

STRUGGLE FOR TRAMONTANA:
Timurids, Uzbeks and the Safawids
(Last quarter of the 15th to mid-16th century)

THESIS
Submitted to H.P. University, Shimla
For
The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

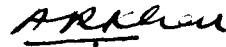
Submitted by
Mohan Singh
Ph. D. Scholar

Supervised by
A.R. Khan
Prof. Of History

Department of History
Himachal Pradesh University
Shimla-171005

Certificate

Certified that Shri Mohan Singh has worked under my supervision for his Ph.D. thesis on the topic, "Struggle for Tramontana: Timurids, Uzbeks and the Safawids (Last quarter of the 15th to mid-16th century)". Further certified that the present work is his original research and has not been submitted in part or full for any degree of this university and, to the best of my knowledge, of any other university. In my opinion the thesis is worthy of consideration for the evaluation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History. It is, therefore, recommended that the thesis be refereed to experts for evaluation.



(A.R. Khan)
Professor of History (Rtd.)
H. P. University, Shimla

Dated: 4 October, 1999

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge here some of my major debts of gratitude to those who helped, inspired and encouraged me throughout the course of this research work. In particular, I take this opportunity to record my deep sense of gratitude and indebtedness to my esteemed teacher, Professor A.R. Khan, Ex-Chairman, Department of History and Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences of H.P. University, Shimla, for suggesting the topic of research and providing constant guidance, incessant encouragement and everlasting inspiration throughout the course of this research work. I am also indebted to him for throwing open his personal library for my use. Professor Khan spared his precious time for helping me to compare my notes from the English and Hindi translations of the sources with the original Persian texts. He also treated me kindly and friendly and made me feel at home at his residence. Thus it is primarily due to his wide range of scholarship, keen interest in this particular topic and sincere concern and co-operation that I have been able to accomplish this research work. For me, it is a matter of great pride, pleasure and fortune to be his pupil.

Furthermore, I also owe an immense debt of gratitude to revered Mrs. Khan for her generous hospitality. The sisterly concern of Sumbhul and Sonia, the daughters of my

teacher who always served me with tea, coffee and snacks throughout this research work, will be everlasting debt.

My thanks are due to ~~Dr.~~ M.S. Ahluwalia, Chairman Department of History and the Dean Faculty of Social Sciences, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla and Dr. Chetan Singh, Assistant Professor, for their help, encouragement and co-operation. I want to remember at this occasion all my friends who always extended their co-operation during this academic pursuit.

I have no words to express my gratitude to my parents for their endless love and blessings which inspired and encouraged me throughout the course of this research work and to whom I want to dedicate this work. I am equally thankful to all my brothers and sisters for their inspiration and co-operation.

My special thanks are due to my father-in-law who always in the last stage of this research work inspired and encouraged me to complete it.

I shall ever remain thankful to my wife Surekha for her everlasting co-operation and I am equally indebted to my loving daughter Chubby Cherub Srishthi, who could not get due attention from me during this period but both were a source of encouragement and inspiration to me during the course of this research work.

Finally, I wish to extend my heartfelt thanks to my friend P.C. Sharma for arranging meticulous typing of this work through his resources.

Dated: 4.10.1999


(Mohan Singh),

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i-iii
INTRODUCTION	iv-x
CHAPTERS	
I. Struggle for Khurasan: Baiqaras, Uzbeks and the Safawids	1-41
II. Khurasan: The Post Merv Scenario	42-72
III. Balkh: A Buffer Zone	73-103
IV. Hisar: A Gateway to Tramontana	104-135
V. The Insalubrious Qunduz	136-155
VI. Badakshan: The Eastern Periphery	156-201
A Resume	202-215
ANNEXURES (GENEALOGICAL TABLES)	
I. Contemporary and Near Contemporary Uzbek Khans and Sultans	215A-215B
II. House of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara of Herat (His Wives and their sons)	215C
III. House of Abu Saeed Mirza	215D
Bibliography	216-222
MAPS	
I. Tramontana and Transoxiana During the last Quarter of the 15 th century.	
II. Tramontana and Transoxiana During the 2 nd quarter of the 16 th century.	

INTRODUCTION

Tramontana or the transmountainous country to the north of Hindukush mountains and the south of river Oxus, or Amu, has been a great hub of activity throughout the ages. In medieval times also it saw the rise and fall of various powers. In fact the fortunes of many a dynasty were made or unmade here. The region was coveted by all the powers which established themselves in Transoxiana or *Mawara-un-nehr* of the Persian chronicles. The region largely constituted a part of the geopolitics of South Central Asia. Its occupation by any Central Asian power had its repercussions for the rulers of Kabul and Hindustan. There has hardly been any power which having established itself across Hindukush mountains not attempted to conquer Kabul or even Hindustan. Hence, its significance for the rulers to the south of Hindukush was no less than for the Central Asian powers. The rulers of Delhi-Agra and Kabul constantly watched the political developments across the Hindukush and often meddled into its affairs with the desire to use this territory as a buffer territory between the rulers of Transoxiana and the government of Kabul.

The most important political entity to the north-west of Hindukush mountains was Khurasan with its capital at Herat. Situated on river Heri Rud, in the rich plains of rivers Heri Rud and Murghab, it had emerged in the 15th century not only a great seat of culture but commanded a very enviable position because of its strategic location, both economically and militarily. Occupation of Herat by any Central Asian power gave it access to Helmand valley and the impregnable fort of Qandahar which commanded the route to India.

Balkh and Badakshan were the other geopolitical entities to the north of Hindu Kush mountains and south of the Oxus which commanded very strategical location. Balkh was regarded in medieval days as the 'Gateway to Khurasan'. But it also served as a 'gateway' to Kabul and Hindustan through the passes in Hindukush mountains and served as a buffer zone between the rulers of Transoxiana and Kabul. Badakhshan which lay on the north-eastern periphery of Hindukush also served as a buffer zone between Transoxiana and Kabul. It was coveted and contested not only by the rulers Kabul and the Trans-Oxus powers but also by the rulers of Kashghar. Therefore throughout the 15th and

the 16th centuries there was a triangular conflict for domination over Badakhshan. Richness of its cattle wealth and pastures has often attracted the rulers of Kabul to attack and control this territory in order to compensate for the meagre economic resources of Kabul. On the other hand, the rulers of Kashghar always laid their claims to the upper Hazarajat areas of Badakhshan which had rich meadows.

Hisar and Qunduz were the other two territories in trans-Hindukush region which were always contested by the neighbouring rulers. Though Hisar lay to the north of Oxus and actually constituted a part of Transoxiana, geographically being akin to Qunduz it shared its political vicissitudes along with Qunduz and, often with Badakhshan. Hence in any discussion of Transoxiana the principality of Hisar cannot be ignored. As far as Qunduz is concerned it was virtually a pocket of Badakhshan, yet often being independent of the authority of Badakhshan it also had its own identity. Anyhow, control over the above territories was crucial for the powers aspirants for the domination over the southern part of Central Asia.

II

Despite the importance of the above territories they have not received adequate attention from scholars of history. It is only Herat which has attracted attention of historians. Its history has been reconstructed. But we do not come across histories of any other of the above mentioned principalities. The above territories have only been casually mentioned in the context of the military campaigns, mainly of the of the Timurids and the Uzbeks. Hence, in the present thesis an attempt is made to work out an outline of the history of the Transoxiana region by treating the above mentioned five principalities, namely Khurasan, Balkh, Hisar, Qunduz and Badakhshan as separate entities and also simultaneously highlight the struggle for power in each of the above principalities. The period we have chosen for our study spans over from the last quarter of the 15th century to about the middle of the 16th century.

Beginning with Khurasan, we have surveyed its history from the time of the establishment of the authority of Abu Saeed Mirza, the grand father of Babur in C.1459 A. D., more precisely with the establishment of Baiqara dynasty in C. 1469-70 A. D. by Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, a descendant of Timur from a line other than of Sultan Abu

Saeed Mirza. It was under Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara that Herat acquired the reputation of being a great seat of culture which lasted till it was subjected to the atrocities by the Uzbeks and the Safawids. With the overthrow of the Baiqara dynasty of Khurasan by Shaibani Khan Uzbek and the capture of Herat by him in 1507 A.D. the Timurids were for ever eliminated from the scene. But on account of the rising power of the Qizilbash in Persia about the same time under the leadership of Shah Ismail Safawi, the founder of the Safawid dynasty, the Uzbek authority in Khurasan did not go unchallenged. Thereafter, ensued a vigorous struggle between the Uzbeks and the Safawids for the control of Khurasan, particularly Herat, which became a battleground for them. We have, therefore, worked out the details of this struggle between the Uzbeks and the Safawids till about the middle of the 16th century. In doing so we have at times trespassed into Transoxiana--as in the case Babur's campaign to Samarqand in 1511-12v A. D.-- which is outside the scope this study.

In Balkh, which too had passed under the authority of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara after the death of Abu Saeed Mirza, the struggle for power was triangular. First, there was internal strife among the Baiqaras for the control of Balkh. Then it was threatened by the Uzbeks even before they advanced towards Herat. With Shaibani Khan's capture of Balkh in 1506 A.D. there ensued a conflict between the Safawids and the Uzbeks. Babur, who now was the only reigning Timurid prince ruling in Kabul was not loath to intervene in the affairs of Balkh, making the contest for ~~Badakshan~~ ^{Balkh} triangular. But subsequently, the Timurids of India and the Uzbeks were the major contenders for power in Balkh. We have traced this struggle for Balkh up to the death of Qitin Qara Sultan, the Uzbek chief of Balkh (died 1547 A.D.) and the early years of his brother Pir Muhammad Khan who succeeded him to the chieftaincy of Balkh.

Hisar and Qunduz were also a part of Abu Saeed Mirza's empire. After his death these two territories came under the possession of his son Sultan Mahmud Mirza who ruled there from 1470 to 1495 A.D. During this period the struggle for supremacy in Hisar and Qunduz was largely confined among the Timurids themselves, that is, among the Baiqaras and the house of Mahmud Mirza in Hisar. Even after Mahmud Mirza's

death, strife in Hisar and Qunduz was confined to his successors till these principalities were occupied by the Uzbeks in 1504 A.D. after overthrowing Khusrau Shah, a noble of Sultan Husain Mirza, who had usurped power in Hisar and Qunduz in 1497 A. D. Having surveyed this contest for Hisar and Qunduz we have proceeded to examine the subsequent struggle for Hisar and Qunduz between the Uzbeks and the Timurids till Hisar was lost by Babur to the Uzbeks in 1529 A.D. ending the Timurid domination for ever. As for Qunduz, the Uzbek rule terminated there with the battle of Merv in 1510 A.D. and the subsequent struggle for the domination of Qunduz was only among the Timurid princes which we have studied till the time of Ibrahim Mirza, son of Sulaiman Mirza, who occupied it in 1551 A. D. It may be noted that as both these principalities were outside the sphere of interest of the Safawids the contending parties in this area were only the Uzbeks and the various Timurid princes.

Like Hisar and Qunduz, the territory of Badakhshan also lay outside the sphere of activity of the Safawids. Here, too, the struggle for control was mainly amongst the various Timurid princes, as well as among the Timurids and the Uzbeks. In addition, the Mongols under the leadership of Saeed Khan, the son of the Mongol Khan, Sultan Ahmad Khan, also figure as claimants to Badakhshan, particularly to the Upper Hazarajat areas of Badakhshan. As Badakhshan was also a part of Sultan Abu Saeed Mirza's empire we have traced the struggle for the domination of Badakhshan from the time of Abu Saeed Mirza to the middle of the 16th century when Sulaiman Mirza firmly established himself there by shaking off all allegiance to the Timurids of Kabul and Delhi.

III

^a We now pass on to a brief discussion of our primary sources. We begin with Babur's memoirs, known as *Baburnama* or *Tuzuk-i Baburi*. Though popularly identified as the autobiography of Babur, the scope of the work is much wider than an autobiography or the narrative of the events relating to the life of the author. The 'narrative' constitutes only one part of the *Baburnama*. The other constituents of the work can be described as 'descriptive' and 'historical'.

Whenever Babur conquers a new territory he invariably breaks his narrative and digresses to give a comprehensive description of the newly conquered territory, as he has

done in the case Kabul after its conquest in 910 Hijri (1504-05 A. D.) by breaking the narrative of the year 910 Hijri, as well as, in the case of Hindustan by breaking the narrative soon after recording about his occupation of Agra in on 28 Rajab, 932 Hijri (10 May, 1526). Not only after the conquest of a new territory but in the context of any major event relating to a particular country he breaks his narrative and dilates on the geography, *fauna* and *flora* etc. of that country, as he has done in the case of Farghana soon after mentioning about his accession in Farghana.

Very often the descriptive part is accompanied by an account of the history of that country. In the Farghana part also he has devoted considerable space to the history of his paternal uncles, who were ruling even outside Farghana, by giving account of the major events relating to their lives including the battles they fought, their conquests and other achievements and failures. Similar account has been given of Yunus Khan and his family. Likewise, after his occupation of Samarqand he has devoted a number of pages to the history of Samarqand. His account of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara of Khurasan, his court, his battles and his struggle with his sons, as well as, with the Uzbeks is so comprehensive that it is not be found elsewhere. It is, therefore, not surprising that Babur himself refers to his work by the nomenclature '*tarih*' or '*waqai*'. Even his daughter, Gulbadan Begam, in her *Humayun-nama* mentions it as *Waqia-nama* while Nizamuddin in his *Tabaqat-i Akbari* refers to it as *Waqiat-i Baburi*. Therefore, in conformity with Babur's denomination or nomenclature of the work, there are numerous references in his '*tarikh*' to the events relating to the history of Khurasan and Badakhshan prior to the year 899 Hijri (1493-94 A. D.), i.e., the year with which Babur opens the account in his '*tarikh*' or '*waqai*'. Therefore, these digression from the narrative into the history of the region have been found very useful in the present study, particularly in the reconstruction of the events prior to 1494-95 A. D.

As far as the narrative part is concerned it can be divided into two types; one, where the narrative centres round the events in which Babur himself was a participant and ; two, the narrative Babur records on the basis of the reports he received of the contemporary developments through letters or other sources. Such information is found in abundance in his *waqai* for the years his memoirs cover, i. e., 1494 to 1529 A. D. , leaving aside the gap-years in his memoirs. Even for the events relating to gap-years

there are back references to them in the account of the subsequent years. Thus the so called *Baburnama* is one of our major primary sources for this study. Its author was not only a contemporary but also an actor in the drama that unfolded in Tramonana during the period from 1494 to 1529 A. D. It has also been found useful for the earlier period, as mentioned above, on account of its digressions from 'narrative' to 'history'. It has so far been unfair to treat this work merely as an autobiography or a treatise on the life and achievements of its author. Its scope is much wider, as stated above. It is in fact a history of Tramonana and Transoxiana.

Another contemporary source which we have found useful is Khwandmir's *Habib-us Siyar*. Born in Herat in 1475-76 A. D. he was closely connected with the court of Sultan Husain Mirza. After 1498-99 A. D. he entered the service of Badi-uz-Zaman Mirza and was present in Herat when Shaibani Khan captured Herat from the Baiqaras in 1507 A. D. He was present there even when Shah Ismail captured Herat from the Uzbeks in 1510 A.D. He was thus an eye witness to the developments in Khurasan. In 1528 he came to India and joined Babur's service. He accompanied Babur's expedition to Bihar in 1529 A. D. Later he served Humayun in his Gujarat expedition in 1535-36 and died on the way back. Since much of the information he has given tallies with the information in Babur's *tarikh* or *waqai* we have preferred to give references from the latter work and only sparingly from Khwandmir's *Habib-us Siyar*.

The *Tarkih-i Rashidi* of Mirza Haider Dughlat, a maternal cousin of Babur, is another contemporary source which has furnished us very rich information on the developments in Tramonana. The author was a junior contemporary of Babur as he was born in 1499 A. D. in Tasqand, where his father was governor for Sultan Mahmud Khan of Kashghar. After the death of his father, he joined Babur's service. In 1512 A. D. he joined the service of Saeed Khan who later on became the ruler of Kashghar. In 1533 A. D. he came to Lahore and joined Mirza Kamran's service. During the tenure of his service under Babur and Saeed Khan he participated in several military expeditions in the region under discussion. In 1529 he accompanied his master Saeed Khan in his expedition to Badakhshan. His account has been found very useful, particularly for the Timurid-Uzbek relations during the period under review.

Among the near contemporary works Hasan Beg Rumlu's *Ahsanut-Tawarikh* has been found very useful, particularly for the Safawid-Uzbek relations. It gives a detailed account of the struggle for Khurasan between the above two powers. Born in Qum, the author served Shah Tahmasp in his military expeditions in 1540s. It is in fact a general history giving year-wise account from the time of Shahrukh, i.e., 1405 A. D. to the end of the reign of Shah Ismail II in 1577 A. D. Most of our references on the struggle between the Safawids and the Uzbeks for Khurasan are based on this work. Another near contemporary general history which has been found useful is the *Tarikh-i Alfi* of Mullah Ahmad Thattavi and others. It was compiled by the order of Akbar to commemorate one thousand years of Islam beginning with *Rehlat* (death) of the prophet of Islam. It is also written on annalistic pattern closing with the year 997 Hijri (1588-89 A. D.).

Two other near contemporary works written in 1580s by the order of Akbar have also been found useful. These are the *Tazkirat-ul Waqiat* of Jauhar *Aftabchi* and *Humayun-nama* of Gulbadan Begam. Since the authors of both of these works were with Humayun during his exile from Hindustan their account of the struggle between Humayun and Kamran in Badakhshan has considerably helped us in preparing our chapter on Badakhshan.

Finally, we may mention a word about the *Akbarnama* of Abul Fazl. Volume I of the *Akbarnama* dealing with the periods of Babur and Humayun provides us abundant information about the affairs of Transoxiana, often comparable with the information given in the contemporary works. It gives not only the details about the struggle among the Timurids for domination over Badakhshan but bears plenty of references to the activities of the Uzbeks and the Safawids.

CHAPTER I

STRUGGLE FOR KHURASAN: BAIQARAS, UZBEKS AND THE SAFAWIDS

The region to the west of Afghanistan comprising the land of rivers Heri-rud and Murghab with the cities like Merv, Mashhad and Herat, the last of which today constitutes a part of Afghanistan, has been a major bone of contention among the various Central Asian powers in medieval period. Herat, in particular, was coveted by all the enterprising powers as it commanded the route to Helmand valley with its strategic fort of Qandahar which controlled the route between Khurasan and Hindustan, as well as, between Khurasan and Kabul. While in the fifteenth century Herat was one of the focal points of the struggle among the Timurids during the sixteenth century, with the rise of Uzbeks and the Safawids it first became a target of the ambitions of Uzbeks and later a major arena of a struggle between the Uzbeks and the Safawids--the Timurids unsuccessfully trying to cling to it in the earlier part of the sixteenth century.

I THE TIMURIDS: INTERNAL STRIFE AND THE RISE OF THE BAIQARAS

With the occupation of Herat by Timur in 1381 ended the rule of Mongol dynasty in Khurasan. Thereafter, Khurasan with its capital Herat remained in possession of his

successors till 1507 when it was occupied by the Uzbeks. It was with the occupation of Herat by Timur that it acquired a prominent place in the politics of Central Asia. Timur had entrusted the government of Khurasan (Herat) first to his son Miranshah, then in 1397 A.D. to his another son Shahrukh. Shaharukh's territories included in addition to Khurasan, Siestan and Mazandaran. Shahrukh retained Khurasan till the death of his father Timur in 1405 A.D.¹

One of the features of Shahrukh's reign in Khurasan was the increase in the importance of Herat. From that time onwards it became the capital of the whole of the Timurid empire till the death of Abu Saeed Mirza, the grand father of Babur. Barthold says that despite the discord which reigned among Shahrukh's descendants the political prestige of Herat built up by Shahrukh's exertions proved more enduring than Samarqand.² While the prosperity of Khurasan had reached its heights under Shahrukh Mirza, at the same time Transoxiana and its capital Samarqand also had made great progress under his son Ulugh Beg Mirza. But

1. V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, tr. V. & T. Minorsky, Vol. III (Leiden 1962), pp. 9-10, hereafter mentioned as *Four Studies*; Stanely Lane Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, (New Delhi, reprint 1986), pp. 251-52, hereafter mentioned as *Mohammadan Dynasties*.
4. *Four Studies*, pp. 11-12.

unfortunately this situation did not last long. Shahrukh Mirza died in 1448 A.D.

After the death of Shahrukh Mirza a civil war broke out in Central Asia. Being the eldest son Ulugh Beg considered himself heir to the whole empire of Shahrukh Mirza. On hearing of his father's death he marched towards Khurasan. On the way he learnt that his nephew Alauddaula,¹ the son of Baisunghar Mirza, had taken possession of Herat and had imprisoned his son (Ulugh Beg's) Abdul Latif. Ulugh Beg soon defeated Alauddaula in the battle of Turnab near Herat, compelled him to flee and took possession of Herat.

Ulugh Beg could not remain in peace for a long. His son Abdul Latif rebelled against him. When Ulugh Beg proceeded to quell the rebellion of his son he was captured by Abdul Latif's men and was put to death by the latter's orders.

Abdul Latif who succeeded to the throne of Samarqand after killing his father could not remain on the throne for long and was soon deposed by Abu Saeed Mirza, the grandson of Miranshah Mirza, the son of Timur.

1. There is no record of such name either in Lane Poole's geneological table of the descendants of Timur or in Barthold's work. Perhaps this name is miscarried for Baisunghar's second son Sultan Muhammad. See *Four Studies*, Vol. III, pp. 10-12; see also Lane Poole, *Mohammadan Dynasties*, table facing p. 258.

As regards Khurasan part of the Timurid legacy it was captured by Abdul Qasim Babur, son of Baisunghar, son of Shahrukh, son of Timur. Babur ruled Khurasan till 1457. With the death of Babur confusion prevailed in Khurasan and struggle for power broke out. Abdul Qasim Babur left his minor son, named Shah Mahmud, who was then eleven years old, to succeed him. Sanjar one of the *amirs* of Babur, who held Merv, Makhan and Jam was unwilling to submit to Mahmud. In such a situation Abu Saeed Mirza who was ruling in Samarqand since 1451 and was constantly planning to seize Herat found it a golden opportunity and soon proceeded towards Herat. At the same time Jahan Shah, the ruler of Azarbaizan had also led his army from the western side. Meanwhile, the warring groups of Khurasan had allied themselves to Shah Mahmud and decided to give a united fight to Abu Saeed Mirza, but they were defeated by Abu Saeed Mirza in the battle of Sarakhs in the spring of 1459¹ and thus Abu Saeed Mirza occupied Khurasan. Simultaneously Abu Saeed Mirza entered into a treaty with Jahan Shah, the ruler

1. *Four Studies*, Vol. III, pp. 21-23; Haider Mirza says that since after the death of Mirza Babur, Kalandar, son of Baisunghar son of Shahrukh, son of Timur, there was no ruler in Khurasan, so Abu Saeed Mirza took possession of Khurasan. See Mirza Muhammad Haider Dughlat, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia being the Tarikh-i Rashidi*, tr. E. Denison Ross, ed. N. Elias (London, reprint 1972), pp. 83-85, hereafter mentioned as *Tarikh-i Rashidi*.

of Azarbaijan, who had also come to fish in the troubled water of Khurasan. According to the treaty western Persia was left to Jahan Shah and Abu Saeed got his recent acquisition of Khurasan.¹

Khurasan Under Abu Saeed Mirza (1459-1469 A.D.)

After the occupation of Khurasan, Abu Saeed Mirza made Herat his capital.² With the occupation of Khurasan, Abu Saeed Mirza became the most powerful king of Central Asia and his capital Herat became an envy of the neighbouring powers.³

During the reign of Abu Saeed Mirza, Khurasan was attacked by Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara. Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara was the son of Mansur Mirza, the son of Baiqara Mirza, the son of Umar Shaikh Mirza, the son of Amir Timur. Though Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara had royal lineage but his forefathers had lost political power and his father lived an ordinary life. In the year 1452 Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara joined the service of Abul Qasim Babur the ruler of Khurasan. In the year 1457 when Abul Qasim Babur died and a civil war broke out in Khurasan Sultan Husain Mirza tried to side with one or other of the pretenders. At last he joined the service of Mirza Sanjar, the governor of Merv, Makhan and Jam. Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara soon won the

1. *Four Studies*, p. 23.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
3. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p.81.

confidence of his master and got Merv as fief from Mirza Sanjar. From that time onwards he increased his power and soon became the master of a considerable territory including, Merv, Nesha and Astarabad. Being desirous to legitimize his position Sultan Husain opened negotiations with Abu Saeed Mirza but the latter rejected the offer.¹ Hence, hostilities started between Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara and Abu Saeed Mirza.

Sultan Abu Saeed Mirza died in the year 873 H./ February 1469 A.D. His death gave an opportunity to Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara to make a bid for Herat. On hearing the news of the death he immediately marched on Herat. In the meantime Sultan Mahmud, the son of Abu Saeed Mirza, had read *Khutba* jointly with his brother at Herat. However, on hearing of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara's march towards Herat, the Khurasanis drove out Sultan Mahmud Mirza from Herat and Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara easily occupied Herat, and read *Khutba* in his name in Herat in the year 1469 A.D.²

-
1. *Four Studies*, Vol. III, pp.16-23; see also Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, *Baburnama*, English tr. A.S. Beveridge (Delhi, reprint 1989), p. 256, hereafter mentioned as *Baburnama*.
 2. *Four Studies*, Vol. III, p. 25; William Erskine, *History of India under the two First Sovereigns of the House of Timur, Babur and Humayun*, Vol. I, *Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli* (Delhi reprint 1973), p. 74, hereafter mentioned as Erskine; *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 93; *Baburnama*, pp. 134 and 260; see also *Mohammadan Dynasties*, table facing p. 268.

II THE BAIQARAS AND THE UZBEKS

After the suppression of early rebellions Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara became an undisputed ruler of Khurasan with his capital at Herat. Soon his possessions extended from Khwarizm in the north to Qandahar and Siestan to the south and from Balkh in the east to Damaghan and Bistam in the west.¹ His capital Herat became the most magnificent city of the east, celebrated not merely for the splendour and dignity of its court, the architectural beauty of its mosques, tombs, colleges and palaces, but also for the philosophers, poets and historians of the age, who received the most liberal patronage from the Sultan.

Babur says that the beauty and brilliance of Herat during the reign of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara had increased ten and twenty times. Khurasan was full of eminent men. Whatever work a man undertook he aimed and aspired at bringing that work to perfection.² Mirza Haider Dughlat corroborates that the Sultan encouraged all the arts and crafts of the world to such a degree that in every separate profession he produced an undisputed master.³

1. *Baburnama*, p.261.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 193; see also Percy Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan*; Vol. I (London 1940), pp. 270-71.

4. *Baburnama*, p. 261: *Four Studies*, Vol. III, pp. 36-37.

The above prosperity of Herat, on the one hand, attracted the attention of the Uzbeks and the ambitions of their warlord Shaibani Khan, while on the other, it made Sultan Husain Mirza, his sons and nobles indolent and luxury loving. Babur points out that Sultan Husain and his sons, his army and the whole town had taken to nearly incessant drinking. He says that during his "Cossack" days the Sultan had performed many feats of valour and wielded the sword as no other Timurid had done but after his accession he gave himself up to pleasures and amusements. His example was also followed by his courtiers,¹

Babur also criticizes the Sultan for not having offered any resistance to the rising power of the Uzbeks under Shaibani Khan. On the contrary, as Babur critically points out, the Sultan maintained diplomatic relations with Shaibani Khan. Babur also complains that the Sultan did not even extend any support to him when he was besieged in Samarqand by Shaibani Khan Uzbek.² Sultan Husain Mirza's passive and defensive policy against Shaibani Khan provoked the following remarks from Babur, "But how could hope live in tribe and horde when a great ruler like Husain Mirza sitting in the place of Timur Beg, spoke, not of marching

1. *Baburnama*, p. 261; *Four Studies*, Vol. III, pp. 36-37.
2. *Baburnama*, p. 147; *Four Studies*, Vol. III, pp. 36-37.

forth to meet the enemy, but only of defence against his attack?"¹

Again the rebellions of his sons in the later part of his reign from the year 1495-96 A.D. to 1500 A.D. further weakened his position. Major threat was posed by Badiuz-zaman Mirza, the eldest son of the Sultan. He was, however, pacified with the grant of Balkh and was allowed to add his name in the *Khutba* along with the name of the Sultan. Besides, the court factions also added to the weakening of the empire. Shaibani Khan, the Uzbek chief, was quick to take advantage of this disunity in Khurasan, as we shall see in the following pages.

Shaibani Khan Captures Khwarizm (1505)

By the year 1504 A.D. Shaibani Khan had occupied all the dominions of the Timurid rulers to the north of river Amu including Samarqand, Bukhara, Farghana, Qanduz, Hisar and also Turkistan. Having established his hold in Transoxiana and having also captured Qanduz (1504) Shaibani Khan turned his attention towards Khurasan. He first launched his attack on Khwarizm, a dependency of Khurasan, and after a long siege of ten months captured it from Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara's governor and appointed Kupuk Bi as his governor of Khwarizm.

3. *Baburnama*, p. 190-91; *Four Studies*, Vol. III, pp. 36-37.

The loss of Khwarizm awakened Sultan Husain Mirza to action. He now summoned all his sons and at the same time invited Babur, sending envoys to Kabul. Though Sultan Husain Mirza had not helped Babur against Shaibani Khan earlier, but Babur immediately responded to his call and accordingly set out from Kabul in the month of Muharram 912 H./ June 1506 A.D. for Khurasan.¹

Shaibani Khan Attacks Maymana and Faryab (1506)

Soon after his conquest of Khwarizm Shaibani Khan decided to invade Khurasan. Hasan Rumlu says that in the year 911 H./1506 A.D. Shaibani Khan sent an army to attack Maymana and Faryab which lay between Balkh and Herat and plundered these countries. Sultan Husain Baiqara, who was then in Jahanara garden, sent Muhammad Qasim Mirza to oppose the Uzbeks but the latter was slain with two other *amirs*. Then the Sultan recalled Badi-uz-Zaman Mirza from Balkh to Herat.²

-
1. *Baburnama*, pp. 255-294; Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Vol. II, being the English tr. of *Tarikh-i Ferishta* also known as *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi*, John Briggs, (Oriental Reprint, New Delhi 1981), p. 17, hereafter mentioned as Ferishta.
 2. Hasan-i Rumlu, *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, English tr. C.N. Seddon, (Baroda, 1934), p. 38, hereafter mentioned as *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*.

Death of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara (1506 A.D.)

Taking the advantage of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza's absence from Balkh Shaibani Khan attacked and besieged Balkh.¹ Thus, in the spring of the year 911 H./ 1506 A.D. Sultan Husain Mirza with his son Badi-uz-zaman Mirza and a force of 12000 men set out to repulse the Uzbek attack. He sent his son Badi-uz-zaman Mirza as his advanced guard, when Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara reached Baba Ilahi, he grew too weak to march further and he recalled Badi-uz-zaman Mirza. It was at Baba Ilahi that Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara died on the eleventh of the month of Zilhijja of the year 911 H./May 4th 1506 A.D. before effectively opposing the Uzbeks.²

The Successors of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara and the Uzbeks

Death of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara was followed by a civil war in Khurasan. Hasan Rumlu says that after the death of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, the chiefs consulted together and would have made Badi-uz-zaman Mirza as king. But some others said that the name of Muzaffar Husain Mirza should be included in the *Khutba* and on the coins. There was a great debate on this issue. Due to influence of Khadija

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh.*, p. 234.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 38, *Baburnama*, p. 256.

Begi Agha, the mother of Muzaffar Husain Mirza, the nobles made both Badi-uz-zaman Mirza and Muzaffar Husain Mirza as joint rulers of Khurasan. Coins were struck and *Khutba* was read in the mosque of Herat in their joint names. The taxes of the city were equally divided. Other sons of Husain Mirza opposed Muzaffar Husain's succession and declared their independence from Herat.¹

Shaibani Khan's abortive Attack on Khurasan

While the empire of Sultan Husain Baiqara were thus partitioned among his sons Shaibani Khan Uzbek not only continued the siege of Balkh but also sent an expedition against Khurasan which ravaged the country as far as Murghab. The Khurasan commander, Zunun Arghun, hastened to meet them and the Uzbeks fled to Dasht-i-Zardak and Zunun Arghun pursued them and killed about one hundred Uzbeks and captured about seventy.²

Uzbek Envoy to Herat (1506 A.D.)

Meanwhile, Shaibani Khan sent Maulana Khatai as his envoy to Herat, conveying through him that "the forefathers of the princes were ever wont to come to his forefathers and they should do the same." Realising that it was Shaibani's

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 39; *Baburnama*, p. 293.

2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 40; *Baburnama*, pp. 294-96.

trick to collect information about the affairs of Khurasan, Badi-uz-zaman Mirza seized the Maulana, imprisoned him and sent messengers to different parts of Khurasan to summon various Timurid princes for help.¹ Shortly afterwards came the envoys from the Mirza's governor of Balkh to inform him that the garrison of the fort was on the verge of starvation and that Shaibani Khan was pressing the siege vigorously.² Upon this Badi-uz-zaman Mirza and Muzaffar Husain Mirza, with Muhammad Baranduq Barlas, Zunun Arghun and his son Shah Beg, started from Herat towards Balkh to relieve the garrison of Balkh. Since the Mirzas had already summoned for support their other brothers, Abul Mushin Muhammad Mirza from Merv and Abu Husain Muhammad Mirza from Tun and Qain, they came and joined them at Chihildukhtaran. The Mirzas had also sent emissaries to Babur at Kabul to ask him to join them as soon as possible. They also sent Muhammad Baranduq Barlas to expedite Babur's movement. After covering a distance of more than six hundred miles in the company of Muhammad Baranduq Barlas, Babur joined the Mirzas on Monday 8th Jumada-us-sani, 911 H./ October 1506 A.D. on the banks of river Murghab where they were encamped with their

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 40.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

armies.¹ Babur says that though Mirzas had also sent for their brother Kupuk Mirza who was then in Mashhad, the latter because of his differences with Muzaffar Husain did not come saying, "How should I go to his presence?" Babur, disgusted with Kupuk Mirzas behaviour remarks that

Through this disgusting jealousy he did not come now, even at this crisis when all his brethren, older and younger, were assembling in concord, resolute against such a foe as Shaibani Khan. Kupuk Mirza laid his own absence to rivalry, but everybody else laid it to his cowardice, one world ! In this world acts such as his outlive the man, if a man have any share of intelligence, why try to be ill spoken of after death? If he be ambitious why not try to act that, he gone, men will praise him? In the honourable mention of ²their names, wise men find a second life.

Hasan Rumlu, the author of *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, says that when Kupuk Mirza did not come to join his brothers and tried to become independent at Mashhad, it spoilt the plan of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza. The suspicion of Kupuk Mirza's attack

-
1. *Baburnama*, pp. 296-97; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 40; Gulbadan Begum says that Babur was received in a very honourable manner by the Mirzas of Khurasan. For details see Gulbadan Begum, *Humayun-nama*, English tr. A.S. Beveridge, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, (Delhi reprint, 1972), p. 87, hereafter mentioned as *Humayun-nama*; Ferishta, Vol. II, pp. 16-17; see also Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, English tr. H. Beveridge, (Rare Books, Delhi Reprint 1972), p. 229 hereafter mentioned as *Akbarnama*.
 2. *Baburnama*, pp. 266-67.

on Herat in the absence of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza and Muzaffar Husain Mirza divided the Mirzas' marching force into two factions. Amir Zunun insisted that the Uzbeks should be attacked because he felt that afterwards it would be difficult to mobilize the Chaghtais under one banner. But Amir Muhammad Baranduq opined that during the absence of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza and Muzaffar Husain Mirza Kupuk Mirza might attack Herat and it was likely that the chiefs who were present there might desert the Mirzas and join Kupuk Mirza. Therefore, he suggested that they should return to Herat first to deal with the enemies at home and then in the next spring march against the Uzbeks.¹ These discussions in the Mirzas' camp delayed their march for about three months. Meanwhile Shaibani Khan Uzbek reduced Qul-i Nachaq, the governor of Balkh, to great extremities and the latter was compelled to surrender the fort of Balkh to the Uzbeks. After capturing Balkh in 1506 A.D. Shaibani Khan returned to Samarqand.²

Dissensions Among the Mirzas

From the preceding account it seems that the differences of the Khurasani Mirzas had reached to such a state that they could not unite themselves even while their

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 40.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 40; *Baburnama*, p. 300.

very existence was at stake. Not only the court of Herat but whole country of Khurasan had become a hot bed of intrigues and party politics. This timid inactivity and deplorable indolence of the Mirzas made Babur disgusted and he bitterly remarks that:

the Mirzas were good enough as company and in social matters, in conversation and parties, but they were strangers to war, strategy, equipment, bold fight and encounter.

Babur again says that while the Mirzas were still encamping on the banks of river Murghab, news came that Haq Nazar with four or five hundred Uzbek raiders was raiding and over running the territory of Chichiktu, a place not very far off. The Mirzas held consultations firstly among themselves and then with their nobles, but they could not manage to send a force against the raiders.² This by itself was the proof of the fact that the whole camp was divided and it was seething with discontent. Nor did they allow Babur, who had sought their permission to undertake an expedition against the Uzbeks on his own, perhaps for the reason that they were afraid of their own reputation.²

-
1. *Baburnama*, p. 300.
 2. *Ibid.*.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 300-01.

Babur says that since the winter was drawing near and Shaibani Khan had withdrawn from the field the Mirzas decided to pass the winter wherever it was convenient and reassemble next summer in order to repel their foe. They also pressed Babur to pass the winter in Khurasan. Mirzas dispersed to their own districts and Abul Mushin Mirza went to Merv, his own district, Ibn Husain Mirza went to his districts Tun and Quin, Badi-uz zaman Mirza and Muzaffar Husain Mirza set off for Herat and Babur also followed them to Herat.¹

Babur in Herat

Although Babur was anxious about the political consequences of his prolonged absence from Kabul, yet due to the repeated requests of the Mirzas and his keen interest to see Herat of which he had heard so much Babur decided to stay at Herat and spend there some time.² During his twenty days stay in Herat, he met his paternal uncles and was

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 300-01.

2. *Ibid.*,: Hasan-i Rumlu, the author of *Ahsanut-Tawarikh* has not mentioned Babur's visit to Herat. He says that when Badi-uz-zaman and Muzaffar Husain Mirza postponed the expedition against the Uzbeks for the next spring Babur returned to Kabul, see *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 40.

lavishly entertained by them. He paid visits to the holy and pious men of Herat, saw the colleges and mosques and palaces, went out to dine every night, enjoyed the musical parties of which he has given minute details in his memoirs. He also mentions that here he fell in love with his own cousin Masuma Sultan Begum.¹ But soon Babur realized the necessity of attending to the affairs of his own kingdom of Kabul. From the very beginning he was anxious to return to Kabul at the earliest. During these twenty days he had come to the conclusion that the pleasure loving Mirzas could hardly stand against the mighty Shaibani Khan and hence it was, he thought, futile to stay with them. In spite of their assurances to make him comfortable, Babur complains that they "gave me no winter quarters nor had made any winter arrangements for me."² Therefore, on the pretext of finding winter quarters and without seeking permission from the Mirzas he left Herat for Kabul on 7th Shaban 912 H./24th December 1506 A.D.³

Shaibani Khan Moves Against Khurasan and Captures Andikhud (913 H./ 1506-07 A.D.)

Though Shaibani Khan Uzbek had captured Balkh, the gateway of Khurasan, in the end of the year 1506 A.D. due to

-
1. *Baburnama*, pp. 300-306.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 307.
 3. *Ibid.*

approaching winter he had returned to Samarqand, where he spent the whole winter. Early in the beginning of the year 1507 A.D. Shaibani Khan set out with an army of 50,000 men towards Khurasan and crossed river Amu at Karki. On the way, he was joined by Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan with the armies of Khatlan, Qunduz and Baghlan. They camped near Andikhud. Amir Shah Mansur, Mirza Badi-uz-zaman's governor of Andikhud, surrendered Andikhud to Shaibani Khan without any resistance. Then Shaibani Khan advanced towards Baba Khaki, where the two Mirzas, Badi-uz-zaman Mirza and Muzaffar Husain Mirza, the joint rulers of Khurasan, with their minister Muhammad Baranduq Barlas and their armies had been encamping.¹

Division in Mirzas Camp: Rivalry Between Baranduq Barlas and Zunun Beg Arghun

But the Mirzas camp was divided. In these circumstances, effective co-operation was unthinkable and concerted action impossible. Added to it, the bitter rivalry between their minister Baranduq barlas and Zunun Arghun Beg made the things worse. Muhammad Baranduq, a man of talent, intelligence and foresight proposed that he and Muzaffar Mirza be allowed to hold the fort of Herat against the enemy while that Badi-uz-zaman Mirza and Zunun should take up

1. *Baburnama*, p. 325; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 43.

position in the adjoining hills of Herat and the latter should summon to their aid Sultan Ali Arghun from Siestan and Zamindwar, Shah Beg and Muquim Beg from Qandhar with their armies together with Nikdari and Hazare tribes. He argued that this army would be able to effectively harass the Uzbeks, prevent them from capturing Herat and compel them to retreat with heavy losses. But Zunun Beg whom Babur described as "mean, lover of goods, far from being business like or judicious, rather shallow pated and a bit of fool was jealous of Baranduq's holding the capital. He read in the plan sinister designs and even imagined that Baranduq was manoeuvring to make himself supreme at Herat. Moreover, he was misguided by the flattery of rogues and sycophants and the prophecies of the Sheikhs and Mullas who told him "The spheres are holding commerce with us; you are styled Hizabullah (Lion of God); you will overcome the Uzbeks." In addition to that, Zunun was jealous of Muhammad Baranduq. He, therefore, did not accept his plans and on believing these words of his well wishers, he took no precautions, issued no orders and remained entrenched at Baba Khaki and decided to face the enemy.¹

1. *Baburnama*, p. 325-27; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 43.

Battle of Maral: Shaibani Khan Captures Herat (1507)

While no plan of action against the Uzbeks could be formed by the Mirzas due to discord and intrigues the Uzbeks advanced with great rapidity. On Thursday, the 7th of the month of Muharram 913 H./June 1507 Shaibani Khan crossed the Murghab and advanced as far as Sirkai. While Timur Sultan commanded the advance guard of the Uzbeks Ubaidullah Khan son of Mahmud Sultan, the brother of Shaibani Khan commanded the left and right wings.

This Uzbek advance upset the Mirzas and their entire camp fell into the confusion. Neither could they take any quick action nor could they collect the troops and array those they had with them. Within a short time Shaibani Khan appeared with forty to fifty thousand Uzbeks and took the enemy by surprise. Zunun Arghun advanced with only 100 to 150 soldiers to give him battle. An encounter took place at Maral, but Zunun's army was soon swept away and he himself was seized and killed.¹

The Mirzas in confusion broke their camp and fled to Herat, leaving their women, children and goods in the fort of Ikhtiyar-uddin at the mercy of the Uzbeks. There also

1. *Baburnama*, p. 327; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 43; see also Saiyyid Muhammad Masum Bhakkari, *Tawarikh-i Sind* also known as *Tarikh-i Masumi*, Hindi tr. Saiyyid Athar Abbas Rizvi in *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur (1526-30)*, Aligarh (1960), pp. 649-50, hereafter mentioned as *Tarikh-i Masumi*.

they did not try to strengthen the fort and from there they again fled into different directions.¹ Hasan Rumlu says that Saiyyid Abdullah Mirza joined Kupuk Mirza at Mashhad, and Abdul Baqi Mirza and Muhammad Barandug Barlas joined Ibn Husain Mirza at Sabzwar. Badi-uz-zaman fled towards Qandahar and Muzaffar Husain towards Astarabad.² Shaibani Khan on his arrival near Herat found none to resist him and he soon seized the fort of Herat with the *harem* of the late sovereign, the families and children and all the treasures of the Mirzas. When Shaibani Khan advanced further, the notables of the city met him and surrendered the keys to him. After two or three weeks he also took possession of the inner fort which was defended by Ashiq-a Muhammad for 16 or 17 days. Thus the whole city fell in possession of Shaibani Khan.³

1. *Baburnama*, p. 327.

2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 43; Erskine says that all of the Mirzas fell in action with the Uzbeks, or were put to death, when prisoners, in the course of the next year or two, except Badi uz-zaman Mirza, the eldest, who fled to Shah Ismail of Persia, and after various adventures died at Constantinople about ten years afterwards (in 923 H/1517 A.D.), see Erskine, Vol. I, p.260; *Baburnama*, p. 327.

3. *Baburnama*, pp. 327-28; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 43. See also Sir Wolseley Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, ed. Sir Richard Burn (S. Chand and Company, New Delhi 1987), Vol IV, p. 6, hereafter mentioned as *Cambridge History of India*.

Hasan Rumlu says that when Shaibani Khan entered the city, he offered prayers in the Great Mosque and ordered that they should call him in the *Khutba* the Imam of the time and the successor of the Merciful.¹

Babur says that after taking Herat Shaibani Khan engaged himself in plundering. He behaved badly not only to the wives and children of its rulers but to every person and earned himself a bad name. Khadija Begum, the wife of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, fell into the hands of Shaibani Khan's

-
1. *Ahshanut-Tawarikh*, p. 44; Mrs. Beveridge without quoting any authority says that the *Khutba* was first read for Shaibani Khan in Herat on Friday, Muharram 15th 913 H/May 27th 1507 A.D. Haider Mirza mentions the date of the fall of Khurasan 912 H. He says that after conquering Balkh Shaibani Khan returned to Samarqand. Mirza Sultan Husain had died a year before and his sons, in their indolence and indifference, could not come to any mutual agreement. When the news arrived of Shaibani Khan's approach everything was thrown into dire confusion and disorder. Everyone had some suggestion to offer; no conclusion could be arrived at and while they were still engaged in these arguments news came that Shahi Beg Khan had reached Herat. Mirza Zunun led out an army to oppose him, but saw that it was too late to turn the torrent with earth, or to smother the blazing fire with dust, and he was himself slain at the first onset of the Uzbeks who forthwith entered and plundered Herat. All the Mirzas fled in different directions and the greater part of the army did not even know how Herat had been taken. Thus easily fell that important city with its vast population. Mir Muhammad Salih, one of the amirs of Sultan Abu Saeed Mirza whose name is to be found in the "Lives of the Poets," discovered the date of this event, namely 912, in the words Fateh-i Khurasan, "conquest of Khurasan," *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 205.

paymaster Shah Mansur, who was allowed to loot her. Abdul Wahab Mughal looted and plundered the revered family of Sheikh Puran. Shaibani Khan married Muzaffar Husain Mirza's wife Khanzada Begum. Babur condemns Shaibani Khan for his arrogance and contemptible behaviour. He writes:

His own illiteracy not forbidding, he instructed in the exposition of *Qoran*, Qazi Ikhtiyar and Muhammad Mir Yusuf two of the celebrated and highly skilled Mullas of Heri, he took a pen and corrected the hand writing of Mulla Sultan Ali of Mashhad and the drawing of Bihzad, and every few days, when he had composed some tasteless couplets, he would have it read from the pulpit, hung in the Charsu (Square) and for it accept the offerings of the towns people! Spite of his early rising his not neglecting five Prayers and his fair knowledge of art of reciting the *Qoran*, there issued from him many an act and deed as absurd, as impudent and as heathinish as those just named.

Uzbeks Capture Mashhad and Sabzwar

After the occupation of Herat Shaibani Khan sent detachments of his army against the various Mirzas. Babur says that ten or fifteen days after taking Herat Shaibani Khan came from Kahd-stan to Pul-i Salar. From there he detached his forces under Timur Sultan and Ubaidullah Khan against Abul Mushin Mirza and Kupuk Mirza, who were leading

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 328-29.

a careless life in Mashhad. On hearing of the Uzbek advance Kupuk Mirza and Abul Mushin Mirza collected an army and called a counsel of their nobles for further action. Here again they were divided into two factions, some asked that since Shaibani Khan himself had encamped at Kahd-stan with few men let him attack first and then fall upon him suddenly, but others suggested for attacking the Uzbeks directly. The Mirzas followed the second opinion, but when they were still in Mashhad the Uzbeks arrived by forced marches. So the Mirzas for their part left Mashhad and drew up in battle order between Mashhad and Turq. Then the two armies met in a battle. The armies of Khursan were defeated and the princes Kupuk Mirza and Abul Mushin Mirza were captured and brought before Ubaidullah Khan. Both were cut down by the sword and their heads were sent to Shaibani Khan, who was at that time at Pul-i Slar.¹ Remaining part of the Mirzas' army joined Ibn Husain Mirza at Sabzwar. Then Ubaidullah Khan and Timur Sultan advanced on Sabzwar. Ibn Husain Mirza gave a battle to the Uzbeks at Rabat-i Dodar and drove back the Uzbeks. But Ubaidullah Khan succeeded in rallying his fleeing troops. Eighty men returned to fight and fell on the centre of Ibn Husain's army who were completely shaken. Ubaidullah Khan was also hit sixteen

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 329-30; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 44.

times but he was protected by Biauq Bahadur. Ultimately Ibn Husain Mirza was forced to fly and Abdulbaqi Mirza and Saiyyed Abdulla Mirza were killed, and Amir Muhammad Barandug was taken captive. But Ibn Husain fled to Iraq and Azerbaijan under the protection of Shah and was honourably received and protected. And thus Mashhad and Sabzwar fell to the Uzbeks.¹

Shaibani Khan Captures Astarabad and Damghan

Husan Rumlu, the author of *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, says that in the year 914 Hijri Shaibani Khan crossed the Oxus for Astarabad. On hearing of his coming Badi-uz-zaman Mirza, who, on his flight towards Qandahar, had halted at Damghan now left his son Muhammad Zaman Mirza within the fort of Damghan and set forth for Iraq and Azerbaijan.² Shaibani Khan captured Astarabad and entrusted it to Khawaja Ahmad Qunkurat. Then Shaibani Khan advanced towards Damghan and laid siege to it. When the Khan appeared at Damghan, Muhammad Zaman Mirza, Faridun Husain Mirza and all other chiefs resolved to defend the fort. But after

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 44.
2. Qipchq Khan the author of *Tarikh-i Qipchq Khani* says that he fled to Qandahar and then joined Nasir, Babur's brother. He was subsequently besieged in Hisar and fled to Yazd. He was again defeated by an Uzbek force sent after him and took refuge with Shah Ismail, see *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 237.

some days the princes sent envoys to Shaibani Khan asking for quarter, consequently a pact was signed and they were kindly received. Muhammad Zaman Mirza was permitted to go to Azerbaijan while Faridun Husain Mirza managed to escape and fled towards river Atrak and among the Yaqa Turkmans. Then Shaibani Khan took possession of the whole country of Khurasan from Bistam to Turkistan in 1507 A.D. and then himself returned to Transoxiana.¹

Such was the termination of the dynasty of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara from the powerful kingdom of Khurasan. The sovereignty now passed to Shaibani Khan and his Uzbeks. The success of Shaibani Khan first at Samarqand, Tashkand and Farghana afterwards in Hisar and Qunduz, then in Khwarizm and Balkh, and then in Khurasan made him undisputed master of an extensive region. But the elimination of the Baiqara dynasty from Khurasan and the occupation of Herat by the Uzbeks did not ensure the latter any permanence in Khurasan, as the the Uzbeks now had to face a new challenge i.e., from the Safawids.

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 48.

III THE UZBEKS AND THE SAFAWIDS

The conquest of Khurasan by the Uzbeks in the year 1507 A.D. brought them in conflict with the nascent Safawid empire of Persia established by Shah Ismail who also coveted Khurasan. With the common borders between the Uzbeks and the Safawids a tussle between the two was unavoidable. Moreover, when Shaibani Khan Uzbek took possession of Khurasan his troops also plundered some parts of Shah Ismail's frontiers of which accelerated the conflict. Further, in the summer of the year 915 H./ 1510 A.D. Shaibani Khan sent an army from Khurasan to attack parts of Kirman which constituted a part of Shah Ismail's domains and killed Khwadja Muhammad, the chief of Kirman, before returning to Khurasan.¹ Shah Ismail instead of reacting militarily tried to buy time by sending an envoy to Shaibani Khan with suitable gifts and a letter with the following message:

Hitherto the dust of dissension has never settled upon the skirts of our thoughts to such an extent as to raise a cloud of enmity. Let the path of fatherly conduct be observed on your side, and on this side the bond of filial relationship shall be established.²

To this Shah Ismail received the following answer from Shaibani Khan:

-
1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 50
 2. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 232.

Desire ends not for us when all
 Iraq before us lies,
 For Mecca and Madina are
 Our final goal and prize.

The Shah responded by sending the following verse:

Yet Mecca and Madina give
 Salvation not to you.
 Who are Bu Turab's foes, nor yield
 To him devotions true.

Again Shaibani Khan reacting to Shah Ismail's reply sent a letter reminding him that sovereignty descended through the father and not the mother, through males and not females. He elaborated,

It is fitting that every men follow the profession of his father. If he follows his mother he is going backwards. For Uzun Hasan withdrew himself from the Kings, on the day that he gave his daughter in marriage to your father, as did also Sultan *Yaqub*, son of Hasan, in giving his sister. You had a right to make claims on your mother's side, so long as there was no son in the world like me--Sultan son of a Sultan. As the proverb says: Let the son do the father's work and daughter her mother's.

He added:

O Ismail Darogha, honoured by our royal regard! Know that the duty of Government and of the destruction of foes was confirmed by Everlasting Decree to our august forefather, and that the throne of justice has been given to Us, and the stamp of bravery adorns us. And a voice has come to Us from the Unseen. And the words of the Prophet show that the son inherits what was his father's. Thy rise is even as the rise of *Canopus*, while Ours is the coming of the Sun.²

-
1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 237; Erskine, p. 299.
 2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 51.

Along with this letter Shaibani Khan insultingly sent him as a present a begger's *keshkul*, a begging bowl, i.e., a dish made of half a coconut in which the *dervishes* collected alms stating as follows:

If though has forgotten thy forefather's trade this may serve to recall it to thy memory, but if though would place thy foot on the steps of the throne remember, he may clasp the bride of sovereignty firmly to his breast, who dares to kiss her amid the clashing of keen swords.

In the conclusion he remarked,

Now concerning the pilgrimage which is incumbent on all Moslem men, keep the roads that lead to Kaba, for our armies desire to visit it. Let men make ready presents and let them stamp coins with our titles and recite the *Khutba* in our victorious name. And come thyself to our court. Else We shall send our son, Ubaidullah, with men from Bukhara, Samarqand, Hazara, Nikudari, Ghur and Gharjistan, that may chastise thee; or Our younger son Timur Bahadur with chiefs and soldiers from Qandahar, Baghlan, Hisar Shadman and Badakhshan, as far as the coasts of Turkistan; or Abdul Nasr Kamaluddin Sunjuk Bahadur Khan, with Hamaza Bahadur Khan on the right wing and Salimuddin Mahdi Bahadur Khan on the left wing, and with chiefs and men from Andijan, Qand-i Badam, Shahrukhiya, Tashkand the cities of Sabz, utripa, Sayran, Urganj, and Khiva the banks of the Oxus, and Kashghar and Magqut to the coasts of Qipchaq and Qulmaq.²

-
1. *Tarikh-i Radhidi*, pp. 232-33.
 2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 51-52.

Shah Ismail sent a dignified answer to Shaibani Khan saying,

If it was incumbent on every son to follow his fathers trade, they being sons of Adam, ought all of us practice prophecy! If sovereignty had been confirmed to the hereditary descendants of Kings, there would have been more Pishadi(?) and never any Kainani(?) and wondered how Chingiz himself would have become king and asked where did you come from?

He added by quoting a verse:

Oh! youth do not boast of your dead father,
Do not, like a dog take delight in bones!²

He said he too mediated a pilgrimage to Mashhad, and would there wait on the Khan. And in return of his present he sent him a spindle and distaff. Alluding to the quotation about the wooing of royalty, he said,

I have bound on the girdle to offer you fight, and have placed the foot of contest in the stirrup of fierce warfare. If you come out to meet me face to face in battle, our claims shall be thereby decided. And if you will not fight, go and sit in a corner and busy yourself with the little present I am sending you.³

-
1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 233.
 2. *Ibid.*
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 233; Erskine, pp. 299-300.

Shah Ismail Advances Against Shaibani Khan

Thus, was aroused the animosity between the two rulers subscribing to different faith, Shaibani Khan being the follower of Sunnite sect while Shah Ismail was the blind follower of Shism, and the conflict between the two became inevitable which ended in the battlefield of Merv.

Shah followed his answer quickly and without a loss of time set out against Shaibani Khan. He sent messengers into all parts of his dominions to gather his armies. Ismail moved from his camp at Sultaniya towards Ray, and from there to Damghan. The Uzbek governor of Damghan, Ahmad Sultan, the son-in-law of Shaibani Khan, on hearing of the advance of the Safawids fled towards Herat, while the governor of Astarabad fled towards Khiva. Damghan and Astarabad fell to the Shah without any resistance. At Jajurm Khawaja Muzaffar Bitikchi entered Shah's service.¹ Thus Shah Ismail's troops swept all the detachments of the Uzbek army which had been scattered over the country.

At that time Shaibani Khan, after the failure of his expedition to Hazara, was staying at Balkh.² When Ahmad

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 52.

2. Mirza Haider Dughlat says that Shaibani Khan had disbanded his army and was then at Merv, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 233.

Sultan, the governor of Damaghan, reached Herat and reported that the Shah had invaded Khurasan with a countless force of archers and swordsmen and spearmen. Shaibani Khan, as Hasan Rumlu writes, was smitten with fear and fled towards Merv. Jan Wafa Mirza also hastened after him to Merv with a contingent of Transoxiana. And Shaibani Khan brought the people from outside into the city, strengthened its fortifications and sent messengers to Bukhara and Samarqand to call Ubaidullah Khan and Timur Sultan. News of Shaibani Khan's movements reached the Shah near Tus. He then went to visit the tomb of the eighth Imam and gave largess to the Saiyyids and the chief men and attendants of the Holy Shrine. Then scouts brought some of the men of the enemy whom they had captured near Jam. And when it was reported to the Shah about the strengthening of Shaibani Khan himself in Merv the Persian armies then set out for that city. Dana Muhammad Beg Afshar was sent ahead from Sarakhs with troops towards Merv. Shaibani Khan sent two of his chief nobles, Jan Wafa Mirza and Oambar Beg, to resist the advance of the Qizilbesh. Near Tahirabad they met the Persians and the Safawid commander Dana Muhammad was killed by an Uzbek arrow but towards the end the Safawids prevailed and drove the Uzbeks to Merv. The Shah then advanced and encamped outside Merv. On the twentieth of the month of Shaban, Dev Sultan Rumlu, Chayan Sultan Ustajlu, Badinjan Sultan Rumlu, Zaynal Khan Shamlu and Mirza Muhammad Talish attacked the gate of

the fort of Merv. The Uzbeks made a fierce attack. Many men were killed on both sides. Next day again there was fierce fighting till the evening. In this manner fighting outside Merv continued for seven days.¹

Battle of Merv: Defeat and Death of Shaibani Khan (916 H./ December 1510 A.D.)

For seven days daily skirmishes took place between the rival forces. When the Shah found it difficult to capture the fort he devised a stratagem to bring out Shaibani Khan into the open. He retreated one day's march so that Shaibani Khan should come out of the fort. So, on Wednesday, the twentieth of the month of Shaban, he moved from outside Merv and camped near the village of Mahmudi. For a day and two nights the Shah stayed there. And on the next day he posted Amir Beg Turkman with three hundred horses at the bridge of the river of Mahmudi with instructions to retire and flee on seeing the Uzbek army so that the Uzbeks might take courage and cross the river. When Shaibani Khan came to know of the retreat of the Persians, he thought they might retire to Iraq and Azarbaijan. He would not leave Merv on the first day, but

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 52-53; *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 237; Erskine, Vol. I, pp. 300-01; Sir Henry Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, Vol. II (London, 1886), p. 707, hereafter mentioned as Howorth.

took counsel with his officers. Qambar Beg and Jan Wafa Mirza pleaded that he should wait yet two or three days; till Ubaidullah Khan and Timur Sultan joined them, and then go out. They argued that the retreat of Qizilbash army was not from weakness, but from fraud. But Shaibani Khan was over confident and he overruled their advice. On the other hand, his wife Mughal Khanim provoked him saying that he had often written to the Shah and called him to battle and now that the Shah had come with his tired army upto Merv what prevented him from facing the Shah!¹

At the words of Mughal Khanim, Shaibani Khan's zeal was fired and on Friday morning, 30th of Shaban, he came out of the fortress with a vast army. When he reached Mahmudi, Amir Khan Turkman fled as planned and Shaibani Khan crossed the river. However, on crossing the river he was amazed to see the Persian army drawn up for battle. It is said that when his sight fell on the Qizilbash array, he repented of his boldness and told Khwaja Mahmud, the Wazir, to go and hearten Jan Wafa Mirza saying "Be firm of heart, for I will overthrow the Qizibashes." But Jan Wafa Mirza cursed the Khan and said,

Tell the Khan their army is mighty, and,
with the men we have, we cannot over come
them. Pity it is that he hearkened not to
our counsel.

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 53; *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 234; Erskine, Vol. I, p.302; Howorth, p. 708.

But now has he given us and himself over to death, and our wives and children will be captives in the hands of the Qizilbash.

However, Shaibani Khan now had no alternative but to give a fight. He arranged his army. He posted himself at the centre and entrusted the right and left wings to Qambar Beg and Jan Wafa Mirza.¹ When the Shah came to know from Amir Beg that the foe was nigh at hand, he drew up his army and gave the right and left wings to his chiefs Amir Najm Sani, Bayram Beg Qaramanlu, Chayan Sultan Ustajlu, Dev Sultan Rumlu, Hasan Beg Lala, Abdal Beg Dada, Zaynal Beg Shamlu, and Badinjan Sultan Rumlu. Then the Shah turned back his turban from his Sufi cap and charged the Uzbeks. All the day long Shaibani Khan held firm, but in the end the Persians prevailed. And when the sun rose countless number of Uzbeks lay dead. Khwaja Jalaluddin Muhammad, Khwaja Husain Diwan and Khwaja Abdullah of Merv were killed. Qambar Beg and Jan Wafa Mirza were taken captive and were put to death. The remnants of the Uzbek army fled. When they reached the black water they tried to cross it for safety. But the Mahmudi channel was blocked with men and horses and whosoever crossed became a victim. Shaibani Khan while in his flight reached a walled place where there was no way out. When the Persians in their pursuit pushed them

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 54; *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 234.

the Uzbeks crowded themselves one upon the other. Many were crushed beneath their horses. And some who survived found themselves standing on the pile of the dead. Thus they reached the top of the wall. But before they could cross over the wall they were slain. And, when all were slain certain of the Persian servants found Shaibani Khan's dead body in the heap of corpses. Then the Shah commanded that his head should be cut off from his body and stuffed with straw and sent to Sultan Bayazid of Turkey, while the bones of his skulls be mounted in gold and fashioned into a cup. The cup of the skull thus prepared they poured wine into it and sent round the Royal assembly.¹ Thousands of Uzbek warriors were killed and not one was left alive. Mirza Haider Dughlat says that no history has recorded, nor has any one read or heard of another battle in which almost all commanders of the army were slain.² With the battle of

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 54-55; Erskine says that after the contest the body of Shaibani Khan was disentangled from the heap of slain. His head was put off and presented to Shah Ismail, who ordered the lifeless trunk to be dismembered, and the limbs to be sent to different parts of his empire, to be exposed to the popular gaze. The skin of the head was stuffed with hay, was sent in scorn to Sultan Bayzid, the Turkish emperor, who was an ally of Shaibani Khan. The skull set in gold was made into a drinking cup, which the Shah was proud of displaying at his great entertainments. Erskine, Vol. I, p. 304; See also Howorth, Vol. II, p. 708.
2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 55; *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 234; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 303; Howorth, Vol. II, p. 708; see also Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Vol. 2 (London, 1963), p. 160.

Merv the short rule of Shaibani Khan in Herat came to close. Hasan Rumlu says that after the battle of Merv Khurasan bloomed again.¹ According to Vambery so was the tragic end of the adventurous chieftain whose life was a long and bitter struggle against his neighbours and whose administrative skill had so far made compact his robber subjects that they easily survived the disaster. The battle of Sar-i Pul had made him the master of Transoxiana but the battle of Merv closed the chapter of his life. Vambery justly remarks that Shaibani was the last of the great desert leaders who succeeded in forming a formidable power in Central Asia. He was a notable patron of learned men and built mosques and colleges at Samarqand, Bukhara and Tashkand.²

The news of the great catastrophe of Merv threw the Uzbeks into confusion. When the Shah reached Merv he found the city of Merv almost vacated and deserted. Ubaidullah Sultan of Bukhara and Timur Sultan of Samarqand, who had come to Merv with the troops of Mawara-un-Nehr, which were still unbroken, carried off at the right time the late Sultan's *harem* and whatever valuables he could hurriedly collect. Mongol auxiliaries in Shaibani's service, who were

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 55.

2. See, Howorth, Vol. II, p. 708.

the subjects of the Mongol Khan, now separated from the Uzbeks. Those found in the place were put to the sword by the Persians and their women were carried into bondage. There also followed a general massacre of the people of Merv.¹

Afterward Shah Ismail divided among his chiefs the war booty they had snatched from Shaibanids, which had been amassed by Shaibani Khan in many years. Then he bestowed the governorship of Merv on Dada Beg. He also despatched the news of his victory in every side before proceeding himself from Merv towards Herat.

Shah Occupies Herat (December, 1510 A.D.)

After leaving Merv Shah Ismail arrived at Herat, bringing to an end the three year's rule of the Uzbeks in Herat. The Shah stayed in Herat throughout the winter of 1510-11 A.D. The *Khutba* was recited in his name in the Mulkan Mosque. During his stay he commenced a severe persecution of the Sunni population of the city. According to Mirza Haider Dughlat the persecution was continued as long as Shah Ismail was in Khurasan.²

-
1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 234-35; Erskine, Vol. I, pp. 304-05; Howorth, p. 709.
 2. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 235-36; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 55; Howorth, Vol. II, pp. 709-10; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 305.

Safawid Uzbek Treaty

Emboldened by his victory at Merv and the capture of Herat the Shah decided to invade Transoxiana. Early in the spring of the year 917 H/1511 A.D. the Shah set out from Herat to attack Transoxiana. When he reached Maymana and Faryab envoys came from Ubaidullah Khan and Timur Sultan bearing rich presents for the Shah and stating that even Transoxiana was a part of the Persian empire, what need was there to conquer it? Thus they sued for peace. The Shah responded favourably.¹

Here the author of *Tarikh-i-Alam-arai Abbasi*, says that the Shah reacted favourably to the Uzbeks gestures because he had some important business in Ajarbaijan and on the frontiers of Turkey. Accordingly, a peace was concluded whereby it was arranged that (1) Amu (Oxus) should form the boundary between the Uzbeks and the Persians and (2) all the land south of the Oxus, including Khwarizm or Khiva, should belong to the Shah.² Consequently Shah conferred Balkh, Shibarghan and Andikhud upon Bairam Beg. Thus this treaty made the Shah master of all the Khurasan country which was once held by Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara. Having

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 56.

2. As quoted by Howorth, Vol. II, p. 715; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 310.

made this arrangement he retreated towards Iraq. But this treaty proved short lived and it was violated soon, first by Shah Ismail sending his army to assist Babur against the Uzbeks, and then by the Uzbeks who directly raided Khurasan soon after their defeat at Merv.

CHAPTER II

KHURASAN: THE POST MERV SCENARIO

The defeat of the Uzbeks in the battle of Merv in the year 1510 A.D. and the death of Shaibani Khan in the battle field gave an opportunity to Babur to try his luck in Central Asia and recover the Timurid possessions from the Uzbeks. The news of the battle of Merv was conveyed to Babur in Kabul by his cousin Khan Mirza of Badakhshan in the end of the December 1510. Khan Mirza invited Babur to Qunduz and inspired him to recover his ancestral domains. Babur immediately left Kabul for Qunduz and reached there in January 1511. Having halted at Qunduz for sometime to take rest and draw up a plan he decided to make an attack first on Hisar, then in possession of Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan, two most powerful Uzbek chiefs in that region. On hearing of Babur's advance Hamza Sultan left a garrison in Hisar and himself marched towards the mountains of Waksh to face Babur. Not being able to get sufficient information about each other, each party chased the other without any encounter and then withdrew, Babur to Qunduz and Hamza to Hisar.¹ Babur found that despite their defeat the Uzbeks

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 237-38; Alu-uddaulah Qazwini, *Nafais-ul Maasir*, Hindi tr. Saiyyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, in *Mughal Kalin Bharat: Babur (1526-30)*, Aligarh (1960), pp. 247-48, hereafter mentioned as *Nafais-ul Maasir*; Erskine, Vol. I, pp. 306-07; Howarth, p. 710.

were still too strong for him. He, therefore, returned to Qunduz on a look out for allies.¹

Although the Uzbeks had suffered a crushing defeat at Merv, their power was yet unbroken. No doubt that they were forced to abandon Khurasan, withdraw across the Amu river into Transoxiana, but they were not to sit idle.

Of course, for sometime there was a lull as the master mind of Shaibani Khan was gone. It was Jani Beg now who was heading the affairs of the Uzbeks. However, he succeeded in mobilizing the Uzbeks. It was the physical force of the Uzbeks and the surviving Uzbek chiefs who presented a formidable barrier to the progress of Babur.²

I. THE TIMURID INTERLUDE: TIMURID-SAFAWID ALLIANCE

It was therefore necessary for Babur to look for allies before marching ahead. The allies he was looking forward against the Uzbeks were found in the Safawid support. While he was staying in Qunduz there suddenly came a body of Shah Ismail's troops, honourably escorting Babur's elder sister Khanzada Begam, who after the death of

1. L.F. Rushbrook Williams, *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century* (Delhi, n.d.), pp. 100-101, hereafter mentioned as Rushbrook Williams.
2. Howorth, p. 710; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 309.

her successive husbands, Shaibani Khan and Saiyyd Hadi, had fallen into the hands of the Persians.¹ There also came at the same time an embassy from Shah Ismail offering his friendship to Babur. As Babur was looking forward for an ally against the Uzbeks he welcomed the Persian ambassador with great honours. Babur responded to the Shah's gesture by despatching Mirza Khan as his envoy with thanks and gifts to the Shah congratulating him for his splendid victory over the Uzbeks and requesting him for military assistance against the Uzbeks to enable him to recover his ancestral dominions.² The request for military assistance was granted at a heavy price. Babur was to substitute the Shah's name for his own in *Khutba*, was to stamp it on his coinage, and was to encourage the Shia doctrine if he succeeded in seizing Transoxiana. Hard as they were, the terms were

-
1. *Nafais-ul Maasir*, tr. Rizvi, p. 348; Mirza Haider Dughlat mentions that Babur had given his sister Khanzada Begam as ransom for his own life during Shaibani Khan's siege of Samarqand in 1501. The Begam was thereafter taken into Shaibani Khan's *harem* and by her he had a son named Khurram Shah Sultan. Afterwards Shaibani Khan began to fear that she might concert with her brother a plot against his life. He therefore divorced her and gave her to Saiyyid Hadi, one of the eminent Saiyyids. After Saiyyid Hadi had been killed in the battle of Merv, the Begam and her son fell into the hands of the Qizilbash. When Shah Ismail discovered that she was Babur's sister, he treated her honourably and sent her to her brother. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 239; See also Erskine, p. 108; Howorth, p. 710; Rushbrook Williams, p. 102.
 2. Rushbrook Williams, p. 102; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 309.

accepted by Mirza Khan on behalf of Babur.¹ And Shah Ismail soon gave leave to Mirza Khan and despatched considerable troops which soon joined Babur, who had already set out towards Hisar.²

Allies Capture Hisar, Qunduz, Khatlan, Bukhara and Samarqand

With the help of Safawids and after a hard struggle Babur defeated Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan in the year 1511 and occupied Hisar, together with Qunduz, Khatlan and Khojar. He was soon reinforced by the Safawid troops from Shah Ismail, commanded by Ahmed Sultan and Shahrukh Khan Afshar. Determined to follow up his victory Babur quickly marched on Qarshi and drove out Ubaidullah Khan of Bukhara and occupied that place. Ubaidullah Khan fled towards Turkistan. When the news of Babur's entry into Bukhara reached Samarqand the Uzbeks being alarmed also left Samarqand and withdrew towards Turkistan. Thus all Mawara-un Nehr was once more left clear for Babur, who soon entered the city of Samarqand for the third time. He mounted the

1. Rushbrook Williams, p. 102.

2. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 239; *Nafais-ul Maasir*, tr. Rizvi, p. 352; Khawandmir, *Habib-us Siyar*, Hindi tr. Saiyyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, in *Mughal Kālin Bharat: Babur (1526-30)*, Aligarh, 1960, p. 599, hereafter mentioned as *Habib-us Siyar* Rushbrook Williams, p. 102, Howorth, Vol. II, p. 710; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 309.

throne of Samarqand on the 8th of October, 1511 and was warmly received by the people of Samarqand.¹

Differences Between the Shah and Babur

Though Babur had recovered Mawara-un Nehr and had become the master of extensive dominions comprising Ghazni, Kabul, Qunduz, Hisar, Samarqand, Bukhara and Farqhana and had recited *Khutba* and struck the coins bearing the names of twelve Imams, yet he was not destined to retain his sovereignty for long. Neither he could satisfy Shah Ismail, nor the Sunni population of Samarqand. Thus troubles began for Babur. He had already dismissed the Safawid troops from Samarqand. On the arrival of the spring of 1512, the Uzbeks, encouraged by the withdrawal of Safawid troops from Samarqand and the growing coolness between the Shah and Babur on the one hand, and Babur and Samarqandis on the other, resolved to recover their lost territories. In the beginning of the year 1512 the Uzbeks set out from Turkistan. One of their armies marched towards Tashkend while another under Ubaidullah Khan went towards Bukhara. Babur advanced to oppose Ubaidullah Khan but was defeated in the battle of Kul-i Malik in April 1512. He then returned to

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 244-46; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 58; *Nafais-ul Maasir*, tr. Rizvi, pp. 348-49; *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 233; *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 21; Rushbrook Williams, pp. 102-104; Erskine, pp. 315-19; Howorth, pp. 710-11.

Samarqand where he found the atmosphere too unfavourable for him. So he withdrew and retired to Hisar. He had reigned only eight months in Samarqand.¹

When after sustaining a defeat from the Uzbeks Babur retired to Hisar he was followed by the Uzbeks who besieged him in Hisar. But when they found Babur's garrison too strong they returned.² From Hisar Babur sent his ambassadors, one after another, to Shah Ismail to tell him of his misfortunes and to ask for succour.³

When Shah Ismail heard of Babur's miseries he granted his request and sent Mir Najm Sani with 60,000 men to his aid.⁴ Though Shah had already instructed Mir Najam Sani to punish Babur for his deviation from the understanding between him and Babur but the battle of Kul-i Malik changed the situation. Presumably now he considered Babur less dangerous than the Uzbeks.

-
1. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 259-60; *Ahsnut-Tawarikh*, pp. 50-60; *Nafais-ul Maasir*, tr. Rizvi, p. 60; *Ferishta* II, p. 22; *Erskine*, pp. 319-22; *Rushbrook Williams*, p. 107; *Howorth*, II, p. 712; *Abul Fazl* says that Babur won Kul-i Malik but had to retreat owing to "the unpropitious influence of the planets, see *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 233.
 2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 60.
 3. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 260, *Nafais-ul Maasir*, tr. Rizvi, p. 349; *Erskine*, p. 323. *Howorth*, p. 712.

Hasan Rumlu mentions that when Najm Sani arrived on the frontiers of Khurasan and heard about Babur's miserable condition he set his heart on driving the Uzbeks personally. He then marched to Balkh and encamped there for about twenty days. Here he was joined by Husain Beg Lala, the governor of Herat, with a large army. Bairam Beg Qaramani entertained him. During this period Najm Sani also made efforts to complete his military preparations. He sent a party of his men to collect boats. Then a countless army crossed the Oxus. Amir Najm Sani sent Amir Muhammad Yusuf to Babur saying that his Majesty Shah Ismail would come quickly. So Amir Muhammad Yusuf went to Hisar Shadman and made a feast. Thereafter Babur went along with Amir Muhammad and his men to the camp. When Najm Sani heard of his coming, he met him with his nobles at the village of Darband-i Ahnin.¹

When the Uzbek chiefs heard of the crossing of Najmbani they brought grain into the fort and strengthened its ramparts and towers. And as Amir Najm Sani advanced against it the Uzbek governor, Fulad Sultan, made peace and came out. He and the Uzbek soldiers of the fort were put to death at the command of Najm Sani.¹

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 60; *Habib-us Siyar*, tr. Rizvi, p. 602; *Nafais-ul Maasir*, tr. Rizvi p, 349; *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 260 Erskine, Vol. I, p. 323; Howorth, p. 715, Rushbrook Williams, p. 107.

2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 60-61.

Siege of Qarshi and The General Massacre of Its People

From thence the Safawids marched towards Qarshi. Shekham Mirza, the Uzbek governor of that fort, strengthened it. And the Safawids surrounded Qarshi, and having damaged the walls poured into the city. It was ordered that there should be a general massacre, in which about fifteen thousand persons both young and old, small and great, were slain. And the Saiyyids of the place took refuge in the Great Mosque and sent a man to Amir Muhammad Yusuf saying that they were of the house of Ali, the friend of the Qizilbashes. So Amir Muhammad went to Amir Najm Sani and prayed for their lives. He answered that in the countries they took in war they slaughtered all notwithstanding whether a man was a Saiyyid or not. Then the Qizilbashes entered the mosque and slew all the Saiyyids along with their wives and children.¹

Battle of Ghazdwan (1512 A.D)

Afterwards Babur and Najm Sani advanced towards Bukhara, which was still in the hands of the Uzbek leaders Ubaidullah Khan and Jani beg. Reaching near Bukhara Amir

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 60-61; *Habib-ul Siyar*, tr. Rizvi, pp. 602-03; *Nafais-ul Maasir*, tr. Rizvi, p. 349; *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 260; Erskine, Vol. I, pp. 323-25; Howorth, p. 712, Rushbrook Williams, pp. 107-08.

Najm heard that Timur Sultan and Abu Said Sultan, the sons of Kuchum Khan, had advanced from Smarqand with a large army. He sent Bairam Beg Qaranmani against them. The Uzbeks on their part strengthened themselves in the fort of Ghazdwan. When Amir Najm Sani reached Ghazdwan, he besieged the fort. Timur Sultan and Abu Saeed sent men out to fight, but they were forced to flee back to the fort. Daily from morning till evening they fought. But after some days Najm Beg Sani ran out of provisions. Babur advised that they should go back and winter at Qarshi till the supplies were recouped. But Najm Beg stated that on the next day they would have a fight. On Sunday, the third of the month Ramazan 918 H./ October–November 1512 the Uzbek advanced guard appeared among the trees of Ghazdwan. From the side of Bukhara Ubaidullah Khan and Jani Beg also hurried towards Ghazdwan with a host of warriors, both foot and horse. At Ghazdwan Abu Saeed and Timur Sultan who were in the fort joined them. Now the Qizilbash chiefs who were at variance with Amir Najm, had marched for Khursan. As a result Najm Beg and Bairam Beg went to meet the Uzbeks with a meagre forces. A force of Ubaidullah Khan's men attacked their right wing. Bairam Khan Qaramani hastened to meet them but he was shot and fell. So the Uzbeks broke Najm Beg's army, took him as captive to Ubaidullah Khan. He was killed by the Khan's order. In their flight many Persians were drowned in river Oxus. Then Babur retired towards Hisar

Shadman.¹

According to Howorth, the famous battle of Ghazdwan was one of the most important battles on account of its consequences in the world history. Consequent upon this battle Babur was finally expelled from Transoxiana and had to turn his ambitions elsewhere. The defeat of the allies was also a great blow to the Safawid prestige. The victory of Ghazdwan secured for the Uzbeks the control of the whole of Transoxiana.

After the victory at Ghazdwan a meeting of various Uzbek chiefs was held and Jani Beg, who had been quasi regent, redistributed the appanages. Kuchum Khan received Samarqand and Timur Sultan, son of Shaibani Khan, was given joint authority with him. Ubaidullah Khan, the son of Mahmud Sultan and nephew of Shaibani, was given his father's appanage of Bukhara together with Karakul and Qrshi, while Jani Beg reserved for himself Miankal and the Soghd of Samarqand along with the towns of Karminah and Nur. They also elected Kuchum Khan as their Khan while Kuchum was *de jure* ruler, Ubaidullah, the prince of Bukhara, had chief authority and was the most outstanding leader of the Uzbeks at this time.²

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 61-62; *Baburnama*, p. 361; *Nafais-ul Maasir*, tr. Rizvi, p. 349; *Habib-us Siyar*, p. 261, Erskine, Vol. I, pp. 324-25, Howorth, pp. 712-13, Rushbrook Williams, pp. 107-08.

2. Howorth, Vol. II, pp. 713-14.

II THE SAFAWIDS AND THE UZBEKS

After the battle of Ghazdwan the Timurids were completely eliminated from Central Asia. Hereafter the Safawids and the Uzbeks remained the major contenders for supremacy in the politics of Central Asia. The Uzbeks not only recovered the territories they had lost in Transoxiana but also made fresh incursions into Khurasan. Henceforward, Khurasan remained an apple of discord between these two powers almost throughout the sixteenth century.

Jani Beg and Ubaidullah Khan Attack Khurasan: Timur Sultan Occupies Herat (1512 A.D.)

Hasan Rumlu says that soon after the battle of Ghazdwan Uzbek chiefs resolved to invade Khurasan. First Jani Beg of Kerminah crossed the Oxus and proceeded towards Herat. Husain Beg Lala and Ahmad Beg Sufi, the officers of the Shah strengthened the fortifications of the city. They repulsed every attack of Jani Beg successfully. However, about that time Ubaidullah Khan appeared outside Herat and encamped at the village of Saq-i Sulaiman.¹

Jani Beg and Ubaidullah Khan remained outside the city for two months. But in the month of Muharram 919 H/1513 A.D. some differences arose between Jani Beg and Ubaidullah

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 62.

Khan and they fell with each other. Then they raised their siege and retreated towards Transoxiana. Jani Beg went towards Kerminah. Ubaidullah Khan on his way back met Timur Sultan on the banks of river Murghab, as the latter was advancing towards Herat. Then they jointly invaded Mashhad and brought into their subjection the lands stretching as far as Isfarain. On hearing this Husain Beg Lala and Ahmad Beg left Herat. Taking advantage of their absence from Herat Timur Sultan marched towards Herat and succeeded in entering the city without any difficulty. Thereafter he put to death many Shias.¹

Shah Recovers Herat and Appoints Zainal Khan as Governor of Herat (1513 A.D.)

When the news of Uzbek attack on Khurasan reached the Shah who was then in Isfahan, he immediately set out for Khurasan. From Kalpush he sent Khalil Sultan towards Mashhad. On hearing of the approach of the Shah, Ubaidullah Khan fled towards Bukhara while Timur Sultan retired towards Samarqand. On reaching Herat the Shah ordered several officers to be executed for having deserted Najm Sani in the battle of Ghazdwan while he laid a heavy hand on some of his Sunni subjects who were accused of encouraging the Uzbeks and of persecuting the Shias. After arranging the

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 64-65.

affairs of Khurasan Shah bestowed the governorship of Herat on Zainal Khan Shamlu.¹

Zainal Khan Shamlu Replaced by Prince Tahmasp as the Governor of Khurasan (921 H./1515-16 A.D.)

In the year 921H/1515-16 A.D. Shah Ismail on the advice of Dev Sultan Rumlu, the governor of Balkh, bestowed the government of Khurasan extending from the confines of Samnah to river Oxus, on Prince Tahmasp and appointed Amir Khan Turkman as his guardian.² Following the orders of his father, Prince Tahmasp arrived in Herat in the year 922 H./ (1517A.D.) and stayed in the city garden.³

Ubaidullah Khan's Abortive Attack on Khurasan

Five years later in 927 H./ 1520-21 A.D., Ubaidullah Khan of Bukhara marched on Herat with thirty thousand of men. On Thursday, the 16th of the Jumada II Sunduk Beg the governor of Sarkh, sent a courier in Herat informing Ubaidullah Khan's march. So the Persians took their precautions and fortified the city. Three days later Ubaidullah Khan appeared and encamped at Saq-i Sulaiman. Two days afterwards he commanded the Uzbeks to launch an attack but they were successfully repulsed by the Khurasani

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 65-66.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

3. *Ibid.*,

garrison. Ubaidullah Khan then returned to Bukhara.¹

Shah Ismail Succeeded by His Son Shah Tahmasp (930 H/1523 A.D.)

In the year 1523 A.D. Shah Ismail fell ill and despite all the efforts of his physicians he grew so weak that he died.² Hasan Rumlu mentions that he was a generous ruler. He ruled for 24 years. His kingdom extended over Azarbaijan, Persian Iraq, Khurasan, Fars, Kirman, Khujistan and for sometime over Diyarbakr, Balkh and Merv. He was a lion in battle field, and bountiful in banquet chamber. The Shah fought five major battles during his reign. The first with Farukh Yasar, the king of Shaiwan, at Jabani, the second with Alwand at Sharur, the third with Sultan Murad at Alma Qulaqi of Hamabani, the fourth with Shaibani Khan near Merv and the fifth with Sultan Salim at Khaldrain. He had four sons and five daughters.³

Shah Ismail was succeeded by his minor son Shah Tahmasp on Monday 13th of Rajab 930 H./1523. After the accession to the throne Shah Tahmasp bestowed offices on his nobles and chiefs. The governorship of Khurasan was entrusted, as earlier, to Durmish Khan.⁴

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 84.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

Ubaidullah Khan's Attack on Khurasan

As long as Shah Ismail lived the Uzbeks attacks seem to have restrained by him. But when the Shah died and was succeeded by his minor son Tahmasp, this favourable opportunity was not neglected by Ubaidullah Khan.

Hasan Rumlu says that during the lifetime of Shah Ismail Ubaidullah Khan Uzbek, the ruler of Bukhara, made himself content with Bukhara. But soon after the death of Shah Ismail Ubaidullah Khan taking the advantage of new set up in Khurasan crossed river Oxus with a large army and invaded Khurasan. When the news of Ubaidullah Khan's invasion reached Herat, the Persian assembled to discuss the strategy to oppose the Uzbeks. They agreed to stand a siege. The city was fortified for a stiff resistance. Next day the Uzbek Sultans appeared and surrounded the city. They attacked but they were frustrated by the garrison. And when in spite of all the efforts of the Uzbeks, they could not achieve any success and found it impossible to take Herat by fighting, they raised the siege and returned.

Husain Khan Appointed Governor of Herat (1524 A.D.)

In the year 1524 A.D. Durmish Khan Shamlu, the governor of Herat, died. Then the Shah gave the governorship of Herat to Husain Khan, the brother of Durmish

Khan.¹

Ubaidullah Khan's Attack on Khurasan and Capture of Tus (932 H./ 1525-26 A.D.)

Soon after the death of Durmish Khan differences arose among the Amirs and in the civil strife that ensued, Khwaja Habibullah, the governor of Mashhad, was killed. There followed a great confusion in Khurasan. On hearing this Ubaidullah Khan renewed his invasions. Crossing the Oxus he took Merv and set out for Tus and besieged it. The city was besieged for eight months. And, at last, the Uzbeks captured the city. Then Ubaidullah Khan handed over the city to his trusted officers and himself set out for Astarabad.²

Ubaidullah Khan Captures Astarabad and Entrusts it to His Son Abdul Aziz (933 H./1526-27A.D.)

After capturing Tus, Ubaidullah Khan advanced towards Astarabad and took it. He entrusted Astarabad to his son Abdul Aziz and himself returned towards Balkh. When the Persians learnt of Ubaidullah Khan's departure, Zainal Khan

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 91-92.
2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 95; Erskine described that after taking Merv, Sarakh also fell into the hands of Uzbeks. And then they proceeded towards the holy city of Mashhad and also took it into their possession. Then they proceeded towards Tus. *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 457; see also Howorth, Vol. II, p. 716.

and Akhi Sultan having received large reinforcements from Azarbaijan, reoccupied Astarabad. Abdul Aziz withdrew from Astarabad and joined his father. Then the forces of Ubaidullah Khan again gave the Persians a severe defeat near Bistam and Astarabad was recovered by Ubaidullah Khan. He conferred the governorship of Astarabad city and province to Zainish Bahadur and he himself moved towards Herat and wintered at Ghuriyan.¹

Ubaidullah Khan Besieges Herat (934 H./1528 A.D.)

Hasan Rumlu says that when after capturing Asatrabad Ubaidullah Khan was on his way towards Herat, Husain Khan the governor of Herat, took precautionary measures and fortified the city to defend it against Ubaidullah Khan's attack. On his arrival in the spring of the year 1528 Ubaidullah Khan laid the siege of the city, but it was bravely held by Husain Khan. Ubaidullah blocked the supplies of the city and pressed the siege so vigorously that it reduced the garrison to extremity. At last Husain Khan being in great distress resolved to vacate the city and ordered his people to seize and take away whatever they found in the city.² About the same time Zainish Bahadur, Ubaidullah Khan's governor to Astarabad, gave a battle to

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 98-99; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 489.

2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 101.

Zainal Khan, Zigaraga Khan and Mustatafa, the Persian chiefs of Sabzwar, who were on a hunting expedition. A hard fight took place. First Zainish was defeated and unhorsed, but soon he recovered and escaped. He was then joined by other Uzbek chiefs who mobilized themselves, gave a fight to the Persians who were completely routed and Zainal Khan and Zegaraga were killed. Their heads were struck off and sent to Ubaidullah Khan. This pleased Ubaidullah Khan extremely.¹ But his joy soon changed into distress when he heard of the Shah's march towards Khurasan.

Persians Capture Damghan (935 H./ September 1528 A.D.)

When Shah Tahmaspreceived the news of the Uzbek invasion on Khurasan, he got enraged and commanded a march on Khurasan. At the same time he sent messengers throughout his empire to collect the troops. In the beginning of Ramzan of the year 933 Hijri (September 1528), he left Kharkan, his summer abode, and set out towards Khurasan. On his way to Khurasan he resolved an attack on Damghan and he sent Choha Sultan and Ulma Sultan as advance guard to attack Damghan while he himself followed them. When Choha and Ulma attacked Damghan, Zainish Bahadur, the Uzbek commander, fled into the fort. The fort was besieged by the Persians. When

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 101; Erskine, pp. 489-90; Howorth, p. 716.

pressed hard with musket fire, Zainish resolved to escape but was caught and put to death. The Persians entered the city and all the Uzbeks were slain.¹ When another detachment of the Uzbeks under Qamber Ali Beg attacked the Persians, it was also routed by the latter and hastily retreated towards Ubaidullah Khan.²

When Ubaidullah Khan, who was still besieging Herat, heard about total discomfiture of the Uzbeks in Damghan and the death of Zainish Bahadur, he raised the siege and withdrew hastily towards Merv.³

The Battle of Jam (1528 A.D.)

On reaching Merv, Ubaidullah Khan sent gallopers to invite all the Uzbek chiefs of Trans-Oxiana to his aid. Accordingly, Kuchum Khan with his son Abu Said and Pulad Sultan came from Samarkand, Sunjuk Sultan's younger son from Tashkend, Jani Beg and his sons from Miankul, Mehdi Sultan and Hamza Sultan's sons from Hisar, Qitin Qara Sultan from Balkh. All of them assembled in Merv.⁴ Thus was collected

-
1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 102, *Baburnama*, p. 622; Erskine, 490; Howorth, p. 716.
 2. *Baburnama*, p.622; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 102; Erskine, p. 490; Howorth, pp. 16-17.
 3. *Baburnama*, p. 622; Erskine, p. 490; Howorth, 717.
 4. *Baburnama*, p. 622; Howorth, p. 717.

a large army, numbering, according to Babur, 150,000. Mir Yahia Saifi, the author of the *Lubut Tawarikh* estimated it 120,000 while according to *Alam-arai Abbasi* it consisted of 80,000 veterans exclusive of other troops.¹ So great an army, says Hasan Rumlu, had never crossed the Oxus since the coming of Changiz Khan. It consisted of troops from the whole of Transoxiana, Kashghar, Turkistan, Andijan, Utsar, Subran, Qabil, Tarfan, Ghilman, Qazaq and the plains of Qipchaq and Kirghis². On the other hand, Shah Tahmasp, according to Babur, had a Persian army of 40,000 who were veterans and disciplined in Turkish fashion equipped with fine artillery and carts.³

After the reduction of Damghan Shah Tahmasp marched towards Mashhad and visited the Imam's tomb. From there he sent his men to collect the news of Ubaidullah Khan. When he found that Uzbeks had assembled at Merv, he proceeded to Jam. On the other hand, Uzbeks marched out from Merv and reached the defiles of Zirbad. Then the Shah prepared himself for the battle and arrayed his army. On the right and left wings were Choha Sultan Taklu, Husain Khan Shamlu,

-
1. See Howorth, p. 717.
 2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 103, Erskine, 490; Howorth, p. 717.
 3. *Baburnama*, p.622; Howorth, p. 717.
 3. *Baburnama*, p. 622; Erskine, p. 490; Howorth, 717.

Ahmad Sultan Ustajlu and Ahmad Sultan Afshar and others. In front of the army were wagons with guns and canons.¹

Ubaidullah also arrayed his army. In the centre were Ubaidullah Khan and Kuchum Khan; on the left Buraq Khan, Fulad Sultan, Abdul Aziz Sultan and Abdul Latif Sultan; on the right Jani Beg Sultan, Kuldi Muhammad Sultan, Abu Saeed Sultan and in the reserve were Suinujuk Muhammad Sultan with Qambar Ali Beg, Sheikh Darwish Beg and Rustam Quli Beg. Tabab Khwaja and Qaraja Bahadur were sentinels. There were many other Sultans like Qitin Qara, Qumish Oghlan, Tinash Beg, Chaghatay Bahadur who took their assigned places.²

The two armies met on 25th of September near Jam, a town lying between Mashhad and Herat. And the battle began on 26th September.³ Soon it became a formidable conflict. The Safawids had their guns in the centre, protected by twenty thousand chosen troops under the personal command of the Shah. The Uzbeks, as usual, outflanked the Safawid army and having turned both flanks, got into the rear and began to plunder the camp. But the Safawid centre stood firm. At a favourable moment the chains connecting their guns being

-
1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 103, *Baburnama*, p. 623; Erskine, 490-91; Howorth, p. 717.
 2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 103.
 3. Erskine, p. 493; Howorth, 717.

dropped, the troops stationed rushed forward. A furious hand to hand fight ensued in which a body of three thousand Safawid soldiers greatly distinguished themselves. The struggle terminated in the defeat of the Uzbeks with a dreadful slaughter. Fifty thousand of them are said to have been slain on the field of battle. Several of the Uzbek Sultans were slain. However, Kuchum Khan and Ubaidullah Khan escaped. Jani Beg Khan, who had pursued the retreating troops of the Safawids assuming it to be an Uzbek victory came upon the encampment of Tahmasp. The Safawids attacked him and pursued him but ultimately he succeeded in escaping.¹ After scoring the victory over the Uzbeks Shah sent the news of his victory throughout the world. He restored the governorship of Herat to Husain Khan who had shown bravery in the battle of Jam, and himself retired towards Iraq.²

Ubaidullah Khan's Attack on Mashhad (935 H./ 1528-29 A.D.)

In spite of the setback at Jam the Uzbeks were not to sit idle. The Uzbek power was not broken as we gather that soon afterwards Ubaidullah Khan prepared to retaliate. As soon as he heard that the Shah had left Khurasan for Iraq

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 103-04; *Baburnama*, p. 623; Erskine, Vol. I, pp. 491-92; Howorth, p. 717-18.

2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 104; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 492; Howorth, p. 718.

he sent Suinjuk Muhammad and Abdul Aziz with six thousand men to attack Mashhad. Later on he himself went towards Mashhad. The Uzbeks soon captured the city and committed many atrocities upon the Persians. Having entrusted the city to his retainers he himself marched towards Herat.¹

Ubaidullah Khan Captures Herat and Besieges Farrah (1529 A.D.)

Soon after capturing Mashhad, Ubaidullah Khan proceeded towards Herat. Herat was surrendered to him by the Persian governor Husain Khan without any fight. There also the Uzbeks plundered and killed a large number of Persians.²

In the same year, Ubaidullah Khan invaded Farrah and besieged Ahmad Sultan, the governor of Farrah. But when he found it difficult to take Farrah he returned to Herat.³

Shah Tahmasp's Second March Towards Khurasan and Recapture of Herat (936 H./ 1530 A.D.)

When Shah Thamasp learnt that Ubaidullah Khan had invaded Khurasan and captured Herat he set out for Khurasan a second time. When Ubaidullah Khan heard about Shah's march towards Herat he wrote a letter to the Shah saying that ever since the Shia faith had been introduced in Khurasan,

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 104-05; Erskine, Vol. I, pp. 492; Howorth, p. 218.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 106-7; Howorth, p. 718.

people are facing many troubles. Hence he wanted to restore peace on the land. Though the Shah dismissed Ubaidullah's envoy with honour he continued his march. When the envoy returned and informed about the strength of Shah's army, Ubaidullah could not stay in Herat and returned to Merv.¹ Having arrived at Merv he summoned a council of the Uzbek chiefs to chalk out a plan for the defence of Herat. The opinion of the Uzbek chiefs was divided. Abu Saeed, who was now the Khakan set his face against the war and advised Ubaidullah Khan not to undertake it. The Khakan was supported by some other chiefs. Thus Ubaidullah Khan withdrew to Bukhara and the whole of Khurasan came under the sway of the Persians. The Shah gave Khurasan to his brother Behram Mirza and himself returned²

Ubaidullah Khan Resumes His Khurasan Expeditions (937 H./ 1530-31 A.D.)

Although unsupported by other Uzbek Sultans, Ubaidullah Khan resumed his raids in Khurasan. And in the year 937 Hijri he sent his three chiefs to attack Mashhad, but they were driven back by its governor Mantasha Sultan who was supported by other local chiefs.³

-
1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 106-07.
 2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 107-08; Erskine, Vol. II, p. 99; Howorth, p. 719.
 4. Howorth, p. 780; Hasan Rumlu does not mention this attack. He mentions Ubaidullah's attack on Herat. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 111.

In the year 1532 Ubaidullah Khan renewed the invasion with a large army. He made four pronged attack on Khurasan. While he himself marched on Herat, his son Abdul Aziz marched on Meshhad, Kamishoghlan on Astarabad while Khan Keldi Batur attacked Subzwar.¹ Khurasan was raided from various directions for a year and half during which Ubaidullah pressed the siege of Herat, where terrible distress ensued. Distress was so great that overtures for surrender were made to Ubaidullah on condition that he withdrew his troops a march or two so as to let the garrison escape unmolested. This he refused and insisted that it must pass through under his tent's ropes and in consequence the siege proceeded. Meanwhile, Qitin Qara Sultan and Jani Beg Sultan came from Balkh to re-inforce Ubaidullah Khan. But they sent their envoy to Behram Mirza and made peace with him. This created a very awkward situation for Ubaidullah Khan who however continued to bring pressure upon the Persian garrison.

Shah Tahmasp's Third March Towards Khurasan: Herat Conferred Upon Sam Mirza

While Ubaidullah Khan was finding it difficult to capture Herat Shah Tahmasp marched towards Herat. He sent a contingent towards Astarabad which surprised the Uzbeks, put

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 111: Arminius Vambery, *History of Bokhara* (New York, 1973), p. 280, hereafter mentioned as Vambery.

many of them to death and sent about 500 heads to the Shah. The Uzbeks at Sabzwar retired without fighting. Abdul Aziz hurried from Mashhad towards Herat. Not supported by other Uzbek Sultans Ubaidullah Khan dared not face Shah Tahmasp in the field and retired to Bukhara. Shah Tahmasp gave Herat to his brother Sam Mirza with Aghziwar as his guardian.¹ For the next two years Khurasan remained free from Uzbek attacks.

Uzbeks under Ubaidullah Khan Renew Their Incursions into Khurasan (941 H./1535 A.D.)

In 1535 Uzbeks got an opportunity to renew their attacks on Khurasan. In this year there was a civil strife in Khurasan. Sam Mirza and his guardian on the instigation of certain immigrants from Transoxiana rebelled and plundered the people of Herat. Then Sam Mirza and Aghziwar went towards Qandahar leaving Herat under Khalifa, the Chief of the Stables. Ubaidullah Khan deemed it a good opportunity to renew his incursions into Khurasan. He sent a force of four thousand Uzbeks to lay waste the northern Khurasan, but the Uzbeks were defeated by Sufiyan Khalifa, the governor of Mashhad. Meanwhile, taking the advantage of the absence of Sam Mirza from Herat, Bairam Ughalan, Qitin Qara Sultan governor of Gharjistan, invaded and plundered the

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 112-14; Howorth, p. 720.

country of Herat and got much booty and returned to Gharjistan.²

Hasan Rumlu says that the chiefs of Herat in their distress sent for Sufiyan Khalifa, the governor of Mashhad. Though he soon came to Herat, his men plundered and tyrannized people of Herat. Then the Shah dismissed him and appointed Sultan Muhammad as the governor of Herat.²

Ubaidullah Khan's Attack on Mashhad (1535 A.D.)

When Ubaidullah Khan learnt of the troubled state of the affairs of Khurasan and Sufiyan Khalifa's departure from Mashhad he set out for Mashhad. When the inhabitants of Mashhad heard of Ubaidullah Khan's march they applied themselves to strengthen the city under the direction of the wife of Sufiyan Khalifa. In the meantime Sufiyan Khalifa also returned to Mashhad. But in spite of all the efforts of the people of Mashhad, Ubaidullah succeeded in conquering Mashhad.²

Ubaidullah Khan Captures Herat (942 H./1536 A.D.)

Sufiyan Khalifa was dismissed by the Shah, and when he departed from Herat, rebellion broke out in Herat. Upon

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 121.

2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 122-23; Erskine, Vo. II, p. 103; Howorth, Vol. II, p. 721.

3. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 122-23; Erskine, pp. 103-104; Howorth, p. 721.

this some people of Herat decided to invite Ubaidullah Khan to Herat. And on the invitation of the people of Herat Ubaidullah Khan, who had just captured Mashhad, appeared outside Herat and encamped in the Garden of Desire. He was opposed by some of the chiefs of Herat. But he succeeded in capturing the city. When the Uzbeks entered the city they took to plunder and inflicted atrocities on the inhabitants of the city. Many Shias were persecuted. Thereafter Ubaidullah retained possession of Herat for fourteen months.¹

Fourth Invasion of Shah Tahmasp on Khurasan (1536 A.D.)

When the news of Ubaidullah Khan's persecutions of the people of Khurasan reached the Shah he became enraged and decided to invade Khurasan. He sent his chiefs, Amir Sultan Rumlu Sadruddin Khan and Sultan Ali Tati as his advance guard and himself followed them.²

Flight of Ubaidullah Khan and Shah's Recovery of Herat

After the departure of Ubaidullah Khan from Mashhad to Herat, Mashhad was recovered by the Persian. Hasan Rumlu says that during his rule of fourteen months at Herat

-
1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 122-24; Erskine, pp. 103-104; Howorth, p. 721.
 2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 122-24; Erskine, pp. 103-04; Howorth, p. 21.

Ubaidullah Khan had planned to recapture Mashhad. He therefore, marched in that direction. But on reaching Bakharaz he heard that the Shah had marched towards Khurasan. Ubaidullah Khan wanted to resist the Shah and, therefore, consulted his chiefs. But the other Uzbek chiefs insisted on a retreat. Hence, Ubaidullah Khan had to abandon Khurasan and retreat to Bukhara by way of Balkh. The Shah took possession of Herat unopposed.

After the year 943 H/ 1536 A.D. Ubaidullah made two or three other inroads into Khurasan during his life time but they proved abortive. The province remained in possession of the Persians and enjoyed comparative tranquillity.

Death of Ubaidullah Khan (946 H./ 1539-40 A.D.)

In the year 946 H./ (1539-40 A.D.) Ubaidullah Khan son of Mahmud Sultan and nephew of Shaibani Khan died. Khurasan which had been ruined and deserted by reasons of his attacks bloomed again.¹ Ubaidullah Khan had distinguished himself for his struggle with the Safawids. During his life time he had plundered and raided Khurasan many times. Even when he was the governor of Bukhara during the time of his uncle, Shaibani Khan, he had defeated most of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara's sons. Soon after the Uzbek's victory in the battle

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 133-34.

of Ghazdwan he started his attacks on Khurasan. Till his death he whole heartedly continued his struggle for Khurasan with the Persians. Though he could not establish Uzbek rule permanently in Khurasan or Herat, he succeeded in ruling over Herat for long spells of time. After the death of Ubaidullah Khan Khurasan remained in the possession of the Persians till the time of Abdullah Khan, the greatest of the Uzbek Sultans.

Abdul Latif (1540-51) And Shah Tahmasp

Howorth on the authority of Qazwini tells us that with the accession of Abdul Latif there was a relative calm on the front of Khurasan. The Uzbek Sultans extended their hand of friendship towards Shah Tahmasp. Hasan Rumlu says that in the year 948H./1541-42 A.D., the Uzbek Sultans sent their envoys to the court of Shah Tahmasp. Qitin Qara Sultan from Balkh sent Jahanchara and Abdul Aziz, the son of Ubaidullah Khan, while the ruler of Bukhara sent Khudai Birdi to the court of Shah Tahmasp. These envoys were received honourably by the Shah who reciprocated by sending his envoy Jai Agha Mihmandar to the court of Uzbek Sultans.¹

However, in spite of these gestures of friendship the border conflict between the Uzbeks and the Safawids

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 137.

continued. In the year 955 H/1549 A.D. Ali Sultan Uzbek invaded Astarabad but his attack was repulsed by the Persian chief.¹ In the same year the Uzbek governor of Gharjistan, Baraim Ughlan, raided Herat borders and took some tribes to Gharjistan. The Persians in retaliation attacked Gharjistan and Bairam Ughlan was defeated.² In the same year Haq Nazr Uzbek crossed the Oxus river with a large army, but he was also beaten back by Qazaq Sultan of Bakhraj.³ Two years later Buraq Khan and Abdul Latif Sultan crossed river Oxus with a large army but they soon withdrew.⁴ The Persians thus re-established themselves in Khurasan which became a province of the Safawid Empire.

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 152.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-56.

CHAPTER III

BALKH: A BUFFER ZONE

Situated on river Balkh a tributary of river Oxus or Amu Balkh is bounded on the north by Tirmiz and Hisar Shadman, on the east by Qunduz and Badakhshan, on the south by Kahmard and Bamian and on the west by Khurasan. Thus by its very location it served as a buffer zone not only between the powers to the north of Oxus and south of Hindukush mountains but also between Khurasan and Badakhshan. The city of Balkh is one of the oldest and largest towns in the basin of Amu river. Muslim writers refer to it as the "mother of Towns" (Omal-bilad).¹ Like all large towns Balkh was divided into the town proper (called by the Arabs Madina while by the Persians Shahrستان) and the suburbs, i.e., *rabad*. As Barthold tells us, according to Yaqubi the *rabad* of Balkh had four gates, while according to the geographers of the tenth century it had seven gates.²

1. See, W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasions* (Porcupine Press Inc. Philadelphia, 1977), p. 76; hereafter mentioned as *Turkestan*.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Balkh Under Abu Saeed Mirza

During the earlier part of the second half of the 15th century Balkh constituted a part of the empire of Abu Saeed Mirza, the grandfather of Babur. After his conquest of Transoxiana in 1451-52 and then of Khurasan in 863 H./1459 A.D. he also conquered Balkh in the same year, i.e., 1459 A.D. He retained it till his death in 873 H./1468-69 A.D.¹

I BALKH UNDER THE BAIQARAS: INTERNAL STRIFE

After the death of Abu Saeed Mirza (1469 A.D.) when Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara came to power in Khurasan, Balkh became a part of his empire. From that time Balkh remained under the rule of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara till it fell into the hands of the Uzbeks (1506 A.D.).

Baiqara's Governors of Balkh: Mushtaq Ahmad and Baiqara Mirza

Mushtaq Ahmad seems to have been the first governor of Sultan Husain Mirza in Balkh. But in the year 878 H./1473-74 A.D. Mushtaq Ahmad, rebelled against the Sultan. He had established close ties with the Timurid princes of

1. *Tarikhi-i Rashidi*, p. 81; see also *Four Studies*, Vol. III, p. 28.

Transoxiana, namely Sultan Ahmad Mirza and Sultan Mahmud Mirza, the sons of Abu Sa'eed Mirza. Sultan Husain Mirza sent Mir Ali Sher to quell Mushtaq Ahmad's rebellion. Ali Sher on reaching Balkh laid siege to it. The siege was long drawn but ended in a peace treaty. Mushtaq Ahmad surrendered the town and he was pardoned. Sultan Husain Mirza then entrusted Balkh to his elder brother, Baiqara Mirza.¹ Babur says that Baiqara Mirza remained commandant of Balkh for several years.²

Haider Mirza's Governorship

After Baiqara Mirza Balkh seems to have remained under the governorship of Haider Mirza, one of the sons of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara. According to Babur, Haider Mirza was governor of both Balkh and Merv.³

Darwesh Ali's Governorship: His Rebellion

Later on the command of Balkh was held by Darwesh Ali. According to Babur he did good beg-like things, but he was muddle-headed and somewhat wanting in merit. He was dismissed from the Balkh command because of his muddle-headedness which had hampered Sultan Husain Mirza in his

1. *Four Studies*, Vol. III, pp. 40-41.

2. *Baburnama*, p. 257.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

first campaign against Qunduz and Hisar (1490-91)¹.

Barthold has, however, given a different account of Darwesh Ali's rebellion in Balkh. He says that in the year 1490, differences arose between Amir Ali Sher, the brother of Darwesh Ali, and Mazd-uddin, the wazir. Watching Mazd-uddin's influence and his strained relations with Mir Ali Sher, Darwesh Ali became apprehensive of his life and opened negotiations with Sultan Mahmud Mirza, the ruler of Hisar Shadman. When the report of Darwesh Ali's advances toward Mahmud Mirza reached Herat, Mazd-uddin was persuaded to quit the office of wazir. This could not pacify Darwesh Ali. In order to secure freedom of action Darwesh Ali made up his mind to remove his patron prince Ibrahim Husain from Balkh. To this effect he forged an order in the Sultan's name summoning the prince to Herat. On the arrival of the prince in Herat Darwesh Ali's treachery was exposed. Sultan Husain openly expressed his indignation at the perfidity of governor. The Sultan so strongly voiced his complaints to Mir Ali Sher that it caused distress to the latter. Sometime afterwards the Sultan himself proceeded towards Balkh. At this time one Khoja persuaded Darwesh Ali to produce himself before the Sultan who had reached river

1. *Baburnama*, p. 275.

Murghab. Darwesh Ali agreed to accompany Khoja to the presence of the Sultan leaving Darwesh Ali some three or four *farsakhs* behind Khoja arrived in the camp and reported that he had brought Darwesh Ali. The Sultan pardoned Darwesh Ali, and on his arrival he was admitted to audience and even allowed to entertain the Sultan in his camp. The Sultan then proceeded to Balkh where he spent the winter (1490 A.D.)¹

Having passed the winter of 1490 at Balkh the Sultan decided to march against Hisar in the spring of 1491 before returning to Herat. In Balkh he left Haider Muhammad under the tutelage of Amir Mubariz-uddin Vali Beg.²

Balkh Bestowed on Prince Badi-uz-zaman Mirza (901 H./1496 A.D.)

Babur says that when Sultan Husain Mirza resumed his aimless war against Hisar and returned unsuccessfully a second time to Balkh and stayed there for sometime, he in the interest of Mawara-un Nehr, gave Balkh to his eldest son Badi-uz-zaman Mirza. Mirza's old district of Astarabad was transferred to the younger prince Muzaffar Husain Mirza.

1. *Four Studies*, Vol. III, pp. 51-52.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

Rebellion of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza in Balkh (1497 A.D.)

Badi-uz-zaman Mirza had joined his father's expedition to Hisar at his father's wish with a force from Astarabad. At Astarabad Badi-uz-zaman Mirza left his son Muhammad Mumin. When Sultan Husain Mirza transferred Astarabad to Muzaffar Husain Mirza, who was his favourite son on account of the latter's mother's influence on the Sultan, it caused a breach between him and Badi-uz-zaman Mirza. Badi-uz-zaman Mirza ordered his son Muhammad Mumin to oppose Muzaffar Husain Mirza, if necessary, by force. In 1497 Mir Ali Sher, who always favoured Badi-uz-zaman Mirza went to Balkh to persuade Badi-uz-zaman Mirza to submit. But his mission failed owing to the perfidity of the Sultan, who at the same time, had sent a secret order to Balkh to seize the prince. This order fell in Badi-uz-zaman Mirza's hands and Mir Ali Sher had to return to Herat unsuccessfully.¹

Thus owing to the haughtiness of Sultan Husain Mirza and Badi-uz-zaman's annoyance on the issue of Astarabad the war between the two became inevitable. Ultimately Sultan Husain Mirza set out to quell the rebellion of his son. He proceeded from Herat to Pul-i Chiragh and Badi-uz-zaman also left Balkh to meet his father in the battle field. On the

1. *Baburnama*, p. 61; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 6; Erskine, Vol. I, p. 198.

first day of Ramazan 902 H./ May 2, 1597, Sultan Husain sent his son Abul Muhsin as an advance guard with a considerable army. Near Pul-i Chiragh the two armies met each other and Badi-uz-zaman was soon defeated and his men were made captives and were put to sword by the Sultan's orders. Defeated and destitute Badi-uz-zaman went to Khusrau Shah in Qunduz.¹

On the day following Badi-uz-zaman Mirza's defeat, his son Muhammad Mumin was captured in Astarabad by Muzaffar Husain Mirza who sent him to Herat. There he fell a prey to the plans of Muzaffar Husain Mirza's mother Khadija, a favourite of the Sultan. Muhammad Mumin was killed by the orders of the Sultan, issued in the state of intoxication. This greatly offended Badi-uz-zaman Mirza.²

Balkh Under Ibrahim Mirza

After defeating Badi-uz-zaman Mirza, Sultan Husain Mirza moved on to Balkh. It was in charge of Shaikh Ali Taghai on behalf of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza. The latter, unable to defend it surrendered the city and made his submission. Sultan gave Balkh to his son Ibrahim Husain Mirza. He left

-
1. *Baburnama*, pp. 68-70; Erskine, Vol. I, pp. 198-99.
 2. *Four Studies*, Vol. III, p. 57.

Muhammad Wali Beg and Shah Husain with him and himself went back to Khurasan.¹

Khusrau Shah's Abortive Expedition to Balkh (903 H./ 1498)

In the year 903 H./1498 A.D. after ousting Sultan Masud Mirza, the son of Sultan Mahmud Mirza from Hisar, Khusrau Shah a noble of Sultan Mahmud Mirza had raised his protege, Sultan Baisunghar Mirza, the younger son of the late Sultan, to the throne of Hisar. Khusrau Shah gave Khatlan to his younger brother Wali and after a few days marched towards Balkh to lay siege to it. At that time Balkh was under Ibrahim Husain Mirza.

Khusrau Shah sent Nazar Bahadur with three to four hundred men in advance. Then taking Baisunghar Mirza with him, he followed and laid the siege to the fort. He simultaneously sent Wali to ravage and plunder Shibarghan and thereabouts. Wali failed to conquer and occupy Shibarghan, but succeeded in laying hands on the clans and hordes of Zardak Chul seizing 10,000 sheep and 3,000 camels and plundering San Chirik country. Thereafter, he returned to join the main army before Balkh.²

1. *Baburnama*, p. 70.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

The siege of Balkh proved to be a prolonged affair. One day during the siege, Khusrau Shah sent Nazar Bahadur to destroy the water channels of Balkh. But he was suddenly attacked by Tingri Birdi *Samanchi*, one of Sultan Husain Mirza's favourite Begs, with 70 or 80 men. He struck Nazar Bahadur down, cut off his head, carried it off and went back into the fort.¹ In the end Khusrau Shah had to abandon the siege and withdraw to Hisar unsuccessfully.

Badi-uz-zaman Mirza Defies the Sultan in Alliance with the Arghuns: Sultan Husain Mirza Cedes Balkh to Him (1499-1500)

After the murder of his son Badi-uz-zaman became more offensive and firmly made up his mind to avenge the death of his son. He went to Qandahar and joined the Arghuns to attain his objective. With the help of the Arghuns he made attacks on the eastern parts of Sultan Husain Mirza's dominions. In the summer of 1498 A.D. Sultan Husain Mirza came and encamped at Ulang-i Nishin to check Badi-uz-zaman's raids. On June 15th, 1498 Badi-uz-zaman attacked Sultan Husain Mirza but was beaten back. For some time the Sultan

1. *Baburnama*, p. 94; Erskinse, p. 200; Barthold has given short but different account of Khusrau Shah's abortive expedition to Balkh. He says that in the year (1498-99) Khusrau Shah invaded Sultan Husain's possessions and invested Balkh. When Sultan Husain moved from Sarakh to assist his son Khusrau Shah raised the siege and returned to Qunduz. Later on Khusrau Shah sent Haider to negotiate with the Sultan. But the envoy was put to death. *Four Studies*, p. 62.

remained in Ulang-i Nishin to negotiate with his son. Mir Ali Sher arrived from Herat and requested the Sultan to come to a settlement on conditions which would also satisfy his son. The Sultan without saying anything left the camp and returned to Herat.¹

Simultaneously, Sultan Husain Mirza's other sons rebelled in Merv, Abivard and Astarabad. When in the year 905 H./1499-1500 A.D. Sultan left for Astarabad to quell the rebellion of his son he got the news from Herat of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza's coming towards Herat. The Sultan soon hurried towards east. Again, Mir Sher Ali came forward for negotiation between the two. He sent messengers to Badi-uz-zaman Mirza to persuade him to give up the fight against his father. Till now Sultan Husain had become fatigued on account of his other sons' rebellions. Since he found his forces inferior to his sons, and after consulting Mir Ali Sher, he agreed for peace. Finally, he agreed to cede to Badi-uz-zaman Mirza the town of Balkh and the territory stretching between the Amu Darya and the Murghab. It was also stipulated that in the *Khutba* Badi-uz-zaman's name should be read jointly with his father's name. Even Khusrau Shah recognised Badi-uz-zaman's suzerainty and consented to use his name in the *Khutba* and on the coins in Qunduz,

1. *Four Studies*, Vol. II, pp. 59-60.

Baghlan Tirmiz, Hisar, Khatlan and Badakhshan.¹

II STRUGGLE FOR BALKH: BAIQARAS VERSUS UZBEKS

In the winter of 909 H./1503 A.D. Shaibani Khan attacked Hisar, the country of Khusrau Shah. The main object of this expedition was not to seize Khusrau Shah or conquer his extensive dominion but to evaluate his strength and form an estimate of his resources and power. He ravaged his country without meeting any resistance. Simultaneously Shaibani Khan wished to test the power of the Baiqaras then in possession of Balkh. Using same means he marched towards Balkh, which was then held by Sultan Kulunjak, as a deputy of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza. He besieged the town throughout the winter. In spite of their numerous attacks on the enemy the men of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza were unable to drive away the Uzbeks. The Balakhis, however, got a respite when Shaibani Khan on getting the news that Tambal had rebelled against him in Andijan raised the siege of Balkh and returned to

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 17; *Four Studies*, Vol. III, pp. 62-63; see also Erskine, pp. 271-73.

Samarqand leaving the affair of Balkh half done.²

Shaibani Khan's Second Attack on Balkh

Babur says that having abandoned Farghana country when he was on his way to Kabul, he received letters from Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, the ruler of Khurasan, seeking his support and co-operation against Shaibani Khan. Though Sultan Husain Mirza was in a position to open the offensive against the Uzbeks, but from the very beginning he preferred to remain on the defensive. Now he was compelled to take some steps to defend the banks of the river Murghab and launch an offensive. He sent his sons Sultan Ahmed Mirza and Ulugh Beg Mirza with an army to check Uzbek advance and wanted Babur to guard the banks of Murghab in case of an

-
1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 164-67; Hasan Rumlu has given a detailed account of Shaibani's attack on Balkh. He says that now (909 H), at the call of Amir Muhammad Baqir Tarkhan, Shaibani Khan crossed by the ford of Kuki for Balkh. And when Badi-uz-zaman heard of his coming, he left his son Muhammad Zaman Mirza in the city and set out for San and Charyak. Shaibani Khan sent men to attack Shiburghan. Then Amir Ali Tarkhan and Amir Umar Beg marched out of the fort to meet them, but they were taken. Shaibani Khan and ten thousand men placed themselves outside the fort and turned aside the water of its moat. And day by day they came to the gate and attacked, but they were driven back with wounds. One day, when Shaibani Khan and his warriors attacked, about five hundred men were killed. And yet again he attacked twice. For three months they were outside the city, but finding that the taking of the fort was a hard thing to do they returned to Samarqand, See *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 34.

Uzbek attack. Simultaneously, Badi-uz-zaman Mirza was asked to post his men to protect the forts of Balkh, Shibrghan, Andikhud etc. He himself stayed back to defend the fort of Ghirzawan, the Zen valley and the neighbouring country.¹

By 1505 A.D. Shaibani Khan had conquered the forts of Hisar and Qunduz and driven Khusrau Shah into exile and assigned these places to his relatives. In 1505 A.D. he also captured Khwarizm after a long siege of ten months from Chin Sufi, the commander of Husain Mirza Baiqara, and assigned it to Kupuk. Shortly afterwards Shaibani Khan marched towards Balkh and besieged the fort of Balkh (1506).

It was this threat from the Uzbeks which had forced Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara to summon his provincial army and invite Babur and other neighbouring Timurid princes to join him.² Babur had several times sought Baiqara's help against the Uzbeks but the Sultan never paid heed. In spite of Babur's warnings against the Uzbeks Baiqara had failed to realise the danger that threatened the Timurids. It was only when Shaibani Khan seized Khwarizm and besieged Balkh, the gateway to Khurasan, that he became alarmed. Though

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 34; *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 229.

2. According to Abul Fazl, Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara sent Saiyyid Afzal to request Babur to come to his assistance. *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 229.

Babur was angry that Baiqara had twice turned down his request for aid, he did not decline the request of Sultan Husain Mirza. He immediately responded to the call and left Kabul in May-June 1506 for Khursan.¹

When Sultan Husain Mirza heard of the move of Shaibani Khan, he sent Khwaja Muhammad Munshi to recall Badi-uz-zaman Mirza from Balkh to Herat. Badi-uz-zaman Mirza soon responded and came to Herat. In the spring 911 H./1506 A.D. the Sultan set out to face Shaibani Khan, sending Badi-uz-zaman Mirza as an advance guard. But on his way at Baba Ilahi, Sultan Husain Mirza fell ill and he immediately recalled Badi-uz-zaman Mirza, who on reaching in his father's presence found exceedingly weak. On 11th of the month of Zulhijja 911 H./May 5th, 1506 A.D. Sultan Husain Mirza died.² Babur heard the news of Baiqara's death when he had reached Kahmard. He did not stop on the way and continued his march towards Khurasan.³

Shaibani Khan on his part continued the siege of Balkh. At the same time he sent Mulla Khatai as his envoy to Herat conveying through him the message of co-operation. But Badi-uz-zaman Mirza seized the Maulana and imprisoned him.⁴

-
1. *Baburnama*, pp. 255-56 and 95.
 2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 38; *Baburnama*, p. 256.
 3. *Baburnama*, p. 296.
 4. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 40.

In the meantime Shaibani Khan pressed his siege of Balkh. Sultan Qul-i Nahaq (Amir Sultan Qipchaq), Badi-uz-zaman Mirza's governor to Balkh, sent messengers to Herat with the information that the garrison of the fort of Balkh was on the verge of starvation and that Shaibani Khan was pressing the siege vigorously.¹

Upon this Badi-uz-zaman Mirza and Muzaffar Husain Mirza, the joint rulers of Khurasan, resolved to march against Shaibani Khan, then besieging Balkh. To strengthen themselves they also summoned all their brothers, who were ruling in different parts of Khurasan, and set out from Herat towards Balkh. At Chihil-dukhtaran they were joined by Abul Mushin Mirza from Merv and Ibn Husain from Tun and Quain. On reaching the banks of river Murghab they were joined by Babur on Monday Jamadi Sani 911 H./ 1506 A.D.²

Shaibani Khan Captures Balkh (1506 A.D.)

When the Khurasani Mirzas were encamped at Murghab they discussed plans to oppose Shaibani Khan but they could not reach any conclusion. While the discussions were still continuing news came from Balkh that Sultan Qul-i Nahaq was reduced to great extremities by Shaibani Khan at Balkh and

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 40.

2. *Baburnama*, pp. 296-97.

he had surrendered the fort to the Uzbeks. Thus due to the inactiveness and discord among the Mirzas Balkh was lost. After capturing Balkh Shaibani Khan returned to Samarqand.¹ Babur was unhappy about the manner the Mirzas lost Balkh. He bitterly comments as follows:

The Mirzas took three months to get out of Heri, agree amongst themselves, collect troops and reach Murghab. Meantime Qul-i Nachaq was reduced to great extremities by Shaibani Khan at Balkh and he surrendered the fort to the Uzbeks.²

Shaibani Khan Assigns Balkh to His Son Khurram Shah

Before returning to Samarqand Shaibani Khan conferred the government of Balkh upon his minor son Khurram Shah born of Khanzada Begum, Babur's elder sister, who had fallen into Shaibani Khan's hands when Babur fled from Samarqand in 907 H./ 1501 A.D.³ It seems that Khurram retained Balkh till 1510 A.D.

1. *Baburnama*, p. 300; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 40.

2. *Baburnama*, pp. 299-300; Mirza Haider Dughlat also supports the version that before the conquest of Khwarizm Shaibani Khan had laid siege to Balkh for six months and had left that enterprise half completed, but after the conquest of Khwarizm (Aug. 1505) he conquered Balkh and then returned to Samarqand; see, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 204-05.

3. *Baburnama*, p. 18; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 234.

III STRUGGLE FOR BALKH: UZBEKS VERSUS SAFAWIDS

In the year 1510 A.D. the battle of Merv was fought between Shah Ismail Safawi and Shaibani Khan. Shaibani Khan was defeated and killed in the battle. The death of Shaibani Khan broke the power of the Uzbeks in Central Asia for a short span of time. The news of the catastrophe of Merv threw the Shaibanids into confusion. After this the Uzbeks withdrew from Khurasan and the country now lay in possession of the Safawids.

Uzbek-Safawid Treaty: Balkh Passes on to the Safawids

The author of *Ahsanut-Tawarikh* says that after reducing Khurasan early in the spring of the year 917 H./1511 A.D. Shah Ismail set out from Herat, intending to invade Transoxiana and advanced as far as Maymana and Faryab. But at Kara Rabat he was met by Uzbek envoys from Ubaidullah Khan and Timur Sultan, bearing rich presents and requesting for peace. As Shah Ismail wished to go to Azarbaijan and the frontiers of Turkey he readily accepted their offer.¹

Erskine on the authority of *Tarikh-i-Alam Arai Abbasi* says that a peace was concluded and it was arranged that river Amu should form the boundary between them and that all the land to the south-west of the river Amu, including

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 56; Howorth, p. 715.

Khwarizm should go to the Shah.¹ As Balkh is also south of river Amu it also became the part of Shah Ismail's dominions. After concluding the treaty Shah granted Balkh with Shiburgan and Andikhud to Bairam Beg Qaramanlu.²

In the year 1511 with the help of the Persians Babur occupied Samarqand for the third time. But he was driven out by the Uzbeks and withdrew to Hisar. Uzbeks followed him to Hisar. Meanwhile with the help of Mirza Khan, Babur dug a ditch round the city of Hisar, closed the streets by massive earthworks and applied for assistance to Bairam Beg Qaramanlu, the Persian governor of Balkh. The latter accepted his request and despatched three hundred men under the command of Amir Muhammad Shirazi. When the reconnoitering parties of the Uzbeks arrived near Hisar, they found Babur ready to defend the fort and the town till the last drop of his blood. Therefore, they gave up the plan and withdrew without attack.³ Again when Shah Ismail sent Najm Sani to reinforce Babur, he on his way halted for 20 days at Balkh. Bairam Beg entertained him magnificently.⁴

1. Erskine, Vol. I, pp. 309-10; Howorth, p. 715.

2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 56.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

4. *Ibid.*

In the year 1512 A.D. the battle of Ghazdwan was fought between the Uzbeks and the Safawids, who had come to help Babur. But the Safawids were defeated. After the battle, the Uzbeks not only recovered the territory they had lost in Transoxiana, but also made incursions into Khurasan, revaging and plundering the northern most part of the province. So Shah Ismail Safawi decided to retaliate and set out with a large army against the Uzbeks. Hearing of Shah's march they withdrew to their respective dominions.

The Shah Confers Balkh Upon Dev Sultan (919 H./1513 A.D)

When the Shah was passing his summer (1513) at Ulang-i Baba Khaki he assigned Balkh to Dev Sultan.¹ However, the author of *Habib-us Siyar* mentions that after the battle of Ghzdawan when Babur fled towards Kabul on his way he may have spent the year 919 Hijri in Kishm. He had one of the Shah's retainers in his service, Khwaja Kamaluddin Mahmud, who had fled from Ghazdwan to Balkh. There Khwaja Kamaluddin heard that the Balkhis had invited and favoured an Uzbek chief. In August 1513 hearing that the Uzbek Sultan had left Balkh, Kamaluddin went to Balkh but was not admitted there because the Balkhis feared reppraisals for their welcome to the Uzbeks. Khwaja Kamaluddin then retired

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 64-65.

to Khurasan and was there killed. Balkh was recaptured for the Shah by Dev Sultan.¹

Balkh Under Muhammad Baharlu (921 H./ 1515-16 A.D.)

This year Dev Sultan, the governor of Balkh, gave Balkh to the charge of Muhammad Baharlu and himself went to the court of the Shah.² He had come with a box full of spear heads, which he had taken from the Uzbeks, whom he had overthrown in all his battles.³ Khawandmir says that Khawaja Jalaluddin, the *Wazir* of Muhammad Baharlu, some time later invited Muhammad Zaman Mirza, the son of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza to Balkh.⁴

Muhammad Zaman Mirza Conquers Balkh (922 H./1516-17 A.D.)

In the year 922 H (1516-17 A.D.) on the call of Khawaja Jalaluddin, the *Wazir* of Muhammad Baharlu, Muhammad Zaman Mirza with Amir Urdu Shah, the governor of Gharjistan, came to Balkh and besieged it. Then Muhammad Baharlu, strengthened the ramparts. After a few months Khwaja Haider Ali and the headmen of the fort opened the Akkasha gate to Muhammad Zaman Mirza. He entered the city and

1. *Habib-us Siyar*, Vol. III, p. 372.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 380, *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 74.
3. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 74.
4. *Habib-us Siyar*, p. 380.

Muhammad Baharlu was besieged in the citadel. After two days, on 5th of Rabi II 922, he made terms and came out from the citadel and submitted to Muhammad Zaman Mirza.

After the conquest of Balkh by Muhammad Zaman Mirza and Amir Urdu Shah the latter gave the government of Balkh to his brother's son Qiwam Beg, which resulted in a conflict between Muhammad Zaman Mirza and Urdu Shah.¹

The Mughal Interlude : Babur Versus the Uzbeks (1517-18 A.D.)

Distressed with the decision of Urdu Shah for his bestowal of Balkh upon his nephew Qiwam Beg, Muhammad Zaman Mirza killed Urdu Shah in the year 923 H./ 1517 A.D. Qiwam Beg, the nephew of Urdu Shah, then fortified Balkh and at the same time sent express messengers to Kabul seeking help of Babur and offering Balkh to him. Babur readily accepted the offer and soon set out for Balkh. Qiwam beg handed over the fort and the city to Babur's officers and himself joined Babur's army.²

Soon afterwards Babur set out in pursuit of Muhammad Zaman Mirza and captured his family. However, Muhammad Zaman Mirza succeeded in fleeing to Gharjistan where he was received honourably by the governor of that province, Amir Shah Saiful Mulk. Pursuing Muhammad Zaman Mirza, Babur could not enter the hill country. Babur then gave Balkh to

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 78; *Habib-us Siyar*, p. 382.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 81; *Habib-us Siyar*, p. 372.

Amir Beg and himself returned to Kabul.¹

Hasan Rumlu says that when Shah Ismail heard of the coming of Muhammad Zaman Mirza to Gharjistan, he sent an army under the command of Ibrahim Sultan and Ahmad Sultan against the Mirza. When Muhammad Zaman Mirza and Saiful Mulk heard of the coming of Persian army against them they thought that it was difficult to stay behind at Gharjistan and hence they fled from there towards strong defiles and subsequently set out towards San and Charyak.²

When Amir Beg, Babur's governor of Balkh, heard of Muhammad Zaman's flight towards San and Charyak, he with Ibrahim Jaliq, went after Muhammad Zaman Mirza and overtook him. A battle was fought and the Mirza was soon unhorsed. One of the Mughals would have killed him but Muhammad Zaman Mirza told his name and saved his life. That man took him to Amir Beg, who sent him to Kabul.

Muhammad Zaman Mirza as Babur's Governor of Balkh (923 H)

Babur received Muhammad Zaman Mirza with respect and entered into a matrimonial alliance with him. Babur betrothed his daughter Masuma Begum to him and gave him the governorship of Balkh. But Muhammad Zaman Mirza enjoyed the status of a semi-autonomous ruler. Realizing that it was not

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 81; *Habib-us Siyar*, p. 373.

2. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 81.

easy to rule Balkh from Kabul Babur reconciled to the situation, as long as the former even nominally acknowledged Babur's suzerainty. In this way Balkh could serve as a buffer power between Babur's possession to the south of Hindukush and the Uzbeks. But the Mirza indulged himself in luxuries and neglected the affairs of his province, though he remained loyal to Babur. ¹

Babur says that when he was at Bhira on March 4th 1519 A.D. Muhammad Zaman Mirza sent dutiful letters from Balkh by the hands of Qambar Beg. ²

Again non Friday 17th of the Rajab 925 H./ July 15th 1519, Shaikh Mazid Kukuldash waited on Babur coming from Muhammad Zaman Mirza bringing *tasadduq*, tribute and a horse. ³ *Tasadduq* sent to Babur by Muhammad Zaman was seen as acknowledgement of Babur's suzerainty in Balkh. ⁴ The author of *Tarik-i Dilkusha* also says that Balkh was a dependency of Babur in the year 930 H. ⁵

-
1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 81-82; *Habib-us Siyar*, p. 373.
 2. *Baburnama*, p. 385.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 402.
 4. *Ibid.*
 5. *Tarikh-i Dilkusha*, p. 415.

Babur Set Out For Balkh (931 H./ 1524 A.D.)

Although Babur had confirmed Muhammad Zaman in Balkh and the latter acknowledged his suzerainty, the pressure of the Uzbeks on Balkh did not ease. At the same time, Babur continued his efforts to prevent its conquest by the Uzbeks. Even when he was busy in hammering at the doors of Hindustan which he had invaded, he had to march back to the relief of Balkh.¹ This caused the Uzbeks to raise the siege.²

In the year 1525 Babur invaded India for the fifth time and during this period his policy was to encourage the moral and extend material support to his allies and partisans in Transoxiana for waging war against the Uzbeks and thereby keep the spirit of resistance alive. In accordance with this policy on 22 November 1525 Babur sent a big amount for the help of Balkhis.³ Again early in the year 1526 Babur sent Baqi Shaghawal to relieve Balkh, which was threatened by the Uzbeks.⁴

1. *Baburnama*, p. 455.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 444.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 446.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 463.

IV UZBEKS OCCUPY BALKH: QITIN QARA'S RULE (1526-47 A.D.)

In spite of Babur's efforts to protect Balkh, the Uzbek leader Qitin Qara Sultan, son of Jani Beg, occupied it at the end of the year 1526 A.D. The Uzbeks had besieged Muhammad Zaman Mirza in Balkh about the time Babur left Kabul in 1525 on his expedition to Hindustan. The rapid rise of the Uzbek power in Central Asia threatened Babur's dominions in Afghanistan. When Humayun was on his way from Badakhshan to join Babur (Moharram 932/ Oct. 1525) two of his officers, Mulla Baba of Pashaghar and his younger brother Baba Shaikh, deserted him and went over to Qitin Qara Sultan, the Uzbek Chief who was then besieging Balkh.¹ Not long after they joined the Uzbeks, Balkh was captured by the Uzbeks.² At the surrender of Balkh the deserters were sent against Babur's northern dominions and they reduced Khurram and Sharbagh. Shah Sikander of Ghuri also surrendered to the Uzbeks.³

According to *Ahsanut-Tawarikh* in autumn of the year 932 H./1526 Qitin Qara son of Jani Beg, appeared outside Balkh with a large army of the Uzbeks and besieged Muhammad Zaman Mirza. Thereupon Babur recalled Muhammad Zaman Mirza.

-
1. *Baburnama*, p. 545.
 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 545-46; Erskine, p. 488.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 546, Erskine, op. cit.

The latter left Balkh and after Babur's occupation of Agra waited upon him. He was honourably received and given a grant of 20,000 *tumans*. Thus Qitin Qara Sultan captured Balkh.¹

Babur lost Balkh because of his pre-occupation with the affairs of Hindustan. He could neither himself march to save Balkh from the hands of the Uzbeks nor could he send reinforcements to recover it. On the other, since Humayun had also left Badakhshan to join Babur's Hindustan expedition Qitin Qara Sultan took fullest advantage of the absence of Humayun from Badakhshan to consolidate his position in Balkh.

Despite the loss of Balkh Babur did not give up the efforts to recover it. After the Uzbeks had been defeated by the Safawids in the battle of Jam in September 1528 A.D. Babur's hopes of recovering Balkh and other Central Asian possessions were revived. He, therefore, wrote to Humayun, who had in the meantime resumed his charge of Badakhshan, a letter of advice regarding his future operations, recommending to him to attempt to conquer Balkh and Hisar, and, if possible, march against Samarqand. He wrote saying:

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 76. Howorth here has given different account. He says that though in the year 1525-26 Uzbeks had failed on Khurasan borders, but were more successful in other directions. Under Qitin Qara they laid siege to Balkh which still belonged to the Persians, Howorth, p. 716.

If through God's grace the Balkh and Hisar countries be won and held, put men of thine in Hisar, Kamran's man in Balkh. Should Kamran regard Balkh as small, represent the matter to me; please God! I will make its defects good at once out of those other countries."¹

In deference to the directions of his father, Humayun collected an army of 40,000 men and marched for Samarqand accompanied by Sultan Wais, whose younger brother Shah Quli simultaneously advanced and occupied Hisar, while Humayan's another officer Tarsun Muhammad marching from Tirmiz occupied Qabadian and then asked for re-inforcements from Humayun. Humayun sent Tulak Kukuldash and Mir Khwurd with many of his men and then followed himself.² At the same time, there was talk of peace between Humayun and the Uzbeks. Babur sent a message that if necessary Humayun should make peace until the affairs of Hindustan were settled. He also wrote:

God willing when the affairs of Hindustan which are near to settlement, shall be finished, we shall leave there faithful servants and ourselves visit our hereditary kingdoms. It is proper that all the servants of these countries should make preparations for the expedition and await the arrival of the imperial army.

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 270.

2. *Baburnama*, p. 636.

3. *Akbarnama*, , p. 270.

Though Humayun led an expedition against the Uzbeks, he found it difficult to proceed beyond Qabadian. Meanwhile in December 1528 arrived the Uzbek ambassador at Babur's court in Hindustan.¹ What was the purpose of his mission is not known. Perhaps the Uzbeks wanted to prevent Babur from entering into an alliance with the Safawids against them and wanted to create a congenial atmosphere for friendly understanding with Babur. For some time Babur gave no definite reply to them, the reason being that his son Humayun was still busy in the expedition against the Uzbeks. By January 1529 when Babur had learnt about Humayun's inability to make any substantial progress against the Uzbeks he declared his friendship with the Uzbeks. He first sent Khwaja Kalan to Samarqand and then in February 1529 he sent Chupaq to the Uzbek Sultan to profess good will.² He also wrote to Humayun to stop all the hostile activities and check the thieves and the raiders from carrying on their activities on the borders of Balkh.³

Qitin Qara's Envoy to Babur (1529 A.D.)

During the course of Humayun's expedition against the Uzbeks, various atrocities had been committed in the territories of Balkh, which was in possession of Qitin Qara

1. *Baburnama*, p. 636.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 642-43.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 645.

Sultan Uzbek. Thus, when after the battle of Jam Humayun's troops caused depardations in the territory of Balkh, Qitin Qara sent his envoy to Babur's court to complain against the Mughal nobles who constantly raided the frontier districts of Balkh.¹ The envoy arrived at Babur's court on February 11, 1529.

In fact Babur was too involved in the affairs of Hindustan to do anything for the recovery of territories across the Hindukush. Further seeing Humayun's failure on that side, he re-conciled himself to his new acquisitions in Hindustan and entered into friendly relations with Qitin Qara Sultan, the Uzbek chief of Balkh. Babur sent a letter to Humayun through Qitin Qara's envoy directing him and his nobles in Balkh to stop their raids in Balkh and maintain friendly relation with the Uzbeks of Balkh.²

It appears that Babur's relations improved not only with the Uzbek chief of Balkh, but also with other Uzbek chiefs of Transoxiana. In March-April 1529 A.D. Humayun and the Mughal nobles withdrew their troops to Badakhshan. After this no further attempt was made to recover Balkh or any other territory in Transoxiana during Babur's life time.

1. *Baburnama.*, p. 649.

2. *Ibid.*

Thereafter, Babur maintained cordial relation with the Uzbeks and Sultan Qitin Qara continued to hold Balkh. When in 1529 Humayun left Badakhashan Babur immediately appointed Sulaiman Mirza to the government of Badakhashan. There is no reference regarding any clashes between Sulaiman Mirza and the Uzbek chief Qitin Qara. According to *Ahsanut-Tawarikh* we notice Qitin Qara Sultan holding Balkh as late as the year 1532-33, for in this year when Ubaidullah Khan besieged Herat, Qitin Qara and Jani Beg Sultan came to his help from Balkh.¹

Uzbeks Consolidate Their Position in Balkh (1532-47 A.D.)

Hasan Rumlu, the author of *Ahsanut-Tawarikh* further says that on the eleventh day of *Zilqada* of the year 939 H./1532-33 A.D. the Shah left Herat intending to attack Balkh. On his way to Balkh for forty days he stayed at Ulang Nishin.² But the Shah could not commence his march further on account of Turkish attack on Tabriz.

As long as Ubaidullah Khan was alive and he was the Khan of the Uzbeks, Balkh was held by the Uzbeks strongly. But after the death of Ubaidullah Khan (946 H./1539-40) Uzbeks changed their policy and after a long period of struggle they wished to maintain cordial relations with Shah

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 111.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

Tahmasp of Persia. Hence Qitin Qara Sultan, the ruler of Balkh, and Abdul Aziz, the son of Ubaidullah Khan, the ruler of Bukhara sent their envoys with suitable presents to the Shah (1541-42). They were received with honour and when the Shah gave leave to them he reciprocated by sending along with them Haji Agha Muhammad as his envoy to the Uzbek Sultans.¹

With the death of Qitin Qara Sultan in 955 H./1547 A.D. his brother Pir Muhammad Khan came to power in Balkh.² Under him Balkh became a powerful centre of the Uzbeks. Pir Muhammad Khan who was partisan of Mirza Kamran against his brother Humayun not only successfully repelled Humayun's invasions of Balkh but also saved it from the incursions of Sulaiman Mirza of Badakhshan. During Pir Muhammad Khan's rule Balkh became a stronghold of the Uzbeks against the Mughals.

1. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 137.

2. *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 545; see also Howorth, pp. 723-26.

CHAPTER IV

HISAR: A GATEWAY TO TRAMONTANA

Situated in the valley of Oxus river, Hisar bordered with Uratipa in the north, Qunduz and Tirmiz in the south, Khatlan in the east and Qarshi in the west. It was also known as Hisar Shadman. Since it lay to the north of river Oxus with numerous ferries on the river it often served as a gateway from Transoxiana to the Tramontana region, particularly to area of Qunduz. Hence its political fortunes were often closely linked with that Qunduz.

Hisar Under Abu Saeed Mirza

Hisar was a part of the empire of Abu Saeed Mirza the grandfather of Babur. During his reign Abu Saeed Mirza, had given it to Qambar Ali Beg. When Abu Saeed Mirza led his abortive and fatal expedition to Iraq in 1469 A.D. Qambar Ali Beg accompanied him with a large army from Hisar.¹

I. SULTAN MAHMUD MIRZA'S RULE IN HISAR (1470-1495 A.D)

Babur says that when Abu Saeed Mirza was killed in his expedition to Iraq (1469 A.D.), his son Sultan Mahmud Mirza who was with him fled towards Khurasan, where he was joined by Qambar Ali Beg, the governor of Hisar, who commanded a considerable army. In spite of the large army at their command Sultan Mahmud Mirza and Qambar Ali Beg were driven from Khurasan by the Khurasanis. Upon this Mahmud Mirza went to his elder brother

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 46-47.

Ahmad Mirza in Samarqand. Qambar Ali Beg returned to his own district of Hisar. A few months later Khusrau Shah, a powerful noble of Mahmud Mirza, and some other nobles including Saiyyid Bahadur took Sultan Mahmud Mirza to Qambar Ali Beg in Hisar where they declared him the ruler of Hisar.¹ Thus Sultan Mahmud Mirza ruled in Hisar from 1470 to 1495 A.D.

Soon after Mahmud Mirza's assuming sovereignty in Hisar, it was attacked by Aba Bakr Mirza, the son of Abu Saeed Mirza born of his Badakhshi Begam. But through the efforts of Mahmud Barlas, in particular, Aba Bakr's attack was repulsed and Hisar was saved for Sultan Mahmud Mirza.²

II HISAR UNDER MASUD MIRZA S/O OF MAHMUD MIRZA

Babur says that Sultan Mahmud Mirza had given Hisar to his eldest son Masud Mirza during his life time and had despatched him to Hisar. As such, Sultan Masud Mirza was in Hisar when his father Sultan Mahmud Mirza died in Samarqand.³

Babur tells us that when Sultan Mahmud Mirza died in Samarqand (January, 1595) Khusrau Shah tried to lay hands on the imperial treasures and for some time kept the news of the death of Sultan Mahmud Mirza concealed. But he failed.

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 46-47.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

The people of Samarqand who hated Khusrau Shah, rose against him, expelled him from Samarqand and sent him under an escort to Hisar which was held by Sultan Masud Mirza.¹

Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara's Attack on Hisar (1495-96 A.D.)

In the year 1495-96 A.D. soon after Mahmud Mirza's death Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara of Herat marched towards Hisar and encamped on the banks of river just opposite Tirmiz. On hearing the news of his attack Sultan Masud Mirza, the then ruler of Hisar, moved with an army to face him and encamped on the other side of the river. Meanwhile Khusrau Shah strengthened himself at Qunduz and sent his younger brother Wali to assist Sultan Masud Mirza. For most of the winter the opposite forces continued to watch the movements of each other and no attack was being made from any side. At the end of the winter Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, marched up the river, covered some distance and then suddenly turned back. He again crossed the river and took Sultan Masud Mirza with surprise. But instead of delivering an attack upon him he sent Abdul Latif Bakhshi with five or six hundred men down the river to Kilif ferry. They also crossed the river and encamped on the other bank opposite Sultan Masud Mirza who now found himself surrounded from two different sides. Baqi Chaghiani and his

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 51-52.

own half brother Wali advised Sultan Masud Mirza to deliver the attack, but he at once broke his camp, withdrew and shut himself in the fort of Hisar.

When Sultan Masud Mirza had besieged himself in Hisar, Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara made a three pronged attack. He himself advanced to lay siege to the fort of Hisar. At the same time he sent two detachments, one under his eldest son Badi-uz-zaman Mirza with Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Muhammad Wali Beg and Zunun Arghun against Khusrau Shah, who had been holding Qunduz. Another detachment was sent under another son Muzaffar Husain Mirza with Muhammad Barandug Barlas against Khatlan.¹

No sooner did the news of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara's approach reached Hisar, the Hisaris took their precautions. Sultan Masud Mirza left the fort of Hisar in panic and took the road to Samarqand. Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara sent Abdul Mushin to pursue him but in vain, as Masud reached and joined his brother Baisunghar in Samarqand. Sultan Masud Mirza's flight from Hisar at this critical juncture created confusion all around. Most of the nobles deserted Hisar. Wali fled towards Khatlan. Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan Uzbek with their Uzbek followers

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 57-58.

withdrew to Qaratigin. There they were joined by Muhammad Dughlat and Sultan Husain Dughlat and a large number of Mughals who had come from Hisar. Lest they should create any new problem in any quarters, Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara sent Ibrahim Tarkhan and Yaqub-i Ayyub to pursue and disperse them. They were defeated and were allowed to go free. Hamza Sultan and Muhammad Dughlat with other Uzbeks and Mughals reached Andijan and waited upon Babur in May-June 1495 A.D. and joined his service.¹

But these large scale defections did in no way affect the defensive position of Hisar. Despite large scale desertions, Baqi Chaghiani, Mahmud Barlas and Quch Beg's father Sultan Ahmad had stayed back in Hisar to defend it. Hisar held out bravely. After his arrival near the fort of Hisar Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara settled down to open its siege. Babur has given a graphic description of the siege. He writes, there was no rest day or nor night from the labours of mining and attack of catapults and mortars. Mines were run in four or five places. When one had gone well forward towards the gate the townsman countermining struck it and forced smoke down on Mirza's men. They in turn closed the hole and sent the smoke straight back and made the townsmen flee from the very danger of death. However,

1. *Baburnama*, p. 58.

in end the townsmen drove the beseigers out by pouring jar after jar of water on them. Another day, a party dashed out from the town and drove off Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara's men from their own mines' mouth. On one occasion, the discharges from catapults and mortars in the Baiqara's quarters on the north cracked a tower of the fort. It fell at the bed time prayer. Some of Baiqara's men requested him to assault at once but he refused saying, "It is night." But before the dawn, the besieged had rebuilt the whole tower. That day too there was no assault. In fact for the two and half months of the siege no attack was made except by keeping up the blockade by mining rearing, head-strikes and discharging stones.¹ Skirmishes and indecisive battles continued on various fronts and the Khurasanis gained no success. The spring rains of Hisar added much to the misery of the invaders. Finding it difficult to continue the siege, Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara opened negotiations for peace.

On the other hand, Badi-uz-zaman Mirza's attack upon the fort of Qunduz were successfully repulsed by Khusrau Shah and Badi-uz-zaman Mirza was compelled to withdraw to Aulugh mountains of Talikan. Thus, on hearing the failure of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza on Qunduz borders, as well as, Baiqara's failure to make any progress on the Hisar front

1. *Baburnama*, p. 59.

Sultan Husain Mirza was forced to make a peace with the Hisaris. Muhammad Barlas on behalf of the garrison and Haji Pir from the opposite side settled the terms for peace. Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara took Bega Begim, the eldest daughter of Sultan Mahmud Mirza by Khanzada Begum for his son Haidar Mirza born of Payanda Begum. After the celebration of the nuptials, he raised the siege of Hisar and turned towards Qunduz.¹

Dissensions Between Sultan Masud Mirza and Khusrau Shah

When Khusrau Shah was driven out by the Samarqandi begs from Samarqand to Hisar he was assigned the district of Qunduz by Sultan Masud Mirza. But Khusrau Shah's success against Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara's armies in Qunduz filled his mind with pride and he thought of overthrowing the yoke of Masud Mirza's sovereignty. After the withdrawal of Sultan Husain Mirza Khusrau Shah quarrelled with Masud Mirza and declared himself independent.

-
1. *Baburnama*, pp. 59-61. Hasan Rumlu, the author of *Ahsunut-Tawarikh*, has given a brief account of Sultan Husain Mirza's invasion on Hisar and Qunduz. he writes, "In the summer of this year (901 H/1495-96) Sultan Husain Mirza set out to conquer Badakhashan, Qunduz and Baghlan. And he crossed the Oxus and camped at the village of Birza. When Sultan Masud heard of his coming he entrusted the fort of Hisar to Amir Baqir, Amir Mahmud Barlas, and Danish Ali, the camel driver, and with a few men fled to the city of Sabz. Then Sultan Husain surrounded Hisar which was hard pressed. So they sent envoys offering to yield and promising that if the Sultan would return to Herat, they would send him the daughter of Sultan Mahmud Mirza. Thus having concluded the matter of Hisar, the Sultan turned to Qunduz." *Ahsanut-Tawarish*, pp. 5-6.

Babur says that since "ill feelings and squabbles had arisen between Sultan Masud Mirza and Khusrau Shah because of the injustices of the one and the self magnifyings of the other," Khusrau Shah allied himself with Muhammad Zaman Mirza who having rebelled against his father had come to Qunduz (1496-97 A.D.) He sent his brothers, Wali and Baqi with Badi-uz-zaman Mirza to attack Sultan Masud Mirza in Hisar. They could not even get near the fort, Swords were crossed once or twice, one day at the Bird house (*qush-khana*) on the north of Hisar. Muhibb-ali the armour outstripped his people and struck in well, he fell from his horse but at the moment of his capture his men attacked and freed him. A few days later a somewhat compulsory peace was made and Khusrau Shah's army retreated unsuccessfully, Badi-uz-zaman Mirza retiring to Qandahar.

Dissensions Between Masud Mirza and His Brother Baisunghar Mirza

In the meantime differences arose between Sultan Masud Mirza and his brother Baisunghar Mirza. The ambitious Khusrau Shah began to woo Baisunghar Mirza. In 1497 A.D. when Baisunghar Mirza had to leave Samarqand in the course of civil war with his younger brother, Ali Mirza, he decided to go to Khusrau Shah in Qunduz. And no sooner did Sultan Masud Mirza learnt that his brother Sultan Baisunghar Mirza was going to take refuge with Khusrau Shah, than he

1. *Baburnama*, p. 71.

directed Saiyyid Husain Akbar, the governor of Tirmiz, to intercept him because the combination of the two would spell danger to him. Near Tirmiz, on the banks of Amu, Saiyyid Husain Akbar delivered a surprise attack on Sultan Baisunghar Mirza and seized the personal property of the Mirza. Baisunghar Mirza succeeded in crossing the river and fleeing to the country of Khusrau Shah by another route. When he reached Qunduz (1497 A.D.) he was received well by Khusrau Shah, who wanted to use him as an instrument for realizing his own ambitions.¹

Masud Mirza Ousted from Hisar by Khusrau Shah and Baisunghar Mirza (1497 A.D).

Soon after Baisunghar Mirza's arrival in Qunduz, Khusrau Shah taking Baisunghar Mirza with him marched towards Chaghanian and sent a letter to Masud Mirza asking him to march to Samarqand and saying if Samarqand is taken, one Mirza may seat himself there, and the other in Hisar.² Just at that time, the Mirza's begs and households turned against him, because he had shown excessive favours to his father-in-law, Shaikh Abdullah Barlas. Though Hisar has a small district, the Mirza had made the Shaikh's allowance 1,000 *tumans* of *fulus* and had given him the whole

1. *Baburnama*, p. 74.

2. *Baburnama*, p. 93.

of the Khatalan in which were the holdings of many of the Mirza's begs and household. In addition, Shaikh Abdullah's sons had taken control of the Mirza's gate. This annoyed the Mirza's nobles who began, one after the other to desert him and joined Baisunghar Mirza.¹

It seems that these nobles of Masud Mirza were incited by Khusrau Shah against Masud Mirza, who in his ignorance easily fell prey to Khusrau Shah's plot having put Sultan Masud Mirza off his guard. Khusrau Shah and Baisunghar immediately marched from Chaghanian. Masud Mirza was at that time in Daulat Sarai, in the suburbs of Hisar. He was, therefore, taken by surprise. Khusrau Shah and Baisunghar Mirza surrounded Hisar and occupied it. It was with great difficulty that Sultan Masud Mirza could effect his escape and withdraw to Khatlan. On the way, even his father-in-law also parted from him. With great difficulty Sultan Masud Mirza crossed the river and took shelter with Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, the ruler of Khurasan.²

III MASUD MIRZA REPLACED BY BAISUNGHAR MIRZA IN HISAR

After ousting the legitimate ruler from Hisar, Khusrau Shah raised Baisunghar Mirza to the throne and gave

1. *Baburnama*, p. 93.

2. *Ibid.*

Khatlan to his younger brother Wali and himself marched towards Balkh.¹

Khusrau Shah Blinded Masud Mirza (1497 A.D.)

After fleeing from Hisar, when Masud Mirza went to Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, he was well received.² But, perhaps, at the instigation of Baqi Chaghaniani, the foster brother of Khusrau Shah Sultan Masud left Husain Mirza's service without taking any permission from him and again returned to Khusrau Shah. By that same time Khusrau Shah had invited and brought Baisunghar Mirza to Hisar. In the meantime, Miran Shah Mirza, the son of Ulugh Beg Mirza, had also come from Kabul to Hisar. Babur says that some short sighted followers of Khusrau Shah were planning to kill these three Timurid Mirzas and read Khusrau Shah's name in the *Khutba* but Khusrau Shah did not think this venture advisable at the moment. He, however, seized and blinded Masud Mirza.³

Babur criticizes this inhuman act of Khusrau Shah and records his mental anguish by writing that "the ungrateful mannikin, however, for the sake of gain in this

1. *Baburnama*, p. 93.

2. *Baburnama*, p. 95; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 8.

3. *Baburnama*, p. 95.

five days fleeting world--it was not true to him nor will it be true to any man so-ever,--seized that Sultan Masud Mirza whom he had seen grow up in his charge from childhood, whose guardian he had been, and blinded with the lancet."¹

Babur again writes, "A hundred thousand curses light on him who planned and did a deed so horrible! Upto the very verge of Resurrection, let him who hears of his act of Khusrau Shah, curse him; and may he who hearing, curses not, know cursing equally deserved!"²

Some of the Mirza's foster brethren and friends and old servants took him to Kesh intending to convey him to his half brother Sultan Ali Mirza in Samarqand but as Ali Mirza also appeared threatening, they fled with him, crossed the river at the Aubaj ferry and went again to Sultan Husain Mirza.³ Having done this horried deed, Khusrau Shah again made Baisunghar Mirza the ruler of Hisar.⁴

1. *Baburnama*, p. 95.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Baisunghar Mirza Killed by Khusarau Shah (C. 1499 A.D.)

Babur says that in the year 1499 A.D. Khusrau Shah with his ill designs to finish Baisunghar's life planned to lead an army against Balkh. At the same time he invited Baisunghar Mirza from Hisar, where had placed him in 903 H/1497 A.D., to Qunduz to go to with him to Balkh. "But when they reached the Aubaj ferry", says Babur, "that ungrateful infidel, Khusrau Shah in his aspiration to sovereignty, and to what sort of sovereignty, pray, could such a nobody attain? a person of no merit, no birth, no lineage, no judgement, no magnamity, no justice, no legal mindedness, laid hands on Baisunghar Mirza with his begs, and bowstrung the Mirza." It was on the 10th of Muharram (August 17th) that he martyred that scion of sovereignty, so accomplished, so sweet natured and so adorned by birth and lineage. He killed also a few of the Mirza's begs and household."¹

Here Mirza Haider, the author of *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, has given a different account of Khusrau Shah's usurption of power. He says that in the year 1503 A.D. when Shaibani Khan defeated the Mongol Khans and their armies dispersed, at that time his father (author's father) Mirza Muhammad Gurgan fled towards Karatigin. At that time Khusrau Shah,

1. *Baburnama*, p. 110.

was in possession of Hisar, Qunduz and Badakhshan. After the death of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, he had blinded his son Sultan Masud Mirza and when Baisunghar Mirza another son of Sultan Mahmud fled from Samarqand (1497) Khusrau Shah sent messengers to him to express repentance saying, "what I did, was from fear for my life, for Sultan Masud Mirza had the intention of killing me, but now in compensation for that act, I will serve you so faithfully that, however, much my infamous act may have brought down upon me the excretions and curses of mankind my conduct for the future will procure for me their favour and applause. In this manner did he make abundant promises and protest so much, that he deceived Baisunghar Mirza and after some time strangled him.²

IV KHUSRAU SHAH'S RULE

Thus having blinded Masud Mirza and killed Baisunghar Mirza, Khusrau Shah became the master of the whole of the dominions of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, i.e., of Hisar, Qunduz and Badakhshan. But these successes filled his mind with pride and vain glory. When he was thus at the height of his power, the father of the author of *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Mirza Muhammad Gurgan arrived in Karatigin. Since Khusrau Shah was fearing Shaibani Khan's attack on his dominions, he desired an interview with Mirza Muhammad Gurgan, who had fought with Shaibani Khan several times. He invited him to

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 163.

Hisar. On his arrival to Hisar he was received honourably in the Bagh-i Chinar. In his interview Khusrau Shah said:

I look upon your gracious visit as a blessing from God; for it is the season of Shahi Beg Khan's supremacy. My fear is that though this year his mind is set upon the conquest of other territories, he may next year turn towards this quarter. I have never been to war with the Uzbeks and do not know their mode of warfare. For every tribe has its own special methods, whether in war or in negotiation. The arrangement of these matters differs with each people according to time and place and until their methods are known, it is difficult to control with them. Now as you have many times had to do with the Uzbeks, both in peace and in war, and have experience, when at war with them, both victory and defeat, make known to me all that you have learned that I may be guided by what you tell me. As my reliance is on you and my hope, I beg you to accept, in confirmation of my confidence. Sultanim Begim, daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza, and one of the princess, (of my family) that she may be a bond of union between us.

Mirza Haider Dughlat says that this meeting took place in the autumn of the year 1503 A.D. and Khusrau Shah started the preparations of marriage. This event gives the clear glance of Khusrau Shah's desire of making his sovereignty confirm and face the invasion of Shaibani Khan on his dominions. It makes it clear that Khusrau Shah was a shrewed politician.

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 163-64.

Babur's Visit to Hisar (1501 and 1503 A.D.)

Babur says that he visited the territories of Hisar twice. Once in 1501 A.D. when he was driven out by Shaibani Khan, and again when he left Farghana for ever in the year 1503 A.D. Babur complains that though Khusrau Shah was famous for liberality and kindness, both times he did not show any signs of courtesy to him (Babur) and turned his back of kindness.¹ Haider Mirza also confirms that Khusrau Shah showed no signs of courtesy to Babur, yet he adds, beyond this he did not do him any injury.²

Shaibani Khan Invades Hisar (1503 A.D.)

During the time of meeting between Khusrau Shah and Muhammad Mirza Gurgan, news came that Shaibani Khan had set out towards Hisar. On hearing this all the adherents of Khusrau Shah fled in different directions. Those who possessed castles, fortified themselves in them, and those who had none, fled to the hills and the remote valleys and glens. No one troubled himself about his neighbour, writes Haider Dughlat. As all the people of Khusrau Shah had scattered in confusion, the author's father Mirza Muhammad Gurgan fled and took refuge in Karatigin. Since Shaibani

1. *Baburnama.*, pp. 128-30, 187-88.

2. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 163-64.

Khan's purpose in coming to Hisar was not to seize Khusrau Shah, but just to try whether Khusrau Shah had power to withstand him or not, hence in that inroad he did not commit much violence. Whatever plunder did fall into his hands, he seized it. He then retired with the conviction that when came second time he would frighten away Khusrau Shah as a fly from a dish with a wave of his hand.¹

With Shaibani Khan's retirement towards Balkh Khusrau Shah felt relieved and his men again assembled. Soon Khusrau Shah's affairs began to prosper and he sent messengers without intermission to Shaibani Khan, with suitable expression of friendship, which Shaibani Khan reciprocated. That winter when Khusrau Shah was recovering his peace of mind news arrived from Karatigin that there had been heavy snowfall. Thus Khusrau Shah immediately despatched 20,000 men under his brother Wali. And a tough battle was fought between Wali and Mirza Muhammad Gurgan, the father of Mirza Haider Dughlat, the author of the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*. But in the end the author's father fled towards the hills between Kashghar and Andijan. In those mountain's were the people called Jagrak who were great cattle stealers. Khusrau Shah carried them to Qunduz.²

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 164.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-66.

V HISAR UNDER THE UZBEKS: RULE OF HAMZA SULTAN AND MAHDI SULTAN (1504-1510 A.D.)

Though Shaibani Khan had attacked Hisar in the winter of 1503 yet without conquering Hisar he had retired, as mentioned above, towards Balkh, which was then held by Badi-uz-zaman Mirza. Thereafter, he went to Samarqand and then to Andijan to curb the rebellion of Sultan Ahmed Tambal. Then he returned to Hisar and laid siege to it. He would have conquered Balkh but for the unexpected arrival of the news that Sultan Ahmad Tambal had rebelled against him. He then returned to Samarkand and after some time took his reins against Andijan to reduce Ahmad Tambal. He soon reduced Tambal and conquered Andijan and after entrusting it to Jani Beg returned to Samarkand and engaged himself in making preparations to conquer Hisar. Soon he marched to Hisar and opened its siege, but the fort was stoutly defended by Khusrau Shah's general Sherim. Shaibani Khan personally conducted the siege. Sherim unable to hold the fort for long, surrendered the fort to Shaibani Khan and asked for quarter. The Khan observing his promise, let Sherim go.¹ At the same time while Shaibani Khan was conducting the siege of Hisar, he sent his brother Mahmud Sultan to conquer Qunduz. After conquering the fort of Hisar and driving Khusrau Shah into exile, Shaibani Khan conferred the

2. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 169.

government of Hisar upon Hamza Sultan.¹ Hamza Sultan was reinforced by Mahdi Sultan.

From that time onwards Hisar remained under Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan Uzbeks till the battle of Merv (1510), the catastrophe which threw the Uzbek confederacy into confusion.

Babur says that while after leaving Farghana, he was on his way to Kabul and reached Ajar, at that time messengers arrived from Mirza Husain Baiqara inviting him and Khusrau Shah to help him against Shaibani Khan. Mirza Husain Baiqara wrote to Babur "take fast Kahmard, Ajar and that hill tract, let Khusrau Shah place trusty men in Hisar and Qunduz, let his brother Wali make fast Badakhshan and Khutlan hills, then the Uzbeks will retire and shall not be able to do anything."² It seems that until now the Sultan was absolutely unaware of the fact that Hisar and Qunduz had passed into the hands of the Uzbeks and that Khusrau Shah had been driven away from his dominions.

2. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 178-79; According to Babur when Khusrau Shah heard about the march of Shaibani Khan towards Hisar and Qunduz, he left the country and fled towards the mountains without a blow struck. Thereupon Shaibani Khan went to Hisar in which were Sherim, the page, and a few good braves. They did not surrender Hisar and made it fast. Shaibani Khan entrusted the siege of Hisar to Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan while he himself went towards Qunduz, *Baburnama*, pp. 192 and 244.

2. *Baburnama*, p. 191.

VI BABUR'S RULE IN HISAR AND THE MONGOL PROBLEM (1511-14 A.D.)

The news of the battle of Merv was conveyed to Babur by his cousin, Mirza Khan, the ruler of Badakhshan, in the early part of Ramazan of the year 916 H/ 1510 A.D. Though Mirza Khan intimated to him about the occurrence yet he communicated no certain news about the fate of Shaibani Khan i.e., whether he has alive or dead.² He wrote, "it is not known whether Shaibani Khan had been killed or not. All the Uzbeks had crossed the Amu. Amir Aurus Dalhan who was in Qunduz had fled. About 20,000 Mughals who left the Uzbeks at Merv had come to Qunduz. I have come there." He also invited Babur to join him and make an attempt to recover his ancestral dominions.³ Nothing could be more alluring and inspiring to Babur than this offer. Consequently, he put Nasir Mirza in charge of Kabul in Ramazan 916 H./ 1510 A.D. and set out for Samarkand and reached Qunduz in Jan 1511.⁴ He halted at Qunduz for some time to draw up a plan for future. A march on Hisar was proposed. As mentioned, Hisar was then under the rule of Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan, the two prominent Uzbek Sultans. In the end of the winter

1. *Baburnama.*, p. 191.

2. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 237; *Baburnama*, p. 350.

3. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 237.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

they marched towards Hisar and passed the river Amu at the ford of Tukuz Taram. When Hamza Sultan heard of their approach, he left a garrison in Hisar and rode out of Hisar and repaired to Vaksh while Babur advanced to the plain of Kulak, which is one of the most noted localities in Khatlan. There he learnt that Hamza Sultan was in Vaksh. That same night he set out by the higher road to surprise Hamza Sultan and at sunrise reached his camp. No body was there. They searched on every side and found a few peasants who gave them the following information concerning Hamza Sultan: "yesterday, at the hour of mid day prayers, news came that the Emperor had pitched his camp in the plain of Kulak, whereupon Hamza Sultan immediately set out for that place by the lower road." Babur at once started in his pursuit along the road which Hamza Sultan had taken and at noon time prayers again found himself at quarters of the night before. Hamza Sultan for his part, had reached the camp at dawn and found a precisely similar state of affairs. He, too, set out in the track of our army and at mid day prayer time re-entered his own camp.¹

Babur and his men believed that Hamza Sultan would not be able to resist them while Hamza Sultan, on the other hand, thought that Babur had only brought a few men with him from Kabul and that the Moghul army having only just

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 238.

arrived would not yet have made sufficient preparations to be able to fight. As both sides entertained such ideas as these they became afraid of each other. Not being able to get sufficient information about each other, each party chased the other without any encounter and then respectively withdrew from that quarter. Babur returned to Qunduz while Hamza Sultan to Hisar.¹

However, shortly afterward on cementing his relations with Shah Ismail after receiving re-inforcement from him Babur renewed his expedition to Hisar. Leaving Qunduz he halted on the bank of river Surkhab in the vicinity of Vakhsh and remained there for a month.² Hearing of Babur's march, the Uzbeks on their part collected their forces under the leadership of Hamza Sultan, Mahdi Sultan, Timur Sultan and several other Uzbek Sultans, to oppose Babur. Kuchum Khan who had been set up in place of Shaibani Khan, Suyunjuk Sultan, Jani Beg Sultan, Ubaidullah Sultan and many others Uzbek Sultans also assembled and encamped at Karshi. When Babur approached the Pul-i Sangin, Hamza Sultan advanced and occupied it. Both sides remained encamped face to face for nearly one month. Finally, the Uzbeks crossed the river by swimming it below the Pul-i

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 238.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Sangin. When the intelligence of this reached Babur, he immediately broke up his camp and advanced towards Abdarab, a locality where there are mountain fortresses. In a desperate encounter which followed, the Uzbeks were utterly routed with great loss in men. They were pursued to Darband-i Ahamin on the Hisar border while they were retreating to join the Uzbek army assembled at Qarshi under Kuchum Khan. The battle is described in detail by Mirza Haider the author of *Tarikh-i Rashidi*. It was a desperate battle in which each party was keen to place everything at stake. Fighting continued till sunset and Uzbeks were completely routed out. Their principal chiefs like Hamza Sultan, Mahdi Sultan, and Hamza's son Mamak were made captives and produced before Babur. Accordingly to Mirza Haider they were treated in the same manner in which they had treated the Mughal Khakans and Chaghatai Sultans. The principle of blood for blood was followed.¹ Thus after the battle with the Uzbeks was over, the forts of Hisar Shadman Khatlan, Qunduz and Baghlan which belonged to the Uzbeks fell into the hands of Babur.

Haider Mirza says that after reducing Hisar and its suburbs, the whole of victorious army assembled in Hisar. At the same time further help arrived from Shah Ismail with which the number of Babur's army increased to 60,000. Now

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 239-245, *Baburnama*, pp. 352-53.

Babur and his Persian allies marched out of Hisar to conquer Transoxiana and drive out the Uzbeks from that territory.

The details of Babur's exploits in Transoxiana, his conquest and loss of Samarqand and Bukhara, his differences with Shah Ismail and his defeat at the hands of the Uzbeks in the battle of Kul-i Malik have already been dealt within an earlier chapter. Suffice it to say here that after his defeat at Kul-i Malik Babur fled to Hisar and fortified himself there. He did not give up his desire of re-conquest of Samarqand and sent one ambassador after another to Shah Ismail to inform him of his defeat and the loss of Transoxiana and to request him to send him military assistance. His persistent importunity eventually compelled the Shah to direct Najm-i Sani to co-operate with him.¹ Khawandmir, the author of *Habib-us Siyar*, says that soon after Babur's departure from Samarqand Uzbeks entered the city without doing any harm to the inhabitants of the city. A few weeks later, i.e., in Jumanda-ul-awwal 918 H/July-August 1512, they set out to pursue Babur and drive him out of Hisar.²

In the meantime, Shah Ismail sent Najm-i Sani to assist him. But the joint efforts of Najm-i Sani and Babur

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 260.

2. *Habib-us Siyar*, tr. Rizvi p. 601; *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p. 60; *Baburnama*, p. 359.

had no effect. The Uzbeks inflicted a crushing defeat on the joint armies of the Safawids and the Timurids at Ghazdwan, as mentioned in detail earlier. After the battle of Ghazdwan Babur returned to Hisar while the surviving Qizilbash armies withdrew to Persia.

Mongol Uprising

Shortly after his arrival at Hisar (Nov. 1514) some of the Mughuls, who had joined him and had supported him in his first siege of Hisar, now formed a conspiracy against him led by Yadgar Mirza, Nasir Mirza, Ayub Begchik and Muhammad. They delivered a surprise attack on Babur, slaughtered many of his followers, plundered and carried off whatever they could and then withdrew to Qaratigin.¹ With great difficulty Babur escaped into the citadel of Hisar. Being unable to oppose the miscreants, he left several of his trusted Amirs to defend the castle of Hisar and himself proceeded to Qunduz. The whole province of Hisar, except the fort, fell into the hands of the Mughuls. After Babur's departure for Qunduz the people of Hisar had to face great hardships on account of famine, snowfall and plundering raids of the Mughuls. Haider Mirza says that the Mughuls engaged

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 261. *Baburnama*, pp. 361-62; *Ferishta*, II, p. 22.

in tyranny and oppression. They plundered the property and cattle of the people of the province. Then ensued a terrible famine as a result of which only sixty persons survived in the whole town of Hisar. To add to this distress, a heavy snowfall increased the troubles of the people. ¹

VII UBAIDULLAH KHAN UZBEK CAPTURES HISAR (1514 A.D.)

On hearing of the conditions in Hisar Ubaidullah Khan Uzbek of Bukhara decided to expel the Mughals from there. Therefore, at the end of winter (1514 A.D.) he set out for Hisar to expel the Mughals. Mirza Haider Dughlat says that when the Mughals heard of the approach of the Uzbeks, they knew not which way to turn, for they had themselves closed their access to the Emperor (Babur); nor did they think fit to go to the Khan in Andijan, because whenever they might enter the Khan's service they would be obliged to do some work which they considered beneath their dignity; the hands of their tyranny would be cut off and the feet of their insubordination crushed. On this account they abhorred the idea of going to the court of the Khan. Moreover, the roads were rendered impossible by the snow. For these several reasons, they took up a strong position in the mountains of Surkhab and of Vakhsh. On one side it was

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 261-62; *Baburnama*, p. 362; *Habib-us Siyar*, tr. Rizvi, p. 605; *Nafais-ul Maasir*, tr. Rizvi, p. 350.

protected by river Surkhab, on the other two sides by the mountains, while on the remaining side was deep snow on which they placed much reliance.¹ When the Uzbeks drew near them they reconnoitered on all sides but found the enemy well fortified. Ubaidullah Khan and his men waited till a road thawed, then fell upon them and avenged the miseries they had inflicted on the Hisaris. Haider Mirza says that it was through the villainy of the Mughals that Hisar was lost by Babur and came under the domination of the Uzbeks.² Thereafter Hisar seems to have remained in possession of the Uzbeks till the battle of Jam in 1528.

At the time of the battle of Jam it was in possession of the sons of the Uzbek Chiefs Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan. The defeat of the Uzbeks by the Safawids in the battle of Jam (1528 A.D.) was conveyed by Humayun from Badakhshan to Babur in Hindustan through Bian Shaikh. Humayun wrote to Babur that not a single person who had gone from Hisar with the Uzbek army has come back upto now. The Sultans who were in Hisar abandoned it. Most of the Uzbek chiefs seem to have been killed in the battle of Jam. But he suspected that Ibrahim Jani's son Chalmah whose real name

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 262-63.

2. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 263; *Baburnama*, p. 362.

was Ismail must be in the fort of Hisar.¹

Though Babur was at that time busy in consolidating his conquests in Hindustan, but he had not given up the idea of the re-conquest of his ancestral domains. The letters of Humayun and the news of the defeat of the Uzbeks at Jam revived his hopes. On thursday the 13th of the first Rabi 935 (Nov. 26th 1928). Babur wrote letters to Humayun, in which he not only congratulated him on becoming father of a child, but sent him loving and affectionate messages. At the same time Babur drew Humayun's attention towards the business of great importance and asked him to be energetic, prudent and cautious. He wrote to him that he had ordered Kamran and other Begs of Kabul to go and meet him. And after their arrival he should launch attack either on Hisar, Samarqand or Heri (Herat) or in whatever direction he might deem it proper. In this manner in his letter to Humayun Babur drew up a comprehensive plan of campaign for Humayun's guidance. Babur wrote:

if God favours us it is quite possible that you might succeed in defeating the enemy and establishing your hold over their territories. In case of success, it shall be a matter of joy for friends and remorse for the enemy. Thanks to God that for you and your people time has come for throwing your lives in danger and using the swords. You should never show indolence and lethargy

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 622-24; see also n.p. 624.

to work in hand; for sovereignty, indolence and laziness are improper--if by the grace of God the kingdom of Balkh and Hisar are conquered then you should appoint your own men in Hisar and Kamran's men in Balkh. And if you also succeed in conquering Samarqand make it your capital. If God wishes I shall include, Hisar in Khalisa (crown-domain).

VIII HISAR CAPTURED BY HUMAYUN'S MEN (1529 A.D.)

In deference to Babur's instructions Humayun collected an army of 40,000 men and accompanied by Sultan Wais (Kulabi) marched towards Samarqand, while Sultan Wais's brother, Shah Kuli, entered Hisar and captured it. Chalmah, the son of Ibrahim Jani, the Uzbek chief of Hisar, having already abandoned the fort (1528). Thus Hisar, for some time became the part of Babur's empire.²

It may be noted that while Humayun was thus invading the Uzbek country with Babur's orders, Babur himself was entertaining the ambassadors of Kuchum Khan in India. They were present at a grand feast he gave at Agra. We are told that even Qizilbash or Persian envoys were also housed in a tent to the right of Babur's own tent and Yunus Ali was selected from among the *Amirs* to sit amongst them, while

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 622-24.

2. *Baburnama*, pp. 639-40; Howorth, p. 718; *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 52.

the Uzbeks were housed in a similar tent on the left and Abdullah was told off to look after them. At the feast, which is described in great detail in the *Baburnama* the ambassador of Kuchum Khan Uzbek was presented with a robe of honour. He was also presented with a certain weight of gold. This embassy left Babur on the 31st of January 1529. The envoy of Kuchum Khan was also presented a dagger and belt, an elephant, a knife and seventy thousand *tankas*. To Mullah Taghai, the representative of Abu Saeed Sultan (i.e. the Khakan's son) and to the servants of Mihrban Khanim (i.e. his wife) and her son Pulad, vests richly ornamented with buttons, *kaftans* of rich cloth etc. were presented. Babur sent Chapuk back with them as his envoy to the Uzbek Khan.¹

Uzbeks Recover Hisar from the Mughals (1529)

Though Hisar was capture by Humayun's men in the year of 1529 A.D., but Babur despite all his efforts and dual policy of peace and war towards Uzbeks could not retain it for a long. When Humayun's men had captured Hisar and Qabadian, they needed re-inforcements to retain it which Babur was unable to provide. The Uzbeks were famous for rallying their scattered following. They remobilized themselves and hastened to their posts to offer

1. *Baburnama*, p. ; See also Howorth, pp. 18-19.

resistance to Timurid advance. They drove back the Timurids and captured Hisar from Shah Quli. Thus the grand plan of Humayun and the dream of Babur ended in nothing except the addition of Qabadian to the Mughal empire. Subsequently peace was concluded with the Uzbeks. The failure to reconquer Central Asia was laid at the door of Humayun.¹ Thus Hisar once again became a part of the Uzbek empire. Thereafter, the Uzbeks retained Hisar throughout the 16th century.

During the period of Ubaidullah Khan's Khanat it was held by grandson of Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan, for when Ubaidullah Khan led an expedition against Khawarizm he was joined from Hisar by the grandsons of Hamza and Mahdi Sultan. After the conquest of Khawarizm, when Ubaidullah Khan divided various territories among the Uzbek Sultans, one section of the Uzbek tribe was assigned Hisar.¹ Later on during the Khakanship of Abdul Latif (1540-51) and Nauruz Ahmad Khan (1551-55) Berenduq Sultan was the ruler of Hisar. At the time of Humayun's attack on Balkh, he was suddenly attacked by Shah Muhammad Sultan, the son of Berenduq Sultan of Hisar, who captured one of the officers of Humayun, named Kabuli, and struck off his head and took it as a trophy into the city.²

1. *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 52.

2. Howorth, pp. 721-22.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 724.

In the time of Khanship of Nauruz Ahmad Khan, the Uzbek chief Abdullah Khan, who later on became most powerful Khan, unsatisfied with his small district of Karminah captured Shahr-i Sabz, a dependency of Hisar from Ghashim Sultan the son of Berenduq, the ruler of Hisar. But later on Nauruz Ahmad Khan defeated Abdullah Khan and snatched all the territories Abdullah Khan had captured and returned them to their heir apparants. Shahr-i Sabz was returned to Ghashim Sultan, the son Berenduk Sultan, the ruler of Hisar.¹

1. Howorth, p. 727.

CHAPTER V

THE INSALUBRIOUS QUNDUZ

Situated on river Oxus Qunduz has Badakhshan in the east, Balkh in the west, Qabadian and Hisar in the north and Ghuri, Andarab and Kabul in the south. It is surrounded on all sides by hills, and is so insalubrious that the proverb runs, 'if you wish to die, go to Qunduz'. Its rivers run into Amu or Jihun. It lies in a valley among the hills running from east to west about 30 miles, and from north to south about 40 miles and the great mountains of Hindukush is to its south.¹

I SULTAN MAHMUD MIRZA (1470-1495 A.D.) AND HIS SUCCESSORS (1495-1499 A.D.)

As mentioned earlier, when Abu Saeed Mirza was killed in his Iraq expedition (1469 A.D.) his son Sultan Mahmud Mirza first went to Khurasan and after he was driven out by the Khurasanis he went towards Samarqand. From Samarqand he was taken to Hisar. From that time Sultan Mahmud Mirza possessed the countries lying south of Quhqa and Kohtin Range as far as the Hindukush mountains, such as Tirmiz, Chaghanian, Hisar, Khatlan, Qunduz and Badakhshan.²

-
1. Edward Balfour, *Encyclopaedia Asiatica*, Vol. V (New Delhi, 1976), p. 627.
 2. *Baburnama*, pp. 46-47.

Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara's First Attack on Qunduz (895 H./1490-91 A.D).

In the year 895 H./1490 A.D. Qunduz was attacked by Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, the ruler of Khurasan. To strengthen Sultan Mahmud Mirza, his brother Umar Shaikh Mirza, the ruler of Farghana, sent his son Jahangir Mirza with the Andijan army. To strengthen his relations with his brother Sultan Mahmud Mirza betrothed his third daughter to Jahangir Mirza.¹ Consequently, this expedition of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara was a failure and he was obliged to make peace with Sultan Mahmud Mirza. Sultan Mahmud retained all his previous possessions including the provinces to the south of the Amu such as Badakhshan, Qunduz and Baghlan.²

Husain Mirza Baiqara's Second Attack on Qunduz (901 H./ 1495-96 A.D.)

In the winter of the year 1495, Sultan Husain Mirza attacked Hisar which was also under Sultan Masud Mirza. At that time Qunduz was under the charge of Khusrau Shah, a powerful noble of Sultan Mahmud Mirza. Khusrau Shah sent his younger brother Wali to assist Masud Mirza and strengthened himself at Qunduz. When Sultan Husain Mirza made his three pronged attack on the territories of Sultan Mahmud Mirza

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 51-53.
2. *Four Studies*, Vol. III, pp. 51-53.

he himself led his army against Hisar. Another detachment he sent under his eldest son Badi-uz-zaman Mirza with Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Muhammad Wali Beg and Zunun Arghun against Khusrau Shah, who had been holding Qunduz. And the third detachment was sent under his another son Muzaffar Husain Mirza with Muhammad Baranduzq Barlas against Khatlan.¹

When Badi-uz-zaman Mirza and his forces dismounted some sixteen miles below Qunduz, Khusrau Shah arranged whatever men he had, marched out, halted one night on the way, formed up to fight and came down upon the Mirza and his men. Though Khurasanis had double the number of forces than Khusrau Shah and while Badi-uz-zaman Mirza with his men spared no efforts in delivering fierce attacks on the fort of Qunduz, yet he was badly defeated by Khusrau Shah. Khusrau Shah twice repulsed the forces sent against him and in the end Badi-uz-zaman Mirza was compelled to withdraw to Alghu mountains of Taliqan.² Upon this Khusrau Shah sent his brother Wali with an army to Ishkimish, Fulul and the neighbouring hills to surround him. About this time also arrived Muhib Ali. He came in contact with some of the men of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza on the banks of Khatlan river. Muhib-i Ali delivered an attack upon the Khurasanis and inflicted a severe defeat. Following his example Saiyyidin Ali and his

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 57-58; Barthold, Vol. III, p. 57.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

younger brother Quli Beg and Bahlul-i Ayub and a body of their men fell upon the Khurasanis near Ambar Koh but they were driven away by the latter.¹

While these events were taking place on the Qunduz front, the spring rains had frustrated Sultan Husain Mirza's siege of Hisar. When the Sultan heard about the failure of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza in Qunduz and finding it difficult to continue the siege of Hisar he concluded a peace, as mentioned in the preceding chapter. After concluding the peace, he raised the siege of Hisar and turned towards Qunduz.²

When Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara arrived at Qunduz he dug a few trenches and opened its siege. It was at the intervention of Badi-uz-zaman Mirza that a peace was concluded even on the Hisar front, prisoners were exchanged and the Khurasanis retired.³ The ruler of Khurasan who had dreamt to extend his sway returned to Balkh without conquering an inch of the territory of Sultan Mahmud Mirza.

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 60-61.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

3. *Baburnama*, p. 61; Hasan Rumlu, the author of *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, says that in the spring of the year 901/1496 Sultan Husain Mirza set out to conquer Qunduz, Badkhashan and Baghlan. And having finished the matter of Hisar the Sultan turned to Qunduz where Khusrau Shah, the governor of that place, sent Nazr Bahadur with presents and the Sultan accepted them and returned to Herat. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, pp. 5-6.

This second attack of the Baiqaras was also a complete failure.

Babur says that these two abortive attacks of Sultan Husain Mirza on Qunduz were the cause of the great rise of Khusrau Shah¹ who played a key role in repulsing the Khurasani attack. Babur says:

This was the one exploit of his life of this man who for the sake of this fleeting and unstable world and for the sake of shifting and faithless followers, choose such evil and such ill repute, practised such tyranny and injustice, siezed such wide lands, kept such hosts of retainers and followers,-- latterly he led out between 20 and 30,000 and his countries and his districts (*parganas*) exceeded those of his own ruler and that ruler's sons, for an exploit such as this his name and the names of his adherents were noised abroad for generalship and for this they were counted brave, while those timorous laggards, in the trenches, won the resounding fame of cowards.²

Khusrau Shah's Dominance in Qunduz

Having driven away Sultan Husain Mirza from Qunduz Khusrau Shah became all powerful and began to rule as a *de facto* ruler looking for an opportunity to oust Sultan Masud Mirza from Hisar. Khusrau Shah was encouraged in his designs with the arrival of two Mirzas at Qunduz; first, Muhammad Zaman Mirza who, when defeated and uprooted by his father in the course of latter's rebellion, came to Khusrau

1. *Baburnama*, p. 61.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Shah at Qunduz,¹ the second Baisunghar Mirza who fled from Samarqand when besieged there by his younger brother Ali Mirza and Babur (1497).

Badi-uz-zaman Mirza was welcomed by Khusrau Sha. He then sent Badi-uz-zaman Mirza, with two of his brothers, Wali and Baqi, to conquer Hisar. But they were repulsed by the Hisaris and retreated unsuccessfully. Badi-uz-zaman Mirza, having left Khusrau Shah, crossed the Hazara mountains and joined Zunun Beg Arghun in Zamindawar.²

Since Khusrau Shah had made his mind to destroy Masud Mirza, he in the month of November 1497 taking Baisunghar Mirza with him marched towards Chaghanian with the pretext of ousting the Uzbeks from Samarqand. At the same time he despatched an envoy to Masud Mirza inviting him to join him and offered him the throne of Samarqand after its conquest. Masud Mirza soon fell in the web of Khusrau Shah's plan and at the same time he retrenched his begs from their offices. When Khusrau Shah saw that Masud Mirza had been deserted by most of his powerful nobles he and Baisunghar soon besieged Hisar. Masud Mirza effected his escape and fled towards Khatlan and afterwards took shelter with Sultan Husain Mirza.

1. For details of his rebellion see the Chapter on Balkh.
2. *Baburnama*, p. 71; Erskine, p. 199.

Baiqara, the ruler of Khurasan, who received him well. But soon Sultan Masud Mirza fell in the hands of Khusrau Shah who ordered him to be blinded with a lancet.¹ After blinding Masud Mirza, Khusrau Shah made Baisunghar Mirza the ruler of Hisar. he appointed Wali to Khatlan and Miran Shah the son of Ulugh Beg of Kabul to Bamian.

Babur says that in the year 1499 Khusrau Shah invited Baisunghar Mirza to Qunduz under pretence of making a fresh attack on Balkh. But as his real intention was to execute the prince and as his plans were now ripe and his own power firmly established, he threw aside all disguise and caused that amiable and accomplished prince to be strangled.²

Khusrau Shah Assumed Sovereignty

After this Khusrau Shah usurped the sovereignty of the whole country from Karatigin to the Hindukush mountains, and from Balkh to Badakhshan. This power he enjoyed for about five years, till the Uzbek inroads in that country (1504-5).

Erskine says that when Khusrau Shah was at the height of his power, his army consisted of between twenty and thirty thousand men. He was a prince of great capacity, liberal to his dependents, fond of show and magnificance, an

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 93-95.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

able administrator; but heartless, propagate in his manner, totally unprincipled and a slave to ambition.¹

Mirza Muhammad Husain Gurgan Visit to Qunduz (1503 A.D.)

Mirza Haider Dughlat, the author of *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, says that when the Khans of Moghulistan, Sultan Mahmud Khan and Ahmad Khan were defeated by Shaibani Khan in the battle of Archain, near Akhshi in the year 1503, his father Mirza Muhammed Gurgan who was at Uratipa abandoned that place, in apprehension of Shaibani Khan and fled towards Karatigin. At that time Khusaru Shah, was in possession of Qunduz, Hisar and Badakhshan. After the death of Sultan Mahmud, he had blinded his son Masud Mirza, and when Baisunghar Mirza, son of Mahumd Mirza, fled from Samarqand Khusrau Shah sent messengers to him to express his repentance, saying; "what I did, was from fear for my life for Sultan Masud Mirza had the intention of killing me, but now, in compensation for that act, I will serve you so faithfully that, however much my infamous act may have brought down upon me the execrations and curses of mankind, my conduct for the future will procure for me their favour and applause." In this manner he made abundant promises that he deceived Baisunghar

1. *Erskine*, p. 202.

Mirza also and sent that worthy prince into the next world, as if he were an arrow from a bow.¹

In the year 1503 Shaibani Khan simultaneously attacked Hisar and Qunduz and drove Khusrau Shah into the mountains of Badakhahan, but did not occupy Qunduz. Khusrau Shah returned to Qunduz and stayed there till 1504, when Shaibani Khan again came to the South.²

II UZBEK RULE IN QUNDUZ (1504-10 A.D.)

In the following year after completing his northern conquests Shaibani Khan turned towards the south of the Amu river. After taking Andijan from Ahmad Tambal he returned to Samarquand, where he stayed for some time for military preparation, against Khusrau Shah. He then marched to Hisar and besieged it, as mentioned earlier. Simultaneously he sent his brother Mahmud Sultan with a considerable army to attack Qunduz. Khusrau Shah, who for a long time past had been storing in Qunduz provisions and treasures to serve for a twenty years siege, proclaimed; "If all else should fail, we shall at least be able to remain inside the fort for twenty years dead or alive." But while he was busy with this vain boasting, news came that Shaibani Khan was laying

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 163.

2. *Baburnama*, p. 199.

siege to Hisar and that he had sent Sultan Mahmud against Qunduz, who had crossed the river Amu and was fast approaching towards Qunduz. Seized by fear, Khusrau Shah immediately abandoning all his stores, packed up whatever he could, and in utmost confusion and disorder set out for the hills, hoping to find a refuge there.¹

Babur says that no sooner Khusrau Shah left Qunduz, than his old servant, the able and trusted Mulla Muhammad Turkistani, took possession of the fort of Qunduz and made it fast for Shaibani Khan.² Soon after Sultan Mahmud came and entered Qunduz without facing any opposition.³

-
1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 169-70; *Erskine*, 203-4; *Baburnama*, 192; Howorth, 701.
 2. *Baburnama*, p. 192.
 3. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 170; Hasan Rumlu, the author of *Ahaunut-Tawarikh*, has described the fall of Qunduz in detail. He says that this year, i.e., 910/1504, Mahmud Sultan by order of his brother Shaybak Khan marched on Qunduz. Khusrau Shah sent Abdul-Rahman Beg to meet him. He crossed the river at Sali Sarai, and met Mahmud. But in the battle Abdul Rehman was hit in the shoulder by an arrow. And, when he fled to the city fear seized Khusrau Shah and he left Qunduz, and fled to the hills. And Maulana Muhammad Turkistani inclined the people towards Shaibani Khan, and hearkened not to the messages of Amir Zunun, who was nigh at hand. Thus, Mahmud Sultan entered Qunduz with his warriors. *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, p.36.

Shaibani Khan Gives Qunduz to Mahmud Sultan (1504 A.D.)

After conquering the dominions of Khusrau Shah and driving Khusrau into exile when Shaibani Khan came to Qunduz, he conferred the government of Qunduz to his brother Mahmud Sultan. Thereafter, he left for Samarqand to lead an expedition against Khawarizm, then under Chin-Sufi on behalf of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara.¹

Qunduz Given to Qambar Bi Uzbek (1504 A.D.)

After making the arrangement of his newly conquered territories when Shaibani Khan was on his way back to Samarqand he learnt that his brother Mahmud Sultan died at Qunduz. Shaibani Khan then entrusted Qunduz to Qambar Bi of Merv.²

Khasrau Shah Joins Babur's Service

When in the year 910 (1504-05) Babur lost his hopes to reconquer his ancestral land he left Farghana and first marched towards Khurasan but later on towards Kabul. Then he passed through Khusrau Shah's land with a few followers. Khusrau Shah being in exile his men deserted him and joined Babur. Later Khusrau Shah was also obliged to join Babur's service. In spite of Khusrau Shah's

1. *Baburnama*, p. 244.

2. *Ibid.*

injustices to two of his cousins Babur gave him leave to proceed to Khurasan.¹

Khusrau Shah's Abortive Attempt to Recover on Qunduz and His Death (1505)

In the year 1505 Khusrau Shah with Ahmad-i Qasim (his sister's son) went to the court of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara in Herat. But since Khusrau Shah wanted to recover Qunduz by all means he asked for leave to go to his own country, saying, "If I go, I shall get it all into my hands." As he had reached Herat without equipment and without resources Muhammad Barandug retorted saying "when you had 30,000 men behind you and the whole country in your hands, what did you effect against the Uzbeks? What will you do now with your 500 men and the Uzbeks in possession?" He added a little good advice in a few sensible words, but all was in vain. On Khusrau Shah's insistence he was at last given leave.²

Khusrau Shah with his 300 to 400 followers went straight to the borders of Dahnah. There he met Nasir Mirza who was on his way to Badakhshan, as Badakhshis had invited him. Then Khusrau Shah tried to fish in the troubled affairs of Badakhshan and wanted to enter into a deal with him but he

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 193-94.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

was put off by Nasir Mirza by a stratagem and the Mirza went on towards Badakhshan. Realizing that the bargain had fallen through, Khusrau Shah, with hardly one thousand men set out towards Qunduz, with the intention of laying siege to it. He halted at Khwaja Chartay near Qunduz.¹

At the time of Khusrau Shah's march against Qunduz, Qambar Bi was the governor of Qunduz on behalf of Shaibani Khan. Hearing of Khusrau Shah's approach, Qambar Bi at once sent off gallopers to Hamza Sultan of Hisar and the others whom Shaibani Khan had left behind for his assistance. Hamza Sultan himself advanced with his forces as far as the Sarai on the Amu, where he put his sons and nobles in command of the army and despatched them against Khusrau Shah. The Uzbeks attacked him, unhorsed him without meeting any resistance. They slew his nephew Ahmad-i Qasim, Sherim the page, and several of his men. Khusrau Shah was himself made captive and was taken into the fort of Qunduz, till lately the seat of his power, where his head was struck off and sent off to Shaibani Khan who was then at Khawarizm.² Such was the end of his ambitions magnificence and crimes.

Qunduz thus continued to remain under the rule of the Uzbeks till the battle of Merv in 1510 fought between

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 243-44.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 244; *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 177.

Shaibani Khan and Shah Ismail Safawi, the ruler of Persia, in which the former was defeated and killed. After the defeat and death of Shaibani Khan the Uzbek supremacy broke down for few years in Central Asia. In the confusion that followed the Uzbek chiefs fled from their respective areas towards Turkistan. It appears that the Uzbek Chief of Qunduz also fled.

III QUNDUZ UNDER THE TIMURIDS

Thus the battle of Merv had its repercussions in Qunduz also. Mirza Haider Dughlat says that in the early part of Ramzan of the year 916 H./ 1510, a person came to Kabul with a letter from Mirza Khan of Badakhashan to Babur. The letter contained the news of the battle of Merv, and the defeat of Shaibani Khan. It added that the Uzbek amirs, on receiving the news, of the battle of Merv had abandoned Qunduz and crossed the river. Amir Aurus Durman, who was in Qunduz, had also fled. And nearly twenty thousand Mughals had separated from the Uzbeks after their defeat at Merv and had arrived in Qunduz. "I my self" he added, "have gone over to Qunduz. If you (Babur) will quickly turn the reins of your power in the direction of Qunduz, I will attach myself to you, and I have the firmest hope that you may soon recover your hereditary kingdom."¹

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 237; *Baburnama*, p. 350. *Erskine*, 306; *Nafais-ul Maasir*, tr. Rizvi, p. 347; *Ferishta*, II, p. 20.

Babur in Qunduz

Nothing could be more alluring and inspiring to Babur than this offer. Soon after reading the contents of the letter of Khan Mirza, Babur set out and crossed the mountains in winters without any hesitation, with all possible speed through the Ab-dara pass. He celebrated the Id festival at Bamiyan and reached Qunduz in Shawal 915H. (Jan. 1511 A.D.). He was received by Khan Mirza and by the Mughuls who had deserted the Uzbeks.¹

Babur halted at Qunduz for some time to take rest and draw up a plan for a course of action. An attack on Hisar was launched which proved abortive as mentioned earlier and Babur had to retire to Qunduz.

Babur Receives Shah Ismail's Embassy in Qunduz (1511 A.D.)

When Babur reached Qunduz an embassy arrived from Shah Ismail Safawi bringing his sister Khanzada Begam, who after the death of her successive husbands, Shaibani Khan and Saiyyid Hadi, had fallen into the hands of Persians in the battle of Merv. On being recognised as Babur's sister she was treated with great respect by Shah Ismail Safawi. As a gesture of good will and friendship the Shah sent her to her brother with costly gifts for Babur. The purpose

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 237-38; *Baburnama*, p. 351; *Erskine*, pp. 306-07.

behind it was perhaps to cultivate friendship with Babur and enter into an alliance with the Timurids to crush the Uzbeks. Babur, who had already been looking forward for such an opportunity and had been thinking of sending an embassy to the Shah, welcomed the Persian ambassador with honour and received the gifts sent by the Shah. Babur reciprocated by sending Mirza Khan with befitting presents to the Shah and to thank him for the courtesy shown to his sister, as well as, to congratulate the Shah him for his splendid victory over their common enemy, the Uzbeks. He also requested for military assistance from the Shah to enable him to recover his ancestral dominions.

Shah Ismail received Khan Mirza kindly and Babur's request for succour was granted immediately. In the year 917 H./1511-12 A.D. Babur left Qunduz and marched to Hisar.

With the help of Shah Ismail Babur soon reduced Hisar, Khojar, Baklan and Qarshi, as mentioned earlier. Though Shah Ismail may have put many conditions on him, but any way, Babur's long cherished ambitions had been realized. He mounted the throne of Samarqand for the third time (1511 A.D.). But he was not destined to enjoy this kingship for more than nine months. After his defeat in the battle of Ghazdwan in 1512 he had to say good bye to Samarqand and was forced to retire to Hisar. He could not stay in Hisar for a long, as at Hisar a conspiracy was hatched against him by

the Mughals, the details of which have been given above in the preceding pages. Due to the troubles created by the Mughals Babur was obliged to retire from Hisar to Qunduz.¹ Mirza Khan possessed that country. In spite of his subordination to Babur he was unwilling to give up his country to Babur. Babur bore the situation patiently and made no attempt to deprive Mirza Khan of his dominions. At last he left Qunduz and returned to Kabul (1513-14 A.D.).²

In the year 1515 A.D., Nasir Mirza, Babur's brother, died at Ghazni. On his death, the Mughals in his service rebelled. When Babur went to Ghazni to suppress the rebellion, at that same time Qambar-i Ali, the son of Qasim Beg, came from Qunduz to help Babur and rendered him meritorious services in suppressing the rebellion in Ghazni.³ Though Babur had left Qunduz in 1513-14 A.D. yet he was constantly in touch with Qunduz which remained outside the sway of the Uzbeks till his death.⁴

Qunduz Under Humayun

When Humayun ascended the throne of Hindustan after Babur's death, and when he assigned various territories to

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 259-63; Ferishta, p. 202. Erskine, pp. 306-07.

2. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 263.

3. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 237; *Baburnama*, p. 364.

4. See *Baburnama*, pp. 371, 406, 410, 546, 566.

his brothers and officers he confirmed Sulaiman Mirza to the government of Badakhshan and Kamran to the government of Kabul and Ghazni. It is not clear whether Qunduz remained a separate change or became the part of Kabul or Badakhshan. Most probably it remained a part of Badakhshan and as such under Sulaiman Mirza. Abul Fazl says that when disaffection of the Sulaiman Mirza became confirmed (1545 A.D.), and it was made certain that he had twisted away his head from the burden of commands and that the idea of sovereignty was painting it, Humayun, in the beginning of the year 1546, to extinguish Sulaiman's disloyalty, set out towards Badakhshan. He defeated Sulaiman in his first attack and compelled him to flee towards the hills. All the country of Sulaiman passed into Humayun's possession. Then Humayun engaged himself in the settlements of the newly conquered territory. In this settlement he gave Qunduz and its dependencies to Mirza Hindal.¹ A year later when Humayun made peace with Sulaiman and returned Badakhshan he simultaneously confirmed Hindal in possession of Qunduz, Andarab, Khost, Kahmard and Ghorī and its neighbourhood.² It suggests that Qunduz remained a separate entity, independent of Badakhshan. Qunduz along with Ghorī, Kahmard, Baqlan, Ishkimish and Nari was again conferred by Humayun on Mirza Hindal in the year 1548 A.D.³ Later on in

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 498.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 539.

1551 A.D. Humayun conferred Qunduz on Barka and Mohammad Hasan.¹

Qunduz Taken by Ibrahim Mirza, the Son of Sulaiman Mirza, of Badakhashan (1551-60)

Abul Fazl says that when Hindal left Qunduz for Ghazni, he entrusted it to Muhammad Tahir Khan. Before the arrival of Mir Barka, who had been given the government of Qunduz, Mirza Ibrahim, son of Sulaiman Mirza, whom Humayun had shown great favours, took possession of Qunduz by trichery from Muhammad Tahir Khan. And when Mir Barka heard this he returned to Kabul and informed Humayun about the situation. Abul Fazl says that Humayun allowed the services of Mirza be an atonement for his action and left him in the possession of Qunduz.²

It appears that Qunduz remained in possession of Ibrahim Mirza till his death in 1560 during the Balkh expedition of his father Sulaiman Mirza. After his death Sulaiman gave the governorship of Qunduz to Muhammad Quli Shighali.³

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 580.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 580.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 192.

Abul Fazl says that from the time Babur had entrusted Badakhashan to Sulaiman Mirza and until he remained obedient to the Mughal Empire, his affairs remained prosperous. But his outward prosperity and overambitions twisted his head with vanity and, he became disobedient to the Mughal court and declared himself independent of the Mughals. He began to extend his boundaries and led many expeditions against Kabul and Balkh.¹

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II, pp. 211-16.

CHAPTER VI

BADAKHSHAN: THE EASTERN PERIPHERY

The territory of Badakhshan lay to the north east of Kabul. It is bounded on the north by the southern bank of river Amu (Oxus) or its stream, the Ab-i Panj. On the south-west, it is bounded by the Turkistan plains until it touches the Qunduz river and then strikes the Hindu Kush mountains. The southern boundary is carried along the crest of the Hindu Kush as far as the Dorah pass.¹

Badakhshan proper is inhabited primarily by the Tajiks who speak the Persian and the Turkish languages and profess the doctrines of the Sunni sect of Islam. The Tajiks inhabiting the mountainous districts to the east profess Shiite creed and speak different dialects.

The capital of Badakhshan was mostly Faizabad, i.e. Qila-i Zafar. Among other important towns were Rustak, Zebak and Jurm. The territory of Badakhshan lay on the trade route from Tibet to Trans-Oxiana. It is celebrated for its magnificent pastures, broad and highly cultivated valleys, mines and an excellent climate.

Badakhshan was vulnerable to foreign conquests mainly from the side of Amu Darya valley. It was, therefore, rarely

1. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 2, p. 1022.

exposed to invasions from the south. Hence, the valley of Badakhshan enjoyed considerable degree of political autonomy. According to Mirza Haider Dughlat the country had remained free from invasions since the time of Alexander of Macedon down to the days of Shah Muhammad Badakhshi, the contemporary of Abu Saeed Mirza, the grand father of Babur and the Mongol Khan, Yunus Khan.¹ But Barthold in his article on "Badakhshan" disputes this statement of Mirza Haider Dughlat.² It was conquered by the Arabs and having been under their domination it passed under the Ghorids of Bamian and then under Khwarizm Shah.

Local Dynasty of Badakhshan Overthrown (1466-67 A.D)

However, coming closer to our period of research, when Sultan Abu Saeed Mirza conquered it in 1466-67, it was then ruled by a local dynasty which had ruled Badakhshan for two hundred years and which claimed descent from Alexander

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 107-08; According to Haider Dughlat, after his repeated conquests Alexander consulted his wise men and said, "Find me a place which shall be out of reach of princes of the earth in which I may place my descendants". The counsellors chose Badakhshan and they also wrote a Book of Regulations (*dastur-ul-amal*) so that as long as the regulations were observed no prince could prevail upon this country. But when the kingdom passed into the hands of Shah Sultan Muhammad, he discarded the *dastur-ul-amal* and which saw the fall of the dynasty. Shah Muhammad had six daughters. He gave his fourth daughter, Shah Begam, to Yunus Khan, the Mongol Khan, while he betrothed his second daughter to Abu Saeed Mirza, the ruler of Khurasan.

2. See Barthold, p. 66.

the Great. The ruler of Badakhshan at that time was Sultan Shah Muhammad Badakhshi. The Shah of Badakhshan had married one of his daughters to Abu Saeed Mirza. Later Abu Saeed Mirza had a son from the Shah's daughter. The son was named Aba Bakr. After sometime Abu Saeed Mirza sent an army to conquer Badakhshan. Sultan Shah Muhammad submitted without offering any resistance and came to Herat, while his son escaped to Kashghar. Abu Saeed Mirza then bestowed Badakhshan upon his son Aba Bakr (1466-67).

ABU SAEED MIRZA TO NASIR MIRZA (1467-1570 A.D.)

On learning of the appointment of Aba Bakr to Badakhshan, Sultan Shah Muhammad's other son, who had fled to Kashghar, descending from Kashghar attacked Aba Bakr to recover Badakhshan. Aba Bakr was forced to flee. In retaliation Abu Saeed Mirza invaded Badakhshan, conquered it completely, annexed it to the Timurid empire and had all the members of the Shah's dynasty executed (1466-67). After annexation of Badakhshan Abu Saeed Mirza made Aba Bakr as the governor of Badakhshan. Aba Bakr continued in his position as the governor of Badakhshan till the death of his father Abu Saeed Mirza in 873 Hijri/ 1469 A.D.

Badakhshan Under the Supremacy of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara of Herat

In 1469, immediately after the death of Abu Saeed Mirza, Aba Bakr taking advantage of the disturbances in Herat

attacked Hisar which was then held by Mahmud Barlas as a Timurid governor. The attack was repulsed by Mahmud Barlas. With the establishment of the supremacy of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara in Khurasan soon after the death of Sultan Abu Saeed Mirza, Aba Bakr joined the service of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara and married his daughter Begam Sultan Agacha.

Badakhshan as Part of Sultan Mahmud Mirza's Domains (1495-1505) and Emergence of Khusrau Shah (1499-1505) as Ruler of Badakhshan

After a short rule of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara in Badakhshan it passed on under the authority of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, son of Abu Saeed Mirza and an uncle of Babur. During the later part of Sultan Mahmud Mirza's reign the affairs of Badakhshan were dominated by Khusrau Shah. Khusrau Shah was a Turkish Qipchaq. He was patronized by Sultan Mahmud Mirza and soon became his favourite *amir*. As Babur tells, in course of time, he began to dominate not only the affairs of Badakhshan but of the whole country from river Amu to Hindu Kush mountains and devoured all its revenues.¹ He further increased his power during the period of Sultan Mahmud Mirza's successors. He mobilized a force of 20,000 retainers. Though he managed the affairs of Badakhshan in the names of Masud Mirza and Baisungar Mirza, the sons of

1. *Baburnama*, p. 57.

the late king yet he conducted the affairs of Badakhshan as a *de facto* ruler. Swayed by power he blinded Masud Mirza in 1497 and two years later he killed Baisunghar Mirza (1499). After killing Baisunghar Mirza (1499) Khusrau Shah declared himself independent in Badakhshan and ruled there as a sovereign till he was expelled from Badakhshan by Shaibani Khan in 1504.

Mirza Aba Bakr of Kashghar Attacks Badakhshan and Seizes Upper Hazara Districts of Badakhshan from Khusrau Shah:

Towards the later part of Khusrau Shah's rule in Badakhshan, Aba Bakr, the ruler of Kashghar, invaded Badakhshan and conquered most of the upper Hazara mountainous districts of Badakhshan such as Sarigh Chupam, Ghund, Parwaz (Darwaz), Yarkh, Pasar and Shiva-i Shighnan. Before Khusrau Shah was able to adopt any plan to recover these districts from Kashghar he sustained a defeat at the hands of Shaibani Khan. However, the Mir of Hazara, who was probably appointed by Mirza Aba Bakr, refused to submit to Shaibani Khan. All the attacks of the Uzbeks were repulsed by the Mir of Hazara. As a result, Mirza Aba Bakr continued to hold his supremacy in the Hazara districts of Badakhshan. Even Mirza Khan during his rule in Badakhshan was unable to subdue the Hazara region.⁵

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 253-54; See also Erskine, pp. 339-40..

Babur in Badakhshan

During Khusrau Shah's rule Babur visited Badakhshan twice. When he first visited Badakhshan in 1501, Khusrau Shah behaved indifferently towards Babur.¹ But when Babur visited Khusrau Shah for the second time in 1504, Firishta tells us that Khusrau Shah extended him warm hospitality.² Khusrau Shah in fact joined Babur's service with 7000 men. In spite of Khusrau Shah's treatment with two of his cousins, Masud Mirza and Baisunghar Mirza, the sons of Mahmud Mirza, Babur treated him mercifully and allowed him to go to Khurasan. After Khusrau Shah was allowed to leave for Khurasan, Babur settled the affairs of Badakhshan and thereafter left for Kabul. The settlement of the affairs of Badakhshan arises the question as to in which capacity he made settlement of the affairs of Badakhshan. Had he conquered Badakhshan or some local chiefs of Badakhshan had submitted to him? Perhaps, after having been driven from his ancestral domains in Central Asia Babur first took possession of Badakhshan before occupying Kabul.³

1. *Baburnama*, p. 188.

2. Firishta, Vol. II, p. 15.

3. See Lane Poole, *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 322.

Shaibani Khan's Occupation of Badakhshan and the Rebellion of the Local Chiefs Against the Uzbeks

When Shaibani Khan after his occupation of Qunduz gave the government of Qunduz to the Uzbek chief, Qambar Bi of Merv, the latter entered Badakhshan and took possession of a large part of the country. But the local chiefs of Badakhshan who had not even reconciled to the rule of Khusrau Shah rose against the Uzbeks in several parts of Badakhshan.¹ In order to conciliate the Badakhshi chiefs, Qambar Bi sent one Mahmud as envoy to Mubarak Shah who claimed his relationship to the erstwhile Shahs of Badakhshan. But Mubarak killed Qambar Bi's envoy and his Uzbek followers. Thereafter, he strengthened himself in the fort of Shaftiwar which he renamed as Qila-i Zafar in commemoration of his victory over the Uzbeks. In Rustaq, Muhammad Qurchi, an armour of Khusrau Shah, who was still holding Kamalghan, slew Shaibani Khan's Sadr and some Uzbeks. Zuber Raghi, whose forefathers were the begs of the Shahs of Badakhshan, also rose against the Uzbeks. According to Mirza Haider Dughlat, Zuber Raghi was the leader of rebellion against the Uzbeks. After several skirmishes the Uzbeks were put to flight. Every commander of 1000 men (*mir-i hazari*) placed the head of the Uzbeks on his pikes. Another chief, Jahangir Turkman, who was a servant of

1. Erskine, p. 226.

Khusrau Shah's brother Wali, mobilized some soldiers and tribesmen and withdrew to mountain stronghold and fortified himself.¹

Badakhshis Invite Nasir Mirza, Babur's Younger Brother, and Proclaim him the Ruler of Badakhshan

Having prevailed upon the Uzbeks, the Badakhshi chiefs invited Nasir Mirza, the younger brother of Babur, to Badakhshan. Nasir Mirza at that time was camping on the Barn river in the Nur Valley, while Babur had marched against the Hazaras of Afghanistan (1505). Nasir Mirza was already watching the developments in Badakhshan with a covetous eye. Therefore, as soon as he received the invitation from Badakhshan he immediately marched in that direction. On the way he came across Khusrau Shah, who having spent sometime in Khurasan, was on his way to reconquer Badakhshan. He now wanted to seek Nasir Mirza's help in achieving his objective. But the Badakhshi chiefs had only invited Nasir Mirza and were not willing to receive Khusrau Shah. Nasir Mirza realizing the apathy of the Badakhshis towards Khusrau Shah avoided him and reached Badakhshan.² On his arrival in Badakhshan, he was invited by Mubarak Shah and Muhammad Qurchi, two Badakhshi chiefs, inside the fort and was proclaimed as king of

1. *Baburnama*, p. 242.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 242-43.

Badakhshan. Nasir Mirza ruled in Badakhshan for about three years from 1504-05 to 1507 A.D.

Nasir Mirza Repulses Shaibani Khan's Attack on Badakhshan

During the rule of Nasir Mirza in Badakhshan, the Uzbeks made a fresh attempt to conquer Badakhshan. In the summer of 1506-07 when Shaibani Khan laid siege to Balkh, he simultaneously launched an attack on Badakhshan by despatching a force of three to four thousand men. Nasir Mirza was at that time encamped at Kishm. Mubarak Shah and Zuber came forward to support the Mirza against the Uzbeks. One division of the Uzbeks came upto Nasir Mirza by surprise, but Nasir Mirza bravely charged upon it and completely uprooted it by killing a large number of men and also taking many captives, while many were drowned in the attempt to recross the Kishm river which was that time swollen. After defeating one division of the Uzbeks, Nasir Mirza marched against the other division which, in the meantime, had attacked and defeated Mubarak and Zuber. As he advanced, the hill chiefs came to the support of Nasir Mirza and with their help he completely routed the Uzbeks after a bloody battle. In this engagement Uzbeks lost about a thousand or fifteen hundred soldiers. Babur says that "this was Nasir Mirza's one good success."¹¹

1. *Baburnama*, pp. 290-91.

Uprising of the Local Chiefs Against Nasir Mirza and His Expulsion from Badakhshan

Despite his successes against the Uzbeks the Mirza could not maintain his ascendancy in Badakhshan for long. In the spring of 1507 the very begs of Badakhshan who had invited him and raised him to the rulership of Badakhshan rose in revolt against him.

Offended by some of his actions, still more by the conduct of his favourites, the local chiefs, namely Muhammad, the armour, Mubarak Shah, Zuber and Jahangir raised the standard of rebellion against him. They mobilized a large body of cavalry and infantry against him and took up a strong position. Nasir Mirza had also mobilized a considerable force of cavalry. After an imprudent initial strike by the Mirza the opponents assumed the offensive and charging in their turn put the Mirza to flight. His followers were plundered. Defeated and stripped bare, Mirza took the road through Ishkimish and Narin to Kila-ghai and from there, crossing the hills by the Sarkhab and the Abdara route, descended on Shibr-tu and reached Kabul with only 70 to 80 followers where he joined his brother Babur who received him kindly.¹ Commenting on Nasir Mirza's retreat from Badakhshan Babur writes:

1. *Baburnama*, p. 321.

That was a marvellous sign of divine might! Two or three years earlier the Mirza had left the Kaul country like a foe, driving tribes and hordes like sheep before me, reached Badakhshan and made fast its forts and valey-strongholds. With what fancy in his mind had he marched out? Now he was back, hanging the head of shame for those earlier misdeeds, humbled and distraught about that breach with me. My face showed him no sort of displeasure; I made kind inquiry about himself and brought him out of his confusion.

Civil War in Badakhshan (1507 A.D.)

With the expulsion of Nasir Mirza there was now no ruler in Badakhshan. The chiefs having driven out Nasir Mirza from Badakhshan fell out with each other and a civil war started in Badakhshan. In the civil war that ensued Zuber got an upper hand. he killed Mubarak Shah and succeeded in capturing Kila-i Zafar and for a while became supreme authority in Badakhshan.² But before he could fully consolidate his position, Mirza Khan, the cousin of Babur, jumped into fray for the throne of Badakhshan.

II KHAN MIRZA'S RULE IN BADAKHSHAN (1507-1520 A.D.)

Mirza Khan was keenly watching from Kabul the developments in Badakhshan. Shah Begam, his maternal

1. *Baburnama*, p. 322.

2. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 203-221.

grandmother, who was a widow of the Mongol Khan, Yunus Khan, who traced her descent to Alexander the Great, was always a claimant to the throne of Badakhshan. She asserted,

If [Badakhshan] has been our hereditary kingdom for 300 years. Though, I being a woman, cannot myself attain to sovereignty, yet my grandson, Mirza Khan, can hold it. Males descended from me and my children will certainly not be rejected.

It was, therefore, understandable that she found the present opportunity very favourable to make a bid for the throne of Badakhshan. For this attempt Mirza Khan was the right choice. I was in all likelihood at her instance that Mirza Khan asked Babur's permission to go to Badakhshan and try his fortune there.² Babur gave his consent. Mirza Khan set out for Badakhshan along with Shah Begam and Mihr Nigar Khanim, Babur's maternal aunt. Muhammad Shah, the brother of Mirza Haider Dughlat, also accompanied him.

On reaching Badakhshan, Mirza Khan leaving the camp behind marched forward and conveyed to Zuber the intention of Shah Begam for coming to Badakhshan. But as soon as Mirza Khan had separated from Shah Begam, the forces of Mirza Aba Bakr of Kashghar attacked the camp, captured Shah Begam and

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi.*, p. 203; *Firishta*, Vol. II, p. 9; See also *Baburnama*, p. n 1.

2. *Baburnama*, p. 340.

other ladies who were carried to the presence of Aba Bakr where, as prisoners of Aba Bakr, they subsequently died after much suffering.¹

Despite news of the capture of Shah Begam and other ladies of the camp by Aba Bakr Mirza, Mirza Khan continued his march into Badakhshan and met Zuber making his intentions clear to him. Zuber at first treated Mirza Khan with respect but afterwards began to neglect him. Then Yusuf Ali Diwana, an old servant of Mirza Khan, and 18 others hatched a conspiracy to eliminate Zuber. On one night they attacked and killed Zuber and raised Mirza Khan to the throne of Badakhshan in 913 H./1508 A.D. Soon after his accession all the people of Ragh, as well as, most of the Hazaras submitted to him. Thus Mirza Khan established himself in Badakhshan and ruled there till 1520 A.D. But Mirza Khan's rule in Badakhshan was far from being comfortable although he had the privilege of the occupation of Qila-i Zafar, a fort which was built by Mubarak Shah and from whom it was captured by Zuber Raghi.

Mirza Khan's Problems in Badakhshan: The Mulahida Sect and the Upper Hazara

As mentioned above, though Mirza Khan had established himself in the Qila-i Zafar, yet his rule was far from

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi.*, p. 203.

consolidated. His problems were multiple. One of the major threats to his authority were the Mullahidas. A few years earlier when Shaibani Khan had conquered the southern parts of river Amu, i.e., Hisar, Qunduz and Khatlan (1504-05) at that time Shah Raziuddin of Kohistan was propagating the doctrines of the Mullahida sect in Badakhshan. The Mullahidas believed that the world was without the beginning or end. They did not believe in resurrection or life after death.¹ Most of the people of Badakhshan had become his followers. At the time of Mirza Khan's occupation the central part of Badakhshan bordering with Khatlan was under the influence and domination of Shah Raziuddin.

At the same time the upper Hazara region of Badakhshan upto Kashghar, which was earlier conquered by Mirza Aba Bakr, was still in his occupation while the flat and the richest part of Badakhshan towards Qunduz side was still under the occupation of the Uzbeks. Simultaneously, some parts of the country had been deserted and become waste for the fear of the Uzbeks. Thus in the beginning of his reign, the throne of Badakhshan was not a bed of roses for Mirza Khan. In the winter of 1508 he was almost starved of provisions.²

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi.*, pp. 217-18.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-227.

Saeed Khan of Kashghar Visits Mirza Khan in Qila-i Zafar

It was in this state of penury that he had to play as a host to his cousin Said Khan at Qila-i Zafar. Saeed Khan s/o Ahmad Khan, the younger Khan, having been defeated by his cousin Sultan Mansur had fled to Andijan which was then held by the Uzbek chief Jani Beg. Afterwards, escaping from Jani Beg he came to Mirza Khan in Badakhshan. He was kindly received by Mirza Khan in Qila-i Zafar. Saeed Khan remained there for 18 days. During the period of Saeed Khan's stay some of the disgruntled retainers of Mirza Khan, who did not consider Mirza Khan suitable for the government of Badakhshan, offered the government of Qila-i Zafar to Saeed Khan, which according to Mirza Haider Dughlat was "not worth half a loaf of bread." The Khan declined the offer saying:

Mirza Khan who is my cousin has been exposed to a thousand hardships by crooked fortune. It will be contrary to all the rules of good feelings and justice to oppose him¹ or to deprive him of this possession.

The Khan departed for Kashghar. Soon after Saeed Khan's departure Mirza Khan received at Qila-i Zafar another guest in his another cousin, Mirza Haider Dughlat. Haider Dughlat tells us that at the time of his arrival in Qila-i

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi.*, p. 226.

Zafar the Mirza was living in extremely difficult conditions, without provisions and surrounded by scheming natives of Badakhshan. Yet, Mirza Khan received his cousin with warm hospitality and kindness.¹

Mirza Khan Consolidates His Position in Badakhshan

By the spring of 1509 the condition of Mirza Khan somehow improved. In the early spring Shah Raziuddin, who was spreading the doctrines of the Mulahidas, fell in with his followers and was killed by them. His head was offered to Mirza Khan. The end of Shah Raziuddin increased not only his territory but also strengthened his position.² Another event which relieved Mirza Khan and contributed to improving his position was the death of Shaibani Khan Uzbek in the battle of Merv in 1510 A.D. Hereafter for about nine years Mirza Khan ruled in Badakhshan with some ease. But then he had the misfortune of having some differences with Saeed Khan of Kashghar which resulted in the latter's invasion of Badakhshan in the year 1518 A.D.³

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi.*, pp. 226-27.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 353; see also Erskine, p. 339.

Differences With Saeed Khan of Kashghar: Struggle for Upper Hazara Districts

The major bone of contention between Badakhshan and Kashghar were the upper Hazara districts of Badakhshan. The genesis of the conflict lay in the period prior to Mirza Khan's occupation of Badakhshan. In the later part of Khusrau Shah's rule in Badakhshan, Mirza Aba Bakr of Kashghar had seized several parts of the upper Hazara districts, such as Sarigh Chupan, Ghund, Parwaz, Yarkh, Pasar and Shighnan. Before Khusrau Shah could make an attempt to recover these districts he sustained a defeat at the hands of Shaibani Khan who came to occupy Badakhshan. However, when Shaibani Khan occupied Badakhshan, the Mir of Hazara, who was appointed by Aba Bakr Mirza, refused to submit to Shaibani Khan. The Uzbek attacks on the Hazara districts were repulsed.¹ Consequently the territory remained under the occupation of Aba Bakr Mirza of Kashghar who continued his hold over the country extending from the upper defiles (tang-i bala) as far as Sarigh Chupan. Thus for a period of 12 years this region remained separated from Badakhshan.

With the overthrow of Aba Bakr Mirza by Sultan Saeed Khan in 920 H./1515 A.D. the latter paid attention to the administration of this territory. He appointed Mir Muhammad

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi.*, p. 353.

as the governor of the Hazarajat of Badakhshan.¹ The people of Badakhshan treated Darazukhan as the frontier of Badakhshan. Therefore, on the appointment of Mir Muhammad as governor of the upper Hazaras the people of Darazukhan refused to submit to him, took violent possession of the territory and appealed to Mirza Khan for help against Kashghar.

Mirza Khan readily responded and occupied the upper Hazara, as he not only considered these districts as an integral part of Badakhshan but claimed that Badakhshan was another name of Hazarajat. The Mirza further asserted that Aba Bakr Mirza had taken these districts by force, and, as such, with his death they lapsed to Badakhshan. He argued with Saeed Khan as follows:

In consequence of Mirza Aba Bakr's conquest, this country was cut of from its ancient attachment and was, for twelve years, under the jurisdiction of Kashghar. The emperor [Babur], with the help of his brave troops, delivered into my power the regions usurped by Mirza Aba Bakr. If you desire to have this kingdom it will be necessary in the first place on account of my relationship with the emperor [Babur] that I should send him a salutation and beg him to despatch an army to me as I am too weak (to act independently). When so requested he [Babur] may take possession of it without fear.²

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi.*, pp. 253-54.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

Saeed Khan of Kashghar Attacks Badakhshan (1518 A.D.)

In spite of Mirza Khan's above claims to the upper Hazara districts and his threat to call Babur to his aid Saeed Khan decided to invade Badakhshan. Thus in the summer of 924 Hijri/ 1518 A.D. the Khan invaded and ravaged the country of Badakhshan. Mirza Khan unable to face the Khan in the battlefield withdrew and sought refuge in Qila-i Zafar. When the Khan saw that absolute ruin had fallen on Mirza Khan and the upper Hazara districts had been reoccupied by him, he retired from Badakhshan to Kashghar.¹ Mirza Khan thereafter made no attempt to conquer those districts.

III BADAKSHAN UNDER HUMAYUN AND HINDAL (1520-1530 A.D.)

After about 12 years' rule in Badakhshan, Mirza Khan died in Badakhshan leaving behind a minor son named Sulaiman. The news of Mirza Khan's death reached Babur soon after his return to Kabul after his conquest of Bhira. According to Gulbadan Begam, Babur assigned to Mirza Sulaiman "the lands and inheritance which had been his father's" but gave the government of Badakhshan to his son Humayun who was then only thirteen years old and despatched him to Badakhshan to take charge of the country as it was

.1s1

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi.*, p. 355.

threatened by the Uzbeks.¹ Humayun remained at the helm of affairs of Badakhshan for the next nine years, i.e., till 1529 except for a brief period when he was summoned to join Babur in his expedition to India towards the end of 1525 A.D. where he served Babur till after the battle of Kanwah before he was given leave to return to Badakhshan. Babur wanted to use Badakhshan as his base for the possible conquest of Trans-Hindukush and Trans-Oxus territories. In November 1528 he wrote a letter to Humayun to move on Hisar, Samarqand, Herat or in whichever direction the fortune favoured. Though Humayun could not succeed in recovering the above places, yet he successfully held Badakhshan. During his rule from 1520 it remained safe from any Uzbek threat.

Humayun Leaves Badakhshan (1529 A.D.)

In 1529 Humayun suddenly left Badakhshan for Hindustan. As there is a gap in Babur's memoirs from 7th September 1529 till the death of Babur--the last entry in

1. It is not clear as to which were the "lands and inheritances which had been his father's" that were assigned by Babur to Mirza Sulaiman. Gulbadan Begam writes, 'Just now came a letter from Badakhshan saying: "Mirza Khan is dead; Mirza Sulaiman is young; the Uzbegs are near, take thought for this kingdom lest (which God forbid) Badakhshan should be lost" Until there should be thought taken, Mirza Sulaiman's mother had brought him (to the Empror). Agreeable to this petition and their wish, the Emperor assigned to Mirza Sulaiman the lands and inheritance which had been his father's, and he gave Badakhshan to Mirza Humayun.' *Humayun-nama*, p. 92.

Babur's memoirs being of 7th September--the exact reason for Humayun's departure from Badakhshan can not be ascertained from the *Tuzuk-i Baburi*. Gulbadan Begam too is silent about the event. *Tarikh-i Rashidi* and *Tarikh-i Alfi* do give the reasons for Humayun's leaving Badakhshan and coming to Hindustan. According to the former, as Babur was ill it was in deference to his desire to have by his side his heir apparent if something adverse were to happen to him.¹ The *Tarikh-i Alfi* also supports the view that Humayun was recalled by Babur.² It also adds that instead of Humayun, Babur appointed Hindal to Badakhshan. However, Abul Fazl and Farishta state that Humayun came to Agra due the passion to see his father. Whatever might be the reason for Humayun's suddenly leaving Badakhshan and coming to Agra, Humayun's departure from Badakhshan was a matter of concern to the Badakhshis. As soon as they came to know of Humayun's decision to leave they represented to him that: "Badakhshan bordered with the territory of the Uzbeks, who cherish in their heart ancient hatred for Badakhshan. If they attack Badakhshan our *amirs* will be unable to check them."³ According to Haider Mirza, Humayun replied to them, "all that

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi.*, p. 387.

2. *Tarikh-i Alfi*, tr. Rizvi, p. 644.

3. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 387.

you say is true, still I am unable to deviate from my father's commands. But I will do my best to send one of my brothers to you as soon as possible". Having thus reasoned he left Badakhshan giving the charge of the country to Hindal's perceptor, Fakhr-i Ali.¹

Badakhshis Offer the Government of Badakhshan to Saeed Khan of Kashghar

Not confident that Fakhr-i Ali would be able to defend Badakhshan against the Uzbeks, all the *amirs* of Badakhshan under the leadership of Sultan Wais sent an invitation to Sultan Saeed Khan of Kashghar offering him the government of Badakhshan. They pleaded,

Humayun Mirza has gone to Hindustan leaving this province in the hands of Fakhir-i Ali, who is quite incapable of coping with the Uzbek, [and therefore] of establishing tranquility in Badakhshan. If, by such and such date, the Khan were to come, all would be well; otherwise we must succumb to the Uzbeks. But if the Uzbek come and attack us before the arrival of the Khan, they will not be able [by the date mentioned] to obtain a firm footing. We implore his help. Perhaps he may be the cause of our salvation.²

They further pleaded that Badakhshan belonged to the Khan by

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi.*, p. 387. According to Abul Fazl, he gave charge to Sultan Wais, see *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 271.
2. *Tarikh-i Rashidi.*, p. 387.

inheritance from his grand mother Shah Begam.¹ The Khan became convinced of the Uzbek threat projected by the Badakhshis. Therefore, in the month of Muharram 936 Hijri, he started with Mirza Haider Dughlat, the author of the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, for Badakhshan, leaving Sultan Rashid in Yaqand to save Kashghar from the Uzbeks and the Kirghiz.²

Hindal Replaces Humayun in Badakhshan

In the meantime, Humayun on reaching Kabul, while on his way from Badakhshan to Hindustan, had despatched Mirza Hindal from Kabul to take charge of Badakhshan in his place. Hindal Mirza had thus reached Qila-i Zafar twelve days before Saeed Khan descended on Badakhshan in response to the offer of the Badakhshis.

Saeed Khan in Badakhshan: Besieges Qila-i Zafar and Then Retires

On reaching Sarigh Chupan, the Khan sent Haider Mirza in advance towards Badakhshan, himself following in the rear. On arrival in Badakhshan Haider Mirza discovered that Mirza Hindal, the youngest son of Babur, had already taken charge of Qila-i Zafar. As by this time it was winter, Mirza Haider needed winter quarters for his troops. He, therefore, moved to Qila-i Zafar and started negotiations

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 387.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 388.

requesting that some districts of Badakhshan be allotted to him for the winter season, promising that after the winter is over the Kashghari forces would retire. Mirza Haider's request was seen with suspicion and distrust. In disgust the Mirza then decided on pillage the country around Qila-i Zafar. He took possession of whatever he could lay his hands upon, including men and beasts. A few days later the Khan also arrived and besieged Qila-i Zafar.¹ When the siege had prolonged for three months and the winter season was over, the *amirs* who had invited Saeed Khan came and represented to him that had Mirza Hindal not arrived they would have hastened to receive the Khan and they profusely apologised to the Khan for not welcoming him. The Khan understood the delicacy of the situation. He said,

It is out of question that I should oppose Babar Padishah. You sent me entreating letters, saying that you could be swallowed up by the Uzbek, and that the presence of the Uzbek in Badakhshan would be equally hurtful to both sides; for this reason I came. As matters stand, every man ought now to return to his own home.²

Having said that the Khan set out for his return journey to Kashghar.³

-
1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 388.
 2. *Ibid.*.
 3. *Ibid.*

Babur Recalls Hindal: Restores Badakhshan to Mirza Khan's Son Sulaiman Mirza (1529-30)

When Babur heard of the arrival of Saeed Khan in Kashghar he felt concerned. He, therefore, immediately despatched Sulaiman Mirza to Badakhshan thinking that he had a better claim to rule Badakhshan than one of his sons, thus simultaneously recalling Hindal. At the same time he also sent a letter to Saeed Khan requesting him that he would respect the hereditary claim and leave Sulaiman Mirza in possession of Badakhshan. By the time Sulaiman Mirza reached Badakhshan, Saeed Khan had already left Badakhshan. On Sulaiman's arrival in Qila-i Zafar, Hindal handed over the government of Badakhshan to Sulaiman Mirza and, as per the directions of emperor Babur, left Badakhshan for Hindustan.¹ Thereafter, Sulaiman Mirza established himself in Badakhshan, while, a little afterwards, on the death of Babur, Humayun succeeded Babur in Hindustan.

IV BADAKSHAN UNDER SULAIMAN MIRZA: FLUCTUATING FORTUNES

Humayun on his accession at Agra in 1530 A.D. confirmed Mirza Sulaiman in his government of Badakhshan. For about eleven years Sulaiman Mirza ruled as an undisputed ruler. But the breach between Emperor Humayun and his brother Mirza Kamran in the year 1540 also had share of troubles with Mirza Sulaiman. After parting

1. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 388-89.

with Humayun in 1540 and after cutting of all relationship with Humayun and having renounced even nominal overlordship of Humayun when Kamran came to Kabul he assumed the insignia of royalty. The immediate problem before Mirza Kamran in Kabul was to find out *jagirs* and accommodate the Mughal nobles who having deserted Humayun had come with Kamran to Kabul in the hope of getting *jagirs* which Humayun, then as a fugitive, was not in a position to grant them. The area of Kabul and its dependencies was not adequate enough to accommodate all the nobles who had joined Mirza Kamran. In such a situation the only prospects of Mirza Kamran lay in the fertile terrain of Badakhshan, then ruled by Sulaiman Mirza.

Mirza Sulaiman Accepts Kamran's Overlordship

Soon after his assuming sovereignty at Kabul, Mirza Kamran sent Khwaja Khawand Muhammad as his envoy to Sulaiman Mirza asking him to acknowledge his suzerainty and issue coins in his name. Kamran's claim at the moment was not illegitimate for he could now claim to be the only successor to Babur who now had a territory to rule.

On Mirza Sulaiman's refusal to acknowledge Mirza Kamran's overlordship, the latter led an army into Badakhshan. A battle was fought near village Bari. Unable to stand before Kamran's superior army, Mirza Sulaiman

opened negotiations for peace. He sent an envoy to Mirza Kamran to work out a treaty. Consequently, Mirza Sulaiman agreed to read *Khutba* and issue coins in the name of Mirza Kamran and cede some territory of Badakhshan to Humayun. Humayun was more than satisfied for he needed territory to accommodate his nobles. After assigning the newly acquired territories of Badakhshan among his nobles Kamran returned to Kabul.¹

Sulaiman's Defiance: Battle of Andarab: Kamran Annexes Badakhshan

However, soon afterwards Sulaiman Mirza got an opportunity to overthrow Mirza Kamran's yoke, and the occasion for it was provided by Mirza Hindal's rebellion against Mirza Kamran. As Hindal had occupied Qandahar, Kamran had to leave Kabul to recover it from Hindal. The siege of Qandahar by Kamran prolonged for six months. Taking advantage of Kamran's absence from Kabul, Mirza Sulaiman seized those territories of Badakhshan which he was earlier forced to surrender to Kamran.²

-
1. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 408; Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maathir-ul Umara*, tr. H. Beveridge (reprint, Patna 1979), Vol. II, Part II, p. 886. hereafter mentioned as *Maathir-ul Umara*; Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Mirza Kamran: A Biographical Study* (Asia Publishing House, 1964), p.
 2. *Akbarnama*, pp. 408-9; *Maathir*, pp. 886-87.

On returning to Kabul, Mirza Kamran once again led an army into Badakhshan. A battle was fought with Mirza Sulaiman at Andarab in south western part of Badakhshan. Mirza Sulaiman was defeated and fled for refuge to Qila-i Zafar. Humayun besieged the fort. In the mean time some of the inhabitants of Badakhshan came to Mirza Kamran and expressed their good wishes to him. Running short of supplies in the fort Mirza Sulaiman was forced to submit. Kamran seized the fort, appointed Qasim Barlas to the charge of the fort along with many others. He took Mirza Sulaiman and his son Ibrahim Mirza as captives with him to Kabul.¹

Local Chief's Rebellion Against Kamran's Men: Sulaiman Reinstated (1545 A.D.)

About the time when Humayun returning from Persia conquered Qandahar there was rebellion in Badakhshan against Kamran's men. Disgruntled with Kamran's rule, the local chiefs, namely Mirza Ali, the Mir of Hazara, Mir Ali Bulac and some other chiefs and nobles formed a conspiracy against Qasim Barlas, Kamran's governor of Qila-i Zafar. They captured Qila-i Zafar and took Qasim Barlas and other commanders of Kamran as prisoners. Having done that they sent a message to Mirza Kamran requesting him to release

1. *Akbarnama*, p. 809; *Maathir-ul Umara*, p. 886; *Nafais-ul Maasir*, tr. Rizvi, p. 486; Bayazid Biyat, *Tazkira-i Humayun wa Akbar*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p. 753.

Mirza Sulaiman and send him back to Badakhshan so that the government of Badakhshan could be handed over to him. They also threatened that in case Mirza Sulaiman was not sent back they would not only kill the prisoners but offer Badakhshan to the Uzbeks. Alarmed at these developments Kamran considered it prudent to release his royal prisoners and send them back to Badakhshan, who were allowed to set out for Badakhshan.

But soon Kamran realized that he had committed a mistake by setting them free to proceed to Badakhshan. When the two Mirzas, Sulaiman and his son Ibrahim, had traversed some distance Kamran sent a messenger to recall them saying that he had some important information to communicate to them personally after which he could resume his journey. Mirza Sulaiman suspected the motives of Mirza Kamran and replied that as he had set out at an auspicious honour it would not be proper to return. He, however added that whatever command Mirza Kamran were to give him would be received with utmost obedience. At the same time he continued his journey to Badakhshan and on reaching there assumed the reins of the government and read *khutba* in his own name.¹

1. *Akbarnama*, pp. 468-69.; *Nafais-ul Maasir*, p.486
Bayazid Biyat, p. 753; *Maathir-ul Umara*, pp. 886-87.

Humayun's Expedition to Badakhshan

After capturing Qandahar when Humayun established himself at Kabul by ousting Kamran, he received embassies from the rulers of neighbouring countries, including Shah Tahmasp of Persia and Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan, congratulating him for his victory. The embassy of Mirza Sulaiman was led by Shah Taghai who brought gifts and a letter from Mirza Sulaiman for Humayun with excuses from the Mirza for not coming in person. Mirza's excuses were not acceptable to Humayun. Humayun sent him messages saying that his sincerity and loyalty depended upon his coming in person to do homage to him.¹ Mirza Sulaiman did not respond to Humayun's demand, which offended the latter. Another reason for Humayun's discomfort with the Mirza was that after recapturing Badakhshan, Mirza Sulaiman had also laid his hands upon Khost, Andarab and Qunduz which did not constitute a part of Sulaiman Mirza's hereditary domain of Badakhshan which was granted to his father Wais Mirza (Mirza Khan) by Babur. These principalities belonged to Kamran as the ruler of Kabul. As successor to Kamran by virtue of his conquest of Kabul Humayun rightly claimed these principalities. Mirza turned a deaf ear to Humayun's

1. *Akbarnama*, p. 487; Bayazid Biyat, p. 763.

claims. Humayun, therefore, resolved to attack Badakhshan.²

In the beginning of 953 Hijri/1546 A.D. Humayun marched from Kabul for Badakhshan and encamped at Yurat Chalak. To prevent any intrigues during his absence from Kabul, he took Askari with him. When Humayun reached Andarab and was encamped in the garden of Ali Quli Andarabi, Mirza Sulaiman mobilised his forces to oppose Humayun at the village of Tirghin, a dependency of Andarab.

Second Battle of Andarab: Sulaiman Ousted from Badakhshan

On hearing of the mobilisation of an army by Sulaiman Mirza, Humayun despatched Mirza Hindal, Qaracha Khan and a number of other other commanders in advance. Sulaiman strengthened himself behind the trench. A body of archers discharged arrows, dismounted and killed a number Mirza Sulaiman's men. But Sulaiman stood firm. For quite sometime the contest was doubtful till some of Humayun's men in a desperate bid succeeded in crossing the trench and launched a heavy attack. The army of Badakhshan was broken and put to flight. Mirza Sulaiman defiantly tried to hold the ground, but ultimately was forced to flee. He fled to Khost taking

1. *Akbarnama*, p. 490; Bayazid Biyat, p. 765; *Maathir-ul Umarah*, p. 887; Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari* in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, Vol. V, p. 224 (hereafter mentioned as *Tabaqat*).

the route through Narin and Ishkimish. Mirza Beg Barlas, Tulak of Taliqan and Awais Sultan who, were Mirza Sulaiman's principal chiefs, surrendered to Humayun. Mirza Hindal with a considerable army was sent to pursue Mirza Sulaiman. Humayun himself followed in the rear. Many Badakhshi horses fell into the hands of the pursuers. When Humayun reached in the valley of Khost, many of the Badakhshi nobles and soldiers waited upon Humayun and surrendered to him. Mirza Sulaiman was compelled to retire with his remaining followers towards Kabul.¹

Humayun's Settlement of Badakhshan

According to Abul Fazl, after a few days stay in Khost, Humayun moved to Kishm. Mirza Sulaiman considering it unadvisable to stay in Kishm crossed river Amu. While in Kishm, Humayun settled the affairs of Badakhshan. He parcelled out various parts of Badakhshan among his followers. He appointed Mirza Hindal to Qunduz while Munim Khan was made Tehsildar of Khost. Babus was given Taliqan. Some other territories were assigned to other officers.

1. *Akbarnama*, pp. 490-92; Bayazid Biyat, pp. 770-71; *Tabaqat*, pp. 223-24; Jauhar, *Tazkirat-ul Waqiat*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, pp. 68, *Maathir*, p. 687. Here Gulbadan Begam in her *Humayun-nama* gives a slightly different version. According to her, after the conquest of Kabul from Kamran, Humayun remained for sometime to celebrate his victory over Kamran. During his stay in Kabul he celebrated Akbar's circumcision ceremony. Then he went to Qila-i Zafar, the capital of Badakhshan where Sulaiman Mirza after a resistance gave up and fled away making the room for Humayun to enter the fort, *Humayun-nama*, p.180.

Humayun's Illness and Unrest in Badakhshan

After assigning various territories of Badakhshan among his followers, Humayun decided to make Qila-a Zafar his winter head-quarter to supervise the affairs of administration. But when he proceeded towards Qila-i Zafar he fell ill at the village of Shakhdan between Kishm and Qila-i Zafar. He was seized with a violent illness and had to halt at Shakhdan for about two months. He fell unconscious. Various types of rumours spread around. Unrest spread everywhere. Humayun's officers left their fiefs and met each other to work out future plan of action in the event of Humayun's disease proving fatal. Even Humayun's brother Mirza Hindal left Qunduz and came to the bank of river Kokcha in consultation with other officers of Humayun. The former *amirs* of Mirza Sulaiman also raised their heads here and there.

On the fifth day when Humayun regained consciousness Qaracha Khan was ordered to announce that Humayun had recovered from his illness. Letters were also sent through Fazil Beg to Kabul to announce about Humayun's convalescence with a view to preventing any commotion there. In Badakhshan when the news of Humayun's recovery spread around, Hindal hurried back to Qunduz, while other officers also returned to their

principalities.¹

After his recovery Humayun moved towards Qila-i Zafar and ordered to build a grass hut from where he could control the affairs of administration of Badakhshan. Humayun then also began to go on hunting expeditions, which was his favourite pass time. According to Abul Fazl the "dread of the residence of his majesty in Badakhshan wrought dismay in Turan. The Uzbeks gathered to gather and were full of apprehensions but they could not find any suitable remedy for their fears."²

Another fall out of Humayun's illness and absence from Badakhshan was the capture of Kabul by Mirza Kamran. Taking advantage of the situation he marched towards Kabul with the help of his father-in-law, Shah Husain Arghun of Sind, and occupied it without any opposition. Humayun, therefore, marched towards Kabul.

Badakhshan Restored to Mirza Sulaiman (1547)

However, before leaving Badakhshan, Humayun considered it advisable to reinstate Mirza Sulaiman in

1. *Akbarnama*, p. 493-94; Bayazid Biyat, p. 772-76; Jauhar, pp. 681-2; Ferishta Vol. II, p. 98; See also Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Mirza Kamran*, p. 33 and R.P. Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 103.

2. *Akbarnama*, pp. 495-97; Bayazid Biyat, pp. 472-74; Jauhar, *ibid.*; Ferishta, *ibid.*, p. 98.

Badakhshan. He sent a gracious message to Sulaiman Mirza forgiving his offences and inviting him to take charge of Badakhshan, as it was granted to him by Babur. But, at the same time Humayun confirmed Mirza Hindal in Qunduz, Khost, Andarab and Kahmard.¹ As Humayun approached Kabul, Mirza Kamran unable to resist Humayun slipped out of the fort which again fell in possession of Humayun.

Kamran's Occupation of Badakhshan with the Help of Uzbeks

Having fled from Kabul, Kamran went to Badakhshan in the hope that Mirza Sulaiman and his son might help him in his struggle with Humayun. But the Mirzas remained loyal to Humayun. Disappointed of the Mirzas, Mirza Kamran went towards Balkh with the intention of seeking help of Pir Muhammad Khan, the Uzbek chief of Balkh, in dislodging Sulaiman Mirza from Badakhshan. On learning of Mirza Kamran's march towards Balkh, Humayun sent Qaracha Khan to chase him. When Kamran reached the village of Aibak, its governor received him courteously but at the same time put him under surveillance and reported to Pir Muhammad Khan about Kamran's arrival at Aibak. The Uzbek chief welcomed Mirza Kamran, took him to his palace and extended him warm hospitality.² As Pir Muhammad Khan himself was looking

1. *Akbarnama*, p. 504; *Humayun-nama*, pp. 180-81; *Tabaqat*, pp. 223-25.

2. *Abarnama*, pp. 516-20; *Jauhar*, p. 685; *Mirza Kamran*, p. 35.

for an opportunity to invade Badakhshan, he not only readily agreed to Kamran's request for help but himself accompanied him to Badakhshan with a large body of troops. Unable to resist the joint forces of Pir Muhammad Khan and Mirza Kamran, Sulaiman and his son retired into the mountains of Badakhshan. Thus the Uzbeks and Mirza Kamran came to possess a considerable part of the country of Badakhshan. Having installed Mirza Kamran and leaving an Uzbek force with him, the Uzbek chief returned to Balkh.¹

After strengthening himself in Badakhshan, Kamran decided to take an offensive against Sulaiman Mirza. He advanced towards Kishm and Taliqan. From there he despatched a body of Chaghtai and Uzbek troops under the command of Rafiq Koka and Khaliq Bardi to occupy Rustaq. Mirza Sulaiman and his son mobilised an army from the adjoining highland of Kulab and marched towards Rostaq to oppose Mirza Kamran's forces. Though they fought bravely, yet they were forced to retire towards hills.²

Humayun Attacks Badakhshan (1548 A.D.)

Abul Fazl tells us that as soon as Humayun heard about Kamran's attack on Badakhshan in alliance with the

-
1. *Akbarnama*, pp. 520-21; Bayazid Biyat, p. 780.
 2. *Abarnama*, 521; Bayazid Biyat, p. 781; Jauhar, pp. 686-91, p. 83; *Mirza Kamran*, , p. 35; *Tabaqat*, p. 227.

Uzbeks he set out for Badakhshan. When Humayun reached Ghurband he met Qaracha Khan whom he had sent to pursue Mirza Kamran in Badakhshan. Qaracha Khan had been plundered by the *aimaq* of all his baggages. Humayun sent him to Kabul to re-equip himself and then to join him on his expedition. From Ghurband Humayun moved to Gulbahar where he stayed for sometime to enjoy excursion and hunting as well as to wait for Qaracha's return to join him. As soon as Qaracha Khan returned Humayun resumed his march towards Badakhshan. But by that time the hill terrain leading to Badakhshan had become untraversable due to snow. The passes of Hindukush mountains were difficult to cross during this season. Humayun, therefore, had no choice but to postpone his expedition to Badakhshan until the beginning of the spring season and return to Kabul.¹

In the spring season when Humayun was prepared to march again to Badakhshan he was prevented by the unexpected revolt of some of his nobles and officials like Qaracha Khan who deserted him and went off to Badakhshan to join Mirza Kamran. Since Humayun was determined to attack Badakhshan he set out of Kabul on June 12, 1548 for Badakhshan in spite of the desertion by some of his confidants.

When Humayun reached Qarabagh, he was joined by three visitors. One was Muhammad Khan of Ghazni, the other was

1. *Abarnama*, pp., 516-17; Bayazid Biyat, pp. 782-87; *Tabaqat*, p. 228.

Qasim Husain Sultan who came from Bangash and the third was Ibrahim Mirza, son of Sulaiman Mirza, who had come to express his father's allegiance to Humayun and offer of cooperation. The Mirza was received favourably and treated like a son. After bestowing royal favours upon him, the emperor gave him leave with the message his father to keep ready with his forces to join him on his arrival at Taliqan.¹ From Qarabagh Humayun marched to Gulbahar from where he sent back prince Akbar along with his mother to Kabul entrusting the command of the fort to Muhammad Qasim. Then marching through the valley of Panshir he reached Bazarak. From Bazarak he despatched an advance guard towards Andarab. As soon as the advance party crossed Hindu Kush mountains Kamran's officer in charge of the fort left Andarab and fled away. Humayun then ordered his officers to pursue and seize the families of the fugitives who were in Khost. But this move of Humayun was prevented by Qaracha Khan who had deputed Musahib Beg to remove them to Taliqan. At this time Kamran was in Taliqan. Kamran took measures to unsuccessfully block Humayun's passage. Humayun reached Andarab without meeting resistance. At Andarab Hindal coming from Qunduz waited upon Humayun bringing with him Sher Ali a commander of Mirza Kamran who he had been captured when

1. *Akbarnama*, pp. 421-26; Jauhar, pp. 686-91; Bayzid Biyat, pp. 782-87.

the latter had attacked Qunduz. Humayun forgave Sher Ali, conferred upon him a robe of honour and made him the governor of Ghorī. Simultaneously after honouring Mirza Hindal he sent him as a vanguard with considerable army. Humayun followed him in the rear. When Humayun reached Qazi Aulang, a village of Andarab, towards the middle of the month of May, 1548, he was joined by the Baluches, men of Tubai and Sulaqanchi tribes and of other *aimaq(s)* of Badakhshan, as well as, by Musahib Beg. Humayun then pushed towards Taliqan, which was then garrisoned by Kamran's men under Mirza Abdullah. Kamran had himself taken a position at Kishm and Qila-i Zafar with a considerable army. A battle was fought between the forces of Humayun and Kamran near Qila-i Zafar (1548 A.D.). The vanguard of Humayun's army under the command of Mirza Hindal was defeated and forced to flee and its baggage was plundered by Kamran's men.

By the time Humayun approached and wanted to cross the river to reinforce his men he found that it was difficult to cross the river. He, therefore, marched a mile further up the river. Ultimately he appointed Fathullah Khan who succeeded in taking on the enemy. In the meantime Humayun also pushed forward. On Humayun's arrival Mirza Kamran lost heart and fled to the fort of Taliqan where he strengthened himself inside the fort. Kamran's baggage was plundered and the surrounding country was laid waste.

Several of Kamran's men were made prisoners and considerable booty fell in the hands of Humayun's men.

Siege of Taliqan

Humayun then laid siege to Taliqan. While besieging Taliqan he wrote to Kamran inviting him to make peace offering to forgive him. There was no response from Kamran. Humayun therefore pushed the siege. As the siege prolonged for about a month Humayun's forces were strengthened with the arrival of Mirza Sulaiman and his son Ibrahim and Chakar Khan, son of Sultan Wais of Qipchaq, from Kulab with their military contingents. On the other hand, the Uzbeks who were the main supporters of Mirza Kamran, seeing the mobilization of Humayun were no more willing to extend support to Kamran. They would watch the Timurid princes destroying each other. In such a situation Mirza Kamran had no alternative but to agree to negotiations with Humayun to which he had earlier turned a deaf ear. He sent letters to Humayun by tagging them to the arrows shot into the besiegers camp. He made humble confessions of his conduct and made promises of change in his conduct. He also proposed the name of Mir Arab of Mecca for whom Humayun had great respect as mediator.

Humayun agreed to Mirza's request. Mir Arab was sent to the fort for negotiation with Kamran. Consequently

Kamran agreed to submit, renouncing his claim to sovereignty and agreeing to read *Khutba* in the name of Humayun. It was also agreed that that the nobles who had earlier deserted Humayun should be put in chains and delivered to Humayun. Kamran made a further request that he be allowed to retire to Mecca. Humayun agreed to Kamran's request. As a result of the negotiations, on August 12, 1548, Maulana Abdul Baqi entered the fort of Taliqan and recited *Khutba* in Humayun's name. Kamran was allowed to come out of the fort and was escorted by Haji Muhammad to the frontiers of Humayun's territories. The recalcitrant nobles, as stipulated, were brought into chains to the presence of Humayun. Though they were forgiven but were not restored to their earlier position.¹

Humayun's Settlement of Badakhshan

However, when Kamran learnt about Humayun's generous treatment of the recalcitrant nobels he dropped the idea of going to Mecca and decided to wait on Humayun and marched to pay his homage to Humayun. When Humayun was encamped on the bank of Banki river Kamran's envoy Babus waited upon Humayun and informed him of Kamran's desire of paying his homage to Humayun. Humayun acceded to his request and despatched Hindal, Askari and Mirza Sulaiman with distinguished *amirs*

1. *Abarnama*, pp. 531-35; Bayazid Biyat, pp. 782-87; *Tabaqat*, pp. 229-30.

to give him a befitting reception. On August 22, 1548 a *darbar* was held and Mirza Kamran paid his homage to Humayun. The festivities lasted for two days. On this occasion Humayun also planned to attack Balkh. But soon the idea was dropped and instead Humayun decided to consolidate his position in Badakhshan by dividing various territories in Badakhshan among the princes and the faithful nobles. Khatlan, also known as Kulab, as mentioned earlier, was conferred upon Mirza Kamran. When Kamran was given leave to take charge of his district Chakar Khan was sent with him. Abul Fazl says that though Kamran was not content with his assignment, he did not raise any objection for the reason that his life was granted. Qila-i Zafar, Taliqan and several other *parganas* were assigned to Mirza Sulaiman and his son Ibrahim Mirza. Qunduz, Kahmard, Baglan, Iskimish and Nari were conferred upon Mirza Hindal and Sher Ali was appointed with him to assist him. Having made these appointments Humayun returned to Kabul on October 5, 1548.¹

On returning to Kabul after his settlement of Badakhshan, Humayun decided to materialize his earlier plan of conquering Balkh and attacked Balkh. But due to the non cooperation of Kamran his expedition to Balkh proved

1. *Abarnama*, 535-37; Bayazid Biyat, pp. 786-94; Jauhar, pp. 686-691.

disastrous for his army. Taking advantage of Humayun's route by the Uzbeks Kamran tried to consolidate his position in Badakhshan. Leaving Askari to defend Kulab he marched to Taliqan against Sulaiman Mirza. Unable to defend himself Sulaiman Mirza retired to Qila-i Zafar. Kamran captured Taliqan and put it under the charge of Babus Beg. Then he marched to Qila-i Zafar and besieged it. Sulaiman Mirza and his son Ibrahim Mirza finding it difficult to resist Kamran's onslaught left the fort to the charge of Ishaq Sultan and withdrew into the defiles of Badakhshan and taking position in the village of Jirm waited for the turn of events.¹

In the meantime Chakar Beg descending from the mountainous country besieged Kulab. Askari came out to attack him but was defeated and withdrew to the fort for refuge. Sulaiman Mirza also returned from the mountain defiles and joined Ishaq Sultan forcing Mirza Kamran to raise the siege and withdraw to Kulab. On Kamran's approach to Kulab Chakar Beg raised the siege of Kulab and retired. Askari came out of the fort and joined Kamran.²

1. *Abarnama*, pp. 552-53; See also Khan, *Mirza Kamran*, p. 44; Bayazid Biyat, pp. 786-94; *Jauhar*, pp. 686-691.

2. *Akbarnama*, p. 554.

Uzbek Support to Kamran

Thereafter, Kamran marched against Qunduz which was in possession of Hindal. Failing to win over Hindal through allurements, he laid siege to Qunduz. In the wake of tough resistance from Hindal, Kamran sought the help of the Uzbeks. Uzbeks readily responded and sent a force to help him in his siege of Qunduz. With the support of the Uzbeks to Kamran, Hindal was put into a tight position. He then resorted to a stratagem. He had a letter addressed on his behalf to Kamran with the contents that the two brothers had reconciled and intended to trap the Uzbeks and managed to have it intercepted by the Uzbeks. As soon as the Uzbeks laid their hands upon the letter they withdrew their support to Kamran and retired.¹

With the withdrawal of Uzbek support Kamran found it difficult to pursue the siege of Qunduz and marched from there against Mirza Sulaiman. On the way an Uzbek raiding party led by Saeed Beg attacked Kamran's camp. Though Kamran, Askari and Abdullah Mugul managed to flee to Taliqan, the Uzbeks took a large number of prisoners and booty. Later on, learning that it was Kamran's camp they returned all the booty and the prisoners to Kamran offering excuse for their inadvertant attack on Kamran's camp.

1. *Akbarnama*, p. 554.

However, as a result of this Uzbek raid Kamran suffered severe losses. On the other hand, Mirza Hindal and Mirza Sulaiman on learning of the weakened position of Kamran's army as a result of Uzbek attack marched against Kamran. Kamran finding it difficult to offer any resistance to them abandoned his plan of affecting any thing in Badakhshan fled towards Khost intending to go towards Hazara country.¹ In 1550 Kamran seized an opportunity to attack Humayun in the defiles of Qipchaq. A battle was fought and Humayun was wounded.² Wounded in the battle of Qipchaq (1550) Humayun retired towards Badakhshan in the hope of retaliating with the support of Hindal, Mirza Sulaiman and Ibrahim Mirza. Having recovered from his wound and having obtained the support of the above Mirzas Humayun marched against Mirza Kamran, met him at Ushtargram and routed Kamran. Thus the defeat at Qipchaq was avenged at Ushtargram.³ After the battle of Ushtargram, perhaps, with a view to ensuring that Badakhshan remains under the control of a friendly power Humayun tried to cement his relationship with Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan by proposing marriage with the daughter of the Mirza. Though the Mirza welcomed the envoy

1. *Akbarnama*, p. 554.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 572; Bayazid, pp. 706-13; Jauhar, pp. 702-3; *Mirza Kamran*, p. 39; *Nafais-ul Maasir*, p. 489.

of Humayun, treated him with honour but excused himself from the proposal of Humayun on the plea that his daughter was young and that he would accept to proposal on her daughter coming of age.¹

Not only that Sulaiman Mirza politely turned down Humayun's request for the hand of his daughter for marriage with him he gave further cause of offence to him. In the spring of 1551 Humayun bestowed Qunduz on Mirza Barka and Mirza Hasan. But before they could take possession of Qunduz Ibrahim Mirza son of Sulaiman Mirza occupied Qunduz.² Not only that, four years later (1555) when Humayun was striving to re-establish himself in India Mirza Sulaiman availed this opportunity and captured Andarab and Iskimish from Humayun's men.³ Thus by the time Akbar ascended the throne of Hindustan Badakhshan was under the complete control of Sulaiman Mirza who now ruled there independently having shaken all allegiance to the family of Babur and Humayun.

1. *Abarnama*, p. 575.

2. *Akbarnama*, p. 584; Bayazid Biyat, pp. 814-17.

3. *Akbarnama*, pp. 637-38.

A RESUME

The preceding study reveals that the territories of Khurasan, Balkh, Hisar, Qunduz and Badakhshan were the hotly contested areas to the north west of Hindukush mountains. The major contenders for power in this region during the period of our study were the Timurids, the Safawids and the Uzbeks. As the fertile plains of Khurasan with its focal point at Herat, which has been traditionally the capital of the province of Khurasan, enriched by the river Heri rud and the river Murghab were the most coveted of the above mentioned territories, we shall begin with a resume for the struggle for Khurasan.

As we have noticed above, Timur had conquered Khurasan from the Mongols in 1381 A.D. After the death of Timur in 1405 A.D., the central point of struggle for succession to Timur was Samarqand which was the capital of Timur. Hence Khurasan did not attract as much attention as Samarqand till Abu Saeed Mirza, Babur's grandfather succeeded to the Timurid patrimony in 1459 A.D. Since Abu Saeed Mirza made Herat the capital of his empire it gained in importance. It is said that during his reign of ten years from 1459 to 1469 Herat became an envy of the neighbouring powers.

However, it was with the establishment of the Baiqara dynasty by Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara in Herat after the

death of Sultan Abu Saeed Mirza in the year 1469 A.D. that Herat flourished as a seat of culture. Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara was also a descendant of Timur but from a branch other than that of Abu Saeed Mirza. He ruled in Herat till 1506 when he was succeeded by his sons Badi-uz-zaman Mirza and Muzaffar Husain Mirza who ruled Herat jointly only for about a year whereafter they were overthrown by Shaibani Khan Uzbek and Herat passed under the domination of the Uzbeks in 1507 A.D. Shaibani Khan followed his conquest of Herat by capturing Mashhad, Sabzwar, Astarabad and Damaghan.

Conquest of a large part of Khurasan by Shaibani Khan brought him into conflict with the rising power of the Qizilbash led by Shah Ismail Safawi. During the next three years from 1507-1510 A.D., the main contestants for Khurasan were the Uzbeks and the Safawids. The first Uzbek rule in Herat lasted for three years, that is, from 1507 to 1510 A.D. In the first major confrontation between Shah Ismail Safawi and Shaibani Khan Uzbek at Merv in 1510 A.D. the Uzbeks were severely defeated and Shaibani Khan was killed in the battlefield. The Shah followed his victory by capturing Herat.

Another fall out of the battle of Merv was the Timurid interlude in Central Asia. Taking advantage of the defeat and death of Shaibani Khan Uzbek in the battle of Merv and the dispersal of various Uzbek chiefs in different

directions Babur decided to take a chance to recover his ancestral domains in Central Asia and, as such, marched towards Qunduz. He entered into an alliance with Shah Ismail Safawi against the Uzbeks. With the help of Safawids he succeeded in capturing Samarkand. But the defeat of the allied forces by the Uzbeks in the battle of Ghazdwan in the year 1512 A.D. turned the tables against Babur, who had to retreat to Kabul. Hereafter the Safawids and the Uzbeks were the only two major contenders for power in Central Asia. Soon after the battle of Ghazdwan (1512 A.D.) the Uzbek chiefs Jani Beg and Ubaidullah Khan attacked parts of Khurasan while Timur Sultan occupied Herat. During the next ten years as long as Shah Ismail was alive the struggle for dominance in Khurasan continued between the Uzbeks and the Safawids. The control of Herat alternated between the two powers.

The political scenario did not alter even with the accession of Shah Tahmasp in 1524. Ubaidullah Khan Uzbek and his son Abdul Aziz continued their raids in Khurasan. Although the Uzbeks were defeated in the battle of Jam in 1528 A.D., yet Ubaidullah Khan's incursions against Khurasan continued. The control of various cities of Khurasan fluctuated between the Uzbeks and the Safawids as long as Ubaidullah Khan was alive (d. 1539-40 A.D.). Ubaidullah Khan's successor Abdul Latif (1540-1551 A.D.)

entered into diplomatic relations with the Shah and there was relative calm on the frontiers of Khurasan. Yet the skirmishes between the Safawids and various Uzbek chiefs continued on the frontiers of Khurasan.

Balkh which lay to the east of Khurasan has always attracted the attention of neighbouring powers. It was a part of Abu Saeed Mirza's empire and after him it passed under the possession of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara. It was governed by Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara either through his *amirs* or princes. We notice that the governors of Balkh always rebelled against the authority of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara. It was also attacked by Khusrau Shah in 1498 A.D., who had assumed the role of king maker in Badakhshan, but Khusrau Shah failed to conquer Balkh.

From 1503 A.D. onwards Balkh became a target of the attacks of Shaibani Khan Uzbek. After his conquest of Khawarizim and his conquests in Transoxiana Shaibani Khan laid siege to Balkh and captured it in 1506 A.D. from the Baiqaras. Shaibani Khan appointed his son Khurram Shah to the government of Balkh which now became a part of the Uzbek hegemony. However, the Uzbek rule in Balkh lasted only for four years. With the defeat and death of Shaibani Khan in the battle of Merv in 1510 A.D. the Uzbek power received a jolt. Consequently the Uzbek chiefs Uaidullah Khan and Timur Sultan entered into a treaty with Shah Ismail according to

directions Babur decided to take a chance to recover his ancestral domains in Central Asia and, as such, marched towards Qunduz. He entered into an alliance with Shah Ismail Safawi against the Uzbeks. With the help of Safawids he succeeded in capturing Samarqand. But the defeat of the allied forces by the Uzbeks in the battle of Ghazdwan in the year 1512 A.D. turned the tables against Babur, who had to retreat to Kabul. Hereafter the Safawids and the Uzbeks were the only two major contenders for power in Central Asia. Soon after the battle of Ghazdwan (1512 A.D.) the Uzbek chiefs Jani Beg and Ubaidullah Khan attacked parts of Khurasan while Timur Sultan occupied Herat. During the next ten years as long as Shah Ismail was alive the struggle for dominance in Khurasan continued between the Uzbeks and the Safawids. The control of Herat alternated between the two powers.

The political scenario did not alter even with the accession of Shah Tahmasp in 1524. Ubaidullah Khan Uzbek and his son Abdul Aziz continued their raids in Khurasan. Although the Uzbeks were defeated in the battle of Jam in 1528 A.D., yet Ubaidullah Khan's incursions against Khurasan continued. The control of various cities of Khurasan fluctuated between the Uzbeks and the Safawids as long as Ubaidullah Khan was alive (d. 1539-40 A.D.). Ubaidullah Khan's successor Abdul Latif (1540-1551 A.D.)

which it was agreed upon that the river Amu should serve as boundary between the Uzbeks and the Safawids. As Balkh lay to the south of Oxus it passed on to Shah Ismail where the Shah appointed Bairam Beg Qaramanlu as his governor. Shah Ismail retained the control of Balkh till 1516 A.D. when it was conquered by Muhammad Zaman Mirza. From 1517 A.D. Muhammad Zaman Mirza ruled in Balkh acknowledging Babur's suzerainty. Balkh thus served as a buffer state between the Uzbek power and Babur. Babur exercised his suzerainty over Balkh till 1525 A.D. When it was attacked and besieged by the Uzbek Chief, Qitin Qara Sultan son of Jani Beg. As at that time Babur was leading an expedition to Hindustan he was unable to send re-inforcement to Muhammad Zaman Mirza. He thereupon recalled Muhammad Zaman Mirza who waited upon Babur in Agra in 1526 A.D. Thus Qitin Qara Sultan captured Balkh in 1526 A.D. From 1526 A.D. to 1530 Babur adopted a dual policy towards Balkh. On the one hand, after the defeat of the Uzbeks by the Safawids in the battle of Jam (1528 A.D.) he directed Humayun to take a chance to conquer Balkh from the Uzbeks; while on the other he maintained diplomatic relations with the Uzbeks of Balkh. The Uzbeks on their part were also keen to maintain diplomatic relations with Babur as well as with the Safawids. Qitin Qara Sultan thus consolidated his power in Balkh and did not allow it to be conquered by the Mughals till his death. After Qitin Qara Sultan's death in 1547 A.D. Pir Muhammad Khan the brother of

Qitin Qara Sultan became the ruler of Balkh. Under him Balkh became a stronghold of the Uzbeks. Pir Muhammad Khan successfully defended Balkh both against Humayun and Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan. Thereafter, Balkh remained under the Uzbeks.

We now pass on to Hisar and Qunduz, while Hisar lay in the valley to the north of river Oxus, Qunduz lay to the south of the river. Both of them constituted a part of Abu Saeed Mirza's empire. Almost simultaneous to the occupation of Khurasan by Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, Sultan Mahmud Mirza was declared as the ruler of Hisar where he continued to rule till his death in 1495 A.D. During the early part of his reign it was attacked by his step brother Aba Bakr Mirza, the son of Badakhshi Begum. However through the efforts of Mahmud Barlas and others it was saved for Sultan Mahmud Mirza. After the death of Sultan Mahmud Mirza his sons Masud Mirza and Baisunghar Mirza ruled Hisar one after another. But during the reigns of the sons of Sultan Mahmud Mirza the *de facto* ruler was Khusrau Shah, a powerful noble of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, who played the role of king maker and was responsible for blinding Masud Mirza in 1497 A.D. and killing Baisunghar Mirza in 1499 A.D. During the rule of Masud Mirza, Hisar was attacked by Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, yet it was defended well by the Hisaris and a peace was concluded between Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara and Masud

Mirza through a matrimonial alliance arranged between Haider Mirza son of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara and the sister of Masud Mirza.

During the period from 1499 A.D. to 1504 A.D. Khusrau Shah enjoyed the sole authority in Hisar as he had already blinded Masud Mirza and strangled to death Baisunghar Mirza. It was during the period of the supremacy of Khusrau Shah in Hisar that Babur twice visited Hisar, once in 1501 A.D. and later while he was on his way from Central Asia to Kabul in 1503-1504 A.D. During this period it was twice attacked by Shaibani Khan Uzbek once in 1503 A.D. and then again in 1504 A.D. In his second attack Shaibani Khan succeeded in capturing Hisar from Khusrau Shah who was driven to exile. Shaibani Khan appointed Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan in Hisar which remained in possession of the Uzbeks till 1510 A.D.

After the defeat and death of Shaibani Khan Uzbek in the battle of Merv, when Babur marched into Transoxiana he succeeded in defeating Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan and in occupying Hisar, after a well contested battle. However, Babur's rule in Hisar did not last for a long. After the victory of the Uzbeks in the battle of Ghazdwan in 1512 A.D. the Uzbeks persuaded Babur to Hisar. In Hisar there was a rebellion against Babur by his Mongol followers who indulged in plundering. As a result, Babur was forced to leave Hisar.

After Babur's departure from Hisar Ubaidullah Khan Uzbek attacked and captured Hisar in 1514 A.D. Thus Hisar remained in possession of the Ubeks from 1514 A.D. to 1528 A.D. After the Ubeks were defeated in the battle of Jam in 1528 A.D. the Uzbek Sultans, the sons of Hamza Sultan and Mahdi Sultan, who were in possession of Hisar, abandoned Hisar and fled away.

The situation in Hisar was exploited by Babur to his advantage. Babur sent express messengers to Humayun in Badakhshan to make an effort to conquer Hisar. In deference to Babur's instruction Humayun marched with an army of 40,000 men and occupied Hisar without any resistance in 1529 A.D. But Humayun was unable to hold Hisar. The Ubeks rallied again and drove out Humayun's men from Hisar in 1530 A.D. Thus Hisar became a part of the Uzbek confederation and was held by various Uzbek chiefs throughout the 16th century.

As far as Qunduz is concerned its fortunes were closely linked with Hisar. As mentioned earlier, after the death of Abu Saeed Mirza, Qunduz along with Hisar and some other territories became a part of Sultan Mahmud Mirza's dominion. During his rule in Qunduz it was twice attacked by Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara, first in 1490-91 A.D. and then in 1495-96 A.D. On both these occasions the Khurasani attacks were repulsed. In the resistance offered to Sultan

Husain Mirza Baiqara Khusrau Shah played the major role and earned great distinction. Khusrau Shah thus made himself indispensable in Qunduz, as well as in Hisar. Hence, as mentioned earlier he was able to get rid of, both the sons and successors of Sultan Mahmud Mirza and assumed sovereignty in Qunduz. But on account of the rising of the Uzbeks he could not defend Qunduz against Shaibani Khan Uzbek. Shaibani Khan Uzbek captured Qunduz in 1504 A.D. and Khusrau Shah was forced to flee. After the conquest of Qunduz the Khan conferred it upon his brother Mahmud Sultan and later on, after the death Mahmud Sultan conferred it upon Qambar Bi. The Uzbeks ruled in Qunduz from 1504 A.D. to 1510 A.D. After the withdrawal of the Uzbeks from Qunduz it came in possession of Mirza Khan who acknowledged Babur's suzerainty. Thereafter Qunduz became a bone of contention among the various Timurid princes, like Mirza Khan, Humayun, Mirza Sulaiman and his son Ibrahim Mirza. The Uzbeks were unable to regain it during the first half of the 16th century.

The eastern most territory that we have taken as a part of our study is Badakhshan. After the overthrow of the local dynasty of Badakhshan in 1456-57 A.D. it also constituted a part of the empire of Abu Saeed Mirza. After the death of Abu Saeed Mirza when Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara established himself in Herat he exercised his

overlordship over Badakhshan, as Aba Bakr, the son of Abu Saeed Mirza from his Badakhshi Begum, who then held Badakhshan, married a daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara and acknowledged his suzerainty. But with the death of Aba Bakr it passed under the authority of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, son of Abu Saeed Mirza. During the reigns of Masud Mirza and Baisunghar Mirza, the Qipchaq noble, Khusrau Shah, assumed the affairs of Badakhshan, Qunduz and Hisar as mentioned earlier. Until 1507 A.D. there was turmoil in Badakhshan. On the one hand it was attacked by Shaibani Khan Uzbek from the north west and by the ruler of Kashghar from the north east, the upper Hazara districts of Badakhshan being a major bone of contention between the rulers of Badakhshan and Kashghar. In the struggle with the Uzbeks and the rulers of Kashghar the local chiefs of Badakhshan played a significant role.

However, under the rule of Mirza Khan from 1507 A.D. to 1520 A.D., the government in Badakhshan gained some stability. The first major threat Mirza Khan had to face was from the Mulahida sect as most of the Badakhshis had become the followers of Shah Raziuddin, the founder of the Mulahida sect. The other problem before Mirza Khan was the upper Hazara region; while, on the western side, i.e., towards Qunduz, the Uzbeks had established themselves. Though the Mulahida problem was over with the murder of the

Mulahida chief Shah Raziuddin, the Hazara districts remained a constant problem for Mirza Khan. During this period the local chiefs of Hazara tilted the balance for either side, sometimes towards the Uzbeks and sometimes towards Kashghar.

With the death of Mirza Khan (d 1520 A.D.) Babur strengthened his hold in Badakhshan. Since Mirza Khan acknowledged Babur's suzerainty, on his death Babur appointed Sulaiman Mirza to the government of Badakhshan. But since Sulaiman Mirza was only 12 years old Babur gave the government of Badakhshan to Humayun. Humayun remained at the helm of affairs in Badakhshan from 1520 A.D. to 1529 A.D. except for a brief span when he was recalled by Babur to join his expedition to Hindustan in 1525 A.D. When Humayun finally left Badakhshan in 1529 A.D. he left Fakr-i Ali, Hindal's preceptor, in Badakhshan with the intention of sending Hindal from Kabul to take charge of Badakhshan. Before Hindal could reach Badakhshan, the Badakhshis invited Sultan Saeed Khan of Kashghar to take charge of Badakhshan. The Badakhshi chiefs were apprehensive of the Uzbeks and therefore they invited Saeed Khan. On this occasion also Badakhshi chiefs asserted as to who should be their ruler. However, Hindal reached Qila-a Zafar before Saeed Khan could reach Badakhshan. On reaching Badakhshan when Saeed Khan discovered that Hindal had already taken the charge of Qila-i Zafar, he retired to Kashghar as he did not want to annoy

Babur, for both Babur and Saeed Khan were opposed to the Uzbeks. And it was only the Uzbek threat to Badakhshan which had been the reason for invitation to Saeed Khan to come to Badakhshan. As Babur too on his part did not want to annoy Saeed Khan he recalled Hindal from Badakhshan and re-appointed Sulaiman Mirza to the government of Badakhshan, for Sulaiman Mirza had a stronger claim to rule in Badakhshan. Sulaiman Mirza's appointment in Badakhshan was confirmed by Humayun after his accession to the throne of Agra in 1530 A.D. Till 1540 A.D. Sulaiman Mirza ruled in Badakhshan without any problem. But with the breach between Humayun and Mirza Kamran in 1540 and the subsequent struggle between the two brothers also created troubles for Sulaiman Mirza. Particularly, during the years following Humayun's conquest of Kabul in 1545, Sulaiman Mirza had to take sides either with one brother or the other, as he himself was not in a position to defy single handedly any of the two brothers. He was thus sandwiched between the two. In the course of the struggle between the two brothers he lost the government of Badakhshan several times. But by the time of Humayun's death Mirza Sulaiman had firmly established himself in Badakhshan. In the struggle for Badakhshan between Humayun and Mirza Kamran we notice that the support of the Uzbeks was also solicited by Mirza Kamran. Simultaneously the local chiefs of Badakhshan also played an important role in the politics of Badakhshan.

In summing up we notice that Khurasan slipped out of the hands of the Timurids forever in 1507 A.D. i.e. with the overthrow of the Baiqara dynasty by the Uzbeks. For the next half a century there was a constant tussle between the Uzbeks and the Safawids. And, as such, the fortunes of Herat, the capital of Khurasan, also fluctuated. It remained sometime under the occupation of the Safawids and sometime under the Uzbeks. As far as Balkh is concerned, it also came under the possession of the Uzbeks in 1506 A.D. Uzbeks ruled there till 1510 A.D. For the next six years from 1510 to 1516 A.D. it was under the control of the Safawids. In 1517 A.D. Balkh was conquered by Muhammad Zaman Mirza, who ruled there for the next eight years by acknowledging Babur's suzerainty. But in 1525 A.D. it was occupied by Qitin Qara Sultan Uzbek. Thereafter it became a permanent stronghold of the Uzbeks against the Mughuls.

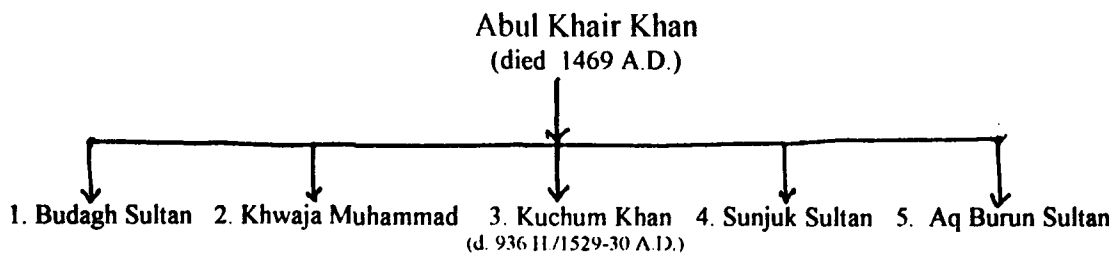
In the region that we have covered in this study Hisar was the first to fall in the hands of the Uzbeks. As it lay to the north of the oxus, where the Uzbeks had made their power felt earlier than their intrusions in the cis-oxus region. They had occupied Hisar in 1504 A.D. and retained their control till the battle of Merv in 1510 A.D. After four year's gap Uzbeks reconquered Hisar in 1514 A.D. and ruled there till 1528 A.D. Again after a brief spell of two years from 1528 A.D. to 1530 A.D. and thereafter it

became a part of the Uzbek empire. As regards Qunduz the Uzbeks could not establish themselves there for a long time. After a brief rule in 1504 to 1510 A.D. They lost it to Muhammad Zaman Mirza who acknowledged Babur's suzerainty. During the remaining part of the first half of the 16th century it remained under the Timurids.

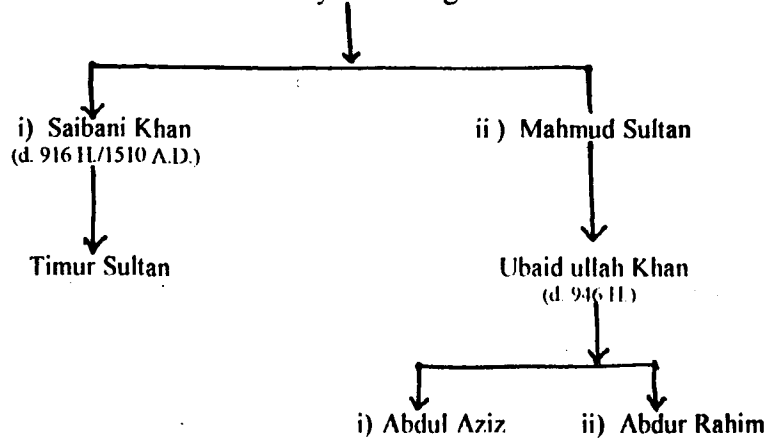
Badakhshan, the eastern most part of our study remained relatively safe against the Uzbek attacks. After its occupation by Mirza Khan in 1517 A.D. it remained under the overall suzerainty of Babur and Humayun. From 1520 to 1529 A.D. it was virtually the part of Babur's empire. From 1530 A.D. onward it was ruled by Mirza Sulaiman, but under the Mughul overlordship. However the rule of Mirza Sulaiman in Badakhshan was not without interruptions as in the conflict between Humayun and Mirza Kamran during the period from 1545 A.D. to 1555 A.D. Mirza Sulaiman was often deprived of his authority in Badakhshan. One major problem for the power in Qila-i Zafar was the issue of upper Hazarajat districts which were also claimed by the rulers of Kashghar. To conclude we can say that by the middle of 16th century the Uzbeks had come to occupy most of the territories ruled by the Timurids with the exception, however, of Badakhshan. On the other hand, the greater part of the Timurid Khurasan came under the occupation of the Safawids.

Annexure I

Contemporary and Near Contemporary Uzbek Khans and Sultans

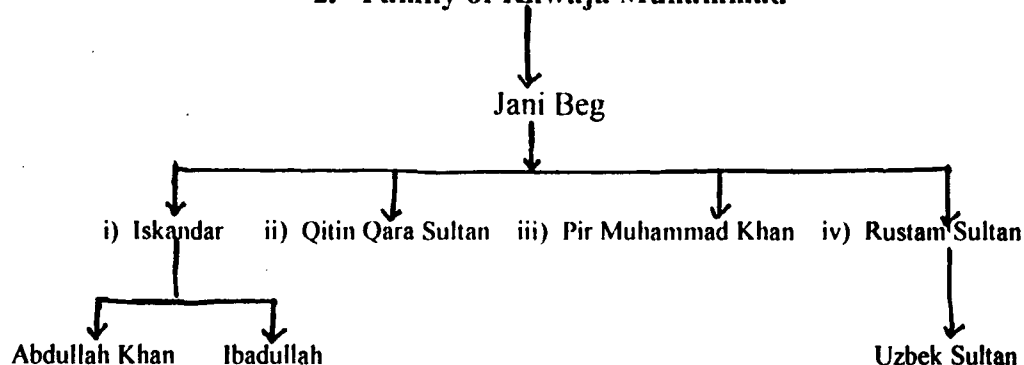
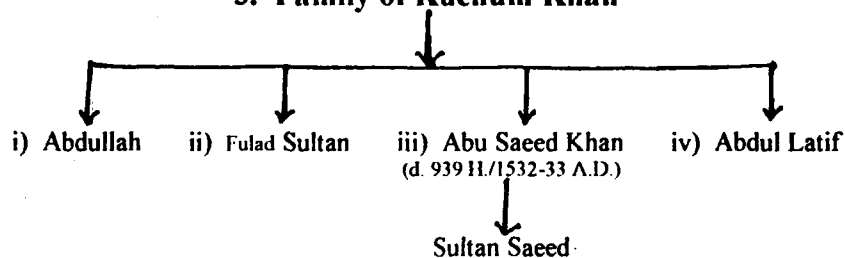
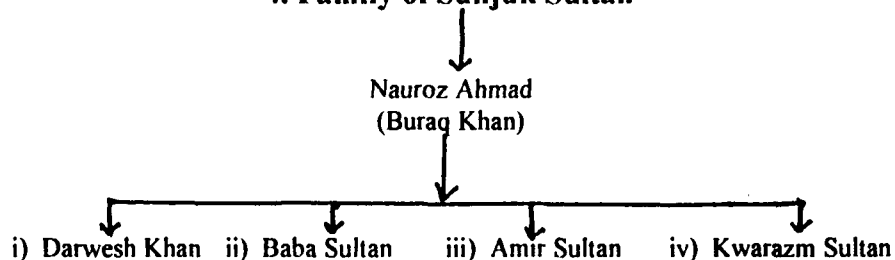


I. Family of Budagh Sultan



Note: According to *Ahsanul Tawarikh* (Persian text, p. 51), Shaibani Khan after his conquest of Samarqand made it his capital (*darul-mulk*) and conferred the *hukumat-i Turkistan* upon his uncles Kuchum Khan and Sunjuk Khan while he conferred the *hukumat-i Bukhara* upon his brother Mahmud Sultan. After Shaibani Khan's death his son Timur Sultan minted coins in his name at Samarqand while Ubaidullah Khan established himself at Bukhara (*Ahsanul Tawarikh*, Persian text, p. 124).

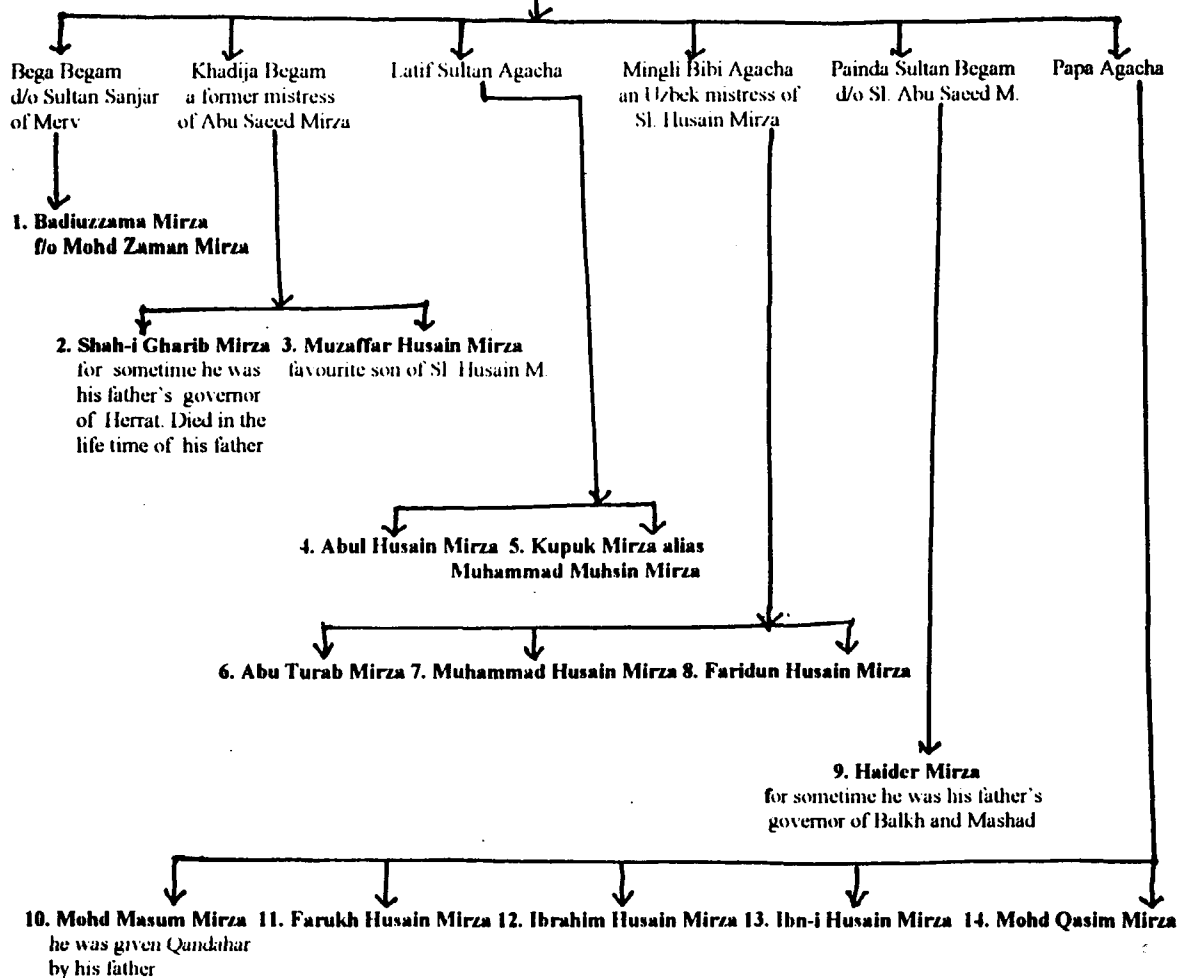
(Annexure I continued)

2. Family of Khwaja Muhammad**3. Family of Kuchum Khan****4. Family of Sunjuk Sultan****5. Aq Buran Sultan**

Note: On Shaibani Khan's death he was succeeded by his uncle Kuchum Khan as the Khan of the Uzbeks in 1510 A.D. After Kuchum Khan's death in 936 H./1529-30 A.D. His son Abu Saeed Khan became the Khan. After Abu Saeed Khan's death in 1532-33 A.D. the Khanship passed to Ubaidullah Khan the son of Mahmud Khan, the brother of Shaibani Khan. Thereafter, the Khanship passed successively to Abdul Latif, son of Kuchum Khan and then to Nauraoz Ahmad(Buraq Khan), the son of Sunjuk Sultan. Buraq Khan was succeeded as Khan by his son Darwesh Khan(See *Ahsanul Tawarikh*, Persian text, pp. 124, 234, 295 & 297).

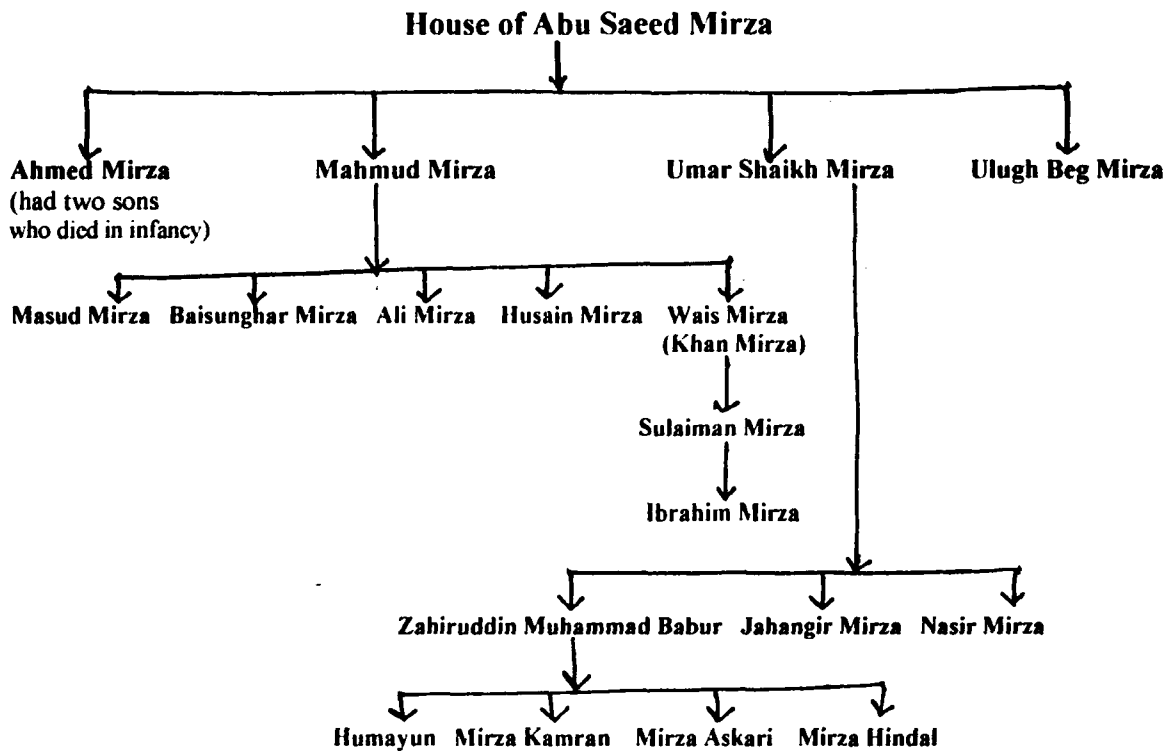
Annexure H

**House of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara of Herat
(His wives and their sons)**



Note: The above genealogical table is based on the authority of the *Baburnama*, pp.261-70. Although Sultan Husain Mirza had many wives and mistresses, we have mentioned only those who bore him sons many of whom figure in the text of the thesis and (some of them) played noticeable role in the course of the events narrated in the thesis- - the idea being to help the reader easily identify the characters here and there mentioned in the different chapters of the thesis.

Annexure III



Note: Like the previous table, the purpose of this Annexure too is help the reader readily identify the characters who played noticeable role in the course of events described in the various chapters of the text of the thesis. Hence, it has not been considered necessary to mention the names of the wives and the daughters of the Sultans and the Mirzas mentioned above.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

- Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, Vols. I-III, Eng. tr. A.H. Beveridge, Rare Books, Delhi, reprint, 1972.
- Abul Fazl : *The Ain-i Akbari*, Vol. II, Eng. tr. Col. H.S. Jarrett, Ed. Jadunath Sarkar, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1978 edition.
- Ahmad Yadgar : *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr., Saiyyid Athar Abbas Rizvi in *Mughal Kalin Bharat: Babur (1526-30)*, Aligarh, 1960.
- Babur, Zahiruddin : *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Annette Muhammad Susannah Beveridge, Low Price Publications, Delhi, reprint, 1989.
- Badaoni, Abdul Qadir : *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. II, Eng. tr. W.H. Lowe, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, reprint, 1973.
- Bayazid Biyat : *Tazkira-i Humayun Wa Akbar*, Hindi tr. Saiyyid Athar Abbas Rizvi in *Mughal Kalin Bharat: Humayun*, part I, Aligarh, 1969.

- Ferishta, Mahomed Kasim: *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Vol II, Eng. tr. John Briggs, New Delhi, reprint, 1981.
- Gulbadan Begum : *Humayun-nama*, Eng. tr. A.S. Beveridge, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, reprint, 1972.
- Haider Dughlat, Mirza : *A History of the Moghuls of Muhammad Central Asia* being the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng. tr. E. Denison Ross, ed. N. Elias, London, reprint, 1972.
- Jauhar Aftabchi : *Tazkirat-ul Waqiat*, Hindi tr. Saiyyid Athar Abbas Rizvi in *Mughal Kalin Bharat: Humayun*, Part I, Aligarh, 1969.
- Khawandmir : *Habib-us Siyar*, Hindi tr. Saiyyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, in *Mughal Kalin Bharat: Babur, (1526-30)*, Aligarh, 1960; also Persian text, litho eidtion (n.d.).
- Masum Bhakkari : *Tarikh-i Sind*, also known as *Tarikh-i Masumi*, Hindi tr. Saiyyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, in *Mughal Kalin Bharat: Babur (1526-30)*, Aligarh, 1960.

- Mullah Ahmad Thattavi : *Tarikh-i Alfi*. Hindi tr. Saiyyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, in *Mughal Kalin Bharat: Babur (1526-30)*. Aligarh, 1960.
- Nizamuddin Ahmad, : *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Eng. tr. Elliot and Dowson in *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. V, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1975.
- Qazwini, Alaud-daulah : *Nafais-ul Masir*, Hindi tr. Athar Abbas Rizvi, in *Mughal Kalin Bharat: Babur (1526-30)*, Aligarh, 1960, and in *Mughal Kalin Bharat; Humayun*, pt. I, Aligarh, 1969.
- Rumlu, Hasan Beg : *Ahsanut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, Eng. tr. C.N. Saddon, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1934.
- Shah Nawaz Khan : *Maathir-ul Umara*, Vols. I-III, Eng. tr. H. Beveridge, Janki. Prakashan, Patna, reprint, 1979.

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

- A.R.B. (ed.) : *Historical and Cultural Links between India and Uzbekistan*, Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna, 1996.

- Barthold, V.V. : *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, Vol. I-III, Eng. tr. V. and T. Minorsky, Leiden, 1956-63.
- Barthold, W. : *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, Porcupine Press INC, Philadelphia, Fourth Edition, 1977.
- Boyle, J.A. (ed.) : *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. VI, Cambridge, 1968.
- Caldecott, R.M. : *The Life of Babur: The Emperor of Hindustan*, London, 1844.
- Edwards, S.M. : *Babur: Diarist and Despot*, London, 1926.
- Erskine, William : *History of India Under the Two First Sovereigns of the House of Timur, Babur and Humayun*, Vols. I-II, *Idara-i Adabiat-i Delli*, Delhi, 1973.
- Grenard, Ferdinand : *Babur, First of the Moguls* Natraj Publishers, Dehradun, reprint, 1971.
- Guha, Amalendu (Ed.) : *Central Asia*, New York, 1971.
- Hambly Gavin and Others: *Central Asia*, New York, 1969.
- Hasan, Mohibbul : *Babur: Founder of the Mughal Empire in India*, Delhi, 1985.

- Howorth, Sir Henry : *History of the Mongols*, Vol. II, London, 1886.
- Ishwari Prasad : *The Life and Times of Humayun*, Allahabad, 1976.
- Jena, Krunnachandra : *Baburnama and Babur*, Sandeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1978.
- Khan, Iqtidar Alam : *Mirza Kamran: A Biographical Study*, Asia Publishing House, 1964.
- Lane-Poole, Stanely : *Babur*, edited W.W. Hunter, Delhi, 1997.
- Lane-Poole, Stanley : *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, Lotus Publishers, New Delhi reprint, Delhi 1986.
- Radhey Shayam : *Mughal Samrat Babur*, Patna, 1976.
- Radhey Shayam : *Babur*, Janki Prakashan, Patna, 1978.
- Rahim, Abdur : *Mughal Relations with Persia and Central Asia*, Department of History Muslim University, Aligarh (Cyclostyled from Islamic Culture, Vols. VIII & IX, 1934-35.
- Riazul Islam : *Indo-Persian Relations: A Study of the Political and Diplomatic Relations Between Mughal Empire*

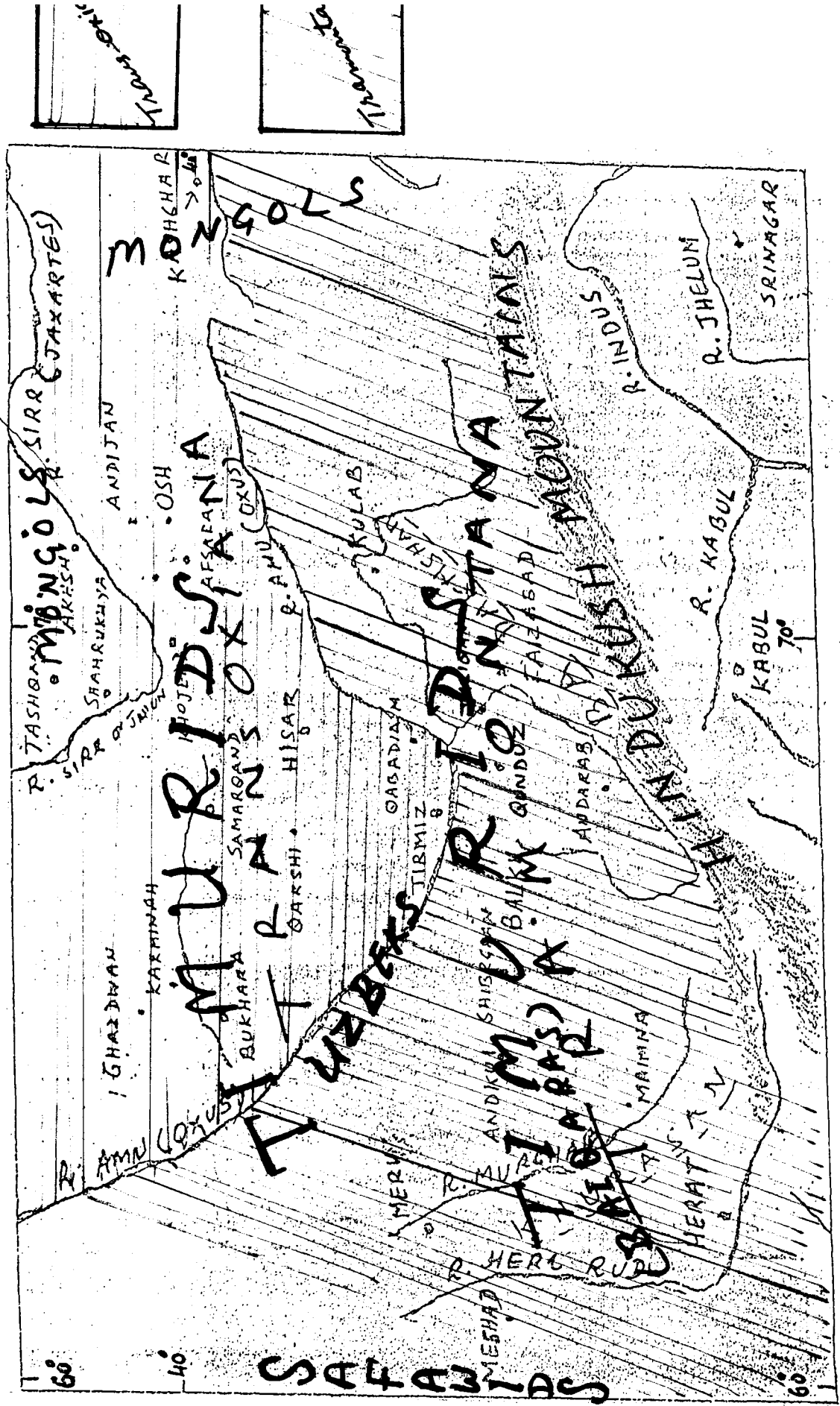
- and Iran. Iranian Culture Foundation, Tehran, 1970.*
- Sarkar, Jagdish, Narayan: *Asian Balance of Power in the Light of Mughal Persian Rivalry in 16th and 17th Centuries*, Calcutta, 1975.
- Srivastava, A.L. : *Akbar the Great*, Vol. II, Shivalal Agarwal and Co. Agra, 1967.
- Srivastava, H.S. : *Humayun*, Agra (n.d.).
- Sykes, Percy : *A History of Afghanistan*, 2 Volumes, London, 1990.
- Sykes, Percy : *A History of Persia*, 2 Volumes, London, 1963.
- Telbot, F.G. : *Memoirs of Babur*, London, 1909.
- Tripathi, R.P. : *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Central Book Depot., Allahabad, 1963.
- Williams, L.F. Rushbrook: *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*, S. Chand and Co. Delhi, rep. n.d.
- Wolseley Haig, Sir : *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, Edited by Sir Richard Burn, S. Chand and Co. Delhi, 1987.

C. ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

- Balfour, Edward : *Encyclopaedia Asiatica*, Vol. V,
Cosmo Publications, New Delhi,
reprint, 1976.
- : *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, INC,
Vol. 2, Chicago, London.

170780
M. P. University Library
Shimla

IMPERIALISM AND INDEPENDENCE
 DURING THE LAST QUARTER OF
 THE 15th CENTURY



MAP NO 2

TRAMONTANA & TRANSOXIANA
DURING THE 2ND QUARTER OF
THE 16TH CENTURY

