

**THE MUSLIM RULING ELITE OF NORTH INDIA
IN 1520s : A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY**

THESIS

**SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**IN
HISTORY
2001**

SUPERVISED BY :

Dr. A. R. Khan

Professor of History (Retd.)

H.P. University, Shimla.

SUBMITTED BY :

Vijay Kumar

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
HIMACHAL PRADESH UNIVERSITY
SHIMLA-171 005
INDIA**

*Dr. A. R. Khan, Professor of History (Rtd.) H.P. University, Shimla 171005
Tel. No. (Residence) 0177 260 906 & 0177 260 796*

Certificate

Certified that Shri Vijay Kumar has prepared his Ph.D thesis entitled "The Muslim Ruling Elite of North India in 1520s : A Biographical Study" under my supervision. Further certified that it is his original work. I recommend that the thesis be considered for evaluation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Date : June 1, 2001

ARKhan
(A. R. Khan)

Forwarded
Ms. Dhali
1/6/2001
Chief
Department of History
H.P. University
SHIMLA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

On completion of my present research work it becomes my duty to express my gratitude to those persons who helped me in its completion. I am indebted to Dr. A.R. Khan, Professor (Retd.), H.P.University, Shimla-171005, who in spite of his preoccupations was kind enough to agree to act as my supervisor. Working under the supervision of such a reputed historian is, of course, a matter of pride and honour. I am grateful to Dr. Khan for sparing time for me and throwing open his personal library to me which proved to be of much help. We used to have long sittings in his library. These sittings developed in me the qualities of patience and perseverance which, I feel, are essential for research. His expert knowledge of Persian and Turkish helped in comparing the translated texts of different sources with the original ones. Working with him shall always remain in my cherished memories.

I am obliged to Mrs. Khan, Sumbul and Sonia also who treated me as a family member. Though, the long sittings that I had with Dr. Khan were no doubt an encroachment upon the time of the family, yet, they never let me feel to be an intruder into the family. Our sittings always started as well as ended with a refreshing cup of tea from dear Sumbul.

For the completion of this work I am equally indebted to Dr. Yog Raj Malhotra and his family. Very rarely does one get such a sincere friend as Dr. Yog is. For me he is not only a friend but an elder brother as well. In Dr. Khan's absence I would call on Dr. Malhotra, who always helped me out. The inspirational words of Mrs. Shanno Malhotra enthused me to accomplish the task undertaken by me.

I am grateful Dr. M.S. Ahluwalia, Chairman, Department of History, H.P. University, Shimla-171005, who always helped me and encouraged me. I am also thankful to the ICHR which helped me in expediting the completion of my thesis by sanctioning a contingency grant.

The contributions made by my family members, particularly, my parents, my wife Purnima and my daughters Shweta & Parul enabled me to complete the work. They never complained, though I could not devote them time and attention they required. Hence, they too deserve my thanks. Special thanks to my brothers Pradeep & Dr. Jitender for extending moral support to me during the crucial phase of my work. I offer my thanks to the family of my in-laws as well, particularly to my father in-law, who kept enquiring about my research work from time to time and encouraged me. My cousin Hans Raj Jhingta, Associate Professor, Faculty of Laws, H.P.University, Shimla-171005 also has been a source of inspiration for me.

I can not forget the help that I got from my friends Chander Bhan Metha, Vijender Kanwar, Manoj Mehta, Naresh Mahajan, Kamal Kishore Handa, Dr.M.P.S. Rana and Dr.Tej Ram Bandhu. I thank them all for their cooperation. I am indebted to Sh.G.S.Kutlehria and his son Hind Bhushan for computer typing my thesis with accuracy and dexterity. I am obliged particularly to Bhushan (Vicky) who put in extra time and labour to give my thesis its present shape. Once again, thank you Vicky.


(VIJAY KUMAR)

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgement</i>	...	<i>i-ii</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	...	<i>iii-viii</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	...	ix
Chapters		
I. Lodis and Sarang Khanis	...	1-36
II. Nohanis and Farmulis	...	37-68
III. Jilwanis, Sarwanis, Surs and Karranis	...	69-89
IV. Other Hindustani Notables: Chiefs Wielding Power Around The Capital of Ibrahim Lodi's Sultanate	...	90-126
V. Timurid, Uzbek and Mongol Princes	...	127-147
VI. Notables with Denominations	...	148-190
VII. Other Central Asian Notables: Abdul Rahim to Mughal Abdul Wabah	...	191-227
VIII. Other Central Asian Notables: Muhammad Ali Jang Jang to Zardrai	...	228-270
A Resume	...	271-278
Bibliography	...	279-288

ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.	...	Akbarnama
B.M.	...	British Museum (Library)
B.N.	...	Baburnama
Eng.tr.	...	English translation
f.	...	Folio
ff.	...	Folios
MS.	...	Manuscript
Or.	...	Oriental (Collection of the British Museum Library)
p.	...	Page
pp.	...	Pages
M.T.	...	Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh
T.A.	...	Tabqat-i Akbari
T.F.	...	Tarikh-i Firishta
T.S.	...	Tarikh-i Sahi
T.SS.	...	Tarikh-i Ser Sahi

INTRODUCTION

The study of the various tiers of the ruling classes in Medieval India has attracted the attention of a number of scholars in post independence period. It has been recognized that there was hierarchical structure in medieval Indian polity. A distinction has also been made in the indigenous hereditary ruling classes and the Muslim ruling elite which superimposed itself over the indigenous ruling classes with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanat. The indigenous ruling classes during the Sultanat period were known as Ranas, Rawals, Thakurs, Khots, Muqaddams and Chaudharies. Under the Mughals they are referred to in the Persian chronicles by the generic term *zamindar*. However, professor S. Nural Hasan has classified the *zamindars* into three categories, terming the highest echelon of the indigenous ruling class as autonomous chieftains. Taking a cue from Professor Nurul Hasan, Professor A. R. Khan has made a comprehensive study of the chieftains in his book titled *Chieftains in the Mughal Empire during the Reign of Akbar* (IIAS, Shimla, 1977). As stressed by them they ruled mostly hereditarily in their respective principalities and were locally known in different regions by different nomen clatures, such as *Rajas, Ranas, Rawats, Raos, Jam, Burji* etc. They have also pointed out that there was hierarchy of chiefs in the Mughal Empire. Despite the chiefs being hereditary and autonomous in their respective principalities, their

principalities were often assigned by the Mughals to their nobles who constituted the superstructure in the medieval polity. The present study deals with this superstructure which constituted the uppermost tier of the ruling echelon in Medieval India.

During the Sultanat period this ruling echelon was known by the terms *iqtadars* or *muqtais*. Under Babur they were known as *wajhdars*. Subsequently, they were known as *tiyuldars* or *jagirdars*. With the institution of *mansabdari* system under Akbar they were also known as *mansabdars*. But the generic term by which they were known throughout the medieval period was *umara* (plural of *amir*), translated by the modern scholars of Medieval India as nobles and the institution of *imarat* as nobility.

With the publication of Satish Chandra's *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-40* (Aligarh, 1959) and Athar Ali's *Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* (Asia, 1966) numerous studies of nobility have been made. While Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi made a study of the nobility under the Lodis, S.B.P.Nigam's *Nobility Under the Sultans of Delhi, A.D. 1206-1398* covers the period beginning with the rule of the Ilbarid Turks to the end of the Tughluq dynasty. The latest addition to the subject being Afzal Husain's *The Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir: A Study of Family Groups* (Manohar, 1999). But on the early Mughals there is only one work, namely Yog Raj Malhotra's *Babur's Nobility and Administration in Hindustan* (ABS Publications, Jalandhar, 1996).

These works largely discuss the composition and organisation and also to some extent their role in the economic life, as in the case of Athar Ali's book. However, the generalizations about the position and the role of nobility are based on stray references picked up about the nobles without exhaustively working out their biographies. Yog Raj's work also suffers from this drawback. As such the role of individual nobles, their changing positions in the politics of the times and their fortunes or degree of resistance to the sovereign on various issues as well as the factional politics within the nobility have not fully emerged in the above work. In the absence of the biographies of the individual nobles it is not possible to verify various generalizations made about the individuals or the institution of nobility on the whole.

We have, therefore, worked out the exhaustive biographies of individual nobles and other notables. The period chosen for this study is the period of transition from the Lodis to the Mughals, to be more precise the period of 1520s, when the reigns of government in north India passed from the Afghans to the Mughals under Babur. Except for Yog Raj Malhotra's work, despite its drawbacks mentioned above, which covers only the Mughal part of the decade of 1520s, this transitional period is wanting in research in respect of biographical studies which may throw considerable light on the process of change of power from the Lodis to the Mughals for a scholar who in future chooses to work on the theme of nobility. The area chosen is north India, i.e. broadly the area

which was under the domination of Ibrahim Lodi and which passed under the suzerainty of Babur.

The thrust of the present thesis is however, slightly different as it concentrates on Biographies. It may be noted that there was a strong tradition of biographical writing in the Islamic world which travelled down from west Asia to India. As a result, many of the chronicles written during the Mughal period carried a section of the biographies of the notables, both contemporary and of the past. They carried not only the biographies of the nobles but also of the notable physicians, saints, artists, poets etc. However, two biographical works written during the Mughal period stand out conspicuously. One is *Zakhirat-ul Khwanin* of Shaikh Farid Bhakkari in the middle of the 17th century and the other is *Maasir-ul Umara* of Shahnawaz Khan written a century later. Both of them are very comprehensive works and have formed the basis for various studies on the Mughal nobility. But these two works largely deal with the nobility from the time of Akbar to the time of their compilation with stray back references to the period of Humayun, i.e., only if a particular noble surviving in Akbar's time was also contemporary of Humayun. Basically they do not deal with the nobility of the first two Mughals. As for Babur's period is concerned, i.e. 1526-30, these biographical dictionaries are hardly of any help, and of none, for the first half of the decade of 1520s. Hence the main purpose of the proposed

thesis is to fill this gap. The thesis has been prepared more or less on the pattern of *Maasir-ul Umara*.

It may, however, be mentioned that we have worked out the biographies of not only the nobles, i.e. *iqtidars*, *muqtais*, *amirs* and the *wajhdars* but also of other notables of lesser order. We have, therefore, prepared the biographies of those who held offices of *kitabdar*, *muhrdar*, *qurchi* etc., and can be regarded as the lower rung of the nobility, more appropriately as bureaucracy. Since the present study covers this important, nevertheless, significant component of the ruling class, which apparently was distinct from the nobility, i.e. the *Umara* and the *wajhdars* we have chosen to use the word 'elite' in the caption of this thesis. However, it may be made clear that we have not included the indigenous ruling classes, that is, the local non-Muslim chieftains or the *Rajas* etc. For this reason the scope of the thesis has been qualified with the word "Muslim". Also the word "ruling" has been used for the reason that the *Ulama* and the men of letters etc. who also constituted part of the elite but not of the "ruling classes" are outside the scope of this thesis.

What we have done is to cull references from all the contemporary and the near contemporary Afghan and Mughal chronicles to various individuals making separate cards for each of them to construct their biographies. Having done that we have tried to identify the Hindustanis from the central Asians who accompanied Babur from central Asia to

India and categorized them under separate section of the thesis. In each section we have attempted separate classifications. As such, we have grouped the biographies of the Hindustanis in different chapters to the extent possible on the basis of their clan affiliations. For example, the Lodi, Farmuli, Nohani and some other clans of the Afghans who were conspicuous by their numbers and the power they wielded under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and who dominated in particular regions of the Lodi Kingdom have been treated separately. Stray individuals who can not be grouped clanwise have been treated together in separate chapters. Similarly, the Timurid, the Mongol and Uzbek families coming from central Asia have been grouped separately while the unidentifiable personages, nevertheless conspicuous by their presence in Babur's service have been grouped together.

In such a situation it has become unavoidable to list the biographies of a large number of nobles in alphabetic order, the real purpose of the thesis being subsequently to prepare a comprehensive dictionary of the nobles of the period. As biographical dictionaries are normally not submitted for Ph.D. degree the present thesis has been chapterised in a way as to give it a thematic semblance.

CHAPTER – I

LODIS AND SARANG KHANIS

We propose to begin our account with the biographies of the Lodi and the Sarang Khani notables. Personal aspirations of some of the Lodi princes for the throne and internal dissensions among the Lodi chiefs paved way for the establishment of the Mughal empire by Babur. Seeking Babur's help by the Lodi prince Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi for dethroning Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, and by some other Lodi chiefs for expanding their sphere of influence, proved to be a blunder as he brought them into his submission one by one. However, there were some Lodi chiefs who did not oppose Babur at all, submitted to him and remained loyal to him. We must mention here the name of Dilawar Khan, son of Daulat Khan Lodi, who deserted his father and joined Babur's service. The Sarang Khanis were a branch of the Lodis but they gave an unflinching support to Babur, particularly during his eastern expeditions. Hamid Khan Khasa Khail, the *shiqdar* of Hisar Firoza, was the only exception among the Sarang Khanis, who opposed Babur.

THE LODI PRINCES

Family of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and other Lodi Princes

Lodis were the ruling clan having come to power about the middle of the fifteenth century. So it is understandable that they wielded

considerable power, dominated large chunks of areas and held key positions in the Lodi Sultanate. The most prominent of the Lodis we come across were the family of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, son of the late Sultan Bahlol Lodi and Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of the late Sultan Sikander Lodi, who were contenders for the throne against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and played an important role in the politics of the period under review. The other two families of note, we find active, were the family of Daulat Khan Lodi and Jalal Khan Jighat. In addition, we notice a few other Lodi chiefs active in the period. We, therefore, open below our account with the Lodis who were related to the ruling family.

Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi:

Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi was the son of the late Sultan Bahlol Lodi.¹ When Sultan Bahlol Lodi divided his possessions among his sons in his life time, he gave Kara Manikpur to Alam Khan.² Not being contented with his share in the division of the territories, Alam Khan came into conflict with Sultan Sikander Lodi, the successor of the late Sultan Bahlol Lodi. He refused to recognise the suzerainty of Sultan Sikander Lodi and raised arms against him. Though he was defeated, yet, treated kindly by the Sultan and given Etawa.³ He refused to

¹ Tarikh-i Daudi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, p.246; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, Babur*, part I, p.201.

² *Tarikh-i Firishda*, Eng. tr. Briggs vol.i, p.327.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.i, p.331; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, Babur*, part I, p.211.

acknowledge the suzerainty of even Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, when the latter ascended the throne.¹

During Ibrahim Lodi's rule, Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi again was a serious contender for the throne. His ambitions forced him to seek Babur's help.² He came into contact with Babur in the year 1524-25. He waited upon Babur after the occupation of Lahore and Dipalpur by the latter. Before leaving Hindustan, Babur conferred Dipalpur upon him. As soon as Babur returned to Kabul, Daulat Khan Lodi attacked Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and drove him away from Dipalpur. Having been driven out of Dipalpur, he fled to Kabul and requested Babur to provide him military help against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Babur acceded to Alam Khan's request with the understanding that if the latter succeeded in defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi he would ascend the throne of Agra and cede the trans-Sutlej region to him (Babur).³

Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi left Kabul with the forces provided by Babur. However, on reaching Lahore he entered into negotiations with Ghazi Khan and his father Daulat Khan Lodi, in complete disregard of his understanding with Babur. It was agreed that Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi would march against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and take possession of Delhi and Agra, whereas, Ghazi Khan and

¹ *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.297.

² *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.i, p.350.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, pp.25-26.

Daulat Khan would occupy Punjab. After reaching an understanding with Ghazi Khan and Daulat Khan, Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi marched against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He took with him Haji Khan Lodi and Dilawar Khan Lodi, the sons of Daulat Khan Lodi and Mahmud Khan, son of Khan-i-Jahan. Several Afghan *amirs*, namely Ismail Jilwani, Sulaiman Shaikhzada, Jalal Khan Jighat and others joined him on the way. He laid a siege to Delhi with a force of thirty to forty thousand men. His forces, however, could not make a stand even before the small contingent of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and fled away. After loosing the battle several Afghan *amirs* namely Ismail Jilwani, Mian Bibban Jilwani, Shaikh Jamal, Dilawar Khan Lodi and his own eldest son Jalal Khan Lodi deserted him. While fleeing back he, along with Haji Khan, crossed river Sutlej and went into Ginguta fort which was besieged by Babur's Afghan and Hazara troops,¹ which had been sent to pursue the Afghans who had deserted him. He escaped from the fort with great difficulty and reached Malot where Ghazi Khan, son of Daulat Khan, received him, but not in a friendly manner.²

Babur sent his light troops towards Malot. These troops captured Kahlur and all the neighbouring hill forts. Consequently Sultan

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.455-58; *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.437; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.i, p.26; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.445; *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.451; *Tabaqat-i Akbar*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.418-19.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev., Vol.ii, pp.457-58; B.M.MS Or. 3714, f.357a.

Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi came and waited upon Babur at Kahlur. Babur ordered his *begs* to give him an honourable reception.¹ Subsequently, he remained loyal to Babur till the battle of Kanwah. He rendered him military service in the battle of Panipat against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi² and in the battle of Kanwah against Rana Sanga.³ After the battle of Kanwah his relations with Babur got strained, for Abul Fazl tells us that after the aforesaid battle he was imprisoned by Babur and sent to Qila Zafar in Badakhshan. He, somehow, escaped from Qila Zafar, returned to Hindustan and joined the services of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.⁴ After this we do not hear about him during the period under study.

Jalal Khan Lodi:

Jalal Khan Lodi was the eldest son of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi.⁵ He was with his father when the latter marched against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and besieged Delhi. Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi was helped in this expedition by Daulat Khan Lodi and his son Ghazi Khan Lodi. When he was defeated by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and his forces

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., Vol.ii, p.464; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.326a; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.437; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.420; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.633.

² *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.297.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.565; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.449a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.262.

⁴ *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, pp.297-98.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.457; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f.356a.

dispersed, Jalal Khan Lodi also deserted him near Indri.¹ We next find Jalal Khan Lodi rendering military service to Babur against Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah.² He and his brother Kamal Khan served in the left wing. After this battle we do not hear about Jalal Khan Lodi during the period under review.

Kamal Khan Lodi:

Kamal Khan Lodi was another son of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi.³ The only reference to Kamal Khan Lodi, that we come across, is about his participation in the battle of Kanwah. Along with his father Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and brother Jalal Khan Lodi, he fought on Babur's side in this battle and served in the left wing.⁴ After this we do not come across any reference to his activities in our sources of the period concerned.

Sher Khan Lodi:

Sher Khan Lodi was also one of the sons of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi.⁵ The first reference we come across about him is when he was returning with his father from Kabul with the military assistance

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.457; B.M.M.S Or 3714, f.356a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.567; B.M.MS Or.3714, ff.449b-450a; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.37; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol. i, p.262.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.567; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.450a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.567; B.M.MS Or.3714, f.450a, *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.37; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.262.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.i, p.455.

provided by Babur against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.¹ On reaching Lahore Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi sent his son Sher Khan Lodi to negotiate with Daulat Khan Lodi and Ghazi Khan Lodi for securing their help against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Hereafter, we do not come across any reference to him during the period under study.

Sultan Mahmud Lodi:

Sultan Mahmud Lodi was the son of the late Sultan Sikander Lodi² and was a contender for the throne. Initially he remained neutral in the conflict of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi either with Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi or with Babur. However, in the battle of Kanwah he sided with Rana Sanga and fought against Babur. In this battle he commanded a cavalry of ten thousand. Though, Mahmud Lodi had a strong force, yet, Babur states in his memoirs that he neither possessed a district nor a *pargana*.³

We next hear about him in January 1529, when Babur was in Dholpur. Khalifa reported to Babur that Qazi Jia and Bir Singh Deo had sent the news that Sultan Mahmud Lodi had taken possession of Bihar.⁴ Initially, Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli opposed him

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev.vol.ii, p.455.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.562.

³ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.567; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.34; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.261.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.639.

but later on they also joined him.¹ On hearing about Bihar's occupation by Sultan Mahmud Lodi, Babur marched towards Bihar. On reaching Dugdugi on February 28, 1529, he received the news that Sultan Mahmud Lodi had collected an army of ten thousand, launched an offensive against the Mughals and had despatched Shaikh Bayzid and Bibban towards Sarwar (Gorakhpur). He himself, along with Fath Khan Sarwani, had proceeded towards Chunar.²

Sultan Mahmud Khan Lodi reached Chunar on March 5, 1529 and laid seige to it. On hearing about Babur's march and after little fighting he crossed the river and fled towards Benaras.³ When Babur reached Chunar, Taj Khan Sarang Khani gave him the news that Sultan Mahmud Lodi was near river Son. Babur decided to pursue him.⁴ On reaching the opposite side of Buxur he sent his news-gatherers to collect information about the enemy. They located the place where Sultan Mahmud Lodi was camping with his two thousand soliders but before Babur could reach there, he fled away.⁵ We no more hear about him during the period under discussion.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.675.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.651-52.

³ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.653-654.

⁴ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.658.

⁵ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.662; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin-Bharat, Babur*, p.644.

Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's Son:

The information available about Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's family is quite scanty. We come across only one reference to his mother and his son in the *Baburnama*. Babur states that at the time of his occupation of Agra a son of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, alongwith his grand mother (mother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi) was present in the fort. They were, later on, imprisoned by Babur on the suspicion of poisoning him. The son of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was sent to Mirza Kamran in Kabul in January 1527.¹ Thus, the only surviving prince who could have become a potential rallying point of Afghan mobilization against the Mughals was expelled out of Hindustan.

Family of Daulat Khan Lodi

Among the other Lodis, the most formidable Lodi family we notice, was the family of Daulat Khan Lodi, which included his four sons Ali Khan, Ghazi Khan, Haji Khan and Dilawar Khan and one grandson namely Ismail Khan, the son of the above mentioned Ali Khan. They were conspicuous by their role in the politics of the period as can be noticed below.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.543-44; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.30; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.639.

Daulat Khan Lodi:

Daulat Khan Lodi was the son of Tatar Khan Yusuf Khail Lodi, who was one of the six or seven prominent Afghan *sardars* (nobles) who had raised Bahlol Lodi to the throne of Delhi.¹ In his memoirs Babur writes that Tatar Khan Yusuf Khail Lodi held the country to the north of river Sutlej and Sirhind which yielded a revenue of more than three crore *tankas*. When Tatar Khan died around the year 1502-03, only Lahore was conferred upon his son Daulat Khan Lodi by Sikander Lodi.² In spite of the reduction in the territories conferred by Sikander Lodi on Daulat Khan Lodi, he and his sons seem to have remained very powerful in the trans Sutlej region.

Ever since the death of Tatar Khan Yusuf Khail Lodi his son Daulat Khan Lodi remained the undisputed *hakim* of Lahore for about twenty years.³ He was one of the powerful *amirs* of Sultan Sikander Lodi.⁴ However, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi his relations with the Sultan severed. On being summoned to the court he sent his son Dilawar Khan, who was ill-treated by the Sultan. The Sultan sent

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.i, p.383; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi; *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, p.246; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, p.201.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.i, p.383.

³ *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, pp. 348-49.

⁴ *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, p.170.

threatening messages to Daulat Khan Lodi also.¹ As a result of these messages Daulat Khan Lodi approached Babur for help against the Sultan.² Babur readily responded to his call, even though he had a bitter experience with him as he had detained his envoy sent to Ibrahim Lodi in 1519, at Lahore.³

However, on Daulat Khan Lodi's request Babur reached Lahore in 1524. By the time he reached Lahore, Daulat Khan Lodi had fled away due to the fear of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's forces sent against him and taken shelter with the Baloches.⁴ So Babur had to fight against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's forces. He defeated them and occupied Lahore and Dipalpur.⁵ As Babur lost faith in Daulat Khan Lodi he did not reinstate him in his position at Lahore when the latter, subsequently, came and waited upon him at Dipalpur. Babur just gave him the *parganas* of

¹ *Tabaqat-i Akhari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin, Bharat*, part I, p.239; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.i, p.350; *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin, Bharat*, part I, pp.348-49; *Muntakhab-ut Twarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.435; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin, Bharat*, part I, p.304.

² *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin, Bharat*, part I, p.304; *Tabaqat-i Akhari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin, Bharat*, part I, p.239; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, p.304; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, pp.435-36.

³ *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.251; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.23.

⁴ *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs., vol.ii, p.24.

⁵ *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.24; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.239; *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.578.

Jullundhur and Sultanpur.¹ Being dissatisfied with the areas, which Babur gave him Daulat Khan worked out a plan with his son Ghazi Khan for weakening Babur by dividing his troops and to attack him. However, Dilawar Khan, another son of Daulat Khan Lodi, disclosed the plan to Babur, who imprisoned Daulat Khan Lodi and Ghazi Khan Lodi. They were released soon and Sultanpur was conferred on them. On reaching Sultanpur they collected their families and fled away towards the hills. As a result, Babur resumed even Sultanpur from Daulat Khan Lodi and conferred it upon his son Dilawar Khan Lodi.²

✓ After settling his affairs Babur returned to Kabul. As soon as he returned, Daulat Khan Lodi came down from the hills, besieged Sultanpur and arrested Dilawar Khan. He also defeated Alam Khan (1524) and drove him out of Dipalpur, which had been put in his charge by Babur. He even sent an army to attack and recover Lahore from Babur's officials.³ On hearing about his activities Babur marched towards Hindustan. While on his way towards Hindustan he came to know on December 11, 1525 that Daulat Khan Lodi and his son Ghazi Khan had collected an army of twenty thousand to thirty thousand,

¹ *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.24.

² *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Briggs., vol.ii, pp.24-25.

³ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Briggs., vol.ii, p.24-25.

captured Kalanur and intended to march towards Lahore.¹ He had patched up his differences with Alam Khan, entered into an agreement with Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and helped the latter in his expedition against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.²

Babur besieged the fort of Malot on January 5, 1526. As a result of the siege, Ismail Khan, the son of Ali Khan and a grandson of Daulat Khan, came out of Malot with representatives from Daulat Khan and waited upon Babur. Daulat Khan made an offer that if Babur pardoned his faults he would join the Mughals and surrender Malot to him. Subsequently, he came out of Malot and submitted to Babur on January 6, 1526.³ On January 10, 1526 Babur marched against Ghazi Khan, the son of Daulat Khan. Before proceeding against Ghazi Khan he handed over Daulat Khan, Ali Khan, Ismail Khan and some other *amirs* to Kitta Beg and asked him to keep guard on them and shift them to the Bhira

¹*Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.451; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.417; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, pp.436-37; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs. vol.ii, pp.26-27.

²*Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, pp.455-56; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.418-19; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, pp.25-26; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, pp.436-437; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.633.

³*Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.459; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.27; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, pp.437-38; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.421-22; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.633.

fort of Malwa. Daulat Khan Lodi, however, died when Kitta Beg reached Sultanpur along with the prisoners.¹

Ali Khan:

Ali Khan was the eldest son of Daulat Khan Lodi.² He had been entrusted the charge of Bhira, Khushab, Chinab and Chinoit by his father in 1504. These territories were in his possession at the time of Babur's invasion of Bhira in 1519. He failed to resist the attack of Babur³ and sent his retainer Diwa Hindu with a *peshkash* to him.⁴ He, however, abandoned Bhira, we do not know how and when, and Babur occupied it. He must have left Bhira immediately after Babur's occupation, for we have the evidence that Babur appointed Hindu Beg at Bhira in 1519⁵ and returned to Kabul. As soon as he returned to Kabul the people of Bhira revolted and compelled Hindu Beg to evacuate it and flee back to Kabul.⁶

Another reference, that we come across about Ali Khan, is of the time when Babur besieged the fort of Malot in January 1526. Ali Khan

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.461; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.438; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.27; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.421-22.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.i, p.382.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.382-83; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, pp.22-23; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, pp.237-38.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.i, p.383.

⁵ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.i, p.386.

⁶ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.i, p.399.

was in the fort at that time. He came out of the fort with his father and waited upon Babur.¹ When Babur marched towards the fort, Ali Khan presented him a few *ashrafis* in order to protect the lives of the people who were inside the fort.² Soon afterwards, when Babur left the Malot camp in pursuit of Ghazi Khan, he handed over Ali Khan and his son Ismail Khan along with Daulat Khan to Kitta Beg on January 10, 1526 and asked him to keep them in confinement in the Bhira fort of Malwa.³

Ghazi Khan:

Ghazi Khan was another son of Daulat Khan Lodi.⁴ We first hear of him when he, along with his father, submitted to Babur in the year 1524. Later on, he hatched a conspiracy with his father to free themselves and succeeded in escaping from Babur's camp.⁵ As a result of the conspiracy Ghazi Khan fell from Babur's favour. In the year 1525 he entered into negotiations with Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, who had secured reinforcements from Babur for fighting against Ibrahim Lodi. They decided that Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi would march

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.459; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.421.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.460; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.421.

³ *Baburbanam*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.461.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.i, p.455; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.436; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.26.

⁵ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs., vol.ii, pp.24-25.

against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and take possession of Delhi and Agra, whereas Ghazi Khan would occupy trans-Sutlej territories.¹

In the year 1525-26, it was reported to Babur that Ghazi Khan, along with his father, had increased the strength of his army to about twenty thousand to thirty thousand men, and occupied Kalanur. After occupying Kalanur he intended to march towards Lahore, which was then in the possession of Babur's men.² When Babur was on the banks of river Jehalum he sent Saiyyid Tufan and Lachin with a message to his men at Lahore. When these messengers returned they reported to Babur that there were rumours at Lahore that Ghazi Khan and Daulat Khan had collected an army of thirty thousand to forty thousand men.³

Babur, marching through Parsrur and Kalanur in pursuit of Ghazi Khan, reached Malot. On reaching Malot it was reported to him that Ghazi Khan had fled into the hills but he was suspected to be in the fort.⁴ On capturing the fort of Malot Babur laid his hands upon the

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.455-56; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.26; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.418.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.451; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking vol.i, p.436; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs vol.ii, p.26; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.417.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.453; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.417.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.458 to 460; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs. Vol.ii, p.27; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.633-34; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, pp.437-38.

library of Ghazi Khan.¹ After capturing Malot Babur marched further towards the hills in pursuit of Ghazi Khan. He sent his news gatherers to trace out Ghazi Khan but could not get any satisfactory news.² From Malot he sent light troops into the hills in pursuit of Ghazi Khan, while he himself marched against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. These troops captured the forts of Harur, Kahlur and some other neighbouring forts but failed to trace the whereabouts of Ghazi Khan.³ Hereafter, we do not find any reference to Ghazi Khan in our sources of the period under study.

Haji Khan:

Haji Khan Lodi was another son of Daulat Khan Lodi. He was younger to Ghazi Khan.⁴ In 1525-26 he accompanied Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, who had marched towards Delhi against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. They were defeated by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and their forces dispersed in different directions. He, along with Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, fled towards the trans-Sutlej region.⁵ After crossing

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.460; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.27; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.i, p.240.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.460-61; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs., vol.ii, p.27; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.ii, pp.437-38. *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.633. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.421-22.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.462-64; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.ii, p.438; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.422; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.634.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.455; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.419.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.457.

Sutlej they took refuge in the fort of Ginguta. It was besieged by Babur's Hazara and Afghan troops.¹ Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi managed to escape from the fort and later on waited upon Babur. We no more hear about Haji Khan during the period under study.

Dilawar Khan Lodi:

Dilawar Khan Lodi was the youngest son of Daulat Khan Lodi.² He first figures in our chronicles in the course of the struggle of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi with his nobility. In the course of this struggle Ibrahim Lodi summoned Daulat Khan Lodi to Agra. Instead of going to the court himself, he sent his son Dilawar Khan. He was ill treated by the Sultan and came back to Lahore. Consequently, he was sent by his father to Kabul to request Babur for help against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.³ After assessing the conditions when Babur marched towards Hindustan in 1524, Dilawar Khan, his brother and father joined him at Dipalpur. After their submission Babur conferred the *parganas* of Jullundhur and Sultanpur on Daulat Khan Lodi,⁴ which was much below his expectations. So he conspired with his another son, Ghazi Khan, to treacherously attack Babur. The conspiracy was disclosed to Babur by

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.457.

² *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.24.

³ *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, vol.i, pp.348-49; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.239; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, p.304; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.435.

⁴ *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.24.

Dilawar Khan, who got the *pargana* of Sultanpur and the title of *khan-i-khanan*¹ as his reward. The *pargana* was resumed from Daulat Khan Lodi. However, when Babur returned to Kabul, Daulat Khan Lodi came down from the hills and besieged Sultanpur. He arrested his own son, Dilawar Khan Lodi, and recovered the fort from him.²

Dilawar Khan managed to escape from his father's prison and joined Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi in 1525. He was present with Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi when the latter laid a siege to Delhi. The siege proved abortive and Dilawar Khan Lodi retired towards the Punjab.³ During his retreat, when Dilawar Khan Lodi was passing through Sirhind, he heard about Babur's march and his capture of the fort of Malot. So he deserted Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and went to his family in Sultanpur.⁴ On January 10, 1526, he came and waited upon Babur.⁵ He must have submitted to Babur because we notice him in the latter's camp at Ambala towards the end of February 1526. It was in this camp that Mian Bibban Jilwani also waited upon Babur.⁶

¹ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.25.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.455; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, pp.24-25.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.455-57; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.418.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.457.

⁵ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.461; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.27; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.419.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.466.

Dilawar Khan Lodi, subsequently, remained loyal to Babur. He fought on his behalf in the battles of Panipat and Kanwah. It has been stated in *Tarikh-i Shahi* that after the battle of Panipat he was deputed by Babur to search for the body of Ibrahim Lodi. Once the body was recovered and identified, he, along with Jahangir Quli and Amir Khalifa was ordered to bury it.¹ He also rendered valuable military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah; he served in the *baranghar*.² According to *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi* he also served Babur in the Chanderi expedition.³ In 1529 he, along with other *begs*, was appointed against the Baloches under the command of Chin Timur Sultan.⁴ Thereafter, we do not come across any reference to Dilawar Khan Lodi during the period under discussion.

Ismail Khan Lodi:

Ismail Khan Lodi was the son of Ali Khan Lodi⁵ and grandson of Daulat Khan Lodi. On Babur's arrival near the fort of Malot (Janjary 2-3, 1526) he came out of the fort and waited upon Babur. Babur says

¹ *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, vol.i, p.453.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.567; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.ii, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

³ *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng. tr. Ambashthya (Patna, 1974), p.103, *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.255.

⁴ *Baburnama*, B.M.MS Or. 3714, f.496a-b. His name is missing in Mrs.Beveridge's English translation as well as in the Turkish text.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.i, p.459.

that he treated him with kindness and favour, coupled with a threat.¹ Later on, Ismail Khan Lodi, his father and grandfather were put under the custody of Kitta Beg.² After that we do not come across any reference to Ismail Khan in the sources of the period under study.

Family of Jalal Khan Jighat and others

Apart from the above mentioned Lodi chiefs, we find six other chiefs worth mentioning. Two of them Jalal Khan and Alam Khan were father and son. The remaining four namely Daud Khan, Hatim Khan, Mubarak Khan and Bihar Khan Lodi were stray Lodi Afghans active in the period.

Jalal Khan Jighat:

Jalal Khan Jighat was also a Lodi Afghan.³ We come across only two references to Jalal Khan Jighat and both the references pertain to the years 1525-26. We first hear of him in the context of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodis' abortive attempt to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. When Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, after securing help from Daulat Khan Lodi, Haji Khan Lodi, Dilawar Khan Lodi and several other Afghan *amirs*, marched towards Delhi and besieged it in 1525, Jalal Khan Jighat came and saw Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.i, p.459.

² *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.i, p.461.

³ He was the father of Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi, who is mentioned in *Mirat-i Sikandari* (pp.289-90) as a Lodi Afghan.

Lodi.¹ He, however, submitted to Babur when the latter occupied Agra. Babur tells us that on his arrival at Agra, he visited the house of Jalal Khan Jighat on May 4, 1526.² Therafter we do not find any reference to Jalal Khan Jighat in our sources related to the period under review.

Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi:

Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi was the son of Jalal Khan Jighat.³ He was one of the powerful Afghan chiefs as he commanded a cavalry of twelve thousand and a large number of elephants.⁴ He was in possession of Kalpi when Babur captured Agra and ascended the throne.⁵ After consolidating his power at Agra Babur sent several military expeditions against the unsubjected Afghan chiefs. Humayun was sent against the rebellious Afghan chiefs of the east. On reaching near Kalpi, while returning to Agra after settling the affairs of Jaunpur and Oudh, he sent a message to Alam Khan Lodi, who had been professing loyalty to Babur by sending him dutiful letters but had avoided waiting upon him. He responded to Humayun's message, came

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.456; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.419.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.476.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.544.

⁴ *Mirat-i Sikandari*, Persian text, p.289.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.523; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.251; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.31; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.443; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.427; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.638.

and waited upon him. Humayun brought him to Agra where he waited upon Babur on January 6, 1527.¹

The author of *Mirat-i Sikandari* informs us that Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi became a favourite of Nizamuddin Khalifa, the “*wazir* of Babur.” He treated him like his son and got the *sarkar* of Kalpi restored to him.² He seems to have won the confidence of Babur as the latter, while going to Chanderi, visited his house on January 2, 1529. During his visit Babur was served with Hindustani food and given certain offerings.³

Alam Khan Lodi rendered military service to Babur. After consulting his *begs* and *amirs* Babur sent a military expedition from the bank of Sarju river, against Bibban and Bayzid towards Dalmau. Along with other Hind *amirs*, namely Malik Dad Karrani and Rao Sarwani, Alam Khan Lodi also was included in this expeditionary force.⁴ Babur was not satisfied with the reports regarding the progress made by the *begs* and Sultans sent on this expedition and on June 9, 1529, he ordered Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi to cross the Ganges and get rid of

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.544; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.258; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.446. *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.34; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.640; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.432.

² *Mirat-i Sikandari*, Persian text, p.289.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.590.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.682.

Bibban and Bayzid.¹ After that we do not hear of Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi during the period under discussion.

Daud Khan:

Daud Khan was one of the commanders of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The only reference we come across about him and his brother Hatim Khan is that they were serving under Ibrahim Lodi, who had sent them to the Mian-i Doab with five thousand to six thousand men to check Babur's advancing forces. In March 1526 Babur, while marching towards Panipat, was encamped at Sarsawa. He ordered Chin Timur Sultan and several other *begs* to move against Daud Khan and Hatim Khan. The expeditionary Mughal forces chased Daud Khan as far as Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's camp. He, however, managed to escape from the chasing Mughal forces but his brother Hatim Khan was captured along with sixty to seventy other Afghans and produced before Babur.² We no more hear about Daud Khan during the period under review.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.684.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.467-68; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.439; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.28; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.241; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.423; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.446; The authors of *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, *Tarikh-i Daudi* and *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* do not mention the name of Hatim Khan.

Hatim Khan:

Hatim Khan was the elder brother of Daud Khan.¹ He was serving under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Prior to the battle of Panipat, Hatim Khan and Daud Khan were sent by Ibrahim Lodi to attack the forces of Babur advancing from the side of Mian-i Doab. The Mughal forces defeated the Afghan forces led by Hatim Khan and Daud Khan and forced them to retreat. After the scuffle Daud Khan managed to escape but Hatim Khan was captured along with other sixty to seventy Afghans. They were produced before Babur, who tells us that most of the men, who were captured, were ordered to be executed. It seems that Hatim Khan also was put to death, as we do not find any reference to him in our sources relating to the period concerned.²

Mubarak Khan:

Mubarak Khan was one of the nobles of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.³ From the only reference that we come across about Mubarak Khan, we get the information that he was deputed to the Punjab by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi for punishing Daulat Khan Lodi. Daulat Khan Lodi could not face him and fled away from Lahore. However, when Babur on the invitation of Daulat Khan Lodi reached in the vicinity of Lahore, he defeated the

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.468.

² *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.467-68, *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.28; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.241; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.634-35. The authors of *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, *Tarikh-i Daudi* and *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* have not mentioned the name of Hatim Khan.

³ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Urdu tr., p.460.

army led by Mubarak Khan Lodi and others and occupied Lahore.¹ No further information is available in the sources of the period concerned about Mubarak Khan Lodi.

Bihar Khan Lodi:

Bihar Khan Lodi was also one of the nobles of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.² Along with other commanders, he was also deputed to the Punjab by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi for punishing Daulat Khan Lodi. Daulat Khan Lodi could not give a stand to these forces and fled from Lahore. He, however, had earlier invited Babur and requested him for help against Ibrahim Lodi. In response to his invitation Babur reached in the vicinity of Lahore, defeated the army led by Bihar Khan Lodi and others and occupied Lahore. From the available sources of the period concerned we do not get any other information about Bihar Khan Lodi.

THE SARANG KHANIS

The Sarang Khanis, who were a branch of the Lodis, also enjoyed important positions during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and played a conspicuous role during the period of Babur also. Among them the two sons of Jamal Khan Sarang Khani namely, Tatar Khan, Taj Khan and one grandson, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, son of Ahmad Khan Sarang

¹ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.30.

² *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.30. He is mentioned as one of the *amirs* of the Punjab; See, *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Urdu tr. p.460.

Khani belonged to one family. Besides, we notice another important Sarang Khani chief namely, Hamid Khan Sarang Khani.

Family of Jamal Khan Sarang Khani

Tatar Khan Sarang Khani:

Tatar Khan Sarang Khani belonged to the Sarang Khani family, he was a son of Jamal Khan Sarang Khani.¹ He was in possession of Gwalior at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra.² He had been professing loyalty to Babur, but was reluctant to wait upon him or surrender the fort.³ However, he had to seek Babur's help when, on the one hand, Rana Sanga occupied Kandahar in July-August 1526 and advanced on Biana in October-November 1526, and on the other hand, Raja Dharamkot, one of the *rajās* of Gwalior, began to create trouble in the vicinity of Gwalior by pressing hard on the fort.⁴ Babur decided to

¹ *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.33; see also I.H.Siddiqui's article, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans," *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol.iv, p.41.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.523; B.M.MS. Or.3714, ff.414a & 427a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.251; *Tarikh-i Frishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.31; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.443; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.427; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.638.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.539; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.257; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.33-34; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.429-30; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.639.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.539; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.427a-428a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.257; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.33; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.429-30; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.445.

avail this opportunity, even though the core of his army was then away on various expeditions, i.e., against Hamid Khan in Hisar Firoza, against Biana and under the command of Humayun in the east.¹ He sent a contingent consisting of the soldiers from Bhira and Lahore under the command of Rahim Dad to Gwalior and assigned them *parganas* in Gwalior.² Shaikh Ghuran and Mulla Apaqa were also sent with this expedition with instructions to return after having established Rahim Dad at Gwalior.³

By the time Rahim Dad reached Gwalior, the threat to Tatar Khan from Raja Dharamkot was over. He no more needed Babur's help and rather was planning of opposing the Mughal forces. However, Shaikh

¹ Babur writes that when Tatar Khan Sarang Khani asked him for help most of his braves were away on various expeditions. The possible expeditions other than that of Humayun in the east, can be the one employed against Biana and another one sent to Hisar Firoza to curb the uprising of Hamid Khan Sarang Khani. The presence of Shaikh Ghuran and Mulla Apaqa in the contingent despatched to Gwalior rules out the possibility of the braves being away on expedition to Sambhal. Shaikh Ghuran and Mulla Apaqa sent to Sambhal must have returned to Agra to be able to accompany Rahim Dad to Gwalior. Besides Biana and Gwalior expeditions, we know of no other expedition sent by Babur at this time. But if we take into account the expedition to Hisar Firoza which was sent on Nov. 15, 1526, the sending of the expedition to Gwalior and its capture will have to be placed after Nov. 15 so as to leave time for Babur's braves to be away on various "raids" – at least two – one to Biana and the other to Hisar Firoza (apart from Humayun's expedition) – and would place submission of Nizam Khan of Biana about the time of Hamid Khan Sarang Khani's rebellion, i.e., not before the second fortnight of November, the date which correlates with the events in Biana and the submission of Nizam Khan of Biana.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.539; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.427a-428a. *Parganas* were not assigned to Shaikh Ghuran and Mulla Apaqa but to the soldiers appointed with Rahim Dad.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.539; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.427a-428a; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.445; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.639.

Muhammad Ghaus, a pious man, who was inside the fort considered it to be a deceit on the part of Tatar Khan. So he sent a message to Rahim Dad and warned him about the evil intentions of Tatar Khan. He assured him that he would help them in getting into the fort.¹ On learning about Tatar Khan's designs Rahim Dad took to a strategem. He requested Tatar Khan to *grant refuge to him and some of his followers, as he was facing a danger from the raja*. Tatar Khan eventually agreed to it and permitted him to enter the fort. During the night Rahim Dad got the gate of the fort opened and brought all of his troops into the fort.²

Once Rahim Dad entered the fort Tatar Khan Sarang Khani had no option but to surrender the fort. He surrendered the fort to Rahim Dad and went to Agra to wait upon Babur, who conferred upon him the *pargana* of Biawah (Bianwan?) with twenty lacs towards his *wajh wa istiqamat*.³ Thus, Rahim Dad took over the possession of Gwalior. After submitting to Babur and accepting the assignment conferred upon him, Tatar Khan rendered military service to Babur against Mian Bibban

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.539; B.M.MS. Or.3714, ff.427a-428a; *Muntakhab-ut Tawraikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.445; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, pp.33-34; *Tarikh-i Alfī*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.639.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.539-40; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.427-428a; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.445; *Tarikh-i Alfī*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.639.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.540; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.426b-428a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.257; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, pp.33-34; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.445; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.439-40; *Tarikh-i Alfī*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.639.

Jilwani, who had besieged Lakhnūr in April-May 1527, before the battle of Kanwah.¹ Besides Tatar Khan Sarang Khani other Hindustani *amirs* appointed against Mian Bibban Jilwani were Malik Dad Karrani, Ali Khan Farmuli and Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakkhari. When Tatar Khan Sarang Khani was appointed against Mian Bibban Jilwani he was awarded the title of *Khan-i-Jahan* by Babur.² This is the last reference that we come across about Tatar Khan in our sources related to the period under study.

Taj Khan Sarang Khani:

Taj Khan Sarang Khani was another son of Jamal Khan Sarang Khani and thus a brother of Tatar Khan Sarang Khani.³ He had been entrusted the fort of Chunar by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.⁴ The fort was in his possession at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra. He came into contact with Babur when the latter marched against Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of the late Sultan Sikandar Lodi, who had taken possession of Bihar in the beginning of 1529. While marching towards the east, when Babur was encamped at Koh, he received a letter from Taj Khan Sarang

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.582; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.460b-461a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.267.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.582; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.460b-461a.

³ *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.470; see also I.H.Siddiqi's article, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans, Medieval India: A Miscellany, vol.iv, p.30; see also his appendix A.B. Sr.No.23, p.56.

⁴ *Tarikh-i Ser Shahi*, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, p.201.

Khani informing him that Sultan Mahmud Lodi's army had fled away.¹ Taj Khan Sarang Khani came along with his two young sons and waited upon him at Nanapur on March 21, 1529. Babur was camping there during his eastward march.² He visited the fort of Chunar. On March 25, 1529 he wanted to go for hunting in the jungles of Chunar but Taj Khan Sarang Khani gave him the news that Sultan Mahmud was near the Son river.³

On June 1, 1529 Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid fled towards Dalmau and Babur appointed Taj Khan Sarang Khani along with other *begs* to block their way near Chunar.⁴ However, on June 8, 1529 Babur assigned Chunar to Sultan Junaid Barlas⁵ and appointed Malik Sharq to get the fort vacated from Taj Khan.⁶ No specific reason for the vacation of the fort has been assigned in our sources. It seems that during the remaining part of Babur's reign Chunar remained in possession of Taj Khan Sarang Khani as he was holding its possession when Humayun ascended the throne.⁷

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.654; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.529a.

² *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.657; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.523a. British Museum, MS. Writes Baqi Khan which obviously is a transcriptional error.

³ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.658; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.523b.

⁴ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.681-82; B.M.MS. or 3714, f.516a.

⁵ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.682; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.516a.

⁶ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.683; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.516a-b.

⁷ We are told by the author of *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi* that Sher Khan took possession of Chunar fort from the widow of Taj Khan Sarang Khani. *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, pp.201-206; see also Stewarts, *History of Bengal*, p.136.

Firoz Khan Sarang Khani:

Firoz Khan Sarang Khani was the son of Ahmad Khan Sarang Khani and a grandson of Jamal Khan Sarang Khani.¹ He was in the service of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and rendered him military service along with Mustafa Farmuli, and later on, with Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli against the rebellious Afghan *amirs* of the east, namely Nasir Khan Nohani, Maruf Farmuli and Fath Khan Sarwani.² When Babur occupied Agra Firoz Khan Sarang Khani along with other Afghan *amirs* namely, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, Mahmud Khan and Qazi Jia joined his service. Babur conferred upon him a territory yielding a revenue of 1 crore, 46 lacs and 5 thousand *tankas* from Jaunpur.³

In August 1526 Babur sent a military expedition against Qutub Khan of Etawa and along with several other Hindustani *amirs* Firoz Khan Sarang Khani was included in this expedition.⁴ Later on, this expedition was recalled by Babur and ordered to join Humayun in his

¹ See I.H.Siddiqui's, *Mughal Relations with the Indian Ruling Elite* (New Delhi, 1983), p.22.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.527; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.417a; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part i, p.161.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.527; Persian version has given only "One crore and something", see B.M.MS. Or.3714, f.417a; see also *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.253; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.32; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol ii, p.32; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.428; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.638. This assignment was probably made towards the end of the year 1526 i.e. after Humayun had over run Jaunpur. See *Baburnama*, p.544.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS Or.3714, f.420b.

expedition against the rebellious Afghan chiefs of the east, namely Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli.¹ So Firoz Khan Sarang Khani also served in the expedition led by Humayun against the eastern Afghans. He died in the beginning of the year 1528.²

Other Sarang Khani Chief

Hamid Khan Khasa Khail:

The other prominent Sarang Khani chief, we notice, was Hamid Khan *khasa khail*. From the available sources his relationship with the three Sarang Khani chiefs, already discussed, is not ascertainable. He was the *shiqdar* of Hisar Firoza at the time of Babur's crossing of river Sutlej in 1526. In February 1526, when Babur was encamped near Banur and Sanur, he came to know that Sultan Ibrahim Lodi had sent Hamid Khan Sarang Khani, the *Shiqdar* of Hisar Firoza to oppose him. On reaching near Ambala on February 25, 1526 Babur appointed Humayun along with several other *begs* against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani.³ He marched swiftly and on February 26, 1526 had an encounter with Hamid Khan. Hamid Khan was defeated, several

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.531; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.421-a-b.

² The date of his death is given January 3, 1528 in the inscription on his tomb at Rohtak, see *Epigraphia Indica* (Arabia and Persian Supplement) edited by Dr.Z.A.Desai, Calcutta, 1966, p.57, as quoted by *I.H.Siddiqi in Mughal Relations with the Indian Ruling, Elite*, p.22.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.465; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.446; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.634; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.ii, p.240; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.27.

Afghans were killed, about one hundred were taken prisoner and seven to eight elephants were also captured.¹ Humayun got the assignment of Hisar Firoza as a reward for his victory over Hamid Khan. At the same time, on March 5 Babur ordered Ustad Ali Quli, the matchlockman, to shoot all the prisoners as an exemplary punishment.²

Hamid Khan Sarang Khani could not digest his defeat and by November 1526 collected three to four thousand Afghans, including Panini Afghans, in the neighbourhood of Hisar Firoza and started creating trouble for Babur. So on November 15, 1526 Babur appointed Chin Timur Sultan, along with several other Hindustani *amirs* like Malik Dad Karrani and Mujahid Khan of Multan, against Hamid Khan. The expeditionary forces suddenly fell on Hamid Khan Sarang Khani and defeated him.³ Several Afghans were killed in the encounter but Hamid Khan Sarang Khani escaped. Hereafter, we do not hear of him.

A RESUME:

It is interesting to note that we do not notice any member of the family of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi holding any principality during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Yet, they were in a position to

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.466; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.634; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, pp.27-28; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.ii, p.240; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.439.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.466; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.439; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.ii, p.241.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.540; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.34; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.639.

defy Ibrahim Lodi and play a formidable role in the politics of the period till they finally submitted to Babur. Similarly, we notice that Sultan Mahmud Lodi too had no territorial base in the Sultanat of Ibrahim Lodi, yet, he was able to mobilize support of the Afghans against Babur. How did these two princely families manage their financial resources to be able to continue their resistance, first to Ibrahim Lodi and then to Babur, is difficult to ascertain. However, it may be noted that it was only Sultan Mahmud Lodi who never submitted to Babur.

As regards the family of Daulat Khan Lodi, it undoubtedly had a large territorial base with considerable resources, for Daulat Khan Lodi was in possession of the whole of the trans-Sulter area during the period under review. Almost all the members of this family played a wavering role in the course of struggle between Ibrahim Lodi and Babur. However, it was Dilawar Khan Lodi, who finally settled down in the service of Babur, yet, we do not notice any significant territorial assignment being given to him by Babur after he switched over his loyalty to him. Among other Lodis it was only Alam Khan Lodi who was allowed by Babur to retain his principality of Kalpi and was honoured by him by visiting his place.

Among the Sarang Khanis Tatar Khan and Taj Khan Sarang Khani were the powerful chiefs and held important fortresses in their possession, while Hamid Khan Sarang Khani also held an important position as *shiqdar* of Hisar Firoza. We notice that while Tatar Khan was

displaced by Babur from his principality-Gwalior and was given the *pargana* of Bianwan, Taj Khan Sarang Khani of Chunar remained in possession of his fort throughout Babur's reign. In short, in course of time, towards the end of 1520s most of the Lodi and Sarang Khani chiefs lost their importance with the exception of Dilawar Khan Lodi and Taj Khan Sarang Khani; Dilawar Khan by virtue of having subsequently remained loyal to Babur and Taj Khan on account of his retaining the possession of Chunar.

CHAPTER - II

NOHANIS AND FARMULIS

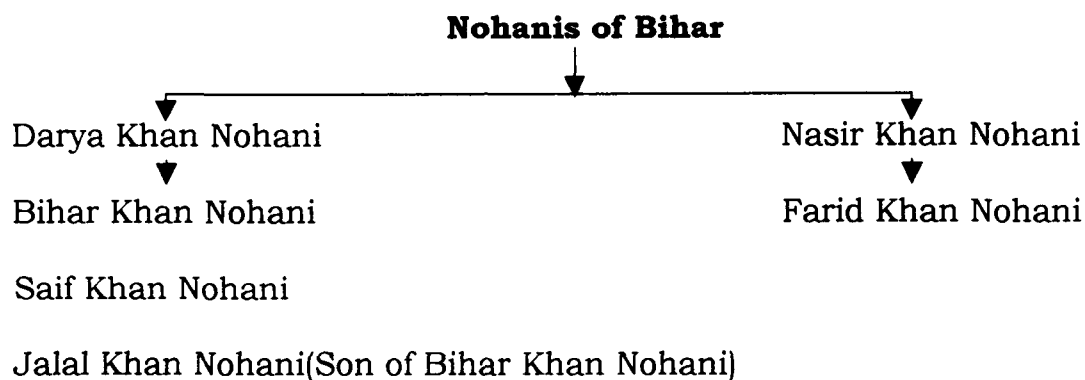
The members of the Nohani and Farmuli clans constituted significant groups of notables, no less formidable than the Lodis and the Sarang Khanis in terms of the power they wielded in north India. Apart from stray Nohani chiefs it was mostly the family of Darya Khan Nohani which ruled in Bihar and was conspicuous by their power in the period under study. With the exception of a few Nohani notables they mostly dominated the eastern part of the Lodi Sultanate and subsequently of Babur's empire. Like the Nohanis in Bihar the Farmuli notables also held power in the east. They exercised their power mainly in Oudh for a long time prior to 1520. Only a few Farmuli notables are found holding authority outside Oudh. We begin with the biographies of the Nohanis.

NOHANIS

Family of Darya Khan Nohani:

We notice five members of this family making their presence felt in the politics of the period under review. One of them was Nasir Khan Nohani, the brother of Darya Khan Nohani. Bihar Khan Nohani and Saif Khan Nohani, the sons of Darya Khan Nohani also made their presence felt, the former by virtue of having declared himself independent during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi. Jalal Khan Nohani, son of Bihar Khan Nohani

and Farid Khan Nohani, son of Nasir Khan Nohani, were other important personages in the political arena in the east.



Since Bihar Khan distinguished himself by declaring himself as the ruler of Bihar, we begin our biographical notices of the Nohanis with him.

Bihar Khan Nohani:

Bihar Khan Nohani (Pahar Khan) was the son of Darya Khan Nohani.¹ After the death of his father he became the *muqtai* of Bihar. Soon afterwards, he declared himself independent from Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in Bihar and assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad. He read *khutba* in his name and issued his coins.² He defeated the forces of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in several encounters.³ He was independently

¹ *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng.tr. Ambashthya (Patna, 1974), p.207.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.523; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.i, p.349; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.435; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, pp.238-239; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Hindi tr. *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, p.304; *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part i, p.348; *Afsana-i Shahan*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, p.349.

³ *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.i, pp.349-50.

ruling in Bihar when Babur occupied Agra after defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat.¹

Bihar Khan Nohani dominated the entire area from Bihar in the east to Kanauj in the west at the time of Babur's victory at Panipat.² His generals namely Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli were in occupation of Kanauj and were "holding whole of the country beyond it." Babur tells us that these *amirs* were posing a threat to Agra when he captured it. They had taken Kanauj and after crossing river Ganges they had marched three to four miles ahead of the river with an army of forty thousand to fifty thousand.³ Babur appointed Hamayun against these Afghans. He succeeded in forcing back Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli as far as Kharid in the east. However, it seems that Sultan Muhammad reigned supreme in Bihar till his death because it was his son and successor Jalal Khan Nohani, who submitted to Babur in May 1529.⁴

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.523; *Tarikh-i Firishtha*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.i, p.349; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, vol.i, p.161; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, pp.138-39; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.251.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.523; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking vol.i, pp.443-44; *Tarikh-i Firishtha*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.31; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.427; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.251.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.530.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.ii, pp.533-34.

Jalal Khan Nohani:

Jalal Khan Nohani was the son of Bihar Khan Nohani, who had declared himself independent in Bihar during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He remained independent till his death during the reign of Babur also. After the death of Bihar Khan Nohani his son Jalal Khan Nohani seems to have assumed the independent charge of Bihar. He also remained independent in Bihar till the beginning of the year 1529. However, towards the end of March 1529 he opened correspondence with Babur. Along with other Afghan *amirs* like Farid Khan Nohani, Sher Khan Sur, Alaul Khan Sur and some others, he also sent Babur a letter when the latter, while marching against Sultan Mahmud Lodi, was encamped at Ghazipur on March 31, 1529.¹ Soon, he and his mother Dudu sent an envoy to Babur. The envoy, on April 16, 1529 conveyed to Babur their message that they had fought with the Bengalis and succeeded in escaping from them and that they were on their way to wait upon him.² The same day, i.e., April 16, 1529 Babur sent encouraging *farmans* to Jalal Khan Nohani and his mother Dudu through Shaikh Jamali.³

On receiving the encouraging *farmans* Jalal Khan Nohani came with his important nobles, waited upon Babur on May 16, 1529 and

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.Tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.659; B.M. MS.Or. 3714, f.524b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.664; B.M. MS. Or.3714, f.505b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.665; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.506b.

accepted his overlordship. Acceptance of his overlordship by Jalal Khan Nohani is proved by the fact that Babur while conferring an assignment of 50 lacs from Bihar upon Mahmud Khan Nohani and fixing one crore as *Khalisa*, restored rest of the revenues i.e., 2 crore, 55 lacs and 60 thousand *tankas* to Jalal Khan Nohani. On his part Jalal Khan Nohani agreed to pay one crore as *khidamatana* to Babur who sent Mulla Ghulam, the *yasawal* to realize this amount.¹ Thereafter we do not come across any reference to Jalal Khan Nohani during the period concerned.

Nasir Khan Nohani:

Nasir Khan Nohani was the brother of Darya Khan Nohani² and an uncle of Bihar Khan Nohani. He was in possession of Ghazipur during the reign of the late Sultan Sikandar Lodi.³ He retained Ghazipur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi also. He must have accepted the overlordship of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi as he and his brother Darya Khan Nohani rendered him military service on several occasions.⁴ After some time he severed his relations with Ibrahim Lodi. Ibrahim Lodi summoned him to the court but the latter, out of fear of the Sultan,

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.676; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.513b. *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.645.

² *Afsana-i Shahan*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, vol.i, p.388.

³ *Ibid.*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, vol.i, p.389.

⁴ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, vol.i, pp.235-238; *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.i, p.349.

evaded the visit. The Sultan sent an expedition against him under the command of Mian Bayzid Farmuli. Nasir Khan Nohani was defeated by the royal forces¹ and forced to retire towards Bihar.²

Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli were the masters of the territories to the east of Kanauj when Babur occupied Agra after defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat. Prior to the battle of Panipat and death of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi these *amirs* remained in rebellion against him for three to four years. They recognized Bihar Khan Nohani, who had declared himself independent and assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad, as their *Padshah*.³ After defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat Babur became the king but Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli did not recognise him as their overlord. They rather marched against him towards Agra.⁴ Babur tells us that these chiefs had collected an army of forty thousand to fifty thousand Afghans, taken Kanauj and were threatening Agra.⁵ He asked Humayun

¹ *Afsana-i Shahan*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, vol.i, p.388.

² *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.434; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.428; *Afsana-i Shahan*, Hindi tr. *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, p.389.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.523; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.417a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.251; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.444; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.638.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.444; *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.638-39.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.256; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.429; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.638.

to lead an expedition against these Afghan *amirs*.¹ Humayun immediately marched from Agra.² Sensing the threat posed by these Afghan *amirs* Babur recalled the expeditions which had been sent towards Dholpur and Etawa and ordered them to join and strengthen the forces of the aforesaid expedition.

Humayun set out on the expedition from Agra on August 21, 1526. At that time Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli were camping at Jajmau. On learning about Hamayun's march they fled away from Jajmau and it was captured by him.³ He marched further and took Jaunpur. After taking Jaunpur he marched swiftly against Nasir Khan Nohani towards Ghazipur. Nasir Khan Nohani crossed river Ganges⁴ and fled away, not to be heard of again.

Farid Khan Nohani:

Farid Khan Nohani was a son of Nasir Khan Nohani.⁵ We do not find any reference to him in our sources until 1529. Babur says that, he

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking vol.i, p.444; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.256; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.638-39.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.533-34; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.256; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.432; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.439.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.544; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.256; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.444; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.638.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.659.

received dutiful letters from Farid Khan Nohani¹ and other Afghan chiefs on March 31, 1529 when he was encamped at Ghazipur. We cannot say with certainty whether Farid Khan personally waited upon Babur or not. After this we do not find any reference to him during the period under review.

Saif Khan Nohani:

Saif Khan Nohani was the son of Darya Khan Nohani² and a brother of Bihar Khan Nohani. We come across only one reference to him in the available sources related to the period under review. From this solitary reference it appears that like many other Afghan chiefs, he too, was not happy with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and had joined Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi. He was among the followers of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi when the latter attacked Delhi and had a fight with the forces of the Sultan.³ However he, along with some other Afghan chiefs, deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and joined Sultan Ibrahim Lodi just before the actual fighting took place.⁴

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.659.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.456-57.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, p.457. It may be noted that in Mrs. Beveridge's English translation of the *Baburnama*, it is not mentioned that Saif-Khan Nohani after deserting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi had joined Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. It only says that Saif Khan Nohani deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan, but in the Turkish text of the *Baburnama*, (Luzac & Co., London, 1971, f.257a) as well as in the Persian translation (B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.356b) it is clearly mentioned that Saif Khan, after deserting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, went to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

Other Nohani Chiefs

Among other Nohanis we come across six notables. With the exception of Hussain Khan Nohani, who held Rapri near Agra and Bhikkan Khan Nohani, who was active in the Punjab, the others were active in the east. They sooner or later submitted to Babur, who, in lieu of their services, conferred assignments on them. Most of these assignments were allotted in the eastern region, as would be evident from the following biographies.

Bhikkan Khan Nohani:

Bhikkan Khan Nohani was one of the prominent *amirs* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He was deployed in the north-west as Firishta mentions him as one of the *amirs* of the Punjab.¹ The only reference we come across about Bhikkan Khan Nohani is about his conflict with Babur when the latter, on the request of Daulat Khan Lodi, came to the Punjab in 1524. Due to the fear of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's forces Daulat Khan Lodi had left Lahore and taken shelter with the Baloches. So Babur came into direct conflict with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's forces near Lahore. These forces were commanded by Bhikkan Khan Nohani, Bihar Khan Lodi and Mubarak Khan Lodi. Babur defeated these forces and occupied

¹ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Urdu translation, p.460.

Lahore.¹ After that we do not hear about Bhikkan Khan Nohani during the period under discussion.

Alaul Khan Nohani:

Nohanis were a dominant clan of the Afghans in Bihar during the period of Sikandar Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi. That is why Babur entered into a peace settlement with them on May 16, 1529. As a result of this peace settlement Alaul Khan Nohani came along with five to six Afghan *amirs*, prominent among them being Ismail Jilwani and Auliya Ashraqi, and waited upon Babur on May 21, 1529.² Babur at that time was encamped at Nirhun *pargana* of Kharid on the northern side of river Saru. So we notice Alaul Khan Nohani for the first time in 1529. Babur fixed a *wajh* for him from Sarwar.³ He remained in attendance on Babur for some time. Then he and Ismail Jilawani requested Babur to allow them to visit their *watan* and promised him to come back to Agra soon.⁴ Babur conceded their request but imposed a condition that Alaul Khan Nohani and the other Afghans would leave one of their sons or younger brothers at Agra to be permanently in attendance upon him.⁵

¹ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.30.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.677; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.515a.

³ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.677; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.514a. This reference is missing in the Hyderabad Codex.

⁴ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.680.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.680; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.514a. This reference is not available in the Turkish text, Mrs.Beveridge has taken it from some other manuscripts, see *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.680.

Mahmud Khan Nohani:

We first notice Mahmud Khan Nohani when, along with other *amirs*, he was appointed by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi with Mustafa Farmuli and Firoz Khan Sarang Khani against the rebellious nobles of the east. After the death of Mustafa Farmuli his charge was taken over by his younger brother Shaikh Bayzid and Mahmud Khan Nohani supported him.¹ Mahmud Khan Nohani seems to have waited upon Babur when the latter occupied Lahore in 1524. Babur tells us that he granted him a *pargana* in Lahore district.² In 1525 he joined the services of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi when the latter, after deserting Babur, marched against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Just before the fighting between Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, he defected to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.³ However, after the battle of Panipat, when Babur occupied Agra, Mahmud Khan Nohani came along with Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Qazi Jia, and waited upon him. He gave them favours beyond their expectations and claims;

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.527; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff.416b-417a.

² *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.455.

³*Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.457; It may be noted that in Mrs. Beveridge's English translation of the *Baburnama* it is not mentioned that Mahmud Khan Nohani after deserting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi joined Sultan Ibrahim or not. It only says that Mahmud Khan Nohani deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, but in Turkish text of the *Baburnama*, (Luzac & Co., London, 1971, f.356a), as well as in the Persian translation (B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.356b), it is clearly mentioned that Mahmud Khan Nohani after deserting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi went to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

an assignment of 90 lacs and 35 thousands from Ghazipur was conferred upon Mahmud Khan Nohani.¹

In August 1526 Babur conferred Etawa upon Mahdi Khawaja and sent an expedition against Qutb Khan of Etawa. Mahmud Khan Nohani also was sent with this expedition.² This expedition, however, was recalled and the forces were ordered to join Humayun in his expedition against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli. So Mahmud Khan Nohani also served under Humayun in his eastern expedition.³ After accomplishing his mission Humayun returned to Agra but left Mahmud Khan Nohani in Ghazipur. Mahmud Khan Nohani came and waited upon Babur on March 31, 1529, when the latter, while marching towards Bihar, was encamped near Ghazipur.⁴

Mahmud Khan Nohani rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra also. He served in one of the four divisions constituted by Babur for the battle. The division he served in, mainly consisted of Uzbek Sultans.⁵ The royal armies won the battle of Ghagra and Mahmud Khan Nohani was rewarded with an assignment of 50 lacs from

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.527; B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.417a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.253.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M. MS Or 3714, f.420b.

³ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531; B.M. MS Or. 3714, f.421a-b.

⁴ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.659; B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.524b.

⁵ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.669; B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.508b.

Bihar.¹ In June 1529, along with Muhammad Zaman Mirza, Sultan Junaid Barlas and a number of Hindustani nobles, he was deputed to march against Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid to block their passage at Chunar.² After that we do not come across any reference to Mahmud Khan Nohani during the period under study.

Yahya Nohani:

We first notice Yahya Nohani in 1529. Babur entered into a peace settlement with the Nohanis of Bihar. As a result Yahya Nohani decided to submit to him. Before waiting upon him personally, Babur tells us that Yahya Nohani sent his younger brother to convey his feelings to him. Babur, on his part, responded with an encouraging *farman*.³ Consequently, Yahya Nohani came and waited upon Babur in May 1529, on the day when Jalal Khan Nohani, son of Bihar Khan Nohani, also waited upon him. Babur conferred an assignment of 15 lacs from

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.676; B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.513b.

² *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.682; B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.516a.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.676; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.513a. It may be pointed out that one Yahya Nohani waited upon Babur in 1519 when Babur was in Afghanistan and received a *khilat* from him, *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, p.416; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.341a. Since the man by the name Yahya Nohani, who waited upon Babur in Afghanistan is mentioned by Babur as the *sardar* of the Hindustani *saudagars*. Yahya Nohani under discussion seems to be a different person. Moreover, the manner in which Babur introduces Yahya Nohani in his memoirs in the account of the year 1529 without making any reference to his earlier meeting with him in Afghanistan, he seems to be different from the Yahya-Nohani mentioned as the Chief of the Hindustani traders; see also *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.645.

Sarwar upon him on June 8, 1529.¹ He also bestowed a *saropa* upon him. Thereafter, he was allowed to leave and was not heard of again.

Younger Brother of Yahya Nohani:

We find only one reference to the younger brother of Yahya Nohani in the sources of the period concerned. From this solitary reference his name could not be traced. On Babur's entering into a peace settlement with the Nohanis of Bihar in May 1529 Yahya Nohani decided to submit to him. Before waiting upon Babur personally he sent his younger brother to convey his feelings to the emperor.² After that we do not come across any reference to him during the period under study.

Husain Khan Nohani of Rapri:

Husain Khan Nohani was an Afghan chief who was in possession of Rapri at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra.³ Few months after Babur's occupation of Agra Rana Sanga captured Kandahar from Hasan of Makan. Babur states in his memoirs that Husain Khan Nohani got terrified and abandoned Rapri. Babur, availing this opportunity, assigned it to Muhammad Ali Jang Jang.⁴ Husain Khan Nohani,

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.683-84; B.M. MS Or. 3714, f.517a. According to Mrs.Beveridge, Yahya Nohani was given an assignment from Parsarur, which seems to be a misreading, as both the Persian text (Hyderabad Codex f.379a) clearly mention Sarwar.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.676; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.513a.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.523; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.251; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.638.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530.

however, re-occupied Rapri¹ soon because Rana Sanga had advanced towards Biana in December 1526 and Babur had to send his forces in that direction. He remained unsubdued for few months. However, the storm of Rana Sanga was over soon and Babur got time to give a final blow to Husain Khan Nohani. Our sources of the period under discussion provide us further details.

FARMULIS

Like the Nohanis, who were dominant in Bihar, the Farmulis also were quite active during the period under review and dominated the east. Oudh and its surrounding territories was their stronghold. They were also a divided lot and kept changing their loyalties either to Ibrahim Lodi or to Babur, probably for their own survival. During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi the family of Kala Pahar of Oudh was very distinguished. It were his descendants and relations who played a prominent role during the period under study. Among Kala Pahar's relations Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Marruf Farmuli were the most powerful notables. So we shall start below with the biography of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli.

Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli:

Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, also known as Mian Bayzid Farmuli, was the younger brother of Mustafa Farmuli, the nephew and son-in-law of

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.557.

Masnadi Ali Mian Muhammad Kala Pahar, who held Oudh and Bahraich *sarkars* during the reign of the late Sultan Bahlol Lodi.¹ Mustafa Farmuli seems to have remained loyal to the 'Lodis' as he was deputed by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi against the rebel *amirs* – Nasir Khan Nohani, Darya Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli.² He failed to subjugate these rebel *amirs* and died. After his death Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli took over the command against the rebel *amirs*.³ However, in 1526 we notice him in Babur's service. Babur states in his memoirs that soon after his occupation of Agra Shaikh Bayzid came along with Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Mahmud Khan Nohani and Qazi Jia and waited upon him. He conferred upon him an assignment of 1 crore, 48 lacs and 50 thousand *tankas* from Oudh.⁴

¹ *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, p.250; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, p.161.

² *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, p.251.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.527.

⁴ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.527. In Mrs. Beveridge's English translation the amount given to Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli is mentioned as 1 crore 48 lacs 50 thousand *tankas*, while according to B.M.MS. Or.3714, f.417 an assignment of only one crore was given to him. The figures mentioned in the latter source seem to be correct for the reason that Mrs. Beveridge's figure exceeds the total *jama* of Oudh as given by Babur (see B.N.Bev, vol.ii, p.521). Therefore, Bayzid could not have been given 1 crore. 48 lacs and 50 thousand *tankas* from Oudh. According to the *Akbarnama* (Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.523) assignment of only 1 crore was given to Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli; see also *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.32; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.444; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.428; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat Babur*, p.439.

Soon after his submission to Babur, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, along with other *begs*, was despatched against Etawa.¹ Before this expedition could reach Etawa it was recalled and ordered to join Humayun in his eastern expedition against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli.² After defeating the eastern rebels he was appointed by Humayun in Oudh.³ It is noteworthy to mention here that he had already been given an assignment in Oudh by Babur. In the following year it was reported to Babur that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had turned hostile. He sent Sultan Quli Turk to confirm the news of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli's revolt and report back within twenty days.⁴

In December 1527, while marching towards Chanderi, Babur again received news casting doubts on the loyalty of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. He detached Muhammad Ali Jang Jang from the main army and ordered him to take with him the *amirs* of the neighbourhood of Kanauj and move against the hostile Afghans. Babur not being certain about the hostility of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, as he himself writes, asked Muhammad Ali Jang Jang to invite him. Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli did not

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.420a-b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.256.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.421a-b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.256; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.444; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.640.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.544; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.434; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.258; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.440.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.585; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.462b.

respond to Muhammad Ali Jang Jang's invitation.¹ When Babur reached Chanderi it was reported to him that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had turned completely hostile and with the help of Mian Bibban Jilwani and Maruf Farmuli defeated the royal forces commanded by Muhammad Ali Jang Jang.² They had also taken Rapri and Shamsabad. So he immediately left Chanderi and reached Kanar passage. When the rebel Afghans learnt about his arrival at Kanar passage, they crossed the Ganges and took position on its eastern bank opposite Kanauj. After few skirmishes they fled away.³ Babur appointed Chin Timur Sultan and some other *begs* against Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli.⁴ A few days later Chin Timur Sultan requested Babur for reinforcements and the latter sent one thousand braves under the command of Qarcha.⁵ With the help of these reinforcements Chin Timur Sultan succeeded in driving away Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli as far as Oudh.

On March 28, 1528 Chin Timur Sultan received a letter from Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, who was encamped opposite Oudh. Paying least attention to the letter Chin Timur Sultan ordered Qarcha to cross river Ghagra. When Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli came to know about the crossing

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.589; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.464b.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.594; B.M.MS Or. 3714, f.467a; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.441.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.598-601; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.470a to 472b.

⁴ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.601; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.472b.

⁵ *Ibid*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.601-2; B.M.MS. Or.3714, f.473a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.645.

of the river by the Mughal army he fled away. Those who crossed the river first were sent in pursuit of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli but they could not succeed in getting hold of him. They, however, succeeded in capturing some of his family members and relatives, who were sent to Babur's presence.¹

According to *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Mian Bibban Jilwani had invited Sultan Mahmud Lodi to Patna and helped him in declaring himself as an independent ruler of Bihar. Even Sher Khan with his little following in Bihar had joined him.² Babur decided to march against Sultan Mahmud Lodi and proceeded towards the east. While he was on his way towards the east, he came to know that Sultan Mahmud Lodi had despatched against him Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Mian Bibban Jilwani with a large army towards Sarwar (Gorakhpur).³ They were planning to cross river Saru when Babur was encamped near Kharid in May 1529.⁴ He concluded a treaty with Nusrat Shah of Bengal and the Nohani Afghans of Bihar in May 1529 and marched against Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. After crossing river Saru, when he reached Chaupara Chaturmukh of Sikandarpur he came to know that Shaikh

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.602; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.473a-b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.256.

² *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, p.207.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, pp.651-52; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.521a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.271.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.675; *Tarikh-i Alfī*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.645.

Bayzid Farmuli had crossed river Saru and fled towards Lucknow. He sent an expedition to pursue him.¹

A little later Babur came to know from Shah Muhammad Diwana's son, who had been sent by Baqi from Oudh, that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Mian Bibban Jilwani had captured the fort of Lucknow but on hearing about his march they had evacuated it and fled towards Dalmau.² Babur appointed Muhammad Zaman Mirza and Sultan Junaid Barlas along with several Hindustani *amirs*, namely Mahmud Khan Nohani, Taj Khan Sarang Khani and Qazi Jia to block the enemy's route at Chunar.³ He sent another expedition consisting of the Turk and Hindustani *amirs* namely, Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi, Malikdad Karrani and Rao Sarwani towards Dalmau.⁴ In June 1529, when Babur was encamped opposite the Adampur *pargana*, Jalal Khan Tashkindi came there from the expeditionary force and gave him the news that on hearing about their expedition Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had fled away towards the *pargana* of Mahuba.⁵ We no more hear about Mian Bayzid Farmuli during the period under study.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.677; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.645.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.681; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.514b.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, pp.681-82; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.514a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.645.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.681-82; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.645.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.685; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.518a.

Maruf Farmuli:

Maruf Farmuli was the eldest son of Mian Gadai Farmuli, who was the *muqta* of Kanauj during the reign of Sultan Bahlul Lodi.¹ Mian Gadai Farmuli died in the early years of Sultan Sikandar Lodi's reign and was succeeded by Maruf Farmuli.² Maruf Farmuli was one of those Afghans who rebelled against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Bihar Khan Nohani declared himself independent in Bihar during Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's reign. Maruf Farmuli, along with Nasir Khan Nohani and some other rebellious Afghans, recognised Bihar Khan Nohani as their *padshah* under the title Sultan Muhammad.³ Babur writes in his memoirs that at the time of the battle of Panipat Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani were in possession of Kanauj and the country beyond it towards the east.⁴ They crossed the Ganges near Kanauj and encamped three to four miles away from it on the Agra side, when Babur occupied Agra.⁵

¹ *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, p.147; see also I.H.Siddiqi, "The composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans," *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol.i, Aligarh, 1977, p.35.

² I.H.Siddiqi, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultan", *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol.i, (Aligarh 1977), p.35.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.523; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.251; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.444; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.i, p.31; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.428.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.523; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.251; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.i, p.31.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.523; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.256; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.429; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.638.

Their crossing of the Ganges and camping three to four miles away towards the Agra side made it clear that they were not ready to accept Babur as a ruler. So he appointed Humayun against them¹ and ordered the contingents which had been sent to conquer Etawa and Dholpur under the command of Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza respectively, to join Humayun's expedition against Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani.² Among the prominent Afghan *amirs* who had earlier been dispatched on the Etawa expedition and were later ordered to march against Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani were Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, Mahmud Khan Nohani and Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, who had recently submitted to Babur.³ It is noteworthy to mention here that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Firoz Khan Sarang Khani fought against Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani, first as commanders of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi⁴ and later as commanders of Babur.

As mentioned above Babur had appointed Humayun to lead an expedition against Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani. Humayun set out from Agra on August 21, 1526;⁵ at that time Maruf Farmuli and

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.256; *Tabaqati-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.430; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.638.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531; *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.444; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.256.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.530; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.256; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.430.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.527.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531.

Nasir Khan Nohani were encamped at Jajmau.¹ On learning about Humayun's expedition they fled away from Jajmau and it was captured by him.² He pursued them as far as Jaunpur and Kharid but could not capture them and returned to Agra. Maruf Farmuli then waited upon Babur on January 6, 1527.³ For about an year we do not hear about the activities of Maruf Farmuli. However, in December 1527 he joined Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli,⁴ who had turned hostile to Babur.⁵ Maruf Farmuli's joining Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, who had been his adversary is very significant. In February-March 1528 we notice Maruf Farmuli siding with Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli against the Mughals. Hereafter, we do not come across any reference to Maruf Farmuli in our sources of the period under study. He, perhaps, continued to defy the Mughals along with Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and never submitted to Babur.

Musa Farmuli:

Musa Farmuli was the son of Maruf Farmuli⁶ and a brother of Shah Muhammad Farmuli. He was one of those Afghans who rebelled against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and did not submit even to Babur.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.533.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.534.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.544.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.598

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.669; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.508a.

However, he later changed his mind and joined Babur's service. We first notice him in 1529 when he served Babur in the battle of Ghagra. He and Junaid Barlas served in one of the four divisions formed for action in the battle.¹ On June 20, 1529, Babur granted him a *pargana* of the value of 30 lacs from Amrahar (Amroha) as a reward for his services. He also gave him a *khilat* and a *tipuchaq* and allowed him to go to the place of his assignment.² Thereafter, we do not come across any reference to him during the period under discussion.

Shah Muhammad Farmuli:

Shah Muhammad Farmuli was the son of Maruf Farmuli and brother of Musa Farmuli.³ Though his father never submitted to Babur, yet, he, like his brother, seems to have submitted to him sometime before 1528. In 1528 Babur conferred *Saran* upon him towards his *wajh-i alufa*. In his memoirs Babur states that Shah Muhammad rendered him meritorious service. He even fought against his own father twice and overcame him.⁴

However, in 1529 Shah Muhammad joined Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli because he found himself alone as Sultan Mahmud Lodi had captured Bihar and the two Afghan chiefs mentioned

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.669; B.M.M.S. Or 3714, f.508a-b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.685; B.M.M.S. Or 3714; f.518a-b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p. 675; B.M.M.S. Or 3714, f. 512a.

⁴ *Ibid.*

earlier were stirring trouble in the east. However, he kept professing his allegiance to Babur by secretly sending *arzdashts* to him even after joining these Afghan chiefs.

After some time the Mughals entered the east. In 1529, when Askari crossed the Ganges at Haldi passage, Shah Muhammad came with his retainers (*jamiat*), joined Askari and attacked the Bengalis. A little afterwards he again formally joined Babur.¹ Babur again conferred Saran upon him as his *wajh-i alufa*² and Kandla for the maintenance of *tarkashbands*.³ He was also honoured with a *khilat* and a *tipuchaq* horse in May 1529.⁴ After that we no more hear about Shah Muhammad Farmuli during the period concerned.

Ali Khan Farmuli:

Ali Khan Farmuli was one of those Farmuli chiefs who accepted the overlordship of Babur and rendered him military service. We first notice him when Babur after defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat sent Humayun along with Yunas-i Ali and other *begs* to capture Agra. Yunas-i Ali got separated from Humayun and on his way met Ali Khan Farmuli's sons and his family. After a skirmish he made

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.675; B.M.M.S. Or 3714, f.512b.

² In the Persian version the term is *Waj-i alufa* but the Turkish text uses only the word *Wajh* not *Wajh-i alufa*, see B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f.514a and the Turkish text, f.377a.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.679; B.M.M.S. Or 3714, f.514a. It appears that even Kandla was given to him in the previous year.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.679; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f.514a.

the sons of Ali Khan Farmuli prisoner and brought them to Agra. Taking advantage of the situation Babur sent one of Ali Khan Farmuli's sons to him with Mirza Mughal, the son of Daulat Qadam Turk, with a letter of favour and kindness. At that time Ali Khan Farmuli was in Mewat. On receiving the letter he went to Agra with Mirza Mughal and waited upon Babur. He accepted Babur's overlordship and the latter conferred upon him an assignment of the value of 25 lacs.¹

Ali Khan Farmuli rendered valuable service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah against Rana Sanga in 1527. He served in the *jawanghar*.² Rana Sanga lost the battle and fled away from the battlefield. Babur sent Ali Khan Farmuli and some other *amirs* in pursuit of Rana Sanga but they failed to capture him.³ Soon afterwards Ali Khan Farmuli along with other *begs* was sent by Babur to recover Lucknow from Mian Bibban, who had captured it before the battle of Kanwah.⁴ He also served Babur in his eastern expedition in 1529. On May 25, 1529 along with other *begs*, Ali Khan Farmuli was deputed by Babur to pursue Mian

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.526-27; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.416b.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.567; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.450a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.37.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.576; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.455b and 456a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.265.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.582; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.460b & 461a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.267.

Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, who had fled towards Lucknow.¹ We no more hear about him during the period under study.

Ali Khan Farmuli's Sons:

Ali Khan Farmuli's sons were located by Yunas-i Ali after the battle of Panipat on April 20, 1526. After this battle Babur appointed Humayun along with Yunas-i Ali and some other nobles to march rapidly and occupy Agra. In his memoirs Babur writes that while marching towards Agra, Yunas-i Ali lost his way somewhere between Delhi and Agra. He got separated from Humayun. Humayun met the sons and other kiths and kins of Ali Khan and after a little fighting captured them and took them along to Agra.² They were presented before Babur.

It seems that Babur was inclined to bring Ali Khan Farmuli to his subordination. He sent one of the sons of Ali Khan with encouraging *farmans* for his father, who at that time was in Mewat. In response to Babur's gesture of good will Ali Khan Farmuli came and waited upon him in Agra sometime before July 11.³ He rendered military service to Babur and was rewarded with an assignment of the value of 25 lacs.⁴ We do not come across any other reference to Ali Khan's sons after July

¹ *Baburnanama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.678.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.475.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.526-27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.527.

1526. The sons of Ali Khan Farmuli helped Babur in bringing their father under his subordination. We don't find them rendering military service to him during the period under review.

Shaikh Jamal Farmuli:

We come across only one reference to Shaikh Jamal Farmuli in the sources available relating to the period under review. It reveals that Shaikh Jamal Farmuli joined Sultan Aluddin Alam Khan Lodi when the latter attempted to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the year 1525. Sultan Aluddin Alam Khan Lodi marched against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and beseiged Delhi. Shaikh Jamal Farmuli, however, deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi before the fighting commenced. He, along with some other Afghan *amirs*, went over to the side of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.¹ The other chiefs who defected to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at this stage were Mahmud Khan, son of *Khan-i Jahan* and Saif Khan, son of Darya Khan Nohani. It was perhaps due to the defection of Shaikh Jamal Farmuli and other Afghan chiefs that Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi's attempt to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim Lodi proved to be a failure.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.457. It may be noted that in Mrs. Beveridge's translation of the *Baburnama* it is not mentioned whether Shaikh Jamal Farmuli after deserting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi joined Sultan Ibrahim Lodi or not. It only says that Shaikh Jamal Farmuli deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, but in the Turkish text of *Baburnama*, (Luzac & Co., London, 1971, f.257) as well as in the Persian manuscript (B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.356b) it is clearly mentioned that Shaikh Jamal Farmuli after deserting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi joined Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

Mian Sulaiman Farmuli of Indri:

We come across only one reference to Mian Sulaiman Farmuli in our sources of the period concerned. Little information about him could be drawn from this reference. He was also called Sulaiman Shaikhzada and held the *pargana* of Indri near the west bank of Jamuna, to the north of Karnal.¹ He waited upon Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi at Indri in 1525,² when the latter was coming from the Punjab side and marching towards Delhi against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi wanted to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and was supported in his effort by Dilawar Khan, son of Daulat Khan Lodi and Haji Khan, son of Ismail Khan Jilwani. Mian Sulaiman Farmuli must have either joined Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan's army or contributed to his army, as Babur states in his memoirs that Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi's army swelled to thirty thousand to forty thousand. He, however, suffered a defeat and fled back towards the north and reached Indri. He took three to four lac (tankas?) from Mian Sulaiman Shaikhzada Farmuli.³ Hereafter, we no more hear about Mian Sulaiman Farmuli during the period under study.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.456-57, Mrs. Beveridge identified him as Farmuli Shaikhzada see *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.457a.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.456.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.457.

A Resume:

On a cursory look at the biographies of the above mentioned Nohani and Farmuli notables we notice that neither the Nohanis nor the Farmulies acted as compact groups within the clan boundaries in the politics of the period under review. Both the Nohanis and the Farmulies were divided in their loyalties in the struggle with Ibrahim Lodi. As regards the Nohanis, most of them acted against the authority of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi under the leadership of Bihar Khan Nohani, who had declared himself independent in Bihar. The Nohani chiefs who belonged to Bihar Khan's family — his brother Saif Khan Nohani, his son Jalal Khan Nohani, his uncle Nasir Khan Nohani (brother of Darya Khan Nohani) and his cousin Farid Khan Nohani, the son of Nasir Khan Nohani, strongly opposed Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The Nohanis, no doubt, opposed Sultan Ibrahim Lodi but they never fought against him collectively. Some of the Nohani notables fought for the Sultan against their kins even.

Like the Nohanis the Farmulis were also divided. While some of the Farmulis like Maruf Farmuli were leading the revolt with the Nohanis against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, the other Farmuli notables like Bayzid Farmuli were engaged actively in the service of Ibrahim Lodi. Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had fought as a commander of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi against Maruf Farmuli. The loyalty of Shaikh Jamal Farmuli and Sulaiman Shaikhzada of Indri seems to have been wavering between

Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi. Nothing is known about the position and role of Ali Khan Farmuli and his sons during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

This pattern did not change even after the establishment of Babur's authority. For example, Mahmud Khan Nohani, who voluntarily submitted to Babur, fought against Jalal Khan Nohani who, perhaps, remained independent in Bihar for some time and joined Babur's service on May 1, 1529. The remaining Nohani chiefs who submitted to Babur also did so in the year 1529. Among these chiefs were Jalal Khan Nohani, son of Bihar Khan Nohani, Farid Khan Nohani, Alaul Khan Nohani and Yahya Nohani. Revenue assignments were conferred by Babur on those Nohani chiefs who submitted to him. Most of the Nohanis of Bihar after having submitted to Babur did not rebel against him. However, Husain Khan Nohani of Rapri, Nasir Khan Nohani, Bihar Khan Nohani and Saif Khan Nohani never submitted to Babur.

As regards Farmulis, their role under Babur was not much different from their role under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Maruf Farmuli never submitted to Babur but his sons, Shah Muhammad and Musa Farmuli submitted to him. Shah Muhammad even fought against his father for Babur. Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, who was a confidant of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi submitted to Babur in 1529. He, however, remained wavering in his loyalty to Babur and rebelled against him after one year. He joined hands with Maruf Farmuli to fight against Babur, though

these two prominent Farmuli notables had been fighting against each other during Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's reign. After noticing the formation of a joint front by Maruf Farmuli and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli against Babur it seems that the latter's occupation of Hindustan brought about a significant change in the coalition of the Farmulis.

From the foregoing discussion it would be wrong to assume that all the Nohani and Farmuli notables, who were fighting against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, invariably supported Babur. Mahmud Khan Nohani submitted to Babur in 1524 but in 1525 we find him in the camp of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, who even having made a breach with Babur marched against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Just before the battle between Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi Mahmud Khan Nohani defected to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Similarly Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli first served under Ibrahim Lodi and led an army against the rebel amirs namely, Nasir Khan Nohani, Darya Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli. He, however, joined Babur's service in 1526 and got an assignment, fetching him an heavy amount. In 1527 he turned hostile to Babur and joined the rebels.

CHAPTER – III

JILWANIS, SARWANIS, SURS AND KARRANIS

JILWANIS

In the ensuing chapter we shall take up the biographies of the leading personages belonging to the Jilwani, Sarwani, Sur and Karrani clans. The notables belonging to these clans seem to have played an important role in the politics of the period, both under Ibrahim Lodi as well as under Babur. We come across three prominent Jilwani chiefs active during this period. Since Mian Bibban Jilwani occupied centrestage in the political upheavals during this period, i.e. in the struggle between the Afghans and Babur, we begin our biographical notices with the biography of Bibban Jilwani.

Mian Bibban Jilwani:

Mian Bibban Jilwani was the son of Mian Ata Sahu Khail.¹ During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi he was the *hakim* of Sirhind.² He could not reconcile himself either to the authority of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi or to that of Babur. He joined Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi in his abortive attempt to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in 1525. After suffering defeat at the hands of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi Mian Bibban Jilwani fled towards the Mian-i Doab. While passing through the Mian-i

¹ *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng. tr. Ambashthya (Patna 1974), pp.206-07.

² *Ibid.*

Doab he, along with some other *amirs*, deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi.¹

In February 1526 Mian Bibban Jilwani made an attempt to secure Babur's patronage. He sent him an *arzasht* expressing allegiance to him when he was encamped at Jasdun (Jaswan). In reply, Babur sent him an encouraging *farman*.² On getting encouragement from Babur he came and waited upon him on February 25, 1526, when the latter was encamped near Ambala.³ He, however, had an unpalatable experience when he attended Babur's court. Babur narrates this incident as follows: "These Afghans remain very rustic and tactless. This person asked to sit, although Dilawar Khan, superior to him in rank and following and sons of Alam Khan, who are of royal birth, did not sit. Little ear was lent to his unreason."⁴ The Afghans loved egalitarianism and had been fighting against the autocratic notion of sovereignty of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. They were not aware about the autocratic notions of sovereignty of the Mughals and their court etiquettes. So Mian Bibban could not reconcile with the idea of standing in the court of Babur. He waited for an opportunity to leave Babur's camp and after about a month he got this opportunity.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.457.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.464.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.466; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.241; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.422; *Mantakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.439; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs., vol.i, pp.27-28.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.466.

On April 1, 1526 Babur appointed a military contingent against Sultan Ibrahim Lodis' generals – Hatim Khan and Daud Khan. When the contingent was trying to cross river Jamuna and enter into the Mian-i Doab, Mian Bibban Jilwani fled away on the pretext of crossing the river.¹ He marched towards Sambhal and laid a seige to it; Sambhal was then held by Qasim Sambhali.² Babur tells us that after his occupation of Agra he twice or thrice received letters from Qasim Sambhali requesting him for help against Mian Bibban Jilwani.³ Acceeding to his request Babur sent forces under Hindu Beg, Kitta Beg, Mulla Apaqa, Malik Qasim and Shaikh Ghuran to help Qasim Sambhali against Mian Bibban Jilwani. Mian Bibban could not make a stand against these forces and fled away.⁴

We next hear about Mian Bibban Jilwani towards the end of 1526 and the beginning of 1527, when Rana Sanga marched against Babur. Availing this opportunity every Hindustani and Afghan took possession of his *parganas* and districts; Mian Bibban Jilwani also besieged Lucknur (Lucknow).⁵ Babur sent an expedition against him under the command of Qasim Husain Sultan. Several other *begs* including

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.467-68.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.528; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.254; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.428.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.528.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.528-29; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev., vol.i, p.254; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.429.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.582; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.642; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.267.

Hindustani *amirs*, namely, Ali Khan Farmuli, Malik Dad Karrani, Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakkhari, Tatar Khan and Khan-i Jahan were sent on this expedition. When the expeditionary forces crossed river Ganges, Mian Bibban Jilwani abandoned his baggage and fled away.¹ After this we do not hear about him for an year but in the next reference, that we come across, we find him acting in collaboration with Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Maruf Farmuli. It is noteworthy to mention here that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had turned hostile to Babur.² On receiving a report regarding the hostility of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli in December 1527, when Babur was on his way towards Chanderi, he sent an expedition against him under the command of Muhammad Ali Jang Jang.³

In January 1528, when Babur was besieging Chanderi, it was reported to him that the Mughal expeditionary forces sent against the rebel Afghans had been defeated and forced to retreat to Kanauj.⁴ On hearing about the defeat of the expeditionary forces Babur returned from Chanderi. While on his way back from Chanderi, when he was encamped at Kanar passage, it was again reported to him on February 22, 1528 that the royal forces had been defeated by the Afghans and forced to retire to Rapri. The Afghans had also captured Kanauj and Shamsabad.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp.582-83.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.589.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.594; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.268.

On receiving this information Babur rapidly marched towards Kanauj but before he could reach there Mian Bibban Jilwani, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Maruf Farmuli fled back.¹ He pursued them as far as Oudh and drove them across river Sharda.²

Though we do not hear about Mian Bibban Jilwani for another year, yet, it seems that he was determined to oppose Babur. That is why he, along with Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli joined Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, when the latter took possession of Bihar from Jalal Khan Nohani early in 1529. It has been recorded in *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi* that, infact Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had invited Sultan Mahmud Lodi and encouraged him to declare himself independent at Patna.³ Sultan Mahmud Lodi decided to march against the Mughals and despatched a military expedition under the command of Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli towards Sarwar, while he himself, along with Fath Khan Sarwani, proceeded towards Chunar.⁴

Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli were planning to cross river Saru in May 1529. Babur received this information when he was encamped near Kharid.⁵ He concluded peace with the Nohani

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.598; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev., vol.i, p.268.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp.601-02.

³ *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng. tr. Ambasthya, (Patna, 1974), p.207.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.651-52; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.271.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.675; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.645.

Afghans of Bihar and marched against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. On May 25, 1529, when Babur was encamped at Chaupara Chaturmukh of Sikandarpur, he came to know that after crossing river Saru Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had fled towards Lucknow.¹ He despatched an expedition to prevent them from crossing river Saru. In this expedition, apart from his own *begs*, he appointed several Hindustani *amirs* like Ali Khan Farmuli and Nizam Khan of Biana. On May 30, 1529 Shah Muhammad Diwana's son, who had been sent by Baqi from Oudh, reported to Babur that the Afghans had captured the fort of Lucknow. Mian Bibban Jilwani must have been among those Afghan chiefs who had captured the fort of Lucknow. However, when they came to know that Babur had marched against them they evacuated the fort and fled away towards Dalmau.²

Babur kept pursuing the Afghans and sent an expedition against them under the command of Muhammad Zaman Mirza. Several other Hindustani *amirs*, namely Mahmud Khan Nohani, Qazi Jia and Taj Khan Sarang Khani were sent on this expedition. They were instructed to block the way of the Afghans at Chunar.³ On June 2, 1529, Babur on reaching Parsarur sent another expedition in pursuit of Mian Bibban

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.677; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, Babur, p.645.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.681.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp.681-82; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, Babur, p.645.

Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli towards Dalmau. The prominent Hindustani *amirs* sent on this expedition were Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi, Malik Dad Karrani and Rao Sarwani.¹ During his encampment opposite Adampur *pargana* on June 16, 1529, Babur received the information that his forces had defeated Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, inflicted a heavy loss of lives on them and forced them to flee towards the *pargana* of Mahuba.² Among the *amirs* who lost their lives while fighting for Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli was Mubarak Khan Jilwani. After this we don't come across any reference to Mian Bibban Jilwani in our sources of the period under review.

Ismail Khan Jilwani:

Ismail Khan Jilwani was one of the supporters of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi. He fought on his behalf against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi towards the end of 1525.³ Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, however, suffered a defeat at the hands of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and fled away towards the Mian-i Doab. On reaching Mian-i Doab Mian Bibban Jilwani and Jalal Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, deserted him.⁴ Ismail Khan Jilwani and Mian Bibban Jilwani

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.682.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.685; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.645.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.456; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.355b; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, Babur, p.418; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.445.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.457; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.355b; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.445.

expressed their willingness to join Babur when the latter was encamped at Jasdun. In response to their letters he sent them *farmans* of favour.¹ Mian Bibban Jilwani joined Babur's service in February 1526 but Ismail Khan Jilwani refrained from joining his service. We do not find any reference to him either in Babur's memoirs or any other source for the next almost three years.

We next notice Ismail Khan Jilwani in May 1529. Babur after concluding peace with the Nohani Afghans of Bihar and Nusrat Shah of Bengal was encamped on the northern side of Saru river near Nirhun *pargana* of Kharid. Ismail Khan Jilwani came along with some other Afghans and waited upon him on May 21, 1529.² On May 29, 1529, Babur conferred upon him a territory from Sarwar, yielding 72 lacs as *wajh* and granted to him a *khilat-i khasa* and a *tipuchaq*.³ After this he was allowed to go to his *watan* but on the condition that like other Afghans going to their *watans*, he also would leave either one of his sons or one of his younger brothers for permanent service at Agra.⁴ He must have accepted this condition as they soon left, promising Babur that

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.464; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.362a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.677; B.M.MS Or. 3714, f.515a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.679; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.645.

⁴ *Baburnama*, B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.514a; This reference is missing in the Turkish text. Mrs. Beveridge has added it in her translation from some other manuscripts, see *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.680.

after visiting his *watan* he would return soon.¹ After this, we do not find any other reference to him during the period under study.

Mubarak Khan Jilwani:

We come across only one reference to Mubarak Khan Jilwani during the period under discussion. From that reference it is evident that Mubarak Khan Jilwani supported Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli in their struggle against the Mughals. He was with Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, who had been despatched by Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi to fight against the Mughals near river Saru. It is noteworthy to mention here that Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had raised Sultan Mahmud Lodi to the throne of Bihar in 1529. In June 1529 it was reported to Babur that the expeditionary forces sent by him under the command of Baqi Beg had come to grips with the scouting party of Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. Mubarak Khan Jilwani was killed in this scuffle. Babur states in his memoirs that Mubarak Khan Jilwani was one of the leading commanders of Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli.²

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev, vol.ii, p.680.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.685.

SARWANIS

Another dominant clan of notables during the period under review was the Sarwani clan. The Sarwanis seem to have been dominant mainly in the lower part of the Mian-i Doab, that is, between Agra and Kara Manikpur. After the execution of Azam Humayun Sarwani by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi we notice four Sarwani chiefs who made their presence felt in the period under discussion. Among them Fath Khan Sarwani, the son of late Azam Humayun Sarwani and Mahmud Khan Sarwani, the son of Fath Khan Sarwani, are conspicuous. The other two were Rao Swarwani and Qutb Khan Sarwani.

Fath Khan Sarwani:

Fath Khan Sarwani was the son of Azam Humayan Sarwani who, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, was the *muqta* of Kara Manikpur.¹ Azam Humayun Sarwani was executed by the order of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and after his execution the latter entrusted Azam Humayun's *wilayat*, i.e., Kara Manikpur, to his son, Fath Khan Sarwani.² As such, Fath Khan Sarwani was in possession of Kara Manikpur at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra. Immediately after occupying Agra Babur sent an expedition under Humayun's command against the rebel Afghan chiefs of the east. Humayun, with his contingent, left Agra on August 21, 1526. When he reached Dalmau,

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.537.

² *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, vol.i, p.165.

which lay near Kara Manikpur, Fath Khan Sarwani came and waited upon him.¹ Humayun detached Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza from the expeditionary force under his command and ordered them to escort Fath Khan Sarwani to Babur's presence at Agra.²

On his arrival at Agra, Fath Khan Sarwani was generously treated by Babur. He gave him not only the *parganas* held earlier by his father Azam Humayun Sarwani but conferred upon him some additional territories (*wilayats*) also. As such *parganas* worth 1 crore, 60 lacs were conferred upon him.³ He was further honoured with the title of *Khan-i Jahan*.⁴ Babur also gave him the distinct honour by inviting him to his party on November 30, 1526 and offered him wine in the party. On this occasion he also bestowed upon him a *dastar* and a *sar-u pa*, which the emperor himself was wearing.⁵ After the party Babur gave him permission to go to his *wilayat* but retained his son Mahmud on his personal attendance at Agra.⁶

Fath Khan Sarwani seems to have rebelled against Babur in 1529, when Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi captured Bihar

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.534; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.423b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.256; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.33; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.639.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.534; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev., vol.i, p.257.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.537; B.M.MS Or. 3714, f.425b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.537; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f.425b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.537; B.M.M.S. Or. ff.425b-426a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p. 537; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f.426a.

and declared himself an independent ruler. He was helped by Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Mian Bibban Jilwani. Fath Khan Sarwani after rebelling against Babur seems to have joined Sultan Mahmud Lodi, when the latter was marching towards Chunar.¹ Hereafter, we do not hear about Fath Khan Sarwani during the period under study.

Mahmud Sarwani:

Mahmud Sarwani was the son of Fath Khan Sarwani.² We come across only one reference to him during the period under review. Along with his father he seems to have submitted to Babur as he was present in Babur's court in November 1526.³ Thereafter, we do not find his name in the sources of the period concerned.

Rao Sarwani:

Rao Sarwani was one of the prominent nobles of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.⁴ He had his residence at Sikandra.⁵ Towards the end of 1526 we find Rao Sarwani (var. Daud Sarwani) in Babur's service. We are not able to find out the reason for his changing the loyalties. Along with other nobles, he was appointed by Babur against Nizam Khan of Biana.⁶ During his march towards Sambhal and Kol, Babur was at Sikandra on

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.652; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f.519b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.537; B.M.M.S. Or 3714 f.426a.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See I.H.Siddiqui, "The Composition of the Nobility Under the Lodi Sultan", *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol.iv, (Aligarh, 1977), p.60.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.587-88; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f.463b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.538; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f.426a.

September 5, 1527. He visited Rao Sarwani's house, who had the privilege of serving him food.¹ In 1529 Rao Sarwani accompanied Babur on his expedition towards the east. In June 1529, along with other *begs*, he was appointed by Babur to under take a rapid pursuit of Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli in the territory of Dalmau.²

Qutab Khan Sarwani:

Qutab Khan Sarwani was a powerful Sarwani chief. He was in possession of Etawa at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra on May 11, 1526. He did not acknowledge the suzerainty of Babur.³ Babur writes in his memoirs that he sent an encouraging *farman* to Qutab Khan Sarwani but the latter neither came to him personally nor surrendered the fort of Etawa.⁴ So in order to capture Etawa he bestowed it upon Mahdi Khwaja and appointed with him several other *amirs* namely, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Mahmud Khan Nohani, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Qazi Jia to drive Qutab Khan Sarwani out of Etawa.⁵ He, however, had to postpone this expedition for sometime because these nobles were required for strengthening Humayun's forces, who was

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.587-88; B.M.MS Or. 3714, f.463b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.682; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.516a.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.523; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.443; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.251; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.31; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.427; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.638.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.530.

⁵ *Ibid.*

leading an expedition against the rebel Afghan chiefs of the east.¹ Hence, these nobles were ordered to join Humayun.

Babur further tells us that when he was engaged in a fight against Rana Sanga most of the Hindustanis and Afghans turned against him.² Qutab Khan Sarwani's men also took advantage of the circumstances and captured Chandwar.³ As a result Babur decided to finally deal with Qutab Khan Sarwani. After the battle of Kanwah he despatched an expedition against him under the command of Mohammad Ali Jang Jang. This expeditionary force routed Qutab Khan Sarwanis' men at Chandwar and captured it. After capturing Chandwar they marched towards Rapri. When Qutab Khan Sarwani came to know about the march of the Mughal forces, he abandoned Etawa and fled away.⁴ He seems to have sought shelter in the Mian-i Doab or near Sambhal. He entered into an alliance with a number of *rajās* and with their help stirred trouble near Sambhal. However, he and his allies were defeated by Darwish-i ali and Yunus-i ali, who were holding the charge of Sambhal on behalf of Humayun. A number of Qutab Khan Sarwani's men were killed in this scuffle,⁵ but he escaped. Hereafter, we do not

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531.

² *Ibid*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p. 557.

³ *Ibid*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.557; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, p.642.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.582; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, *Babur*, p.642.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.587.

come across any reference to him in our sources of the period concerned.

SURS

We now pass on to the Surs. It is interesting to note that though the Surs did not occupy any significant position in the power structure during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi, yet, it was during this period that they consolidated their position under the leadership of Sher Khan Sur. Ironically, we come across only two Sur notables who registered their presence in the politics of the period under discussion. One of them was, of course, the indomitable Sher Khan Sur, who not long afterwards was able to dislodge the infant Mughal empire in India and establish the Sur dynasty. The other notable we come across from this clan is Alaul Khan Sur. The Surs were dominant mostly in the eastern part of Ibrahim Lodi's Sultanate. We, therefore, first take up the biographical notice of the activities of Sher Khan Sur during this period.

Sher Khan Sur:

Sher Khan Sur was the son of Mian-Hasan Sur. His grand father had come to Hindustan during the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi.¹ Sher Khan Sur (then Farid) held the *pargana* of Sahsram during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The *pargana* had earlier been assigned to his father

¹ *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng. tr. Ambashthya (Patna, 1974), p.103.

Mian Hasan.¹ Sher Khan Sur, however, changed his loyalty and joined the services of Bihar Khan, when the latter declared himself independent in Bihar. Bihar Khan was highly pleased with Sher Khan and made him his deputy. He continued to hold this office even after the death of Bihar Khan.²

Sher Khan Sur again changed his loyalty and after Babur's occupation of Agra waited upon him. He must have joined Babur's service as he accompanied him during his Chanderi expedition.³ He, later on, fled away from the court,⁴ as Abbas Khan, the author of *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi* states. He seems to have rejoined Babur's service before 1528, as the latter claims that he conferred upon him several *parganas* in that year.⁵ Shortly afterwards, it was reported to Babur that Sher Khan had joined the services of Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi and supported his revolt against him.⁶ But it seems that Sher Khan had not joined Sultan Mahmud Lodi as Babur, while encamped near Ghazipur, received an *arzdasht* from him, in which he had expressed his

¹ *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng.tr. Ambasthya (Patna, 1974), pp.103-104.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Ambasthya (Patna, 1974), pp.96, 108.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Ambasthya (Patna, 1974), p.103.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Ambashthya (Patna, 1974), pp.105-106.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.652.

⁶ *Ibid.*

allegiance to him.¹ We no more hear about Sher Khan during the period under review.

Alaul Khan Sur:

Alaul Khan Sur was another Afghan chief of the Sur clan whom we notice during the period under review. From the only reference that we come across about him it appears that he also belonged to the eastern region. Babur undertook an expedition towards the east in 1529. When he was encamped near Ghazipur in March 1529, several Afghan chiefs belonging to the eastern region submitted to him. Alaul Khan Sur also sent an *arzdasht* to Babur, perhaps expressing his allegiance to him.² Hereafter we do not find any other reference to him in the sources of the period under study.

KARRANIS

Beside other notables discussed above, we notice one Karrani chief worth mentioning. He was Malik Dad Karrani, an *amir* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He had his posting in Agra at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra. From the sources of the period under discussion the following information about him could be gathered.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.659; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.524b.

² *Ibid.*

Malik Dad Karrani:

Malik Dad Karrani was an *amir* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He, along with Milli Surduk and Firoz Khan Mewati, was in the fort of Agra when Babur occupied it. Babur, in his memoirs refers to them as wise men (*dana*) of the soldiery present in the fort of Agra at the time of its occupation by him. He first ordered for the execution of Malik Dad Karrani and the other two *amirs* mentioned above. However, after four or five days they were pardoned and assigned *parganas*.¹ Malik Dad-Karrani thus joined Babur's service and rendered him military service on several occasions.

After joining Babur's service, we first notice Malik Dad Karrani fighting for the Mughals against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani in November 1526. When Babur occupied Agra, Hamid Khan Sarang Khani mobilized three to four thousand Afghans and stirred trouble in the neighbourhood of Hisar Firoza. Babur sent an expedition against him. Beside other prominent commanders like Chin Timur Sultan, Ahmad Parwanchi, Abul Fath Turkman and Mujahid Khan Multani, Malik Dad Karrani was also included in that expedition.² He fought on Babur's side in the battle of Kanwah against Rana Sanga in 1527. He served in the *barangar*. In the *Fathnama* of Shaikh Zain his name is listed among those *amirs* of Hindustan, who served in the *barangar*. He is mentioned there by

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.477-478; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.370b. *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, Babur, p.636.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.540; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.428a-b.

Shaikh Zain as *Umdat-ul Ayam*.¹ Other Hindustani *amirs* mentioned in the list are *Khan-i Khana* Dilawar Khan and Shaikh Ghuran.

After the battle of Kanwah, Malik Dad Karrani was sent along with several other central Asian and Hindustani *amirs*, namely Aisan Timur Sultan, Mahmud Sultan Mirza, Ali Khan Farmuli, Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakkhari and Tatar Khan Khan-i Jahan in a military expedition against Mian Bibban Jilwani, who had besieged Lucknur before the battle of Kanwah.² He was also associated with another expedition sent towards Dalmau against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. Babur dispatched this expedition from the banks of river Parsaru (Sarju) after consulting his *begs* and *amirs* on June 2, 1529.³ Thereafter, we don not get any information about him during the period under discussion.

A RESUME:

It may be noted that none of the three Jilwani chiefs, whose biographies we have recorded, was happy with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Mian Bibban Jilwani, though the *hakim* of Sirhind under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi took no time in deserting him and expressing allegiance to Babur as soon as the latter re-occupied Punjab prior to the battle of Panipat. His stint with Babur, however, was very short. He deserted Babur before the

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.567; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.449b; *Akbarbnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.262.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.582; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.516a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.682; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.516a-b.

battle of Panipat and for the next three to four years resisted the Mughals, playing hide and seek with them in collaboration with Mian Bayzid Farmuli and later joining hands with Sultan Mahmud Lodi in the east. Ismail Jilwani, too, simultaneously hastened to express his allegiance to Babur. However, it may be noted that unlike Bibban Jilwani he was the supporter of Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi in the latter's contest with Ibrahim Lodi and perhaps, held no assignment from Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Further, despite expressing his allegiance to Babur he did not submit to him until the latter defeated the Afghans in the east in 1529. He then came forward, joined Babur's service and got a territorial assignment from him. The third Jilwani chief whose biographical sketch we have noted was Mubarak Khan Jilwani who too, was an opponent of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi as he was a follower of Sultan Mahmud Lodi and served him in his offensive in Bihar against the Mughals under the command of Mian Bibban Jilwani in 1529. He was killed in the skirmish with the Mughal forces under the command of Baqi Beg of Oudh.

Of the three Sarwani chiefs, we notice that the most prominent of them, namely, Fath Khan, though submitted to Babur in the initial stages but rebelled against him despite the favour shown to him by Babur. It was Rao Sarwani of Sikandra only whom we find serving Babur throughout, even in expeditions against the Afghans, while Qutab Khan Sarwani never compromised with Babur and repeatedly defied his authority. He even mobilized the support of the local *rajahs* against him.

As regards the Surs, as we have noted above that they had not acquired prominence during this period for we notice only two of their chiefs in our sources during the period of our concern. One of them was Sher Khan Sur and the other was Alaul Khan Sur. Both of them submitted to Babur, Sher Khan Sur even joined Babur's service and rendered him military service in his expedition to Chanderi. Though he later on seems to have rebelled, yet, to resubmit to Babur in 1529. Alaul Khan is heard of only once when he sent a letter to Babur expressing his loyalty to him after he had defeated the Afghans in the east in 1529.

Among the Karranis, we notice only one Karrani notable during the period under discussion. As mentioned above he was Malik Dad Karrani. He was a loyal *amir* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and was in Agra at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra. After his submission to Babur he remained loyal to him throughout and rendered him military service in various expeditions against his brethren. He is highly spoken of in Shaikh Zains *Fath-nama* for his meritorious services against Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah.

CHAPTER - IV

OTHER HINDUSTANI NOTABLES

Chiefs Wielding Power Around The Capital of Ibrahim Lodis' Sultanate

In this chapter we have taken up the biographies of mainly those notables whose clan affiliations are not traceable, with the exception of a few. A considerable number of them held forts in the vicinity of Agra, in all probability entrusted or assigned to them by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and to some by his predecessor. While some of the notables, we have discussed, were militarily active in the vicinity of Agra with no trace of their principalities, if they held any, under Ibrahim Lodi or Babur. The others, whose careers we have tried to trace, held principalities either in the eastern region or in the north-west. Some of them do not appear to have any principality but figure in our sources as important military commanders as they were taken notice of by Babur with some weightage. Some others had territorial bases in the regions away from Agra but were active in the vicinity of Agra and vice versa. We begin with Nizam Khan of Biana, who was a powerful Afghan chief.

Nizam Khan of Biana:

Nizam Khan was one of the powerful Afghan chiefs. We do not come across any reference to him in our sources of the period of Ibrahim

Lodi. He must have been a powerful Afghan noble under him because at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra he was in possession of the important fort of Biana,¹ which he must have held under Ibrahim Lodi. His elder brother Alam Khan held Tahanagar. Nizam Khan commanded a cavalry of four thousand and an infantry of about ten thousand.² Babur states in his memoirs that on ascending the throne at Agra he tried to win over Nizam Khan by sending him encouraging *farmans* through Qalandar, a *piyadah*. He further states that being confident about the strength of his fort, Nizam Khan did not give a clear reply.³ He, rather put forth certain demands which, Babur says, were beyond his status. Hence, Babur decided to attack Biana. He appointed Tardi Beg and his brother, Sher Afghan,⁴ along with several other central Asian and Hindustani *amirs*, to go to Biana and plunder its neighbouring territories. They were directed to try to win over the people living in the fort through promises of favour, failing which the enemy was to be made helpless through plunder.⁴

⁴ Nizam Khan and his elder brother Alam Khan, who held the fort of Tahanagar were, perhaps, not on good terms with each other as Alam

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.523; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 414a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.251; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.443; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs vol.ii, p.31; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, Babur, p.427.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.538; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.427a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.529; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.419b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.538; B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.426 a.

Khan offered his help to Babur for capturing the fort of Biana. He expressed his allegiance to Babur by sending his men to him. He, further made an offer that he would engage the *tarkashband* of Biana and help the army deputed for capturing the fort. Babur, therefore, sent a *farman* to Tardi Beg, ordering him to undertake operations in accordance with the advice of Alam Khan as he was a *zamindar* of the neighbouring region. The expeditionary forces sent against Biana consisted of two hundred to two hundred fifty Turks and about two thousand Hindustanis. They marched under the direction of Alam Khan. When these forces came close to the fort of Biana they were repulsed and Alam Khan was unhorsed. Babur again sent words to Nizam Khan, asking him to accept his overlordship. Since, by this time the danger to Nizam Khan from Rana Sanga had become imminent, he, through the mediation of Sayyid Rafi, surrendered the fort of Biana to Babur and joined his service. Babur conferred upon him a *pargana* worth 20 lacs from the Mian-i Doab and appointed his own men in Biana.¹ Henceforth, Nizam Khan remained loyal to Babur and rendered him military service on more than one occasion. He fought on Babur's side in the battle of Kanwah. He served in *jawanghar*.² In the *fathnama* of

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp.538-39; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff.426b-427a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr.H. Bev., vol.i, pp.256-257; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. Tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.445; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, Babur, p.639.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.567; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.450a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.37.

the battle of Kanwah, compiled by Shaikh Zain, he is mentioned by the lofty title *Umdat-ut Ayan*. In May 1529, along with Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi, Ali Khan Farmuli and some other Hindustani Amirs, he was dispatched on an expedition against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, who had fled, towards Laknur (Lucknow).¹ We no more hear about him during the period under study.

Alam Khan Tahanagri:

As mentioned above, Alam Khan was the elder brother of Nizam Khan of Biana.² He too, is not heard of during the time of Ibrahim Lodi. At the time of Babur's occupation of Agra he was in possession of the fort of Tahangar.³ He expressed his allegiance to Babur soon after latter's occupation of Agra. As mentioned earlier he, perhaps, was not on good terms with his brother Nizan Khan as he offered his help to Babur for capturing the fort of Biana. Babur, therefore, sent orders to the commanders of the expeditionary forces sent against Biana to act in accordance with the directions of Alam Khan Tahanagri. The fort of Biana was attacked by the Mughal forces but the attack proved to be a failure and Babur put the blame on Alam Khan. He said that it was due to the tactlessness of Alam Khan that the expeditionary forces could not achieve success.⁴ However, he still seems to have remained in good

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.677-78; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.515a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.538; B.M MS. Or 3714, f. 426 b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.538; B.M. MS. Or.3714, f.426a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp. 538-39; B.M. MS. Or 3714, ff.426a-427a.

books of Babur. Before the battle of Kanwah Babur sent him to Gwalior, which was threatened by the local *rajas*.¹ Alam Khan, instead of going to Gwalior fled to his own *wilayat*.² Hereafter, we do not hear about him during the period under study.

Makan:

Makan was one of the powerful Afghan chiefs who served under the Lodi Sultans. During the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi he had been entrusted with the charge of Mandrayal near Kandahar.³ He was appointed by Ibrahim Lodi against the rebellious Farmuli chief, Mian Maruf Farmuli.⁴ He remained loyal to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi for some time. However, he changed his loyalty and joined the Mughals after Babur's occupation of Agra and sometime before the battle of Kanwah fought between Babur and Rana Sanga. Prior to the battle he was present in Babur's camp at Sikri. On the other hand, his son Hasan, who was in possession of the nearby fort of Kandahar at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra,⁵ sided with Rana Sanga, as he handed over his fort to him. Makan joined Babur's service and was sent with Hamid, Muhammad Zaitun and Qasim Sambhali towards Sambhal in order to

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp. 547; B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.436a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp. 557; B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.443a.

³ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, p.219.

⁴ *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, pp.162-163.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.529; B.M.MS Or. f.420a; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking vol.i, p.444; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.429.

relieve Sambhal which was threatened by Mian Bibban Jilwani.¹ Babur had little faith in the Hindustani *amirs* and preferred to keep them away from the battle of Kanwah. So he despatched them on different military expeditions. After that we do not hear about Makan during the period under review.

Hasan of Kandahar:

Hasan was the son of the above mentioned Makan. At the time of Babur's occupation of Agra he was in possession of the crucial fort of Kandahar, which lay to the south-west of Agra.² During his march against Babur, Rana Sanga first laid siege to this fort. Hasan sought help from Babur, who was not in a position to send forces for his help because he had already despatched several expeditions in different directions. Unable to resist Rana Sanga, Hasan surrendered the fort of Kandahar to him.³ It is difficult to say that after surrendering the fort of Kandahar whether he joined Rana Sanga or Babur. After this we don't find any reference to him in our sources pertaining to the period under study.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.547; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 436a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. H.Be. vol.i, p.255.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.529; B.M.MS Or. 3714, f.420a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.255.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp.529-30; B.M.MS. Or.3714, f.420a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Be., vol.i, p.255; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.444; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.429.

Hasan Khan of Bari:

We come across only one reference about Hasan Khan of Bari in our sources from which we learn that he was in possession of Bari near Agra during the time of Ibrahim Lodi. From this solitary reference we come to know that Hasan Khan submitted to Babur after the latter's occupation of Agra. Babur states in his memoirs that Hasan Khan deserted him and joined the services of Rana Sanga, when the latter marched against him.¹ Babur writes about Hasan Khan's joining Rana Sanga but does not mention about his participation in the battle of Kanwah. So we can't say with certainty whether he sided with Rana Sanga in the battle or not. We no more hear about Hasan Khan during the period under study.

Muhammad Zaitun:

Muhammad Zaitun is first noticed in our sources in the context of Babur's occupation of Agra. At that time he was in possession of the fort of Dholpur.² Babur tried to win him over by sending him a letter of favour as well as threat but he did not submit to him.³ Babur then decided to send a military expedition against him under the command of

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.557; The Persian version says that Hasan Khan Bariwal fled away (*gurekhta*), see B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.443; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.641.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.523; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.414a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.251; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.31; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.638.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.529; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.419b.

Sultan Junaid Barlas and other *begs*.¹ The expeditionary forces, however, were recalled before reaching Dholpur and ordered to join Humayun in his eastern campaign.² The subjugation of Muhammad Zaitun was thus postponed for the time being.

Later on, when Nizam Khan and Tatar Khan Sarang Khani handed over the forts of Biana and Gwalior respectively to Babur, Muhammad Zaitun had no alternative but to accept his overlordship. He came and waited upon Babur who conferred upon him a *pargana* worth a few lacs. Dholpur was made *khalisa*.³ After his submission to Babur Muhammad Zaitun was sent to Sambhal along with other Hindustani *amirs*, namely Makan, Qasim Sambhali, Hamid and his elder and younger brethren to defend it against Mian Bibban Jilwani.⁴ After this we don't come across any reference to Muhammad Zaitun during the period concerned.

Rustam Khan (Ilias Khan):

Rustam Khan, also mentioned as Ilias Khan, was one of the *amirs* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.⁵ We do not find any evidence regarding his

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.530; B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.420b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.531; B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.421a-b.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p. 540; B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.428a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev., vol.i, p.257; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.34; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, pp.443-444; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.639.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p. 547; B.M. MS. Or. 3714; f.436a.

⁵ *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bahart*, vol.i, p.340; One Rustam Khan is mentioned as *hakim* of Kol (Aligarh) during the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi. It is difficult to say whether Rustam Khan of Bahlol's period is the same Rustam who was an *amir* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, and who captured Kol in Babur's time see *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part I, p.207.

participation in the battle of Panipat. However, he was against Babur as before the battle of Kanwah he collected quiver wearers from the Mian-i Doab, took possession of Kol (Aligarh) and imprisoned the Mughal governor, Kichik Ali.¹ After defeating Rana Sanga the battle of Kanwah Babur despatched a number of expeditions to recover the territories which had been lost during the period when he was fighting against Rana Sanga. On March 17, 1527 Babur sent a military contingent under the command of Muhammad Ali Jang Jang from Kanwah against Rustam Khan, who had taken possession of Kol (Aligarh) and imprisoned Kichik Ali, an officer of Babur. When the expeditionary forces reached near Kol, Rustam Khan fled away. After few days he was captured, sent to Agra and flayed alive.²

Darya Khan:

Darya Khan was a powerful Afghan chief active near Agra. Ironically we don't find any reference to him in the sources related to the period of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The only reference about him has been drawn from Babur's memoirs. Babur tells us that Darya Khan along with Husain Khan Nohani captured Rapri and Chandwar before the battle of Kanwah. After winning the battle of Kanwah, Babur sent an expedition towards Rapri and Chandwar. On the arrival of the Mughal forces Darya Khan and Husain Khan fled away. Husain Khan lost his

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.557.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.576; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.456a. It may be noted that Babur, in this context, refers to Rustam Khan as Ilias Khan.

life while crossing river Jamuna; Darya Khan, however, escaped.¹ After this we do not find any information about his activities from the sources of the period concerned.

Muhammad Marghub of Mahawin:

Muhammad Marghub was perhaps, a slave of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi as Babur in his memoirs refers to him as Muhammad Marghub, the slave. At the time of Babur's occupation of Agra he was in possession of *pargana* Mahawin (District Mathura), which lay to the north of Agra. Since he was holding a *pargana*, it seems that he was an *iqtadar*. He must have been elevated to the position of an *iqtadar* by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He remained in Mahawin even after Babur's occupation of Agra. Neither Babur captured Mahawin nor Muhammad Marghub submitted to him.²

Qasim Sambhali:

Qasim Sambhali was a noble of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and was in occupation of Sambhal when Babur occupied Agra. He did not submit to Babur.³ Babur bestowed Sambhal upon Humayun but it could not be captured as he had to send Humayun against the eastern Afghans in

¹ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs., vol.ii, p.38.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.523; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.414a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol.i, p.251.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.523; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.414. *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev. vol. i, p.251; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.443; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.31; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, , p.427; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.637.

August 1526. Meanwhile Sambhal was besieged by Mian Bibban Jilwani. Qasim Sambhali requested Babur for help and the latter acceded to his request and sent Hindu Beg, Malik Qasim with his brethren, Mulla Apaq and Shaikh Ghuran to Sambhal against Mian Bibban Jilwani. When these forces reached Sambhal Mian Bibban Jilwani fled away. Qasim Sambhali came out of the fort and saw the Mughal commanders but he tried to avoid the surrender of the fort on one pretext or the other. However, Shaikh Ghuran and Hindu Beg succeeded in capturing the fort and making Qasim Sambhali a captive. He along with his family was sent to Agra,¹ where he submitted to Babur.

After submitting to Babur Qasim Sambhali remained in attendance upon him till the battle of Kanwah. He was present in Babur's camp at Sikri before the battle of Kanwah. He was sent against Mian Bibban Jilwani, who had, once again, attacked Sambhal. Main reason for sending Qasim Sambhali against Mian Bibban Jilwani was that Babur did not want to take the Afghans of doubtful integrity to the battleground of Kanwah. He sent such Afghans on various military

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, pp.528-29; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff.418b-419a; This reference regarding Qasim Sambhalis' waiting upon Babur is not traceable in the Persian version nor in the Turkish text. Mrs. Beveridge has taken it from *Waqiat-i Babur*, See also *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs., vol.ii, p.32; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking vol. i, p.444; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.428.

expeditions.¹ Hereafter, we do not hear about Qasim Sambhali during the period under review.

Milli Surduk:

Milli Surduk was one of the *amirs* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. While referring to the subjugation of Agra Babur says that among the soldiery in the fort of Agra there were three allegedly wise (*dana*) persons, namely Milli Surduk, Firoz Khan Mewati and Malik Dad Karrani. After occupying the fort he ordered for the execution of these three nobles but on the intervention of some persons he pardoned them and withdrew his order. He restored their belongings to them and conferred *parganas* upon them. While referring to the grant of *parganas* to these three Afghan chiefs Babur mentions them as the *amirs* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.² I.H.Siddiqui has identified him as a Hindu *raja* without giving any evidence for this identification.³ Hereafter, we do not hear about him during the period under discussion.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.547; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.436a. According to *Tarikh-i Firishta* Qasim Sambhali deserted Babur before the battle of Kanwah, see Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.35.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, pp.477-78; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.370b.

³ See I.H.Siddiqui, "The composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans," *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol.iv, (Aligarh, 1977), p.66.

SHARIQI, MULTANI AND MEWATI NOTABLES

Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi

Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi belonged to the earstwhile Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur.¹ He resided in the Karah fort and seems to have held Benaras also, for, when Benaras was attacked by Sultan Mahmud Lodi, the fort was garrisoned by Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi's men.² The first reference to him, that we come across, relates to the year 1529. In this year Babur marched against Mahmud Khan Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. When he was encamped at Sarai Munda Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi came along with his younger sons and waited upon him on February 25, 1529.³ On March 1, 1529 Babur was encamped at Kusar, near Karah Manikpur. He stayed there for four days and during his stay Sultan Jaluddin Sharqi played the host. Babur once visited Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi's house inside the Karah fort. He was served cooked meat and other 'viands'. He was delighted with the hospitality, and bestowed dresses of honour on Sultan Jalauddin Sharqi's sons. On

¹ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.40. Firishta has mentioned Jalaluddin Nusrat Shah as full name of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.652; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.519b.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.651; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.519a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p.664.

his request Babur conferred the title of Sultan Mahmud upon his elder son.¹ Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi also presented a boat to Babur.²

Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi rendered military service to Babur on various occasions. In the battle of Ghagra he was given charge of one of the four divisions deployed on the battle field.³ In May 1529 when Babur came to know that Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had revolted against him and had fled towards Lucknow, he appointed Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi, Ali Khan Farmuli and Nizam Khan of Biana, along with several other Hindustani *amirs* to prevent the enemy from crossing river Saru.⁴ After this we do not find any reference to Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi during the period under study.

Sons of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi

We have come across only one reference to the sons of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi. When Babur visited Sultan Jalaluddin's house the latter introduced him to his sons. Babur states in his memoirs that he bestowed dresses of honour upon them.⁵ On Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi's request Babur honoured his eldest son with the title of Sultan

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.652; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 520b; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs vol.ii, p.40; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.644.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.663; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.505a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p. 669; B.M. MS Or 3714, f.508b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p. 678; B.M. MS Or 3714, f.515a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.652; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.520b.

Mahmud.¹ We don't find any evidence about the status of the sons of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi, whether they were inducted into Babur's service or not. We do not find them rendering military service or any other kind of service to Babur during the period under discussion.

Hasan Khan Mewati

Hasan Khan Mewati was the son of Alawal Khan Mewati.² He was the ruler of Mewat during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi. Babur writes in his memoirs that when he captured Lahore and Dipalpur (1524), Hasan Khan was busy in constructing his new capital at Alwar.³ Earlier, Ahmad Khan Mewati had submitted to Bahlol Lodi, when the latter, after establishing himself firmly on the throne had marched towards Mewat. Ahmad Khan was forced by the Lodi Sultan to surrender seven *parganas* to him but allowed to retain the remaining territory as an *iqta* with him.⁴ Like his predecessors Hasan Khan Mewati was also loyal to his contemporary Lodi Sultan – Ibrahim Lodi. He, most probably fought on his side against Babur in the battle of Panipat, as his son, Nahar Khan fell captive to the Mughals in the battle and was kept as a hostage.⁵

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.652; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.520b.

² *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng. tr. Ambashthya (Patna, 1974), p.206.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.578; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.457a.

⁴ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.i, p.322.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.545; B.M.MS Or 3714, f.434b.

Even though his son was a hostage, Hasan Khan Mewati did not submit to Babur¹ when the latter occupied Agra. He sent one of his trustworthy men, namely Karam Chand, to Babur to secure the release of his son but failed. Later on, several *amirs* suggested to Babur that Hasan Khan might join his service if his son was released. Babur agreed to the proposal and released Nahar Khan. He gave him a robe of honour and sent him to his father with the hope that he would reconsider his position.² However, Babur's hopes were shattered as Hasan Khan Mewati on learning about his son's release joined Rana Sanga instead of Babur.³ He fought for Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah with a force of twelve thousand cavalry.⁴ He lost his life in the battle.⁵ Consequently Babur marched into Mewat and occupied it. He appointed two of his *begs* there, one at Tijara and the other at Alwar.⁶

Firoz Khan Mewati:

Firoz Khan Mewati was one of the *amirs* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Babur tells us that when he occupied Agra, among the other soldiers three wise men (*dana*) namely, Firoze Khan Mewati, Malik Dad Karrani

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.523; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.637-38; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.251; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.427.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.545; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.640.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp.544-47.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p. 562.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p. 573.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp. 578-79.

and Milli Surduk were inside the fort. He issued orders for their execution but after four or five days, on the intervention of some persons he pardoned them and restored their properties (*jami-i jihat*) to them. He also conferred *parganas* upon them and included them among his assignees.¹ After this we do not find any reference to Firoz Khan Mewati in the available sources related to the period under study.

Mujahid Khan of Multan

We find only one reference to Mujahid Khan in our sources of the period under review. We notice him in Babur's service as the latter appointed him along with Malik Dad Karrani on an expedition against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani. Hamid Khan Sarang Khani had collected three to four thousand Afghans, including the Panin Afghans, and was creating trouble in Hisar Firoza. His forces, however, were defeated by the Mughal forces led by Mujahid Khan and Malik Dad Karrani. We no more hear about Mujahid Khan during the period concerned.²

Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakkhari

We come across only one reference to Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakkhari in the sources of the period under discussion. We notice him rendering military service to Babur. After the battle of Kanwah he, along with Ali Khan Farmuli, Malik Dad Karrani, Tatar Khan Khan-i Jahan and other Hindustani *amirs*, was appointed to

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, pp.477-78; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.370b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, fi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.636.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.540; B.M.MS Or 3714, f.428b.

march against Mian Bibban Jilwani,¹ who had besieged Lakhnūr before the battle of Kanwah.

Nahar Khan Mewati

Nahar Khan Mewati was the son of Hasan Khan, the ruler of Mewat. He sided with Ibrahim Lodi and fought against Babur in the battle of Panipat. Ibrahim Lodi lost the battle and Nahar Khan fell a captive to Babur. Hasan Khan sent number of messengers to Babur for securing the release of his son from his custody. Babur released him with the hope that after his release his father, Hasan Khan Mewati, would join him.² When Hasan Khan Mewati heard about the release of his son he, contrary to Babur's expectations, hastened to join Rana Sanga and fought against Babur in the battle of Kanwah. Rana Sanga lost the battle and Hasan Khan Mewati died while fighting for him.

After his victory over Rana Sanga and the death of Hasan Khan Mewati in the battle of Kanwah, Babur decided to attack Mewat. When he reached near Alwar, Nahar Khan sent his envoy Karam Chand to him and requested for peace. In response Babur sent Abdul Rahim Shaghawal to Nahar Khan. The envoy succeeded in bringing him to the emperor's presence. The emperor conferred upon him a *pargana*,

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.582; B.M.MS. Or.3714, f.460b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.545; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.434b.

yielding a revenue of few lacs, as his *wajh*.¹ However, when the emperor was returning from Mewat and was still in the territory of Mewat, Nahar Khan fled from the custody of Abdul Rahim Shaghawal.² After this we do not hear about him during the period under review.

Other Notable Afghan Chiefs

Araish Khan

Araish Khan, in *Tabqat-i Akbari*, is mentioned as one of the *amirs* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.³ From the scanty information that we have been able to gather about him from different sources, we have concluded that he was loyal to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the early years of his reign but turned against him in the later years. In the beginning of 1526 when Babur was encamped near Jaswan Dun he received an envoy named Shah Imad Shirazi from Araish Khan and Mulla Muhammad Mazhab with letters conveying their good wishes for the success of his expedition. They expressed their allegiance to him. In his reply he sent them

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev.vol.ii, p.578; B.M. MS Or 3714, ff.456b-457a; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, pp.37-38; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.642.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.581; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 459b.

³ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian text, vol.ii, p.10. Earlier he was in the service of Nasiruddin Shah the ruler of Malwa. After the death of Nasiruddin Shah, Araish Khan was instrumental, alongwith Medini Rai in raising prince Mahmud Khan (later styled as Sultan Mahmud Shah II) to the throne. Subsequently, his relations with the Sultan severed and he joined Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, see I.H.Siddiqi, *Mughal Relations with the Indian Ruling Elite*, (Delhi, 1983), pp.38-39, see also U.N. Day, *Medieval Malwa* (Delhi, 1965), p.287.

farmans of favour.¹ Next we find Araish Khan fighting for Babur against Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah. He served in *dast-i chap-i ghul*. In this context he is mentioned in the *Fathnama* of Saikh Zain as *Umdat-ul Azam-wa-al-Ayan, Khan-i Muazzam*.²

Araish Khan remained loyal to Babur as we find him accompanying the latter in his expedition to Chanderi in January 1528. Babur besieged Chanderi but he first sent Araish Khan and Shaikh Ghuran for negotiations with Medini Rai, the ruler of Chanderi. Babur offered him Shamsabad in lieu of Chanderi, but the latter did not accept the proposal.³ As a result Babur captured Chanderi. In 1529, Araish Khan got a boat built and presented it to Babur. The latter accepted it and named it Araish.⁴ It seems that Araish Khan remained loyal to Babur ever since his submission to him.

Mulla Muhammad Mazhab:

Mulla Muhammad Mazhab was one of the *amirs* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.⁵ The first reference that we come across about him is that he and Araish Khan sent Babur *arzdashts* when the latter, during his march against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in 1526, was encamped at Jaswan Dun.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.463; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.361b; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian text, p.10.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.565; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 449a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol.i, p.261; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.38.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp.593-94; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f. 466b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.663; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 505a.

⁵ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian text, vol. ii, p.10.

They sent him their good wishes for the successful completion of his campaign. In response, Babur sent them encouraging *farmans*.¹ Mulla Muhammad Mazhab seems to have joined Babur's service as he before the battle of Kanwah, was sent as an envoy to Bengal. On his return from Bengal on December 31, 1528, he reported to Babur that the attitude of the Bengalis was submissive.² We don't find any other reference to him during the period under study.

Qazi Jia:

Qazi Jia was a notable person during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. We first notice him when Babur after defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat occupied Agra. When Babur ascended the throne at Agra Qazi Jia, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani and Mahmud Khan Nohani came and waited upon him. Babur showed kindness to them and conferred an assignment of 20 lacs from Jaunpur upon Qazi Jia.³ In 1526 he, along with several other *amirs*, namely, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Mahmud Khan Nohani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, was deputed by Babur on the expedition sent to conquer Etawa

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.463; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 361b; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian text, p.10.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.637; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 495b.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.527; The word Jaunpur is missing in Mrs. Beveridge's English translation, while B.M. MS. Or 3714, f. 417a, has Jaunpur; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.253; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.638.

from Qutab Khan.¹ This expedition, however, was recalled and Qazi Jia was ordered to join Humayun's campaign against the eastern Afghans namely, Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli.² After the conquest of Jaunpur when Humayun was recalled by Babur from the east, the latter, acting in accordance with the plans of his father, appointed Qazi Jia, Mir Husain and Sultan Junaid Barlas in Jaunpur and himself returned to the capital.³

Later on, we notice Qazi Jia sending a letter to Babur in January 1529 informing him that Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, had taken possession of Bihar.⁴ Subsequently, when Babur marched against Sultan Mahmud Lodi Qazi Jia remained in attendance upon him and rendered him military service in the battle of Ghagra.⁵ After the battle of Ghagra Qazi Jia, along with other *amirs*, including Mahmud Khan Nohani and Taj Khan Sarang Khani, was appointed by Babur to pursue Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.530; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 420b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.258.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vo..ii, p.531; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 421a-b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.258; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.640.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.544; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 434a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr.Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.640.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Ent.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p. 639; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 479a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.668; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 507a-508b.

prevent them from crossing the Ganges at Chunar.¹ It seems that Qazi Jia remained loyal to Babur throughout his reign.

Hamid

We come across only one reference about Hamid whom we notice in Babur's service when the latter was encamped at Sikri in 1527. Babur says that he had little faith in the Hindustani *amirs* and did not want to take them along in important battles. Therefore, before the battle of Kanwah he sent them from Sikri on various expeditions in different directions. In conformity with this policy he sent Hamid with his brethren along with other Hindustani *amirs*, namely Makan, Qasim Sambhali and Muhammad Zaitun towards Sambhal, which was then threatened by Mian Bibban Jilwani.² We no more hear about Hamid during the period concerned.

Haibat Khan Gurg Andaz:

Haibat Khan was one of the *amirs* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and was loyal to him. He was surnamed as *gurg-andaz* (the wolf killer). Babur tells us that he was a master in fox tricks. In the sources of the period concerned we find only one reference to him. He joined Babur's service sometime before the battle of Kanwah but when Rana Sanga marched

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.682; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.547; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.436a.

against Babur in 1527, like other Hindustani *amirs*, he also deserted him and went to Sambhal.¹ After this we do not hear about him.

Badruddin's Son

We find only one reference to Badruddin's son in our sources relating to the period under review. We have not been able to trace out his name as he is just mentioned as Badruddin's son in the sources. Badruddin held an *iqta* in Kalpi during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi.² His son seems to have joined Babur's service because when Babur was marching towards Chanderi and was near Kachwa, he bestowed Kachwa on him just to encourage and win over the people of the region.³

Mahmud Khan, the *Shiqdar*.

Mahmud Khan was the *shiqdar* of Sikandarpur. We do not have any information about his position and role during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The only reference, that we come across about him, is in the context of Babur's crossing river Saru in April 1529 when he was leading an expedition against the Bengalis. Babur states that he received an *arzdasht* from Mahmud Khan, the *shiqdar* of Sikandarpur. He had written to Babur that he had engaged fifty boats at Haldi passage

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.557; B.M.MS. Or.3714, f.443b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.641; *Tarikh-i Shahi*, p.340; *Tarikh-i Daudi*, p.294; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, p.232.

² See Iqtidar Hussain Siddiqi, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans," *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol. iv, p. 58.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p.590, B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.465b.

for helping him in crossing the river. Though, he had paid wages to the boatmen, yet, they got scared on hearing about the advance of the Bengalis.¹ From this solitary reference we can infer that Mahmud Khan was loyal to Babur. Hereafter, we do not hear about him during the period under study.

Auliya Khan Ashraqi

From the little information that we have been able to gather about Auliya Khan Ashraqi from the sources available, it seems that before 1529 he was in alliance with the eastern Afghans. Babur concluded peace with the Nohani Afghans of Bihar in May 1529. Subsequently, Auliya Khan Ashraqi, along with several other Afghan *amirs* namely, Ismail Khan Jilwani and Alaul Khan Nohani, came and waited upon him in May 1529.² Auliya Khan Ashraqi submitted to him. We no more hear about him during the period under study.

Shaikh Ghuran

Shaikh Ghuran was a Shaikhzada of Kol. He held an *iqta* in the Mian-i Doab during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.³ Babur defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat and ascended the throne at Agra. He sent *farmans* of favour to the *tarkashbands* of Kol through Mulla Apaq. As a result, Shaikh Ghuran came with two to three

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. H.Beav. vol. ii, p.668; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 508a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Beav., vol. ii, p. 677.

³ See I.H. Siddiqi, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultan", *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol. iv (Aligarh, 1977), p.62.

thousand soldiers and *tarkashbands* from the Mian-i Doab and waited upon Babur.¹ He seems to have joined Babur's service as in July 1526 he was asked to lead the quiver wearers of the Mian-i Doab against Mian Bibban Jilwani, who had besieged Sambhal. Sambhal which at that time was in the possession of Qasim Sambhali. Some Turk *amirs* namely, Hindu Beg, Kitta Beg and Malik Qasim with his brethern, were also sent on this expedition. When the expeditionary forces reached Sambhal Mian Bibban Jilwani could not face them and fled away. Next day, Qasim Sambhali came out of the fort and met the *amirs*. He refused to handover the fort to them. However, Shaikh Ghuran and Hindu Beg compelled him to surrender the fort.²

In November-December 1526 Shaikh Ghuran along with Rahimdad and some other *amirs* was sent to Gwalior to help Tatar Khan, who was then holding the fort of Gwalior. The fort had been besieged by one of the *rajās* of the neighbourhood of Gwalior. Shaikh Ghuran was directed by Babur to return only after establishing Rahimdad in Gwalior.³ Shaikh Ghuran also served Babur in the battle of Kanwah

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p.526; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 416a-b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol. i, p.253; *Tarikh-i Firishṭa*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.32.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp.528-29; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 418-419a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev., vol.i, p.254; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp. 428-29; *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.441.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.539; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 427b; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.445; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, pp.530-31; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.639; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.441.

against Rana Sanga; he served in the *baranghar*.¹ After the battle of Kanwah Shaikh Ghuran and some other *begs* were sent against Rustam Khan (variation: Ilias Khan) from Kanwah on March 17, 1527.

Rustam Khan had captured Kol and made Kichik Ali prisoner. He could not face the Mughal armies and fled away. However, after few days he was imprisoned and sent to Agra, where he was flayed alive.² Babur honoured Shaikh Ghuran with the title of Abul Fath for suppressing the rebellion of Rustam Khan.³

In September 1527, when Babur was at Kol, he was invited by Shaikh Ghuran to visit his house. He obliged him by visiting his house and accepting meals and presents.⁴ Shaikh Ghuran was with Babur in the Chanderi expedition also. In January 1528, while moving towards Chanderi, Babur was encamped near Kalpi. He sent Shaikh Ghuran along with other *amirs* in advance to Chanderi under the command of Chin Timur Sultan.⁵

While marching towards the east Babur went southwards in the Ari (Ariah) *pargana* to see the sheets of lotus on April 27, 1529. Shaikh

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.567, B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 449; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev., vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.576; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 456a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev., vol.i, p.266; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.642.

³ *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p.440.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.587, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 463a.

⁵ *Ibid*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.590, B.M. MS Or 3714, f.465a.

Ghuran was with him and presented him a fresh set of lotus seeds.¹ Later on, in the same year, i.e., 1529, he sent Babur a basket of grapes, when the latter was at Agra.² On September 7, 1529, Shaikh Ghuran, along with Nur Beg, was sent to Gwalior to take charge of the fort from Rahimdad.³ We no more hear about Shaikh Ghuran during the period under review.

Shaikh Jamali

Shaikh Jamali was a prominent saint of the period under study. He was the disciple and successor of Sayyid Shamsuddin Suhrawardi. He was a very learned man, a poet and a widely travelled person.⁴ That is why he was held in high esteem by Sultan Sikandar Lodi. He lost his privileged position during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi⁵ and hence became a great admirer of Babur. He composed six *qasidas* in praise of Babur. He expressed his happiness at the victory of Babur over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat.⁶

Shaikh Jamali was not only a master of pen but of sword as well. The first reference that we come across about him is from Babur's memoirs in context of the battle of Kanwah. Babur states that before

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.666; B.M. MS Or 3714, f.506a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.686; B.M. MS Or 3714, f.527a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.690; B.M. MS Or 3714, f.528b.

⁴ *Maathir-ul Umara*, Eng. tr. vol.i, pp.568-69.

⁵ See S.A. Latifs article, "Jamali's Relations with the Rulers of Delhi", *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol. iv, (Aligarh, 1977), p.70.

⁶ See S.A.Latifs' article, "Jamalis Relations with the Rulers of Delhi," *Medival India: A Miscellany*, vol. iv (Aligarh, 1977), p.71.

measuring swords with Rana Sanga he sent Shaikh Jamali on February 29, 1527 to collect *tarkashbands* from the Mian-i Doab and Delhi region. He instructed him to plunder the villages of Mewat because its ruler had joined Rana Sanga. Shaikh Jamali attacked a few villages of Mewat but could not produce much effect.¹

Shaikh Jamali continued to be in Babur's service as we notice him in a feast held at Agra on December 18, 1528. Along with other dignitaries he was sitting to Babur's left.² On April 21, 1529 Babur sent him as his emissary with encouraging *farmans* to Jalal Khan Nohani of Bihar and his mother Dudu.³ As a result of this mission Jalal Khan Nohani and his mother, along with several other Afghan chiefs, came and waited upon Babur on May 16, 1529.⁴ This is the last reference that we find about Shaikh Jamali during the period concerned.

Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus

Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus was one of the highly respected saints of his time. Babur says that Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus was a *darwesh* and had a large following of students and disciples.⁵ He belonged to the Shattari *silsilah* of the *Sufis*.⁶ When Rana Sanga captured Kandahar a

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.551; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 439a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p. 631; B.M. MS Or 3714, f.490b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p. 665; B.M. MS Or 3714, f.506b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.676; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.513b.

⁵ *Ibid*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.ii, pp.539-40; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f.428a.

⁶ Rizvi, S.A.S., *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*, (Agra, 1965), p.64.

neighbouring fort of Gwalior, the fort of Gwalior was besieged by the *rajās* of the surrounding principalities. Tatar Khan Sarang Khani was holding the fort at that time. He sought Babur's help. Babur sent Rahim Dad, Shaikh Ghuran, Mulla Apaḡ and several other *amirs* to help him. By the time the Mughal forces reached Gwalior, the threat to Tatar Khan Sarang Khani was over. So he refused to surrender the fort to the Mughals.

In such circumstances Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus came to the rescue of the Mughals. He sent Rahimdad a message, giving him clue for entering into the fort. As a result of the help of Muhammad Ghaus Rahim Dad succeeded in capturing the fort of Gwalior. Tatar Khan Sarang Khani was sent to Agra.¹ Later on, Rahim Dad revolted against Babur. This time also Muhammad Ghaus played an important role in bringing about reconciliation between Rahimdad and Babur. He reached Agra from Gwalior on September 7, 1529 and pleaded with Babur on behalf of Rahim Dad for forgiveness. Since Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus was a pious man, Babur accepted his proposal and forgave all the faults of Rahimdad.²

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp.539-40; B.M.MS Or. 3714, f.428a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.690.

Saiyyid Rafi

Saiyyid Rafi was another notable saintly and learned person of the period. Badauni has mentioned him as traditionalist (*muhaddis*).¹ Babur writes in his memoirs that it was through the intervention of Saiyyid Rafi that Nizam Khan surrendered the fort of Biana to him.² He seems to be having a good rapport with Babur. It is evident from the fact that in a feast held by Babur, in which Uzbek and Mongol envoys were present, Saiyyid Rafi along with Muhammad Zaman Mirza and Uzbek Sultan Tangatmish was given a seat very close to Babur. It proves that he had a precedence over Abul Fath Shaikh Ghuran and Shaikh Jamali in the seating arrangement.³ Thus, it seems that he was a highly respectable figure of his time.

Hati Khan Gakkhar

The valleys between the mountains of Nilab and Bhira were inhabited by the Jat, Gujar, Jud and Janjuha tribes. They were governed by the headmen of the Gakkhar tribe. When Babur invaded Bhira in 1519, there were two powerful Gakkhar chiefs namely, Tatar Khan and Hati Khan, descendants of one forefather. Tatar Khan ruled over Parhala, while Hati Khan Gakkhar ruled over the adjoining mountainous country. Tatar Khan had good relations with Daulat Khan Lodi, while Hati Khan's attitude towards him was turbulent. During Babur's stay at

¹ *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. iii, pp. 162, 187.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.539.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.631; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.491a.

Bhira a clash took place between Hati Khan Gakkhar and Tatar Khan. The latter was killed and his country, wives and his other belongings were captured by Hati Khan.¹

On the suggestion of the Janjuha chiefs Babur moved against Hati Khan in March 1519. At that time he was at Parhala. Before Babur could reach Parhala, Hati Khan fled away.² However, after some time he accepted Babur's overlordship. Babur received an envoy named Parbat, with a *peshkash* of an *asp-i Kichamdar* from Hati Khan.³ He appreciated the good will gesture of Hati Khan and offered an honorary dress to his envoy on March 18, 1519. He also sent him letters of favour and encouragement and appointed Muhammad Ali Jang Jang's servant to escort Parbat.⁴ Parbat again came to Babur with another *peshkash* from Hati Khan on March 21, 1519.⁵ At that time Babur was encamped on the banks of the Sind river. Babur accepted his *peshkash* and in return sent him a sword, a dress and a letter.⁶ After this we don't find any reference to Hati Khan during the period under study.

Malik Hast Janjuha

Malik Hast Janjuha was one of the chiefs of the Janjuha tribe. He ruled over the territory near Suhan river. When Babur led an expedition

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.387; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.313a & 314b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.i, pp. 389-90; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.316a, 316b & 317a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.391; B.M. MS Or 3714, f.317b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.i, p.391; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.318a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.392; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.319a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.i, p.393; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.319a.

to Bhira in 1519 Langar Khan, the nephew of Malik Hast Janjuha, was in his service. He sent him as his envoy to the Janjuha chief. Malik Hast Janjuha came with Langar Khan and waited upon Babur. He presented him *asp-i kichamdar*.¹ Before his departure from Bhira in March 1519, Babur entrusted the charge of Bhira to Hindu Beg. On this occasion he appointed Malik Hast Janjuha and some other nobles for Hindu Beg's help. While referring to the appointments at Bhira Babur states that he increased the *wajh wa alufa* of those nobles who were appointed in Bhira.²

Sangur Khan Janguha

Sangur Khan Janguha was one of the chiefs of the Janguha tribe which dominated the Jud hills. He waited upon Babur and offered him a *peshkash*, when the latter occupied Bhira on February 22, 1519.³ Babur, after capturing Bhira conferred it on Hindu Beg and on March 14, 1519 appointed certain braves including Sangur Khan Janguha to reinforce him. While referring to the appointment of these braves for reinforcing Hindu Beg, Babur states in his memoirs that he enhanced the *waj wa alufa* of those who were appointed at Bhira.⁴ Towards the end of the year, i.e., 1519, Sangur Khan Janguha went to Kabul and

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. i, p.380; B. M. MS. or. 3714, f. 307a-b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.i, p.388-89; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 315b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.i, p.383; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.310a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.i, p.389; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.315b.

waited upon Babur on December 13, 1519.¹ He remained loyal to Babur and rendered him military service. He laid down his life while fighting for Babur against the scouting party of Rana Sanga in a skirmish, which preceded the battle of Kanwah in February 1527.²

A RESUME

A review of the above biographical notices reveals that some of the personages whose account we have given above were powerful chiefs. In the vicinity of Agra Nizam Khan of Biana was the most powerful Afghan chief as he not only commanded an impregnable fort but commanded a cavalry of four thousand and an infantry of ten thousand. His fort was so strategically located between Agra and Mewar that it was coveted by Rana Sanga of Mewar even. Nizam Khan succeeded in repulsing Babur's initial attack on Biana. The territories of Makan, who held Mandryal from the time of Sikandar Lodi, and his son Hasan, who held Kandahar, were also strategically located to the southwest of Agra. Bari, again to the southwest of Agra, was held by an Afghan chief named Hasan Khan. While Dholpur in the east, not far away from Agra, was in possession of Zaitun, Rustam Khan also mentioned as Iliyas Khan dominated in the Mian-i Doab. Close by, in the region of Rapri and Chandwar Darya Khan was also a potential Afghan chief. Further east, Badr-ud-din held an *iqta* in Kalpi from the time of Sikandar Lodi. Marghub, a slave of

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.i, p.419; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.343b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.ii, pp.547-48; B.M.MS Or. 3714, f.436a-b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.259.

Ibrahim Lodi, was in possession of the fort of Mahawin to the north of Agra. Another very powerful chief in the region was Hasan Khan Mewati, the ruler of Mewat. As we have noticed, Shaikh Ghuran was also influential in the vicinity of Kol (Aligarh). To the northeast of Kol, across the river Ganges, Qasim Sambhali, a noble of Ibrahim Lodi, by virtue of his possession of an important place like Sambhal was also a formidable Afghan chief.

Among the saintly persons, who were politically influential in this region mention may be made of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Shattari of Gwalior, Shaikh Jamali Suharawardi and Sayyid Rafi. Though they did not hold any principality as *iqtadars* or nobles they made their presence felt as partisans in the politics of the period under review in the region around Agra.

Among others we notice three more notables, who were confidants of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. These were Milli Surduk, Firoz Khan Mewati and Malik Dad Karrani. They were inside the fort of Agra when Babur occupied it. As Babur tells us they were the *amirs* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, though no reference is traceable to their holding of any *iqtas* under Ibrahim Lodi. They must have been counselors of the Sultan, for Babur mentions them as wise (*dana*) men.

Two other powerful and influential notables draw our attention. They were Araish Khan and Mulla Muhammad Mazhab. They were the

ones who had sent letters to Babur when the latter was encamped at Jaswan Dun in early 1526, extending their support to him in case he marched against Ibrahim Lodi. Araish Khan must have either been a man of diplomatic calibre or must have held some principality to the south-east of Agra. He could have been on friendly terms with Medini Rai of Chanderi for it was he who was sent by Babur to negotiate with Medini Rai before his attack on Chanderi. In the eastern region only two persons, whose biographies we have discussed in this chapter and who figure prominently, were Auliya Khan Ashraqi and Mahmud Khan. While Auliya Khan Ashraqi, before his submission to Babur in 1529 was an ally of the eastern Afghans, who were resisting Babur, Mahmud Khan was the *shiqdar* of Sikandarpur before his submission to Babur in 1529.

Among the notables of the north-west mentioned in this chapter Hati Khan Gakkhar and Malik Hast Janjuha were the powerful potentates as they were the commanders of their tribes and ruled with complete authority in their respective areas. It may be noted that most of the notables discussed in this chapter were loyal to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. They were not among the ones who were in rebellion against him at the time of Babur's invasion of Hindustan. While some of them initially resisted Babur, the others meekly submitted to him. It is worth noticing that most of the chiefs of the vicinity of Agra were displaced by Babur from their principalities after their submission to him, though many of them were granted *parganas* elsewhere-away from Agra.

On the otherhand, the notables of the east like Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi were allowed to retain their principalities. Initially, as Babur tells us, he had little confidence in the Hindustani *amirs*, particularly those serving in the vicinity of Agra. That is why he despatched them on various expeditions and himself gave a fight to Rana Sanga. Babur's apprehensions about them are borne out by the fact that some of them did take advantage of his pre-occupation with Rana Sanga by creating disturbances for him. In short, by 1529 most of these notables had reconciled to Babur's authority.

CHAPTER - V

TIMURID, UZBEK AND MONGOL PRINCES

In the following pages of the present thesis we propose to give an account of the princely order hailing from central Asia who made their presence felt in the history of north India in the second half of the decade under review. The princes who figure prominently belong to the ruling Timurid, Uzbek and Mongol dynasties of central Asia. While some of them had joined services under Babur in central Asia and accompanied him to Hindustan, the others migrated from central Asia and joined his service after he had established himself in Hindustan. From among the Timurid princes we have left out the sons of Babur, namely Humayun, Kamran, Askari and Hindal, whose biographies are well known. We begin below our account with the Timurids.

THE TIMURIDS

Among the Timurid princes, leaving aside the sons of Babur mentioned above, we notice three important personages namely, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Muhammad Zaman Mirza and Sulaiman Mirza. The first two belonged to the Timurid family of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara of Khurasan and were the cousins of Babur, while Sulaiman Mirza was the son of Mirza Khan (Wais Khan) the son of Babur's maternal uncle Sultan Mahmud Mirza.

Muhammad Sultan Mirza

Muhammad Sultan Mirza was a cousin of Babur. He was born of Sultan Husain Mirzas' daughter Sultanim Begum, who was married to Sultan Wais Mirza.¹ Wais Mirza was the son of Baiqara Mirza, the elder brother of Sultan Husain Mirza. Muhammad Sultan Mirza joined Babur's service sometime after the death of Sultan Husain Mirza (in 1506).² We first notice him in Babur's service in 1519, when according to Firishta, he was left by Babur with a force of four thousand at Peshawar.³ He is first noticed in Hindustan on December 31, 1525 when he, along with Adil Sultan and some other *umara*, waited upon Babur at Kalanur. At that time Babur was leading an expedition to Hindustan against Daulat Khan and Ghazi Khan.⁴

Ibrahim Lodi had sent Daud Khan and Hatim Khan with five thousand to six thousand men to the Mian-i Doab region, perhaps to check the advancing forces of Babur. So Babur, on April 1, 1526, deputed Muhammad Sultan Mirza and some other *begs* against these Afghan forces. They succeeded in defeating the Afghans and brought Hatim Khan, the elder brother of Daud Khan, sixty to seventy other

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.i, p.265; B.M. MS. or. 3714, f.227b.

² *Maathir-ul Umara*, Eng. tr. Vol.ii, part I, p.207.

³ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.23.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.458; B.M. MS Or. 3714, f. 357b. According to the author of *Akbarnama*, Muhammad Sultan Mirza was appointed to defend Lahore, see *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.240; see also *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.437.

prisoners and six or seven elephants to Babur.¹ Before the decisive battle of Panipat Babur deputed Muhammad Sultan Mirza and some other nobles with four thousand to five thousand men to deliver a night attack on Ibrahim Lodis' camp. They failed in their mission.² However, Muhammad Sultan Mirza played an important role in the main battle on April 20, 1526. In this battle he served in the *jawanghar*.³ After achieving success in the battle Babur sent Muhammad Sultan Mirza along with other *begs* to Delhi asking them to make sudden incursion on Delhi and keep a watch over the treasures.⁴ After occupying Agra he rewarded Muhammad Sultan Mirza with four shields and 200,000 rupees.⁵ Babur again conferred a *char-qab*, a *kamar-i shamshir* and a *kamar-i khanjar* as *inam* on him during a feast held at Agra after the Id of Shawal in July 1526.⁶

After the battle of Panipat Muhammad Sultan Mirza, along with other *begs*, was sent to help Mahdi Khwaja, who had been given the

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp.467-68; B.M. MS Or. 3714, f.363a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev., vol.i, p.241; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, Vol.ii, p.28; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr.Ranking, vol.i, p.439; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.423; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.634.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.471; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.365b; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr.H.Bev., vol.i, p.440.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.472; B.M. MS. Or. 3714f, 366b ; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.28; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, p.635.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.475; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.369a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.i, p.247; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.29, *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.636.

⁵ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.31.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.527; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.417a.

charge of Etawa.¹ Before this contingent could reach Etawa and help Mahdi Khawaja, it was recalled and ordered to join Humayun's expedition against the eastern rebels.² Later on Humayun deputed Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Mahdi Khwaja to escort Fath Khan Sarwani to Babur's presence. Fath Khan Sarwani was one of the leading Afghan chiefs and had waited upon Humayun near Dalmau.³ In January 1527, before the battle of Kanwah, Muhammad Sultan Mirza was sent towards Biana to reinforce the *begs* there.⁴ He, however, was recalled in the month of February. He came back with the Biana garrison and joined Babur at Mandakur.⁵ He rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah and served in the *jawanghar*.⁶

After the battle of Kanwah Babur bestowed Kanauj on Muhammad Sultan Mirza who earlier held the territory of Sirhind. He also gave him an allowance of 30 lac. Babur states in his memoirs that he had to exchange the territories because Muhammad Duldai, who earlier held Kanauj, refused to go there.⁷ Muhammad Sultan Mirza was

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.420a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev., vol.i, p.256; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking vol.i, p.444; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.430.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.531; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.421a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.534; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.423b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.256.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.545; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714,f. 434b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.640.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.548; B.M. MS. Or. 3714,f. 437a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev., vol.i, p.207.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.567; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 449b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev., vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

⁷ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.582; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 460b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.642.

then sent against Mian Bibban who had captured Lakhnau when Babur was fighting against Rana Sanga.¹ Later on, in the month of December of the same year, Babur ordered Muhammad Ali Jang Jang to move against the hostile Afghans, namely Shaikh Bayzid, Bibban and Maruf Farmuli. He was asked to take along with him Muhammad Sultan Mirza and other *amirs* from Kanauj and its vicinity.² On February 27, 1529 Muhammad Sultan Mirza and some other *begs* came and waited upon Babur when the latter, while marching towards the east, was encamped on the banks of the Ganges at Dugdugi, a *pargana* of Karah. Babur ordered him to march along the other bank of the Ganges.³ Muhammad Sultan Mirza rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra also.⁴ On June 2, 1529, along with other *begs*, he was appointed to pursue Bibban and Bayzid, who had fled towards Dalmau.⁵ We no more hear about Muhammad Sultan Mirza during the period under review. However, it is stated in the *Maathir-ul umara* that he continued to serve under Humayun and Akbar.⁶

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.582; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff.460b – 461a.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.589; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.464b; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.38; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.643.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev.vol.ii, p.651; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.519a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.671; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.510a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.682; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.645.

⁶ *Maathir-ul Umara*, Eng. tr. vol.ii, part I, p.207.

Muhammad Zaman Mirza

Muhammad Zaman Mirza was the son of Badi-uz Zaman Mirza and grandson of Sultan Husain Mirza of Khurasan.¹ He was married to Babur's daughter Masuma.² He fell captive to Shaibani Khan, the Uzbek, when the latter captured Herat after the death of Sultan Husain Mirza.³ Henceforth he remained in the service of Shah Ismail Safawi for some time but rebelled against him in 1514-15 and struggled for the occupation of Balkh. In 1516 Babur captured Balkh and conferred it upon Muhammad Zaman Mirza, who subsequently remained loyal to him.⁴ On March 4, 1519, when Babur was at Bhira, he received *arzashts* from Muhammad Zaman Mirza through Qamar Beg.⁵ Again on July 15, 1519 he received *tasadduq* and a horse as a *peshkash* from him.⁶

The Uzbek Sultans, Qitin Qara Sultan and Jani Beg Sultan besieged Balkh in 1525.⁷ The siege continued for quite sometime. During the siege Babur provided financial help to Muhammad Zaman

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol.i, p.79.

² *Humayunama*, Eng. tr. vol.i, p.262.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.i, p.263.

⁴ *Habib-us Siyar*, Persian text, vol.iii, p.367.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.i, p.385; B.M. MS Or. 3714, f.311b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.i, p.402; B.M. MS Or. 3714, ff.328b-329a.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.455; B.M. MS. 3714, f.354b; *Ahsan-ut Tawarikh*, Persian text, f.76.

Mirza on three occasions for the release of Balkh.¹ Muhammad Zaman Mirza could not hold on to Balkh and according to *Ahsan-ut Tawarikh*, after two years he was asked by Babur to leave Balkh and come to Hindustan.² He came to Hindustan as we find him here in Babur's service in 1528. He was asked to stay back in Agra when Babur left for Gwalior for an excursion on September 20, 1528.³ In 1529 he accompanied Babur when the latter marched towards the east. We notice him in a *majun* party held in a boat, when Babur was on an excursion in the Karmanasa river opposite Chausa on April 1, 1529.⁴

In the first week of April 1529 Bihar was conferred upon Muhammad Zaman Mirza who agreed to go there but through Shaikh Zain and Yunas-i Ali requested Babur for reinforcements. Babur accepted his request and appointed some braves (*jawanān*) as reinforcement and some persons as *naukar* (retainers) for him.⁵ On April 14, 1529 he honoured Muhammad Zaman Mirza with a *saropa-i khasa*, a *kamar-i shamshir*, a *tippuchaq* and a *chatar* and asked him to

¹ On his final expedition towards Hindustan, when Babur received 2000 *sharukhis* from the revenue of Lahore, while encamped at Sarik-ab, according to Babur the greater part of this money was dispatched through Mula Ahmad, one of the chief men of Balkh, for the benefit of Balkh. (*Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.446; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 348b). Second time after the capture of Malot when Babur bestowed Dipalpur on Baqi Shaghawal, he sent him for the help of Balkh (*Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.463 B.M.M.S. or 3714, f.361b). Thirdly, after the battle of Panipat when Babur distributed the treasures, he sent 15 lacs to Muhammad Zaman Mirza (*Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.522). This reference is missing in B.M. MS. Or. 3714.

² *Ahsan-ut Tawarikh*, Persian text, f.76.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.606; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.474a. According to *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Muhammad Zaman Mirza was appointed the governor of Agra.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, op.cit., p.669; B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.525a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, pp.661-62; B.M. MS Or. 3714, f.526 a-b.

leave for Bihar.¹ At the same time Babur fixed 1 crore and 25 lacs as *khalisa* from *sarkar* Bihar and entrusted its *diwani* to Murshid Iraqi.² On April 15, 1529 Muhammad Zaman Mirza was given leave to go to Bihar.³ Shortly afterwards Babur received the news about the movement of the Bengal army under Makhdum-ul Mulk and Sultan Mahmud Lodi. Considering a conflict with them to be imminent, he cancelled the appointment of Muhammad Zaman Mirza and sent Shah Iskandar with three hundred to four hundred men to Bihar.⁴ We notice Muhammad Zaman Mirza in action in the military operation in the battle of Ghagra.⁵ After the battle he was given Jaunpur (on May 13, 1529), which earlier was held by Sultan Junaid Barlas, who was transferred to Chunar.⁶ Soon afterwards he, along with other *begs*, was appointed to pursue Bibban and Bayzid.⁷ This is the last reference we have been able to find about Muhammad Zaman Mirza during the period under review.

Sulaiman Mirza

Sulaiman Mirza was the son of Mirza Khan (Wais Mirza), the son of Babur's paternal uncle Sultan Mahmud Mirza. He served Babur in Hindustan. He fought on behalf of Babur in the battle of Panipat and

¹ *Baburnama*, B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.504a.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.663; B.M. MS. Or. 3714f, 505a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.663-64; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 505 a-b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.671; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.510a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.676; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.513b.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, pp.681-82, B.M. MS. Or 3714, f.516a.

served in *dast-i rast-i ghul*.¹ He served in the same wing again in the battle of Kanwah.² In 1529 he was sent to Badakshan to fight against Said Khan, who had besieged it. Sulaiman Mirza replaced Hindal Mirza, who was recalled by Babur. Hindal Mirza handed over the charge of Badakshan to Sulaiman Mirza, when the latter reached there.³

THE UZBEKS

Among the Uzbek princes we notice Qasim Husain Sultan and Adil Sultan. Though the former was of the Uzbek stock, by marriage he was related to Babur as his mother was the daughter of the Timurid ruler Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara of Khurasan. The latter was the son of the Uzbek chief Mahdi Sultan. Both of them played a significant role in the expansion and consolidation of Babur's rule in Hindustan.

Qasim Husain Sultan

Qasim Husain Sultan was an Uzbek.⁴ He was the son of Qasim Sultan when Babur mentions in his memoirs as one of the Shaban Sultans.⁵ His mother was a Timurid as she was the daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara.⁶ He came from Kabul to Hindustan with about

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.M.S. or 3714, f366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.242; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.29.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.565; B.M.M.S. or 3714, f.448b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.261; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

³ *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev., vol.i, pp.274-75; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, p.41; *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng.tr.p.389.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.669; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.508b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.i, p.267; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 228b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. i, p.267; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 228b; *Humayyunama*, Eng. tr. p.100.

five hundred men in March 1527.¹ At that time Babur was encamped near Kanwah, making preparations for the battle against Rana Sanga. Qasim Husain Sultan rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah. He served in the *baranghar*.²

After the battle of Kanwah Badaun was bestowed upon Qasim Husain Sultan and along with other *begs* he was sent against Bibban, who had captured Luknur when the Mughal forces were engaged in a fight against the forces of Rana Sanga at Kanwah.³ He was in Badaun in December 1527, when his services were again required by Babur. While marching towards Chanderi when Babur detached Muhammad Ali Jang from the main army for operations against the Afghans, he asked him to mobilize Qasim Husain Sultan and other *amirs* from Kanauj and its neighbourhood⁴ and march against the hostile Afghans, namely Bibban Jilwani, Maruf Farmuli and Shaikh Bayzid. In May 1529 Qasim Husain Sultan rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra.⁵ In June 1529, after the battle of Ghagra, along with other Sultans and nobles he was sent against Bibban and Bayzid, who had fled towards Dalmau.⁶ We no more hear about Qasim Husain Sultan during the period under study.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, pp.550-51; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff.438b-439a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.566; B.M. MS Or 3714, f.449a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishia*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p.36.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.582-83; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 460b-461a, see also f. 228b.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.589; B.M. MS Or. 3714, f. 464b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.669; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 508a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.682; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a.

Adil Sultan

Adil Sultan was the son of Mahdi Sultan. We first notice him in Hindustan when he and Muhammad Sultan Mirza, along with other *umara*, waited upon Babur at Kalanur on December 31, 1525.¹ Babur at that time was encamped at Kalanur, while marching against Daulat Khan and Ghazi Khan. He joined Babur's service as he, along with some other *begs*, was sent by Babur against Daud Khan and Hatim Khan in April 1526. These two Afghan chiefs, with five thousand to six thousand men, had been sent by Ibrahim Lodi to check the advancing forces of Babur at Mian-i Doab. The Mughal forces defeated the Afghans and brought Hatim Khan, the elder brother of Daud Khan, and sixty or seventy men as prisoners to Babur's presence. They also presented him six or seven elephants captured during the fight.²

Adil Sultan and some other commanders were sent by Babur with a force of four thousand to five thousand men to deliver a night attack on Ibrahim Lodi's camp before the battle of Panipat. But the expeditionary force failed in its mission.³ In the battle of Panipat, which took place on April 20, 1526 Adil Sultan served in *jawanghar*.⁴ He, along with other *begs*, was sent to Delhi after the battle. They were

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.458; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.357b. According to Abul Fazl, Adil Sultan was appointed to defend Lahore, see *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol. i, p.240; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, Babur, p.420.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.468; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 463a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol. i, p.241; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.423; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.634.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.471; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 366a.

⁴ *Ibid*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.472; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol. i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr.Rizvi, p.635.

ordered to make a sudden incursion on Delhi and to keep watch over the treasures of Ibrahim Lodi.¹ After the battle of Panipat Dholpur was assigned to Sultan Junaid Barlas and along with other *begs* Adil Sultan was sent for his help.² However, they were recalled and ordered to join Humayun, who had been despatched against the eastern rebels.³ In the battle of Kanwah also Adil Sultan fought on Babur's side and served in the *baranghar*.⁴ After the battle he seems to have been posted between Samana and Sirhind. In 1529 he was ordered to join Chin Timur Sultan in his expedition against the Baloches.⁵ After this we do not find any reference to him on our sources of the period concerned.

THE MONGOLS

Among the Mongol princes we notice Aisan Timur Sultan, Tuqta Bugha Sultan, Chin-Timur Sultan and Baba Sultan. The first three of them were Babur's maternal cousins. They were the sons of Babur's maternal uncle Sultan Ahmad Khan, the son of the Mongol Khan Yunus Khan. The last among the four mentioned above, Baba Sultan was the son of Khalil Sultan, who was another son of the above mentioned Sultan Ahmad Khan. As such Baba Sultan was a nephew of Babur. All

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.475; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 369a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.247.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 420b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev., vol.i, p. 256; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.429.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.531; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 421a.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.567; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 449b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p.36.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.638; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 496a-b.

the four Mongol princes were entrusted with important military assignments in Hindustan. We begin with Aisan Timur Sultan.

Aisan Timur Sultan

Aisan Timur Sultan was the son of Sultan Ahmad Khan, Babur's maternal uncle. He was the brother of Chir Timur Sultan and Tuqta Bugha Sultan, whom we find in Babur's service in Hindustan.¹ We first notice Aisan Timur Sultan in Babur's service in 1529.² Like his brother Tuqta Bugha Sultan he also seems to have come to Hindustan after Babur's occupation of Agra. He rendered military service to Babur against the Bengalis in the battle of Ghagra. On May 5, 1529 Babur came to know that the Bengalis were advancing towards the Mughal territories. So he ordered Aisan Timur Sultan to cross the river at once. He crossed the river with thirty to forty retainers and compelled the Bengalis to take to flight. Babur states in his memoirs, "Aisan Timur did distinguished work, first in crossing before the rest, swift, steady, and without a God forbid second in his excellent advance with so few men, on such a mass of foot and by putting these to flight."³

Babur entered into a peace settlement with the Bengalis and the Nohani Afghans on May 21, 1529. He rewarded Aisan Timur Sultan for the meritorious service he had rendered against the Bengalis and Nohanis. He bestowed on him a *jildu*, a *kamar-i khanjar*, a *jabah*, a *khilat* and an *asp-i tipuchaq* and granted to him 30 lacs from *pargana*

¹ *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng. tr. p.161.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.654; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.521a-b.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp. 672-73; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 511a-b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.645.

Narnaul.¹ In June he was appointed to pursue Bibban and Bayzid who had fled towards Dalmau.² A little before his death Babur married his daughter Gulrang Begum, born of Dildar Begum, to him.³ Hereafter, we do not find any information about Aisan Timur Sultan during the period under study.

Tuqta Bugha Sultan

Tuqta Bugha Sultan was the son of Babur's maternal uncle Sultan Ahmad Khan and brother of Chin Timur Sultan.⁴ He came to Hindustan in 1528, as Babur writes in his memoirs that when he was encamped at Bangarmau in March 1528 Tuqta Bugha Sultan came and joined service under him (*amda mulazmat kard*).⁵ He was present in a party held at Agra on December 18, 1528. He was given a seat about six or seven yards on the right side of Babur.⁶

Tuqta Bugha Sultan accompanied Babur on his eastern expedition in the year 1529.⁷ He rendered him military service against the Bengalis.⁸ Peace was established with the Bengalis on May 21, 1529 and Tuqta Bugha Sultan was rewarded for his services. A *jildu*, a *kamar-i shamshir*, a *jabah*, a *khilat* and an *aspi tipuchaq* and 30 lacs from

¹ *Baburnama*, B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 515a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p. 682; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a.

³ *Humayunama*, Eng. tr. p. 106, see also p. 232.

⁴ *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng. tr. p. 161.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p. 601; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 472b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p. 632; B. M. MS Or. 3714, f. 490b.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p. 664; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 521b.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, pp. 672-73; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 510b-511a-b.

pargana shamsabad, were conferred upon him.¹ On June 2, 1529 Babur sent him along with other *begs* in pursuit of Bibban and Bayzid towards Dalmau.² A little before his death Babur married his daughter Gulchihra Begum to him.³

Baba Sultan

Baba Sultan was the son of Khalil Sultan, who was the son of Sultan Ahmad Khan. Khalil Sultan and Sultan Said Khan of Kashgarh were from the same wife of Sultan Ahmad Khan.⁴ Baba Sultan was married to Haider Mirza's (the author of *Tarikh-i Rashidi*) sister.⁵ After the death of his father Baba Sultan joined the services of his uncle Sultan Said Khan. He, however, left the service soon and came to Hindustan.⁶ He waited upon Babur on January 1, 1528 when the latter, while marching towards Chanderi, was encamped near Kalpi. He joined Babur's service⁷ and accompanied him on his expedition to Chanderi and later against Bibban and Bayzid.

Baba Sultan and Darwesh Sultan crossed river Ganges near Kanauj with ten to fifteen soldiers in February 1528. They attacked Bibban and Bayzid without informing Babur. They failed in their

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.677; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 515a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.682; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.645.

³ *Humayunama*, Eng. tr. pp. 106-7, 115, see also p. 231.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.590; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 465a.

⁵ *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng. tr. vol. ii, p.381.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 379-80.

⁷ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.590; B.M. MS Or. 3714, f. 465a.

attempt and were censured for this misadventure.¹ Baba Sultan also accompanied Babur on his expedition towards the east in 1529. On May 5, 1529 Babur ordered Aisan Timur Sultan, Tuqta Bugha Sultan and others to cross river Saru and initiate action against the rebellious Afghans. Baba Sultan, however, failed to turn up at the position he was assigned.² Thus, it is clear from the *Baburnama* that Baba Sultan, while in Babur's service, failed to come upto his expectations in both the military actions. This fact is also borne out by Haider Mirza in the *Tarikh-i Rashidi* as he states that Baba Sultan did not perform well in Babur's service.³ He further states that in spite of Baba Sultan's poor performance he was given Rohtak, an important town in Hissar Firoza.⁴ However, he died of dysentery at the age of 24 at Rohtak in the same year in which Babur died, i.e., 1530.⁵

Chin Timur Sultan

Chin Timur Sultan was the son of Sultan Ahmad Khan, Babur's maternal uncle. He was in the service of his brothers Sultan Mansur Khan and Sultan Said Khan before joining Babur's service. We can not say with certainty as to when did he join Babur's service as we don't find any reference to his being in Babur's service prior to 1526. Therefore, it seems that he joined Babur's service when the latter established himself in Hindustan. A statement in the *Tarikh-i Rashidi* that he left the service

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.599; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 471a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p. 672; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 511a.

³ *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng. tr. vol. ii, p.381.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

of his elder brother and came to Babur in Hindustan¹ substantiates the fact. It seems that he joined Babur's service sometime early in 1526, i.e. after Babur left Kabul for his final expedition to Hindustan and before the battle of Panipat. We come across the first reference to his being in Babur's service in April 1526 when he was appointed against Daud Khan and Hatim Khan before the battle of Panipat.² He defeated these two Afghan chiefs and later served in the *dast-i rast i ghul* (the right hand of the centre) in the battle of Panipat.³

After the battle of Panipat Chin Timur Sultan was in attendance upon Babur at Agra. He was present in a party organised by Babur at Agra in July 1526 and was given a *char-qab*, a *kamar-i shamshir* and a *kamar-i khanjar* by the latter.⁴ He remained in attendance upon Babur till November 1526 as on November 21, 1526 he was sent on an expedition against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani who had mobilized about three thousand to four thousand Panini and other Afghans and started creating trouble in the neighbourhood of Hisar Firoza. The expeditionary forces under Chin Timur Sultan defeated Hamid Khan Sarang Khani, killed many of his men and sent a number of heads to Babur.⁵ He thus,

¹ *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng. tr. p.161.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, pp.467-68; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.363b-364a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol. i, p.241; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.634; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p.28.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.241; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p.28; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. Vol.ii, p.527; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.417a.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.540; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.428a-b; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, p.34; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.639.

successfully accomplished the task assigned to him and returned to Agra some time before February 1527. We later notice him serving in the *dast i rast-i ghul* in the battle of Kanwah.¹ Soon after the battle Babur over-ran Mewat in April 1527 and conferred the city of Tijara upon him. Babur fixed his *wajh-wa istiqamat* at 50 lacs.²

In January 1528 Chin Timur Sultan accompanied Babur on his Chanderi expedition. On reaching Bandir, while marching towards Chanderi, Babur gave him command of a force of six thousand or seven thousand and dispatched them in advance to Chanderi.³ In February 1528 he was given the command of the forces appointed against the rebellious Afghans, i.e., Bibban, Bayzid and Maruf Farmuli. *Amirs* like Muhammad Ali Jang Jang, Husamuddin Alfi, son of Khalifa, Muhib-i Ali, son of Khalifa, Kuki, son of Baba Qashqa, Dost-i Muhammad, son of Baba Qashqa, Baqi of Tashkant and Wali Qizil were included in the force sent against the rebellions Afghans and were ordered by Babur to strictly follow the orders of Chin Timur Sultan. During the course of the expedition Chin Timur Sultan asked for reinforcements. Babur sent one thousand braves under the command of Qarcha. With the help of Qarcha Chin Timur Sultan crossed river Sirda, attacked Shaikh Bayzid and forced him to flee. He succeeded in capturing Shaikh Bayzid's

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.565; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.448b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev., vol.i, p.261; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, p.36.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. Vol.ii, pp.578-79; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.457a-b; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, p.38.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.590; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 465a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol. i, p.268.

family and some of his relatives and sent them to Babur's presence.¹ After this expedition Chin Timur Sultan seems to have returned to Agra.

In the last week of December or first week of January 1529 Babur came to know about the trouble being created by the Baloches in the north-west. He ordered Chin Timur Sultan to lead an expeditionary force comprising of *amirs* like Adil Sultan, Sultan Muhammad Dul dai, Khusrau Kokuldash, Muhammad Ali Jang Jang, Abdul Aziz, Sayyid Ali, Wali Qizil, Qarcha, Halahil, Ashiq, Shaikh Ali, Kitta Beg, Gujjar Khan and Hasan Ali Siwadi, against the Baloches. The nobles appointed with Chin Timur Sultan were ordered to meet him where ever he desired and obey his orders.² Before proceeding on this expedition Chin Timur Sultan hurriedly came to Agra and waited upon Babur on January 14, 1529.³ Meanwhile, Babur marched towards the east in May 1529. When he was encamped in the Nirhun *pargana* of Kharid on the northern side of river Saru, he received an *arzdasht* from Chin Timur Sultan. Through this *arzdasht* he informed Babur that though, several of the *begs* who had been appointed to reinforce him could not join him due to the journey of his (Babur's) family from Kabul, yet, he, along with Muhammadi and some other *begs*, had attacked the Baloches and defeated them.⁴ In response to the *arzdasht* Babur sent him a *farman*

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.601-02; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff.472b-473a-b; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, pp.38-39; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.643.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.638-39; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.496a-b.

³ *Ibid*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.639; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.497a.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.675-76; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.513a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.645.

asking him that he, along with Sultan Muhammad Duldai, Muhammadi and other *begs* of that countryside should assemble at Agra and be ready to move to the place where the enemy might appear.¹ Obeying the instructions Chin Timur Sultan came from Tijara and waited upon Babur at Agra on July 22, 1529.² According to the author of *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, he died of acute dysentery at Agra and was buried there.³

A RESUME

To sum up, we notice that the two Timurid princes Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Muhammad Zaman Mirza figure prominently in the north Indian political scene during the second half of the decade under review. Both of them were in Babur's service even before his occupation of Hindustan. While we notice Muhammad Sultan Mirza active in Babur's service in Hindustan as early as December 1519, Muhammad Zaman Mirza came to Hindustan in 1528 after relinquishing his charge of Balkh. However, as noticed in the biographical sketches given above, both the Timurid princes rendered meritorious military service to Babur and contributed extensively to the expansion and consolidation of his authority in Hindustan. They were lavishly rewarded by Babur with various honours and territorial assignments.

As far as the Uzbek princes are concerned we find that there were two Uzbek princes in Babur's service namely Qasim Husain Sultan and

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.676; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.513a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. ii, p.688; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.527b.

³ *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng. tr. p.161.

Adil Sultan. We notice both of them in Babur's service only in Hindustan. While Adil Sultan joined Babur's service in 1525, Qasim Husain Sultan came to Hindustan in 1527. However, both of them rendered valuable military service to Babur and were rewarded with territorial assignments in spite of the fact that the Uzbeks were responsible for the expulsion of Babur from central Asia and have been mentioned by Babur as his hereditary foes.

Among the Mongol princes we notice four of them active in Babur's service in Hindustan during the period under discussion. Three of them namely, Asian Timur Sultan, Tuqta Bugha Sultan and Chin Timur Sultan were his maternal cousins, being the sons of Sultan Ahmad Khan. The other Mongol prince namely, Baba Sultan, whose short biographical sketch we have given, was the son of Khalil Sultan, the son of the above mentioned Sultan Ahmad Khan. With the exception of Chin Timur Sultan, whom we find active in Babur's service early in the latter's career in Hindustan, the other three princes did not join Babur's service before 1528. All the three cousins of Babur rendered him distinguished military service in Hindustan. The role of Chin Timur Sultan is very conspicuous during this period. He was, perhaps, one of the most trusted Mongol princes under Babur and rendered him valuable service in various expeditions in Hindustan. Baba Sultan, the son of Khalil Sultan, however, did not come upto Babur's expectations.

CHAPTER - VI

NOTABLES WITH DENOMINATIONS

In the present chapter we have explored the biographies of those notables whose names carry a suffix denominating some office for example, Abdul Aziz is mentioned as “Abdul Aziz *mir akhur*”, Abdullah as “Abdullah *kitabdar*”, Abul Muhammad as “Abul Muhammad *nezabaz*” etc. In this way we come across a large number of notables who are mentioned with the denominations such as *qurchi*, *parwanchi*, *bakawal*, *sarban*, *akhtabegi*, *yasawal*, *muhardar*, *khazin*, *jalaban*, etc. Since they are conspicuous because of these designations we have grouped them together in this chapter and have worked out and listed below their biographies in alphabetic order by their first name. Hence we begin with Abdul Aziz, the *mir akhur*.

Abdul Aziz, the *Mir Akhur*

Abdul Aziz, the *mir akhur* is first noticed in our sources in the year 1519. He accompanied Babur on his expedition against the Afghans of the Abdur Rahman clan. While returning to Kabul Babur deputed Abdul Aziz along with other nobles from Chasma-i tura to collect pheasants.¹ According to the author of *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, when Babur captured Lahore in 1524 he appointed Abdul Aziz to take the charge of Lahore.²

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol. i, p. 404; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f. 331a.

² *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.25.

After the capture of the fort of Malot by Babur on January 7, 1526 Abdul Aziz was ordered to enter the fort along with other nobles and take possession of all the things lying in the fort.¹ On February 25, 1526 Babur ordered him to accompany the forces sent under the command of Humayun against Hamid Khan of Hisar Firoza.² On the eve of the main battle of Panipat he, along with other nobles, was deputed to deliver a night attack on Ibrahim Lodi's camp.³ In the battle of Panipat he served in the *tarah*.⁴

After the battle of Panipat in 1526, Abdul Aziz was deputed with the expedition sent against Qutab Khan of Etawah. Later on, along with other nobles, he was recalled and ordered to join the forces sent under Humayun's command against the rebel Afghans of the east.⁵ Before the battle of Kanwah in February 1527, he was chosen with some other *begs* for the scouting duty and ordered to march in advance towards Kanwah. When Rana Sanga came to know about the advancing of the scouting party he sent four thousand to five thousand men to counter them. The

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.460; B.M.M.S. Or 3714, f. 359a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.421.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.465. This passage is missing in B.M.M.S. Or 3714; see also *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev., vol. i, p.240; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.423; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.634.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.471; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f.366a.

⁴ *Ibid*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, pp.472-73; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f.367a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.29; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.441; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr.Rizvi, p.426; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.530-31; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.420b-421a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.256.

Rajputs defeated the scouting party and took many of Babur's soldiers into captivity.¹ Later on, Abdul Aziz rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah and served in the *jawanghar*.² Abdul Aziz and some other *begs* were sent in pursuit of Rana Sanga when he after losing the battle fled from the battle field.³ After the battle of Kanwah Abdul Aziz returned to Lahore, the place in his charge. In January 1529, along with other *begs*, he was ordered to accompany the forces sent under the command of Chin Timur Sultan against the Baloches.⁴ In March 1529, when Babur was encamped near Ghazipur, Abdul Aziz sent him letters informing him that he had accompanied the latter's family, coming from Kabul, upto Chenab.⁵

Abdul Aziz's relations with Babur got strained in the middle of 1529. He allegedly entered into a conspiracy with Shaikh Sharaf Qarabaghi and the *aimmas* of Lahore. They issued a declaration (*mahzar*) against Babur, attributing to him certain misdeeds, which the latter said that he had never committed. To avenge this conspiracy Babur sent Qambar-i ali Arghun to arrest Abdul Aziz and the other

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.549; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 437 a-b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr.Rizvi, p.640.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.567 & 577; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.450a & 451a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.576; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.456a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev. vol.i, p.265.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.638; B.M. MS Or. 3714, f.496b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.659; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.524b.

conspirators and bring them to the court.¹ After this we do not find any reference to Abdul Aziz during the period under review.

Abdul Ghaffar, the *Tawachi*

Abdul Ghaffar was the *tawachi* of Babur. We first notice him in January 1529 when he was appointed to carry a *farman* to Chin Timur Sultan and the other nobles who were commissioned to march against the Baloches. He was instructed by Babur that if any one of the nobles commissioned for marching against the Baloches showed slackness, he should send him an *arzdasht* and inform him. Such a noble would be demoted from his position (*mansab wa magab*) and removed from his territory (*wilayat wa pargana*).² We no more hear about Abdul Ghaffar, the *tawachi*, during the period under study.

Abdul Maluk Khwasti, the *Qurchi*

Abdul Maluk is first noticed in our sources in the year 1519. While giving an account of the year 1519, Babur in his memoirs sometimes refers to him as Abdul Maluk Khwasti and sometimes as Abdul Malik *qurchi*. He took an active part in Babur's military operations against Bajaur in January 1519.³ Subsequently, in the same year, before entering Bhira Babur sent him there along with seven or eight persons to gather some important information.⁴ In October 1519

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.688; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.527b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.638; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 496b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.368; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 297b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, p.381; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.308b.

he accompanied Babur on his expedition against Khizr Khail Afghans. After the successful completion of this expedition Babur sent Abdul Maluk in advance to Kabul. He instructed him to convey the news of his return to Kabul to the people there.¹

Sometime early in 1525 Abdul Maluk was sent by Babur as his envoy to Sultan Said Khan of Kashghar. In this context Babur mentions him as *qurchi*. He returned to Babur with an envoy of Sultan Said Khan. At that time Babur, while leading an expedition to Hindustan, was encamped at Dih-i Yaqub.² Later on, after the battle of Kanwah, Abdul Maluk *qurchi* was attached to an expedition against Ilias Khan, who had captured Kol.³ He was also attached to a military expedition sent against Qutab Khan of Chandwar and Husain Khan of Rapri.⁴ Shah Tahmasp had sent Hasan Chalabi as his envoy to Babur's Court. When Chalabi returned, Babur sent with him Abdul Maluk Khwasti as his envoy to Shah Tahmasp.⁵ After this we do not find any reference to Abdul Maluk Khawasti during the period concerned.

Abdullah, the *Kitabdar*

Abdullah, the *kitabdar*, though held the office of *kitabdar* under Babur yet, he rendered him military service also. He fought on Babur's

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.415; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.340a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.445; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.348b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.576; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 456a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol. i, p.266; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.642.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.582; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 460a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.642; B.M. MS. Or. 3714 f. 499a.

side in various battles not only in Afghanistan but in Hindustan also. He rendered him military service in the battle of Qandahar in 1507. After the battle when Babur sent his soldiers in pursuit of the enemy he was left just with eleven men only. Abdullah was one of these eleven men.¹ He had the honour of sharing an intoxicating confection with Babur. It was offered to Babur by Shah Mansur Yusufzai, when the former while on his march towards Bhira, was encamped near Bajaur on January 21, 1519.² Abdullah joined Babur in his wine parties also.³ A party was arranged for Babur who had gone on an excursion to Koh-daman and was camping in a garden near Khwaja Hasan. Along with some other *begs* Abdullah came from Kabul and joined the party.⁴

On April 1, 1526 Abdullah was sent from Sarsawa against Daud Khan and Hatim Khan. They were marching against Babur through the Mian-i Doab.⁵ Abdullah rendered military service to Babur against Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat also. He served in *dast-i rast-i ghul*.⁶ After the battle he was sent to Agra to keep watch on the

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.337. This passage is not traceable in B.M. MS. Or. 3714.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.373; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.301a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.398; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.325a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.418; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.343a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.467; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.363b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol. i, p.241.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.472; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 367a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

treasures.¹ Later on, along with some other *begs*, he was appointed to help Sultan Junaid Barlas who was assigned Dholpur after Babur's occupation of Agra. Along with other *begs*, he was soon commissioned to join Humayun at Chandwar. Humayun had been deputed against the eastern rebels.² Abdullah, the *kitabdar*, fought on Babur's side against Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah in 1527. In this battle also he served in the *dast-i rast-i ghul*.³

Due to Ali Yusuf's death in Sambhal Babur sent Abdullah, the *kitabdar*, to Sambhal to maintain law and order there. Through him Babur sent orders to Chin Timur Sultan asking him that he, along with Sultan Muhammad Duldai, Muhammadi and other *begs*, should assemble at Agra and remain ready to move to the place where the enemy might appear.⁴ Abdullah was deputed by Babur against Bibban and Bayzid. Within two weeks after his departure against them, he sent Babur a letter informing him about the occupation of Luknur by Bibban and Bayzid.⁵ Abdullah came from Sambhal and waited upon Babur on

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.475; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.369a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.246.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.420b.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.565; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.448b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.261; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p.36.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, pp.575-76; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.513a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.679; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.515b.

July 10, 1529.¹ This is the last reference to Abdullah, that we come across during the period under study.

Abul Fath Turkman, the *Shiqdar*

Abul Fath Turkman was the son of Mir Umar Beg Turkman, who was in the service of Sultan Husain Mirza and had received great favours from him. Abul Fath came from Iraq and joined Babur's service before the latter's occupation of Kabul. In his memoirs Babur refers to Abul Fath as a very soft, unsteady and feeble person.² He was appointed as *shiqdar* of Dholpur when it was made *khalisa* in November 1526. Later on, in the same year, he was included in the expeditionary force sent against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani of Hisar Firoza.³ Subsequently, for sometime he stayed in Gwalior as Babur writes in his memoirs that Abul Fath had made a hot bath there. Babur visited the hot bath in 1528.⁴ Thereafter, we don't find any reference to Abul Fath Turkman during the period under discussion.

Abul Muhammad, the *Neza-baz*

Abul Muhammad, the *neza-baz*, was a Turkish *amir*.⁵ We first notice him in the battle of Panipat where he served Babur in the

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.687; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.527 a-b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.280.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.540; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.428a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.615; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.481a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.582; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.460b.

tulghuma-i baranghar.¹ He fought on Babur's side in the battle of Kanwah also and after the battle, along with some Turkish and Hindustani *amirs*, he was sent against Mian Bibban. Bibban had besieged Lakhnau when Babur was engaged in fighting against Rana Sanga.² Abul Muhammad *neza-baz* seems to have been given the charge of the fort of Shamsabad by Babur.³ In December 1527 Babur received a report about a possible rebellion by Shaikh Bayzid and Bibban. He appointed Muhammad Ali Jang Jang against these rebel Afghans and asked him to take along with him Abul Muhammad *neza-baz*⁴ beside other *amirs*. Abul Muhammad *neza-baz*, however, after sometime was forced by Bibban, Bayzid and Maruf to surrender the fort of Shamsabad.⁵ We no more hear about Abul Muhammad *neza-baz* during the period under review.

Ahmadi, the *Parwanchi*

Ahmadi was in Babur's service and served as a *parwanchi*. He is first noticed in our sources during Babur's expedition against the

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.473; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.367a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.582; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 460b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev. vol.i, p.267.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.598; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.470b. We do not know the exact date when he was appointed.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.589; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.464b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.598; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 470b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.280.

Muhammadi Afghans in February 1519.¹ We again notice him in a wine party held by Babur in a raft near Bhira on March 5, 1519.² He also accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan in the year 1525-26. When the forces were marching towards Hindustan, Ahmadi was sent from Kalanur in pursuit of Ghazi Khan.³ Babur, while referring to the job assigned to Ahmadi, states in his memoirs that Ahmadi was one of his close associates and had lately been raised to the position of a *beg* in Kabul. He was one of those nobles who were ordered to capture the fort of Malot and take possession of the property lying in the fort after entering into the fort.⁴ Later on, he was deputed under the command of Chin Timur Sultan against Daud Khan and Hatim Khan.⁵ He fought on Babur's side in the battle of Panipat where he served in the *dast-i chap-i ghul*.⁶

Ahmadi the *parwanchi* was one of those notables who after Babur's installation at Agra expressed to him their inclination to return to Kabul. Babur writes in his memoirs, rather in a complaining tone,

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.377; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.304a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, p.385; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.311b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.458; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.357b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.460; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.359a.

⁵ *Baburnama*, B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 363b-364a. His name is omitted in Mrs. Beveridge's English translation.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.472; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.367a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425; *Tarikh-i Alfi* Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

about Ahmadi's insistence on returning to Kabul.¹ The last reference we come across about Ahmadi the *parwanchi* is about his crushing the uprising of Hamid Khan Sarang Khani in the neighbourhood of Hisar Firoza.²

Ashiq, the *Bakawal*

Ashiq is first noticed in our sources in Babur's service in the year 1528, when the latter was marching towards Chanderi. He was serving under Babur as a *bakawal*. Ashiq was included in the forces sent in advance to Chanderi under the command of Chin Timur Sultan.³ A year later, we notice Ashiq, the *bakawal*, being ordered to join Chin Timur Sultan in his expedition against the Baloches. At that time he was posted in the vicinity of Samana and Sirhind.⁴

Dost, the *Diwan*

Dost, the *muhrdar*, the younger brother of Shah Muhammad, accompanied Babur on his expedition to Hindustan in 1519. Along with his brother and some others, he was appointed by Babur to reinforce Hindu Beg who was appointed at Bhira in March 1519. *Wajh wa istiqamat* of the nobles appointed at Bhira was fixed according to their

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.524; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.415a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.540; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.428a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.590; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.465a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.638; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 496 a-b.

status.¹ Dost accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan also. After his victory in the battle of Panipat Babur captured Delhi and appointed Dost as its *diwan*. The treasures of Delhi, after being sealed, were put under his custody.² Later on, in the same year, he was sent to Biana when Nizam Khan surrendered it to Babur. Shortly afterwards Biana was conferred upon Mahdi Khwaja.³ Dost, the *diwan*, fought on Babur's side in the battle of Kanwah and served in the *dast-i rast-i ghul* (right hand of center).⁴ After the battle, the *shiqdari* of Biana was bestowed on him.⁵ In April 1527, when Babur was encamped between Busawar and Chussa, while returning to Agra from an excursion in Firozpur, lord of the gate (Ishak Aqa) came and waited upon him.⁶ In 1528 Dost, the *diwan* (here he is referred to as Dost Muhammad s/o Baba Qashqa) was included in the expeditionary force sent under the command of Chin Timur Sultan against Bibban, Bayzid and Maruf Farmuli.⁷ He rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.388; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.315a. He is mentioned as Dost Beg by Mrs.Beveridge.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.476; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.369b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.539; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.427a. Here he is referred to as Dost, the lord of the gate (Ishak Aqa).

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.566; B.M. MS Or. f. 448b; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol. i, p.261; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p.36. Here again he is mentioned as Dost, Lord of the gate (Ishaq Aqa).

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.579; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.458a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.581; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.460a.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.601; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.472b.

in May 1529.¹ After that we don't come across any reference to Dost, the *diwan*, during the period concerned.

Faghfur, the *Diwan*

Faghfur, the *diwan*, was in Babur's service in 1520s and we first notice him when he is sent with Shaikh Jamal to plunder the villages of Mewat in order to divert the attention of the enemy before the battle of Kanwah in February 1527. Though they plundered the villages, yet, they failed to raise any alarm in the enemy's camp.² Another reference we come across about Faghfur, the *diwan*, is of July 1529 when 150 porters were sent by Babur with one of the servants of Faghfur to fetch melons, grapes and other fruits from Kabul.³

Ghiasuddin, the *Qurchi*

Ghiasuddin, the *qurchi*, is first noticed in our sources in the year 1528. In December 1528, after consulting the Turkish and Hindustani *amirs*, Babur decided to send an expedition under Askari to the east. He sent Giasuddin *qurchi* to Sultan Junaid Barlas and other nobels posted in the east with the message that they should join Askari on his arrival there.⁴ Having conveyed this message to Sultan Junaid Barlas

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.673; B.M. MS. 3714, f. 511b. Here again he is mentioned as Dost, Lord of the gate (Ishak Aqa).

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.551; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 439a-b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.687; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.527a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.628; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.489a.

Ghiasuddin, the *qurchi*, reported back to Babur on December 30, 1528.¹ Ghiasuddin, the *qurchi*, was once again sent to the east in January 1529, with the twin purpose of delivering message to the *amirs* posted in the east and bring news from there.² We no more hear about Ghiasuddin, the *qurchi*, during the period under study.

Khwaja Husain Beg, the *Diwan*

Khwaja Husain Beg, the younger brother of Auzun Hasan,³ was one of the *amirs* of Babur's father Umar Shaikh Mirza.⁴ Babur, in his memoirs refers to him as a very simple person but good at improvising drinks parties.⁵ On Umar Shaikh Mirza's death in 1494 Babur ascended the throne of Farghana and Khwaja Husain Beg served under him as well. Soon after Babur's accession his uncle Ahmad Mirza captured Auratipa, Khujand and Mirghinan. Babur sent Khwaja Husain along with Khwaja Qazi and Auzun as his envoy with peace proposals to Ahmad Mirza.⁶ Sometime later, Khwaja Husain seems to have changed his loyalties and joined the services of Sultan Ali Mirza, Babur's cousin, who was declared the Sultan of Samarqand by the Tarkhans. Khwaja Husain was a well wisher of Mazid Tarkhan. He, however, left

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, pp.636-37; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.495a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.637-38; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.496a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.26; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.19a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, pp.121-122; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.97b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.26; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.19a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.22a. His name is omitted in Mrs.Beveridge's translation, see also *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.2.

Samarqand when a dispute over the revenues of Bukhara arose between Sultan Ali Mirza and Mazid Tarkhan.¹

Along with the Tarkhans and the *begs* of Samarqand, Khwaja Husain rendered military service to Babur against Shaibani Khan in the battle of Sar-i pul in 1501. He served in the left wing of Babur's army. It may be noted that Babur counts him among the nobles of Samarqand.² One of Babur's nobles named Sultan Ahmad Tambal rebelled against him in 1502. Khwaja Husain helped him in his fight against the said noble at Akshi but they suffered a defeat and had to flee from Akshi. Khwaja Husain was one of the seven persons who accompanied Babur when he fled from Akshi.³

We do not find any reference to Khwaja Husain from 1502 to 1525. The next reference we come across about him in Babur's memoirs is related to the year 1525 when Babur was on his way to Hindustan. Babur states that when he was encamped at Barikab he received *ashrafis* and *tankas* of the value of 20,000 *shahrukhis* sent by Khwaja Husain, the *diwan* of Lahore.⁴ So it seems that Khwaja Husain must have been appointed by Babur as the *diwan* of Lahore during his

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. i, pp. 121-122; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 97b. They sent Mir Mughal to invite Babur to Samarqand against Sultan Ali Mirza.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p. 139; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 113b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p. 177; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 150b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p. 446; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 348b. There is no reference to the revenues of Lahore in B.M. MS. Or. 3714. But Mrs. Beveridge says that he sent 20,000 *shahrukhis* from the revenue of Lahore. The Turkish text mentions Khwaja Husain as *Diwan-i Khalsati-i Lahore*. See Turkish text f. 251b.

previous expedition to Hindustan in the year 1524. When Babur reached Parsrur on December 30, 1525 Khwaja Husain personally waited upon him.¹ He remained in attendance upon Babur and along with *jama-i dwanian-i uzam* rendered him military service in the battle of Kanwah. He served in *dast-i chap-i ghul* (left hand of centre).² In the course of the battle he sent his *jama-i diwanian* to reinforce the left wing. It may be noted that in both the references to Khwaja Husain in the context of his services in the battle of Kanwah, he is mentioned as the greatest of the *wazirs* as he commanded the *jama-i diwanian*.³ Thereafter, this we do not find any reference to Khwaja Husain during the period under review.

Khwaja Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa

Khwaja Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa, a brave soldier and an accomplished physician, seems to have joined service under Babur when the latter ascended the throne of Farghana. He served him in Central Asia, Kabul and Hindustan. In 1495, when Babur was marching towards Auratipa to recover it from Sultan Ali Mirza, he sent him as his envoy to Shaikh Zanun Arghun. Shaikh Zanun Arghun was holding the charge of Auratipa on behalf of Sultan Ali Mirza. Zanun arrested Khalifa and

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.458; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.357a; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.26. Khwaja Husain is mentioned as Khwaja Husain in B.M. MS. Or. 3714, while Mrs. Beveridge mentions him "collector of the revenue".

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.566; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.449a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.261; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.36; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr.Rizvi, p.420.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.566, 570; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff.449a & 451b.

ordered for his execution. Khalifa, however, made his escape and reached Babur.¹ We again notice him in 1497 when he accompanied Babur on his expedition to Samarqand. He was with Babur when the latter hurried back to Andijan on hearing about its capture by Jahangir Mirza. Babur became helpless at that time as he had lost Samarqand also. At such a crucial stage Babur had to part company with Khalifa due to the maneuvers of some hypocrites (*munafiq*) who did not want to see Khalifa in his service. Muhammad Husain Mirza and some others brought the state of affairs to such a pass that Babur had to send Khalifa to Tashkant.² In 1499-1500 we again notice Khalifa in Babur's service but he was dismissed again due to the machinations of Ali Dost, who was in a rebellious mood. Ali Dost charged Khalifa of being in alliance with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and having sympathy with Khwaja Qazi. He further expressed his apprehensions to Babur that Ibrahim might take a revenge upon him.³

Khalifa loyally served Babur during the latter's rule in Kabul. He was one of the commanders who were left in Kabul, when Babur went to Khurasan. During Babur's absence from Kabul, Muhammad Husain Dughlat, Sanjar Barlas and some other nobles declared Mirza Khan as *padshah*. Khalifa and some other nobles defended the fort and saved it

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.55; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.42a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.90; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff.71b-72a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.119; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.95a-b.

from the rebels.¹ Khalifa rendered military service to Babur when the latter attacked Bajaur in 1519. He served in the left wing.² Later on, in the same year, Babur captured Bhira and divided it into four *sarkars* in order to collect the *mal-i aman*. One of these *sarkars* was assigned to Khalifa.³ Babur visited Khalifa's house on September 3, 1519 and broke his Ramzan fast there. On this occasion Khalifa offered him an *asp-i zindar*.⁴ He accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan in the year 1525-26. Along with his Hazara and Afghan followers Khalifa besieged Alam Khan in the fort of Ginguta in January 1526.⁵ Later on, in the same year, he was sent against Hamid Khan of Hisar Firoza.⁶ In the battle of Panipat he served in *dast-i chap-i ghul*.⁷ After the battle of Panipat, along with Dilawar Khan and Janangir Quli he was ordered to bury Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's body. Along with other *begs* he was sent to Delhi and Agra to keep a watch on the treasures. He received a list of the articles lying in the fort from Ibrahim's mother and passed it on to Babur.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, p.313; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.272a; *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng. tr. p.197.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.369; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.298a-b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.384; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.311b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.408; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.334b.

⁵ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian text, vol. ii, p.6.

⁶ *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p.240.

⁷ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.472; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.367a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p.28. *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

In the battle of Kanwah Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa fought on Babur's side against Rana Sanga. While others were afraid, Khalifa performed painstakingly and with diligence in this battle.¹ He rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Chanderi on January 28, 1528. When the siege was in progress he delivered a letter to Babur. From this letter Babur came to know that the troops appointed under Muhammad Ali Jang Jang against Bayzid and the other rebel Afghans in the east had been defeated and had gone to Kanauj after abandoning Laknau.² Khalifa was also present at a feast held at Agra on December 18, 1528. Alongwith Tuqta Bugha Sultan and Askari he was given a seat on the right side of Babur.³ Babur left Agra for Dholpur in January 1529 and gave the charge of Agra to Khalifa. In Babur's absence he received letters addressed to Babur from Qazi Jia and Bir Singh Deo. Khalifa redirected these letters to Babur, who was at Dholpur.⁴ From these letters Babur came to know that Sultan Mahmud Lodi had captured Bihar. So he returned to Agra and subsequently marched towards the east to subjugate Sultan Mahmud Lodi. Khalifa also accompanied Babur on this expedition.⁵ In August 1529 Rahimdad revolted against Babur at Gwalior. Khalifa intervened and sent letters to Rahim Dad

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.556 & 569; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.443a & 451a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.594; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.467a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.631; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.490b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.639; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.497a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.666; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.506b.

asking him to sort out the matters. At the same time, he prevailed upon Babur to desist from leading an expedition against the rebel Afghan chief.¹

Towards the end of the year 1529 Khalifa's relations with Babur seem to have strained as we notice him wavering in his fidelity to Babur. Abul Fazl mentions in the *Akbarnama* that Babur ordered Khalifa to go to Badakshan, which had been invaded by Sultan Said Khan. Khalifa did not obey his orders and Babur had to send Sulaiman Mirza.² Abul Fazl, the author of *Akbarnama*, charges Khalifa of having conspired to supersede Humayun's candidature for the throne, despite the fact that Humayun had been nominated by Babur as his successor in the presence of various nobles including Khwaja Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa. Subsequently, Khalifa somehow changed his mind and agreed to Humayun's candidature.³ Abul Fazl records this incident of disobedience on Khalifa's part. He further states that he was one of the close associates of Babur. He sums up Khalifa's character by saying that "on account of his long service, trustworthiness, soundness of understanding and steadfastness of counsel, Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa held high rank under Babur. He possessed various qualities and

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.689; B.M. MS. Or.3714, f.528a.

² *Akbarnama*, Persian text, p.115; Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.274.

³ *Ibid*, Persian text, p.117; Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, pp.276-77. For details of conspiracy see *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian text, pp.28-29, *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Persian text, pp.130-31. The *Mathir-ul Umara*, Eng. tr. vol. ii, part I, pp.220-21.

excellences and in particular was a successful physician.”¹ According to *Tarikh-i Shahi* during Babur’s illness Khalifa performed the functions of royalty and all the powers were vested in him (*sahib-i ikhtiyar*)² and the affairs of the sultanate depended upon him. According to *Mathir-ul Umara*, “Mir Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa was the mainstay of Babur’s power and on account of his great loyalty, close association, farsightedness, correct judgement, outstanding bravery and ability he was greatly favoured by the Emperor. He was also very accomplished, particularly in matters of medical knowledge.”³

Kichik Ali, the *Shiqdar*

Kichik Ali started his career as a retainer (*naukar*) of Sultan Muhammad Wais, one of the nobles who served Babur in central Asia. He fought on Babur’s side against Sultan Ahmad Tambal first at Aush and then at Akshi in 1502 and 1503.⁴ He, thus rendered valuable service to Babur when the latter was in central Asia. He served Babur in Hindustan as well but we do not have any evidence to prove as to when did he join Babur’s service in Hindustan.⁵ When Babur occupied Agra the nearby Kol also came under his possession and he appointed Kichik

¹ *Akbarnama*, Persian text, p. 119; Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 281.

² *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Persian text, pp. 130-31.

³ *The Mathir-ul Umara*, Eng. tr. vol. ii, part I, p. 220.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p. 176; B.M.M.S. Or. 3714, f. 149a.

⁵ There is no evidence regarding Kichik Ali’s being in Babur’s service from 1504-1525.

Ali as its *shiqdar*.¹ A retainer's rise to the position of a *shiqdar*, on the one hand, speaks about the efficiency of incumbent and on the other hand proves that Babur, while making appointments, gave due weightage to the merits of the nobles.

Just before the battle of Karwah, Rustam Khan (Ilias Khan) captured Kol and made Kichik Ali a prisoner.² The Mughal forces, however, recovered Kol, captured Rustam Khan and sent him to Agra, where he was flayed alive.³ Hereafter, we do not find any evidence regarding the fate of Kichik Ali.

Mir Ali, the *Qurchi*

Mir Ali served under Babur as a *qurchi*. We come across only one reference to him, which relates to May 1527. In May 1527 he was deputed to carry a pack of cards for Shah Hasan Arghun, who was posted at Thatta. Shah Hasan was fond of cards and had demanded the same from Babur.⁴

Mir Darwesh Muhammad, the *Sarban*

We first notice Mir Darwesh Muhammad, the *sarban*, in 1519 when he came as an envoy from Mirza Khan and waited upon Babur on July 9. Exempting him from all the ambassadorial formalities Babur

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.176; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.149a.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.557; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.443b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.266.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.576; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.456a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.584; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.462a.

asked Mir Darwesh Muhammad, the *sarban*, to present himself in his wine party. Next day, Mir Darwesh Muhammad formally presented himself in the *diwan* and offered Babur presents (*peshkash-hai*) on behalf of Mirza Khan.¹ He remained in Babur's attendance throughout the year. In the month of August he accompanied Babur on his excursion on a raft in the Panjhir river near Khwaja Khawand's tomb. During the excursion a minor accident took place when the raft struck against a rock. As a result of this accident some persons fell into the river, Muhammad Darwesh was one of them. Babur also lost a Chinese cup in this accident as the cup fell into the river. Muhammad Darwesh presented a seven coloured cup to Babur, almost similar to the one the latter had lost.²

Muhammad Darwesh's behavior during the year he remained with Babur pleased the latter. He was counted among the close associates of Babur and was held in high esteem by the latter.³ Babur granted him a *khilat-i khasa* and a saddled horse and made him kneel for service (*naukari*).⁴ We again notice him in a wine party held at Qiriq-ariq, when Babur was leading an expedition against Yusuf Zai Afghans. In this party Muhammad Ali Darwesh took wine for the first time on the

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, p.402; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.328a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, p.407; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.334a.

³ *Akbarnama*, Persian text, p.120; Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol.i, p.281.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.408; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.334b.

insistence of Khwaja Muhammad Ali, the *kitabdar*.¹ After few days we notice him in one of Babur's *majun* parties.²

Darwesh Muhammad, the *sarban*, rendered military service to Babur in three main battles which the latter fought in Hindustan. He fought on Babur's side in the battle of Panipat and served in *dast-i rast-i ghul*.³ He again sided with Babur when the latter fought against Rana Sanga at Kanwah. In this battle also he served in *dast-i rast-i ghul*. He had been to Biana a number of times and was quite familiar with the area. So he was deputed by Babur along with Qismatai to look for a camping ground near the lake of Sikri.⁴ When Babur emerged victorious in the battle of Kanwah Darwesh Muhammad, the *sarban*, reminded him about his oath to remit the *tamgha* to the Musalmans in the event of his victory over Rana Sanga. Babur readily agreed and issued a *farman* to this effect.⁵ We finally notice Muhammad Darwesh, the *sarban*, rendering military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra.⁶ We no more hear about him during the period under study.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, p.410; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.336b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, p.412; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.337b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, pp.470-72; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff.365b-367a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.548 & 565; B.M. MS. Or. 3714; ff. 437a & 448b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev. vol.i, pp.260-61; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.555; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.440b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.673; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.511b.

Mir Khurd, the *Bakawal*

Mir Khurd served under Babur as a *bakawal*. We first notice him in an *araq* party at Bhira in March 1519.¹ Babur was encamped at Bhira while returning to Kabul after his successful Bhira expedition. He deputed Mir Khurd to get pheasants.² In August 1519 Mir Khurd was appointed guardian of prince Hindal and was asked to present 1000 *shahrukhis* as *sachiq* (present).³ He, subsequently, seems to have been appointed by Babur in the service of prince Humayun. In 1529, we notice him accompanying Humayun on his expedition against the Uzbeks in central Asia.⁴ Hereafter, we do not find any information about Mir Khurd, the *bakawal*, during the period under review.

Mir Muhammad, the *Jalaban*

A person who helped and guided the army in crossing rivers was designated as *jalaban*. Mir Muhammad served as *jalaban* under Babur. His services were first requisitioned in 1519, when Babur was planning to cross the Sind river, while on his way to Bhira. Mir Muhammad, his brethren and some other *jawans* were deputed to look after a ford at river Sind.⁵ They discovered a ford through which the horses and baggage camels crossed. Rest of the army including camp *bazaar* (*urdu-*

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. Vol. i, p.388; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 315a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, p.404; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 331a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.408; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.334b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.640; B.M. MS. Or. f. 497b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.378; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.305a.

Bazar) and the infantry (*pyadah*) crossed the river on rafts (*jalas*).¹ Later on, in the same year, Mir Muhammad accompanied Babur when the latter went on a raft on an excursion near the tomb of a certain Khwaja. He fell into the river when the raft struck against a rock and had to be pulled back on to the raft with great difficulty.² Babur himself had to spend a night at the house of a raftman (*jalaban*).³

The next reference, that we come across about Mir Muhammad pertains to February-March 1528 when Mir Muhammad was ordered by Babur to locate a suitable spot near Kanauj for constructing a bridge over the Ganges. Babur's army had to cross the river for countering the Afghan forces which under the leadership of Bibban, Bayzid and Maruf, were encamped on the eastern bank of the river.⁴ Mir Muhammad selected the site and the bridge was constructed in a week's time with the help of some active overseers (*muhassalan-i jald*), who provided their guidance and the required equipment.⁵ When the bridge was completed, the *pyadas* and Lahoris of the Mughal army crossed the river of marching on the bridge. The *tabina-i khasa* and the rest of the army crossed through the ford.⁶ Babur states in his memoirs that the

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, pp.378-79; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.306a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.407; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.333a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.407; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.334a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, pp.599; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.470b.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, pp.600; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.471b.

Afghans “ridiculed the bridge making as being far from completion”.¹ However, he himself was satisfied or rather happy with the work as he awarded Mir Muhammad with a dagger on the occasion of a grand feast in December 1528.² Gifts were also awarded to the other participants in the feast.

Towards the end of March 1528, when Babur was encamped near Oudh and wanted to cross rivers Sarda and Ghagara, he asked Mir Muhammad to arrange ferries for crossing these rivers.³ Again in 1529 Babur’s forces were to cross river Saru for counting the Bengalis and the Afghans. He, along with his forces, crossed the river through the passage suggested by Mir Muhammad.⁴

Muhammad Khalil, the *Akhtabegi*

Muhammad Khalil served under Babur as an *akhtabegi*. We come across two references to him during the period under review. In November 1526, he, along with his brethren and other *begs*, was appointed to undertake a plundering excursion in the neighbourhood of Biana.⁵ He, later on, rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah.⁶

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, pp.600; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.471b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.602; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.473b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.632-33; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.493a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.674; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.512a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.538; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.426a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.569; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.451a.

Muhibb-i Ali, the *Qurchi*

Muhibb-i Ali before joining Babur's service was in the service of Khusrau Shah of Hisar. He was sent as an envoy to Babur by Khusran Shah in 1504 when the former was on his way from Farghana to Khurasan.¹ He waited upon Babur, who describes him as one of the best servants of Khusrau Shah.² Muhibb-i Ali joined Babur's service after the latter's occupation of Kabul. When Babur left Kabul for Khurasan in 1506, he left him at Kabul along with some other *begs* for its defence. He gallantly defended the fort when Sultan Sanjar Barlas, Mirza Khan and Muhammad Husain Dughlat revolted at Kabul.³ He also rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Qandahar against Shah Muhammad and Muqim Beg.⁴ He once again rendered valuable service to Babur by revealing to Khalifa and Mulla Baba about the conspiracies of the rebellious Mughals, i.e. the Hisaris, against Babur.⁵

Later on, Muhib-i Ali accompanied Babur on his expedition to Bhira in 1519. Babur, after capturing Bhira divided it into four *sarkars*. It was decided to realize an amount of 400, 000 *sharukhis* from the *kalantars* and *chaudharis* of these *sarkars* as *mal-i aman*.⁶ Muhibb-i Ali

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.188; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.157a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.307; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.263a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.313; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.272a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.213.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.335; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 292b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.346; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.296a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.383; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.310a.

and Sayyid Qasim were appointed in one of these *sarkars*.¹ He was present in a wine party of Babur held at Qiriq ariq.² He also accompanied Babur during his last expedition to Hindustan. In February 1526 he was ordered by Babur to join the expeditionary force sent under Humayun's command against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani of Hisar Firoza.³ After this we do not hear about Muhibb-i Ali during the period under review.

Mulla Apaqa, the *Shiqdar*

We first notice Mulla Apaqa in 1526, when he was sent by Babur with *farmans* of favour to the *tarkashbandan wa sipahiyan* (quiver wearers and soldiers) of Kol (Aligarh) and its neighbouring territories.⁴ He seems to have been in Babur's service even before 1526 as the latter states that two three years before assigning Mulla Apaqa this task his status (*mastaba*) was very low. His status was elevated as a reward for having mobilized his brethern into a compact body.⁵ The area on the banks of Sind, which was under the Auruq Zai and other Afghans, was assigned to him.⁶ In 1526 we again notice him rendering military service

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.384; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.311b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.410; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.336b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.465. This passage is missing in B.M. MS. Or. 3714.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.526; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.416a.

⁵ *Jamiat*

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.526; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.416a-b.

to Babur by joining Hindu Beg's expedition against Mian Bibban.¹ A little later, he was sent with Rahimdad on an expedition towards Gwalior.² Just before the battle of Kanwah, Mulla Apaqa and his younger brother were despatched by Babur, along with Abdul Aziz, in the scouting party against Rana Sanga. His younger brother lost his life in the skirmishes that took place before the battle of Kanwah.³

Babur led an expedition towards Chanderi in January 1528. From Bandir he sent Mulla Apaqa along with Chin Timur Sultan with a command of six thousand to seven thousand men in advance to Chanderi.⁴ After the conquest of Chanderi a *khalisa* of fifty lacs was fixed and Mulla Apaqa was appointed as *shiqdar* of Chanderi. He was left there with two thousand to three thousand Turks and Hindustanis to reinforce Ahmad Shah, who was reinstated at Chanderi.⁵ In the following years the retainers (*jama 'at*) of Mulla Apaqa kept serving Babur during his expedition against the Afghans near Ghagra. Later on, these retainers, beside other *begs*, were sent by Babur against Bibban and Bayzid.⁶ Hereafter we do not come across any reference to Mulla Apaqa during the period concerned.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, pp.528-29; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff.418b-419a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol. i, p.254; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, pp.428-29.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.539; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 427b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.549; B.M. MS. Or. 3714 f, 437b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.590; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.465a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.598; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.470a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.679; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.515b.

Mulla Gulam, the *Yassawal*

Mulla Ghulam, a *yassawal*, was in Babur's service and rendered him valuable service during his operations in the east in May 1529. During this expedition he was given the responsibility of selecting a place for placing the mortar so that it could be used effectively against the Bengalis. A number of *yassawals* were also appointed for his help.¹ Later on, in the same month, he was sent to Bihar for collecting the *khidmatana* which Jalal Khan Nohani had agreed to pay to Babur.² We no more hear about him during the period under study.

Mulla Murshid Iraqi, the *Diwan*

Mulla Murshid Iraqi was in Babur's service and must have accompanied him when the latter invaded Bhira in 1519. It was from Bhira that Babur sent him as an envoy with a *garchigha* to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He instructed him to ask Ibrahim Lodi to hand over the countries which for a long time had been in the possession of the Turks. He, however, was detained by Daulat Kan Lodi at Lahore for several days. Daulat Khan Lodi neither himself saw him nor allowed him to go to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.³ He returned to Kabul without securing any reply. He, later on, was made the *diwan* of Bihar. On April 7, 1529 Babur sent two thousand men under the command of Tardi Muhammad

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.670; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.509a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.676; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.513b.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.385; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.310b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.238.

towards Bihar in order to encourage the people there. He also sent Mulla Murshid Iraqi, who had been made the *diwan* of Bihar with them.¹

Mumin-i Ali, the Tawachi

The two references that we come across about Mumin-i Ali, the tawachi, pertain to the years 1525 and 1527. He accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan in 1525. Before crossing river Indus, Babur sent him in advance to Lahore to deliver his message to the *begs* there. In his message Babur had asked the *begs* not to engage in a battle with Daulat Khan and Ghazi Khan before his arrival.² After the battle of Kanwah in 1527, Mumin-i Ali was ordered by Babur to carry *Fath-nama* to Kabul.³

Muqim Harwi, the Diwan-i Bayutat

Muqim Harwi was the father of Nizamuddin Ahmad, the author of *Tabaqat-i Akbari*. We have been able to deduce little information about him, and that too from the later sources. Nizamuddin Ahmad, in his book, refers to his father in the context of the conspiracy hatched by Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa to place Mahdi Khwaja instead of Humayun on the throne of Agra. At that time Muqim Harwi was the *diwan-i bayutat* of Babur.⁴ It seems that he might have joined Babur's service during the

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. in Bev. vol.ii, p.662; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 504a; *Tazkirat-ul Umara* mentions him as ahl-i qalm and says that he was a "Diwan-i khalisa-i Bihar", see f.93a.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.451. This passage is missing in B.M. MS. Or. 3714.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.580; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.458a.

⁴ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian text, p.28.

last one and a half years of his reign. It has also been stated in the *Maathir-ul Umara* that Muqim Harwi held the office of *diwan-i bayutat* towards the end of Babur's reign.¹ We do not find any other reference to Muqim Harwi in our sources of the period concerned.

Qasim, the *Mir Akhur*

We come across only two references to Qasim, the *mir akhur*. He seems to have been in Babur's service from the day of the latter's accession to the throne in Farghana. He served him in central Asia as well as in Hindustan. When Babur lost Andijan and Samarqand in 1498, some of his *begs* left him but Qasim remained with him during his exile and bore all the hardships with him.² In 1527, when Babur was marching against Rana Sanga, Qasim, the *mir akhur*, was entrusted the task of supervision of digging of wells in *pargana* Madhaukar to meet the requirements of the *urdu wa asp*. (the army and the cavalry).³

Shah Husain, the *Bakhshi*

We come across only one reference to Shah Husain, the *bakhshi*. He is noticed in Babur's service for the first time in 1529, when he gave Babur the news of the success of the expeditionary forces against the scouts of Bibban and Bayzid. Babur at that time was camping opposite

¹ *Maathir-ul Umara*, Eng. tr. vol. ii, part 1, p.394. After the death.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.91; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.73a.

³ *Ibid.* Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.548; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.436b.

pargana Adampur in the east.¹ Shah Husain gave him some other news also. Hereafter we do not find any information about him in the sources of the period concerned.

Shah Muhammad, the *Muhardar*

Shah Muhammad, the *muhardar*, was the elder brother of Dost Beg *muhardar* who later held the offices of *diwan* and *shiqdar* under Babur. We notice him in Babur's service for the first time when, along with some other *begs*, he was appointed to reinforce Hindu Beg at Bhira after its conquest in 1519. A suitable *wajh wa istiqamat* was fixed for Shah Muhammad for this purpose.² We again notice Shah Muhammad, the *muhardar*, in August 1529, when he was sent to Gwalior with letters of Khalifa for Rahimdad. Rahimdad, as per the reports of Sayyid Mashhadi, had rebelled. Shah Muhammad returned from Gwalior after a few days and brought with him the son of Rahimdad. After this we no more hear about Shah Muhammad, the *muhardar* during the period under review.³

Shaikh Zain, the *Sadr*

Shaikh Zain was the grandson of Shaikh Zainuddin Khwafi. He was a learned man of versatile abilities. About him Abul Fazl states in the *Akbarnama* that he had acquired the knowledge of practical

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.685. This reference to Shah Husain is missing in B.M. MS. Or. 3714.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.388; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.315a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.688; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.528a.

sciences, skill in prose and the art of letter writing.¹ Abul Fazl refers to him as *sadr*² whereas, Badauni, in his *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, states that he held the office of *sadr-i mustaqil* under Babur.³ The author of the *Tazkirat ul Umara* states that Shaikh Zain held the office of *sadarat-i kulli*.⁴

We first notice Shaikh Zain in Babur's service in the year 1525 when he accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan. He was one of the verse makers, who composed verses near the Kabul river.⁵ Along with Maulana Mahmud and few others he went to Delhi for congregational prayer. He also distributed money among the poor.⁶ Before the battle of Kanwah he wrote the *farman* announcing Babur's renunciation of wine.⁷ He drafted the *Fath-nama* of the battle of Kanwah.⁸ Besides drafting the *Fath-nama* he also rendered military service in the battle of Kanwah and served in *dast-i chap-i ghul*.⁹ Muhammad Zaman Mirza after his appointment in Bihar in April 1529, made representations regarding several matters to Babur through

¹ *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Beav. vol.i, p.280.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.H. Beav., vol.i, p.280.

³ *Muntakhab ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. vol. i, p.609.

⁴ *Tazkirat ul umara*, Persian text, f. 95a.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Beav. vol. i, p.448; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.350a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Beav. vol. ii, p.476; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.369.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Beav. vol. ii, p.533; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.440b.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Beav. vol. ii, p.559; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Beav. vol.i, p.266.

⁹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Beav. vol.ii, p.565; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.449a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Beav. vol.i, p.261; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

Shaikh Zain.¹ In June 1529, along with other *mullas*, Shaikh Zain was invited by Babur to his *majun* party.² We no more hear about him during the period under discussion.

Sultan Muhammad, the *Bakhshi*

Sultan Muhammad was in Babur's service and held the office of *bakhshi*. In 1519, when Babur was returning from his expedition against the Abdur Rahman Afghans, he ordered Sultan Muhammad, the *bakhshi*, to get pheasants.³ He accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan and before the battle of Panipat, beside other *begs*, he was sent with a force of four to five thousand to deliver a night attack on Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's camp.⁴ He fought on Babur's side in the battle of Panipat and served in the *jawanghar* (left wing).⁵ After the occupation of Agra Babur was administered poison by Ibrahim Lodi's mother. The cook held responsible for helping Ibrahim Lodi's mother in administering poison to Babur was put under the charge of Sultan Muhammad, the *bakhshi*.⁶

Sultan Muhammad, the *bakhshi*, rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah also. At Kanwah he seems to have

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.662; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.526b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.683; B.M. MS. Or. f.516b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.404; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.331a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.471; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.366a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.472; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol. i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.542; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.430a.

supervised the operations, for we notice him assigning positions to the commanders by sending *tawachis* and *yasawals*.¹ He seems to have been a close associate of Babur as the latter called on him at his residence in Agra on December 13, 1528. He offered a *peshkash* worth two lacs to Babur and entertained him with *majun*.² He accompanied Babur on his expedition against the Afghans in the east in 1529. He brought Khwaja Kalan's servant Shamsuddin Ahmad, who had brought a letter about Kabul's affairs from his master, to Babur's presence (on February 6, 1529).³ Soon afterwards, he must have been despatched by Babur towards Agra because on March 21, 1529 he wrote Babur a letter confirming the news that Babur's family had commenced its journey from Kabul to India.⁴ Muhammad, the *bakhshi*, waited upon Babur in the garden of eighth paradise when the latter returned to Agra on June 24, 1529.⁵

Wali, the *Khazin*

Wali was in Babur's service much before his occupation of Hindustan and held the office of *khazin*. He rendered military service to Babur not only in central Asia and Afghanistan but also in Hindustan.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.568; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.450a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev., vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p.37.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.629; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.489a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.644; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.499b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.667; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 523a. He has been referred to only as Muhammad bakhshi in B.M. MS. Or. 3714.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.686; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.518b. Here again he is referred to as Muhammad, *the bakhshi*.

He fought on Babur's side against Sultan Ahmad Tambal in Akshi in 1502. He was made prisoner but released soon.¹ He also rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Qandahar against Shah Beg and Muhammad Muqim.² He was deputed by Babur to fight against the Bajauris in 1519 and brought down two men with his matchlock.³ Wali also accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan. From Kalanur, along with other *begs*, he was sent in pursuit of Ghazi Khan and Daulat Khan in January 1526.⁴

In February 1526, along with other *begs*, Wali was attached to the forces sent under the command of Humayun from Ambala against Hamid Khan of Hisar Firoza.⁵ Later on, in April 1526, before the battle of Panipat he was sent along with other *begs* with an army of five thousand to six thousand men to deliver a night attack on Ibrahim Lodi's camp. He fought on Babur's side in the battle of Panipat and served in the *baranghar*.⁶ After the battle of Panipat, along with other *begs*, he was sent to Agra to take possession of the treasures.⁷ Most of

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.181; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 156a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.335; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.293a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.369; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.297b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.458; His name is missing in B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.357b; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.420.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.465; This portion is missing in B.M. MS. Or. 3714; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol. i, p.240; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.634.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.471-72; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff.366a-b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev. vol. i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Firishita*, Eng. tr.Briggs, vol. ii, p.28.

⁷ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.475; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.369a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev., vol.i, p.246.

the *begs* decided to leave Hindustan after the battle of Panipat. Babur states in his memoirs that among those *begs* who decided to leave Hindustan the behavior of Wali Khazin was worse.¹ However, it seems that he did not leave Hindustan. Babur assigned Dholpur to Junaid Barlas in 1526 and appointed Wli khazin to help him in capturing Dholpur. Later on, he was ordered to join Humayun at Chandwar, when the latter was leading an expedition against the eastern rebels.² Wali fought on Babur's side against Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah and served in the *baranghar*.³

Wali Qizil, the *Shiqdar*

We first notice Wali Qizil in Babur's service in 1525. He waited upon Babur, when the latter, while moving towards Hindustan, crossed river Bihat (Jehlum) in the month of December. At that time he held the *parganas* of Bimruki and Akriada, probably in the Punjab.⁴ According to the author of *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Wali Qizil was appointed by Babur to reinforce Kokuldash in Sialkot.⁵ He, however, did not help Kokuldash and returned to Babur. Babur expressed his unhappiness on his

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.524; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.415a.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.420b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.256.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.566; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.449b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.262.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.453; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.353b.

⁵ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian text, vol. ii, p.3.

action.¹ Subsequently, Wali Qizil rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Panipat, where he served in the *tulghuma-i baranghar*.² He later accompanied Babur to Delhi who, before leaving for Agra, appointed him the *Shiqdar* of Delhi. Babur also appointed Dost Beg as the *diwan* of Delhi. He got the treasures of Delhi sealed and entrusted its charge to Wali Qizil and Dost Beg.³ In May 1528, Wali Qizil was appointed to serve under Chin Timur Sultan, who was leading an expedition against Bibban and Bayzid.⁴ In 1529 he once again was appointed to serve under Chin Timur Sultan, who was leading an expedition against the Baloches.⁵ We do not come across any other reference to Wali Qizil during the period under study.

Yusuf Ali, the *Rikabdar*

Yusuf Ali served under Babur as *rikabdar*. We first notice him when he was sent by Babur to Kabul on January 28, 1519 to deliver a letter to Mahim. Babur entrusted to him the guardianship of prince Hindal, as he had desired.⁶ Babur further states in his memoirs that on June 28, 1519, Yusuf Ali swam in the tank of the Chinar garden

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.453; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.353b.

² *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.473; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.367a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev. vol. i, p.243; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p.440; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.476; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f.369b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.601; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.472b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.638; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.496 a-b. In BM. MS. Or. 3714, only Qizil is mentioned.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.374; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.302a. Hindal was not born yet.

hundred times. For this feat Babur conferred upon him a *khilat*, a saddled horse and gave some money.¹ We again notice him in November 1519, when he waited upon Babur, when the latter, while returning from Kabul was encamped near Astrayhach.²

Yusuf Ali served Babur in Hindustan also. Along with Darvesh Ali, he was appointed by Humayun at Sambhal. During their stay at Sambhal they led an expedition against Qutab Khan Sarwani and a body of the *rajas* and defeated them. To convey Babur the message of their success, they sent him few heads and an elephant on September 27, 1527. Babur at that time was on an excursion at Kol.³ During his stay at Sambhal, Yusuf Ali established law and order (*zabt wa rabt*) there. He died in Sambhal. Babur received the report about his death when he was encamped in the Nirhun *pargana* of Kharid on the northern side of Kharid river. So Babur sent Abdulla, the *kitabdar* to Sambhal for its management (*zabt wa rabt*).⁴

A RESUME

It may be noted that two of the notables namely Abdul Aziz and Qasim carry the designation of *mir akhur* while two of them namely

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.401; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.327b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. i, p.418; B.M.MS. or 3714, f.343a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.587; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.463a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol. ii, p.675; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f.513a. Here he is mentioned as Ali Yusuf.

Abdul Ghaffar and Mumin-i Ali are mentioned as *tawarchi*. Another three namely Abdul Maluk Khwasti, Ghiasuddin and Mir Ali are referred to as *qurchi*. Abul Fath Turkman, Mulla Apaqa and Wali Qizil are mentioned as *shiqdars*. Similarly, while Dost, Faghfur and Khwaja Husain Beg are referred to as *diwans*, Ashiq and Mir Khurd are mentioned as bakawals. Other notables whose biographies we have given above carried the designations of *kitabdar*, *nezabaz*, *parwanchi*, *sarban*, *akhtabegi*, *yasawal*, *diwan-i bayutat*, *muhardar*, *sadr*, *khazin*, *rikabdar* and *jalaban*.

However, it may be noted that whatever designations they carried, we notice that almost all of them were commissioned to render military service to Babur. Thus, military service was an essential ingredient irrespective of the specialised service a notable might have been required to perform. Be he a *kitabdar*, *rikabdar* or *qurchi* etc., military service was indispensable. Almost all of them are noticed at one time or the other rendering military service to Babur.

Apart from the military service, we notice many of the above notables serving as envoys and messengers of Babur to different rulers and nobles. Some of them were also Babur's companions in his wine parties. Hence, we notice that there was no hard and fast specialised division of functions as far as the above notables are concerned. It may also be pointed out that some of the persons whose biographies we have discussed above were in Babur's service even in central Asia and Kabul,

while others are first noticed in Hindustan only. Finally, it is also worth mentioning that unlike the Afghan chiefs who frequently changed their loyalties during the period under review, sometime joining hands with Babur and sometimes opposing him, none of the above mentioned central Asian notables deserted Babur to join the Afghans.

CHAPTER - VII

OTHER CENTRAL ASIAN NOTABLES

Abdur Rahim to Mughal Abdul Wahab

In the ensuing two chapters we have taken up the biographies of all the remaining central Asian elite whom we find active in Hindustan at one time or the other and at one place or the other during the period under discussion. As it was not possible to classify or group them thematically, we have recorded their biographies in alphabetic order. In the present chapter we have taken up the biographies beginning with Abdur Rahim Shaghawal.

Abdur Rahim

Abdur Rahim shaghawal is first noticed in the year 1519, when he accompanied Babur on his Bhira expedition. On reaching the vicinity of Bhira Babur sent Abdur Rahim as his emissary to the people to win them over by assuring them that there would be no plundering of Bhira.¹ After the battle of Panipat he accompanied Babur to Agra. He was asked to keep Ibrahim Lodi's mother in his custody when she was arrested on the charge of administering poison to Babur.² We again notice him during Babur's campaign to Mewat after the battle of Kanwah in 1527. He was sent by Babur as his envoy to Nahar Khan, s/o Hasan Khan Mewati. He succeeded in convincing Nahar Khan and bringing him to

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. i, p.381; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.308 a-b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.543; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.433 b.

Agra to wait upon Bahur.¹ We no more hear about him during the period under review.

Abul Shakur

We come across only one reference to Abul Shakur. He was in Babur's service and fought on his side in the battle of Kanwah against Rana Sanga. He served in the *baranghar*.²

Ahmad-i Yusuf

Ahmad-i Yusuf was a nephew of Sayyid Yusuf. Both of them were in the service of Babur's cousin Sultan Ali Mirza in 1498. Sultan Ali Mirza had given the charge of the fort of Yar-Yilaq to Sayyid Yusuf, who further entrusted it to Ahmad-i Yusuf. Babur attacked Yar-Yilaq and the forts in its vicinity and succeeded in capturing some of these forts. It aroused Sultan Ali Mirza's suspicions against Sayyid Yusuf and Ahmad-i Yusuf and he shifted them to Khurasan.³ As a result, both of them joined Babur's service in 1504.⁴ They rendered him military service against the Turkman Hazara in 1506.⁵ Later on, in the same year, Babur went to Khurasan and left Ahmad-i Yusuf and some other nobles at Kabul. Babur's absence from Kabul provided Muhammad Husain

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.578; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.457 a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.566; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.449 b.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.98; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.77 b-78 a. According to Persian version Sayyid Yusuf had left his younger brother and younger son in the fort. Ahmad-i Yusuf was one of them. Therefore, he might have been either a younger brother or a younger son of Sayyid Yusuf.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.196; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.164 a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.252; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.218 a.

Dughlat and Sultan Sanjar Barlas with an opportunity to revolt against him. They revolted and declared Mirza Khan to be their *padshah* at Kabul. At this time, according to Babur, Ahmad-i Yusuf put his best efforts to defend the fort of Kabul.¹ Babur returned to Kabul and then marched in pursuit of Khan Mirza; Ahmad-i Yusuf accompanied him.² He rendered military service to Babur when the latter besieged the fort of Bajaur in 1519.³

It seems that Ahmad-i Yusuf was asked by Babur to stay back in Kabul when he himself proceeded towards Hindustan in November 1525. He came from Kabul and joined Babur in March 1527, when the latter was encamped at Kanwah.⁴ In the battle of Kanwah Ahmad-i Yusuf served in the *baranghar*.⁵ He was given Sialkot as a reward for the meritorious services he rendered to Babur.⁶ Therafter, we do not find any reference to him in the sources of the period concerned.

Aughan Birdi Mughal

We first notice Aughan Birdi Mughal in 1519. He accompanied Babur on his Bajaur expedition and played a commendable role against

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.313; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.272 a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev. vol.i, p.230.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.315; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.275 b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.369; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.298 a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.550; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.438 b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.566; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.449 a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Frishta*, Eng.tr. Briggs vol.ii, p.36.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev.vol.i, p.98; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.77 b.

the Afghans.¹ We next notice him in an *araq* party held at Bhira in the same year.² He rendered meritorious service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra.³ After that we do not hear of him during the period under discussion.

Baba Chuhra

Before joining Babur's service Baba Chuhra had fought against him and was arrested along with other *begs*. He was sentenced to death but later was pardoned on the intervention of Qasim Beg.⁴ He then joined Babur's service and after joining his service he accompanied him to Hindustan and fought against Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat. Along with other *begs* serving in *tabinan-i khasa*, he was despatched in pursuit of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.⁵ Later on, he accompanied Humayun on his eastern campaign and from Jajmau, along with others, he was sent to gather news about the Afghans.⁶ In 1528 he was ordered to join Muhammad Ali Jang Jang, who had been appointed against Bibban, Shaikh Bayzid and Marul Farmuli.⁷ He rendered military service to

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev.vol.i, pp.376-77, B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.303 b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.387; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f. 313 b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.671-72; B.M.MS. Or ff.509 b-510 a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.345; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.295 b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.474; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.368 b-369 a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.534; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.423 b.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.590; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.464 b.

Babur in the battle of Ghagra also.¹ We do not find any reference about him during the period under study.

Baba Qashqa Mughal

Baba Qashqa was a Mughal.² We first notice him in Babur's service in the year 1519 when in the month of July he accompanied Babur on his expedition against Abdur Rahman Afghans. In the course of this expedition he was wounded by an Afghan.³ He, however, recovered soon as we notice him in one of Babur's wine parties where he was given a *khilat* as an *inam* by Babur.⁴ He accompanied Babur on his expedition to Hindustan in 1524. After the capture of Dipalpur its charge was given to Baba Qashqa Mughal.⁵ He, however, was driven out from there soon by Daulat Khan Lodi.⁶ He fought on Babur's side against Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat.⁷ After the occupation of Agra Babur sent his forces against various Afghan chiefs. Baba Qashqa Mughal was included in the expeditionary force sent to Sambhal against Mian Bibban.⁸ He rendered military service to Babur in the battle of

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.671; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.510 a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.404; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.331 a.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.405; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.332 a.

⁵ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.25.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Akbarnama*, Persian text, p.96; Eng.tr.H.Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.441; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr.Rizvi, p.635.

⁸ *Akbarnama*, Persian text, p.102; Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.254.

Kanwah also.¹ After the battle of Kanwah he was sent with the expedition despatched against Mian Bibban.² Therafter, we do not come across any reference to him during the period under study.

Baba Shaikh

We come across only one reference to Baba Shaikh during the period under review. We notice him in Babur's service in 1529 when he, along with two hundred effective braves, was sent from Buxar for gathering news about the enemy, i.e., the Bengalis.³ Therafter we do not hear about him.

Baqi Shaghawal

Baqi shaghawal was quite active in Babur's service in Hindustan. In his memoirs Babur uses different names for him, e.g. Baqi Tashkindi, Minbegi and Baqi. He was one of the few persons who were assigned territories in Hindustan. When Babur marched from Malot against Ibrahim Lodi he assigned Dipalpur to Baqi. However, instead of sending him to Dipalpur Babur sent him to Balkh for distributing the treasures he had obtained after the capture of Malot.⁴ Baqi seems to have returned from Balkh to Hindustan sometime in 1527, for, in January 1528 we again notice him serving Babur in Hindustan.⁵

¹ *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

² *Akbarana*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.267.

³ *Baburnama.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.661; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.526 a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.463; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.361 b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.590; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.465 a.

Babur marched towards Chanderi in January 1528. He sent an advance party towards Chanderi under the command of Chin Timur Sultan. Minbegi was included in this expeditionary force and asked to serve under Chin Timur Sultan.¹ After about two months Chin Timur Sultan was ordered to lead an expedition against Bibban and Bayzid Farmuli. Baqi shaghawal was included in this expeditionary force.² He seems to have been left at Oudh, as in May 1529 he reported to Babur, who was then encamped at Sikandarpur, about the capture of Lakhnour by Bibban and Bayazid.³ In June 1529, Baqi Tashkindi came with contingents from Oudh and waited upon Babur at Dalmau.⁴ He was deputed to gather news about the whereabouts of Bibban and Bayzid.⁵ Baqi successfully pursued Shaikh Bayzid and confronted the advance party of Bibban. He defeated the advance party and killed Mubarak Khan Jilwani, a strong man of Bibban and Bayzid, and some other persons.⁶ We no more hear about Baqi shaghawal during the period under study.

Bikhub Sultan

We notice Bikhub Sultan in Babur's service only in Hindustan. He was posted in the vicinity of Kanauj. In December 1527 Babur ordered

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.590; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.465a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.601-2; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.472 b-473 a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.679; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.515 b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.684; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.517 b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.685; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.518 a.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Muhammad Ali Jang Jang to March against Bibban, Bayzid and Maruf Farmuli. He was asked to take along with him Bikhub Sultan and other *amirs* of the vicinity of Kanauj.¹ Bikhub Sultan and the other *begs* crossed river Sarda in March 1528 and went in pursuit of Shaikh Bayzid. They, however, failed to capture him.² In February 1529 he waited upon Babur, when the latter was encamped at Dugdugi.³ He rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra also.⁴ In June 1529, he, along with other *begs*, was again appointed to pursue Bibban and Bayzid, who had fled towards Dalmau.⁵ Thereafter, we do not come across any reference to Bikhub Sultan during the period concerned.

Bujka

The scanty information about Bujka that we have been able to gather from the different sources pertaining to the period under review, is regarding his service under Babur in Hindustan. He served in *tabinan-i khasa*. In December 1525 alongwith other men he was deputed to collect information about the whereabouts of Ghazi Khan and the other Afghans. He informed Babur that the enemy had fled on hearing about the approaching Mughal forces.⁶ After the battle of Panipat Bujka, alongwith other braves, was sent in pursuit of Ibrahim

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.589; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.464 b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.602; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.473 a-b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.651; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.519 a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.669; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.508 b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.682; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.516 a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.458; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.357 a.

Lodi.¹ In 1526 he accompanied Humayun who was appointed to lead an expedition against the eastern rebels. On reaching Jajmau Humayun deputed Bujka to gather information regarding the whereabouts of Nasir Khan Nohani and other Afghans.² In January 1527, before the battle of Kanwah, he was deputed to reinforce the *begs* of Biana.³ He succeeded in defeating two of the Hindu scouting parties, bringing several heads and seventy to eighty prisoners.⁴ After this we do not hear about him during the period under discussion.

Gujar Khan

We come across only one reference about Gujar Khan during the period under review. In 1529, along with other *begs* he was dispatched by Babur under the command of Chin Timur Sultan against the Baloches.⁵ He held an assignment between Samana and Sirhind.

Halahil

The first reference that we come across about Halahil pertains to the year 1519. Babur assigned Nilab and Qaraq Hazara to Humayun in March 1519. Subsequently, some of Humayun's servants came with Halahil and asked for its *daroghaship*.⁶ Halahil served Babur in Hindustan also. He was given an assignment between Samana and

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.474; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.368 b-369 a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.534; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.423 b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.545; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.434 b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.546-547; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.435b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev.vol.ii, p.638; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.496 a-b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.391; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.318 a.

Sirhind. In January 1529 he along with other *amirs* was appointed under the command of Chin Timur Sultan against the Baloches.¹

Hasan

Hasan was the son of Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa. We come across only one reference to Hasan. Along with other *begs*, he was ordered by Babur to join Baqi Beg against Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid.²

Hasan i Ali

Hasan i Ali is noticed in Babur's service only once, i.e. in the year 1529. Babur conferred upon him a *sar-u-pa*, *kamar-i khanjar-i murassa* and a *pargana* worth 7 lacs on the eve of *Id (Idul Zulhija)* on August 16, 1529.³

Hasan Ali Siwadi

From the sources available pertaining to the period under review we come across only one reference to Hasan Ali Siwadi. Alongwith other *amirs* he was appointed by Babur under the command of Chin Timur Sultan against the Baloches in 1529.⁴ He was rewarded with an assignment between Samana and Sirhind.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.638; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.496 a-b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.679; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.514 a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.689; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.528 b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.638; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.496 a-b.

Hindu Beg

We first notice Hindu Beg in the service of Sultan Ali Mirza.¹ He left his services in 1499 and joined the services of Khan Mirza.² After some time he joined Babur's service but we cannot say with certainty as to when did he join his service. However, we first notice him in Babur's service in 1519, when Babur deputed him to raid Panjkura.³ Later on, in the same year, he accompanied Babur on his expedition to Bhira. After its conquest Babur assigned Bhira to Hindu Beg on march 7,1519.⁴ He also appointed Shah Muhammad *muhrdar*, his younger brother Dost *muhrdar* and some other braves (*jawan*) to reinforce Hindu Beg. A suitable *waja-wa-istaqamat* was fixed for them. *Waja-wa alufa* of the Turk and *zamindar* soldiers, who were in Bhira, was enhanced and they were asked to reinforce Hindu Beg. Prominent among these *amirs* and soldiers were Minuchihr Khan, Nazar Khan Turk, Sangur Khan Janjuha and Malik Hast Janjuha.⁵

Hindu Beg could not stay in Hindustan for long as he was attacked by a large number of Afghans and Hindustanis. He could not resist them and retired to Khushab. Passing through the *wilayat-i Din-*

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.122; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.97 b.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.374; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.301 b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.386; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.312 b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H.Bev. vol.i, p.238.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, pp.388-89; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f. 315 a-b. Nazar Khan Turk's name is omitted in B.M.MS. Or 3714.

kot, he crossed the Indus and returned to Kabul on April 26, 1519. He brought along with him a number of Hindus, whom he had captured. They paid ransom to Babur, who gave horses and *khilats* as *inam* to them and set them free.¹

In 1519 we again find Hindu Beg rendering military service to Babur against Abdur Rahman Afghans.² He accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan. On February 25, 1526 Babur sent Humayun against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani of Hisar Firoza and ordered Hindu Beg to join this expedition.³ Hindu Beg rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Panipat, he served in the *baranghar*.⁴ After his occupation of Agra Babur was requested by Qasim Husain Sambhali for help against Mian Bibban. He conferred Sambhal upon Humayun and dispatched Hindu Beg to take charge of Sambhal. Hindu Beg and his party succeeded in driving away Bibban from Sambhal and taking its possession from Qasim Sambhali.⁵

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.399; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.325 a-b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.239.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.403; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.329 b.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.465; This passage is missing in B.M.MS. Or 3714. See also *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.240.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.472, B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366 b, *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Firishtha*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.28; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr.Rizvi, p.635.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.528-29; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.418b-419a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. t. H.Bev. vol.i, p.254.

Hindu Beg rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah also. Along with Humayun he served in the *baranghar*.¹ After the battle of Kanwah he, perhaps, was sent to Kabul as we do not hear about him for almost two years.² He again came to Hindustan sometime about the middle of 1529. He came from Kabul as an escort to Babur's family. This duty was assigned to him, perhaps by Humayun.³ When Hindu Beg was sent to Kabul by Humayun the charge of Sambhal was entrusted to Ali Yusuf.⁴ Ali Yusuf, however died and Hindu Beg, on his return from Kabul went to Sambhal. He returned to Agra on July 9, 1529 and called upon Babur.⁵ He was present in Agra on the day of Id (August 16). On that day Babur conferred upon him a *sar-u pa-i khasa*, a *kamar-i shamshir-i murassa* and a *tipuchaq*.⁶ Hindu Beg was present in Agra at the time of Babur's death.⁷

Husain Aikzak

The first reference we come across about Husain Aikzak pertains to the year 1519-20 when he accompanied Babur on his expedition to Bhira. Before returning from Bhira, Babur conferred upon him the

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.566; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.449a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev., vol.ii, p.687; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.527a.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.689; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.528b.

⁷ *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.276.

wilayat of Chenab. He was allowed to go to Chenab along with the people of that area on March 8, 1519.¹ After some time he seems to have left Chenab and joined Babur at Kabul. We notice him in Babur's company in a drinking party held on a raft near Kanar on January 16, 1520. Babur states in his memoirs that Husain Aikzak lost his senses in this party and misbehaved.² After this we do not hear about him.

Husamuddin Ali

Husamuddin Ali was the son of Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa. We first notice him 1528 when along with other *begs* he was appointed by Babur to go in pursuit of Bibban, Shaikh Bayzid and Maruf Farmuli, who had fled from Kanauj.³ On July 9, 1529 he came from Alwar and waited upon Babur.⁴ We don't find any other reference to Husamuddin Ali during the period concerned.

Jafar Khwaja

Jafar Khwaja was the son of Mahdi Kawaja. Qutab Khan abandoned Etawa in 1527. It was assigned by Babur to Mahdi Khwaja. Since Mahdi Khwaja was in Kabul, his son, Jafar Khwaja was sent to Etawa.⁵ In February 1528, Babur, while marching against the eastern

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.i, p.386; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.312b; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.23.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.423; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.346a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.601; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.472b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.687; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.527.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.579; B.M.MS. Or 37 4, f.458a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.642.

rebels, sent Jafar Khwaja and Yakka Khwaja from Bandir to Kalpi to bring some boats to enable them to cross the river at Kanar passage.¹ In June 1529, along with other *begs*, Jafar Khwaja was appointed against Bibban and Bayzid, who had fled towards Dalmau.² We don't find any other reference to Jafar Khwaja during the period concerned.

Jan Beg

The first reference we come across about Jan Beg pertains to the year 1525. Babur, while marching towards Hindustan on his final expedition in December 1525, left his baggage and other things with Jan Beg at Parsrur.³ In January 1526, along with other *begs*, Jan Beg raided the hill fort of Malot and its neighbouring forts.⁴ Before the decisive battle of Panipat Babur sent a force of four thousand to five thousand men from Panipat to deliver a night attack on Ibrahim Lodi's camp. Jan Beg was one of the commanders included in the force. They, however, failed in their mission.⁵ Jan Beg later on fought on Babur's side in the battle of Panipat. He served in the *jawanghar*.⁶

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.598; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.470a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.682; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.516 a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.645.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.458; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.357 a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.464; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.362 a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.471; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366 a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366 b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

After the battle of Panipat, along with other *begs* Jan Beg was appointed to help Sultan Junaid Barlas, who had been assigned Dholpur.¹ This expedition, however, was recalled and ordered to join Humayun who had been appointed against the eastern rebels.² In the battle of Kuwah also Jan Beg served in the *Jawanghar*.³ In June 1529, along with other *begs* he was sent towards Dalmau to pursue Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid.⁴

Kamaluddin Badakshi

We come across only one reference to Kamaluddin Badakshi. He rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah in 1527. He served in the *baranghar*.⁵ After this we do not hear about him during the period under study.

Karim Birdi

The only reference we come across about Karim Birdi reveals that he served Babur in Hindustan. Babur, while marching towards the east in April 1529, was encamped at Buxar. He put two hundred braves under the command of Karim Birdi and despatched him to gather news

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.420; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.256.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.531; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.421a.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev.vol.ii, p.567; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.450a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.682; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.516a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.566; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.449 b.

about the enemy.¹ Hereafter we do not hear about him during the period concerned.

Khwaja Dost Khawand

Khwaja Dost Khawand is first noticed in our sources in the year 1507. Along with Nasir Mirza and other *begs* he was posted at Qandahar. Shaibani Khan besieged Qandahar in 1507. As a result, Khwaja Dost Khawand and some other *begs* deserted Nasir Mirza.² He must have joined Babur as he accompanied him on his Bhira expedition and was present in an *araq* party held at Bhira in March 1519.³ We again notice him when he came from Kabul and waited upon Babur at Agra on January 6, 1527.⁴ He rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah also and served in *dast-i rast-i ghul*. After this battle he returned to Kabul.⁵ From there he sent a dutiful letter to Babur.⁶ Thereafter, we do not come across any reference to him during the period under study.

Khwaja Kalan

Khwaja Kalan was one of the leading nobles and a close associate of Babur. He was the son of Mulla Muhammad *Sadr*, an important

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.661; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.526 a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.343; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.294 a-b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.385; B.M.S. Or. 3714, f.311b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.544; B.M.S. Or. 3714, f.434a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.258; *Tabaqati Akbari*, Hindi tr.Rizvi, p.432.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.565; B.M.MS. Or. 3714 f.448b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.261; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr.Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.618; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.483a.

noble of Babur's father Umar Shaikh Mirza. Khwaja Kalan had six brothers, all of whom died in military operations, while in Babur's service.¹ Two of his brothers, namely, Khwajak Mulla *Sadr* and Kichick Khwaja Beg, are mentioned in Babur's memoirs. Khwajak Mulla Sadr held the position of *muhrdar* under Umar Shaikh Mirza. He died when he was serving under Babur in Farghana.² Kichick Beg served Babur in Farghana as well as in Kabul and died in the year 1505-06.³ Khwaja Kalan survived his brothers and seems to have excelled them in Babur's service. It has been reported in the *Tarikh-i Rashidi* that he was a brave and learned man and by his sound judgement was able to regulate most of the emperor's affairs of state.⁴ In the same source it is stated that, "it was owing to his exertions that, under the divine decree, the emperor achieved the conquest of Hindustan."⁵ Abul Fazl also supports the statements about Khwaja Kalan recorded in *Tarikh-i Rashidi*. According to him he was distinguished for gravity of manners and discretion⁶ and had the honour of being allowed a seat by Babur.⁷

¹ *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng.tr. p.468; *Akbarnama*, Persian text, p.92; Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.236.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.67; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.51a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.248; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.214b.

⁴ *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng.tr. p.468.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Akbarnama*, Persian text, p.120, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.281.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Khwaja Kalan is first noticed in Babur's service in the year 1519. After the conquest of Bajaur Babur conferred it on Khwaja Kalan on January 7, 1519.¹ On his recommendation Babur set free the prisoners of Bajaur.² He visited the fort of Bajaur on January 12, 1519, took wine in Khwaja Kalan's quarter (*khana*) and spent the night there.³ On Babur's departure from Bajaur Khwaja Kalan accompanied him upto Chandawal torrent, where Babur conferred upon him a standard (*togh*) on January 16, 1519 and gave him permission to return.⁴ Khwaja Kalan was quite intimately attached to Babur and could not bear his separation. Only two or three days after Babur's departure from Bajaur Khwaja Kalan wrote a verse expressing his pangs of separation and sent it to him.⁵ Babur visited Bajaur again on February 6, 1519, went to Khwaja Kalan's house and had wine with him.⁶ Babur led an expedition against the Usufzai Afghans in September 1519. While encamped below the Khyber pass, he informed Khwaja Kalan through the Sultan of Tirati that he was coming in that direction.⁷ He later recalled Khwaja Kalan from Bajaur on January 14, 1520 and put it under the charge of Shah

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.370; B.M.MS. Or.3714, f.299b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.236; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr.Briggs vol.ii, p.22.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.371; B.M.MS. Or.3714, f.299b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.371, B.M.MS. Or.3714, f.300a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.372; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.300b.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.375; B.M.MS. Or.3714, f.302b.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev vol.i, p.411; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.337a.

Mir Husain.¹ Babur writes in his memoirs that Khwaja Kalan administered Bajaur very well, he was recalled simply because he was his friend (*musahib*).

Babur marched towards Hindustan in November 1525. Khwaja Kalan at that time was in Ghazni, as Babur states in his memoirs that Khwaja Kalan came from Ghazni and joined him (Babur) at Bagh-i Wafa on December 3, 1525.² He had brought with him several camel loads of Ghazni wine. After capturing the fort of Malot a wine party was held there in the quarter (*khana*) of Khwaja Kalan, which was situated at a place overlooking the fort and the camp.³ Khwaja Kalan accompanied Babur and rendered him military service against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani of Hisar Firoza in February 1526.⁴ He later served in *baranghar* in the battle of Panipat.⁵ After their victory at Panipat Babur sent

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.423; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.345b.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.447; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.249a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.240; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. vol.ii, p.26; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.416.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.461; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.360a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.240; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.423; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.634.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.465; This passage is missing in B.M.MS. Or. 3714; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking vol.i, p.439.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol. i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs vol.ii, p.28; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

Humayun in advance to Agra to take possession of the treasures of Ibrahim Lodi. Khwaja Kalan was ordered to accompany him.¹

Khwaja Kalan was not willing to stay in Hindustan after Babur's occupation of Agra. Babur states in his memoirs that though, Khwaja Kalan had done well throughout his campaign from Kabul to Agra and was quite encouraging and bold, yet, his mind changed after the occupation of Agra and he insisted on going back.² Babur permitted him to go back. Since Khwaja Kalan had many retainers (*naukaran*), who were returning with him. Babur decided to send with him gifts for the people of Kabul. Since there were few trustworthy men in Kabul and Ghazni, Babur decided to give Kwaja Kalan the charge of the administration of Kabul. Before Khwaja Kalan's departure, Babur conferred upon him Ghazni, Girdiz and Sultan Masudi Hazara, as well as the *pargana* of Ghuram (in Hindustan), which yielded a *jama* of 3 to 4 lacs.³ Khwaja Kalan left Agra on August 28, 1526⁴ and while passing through Delhi he inscribed a couplet on the wall of a building. Condemning Hindustan he wrote "blackened be his face who returned to Hindustan". Babur did not like this humour on Khwaja Kalan's part

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.475; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.369a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.246; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.426; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.636.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.524; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.415a.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.525; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.415b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.252; *Tarikh-i Firista*, Eng.tr. Briggs vol.ii, p.32; *Humayunnama*, Eng.tr. p.95; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.638.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.531; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.421b.

because he himself was staying in Hindustan. So he wrote a couplet in reply to his couplet and sent it to Khwaja Kalan.¹

We do not hear about his activities at Kabul between August 1526 and November 1528. His stay in Kabul, however, is confirmed from a letter which Babur had written to Humayun who was in Badakshan in November 1528. Through this letter Babur had advised Humayun to maintain good relations with Khwaja Kalan. From this letter only we learn that Babur had turned the revenues of Kabul and the territories dependent upon it (*jama Kabul wa wilayat wa qaryati*) into *Khalisa* in 1526.² We next hear about Khwaja Kalan in February 1529 when Babur wrote him a letter, informing him about the arrival of Shamsuddin Muhammad at Etawa. He apprised Babur about the condition of Kabul. Through the letter mentioned above Babur informed Khwaja Kalan about the developments in Hindustan and advised him to pay attention to the completion of the unfinished buildings in Kabul. He further directed him to send his (Babur's) elder sister and his wives from Kabul to Hindustan. He was ordered to escort them up to Nilab.³ Babur also advised him to leave wine. Thereafter we do not come across any reference to him.

Khwaja Mir-i Miran

Khwaja Mir-i Miran is first noticed in the year 1502. He served Babur in Central Asia, Afghanistan and Hindustan. He rendered

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.525-26; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.416a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.627; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.488b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.445-48; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.501a-502b.

military service to Babur against Sultan Ahmad Tambal in Akhshi. Babur appreciated the services rendered by Khwaja Mir-i Miran in the hour of crisis.¹ We next hear of Khwaja Mir-i Miran in the year 1519. He served Babur against the Yusufzai Afghans and Muhammad-i Afghans in February 1519. He was put in charge of the camels and the baggage train.² He accompanied Babur on his Bhira expedition also.³

Khwaja Mir-i Miran accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan. In January 1526, when Babur besieged the fort of Malot he sent Mir-i Miran to chase the rear of Daulat Khan Lodi and drive him out.⁴ Later on, when Daulat Khan Lodi submitted to Babur he was put in the charge of Khwaja Mir-i Miran.⁵ Khwaja Mir-i Miran rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Panipat also.⁶ He served in *dast-i chap-i ghul*. After the battle of Panipat, like Khwaja Kalan, Khwaja Mir-i Miran decided to leave Hindustan. Babur allowed him to go and sent with him gifts to Kabul.⁷ After this we do not hear about him during the period concerned.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.174; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.148a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.376; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.303a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.389; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff. 315b-316a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.459; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.358a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.460; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.358b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.367a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁷ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.525; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.416a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.253.

Kitta Beg

Kitta Beg, the brother of Mir Ahmad Qasim, is first noticed in the year 1511 when Babur after the conquest of Mawara-un Nahr gave him Sairam. Soon the Uzbeks besieged Sairam and as a result of the siege Kitta Beg handed it over to Qasim Beg and himself joined Sultan Said Khan's service.¹ Some time later he joined service under Nasir Mirza. Nasir Mirza died in 1515 and as a result of his death Kitta beg, his brothers and some other *begs* revolted against Babur in Ghazni but they were defeated by him.² Kitta Beg again joined Babur's service as we find him serving the latter in Hindustan. When Babur captured the fort of Malot in January 1526, Daulat Khan, Ali Khan and Ismail Khan were made captive and placed under Kitta Beg's custody. He was ordered to shift them to Bhira fort of Milwat and keep vigil over them.³

Later on, in February 1526, Kitta Beg was sent to gather news about Ibrahim Lodi's camp.⁴ Soon he was sent along with some other *begs* under the command of Humayun against Hamid Khan of Hisar Firoza.⁵ On April 1, 1526 he was ordered to march with other *begs* against Daud Khan and Hatim Khan who had been sent to the Mian-I

¹ *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng.tr. pp.271-74, 313 and 314.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.i, p.357.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.461; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.360a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.465; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.362b; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking, vol.i, pp.438-39; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.422; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.638.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.465. This passage is missing in B.M.M.M.S. Or. 3714.

Doab by Ibrahim Lodi at the head of five thousand to six thousand men. These Afghans were defeated by the Mughal forces.¹ After the occupation of Agra by Babur Qasim Husain Sambhali sought his help against Mian-Bibban. Babur deputed Kitta Beg and some other *begs* for his help. They succeeded in driving away Bibban from Sambhal and later on wrested the possession of Sambhal from Qasim Husain Sambhali.² In January, 1527 Kitta Beg was sent to Biana to reinforce the *begs* stationed there. He was wounded in an encounter and could not participate in the battle of Kanwah.³ He was appointed under the command of Chin Timur Sultan against the Baloches in 1529 when he was posted, perhaps, between Samana and Sirhind.⁴ This is the last reference we have been able to find about Kitta Beg during the period under review.

Kuki

Kuki was in Babur's service in Hindustan. He was posted in the vicinity of Kanauj. In December 1529 Babur appointed Muhammad Ali Jang Jang against Bibban, Shaikh Bayzid and Maruf Farmuli. He ordered Kuki, along with other *amirs* of the vicinity of Kanauj, to join

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.468; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.363b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.241; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.427.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.528-29; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.418b-419a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.254; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, pp.545 & 548; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, ff.434b-436b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.259; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.640.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.638; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.496 a-b.

Muhammad Ali Jang Jang and move against the hostile Afghans.¹ Kuki rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra also.² Along with other *begs* he was ordered to join Baqi Beg in May 1529 and move in pursuit of Bibban and Bayzid.³ After this we do not come across any reference to Kuki during the period under study.

Khusrau Kokuldash

Khusrau Kokuldash was one of the few nobles who served Babur in central Asia, Kabul and Hindustan. We notice him in Babur's service as early as 1501.⁴ In the following year he rendered military service to Babur against the rebellious noble Sultan Ahmad Tambal. He was captured by Tambal in Farghana.⁵ He, once again joined Babur's service in 1507, when Babur was on his way from Kabul to Qandahar. Khusrau Kokuldash came from Herat, joined Babur at Ghazni and accompanied him on his march to Qandahar.⁶ In the same year he rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Qandahar, where he served in the right hand of center.⁷ We again notice Khusrau Kokuldash in the year 1519, when in the month of February, he accompanied Babur on his

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.589; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.464b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.673; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.511b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.679; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.514a.

⁴ *Baburnama*, B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.105b. His name is missing in Mrs. Beveidge's translation. Sometimes he is called Khusrau Kokultash.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.168; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.141b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.330; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.289a.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.335. His name is missing in B.M.MS. Or. 3714.

expedition against the Muhammadi Afghans.¹ He must have accompanied Babur on his expedition to Bhira as he was present in Babur's *araq* party held there.² In the same year Babur led another expedition against the Abdur Rahman Afghans of the Girdiz border and Khusrau Kokuldash accompanied him.³

Khusrau Kokuldash accompanied Babur when the latter led an expedition against Hindustan in 1524. After occupying Lahore and other towns of the Punjab, Babur posted his nobles in various towns of the Punjab. He posted Khusrau Kokuldash at Sialkot⁴ and appointed Wali Qizil to re-inforce him.⁵ After making necessary arrangements for administering the conquered territories Babur returned to Kabul. As soon as Babur left for Kabul Daulat Khan Lodi sent an army of the Afghans to recover Sialkot. Khusrau Kokuldash, however, repulsed the Afghan attack with the help of Abdul Aziz.⁶ A little later he had to vacate Sialkot. He waited upon Babur near river Jehlum, when the latter was leading his final expedition to Hindustan in 1525-26.⁷ On February 25, 1526, Babur appointed Humayun to lead an expedition against Hamid

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. bev. vol.i, p.377; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.304a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.385; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.311b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.403; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.329b.

⁴ *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.25; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking vol.i, p.437.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.453; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.353b.

⁶ *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.25.

⁷ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian text, p.3.

Khan Sarang Khani of Hisar Firoza and asked Khusrau Kokuldash to join this expedition.¹ Before the main battle at Panipat Babur deputed some commanders to launch a night attack on Ibrahim Lodi's camp. Khusrau Kokuldash was one of these commanders.² In the battle of Panipat Khusrau Kokuldash rendered military service in the *harawal*.³

Khusrau Kokuldash seems to have been quite loyal to Babur as we again notice him rendering military service to him in another major battle. This battle was fought between Babur and Rana Sanga at Kanwah. In this battle Kokuldash served in *baranghar*.⁴ He accompanied Babur on his Mewat expedition also and after capturing Mewat Babur decided to confer Alwar upon him. It would have yielded him a *wajh wa istiqamat* of 50 lacs yet, he declined the offer caring the least to the fact that it amounted to disobedience.⁵ He seems to have held his earlier assignment, namely Sialkot, or some other place to the north-west of Delhi in the year 1529, for, when Babur appointed Chin Timur Sultan to lead an expedition against the Baloches in January

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.465. This passage is missing in B.M.MS. Or. 3714; see also *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.634.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.471; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.366a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.367a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.28; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. bev. vol.ii, p.566; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f. 449 a-b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.578; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.457a. Later on, it was given to Chin Timur Sultan.

1529, he ordered all the nobles, including Khusrau Kokuldash, posted in the north west, to join this expedition.¹ After this we do not find any reference to Khusrau Kokuldash during the period under review.

Langar Khan Niazi

Langar Khan Niazi is first noticed in our sources in 1519 when he accompanied Babur on his expedition to Bhira.² Babur tells us that he was motivated for the Bhira expedition by Langar Khan.³ When Babur, reached near the territory of the Janjuhas, while on his way to Bhira, he sent Langar Khan to bring Malik Hast, the Janjuha chief to his presence. Malik Hast was the ruler of the tribes and the clans which lived in the vicinity of Suhan river.⁴ Babur states in his memoirs that the Janjuhas were the *taghai* (maternal uncles) of Langar Khan.⁵ It was, perhaps, due

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.638; B.M.MS. or. 3714, f.496 a-b.

² It may be noted that Mrs. Beveridge in her translation of *Baburnama* identifies two persons who were in Babur's service by the name Langer Khan. She identifies one of them as Langer Khan Niazi and other as Langer Khan Janjuha. It seems that there was only one person by this name and that was Langer Khan Niazi not Janjuha. We do not find the word Janjuha with Langer Khan either in the B.M.MS. Or. 3714, nor in Mrs. Beveridge's translation. Mrs. Beveridge must have identified him as Janjuha on the ground that the two Janjuha chiefs, Malik Hast and Sangur Khan, are mentioned as maternal uncles of Langer Khan (See *Baburnama*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.i, p.380). Out of six references to Langer Khan, in four of them he has been mentioned as Langer Khan Niazi. When he waited upon Babur near Garam Chasma, on September 26, he is mentioned by the name Langer Khan Niazi. (See *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.412). Again, after two days (Oct.) when he was appointed to reinforce Muhammad Ali Jang Jang, he has been mentioned as Langer Khan (see *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.412). When he waited upon Babur, after coming from Nilab, on January 6, 1520, he has been mentioned as langer Khan Niazi. (*Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.421-22).

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.388; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.315 a-b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.380; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.307 b.

⁵ *Ibid.*

to this relationship that he succeeded in persuading Malik Hast to wait upon Babur.¹ On reaching near Bhira Babur sent Langar Khan and some other local Afghan chiefs to allay fear from the minds of the people (February 21, 1519).² After capturing Bhira Babur conferred it upon Hindu Beg. He bestowed Khushab upon Langar Khan and asked him to reinforce Hindu Beg.³

After making necessary arrangements Babur left Bhira. He was encamped not far away from Bhira when Langar Khan came to him for discussing certain issues pertaining to Bhira. The issues were discussed and sorted out and he was given leave to go back.⁴ Langar Khan perhaps, had not gone to Khushab earlier. About six months later Babur launched a campaign against the Yusuf Zai Afghans. Langar Khan came from Hindustan and waited upon him at Garam Chasma on September 26, 1519. He had brought with him a horse and some *majun* for Babur.⁵ He was present in a raft party near Kabul river on September 30.⁶ Immediately afterwards he was ordered by Babur to go and help Muhammad Ali Jang Jang, who held Nilab etc.⁷ A little later,

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.380; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.307 b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.381; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.308b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, pp.388-89; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.315 a-b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.391; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.317b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.411; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.336b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.412, B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.338a.

⁷ *Ibid.*

we notice that after coming from Nilab he waited upon Babur.¹ Hereafter, we do not find any reference to Langar Khan during the period under discussion.

Mahdi Khwaja

Mahdi Khwaja was one of the important nobles of Babur. Gulbadan Begam, in her *Humayunama* refers to him as a *yazana* (brother-in-law) of Babur.² Khwand Amir states in his *Habib-us Siyar* that Babur's sister, Khanzada Begum, was earlier married to Shaibani Khan. When Shaibani Khan died in 1511, she returned to her brother and was soon married to Mahdi Khwaja.³ We first notice Mahdi Khwaja in Babur's service in the year 1519, when the latter led an expedition to Bhira.⁴ He accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan in 1525-26. Prior to the battle of Panipat Babur despatched an expedition against the scouting party sent by Ibrahim Lodi under the command of Daud Khan and Hatim Khan.⁵ Mahdi Khwaja was also included in the expeditionary force sent by Babur. Later on, he was attached to the forces which were ordered to deliver a night attack on the camp of

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, pp.421-22; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.344b.

² *Hamayunama*, Eng. tr. p.126.

³ See *Habib-us Siyar* as quoted by Mrs. Beveridge in Gulbadan Begum's *Humayunama*, p.299; see also the *Maathir-ul Umara*, Eng. tr. vol.ii, part, p.221.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, p.381; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.308b.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.468; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.363b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.241; *Tarikh-i Firishia*, tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.28; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.423; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.634.

Ibrahim Lodi¹ before the battle of Panipat. In the battle of Panipat Mahdi Khwaja served in the *Jawanghar* (left wing) of Babur's army.² After his victory over Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat Babur despatched a contingent to Delhi to take into possession Ibrahim Lodi's treasures. Mahdi Khwaja was attached to this contingent.³

After the occupation of Agra, a few days after the *Id-i Shawwal*, a feast was held on July 11, 1526. In this party Babur rewarded Mahdi Khwaja for his services by conferring upon him a *char-qab*, a *Kamar-i shamshir* and *kamar-i khanjar* as *inam*.⁴ Immediately afterwards, Etawa was conferred upon him and he, along with Muhammad Sultan Mirza and some other *begs*, was ordered to conquer Etawa.⁵ The expeditionary force, however, was recalled soon and ordered to join Humayun in his campaign against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli.⁶ Humayun immediately appointed Mahdi Khwaja to escort Fath Khan Sarwani, who had submitted to him at Dalmau, to Agra.⁷ He brought Fath Khan

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.471; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.366a; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.440; *Tabaqat-i Akabri*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.26; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.475; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.369 a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.247; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.636.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.527; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.417a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.420a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.421 a-b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.256; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.444; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.430.

⁷ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.534; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.423b.

Sarwani to Babur's presence at Agra and stayed there.¹ Towards the end of 1526 Babur captured Biana and bestowed it upon Mahdi Khwaja. His *istiqamat-wa wajh* was fixed at 70 lacs and he was given permission to go to Biana.² In February 1527, Rana Sanga marched towards Biana and defeated the scouting party of Babur near it.³ Babur hurriedly recalled Mahdi Khwaja from Biana along with the troops of the fort.⁴ Mahdi Khwaja fought on Babur's side in the battle of Kanwah and served in *jawanghar*.⁵ After the battle of Kanwah he expressed his desire to return to Kabul. He was permitted to go back to Kabul and the *shiqdari* of Biana was given to Dost Beg Ishaq Aqa.⁶ Mahadi Khwaja had earlier been named for Etawa. Since he went back to Kabul, Etawa was conferred upon his son Jafar Khwaja.⁷

Mahdi Khwaja seems to have returned to Hindustan sometime early in 1529 as we notice him in Etawa in February 1529. On February 7, 1529 Babur, while marching towards the east, was encamped near

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.537; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.425b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.539; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.427a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.639.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.547-48, B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.436 a-b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.548; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.437 a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.567; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.450a, here he is mentioned as Sayyid; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.579; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.458a.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev., vol.ii, p.582; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.460b.

Etawa. Mahdi Khwaja called on him and served him delicious meals.¹ Soon afterwards, Babur proceeded further towards the east, while Mahdi Khwaja stayed back in Etawa. He once again came out of Etawa to greet Babur, who, while returning from the east, reached Etawa on June 23, 1529.² Mahdi Khwaja called upon Babur for the last time on August 12, 1529 at Agra.³ Nizamuddin Ahmad has charged Mahdi Khwaja of having conspired to supersede Humayun's claim to the throne after Babur's death, as he himself wanted to ascend the throne. Hereafter, we do not come across any reference to him in the sources of the period under review.

Malik Qasim

Malik Qasim was the brother of Baba Qashqa Mughal. We first notice him in the battle of Panipat where he, with his contingent of Mughals, fought for Babur and served in the *tulghuma-i baranghar*.⁴ After the battle of Panipat he, along with his elder and younger brethren was sent towards Sambhal against Bibban.⁵ Along with other braves he was sent in advance to get to grips with the enemy before the battle of Kanwah. He succeeded in bringing some heads of the enemies, which

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.644; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.499 b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.686; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.518b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.689; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.528a.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.473; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.367 a; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Firishita*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.29.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.528-29; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.418 b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.254, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, pp.428-29.

encouraged Babur's army.¹ In the battle of Kanwah he again served in the *tulghuma-i baranghar*.² After the battle of Kanwah, Malik Qasim with his brethern and some other *begs* was sent against Bibban, who had captured Lukhnau when Babur was fighting against Rana Sanga.³

Malik Qasim was later posted in the vicinity of Kanauj in 1527. In the same year Babur appointed Muhammad Ali Jang Jang against Bibban, Maruf Farmuli and Shaikh Bayzid. He ordered him to take along with him Malik Qasim and other *amirs* of the vicinity of Kanauj, while moving against the hostile Afghans.⁴ Malik Qasim died while fighting against the Afghans near Kanauj in February 1528.⁵

Minuchihar Khan

The first reference we come across about Minuchihar Khan pertains to the year 1519. In March 1519, along with other *begs* he was appointed to reinforce Hindu Beg in Bhira.⁶ He, later served Babur in Hindustan. He was posted in the neighbourhood of Kanauj. When Babur appointed Muhammad Ali Jang Jang against the hostile Afghans namely Bibban, Shaikh Bayzid and Maruf Farmuli, he was ordered to

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.558; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.444a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.568; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.450a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.582; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.460b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.267.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.589; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.464b.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.599; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.471 a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.643.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.389; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.315b.

take along with him Minuchihar Khan, his elder and younger brethren and other *amirs* of the vicinity of Kanauj.¹ After this we don't hear about him during the period under review.

Mir Hamah

Mir Hamah was in Babur's service and was posted in Balkh. In 1525 he defeated Mulla Baba of Pashagar and his brother Baba Shaikh who, after deserting Humayun, had besieged one of the forts of Balkh. He brought the head of Baba Shaikh to Babur, who was in Hindustan. Babur rewarded him with one *ser* of gold.² Mir Hamah later served Babur in Hindustan. In the battle of Kanwah he served in the *baranghar*.³ Hereafter we do not come across any reference to Mir Hamah during the period under study.

Mirza Beg Tarkhan

We come across only one reference about Mirza Beg Tarkhan. He rendered military service to Babur in *dast-i chap-i ghul* (left of the center) in the battle of Panipat.⁴ After this we do not hear about him.

Mughal Abdul Wahab

We find only one reference about Mughal Abdul Wahab. He was in Babur's service and along with his brethren rendered military service to

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.589; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.464b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.546.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.556; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.449b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.262.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.367a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

him in the battle of Ghagra.¹ Thereafter, we do not come across any reference to Mughal Abdul Wahab in our sources of the period concerned.

A Resume

As in the previous chapter we notice that some of the central Asian elite serving Babur in Hindustan were in the service of Babur even in central Asia and Kabul, whereas others are noticeable only during the period under review. Two of them namely, Ahmad-i Yusuf and Hindu Beg were earlier in the service of Sultan Ali Mirza, a cousin of Babur. We notice that all these nobles performed varied service to Babur, ranging from military service to acting as his emissaries. However, unlike some of the Afghan chiefs who deserted to Babur during the period under review, none of these nobles ever switched over their loyalty to the Afghans during the course of the Mughal Afghan conflict.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.673-74; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.511b.

CHAPTER VIII

OTHER CENTRAL ASIAN NOTABLES

Muhammad Ali Jang Jang to Zardarai

In the present chapter we have discussed the biographies of the notables beginning with Muhammad Ali Jang Jang. Like the previous chapter the biographies have been arranged in alphabetic order.

Muhammad Ali Jang Jang

Mahammad Ali Jang Jang perhaps, was a *Tajik*.¹ Along with his elder brother Arghun,² younger brother Nauroz³ and son Tardi Muhammad,⁴ he was in Babur's service. We first notice him in Babur's service in the year 1519. Serving in the *ghul* he, along with his brother Nauroz, helped Babur in capturing the fort of Bajaur.⁵ He also accompanied Babur on his Bhira expedition and later on was present in one of the *araq* parties at Bhira.⁶ He wanted to keep Bhira in his possession but Babur assigned it to Hindu Beg. Before leaving Bhira Babur conferred upon Muhammad Ali Jang Jang the territory lying between Bhira and the Sind river. The area assigned to him was

¹ Muhammad Ali Jang Jang has been referred as Muhammad Ali Tajik in the context of his appointment as the governor of Kalanur see *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. vol.ii, p.25.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.461; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.360a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.370; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.298b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.661; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.526a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.370; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.298b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, pp.387-88; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.313b-314b.

inhabited by the tribes and clans like Qarluq Hazara, Ghiyasawal and Kib (Kitib). Babur bestowed upon him a *jubba-i qalmaqi* and a *togh*.¹ After getting this assignment Muhammad Ali Jang Jang stayed back in the vicinity of Kachha Kot. He, however, came to pay a visit to Babur at Kabul on July 21, 1519. He brought along with him a man of Hati, the Gakkhar chief, and Shah Hasan, s/o Mirza-i Mulla-i Qurluq.² It seems that the tribes and clans inhabiting the area assigned to Muhammad Ali Jang Jang tried to recover it, that is why he requested for reinforcements. So in the beginning of October 1519 Langar Khan Niazi was appointed to reinforce him.³ With these reinforcements Muhammad Ali Jang Jang seems to have returned to his assignment. He, once again, came to wait upon Babur at Kabul on December 12, 1519.⁴

Muhammad Ali Jang Jang accompanied Babur on his expedition to Hindustan in 1524. After the capture of Kalanur he was appointed there.⁵ After Babur's return to Kabul Daulat Khan and Ghazi Khan mobilized their forces and began to attack the officers appointed by Babur in various towns in the Punjab. Muhammad Ali Jang Jang left Kalanur and came to Lahore.⁶ On learning about the disturbances in

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, pp.392-93; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.319a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.403; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.329a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.412; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.338a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.419; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.343b.

⁵ Firishta has mentioned Muhammad Ali Jang Jang by the name of Tajik, see *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr. vol.ii, p.25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.26.

the Punjab, Babur marched towards Hindustan. He was encamped at Parsrur when Muhammad Ali Jang Jang came from Lahore along with Khwaja Husain and other officers and waited upon Babur on December 30, 1525.¹ After this he accompanied Babur on his march against the Afghans. They captured Malot and at the same time Daulat Khan and his son Ali Khan surrendered before them. Along with other nobles, Muhammad Ali Jang Jang on January 7, 1526, was ordered to enter the fort and take possession of the treasures and all other effects.² On January 10 Malot was entrusted to the charge of Muhammad Ali Jang Jang who, on his part, left his brother Arghun with a body of soldiers in the fort of Malot. Two hundred fifty Hazaras and Afghans were also appointed to garrison the fort.³

On February 25, 1526 Muhammad Ali Jang Jang was deputed to join Humayun's campaign against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani of Hissar Firoza.⁴ Meanwhile, before the battle of Panipat Babur sent forces to launch a night attack on Ibrahim Lodi's army; Muhammad Ali Jang Jang was also asked to accompany these forces. He got wounded in this

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.458; B.M.MS. Or 3614, f.357 a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian text, p.7.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.460; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.359 a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian text, p.7.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.461; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.307a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.465. This passage is missing in B.M.MS. Or 3714; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.240; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.634.

conflict.¹ In the main battle at Panipat he served in the *arawal*.² After Babur's occupation of Agra Husain Khan Nohani abandoned Rapri and Babur assigned it to Muhammad Ali Jang Jang.³ He was, later on, attached to the contingent sent for capturing Etawa from Qutab Khan. Etawa had earlier been conferred by Babur upon Mahdi Khwaja.⁴ The Etawa expedition, however, was recalled and ordered to join Humayun in his expedition towards the east.⁵ Muhammad Ali Jang Jang must have served Humayun in his eastern campaign. He must have returned to Agra with Humayun sometime in January 1527 for, we notice him serving in the operation against Rana Sanga. Before the main battle of Kanwah skirmishes took place between the forces of Rana Sanga and the scouting Mughal forces led by Abdul Aziz and Mulla Apaq. Muhammad Ali Jang Jang was sent to reinforce the scouting party.⁶ In the main battle of Kanwah he served in the *jawanghar* (left wing).⁷

On March 17, 1527 Babur despatched Muhammad Ali Jang Jang and some other nobles against Ilias Khan, who had captured Kol when

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.471; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.367.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.420 a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.420 a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.256.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.421 a-b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.549; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.437 b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.640.

⁷ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.567; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.450a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

Babur was fighting against Rana Sanga. He brought Ilias Khan as captive and waited upon Babur at Agra, sometime after April 25.¹ Meanwhile Qutab Khan and Husain Khan captured Chandwar and Rapri sometime in May. So Babur sent Muhammad Ali Jang Jang and some other nobles to recover these territories from them. Muhammad Ali Jang Jang succeeded in recovering Chandwar from Qutab Khan and Rapri from Husain Khan Nohani. Husain Khan got drowned in the river (Jamuna) while trying to escape and Qutab Khan fled away.²

Babur left for Chanderi in December 1527 and Muhammad Ali Jang Jang accompanied him upto Kunar passage near the junction of river Chambal and Jamuna. He was detached from the main army at Kunar passage and ordered to proceed against Shaikh Bayzid, who was reported to be hostile. He was also ordered to take along with him Muhammad Sultan Mirza and other Sultans and nobles of Kanauj and its neighbourhood.³ Muhammad Ali Jang Jang could not perform well against the Afghans as the expeditionary forces he was leading were pushed back to Rapri.⁴ Babur captured Chanderi and then moved to the scene of conflict between the Mughal forces led by Muhammad Ali Jang Jang and the Afghans. He then despatched Chin Timur Sultan

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.576; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.456 a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.266; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.642.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.581-82; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.460 a-b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.642.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, pp.589-90; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.464b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.598; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.470a.

from Kanauj and ordered him to march against the Afghans. Along with other nobles Muhammad Ali Jang Jang was put under his command.¹ He seems to have returned to the place of his charge, probably Malot, sometime after March 1528. In January 1529 Babur appointed Chin Timur Sultan to march from Tijara against the Baloches. He ordered all the nobles posted beyond Sirhind and Samana to join Chin Timur Sultan. Muhammad Ali Jang Jang was also one of these nobles.² After that we no more hear about Muhammad Ali Jang Jang during the period under review.

Muhammadi Kokuldash

Muhammadi Kokuldash was one of the close associates of Babur and served him in Central Asia as well as in Hindustan. He accompanied Babur when the latter went to Qunduz to receive his sister Khanzada Begum in the year 1510.³ He was with Babur when the latter led an expedition to Bhira in 1519. He was present in two *araq* parties.⁴ Later on, in the same year, Babur led an expedition against the Yusufzai Afghans and Muhammadi Kokuldash was with him. He was also

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.601; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.427b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.643.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.638; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.496 a-b.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.18; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.13 a-b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.221.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, pp.385 & 388; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.311a & 315a. Here he is mentioned only Muhammadi.

present in a *majun* party held on the banks of Kabul river.¹ He accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan. Along with Ahmadi and other *begs*, he was sent in advance to pursue and capture Ghazi Khan. They failed to capture him and were ordered to keep guard over the fort of Malot so that the people of the fort might not escape. While referring to Muhammadi's new assignment Babur states that Muhammadi had recently been raised to the position of *beg* at Kabul.² Before that he was just an *amir*. He was one of those nobles who were ordered to enter the fort of Malot and take possession of the treasures. The fort of Malot was captured on January 7, 1526.³

Muhammadi Kokuldash fought on Babur's side in the battle of Panipat and served in *dast-i rast-i ghul*. (right hand of center).⁴ After the battle of Panipat he was attached to the expeditionary force that was led by Humayun to take possession of the treasures at Agra.⁵ After the occupation of Agra Muhammadi Kokuldash was assigned Samana

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.412; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.337b.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.458; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.357b; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.421.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.460; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.359a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.421.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.242; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.28; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.440; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.475. His name is missing in B.M.MS. Or 3714; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.246; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.426; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.636.

sometime in June 1526.¹ In August he was attached to the expeditionary force which was sent to conquer Dholpur.² This expeditionary force, however, was recalled and ordered to join Humayun, who was leading an expedition against the eastern Afghans. They were ordered to join him at Chandwar.³ Muhammadi Kokuldash rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah and served in the *baranghar* (right wing).⁴ Immediately after the battle, along with Abdul Aziz, Ali Khan and others, he was sent to pursue Rana Sanga.⁵

Muhammadi Kokuldash was given permission to go to the place of his assignment (Samana) after the battle of Panipat. He seems to have stayed there till January 1529. In January 1529 he sent an *arzasht* to Babur, informing him that the Baloches had raided several places, obviously in the vicinity of Samana. In response to this *arzasht* Babur ordered Chin Timur Sultan to march against the Baloches and asked Kokuldash to join him.⁶ Muhammadi Kokuldash, obeying Babur's orders, joined Chin Timur Sultan and helped him in driving out the

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.528; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.418b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.420a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.256.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.421 a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.256.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.566; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.449b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.576; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.455b-456a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.265.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.638; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.456b.

Baloches.¹ This information was given to Babur by Chin Timur Sultan himself by writing him a letter. The last reference we come across to Muhammadi Kokuldash is that like other nobles he also received an order from Babur in May 1529, asking him to come to Agra with Chin Timur Sultan and be ready there for any expedition.²

Muhib-

Muhib-i Ali was the son of Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa. We notice him serving Babur in Hindustan. Along with other *begs* he was sent with a force of four thousand to five thousand men to deliver a night attack on Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's camp in April 1526. They, however, failed in their mission.³ Muhib-i Ali, later served in *dast-i chap-i ghul* in the battle of Panipat.⁴ He rendered meritorious service in the battle of Kanwah also. Along with the retainers of Khalifa, Muhib i Ali was sent to reinforce the scouting party of Abdul Aziz and Mulla Apaqa⁵ who fought against the forces of Rana Sanga in a skirmish that took place before the main battle. In the battle of Kanwah Muhib-i Ali served in the *dast-i chap-i*

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.675; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.313a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.676; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.313a.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.481; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366 a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.367 a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.549; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.437 b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.640.

ghul.¹ In March 1528, along with other *begs*, he was sent under the command of Chin Timur Sultan in pursuit of Bibban and Bayzid, who had fled away from Kanauj.² After this we don't find any reference to Muhib-i Ali during the period concerned.

Muhsin Duldai

We come across only one reference about Muhsin Duldai during the period under review. He was in Babur's service as he was sent with six thousand to seven thousand men in advance under the command of Chin Timur Sultan towards Chanderi in January 1528.³

Mulla Mahmud Farabi

Mulla Mahmud Farabi is first noticed in our sources in the year 1519. We generally find him performing religious duties but he accompanied Babur on his different expeditions also. He was appointed to read extracts from Quran in the presence of Babur at Kabul in 1519.⁴ Later on, he accompanied Babur in his final expedition to Hindustan. After the battle of Panipat he, along with Shaikh Zain and few others, was sent to Delhi for the congregation prayer. They read the *khutba* in

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.565; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.449; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.261; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.601; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.472b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.590; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.465a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.401; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.327b.

Babur's name and distributed a portion of money to the poor and needy persons.¹

Mulla Mahmud Farabi rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah.² In 1529 he accompanied Babur on his eastern expedition. He led the morning prayer at Rapri in February 1529, when Babur was encamped there.³ He was invited to a *majun* party by Babur in March 1529.⁴

Mustafa Rumi

Mustafa Rumi was a cannonear. Along with Ustad Ali Quli he operated firearms in the battles. He made excellent discharge of *zarb zan* in the battle of Panipat.⁵ Babur writes that Mustafa Rumi brought *arbaha* (carts) forward and broke the ranks of the enemy with matchlocks in the battle of Kanwah.⁶ Hence he rendered meritorious service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra.⁷

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii. p.476; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.369b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.569; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.451a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.643; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.499a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.653; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.520b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.474. This passage is missing in B.M.MS. Or 3714.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.568-69; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.450b-451a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.263.

⁷ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.668-70; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.508a-509a.

Muyad

We come across only one reference to Muyad. After the battle of Kanwah, along with other *begs*, he was sent against Bibban, who had captured Lukhnur when Babur was occupied against Rana Sanga.¹

Muzaffar Husain Sultan

We first notice Muzaffar Husain Sultan in 1529 when, along with other *begs*, he was sent by Babur towards Dalmau in pursuit of Bibban and Bayzid.² This is the only reference that we come across in the sources of the period under review.

Naurang Beg

We come across only one reference to Naurang Beg. The author of *Tarikh-i Shahi* states that Babur on reaching Sirhind, while returning from Lahore in 1529, appointed Naurang Beg with four hundred horses against Mohan Mandahar of *pargana* Kaithal.³

Nur Beg

We first notice Nur Beg in 1519. He seems to be in Babur's service as we find him with Babur in a drink party at Khwaja-i Hasan on November 15, 1519. At that time, along with other *begs*, he was coming from Kabul.⁴ He accompanied Babur on his eastern campaign and

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.580; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.461a.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.682; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.516a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.645.

³ *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.460.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.418; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.343a.

rendered him service in the battle of Ghagra.¹ In July 1529 when Babur came to know about the rebellious attitude of Rahimdad he sent Nur Beg to allay his fears. He returned in a few days and placed Rahimdad's request before Babur.² He was sent with Shaikh Ghuran to Gwalior in September 1529. They were ordered to take charge of that place.³

Pir Quli Sistani

Pir Quli Sistani was in Babur's service in Hindustan. In the battle of Panipat he served in *baranghar*.⁴ After the battle of Panipat Babur assigned Dholpur to Sultan Janaid Barlas and sent Pir Quli Sistani for his help.⁵ They, however, were recalled and asked to join Humayun on his eastern expedition.⁶ Subsequently, Pir Quli Sistani again served in *baranghar* in the battle of Kanwah.⁷ After this we do not hear about him during the period under review.

Qara Quzi

Qara Quzi was in Babur's service in Hindustan. Before the battle of Panipat in April 1526 Babur sent a force of four thousand to five

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.673; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.511b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.688-89; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.528a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.690; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.528b.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Firishita*, Eng.tr. vol.ii, p.28; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.420b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.256.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.421a.

⁷ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.566; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.449b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr.H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishita*, Eng.tr. Briggs, p.36.

thousand men under the command of Qara Quzi and some other *begs* to deliver a night attack on Ibrahim Lodi's camp. Their mission, however, proved to be a failure.¹ In the battle of Panipat Qara Quzi served in *tulghuma-i jawanghar*.² In the battle of Kanwah he served in the *baranghar*.³ After this we do not find any reference to him during the period concerned.

Qaracha

We first notice Qaracha in 1519. He was in Babur's service and disobeyed him when the latter was marching against the Gakkhar chief. Babur punished him for his disobedience.⁴ Qaracha served Babur in Hindustan also. In March 1528 Babur appointed Chin Timur Sultan against Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid. He requested Babur for reinforcements and the latter sent one thousand braves under the command of Qarcha for his help.⁵

Qarcha was posted in the area lying between Samana and Sirhind. He was later on attached to the forces sent under the command of Chin Timur Sultan against the Baloches in 1529.⁶ In the same year Babur marched towards the east. While marching towards the east, when

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.471; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366 a.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.473; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.367a; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking vol.i, p.440; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.566; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.449b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, pp.390-91; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.317a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.602; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.473a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.638; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.496 a-b.

Babur was encamped near Kalpi, a Hindustani servant of Qaracha reported to him that his wife, Muhim Begum, had started from Kabul.¹

Qasim Khwaja

Qasim Khwaja was the brother of Yakka Khwaja, one of the *begs* of Babur. When Yakka Khwaja got drowned in river Saru during the conflict with the Bengalis in May 1529, his retainers and the *wilayat* were bestowed upon Qasim Khwaja.² In June 1529, along with other *begs*, he was sent by Babur against Bibban and Bayzid, who had fled towards Dalmau.³

Qayam Beg Aurdu Shah

Qayam Beg Aurdu Shah is first noticed in the year 1519. He accompanied Babur on his expedition against the Abdur Rahman Afghans.⁴ He was appointed the governor of Ningrahar in January 1520. He waited upon Babur when the latter visited Adinapur in January 1520.⁵ Qayam Beg, along with other *begs*, came from Kabul just before the battle of Kanwah in 1527 and joined Babur.⁶ In the battle of Kanwah

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.650; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.503 b.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.674; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.512a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.645.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.682; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.516a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.645.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.403; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.329b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.421; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.344b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.550; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.438b.

he served in *baranghar*.¹ After this we do not hear about him during the period concerned.

Qismatai

We first notice Qismatai Mirza serving Babur in Hindustan. When Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat in April 1526, it was reported to him that the Sultan had fled from the battlefield. So he sent Qismatai along with other braves of *tabinan-i khasa* in his pursuit.² The report proved to be wrong as Ibrahim Lodi had been killed on the battlefield. Again in 1526 Qismatai accompanied Humayun on his eastern expedition.³ In 1527 he was despatched towards Biana to reinforce the *begs* of Biana.⁴ Qismatai and Bujka succeeded in defeating two of the Hindu scouting parties and brought several heads to Babur. He also brought seventy to eighty persons as prisoners and reported to Babur that Hasan Khan Mewati had joined Rana Sanga.⁵ Later on, he alongwith Darwesh-i Muhammad, the *sarban*, was sent to select camping ground near the Sikri lake.⁶ After this we do not find any reference to Qismatai during the period under review.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.566; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.449b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.474; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.368b-369a.

³ *Ibid.*, B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.423b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.545; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.434b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.546-47; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.435b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.548; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.437a.

Qurban of Chirkh

Qurban of Chirkh was in Babur's service and remained in his service for a long time. He served him in Afghanistan as well as in Hindustan. Babur led an expedition towards Bhira in February 1519 and sent Qurban of Chirkh in advance.¹ He rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra also.² Later on, in May 1529 along with other *begs* he was ordered to pursue Bibban and Bayzid, who had fled towards Lakhnau.³

Qutluq Qadam

Qutluq Qadam was the son of Daulat Qadam.⁴ He is first noticed in Babur's service in the battle of Qandahar in 1507.⁵ Later on, in July 1519 he fought on Babur's side against Abdur Rahman Afghans.⁶ Qutluq Qadam and his father Daulat Qadam hosted a wine party in Babur's honour. Though, Babur did not find the atmosphere in the party pleasing, yet, he attended the party and took few cups of wine, just to oblige the hosts.⁷ Qutluq Qadam accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan. From Kalanur he was sent in pursuit of Ghazi

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.381; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.308b.

² *Ibid*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.669; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.508b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.678; B.M.MS. Or f.515a.

⁴ *Baburnama*, B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.346b. This line is missing in Mrs. Beveridge's translation.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.335; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.293a.

⁶ *Ibid*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.403; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.329b.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.424; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.346b.

Khan. While talking about this assignment Babur mentions that Qutlaq Qudam was a *yikit* and was later on promoted to the status of a *beg* before he left Kabul for Hindustan.¹

Qatluq Qadam was one of the nobles who were ordered by Babur to enter the fort of Malot and take possession of the property inside the fort, when the fort was captured.² In April 1526 he was deputed under the command of Chin Timur Sultan against Daud Khan and Hatim Khan.³ Before the battle of Panipat, along with other *begs* Qutlaq Qadam was sent to deliver a night attack on Ibrahim Lodi's camp.⁴ In the battle of Panipat he served in *Jawanghar*.⁵ After the battle of Panipat Babur despatched a contingent to Delhi to take charge of the treasures there. Qutluq Qadam also was attached to this contingent.⁶ After Delhi, Babur occupied Agra and conferred Dholpur on Sultan Junaid Barlas. Qutluq Qadam was appointed for the latter's help.⁷ Soon afterwards, this expeditionary force was recalled and ordered to join Humayun in his campaign against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.458. His name is missing in B.M.MS. Or 3714.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.460; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.359a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.468; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.363b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.241.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.471; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.243.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.475; .M.M.S. Or 3714, f.369a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.247.

⁷ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.420b.

Farmuli.¹ Qutluq Qadam rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah and served in the *jawanghar*.² Hereafter, we do not hear about Qutluq Qadam.

Rahimdad

Rahimdad was the nephew of Mahdi Khwaja.³ We notice him in Babur's service in Hindustan. Gwalior was assigned to him in 1526; earlier it was held by Tatar Khan. It was besieged by Dharmakot, *Khan-i Jahan* and the *rajas* of the neighbouring territories. So Rahimdad, Shaikh Ghuran, Mulla Apaq and few men of Bhira and Lahore were sent for Tatar Khan's help. Shaikh Ghuran and Mulla Apaq were ordered to come back after establishing Rahimdad in Gwalior. The Hindu *rajas*, who had besieged the fort of Gwalior retired before the Mughal forces reached Gwalior. Since the fort was held by Tatar Khan, he did not allow these forces to enter the fort. However, Rahimdad, with the help of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus succeeded in capturing the fort.⁴ The fort was besieged again by the Hindu *rajas* when Babur was preparing for a war with Rana Sanga. Rahimdad resisted the siege and the *rajas* failed

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.521; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.421a.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.567; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.450a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishia*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

³ *Gwalior-namah*, B.M. Add. 16, 859, f.158.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. bev. vol.ii, pp.539-40; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.427b-428a; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.445; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.639; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.445.

to capture Gwalior.¹ Babur visited Gwalior in September 1528. Rahimdad entertained him in the Charbagh and offered him a huge *peshkash* amounting to 4 lacs in cash and kind.²

Rahimdad seems to have revolted against Babur in 1529. Babur came to know about his rebellious attitude from Sayyid Mashadi in August 1529. He sent Khalifa's servant Shah Muhammad to Gwalior. Shah Muhammad returned after a few days and brought Rahimdad's son with him. Babur sent Nur Beg to Gwalior to allay Rahimdad's fear. On returning from Gwalior Nur Beg placed Rahimdad's request before Babur. Babur was about to send some orders to Rahimdad when he came to know from one of his (Rahim Dad's) the servants that the latter had no intention of submitting to Babur. The servant had come to affect the escape of his master's son. As a result, Babur decided to march against Rahimdad but on Khalifa's suggestion sent him one more letter.³ In response to this letter Rahimdad sent Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus to Babur to plead his case with him. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus was a pious and excellent person. At his instance Babur forgave Rahimdad's faults. He sent Shaikh Ghuran and Nur Beg to take charge of the fort of Gwalior from Rahimdad.⁴

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.547; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.436a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr.Bev. vol.ii, p.613; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.480a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.688-89; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.528a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.690; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.528b.

Rustam Ali

We first notice Rustam Ali rendering military service to Babur in the battle of Qandahar in 1507.¹ He also served him against the Afghans of Sawad in February 1519.² He accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan. In November 1526 he, along with his brethern and some other *begs*, was appointed to undertake a plundering excursion in the neighbourhood of Biana.³ Rustam Ali fought on Babur's side in the battle of Kanwah and served in *tulghuma-i jawanghar*.⁴ After this we do not find any reference to Rustam Ali during the period under review.

Sayyid Ali

We come across only two references about Sayyid Ali. He is first noticed in Babur's service in 1519 when he rendered him military service against the Abdur Rahman Afghans.⁵ We again notice him in 1529 when he was given an assignment between Samana and Sirhind. In the same year he was appointed along with some other *begs* under the command of Chin Timur Sultan against the Baloches.⁶

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.335; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.293a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.377; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.304a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.538; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.426a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.568; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.450a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.262; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, p.37.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.403; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.329b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.638; B.M.MS. Or. 3714, f.496 a-b.

Shah Husain Yaraqī Mughal

We first notice Shah Husain Yaraqī rendering military service to Babur in the battle of Panipat,¹ he served in *jawanghar*. After occupying Agra when Babur gave Dholpur to Sultan Junaid Barlas he sent Shah Husain Yaraqī for his help.² He, however, was recalled and ordered to join Humayun who was appointed against the eastern rebels.³ The last reference that we come across about Shah Husain Yarqi is about his participation in the battle of Kanwah. In this battle also he served in the *jawanghar*.⁴

Shah Iskandar

We come across only one reference to Shah Iskandar. He rendered military service to Babur in Hindustan. In 1529 when Babur deputed Muhammad Zaman Mirza to Bihar against the rebel Afghans of the east he also sent Shah Iskandar to Bihar with three hundred to four hundred men.⁵

Shah Mansur Barlas

Shah Mansur Barlas is first noticed in our sources in the year 1526. He was appointed under the command of Humayun against

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

² *Baburnama*, Engtr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.420b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.421a.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.567; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.450a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.262.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.664; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.505b.

Hamid Khan Sarang Khani.¹ In the battle of Panipat, which took place on April 20, 1526, Shah Mansur Barlas fought on Babur's side and served in *dast-i rast-i ghul*.² After the battle of Panipat Shah Mansur, alongwith other *begs*, was sent to Agra. The expeditionary force was ordered to make a sudden incursion on Agra and keep watch over the treasures.³ Later on, along with other *begs* he was sent to Dholpur for the help of Sultan Junaid Barlas. When Babur assigned Dholpur to Sultan Junaid Barlas Shah Mansur Barlas was deputed under him to go to Dholpur.⁴ Shah Mansur Barlas and the other *begs*, however, were recalled and ordered to join Humayun, who had been appointed against the eastern rebels.⁵

Before the battle of Kanwah, along with other *begs*, Shah Mansur Barlas was sent to Biana in January 1527 to reinforce the *begs* of Biana.⁶ He rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah and served in *dast i rast i ghul*.⁷ He seems to have been appointed by

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.465; This passage is missing in B.M.MS. Or 3714, see also *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.423.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.242; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.440; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.475; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.369; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.246; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.426.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.420b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.421a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.543; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.434b.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.565; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.448b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.261; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

Babur in the vicinity of Samana and Sirhind in 1529. Later on, he was included in the expeditionary force sent under the command of Chin Timur Sultan against the Baloches.¹

Shah Mir Husain

The first reference we come across about Shah Mir Husain relates to the year 1519. Babur states in his memoirs that when he was encamped near Sultanpur Shah Mir Husain came from his *wilayat* and waited upon him on September 22, 1519.² Shortly afterwards, on the suggestion of Dilzak Afghans, Babur decided to attack Hastnagar for procuring corns. It was planned that after procuring the corns it would be stored in the fort of Hastnagar and Parashawar. These forts were to be put under the charge of Shah Mir Hussain and he was allowed to go to his *wilayat* for making necessary preparations.³ From the account given above, it seems that Shah Mir Husain already held some territorial assignment as the word *wilayat* has been used in his context. In the following year Shah Mir Husain was sent to Bajaur to replace Khwaja Kalan, who had been recalled. On January 6, 1520 he was granted permission to proceed to Bajaur.⁴ Later on, he accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan. From Parsrur Babur hurriedly

¹ *Baburnama*, B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.496a-b. His name is missing in Mrs. Beveridge's Eng.tr. as well as in Turkish text.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.409; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.335b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.410; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.336a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.422; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.345b.

advanced towards Kalanur, leaving behind his baggage and train under the charge of Shah Mir Hussain.¹

Shah Mir Hussain was attached to the expeditionary force that Babur sent against Daud Khan and Hatim Khan on April 1, 1520.² He was also ordered to join the contingent sent by Babur to deliver a night attack on Ibrahim Lodi's camp before the decisive battle of Panipat.³ In the battle of Panipat he served in *jawanghar*.⁴ After the occupation of Agra Babur sent an expedition to capture Dholpur. Shah Mir Husain was attached to this expedition.⁵ This expedition, however, was abandoned and the forces recalled. These forces later on, were ordered to join Humayun in his eastern expedition.⁶ So Shah Mir Husain also served under Humayun in the east. When Humayun captured Jaunpur he, as per Babur's directions, appointed Shah Mir Husain and Sultan

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.458; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.357b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.468; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.363b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.241; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.423; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.634.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.471; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.420b. Here he has been mentioned Shah Mir Husain Yaragi (or Baragi) *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.256.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.421a-b.

Junaid Barlas at Jaunpur.¹ After this we do not find any reference to Shah Mir Husain during the period under review.

Shaikh Ali

Shaikh Ali is first noticed in Babur's service in Hindustan. He fought on Babur's side in the battle of Panipat and served in *tulghuma-i jawanghar*.² He seems to have been posted in the region lying between Samana and Sirhind. He was appointed under the command of Chin Timur Sultan against the Baloches in 1529.³ Hereafter, we do not find any reference to Shaikh Ali during the period concerned.

Shaikh Muhammad

We come across only one reference about Shaikh Muhammad. After the battle of Kanwah he was despatched in the expedition against Mian Bibban in 1527. It may be noted that due to Babur's pre-occupation with Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah Bibban had captured Laknur.⁴

Sher Afghan

Sher Afghan was the brother of Quj Beg and Tardi Beg, who were in Babur's service. We come across only one reference to Sher Afghan.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.544; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.434a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.258; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.446; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.432.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.473; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.367a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.638; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.496 a-b.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.582; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.460a. He is mentioned by Babur as Bhakkari.

It is regarding the service he rendered to Babur in Hindustan. Along with his younger brother Tardi Beg and some other *begs*, Sher Afghan was appointed by Babur in November 1526 to undertake a plundering excursion in the vicinity of Biana.¹

Sultan Junaid Barlas

The first reference we come across about Sultan Junaid Barlas is regarding Sultan Baisunghar Mirza's conflict with Sultan Mahmud Khan over Samarqand in the year 1494-95. Babur states in his memoirs that Sultan Junaid Barlas and some leading men of Samarqand were instrumental in inviting Sultan Mahmud Khan against Sultan Baisunghar Mirza.² It can not be said with certainty as to when did he join Babur's service. We do not find any reference to Sultan Junaid Barlas during Babur's, rule in Afghanistan. We notice him in Babur's service in Hindustan in the year 1525-26. Babur conquered the fort of Malot on January 7, 1526 and ordered his forces to enter the fort and take possession of the treasures in the fort. Sultan Junaid Barlas was one of those persons who were entrusted with this task.³ Later on, when Sultan Ibrahim Lodi sent a force of five thousand to six thousand men under the command of Daud Khan and Hatim Khan Lodi to Mian-i Doab to check the advancing forces of Babur, Sultan Junaid Barlas and some other *begs* were detached from Sarsawa on April 1, 1526 to counter

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.538; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.426a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, pp.52 & 111; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.39a & 90a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.460. His name is missing in B.M.MS. Or 3714.

these forces. They defeated the Afghan forces and made Hatim Khan a captive.¹

Sultan Junaid Barlas was one of the commanders who commanded a force of five thousand to six thousand men which was deputed to deliver a night attack on Ibrahim Lodi's camp in April 1526. This mission, however, proved to be a failure.² Later on, Sultan Junaid Barlas rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Panipat, he served in the *jawanghar*.³ After their victory over Ibrahim Lodi Babur sent Sultan Junaid Barlas along with other *begs* to Delhi on April 20, 1526. They were asked to keep watch on the treasures at Delhi.⁴ Babur, after capturing Delhi, marched towards Agra and occupied it. After the occupation of Agra he conferred Dholpur upon Sultan Junaid Barlas. He was sent to Dholpur in August 1526 to recover it from Muhammad Zaitun. Number of other nobles were deputed to help him in recovering Dholpur.⁵ This expedition, however, was recalled and ordered to join

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.468; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.363b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.241; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.28; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.439; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.423; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.634.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.471; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.365b; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.425.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, p.28; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.475; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.369a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.247; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.636.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.420b; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.429.

Humayun, who was marching against the eastern Afghans. So Junaid Barlas joined Humayun and served him in his eastern expedition.¹ Before returning to Agra Humayun, as per Babur's directions, appointed Sultan Junaid Barlas and Shah Mir Husain with a contingent of soldiers at Jaunpur.²

After his appointment at Jaunpur Sultan Junaid Barlas served in the east. When Babur despatched Mirza Askari towards the east in December 1528, he sent orders to Sultan Junaid Barlas and other *amirs* of the east through Ghiasuddin, the *qurchi*, asking them to join Askari.³ Later on, he himself marched towards the east. While marching towards the east when he was encamped at Ari (*Arrah pargana*) on April 8, 1529, Sultan Junaid Barlas came from Jaunpur with Jaunpuri braves but Babur refused to see him as he reached late.⁴ He rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra. Babur's army was standing to the north of the Ganges and was divided into four divisions. Sultan Junaid Barlas alongwith Musa Sultan was given the charge of one of these divisions.⁵ In May 1529 Babur marched against Bibban and Bayzid. While encamped at Chaupara Chaturmukh on May 24, 1529,

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.531; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.421a.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.544; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.434a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.258; *Tarikh-i Firishia*, Eng.tr. Briggs, p.34; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.446; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.432; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.640.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.628; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.489a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.667; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.507b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.667; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.508b.

he appointed Sultan Junaid Barlas to pursue Bibban and Bayzid, who had fled towards Lakhanau.¹ Sultan Junaid Barlas was assigned Chunar in place of Jaunpur and along with Muhammad Zaman Mirza and some other *begs* he was ordered on June 1, 1529 to block the passage of Bibban and Bayzid at Chunar.² After this we do not come across any reference to Sultan Junaid Barlas during the period under study.

Sultan Muhammad Aughli

Sultan Muhammad Aughli served Babur in Hindustan. The author of *Tarikh-i Shahi* states that Aughli rendered meritorious service to Babur in the battle of Panipat. Soon after the battle he was appointed *hakim* of Panipat.³ Hereafter, we do not find any reference to him during the period under review.

Sultan Muhammad Duldai

Sultan Muhammad Duldai, a man with pleasing manners, was one of the great *amirs* of Babur.⁴ He is first noticed in Babur's service in 1506. Babur was invited by Sultan Husain Mirza to fight against the Uzbeks. He favourably responded to the invitation and started his march by way of Ghurbund and Shibrtu. Sultan Muhammad Duldai was

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.679; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.515b.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.682; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.516a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.645; But it remained under Taj Khan Sarang Khani, see *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, Eng.tr. p.206.

³ *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.454

⁴ *Akbarnama*, Persian text, p.120; Eng.tr. H. bev. vol.i, p.282.

with Babur during this expedition and along with Sayyid Afzal was sent in advance from Kahmard. He carried a letter for Sultan Husain Mirza of Khurasan from Babur, informing the former about the latter's march from Kabul.¹ When Babur, while marching towards Khurasan, was near Kahmard, Sultan Muhammad Duldai sent him a letter informing him about the death of Sultan Husain Mirza.² Sultan Muhammad Duldai rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Qandahar against Shah Beg and Muhammad Muqim in 1507. He served in the right hand of the center wing in the battle.³

When Babur captured Samarqand and Tashkant in April 1512 and appointed Ahmad Qasim Kahbur in Tashkant and the Uzbeks marched to recover Tashkant Babur sent a number of braves under the command of Sultan Muhammad Duldai and other *amirs* for Ahmad Qasim Kahbur's help.⁴ Next reference we come across about Sultan Muhammad Duldai relates to Babur's conquest of Bajaur. Babur left him there to reinforce the garrison. Duldai, however, left Bajaur soon and waited upon Babur in Kabul on June 11, 1519.⁵ He rendered

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.294; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.248a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.295; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.249a-b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.335; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.292b.

⁴ *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng.tr. p.260.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.401; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.327b.

military service to Babur against the Yusufzais in the same year. He was present in a wine party on September 25, 1519.¹

Sultan Muhammad Duldai accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan. He, later on, was attached to the military expedition sent under the command of Humayun against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani on February 25, 1526.² He fought on Babur's side in the battle of Panipat and served in the *baranghar*.³ After Babur's occupation of Agra he gave Kanauj to Sultan Mahammad Duldai in July, 1526.⁴ He was also appointed to serve in the expedition against Qutab Khan of Etawa.⁵ He must have taken charge of Kanauj⁶ as Babur states that when he was fighting against Rana Sanga some Afghans created disturbance. Sultan Muhammad Duldai came from Kanauj and waited upon him.⁷ After the battle of Kanwah he was assigned Sirhind, for he

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.410; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.336b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.465. This passage is missing in B.M.MS. or 3714. See also *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.240; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.422; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.634.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.28; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.420b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.530; B.M.MS. or 3714, f.421a.

⁶ Sultan Muhammad Duldai must have taken the charge of Kanauj after Humayun's victory over the Afghans, because when Humayun got to horse, Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli were in possession of Kanauj.

⁷ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.557; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.443b. Babur has not given the date of his arrival, nor his participation in the battle of Kanwah. It seems that Sultan Muhammad Duldai must have waited upon Babur either during the battle or after the battle.

was reluctant to go to Kanauj.¹ He stayed at Sirhind for two years. In the beginning of the year 1529 he was ordered to serve under Chin Timur Sultan in the expedition against the Baloches.² Later on, in the same year, he was ordered to come to Agra with Chin Timur Sultan.³ After this we don't come across any reference to Sultan Muhammad Duldai during the period under study.

Tahir Tibri

Tahir Tibri was the brother in law of Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa. He served Babur in Hindustan. After the battle of Panipat he spotted the body of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and brought his head to Babur.⁴ He remained in Babur's service and was killed by the Rajputs in a night attack just before the battle of Kanwah in 1527.⁵

Tang Aitmish Sultan

We come across only two references to Tang Aitmish Sultan in the sources of the period concerned. He was in Babur's service and is first noticed in a feast held at Agra in December 1528. Along with other *begs*

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.582; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.460b. He exchanged Kanauj, from where he realized 30 lacs, with Sirhind from where he would only be able to realize 15 lacs.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.638; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.496 a-b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.648.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.676; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.513a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.475; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.369a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.549; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.437b; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.640.

and envoys he attended the feast.¹ He, later on, rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra.²

Tardi Beg

Tardi Beg was the brother of Quj Beg and Sher Afghan, who were in Babur's service. We first notice Tardi Beg in Babur's service when we see him fighting on Babur's side against Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat. He served in *dast-i chap-i ghul*.³ Along with his brother Sher Afghan and other *begs*, he was deputed to undertake a plundering excursion in the neighbourhood of Biana in November 1528.⁴ He also rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah and served in *dast-i chap-i ghul*.⁵ After the battle of Kanwah Tardi Beg was sent on an expedition to recover Chandwar and Rapri, which earlier had been occupied by Qutab Khan and Husain Khan, respectively. He succeeded in recovering Chandwar from Qutab Khan and Rapri from Husain Khan.⁶

Tardi Beg accompanied Babur on his Chanderi expedition also. He, along with six thousand to seven thousand men, was sent in

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.631; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.490b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.669; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.508b.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.367a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.243; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.538; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.426a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. bev. vol.ii, p.565; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.449a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H.Bev. vol.i, p.261; *Tarikh-i Firishat*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.36.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. bev. vol.ii, p.582; B.M.MS. or 3714, f.460a-b.

advance from Bandir under the command of Chin Timur Sultan.¹ He also fought on Babur's side against Bibban, Bayzid and Maruf Farmuli.² Tardi Beg was also present when Babur appointed Humayun as his successor in 1530.³ After this we do not find any reference to him during the period concerned.

Tardika

Tardika first comes to our notice in 1526, we find him in Babur's service in Hindustan. After the capture of the fort of Malot, along with Birim Deo Malinhas he was appointed to pursue Ghazi Khan, who had fled away from the fort of Malot. They were ordered to capture Ghazi Khan, wherever he might be found.⁴ Tardika rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Kanwah. He served in the *tulghuma-i baranghar*.⁵ Babur writes that Tardika's efforts in the battle against Rana Sanga were quite commendable and much better than those of others. When Nahar Khan, son of Hasan Khan Mewati submitted to Babur after the battle of Kanwah, he overran Mewat. He conferred Alwar upon Tardika and fixed his *wajh* at 15 lacs.⁶

In February 1529 Babur marched towards the east. He was camping at Dugdugi, a *pargana* in Karrah on the banks of the Ganges

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.590; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.465a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.602; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.437a-b.

³ *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.276.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.462; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.360b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.568; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.450a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.579; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.457b.

when Tardika, alongwith other *begs* namely, Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Nikhub Sultan came and waited upon him.¹ In May, 1529 along with other *begs*, he was sent in pursuit of Bibban and Bayzid towards Lakhnau.² There after we do not come across any reference to him in the sources of the period under discussion.

Tardi Beg Khaksar

Tardi Beg Khaksar is first noticed in Babur's service in the year 1519. Before joining Babur's service he was a *darwesh* and it was Babur who made him renounce *darweshi* and become a *sipahi*.³ In November of the same year Babur was on an excursion near Koh-damon in Kabul. He visited Tardi Beg Khaksar and had a wine party at his residence. Babur had paid 100 *shahrukhis* to Tardi Beg Khaksar for bringing some wine and arranging the party. He wanted to have the party in privacy.⁴

Tardi Beg Khaksar accompanied Babur on his final expedition to Hindustan in 1525. Babur says that Tardi Beg Khaksar composed verses when he was accompanying him. He was present in a poetic gathering which was arranged on a raft on the bank of Kabul river when Babur's army was encamped at Qiriq-ariq.⁵ Babur marched further to

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.651; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.519a.

² *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.678; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.515a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.583; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.461b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.417; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.341b-342a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.448; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.349b-350a.

fight Ibrahim Lodi and his army next encamped near Shahabad by the side of river Jamuna. During his encampment near Shahbad Babur crossed river Jamuna and visited Sarsawa. Besides other associates of Babur Tardi Beg Khaksar was also with him when he visited Sarsawa. Babur says that as Tardi Beg Khaksar liked Sarsawa he conferred it upon him.¹ He remained in Babur's service in Hindustan till April 1527. He was with Babur during his Mewat expedition after the battle of Kanwah.² Babur says that after serving him Tardi Beg Khaksar expressed his desire to spend the rest of his life as a *darwesh*. Hence, Babur sent him as an envoy to Mirza Kamran with 3 lac *sharukhis*.³

Tardi Muhammad

Tardi Muhammad was the son of Muhammad Ali Jang Jang. He served Babur in Hindustan. Along with two thousand Turks and Hindustanis he was sent to Bihar in April 1529 in order to encourage the people of Bihar.⁴ On reaching Bihar, Tardi Muhammad sent Babur a letter informing him that when he reached Bihar, the *shiqdar* of that place fled away.⁵ We no more hear about Tardi Muhammad during the period under review.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.467; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.363b.

² *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.581; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.459b-460a.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.583; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.461b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.661; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.526a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.664; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.505b.

Tarsum Bhadur

In our sources of the period concerned we come across only one reference to Tarsum Bhadur. He was in Babur's service and according to the author of *Tarikh-i Shahi* he was ordered by Babur to lead a force of four thousand horses from Sirhind against Mohan Mandahar.¹

Tingri Birdi Mughal

The only reference that find in our sources about Tingri Birdi Mughal is regarding his fighting on Babur's side in the battle of Panipat. He served in *tulghuma-i jawanghar*.² After this we do not hear about him.

Tulmish Uzbek

Only two references could be traced about Tulmish Uzbek in the sources of the period concerned. He was in Babur's service in Hindustan and rendered him military service in the battle of Ghagra.³ In May 1529, along with other *begs*, he was sent towards Lukhnau in pursuit of Bibban and Bayzid.⁴

Ustad Ali Quli

Ustad Ali Quli was a cannonear. He served Babur in all his major expeditions not only in Afghanistan but in Hindustan also. He is first

¹ *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.460.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.473; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.367a; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.243.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.669; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.508b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.678; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.515a.

noticed in Babur's service in the year 1519 when he rendered him military service against the Bajauris. He brought down five men with his matchlock.¹ He accompanied Babur on his final expedition towards Hindustan. In March 1526 Humayun defeated Hamid Khan of Hisar Firoza and brought about one hundred persons as prisoners to Babur. Babur ordered Ustad Ali Quli to shoot all the prisoners.²

Ustad Ali Quli was asked by Babur to make preparations for the battle of Panipat. He first placed the carts in Ottoman style.³ He rendered commendable service in the battle by discharging good shots.⁴ After the battle of Panipat Babur decided to capture Biana and the other forts which had not been subjugated. So he ordered Ustad Ali Quli to cast a large mortar for use against Biana.⁵ The mortar was put on a trial before the battle of Kanwah in February 1527 and found without any defect. He was rewarded with a *Kamar-i shamshir*, a *khilat*, and a *tipuchaq* for casting such an effective mortar.⁶ Ustad Ali Quli later

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.369; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.297b.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.466; This passage is missing in B.M.MS. Or 3714; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.423.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.469; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.364a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.473; This passage is missing in B.M.MS. or 3714; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.439; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.424; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁵ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.536; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.425a-b.

⁶ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.547; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.435b-436a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.432.

performed well in the battle of Kanwah also.¹ In February 1528 he accompanied Babur on his Chanderi expedition also.² He served Babur against Bibban, Shaikh Bayzid and Maruf Farmuli near Kanauj and used Ghazi mortar against them.³ Ustad Ali Quli efficiently used his mortars in the battle of Ghagra also.⁴ After this we do not come across any reference to Ustad Ali Quli during the period concerned.

Yakka Khwaja

Yakka Khwaja is first noticed in Babur's service in Hindustan. In February 1528, when Babur was encamped at Bandir, he sent Yakka Khwaja and Jafar Khwaja to Kalpi for bringing some boats to Kanar passage.⁵ Yakka Khwaja rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra.⁶ He, however, was drowned in the river and his *wilayat* and retainers were given to his younger brother Qasim Khwaja.⁷

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.570-71; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.452a-b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.264; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs, vol.ii, p.37; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.641.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.593-94; B.M.MS. or 3714, f.466a-b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.599; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.470b-471a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.669-70; B.M.MS. Or 3714, ff.508b-509a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.598; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.470a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.671; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.510a.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.674; B.M.MS. or 3714, f.512a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.645.

Yunas-i Ali

Yunas-i Ali was the son of Baba Ali, who was one of the prominent *amirs* of Sultan Husain Mirza of Khurasan.¹ Yunas-i Ali served Babur in Hindustan. Along with other *begs* he was sent by Babur against Daud Khan and Hatim Khan Lodi, who had been sent by Ibrahim Lodi to the Mian-i Doab with a force of five thousand to six thousand men.² They defeated the Afghans. He fought on Babur's side in the battle of Panipat in which he served in *dast-i rast-i ghul*.³ After this battle, along with other *begs*, he was sent to Agra to keep watch on the treasures.⁴ While going to Agra he lost his way and came into conflict with Ali Khar Farmuli's son and his small army. Yunas-i Ali defeated them and brought them as prisoners to Babur.⁵

When Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's mother was arrested on the charge of administering poison to Babur she was handed over to Yunas-i Ali. He took money and other goods from her and put her in the custody of Abdur Rahim Shaghawal.⁶ Before the battle of Kanwah Yunas-i Ali was sent towards Biana in January 1527 to reinforce the *begs* of Biana.⁷ In

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.278.

² *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.i, p.241; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.423.

³ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.472; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.366b; *Akbarnama*, Eng.tr. H. Bev. vol.i, p.242; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng.tr. Ranking, vol.i, p.440; *Tarikh-h-Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p.635.

⁴ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.475; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.369a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.526; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.416b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.543; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.433b.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.545; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.434b.

the battle of Kanwah also he served in *dast-i rast-i ghul*.¹ In December 1528 alongwith other *begs* and envoys, he was present in a feast held at Agra. He was ordered to sit with Qizilbash envoys.² He accompanied Babur on his eastern expedition also. In April 1529 Muhammad Zaman Mirza was dispatched towards Bihar but he made several representations to Babur through Yunas-i Ali and Shaikh Zain.³ Yunas-i Ali rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra also.⁴ He was present in a *majun* party held on the banks of river Gumti in June 1529.⁵ After this we do not hear about Yunas-i Ali during the period concerned.

Zahid Khwaja

Zahid Khwaja was in Babur's service in Hindustan. He was posted at Sambhal but he abandoned it just before the battle of Kanwah due to the threat of the Afghans.⁶ In June 1529, along with other *begs*, he was ordered to march towards Dalmau in pursuit of Bibban and Bayzid. Hereafter, we do not come across any reference to Zahid Khwaja during the period under review.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.565; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.448b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. Bev. vol.i, p.261; *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Eng.tr. Briggs vol.ii, p.36; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hir tr. Rizvi, p.425.

² *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.631; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.490b.

³ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, pp.661-62; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.526b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.671; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.510a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.683; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.516b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.557; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.443.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.682; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.516a.

Zardrai

From the only reference that we find about Zardarai in the sources of the period concerned we learn about his being in Babur's service and rendering him military service in the battle of Ghagra.¹

A Resume

Not unlike the other central Asian personalities discussed in the previous chapters, here too, we notice that though most of them figure prominently in Hindustan during the period under review, yet, some of them had already distinguished themselves through their military prowess in central Asia and Kabul. Apart from carving out their positions as military commanders and soldiers some of them performed varied functions in the service of Babur in Hindustan. With the exception of Rahim Dad, who temporarily wavered in his allegiance to Babur, none of them waged a standard of revolt against him. In any case none of them made any overtures to the Afghans.

¹ *Baburnama*, Eng.tr. Bev. vol.ii, p.668; B.M.MS. Or 3714, f.508a.

A RESUME

In a study which is of the nature of a biographical dictionary it will be pretentious to draw any conclusions as the biographical dictionaries do not carry any conclusions. However, a few observations may be made here. It may be noted that we have worked out the biographies of a total number of one hundred and ninety six notables who made their presence felt in the political scenario in north India, or in other words whose names were considered worth recording in the primary sources, contemporary or near contemporary. The very fact that their names figure in our sources suggests that they were noticed by the authors of these sources.

Out of these one hundred and ninety six biographies eighty three are of the Hindustani chiefs which constitute the subject matter of the first four chapters. In the first chapter we have given the biographies of the Lodi and Sarang Khani notables. We have worked out the biographies of eighteen prominent Lodi personalities and four of the Sarang Khanis. The eighteen Lodis, whose biographies we have worked out, belong to three different families. Six of them were of the princely order related to the ruling Lodi family, while the other six belonged to the family of Daulat Khan Lodi, a powerful Lodi chief. The other six did not belong to any single family yet, they were powerful chiefs. Among the Sarang Khanis Tatar Khan Sarang Khani and Taj Khan Sarang Khani,

who were the sons of Jamal Khan Sarang Khani, were important Afghan chiefs who made their power felt during the period concerned. As we have noted earlier, many of them were masters of large principalities and strong forts, while the others commanded large Afghan contingents. During this period of conflict between the Mughals and the Afghans some of them submitted to Babur, others wavered in their allegiance to Babur, while some others constantly opposed him.

Chapter II deals with the Afghans of the Nohani and Farmuli clans. We have given the biographies of eleven Nohani and eight Farmuli chiefs. As far as the Nohanis are concerned, they largely dominated in Bihar, while the stronghold of the Famulis was Oudh. Both these clans concentrated in the eastern region. However, we notice some of them having their pockets in different regions. Like the Lodis they too were divided in their loyalties to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, some being his supporters while others were his opponents. Same was the role of the Farmulis. Similarly in the course of the conflict between the Mughals and the Afghans the Nohanis and Farmulis did not act as compact groups. Notables like Bayzid Farmuli wavered in their loyalty. Nevertheless, they played a significant role in the political upheavals of the times.

Among the Jilwanis, Sarwanis, Surs and Karranis, which constitute the subject matter of Chapter III, two persons stand out conspicuously. One of them was Bibban Jilwani who first submitted to

Babur but subsequently defied his authority tooth and nail. He, along with Bayzid Farmuli, gave tough time to Babur throughout the latter's rule in Hindustan. Fath Khan Sarwani was the other leading personality of the times who made his presence felt during this period. Among the Surs it was Sher Khan Sur who registered his presence during the period concerned.

Among other notables, whose biographies have been recorded in Chapter IV, mention may be made of Nizam Khan of Biana, Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi, Hasan Khan Mewati, Araish Khan, Mulla Muhammad Mazhab, Qazi Jia, Shaikh Ghuran, Hati Khan Gakkhar and Malik Hast Janjuha. They were powerful chiefs and registered their presence during the period concerned, either through their defiance of the Mughal authority or by rendering military service to Babur. Many of them after their submission to Babur were honoured by him in various ways.

The remaining four chapters are devoted to the Central Asian Chiefs Beginning with the princely order in Chapter V, it may be noted that we find a number of Timurid, Uzbek and Mongol princes active on the scene. Among the Timurids, Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Muhammad Zaman Mirza played a key role in Babur's service in Hindustan Muhammad Sultan Mirza rendered meritorious service to Babur in the battles of Panipat, Kanwah and Ghagra, apart from serving him in various military expeditions against the Afghans in Hindustan. He was rewarded for his services by Babur from time to time.

Muhammad Zaman Mirza was in Babur's service even during the period of his rule in Kabul and was appointed by Babur at Balkh after its conquest by him. He also rendered distinguished military service to Babur in various expeditions in Hindustan and was entrusted with the charge of Bihar after its conquest by Babur.

The Uzbek princes namely Qasim Husain Sultan and Adil Sultan also distinguished themselves in Hindustan. Both of them coming from central Asia joined Babur's service in Hindustan. Qasim Husain Sultan came to Hindustan at a crucial time when Babur was making preparations to fight against Rana Sanga. He distinguished himself in various expeditions against the Afghans. The other Uzbek prince, Adil Sultan, is also noticeable in various military expeditions under Babur in Hindustan.

As far as the Mongols are concerned, we notice Aisan Timur Sultan, Tukhta Bugha Sultan, Baba Sultan and Chin Timur Sultan distinguishing themselves in Hindustan during this period. All of them coming from central Asia joined Babur's service in Hindustan. The most distinguished of these princes was Chin Timur Sultan, who was most favoured by Babur because of his military competence and was entrusted with various military commands. The other Mongol princes also served Babur against the Afghans in various expeditions. They extensively contributed to the consolidation of Babur's authority in Hindustan and were lavishly rewarded by him.

It may be noted that most of these princes joined Babur's service after he had established himself in Kabul and later on in Hindustan. As regards the Timurid princes it is understandable that when the Timurid kingdom had been overthrown by the Uzbeks in central Asia and only one Timurid prince, namely Babur, had succeeded in carving out a kingdom for himself, it is understandable that the princes belonging to the displaced Timurid ruling families in central Asia found refuge with him. Same can be said about the Mongols whose authority was also challenged by the rising power of the Uzbeks. Hence, they too migrated to Hindustan and joined Babur's service to find a fortune for themselves. Now the question arises as to why the princes belonging to the Uzbek order, who had run over the Timurid principalities in central Asia, came and joined the service of Babur. Here, it may be noted that the Uzbek princes, whom we find active in Babur's service in Hindustan, were related to Babur through matrimony. Perhaps, this is the only reason that leaving their kinfolk they preferred to stay with the Timurids under Babur's leadership. Here, it may be pointed out that all the chiefs belonging to the princely order, be they Uzbeks, Timurids or the Mongols who were active in Babur's service in Hindustan, were one way or the other related to him. Therefore, we can say that it was the family ties which brought them to Hindustan to join Babur's service.

✓ In chapter VI we have discussed the biographies of those notables who carried denominations like *diwan*, *qurchi*, *kitabdar*, *muhrdar* etc.

Since these denominations indicated certain specialised functions, a few observations are warranted. It is obvious that the denominations like *kitabdar*, *rikabdar*, *qurchi* etc. denoted the functions the particular incumbents were required to perform, yet, such notables were entrusted with varied assignments. Not that *kitabdar* was necessarily a *liabrarian* or a *muhrdar* a keeper of the seals, almost all of them are found rendering military service to Babur irrespective of the designations they held. Many of them were given important territorial assignments also and constituted the higher echelon of nobility. It seems that they must have started their service under Babur to perform particular functions as indicated by their denominations or designations, but in course of time they must have risen to higher positions. They, however, continued to be identified with their initial designations.

To illustrate this point we give a few examples where the designations of the notables look insignificant but they are entrusted with important assignments. Abdul Aziż, who is always referred to as *mir akhur* was entrusted with the government of Lahore after its capture by Babur in 1524 and subsequently rendered military service to Babur on various occasions. Similarly, Abdul Maluḳ, who is mentioned as *qurchi*, also functioned as Babur's ambassador to Sultan Said Khan of Kashgarh. Likewise Dost, always mentioned as *diwan* also performed functions of a *shiqdar*. Khwaja Husain Beg, the *diwan* acted as Babur's ambassador to his uncle. In the same way Mir Khurd, though a

bakawal, yet, he was appointed as guardian of prince Hindal. Many of the notables with trivial designations are noticed in Babur's social gatherings. Such instances of multiple functions are noticeable in the case of each and every person mentioned with a particular denomination.

We now pass on to other central Asian notables which cover the last two chapters of the thesis. As mentioned earlier, in view of the difficulty of grouping them under separate headings we have listed their biographies in alphabetic order. Since such notables constituted a very large number we have, however, broken the alphabetic serial into two chapters. In these two chapters, on the one hand, we notice in these two chapters important nobles like Abdur Rahim, Khusrau Kokuldash, Mehdi Khwaja, Muhammad Ali Jang Jang, Sultan Junaid Barlas, Sultan Muhammad Dul dai etc. On the other hand, there were persons who figure only once or twice in our sources and do not appear to be as important as the former. Here too, we find that some of them were in Babur's service even prior to the period under discussion while others are noticeable only during the period of our study. However, in the course of the Mughal Afghan conflict none of them wavered in his allegiance to Babur and almost all of them rendered military service to him. Many of them were rewarded with lavish territorial assignments. Some of them had the privilege of association with Babur's social gatherings.

In short, all those notables whose biographies we have worked out deserved the attention of the contemporary and near contemporary writers. What was common to all was the military service. All of them were people of the sword, a reason which made their names worth recording. Here it is pertinent to note that Akbar's official historian Abul Fazl, while classifying society into four grades, places the *ahl-i saif*, i.e., people of the sword at the top which qualified them to be considered as elite. They were placed by him in the social hierarchy even above the learned men, i.e., the *ahl-i qalm*. It is a different thing that many of them were also learned men and performed multiple functions. There may, undoubtedly, have been a large number of learned men- physicians, theologian's etc. during the period under discussion and could be regarded as elite but they do not constitute the subject matter of the thesis, the thrust of which has been an attempt in the direction of preparation of a biographical dictionary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY WORKS:

- Abbas Khan Sarwani ... *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, Eng. tr. H.M. Elliot and J.Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians, vol.iv, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad (reprint, n.d.)
- -do- ----- ... *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng. tr. B.P. Ambashthya, K.P. Jayaswal, Research Institute, Patna, 1974.
- Abdullah ... *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Persian text, ed. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 1969.
- -do- ----- ... *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Hindi tr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part, 1, Aligarh 1958; *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, Aligarh, 1960.
- Abul Fazl ... *Akbarnamah*, vol. I, Persian text, ed. Maulwi Abdur Rahim, Kitab Publishing House, reprint, Delhi, 1977.
- -do- ----- ... *Akbar Nama*, vol. I, Eng. tr. H. Beveridge, Rare Books, reprint, Delhi, 1972.
- Ahmad Yadgar ... *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Persian text, ed. M.Hidayat Hosain, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1939.

- -do----- ... *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. S.A. Rizvi *Uttar Kalin Bharat*, Part-I, Aligarh, 1958; *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, Babur, Aligarh, 1960.
- Babur, Zahiruddin Muhammad ... *Babur-Nama*, Eng. tr. A.S. Beveridge, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, reprint, New Delhi, 1970.
- -do- ----- ... *Babur-Nama* or *Babur's Memoirs*, Persian translation, B.M. MS. Or. 3714.
- -do- ----- ... *Baburnama*, Turkish text, ed. A.S. Beveridge, Luzac & Co.Ltd., reprint, London, 1971.
- Badaoni, (Mulla) Abdul Qadir ... *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, vol. I, Eng. tr. George S.A. Ranking, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, reprint Delhi, 1973.
- Firishta, Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah ... *Tarikh-i Firishta*, also known as *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi*, Persian text, vol.i, Kanpur, 1884.
- -do- ----- ... *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. J.Briggs: *The History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, vol.i, ii, Editions Indian, reprint, Calcutta, 1966.
- Gulbadan Begam ... *Humayun Nama*, Persian text, with Eng. tr. A.S. Beveridge, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, reprint, Delhi, 1972.

- -do- ----- ... *Humayun-Nama*, Hindi tr. S.A.A. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, Aligarh, 1960.
- Haidar Duglat, Mirza Muhammad ... *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, Eng. tr. E. Denison Ross, Curzon Press, reprint, London, 1972. Hindi tr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, Babur, Aligarh, 1960.
- Khawajah Nizamuddin Ahmad ... *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian text, vol. ii ed. B. De, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1931.
- -do----- *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Hindi tr. S.A.A. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, Part-I, Aligarh, 1958; Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, Aligarh, 1962.
- Khwandamir, Ghyasuddin ... *Qanun-i Humayuni*, Eng.tr. Bains Prashad, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1940.
- -do----- ... *Tarikh-i Habib-us-Siyar*, Hindi tr. S.A.A. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, Aligarh, 1960.
- Jouher ... *Tezkereh Al Vakiat*, Eng. tr. Charles Stewart, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delhi, reprint, Delhi, 1972.
- Masum Bhakkari ... *Tarikh-i Masumi*, also known as *Tarikh-i Sind*, Persina text, ed. U.M. Daudpota, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1938.

- Masum Bhakkari ... *Tarikh-i Masumi*, also known as *Tarikh-i Sind*, Hindi tr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, Aligarh, 1960.
- Muhammad Kabir bin Shaikh ... *Afsana-i Shahan*, Hindi tr. Ismail Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, Part I, Aligarh, 1958.
- Mulla Ahmad Thattawai & ... *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. S.A.A. Others Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, Aligarh, 1960. *Mughal Kalin Bharat Humayun*, Part-II, Aligarh, 1962.
- Mushtaqi, Rizqullah ... *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, Part I, Aligarh 1958; *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, Aligarh, 1960.
- Niamatullah ... *History of the Afghans*, pt.I, Lodi Period, Eng. tr. Nirodbhusan Roy, Santiniketan, 1958.
- -do- ---- ... *Tarikh-i Khan Jahan Lodi*, Persian text, ed. S.M. Imam Al Din, Dacca, 1960.
- Shah Nawaz Khan ... *Maathir-ul Umara*, vols. I-III, Eng. tr. H. Beveridge, Janki Prakashan, reprint, Patna, 1979.
- Sikandar Ibn Muhammad ... *Mirat-i Sikandari*, Persian text, ed. S.C. Misra and M.L. Rahman, Baroda, 1961.

Anonymous ... *Tazkirat-ul Umara*, MS. No.45, Buhar Collection, National Library, Calcutta. Transcribed copy available in the Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University has been used.

SECONDARY WORKS

Aziz, Abdul ... *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, reprint, Delhi, 1972.

-----do----- ... *The Imperial Library of the Mughals*, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, reprint

Ashraf, K.M. ... *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, Munshiram Manohar Lal, reprint, New Delhi, 1970.

Athar Ali ... *The Mughal Mobility under Aurangzeb*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966.

Erskine, Wiliam ... *History of India under the Two First Sovereigns of the House of Taimur*, vol. I, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, reprint, Delhi, 1973.

Grenard, Fernand ... *Baber, First of the Moguls*, Natraj Publishers, reprint, Dehra Dun, 1971.

- Halim, Abdul ... *History of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra*, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, reprint, Delhi, 1974.
- Hasan, Mohibbul ... *Babur, Founder of the Mughal Empire in India*, Manohar Publication, Delhi, 1985.
- Husani, Afzal ... *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir: A Study of Family Groups*, Manohar, 1999.
- Ishwari Prasad ... *The Life and Times of Humayun*, Central Book Dept, reprint, Allahabad, 1976.
- Khan, Ahsan Raza ... *Chieftains in the Mughal Empire during the Reign of Akbar*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla 1977.
- Khosla, R.P. ... *Mughal Kingship and Nobility*, The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1934.
- Lane Poole ... *Baber*, S Chand & Co., reprint Delhi, 1971.
- Malhotra, Yog Raj ... *Babur's Nobility and Administration in Hindustan*, ABS Publications, Jalandhar, 1996.
- Pandey, A.B. ... *The First Afghan Empire in India, (1451-1526)*, Bookland Ltd., Calcutta, 1956.

- Parashar, Vandana ... *Babur Bhartiya Sandharabh Mein*, Delhi, 1975.
- Qanungo, K.R. ... *Life and Times of Sher Shah*, Orient Longmans, Calcutta, 1965.
- Qureshi, Ishtiaq Husain ... *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Oriental Book Reprint, Corporation, reprint, New Delhi, 1971.
- do----- ... *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, Janaki Prakashan reprint Patna, 1979.
- Radhey Shyam ... *Mughal Samarat Babar*, Patna, 1976.
- do----- ... *Babar*, Janaki Prakashan, Patna, 1978.
- Saran, P. ... *The Provincial Government of The Mughals, 1526-1658*, Asia Publishing House, reprint, 1973.
- Sarkar, (Sir) Jadunath ... *Mughal Administration*, reprint New Delhi, 1972.
- Sarkar, (sir) Jadunath ... *Military History of India*, Orient Longmans, reprint, New Delhi, 1970.

- Siddiqui, Iqtidar Husain ... *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, Three Men Publication, Aligarh, 1969.
- do----- ... *History of Sher Shah Sur*, P.C. Dwadash Shreni & Co., Aligarh, 1971.
- do----- ... *Mughal Relations with the Indian Ruling Elite*, Munshiram Manohar Lal Pvt., Ltd., 1983.
- Singh, Fauja ... *History of the Panjab (A.D. 1000-1526)* Vol.III, Department of Panjabi Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972.
- Srivastava, H.S. ... *Humayun*, Agra (n.d.).
- Stewart, Charles ... *The History of Bengal, from the First Mohammedan Invasion until the Virtual Conquest of that country by the English A.D. 1757*, Oriental Publishers, reprint, Delhi, 1971.
- Telbot, F.G. ... *Memoirs of Babur*, London, 1909.
- Tripathi, R.P. ... *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Central Book Depot, reprint, Allahabad, 1963.

- do----- ... *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, Central Book Depot, reprint, Allahabad, 1974.
- Williams, L.F. Rushbrook ... *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*, S. Chand & Co., Delhi reprint, n.d.
- Yusuf, Husain ... *Indo-Muslim Polity (Turko-Afghan Period)*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1971.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE:

- Husain, Afzal ... "Mughal Nobility under Babur and Humayun", cyclostyled copy of the paper presented at the xliii session of the *Indian History Congress* held at Kurukshetra, 1982.
- Hasan, S. Nurul ... "New Light on the Relations of the early Mughal Rulers with their Nobility", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Madras, 1944.
- Khan, A.R. ... "Babur's Settlement of His Conquests in Hindustan", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, xxix, session, 1967.
- Latif, S.A. ... "Jamali's Relations with the Rulers of Delhi", *Medieval India, A Miscellany*, vol.iv, Asia Publishing House, 1977.

- Malhotra, Yog Raj ... "Contribution of a Princely Mongol Family to the Conquest and Consolidation of the Mughal Empire in Hindustan (1526-30)", paper read at the xli session of the *Indian History Congress* held at Bombay, 1980.
- Siddiqui, Iqtidar Husain ... "Iqta System under the Lodis" *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, xxiv session, 1961.
- do----- ... "Position of Shiqdar Under the Sultans of Delhi", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, xxviii session, 1966.
- do----- ... "The composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans", *Medieval India, A Miscellany*, vol. iv, Asian Publishing House, 1977.
- Tej Ram ... "Babur's Relations with the Nohani and Farmuli Afghans: A Study of his Nobility (1526-30)", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, xli, session, 1980.