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11 OCAK 1994

01 HAZ 2007

revived by a man known as Banda who killed Wazir Khān, seized Sirhind and terrorised the east Panjāb. Bahādur Shāh sternly rebuffed Banda and defeated but did not capture Banda in 1710-11. The last few months of his life were spent in Lahore where he died on 20 Muharram 1124/27 February 1712. The throne was immediately disputed between his four sons, Mu'izz al-Dīn Dīshādār Shāh, 'Azīm al-Shāh, Rafī' al-Shāh and Dīshādār Shāh, the first of whom was successful.

Irvine describes Bahādur Shāh as "although not a great sovereign . . . a fairly successful one". He was courteous, learned, pious, brave, capable and equable in temper. He was generous and found it difficult to refuse a request, a trait which earned him the nickname of *bī-khabar* or heedless one. Not much is known of Bahādur Shāh's family life, but the names of three wives have survived: Mihr al-Nisā Begum, who accompanied her husband's body to Delhi, 'Aziz al-Nisā Khānum and Nūr al-Nisā Begum.

*Bibliography*: 'Abd al-Hamid Lāhurī, *Pād-shāh-nāma* (in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1878); Muḥammad Sākri Mustafīd Khān, *Ma'āshir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, (in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1871); Dānishmand Khān 'Alī, *Dīshādār-nāma*, lithographed, Naval Kishor Press; Dānishmand Khān, *Bahādur Shāh-nāma*, Brit. Mus. Or. Ms. 24; Bhīm Sen, *Dilkushā*, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 23; Kamrādjī, *A'zam al-Hanb*, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 1899; Dīshādār Dās, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 26, 253; Irādat Khān Wādhih, *Memoirs*, in Jonathan Scott, *History of the Deccan* (1794), Vol. ii, part 4; Muḥammad Kāsim Lāhōrī, *Ibrat-nama*, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 1934; Kāmwar Khān, *Tadhkirat-i Salātin-i Caghātāy*, vol. ii, Roy. Asiatic Soc. MS. xcvi; Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* (*Bibliotheca Indica*); Khushhāl Cand, *Nādir al-Zamānī*, Königliche Bibliothek, Berlin MS. 495; Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, *Tarīkh-i Muḥaf-farī*, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 466; Wārid, Muḥammad Shāfi, *Mīrāt-i Wāridāt*, Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 6579; W. Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, vol. i, Calcutta 1921; V. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, vol. iv, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1925; *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. iv, ch. ix, Cambridge 1931.

(T. G. P. SPEAR)

× **BAHĀDUR SHĀH II**, the last Mughal Emperor of India. He reigned as titular sovereign from 1253/1857 to 1274/1857. He was in fact, a pensionary of the East India Company, his actual authority being restricted to the limits of the Red Fort or *Kal'ā-i mu'allā* of Delhi. Mughal authority, by virtue of which the British held Bengal from 1765, was never formally disowned by them, but the Charter Act of 1833 asserted British sovereignty over British held territories in India. On May 11, 1857, Delhi was seized by mutinous troops from Meerut who compelled the unwilling Bahādur Shāh, then nearly 82, to accept nominal leadership of the revolt. After four months of unenthusiastic headship he retired to Humāyūn's Tomb on the assault of Delhi by the British in September. With his favourite wife Zinat Mahāl and their son Mirzā Dīshādār Bakht he surrendered to Lieut. Hodson on a promise of his life. After much indignity and a trial of doubtful legality he was exiled by the British Government to Rangoon in Burma, where he died on 13 Dīshādār I 1279/7 November 1862. Descendants of his are still to be found there.

Bahādur Shāh was born on 27 Sha'bān 1189/24 October 1775. He was the second son of Akbar

Shāh I (1173/1759-1206-1837) and Lāi Bāi. He was elevated to direct succession from the emperor Bābur in 1827 he was described as "the most respectable, the most accomplished of the Princes" by Charles Metcalfe, then Resident of Delhi. He had a tall spare figure, a dark complexion with strongly marked aquiline features. Like his grandfather Shāh 'Ālam, he was a poet of some note, using the pen-name of Zafar. The poet Dhawā was his literary preceptor and Ghālīb attended his Court. His plaintive *ghazals* were long current in Delhi. He was also a calligrapher and musician of merit, and showed taste in repairing buildings and laying out gardens. His full title was Abu 'l-Muzaffar Sirādj al-Dīn Muḥammad Bahādur Shāh.

*Bibliography*: *Parliamentary Return No. 162* of 1859, East India (King of Delhi); Evidence taken before the Court appointed for the Trial of the King of Delhi, London 1859; J. W. Kaye and G. B. Malleon, *History of the Indian Mutiny* ed. 1897, vols ii and iv; M. Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustanie*, Paris 1871, vol. iii, 317 ff.; R. B. Saksena, *History of Urdu Literature*, Allāhābād 1927, 96-7; T. G. P. Spear, *Twilight of the Mughals*, Cambridge 1951.

(T. G. P. SPEAR)

× **BAHĀDUR SHĀH GUĎJARĀTĪ**, sultān of GuĎjarāt 932/1526-943/1537. Second son of Muḥaffar Shāh II (917/1511-932/1526), Bahādur Shāh, on bad terms with his elder brother Sikandar, left GuĎjarāt in 931/1525 and, travelling via Čitor and Mewāt to the court of Ibrahim Lodi was present, as an onlooker, at the battle of Panipāt between the sultān of Dihlī and the Mughal Bābur.

Hearing of the death of his father and the accession of Sikandar, Bahādur Shāh hastened towards GuĎjarāt to be greeted at Čitor with the news of the assassination of Sikandar by Khwūsh Kadam, 'Imād al-Mulk. Rapidly gaining support from the GuĎjarātī Muslim nobles, Bahādur Shāh assumed the insignia of the sultanate at Anhalwāra-Patan on 26th Ramaḍān, 932/6th July 1526.

Bahādur Shāh was the last vigorous sultan of independent GuĎjarāt. In 935/1528 he attacked Burhān Nizām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar in alliance with Muḥammad II of Khāndēsh and 'Alā al-Dīn 'Imād al-Mulk of Berār occupying Aḥmadnagar in 936/1529. The Nizām Shāh appears to have accepted the overlordship of GuĎjarāt until 938-9/1532 at least, but statements in the Arabic and Persian histories that he read the *khutba* and struck coins in the name of the GuĎjarāt sultan have not found corroboration in the discovery of such coins.

In 937/1531 Bahādur Shāh attacked Maḥmūd II of Mālwa, occupying Mandū. In 938/1532-3 he captured the Rādjipūt strongholds of Ujjain, Bhilsā and Rāsin together with their chief Silhādī. In Ramaḍān 941/March 1535 GuĎjarāt forces, at the second attempt, captured Čitor.

Meanwhile however, in the autumn of 941/1534 war had broken out between Bahādur Shāh and the Mughal Humāyūn; Bahādur Shāh had given refuge to the Lodi Afghāns and to Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā son-in-law to Bābur, who had escaped from confinement by Humāyūn in the fort of Bayāna.

Defeated by the Mughals at Mandasōr and Mandū, and with much of his treasure captured by Humāyūn at the fall of Čāmpānir in Šafar 942/August 1535, Bahādur Shāh turned to the Portuguese for help.

In 937/1531, the Portuguese, under Nuno da Cunha, governor of Goa, had been defeated in their attempt to capture Diw. In Dīshādār II 941/

Frontispiece

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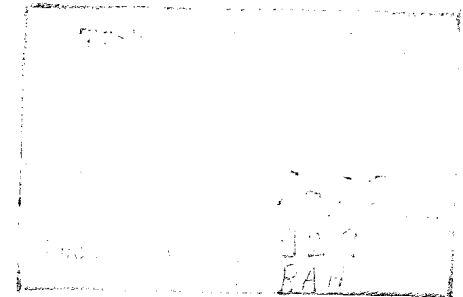
BAHADUR SHAH II  
(as a young man)

**BAHADUR SHAH-II**  
AND  
**THE WAR OF 1857 IN DELHI**  
WITH  
**ITS UNFORGETTABLE SCENES**

*Bahadur Shah II*

by

**MAHDI HUSAIN** M.A. Ph.D. (London)  
D. Lit. (SORBONNE, PARIS)



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25 **II. BAHÂDIR ŞÂH** (1775—1862), Türk-Hind sülâlesinin son hükümdârı olup, *Aytr-i Ekber* 'deki şecereye göre, nesebi Timur'a çıkar. II. Bahâdir Şâh 'ın asıl adı Ebü'l-Muzâffer Serâcü'd-Dîn Muhammed Bahâdur Şâh 'tır. II. Ekber Şâh 'ın oğlu olan Bahâdir, 24 ekim 1775 'te dünyaya gelecek, 1837 eylülünde hükümdar oldu. 1748 'den sonra Dehli 'de hiçbir hükümdar müstakil hüküm sürmemiş iken, II. Bahâdir Şâh kendi adına para bastırıldı. 1857 ayaklanmasına katıldı ve Dehli 'nin düşmesi üzerine de atası Humâyûn 'un türbesine sığındı. Ancak W. Hodson 'a teslim olmak mecburiyetinde kalan II. Bahâdir Şâh, mahkemeye verilip aralık 1858 'de Rangûn 'a sürüldü ve orada öldü (7 kasım 1862).

Âlim, şâir, hattat ve müşîşinas olan bu hükümdârın *Divân* 'ı ve Sâdi 'nin *Gülistân* 'ına yazdığı şerhi basılmıştır. Garcin de Tassy, kitabında onu mahlası olan „Zafer“ adı ile zikrederek, Hindustânî dilinde yazılmış bir manzûmesini de verir.

Kısa Türk İslam Ans

(J.4), J. 234, 1981 (15T)

Lane Poole, S., *Mediaeval India*, Delhi, 1980; Powell-Price, J. C., *A History of India*, London, 1955; Smith, A., *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1958.  
هدی سیدحسین زاده

**بَهاذُرْشاہِ گورکانی**، عنوان دو تن از فرمانروایان بابرری شبه قاره که حدود ۴۰۰ سال بر این سرزمین فرمان راندند و در زمان حکومت بهادرشاه دوم، سلسله گورکانیان منقرض شد.  
۱. بهادرشاه اول، قطب الدین محمد معظم (۱۰۵۳-۲۱ محرم ۱۱۲۴ق/۱۶۴۳-۱۸ فوریه ۱۷۱۲)، هفتمین پادشاه بابرری هند، مشهور به شاه عالم.

وی دومین پسر اورنگ زیب بود، در برهانپور زاده شد و از نوجوانی به آموختن علوم مختلف پرداخت و قرآن را از بر کرد (لاهوری، ۳۴۳/۲؛ عبدالحی، ۱۰۵/۶؛ اروین، ۱-۲/۱).

چنان که از برخی مآخذ بر می آید او از ۱۴ سالگی وارد امور حکومتی گردید و به صوبه داری دکن منصوب شد؛ از ۱۰۷۵ق/۱۶۶۴م گرفتار مناقشات دکن گردید و در نبردهایی با مهراته، حکومت های محلی بیجاپور و قطب شاهیان شرکت کرد. بهادرشاه پس از آن نیز دوبار در ۱۰۷۵ و ۱۰۸۸ق به صوبه داری دکن انتخاب شد. وی در ۱۰۸۵ق به دستور پدر مأمور کابل شد و لقب شاه عالم گرفت؛ در ۱۰۹۱ق/۱۶۸۰م مأمور سرکوب شورش برادرش، محمد اکبر گردید؛ در ۱۰۹۶ق شهر حیدرآباد را تصرف کرد، اما پس از مدت کوتاهی پدرش به او بدگمان شد و از حکومت برکنارش کرده و به زندانش افکند (۱۰۹۷ق). شاه عالم حدود ۷ سال در زندان ماند تا در ۱۱۰۶ق/۱۶۹۵م به دستور اورنگ زیب آزاد شد و در همان سال به حکومت اکبرآباد (اگرا) منصوب گردید و لاهور، ملتان، اوج و سپس کابل نیز در قلمرو او قرار گرفت (بختاورخان، ۸/۱؛ مستعدخان، 206, 178-179, 125, 104-105, 94, 225, 233, 240, 226-225؛ اروین، 3-4/1؛ خافی خان، ۸۵/۲، ۲۰۷، ۲۷۶-۲۳۷، ۴۳۸-۴۴۳).

شاه عالم در سالهای آخر حکومت پدرش اورنگ زیب، خود را نسبت به تاج و تخت بی علاقه نشان می داد، اما مخفیانه آماده تصاحب آن می شد. پس از مرگ اورنگ زیب (ذیقعدة ۱۱۱۸)، میان فرزندانش نزاع شد. مدت کوتاهی اعظم شاه و سپس کام بخش در دکن رشته کارها را در دست گرفتند، ولی شاه عالم در محرم ۱۱۱۹ در منطقه ای در شمال لاهور خود را فرمانروا خواند و لقب بهادرشاه بر خود نهاد. وی سپس به برادرش اعظم شاه پیشنهاد کرد که مطابق وصیت پدر، قلمرو بزرگ گورکانیان را میان خود تقسیم کنند، ولی وی نپذیرفت و کار به نزاع کشید. اندکی بعد در نبرد جاجو، اعظم شاه و پسرش را شکست داد و بکشت و در همان سال برادر دیگر خود کام بخش را نیز در حدود حیدرآباد منہزم کرد که پس از چندی بر اثر زخمهایی که برداشته بود، درگذشت (واضح، ۲۴-۲۶، ۶۲-۶۴، ۸۵-۸۶؛ اروین، 19-22/1؛ خافی خان، ۵۷۲/۲-۵۷۳، ۵۷۵-۵۷۶، ۵۸۴-۵۸۵، ۶۲۴-۶۲۵؛ قانع تنوی، ۳۵۱؛ ماجومدار، 527).

و اداری به تسلیم و اطاعت کرد (تنوی، ۴۷۶؛ احمد، ۲۲۷/۳). در همین سال محمد زمان میرزا تیموری از زندان همایون گریخت و به بهادرشاه پناه آورد و او به درخواستهای همایون مبنی بر تحویل یا اخراج محمد زمان وقعی نهاد. همایون همین امر را بهانه کرد و برای توسعه قلمرو خود دست به لشکرکشی زد و تاتارخان و لودی را که از سوی بهادرشاه حمایت می شدند، در هم شکست و روی به گجرات نهاد (ابوتراب ولی، ۱۲-۱۳؛ تنوی، ۴۷۵-۴۷۶، ۴۷۹؛ احمد، ۲۲۷/۳-۲۲۸؛ گلبدن بیگم، ۲۹، ۳۶-۳۷).

خبر حرکت همایون به سوی گجرات وقتی به بهادرشاه رسید که دومین بار قلعه چیتور را محاصره کرده بود (تنوی، ۴۷۹). همایون که نمی خواست در جنگ بهادرشاه با راجپوتها مداخله کند، در سارنگپور توقف کرد و منتظر نتیجه ماند. سرانجام چیتور فتح شد.

در ۹۴۲ق بهادرشاه و همایون در قلعه مندسور در برابر یکدیگر قرار گرفتند. بهادرشاه شبانه با ۵ تن از امرای نزدیک خود به مندو و سپس چانپانیر گریخت. همایون در پی او روان شد و بهادرشاه همه جا از برابر او می گریخت (ابوتراب ولی، ۱۳-۱۴؛ ابوالفضل، ۱۳۲/۱-۱۳۴؛ احمد، ۲۳۱-۲۳۰/۳؛ تنوی، ۴۸۲-۴۸۳؛ لین پول، 224-225). پس از آنکه همایون به سوی برهانپور بازگشت، بهادرشاه به تصرف احمدآباد همت گماشت. مردم آن دیار، در برابر بهادرشاه چندان مقاومت نکردند (ابوالفضل، ۱۴۳/۱-۱۴۴؛ گلبدن بیگم، ۳۹).

بهادرشاه آن گاه به چانپانیر بازگشت و حدود دو هفته در آنجا ماند و پس از آن برای ممانعت از تصرف بنادر گجرات توسط پرتغالیها به دیو رفت. وی پیش از آن در پی شکست از همایون در ۹۴۱ق بسین را به پرتغالیها واگذار کرده بود (اسمیت، 277) و در ۹۴۲ق به امید برخورداری از کمک پرتغالیها در برابر همایون، اجازه ساخت قلعه ای را در دیو به آنها داده بود؛ اما چون همایون بازگشت، وی نیز از تأیید امتیازات اعطایی به پرتغالیها سرباز زد و در صدد برآمد مانع تصرف این نواحی گردد. پس برای مذاکره با معدودی از یاراننش به کشتی فرمانده پرتغالیان رفت و چون خواستند او را توقیف کنند، مقاومت کرد و همراه یاراننش کشته شد.

از بهادرشاه پسری برجای نماند و چون جسد وی را نیافتند، تا مدت ها در گجرات و دکن کسانی پیدا می شدند که خود را با نام وی می خواندند و مدعی حکومت بودند (ابوتراب ولی، ۳۲-۳۵؛ ابوالفضل، ۱۴۵/۱-۱۴۶؛ طباطبایی، ۱۸۰/۱؛ احمد، ۲۳۳/۳-۲۳۴؛ اسمیت، 277-278).

مآخذ: ابوتراب ولی، تاریخ گجرات، به کوشش دینسن راس، کلکته، ۱۹۰۹م؛ ابوالفضل علامی، اکبرنامه، به کوشش احمدعلی و عبدالرحیم، کلکته، ۱۸۷۷م؛ احمد، نظام الدین، طبقات اکبری، کلکته، ۱۹۲۷م؛ تنوی، احمد و آصف خان قزوینی، تاریخ الفی، به کوشش علی آل داود، تهران، ۱۳۷۸ش؛ خافی خان نظام الملکی، محمد هاشم، منتخب اللباب، به کوشش ولزی هیگ، کلکته، ۱۹۲۵م؛ طباطبایی، علی، برهان مآثر، دکن، ۱۳۵۵ق/۱۹۳۶م؛ طباطبایی، غلامحسین، سیرالتأخرین، لکهنو، ج سنگی؛ گلبدن بیگم، همایون نامه، لاهور، ۱۹۷۲م؛ نیز:

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MAHARAJA GURU NANAK DEVI  
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دائرة المعارف بزرگ اسلامی، جلد نهم، تهران، ۱۳۸۳.

Bahadur Shah II  
14 AGUSTOS 2001  
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### Bahadur Shah Zafar (1775 — 1862)

#### Bahadur Shah was the last Mughal Emperor.

Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal Emperor, was the eldest son of Akbar Shah II and his Rajput wife, Lal Bai. He was born on 24th October, 1775, and ascended the throne in 1837, having assumed the title of Abul Muzaffar Zirajuddin Muhammad Bahadur Shah. Earlier, he had survived, through British support, two attempts on his life, besides a sustained effort to replace him as heir-apparent by his father's favourite son Jahangir.

Abu Zafar's right to succeed to the throne of Delhi was disputed by his father who tried to prefer a younger son, Jahangir, a dissolute young man. Jahangir is alleged to have made two attempts on the life of Abu Zafar. He also fired a shot at Seton, the British Resident at Delhi. Jahangir was sent away to Allahabad and Akbar II was pressed to declare Abu Zafar the recognised heir apparent in 1810.

Little is known of Abu Zafar's childhood. Even his place of birth is shrouded in doubt. He received the usual instruction in Urdu, Persian and Arabic and was trained in the military arts of horsemanship, swordsmanship, shooting with bow and arrow and with fire-arms. In these, he acquired considerable skill and was reputed to be an excellent marksman and one of the best horsemen in the country.

He was a fine calligraphist, a student of Sufi philosophy, a Persian scholar of eminence and a poet. Ibrahim Zauq and Asad Ullah Khan Ghalib, two of the greatest poets of his age, were his poetry tutors. Much of Zafar's verse is of indifferent quality but some of his later ghazals, more particularly the ones he composed during his period of exile, deserve a place in literature because of their emotional and musical content. He was not addicted to alcohol or tobacco but in the matter of food he was a gourmet. His passion for man had brought on a sickness which almost proved fatal. He married several times and had the usual complement of concubines, slave girls and mistresses. His favourite wife was Zeenat Mahal whom he married late in life and who shared the misfortunes of his last years in exile.

Among his tutors were the famous poets Ibrahim Zauq and Asad Ullah Khan Ghalib under whose tutelage his poetic talent blossomed. Much of his verse is of indifferent quality but his ghazals, composed mainly during his exile (1958-62), have earned him literary fame. He wrote under the pen-name of Zafar to Oudh. The Mughal ruler rejected this offer, repairing instead to Humayun's tomb, just outside the city's gates, here on 21 September, he surrendered to Lt. W.S.R. London, of Hondson's Horse, who had earlier defeated the 'rebels at Rohtak. The emperor's sons Mirza Mughal and Mirza Khawja Sultan and a grandson, Mirza Abu Bakar, who were known to have taken a prominent part in the rebellion, were captured the following day and shot.

Until his trial began on 27 January 1858, Bahadur Shah was huddled into a tiny, dimly-lit room of the place, within the city's Red Fort. Tried by a military commission instructed by John Lawrence he was accused of digging and beating the rebellion of Bakht Khan and Mirza Mughal and of the British government.

Additionally, he was saddled with the responsibility for the death, on 16 May 1857, of

49 Europeans. The Emperor's defence was weakly conducted and failed to put forth the justice argument that he was here to subsisting imperial (Mughal) rights that in fact, the boot was on the other leg—it was the John Company that had rebelled against him.

To be fair, Bahadur Shah was a victim of *force majeure* and acted throughout under duress. The evidence for conspiracy prior to the outbreak of the rebellion is slender; his collusion in the murders of 16 May is open to question; his distrust and dictate for the rebel army was well-known indeed pronounced and therefore the question of his waging a war against the British as a free agent does not bear serious scrutiny.

In the trial that lasted till 9 March 1858, Bahadur Shah was found guilty on all counts and sentenced to life imprisonment. It had been said that this was more on account of inquiry than a judicial tribunal, that it was a 'travesty of justice' and in the nature of the reprisal. Exiled to Rangoon with his wife Mahal, he died four years later (7 November 1862). Bahadur Shah's role in the uprising had been grossly exaggerated. Competent observers believe that he was 'too weak, too ignorant, too in executive part; that 'neither a hero, nor a villain', he was a simple soul catapulted into the limelight by events ever, which he had little if any control.

De Jure King of India, Bahadur Shah looked upon the British in India as his subjects, owing allegiance to him under the terms of the Diwani of Bengal signed by his grandfather, Shah Alam in 1765. The East India Company and the British authorities, however, treated him as a pensioner entitled only to tenurial status of a King whose jurisdictions lay within the walls of the Red Fort and who was entitled to a monthly stipend of Rs.1 lakh. Bahadur Shah made several unsuccessful efforts to have his stipend and his authority augmented. Like his father he wanted to appoint a younger son, Mirza Jawan Bakht, the son of his favourite wife Zeenat Mahal, as

heir apparent, but the British authorities insisted that the eldest living son, Fakhruddin, was the rightful claimant.

Bahadur Shah was 82 when the disturbances of 1857 took place. A body of mutinous sepoys and officers from Meerut forced their way into the Red Fort on May 11, 1857 and pressed Bahadur Shah to give them his support and blessing. Bahadur Shah reluctantly agreed, though he declared that he had no funds, no provisions and no resources to wage a war against the British. In the months that followed, Bahadur Shah played little more than a passive role. When Delhi fell towards the end of September, he escaped to the tomb of Humayun but surrendered himself when an undertaking was given that his life would be spared. He was subsequently tried by a Military Court upon charges of treason, conspiracy, rebellion and murder. The evidence produced at the trial was for the most part irrelevant and inadmissible in law, but he was convicted upon all charges and exiled in October 1858 and sent to Calcutta from which place he embarked on board HMS Megara, 4 December 1858, for Rangoon, accompanied by Zeenat Mahal, sons and a grandson. He died in exile on 7th November 1862.

Bahadur Shah was neither a hero nor a villain. He was a simple individual, honest and cultured, with the weaknesses and predilections of his age and environment. His role in the uprising of 1857 has been grossly exaggerated by some Indian historians. Bahadur Shah was too weak, too ignorant, too inexperienced in the art of warfare and too resourceless to have taken an effective part as King and leader of a campaign against the British forces. His trial and conviction were clearly travesty of justice and in the nature of a reprisal.

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# BAHADUR SHAH II, HIS RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH AND THE MUTINY

( *An Objective Study* )

MEHDI HASAN\*

IN the course of my search for the sources of Bahadur Shah II, his relations with the British and the Mutiny I lighted upon a century-old Persian manuscript entitled *Akhbar-i-Darbar-e-Abul Muzaffar Siraju'ddin Muhammad Bahadur Shah Badshah-e-Dehli*.<sup>1</sup> This manuscript belongs to the Naziriya Library of Dehli. It is a 14-month old record of the last Mughul emperor's day-to-day darbar (9th Rajab 1253/October 1837 to 29th Ramadan 1254/December 1838). I found another Persian manuscript bearing the name of *Khulasa Akhbar* or diary of Bahadur Shah (Ms. 128) in the National Archives of India. This manuscript should really be called *Khulasa-Akhbar-e-Atraf* (a summary account of the districts), as the internal evidence shows. I compared the two manuscripts and came to the conclusion that while the former, which is big and voluminous, presents a genuine sketch of the orderly palace life in the given period, the latter is but an instance of the subtle British propaganda and a pointer to the kind of relations that obtained between the British Government and the Mughul emperor. My thoughts travelled back at once to the story of the British relations with Shah 'Alam and Akbar II.<sup>2</sup> It became clear to me that by 1849, when the beginning was made of the said *Khulasa Akhbar*, the British had become extremely anxious to dispossess Emperor Bahadur Shah II of the nominal sovereignty that he had been enjoying. Though they posed as his friends and behaved like his meanest slaves, they were extremely bitter at heart because of his recalcitrance — his determination to follow the line of action which had been laid down by his grandfather and father, i. e., to remain in his ancestral home and not to accept any increment in his *peshkash* — the so called pension — in lieu of his abandoning the Mughul dynastic claims to sovereignty in India. Convinced of the high degree of respect and reverence which all his subjects, Hindus and Muslims, had for him, since he moved about in a regular and illustrious course of virtue, the British considered it highly impolitic to use force against

1. *Note* :— The spelling of Dehli is strictly in accordance with the chronicles and records, and is in fact truly Indian, while Delhi is the English spelling adopted after the Mutiny.
2. *Vide*, Russell. *My Diary in India*, pp. 63.

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# ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF INDIA

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Bahadur Salgi II

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damaged; chemical and other tests assign them (tentatively) to 6th century A.D. but may have predated the Ajanta frescoes to which they are similar.

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**Bahadur Shah II**—B. 1775 in Delhi; son of Emperor Akbar Shah; succeeded in 1837 to the Mughal throne and assumed the title of 'Badshah' (Emperor) and 'Ghazi' (holy warrior). Pensioner of the British East India Company; gifted Urdu poet (pen-name 'Zafar') and writer of a commentary on Sheikh Saadi's *Gulistan*; Persian scholar and talented calligrapher; inaugurated the annual Hindu-Muslim fair—*Phoolwalon-ki-Sair* near the precincts of Sheikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki's tomb at Mehrauli (Delhi); responded to the appeal of the revolutionary forces and assumed leadership of the Great Revolt of 1857 as their King-Emperor. Set up a national government at Delhi on May 14, 1857, and sent circulars to the jagirdars and amirs calling upon them to join the war against the British. Continued the anti-British struggle till September 14, 1857, when the British succeeded in breaching the defences of Delhi. Although 84 years old, the Emperor rode out of Delhi's Red Fort to fight to the last, but was persuaded to go back to the Fort. Left for Humayun's tomb on September 20, 1857, before the fall of the Red Fort. Fell into the hands of the British and surrendered to the British commander, Major Hodson, on September 21, 1857. Imprisoned in the Red Fort and tried by a military commission. Banished to Rangoon, where he died in December, 1862.

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**Bakhtawar Singh, Raja**—B. in former Amjhera State, Dist. Indore, Madhya Pradesh; son of Raja Ajit Singh of Amjhera; became ruler of Amjhera State in 1854; took active part in the Great Revolt of 1857 against British hegemony in India; ordered his army to attack

the British and succeeded in capturing the fortress of Dhar; Dhar fort was later besieged by the British forces on October 20, 1857; rebel army escaped through a secret passage and reached Mandsaur to join forces of Prince Ferozeshah, son of the Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah; British forces moved towards Amjhera and the Raja gathered his forces in the Lalgarh Fort, where he was joined by about 300 patriots from the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the area; British forces resorted to tactics by bribing Chief Minister of Amjhera, Gulab Rao, and persuading to betray the Raja; attacked by British when he left the Lalgarh Fort on his way to Indore; executed on the gallows by the British on February 10, 1858.

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**Bakht Khan, General**—Resident of Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh; son of Abdulla Khan; Artillery Subedar in the British Army; joined Great Revolt of 1857 and led rebel troops at Bareilly in June, 1857; entered service of Emperor Bahadur Shah as the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Mughal Army; fought several battles against the British Army, but was defeated in the last battle of Delhi in September, 1857; left Delhi to take up the command of the troops at Bareilly; fell back towards Lucknow after reverses in the war; took part in the defence of Lucknow and in subsequent campaigns; reported to have been killed in action on May 13, 1859.

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**Bakr Id**—Islamic festival held on 10th day of *Zilhajja*, the 12th month of Islamic lunar calendar commemorating Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son to God at His Command but God, being pleased with his obedience, accepted that of a ram instead; goats and sheep are sacrificed by Muslims on this occasion and the flesh distributed.

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مجال الفكر والعبارة في الإسلام  
الجزء الرابع

Bahadır Şah II, (50-54)

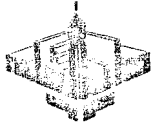
الأصل الثاني

١١٧٦ - ١١١٤ هـ

حياة حكيم الإسلام الإمام أحمد بن عبد الرحمن المعروف  
بالشيخ ولي الله الدهلوي ( ١١١٤ - ١١٧٦ هـ ) ،  
والتعريف بالدور الإصلاحي التجديدي ،  
القيادي الاجتهادي ، الذي قاد به  
في مجال العلم والعمل ،  
والفكير والتأليف

تأليف

أبو الحسن علي الحسيني الندوي



بـ ١٤ / يناير عام ١٧٦١ م هزيمة ساحقة نكراء ، وقد حاول جهده في طلبه شاه  
عالم إلى دلهي ، وأرسل إليه سفيره لذلك ، حتى اضطر إلى أن استكتب والدته  
النواب زينت محل رسالة إليه ، ولو كان في الدولة المغولية أي رمق من الحياة ،  
وفي شاه عالم أي كفاءة وصلاحيه للحكم ، لكان قد استفاد من نتائج حرب  
« باني بت » واستعاد قوته وسلطته ، ولكن الدولة كانت جسدا بلا روح وكان  
الملك فاقد المهمة والعزيمة خاليا من الغيرة والحمية ، وكما يقول محمد إقبال :

« إن ما يقال لها الحمية ذهبت من أسرة تيمور وولت من غير رجعة »

وعاد الملك من إله آباد إلى دلهي عام ١٧٧١ م بعد عشر سنوات كاملة  
وقد فات الأوان ، فلم يقدر له أن يستفيد من الفتح العظيم في ساحة « باني بت »  
والهزيمة الساحقة التي لحقت بالمرهته ، بل واجه هنا فتنا جديدة ، صراعا بين  
الأمرء وتحاييلهم وتنازعهم ، وقوة « روهيله » الجديدة ، وحملات السيخ ،  
وأخيرا استولى غلام قادر روهيله حفيد نجيب الدولة على دلهي عام ١٧٨٨ م  
ونهب القصر الملكي وأمر بضرب الأميرات بالسياط ، وأخرج عيني الملك المغولي  
ووارث العرش التيموري بظبة الخنجر ، ولم يكن قد سبق أن عومل وارث العرش  
المغولي بهذه المهانة والفضيحة والعار .

وقتل سندهيه غلام قادر عام ١٧٨٩ م بقسوة فظيعة ، وأجلس شاه عالم  
على العرش مرة ثانية ، وعين تسعمائة ألف روية سنويا لمصروفاته ، ودخل عام  
١٨٠٣ م للورد ليك بجيشه الإنكليزي في دلهي بعد حروب عديدة ، وأجلى  
المرهته ، وقرر للملك المتقاعد راتب مائة ألف روية سنويا<sup>(٣٤)</sup> .

ولقى شاه عالم أجله عام ١٨٠٦ م ، بعد أن حكم ٤٥ عاما ، وقضى ١٨  
عاما في العمى مخلوعا مهانا .

وأصيب محمد شاه أخيرا بمرض الإسهال ومات في هذا المرض في  
٢٦ / ربيع الآخر عام ١١٦١ هـ الموافق أبريل عام ١٧٤٨ م ، وحسب مايقول  
مؤلف « تاريخ الهند » : أنه حكم ثلاثين سنة ، وقد أدى فيها بالأسرة التيمورية إلى  
شفا الهلاك والدمار<sup>(٣٢)</sup> .

شاه عالم الثاني :

لئن كانت الدولة المغولية منبت في عهد محمد شاه بالانحطاط الخلقى  
والإداري ، ومال المجتمع الهندي ، وطبقة الأمراء والأغنياء - بصفة خاصة -  
لقانون « الناس على دين ملوكهم » إلى حياة المتع واللذائذ والترف والبذخ ،  
والدعة والراحة ، فإنها أصيبت في عهد شاه عالم الثاني الذي تولى زمام الحكم عام  
١١٧٣ هـ الموافق عام ١٧٥٩ م بالانحطاط السياسي الشين الذي بلغ الغاية ، أنه  
لم يزل في عهد حكومته الممتد على ٤٧ عاما العوبة في يد غيره ، وقد خضع  
للإنكليز وقبل طاعتهم عام ١٧٦٤ م بعد أن لقي أمير أوده وزير شجاع الدولة  
ومير قاسم هزيمة على أيدي الإنكليز في معركة « بكسر » ، ووقع الوزير شجاع  
الدولة على معاهدة قلل بسببها موظفا يتقاضى راتبه من الإنكليز ، ثم كانت له  
اتفاقية أخرى مع الإنكليز عام ١٧٦٥ م أدت الى تولى الشركة الشرقية الهندية  
جباية المحاصيل والسلطة على المحاكم في ولايات بنغاله وبهارو اريسه ، ودخل شاه  
عالم نفسه في جوار المرهته ، ووهبهم مديريات إله آباد وكوه .

لقد كانت البلاد كلها قبل عهد الشاه عالم الثاني بزمان ، تحت رحمة السيخ  
والمرهته ، وكانت مناطق دلهي وأكره وراجبوتانه تحت رحمة الزط ، الذين كانوا  
يعيشون فيها فسادا ، ويخرجون كالطوفان ويهلكون الحرث والنسل ، ولم تكن في  
البلاد قوة تملك أن تبسط الأمن وتفرض القانون<sup>(٣٣)</sup> ، وقد حفظ أحمد شاه  
الأبدالي هذه البلاد من خطر المرهته بعد أن هزمهم في ساحة باني بت

(٣٤) انظر « تاريخ هندوستان » ، ج : ٩ ، ص : ٣٤٣ ، وقد جاء في بعض كتب التاريخ الإنكليزية  
أنه قرر تسعين ألف روية .

(٣٢) أيضا ، ص : ٢٨٤ .

(٣٣) انظر التفصيل في الباب التاسع من هذا الكتاب .