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Henry Miers Elliot Edited by John Dowson

Excerpt

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HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

XXXIV.

TĀRĪKH-I SALĀTĪN-I AFĀGHANA,

OF

AHMAD YĀDGĀR.

[AHMAD YĀDGĀR, the author of this work, describes himself in his Preface as an old servant of the *Sūr* kings, and says that Dáúd Sháh gave him orders to write a History of the Afghán Sultáns, and thus do the same for them as the *Tabakát-i Násiri* and *Ziá-i Barní* had done for the kings of their times. The book commences with the reign of Bahlol Lodí, and the last chapter narrates the defeat, capture, and execution of Hímú. The author mentions incidentally that his father was *wazir* to Mirza 'Askarí, when the latter was in command of Humáyún's advanced guard in his campaign in Gujarát; and he also several times names the *Tárikh-i Nizámi* and the *Ma'danu-l Akhbár-i Ahmadi* as the works from which he copied.¹

The date of the composition of this work has not been ascertained, but as it was written by command of Dáúd Sháh, who died in 984 H., and as it quotes from the *Tárikh-i Nizámi* (*Tabakát-i Akbari*), which was written seventeen or eighteen

¹ [I am indebted for these particulars to Mr. Blochmann, who has kindly supplied them from the MS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.—Ed.]

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years afterwards in 1001–2 H., the probability is, that it was completed soon after the latter date and before the *Makhzan-i Afgháni*, which was written in 1020 H. Like the other Afghán historians, Ahmad Yádgár shows a great liking for marvellous and ridiculous stories, but pays little regard to dates. He gives but very few, and he is incorrect in that of so well-recorded an event as the death of Humáyún. The deficiency of dates may, however, be the fault of the copyist, as blanks are left in the MS. for dates and headings. Sir H. Elliot found the work to “differ much from Ni‘amatu-lla,” but to “give the idea of being subsequent to the *Tárikh-i Dáúdí*.” Still, though it “generally follows the *Tárikh-i Dáúdí* closely,” there are occasionally “great differences; details being omitted, and novelties introduced.” The history of the reign of Humáyún is copied verbatim from the *Tabakát-i Akbari*; only one short variation has been discovered.

The MS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains 224 pages, of 11 lines to the page.

By far the greater part of the following Extracts were translated by “Ensign” C. F. Mackenzie, but a few, noted where they occur, are from the pen of Sir H. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS.

* * * * *

*The siege of Dehli by Mahmúd Sháh Sharki.*¹

Mahmúd Sharkí was instigated to attack Sultán Bahlol by his wife, who was the daughter of Sultán 'Aláu-d dín. She represented to her husband that the kingdom of Dehli had belonged to her father and grandfather, and who was Bahlol, that he should usurp their dominion? If her husband would not advance, she herself would bind on her quiver, and oppose his pretensions.

Being galled by these taunts, Sultán Mahmúd came to Dehli in the year 856 H. (1452 A.D.), with a powerful army, and 1000

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mountain-like elephants. At that time, Sultán Bahlol was near Sirhind, but Khwája Báyazíd, and Sháh Sikandar Sarwání, and Bíbí Matú, the wife of Islám Khán, with all the Afghán families, had taken refuge at Dehlí. There being but few men, Bíbí Matú dressed the women in male clothes, and placed them on the battlements to make a show of numbers. One day, Sháh Sikandar Sarwání was seated on the wall, when one of Sultán Mahmúd's water-carriers was taking away some water from a well under the bastion. Sháh Sikandar drew his bow, and sent an arrow¹ right through the bullock that was carrying the water-bags, and from that time no one dare come near the fort.

But as Sultán Bahlol delayed to relieve the garrison, they began to despair of succour; and as the enemy advanced their redoubts and trenches, and discharged their shells with such precision that no one could venture out of his house, they were reduced to propose terms of surrender, offering to give up the keys of the fort to any of Mahmúd's officers, on condition of their being allowed to leave the fort unmolested. Accordingly, Saiyid Shamsu-d dín took the keys to Daryá Khán Lodí, who had invested the fort, and asked to say a few words to him first in private. When Daryá Khán had sent away his attendants, the Saiyid inquired, "What is your relationship to Sultán Mahmúd?" Daryá Khán replied, "There is no relationship. I am his servant." The Saiyid then asked, "How are you related to Sultán Bahlol?" Daryá Khán replied, "I am a Lodí, and he also is a Lodí."² The Saiyid then placed the keys of the fort before him, saying, "Have regard to the honour of your mother and sister (who are now in the fort), and save the ladies from disgrace." Daryá Khán said, "What can I do? Actuated by fraternal motives, I have intentionally delayed capturing the

¹ The *Tárikh-i Dáúdí* says it was eleven palms long, and the distance to which it reached was 800 feet; and that though it penetrated the water-bags as well as the bullock, yet the entire arrow was buried on the other side in the earth.

² The *Tárikh-i Dáúdí* is fuller:—"We are brothers: he is a Lodí, and I am a Lodí; his mother is my mother, and his sister is my sister." This explains the allusion to "mother and sister" which occurs below.

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fort, but Sultán Bahlol delays to make his appearance. For the present do you retain the keys, and wait to see what I shall be able to effect in your behalf."

Daryá Khán then went to Sultán Mahmúd, and explained to him about the surrender of the keys and their restoration, observing that Bahlol, according to common report, was advancing with a large army, and that it would be better first to pay attention to him; for should he be conquered, Dehlí would of itself fall into their hands. The Sultán inquired what had better be done under the circumstances. Daryá Khán suggested that he and Fath Khán should be despatched against Bahlol, so as to prevent his passing Pánípat. This counsel being approved of, they were sent with 30,000 horse and forty war elephants against Bahlol, who by this time had advanced as far as Narela. Mahmúd's army encamped two *kos* on the side of Narela, and on the very night of their arrival the enemy twice carried off their bullocks, camels, and horses. Next day, both armies were drawn up in battle array. The army of Bahlol amounted to 14,000 cavalry.

* * * * *

*Sultán Bahlol's expedition against the Ráná, and against Ahmad Khán Bhatti.*¹

Some time after, Sultán Bahlol marched out against the Ráná, and pitched his camp at Ajmír, where he collected a powerful force.² Chattar Sál, son of the Ráná's sister, was at U'dípúr with 10,000 cavalry. Kutb Khán advanced towards that place, and fought an action with the rascally infidel. At first, the Sultán's army was repulsed by the impetuous onset of

¹ [Translated by Sir H. Elliot.]

² This transaction is not mentioned by any other historian, nor do we find it in the Rájput Annals. One engagement between the Imperialists and Mewáris is recorded in the time of Rái Mal, who ascended the *gaddi* in A.D. 1474, but the particulars differ in every respect. We are also told in general terms, that Mewár had to contest her northern boundary with the dynasty of Lodí.—Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. i., p. 292.

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the infidels, and several Afgháns obtained martyrdom in that contest; but, in the end, Kutb Khán and Khán-khánán Farmulí, determining to sell their lives dearly, advanced to close combat with swords and daggers, and so completely routed their black-faced foes, that Chattar Sál was slain in the field; and so many infidels fell, that a pillar was raised of their heads, and streams of their blood began to flow. Five or six elephants, forty horses, and much plunder fell into the hands of the Sultán's soldiers, while those of the Ráná took to flight. Subsequently, the Ráná made peace, and in Údípúr prayers were offered and the coin was struck in the name of the Sultán.

After that, the Sultán carried his victorious army into Múnkhár.¹ He plundered and depopulated that entire country, and the army acquired great booty. Thence he returned to Sirhind, and after two or three months, advanced with his troops towards Lahore, where he passed some days in festivities.

At that time, Ahmad Khán Bhattí,² who had acquired great power in the country of Sind, and had 20,000 cavalry under him, had revolted against the Governor of Multán; whose petition arrived, representing that Ahmad Khán was plundering the villages of Multán, and that if the Lord of the World would not come to the rescue, he himself would not be able to hold his own in Multán; and that after the loss of Multán, the Panjáb would be exposed to ravage. The Sultán, vexed at this intelligence, appointed 'Umar Khán, one of his chief nobles, and Prince Báyazíd, to command an expedition against Ahmad Khán, at the head of 30,000 valiant horsemen. After taking leave of the Sultán in all honour, they moved by continued marches from Lahore till they reached Multán, where they were joined by the Governor, who acted as their guide till they reached the enemy's country.

Ahmad Khán, proud in the strength and courage of his

¹ One of the anecdotes related by this author mentions the entire destruction of Múnkhár, and the deportation of its inhabitants. The *Tárikh-i Dáúdī* gives the same facts, but speaks only of "a village in the *pargana* of Múnkhár."—MS., p. 34.

² These transactions with Ahmad Khán are not related by any other historian.

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army, disregarded the Imperialists, and, not thinking it worth his while to move, sent his nephew, at the head of 15,000 cavalry, to oppose them. That youth was desperately enamoured of a strumpet, who was indeed surpassingly beautiful, and he never moved out on any excursion of pleasure or hunting without being accompanied by her; and, even on the day of battle, he seated her in an *'amâri*, mounted on an elephant, and carried her with him. Naurang Khán, for that was his name, detached Dáúd Khán with 10,000 cavalry against the Imperialists, and the two parties charged each other with such impetuosity that rivers of blood began to flow. In the end, Dáúd Khán was slain, and his troops defeated. When those who had fled from the field informed Naurang Khán of the disaster, he took leave in sorrow of his mistress, and arrived on the field of battle, where he displayed such valour and desperation that he clove several men of the Sultán's army in twain, and felled them from their horses. At last, a ball from a camel-gun cut him also in half, and killed him.

When the news of Naurang Khán's fate reached his mistress, she, being endowed with a masculine mind, put on a suit of armour, bound round her waist a gilt quiver, and placing a helmet on her head, joined the army of Naurang Khán. Upon consultation with his brother, she recommended that he should send all the troops to pay their respects to her, and should give out that the prince, the son of Ahmad Khán, had arrived, in order that the enemy might be distracted, and not entertain the persuasion that they had really killed the commander of their enemy's troops. Accordingly, all the cavalry dismounted, and made their obeisances, while the kettle-drums resounded with loud notes of joy. The Imperialists, notwithstanding their victory, were perplexed, and in the midst of their doubts, were suddenly attacked so furiously by Ahmad Khán's army, that they were put to flight. Ahmad Khán, when he heard of the victory of his army and the salutary aid afforded by that woman, was astounded with joy; and when he saw her arrive, decked in

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martial array, he praised her valour and conduct, and bestowed jewels upon her to the value of 10,000 rupees.

On the other hand, Prince Báyazíd, after punishing the men who fled from the field of battle, sent for another army, and two or three great nobles were despatched to his assistance with large reinforcements. When these had all joined, they made an inroad upon Ahmad Khán's territory, and he, after many battles, was at last taken prisoner and put to death, while his country was sequestered and included in the Imperial domain. Báyazíd returned victorious to the court of Sultán Bahlol, by whom he was received with royal benignity.

* * * * *

The reign of Sultán Ibráhím Lodi.

Some historians relate that when Sikandar died, he left two sons by one wife: the first, Sultán Ibráhím; the second, Jalál Khán. When Ibráhím grew up, and became celebrated for his personal beauty and excellent disposition, the nobles determined to place him on the throne, to which they accordingly raised him on Thursday, the 7th of Zí-l hijja, A.H. 923¹ (Nov. 1517). On that day, all those who were attached to the royal person prepared the tents, embroidered with gold and adorned with jewels, and spread carpets of various colours, worked with gold thread. They placed the throne of Sikandar, covered with gems of price and jewels of great value, on a coloured carpet. The tributary kings and nobles wore beautiful dresses and embroidered garments, and resembled the flowers blooming in a garden. The horses and elephants were decked with the most magnificent trappings. So splendid a coronation had never been witnessed, and the people consequently long remembered the day on which this fortunate and youthful monarch obtained the crown.

The nobles and pillars of the State then gave Ibráhím's

¹ The *Makhzan-i Afgháni* and *Tárikh-i Khán-Jahán Lodi* say the 8th of Zí-l ka'da, which is doubtless correct, for our author concurs with the other historians in representing that his predecessor died on the 7th of Zí-l ka'da.

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brother by the same mother, the title of Sultán Jalálu-d dín (he had been previously called Jalál Khán), and sent him with many officers and a large army to take charge of the kingdom of Jaunpúr. Four months afterwards, 'Azam Humáyún Lodí¹ and the Khán-khánán Farmulí came from their estates to congratulate the King, and took that opportunity of accusing the nobles attending on His Majesty, saying, that it was a great error for two persons to share a kingdom, and that two sovereigns could never rule together. As the poet says:

“One body cannot cover two souls,
Nor one kingdom own two monarchs.”

Accordingly, Sultán Ibráhím cast the agreement which he had made with his brother into the recess of oblivion; and after taking advice, came to the conclusion that as the Sháhzáda was not thoroughly established, and had not as yet arrived at the seat of his government, it would be best to write and tell him that the Sultán required his presence to aid him in transacting certain momentous affairs; that he should come unattended; and that after they had consulted together, he might return to the seat of his government.²

Haibat Khán, the wolf-slayer, who was noted for his extreme cunning, was despatched on this errand, and directed to cajole the Sháhzáda to return with him. It is said, that walls have ears, and an account of this arrangement had, before this, come to the ears of Jalálu-d dín, so that he was not entrapped by the flattering speeches and attempts at deception which Haibat Khán used profusely, and therefore he would not consent to come.

¹ There was also an 'Azam Humáyún Sarwání, whom we shall find afterwards mentioned under this reign. It was a title, not a name; and we find Bábar thus speaking of it: “One of these titles in Hindústán is ‘Azam Humáyún,’ another is ‘Khán Jahán,’ another ‘Khán-khánán.’ The title of Fath Khán's father was ‘Azam Humáyún.’ As I saw no propriety in any one's bearing this title except Humáyún himself, I abolished it, and bestowed that of ‘Khán Jahán’ on Fath Khán Sarwání.” —*Memoirs*, p. 344.

² The *Tárikh-i Khán-Jahán* adds, that the nobles were determined to keep up this agitation for their own sakes, “as they never considered it convenient that public affairs should be under the restraint of one absolute monarch.”

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Haibat Khán reported his unsuccessful mission, and the King then sent divers other courtiers ; these were also unsuccessful, as the Sháhzáda steadily refused to go with them.¹ After this, the Sultán wrote *farmáns* containing expressions of kindness and goodwill to all the nobles and *jágyrdárs* of the *súba* of Jaunpúr, and promised them munificent rewards if they would forsake their allegiance to Jalál Khán, and refuse to treat him as their ruler. He sent secretly a confidential servant to certain of the nobles, bearing dresses of honour, horses, etc., and commanded them, on the receipt of this *farmán*, to renounce allegiance to Jalál Khán.

As it was decreed by fate, that Jalálu-d dín should not reign, many of the grandees deserted him, and became his enemies. At this period Sháhzáda Jalál Khán, having set up a jewelled throne, and covered the doors and walls of his palace with brocade, sat there in state on the 15th of Zí-l hijja, 923 A.H. (Dec. 1517). He gave audience to the servants of the State, the courtiers and the soldiers, to all of whom he presented dresses of honour, swords,

¹ These circumstances will be found differently related by Firishta. See Briggs, vol. i., p. 590. Sikandar Lodí dying at Ágra, his son Ibráhím succeeded to the throne. At a very early period, contrary to the custom of his father and grandfather, he made no distinction among his officers, whether of his own tribe or otherwise, and said publicly, that kings should have no relations or clansmen, but that all should be considered as subjects and servants of the State; and the Afghán chiefs, who had hitherto been allowed to sit in the presence, were constrained to stand in front of the throne, with their hands crossed before them. Shortly after his accession a conspiracy was formed by the Lodí chiefs, by whom it was agreed to leave Ibráhím in quiet possession of Dehlí and a few dependent provinces, and to raise the Prince Jalál Khán, his brother, to the throne at Jaunpúr. The Prince, accordingly, marching from Kálpi in conjunction with the disaffected chiefs, ascended the throne of Jaunpúr. He appointed his cousin, Fath Khán, his *wazír*, who gained over all the officers of the eastern provinces to his interest. Khán Jahán Lohání was at this time proceeding from Rapri to congratulate Ibráhím on his accession; when, falling in with the disaffected nobles, he blamed them severely for causing divisions in the kingdom, which, he said, would be attended with fatal consequences to the family of Lodí. The chiefs, admitting the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as the Prince Jalál Khán could not be yet well established, to divest him of his newly-assumed dignity; and accordingly they sent Haibat Khán Jalwánt, with letters, to recall him before he reached Jaunpúr. Haibat Khán, however, having overacted his part, the Prince Jalál Khán suspected some plot, and excused himself from coming. The chiefs, unaware that he suspected them, deputed Shaikh Muhammad Farmulí and others to enforce their request; but the Prince proceeded to Jaunpúr.

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girdles, daggers, horses, elephants, titles, and honours, according to their respective ranks. Having thus gained the good opinion of the people, he opened the gates of charity to the poor and needy, and increased their allowances; and having thus established his authority, he ceased to obey Sultán Ibráhím, and caused the *khutba* to be read and coin to be struck in his own name. When he felt himself sufficiently powerful, he sent confidential agents to 'Azam Humáyún, who was at that time besieging the fort of Kálinjar,¹ and wrote to him, saying, "You are in the place of my father and uncle, and are well aware that the compact has not been broken by me. Sultán Ibráhím, of his own accord, gave me a portion of the inheritance which our father left, because I was his own brother, the son of the same mother. He has broken the phial of the connexion which we derived from our parent's womb with the stone of unkindness. You ought to protect and help me because I am oppressed." Previous to this 'Azam Humáyún had been ill-disposed towards Sultán Ibráhím. He was moved by the supplications of Jalál Khán, and raised the siege of the fort. He entered into a treaty and compact with Jalálu-d dín, and told him that he ought first to obtain possession of Jaunpúr, and then see what was best to be done. He then advanced towards Oudh by an uninterrupted succession of marches. The governor of that place, finding himself unable to contend with him, fled towards Karra, and sent information of what was passing to Sultán Ibráhím, who wished to start immediately with some picked men for the purpose of repressing the disturbance. By the advice of certain of the nobles, he confined four of his brothers in the fort of Hánsí, and entrusted them to the charge of Muhammad Khán with 500 horse. He, moreover, summoned

¹ So says the *Tárikh-i Dáúdí* (MS. p. 144); but the *Makhzan-i Afghání* (MS. p. 126) and the *Tárikh-i Khán-Jahán Lodi* (MS. p. 140) say "Gwáliár." Dorn (p. 71) erroneously translates "*held* the fort of Gualyar," instead of "besieged." The two last authorities also mention that Jalálu-d dín was advancing in force against 'Azam Humáyún, when he sent his conciliatory message; that he despised the mere kingdom of Jaunpúr; and, aspiring to a higher dominion, had proclaimed himself at Kálpi as he rival of his brother, and the claimant of the whole empire.