather, and a Sabre.
 “ Then *Tachmas Kouly Kan* assembled the
 “ *Mullas* and *Seides*, and went to Prayers in
 “ the Presence of all the Officers of the
 “ Army, after which they congratulated the
 “ *Sophi* upon his Accession to the Throne,
 “ and the Ceremony was closed with a cold
 “ Collation.

“ Upon this Occasion *Tachmas Kouly Kan*
 “ honour’d many of the Quality, in the Name
 “ of *Sophi Abas*, with an *Halaat* (or Robe
 “ of Honour) and caused a Proclamation to
 “ be issued out, that for the future they
 “ shall give no other Title to *Sophi Thamas*,
 “ than that of *Tachmas Mirza*.

“ When the General went into the *Sophi’s*
 “ Palace, he found a Treasure of many Mil-
 “ lions, which was hoarded up by *Sophi*
 “ *Abas* the First.

“ This whole Account has been confirmed
 “ from *Constantinople* by the Report of M.
 “ *Nepluef*, Resident from *Russia*, who gave
 “ farther Notice to the Court, that *Achmed*
 “ *Bassaw*, Governor of *Babylon*, had given
 “ the same Account of this Revolution to
 “ the *Ottoman Porte*: And M. *Nepluef* adds,
 “ That

“ That *Tachmas Kouly Kan*, since the Depo-
 “ sition of *Sophi Thamas*, and the Eleva-
 “ tion of his Son, *Sophi Abas*, to the Throne,
 “ governs the whole Kingdom of *Persia*,
 “ despotically and makes vast Preparations of
 “ War against the *Turks*; as also that the
 “ *Ottoman Porte* are as vigorous in their Pre-
 “ parations to oppose his Designs.

“ General *Levashol*, who was at that Time
 “ with Part of the *Russian Army* in *Persia*,
 “ in the Province of *Ghilan*, had, in the
 “ same Month of *August*, (pursuant to the
 “ Articles of Peace concluded between the
 “ Imperial Crown of *Russia* and *Sophi Tha-*
 “ *mas*) surrendered the said Province, and
 “ the rest of the Places situated beyond the
 “ River *Kura*, to the Kingdom of *Persia*,
 “ after which he crossed the River with his
 “ Army, and incamped in the Province of
 “ *Shirvan*, which formerly belonged to the
 “ *Persians*, but is now given up to the *Rus-*
 “ *sian Empire*, by the late Treaty conclud-
 “ ed between the two Powers, and appointed
 “ the head Quarters in the City of *Derbent*,
 “ where he received an Express from *Tach-*
 “ *mas Kouly Kan*, with a written Account
 “ of the Deposition of *Sophi Thamas*, and
 “ the Elevation of his Son *Sophi Abas* to
 “ the Throne, in which that General assures
 “ him, that he will keep inviolably all the
 “ Conditions stipulated in the Treaties lately

“ con-

“ concluded between the Empire of *Russia*
 “ and the Kingdom of *Persia*, and that the
 “ King his Master is upon the Point of send-
 “ ing a solemn Embassy to the Court of her
 “ Imperial Majesty, to notify his Accession
 “ to the Crown of *Persia*.

Since this Account, there are Letters of the 15th of *January* last, O. S. which bring Advice of *another Revolution*. These Letters indeed don't mention the Particulars, but they relate in general, that *Kouli Kan* had made away with the deposed *Sophi Thamas*, and all his Children, and caus'd himself to be proclaim'd Emperor of *Persia*; and that the *Persians* have defeated the *Turks* in another Battle.





T H E

I N D E X.



I. denotes the First Volume, II. denotes the Second. These Marks are omitted, when what follows belongs to the same Volume. The Preface is mark'd with Capital Numerals.

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