POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF A MUGHAL NOBLE- ILAHWARDI KHAN

DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
Master of Philosophy
in
History

SUBMITTED BY
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UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
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ALIGARH (INDIA)

2010
Dedicated

to my

Parents
To Whom It May Concern

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Political Biography of a Mughal Noble-Ilahwardi Khan" is the original work of Ms. Tahira Bi, completed under my supervision. The dissertation is suitable for submission and award of degree of Master of Philosophy in History.

(Dr. Mohd. Afzal Khan)
Supervisor
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Acknowledgement

All praises and thanks are to Allah for all blessings and benevolences as that He has bestowed upon me.

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge the kindness of my teacher, friends and well wishers with whose help and advice I was able to complete this work.

First and foremost, I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Mohd. Afzal Khan, for his encouragement, inspiring suggestions and excellent guidance. All the time he has been accessible despite his preoccupations, and always generous with his time and knowledge. I consider myself immensely fortunate in having someone so kind and supportive as my supervisor.

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the kindness of Prof. B.L. Bhadani, Chairman & Coordinator, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh. I am greatly indebted to Dr. M.K. Zaman, Dr. Sumbul Haleem Khan, Dr. Gulfishan Khan, and Dr. Amir Ahmad for their moral support. I also have the privilege of receiving guidance from Prof. Irfan Habib, and Prof. Shireen Moosvi. Dr. Abdus Salam Jeelani helped me in reading several difficult Persian texts. I am indeed grateful to him.

I am also thankful to all the research fellows in the Department, and friends for their endearing encouragement and support. My soul is indebted to Miss Soada Idris Khan, Rushda Idris Khan, and Kausar Yasmeen they help me a lot in proof reading and in preparing the bibliography.
I should like to put on record my thanks to the staff of the following libraries for allowing me access to the sources and secondary works concerning my work: Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History (Aligarh Muslim University), Maulana Azad Library (AMU) and Department of Persian.

My family has been a constant source of inspiration. I am indebted to my father Mr. Ghulam Mohammad and mother Mrs. Khairun Nisa for their love, affection, and emotional support that gave me the strength and determination to complete this work. In the end, I thank my sisters Tayyaba Bi and Fatima Bi, Brother Ghulam Ahmad, Ali Haider, Ali Mohammad and Aziz Haider, Sister-in-law Rukhsana and Shameem and Nieces Tuba and Talat and Nephew Faisal and Asad for their affection and encouragement.

(Tahira Bi)
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INTRODUCTION
Introduction

After 1956 a time came when the trend started to make a systematic study of ruling class in medieval India. Area of attention was on their position and role in the state. As far as the nobility is concerned, in some of earlier writings, attention has been focused on analyzing its relationship with the monarch. A more critical study of the nobility started with Satish Chandra’s * Parties and Politics at the Mughal court 1707-1740.* (Aligarh, 1959, 2nd ed. New Delhi, 1971) and *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* by M. Athar Ali. In these works an attempt has been made to analyze the working of institutions and traditions that defined the organization and the role of the nobility during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a period marked by a crisis and then a rapid process of disintegration of the Mughal imperial system.

Another work of M. Athar Ali was *The Apparatus of Empire Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility 1574-1658.* This work is a chronological record of the award of ranks (*mansab*), offices and titles in the Mughal Empire, completed from vast range of primary sources.
There is yet another work by Afzal Husain, *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir* (A Study of Family Groups). The work makes a detailed study of the structure of the Mughal nobility and the role played by the nobles during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir in the light of an in-depth investigation of the fluctuating fortunes of nine leading families. Many articles are also written by Afzal Husain on different aspects of Mughal Nobility.

Therefore, several studies have been made on various aspects of nobility and on different groups of nobles. Biographical studies of individual nobles have also been a subject of interest among scholars of Mughal India.

The present study of Ilahwardi Khan’s biography offers an example of such an important noble whose many family members held important administrative posts and *mansabs* and served the Mughal Empire for a long period in various capacities.

This work is divided into three chapters.

First chapter deals with his early career and his campaigns. His career started under Prince Pervez then he was introduced to the court of Jahangir as *Qarawal Begi* with a small *mansab*. He was sent for the Deccan expedition and captured 14 forts of the Deccan. He was also sent for Qandhar expedition.

IlIrd Chapter deals with other members of Ilahwardi Khan’s family. His brother Mukhlis Khan was, earlier, in the service of Prince Pervez then he joined the service of Jahangir. He reached up to the *mansab* of 3000/3000. Ilahwardi Khan’s sons and grandsons were also in the Mughal service.
CHAPTER-1
CHAPTER -1

EARLY CAREER AND CAMPAIGNS

Nobility generally denotes the class of persons who were officers of the king and at the same time formed the superior class in the political order. They were in the military as well as civil services of the empire, holding the Zat and Sawar ranks, which indicated their status in the official hierarchy.

Being the military officers and civil bureaucrats, the nobles played an important role in the political as well as administrative set up of the empire. Therefore, several studies have been made on various aspects of nobility and on different family groups of nobles. Biographical studies of individual nobles have also been a subject of interest amongst scholars of Mughal India.

The present study of Ilahwardi Khan’s biography offers an example of such an important noble whose many family members held important administrative posts and mansabs and served the Mughal Empire for a long period in various capacities.
Ilahwardi Khan (Ilahwardi Beg), son of Maqsood Beg Gosha Turkman, was a talented person.\(^1\) He started his career as Chief huntsman (Qarawal Begi) under Jahnagir.\(^2\) At the end of Shahjahan’s reign he was appointed as the governor of Bihar.\(^3\) Though he was very clever man but became victim of treachery and was killed at Akbarnagar in 1659 A. D.\(^4\) There is an interesting anecdote of his youth when he went to Europe, he was seized on suspicion of being a spy. By chance on the day of a festival, he was presented before the ruler on the occasion of tent pegging display nezabazi (sport with spears). He distinguished himself and the ruler made enquiries about him.\(^5\) Synchronising with this the Khwajasara of Sadullah Khan son of Said Khan Chaghta had gone there to purchase scarlet and porcelain wares, he described to the ruler the facts of Ilahwardi Khan’s greatness, and on being convinced of his innocence, the ruler sent

\(^1\) Qazwini, M. Amin, Badshahnama (Rotograph), Brit. M. or. 1671) Rieu III/1086 f 93 (a-b) (Rotograph Preserved in the Seminar library of History department of Aligarh Muslim University (Hereafter see Qazwini); Mirza Mohammad Bin Rustam, Tarikh-i-Muhammadi, ed. Imtiyaz Ali Arshi, 1960, p.109 (Hereafter see Tarikh); Muhammad Salih Kambu, Amal-i-Salih –Shahjahannama, ed. G. Yazdani, Lahore. 1958, Vol.1, p.112, (Here after see Salih); Tazkiratul umara-The History of nobles from Akbar to Aurangzeb’s reign 1556-1707 AD, tr. S.M Azizuddin Hussain, New Delhi, 1985, pp.20-21(Here after see T.U.).


\(^3\) Ibid, p. 671.

\(^4\) Ibid, p. 671.

\(^5\) Ibid, p.668.
him off to India with all honour. For some time he was in Burhanpur. As his elder brother Mukhlis khan was in the service of Sultan Prince Perviz, he too was introduced to the Sultan and began to prosper. They distinguished themselves with high mansabs and enjoyed greater distinction than other nobles in nearness to the emperor.

In the 13th regnal year (1618) of Jahangir's reign, he got the mansab, and obtained the title of Mutamad Khan. He was appointed as Qarawal Begi (Chief huntman). He became Jahangir's companion and always remained with him on his hunting expeditions. The large net which is the chief item in the Qamargah hunt and was called bawar was one of his inventions. In the 21st year, it was made of ropes at a cost of 24000 rupees and produced before Jahangir. It was very strong net and formed a full load for eighty camels. Its length

7. Ibid.
8. Z. Kh., Vol.1, p.67.
11. Bawar is a Turkish word which means rope (cf. M.U. Vol.1, p.668).
was 10,000 royal cubits (Zira) its height was six, and like a Saraparda it rested on strong supports, various kinds of wild animals were brought within it and hunted.12

During 1620 he was appointed as the governor of Khandesh in the Deccan. He governed and administered in such a way that the entire province was freed from thieves.13

On the death of Jahangir, at the time of the affairs of Shahryar, he behaved with loyalty and made himself acceptable to Yamin-ud-Daula Asaf Khan and fitted for royal favors.14 In the 1st regnal year of Shahjahan’s reign (1627-28) accompanied with Asaf Jah, he waited upon ShahJahan and received a commission of 2000/2000 and the title of Ilahwardi Khan.15

During 1Ind regnal year of Shahjahan’s reign (1928-29) he was appointed against Pir Khan or Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and got the Alam.16

Pir Khan (Khan-i-Jahan Lodi) was a great favourite of Jahangir and

16. T. U., p. 21, Firdos Anwar, Nobility under the Mughals (1628-1658), Delhi, 2001, p. 49; See also B. P. Saxena, History of Shahjahan, Delhi, 1976 (here after see: Saxena).
had the honour of being an intimate companion of the emperor. He had been appointed as the commander-in-chief of the army (Khan-i-Khanan) after the death of Abdur Rahim. He was entrusted with the governorship of the Deccan as bulwork against the possibility of rebellion of Mahabat Khan or the aggressive coalition of that redoubtable general with prince Khurram (Shahjahan). At a time when the health of Jahangir was causing all around anxiety, and both Shahjahan and Mahabat Khan were at large and highly discontented, it was feared that serious complications and conflicts could arise at any moment. Khan-i-Jahan, therefore, adopted a policy which was subjected to severe criticism by the government of Shahjahan.

As Ilahwardi Khan was closely associated with Mahabat Khan he displayed great energy on the siege of Parenda.\(^17\) In the year 1633 he was appointed with Afzal Khan, to conquer Balaghat.\(^18\) In 1634 he was appointed as Faujdar of Akbarabad with the mansab of 3000. In the year 1635 he was appointed in the Deccan with Shahshuja.\(^19\) In the year 1636 he fought against Bijapur and got the mansab of 4000 zat and 3000 sawar. In the year 1637, with an

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19. Ibid.
increase of 1,000 with 2000 horses, he was promoted to the rank of 4000/4000 and became the governor of Malwa in succession to Khan-i-Dauran.\textsuperscript{20}

During 1637-38 he was again engaged in conquering the forts of the Deccan,\textsuperscript{21} when the king established himself at Daulatabad in the year 1638 an order was issued to Ilahwardi Khan, who had gone with Shaista Khan to take the district of Sangamnir and Junair, to take the forts of Nizamul Mulk which were situated in the direction of the forts of Chandor and Dharap.\textsuperscript{22}

The activities of Shahji compelled Shahjahan to come to the Deccan in the month of Ramdhan 1046/Jan 1636 to plan large scale operations against him. He divided his army into four divisions. Shaista Khan and Ilahwardi Khan were sent against Shahji with instructions to reduce the forts of Chandor, Sangamnir, Nasik, etc.

\textsuperscript{20} Inayat Khan, Op. Cit. p.140. There is some mistake in mansab because in 7th regnal year he had reached the mansab of 4000/3000 and in 8th regnal year he got an increment of 1000/2000 so his rank should be 5000/5000.


\textsuperscript{22} Salih, Vol.2, pp. 127-128; M.U., Vol.2, p.826; Shahjahanama, pp: 172-73. In Shahjahanama there was one more fort Indarai was captured by Ilahwardi Khan. Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Calcutta, 1869, Vol.1, pp: 520-21; Shahjahanama, p. 169; P. B. Prof. H. K. Sherwani, History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724) Hyderabad, 1973-74, Vol.1(here after see Sherwani ). He told that Nasik was also reduced, also see, Saxena, p.146.
while Khan-i-Zaman\textsuperscript{23} and others were directed to press him and compel him to leave the Nizam Shahi territory, after which he was directed to occupy the Konkan forts. Khan-i-Dauran was sent towards Nadar to seal the north eastern frontiers of the Qutubshahi Kingdom and to prevent Abdullah-Qutubshah from extending any assistance either to Shahji or to Muhammad Adil Shah. Likewise, Khan-i-Jahan was directed to march towards Bijapur and attack the Adil Shahi country. In the face of superior strategy of Shahjahan and his determination to settle the Deccan problem, the fall of Nizam Shahi kingdom was imminent. The mughal forces entered the Nizam Shahi territory and moved in different directions to complete the process of subjugation. Shaista Khan and Ilahwardi Khan reduced 25 forts near Nasik and Chandor.\textsuperscript{24}

Thereafter, the former proceeded towards the borders of the Adil Shahi Kingdom, conquered Naldurg and occupied the districts between Sholapur and Bidar. Meanwhile, Khan-i-Zaman attacked

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} Khan-i-Zaman was the elder son of Khan-i-Khanan Mahabat Khan. He was appointed as subedar during the absence of his father from the Deccan. Later he was appointed to administer Balaghat. He gave proof of great courage and resource-fullness in the operations under taken by Imperiarists in the Deccan in Shahjahan’s time. As a reward he was raised to the rank of 5000/5000.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Shaikh Farid Bhakkari mentions in his \textit{Dhakirat ul Khawanin} that “14 forts of the Deccan were conquered by Ilahwardi Khan and others.” See: Z. \textit{Kh. Op. Cit.} Vol.2, p. XX (introduction).
\end{itemize}
Shahji, drove him away from North Konkon and compelled him to take shelter in the fort of Maholi. Thus, in short time Trimbak, Junnar, Sangamner Chandor and Nasik fell into their hands.

Despite these rapid successes, they found it difficult to corner Shahji and bring him to submission. However to cut at roots of his resistance, Khan-i-Duran marched towards Bijapur by way of Bidar and Gulbarga, surprised Adil Shahi forces defeated them and captured a large number of forts.\(^25\)

The days of Nizam Shahi monarchy seemed to be numbered. But at his crucial moment Shahji took the lead, placed a scion of Nizam Shahi dynasty. Murtaza enthroned himself as Murtaza Nizam Shah IIIrd and he made Pemgiri (Ahmad Nagar district) as the capital of the state. He even persuaded Mohammad Adil Shah to come to help, and Adil Shahi nobles such as khawaja khan, Randaula Khan and Murari Pandit supported the cause of the Deccan independence. The death of Mahabat Khan in October 1634 seemed to be a boon to Shahji’s cause. But soon tables were turned with the arrival of Shahjahan in the Deccan early in 1636. The imperial forces under Shaista Khan and Ilahwardi Khan pressed Shahji from all sides and

\(^{25}\) Saxena, p. 85.
he had to move Murtaza from Pemgiri to Mahauli in order to create a wedge between Shahji and Muhammad Adil Shah. His capital was closely invested by Shaista Khan who captured Junnar. The Adil Shahi resistance was soon humbled and Muhammad Adil Shah was made to conclude a treaty with the Mughals. In this year many impregnable forts of the country came into the hands of the imperial forces.

In the year 1641, Ilahwardi Khan was sent against the operation of Nurpur, and captured the forts of Damtal and Tinari.\(^{26}\) Mao fort was also captured by Ilahwardi Khan.\(^{27}\)

In the year 1649 Ilahwardi Khan was dismissed from Ghazni along with some nobles and mansabdars, and was sent to Qandhar with his son Ghazanfar, and some others for the purpose of paying the troops and other necessary expenses of the army. Meanwhile, Ilahwardi Khan himself was to remain at Ghazni, and in concert with Shad Khan employed himself in barricading the roads and extirpating the marauders in that quarter.\(^{28}\)

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27. Saxena, p. 150.
In 1652, Khan Beg, an attendant of Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur was charged to transfer 18 Lakhs of state treasure from Kabul to Qandahar. He accompanied with 1000 Shahjahan's cavalry, some servants of crown, and 500 of Ilahwardi Khan's horsemen – musketering altogether, 3000 sawars. As soon as the detachment had advanced beyond Ghazni an incident took place, they received information that Uzbeks and Almans had come on a predatory excursion, and were scattered around ghazni engaged in plundering. As soon as these free-booters heard the approaching sound of the drums, Khan Beg's troops were bent on chastising them, they fled away helter shelter.²⁹

In the year 1652 an attempt was made on Qandhar. Shahjahan after returning from Kashmir issued an order to his officers to assemble for this purpose. Shah Shuja was asked to come from Bengal. Raja Jai Singh, Raja Jaswant Singh, Rustam Khan, Ilahwardi Khan, Raja Vithaldas, etc., were ordered to reach the court by the 20th January of the following year, i.e. 1652. Rustam Khan joined the

²⁹ Shahjahanama, p. 469.
Emperor at Lahore with two hundred thousand rupees. This campaign was a failure.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{30} See: Saxena, p.230.
CHAPTER 2
 CHAPTER-2

RANKS AND OFFICES HELD BY ILAHWARDI KHAN

Ilahwardi Khan was appointed as Qarawal Begi (Chief Huntsman) during the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan. Ilahwardi Khan was very fond of hunting and went for elephant hunting. He came from Burhanpur to Sultanpur for hunting elephants and presented 85 elephants before the Emperor.

During 1620-21 he was appointed as the governor of Khandesh. He governed and administered in such a way that the entire province was freed from thieves.

In the 1st regnal year of Shahjahan’s reign (1627-28) Ilahwardi Khan got the mansab of 2000/2000. Next year (1628-29) he got an

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2. Shahjahanama, pp. 140-141.
3. Salih, Vol. 1, p. 125; Qazwini Folio 99 (b) - 100 (a).
increment and his *mansab* reached 2500/2000. During 1633-34 he was appointed as *Faujdar* of Akbarabad with the *mansab* of 3000. During 1635-36 by an increment of 1000 *zat* with 2000 horses, he was promoted to the rank of 4000 *zat* and 4000 *sawar*, and became the governor of Malwa in succession to Khan-i-Dauran.

During 1635-36 he was the *Faujdar* of Lucknow and Baiswara. He became the *subedar* of Painghat during Shahjahan’s period.

After the death of Murshid Quali Khan *Faujdar* of Mathura (who died from a gunshot wound while attacking on a village), Ilahwardi Khan obtained the fief of that place and punished the rebels and became *Faujdar* of Mathura in 1638-39. In the year 1639-1640 his *mansab* raised up to 5000/5000 and was appointed as the *subedar* of Delhi in succession to Ghairat Khan. His rank became the subject of censor...
during 1642 but as his good services had been established in the
Emperor’s mind, the *pargana* of Sankarpur with a rental of thirty four
lakhs of *dams* was assigned to him for his support. Later on, he was
restored to his former rank.\(^{13}\)

During 1644-45 he became the *subedar* of Ellichpur.\(^{14}\) Some
Iraqi horses, which were presented from the *Jagir* of Ilahwardi Khan,
were sent for inspection. One animal was extremely very good and
generated by Shahjahan as *Padshah Pasand* (Choice of the Emperor) it
became the chief of the royal stud of Iraqi horses.\(^{15}\) After sometime,
Ilahwardi Khan left the fief in Ellichpur.\(^{16}\) On the death of Khan
Dauran, the entire *suba* of Berar was put under his supreme
command that is he was made governor of the entire *suba* of Birar.

When Islam Khan came to the Deccan, they did not get on together.
He was recalled to the court at his own request.

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   Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire- Political and Economical Maps with*
   *Detailed Notes Bibliography and Index*, Delhi, OUP, 1986.
15. *Shahjahanama*, P. 370
During 1648-49 he became the Jagirdar of Gorakhpur.  

During 1654-55 Ilahwardi Khan became the Subedar of Burhanpur and during 1655-1656 became the Faujdar of Jaunpur.

In the year of 1654-55, when Shah Abbas and Shah Jahan was no more in friendly terms, on account of Qandahar issue, Ghulam Riza, an old servant of Ilahwardi Khan, came to Surat from Bandar Abbas with seven Iraqi horses and also brought a letter from the Shah to the guardians of roads to the effect, that the servant of Ilahwardi Khan Mir Atish (Artillary officer) was bringing some horses for him, therefore, no one should interfere with him. This happening created a suspicion in the mind of Shahjahan that Ilahwardi Khan had sent some presents to the Shah along with a letter that was the reply of some exchange between them. At that time, sending of a letter and presents to a foreigner and an enemy was contrary to the rules of loyalty and the person who indulges in such a deed deserves capital

punishment. But in his case, because of his generosity he was deprived of his rank and *jagir*\(^{21}\) and censured and it was directed that he should be sent back without any delay from Kabul and he should stay at his own house in Delhi. The clerk of Surat was ordered to confiscate the horses and all the belongings of Ghulam Riza and to send him in chains to the court, so that he might meet with due punishment. Afterwards he was inquired, and it was found that he had got the documents by sending a forged letter with some presents to the general of Shah of Persia. In 1655-56, restoration of Ilahwardi Khan was done at the request of Prince Dara Shikoh and he became the recipient of Royal favours and received a *mansab* of 5000\(^{22}\) and fief of Jaunpur\(^{23}\) in succession to Mukarram Khan. Though during this time he was excluded from the court for two years and eight months and lived in retirement, he used to receive for his expanses 70 lacs of *dams* a year, and at every yearly weightment of the King he received a thousand *Asharfis*. Accordingly up to the time of regaining his

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22. He reached till the rank of 7000/7000. See *Tarikh-i-Shahjahan wa Aurangzeb*, Folio 76 (a).
service he had received 5000 Asharfis. At the end of the reign he was appointed as the governor of Bihar. 24

Shahjahan's illness created a chaos in the kingdom. His second son Shuja behaved arrogantly in Bengal and led an army against Patna. Ilahwardi Khan came to Banaras and stayed there till Shuja followed him. He was unable to make an opposition towards him. Shuja who had recourse to fawning and deceit, overcame on him that this grey beard (i.e. Ilahwardi Khan) departed on his position and took the side of that ruined man, and never ceased to help him. After facing much problems Shuja decided, in the middle of Rajab 1070 A. H. (March, 1660 A. D.), that he should proceed towards Tanda and leave Akbar Nagar (Rajmahal). Ilahwardi Khan, on the basis of knowledge and experience felt the coming disaster and thought that Shuja would eventually have to fly to Araccan to escape Aurangzeb's Army. Therefore, he wished to join the imperial army and returned to Akbar Nagar. At the same time, many of the Prince's men who wished to leave him and were of same mind as Ilahwardi Khan and as he had a group of his own men, he fortified his residence and was prepared to stop Shuja, if he attacks Ilahwardi khan.

Shuja on hearing the news devised a plan, and spread untrue reports and returned to Akbarnagar. He appointed men to surround Ilahwardi Khan's house and to wait the signal for attack, and then sent Sirajuddin Jabari, his Diwan to bring him to him by promising whatever may be necessary. When on account of return of Shuja to the city (Akbarnagar) and his false proclamations, the men who had joined Ilahwardi Khan grew lukewarm, the latter became helpless and accepted the false proclamations and words set off with his son Saif-ullah in company with Sirajuddin. In this condition, Shuja attacked him and seized him on the road, they bound their hands behinds their backs as if they were criminals and led them before Shuja, outside Akbarnagar. That wicked men set him upon an elephant and took him to the city (Akbarnagar) and there put him and his son to death, on July 1659 AD and confiscated all his property.

Ilahwardi Khan appears to have been interested in building activities. In the city of Agra close to the Chhipitola he constructed Turkish Baths known as “hammam Ilahwardi Khan” or “Baths of Ilahwardi Khan.” The entrance of the Hammam is through a fine arched doorway faced with red sandstone, ornamented with carving in relief and with a Persian inscription over the doorway from which we learn that the baths were built by him in the reign of Jahangir in AH 1030 or 1620 AD. There is also a large courtyard adjacent to the baths on the East. There was an arched gateway to get entered into the courtyard. This gateway was surrounded with sets of chambers in two storeys.28

The work of arrangement for the construction of lofty buildings in Delhi was handed over to Ilahwardi Khan when he became the governor of Delhi. And within two years and some days he was able to raise the walls of the fort to a height of 10 yards along the river bank.29 He was also appointed as the Daroghah of the digging of the Faiz Canal.30

28. See Fuhrer, Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh, Delhi, p. 65.
CHAPTER-3
CHAPTER -3

Members of Ilahwardi Khan’s Family in Mughal Service

Ilahwardi Khan was an important noble of Shahjahan’s period; and his son Mirza Jafar Khan by good fortune and excellent qualities became a favourite of Shah Jahan. Ilahwardi Khan was a descendent of Saljuq family, he came directly in the line of Sultan Sanjar Saljuqi. His father, Maqsood Beg Gosha Turkman, belonged to Turkman tribe. Ilahwardi Khan and his brother Mukhlis Khan were in the service of Prince Pervez. Later, on account of their being skilled in hunting, both the brothers became favourites of Jahangir. Under Shahjahan, Ilahwardi Khan enjoyed the royal favours and reached the mansab of 5000/5000. He served under Shahjahan till his death in 1069 AH (1659 AD).

Ilahwardi Khan’s elder brother Mukhlis Khan (Zakir Beg) was in the beginning in the service of Prince Pervez, and gradually by his merit and ability advanced himself to the office of Diwan of the Prince’s Jagir in the Province of Patna. Afterwards, he distinguished
himself with high mansabs and enjoyed greater distinction than other amirs in nearness and propinquity.¹

As both the brothers were skilled in hunting and Jahangir was fond of hunting they became favorites of Jahangir.

Mukhlis Khan during the early part of Jahangir’s reign, got the mansab and was appointed as Bakshi of the Deccan with the title of Mukhlis Khan.²

During 10th regnal year of Jahangir’s reign (1615 A.D.) he was appointed as arz-i-mukarrar.³ Thereafter, he was promoted to the mansab of 2000, and was appointed as Diwan of Bengal. In the 14th regnal year he was appointed as Diwan of Prince Pervez.⁴

In 1615 he being one of the confidential servants of the court was appointed diwan and Bakshi of Bengal in place of Husain Beg and Tahir.⁵ He was promoted to the rank of 2,000 zat and 700 sawar and was also granted a standard.⁶

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¹ T.U., p.158.
⁴ Ibid., p.158; Ghulam Hussain Salim Razussalatin, (A History of Bengal), Delhi, 1975, p.196 (Here after see Salatin).
⁶ Ibid., p. 306.
In the year 1619 Jahangir gave leave to Mukhlis Khan, whom he had sent to take up the duties of Diwan to Shah Pervez and gave him the rank, as he had in Bengal 2000 with 700 horses.  

Several indiscretions from the side of Mukhlis Khan Diwan and Bakshi of Subah of Bengal resulted in the reduction in his mansab by 1,000 personal and 200 horses.

In 1624 Jahangir's heir apparent Shah Jahan was sent to Patna with an advanced army under Raja Bhim the son of Raja Amar Singh after the death of Ibrahim Khan Fateh Jung, the governor of Bengal. Mukhlis Khan lost his hope though Allah Yar Khan, son of Iftikhar Khan and Sher Afgan were his auxiliaries he did not have patience to siege the fort of Patna till the arrival of imperial troops. He moved towards Allahabad and later on entering the service of Jahangir, he was exalted with the intimacy and confidence of the emperor. In the disturbance of Shaharyar he, with Khwaja Abul Hasan, was in vanguard of Yamin-ud-Daula.

8. Ibid., vol.1, p. 382.
In the year 1628-29, he got the mansab of 2000 Zat and 2000 Sawar and a gift of flag and was appointed as Faujdar of Narwar. Soon after, he got an increase in the rank and was appointed as Faujdar of Sarkar Gorakhpur. In the year 1635 he was promoted to the rank of 3000 and was appointed as governor of Telengana.\(^{10}\) Telengana at that time included Nandair and other estates in the Province of Mahmudabad.\(^^{11}\)

He had collected beautiful female attendants, during his last illness, and made five hundred Saheli (female attendants) free from service.\(^{12}\)

His death took place naturally during 10\(^{th}\) regnal year of Shahjahan's reign i.e. 1638 A.D., when he was passing his days in the Province of Bihar and Patna.\(^{13}\)

Mirza Lashkari was the son of Mukhlis Khan. He was superintendent of affairs at the Ghusal Khana. He insisted that Khan's sons (Miyan Husain Khan and Miyan Azmat Khan)\(^{14}\) to remain


standing with him as a punishment, because the two behaved very harshly with him.\textsuperscript{15}

Mirza Lashkari was a learned man of the age and was badly famous for his talkative nature. He had intimate friendship with Mahabat Khan Khan-i-Khanan.\textsuperscript{16} Mirza Lashkari was famous for the cause of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi’s downfall. He made quarrel with Husain Khan and Azmat Khan, the sons of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. These people treated him harshly (they knocked the door of severity). He said, “your bravery will be put to test tomorrow which they put fetters on your father’s legs, and take a crore of rupees from him.” As at one night Khan-i-Jahan came for supervision, the sons went to the Peshkhana\textsuperscript{17} and repeated these words to their father. Misfortune knocked the door of those persons, these idle, baseless words added to his suspicions, he hide himself in his house. Emperor ordered Islam Khan to make an enquiry about the cause of his conduct. At the same time the remarks of Mirza Lashkari became known. Mirza Lashkari was put in chains by Shahjahan’s orders and sent to Gwalior fort for imprisonment. After the affair of Khan-i-Jahan was solved he

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{15} Z. Kh Op. Cit. Vol. 2, p. 68.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} Ibid. p.109; M.U. Op. Cit., Vol.12, p. 250.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Peshkhana is a Persian term which means a portico, a gallery or projecting balcony see Steingass, Persian, English Dictionary, London Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1947.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
was released. But he lived in exile until his death. Lashkari Khan, during the *Faujdarship* of his uncle Ilahwardi Khan at Delhi, performed outstanding skill and acquired a good position in the royal presence.\(^{18}\)

In *Maasir-ul- Umara* Shahnawaz Khan has mentioned Zawali as the second son of Mukhlis Khan who in the year 1648 held the rank of 700 with 150 horses.\(^ {19}\)

Another brother of Ilahwardi Khan named Imamwardi appears in *Tuzuk*. Jahangir states that on the 19\(^{th}\) feast of culmination Imamwardi Khan brother of Ilahwardi Khan came to the court and was honoured with great favours.\(^ {20}\)

Kamgar Hussaini, the author of *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* also refers to Imamwardi Beg as the brother of Ilahwardi (Ilahwardi Khan).\(^ {21}\)

Ilahwardi Khan had nine sons\(^ {22}\) of whom Muhammad Jafar-Ilahwardi Khan was the eldest one. He was known as Ilahwardi Khan

\(\text{\footnotesize\begin{align*}
19. & \text{M.U. Op. Cit. Vol. 2, p. 280, Mohd Quli was another hephew of Ilahwardi Khan. See } \text{Badshahnama } \text{of waris.} \\
22. & \text{Manucci also mentions nine sons of Ilahwardi Khan. See: } \text{Manucci, Niccolao, Storia do Mogor (1656-68), tr. William Irvin, Delhi, 1968, reprint in 1983 (hereafter see: Manucci).}
\end{align*}}\)
Alamgir Shahi. During the early part of Shahjahan’s reign, he got the mansab of 500.\(^{23}\)

By his good luck and his ability, he became a favorite of Shah Jahan, and in the year 1649 obtained the rank of 1000 with 200 horses. In the year 1651 he was made Qarawal Begi (Chief huntsman), which was his hereditary office. Afterwards he was made Faujdar of Janabi\(^{24}\) and his rank was increased.

By his capability he got the post of Faujdar in the land of Purab (i.e. eastern districts).\(^{25}\) He got the mansab of 3000 Zat and 3000 sawar and was appointed as Faujdar of Mathura during 1st regnal year of Aurangzeb’s reign and also had the charge of affairs of that Chakla (Mewat), which belonged to Dara Sikhoh’s fief and punished the rebels of that place.\(^{26}\)

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24. There is different Jatapi, perhaps jambuji in Gujrat is meant (c.f. *M. U. Vol.1*, p. 672).
In the year 1660 he held the *mansab* of 3500 *zat* and 3000 *sawar* with 2000 *duaspa, sihaspa* and the title of Alamgir Shahi. In the year 1661 he was removed from the *Faujadri* of Mathura and appointed as *Faujdar of Sarkar* of Gorakhpur.

In the year 1665 out of the 14 elephants, which he had received from the *Zamindar* of Morang, he presented nine elephants as *peshkash* to the Emperor. He spent a long time in that estate. In the 9th regnal year, with an increase in his rank, he was appointed *Faujdar of Moradabad* by a royal *Farman*. In the year 1668 he held the governorship of Allahabad and the rank of 4000 *Zat* and 3000 *Sawar (do aspa sih aspa)*. He got this governorship in succession to Bahadur Khan Koka.

From his early days he was not in good terms with his father. Inspite of this, he had good qualities and was distinguished for his courage and energy and was also very generous. He composed poetry and was the author of a *Diwan*.

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His death took place in the year 1079 AH (1668-69 AD) at Allahabad.  

His son was Amanullah. During 1668-69, when his uncle Hasan Ali Khan was made Faujdar of Mathura, he was made Faujdar of Agra, and was ordered to assist his uncle. After that, he got the title of Khan and in company with Muhammad Azam Shah he was sent to siege Bijapur in 29th year and was killed there.

Ilahwardi Khan's second son was Hasan Ali Bahadur, his title was Mirza Bagh. His name was expressive of its quality as his august face happened to resemble the face of a tiger. The strength of his arms was excessive and in respect of figure and status he was an exception among his brothers. He was also a generous man. He had a small mansab and was submissive to his father. Shaikh Farid Bhakkari informs that he was also a celebrated shattari saint of

34. Ibid., Vol.1, p. 219.
38. Ibid.
Burhanpur.\textsuperscript{39} He was in Aurangzeb’s service.\textsuperscript{40} Manucci also mentions that Hasan Ali Khan was the son of Ilahwardi Khan.\textsuperscript{41}

Mirza Ali Mardan was the third son of Ilahwardi Khan. He gave his output mostly to the financial work of his father. He was a deserving candidate for all he had.\textsuperscript{42}

Shaikh Farid Bhakkari stated that “Mirza Lahori was the fourth son of Nawab Ilahwardi Khan. Even though in outward appearance he happens to be insignificant and was not sharp in speech, he was a capable young man. He composed firm verses and had compiled a \textit{Diwan} (of his verses). He had \textit{Saljuqi} as his poetical name. Since the lineage of his lofty and sublime family terminates in Sultan Sanjar Saljuqi, he, so to say, does not exist as far as his father is concerned.”\textsuperscript{43}

The fifth son of Ilahwardi Khan was Mirza Ghazanfar. He was a small \textit{mansabdar} and was loyal to his father.\textsuperscript{44} On 4\textsuperscript{th} \textit{ziqada} 1058 A.H. (21\textsuperscript{st} November 1648) he was appointed as the \textit{Suprintendent} of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{40} M. U. Op. Cit., Vol. 1 p. 617.
\end{itemize}
Fil-Khana in place of Syed Bahadur, and then he was granted a robe of honour (Khilaat); and his rank was also increased to 1000 zat and 500 sawar bestowed to him.  

On 15th Jamad I 1059 A.H. (27th May 1649) with an increase of his sawar rank he was promoted to the mansab of 1000/700 and the title of Khan was also bestowed upon him.

On 8th Shawwal 1063 A.H. (1st September 1653) his rank of 1000/800 is reported to have been bestowed to him, which has been taken away as a punishment for some mistake committed by him, and appointed as Faujdar of Miyan-i-Doab.

Mirza Saifullah was the sixth son of Ilahwardi Khan. He was a capable man having good qualities in him. He had a sharp memory and remembered most of the things which he had heard during his childhood. He was a poet and composed verses and Ghazal too. He was a favorite of his father who loved him very much. He was also

46. Ibid. p. 99
CONCLUSION
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To summarize this work we can say that Ilhwardi Khan started his career as petty officer under prince Pervez. Then his brother introduced him to Jahangir's court. With the passage of time he became Jahangir's favorite and remained loyal to Jahangir. He went with him on hunting expedition. He made a net which is called bawar. It was so heavy that it was carried by 80 camels.

He got the title of Mutamad Khan when he was posted in the Deccan (Khandesh), and governed and administered it in such a way that the entire province was freed from thieves.

During Shahjahan's reign he was appointed in Deccan against Khan-i-Jahan Lodi and got the Alam. He also played an important role in the siege of Parenda. He was expert in laying mines, which was used in the siege of Parenda. He also conquered Balaghat. He makes under him the forts of Sangmnir and Junair. He also captured the forts of Nasik, Chandar, and Dharop. 25 forts were captured in Deccan and its surrounding area.

During Shahjahan's reign he went for Qandhar expedition but this campaign was a failure.
He was administrator of Birar. He was also appointed *Faujdar of Akbarabad, Faujdar of Lucknow* and Baiswara region.

He left that area after some time and became *Faujdar of Mathura*. Then, *Pargana of Sankanpur* assigned to him. After that, he became the *Faujdar of Ellichpur*. Extremely good breed horses were came from this fief to Shahjahan. Then, he made as *Jagirdar of Gorakhpur*. After that, he was appointed as *Subedar of Burhanpur*. After some time, he was made *Faujdar of Jauipur*. His *mansab* became subject of sensor, but soon after, at the request of Darashikoh he got his *mansab* of 5000 back. After the death of Shahjahan, his fortune turned to his bad luck. Shah Shuja was a person whom Ilahwardi Khan thought to be very close and he seems to be a good advisor to Shah Shuja. But after Shahjahan’s illness, Shuja became his enemy and planning for his murder and finally slain him and his son Saifullah at a place called *Akbarnagar* in 1659 AD.

We find that in the starting of his career he was awarded with the *mansab* of 2000/2000 but during Shahjahan’s period his *mansab* reached till 7000/7000.

Besides all these things, his family members, like his brother and sons and their sons played key role in the Mughal administration.
His elder brother Mukhlis Khan (Zakir Beg) was in the service of Prince Pervez and enjoyed nearness to the prince. Then, he joined the court of Jahangir. He introduced his brother Ilahwardi Khan to the court of Jahangir. He was appointed as Diwan and Bakshi of Bengal, Faujdar of Narnor, Faujdar of Gorkhpur, governor of Telengana. He died a natural death.

Mukhlis Khan’s son Mirza Lashkari was a very learned person of his time. Mukhlis Khan’s second son was Zawali.

Imamwardi was the second brother of Ilahwardi Khan and he was also honoured with great favors.

We find that Ilahwardi Khan had nine sons. Muhammad Jafar was the eldest son (Ilahwardi Khan Alamgirshahi). His career started with mansab of 500 and his rank reached up till 4000/3000 and he enjoyed the post of Faujdar in the land of Purab, Faujdar of Mathura, Faujdar of Sarkar of Gorakhpur. He was a poet and composed a Diwan. He was not in good term with his father.

Muhammad Jafar’s son was Amanullah. He was Faujdar of Agra and he assisted his uncle. He was entitled as “Khan.” He played a key role in the siege of Bijapur and was murdered there. Hasan Ali khan Bahadur was second son of Ilahwardi Khan and his title was Mirza Bagh and he was the master of good qualities.
Third son of Ilahwardi Khan was Mirza Ali Mardan he had good hand in financial work. Mirza Lahori was the fourth son of Ilahwardi Khan. He was a capable man and was also a poet. His poetical name was Saljuqi. Mirza Ghazanfar was fifth son of Ilahwardi Khan. He was a petty mansabdar. Mirza Saifullah was sixth son of Ilahwardi Khan, he was also a poet and was the favorite one of his father. He was slained along with his father by Shahshuja at Akbarnagar in year 1659 A.D. Arsalan Khan was the seventh son of Ilahwardi Khan. He was the Faujdar of Banaras. Ilahwardi Khan’s eighth son was Imam Quli Khan. He was Hakim of Faras. Butrab Khan was the ninth son of Ilahwardi Khan.

Finding shows that, Ilahwardi Khan’s three sons were poets and one was saint. Most of his sons were mansabdar of different places. One son was Qarawal Begi like his father.

Mirza Garshasp was the son-in-law of Ilahwardi Khan.

We find that, Ilahwardi Khan was not only a good administrator but also responsible for making public and private buildings. He made a “Hammam”-“bath of Ilahwardi Khan” at Agra near Chhipitola. It had a five arched door way made up of red sand stone, having relief carving ornamentation during Jahangir’s reign. Adjacent to bath was a courtyard surrounded with chambers. He also made arrangement of lofty building construction in Delhi, the
walls of fort rose to a height of ten yards along the river bank. He also made supervision for repairing of *Faiz* canal.

Hence, we find that he and his family members enjoyed good position in the Mughal Empire.
Appendix
Appendix

Family Chart of Ilahwardi Khan

Maqsood Beg Ghosha Turkman

Mukhlis Khan (Zakir Beg)  Imamwardi Khan  Ilahwardi Khan (Ilahwardi Beg)

Zawali  Mirza Lashkari

Mohammad Jafar Khan (Ilahwardi Khan Alamgirshahi)

Mansullah

Hasan Ali Bahadur (Mirza Bagh)

Mirza Ali Mardan

Mirza Lahori

Mirza Ghazanfar (Khani)

Mirza Saifullah

Arsalan Khan

Imam Quli Khan

Butrab Khan

D* Married to Mirza Garshasp

* D- daughter
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