

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES

Jahandar Namah: An Unpublished Source of the Eighteenth Century

Salma Bano

Research Scholar (Ph.D. Student), Department of History, Centre of Advanced Study, A.M.U. Aligarh, U.P., India

Abstract:

The successors of Aurangzeb were not in a condition to patronize the scholars. In spite of these, the growth of Persian Literature on the whole was not hindered owing to withdrawal of the imperial patronage. The greater numbers of historical works were written on individual initiatives. One of the important among them is Jahandar Namah written by Nuruddin Faruqi. In this paper an attempt has been made to write a historiographical note on Jahandar Namah, which is an unpublished Persian source of Early Eighteenth Century. It is an eye witness account which deals only the Emperor Jahandar Shah. This paper also contains information about the author's life and his ancestors, early life of Jahandar Shah, his struggle for the throne with his three brothers Azim-us-Shan, Jahan Shah and Rafi-us-Shan, his brief reign, influence of Lal Kunwar, role of his wazir Zulfiqar Khan and other leading nobles of that period, his defeat by his nephew Farrukh Siyar and his execution with Zulfiqar Khan. Its significance lies, its unprejudiced nature of writing. This source is brief but written in a very simple and plain language.

The successors of Aurangzeb were not in a condition to patronize the scholars. In spite of these, the growth of Persian Literature on the whole was not hindered owing to withdrawal of the imperial patronage. The greater numbers of historical works were written on individual initiatives. One of the important among them is *Jahandar Namah*¹ written by Nuruddin Faruqi.

Jahandar Namah is an important eye witness account of early Eighteenth Century. Which sheds ample light on the author's life, war of succession among the sons of Emperor Bahadur Shah, early life of Jahandar Shah, his short reign, role of the leading nobles and influence of *kalawantan*² on the Emperor Jahandar Shah and causes for the failure of Jahandar Shah's reign.

In this paper an attempt has been made to write a historiographical notes on an unpublished Persian source of early eighteenth century. Its style of writing is simple plain and free from prejudiced. Only few poetical quotations have been used to make this work interesting. The writer wants to write a history just to remain in history and also wanted to make Jahandar Shah remembered through his writing. It is only an independently written source that deals only the short Reign of Emperor Jahandar Shah.

The Nuruddin Faruqi writes about himself that his ancestor belonged to Balkh. One of his ancestors accompanied Babur to Hindustan. But after the victory, he fled from Hindustan along with other nobles and settled at Multan³. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah was assigned for the *Subadari* of Multan and the Punjab with Kabul. On the request of Bahadur Shah, Multan was assigned to his eldest son prince Muizz ud din. Hearing the news of his father's death Bahadur Shah instructed to his son Muizz ud din to collect an army. The father of this author Burhan ud din Faruqi joined the army of Muizz ud din with his son Nur ud din Faruqi and other relatives. The author complains that although he had worked hard from the death of Bahadur Shah to Rafi us Shan⁴, but he received no promotion from Zulfiqar Khan.⁵

Nuruddin Faruqi was present in the war of successions among the sons of Bahadur Shah. When, Jahandar Shah marched from Delhi to Agra to fight with his nephew Farrukh Siyar, the author with his father at the command of 600 *suwar* were posted in the advanced gourd. After the destruction of small cannons, they were not able to fight with enemy, so they take refuge with Abdus Samad Khan's troops⁶.

¹ Its original is preserved in British Museum Library London and rotophograph no 71 of this manuscript with tile of *Jahandar Namah* by Nuruddin Faruqi, is available in Research Seminar library, Department of History, A.M.U Aligarh.

² *Kalawant* were the mainly male members of the professional singer class. The women sing and dance and man play accompaniments, Wiliam Irwin, *The Later Mughals*, Delhi, reprinted in 2006., Vol, II, p.193.

³ *Jahandar Namah*, f.3b.

⁴ Rafi us Shan was the youngest son of Emperor Bahadur Shah.

⁵ Zulfiqar Khan was the son of Asad Khan. He was married to the daughter of Amir ul Umra Shaista Khan. He was appointed on the post of *Mir Bakhshi* with the rank of 7000 by the Emperor Bahadur Shah. Ibid., f. 36a.

⁶ Abdus Samad Khan was one of the leading noble in the court of Emperor Farrukh Siyar. He got a *mansab* of 7000 /7000 and *Nizamat* of Lahore, *Shanamah Munawwar ul Kalam*, by Shiv Das, rotophograph no 139, CAS, Dept of History AMU, Aligarh., f. 10b.

During the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar, Burhan ud din Faruqi remained for some time in the service of Abdus Samad Khan. When Husain Ali Khan took an expedition against Ajit Singh, he also went with them. But on returning from Rajputana to Delhi, he parted company with them and returned to Multan with a *Kafilah*. Nuruddin Faruqi settled in the *mohalla* of Faruqiyan in old Delhi as they belong to the same clan and religion, after the depopulation of Burhanpur and Asirgarh by Emperor Akbar, the Faruqi settled in that *mohalla*. Being disappointed with present situations, he took the life of resignation.

During the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar, when Sikh Guru crossed all his limits of oppressions against Muslims, the *wazir* Saiyid Abdullah Khan himself become ready to go for suppression of that Guru and he also took Abdus Samad Khan and other renowned nobles. At that time an intense love for his *watan* and a desire to meet his father arose in him. The author took an opportunity of revisiting his home after eleven years. He found his father confined to bed in bad health and took care of him for a month. When his father died, he performed all the rituals and he gave wealth and property to his relatives. Due to tyranny of Sikhs, he returned to Old Delhi. He found the whole city in a disturbed condition owing to the hostility between Farrukh Siyar and Saiyid Abdullah Khan⁷.

He passed his five months in that situation. Then he visited the tomb of *Sultanul Mashaikh* (Shaikh Nizam ud din Auliya) and after reciting *Fatiha* and seeking help from him, he started to write his work. He was able to finish his work by the end of the month of *Zilqada*, in 1127 A.H./ November 1715. He imprinted his thought forever. For the purpose of the writing of this work, he writes that his father was in a respectable condition in the court of Emperor Bahadur Shah. So this author also got chance to attend the *Majlis* and took the benefits of *Insha* writing. Seeing the situation, he felt strong desire to write history and firstly he writes a *Jang Nama* but dissatisfied with it destroyed it⁸. During the reign of Farrukh Siyar, Yusuf Khan was instructed to record the event of his reign. Nuruddin Faruqi often remained with him and revived his interest of history writing. He took much interest in the style of Yusuf Khan. Seeing his interest, Yusuf Khan told him that it was better to avoid historiography because it produced only "Dead Sea Fruit."

Purpose: Further Nuruddin Faruqi says that after a lot of thinking, he decided to write about Jahandar Shah, as his name was going to disappear. He wanted to make him remembered through his writing⁹. He also wanted to write about his own father, who was in good position during the reign of Jahandar Shah. He went to visit the tomb of Shaikh Nizam ud din Auliya and after invoking help from the *Shaikh*, he started to write this eye witness accounts. Author says that he had not mentioned any things in which he had not taken part. Further he writes that this work got complete without any difficulty and his friends (*ahbbai*) suggested a title "*Jahandar Namah*"¹⁰ for this work. It is one of the eye witness contemporary account and useful work for the short reign of Jahandar Shah

Style: It is an unpublished Persian work, written in *Nastaliq* style of writing. The style of expression adopted by author is simple, plain and free from hyperbole and rhetoric. The author has given several poetical quotations to make his work interesting. He starts his work with glorification of God, prophet (p.b.u.h), and his companions. It is written in a very plain language without using Arabic quotation. This author provided sufficient details about himself and his ancestors also. He starts every account with proper headings in chronological order.

Author writes that Jahandar Shah was born at *Mustqarrul Khilafat* (Akbarabad) in 1071 A.H./1660 A.D., in the 4th R.Y. of Aurangzeb¹¹. Aurangzeb named him as Sultan Muhammad Muizuddin. Later he became famous with the same name. He was the first male child among the real sons of Aurangzeb. On 10th *Shawwal* a celebration were organized on a grand scale. Music and dance parties were organized¹². Bahadur Shah and imperial servants were given gifts. Aurangzeb showed his great love and fondness to this child and made him sit in front of himself. When this boy attained the age of 8 years, Emperor used to keep this child with himself while travelling. He got training in archery (*teerandazi*). By the age of 14 years Muizuddin prepared himself with most of his skills and arts and surpassed the sons of the nobles of the court¹³.

After that, the campaigns in the Deccan were undertaken, and in most of the battle with the Marathas he showed his talents. He also showed his bravery against Afghans near Qandhar. When, he reached to the court, he was appointed with his father to capture Prince Akbar and continued to pursue till Prince Akbar left for Iran from Deccan. He was also appointed several times for the conquest of Deccan¹⁴.

Nuruddin Further writes in his praise that Prince Muizuddin passed his days in the court of Alamgir with honour and respect. After the arrest of Tana Shah (Abul Hasan of Golconda) in the 38 R.Y., he was honoured with a *mansab*. Bahadur Shah was sent to Kabul with Muizuddin. Due to the request of Bahadur Shah he was appointed as the *Subadar* of Multan. By the time of war with his uncle he was

⁷ Saiyid Abdullah Khan Barha and his brother Husain Ali Khan Barha dominated the period of Indian History from 1713 -1720 and often referred as Sadaat Barha.

⁸ *Jahandar Namah*, f. 6a.

⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 6b.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 7a.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, f. 7a.

¹² *Ibid.*, f. 7b.

¹³ *Ibid.*, f. 7b.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 8b.

appointed in Lahore and Multan. In the battle with uncle Azamshah, he had showed his valour and saved his brother Azim-us- Shan from the enemies. After that, he shot his cousin Bedar Bakht¹⁵ with an arrow and who died on the spot. During the reign of Bahadur Shah, he was considered one of the brave Princes next to Prince Azimush Shan. He was always the confident (*nadim*) and close (*mahram*) to his father and knew all the secrets (*asrar*) of the state. He had great influence in the administrative affairs of the country.¹⁶

Nuruddin has avoided to give any detail about the reign of Emperor Bahadur Shah. He writes only that Emperor died at Lahore in 1124 A.H./1712 due to palpitation of heart (*Khafqan*)¹⁷, all the four sons¹⁸ who were present there, became claimant for the throne; therefore, there arose differences among them. After the incident, he started writing a very detail eye witness account for the war of succession among the sons of Bahadur Shah. He writes that Nawab Asad Khan Asaf-ud Daula¹⁹ who was an important noble, knew that these differences would result in war and wanted to a patch up between the brothers. But Asad khan failed in his effort due to interferences of other nobles like Afzal Khan, Ghani Khan and Kokaltash Khan. Here, Writer leaves all the blames on Kokaltash Khan and other noble. So Asad Khan apparently showed partiality and favour for Jahandar Shah.²⁰ Muhammad Ahsan Ijad writes, initially Jahandar Shah being frightened with Azim ush Shan, wanted to flee Multan²¹. But Zulfiqar Khan thought that if he makes Jahandar Shah victorious than all power would be rested in his hand²². So he instigated other three brothers against Azim ush Shan for the cause of Jahandar Shah.²³

For the Prince Azim ush Shan he writes, due to the *Nizamat* of Bengal, Prince Azim ush Shan was also prosperous and powerful. After the death of his father, he took possession of all imperial treasures and wealth and did not consider the remaining three other brothers as his equal²⁴. Rai Gujar Mal, who was a wise man, made Khajista Akhtar Jahan Shah tending to support the claim of Jahandar Shah. After getting solemn agreement from Zulfiqar Khan that after defeating Azim ush Shan, Deccan was to be assigned to Jahan Shah, Kabul, Kashmir, Lahore and Multan to be given to Rafi ush Shan, remaining part of Hindustan would be governed by Jahandar Shah²⁵. After going through the proposal, both the brothers ready to joined Jahandar Shah's army.

When this horrible news reached Azim ush Shah that the other two brothers by joining Asad Khan, wanted to remove him from the world, he wanted to bring Rafi ush Shan on his side. He sends one of his reliable man to Rafi ush Shan and instigated and induced him to gave his support against Jahandar Shah. When the news their meetings continually reached Jahandar Shah through spies (*Jasusan*) and the secret writer (*khufya Nawishan*), in the mid night, with two or three of his favourite servants, in a changed dressed he reached to the tent of Zulfiqar Khan and informed him about this matter. Writer points here about the important role played by the Zulfiqar Khan, which turned the fate of Azim ush Shan. On the persuasion of Zulfiqar Khan, Rafi ush Shan was not ready to help his brother Azim ush Shan and wanted to be aloof with other two brothers also. But after the instigation of his special and confidants servants, each of whom Zulfiqar Khan had made fearful and hopeful, that Rafi ush Shan resolved to support the other two brothers.²⁶

Seeing the unity of these three brothers the Prince Azim ush Shan sent some of his own men to Husain Ali Khan, who was Nazim of Bihar as his deputy, asking him to come post-haste with other *Jamadaran* of Bengal for his help²⁷. On the other side, all the three brothers ordered theirs *Bakshiyar* to collect the soldiers and enlist new ones. Raja Gujar Mal and Jani Khan were sent to Mahabat Khan and Khan i Zaman²⁸ Khan to seek support against enemy but they did not ready to join any of these groups.

Nuruddin writes about the speculation of the other nobles for the result of this war. When Prince Mohammad Karim²⁹ with his 7000 *sawars*, and other equipment moved with his father Azim ush Shan towards *Bagh e Shalamar*, everyone had full confidence that Azim ush Shan had possessed treasure and another material, and that he would win. Except Amir ul Umra Zulfiqar Khan, all the imperial nobles had joined him.

For the battle, he writes in a very detail that both the opponents were not given time to breathe. There was a sudden attack and a fierce battle was fought from both the sides. At first all these three brothers were about to defeat, but Zulfiqar Khan instigated the soldiers to

¹⁵ Ibid., f. 9b.

¹⁶ Ibid.,f. 10a.

¹⁷ Ibid., f. 10a.

¹⁸ Emperor Bahadur Shah had four surviving sons named Jahandar Shah, Azim ush Shan, Jahan Shah and Rafi ush Shan. *The Later Mughals*, op.cit., p. 158.

¹⁹ Asad Khan was the eldest son of Zulfiqar Khan *Qaramanlu*. He was great favourite of Emperor Alamgir and appointed on the post of *Wizarat* in 1676 A.D, which was continued to hold during the remaining thirty-one years of Aurangzeb's reign.

²⁰ *JahandarNamah*, op. cit., f. 10a.

²¹ Mohd Ahsan Ijad, *farrukh Siyar Namah*, Rotograph No 05, CAS Department of History AMU, Aligarh, f. 9b.

¹⁴ Ibid.,f. 11b.

²³ Ibid., f. 14b.

²⁴ *Jahandar Namah*, op.cit., f. 10ab.

²⁵ Mohd Qasim Aurangabadi, *Ahwal -ul-Khwaqeen*, Rotogrph no36, CAS, Department of History AMU, Aligarh., f. 41a.

²⁶ *Jahandar Namah*, op.cit., f. 11a.

²⁷ Ibid., f.11a.

²⁸ Mahabat khan and Jani Khan were two sons of former *Wazir* late Khan I Khanan, *ibid.*, f. 11b.

²⁹ Ibid., f. 12a.

fight bravely³⁰. Zulfiqar Khan went to Jahan Shah, who was one of the brave prince and request him to start war and both Prince Jahan Shah and Zulfiqar Khan had fought bravely. Writer has pointed about the doubt of Zulfiqar Khan on Rafi us Shan, as he was appointed at the rear (*Chandawul*) in the battle field³¹. Azim us Shan halted his battle for some time in the hope of getting help from Bihar and Bengal. Zulfiqar Khan got time to reunite all three brothers against Azim ushan. Finally, Azim ushan was killed with several nobles. Jahandar Shah along with his two other brothers returned victoriously. Nuruddin Fauqi writes that Azim ushan's elephant sank into the depth of the river and could not be saved. His dead body was taken out from the river and was buried³². Mohammad Qasim Aurangabadi writes in his *Ahwal ul Khwaqin* that dead body of Azim ushan was taken away by Mirza Raja Jai Singh³³ to his *watan*. All the war materials and treasures come into the possession of Jahandar Shah.

The writer further gives a detail account of other two brothers of Jahan Shah. After the removal of the Azim ushan, the men of both the brother Jahan Shah and Rafi ushan, approached Zulfiqar Khan for the division of the country as it was decided earlier. This author does not hesitate to write about the deception of Zulfiqar Khan. For him he writes, after defeating Azim ushan became so proud that he had forgotten all the solemn promises of earlier. He considered them weak and tried to avoid them. By delaying tactics, he wanted to gain time. He believed that both these princes had not sufficient means to survive for longer time, so they would finish by the time.³⁴ For defeating Jahan Shah, Zulfiqar Khan began to shuttle between Rafi ushan and Jahan Shah.

One day Zulfiqar Khan went to Jahan Shah and flattered him, Rustam Ali Khan, who was present during the conversation and had heard the flattering conversation of Zulfiqar Khan, suggested to the Prince Jahan Shah that Zulfiqar Khan was to be killed, because he was mainly responsible for all problems.³⁵ But the Prince did not give order for this. Jahan Shah being dissatisfied with Jahandar Shah's behaviour and thought if such thing happened on first day, what would future be?³⁶ Yahya Khan says that Jahan Shah was only satisfied on getting only on city, but it was also denied³⁷. Finally, he ordered his *Bakhshis* to collect soldiers as soon as possible started the war on eighteenth of *Safar* 1124 A.H.

Ahsan Ijad writes that to neutralize the Rafi ushan, Jahandar Shah had sent ten thousand *asharfi* for him.³⁸ A great number of men from both the sides were killed. Jahan Shah was about to win but he was killed with a canon ball of Abdus Samad Khan.³⁹ The army of Jahan Shah was routed and Rustam Dil Khan⁴⁰ was taken into custody alive. Prince Farkhunda Akhtar was also killed. All the establishment (*Kar khanajat*) of Jahan Shah were confiscated and women from his apartment were imprisoned by eunuchs (*khawaja sarayan*) in the city of Lahore.⁴¹

For the account of Prince Rafi, us Shan he writes in brief that Rafi us Shan made himself aloof during the battle between Jahan Shah and Jahandar Shah on the promise of getting three *suba* of Bengal. But after the battle Kokaltash Khan⁴² clearly denied to give anything to him. Zulfiqar Khan also avoided for renewed the oath with the offer of *Subadari* of all the three Provinces of Bengal to Rafi ushan⁴³. The author shows a clear light upon the destitute condition of Rafi us Shan. Now, the Prince understood clearly that there was no option only to fight. He had not large soldiers, so he ordered to attack at the night as Jahandar Shah's army was tired at that time. But his mischief soldiers were not ready to attack at night. Being helpless he had to wait for morning⁴⁴. One of his noble Fath ullah Khan Mughal left his side and met with Jahandar Shah. Rafi us Shan with broken heart, fought with Jahandar Shah. Finally, Rafi ushan was killed along with many nobles and his three sons Mohd Ibrahim, Rafi ud duala and Rafi ud darjat were made prisoners⁴⁵.

For the short reign of Jahandar Shah Nuruddin Faruqi writes that after getting satisfaction from every side by abolishing all the three brothers, Jahandar Shah had ascended the throne with a title of Abul Fatah Muiauzuddin Jahandar Shah on 21 *Safar* 1124 A.H/30th March 1712 A.D. in Lahore at the age of 52 years⁴⁶. He distributed the important offices among his loyal nobles and they were given promotions titles and rewards. Asaf ud Daula Nawab Asad Khan was appointed on his previous post of *Wakil-i-Mutlaq*. Zulfiqar Khan

³⁰ Ibid., f. 12b.

³¹ Ibid., f. 13b.

³² Ibid., f. 24b.

³³ Mirza Jai Singh of Amber was the brother of the wife of Azim ushan, *Ahwal ul Khwaqin*, op.cit., f. 42b.

³⁴ *Jhandar Namah*, op. cit., f. 25b.

³⁵ Ibid., f. 26a.

³⁶ *Ahwal ul Khawqin*, op.cit., f. 43b.

³⁷ *Tazkirat ul Muluk*, op.cit., f. 118b.

³⁸ *Farrukh Siyar Namah*, op.cit., f. 58b.

³⁹ Mohd Hadi Khan Kamwar, *Tazkirat us Salateen Chaghta*, ed by Muzaffar Alam, Aligarh, 1986. P. 152.

⁴⁰ Rustam Dil Khan was the grandson of Allah Wardi Khan Shahjahan and later he joined Prince Jahan Shah, *The Later Mughals*, op.cit., vol ii, p. 39.

⁴¹ *Jahandar Namah* op.cit., f. 30a.

⁴² Kokaltash Khan was an old favourite of Jahandar Shah and was appointed on the post of *Mir Bakhshi*. He was killed in the battle of Agra against Farrukh Siyar.

⁴³ There was an written agreement between Rafi ushan and Jahandar Shah that after defeating Jahan Shah, Jahandar Shah would offer three provinces of Bengal in compensation of not supporting Jahan Shah, *ibid.*, f. 30b.

⁴⁴ Mirza Mohd bin Mutamid Khan, *Ibrat Namah*, Rotogrph No 247, CAS Department of History, AMU Aligarh, f. 10b.

⁴⁵ Mohd khafi Khan, *Muntakhab al lubab*, ed Maulvi Kabir Al Din Ahmad, Calcutta, 1869, p. 690.

⁴⁶ *Jahandar Namah.*, op.cit f. 34b.

was made *Wazir*, Kokaltash Khan was appointed on the post of *Mir Bakhshi* with the title of Khan i Jahan. He had worked hard in all three battles for Jahandar Shah and expected to get the post of *wazir* which was denied, because it was given to Zulfiqar Khan. This matter was the main reason for intense rivalry between Zulfiqar Khan and Kokaltash Khan. It also led to the downfall of Jahandar Shah.⁴⁷ The post of *Diwan e Tan* was given to Ikhlas Khan, Subha Chand was appointed as *Mir Munshi* with the title of Rajgi. Hidayat ul Allah got the title of Saad ul Allah and post of *Khan e Samani*. Saiyed Raji Khan was appointed as *Darogha e Topkhana*. Hafiz Khan, Khuwaja Husain Yazna (sister's husband) of Kokaltash Khan, Mohd. Mah, Rayman, Bahrumand Khan and Raza Quli Khan were promoted.

Mukhlis Khan, Afzal Khan and Rustam Dil Khan were executed and it was suspected that they had instigated other princes against Jahandar Shah. Lutf ul Alah Khan Sadiq son of Saad- ul-Allah Khan, who was a Jahan Shahi noble was pardoned and appointed as *Diwan* of Prince Azzi-ud-ddin⁴⁸. Other nobles such as Mahabat Kha son of *Khan-e-Khana*, Hamiduddin Khan, Sarfaraz Khan Ihtimam Khan, Aminuddin Khan including their relatives were all imprisoned and their properties were confiscated.

Nuruddin had written in details about Lal Kunwar and his interferences in the politics of that period. But he has not written anything about his early life and her ancestors. Jahandar Shah had decided to leave Lahore for *Darulkhilafat* (Delhi). Lal Kunwar was honoured with the title of Imtiyaz Mahal. She sat near the throne formerly used by Alamgir and below her stood the nobles⁴⁹. She got lot of cash and jewellery from treasure. The value of that treasure was more than 15crores. Her relatives were given to *mansab* of 4,000 and 5000, and *naubat wa naqara* (drum). His brothers were given the titles of Niamat Khan and Namdar Khan and they were also rewarded with cash, elephant, horses, costly *Khilat* (a robe of honour) and jewels. *Subadari* of Multan was also chosen to give to Niamat Khan.⁵⁰ But this decision of Emperor was not liked by *wazir* Zulfiqar Khan. Nuruddin writes an event related to Zulfiqar Khan and Lal Kunwar. Once Zulfiqar Khan put demand bribe ten thousand drums (*duhul*) and five thousand guitars (*tumbur*) for issuing the *Sanad*. When this matter got delay, Lal Kunwar brought this matter in the knowledge of Emperor. Jahandar Shah asked with Zulfiqar Khan about the delay of issuing the *Farman* and *Asanad*. Zulfiqar Khan replied that he was in the habit of taking bribe, so he demanded one thousand drums of fine quality from *Kalawantan*. Khafi Khan gave full detail about this event and writes that Jahandar Shah further asked about the use of drums for Zulfiqar Khan, he replied that if *Kalawantan* would do our business then these nobles must follow their professions. Emperor Jahandar Shah smiled on his reply and cancelled the appointment⁵¹.

The author comments that the above mentioned *Kalawantan*, tying royal jewellery on their hands, arms and drums, used to make loud noise in madness. They harmed the common people due to their pride and arrogance. Every night a few thousand *Kalawantan* reached at the Emperor's court, in the state of intoxication and nakedness and danced. Some time on the hint of Lal Kunwar, they slapped on the head of the Emperor, with a loud voice Break, Break (*bshikan-bshikan*).⁵²

The author expressed his anguish that Emperor Jahandar Shah had seen the royalty of his forefathers but he had forgotten everything for Lal Kunwar. He digested the misbehaviour and insolence of those dishonorable but did not open mouth to stop them. Moreover, he pleased them⁵³. After the end of the assembly, forgetting the respect of the Emperor, playing with the *Kalawantan* he come upto the door of the tent and with many new rewards he made everyone of them wealthy⁵⁴. The author of *Tazkirat ul muluk* Yahya Khan also writes that Emperor Jahandar Shah had imprisoned his two younger sons Izz ud Daula and Muizz ud Daula, only to please Lal Kunwar⁵⁵.

Emperor Jahandar Shah was welcomed by Asaf-ud-Daula Asad Khan and Moh Yar Khan in Delhi.⁵⁶ The *havelis* of Mahabat Khan and Ali Mardan Khan were allotted to the *Kalawantan*. The author comments all the people of far and near places were indulged in enjoyment. There nothing happened except music and dance. Here writer gives a glimpse of the misery of lower class people of the society. Common people were suffering the loss of life and property at the hand of *Kalawantan*. No one helped them. The ban on the unlawfulness according to *Shariat* had got completely disappeared. From the Emperor to the soldiers and from the *faqir* to the *Wazir* all were indulged in prohibition of *Shariat*. Gradually the respect and the fright of the King disappeared from the hearts of small (*sagheer*) and great (*kabeer*).⁵⁷ Like the king of the chess (*shah-e-satranj*), the Emperor was busy in amusements in the hands of *Kalawantan*. Although majority of people were suffering from poverty and distress.

⁴⁷ Ibid., f. 35a

⁴⁸ Ibid., f. 36a.

⁴⁹ Cf, a wakil report Addressed to Maharaja Raja Jai Singh Sawai dated *Asarh Sudi* 11, 1769/31 July 1712, by Panchauli Jag Jiwan Das, A *Corresponding of Raja of Amber and his agents of the Mughal Court* "A Calander of Wakil's Letter to The Rulers (1681-1715)" published M.phil. Dissertation of Dr.Sumbul Halim Khan at the Department of History, AMU, Aligarh 1986, calander no 43, p.83.

⁵⁰ *Jahandar Nama*, op. cit., f. 37b.

⁵¹ *The Muntakhab al lubab* of Khafi Khan, op.cit., pp. 689-690.

⁵² Ibid., f. 38a.

⁵³ Khafi Khan says, it was good time for minstrels and singers and all fine tribe of dancers and actors., op. cit., p. 689.

⁵⁴ *Jahandar Nama*, op.cit., f. 38b.

⁵⁵ Yahya Khan, *Tazkirat ul muluk*, Rotograph No 81, CAS, Department of history AMU, Aligarh., f. 119b.

⁵⁶ Mohd Yar Khan was a *Qiladar* of fort of Delhi, *Jahandar Namah*, op. cit., f. 38b.

⁵⁷ Ibid., f. 9b.

In such a situation, suddenly spies brought the news that Muhammad Farrukh Siyar son of Azimush Shan had arrived at Bihar from Bengal and was busy in recruiting soldiers and winning over the people for getting throne. Now everyone come to their senses from carelessness and arrogance and they tried to think for solution. But everything was out of control⁵⁸.

For the accession of Farrukh Siyar Nuruddin writes, when Azimush Shan was fighting against his three brothers, Farrukh Siyar was in Azimabad. Hearing the death of his father, on the advice of some *Mashaikh* and astrologers (*munajjiman*) he issued the coins and ordered for *Khutba* and he ascended the throne in Patna⁵⁹. With the help of Saiyids brothers he collected an army and also won over many nobles like Saiyyed Husain Ali Khan, Ahmad Beg, Khwaja Asim, Khwaja Fakhruddin and Mir Ishaq.⁶⁰

For the preparation of the battle against Farrukh Siyar, Nuruddin writes that the news of the rise of Farrukh Siyar reached the Emperor and nobles of court continuously; they tried to seek advice of each other. But due to the enmity between the *Wazir* and *Mir Bakhshi* they opposed each other's advice and plan. None of these nobles was ready to undertake this responsibility, it was finally decided that the Prince Aziz ud din⁶¹, had to be sent with Khwaja Husain and Raja Gopal Singh Bhadoriya with a large army. Amir ul umra Zulfiqar Khan did not want that all charge should be given to Khwaja Husain,⁶² here the author tries to indicate the real quandary of Emperor Jahandar Shah was the disunity among nobles. Yahya Khan writes that hearing about Aziz ud din Farrukh Siyar was not ready to fight. It was Mir Ahmad⁶³ and Khwaja Asim⁶⁴ who advised to Farrukh Siyar to fight. A fierce battle was fought at Khajwah. But during the war the Prince Aziz ud din was instigated for flee by Khwaja Husain.⁶⁵ At first he was not ready to flee but he had to run away to Akbarabad⁶⁶. So the Prince belongings were looted and plundered. Much of the war plunder fell into the hands of Farrukh Siyar. Thus, Farrukh Siyar collected an army around forty thousand and began to wait the arrival of Jahandar Shah.⁶⁷

Nuruddin writes about the reaction of the Emperor Jahandar Shah in Delhi. When the news of the defeat of Prince Aziz ud din reached to the Emperor and imperial nobles, they become impatient. They then began to scatter the wealth among the old and new soldiers to keep them to his side. They tried to collect soldiers and enough war materials. According to the auspicious time fixed by the astrologers, Jahandar Shah with a large army and pomp and show left for Agra. Nuruddin was also present in this battle. Both the army reached near Sikandara and a fierce battle was fought. Some of the famous nobles and soldiers on both the sides were killed and wounded⁶⁸.

For the Jat Churaman, he writes that he was present in that battle, raided the back (*chandawul*) of the imperial army and drove away many elephants. In this critical moment elephant of Jahandar Shah got some arrow in his eyes and become restless. Seeing this situation, Lal Kunwar taking him in his own canopied litter (*immari*) and fled away to Agra⁶⁹. This created disorder and confusion in the imperial army and many Jahandar Shahi soldiers were killed. Zulfiqar Khan appointed man to find out the position of Jahandar Shah and his son, Azzuddin, so that he could be able to re attacked on enemy. But after a lot of search, no trace of them was found out. Finally, Zulfiqar Khan also took flight for Agra. During this battle many famous Jahandar Shahi nobles like Jani Khan, Mukhtar Khan Raza Quli Khan, Islam Khan, Murtuza Khan were killed⁷⁰.

After the defeat of Jahandar Shah Nuruddin writes about his last hope of getting help from Nawab Asad Khan. Jahandar Shah in ruined conditions and lot of sorrow with females reached Agra and after that Delhi. He left Lal Kunwar to Muhammad Mah's house⁷¹ and went to Nawab Asad Khan Asaf-ud-Daula and requested him to for his help.⁷² The Nawab after consoling and comforting confined him into the fort Arak. During the same time the *farmans* of Farrukh Siyar reached for Asaf-ud-Daula and Ahl ul allah Khan⁷³ that Jahandar Shah, being defeated at the battle field had reached Delhi. If he reached there, he was to be taken into custody. So Jahandar Shah was imprisoned in the Tripoliya⁷⁴.

⁵⁸ Ibid., f.40a.

⁵⁹ Ibid., f. 40b.

⁶⁰ Ibid., f. 42b.

⁶¹ Prince Aziz ud din was the eldest son of Jahandar Shah.

⁶² *Ibrat Namah*, op. cit., f. 13a.

⁶³ Mir Ahmad was the foster brother of Jahandar Shah, *Tazkirat ul muluk*, op. cit., f. 119b.

⁶⁴ Khwaja Asim was the son of Hasim, who belongs from Akbarabad, *ibid.*, f. 120a.

⁶⁵ *Jahandar Namah*, op. cit., f. 47b.

⁶⁶ *Farrukh Siyar Namah*, op. cit., f. 58b.

⁶⁷ *Jahandar Namah*, op. cit., f. 49b.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, ff. 49b- 55a.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, f.58a.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 56a- 58b.

⁷¹ *Ibrat Namah*, op.cit., f. 17a.

⁷² *Jahandar Namah.*, f. 60a.

⁷³ Ahl ul allah khan was *Qiladar* of red fort, *Tazkirat us Salatin Chaghata*, op. cit., p. 166.

⁷⁴ Tripoliya was a name of cell, where prisoners were kept.

The author did not give any further details for the end of Jahandar Shah, only he says that Jahandar Shah suffered what he had to suffer at the hands of Lachin Beg Qalmaq⁷⁵ (*as dast e Lachin Beg Qalmaq anchah guzashti bud bar saras guzashat*).⁷⁶ It seems this author was not present there so he avoided for any details about the murder of Jahandar Shah. It is also said *Mahzar* has been issued recording the charges against Jahandar Shah. It has been settled that he would be executed.⁷⁷

The writer does not only finish his account with end of Jahandar Shah, he also covers about the end of Zulfiqar Khan. Zulfiqar Khan could not meet Jahandar Shah at Agra because he had already left for Delhi. First he thought to go to Deccan and taking along with him Daud Khan Panni and his other supporters who were in a good condition, would fight again. But he also thought, it was not considered good to fight with Emperor Farrukh Siyar without *tura*⁷⁸. So he went to Delhi and consulted his father. Asad Khan was an old and experienced man who had seen many ups and downs of time. He cautioned his son and suggested not to fight without sufficient war materials. As it would cause only bloodshed, ruin of public and nothing good result would be come out. Whosoever from the race of Alamghir wore the Crown on his head, it was compulsory for hereditary loyal servants to pay their respects. In short, he checked his son and suggested him for wait till arrival of Emperor Farrukh Siyar.⁷⁹

At the end of the account of *Jahandar Namah*, the author writes that Saiyid Abdullah Khan had reached Delhi for the arrangement of fort Arak five to six days earlier to Emperor Farrukh Siyar. Nawab sent a message to Asad Khan that his hereditary benevolence (*khair khwahi*) to the family of Timur and his closeness (*qarabat*) to the sons and descendents of Alamghir, was well known. If he presents before the Emperor through him, there would no reduction in his *mansab* and honour. But Zulfiqar Khan was not ready due to his high self respects. During the time news for coming of Emperor Farrukh Siyar had reached to them through *Qazi* Abdul Turani,⁸⁰ the father and son went to visit to Emperor near Barapula⁸¹. Emperor Farrukh Siyar had taken advice from his nobles for the matter of Zulfiqar Khan and Jahandar Shah. Saiyed Abdulla Khan and Lachin Beg suggested for killing them⁸². Asad Khan was shown favour and was allowed to go. Zulfiqar Khan was taken into custody for the allegation that he was responsible for the murdered of Azim us Shan and his son Muhammad Karim. Because of his high self respect, he used foul words for Farrukh Siyar and finally he was executed.⁸³

This work has also some lacunas like, author was not certain about dates. The author did not write much about the execution of Emperor Jahandar Shah and its dates. It is a very brief account deal only the politics of that period. The author has simply narrated those events, which he had seen. For the other information, he has not given any detail about the references. He also not provided any description about Emperor's relation with other *Subedar* of any provinces. He centered his account upto the imperial personalities only. For the details of *Kalawantan* he also seems used some exaggerations. Although he was present in the battle of *Jajua* but he has not provided details of that battle. In spite of the writing of his work in Farrukh Siyar's reign simply avoided to give any detail for the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar.

But the importance of *Jahandar Nama* lay in the fact that it is the first eyewitness contemporary account and the later historians gathered information for the short reign of Jahandar Shah from this work. However, it was not a comprehensive account, but seems unbiased for any particular group of the court nobles. He also writes that he had worked hard from the time of Emperor Bahadur Shah to the murder of Prince Rafi us Shan but he could not get any favour from Jahandar Shah. Although, he was not satisfied with the reign of Emperor Jahandar Shah, but writes that people were leaving in better condition in comparison to the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar. This source is also important for making the list of nobles who participated in these wars. The author also clearly mentioned that he had written only those accounts in which he had participated and had not given place to heard materials.

To conclude we can say this work contains detailed eye-witness description of the wars of succession among four brothers of Jahandar Shah and between him and his nephew Farrukh Siyar, short reign of Jahandar Shah, negligence of the Emperor, conflicts among the nobles. He tries to give a very clear picture of court life, influences of Lal Kunwar and other *Kalawantan* on the Emperor Jahandar Shah, role of Zulfiqar Khan for the cause of Emperor Jahandar Shah and his end. In between the line of his work he has shown the social and economic condition of the city Shahjahanabad. This is also the only source that deals exclusively with the short reign of Jahandar Shah and his early life.

⁷⁵ Lachin Beg got the title of Bahadur Dil Khan during the reign of Farrukh Siyar. He was leaders of Mughals and was also famous his nicknamed *Tasmah kash* (strangler), *The Later Mughals*, vol ii, p. 391.

⁷⁶ *Jahandar Namah*, op.cit., f. 60b.

⁷⁷ Cf, a wakil report Addressed to Maharaja Raja Jai Singh Sawai, dated *Phalgun Sudi* 2, 1769/16 March 1713, by Jag Jiwan Das, op.cit., calander no 48, p. 95.

⁷⁸ A law instituted by Changez Khan that was sacredly observed by Mughals in their parties, their festival, their courts in their rising up and their sitting down, *The Turko Mangol theory of kingship* by Iqtidar Alam Khan., p. 14.

⁷⁹ *Jhandar Namah*., f. 60b.

⁸⁰ He was earlier appointed on the post of Qazi in suba Bengal, later he got a *mansab* of 7000/7000 with title of Mir Jumla Bahadur by Emperor Farrukh Siyar. *Shanamah Munawwar ul Kalam*, op. cit., f. 2b.

⁸¹ Barpula is around four miles south of Delhi Gate of modern city, *The Later Mughals*, William Irvine, op.cit., p.247.

⁸² *Tazkirat ul muluk* , op.cit., f. 122a

⁸³ *Jahandar Namah*, op. cit., f. 6' 1a.

References

- i. Its original is preserved in British Museum Library London and rotograph no 71 of this manuscript with tile of Jahandar Namah by Nuruddin Faruqui, is available in Research Seminar library, Department of History, A.M.U Aligarh.
- ii. Kalawant were the mainly male members of the professional singer class. The women sing and dance and man play accompaniments, Wiliam Irwin, *The Later Mughals*, Delhi, reprinted in 2006., Vol, II, p.193.
- iii. Jahandar Namah, f.3b.
- iv. Rafi us Shan was the youngest son of Emperor Bahadur Shah.
- v. Zulfiqar Khan was the son of Asad Khan. He was married to the daughter of Amir ul Umra Shaista Khan. He was appointed on the post of Mir Bakhshi with the rank of 7000 by the Emperor Bahadur Shah. *Ibid.*, f. 36a.
- vi. Abdus Samad Khan was one of the leading noble in the court of Emperor Farrukh Siyar. He got a mansab of 7000 /7000 and Nizamat of Lahore, Shanamah Munawwar ul Kalam, by Shiv Das, rotograph no 139, CAS, Dept of History AMU, Aligarh., f. 10b.
- vii. Saiyid Abdullah Khan Barha and his brother Husain Ali Khan Barha dominated the period of Indian History from 1713 - 1720 and often referred as Sadaat Barha.
- viii. Jahandar Namah., f. 6a.
- ix. *Ibid.*, f. 6b.
- x. *Ibid.*, f. 7a.
- xi. *Ibid.*, f. 7a.
- xii. *Ibid.*, f. 7b.
- xiii. *Ibid.*, f. 7b.
- xiv. *Ibid.*, f. 8b.
- xv. *Ibid.*, f. 9b.
- xvi. *Ibid.*,f. 10a.
- xvii. *Ibid.*, f. 10a.
- xxviii. Emperor Bahadur Shah had four surviving sons named Jahandar Shah, Azim ush Shan, Jahan Shah and Rafi ush Shan. *The Later Mughals*, op.cit., p. 158.
- xix. Asad Khan was the eldest son of Zulfiqar Khan Qaramanlu. He was great favourite of Emperor Alamgir and appointed on the post of Wizarat in 1676 A.D, which was continued to hold during the remaining thirty-one years of Aurangzeb's reign.
- xx. JahandarNamah, op. cit., f. 10a.
- xxi. Mohd Ahsan Ijad, farrukh Siyar Namah, Rotograph No 05, CAS Department of History AMU, Aligarh, f. 9b.
- xxii. 14*Ibid.*,f. 11b.
- xxiii. *Ibid.*, f. 14b.
- xxiv. Jahandar Namah, op.cit., f. 10ab.
- xxv. Mohd Qasim Aurangabadi, Ahwal -ul-Khwaqeen, Rotogrph no36, CAS, Department of History AMU, Aligarh., f. 41a.
- xxvi. Jahandar Namah, op.cit., f. 11a.
- xxvii. *Ibid.*, f.11a.
- xxviii. Mahabat khan and Jani Khan were two sons of former Wazir late Khan I Khanan, *ibid.*, f. 11b.
- xxix. *Ibid.*, f. 12a.
- xxx. *Ibid.*, f.12b.
- xxxi. *Ibid.*, f. 13b.
- xxxii. *Ibid.*, f. 24b.
- xxxiii. Mirza Jai Singh of Amber was the brother of the wife of Azim ush Shan, Ahwal ul Khwaqin, op.cit., f. 42b.
- xxxiv. Jhandar Namah, op. cit., f. 25b.
- xxxv. *Ibid.*, f. 26a.
- xxxvi. Ahwal ul Khawqin, op.cit., f. 43b.
- xxxvii. Tazkirat ul Muluk, op.cit., f. 118b.
- xxxviii. Farrukh Siyar Namah, op.cit., f. 58b.
- xxxix. Mohd Hadi Khan Kamwar, Tazkirat us Salateen Chaghta,ed by Muzaffar Alam,Aligarh,1986. P. 152.
- xl. Rustam Dil Khan was the grandson of Allah Wardi Khan Shahjahani and later he joined Prince Jahan shah, *The Later Mughals*,op.cit.,vol ii, p. 39.
- xli. Jahandar Nanah op.cit., f. 30a.
- xlii. Kokaltash Khan was an old favourite of Jahadar Shah and was appointed on the post of Mir Bakhshi. He was killed in the battle of Agra against Farrukh Siyar.
- xliii. There was an written agreement between Rafi ush Shan and Jahandar shah that after defeating Jahan Shan, Jahandar Shah would offer three provinces of Bengal in compensation of not supporting Jahan Shah, *ibid.*, f. 30b.
- xliv. Mirza Mohd bin Mutamid Khan, Ibrat Namah, Rotogrph No 247, CAS Department of History, AMU Aligarh, f. 10b.
- xlv. Mohd khafi khan, Muntakhab al lubab,ed Maulvi Kabir Al Din Ahmad, Calcutta, 1869, p. 690.
- xlvi. Jahandar Namah., op.cit f. 34b.
- xlvii. *Ibid.*, f. 35a
- xlviii. *Ibid.*, f. 36a.

- xlix. Cf, a wakil report Addressed to Maharaja Raja Jai Singh Sawai dated Asarh Sudi 11, 1769/31 July 1712, by Panchauli Jag Jiwan Das, A Corresponding of Raja of Amber and his agents of the Mughal Court "A Calander of Wakil's Letter to The Rulers(1681-1715)" published M.phil. Dissertation of Dr.Sumbul Halim Khan at the Department of History, AMU, Aligarh 1986, calander no 43, p.83.
- i. Jahandar Nama, op. cit., f. 37b.
 - ii. The Muntakhab al lubab of Khafi Khan, op.cit., pp. 689 690.
 - iii. Ibid., f. 38a.
 - iiii. Khafi fhan says, it was good time for minstrels and singers and all fine tribe of dancers and actors., op. cit.,p. 689.
 - liv. Jahandar Nama, op.cit., f. 38b.
 - lv. Yahya Khan, Tazkirat ul muluk, Rotograph No 81, CAS, Department of history AMU, Aligarh., f. 119b.
 - lvi. Mohd Yar Khan was a Qiladar of fort of Delhi, Jahandar Namah, op. cit., f. 38b.
 - lvii. Ibid., f. 9b.
 - lviii. Ibid., f.40a.
 - lix. Ibid., f. 40b.
 - lx. Ibid., f. 42b.
 - lxi. Prince Aziz ud din was the eldest son of Jahandar Shah.
 - lxii. Ibrat Namah ,op. cit., f. 13a.
 - lxiii. Mir Ahmad was the foster brother of Jahandar Shah, Tazkirat ul muluk , op. cit., f. 119b.
 - lxiv. Khwaja Asim was the son of Hasim, who belongs from Akbarabad, ibid., f. 120a.
 - lxv. Jahandar Namah, op. cit., f. 47b.
 - lxvi. Farrukh Siyar Namah, op. cit., f. 58b.
 - lxvii. Jahandar Namah, op. cit., f. 49b.
 - lxviii. Ibid., ff. 49b- 55a.
 - lxix. Ibid., f.58a.
 - lxx. Ibid., ff. 56a- 58b.
 - lxxi. Ibrat Namah, op.cit., f. 17a.
 - lxxii. Jahandar Namah., f. 60a.
 - lxxiii. Ahl ul allah khan was Qiladar of red fort, Tazkirat us Salatin Chaghta, op. cit., p. 166.
 - lxxiv. Tripoliya was a name of cell, where prisoners were kept.
 - lxxv. Lachin Beg got the title of Bahadur Dil Khan during the reign of Farrukh Siyar. He was leaders of Mughals and was also famous his nicknamed Tasmah kash (strangler), The Later Mughals, vol ii, p. 391.
 - lxxvi. Jahandar Namah, op.cit., f. 60b.
 - lxxvii. Cf, a wakil report Addressed to Maharaja Raja Jai Singh Sawai, dated Phalgun Sudi 2, 1769/16 March 1713, by Jag Jiwan Das, op.cit., ,calander no 48, p. 95.
 - lxxviii. A law instituted by Changez Khan that was sacredly observed by Mughals in their parties, their festival, their courts in their rising up and their sitting down, The Turko Mangol theory of kingship by Iqtidar Alam Khan., p. 14.
 - lxxix. Jhandar Namah., f. 60b.
 - lxxx. He was earlier appointed on the post of Qazi in suba Bengal, later he got a mansab of 7000/7000 with title of Mir Jumla Bahadur by Emperor Farrukh Siyar. Shanamah Munawwar ul Kalam, op. cit., f. 2b.
 - lxxxi. Barpula is around four miles south of Delhi Gate of modern city, The Later Mughals, William Irvine, op.cit., p.247.
 - lxxxii. Tazkirat ul muluk , op.cit., f. 122a
 - lxxxiii. Jahandar Namah, op. cit., f. 6 1a.