Chapter VII

THE FAMILY OF DAULAT KHAN LODI

The ancestors of Daulat Khan Lodi belonged to a powerful clan of Roh (hilly country south of Peshawar). After the establishment of the Lodi dynasty in India, Nusrat Khan son of Malik Ahmad Lodi came to India during the reign of Sikandar Lodi and joined service under Daulat Khan the governor of Lahore and married his niece. Nusrat Khan’s brothers Bahar Khan and Daulat Khan also came to Lahore and were also admitted to the service of Daulat Khan Lodi. The three brothers were given two parganas, Lali Khakhar and Lakhi Jungali in jagir by Daulat Khan Lodi. Sometimes afterwards, Daulat Khan, the brother of Nusrat Khan, was given the title of Sher Khan Lodi. 1

At the time of the conquest of India by Babur, Daulat Khan (Sher Khan Lodi) along with his brothers and clansmen fled to Bihar and entered the service of Sultan Mahmud son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi who had proclaimed himself king in Bihar. 2 Daulat Khan was granted some villages in jagir from the assignments of Sher Khan Sur the jagirdar of Sahasran. 3

1. For more details regarding the ancestry of Daulat Khan Sher Khan Lodi, see Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 442–46. Sikandar Lodi added two more parganas in their jagir when they went to court to pay their homage.

2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 449–50

3. Ibid., 450.
After the defeat of the Afghans in the battle near Jaunpur in which Daulat Khan was seriously injured, escaped with his brother Nusrat Khan and deserted the profession of soldierly like other Afghan families. In 1539 when Sher Shah Sur defeated Humayun at Chausa, Daulat Khan and his brothers joined his services and became one of his trusted officers. He was despatched as a guardian of Qutub Khan, son of Sher Shah, to conquer certain Mughal possessions with the help of certain local chiefs. But the chiefs proved false to their promise and both Qutub Khan and Daulat Khan were killed. Sher Shah paid tribute to Daulat Khan's services and summoned his four sons Mahmud Khan, Umar Khan, Qasim Khan and Kamal Khan. He gave them the parganas of Kampilah, Patiyali, Sakita and Bhongan in the Doab in jagir. Umar Khan remained at the court and other brothers were sent to look after the jagir.

During this period Alam Khan Lodi a prominent noble of Gujarat came to the court of Sher Shah. He was treated generously by Sher Shah and his daughter was married to Umar Khan Lodi. Daulat Khan Lodi, father of Khan Jahan, was the offspring of this marriage.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 451-52. The Mughal officer who joined the samindars against Daulat Khan was Ulugh Khan.
4. Ibid., 453.
5. Ibid., 454-56. Daulat Khan Lodi was born in the fort of Gwalior during the last days of Islam Shah (1550).
The family fortunes went into eclipse once again after the death of Islam Shah, as they refused to accept the overlordship of Mubarak Khan, who had now seized the throne. Umar Khan was imprisoned at Chunar from where he escaped to Arail. His other brothers, however, remained in prison. When Mughal armies marched towards Delhi after Humayun's conquest of Panjab, Umar Khan's brother Mahmud Khan, Qasim and Kamal Khan were brought out from prison and were sent under Hemu to fight the Mughals. In the Afghan defeat at Panipat Mahmud Khan and Qasim Khan were killed. Having come to know of these developments, Umar Khan considering it unsafe to stay any more in the Mughal territory went to Gujarat, in search of security and employment.¹ There his brother in law Mian Tatar Khan Alam Khan II introduced him to Sher Khan Fauladi. Not much is known about his life in Gujarat except that he also served for some time under Haji Khan who gave him Etawa, a village near Ahmedabad for his maintenance. He also married Daulat Khan to the daughter of Haybat Khan Bihlam, a noble of Gujarat.²

When the Mughals invaded Gujarat, Umar Khan was serving under Muhammad Khan son of Sher Khan Fauladi and was killed in the battle fighting against Mughals in his company. Daulat Khan who was also present

¹ Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 458-59.
² Ibid., 459-60. There is no reference about Umar Khan or his son Daulat Khan in Mirat-i Sikandari and Mirat-i Ahmadi.
in the battle, fled to Surat along with his clansmen. Shortly afterwards when Shah Abu Turab joined Mughal service, he was also invited by him and introduced to Mirza Asis Koka. Mirza Asis took him in service and assigned him half of the pargana of Chhalwara in jagir. However, Abu Turab does not mention Daulat Khan in his memoirs at all.  

Daulat Khan came to the court along with Mirza Asis Koka in 1575. He was introduced to Akbar, who gave him his own shawl. About the same time Mirza Asis Koka was dismissed from service as he refused to cooperate in the implementation of the dagh regulations. Sometimes later Mirsa Asis's sister was married to Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and apparently at the same time on the request of Abdur Rahim, Mirsa Asis entrusted Daulat Khan to him. On this occasion Mirsa Asis allegedly told

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1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 462-63. There is no reference about Umar Khan and Daulat Khan in the accounts of the conquest of Gujarat either in Akbarnama, III, 9-16, or in Mirat-i Ahmedi.

2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 462-63; Z.K., II, 69-70 mentions that Daulat Khan in his youth was in the employment of Mirza Asis Koka in Gujarat but makes no reference to the grant of the pargana of Chhalwara. Akbarnama, III, 785 briefly mentions that Daulat Khan was in the service of Mirza Asis Koka.


5. Z.K., II, 70, see also chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.
Abdur Rahim 'Take care of this man if you want to rise high and get your father's title'. The author of *Zakhiret-ul Khasain* makes the interesting statement that from the day Daulat Khan came in the employment of Abdur Rahim he was trained under the supervision of Akbar. He was also given the rank of 1000. But this is an exaggeration, because the *Ain-i Akbari* assigns him a mansab of 300 only. Daulat Khan remained in the service of Abdur Rahim during his entire later career, except for a brief period of three years when his services were transferred to Prince Daniyal. As a soldier he distinguished himself in various campaigns. He distinguished himself particularly in the battles fought against Musaftar Shah of Gujarat and Mirza Jami Beg of Sindh. After the victory over Mirza Jami Beg he was promoted to the rank of 2000 and appointed deputy governor. Later on in the Deccan campaign also he played an important role in defeating Suhail Khan along with his two sons Pir Khan and Muhammad Khan.

2. Ibid.
4. *Akbarnâma*, III, 454-55, 608-10, *Tarikh-i Khan Jahan*, II, 474-76; *Z.K.*, I, 32-37. For more details of his activities in Gujarat and Sindh also see chapter 'The Family of Bairam Khan'. Promotion in rank has been referred by Farid Bhakkari and Nimatullah only.
Prince Danial who was appointed viceroy of the Deccan in 1599, was highly impressed by the activities of Daulat Khan. He asked Abdur Rahim to transfer Daulat Khan under him as 'he had no bravesman like him in the retinue'. Daniel promoted him to the rank of 3000 and granted him in jagir six parvanees including Kavi from sarkar Gujarat, Dawalgaon and Kharlgaon, Nakalur from Bhatta and others. Daulat Khan Prince died in 1602 while in the service of Daniel.

There is some discrepancy between the accounts of Daulat Khan's position in the accounts of the main chroniclers of Akbar's reign, where he is hardly mentioned and those of Tarikh-i Khan Jahani and the Zahirat-ul Khawanin. The last two suggest that he enjoyed considerable status. When Abul Fazl and Abdur Rahim were serving in the Deccan, Abul Fazl once convened a meeting of the officers. In the course of discussion Abul Fazl said that in books Shamsheer Bandi has been referred but he had not yet found a Shamsheer Bandi. Daulat Khan who was also present in the meeting and was under the influence of drink thought that Abul Fazl was referring to him. He drew his sword and ran towards Abul Fazl. Abdur Rahim caught hold of him and removed him from there. Abul Fazl thought

1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 478-79; Nimatullah adds that Daniel gave him the title of Majazi Ali and office of Vakil. Abul Fazl states that 'Danial made him his own servant and had advanced him to the rank of 2000'. Or. Akbarnama, III, 785.

2. Akbarnama, III, 785; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 482-83.
that Daulat Khan's act of misbehaviour had been at the instance of Abdur Rahim and became unhappy with him. However, after sometime Abdur Rahim brought him (Daulat Khan) to the residence of Abul Fazl and affected a reconciliation between them. The Shaikh rewarded him with a horse, saropa and an elephant. Shaikh Farid Bhakkarl further adds that Abdur Rahim had ten thousand Afghan soldiers under him in the Deccan and all of them were very friendly to Daulat Khan.¹

Another incident of the same nature took place as early as in 1578 during the Mewar campaign where both Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and Shahbas Khan were deputed. During the campaign a trouble arose in which Shahbas Khan struck him with a stick on his mouth. Daulat Khan at once drew his sword and ran on him. Shahbas Khan fled and complained to Abdur Rahim. But the latter took no notice of the incident. Because of this incident Shahbas Khan remained hostile to Abdur Rahim throughout his career.² Daulat Khan also had very intimate relations with Man Singh.³

Daulat Khan was also given certain administrative duties by the Emperor. In 1586 when Bhagwan Das allegedly lost his balance of mind, Daulat Khan was employed by the Emperor to conduct Hakim Hasan and Mahadeo

1. Z.K., II, 71.
2. Ibid., I, 154.
to Atak for his treatment.\(^1\) In 1594 when Akbar appointed certain officers
to check the exactions of unauthorised tolls at ferries, Daulat Khan was
given the task of ensuring compliance with the imperial ban from Lahore
to Bengal.\(^2\) Along with these duties which he performed on the orders of
the Emperor, Daulat Khan went on serving Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and
Prince Daniyal, as has already been mentioned.

These facts indicate that Daulat Khan enjoyed an important
position at the Mughal court. He was personally known to Akbar and had
friendly relations with some of the leading nobles of the court. Prince
Daniyal treated him as a 'son'. But strangely enough officially his rank
as recorded in the Ain is only 300. Possibly the Mughals were still
apprehensive about the Afghans and were not prepared to give them higher
rank. Daulat Khan's personal behaviour was also perhaps a hurdle in
his promotion. Akbar feared him during his life time and is said to
at have remarked the time of Daulat Khan's death, 'Today Sher Shah Sur is
dead'.\(^3\)

Daulat Khan left behind his three children, two sons and one
daughter. Both the sons were unhappy with their father and fled to Bengal.

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1. Akbarnama, III, 492.
2. Ibid., 670.
3. Z.K., II, 70.
where Man Singh was governor of the province, with whom the family had very friendly relations. But they could not stay there also because the day they reached Gaur, on account of some misunderstanding, they killed two nephews of Raja Man Singh; and when they reached Man Singh after the incident he gave them 3000 rupees and few horses although he had already come to know of the circumstances leading to the death of his nephews.

He also ordered them to leave the country to go to their father because he thought that Rajputs might revenge themselves upon.

After returning from there they entered the service first under Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and later on under Prince Daniyal. Muhammad Khan the eldest son was deeply religious and spent his time in the company of divines, but he remained a great favourite of the Prince. He became a disciple of Shah Abdullah Sermast Burhanpuri. Shortly afterwards he went half mad and was killed by a group of kols and Bhils near Pal (near Burhanpur). He was survived by two sons Mian Muhammad Khan and Bahadur Khan who remained in the service of their uncle.

Pir Khan was also very close to the Prince, who used to call him 'son'. After the death of Prince Daniyal, he joined the service of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan.

A little after the accession of Jahangir, Daulat Khan's son, Pir Muhammad (Pira) gained great eminence, being raised to the rank of 5000/5000 and granted the title of Khan-i Jahan. The case of Khan-i Jahan's admission and subsequent promotion in service was slightly different from the other Jahangiri nobles who were promoted after the accession. If we examine the list of nobles who were admitted and promoted to higher ranks it would appear that almost all of them were either in his personal service when he was a prince or helped him to secure the throne at the time of Akbar's illness and death. Khan-i Jahan Lodi, on the other hand, had apparently no contact with him during his Akbar princehood and was away in the Deccan at the time/died. Hence his induction into the highest echelons of Mughal aristocracy may be treated as a case of Jahangir's attempt to conciliate the Afghans. We come across certain other Afghan nobles who were raised to higher ranks by

1. Following nobles were promoted after the accession and all of them were either his personal servants or helped him in the accession crisis.

1. Mahabat Khan
2. Sharif Khan Amir-ul Umara
3. Ram Das Kachhwaha
4. Bir Singh Deo Bundela
5. Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang
6. Ruknuddin Afghan

and certain other nobles of the family of Shaikh Salim Chishti and Barha Sayyids.

For more details, see Appendix 'A' for the list of nobles under Jahangir.
The author of the *Tariq-i Khan Jahani* highlights this point when he writes "He (Jahangir) gave so much attention to them (the Afghans) that they gave up their hostile attitude and bound themselves in submission and attachment to him even at the sacrifice of their lives. By their distinguished service they raised themselves to the ranks of great nobles and became worthy of being admitted to the Emperor's company." It appears that Jahangir realised that if the Afghans, who during the preceding period had established themselves as chiefs, rulers and military commanders in the various parts of the country, and constituted a large part of the Mughal soldiery could be won over, they might render valuable service to him. The feeling of fear from the Afghans which had haunted the Mughals earlier, might now have been moderated considerably after the firm foundation that had been laid by Akbar for Mughal rule.

The author of the *Tariq-i Khan Jahani* asserts that even before his accession Jahangir had wished to take Khan-i Jahan in his

1. Besides Khan-i Jahan following other Afghans were also promoted to higher ranks and also given important assignments in the early years of Jahangir.

   (i) Dilawar Khan Kakar *mansab* of 1500, and charge of Lahore 1606 (*Tuzuk*, 23; *Iqbalnama*, 7).

   (ii) Sher Khan *mansab* of 3500, and charge of Peshawar and the Khyber pass, 1607-1608 (*Tuzuk*, 7, 49, 60)

   (iii) Ghasnini Khan Jalor, *mansab* of 2000/700, 1610 (*Tuzuk*, 85)

   (iv) Mangali Khan *mansab* of 1500/800 (*Tuzuk*, 146).

   (v) Mubarak Khan Sarwani, *mansab* of 1000/300 and *faujdar* of Hissar, 1607 (*Tuzuk*, 65, 76).

   (vi) Taj Khan held the charge of Thatta (*Tuzuk*, 131).

service, but Daniyal had not permitted this. 1 After Daniyal's death
and at the time of Jahangir's accession, Khan-i Jahan was serving in
the Deccan under Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. Mirza Ali Akbar who came to
Jahangir's court from the Deccan after his accession highly praised
Khan-i Jahan; and Jahangir summoned him to the court through Muqarrab
Khan. In April 1607, Khan-i Jahan came in the escort of the sons of
Daniyal and presented himself before Jahangir at Lahore. He was
immediately given the rank of 3000/1500 and title of Salabat Khan. The
title of farzand (son) was also given to him. 2 In the same year his
title was changed to the much more exalted one Khan-i Jahan. In the
following year he was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000. He also became
one of the most influential nobles at the court. Jahangir himself
states 'I promoted him beyond his fellows and equals. Today in my
government there is none of greater influence than Khan Jahan, so much
so that on his representation I pass over faults that are not pardoned
at the intercession of any other servant of the court'. He adds 'What
I have done for him has been done rightly and he will be exalted by
further favours'. 3 These remarks were not among those that he made in

1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 486, 491-92; Also see Tusuk, 42-43.

2. Tusuk, 42-43, 46; Iqbalnama, 30-31; Z.K., II, 74; Tarikh-i Khan
Jahani, II, 492 mentions that after reaching Lahore he was given the
rank of 2000.

3. Tusuk, 66
fits of excitement. The great influence that Khan-i Jahan came to enjoy with Jahangir is also attested to by other contemporary and near contemporary works like the Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri and Zakhirat-ul Khwanin. For example in the second regnal year while returning from Kabul when a conspiracy that had been hatched to seize and depose Jahangir, was discovered, a number of conspirators were executed. According to Mutamid Khan, Asaf Khan whose son Nuruddin was also involved in the conspiracy would have been executed, but for Khan-i Jahan's intercession. Similarly in the same year he is said to have intervened and saved Mirza Asis from being executed. Nimatullah states that Khan-i Jahan also saved Man Singh and other Rajputs from being expelled from the Empire.

Farid Bhakkari gives yet another instance of the unprecedented favours shown to Khan-i Jahan. He writes that Jahangir wished to marry in the Mughal royal family. He also wanted to give him the title of sultan and assign him a place in the ghulamkhana. But Khan-i Jahan politely refused these offers submitting that these two privileges were reserved for the princes.

2. See chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'.
3. See chapter on 'The Family of Raja Bhar Mal Kachhwaha'. Khan-i Jahan also secured pardon for Dulip Rai. See Tuzuk, 70.
4. Z.K., II, 74-75.
Khan-i Jahan's rise was certainly remarkable in that before 1610 he had made no contribution to any military campaigns nor acted in any important administrative capacity. Hence apart from the personal charm of manners that he might have possessed, his rise can be explained only in the context of Jahangir's attempt to conciliate and reassure the Afghans by promoting one whom he thought to be of a very high status amongst them. While discussing the ancestry of Khan-i Jahan, Jahangir identifies him as the nephew of Daulat Khan Lodi hakim of Lahore, who sent his son Dilawar Khan to Babur to invite him to conquer India, adding that Daulat Khan and his son Dilawar Khan served loyally to under Babur and Humayun. But in the light of the ancestry given in Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, Jahangir's version is incorrect. Jahangir might have given this picture to justify his promotion.1

The information contained in Tarikh-i Khan Jahani and Zakhiyat-ul Khwajin, indicates that the Mughal nobility was sharply divided on the question of admission and promotions being given to Afghan nobles. It is significant that the faction which was particularly hostile to them was led by Sharif Khan, Jahangir's great favourite and principal adviser of the early years. Those favouring the Afghans

1. Ansak, 42-43
Cf. Supra.
included Mirza Asis Koka an old Akbarshahi noble and a great critic of Jahangir's policy towards nobility. Those who were against Afghans represented that it was impolitic to shower so much favours on an Afghan, and went to the extent of saying that Afghans were the enemies and should be expelled from the Empire. Orders to this effect were issued; but Mirza Asis Koka protested on the ground that there were a large number of Afghans throughout the country and that the implementation of the order would lead to a great disturbance. Jahangir accepted Mirza Asis Koka's arguments and the order was withdrawn. \[1\] There is no reference in the

be away from the court. But perhaps he expected great exploits from him, notably in view of his long experience of the Deccan.

Khan-i Jahan left for the Deccan on June 22, 1610 travelling via Ujjain and Mandu reaching Burhanpur in April. After staying for seven days at Burhanpur he started for Malkapur to join Parvez. In the meantime Amber's Marathas (barras) attacked him and it was only with great difficulty that he could maintain his ground. When Abdur Rahim came to know about his arrival, he despatched his son Mirza Iraj and Mirza Darab to support him. After sometime Abdur Rahim along with Asaf Khan and other nobles also came and met him; and in their company Khan-i Jahan presented himself before the prince. Soon after his arrival, an offensive was launched on account of rainy season, shortage of supplies and mutual jealousy among Mughal officers posted there. Therefore the Mughals agreed to a proposal of Malik Amber on the condition that all the parganas from Balaghat to Ahmadnagar which had been under the Mughals during the time of Daniyal, he restored to them.

1. Tuzuk, 77-78; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 505; Z.K., II, 75. For his old association with Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, see Supra.

2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 505-509; Z.K., II, 75-76.

3. Ibid.; Tuzuk, 107; Iqbalnava, 43-44; Ma'asiri-i Jahangiri, 56b.

4. Tuzuk, 107. But the details of the terms of treaty are given only in Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 510-11. Z.K., II, 76 fails to mention this campaign.
This could hardly be regarded as an achievement and the Mughal commanders began to accuse one another of treason. Jahangir records that Khan-i Jahan wrote to him that 'all this mischief and confusion had arisen through the treachery of the Khan Khanan; either this service should be left entirely in his control or summoning him to court, I should appoint to this duty this man whom I had myself cherished and brought up and appoint 30,000 troopers to support this slave (Khan-i Jahan) in order that in the space of two years, having freed the whole of the royal province, now in the possession of the enemy, and having brought the fort of Qandhar and other forts on the borders into the occupation of the servants of the court, he should include in the royal dominions the province of Bijapur'. Jahangir accepted Khan-i Jahan's version of the episode, and Abdur Rahim was summoned to court, and Khan-i Jahan was given the command of the Deccan, and the responsibility of civil and revenue administration. It is interesting that the Tarikh-i Khan Jahani seeks to cloak Khan-i Jahan's intrigue against Khan-i Khanan and his own unrealistic pledges, by giving a different version. Its reasons for the defeat of the Mughals are quite simple viz., the rainy season and shortage of supplies.

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1. Tuzuk, 86; Iqbalnama, 45; Mutamid Khan has copied Tuzuk's account. Also see Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 56b.

2. Tuzuk, 86, 107; Iqbalnama, 45; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 510-11, gives more details of the campaign.

3. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 509.
regards the alleged treachery of the Khan-i Khanan, Nimatullah's account presents Khan-i Jahan as his consistent defender. Nimatullah states that it was reported to the Emperor that Abdur Rahim was in league with Malik Amber and had given him several paraknas including Jalna. There were certain other serious allegations against him, which caused displeasure to the Emperor, and he was summoned to Agra. On account of his old associations, Khan-i Jahan interceded on his behalf saying that there was no other person in the whole world of the calibre of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. He is said to have added that the complaint against Abdur Rahim was actually lodged by a group of selfish nobles on account of their malice and enmity towards him. He also took surety for the conduct of Abdur Rahim. Jahangir accepted his representation and Khan-i Khanan once again returned to favour and reappointed to the Deccan.  

Besides this Nimatullah also claims that Khan-i Jahan was actually responsible for clearing the misunderstanding and securing pardon for the other two old Akbarshahi nobles, Mirza Asiz Koka and Nan Singh.  

These two contradictory statements bring before us Khan-i Jahan's dull personality, hence it needs explanation; because neither

2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 495, 500. See also chapter on 'The Family of Shamsuddin Atka'. 
of the two versions can be rejected altogether. We have already seen that Khan-i Jahan’s position among new nobles was not quite secure apparently on account of his Afghan descent and his meteoric rise.¹

Besides, Jahangir who showered great favours on him did not give high ranks either to his sons or any other relations.² Khan-i Jahan himself was unwilling to rally Afghans under himself for fear of rousing suspicions.³ As a result he was shrewd enough to realise the value of friends within the nobility. Thus he continued to have good relations with the old Akbarshahi nobles; his secret demand that Khan-i Khanan should be recalled from the Deccan was therefore not in any irresolvable contradiction to his plea that the old noble should not be further humiliated.

Khan-i Jahan also failed to achieve any measure of success in the Deccan. His own biographer also makes only vague observation by saying that during his term he enjoyed popularity among the people and those commanders who had lost their jazira got it back.⁴ But somehow Jahangir does not seem to have believed that the Deccan could be left fully in his hands. Mirza Asis Koka was appointed commander-in-chief

1. See supra.
2. See Appendix A for list of nobles of Jahangir.
3. See supra.
in his place in 1611 and Jahangir planned a 'grand offensive' to dictate terms to Malik Ambar. During this campaign Khurram Jahan seems to have been the effective commander, but the Mughals once again were defeated because of the lack of cooperation with the army marching from Gujarat under Abdullah Khan. 1 Abdullah Khan was directed to move into the Deccan via Asik and Trimbak and Khan-i Jahan, Man Singh and Sharif Khan were to march from Berar. The commanders of two armies were ordered to inform each other about their movements and regulate their marches and halts in such a way that they might attack Malik Ambar simultaneously.

After the disaster Man Singh and Sharif Khan Amir-ul Umara advised Khan-i Jahan to return to Malkapur as the enemy was in much better position both in men and material and the imperial army was not only in short supplies but had lost all hope of getting any help from Abdullah Khan's army. 2 But Khan-i Jahan Lodhi resisted their suggestion. Thereupon Man Singh and Sharif Khan held a meeting of the commanders and decided to abandon the campaign and return to Malkapur where Mirza Asiz Koka and Prince Firuz were staying. They also wrote to Mirza Asiz Koka informing the position of the imperial army and the attitude of

1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahan, II, 513-7; Tuzuk, 107; Ijabalnama, 65-66; Z.K., II, 75-77. For details of the Mughal defeat and collapse of the 'grand offensive' see chapter on 'The Family of Abdullah Khan Piros Jang'.

2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahan, II, 516-17; Tuzuk, 86, 107, make no reference to this discussion.
Khan-i Jahan Lodi. They took full responsibility of their action in the event the Emperor or the Prince disagreed with their decision. Similarly, they informed of their decision to Khan-i Jahan Lodi. He once again refused to return to Malkapur unless he was compelled to do so. It appears that Mirza Asis Koka, who had come to know of the collapse of the 'grand offensive', decided that the campaign had to be called off. However, about the same time that Han Singh's communication reached Malkapur, an agreement at the instance of Adil Shah and Malik Ambar was reached; and with this truce settlement, Mirza Asis Koka asked the Mughal expeditionary force to return to Malkapur. Khan-i Jahan had thereby no option but to return. Khan-i Jahan Lodi was transferred to Berar by Parvez. The Emperor when came to know of this not only confirmed him in that position, but added a few more mahals to his jagir. About the same time Jahangir sent him pundnam (letter of advices) as a mark of special favour.

1. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 517-19. No other source has reported these details.
2. Ibid., 519.
3. Ibid., 520.
4. Ibid. Pundnam or Nasihatnام-i Jahangiri, consists of Jahangir's maxims and regulations pertaining to private and public life. See Ibid., 701-703.
As Mirza Asis Koka had also failed in the Deccan, it was suggested by Khwaja Abul Hasan and other nobles that Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan should once again be given the command in the Deccan. Jahangir accepted this advice and sent a farman to Khan-i Jahan that since the affairs of the Deccan were in the hands of Abdur Rahim, he should come to court. He was also warned that if he continued to stay, no letter from the Emperor would in future be sent to him. On receiving this farman, Khan-i Jahan consulted his Vakil, Rai Bhagwan Das, who advised him to seek the opinion of Prince Parvez and Abdur Rahim under whom he was presently working. As a reason for the delay it could be submitted that since the kharif crop was ripe, his going to court at this juncture would cause great inconvenience to the peasantry; and it was thus necessary that his departure for the court be postponed for at least a month.

Khan-i Jahan informed Abdur Rahim about the imperial farman and sought his advice. Abdur Rahim asked him to stay till the conclusion of the campaign and wrote to the Emperor requesting that Khan-i Jahan be allowed to remain in the Deccan till the final conquest. The Emperor agreed, but Khan-i Jahan was transferred to Thalner with the task of

expelling rebel Kolis and Bhils and checking the advance of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat to the Deccan. He was assigned few parganas in tankhwa jazir in exchange of jazira vacated in Berar.¹

Khan-i Jahan remained at Thalner for about one year and seven months. Afterwards on the request of Farvez, Khan-i Jahan was posted to Burhanpur which he reached in March 1614.² During the time when he was staying in Burhanpur, Jahangir despatched several farman asking him to come to the court. He often remembered him at the court also. Hence Nur Jahan suggested that as Jahangir was anxious to see him and was also concerned about the progress of the Deccan conquest, he should be summoned to court and a report about the actual situation in the Deccan be obtained from him.³

Hence a farman to this effect was despatched to Burhanpur with the approval of Nur Jahan, Mahabat Khan and other important nobles of the court. Upon the arrival of this farman, Prince Farvez and Abdur Rahim wrote to the Emperor that Khan-i Jahan's services were still required in the Deccan. The Emperor rejected their appeal and ordered Khan-i Jahan to come to the court without further delay to report on the

¹ Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 529-30; Z.K., II, 77, briefly mentions that after the defeat, Khan-i Jahan was transferred to the Thalner.
² Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 530-31.
³ Ibid., 531-32. No other source has referred to these details.
Deccan affairs. He left Burhanpur on 22nd June 1615 and reached Ajmer where Jahangir was then holding court, in twenty two days.  

The details of the activity of Khan-i Jahan after the failure of the 'grand offensive' in 1612 are furnished in the Tariikh-i Khan Jahani. Its author quite naturally makes no reference to Jahangir's unhappiness towards the author's patron on account of his failures. Jahangir himself has not mentioned Khan-i Jahan during the intervening year (1612 to 1615). In the account of 10th year of his reign (1615) he simply mentions 'As I had a great desire to see my farzand Khan-i Jahan Lodi and for the purpose of enquiring into important matters connected with the Deccan, it was necessary for him to come at once, I sent for him'. But the information contained in the Zakhirat-ul Khwanin, though very brief, is clear and is corroborated by the facts stated in the Tariikh-i Khan Jahani. The Zakhirat-ul Khwanin says that after the failure of the campaign the nobles involved in it were demoted, transferred and censured. He pointedly mentions Abdullah Khan, Mirza Asiz Koka and Khan-i Jahan among those who fell from grace. About Khan-i Jahan he writes that he was demoted to the Subadar of Thalner from the Subadar of the Deccan. Nimatullah also

1. Tariikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 532-33; Tuzuk, 145-46, briefly mention that he summoned Khan-i Jahan to court to discuss about the Deccan problem.
records the transfer, first to Blichpur and after that to Thalner. From his account it is also evident that Khan-i Jahan sought to avoid going to the court. He himself writes that as Khan-i Jahan delayed in reaching the court, certain nobles sought to denigrate him in the eyes of Jahangir by saying that he was reluctant to come to court as he had not discharged his duties faithfully. But there must have been some other reason for his anxiety to stay in the Deccan. Since if Jahangir was annoyed with him, going to court would have been one means of mollifying Jahangir. Indeed when Khan-i Jahan arrived at the court, he was warmly received with the usual favour. It is possible that the main reason of his wishing to stay away from the court was to avoid giving his opinion in regard to the Deccan affair. He might have come to the conclusion that Nurjahan, Mahabat Khan and a section of the nobles were trying to discredit both Prince Parvez and Abdur Rahim and get them transferred so as to clear the way for Khurrum. As Khan-i Jahan had been serving in the Deccan, they might have expected an adverse report about Parvez and Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. But Khan-i Jahan Lodi who himself had failed when he was appointed as the supreme commander, appears to have been in a dilemma, as his relations with Abdur Rahim were very old and cordial.

1. See Infra.
2. Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 529.
3. Azam, 46-47. On his arrival, Khan-i Jahan was presented a khilat, elephant and other valuables.
He might also have been convinced during his long stay in the Deccan that the charges against Abdur Rahim of accepting bribes from the Deccanis were baseless. Besides, he may also have developed cordial relations with Prince Farves.

Some of these inferences that we have drawn are corroborated by the discussion that took place at the court after the arrival of Khan-i Jahan Lodi from Burhanpur.

Khan-i Jahan Lodi reached Ajmer in 1615. Nimatullah gives an interesting account of the discussion that took place at a meeting that was convened by the Emperor to discuss the Deccan problem. Jahangir asked Khan-i Jahan four questions: firstly he asked him to give reasons of his retreat from Balaghat; secondly, why the reinforcement could not reach Abdullah Khan; thirdly, what was the opinion of the nobles specially that of Man Singh and Amir-ul Umara Sharif Khan in connection with the retreat of the army from Burhanpur; and lastly, he questioned him about the actual state of affairs in the Deccan and the nature of Abdur Rahim Khan Kahan's conduct and activities. One of the nobles present in the meeting in the course of the discussion criticised Abdur Rahim and asserted that as long as he was there affairs in the Deccan would not be settled. Khan-i Jahan strongly refuted these allegations

1. Fazak, 146; Tarikh-i Khan Jahani, II, 534.
and said that the Deccanis were much too strong to be quickly and easily suppressed. Jahangir complained that ten years had passed by and huge amount of money had been spent without any sign of progress. He added that whoever comes from there (the Deccan) reports that the delay was because of Abdur Rahim Khan Kahan. If efforts had been made by him in right earnest, the campaign would have succeeded. At this stage Khurram who was also present in the meeting offered to proceed to the Deccan. Khan-i Jahan interred and said that Parvez was the heir to the throne; he and his atalig Abdur Rahim Khan Kahan were making utmost efforts to conquer the Deccan. He submitted that Khurram's appointment to the Deccan would cause dissension and disunity. Nimatullah says that upon this plain speaking of Khan-i Jahan, the nobles present in the meeting were stunned and said nothing. The Emperor also remained silent; the nobles took leave from him and the meeting came to an end.¹ No other source has reported this discussion, but as Jahangir himself writes that Khan-i Jahan was summoned to discuss the Deccan problem, some discussion must have taken place after his arrival and the later events tend to confirm Nimatullah's account: Parvez was transferred and Khurram took over the command.² Besides, Thomas Roe's account largely coincides with Nimatullah's


2. Tyacke, 161, 164-65. Khurram was despatched to the Deccan in 1616.
remarks. Roe states (12 June 1616) 'There is resolution taken that Sultan Khurram shall go to the Deccan wars. Prince Parvez is called home who (it is reported) wrote to his father that if he would send his elder brother he would obey, but to discomfit by employing this, he would first fall on him and after finish the war. All the captains as Khan-i Jahan, Khan Khanan and Mahabat Khan refuse to stay if this tyrant came to command'.

However, soon after, he was again sent back to the Deccan in the company of Mahabat Khan. At the time of his departure he was given a khilat, horse, elephant and sword; and Shahbaz Khan Lodi (probably some kinsman) was at his request promoted to the rank of 2000/1000.

In 1616, Khurram was despatched to the Deccan disregarding Khan Jahan's suggestion and Parvez was transferred to Allahabad. We have no information about what Khan-i Jahan did in the Deccan under Khurram; but on the recommendation of Khurram he was promoted to the rank of 6000/6000. Khan-i Jahan returned to court on October 12, 1617 along with Khurram.

1. 
2. ibid., 147.
3. Ibid., 164-65.
4. Ibid., 184.
5. Ibid., 195.
After returning from the Deccan in 1617, Khan-i Jahan Lodi was not given any important assignment for the next three years. When he came to court, he was appointed faujdar of Agra and remained with the Emperor. In 1619, when he accompanied Jahangir to Kashmir the faujdar of Agra was given to Amnat Khan. On his return to Lahore in November 1620 from Kashmir, Jahangir appointed him governor of Multan with the additional charge of the defence of the fort of Qandhar. In the light of the above facts and a close examination of the evidence contained in Intehab-i Jahangirshahi, it seems that Khan-i Jahan’s decline might also have been the result of the excessive influence enjoyed by Itimad-ud daulah’s family.

During his governorship of Multan, Qandhar fell to the Safavids. Khan-i Jahan informed the Emperor about this while he was in Kashmir. The Emperor left Kashmir and issued a farman to Khan-i Jahan asking him not to start in the direction of Qandhar before the arrival of the imperial army because ‘kings are to be opposed by kings’.

1. Azizk, 267; Ma’asir-i Jahangiri, 124b.
2. Ibid., 323; Iqbalnama, 176-77; Ma’asir-i Jahangiri, 141a; Z.K., II, 77-78.
3. For a detailed discussion on the information contained in Intehab-i Jahangirshahi, see chapter on ‘The Family of Mahabat Khan’.
5. Z.K., II, 79.
However, Asalat Khan was promoted to the rank of 2000/1000; 1 sometimes later Khan-i Jahan came to the court apparently to discuss the loss of Qandhar, but after staying for sometime at the Court, he returned to Multan. 2 While he was going to the court, according to Farid Bhakkari, people believed that on this occasion his life would not be spared. 3 Without discussing the reasons for this understanding among people he further mentions that after the fall of Qandhar, many Afghan tribes from near Qandhar came to Khan-i Jahan in Multan on account of their tribal feelings and offered to serve in his army in large numbers till they had conquered Isfahan provided he promised to pay them five tankas per day per horseman and two tankas for a foot soldier. Khan-i Jahan refused their assistance saying that if the king came to know of this kind of agreement, he would never allow him to live. 4 Presumably Khan-i Jahan was hinting at the suspicions that would be inevitably engendered if Afghans gathered around him.

It is surprising why Jahangir ordered him not to proceed to defend Qandhar although full preparations had been made and many

1. Tuzuk, 352.
2. Tuzuk, 348, 351-52; Ma'sarr-i Jahangiri, 156b; R.K., II, 79.
4. Ibid.
nobles from the Deccan were despatched to Multan for his help. Perhaps, Jahangir hoped that a much larger army under Khurram was needed to make any impression on a fort like Qandhar.

Meanwhile Khurram openly revolted and refused to move to Qandhar. Khan-i Jahan was summoned urgently to the court. Owing to ill health his departure was delayed. Jahangir however thought the delay was deliberate and was reported to have said 'If at this time Sher Shah were living, he would in spite of all his enmity have come to us, and yet you have not come'. This misunderstanding was possible because during that crucial period a large number of nobles decided to go over to Khurram's side and on the other hand Jahangir had not yet informed of his illness.

In 1623, Jahangir anxious to mass troops against Shahjahan sent Muiz-ul Mulk to summon him to the court. Muiz-ul Mulk returned to court and delivered the letter of Khan-i Jahan in which he spoke of his own serious illness. He also sent his son Asalat Khan with

1. Tazuk, 344-45. Jahangir despatched Khwaja Abul Hasan the diwan and Sadiq Khan Bahshah in advance to Lahore to make arrangements and summoned armies from Bengal, Gujarat and Bihar. Bahadur Khan Uzbek was deputed to go as auxiliary to the army of Qandhar. Jahanama, 191-92; English Factories in India, 1622-23, 99, 112.

2. Z.K., II, 80.
1000 horse to serve under the Emperor and expressed regrets at being deprived of the honour of meeting him. Jahangir after receiving this letter, in his memoirs writes 'As his apology was evidently sincere, I accepted it'.

Khan-i Jahan came to the court in the 19th year (1524). After his arrival he was given charge of the defence of the Agra fort and Chandari of Fatehpur Sikri. But when the Emperor proceeded to Kashmir in the same year Khan-i Jahan Lodi also accompanied him. On the Emperor's return to Lahore, he was appointed governor of Gujarat on the death of Mirza Asiz Koka. But it is significant that Dawar Bakhsh the nominal governor of Gujarat was now summoned to court, probably to leave a free hand to Khan-i Jahan. Sometimes afterwards (September 1625) he was made amil of sultan Parves in place of Mahabat Khan who was transferred to Bengal. Parves refused to relieve Mahabat Khan and accept Khan-i Jahan as his amil but ultimately when another firmly worded farman was communicated to him, he agreed. After Parves's death in October 1626 Khan-i Jahan was appointed as viceroy of the Deccan in his own right.

1. Tusuk, 360; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 168b, 170b-171a; Z.K., II, 80.
2. Tusuk, 373, 375-76; Z.K., II, 80.
3. Iqbalnama, 230-31; Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 184b, 185a; Z.K., II, 280.
4. Ibid., 245, 248; Ibid., 187b; Ibid., 131-32; A Dutch Chronicle, 74.
We have very little information in our sources about the Deccan during the closing years of Jahangir's reign. However, serious allegations come to be made about Khan-i Jahan's conduct in the Deccan and these need some consideration.

Mutamid Khan in Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri and Kamgar Husaini in Ma'asir-i Jahangiri say that Khan-i Jahan sold the whole of Balaghat for a sum of 3 lakh hums only.\(^1\) The other allegation related to his hostile attitude towards Shahjahan after the death of Jahangir. The information contained in a recently discovered work Anfaul Akhbar\(^2\) and close study of even Mutamid Khan's own account discount the force of their allegation.

First of all this must be made clear that Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri, Ma'asir-i Jahangiri and Badshahnama were written during the reign of Shahjahan and come under the category of official histories. Therefore whatever they wrote, it was in close conformity

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with the bias current at the court. On account of Shah Jahan's hostility towards Khan-i Jahan, they have not recorded many achievements of Khan-i Jahan and in certain cases misrepresented the facts. Even Muhammad Amin the author of Anfaul Akhbar who wrote the account of Jahangir's reign also (including Khan Jahan's activities in the closing years) had to cut down many of the informations and change it to suit the official version of Shahjahan's time. However, the corrections are made in such a manner that one can read both the versions and form his own opinion. ¹

The rebellion of Shahjahan created utter confusion in the Deccan. Mahabat Khan after reaching there tried to retrieve the Mughal position and entered into an alliance with the Adil Shahis against Malik Ambar. ² But after his departure to Bengal, Malik Ambar inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined forces at Bhatodi (10 miles from Ahmadnagar), and laid siege on Ahmadnagar. He left his men to pursue the siege and himself proceeded towards Balaghat and captured the entire territory of Balaghat. ³ He also besieged the fort of

¹ He changed the version of Gandhar campaign, particularly Khurram's role in it, the rebellion of Khurram, and the account of the Deccan in the last years of Jahangir's reign (1624-26). For details see Anfaul Akhbar (Asafiya), 220, 222-23, 229-30, 235.

² For details, see chapter on 'The Family of Mahabat Khan'.

³ Anfaul Akhbar (Asafiya) 225-27, (B.M.) 235ab; Iqbalnama, 235-38; and Ma'asir-i Jahangiri, 183b-184b also tell us about the Mughal discomfiture, and Lashkar Khan, Mirza Manuchahar and Aqidat Khan being taken prisoner by Malik Ambar, but do not make any reference to the battle of Pateri or Bhatodi.
Burhanpur. While the siege operations were in progress, Shahjahan once again appeared in the Deccan after being expelled from Bihar and Bengal and joined Malik Ambar in pressing the siege. But they were forced to raise the siege on the approach of Mahabat Khan and the arrival of reinforcements. Thereafter we have no other information to show how the Mughals recovered the territories of Balaghat that had been lost to Malik Ambar. About this time Mahabat Khan was transferred and Khan-i Jahan took over as atiliq of Parves. We have no information in our sources to suggest that Khan-i Jahan was able to recover Balaghat from the Nizam Shahis during the period that he was atiliq of Parves.

In October 1626 Parves died and Khan-i Jahan was appointed viceroy of the Deccan. From October 1626 to the death of Jahangir when he was viceroy of the Deccan, there are only two references about the state of affairs in the Deccan in our sources. In the first reference it had been mentioned that after the death of Malik Ambar in May 1626 Yaqub Khan Habshi, being dissatisfied with the handling of the affairs of the state by the young Nisam Shah and other nobles

2. Iqbalnama, 245, 248; Anfaul Akbar, 216-17.
3. Ibid., 273, 279-80; Ibid., 239b.
opened negotiations with Sarbuland Rai on behalf of himself and Fateh Khan (the son of Malik Ambar), offering allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. Khan-i Jahan accepted the offer and wrote to Yaqub Khan in warm terms and directed the amirs to receive them with hospitality and respect and to bring them to Burhanpur. But we are not informed about the outcome of these negotiations.

Next we hear that Fateh Khan and other officers were despatched by Nizam Shah to create disturbance in the imperial territories. They captured most of the thanas of Balaghat and Jauhar Khan Habshi, another Nizam Shahi officer with a large force besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar. Sipahdar Khan the qiladar of Ahmadnagar vigorously defended the fort and forced him to retreat. Soon afterwards, however, Jauhar Khan reappeared with a strong force of Bajlas. At this juncture, Khan-i Jahan Lodi after leaving Lashkar Khan to protect Burhanpur marched to Balaghat, and proceeded towards Daulatabad, the Nizam Shahi capital. He defeated Nizam Shahis and, forcing the Nizam Shah to take refuge in Daulatabad, and burnt down

1. Iqbalnama, 280. See also Anfaul Akhbar (Asafiya) 235, (B.M.) 239b, where the name of Fateh Khan, and the details of communication that took place between Yaqub Khan, Sarbuland Rai and Khan-i Jahan are not, however, mentioned. A Dutch Chronicle, 85-86.

2. Anfaul Akhbar (B.M.) 239b-40a, but the name of Fateh Khan had been mentioned by Mutamid Khan. Cf. Iqbalnama, 282.
the surrounding areas. Nizamul Mulk realising his weakness opened negotiations with Khan-i Jahan. Ultimately, it was agreed that whatever territories the two sides were holding before this war, they would continue to hold. After concluding this treaty returned to Balaghat.\(^1\)

The information contained in the *Iqbalnama-i Jahangiri* is identical about this campaign from the beginning to the arrival of Khan-i Jahan at Khirki.\(^2\) Thereafter the version diverges. Instead of the treaty that the *Anfaul Akhbar* describes, *Mutamid Khan* alleges that Hamid Khan Habshi approached him and by stratagem succeeded in getting the whole of Balaghat vacated upon payment of three lakh furs. Khan-i Jahan issued orders to his officers to hand over Balaghat to Nizam Shahis. All the officers, obeying his orders vacated their posts, but Sipahdar Khan, the qiladar of Ahmadnagar refused demanding a royal farman to this effect.\(^3\)

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1. *Anfaul Akhbar* (Asafiya), 267-68, (B.M.), 239b-40b; *A Dutch Chronicle*, 87, states that Abdullah Khan who was with Khan-i Jahan at this time entered into secret correspondence with the Nizam Shahis and planned the destruction of Khan-i Jahan's army.


Quite clearly the events or alleged events that Muhammad Khan records, are wrongly ascribed by him to the settlement made with the Nizamshahis immediately after Khan-i Jahan's successful campaign of 1626-7. For one thing, Muhammad Amin would hardly have missed the opportunity of praising his patron Sipahdar Khan, had his refusal to surrender Ahmadnagar occurred before he finished his work, which was just before Jahangir's death. But it is Lahori's account, which is decisive. He says that the surrender of Balaghat by Khan Jahan took place after the death of Jahangir and before the formal accession of Jahangir, a period during which, according to the official chronicler, Khan Jahan had fallen prey to perverse counsel and improper ambitions. It was then that he handed over the Mughal posts in Balaghat, especially the fort of Bir, to the Nizamshahis. It is curious that Lahori does not mention the alleged bribe of 3 lakh huns. Nor does he mention Sipahdar Khan's action in refusing to surrender Ahmadnagar. 2

From all this one can draw the following inferences:

(1) Khan Jahan seized large areas, including Bir and other areas in Balaghat, besides Ahmadnagar, as a result of his successful campaign in 1626-27

1. Muhammad Amin was in the service of Sipahdar Khan (later Khanjar Khan) the commandant of the fort of Ahmadnagar.

(2) Upon hearing the news of the death of Jahangir and Shahjahan's march northwards from Yassik, Khan Jahan became anxious to leave the Deccan with as many troops as possible to take the side of Dawar Bakhsh, who had then been proclaimed King at Lahore.

(3) It was not possible to withdraw forces from the Deccan without concessions to the Nizamshahis, which Khan Jahan made now.

(4) The concession seems to have involved largely the cession of territory in Balaghat regained by Khan Jahan in 1626-7. It did not probably involved Ahmednagar at all, which since 1616 had never been lost. Khan Jahan probably never personally received three lakhs ofunds, an immense amount for those days; this was probably promised, and that also, quite possibly, for Dawar Bakhsh. This might explain Lahori's silence over the matter.

Khan-i Jahan was still viceroy of the Deccan when Jahangir died. Mutamid Khan and other official historians of Shahjahan's reign state that Dawar Bakhsh son of Khurram was raised to the throne only as a sacrificial lamb in order to secure the succession of Shahjahan. It is said that Asaf Khan despatched his personal servant Banarsi to

1. Iqbalnama, 293–94, Mutamid Khan specifically used the word Badshahnama, I, 69–70, 72. Banarsi Prasad Saksena also accepts the version of Mutamid Khan. See History of Shahjahan, 57.
Shahjahan to come immediately to court with full details. Shahjahan, thereafter despatched Jan Nisar Khan with a farman to Khan-i Jahan, the conferring on him the subahdari of Deccan. Jan Nisar Khan was also asked to ascertain his views about his accession and also to seek his permission to go to through Buxar. Khan-i Jahan refused to acknowledge the farman and also refused to allow Shahjahan passing through Buxar. In fact, Khan Jahan declared for Dawar Baksh, proclaiming him Emperor even in his jagirs in Gujarat. Not only that Khan-i Jahan also captured Malwa when Mahabat Khan was despatched towards that region by Shahjahan.

Mutamid Khan is to suggest that Khan-i Jahan's act was rebellious, because he was supporting Dawar Baksh against Shahjahan who was the real successor.

There is no denying to this fact that Khan-i Jahan was supporting Dawar Baksh, because the English Factory records also

1. Iqbalnama, 294, 297-300. Mutamid Khan adds that Darya Khan Rohilla who had lately joined Khan-i Jahan after deserting Shahjahan, and Afsal Khan, diwan of the Deccan, who was was brother of Shaharyar's diwan were responsible for Khan-i Jahan's hostile attitude towards Shahjahan. Regarding the capture of Malwa, Farid Shakkari states that he took this action because his family was residing there. Cf. Z.K., II, 81-82. It might be that he wanted to control his route to the capital which lay through Malwa. See also Badshahnama, I, 76.

2. Iqbalnama, 299-300.
corroborate the Persian sources. But it would be difficult to prove as asserted by Mutamid Khan and other official historians that Khan-i Jahan's action was particularly hostile to Shahjahan. As a matter of fact if Dawar Baksh was really raised as a 'escape goat' it was closely guarded secret and except Asaf Khan no other noble knew of it. From the reports which must have been received by Khan-i Jahan and other nobles in the Deccan, it would have appeared that Dawar Baksh had received the support of all the important nobles including Nurjahan. On the contrary, during this period Shahjahan's position was very weak. His supporters had deserted him and until he reached Gujarat, he had a very small following. Hence in these circumstances Khan-i Jahan, who no doubt was not very happy with Shahjahan, particularly from his action of raising Mahabat Khan to a very high position by giving him the rank of Khan Khanan, decided to support Dawar Baksh who was apparently the choice of all the leading nobles at the Court.

1. English Factory Records (1624-29), 233, 'Khan Jahan hath sent his son to Broach, and in his tajra in this province, even in Naraid the khutba of Bulaqi is used'.

2. Shahjahan even thought of returning to Persia to obtain the help of his friend, Shah Abbas of Persia. In the same year he fell ill. A number of his servants like Abdullah Khan Firuz Jung and Darya Khan Rohilla left him. For more details, see Iqbalnama, 273-74, 280-82; 2. K., II, 81-82. At the time of the arrival of Jan Nisar Khan with the farman of Shahjahan, in the discussion that took place among the servants of Khan-i Jahan, Shahjahan's undue favour to Mahabat Khan was particularly mentioned as a grievance.
Raj Gaj Singh, Jai Singh and other nobles also accompanied Khan-i Jahan up to Mandu and apparently supported Dawar Bakhsh. 1 Shahjahan's position considerably improved when he reached Gujarat, and after that many nobles who were with Khan-i Jahan left him. It is even not fully established that Asaf Khan considered Dawar Bakhsh only as a stop gap arrangement from the very beginning. Shahjahan had to urge upon Asaf Khan, while proceeding from Gujarat to Agra that it would be very well if in these troubled days, Dawar Bakhsh, his brothers and the sons of Daniyal are eliminated (from this world) and the well wishers would be saved from mental tension. 2

But actually what is more intriguing is the attitude that Khan-i Jahan maintained when later on most nobles joined Shahjahan. One obvious reason could have been an increased misunderstanding between him and Shahjahan. This might have been further aggravated because of the rise of Mahabat Khan with whom his relations were far from cordial.

The other aspect is more significant. In a farman issued to Raja Jai Singh, Dawar Bakhsh assumed the title of Sher Shah. 3

1. Iqbalnama, 300.
2. Ibid., 303.
assumption of this title by a Mughal prince is really significant because Sher Shah expelled Humayun and reestablished Afghan rule in India.

There can be only two explanations for this step. Firstly, Dawar Bakht by this move wanted to secure the support of Khan-i Jahan and other Afghans, because Khan-i Jahan was the leading noble of the Mughal Empire and the chief noble among the Afghans. Of course, he might also have wanted to exploit the name of Sher Shah who was very popular among the masses as well as in the nobility because of his competence as an administrator. No less than a person than Mirza Aziz Koka in 1613 had written in a letter to Jahangir that 'Sher Shah Afghan was not a king (malik) but an angel (malak). In six years he gave such stability to the structure that the foundation still survives'. There are guarded admissions in Abul Fazl also to this effect. 1

After the accession of Shahjahan, Khan-i Jahan Lodi sent his vakti to the court with letters of apologies, assuring him of obedience and loyalty. Shahjahan accepted his representation and confirmed his


Also see, 'The Mughal Empire in History', 3.
the governorship of the Deccan. But in the same year he was replaced by Mahabat Khan on the charge that he was reluctant to recover the territories lost to the Deccans. About the same time he came to know that Mahabat Khan had advised the Emperor to seize his family and treasures in Malwa. Upon this he took precautionary measures and started towards Malwa. Although this proved to be a mere rumour, but his servants were convinced that Khan-i Jahan's days were numbered and many of them fled to the court.

Khan-i Jahan came to the court in 1629 after suppressing the rebellion of Jujhar Singh Bundela. He was disappointed at the reception accorded to him on his arrival, as no noble came out to welcome him. Besides, Shahjahan reprimanded him for coming to the court at the head of a big force (7000 horses). He was ordered to keep only a limited number of troopers and his du aspa sih aspa rank was also curtailed. His jagir of Ujjain and Malwa was resumed. About the same time Fasil Khan the Hakhab of the Deccan warned him to remain vigilant and keep his retainers as the Emperor was looking for an opportunity to arrest him. Certain

3. Z.K., II, 84-85.
4. Badshahnama, I, 352; Z.K., II, 67. Shahjahan removed Mahabat Khan to Delhi because the latter on account of high military rank or the title of Khan Khanan would not bow to Khan-i Jahan.
5. Z.K., II, 88.
other incidents also took place that completely shook his confidence.  

He might have come to the conclusion that Shahjahan who had already executed royal princes on the eve of his accession would not pardon him for his role in the war of succession.

Therefore according to Farid Bhakkari, Khan-i Jahan decided to resign from imperial service. He prepared a list of the imperial treasures, horses, elephants and armoury that he had under his and came to Asaf Khan. Asaf Khan became quite concerned and said that all nobles should resign if the things go like that. However, he advised Khan-i Jahan to put a restraint upon his emotions and promised to intervene in the matter. But it appears that Asaf Khan's efforts also failed and Khan-i Jahan's entire property was confiscated.

Shahjahan also attempted to create dissension in the camp of Khan-i Jahan. He summoned Khan-i Jahan's sons and other relations, promoted them to higher ranks and assigned fresh mansabs to those who had no rank. Bahadur Khan, brother's son of Khan-i Jahan, was promoted to the rank of 3500. He and Khan Jahan's other relations were given jagirs.

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1. *Badshahnama*, I, 273; *Z.K.*, II, 91. One night Mirza Lashkari son of Mukhlis Khan said in jest to the sons of Khan-i Jahan that they and their father would soon be thrown into prison. Khan-i Jahan was much dismayed on hearing this and retired to his house.

in Gujarat and ordered to go to take charge of their *jagirs*. Many of
the personal servants of Khan-i Jahan were also given *mansab* and *jagirs*.  

On account of these steps taken by the Emperor a large number
of Khan-i Jahan's followers left his service. Khan-i Jahan naturally
started feeling insecure in these circumstances, and one night fled away
along with his family and followers. He was hotly pursued by the
imperial army and defeated and killed along with his four sons in 1631.  

If we go through the details of the rebellion of Khan-i
Jahan, it would appear that Shahjahan failed in his attempts to isolate
him from his relations and followers. Almost all the Afghan nobles and
chiefs collected under him; we have also some evidence to show that
Khan-i Jahan had close links with Afghans of the frontier region.  

It seems on this account, none of the surviving sons of Khan-i
Jahan, Musaffar (he came to the court leaving his father while the

1. Z.K., II, 92-93.

2. Z.K., II, 93-95. Lodi Khan Miya, Qazi Khan Bunki, Sear Khan Panni,
Musaffar Khan Gulrazi were among those who left Khan-i Jahan and went
to their home.


4. Badshahnamas, I, 349-351; Z.K., II  Also see Banarsi Prasad
History of Shahjahan of Delhi, 71, 77-79, 81-82.

5. Badshahnamas, I, 277-78; Z.K., II, 87-88; Maasir-ul Usara, III, 720-22

6. See Supra.
rebellion was in full swing), Farid Jan-i Jahan, Ahsad and Alam were given any Amrsh by Shahjahan. The author of the Maqṣīn-ul Uṣūr writes, "Up to the present day none of his descendants have reached an eminent position."  