CHAPTER-IV

ASAF KHAN DURING SHAHJAHAN’S REIGN: SHAHJAHAN’S ACCESSION; ASAF KHAN’S ROLE IN POLITY, POWER AND POSITION (1628-1641)

This Chapter is divided into two phases. In the first phase, a discussion on the role of Asaf Khan in the succession of Shahjahan has been dealt with in detail. In the second phase, a discussion about political achievements, power and position of Asaf Khan during Shahjahan’s reign has been made the subject of study.

I

Succession of Shahjahan

The demise of Emperor Jahangir took place on his way to Kashmir, on Sunday, 1 October 1627\(^1\) (27 Safar 1057 A. H.) at Rajauri near Bhimbar at the age of 58 years and one month when he had just completed the twenty second year of his reign.\(^2\) With the death of Jahangir, rifts between Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan started for the succession to the throne. Jahangir, officially, had not

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\(^2\)Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, vol. 3, p. 614; Dutch Factories in India, 1624-1627, Document-1627, written that-‘Nine December, 1627, News had been received from the factors at Agra that on the morning of 19 November, they had received three pieces of News. The first was that the Emperor was ill, the second that he was dying and the third he had already been dead for eight days.’ p. 34
appointed any one among his sons an heir to the throne. Nur Jahan wanted Shahriyar to succeed the royal throne and Asaf Khan supported his son-in-law sultan Khurram. Therefore the first step of Asaf Khan was to communicate the message of the death of Emperor Jahangir through Banarasi Das with a signet ring to Prince Shahjahan who was at that time at Junnar near Ahmadrnagar border in the Deccan.³ Nur Jahan followed the body of Emperor back to Lahore.⁴ In Zakhirat-ul Khawanin the event is mentioned in the following words that Nur Jahan ‘thought that, at the moment in the holy court the prime minister, the wakil with absolute power and statesman of the world and master of multitudinous following and pomp and grandeur were Nawab Yamin-ud Daulah Asaf Jah and Nawwab Azam Khan and they both were ready to sacrifice their lives and their properly in the case of His Majesty Sahib-i qirani-i sani (Shahjahan)’.⁵ Therefore, Nur Jahan wanted to take Asaf Khan in her own custody.⁶ She wrote to sultan Shahriyar that ‘the treasures of the kings, that of here and that of all the Khans which were in Lahore, he should take into his possession, recruit a large number of troops and be watchful of his own affairs and wait for what that transpires out of the curtain of destiny, for the occasion demanded it was such Asaf Khan who was revealed the secrets of the unseen came to know of the designs of the Begum.’⁷ Therefore, she sent people

⁴Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, p. 295; English Factories in India, 1624-1629, p. 207 n
⁵Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 10
⁶Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 10; Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, p. 294
⁷Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 10; Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, p. 294
to summon him but he refused to oblige.\textsuperscript{8} Author of the \textit{Dutch Chronicles of Mughal India} also mentions about the same, that – ‘It was said that Queen Noor Mahal had accorded for the arrest of her brother Asaf Khan, because she suspected that he was on the side of Prince Khurram’.\textsuperscript{9} A letter contained in the \textit{English Factories in India, 1624-1629} hold that- ‘Nur Jahan had from the first been kept under surveillance by her brother thence forward her power, once so great was at an end.’\textsuperscript{10}

When Jahangir departed from the world, Asaf Khan was not satisfied in his mind about Nur Jahan Begum. Therefore, he first of all had taken back all three sons of Shahjahan who were under the custody of Nur Jahan since Khurram’s rebellion. Asaf Khan sent them to be kept under the charge of Sadiq Khan who was one of the relatives of both\textsuperscript{11} and took her into the custody and confiscating all her workshops, left them in charge of his own men. After funeral rites of Jahangir which were performed first at Bhimbar, Nur Jahan proceeded towards Lahore with the corpse of late Emperor for burial.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{Proclamation of Asaf Khan and installation of Dawar Bakhsh as the new emperor-}

Asaf Khan who was among the most loyal nobles of the Emperor Jahangir with the concern of Iradat Khan, Azam Khan, released Dawar Bakhsh

\textsuperscript{9}Dutch Factories in India, 1624-1627, Document, 1627, p. 346.
\textsuperscript{10}English Factories in India, 1624-1629, p. 233.
\textsuperscript{11}Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, p. 10; Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, p. 294
\textsuperscript{12}Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, p. 10; Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, p. 294
(Bulaqi) from the prison and made him Mughal Emperor. Almost all contemporary sources discuss about the real motive of Asaf Khan that it was to fill the gap before occupation of the imperial throne by Shahjahan.\(^{13}\) Hence he appointed Dawar Bakhsh as the sheep of sacrifice (i.e. scape-goat).\(^{14}\) Farid Bhakkari wrote that- ‘It was stop gap measure Asaf Khan had watched up this plan for consolidating and perpetuating the government of his heir to the kingdom of this majesty Shahjahan and has in fact made him (Dawar Baksh) the sheep of sacrifice (i.e. scape-goat) they all agreed with and followed in whatever Asaf Khan said and (were) his followers and seekers of his pleasure.’\(^{15}\) A letter contained in the *English Factories, 1624-1629*, also informs that-‘Asaf Khan and the nobles who were acting with him decided to put forward Bulaqi (Dawar Baksh) for the time being.’\(^{16}\) Accessions of Dawar Bakhsh appear as legal, which was even not believed by Dawar Bakhsh himself. Asaf Khan had obtained the privilege of raising Dawar Bakhsh to throne with the consent of other nobles, and *khutba* was read in the name of Dawar Bakhsh on October 29, 1627 near Bhimbar formally.\(^{17}\)

\(^{13}\) Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 10


\(^{15}\) Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, pp. 10-11

\(^{16}\) English Factories in India, 1624-1629, p. 207n.

A Contemporary Dutch Chronicles of Mughal India and various European travellers like Peter Mundy, Manucci and Tavernier at great length discuss the issue that, Dawar Bakhsh had been named successor to Jahangir by the Emperor himself on his deathbed.  

**Battle between Dawar Bakhsh and Shahriyar**

When Prince Shahyiar heard the news of the passing away of Jahangir, he at the instigation of his own wife proclaimed himself Emperor and adopted

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18Tavernier mentioned that ‘But Jahangir, old and distressed by the troubles caused by his two sons, died on the road, and left Shahjahan free to pursue his designs. However, before he died this good Emperor had time to command the care of his grandson, sultan’s Bulaki to Asaf Khan, commander- in- chief of his armies and prime minister of state, who governed the whole empire. He ordered to all his officers to recognised Bulaki as Emperor and legitimate their after his death, declaring sultan’s Khurram as rebel, and in capable of succeeding him on the throne. Moreover, he made ‘Asaf Khan swear in particular that he would never suffer Bulaki to be killed, whatever the result might be; this oath’ Asaf Khan swore upon his thigh, which bound him by his religion to save his life, but not to establish him on the throne, where he wished to place Shahjahan, to whom he had given his eldest daughter in marriage…When the news of the Emperor’s death as reported at court, all appeared to be sorely afflicted, and immediately the nobles of the Empire proceeded to give effect to the will by recognising sultan Bulaki, still a youth, as Emperor. This prince had two first cousins who, with the king’s consent, had become Christians, and had made public profession of the faith. The two young princesses, who were kin – hearted. Observed that the Asaf Khan father-in-law of Shahjahan, and father of Shaista Khan, of who I have often spoken, had evil designs against the new Emperor to whom they speedily gave warming and this warming cost them their lives and the Emperor the loss of his dominions. The young Emperor, who did not yet possess that prudence which can only be acquired be age, ingenuously told ‘Asaf Khan what the two young Christian princess, his cousins, had said to him in private, and asked him if it was true that he, as they had assured him; designed to make his uncle, sultan Khurram, Emperor, Asaf Khan took care not to tell him truth; on the contrary, he accused those who had made the report of falseness and insolence, and protested that he would be faithful to his Emperor all his life, and that he ordered to maintain him on the throne, he would shed his blood to the very last drop. Sultan Bulaki understood this to refer to himself, but ‘Asaf Khan, when he promised to be faithful to his Emperor, really meant his own son-in-law, Shahjahan, whom the desired to elevate to the throne – the considerations of affinity prevailing over that of his justice. Seeing that his perfidy had been discovered, he averted the punishment which he began to apprehend, and obtaining position of the two possession of the two princes, had them forth with murdered.’ Pp. 269-271.
royal tittle at Lahore. He himself seized upon the royal treasure and workshops. In the course of a week he distributed seventy lacs of rupees among the newly recruited as well as old nobles in the hope of secure troops and supporters.\textsuperscript{19} And having made himself master of all the royal household establishments like treasures, elephant stables, armory etc., which were in Lahore. Mirza Bayasanghar, son of late prince sultan Danyal who had come out and joined sultan Shahriyar at Lahore. Taking command in his own hands, Bayasanghar made the army across the river with Shahriyar against Dawar Bakhsh and Asaf Khan.\textsuperscript{20}

On the imperial side, Asaf Khan having mounted Dawar Bakhsh on an elephant and himself riding another one, set in the direction of the battlefield and took position in the center, Khawaja Abul Hasan, Ilahwardi Khan, Mukhlis Khan and the Barha Sayyids were ready for action. Sher Khawaja and sons of prince Danyal were to be in the center-back. Azam Khan along with many armies was steadfast in the right wing and Sadiq Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan and others were posted in the left wing.\textsuperscript{21} Asaf Khan’s army was too strong, old and loyal in comparison to Shahriyar because he had a freshly recruited army. A very short battle was fought between them. Troops of Shahriyar were forced to flee, while most of his servants having obtained a promise joined Asaf Khan. Most of his servants having (obtained a promise) met Asaf Khan. At night

\textsuperscript{19}Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 11; Maa’sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 291; De Laet, p. 239
\textsuperscript{20}Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 11; Maa’sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 290; Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, p. 296
\textsuperscript{21}Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 11; Maa’sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 290; Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, p. 296; De Laet, p. 239
Azam Khan entered the fort and stayed in the courtyard of the royal palace. Shahriyar was standing outside the city of Lahore along with two three thousand horseman from among his old retainers, waiting, for the machination of destiny.\textsuperscript{22} Then suddenly a Turki slave arrived from the battle field and conveyed news of defeat to him. Iradat Khan and Shaista Khan searching for the Shahriyar found that, Shahriyar turned himself in towards royal fort with two or three thousand armies and reached the female apartments of the late Emperor.\textsuperscript{23} Firoz Khan, the \textit{khawaja sara} who was one of the confidents and trustworthy inmates of the seraglio went inside, led in chains brought him before Dawar Bakhsh and Asaf Khan. He removed the cloth-band of his hands and produced him before the rituals of ceremonial bows and salutation he was imprisoned in a place which was (earlier) decided upon.\textsuperscript{24} After two or three days he was blinded and seated into a corner in miserable condition.\textsuperscript{25} After a few days, Tahmuras and Hoshang, son of Daniyal were also arrested an imprisoned.\textsuperscript{26} After defeat and imprisonments of Shahriyar, Tahmuras and Hoshang, Asaf Khan informed Shahjahan and dispatched a memorandum with the news of victory to Shahjahan.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{22}Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, p. 12; English Factories in India, 1624-1629, p. 233; De Laet, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{23}Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 12; Travels of Peter Mundy, vol. II, p. 109; English Factories in India, 1624-1629, p. 233; De Laet, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{24}Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 12; Travels of Peter Mundy, vol. II, p. 109; English Factories in India, 1624-1629, p. 233; De Laet, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{25}Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 12; Travels of Peter Mundy, vol. II, p. 109; English Factories in India, 1624-1629, p. 233; De Laet, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{26}Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 12
\textsuperscript{27}Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 11; Maa’sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 290; Iqbalnama-i Jahanpuri, p. 296
**Shahjahan’s march towards Agra**

Banarasi Das covered the distance from the place Chinger Ghalli (in the midst of Kashmir mountain-range) in twenty days and reached Junnar on Sunday 28 November 1627 C.E. (19 Rabi 1 1030 A.H.) the extreme boundary of Deccan within the territory of Nizamul Mulk of Ahmad Nagar. He narrated the facts and presented him the signet ring of seal of Asaf Khan.\(^{28}\) Shahjahan at the request of Mahabat Khan and other well-wishers, started his journey towards Agra by way of Gujarat to occupy the royal throne which he did on Thursday second December 1627 AD (23 Rabi-ul-Awwal 1037). The date was selected by astrologers well versed in the Indian calendar.\(^{29}\)

Before departure, he sent farman with his seal through Amanullah and Bayazid who were fast runners of the highway in his service intimating the arrival of Banarasi with fortunate news and to intimate Asaf Khan of his departure toward Agra.\(^{30}\)

After conformation of the coming of Shahjahan by Ammanullah and Bayazid Beg, Asaf Khan had with the consent other nobles, got read the khutba in the name of Shahjahan on nineteenth January 1628 at Lahore and Dawar Bakhsh was imprisoned.\(^{31}\)

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\(^{29}\)Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 12

\(^{30}\)Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 12; Shahjahanama, Salih, vol. 1, pp. 199-200

On his move towards Agra Shahjahan received message from Shir Khan that on the frontier of Gujarat Saif Khan, the subahdar of Gujarat, had not shown proper attitude towards Shahjahan. Shahjahan ordered him to bring Saif Khan. As Saif Khan was brother-in-law of Mumtaz Mahal, he was pardoned by Shahjahan on insistence of her.\(^{32}\)

On his way near Gujarat he sent Khidmat Parast Khan, alias Ridu Bahadur who was a trusted servant and confident of Jan Nishar Khan with a farman to Asaf Khan at Lahore which was written in Shahjahan’s own hand. It said that- ‘At this juncture when the sphere is craving after disruption and his brother the non – becoming (nashudani) sultan Shahriyar and sons of prince Daniyal are made to wander in the expense of non – existence, thereby making us (lit. our well-wishers) relieves of distraction of mind and disturbance of heart.’\(^{33}\) According to Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, Shahjahan sent a farman to Asaf Khan, in which he wrote that –‘it would be well if Dawar Bakhsh and his sons, Shahriyar, and sons of Prince Daniyal were sent out of the world,’\(^{34}\) indirectly, saying to put them to death. Asaf Khan gladly followed the order of Shahjahan and executed Dawar Bakhsh, Shahriyar, and sons of Prince Daniyal.\(^{35}\)

\(^{32}\)Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 13  
\(^{33}\)Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 13  
\(^{34}\)Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, p. 303.  
\(^{35}\)Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, p. 13; Maa’sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 291; Amal-i Salih, p. 202, (Urdu) p. 88; Travels of Peter Mundy, vol. II, p. 107; De Laet, p. 240; English factories in India, 1624-1628, February 18, 1628, recorded that- ‘The news of Assaph Chaun is massacring all the rest, wee could have advised you 3 or 4 daies since, but that such a bloodie accession had not current credence all first. The report here is certaine that by charooms orders and the absence and privitie of Mauhobet Cauns Sonne, Assaph Caun caused Dower Bux, Sheriare, Dower Bux his brother, the 2 sonnes of Donshaw and Noor Maull to bee slaine, the instrument or executioner said
Amal-i Salih, however gives us a justification about this execution that-

‘It is entirely lawful for the great sovereigns to rid this world of the existence of their brothers and other relations whose total annihilation is conducive to the common good….and leaders, spiritual and temporal justify the total eradication of rival claimants to thefortunate throne on the grounds of expediency and the common welfare.’

Before proceeding to the capital, Shahjahan with Mahabat Khan first paid homage to the shrine of Khawaja Muinuddin Chishti at Ajmer. Zakhirat-ul Khawanin narrate the conversation between Shahjahan and Mahabat Khan as the latter said that- ‘The desire of this slave was that his highness becomes a king; the exalted God has fulfilled that desire of the slave and (this) slave has no desire left in any matter in regard to worldly riches. if your majesty pardons all the faults of the past in the manner in which promise and assurance have been given, you should, keeping His Holiness khwaja-Jah as intermediary take an oath on the glorious scripture otherwise, tomorrow Nawwab Asaf Jahi and other leading members of the family of the late Itimadu-ud-Daula, who have close relationship with your majesty, all of them will give a verdict for putting

to bee Meea Ruzzake [? Mr. Razzak], who was here with Currom; upon knowledge where of Caun Azzom his wife and daughter, Dower Bux his mother, slew themselves, and above 100 more of their caunnazate; so that now hene remaine besides Curoom and his sonnes, except the two sonnes of Parveis, who are in Agra and attend their fortunes.’ Page no. 240.

36Amal-i Salih, Mohammad Salih kanbuhtns, Nazir Hussain Zaidi, Lahore, (Urdu), pp. 92-93
me to death. This is better than that (situation) that your Majesty just now grants me leave to go the blessed Makka. However, Shahjahan showed all kinds of considerations and assured for the restoration of his position and prestige in the empire as well as at the court and assigned jagir of Ajmer to him. When they reached near Mewar, Rana Karan of Mewar also submitted and paid homage to Shahjahan.

Finally, On Thursday 28 January 1628 C.E. (1 Jamad-ul Sani 1037) Shahjahan reached Agra. Coronation was held on 6 February 1628. Shahjahan after assuming the imperial throne distributed mansabs, awards, and posts among his supporters. Most important among them was Asaf Khan. He was promoted to the rank of 8000 zat and 8000 sawar do aspa si aspa.

II

Achievements, Power and Position of Asaf Khan during Shahjahan’s reign

When Asaf Khan reached at Sikandra near Agra, on 26 February 1628, Mumtaz Mahal and Jahan Ara Begum went to meet him. He was welcomed on
his reaching Agra by the prominent nobles and he proceeded with them to the
jharokha. Shahjahan came down when Asaf Khan came before the Jharokha.
He presented valuable items as nazr to the king. He was only allowed to kiss
the feet of the Emperor. Asaf Khan was appointed as wakil and was given the
title of Yamim-ud Daulah (right hand of the state). His mansab was raised up to
9000 zat and 9000 sawar, du aspa si aspa and Panjab and Multan were given to
him as a jagir.\textsuperscript{45} At the request of Mumtaz Mahal the royal signet ring, azuk\textsuperscript{46}
was also entrusted to him.\textsuperscript{47} Shahjahan called him ‘Ammu’ as uncle.\textsuperscript{48} Among
the nobles, he was the only one who received so many favours.

**Rebellion of Khan-i Jahan Lodi**

After coronation of Shahjahan first rebellious activity committed by
Khan-i Jahan Lodi who was at that time the subahdar of Burhanpur and the
commander of imperial army. Before he left Junnar, Shahjahan sent a farman
with Jan Nisar Khan, who was a servant of Khan-i Jahan Lodi and familiar
with his temperament, to him of all types of favours and mercies. He might
make him hopeful with good news of different promises of kindness and tried
to understand his inner thoughts, but Jan Nisar Khan returned back without any
reply. He showed unwillingness because he was disappointed due to conferring
the title of Khan-i Khanan on Mahabat Khan by Shahjahan. Khan-i Jahan Lodi
at the instigation of his diwan Fazil Khan entered into pacts and agreements
with Nizamul Mulk with strong oaths and left all the territories of Balaghat to

\textsuperscript{45}Maa’ sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 292; Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 50
\textsuperscript{46}A small round seal, Maa’ sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 292
\textsuperscript{47}Maa’ sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 292; Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 50
\textsuperscript{48}Maa’ sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 292; Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 50
him. All the *jagirdars* and chiefs of the border-land surrendering their respective *mahals* to the enemy in submission with his order joined him at Burhanpur except Sipahdar Khan who was in charge of Ahmednagar Fort. However, *wakil* of Nizamul Mulk-ruler of Golconda showed him written orders of Khan Jahan that they wanted to occupy the fort by proposing to him preliminaries of hope and fear, and it did not happen. However, in reply he said- ‘I shall not hand over this to you without the royal *farman* and having set my mind at rest in respect of provisions, I am sitting tight. If the royal *farman* reaches me, I shall hand over the fort, otherwise I shall stake my head for this fort.’ Khan-i Jahan out of foolishness surrendered such a vast land to the enemy.

However, during his march towards Mandu, Khan-i Jahan wrote a letter of apology to Shahjahan and sent it through a messenger requesting him to forgive his past conduct. Shahjahan gracefully accepted his apology and confirmed him in the governorship of Berar and Khandesh and asked him to reconquer the Deccan territories which were lost to the Mughal Empire. Somehow, Khan-i Jahan did not make any efforts in this direction. When Shahjahan realised his continued absence from the court, he consulted Asaf khan about it. Shahjahan wrote a letter on the intercession of Asaf Khan to Khan-i Jahan and gave confidence to him that no harm would be done to his

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49 *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, sec. 1, p. 12  
50 *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, sec. 1, p. 12  
51 *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin*, sec. 1, p. 12
person. Only for the time being he was satisfied. Khan-i Jahan had taken huge bribe in form of money and valuables from the Golkunda ruler and, therefore, he did not make any sincere efforts towards them. Moreover, he displeased Shahjahan against his expectations, by allowing leave to the imperial messenger Jan Nisar Khan. On October 5, 1629, when some of his followers reported to Asaf Khan that Khan-i Jahan was planning to flee away. Asaf Khan communicated this information to Shahjahan and waited for his permission to arrest Khan-i Jahan. Somehow, Shahjahan did not want to be audacious and advised Asaf Khan to wait till he actually fled away with his troops. When he actually fled at night, Asaf Khan hurriedly went to the Emperor and informed him of the flight of Khan-i Jahan. Under the orders of the Emperor, Khan-i Jahan was pursued by the imperial troops. It continued till sixteen months ultimately Khan-i Jahan was killed by the imperial forces near Sarhind (Panjab).

Jujhar Singh’s Revolt

Asaf Khan played an important role also in suppressing the rebellion of Jujhar Singh. Jujhar Singh was reinstated as the Raja of Orchha by Shahjahan when he visited the court on his coronation. But when he noticed that the new Emperor had decided to set up an enquiry about the wealth of his father, Bir

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52 Qazwinin, ff. B. 181; Lahori, pp. 274-75 (Saksena, p. 70n)  
53 Maa’sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 725  
55 Son of Bir Singh Deo Bundela one of the most favored nobles of deceased Emperor Jahangir, Badshahnama, vol. 1, p. 240.
Singh, who had accumulated from his neighbors during the last years of Jahangir, he left the court on 11 June 1628 without prior permission of Shahjahan. The emperor took the activity of Jujhar Singh as of rebellious nature. After reaching Orchha Jujhar Singh started strengthening his position by repairing forts and new recruitments in the army.\textsuperscript{56}

Jujhar Singh approached Asaf Khan with request that he should intermediate on his behalf with the Emperor. Asaf Khan accepted his request and pleaded his case and prevailed upon the Emperor to show generosity. Shahjahan acceded to his request and approved his proposal to send Sunder Kavi Roy to Jujhar Singh with fresh terms. But he was so careless and barefaced that he did not pay any attention to Sunder Kavi Roy.

In October, 1628, imperial armies that were appointed against Jujhar Singh first encamped at a place called Jadah which was situated on a distance of 16 km. from the fort of Orchha. Bundelas tried to disrupt the imperial army from marching ahead but they failed miserably. Despite dense forest armies were succeeded in surrounding the fort of Iraj from all sides. In their attempts to save the fort about 2000 of the Bundelas were killed by the imperial army. They entered the fort and sieged a large booty.\textsuperscript{57}


Jujhar Singh who had overestimated his power earlier realized his weak position. Finding no way to protect himself and his kingdom he surrendered before the imperial army. He was pardoned and took an oath not to rebel again and serve the empire with complete loyalty throughout his life.

**Bijapur Campaign under Asaf Khan**

Asaf Khan was unsuccessful in the Mughal invasion of Bijapur. However, he played an important role during his short campaign of twenty days. He was ordered to invade Bijapur on December 3, 1631, with 30,000 armies. Almost all the contemporary historians have discussed about the invasion of Bijapur under the command of Asaf Khan. Abdul Hamid Lahori has given a detailed description of the invasion of Bijapur under Asaf Khan’s supreme control over the whole Mughal contingent. Emperor Shahjahan ordered Asaf Khan to bring the ruler of Bijapur into submission. He was directed to force the ruler of Bijapur to submit to the authority of the Mughal emperor and in case of its non-submission to the Mughal authority he was directed to use force and conquer the kingdom of Bijapur. Muhammad Adil

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58 *Badshahnama* of Lahori, Vol. 1, p. 411; *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 1, p. 329; *Shahjahanama*, of Inayat Khan, p. 53.


60 Bijapur was founded by Yusuf Adil Shah.

61 *English Factories in India*, 1630-33 mentioned 40000 or 50000 horses, p. 197

62 *Shahjahanama* of Inayat Khan, p. 43-83; *English Factories in India*, 1650-33, p. 197; *Badshahnama* of Lahori, p. 411; *Amal-i Salih*, vol. 1, p. 329; *Maa’ir-ul Umara*, vol. I, 329

63 *Badshahnama* of Lahori, vol. 1, p. 411

64 *Badshahnama* of Lahori, vol. 1, p. 411
Shah of Bijapur was a young man and had no experience of administration. He was surrounded by equally inexperienced and short sighted advisers. One of his advisers Daulat Khan who had adopted the title of Khawas Khan developed the feeling of rebellion. A big army of 30000 was placed under the command of Asaf Khan for invading Bijapur. At the initial stage they were uninterrupted. However, there was some resistance by Bijapur forces was easily vanquished at Bhalki. On the way of Kamalapur, Asaf Khan received a letter brought by one Rizqullah, an Adilshahi messenger from Bijapur. He requested for pardon and also promised to pay an indemnity. As Rizqullah was not an accredited messenger of Adilshah, Asaf Khan did not attach much importance to his mission and put away him. And Asaf Khan continuously advanced towards Bijapur.

During the course of advance to Bijapur, Asaf Khan reached at Nander and stayed there for two days. Leaving the main portion of this army there, he reached Khandhar hurriedly. After inspection there, he started for Bhalki. It is twenty five miles North West of Bidar. He was ordered to capture that place. A ditch was dug and it was decided that in the night they would mount the wall and capture the fort. The guards of the fort came to know of this plan and they

65Badshahnama of Lahori, vol. 1, p. 411; In Shahjahanama of Inayat Khan, given original name of Khawas Khan as Aqa Haider a Turkish slave instead of Daulat Khan, p. 53.
evacuated the place in the darkness. Asaf Khan then marched for Kalanauar. That place was quite flourishing and in the possession of Adil Shah. When Asaf Khan reached Sultanpur near Gulburga, the commander-in-general had taken the inhabitant of the city inside the fort of Gulburga. The fort was well-equipped with gun-muskets and arms and ammunition. Next day Azam Khan under the guidance of Asaf Khan attacked the city and fort. Heavy firing was made from the fort but ultimately Asaf Khan lost the battle. The victors looted and plundered the property of the people and captured many horses. Therefore, Asaf Khan retired for some distance and encamped near river Nahrur. He was started for Bijapur, and encamped on the boarder tank between Nauraspur and Shahpur. Adil Shahi forces attacked Asaf Khan’s forces from behind whenever they got the opportunity. They fired from the walls of the fort and regularly drove back to the shelter of the walls. Asaf Khan used to take away precaution for those troops who collected the fodder for animals of the army because army was very large; therefore, it was not easy to collect sufficient fodder for the animals and the army.\textsuperscript{69} The enemies were always alert for counter attack. At the beginning Adilshah opened negotiation for a peaceful settlement with the invaders. Therefore, he first sent for Sheikh Dabir who was one of the confidents of Khawas Khan, and he came with certain proposals. But these proposals were rejected because they were not supposed to be worthy.\textsuperscript{70}

Mustafa Khan, son-in-law of Mulla Muhammad Lahori, and a noble of Bijapur

\textsuperscript{69}Badshahnama of Lahori, vol. 1, p. 411
\textsuperscript{70}Badshahnama of Lahori, vol. 1, p. 411
who was in correspondence with Asaf Khan, was asked to start the negotiation. After various negotiations, it was decided that Mustafa Khan and Khairiyat Khan Habshi, uncle of Randaula, should come out of Bijapur and Adilshah should send tribute to the value of four millions of rupees as indemnity partly in jewelry, elephants, valuable and cash and he should ever remain faithful in his allegiance. A document was prepared and sent for Adil Khan’s signature. Asaf Khan’s servant, Abdur Rahim Khairabadi went with them to bring back the document. A message came back on the third day that Adilshah would send back the document through his wakil. Next day they brought back some new terms. Asaf Khan considered them and it was decided that the document of the treaty would be sent next day. When they were leaving Asaf Khan’s place, one of the confidents Mustafa Khan, secretly dropped a letter without the knowledge of his companions. It contained the information that Khawas Khan was aware of the facts that the provisions of the Mughals were running short and prolonging of negotiations was only a device of Khawas Khan to gain time. His intention was to gather full information about the Mughal camp and he was certain that the Mughal forces were suffering greatly suffered from fetching of grass and water and as a result of this, it would not be possible for them to stay there for a long time. Therefore, Khawas Khan was adopting the delaying tactics and prolonging the negotiations with the hope that Asaf Khan would be compelled to raise the siege due to shortage of provisions. He, therefore, decided to attack the Mughal forces.\footnote{\textit{Badshahnama} of Lahori, vol. 1, p. 411}
The siege continued till twenty days. During this period no corn could be brought from outside as the enemy had already destroyed or carried the crops away. Therefore, grain prices were raised up to one rupee per seer. Mughal army was almost exhausted and the soldiers and the animals began to starve. It was decided that royal army should remove the camp from Bijapur and precede to a region which was more prosperous and where food could be easily available. The army marched along the bank of Krishna River and reached Rai Bagh and Miraj. During their movement they also looted grains from both sides of the road and killed male population and made prisoner women and children in places through which they passed.\(^\text{72}\) 1500 troops of Bijapur followed up to Sholapur then turned back towards Bijapur. Since rainy season was about to begin, therefor, Asaf Khan returned back towards the court. The invasion of Bijapur was not managed well by Asaf Khan. He was ordered by the emperor to return back.\(^\text{73}\) In his place command of Mughal forces were assigned to Mahabat Khan Khan-i Khanan.\(^\text{74}\) Shahjahan was much displeased with his failure in the Deccan. Therefore he was not given the command of the forces anywhere else in future.\(^\text{75}\) Asaf Khan, after coming

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\(^{73}\) English Factories in India, 1637-41, p. 276.


\(^{75}\) Badshahnama of Lahori, vol. 1, p.411; Fatuhat-i Adil shahi informs us that when Allah Vardi was sent by the Emperor to Bijapur to summon Asaf Khan and to inform him of his appointment as the Viceroy of the Deccan, the latter said to the royal messenger of course privately. ‘I am ready to forego my jagirs in Multan, Lahore and
back to the court offered Shahjahan valuable presents to assuage his displeasure.\footnote{Badshahnama of Lahori, vol. 1, p. 421}

After the discomfiture of Asaf Khan in the Bijapur expedition Shahjahan was a bit displeased with him. At that time Asaf Khan had a private meeting with Azam Khan who said- “the king now does not need you or me.” Asaf Khan then said- “the work of the state would not go on without you and me.”\footnote{Maa’sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 293; Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, sec. 1, p. 12} This speech reached the king and he disliked it. He remarked, “His good deeds are remembered by us, but in future we must not trouble him with the affairs of the kingdom.”\footnote{Maa’sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 293} After these discourses, the position was like ‘Hold the cup awry but don’t spill.’ Here from, there arose some difference in the degree of respect with which he was treated earlier. After the death of Mahabat Khan, however, in the 8th year of the reign of Shahjahan, Asaf Khan was made khan-i khanan and commander-in-chief.\footnote{Maa’sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 293}

**Demise of Asaf Khan**

On 10th November, 1641 Asaf Khan died at Lahore due to chronic dropsy in the 15th year of Shahjahan’s reign at the age of seventy two.\footnote{Maa’sir-ul Umara, vol. 1, p. 293} He was buried on the west side of the tomb of Jahangir. A building and garden was even those which the Emperor may be contemplating to assign me now, but I cannot live away from the court.’ When Allah Vardi Khan reported this to Shahjahan he cancelled his orders and appointed Mahabat Khan as the Viceroy of the Deccan. It appears that the main reason why Aasf Khan declined the offer was his old age. At this age nobody wants to remain away from the capital where all facilities would be available. See Saksena fn. P. 274.
prepared with the order of Emperor Shahjahan.\textsuperscript{81} A dress of honour was sent to Shaista Khan, son of the deceased, who was the \textit{subahdar} of Bihar, together with an autographed letter from the Emperor Shahjahan.\textsuperscript{82} In it the Emperor wrote:- ‘The champion of the faith, the right hand of the state, Asaf Khan \textit{Khan-i Khanan}, Commander-in-chief, having in obedience to the command of God, which say, ‘O thou who art happy with this recollection, return to thy God, and be happy in his kingdom, as the happy with thee’, responded to his call by saying : Here I am ready, O Lord, to obey the command’, travelled to the world of eternity towards the evening of Wednesday, the seventeenth of the sacred month of \textit{Shaban}, our truth seeking and right thinking mind, which was much attached to that adept in the art of government, has been grieved at his loss. Whereas, in such cases of destiny, there is no help for the seekers after truth, but to submit to the immutable power, we are content with what has come to pass. To you, the servant of the royal house our advice is that, without transgressing the rules of contentment, you shall make yourself happy with a prayer for the prolongation of our august and noble life bearing in mind that our royal favours to you are always on the increase.’\textsuperscript{83} Lahori wrote that he left a sum of fifty lacs of rupees behind himself.\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Shahjahanama} of Inayat Khan mentions that- ‘On the day that Shah Jahan visited him during his illness besides his residence in Lahore, which was valued at twenty lakhs of rupees,

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\textsuperscript{81}\textit{Badshahnama} of Lahori, vol. 2, p. 257.
\textsuperscript{83}\textit{Maa’sir-ul Umara}, vol. 1, p. 293; \textit{Zakhirat-ul Khawanin}, sec. 1, p. 14
\textsuperscript{84}\textit{Badshahnama} of Lahori, vol. 2, p. 257.
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and other houses and gardens in Delhi, Agra and Kashmir.’ Inayat Khan also wrote that Asaf Khan left 2 krors 50, lakh rupees in the form of jewels and coins in gold and silver, etc. These were shown to Shahjahan in orders that they might be confiscated. The king granted twenty lakhs to his three sons and five daughters and gave the Lahore residence to Dara Shikoh. The rest was resumed.  

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Shahjahanama of Inayat Khan, p. 282; Maa’sir-ul Umara, also wrote that—‘Included in the vast properties belonging to this illustrious nobles were a mansion at Lahore, on which the enormous sum of 20 lakhs of rupees had been expended; the houses and gardens that he had constructed in the metropolis of Akbarabad, the lovely vale of Kashmir, and other places; and the serai that he had founded midway between Agra and Lahore. In addition, he also left an estate valued at two crore and 50 lakhs of rupees, one crore and 25 lakhs of rupees in cash 30 lakhs worth of gold and silver articles, and 23 lakhs in other valuables.’ vol. I, P. 293; English Factories Record 1637-41 wrote that—‘he had left seventeen Krores of rupees, in addition of his jewels, houses and horses’. Dutch account (Dag Register, 1641-42, p. 203) increases this sum to nineteen krores’. Page no. xxii