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Muhammadan Period: Volume 7

Henry Miers Elliot Edited by John Dowson

Excerpt

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HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

LXI.

PADSHÁH-NÁMA.

OF

MUHAMMAD AMÍN KAZWÍNÍ.

[THE author of this work in his preface gives it the title of *Pádasháh-náma*, but, like several other histories of the reign of Sháh Jahán, it is often called *Sháh-Jahán-náma*, and sometimes more specifically *Tárikh-i Sháh-Jaháni Dah-sála*. The full name of the author is Muhammad Amín bin Abú-l Hasan Kazwíní, but he is familiarly known as Amínái Kazwíní, Amínái Munshí, or Mirzá Amíná. He was the first who received orders to write a history of the reign of Sháh Jahán. The orders were given, as he tells us, in the eighth year of Sháh Jahán, and he completed this work, comprising the history of the first ten years of the reign, and dedicated it to Sháh Jahán in the twentieth year of that Emperor's reign.

The author in his preface says that he has divided his work into an Introduction, containing on account of the Emperor's life from his birth to his accession; a Discourse (*makála*), comprising the history of the first ten years of his reign; and an Appendix, containing notices of holy and learned men, physicians and poets. He also mentions his intention of writing a second volume, bringing down the history to the twentieth year of Sháh Jahán's reign. But he does not appear to have carried

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MUHAMMAD AMYN KAZWINI.

out his design, having probably been prevented by his appointment to a busy office, for Muhammad Sálíh, in a short biography of the author, says that he was transferred to the Intelligence Department.

This history of Amínái Kazwíní has been the model upon which most of the histories of Sháh Jahán have been formed. 'Abdu-l Hamíd, the author of the *Bádsháh-náma*, follows its arrangement, and although he makes no acknowledgment of the fact, his work comprises the same matter, and differs from it only in style.

Sir H. M. Elliot's MS. is a small folio of 297 pages of twenty-one lines each. It is fairly written, but all the rubrics are omitted. There is a copy in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, and three copies in the British Museum.]¹

¹ [This article has been taken almost exclusively from Mr. Morley's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.]

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LXII.

BĀDŠĀH-NĀMA

OF

'ABDU-L HAMĪD LĀHORĪ.

[THIS is a history of the first twenty years of the reign of Sháh Jahán, composed by 'Abdu-l Hamíd Láhórí. Little is known of the author, but Muhammad Sáliḥ, in his '*Amal-i Sáliḥ* (No. LXIV.), informs us that 'Abdu-l Hamíd was celebrated for the beauty of his style, and that he died in 1065 A.H. (1654 A.D.). 'Abdu-l Hamíd himself says in his preface, that the Emperor desired to find an author who could write the memoirs of his reign in the style of Abú-l Fazl's *Akbar-náma*; and that he, 'Abdu-l Hamíd, had studied and greatly admired Abú-l Fazl's style. He was recommended to the Emperor for the work, and was called from Patna, where he was living in retirement, to undertake the composition. His patron was the excellent minister 'Allámí Sa'du-lla Khán.

The contents of the work are: A Preface, in which the author dedicates his work to Sháh Jahán. A description of the Emperor's horoscope. A concise account of his ancestors, commencing with Tímúr. A brief review of the proceedings of Sháh Jahán before his accession to the throne. A detailed history of the first twenty years of the reign divided into two cycles of ten years each. The work comprises, also, an enumeration of the princes of the blood royal; of the nobles of the Court, arranged according to their respective ranks, from those commanding 9000 to those of 500 horse; and an account of the

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shaikhs, learned men, physicians and poets who flourished during the period embraced by the history.

The *Bādsháh-náma* is the great authority for the reign of Sháh Jahán. Muhammad Sálíh, a younger and rival writer, speaks of the author in the highest terms, and “Kháfí Khán, the author of the *Muntakhabu-l Lubáb*, has based his history of the first twenty years of Sháh Jahán’s reign almost entirely on this work. The greatest objection to the work is the author’s style, which is of that adulterated kind introduced into India apparently by the brothers Abú-l Fazl and Faizí.”¹ ‘Abdu-l Hamíd was, as he himself states, a professed admirer and imitator of Abú-l Fazl’s style; and when he is dealing with a subject demanding his eloquence, his style is as verbose, turgid and fulsome as that of his master. Happily, however, he is not always in a magniloquent vein, but narrates simple facts in simple language, blurred only by occasional outbreaks of his laboured rhetoric.

The work is most voluminous, and forms two bulky volumes of the Bibliotheca Indica, containing 1662 pages. It enters into most minute details of all the transactions in which the Emperor was engaged, the pensions and dignities conferred upon the various members of the royal family, the titles granted to the nobles, their changes of office, the augmentations of their *mansabs*, and it gives lists of all the various presents given and received on public occasions, such as the vernal equinox, the royal birthday, the royal accession, etc. Thus the work contains a great amount of matter of no interest to any one but the nobles and courtiers of the time. But it would not be fair to say that it is filled with these trifles; there is far too much of them: but still there is a solid substratum of historical matter, from which the history of this reign has been drawn by later writers.

MSS. of the *Bādsháh-náma* are common, and some fine copies are extant. Mr. Morley describes one belonging to the Royal

¹ [Col. Lees, Jour. R.A. vol. iii. n.s.]

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BADSHAH-NAMA.

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Asiatic Society as “a most excellent specimen of the Oriental art of caligraphy,” and Col. Lees says: “The copy of the second part of the *Bādshāh-nāma* which has been used for this edition (Bibliotheca Indica) is the finest MS. I have ever seen. It is written by Muhammad Sálíh Kambú, the author of the '*Amal-i Sálíh*, and bears on the margin the autograph of the Emperor Sháh Jahán.” The following Extracts have all been selected and translated by the Editor from the printed text.]¹

EXTRACTS.

[Text, vol. i. p. 69.] The Emperor Jahángír² died on the 28th Safar, A.H. 1037 (28th October, 1627), at the age of fifty-eight years and one month, solar reckoning. Prince Shahriyár, from his want of capacity and intelligence, had got the nickname of *Ná-shudani*, “Good-for-nothing,” and was commonly known by that appellation. He now cast aside all honour and shame, and before Sháh Jahán had started (from the Dakhin), he repudiated his allegiance, and went off in hot haste to Lahore to advance his own interests. Núr Mahal, who had been the cause of much strife and contention, now clung to the vain idea of retaining the reins of government in her grasp, as she had held them during the reign of the late Emperor. She wrote to Ná-shudani, advising him to collect as many men as he could, and hasten to her.

Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán and Irádat Khán, who always acted together, determined that, as Sháh Jahán was far away from Ágra, it was necessary to take some steps to prevent disturbances in the city, and to get possession of the princes Muhammad Dára Shukoh, Muhammad Sháh Shujá', and Muhammad Aurangzeb, who were in the female apartments with Núr Mahal. They therefore resolved that for some few days

¹ [This article has been compiled by the Editor from 'Abdu-l Hamíd's preface, Sir H. M. Elliot's notes, Mr. Morley's notice in the Catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Col. Lees' article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii. n.s.]

² His title after death was “*Jannat-makáni*.”

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they would raise to the throne Bulákí, the son of Khusrú, who, by Núr Mahal's contrivance, had been placed with Ná-shudaní, but who had been put under the charge of Irádat Khán by Jahángír when Ná-shudaní returned to Lahore from Kashmir.

* * So they placed Bulákí on horseback, and, with a party of men in whom they had full confidence, they commenced their march, taking care to keep one day ahead of Núr Mahal. * * As the young princes were not safe with Núr Mahal, they removed her from the royal palace, and took the young princes under their own charge; but when Bulákí had been raised to the throne, they were placed in charge of Sádik Khán.

Accession of Sháh Jahán.

[Text, vol. i. p. 82.] Sháh Jahán ascended the throne at Ágra on the 18th Jumáda-s sání, 1037 A.H. (6th Feb. 1628), with the title of Abú-l Muzaffar Shahábu-d dín Muhammad Sáhíb Kirán-i sání.

Rebellion of Jajhár Singh.

[Text, vol. i. p. 238.] Jajhár Singh was son of Rájá Nar Singh Deo Bundela, who rose into notice by killing Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, the celebrated author of the *Akbar-náma*, when Jahángír was heir apparent. * In obedience to orders from the Emperor Akbar, the Shaikh was hastening to Court from the Dakhin with a small escort. Jahángír was jealous of the Shaikh's devotion to his father, and was apprehensive that his arrival would interfere with his own plans. * * So he incited Nar Singh Deo to kill him as he passed through his territory. This evil-minded man, from lust of gold, placed a large force of horse and foot in ambush, and fell upon the Shaikh. The followers of the Shaikh advised him to fly and escape, but he refused, and fell in the year 1011 A.H. (1602 A.D.). After the accession of Jahángír to the throne, Nar Singh Deo rose into favour and distinction through this wicked deed. But his evil nature was unable to

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bear his prosperity, and towards the end of the reign of Jahángír he became disaffected, and oppressed all the *zamindárs* in his neighbourhood. * * He died three or four months before Jahángír, and was succeeded by his son Jajhár Singh. The wealth and property which Nar Singh Deo had amassed without labour and without trouble unsettled the mind of his worthless successor Jajhár, and at the accession of Sháh Jahán, * * he left the capital Ágra, and proceeded to Úndcha, his stronghold, where he set about raising forces, strengthening the forts, providing munitions of war and closing the roads. A force was accordingly sent against him, under the command of Mahábat Khán Khán-khánán. [*The Imperial forces converged upon Úndcha, and*] Jajhár Singh, having no hope of escape, waited upon Khán-khánán and made his submission. Just at this time intelligence arrived that 'Abdu-lla Khán had taken the fortress of Ýrich,¹ which had been in the possession of Jajhár Singh.

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1038 A.H. (20TH DECEMBER, 1628 A.D.).

[Text, vol. i. p. 272.] The anniversary of the accession was on the 1st of Jumáda-s sání. After the death of Jahángír, and before the accession of Sháh Jahán, Khán-Jahán Lodi entered upon a dangerous and disloyal course. * * He formed an alliance with Nizámu-l Mulk, and gave up to him the Bálághát in the Dakhin,² the revenue of which amounted to fifty-five *krors* of *dáms*. But Sipahdár Khán, who held Ahmadnagar, bravely and loyally refused to surrender that city. Khán-Jahán summoned to his presence all the Imperial servants who were in those parts. He left a small force at Burhánpúr under the command of Sikandar Dotání, who was related to him, while he himself marched with a large force to Mándú, with the intention of taking possession of

¹ 65 miles S.E. of Gwálor.

² Kháif Khán says the temptation was six *lacs* of *pagodás*.—*Muntakhabu-l Lubáb*, p. 411; but see *antè* Vol. VI. p. 433.

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Málwa, which province was then under the government of Mír 'Abdu-r Razzák, who had received the title of Muzaffar Khán. Sháh Jahán proceeded from Ahmadábád by way of Ajmír to Ágra, and there ascended the throne. * * The news of this event awakened Khán-Jahán and brought him to a sense of his folly and wickedness. Rájá Gaj Singh, Rájá Jáí Singh, and other distinguished Rájputés who had accompanied him to Mándú, parted from him when they heard of Sháh Jahán having arrived at Ajmír. Thereupon Khán-Jahán wrote a letter of contrition and obedience, in the hope of obtaining forgiveness.

A royal *farmán* was sent in answer, informing him that he was confirmed in the governorship of the Dakhin, and directing him to return at once to Burhánpúr. He then retired from Málwa to Burhánpúr, and engaged in the duties of his office. But when it was reported to the Emperor that the country of Bálághát, which Khán-Jahán had given to Nizámu-l Mulk, still remained in his possession, and had not been recovered, the Emperor appointed Mahábat Khán to the governorship of the Dakhin. Khán-Jahán then returned to Court. The Emperor paid little heed to the reports and observations about his improper conduct, and for eight months passed no rebuke upon him. He still continued moody and discontented, and ready to listen to the incitements and suggestions of mischievous men. * * One night Lashkari, son of Mukhlis Khán, in a malicious, mischief-making spirit, told the son of Khán-Jahán that he and his father were to be made prisoners on the following day or the next. * * The son told his father, whose apprehensions were instantly aroused by this malicious report, and he kept close to his quarters with two thousand Afghán followers. His Majesty asked Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán the reason why Khán-Jahán did not attend the *darbár*, and after inquiry had been made, it was ascertained that he had fears and suspicions, and he begged for a letter under the Emperor's signature, forgiving him all his offences, and relieving him from all his fears. * * The

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Emperor graciously acceded to his request, and sent him a kind letter under his own hand. He then came to Court and paid his respects. But Fortune was aggrieved with him, and so his perverse temper prevented him from appreciating the Emperor's kindness.

On the night of Safar 26, the men of Yamínu-d daula brought in the intelligence that Khán-Jahán meditated flight, and he sent to inform the Emperor. * * After the first watch of the night, Khán-Jahán, with his nephew Bahádúr and other relations and adherents, began his flight. As soon as the Emperor was informed of it, he sent Khwája Abú-l Hasan and * * in pursuit of the fugitive. Unmindful of the smallness of their own force and the numbers of the Afgháns, they followed them and overtook them in the vicinity of Dholpúr.¹ The fugitives saw their road of escape was closed; for the waters of the Chambal were before them and the fire of the avenging sword behind. So they posted themselves in the rugged and difficult ground on the bank of the river, and, fearing to perish in the waters, they resolved upon battle. * * [*After many were killed and wounded*], Khán-Jahán, with his two sons and several followers, resolved to hazard the passage of the Chambal, although the water was running high. He and his followers, wounded and unwounded, in great peril and with great exertion, succeeded in crossing over, thus escaping from the fire of battle and the waters of the stream. Many horses and much baggage fell into the hands of the royal forces. * * A party gathered to follow up the fugitives, but on reaching the bank of the river, it was found that it could not be crossed without boats, and an endeavour was made to collect some. Khwája Abú-l Hasan came up when one *pahar* of the day remained, and after consultation it was resolved to stay there for the night, and rest the horses, which had made a long and fatiguing march. Boats were collected, and the whole force passed over before noon next day, and recommenced

¹ Dholpúr is about thirty-five miles from Agra near the left bank of the Chambal.

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'ABDU-L HAMID LAHORI.

the chase. But the fugitives pressed forward with all haste, and threw themselves into the jungles of Jajhár Singh Bundela.

When the traitor (Khán-Jahán) entered the territory of Jajhár Singh Bundela, that chieftain was absent in the Dakhin; but his eldest son Bikramájít was at home, and sent the rebel out of the territory by unfrequented roads. If Birkramájít had not thus favoured his escape, he would have been either taken prisoner or killed. He proceeded to Gondwána, and after staying there some time in disappointment and obscurity, he proceeded by way of Birár to the country of Burhán Nizámu-l Mulk.

THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1039 A.H. (1629 A.D.).

[Text, vol. i. p. 300.] On the 21st Ramazán Khwája Abú-l Hasan and * * * altogether about 8000 horse, were sent to effect the conquest of Násik and Trimbak¹ and Sangamnír. It was settled that the Khwája was to stay at some suitable position near the fort of Alang² during the rainy season until he was joined by Sher Khán from the province of Gujarát with his provincial levies. After the end of the rains he was to march by way of Baglána, and, taking with him some of the *zamindárs* of the country, make his way to Násik. The Khwája marched from Burhánpúr, and in eight days reached the village of Dholiya,³ near the fort of Alang, and there halted until the rains should cease. * * Sher Khán, Súbadár of Gujarát, joined with 26,000 men, and the Khwája sent him to attack the fort of Bátora, in the vicinity of Chándor, near Násik and Trimbak. Sher Khán ravaged the country, and returned with great spoil.

Murder of Jádú Rái.

[Text, vol. i. p. 308.] Jádú Rái, with his sons, grandsons,

¹ This name is here written *ترنگ*, but afterwards *ترنبك*. The real name is Tirambak or Trimbak. It is a little west of Násik.

² The text here has "Lalang," but afterwards "Alang."

³ About half way between Burhánpúr and Násik.