LIFE AND EVENTS OF MIRZA KAMRAN

Babar’s death has been reported in December 25th 1530 C.E. (5th Jamadiul Awwal 937 A.H.). It may be mentioned here, according to S.K. Banerji that Babar gave his dying instructions to his eldest son, “which were to preserve cordiality in the family and especially to be forgiving and kind to the brothers.”

According to “Rulers of India,” by Stanley Lane Poole, edited by Sir W. Hunter, it has been mentioned that Babar wrote a letter to Humayun giving him instructions on good conduct. Humayun was asked by Babar to behave nicely with Kamran, the ruler prince of Kabul and that he should not complain of his loneliness in Badakhshan, as it would be unworthy of a prince.

According to it he could not dispossess Kamran of the Government of Kabul and Qandhar where Kamran had been given complete charge as an independent ruler prince by Babar for the last five years.

Further Babar had proportioned Humayun’s share of inheritance as compared to that of Kamran as 6 to 5. This was chiefly based on a precedent in his own uncle’s case. The eldest Sultan Ahmad Mirza as the ruler of Samarqand had the largest share. The second Sultan Mohammad Mirza had slightly less. While the third Umar Shaikh Mirza and the fourth Ulugh Baig Mirza had considerably smaller shares.

In this context Kamran expected Humayun to increase his Jagirs considerably beyond its existing limits.

Since Humayun, after the death of his father, was busy in more important matters and could not pay attention to this matter and kept it in abeyance.
Therefore Kamran marched towards Lahore with his army. Mir Yunus Ali the Governor of Lahore stoutly opposed him, Qaracha Beg one of the chief nobles of Kamran, went to Yunus Ali, pretending to be displeased with Kamran. When he got a suitable opportunity, he captured Yunus Ali. However Kamran released Yunus Ali and allowed him to proceed to Humayun.\(^{17}\)

Erskine has criticized the role of Kamran in this respect. “No sooner did Kamran, who was at Kabul, hear of his father’s death, then disdaining the ample dominions he had enjoyed under his father and in the possession of which his brother had consented to confirm him, collected an army and in the true spirit of brotherhood among Asiatic princes marched for Hindustan, under pretence of congratulating Humayun on his accession, but in reality to try the strength of his sword and to see whether his own good fortune might not raise him to the throne of Delhi itself.”\(^{18}\)

However, the editor of ‘Great Mughuls’ did not agree with this statement and have stated that disunion between the two brothers cannot be maintained for the first eight years of Humayun’s reign. “Neither did Kamran attempt to achieve the throne of Delhi from his brother as an independent prince. Humayun on his return to Delhi confirmed the rule of Kamran on Lahore, Multan, Hisar Firoza and other eastern districts upto the Sutluj”\(^{19}\) (in addition to Kabul and Qandhar).

The coins of that period also bore the names of both the brothers. Of eight coins that are preserved in the British Museum, six bear the date 946 A.H. (1539 C.E.) with inscriptions in Persian having the names of both of them: “The justice of Muhammad Kamran Badshah-i-Ghazi and Muhammad Humayun Ghazi, Sultan the great and illustrious may God bless his territory and Sultanate”.

These coins were stamped by Kamran in Lahore or in another town of his Jagir. Kamran called himself Badshah like his father who had
entitled himself as such while he owned the single province of Kabul, while Humayun bore the more common title of Sultan. The phrase as Sultan-e-Azam in the coin added to Humayun’s name signified that Humayun was the greater of the two and this also clarifies the true relationship between the two brothers.\(^{20}\)

Babar had in his life time given the province of Kabul to the mother of Kamran and had clearly mentioned that his sons should not desire to capture Kabul. Further he had given the province of Qandhar to Kamran in his life time.\(^{21}\) When Babar distributed from his treasury, Humayun was given 20 lakhs and 17 lakhs were given to Kamran, even though he was not in the army. As stated above he instructed Humayun to distribute the Jagir on the pattern it was distributed among Babar’s father and his brothers (uncles). It was in this context that after the death of Babar Kamran captured Lahore and Multan. Humayun did not object to it and confirmed Kamran’s authority on Multan and Lahore. Kamran thanked Humayun and composed this poem in his praise.\(^{22}\)

حس تو رزمِ نازون ابراز
ظالم فرع سیمون ابراز

“Your beauty may increase each moment. Your fortune may be auspicious”.

مرِ غباری کہ ز راهت تیرد
تور تم کہ س سرخون بیاد

“Whatever dust rises from your way it may change in the light of my eyes, the grieved one”.

ناک کو از رہ لیلُ نیرد
پاک او دیہا شجون بیاد
“The dust that rises from the way of Laila its place may be the eyes of Majnoon”.

بنده حضید خوش تر چپک
صد چپ دارا و فریون پارا

“There may be a hundred bond men of you, like Dara and Fareedun as well as I am”.

جرک گرتو پچ پاک گلیت
او ازب داره پرود نارا

“Whosever did not go round you like compass. He is out of this circle”.

کامران چاکر چال راست چاک
بتر دیر حالاپ نارا

“Kamran! As long as the world remains intact, may Humayun be the king of the time”.

Humayun being pleased granted him the Jagir of Hissar Firozah. (This well known town and fort was the capital of one of Akbar’s Sarkar in Delhi, founded by Firoz Shah Tughlaq). Where upon Kamran composed one more lyric (Ghazal) in praise of Humayun which is as under.23

پرتم بد راو تو درامم شر نلی پندر
دست ک سخت خیم جاب نیاکی پندر

“I have been waiting for you for some days. Now it is high time that you take some steps towards me”.

کاک باردو پورا شمیرو میتیاکی پندر
پچو توکر کر چار پر دشناکی پندر

“That who never sends some messages to me, what harm will he bear if he makes me pleased with some abuses”.

10
Your black spot shall suffice to hunt my heart. Don’t spread nets of your hair on my head”.

“So that no one can trace out, my inclination to thy face, I wish to have the fortune of thy union and some beloved ones”.

“I am a drunkard and wine bibber. Don’t sit with me. It will be a matter of regret to sit with some bad elements”.

“Kamran send this new lyric to Humayun, in the hope he may present some awards to you.”

However the attachment between Kamran and Humayun could not continue for long. Ultimately some friction and enmity developed in between them, as is evident from the blinding of both the eyes of Kamran on the orders of Humayun. One of the reasons for the quarrel between the two brothers possibly could have been the result of misunderstandings created by nobles and generals on both sides. There considerable variation of views among different historians. For example Gulbadan Begam, Jauhar, Abul Fazl and those favouring Humayun believe that Humayun was right and Kamran was wrong. These people called Kamran a traitor and an enemy of the Kingdom of Humayun, chiefly because they were all attached to Humayun and their loyalty was with him.
Badaoni, on the other hand, has given a different account of the happenings in this regard, as he was neither a man of Humayun, nor that of Kamran. His views appear to be more balanced. As per his depiction, Kamran was a brave man with high ambitions, a good natured person and highly religious.\(^{27}\)

Kabul to his mother Gulrukh, and Qandhar to him were given by Babar himself and these were being ruled by Kamran, whereas Humayun initially had accepted this. When Humayun went out of India, he desired to make Kabul as his Capital, Kamran having known his intentions became defensive, and this was quite natural for him. He was so circumspect that he removed his own real brother Askari from the governorship of Qandhar and replaced him by Khawaja Kalan. Sam Mirza of Iran captured Qandhar and ruled over there for about eight months, Kamran having got this information, attacked on Qandhar and captured it again.\(^{28}\)

Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad, the author of ‘Tabqat-e-Akbari’, and Amin Ahmad Razi, the author of ‘Haft Iqleem’ have mentioned the date of this event in Persian which is as follows:\(^{29}\)

(943 A.H.)

"The king Kamran had beaten Sam".

The author of Muntakhabut Tawarikh, mentioned the couplets of Maulana Bekasi in which he described the date of his victory as below.\(^{30}\)

\begin{align*}
\text{آن چم که چاپ چاپان در نظر فرورد} \\
\text{در چاپ چاپان چاپان صراحی تویم چاپان} \\
\end{align*}

"That moment the crown and the golden cup appeared like goblet and decanter, in the assembly of pleasure and war".

\begin{align*}
\text{پرچم از خرد که چاپان چاپان ترخان} \\
\text{انگلی نه لازم چارا دریای سلام} \\
\end{align*}
“I asked the reason, why has the scattering gold crown been thrown at this place like red tulip”.

قَلَتْ كَذَا بَعْدُ يَا تَحْكُم ائِنْ مُعَافٍ
أَلَّهَمْ ۳۰٢ نَزْرُ رَفَضَتْ ياً هَم

“The heaven said in respect of the date of this battle. The golden crown was thrown because of the defeat of the Sam’s army”.

Shah Ismail Safavi also attacked on Qandhar and captured it. Kamran however repeated the exercise and drove him away by chasing them upto the border of Iraq.

The predicament of Kamran was that on one hand he was fighting against the Iranian attacks and on the other hand Humayun was fighting against the Pathans and loosing the battles. Kamran then came down to Agra and stayed at Baghe Gulafshan. Here again Gulbadan Begam blamed Kamran that he had come to Agra to capture it, however Jauhar, does not ascribe any such intention to Kamran.

Kamran had come to Agra with a force of about twenty thousand soldiers. Mirza Haider Doghlat, author of ‘Tarikh-e-Rashidi’ does not agree with the opinion of Gulbadan Begam as he says that if Kamran had any such reported intention, he would have captured Agra defeating the defeated army of Humayun. Since he never attempted any such act at that moment, it is ample proof of the false blame leveled by Gulbadan Begam. However, it is also true that Kamran did not offer his support to Humayun. Hindal the brother of Humayun had also deserted him and had gone to Alwar. These were the days when Humayun was defeated at Chausa. This defeat had depressed Humayun so much that he came back to Agra and confined himself. No doubt that he was aggrieved firstly by his defeat and secondly by the attitude of his brothers.
However, one day Humayun visited Kamran in his camp without any prior information. When both the brothers met together, they wept together. In the meanwhile Hindal also arrived from Alwar. Thus all the three brothers sat together and discussed the whole situation in detail. These discussions continued for about six months. Kamran proposed some favours for himself from Humayun and showed his intention to go to Lahore. Humayun accepted his demands.

Although Kamran could help Humayun but unfortunately he fell ill and suffered from various diseases, which created doubt that he had been poisoned, but as per Gulbadan Begam’s statements:

```
ورآن روزا حمیر زا اکمر ان وان رکی چپ پرگر که 5 چنان
پیج کلا آکمر دودر واچ کی کلا آکمر دودر 2 اصل پیج کلا چا چا رود
امید را چا چا رود
```

“In those days Mirza Kamran suffered from such a grave disease that he became weak and lean and his face changed and he lost all hopes for his life”.

Kamran suspected that he had been poisoned at the instance of Humayun and the more he lost his health, the stronger his suspicions became. Gulbadan Begam, on the side of Humayun took it as misunderstanding and narrated as under:

```
ورآن راگاون ان شکر پی چون تخت که شما وان 2 چا چا
اکیرا دودر چون تخت که شما اکیرا دودر چون چون
بیشین نیر آکیرا اکیرا ان کب شگر کلا دودر
کامران آکیرا موگندر موگندر که شگر دور شیلت ما کدچر دودر
افترود 2 چا چا، پی چون کو اکیرا نا مر 2 چا چا میر 2 چا چا
بیشین 2 چا چا دودر دودر شگر که شگر کن کردن 2 چا چا
```

“Kamran was suspicious that Humayun His Majesty the king had advised to poison him. When the king heard of this, he came to visit Mirza
Kamran and swore "Never came this idea in my mind neither I had ordered anyone" Despite his swearing, Kamran’s opinion did not change. The illness of Kamran was prolonging day by day and his condition became worst to the extent that he became unable even to speak.”

After his recovery to some extent, he got the information that Sher Shah Suri has crossed the river Ganga, with the intention to attack on Humayun. Kamran with his army left for Lahore. In spite of his promise to help Humayun, due to his doubt of poisoning, he left only some of his soldiers at Agra. Humayun took it as a breach of promise.

The news came that Sher Shah was heading towards Lahore, Humayun wanted to capture Kabul and consulted Kamran, who declined. He said “Firdaus Makani (Babar) had given Kabul to my mother in his life time, it is therefore undesirable to go to Kabul”. Humayun replied: “In respect of Kabul, Firdaus Makani (Babar) often used to say that: ‘I shall not give Kabul to anyone, my sons should not covet for’...I treated with Mirza humanely and brotherly. Now what happened to him that he says such a thing”. Humayun tried to insist with Kamran by showing affection and sympathy, however, the result was disappointing.

Humayun then went to Sindh roaming here and there and suffering from pain and the critical circumstances for a long time. Hastily he chose to go to Qandhar. As soon as Kamran heard of this intention of Humayun, he sent Askari to prevent Humayun from entering into Qandhar. Humayun was depressed and exhausted, so he abandoned the idea of Qandhar and Kabul. He ultimately left for Iraq with an intention to go to Hijaz. Shah Tahmasap, king of Iran gave a warm reception and kept him as an honourable guest for couple of years.

While he met king Tahmasp he composed and recited extempore lyric which is being written here under:
Later on he gave him an army of Qazalbash soldiers, a lot of money and ammunitions.

After his return from Iran with an army of Qazalbash soldiers, he took action against his brothers and captured Qandhar from Askari.
Kamran at that moment was in Kabul. Having got this news, he was surprised. He sought forgiveness through some holy persons by sending them to the fort. Humayun asked Kamran to come to him, only then he shall forgive him. However, Kamran proceeded to the fort of Irk, Kabul, while almost all of Kamran’s army joined Humayun. Knowing this situation Kamran ran away to Ghaznain. When informed of this development Humayun sent Hindal to chase him and he himself came to Kabul. Kamran unsuccessfully went to Sindh. In his absence Humayun captured Kabul also. Nuwaidi has written the date of his victory in this hemistich.

(He took away Kabul from him without a battle.)

Though Kamran fled to Ghaznain he was not allowed to enter the city, so he came to the Hazara tribe. Mirza Alugh Beg was appointed on the post of governor of Zamindawar and was assigned to drive away Kamran. Having felt that there is no room for his stay there, so he went to Bhakkar to Mirza Shah Husain Arghoon. He got his daughter married to him and offered his help.

When Kamran was informed of Humayun’s heading to Badakhshan, he also collected an army and headed on expedition to Ghaur and Kabul. On the way he met the merchants of horses, and got many horses. Having made the army ride on horses, he reached Ghaznain. Some of the people of Ghaznain brought him to the fort. Its governor Zahid Beg, being unaware of these developments, was killed. According to Kamran’s instruction, the news of his murder was not allowed to sneak in Kabul.

Satisfied with the condition of Ghaznain, Kamran headed for Kabul on an expedition. When Mohd. Quli Taghli, Fazail Beg and others were informed of this development, Kamran had already entered the city. Mohd.
Quli, who was at that time in the bathroom, was arrested and immediately killed. Kamran entered the fort of Kabul. After arresting Fazail Beg and Mehtar Wakil, he blinded them. Some people were assigned to look after the royal ladies.

After receiving this information, Humayun ordered Hindal to be replaced with Sulaiman to govern Badakhshan and Qandooz and he himself headed to Kabul quickly. Kamran collected armies to the possible extent. Sher Afgan joined him. One of the servants of Kamran named Sher Ali came to Zahhak and Ghaurband. He blocked the road. Humayun came to Zahhak via Darra river. Sher Ali fought against him with all his strength but was defeated and army crossed the river safely. Sher Ali again raided the army from behind. Humayun stayed in a village of Afghan. Next day all the soldiers of Kamran including Sher Afgan Beg came out with the intention of fighting. In Alang Port Chalak there took place a great war. At first the soldiers of Humayun seemed defeated and distressed but with the efforts of Hindal, Qaracha Khan and Hajji Mohd. Khan, the soldiers of Kamran were badly defeated. Sher Afgan Beg was arrested. When he was brought to Humayun, he was killed by the efforts of chiefs and emirs. On that day a number of Kamran’s soldiers were killed. The rest fled to the fort. Sher Ali who was a very brave soldier used to come out of the fort and raid every day with all his available strength. On one occasion he encountered Hajji Mohd. Khan and the latter was wounded.

Suddenly the news came that a caravan that had a number of horses with it has reached Charikaran. Sher Ali advised Kamran that, accompanied by some soldiers, he should bring the horses to the city. Most of the soldiers of Kamran in the company of Sher Ali went to do this job. When informed of this, Humayun came near the fort and blocked the road for those who were in the fort. After returning, Sher Ali and his companions found the road blocked. Kamran once wanted to come out of
the fort and bring Sher Ali and his companions into the fort by fighting against Humayun’s soldiers. But those who were out of the fort (Humayun’s soldiers) knew this plan. At the time of their coming out of the fort, they (Humayun’s soldiers) defeated them by using artillery and guns. Baqi Saleh and Jalaluddin Beg who were once the trusted men of Kamran joined Humayun. Sher Ali and his companions lost all their hopes for entering the city. The siege of the fort caused much worries. Kamran ordered his men to get the prince Akbar seated on the parapet of the fort which was targeted by the artilleries and guns. Gulbadan has given the detailed account of this besiege. When Humayun was informed he directed to stop the use of artillery.

In short, some of the residents of Kabul came out of the fort and escaped in whatever direction they could. Humayun sent some soldiers to chase them. Many of them were killed, while some were arrested. Kamran was disturbed. The armies from all corners began to join Humayun. Mirza Sulaiman sent reinforcement from Badakhshan. Mirza Alugh came from Qandhar. Qasim Husain Sultan along with some of the servants of Sharm Taghaie came from Qandhar with reinforcement. Now Kamran requested for a compromise. Humayun accepted his request provided he attended the court. Kamran was apprehensive of his presence in the court, so he was thinking of running away. Since the Uloos Chughtaiiee chiefs were not willing to arrest Kamran because of their strong attachment, they conveyed to him that Humayun has ceased fighting for two days, it was therefore not appropriate to stay in the fort now. Kamran was at pain on the part of Yabus Beg and Qaracha Beg, he killed three young sons of Yabus in vengeance and threw them from the wall of the fort on the earth. People both inside and outside of the fort were much annoyed at this inhuman act of Kamran. Sardar Beg got the son of Qaracha Khan seated on the wall of fort on the top of the rampart. Humayun
consoled Qaracha Beg much. Qaracha Khan went near the fort and said in loud voice, “If my son is killed then Kamran and Askari would be killed in vengeance after capturing the fort”.

Having lost all hope, Kamran made a hole in the wall of the fort from the side of Khaja Khizir, and passing from a place which was indicated by the chiefs outside, fled swiftly. Humayun sent Hajji Mohammad Khan for chasing him. He approached Kamran. Having recognized him, Kamran said in Turkish language, “I have not killed your father Baba Qashqa”. Hajji Mohammad Khan returned.

Kamran reached the fort of the mountain of Kabul in a disturbed and agitated state of mind. The Hazara tribe met him and plundered all his belongings. One of them recognized Kamran, he informed his chief and the Uloos chiefs carried Kamran to Zahhak and Bamyan where Sher Ali, Kamran’s servant was present with some people. He stayed there for a week. About one hundred fifty horsemen gathered around Kamran. Kamran then headed to Ghaur. Mirza Beg Barlas, the governor of Ghour with his three hundred horsemen and one thousand infantries fought against Kamran but was defeated. The horses and other belongings of the opponent came in the hands of Kamran’s army. Thus having gained some strength from there, he proceeded to Balkh. There he met Pir Mohammad Khan, the governor. Pir Mohammad Khan himself came to Badakhshan for reinforcement of Kamran. Kamran captured Ghour and Baglan. The armies from all sides headed towards Kamran. Pir Mohammad Khan returned to his state. Kamran then went to Sulaiman Mirza and Ibrahim Mirza. They could not stand against him and went from Taliqan to Kulab. Kamran stayed at some of the areas of Badakhshan firmly.

Kamran sent Sher Ali to resist Hindal. But the army of Hindal arrested Sher Ali. Hindal carried him to Humayun in an imprisoned state. Humayun forgave his faults and gave Ghaur to him. Leaving behind
Qaracha Khan and some other people who had come from Kabul in Kashan, Kamran went to Taliqan. Humayun sent Hindal and Hajji Mohammad Kotra with some others to Kashan to chase him. Qaracha Khan informed Kamran that there are very few soldiers with Hindal and the king is far away, he should be raided, “We shall jointly resist Hindal after which it will be easy to fight against Humayun.” Kamran came running from Kashan and reached the bank of Taliqan River where Hindal and his army crossed it. In the first attack, Kamran won the battle and plundered all the belongings of Hindal and his companions. Humayun had till then reached the bank of the river and in order to find out the passage they stayed for a while and after crossing the river the vanguard of Humayun’s army reached the soldiers of Kamran. They arrested Sheikh Khaja Khizir and Ismail Beg Doldi and brought them to Humayun. Kamran returned with the intention of fighting against the vanguard. When they approached them face to face, having seen the banners of Humayun, Kamran could not stand against them and fled to Taliqan where whatever he had plundered, along with his own belongings, were plundered by Humayun’s army.

Meanwhile Humayun sent a letter full of affection to Kamran. It is not known whether Abul Fazl copied it as it is or summarized it in his own charming style. However, the letter is as below.\textsuperscript{53}
“O bad tempered brother, O quarrelsome dear! Avoid this mission, which causes fighting, and killing of countless people and have mercy on the people of the city and the soldiers. Those who are killed today will say tomorrow on the Day of Judgment.

You were responsible for the murder of these people, their hands will hold fast your skirt.

It is better for you to arrive at an agreement of peace and compromise and to initiate steps for humanity”.

Kamran received this letter. He wrote this verse in response.54

“Only those who kiss the edge of the sharp sword, can embrace the bride of the country tightly.”

The following day Taliqan was besieged. Mirza Sulaiman came to the court and Kamran sought reinforcement from Uzbeks. When he lost all his hopes from them, he became much distressed and was left with no option but to surrender.

He sought permission to proceed to Mecca. Humayun accepted his request provided, he sends the rebel chiefs to his court.55 Kamran
requested for forgiving their faults. Kamran came out of the fort, went two farsakh (about 36,000 feet in length) for he was not sure that Humayun, despite his dominion, would leave him unhurt. Having felt ashamed by his favours, he, with the intention of meeting returned to Humayun.

When informed of this news, Humayun was much pleased and sent some Mirzas to welcome him. At the time of meeting he showered favours on him.\(^{56}\)

Abul Fazl has described their meeting in this way:

\[\text{ورنی ما تا ایم چا نام خا برم یا علی را دل} \]
\[\text{چیتا می وا نار زار کردن} \]
\[\text{او را می آزم یاری زار کردن} \]
\[\text{او را می آزم یاری زار کردن} \]

"After this meeting, Askari who was in Humayun’s custody was handed over to Kamran and Humayun granted him the territory of Kulab as his Jagir and promised him for help in case a war erupts."\(^{57}\)

Humayun ordered the army to be prepared and equipped much. In the end of that year, Humayun headed from Kabul to Balkh to conquer it and sent someone to Kulab for summoning Kamran and Askari. When Humayun reached Badakhshan, Hindal and Sulaiman joined him. Ibrahim stayed in Kashan and Kamran and Askari opposed him and didn’t come to him. Humayun after continued march reached the fort Acaback. Peer Mohd. Khan, the ruler of Balkh, along with several trusted chiefs fortified themselves in the fort. Humayun besieged the fort and the Uzbeks were distressed, so they, by showing mercy, came out of the fort.

Since Kamran didn’t reach, the chiefs and emirs consulted each other on the point that while Humayun is heading to Balkh, lest Kamran leave for Kabul. Humayun said, “We have already decided to strike on Balkh. Having trust in Allah we march and head to Balkh”. The chiefs and
most of the soldiers were anxious and perplexed because of Kamran’s absence. 58

In those days Mirza Kamran was at his Jagir when a strange event took place which caused damage and ill-repute to Kamran. Gulbadan has given a detailed account of it. Its summary is as below:

“Misled by a deceitful woman named Turkham Begam, Kamran conveyed a message of love affair to Haram Begam by the same lady. That chaste woman was angered at his courage and informed his sons (Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Ibrahim) and said ‘Arrest this woman and tear her into pieces so that others take a lesson and no one dare to look at another’s family with ill-sight and ill-intention. Is it not in proper for a wife of a person to pass such undesirable remarks and not fear from me and my sons’”. 59

These sons immediately tore that woman into pieces and since then became enemy of Kamran also. 60 A fight took place between them and Kamran. 61 Wherein he had to face continued defeat and humiliation.

Kamran stayed in Kulab. Having opposed Kamran, Chakar Ali Beg Kulabi with a heavy army attacked on the territories of Kulab. Kamran sent Askari to fight against him but was defeated. He, in accordance with Kamran’s order, again went to fight against him but he returned in the same way (defeated). Kamran didn’t stand against him and came to Roostaq. Some of the Uzbeks at that time encountered him and plundered most of his horses. A distressed Kamran wanted to come to Hazarah by the way of Zahhak and Bamyan.

When informed, Humayun sent a large army and many chiefs to Zahhak and Bamyan to defend that territory. Qasim Husain Sultan and some other unfaithful chiefs who were with Humayun, sent someone to Mirza Kamran conveying the message that “By the way of Qabchaq you should come so that at the time of war we all join you”.

24
When Kamran came there Qaracha Khan and his companions parted company with Humayun and joined Kamran. They waged a war and though there were only a few soldiers with Humayun, they displayed firmness and valour. There took place a great war in which Pir Mohd. Akhla Begi and Ahmad were killed. Mirza Quli after being wounded collapsed and fell from the horse. Humayun himself fought to the extent that his forehead was hit by sword and his horse was also wounded. Humayun, however, escaped to Zahhak and Bamyan. Kamran again captured Kabul.

Humayun accompanied by Hajji Mohd. Khan and others went to Badakhshan and he sent some people to Kabul to ascertain report about the conditions prevailing there. But except Tulak Qanch, no one returned and Humayun was surprised at the disloyalty of his servants and stayed at Anderal. When informed, Mirza Hindal along with Sulaiman, Ibrahim and their armies reached near Humayun.

After forty days Humayun headed to Kabul. Kamran came with Qaracha Khan between Aqba and Ushtargram. They came face to face. Both sides arrayed their armies. Khwaja Abdus Samad Mansoor fled from Kamran’s camp and joined Humayun. Kamran could not dare to fight against him and was defeated. Being distressed, he fled to the Mandrood mountain, Qaracha was arrested while fleeing and brought to Humayun. Mirza Askari was also arrested in this battle, thus, Humayun again captured Kabul and stayed there, for one year.

Some of the soldiers again escaped and joined Kamran. Nearly one thousand and five hundred horsemen gathered around him. Hajji Mohd. Khan went to Ghaznain without permission. Thus Humayun was left with no option but to head to Lamghan to drive Kamran away. Finding himself not able to fight against him, he along with the Afghans of Mehmand fled to Sindh after spending some days in Lamghan in hunting, Humayun
returned to Kabul, Kamran again came with the Afghans, Humayun and his forces chose to stay on the banks of a river called “Siyah Aab” which means black stream, which flowed in between the Surkhab and Gaundamak. Kamran avoiding a direct battle, made a surprise attack at night for which they were not prepared. The result of this sudden attack was that a large number of soldiers were killed and their belongings plundered.\(^{62}\)

Humayun proceeded to Jiryar (a small town in the district of Namginhar beyond Behsud) via Jalalabad. Here, Humayun issued order to construct a temporary fort and to dig trenches so that they may be saved from surprise attacks at night. Kamran was also located in a nearby place, having Mohammad Afghan and Khalil on his side. On 21\(^{st}\) Zeequadah, 952 A.H. (23\(^{rd}\) November 1551 C.E.), he again attacked in the night. It was a very dark night and there ensued utter confusion at the camp of Humayun’s army. It was almost impossible to distinguish between friend and enemy. As a result of this, the attack of Afghan army was so terrible that Mirza Hindal was also killed.\(^{63}\) Many other soldiers were also killed in this attack. Hindal had actually taken the courage of supervising the defence against this sudden attack, but he was armed with only a bow and arrows in his hands. He had fought his level best in these difficult circumstances, but his men were so horrified and confused that they could not provide any help to Hindal. Taking the advantage of this situation, Mohammad Afghan attacked Mirza Hindal with a poisoned spear and slaughtered him.

An account of Hindal’s death has been written by his own sister Gulbadan who must have collected the facts from her own trustworthy persons and mentions that “Hindal fought very bravely and rebuffed the attack from the trenches and during this process, he attained his martyrdom”.\(^{64}\)
After the episode was over, Humayun anxiously enquired about his brother Hindal, however nobody dared to tell him about the fate of Hindal. It is said that Humayun shouted for him to know his whereabouts without any avail. At last ordered Abdul Wahab to go and look for him, however, Abdul Wahab was shot by one of the Humayun’s soldier suspecting him to be an enemy’s man. Thereafter Abdul Hai was assigned this task. Abdul Hai had also failed to speak frankly about Hindal, However, he recited a verse reading as under:-

*Agar Nur-e-aalamam barbaad
Gul-e-sadbarg wa soori ra baqabaad”*

“If the light of the world has been extinguished, May sadbarg and soori (flowers) flourish for ever”

Humayun was deeply aggrieved to learn from this verse about the fateful end of his brother. Chiefly because Hindal was his only brother among who had been loyal to him in his difficult times in spite of Humayun’s defeats or Kamran’s efforts to persuade him to join him against Humayun.

When Kamran came to know about Hindal’s death, he became very sad and Abul Fazl mentions that he threw his turban on the ground to express his grief.

For Kamran the situation was not encouraging and one of his favourite persons, Beg Muluk was captured by Humayun’s men. Kamran felt highly dejected as he had lost all hopes.

Saleem Shah was ruling at the throne of Delhi. Kamran knew that there had been rivalry and enemity between the surs and mughal dynasties, yet he thought he may gain some sympathy from Saleem Shah and as such
he came to Saleem Shah seeking his shelter and help. Saleem Shah was not a very reliable person and had a very suspicious nature. According to the narration of Gulbadan, real sister of Hindal: 

“Saleem Shah sent one thousand rupees, when Kamran sought his help against Humayun, he cleverly denied saying that he could not be a part of fratricide”. Gulbadan has very happily endorsed this decision of Saleem Shah. On the other hand Abul Fazl who did not prefer Saleem Shah over Kamran has mentioned that since Saleem did not expect Kamran’s victory in spite of his support, he had simply helped him by sending some money and assuring him of some territories as a source of income for him, in case Kamran chose to stay in his shelter. Kamran however proceeded onwards still hoping to get the help from Saleem Shah. Saleem Shah instructed his son Ahwaz Khan to welcome Kamran along with some noble men of his court. For a while Kamran thought of going back, however, he was still hopeful that after meeting in person Saleem would agree to extend his help and as such he came to meet Saleem.

Unfortunately for Kamran, his hopes were dashed and instead of a warm reception he was subjected to highly insulting behaviour in the court. Badaoni has given a very detailed description of this event in Kamran’s life. According to Badaoni, Hemu Baqqal was sent with some Afghans to meet Kamran and Kamran became somewhat doubtful about the offers made by Saleem Shah.

When Kamran entered the court of Saleem Shah, he saw Saleem seated proudly on his throne and was properly surrounded by his noble men with lots of pomp and show. Mir Tuzuk Sarmast Khan was leading Kamran to the court and Kamran paid due respect while wishing Saleem Shah as per the custom. However, some Afghans caught hold of Kamran and made him to show such respect and manners as were usually expected of an ordinary person visiting the emperor, with a loud voice they
addressed Saleem Shah requesting him to be kind enough to throw a glance on Kamran the son of Muqaddam of Kabul who has come to seek your majesty’s blessings. A tent and a canopy was provided to Mirza Kamran near the residence of Saleem Shah. He also issued orders to confer upon Kamran a robe of honour and to provide with a horse, a slave girl and an eunuch. However, the slave girl and the eunuch were provided chiefly to act as spies on Mirza Kamran. Apart from all this Mirza was required to pay frequent visits to the sultan. Saleem Shah used to discuss about the merits and excellences of different poets. In this regard an incident has been narrated in Tarikh-e-Daudi which throws ample light on kamran’s caliber and knowledge of the subject. It is being mentioned here under-:

“In those days when Kamran reached Saleem Shah’s court, he was put to test. In the very meeting Saleem Shah recited three hemistiches and he asked Kamran to explain them. Kamran at once said that the first hemistich belongs to a Mughal who lived in Iraq, the second one belongs to a Hindi poet and the third one belongs to an Afghani poet. Saleem Shah was surprised and in the court Kamran’s knowledge was widely acknowledged”.

“Kamran well stood the test of his typical host and was highly praised by him” (Tareekh-e-Daudi). It is difficult to accept the statement of the author of Tareekh-e-Daudi that Saleem Shah meant well and was sincere or continued to treat Mirza with a befitting distinction. He does not think that Kamran’s flight from there was due to Saleem’s bad treatment and behavior.

The Afghans in the court of Saleem Shah used to humiliate Mirza Kamran although Abul Fazl in his disgust called them an “ignorant crew”. One day when Saleem Shah entered his court, the Afghans mocked at Kamran and shouted “Mor mi Aayed”, which in Hindi language means “Here comes peacock”. Kamran immediately enquired about the meaning
of this slogan and he was told by one of his own attendants that this phrase was used for persons of great dignity. If that was so, replied Kamran, whose pride was hurt by this incivility, Saleem Shah was a first rate Mor (peacock) and Sher Shah Suri was still better. This rebuff seems to have silenced Saleem Shah, for thereafter he forbade all kinds of jokes at the expense of Mirza Kamran.

However, a serious cause of misunderstanding among them developed shortly afterwards, when at the request of Saleem Shah Kamran recited this verse in extempore.

“The revolving of the rotating heaven changed the battalion into dust (unworthy thing). It changed the unworthy men into worthy ones before the wise men.”

Saleem Shah fully appreciated the meaning and the object of the verse as well as the tone in which it was recited and kept silent at that juncture. However, he ordered his servants to watch and keep a vigil on Kamran secretly.

Kamran, on the other hand, in spite of all this did not become circumspect and continued to give bitter replies to Saleem Shah. Saleem Shah placed him under arrest. Kamran had become well aware that expecting any help from Saleem Shah was stupidity. He realised that Saleem Shah had no respect or regard for the trusted noblemen of his father; this was particularly ironic when the empire that Saleem Shah was ruling over was built up by the valour and devotion of those noblemen. Kamran also came to know that the Afghans were planning to keep him a prisoner in a fort, so that they may feel secure against a possible attack for the crown of Hindustan.
Kamran had lost all hopes and was waiting for an opportunity to flee away from the prison. After becoming comfortable with the situation in Punjab, Saleem Shah decided to proceed to Delhi. Kamran was also being taken as a prisoner in the journey to Delhi. Saleem Shah still spoke softly to Kamran and tried to convince him that he should not think himself a prisoner, instead this arrangement was chiefly due to security reasons. Saleem Shah thought that Kamran under his custody would deter Humayun from proceeding towards Delhi to regain his lost Sultanate (Kingdom). Kamran on the other hand, was establishing contact with Raja Bakhu, whose place was only 40 kilometers from Macchiwara through one of his trusted men Jogi Khan. He also arranged a Burqah (veil) and disguising himself as a woman by covering the veil over his body and face, escaped from the custody of Saleem Shah.

Having given the slip to his captors, Kamran enjoyed the hospitality of Raja Bakhu and other landlords for sometime at Mankot. However, Kamran managed to slip away again in a woman’s guise from Mankot and along with some Afghan companions proceeded towards Kabul.

Unfortunately for Kamran, while he was on the way to Kabul, Sultan Adam Ghakkar arrested him and informed Humayun, seeking a meeting with him. Humayun was pleased to grant him permission. Accordingly Adam Ghakkar arrived at Pirhala and had a meeting with Humayun. Thereafter Kamran was forcefully brought and handed over to Humayun.

Humayun was quite annoyed with Kamran and he wanted to punish him for the faults which Kamran had committed against him. Mirza Kamran intentionally delayed his movement and after Humayun had moved two stages from Pirhala and was camping on the bank of the river Rud, Kamran arrived. He was received graciously by Humayun in the night. Humayun had made him seated upon his right side whereas his son, young Akbar was seated upon the left side, and all the chiefs and noble-
men including Adam Ghakkar, Abdul Ma’ali, Tardi Beg, and others were seated according to their rank and position at suitable places.  

For the next two days Humayun discussed the fate of Mirza Kamran with his chiefs and noblemen. They unanimously gave their opinion in writing to Humayun, whereby they proposed beheading him for his activities against the kingdom of Humayun. Humayun however, said that though his head is willing to accept this proposal, his heart does not.  

Humayun felt bound by the dying wishes and instructions of his father and as such he clearly refused to kill Mirza Kamran.  

Another written approach was made by the high ups and dignitaries of his court repeating their proposal, which Humayun sent to Mirza Kamran. Kamran, in his reply, wrote to Humayun that all of those, who have written and signed this document, were responsible to lead me to this situation. Humayun ultimately decided that a punishment of blinding Kamran was enough.  

In “Tazkiratul Waqiat” (تذکراتِ واقعات) the author, Jauhar, himself narrated the order of events as he himself was assigned the job of keeping a watch on Kamran and lancing his eyes, as under:-  

“Early in the morning the king marched towards Hindustan, but before his departure determined that the prince (Kamran) should be blinded, and gave orders accordingly, but the attendants on the prince disputed among themselves as to who should perform the cruel act. Sultan Ali, the paymaster, ordered Ali Dost to do it, the other replied ‘you will not pay a ShahRukhy to any person without the king’s directions, therefore, why should I commit this deed without a personal order from His majesty? Perhaps tomorrow the king may say ‘why did you put out the eyes of my brother?’ , what answer could I give? Depending upon it, I will not do it on your order’. Thus they continued to quarrel for some time: Finally, I said:
'I will go and inform the king' on which I, with two others, galloped after His Majesty. When we came up with him, Ali Dost said, in the Turkish language, 'No one will perform the business'. The king replied in the same language, abused him, and said 'Why don't you do it yourself?' After receiving this command, we returned to the prince, and Ghulam Ali represented to him in a respectful and condoling manner that he had received positive orders to blind him. The prince replied 'I would rather prefer you would at once kill me'. Ghulam Ali said 'We dare not exceed our orders'. He then twisted a handkerchief up as a ball for thrusting in the mouth, and he with a ferash seizing the prince by the hands, pulled him out of the tent. Laid him down and thrust a lancet (Nashtar) into his eyes (such was the will of God). This, they repeated at least fifty times, but he bore the torture in a manly manner, and did not utter a single groan except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees pressed him, he then said 'Why do you sit upon knees? What is the use of adding to my pain?' This was all he said, and acted with great courage, till they squeezed some (lemon) juice and salt into the socket of his eyes. He then could not forbear, and called out, 'O Lord, O Lord my God, whatever sins, I may have committed, have been amply punished in this world, have compassion on me in the next!'

Seeing the prince in such pain and distress, the author of Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat could no longer remain with him. "I therefore went to my own tent and sat down in a very melancholy mood. The king, having seen me, sent Jan Mohammad, the librarian, to ask me if the business I had been assigned was finished, and why I had returned without orders? The humble servant represented that the business he had been sent on was quite completed. His majesty then said 'He need not go back, let him get the water ready for me to bathe'."
The story of Kamran’s blindness, told by no other person than the assignee of lancing himself, makes it evident that Kamran showed his utmost valour and patience.

Abul Fazl while writing this story has mentioned the cause of Kamran’s patience to be the changing of his death penalty into blinding him by the king. Hence the thought of gratitude dominated him and so he did not utter a word and bore the pain willingly.

Abul Fazl’s justification does not seem to be justified. Although Abul Fazl further states that Humayun was, having heard the news, shocked at this event and his eyes were full of tears. But the account of Jauhar is absolutely different. He did not see any sign of shock or pity in Humayun’s attitude. On the other hand it was only Jauhar who was really affected by this tragic adventure, went to his tent with a feeling of sorrow and a heavy heart.

Humayun sent Muluk Beg to Mirza Kamran as he was one of the favourite persons of Mirza Kamran and this was a gesture of consolation for him. Mirza felt really happy on his arrival and took his hands and pressed them on his blind eyes. Not only that, he recited the following verse:⁸⁰

(Although my eyes have drawn a veil on thy face, it is still seeing with the eyes which saw thy face one night)

Subsequent to this event, there is not much to mention about Kamran. After the loss of his vision he felt quite miserable and spoke to Munim Beg that should he be permitted, he would prefer to go to Mecca to perform Hajj and this request was granted by Humayun. Humayun visited him by going in person to Kamran’s tent.

34
Kamran, on becoming aware of Humayun’s arrival, came out of his tent to welcome Humayun and recited this Qita.\(^1\)

\[
zarqad roshnak sultan ghanest zizi gama \quad karam parsh shahi ghanest zizi gama
\]

Yusuf Qarachi, having covered the eyes of Kamran with a handkerchief, brought him before Humayun. Humayun was so moved by the scene that he shed tears. Kamran, on the other hand, maintained his composure and recited a verse which contain a sting about the prevailing situation which has been mentioned by Bayazid as follow-:\(^3\)

\[
caba kohar dardan mo qalb sami \\
caba sadiq vasto shahi ghanest mora
\]

(The cap of Darvesh grinds on the heaven, because a king like you throws shade on his head.)

After this, Kamran recited another verse as under-:\(^4\)

\[
maana am doh bad kohar mast ast \\
gar nahi janta doh gar gir ast
\]

(Whatever reached me from your end is a matter of gratitude for me, may it be a arrow of injustice or a dagger of oppression.)

Kamran’s last request was that his children and dependents should be well taken care of. Humayun having heard his request assured him that he should not worry about this at all as this shall be properly taken care of, and he need suffer no anxiety on that matter.\(^5\)

After the departure of Humayun, Kamran could not control himself and burst into hysterical cries bewailing the misfortune that had befallen upon him.
Only Chalmah Kokah showed his willingness to accompany Mirza Kamran on his journey. Humayun appreciated the loyalty of Chalmah Kokah and he gave the required funds to cover up the expenses of the journey. Whereas Muluk Beg whom Mirza regarded as his most loyal, accompanied him only a few stages and then returned back. His conduct was strongly deplored by everyone in the camp and even Humayun felt offended by the ingratitude shown by Muluk Beg. Kamran travelled down the Indus to Bakkhar where he was given due honour by Shah Husain, his father-in-law, who welcomed him and gifted him with a Jagir and a residence.

Chuchak Begam, wife of Kamran showed exemplary love and attachment to Mirza Kamran in this hour of his misfortune and distress and she decided that she would serve her husband by giving him company in his journey to Mecca. This was a great solace to Mirza Kamran. Shah Husain disliked the idea of her daughter and tried to stop her from her resolve.

Tarikh-e-Masumi describes how earnestly Chuchak Begam justified her resolve to go with her husband. When she quietly went into the Mirza’s boat, Sultan Ahmad informed Shah Husain, who asked her to remain with him. The dutiful Begam replied “you gave me to Mirza when he was a king. The world will say the Shah’s daughter refused to follow her husband in the days of his misfortune and my fair name will be besmirched”. Shah Husain was pleased at this and allowed her to go.

There are few examples in Mughal History of such devotion and sacrifice and the name of Chuchak Begam will always stand out at the forefront of royal women who endured much misery and hardship for the sake of their husbands.

Kamran, after arriving at Mecca, performed the Hajj thrice and ultimately he passed away in the field of Mina. Abul Fazl has mentioned,
“Kamran performed three Hajj and on 11th Zilhijja 964 Hijri, while saying Labbaik in Mina, he responded to the call of Allah and passed away”.

According to Abul Fazl Kamran expired on 11th Zilhijja, whereas the author of Tareekh-e-Sindh mentions his death on 9th Zilhijja afternoon.

Mohammad Masoom Bakri writes:-

“Mirza Kamran and his team after their arrival at Harmain Sharifain stayed for two to three years at Mecca-e-Moazzama and on the day of Hajj, after their halt at Arafat, Kamran passed away from this world before sunset.”

In respect of his date of demise in Haft Iqlim the date has been narrated as below.

Badaoni has copied the following Qita (distich) of his expiry date with sorrow.

These distiches belong to Mohammad Qasim Kahi.

Kamran, like whom no other person has been suitable for the kingship.

He went from Kabul to Kaba, there he submitted his soul to God and was buried.

In respect of his date of death, Kahi said the king Kamran died in Kaba.
The author of Bazm-e-Taimuria has copied Waisi’s Qita as below.\(^{92}\)

The successful and famous king Kamran who got his head reached to Saturn in the matter of kingship.

He stayed at Haram for four years and got his heart rid of the world totally.

After his stay in the fourth Hajj, he sacrificed his soul on the foot of his beloved with the intention of Hajj.

One night he came in Waisi’s dream. He showered his favour and called me to himself.

He said, If any one ask you about my death say: the late king remained in Mecca.

Farishta has described the death of Kamran in the following verses.\(^{93}\)
Since the whole world, whether old or new, is transient, it is therefore, not worth even a barley.

Upon going through the biography of Mirza Kamran as written by various authors, ultimately everyone comes to the conclusion that Kamran was a very energetic, straight forward, good natured, and a religious person. His tussle with Humayun was most probably because of the advisers and the nobles on both sides. Besides, his severe and prolonged illness which made him doubt the poisoning on the instance of Humayun also created some hatred for Humayun. Humayun’s capturing of Kabul and Qandhar, which were Kamran’s Jagirs allotted to him by his father Babar, also became the reason for Kamran to not cooperate with him against the Suri dynasty.

The sincerity of his wife Chuchak Begam towards him in times when everybody else was deserted him proves that Kamran was a good person at least in the eyes of his wife. Perhaps the divine scale may judge him more favorably than others have; it is noteworthy that his death during the Hajj in Mecca is an honor and blessing that every Muslim longs for.

Mrs. A.S. Beveridge is of the opinion that had Kamran written his own auto-biography, things would have been much clearer and the allegations against him would have been proven completely false. Not only is there no auto-biography, none of his own men wrote about the life and events of Mirza Kamran. She says that all the fault-finding and criticism on Kamran is from his opponents, and that it cannot be relied upon. She has exonerated Kamran from all the allegations.94

Humayun’s weeping on getting him blinded and arranging for his expenses for his pilgrimage also shows that there was a degree of regret – if not repentance - on the part of Humayun for his own action against Kamran.