CHAPTER VI
SARWANIS, SURS AND KARRANIS

In the present chapter we have discussed the Sarwani, the Surs, and the Karrani chiefs. Since our information about them is very meagre, we have grouped them together. Of the above mentioned clans, it was however, only the Sarwanis who are mentioned among the notable Afghan clans of the Lodi period listed in the Waqiat-i Mushtaqi. The Surs do not figure prominently under the Lodi Sultans, nor the Karranis. We, therefore, begin with the account of the Sarwani chiefs.

SARWANIS

FATH KHAN SARWANI

Fath Khan Sarwani was the son of Azam Humayun Sarwani, the muqta of Kara Manikpur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Sometime after the execution of his father, Azam Humayun, he was restored by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi to the wilayat of his father, i.e. Kara Manikpur. As such, at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra, Fath Khan Sarwani was in Kara Manikpur.

Fath Khan Sarwani submitted to Babur early in his reign. Leaving Agra on August 21st, 1526 against the eastern Afghans when Humayun reached near Dalmau, which lay near Kara Manikpur, Fath Khan Sarwani came and waited upon Humayun. Humayun detached Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza from his command to escort Fath Khan Sarwani to Babur at Agra.

On his arrival at Agra, Fath Khan Sarwani was highly favoured by Babur and he tells us that not only the parganas of his father, Azam Humayun, were conferred upon him, but that he was favoured with additional territories (wilayat). He was conferred parganas worth one crore 60 lacs. Babur further honoured him with the title of Khan-i Jahan.

On November 30th, 1526 when Babur arranged a party, Fath Khan Sarwani was invited and offered wine. On this occasion Babur bestowed upon him a dastar and a sar-u-pa which the emperor himself was then wearing.


After the party, Fath Khan Sarwani was given leave to go to his wilayat. At the time of giving leave to Fath Khan Sarwani Babur retained his son Mahmud in personal attendance.\(^1\)

However, in the year 1529, when Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, captured Bihar and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Mian Bibban Jilwani also joined him, Fath Khan Sarwani seems to have rebelled against Babur and joined Sultan Mahmud Lodi in the latter's march towards Chunar.\(^2\) Hereafter, we do not hear of Fath Khan Sarwani.

MAHMUD SARWANI

Mahmud Sarwani was the son of the above mentioned Fath Khan Sarwani.\(^3\) We hear of Mahmud Sarwani only once during Babur's reign. He seems to have submitted to Babur along with his father, for he was present at Babur's court in November, 1526.\(^4\)

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2. Ibid., p. 652; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 519b.
3. Ibid., p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 425b.
4. Ibid., p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 425b.
RAO SARWANI

Rao Sarwani was one of the high nobles of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He had his residence at Sikandra. We first notice Rao Sarwani (var. Daud Sarwani) in Babur's service towards the end of the year 1526, when he along with other nobles was appointed against Nizam Khan of Biana.

On September 5th, 1527 when Babur was at Sikandra, while on his way towards Sambhal and Kol, he visited the house of Rao Sarwani at Sikandra where the latter served food to Babur.

Rao Sarwani also accompanied Babur in his expedition towards the east in the year 1529. In June 1529, Rao Sarwani along with several other beggs was appointed for a rapid pursuit of Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farnuli towards Dalmau.

QUTAB KHAN SARWANI

When Babur occupied Agra on May 11th, 1526 at that time Etawa was in possession of Qutab Khan Sarwani,

3. Ibid., p. 538; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 426a.
4. Ibid., pp. 587-86; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 463b.
5. Ibid., p. 682; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a.
who did not recognize the suzerainty of Babur. As Babur tells us, he had sent an encouraging farman to Qutab Khan Sarwani, but the latter did not come to him, nor did he surrender the fort of Etawa to Babur. In order to deal with him in such a situation, Babur bestowed Etawa upon Mahdi Khwaja and sent him along with several other amirs, namely, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Mahmud Khan Nohani, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Qazi Jia against Qutab Khan Sarwani of Etawa. Later on, this expedition was recalled and ordered to join Humayun in his eastern expedition. As a result, the subjugation of Qutab Khan Sarwani and the capture of Etawa was postponed for the time being.

When Babur was busy against Rana Sanga, as we are told by Babur, most of the Hindustanis and Afghans turned against him. Qutab Khan Sarwani’s men also took advantage of the circumstances and captured Chandwar.


3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 531.

5. Ibid., p. 582.

In order to deal with Qutab Khan Sarwani, Babur despatched an expedition against him (after the battle of Kanwah) under the command of Mahammad Ali Jang Jang along with several other begs. When the expeditionary forces reached near Chandwar, Qutab Khan Sarwani's men could not make a stand and fled away from Chandwar. The expeditionary forces captured Chandwar and then marched towards Rapri. When Qutab Khan Sarwani came to know about the march of the Mughal forces, he abandoned Etawa and fled away. Qutab Khan Sarwani after his evacuation of Etawa seems to have sought shelter in the Mian-Doab or near Sambhal. In September 1527, he stirred trouble near Sambhal in alliance with a number of rajas. Qutab Khan Sarwani and the party of the rajas were defeated by Darwish-i ali and Yunus-i ali who were in charge of Sambhal on behalf of Humayun. Although a number of men of Qutab Khan Sarwani were killed, Qutab Khan is never heard of again.

SURS

We now pass on to the Sur clan. As pointed above, the Surs had not acquired prominence during the period under study. However, since Sher Khan Sur was later on able to establish his rule in Hindustan, the

Surs must have been a potential power. But surprisingly, we come across only two chiefs belonging to the Sur clan, namely Sher Khan Sur and Alaul Khan Sur, during the period under review, as can be perused below.

**SHER KHAN SUR**

Sher Khan Sur was the son of Mian Hasan Sur. Sher Khan's grand father came to Hindustan during the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi. During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi Sher Khan (then Parid) held the pargana of Sahsram which was given to his father Mian Hasan when Bihar Khan declared himself independent of Ibrahim Lodi, Sher Khan entered the former's service. Bihar Khan was highly pleased with Sher Khan and made him his deputy, which office he continued to hold even after the death of Bihar Khan. According to the author of Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Sher Khan waited upon Babur at Agra along with Junaid Barlas and was granted audience in the court. According to the above mentioned source, Sher Khan Sur also accompanied Babur in his expedition to Chanderi. Later on, as we are told by Abbas Khan that he fled away from the court. But it seems that Sher Khan re-joined

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2. Ibid., pp. 103-104.
3. Ibid., pp. 96, 108.
4. Ibid., p. 103.
5. Ibid., pp. 105-106.
Babur's service before 1528, for in that year, as we are told by Babur, Babur had conferred several parganas upon him. Later on, it was reported to Babur that Sher Khan Sur had joined Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, and revolted along with the latter against Babur. But it seems that Sher Khan abstained from joining Sultan Mahmud, for on March 31st, 1529, when Babur was encamped near Ghazipur he received an arzadasht from Sher Khan Sur expressing his allegiance to Babur. After that we no more hear of Sher Khan Until the reign of Humayun.

**ALIAUL KHAN SUR**

The only other Afghan belonging to the Sur clan we notice during the period under review was Alaul Khan Sur. There is only one reference to Alaul Khan Sur. From the reference to Alaul Khan Sur, it appears that he too, belonged to the eastern region. During the course of Babur's expedition towards the east in the year 1529, when Babur was encamped near Ghazipur in the month of March 1529 and when a number of other Afghan chiefs belonging to the eastern region submitted to Babur, Alaul Khan Sur also sent an arzadasht to Babur, perhaps expressing his allegiance to him. There is no other reference to Alaul Khan Sur in our sources.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 659; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 524b.
4. Ibid.
KARRANIS

The Karranis, too, do not seem to have occupied any worthwhile position during the period under review. We have been able to come across only one chief designated as Karrani among the amirs of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Since the chief under reference played an important role during the period under discussion, we have included him in our account.

MALIK DAD KARRANI

Malik Dad Karrani was an amir of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. At the time of Babur's occupation of Agra he was in the fort of Agra along with Milli Surduk and Firoz Khan Mewati, all three of whom are mentioned by Babur as wise men (dana) of the soldiery then in the fort of Agra. Babur first ordered for the execution of Malik Dad Karrani and the two others mentioned above, but after about four or five days, they were pardoned and assigned parganas. Malik Dad Karrani thus entered Babur's service and rendered military service to him on several occasions.

In November, 1526, when Babur sent an expedition against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani, who had mobilized 3 to 4 thousand Afghans in the neighbourhood of Hisar Firoza and stirred trouble, Babur sent Malik Dad Karrani as

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part of the expedition, the other commanders being Chin Timur Sultan, Ahmadi parwanchi, Abul Fath Turkman and Mujahid Khan Multani.

Malik Dad Karrani also served Babur in the battle of Kanwah against Rana Sanga in 1527. He served in the barangar and his name is listed in the Fathnama of Shaikh Zain among the amirs of Hindustan, who served in the barangar, the other Hindustani amirs being Khan-i Khana Dilawar Khan and Shaikh Ghuran and he is styled there by Shaikh Zain as Umdat-ul Ayan.

After the battle of Kanwah, Malik Dad Karrani was sent along with several other central Asian and Hindustani amirs, namely Asian Timur Sultan, Mahmud Sultan Mirza, Ali Khan Farmuli, Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakhari and Tatar Khan Khan-i Jahan in a military expedition against Mian Bibban Jilwani, who had besieged Lucknur before the battle of Kanwah.

On June 2nd, 1529, after consulting his begs and amirs when Babur detached a military expedition from the bank of Parsaru (Sarju) river against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli towards Dalmau, Malik

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Dad Karrani was also associated with this expedition.

A RESUME

We have noticed above that a total of seven Afghan chiefs belonging to the Sarwani, the Sur and the Karrani clans made their presence felt during the period of our study. Four of them were Sarwani, two Surs and one Karrani. Out of them the Sarwanis occupied a pre-dominant position under the Lodis. The Sarwani chief, Path Khan Sarwani, was a chief of high stature under the Lodis. He had even defied Sultan Ibrahim along with his father Azam Humayun Sarwani. However, after the execution of his father, Azam Humayun, there was reconciliation between Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and Path Khan Sarwani. As far as Rao Sarwani and Qutab Khan are concerned, no evidence is available in our sources regarding their relationship with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

Of the Sur Afghans, Sher Khan and Alaul Khan, none of them figured in the politics of the period of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. What we know about Sher Khan Sur in the period of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi is in the context

3. Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part i, p. 165; Tarikh-i Shahi Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part i, p. 34
of the management of his father Hasan Khan's jagir of Sahasram where he (then Parid) came in conflict with his step mother and step brother.\(^1\) The other Sur chief, namely Alaul Khan Sur, is not even mentioned during the period of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. However, about the Karran chief, Malik Dad, on the authority of the Baburnama, we can say with certainty that he was an amir of Sultan Ibrahim and was stationed in the fort of Agra at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra\(^2\).

Some of the above mentioned chiefs were in possession of iqtas during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Fath Khan Sarwani held the iqta of Kara Manikpur which was restored to him by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi after he was released from the prison\(^3\), while Qutab Khan Sarwani held Etawa\(^4\). We do not know of the iqta of Rao Sarwani but he had his residence at Sikandara near Agra\(^5\). As far as the Surs are concerned, there is no reference regarding Alaul Khan Sur having any iqta under Ibrahim Lodi. But Sher Khan Sur certainly had his base in Sahasram which was held by his father Hasan Khan Sur in jagir from Jamal

Khan Sarang Khan of Jaunpur\(^1\). There is no information about Malik Dad Karrani having any iqta.

We now pass on to the process of submission of the above mentioned chiefs to Babur. First to submit to Babur was Malik Dad Karrani. Since at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra he was in the Agra fort, he had no alternative but to submit to him without any resistance\(^2\). Next to submit to Babur was Fath Khan Sarwani. Fath Khan Sarwani also submitted without offering any resistance to the Mughals. He submitted to Humayun sometime in August-September, 1526\(^3\), when the latter passed through the environs of his territory during his expedition against Maruf Farruqy and Nasir Khan Nohani. Rao Sarwani also submitted about this time, for we notice him serving Babur in the Biana expedition against Nizam Khan towards the end of the year 1526\(^4\). Sher Khan Sur also came and waited upon Babur sometime before the end of the year 1527, as we notice him present in Babur's operations against Chanderi\(^5\). Alaul Khan Sur, however,

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is not noticeable in Babur's service before 1529. He submitted to Babur in May 1529. Qutab Khan of Etawa never submitted and was consequently driven out of Etawa.

Of the above mentioned chiefs only two rebelled against Babur after once submitting to him. One of them was Fath Khan Sarwani and the other Sher Khan Sur. Fath Khan Sarwani rebelled against Babur, as he had joined Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, in his march towards Chunar in 1529. Sher Khan Sur too, having submitted to Babur had escaped from his presence and subsequently joined Sultan Mahmud Lodi. After the withdrawal of Sultan Mahmud Lodi from Bihar Sher Khan Sur again professed his allegiance to Babur. It seems that Fath Khan Sarwani and Sher Khan Sur were alternating in their allegiance due to the uncertainty of political leadership among the Afghans. They submitted to Babur soon after the defeat and death of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

2. Ibid., p. 582; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 642.
5. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 652; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 524b.
6. Ibid., p. 659; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 524b.
but when pressure was brought upon them by Sultan Mahmud Lodi, they did not hesitate to join the latter against the Mughals. Babur, on his part, realizing that Sher Khan Sur had wavered in his allegiance to him due to the pressure of Sultan Mahmud Lodi did not hesitate in forgiving him.

Out of the above mentioned chiefs, three of them rendered useful military services to Babur. The Karrani chief Malik Dad is one who is often found rendering military service to Babur against his brethren Afghans. He rendered military service to Babur against Hamid Khan Khasa Khail Sarang Khan of Hisar Firoza, against Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah. He also rendered military service against Mian Bibban Jilwani after the battle of Kanwah and again against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. Rao Sarwani also constantly rendered military service to Babur from 1526. He is found active against Nizam Khan of Biana and against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. Sher Khan Sur was also present, as mentioned above, in Babur's operation against Chanderi.

2. Ibid., p. 567; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 449b; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 262.
The following table illustrates the military services given by the Sarwani, the Sur and the Karrani chiefs to Babur.

Table No.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Particulars of the expedition</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rao Sarwani</td>
<td>(i) Against Nizam Khan of Biana;</td>
<td>B.N. Bev. ii/538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) accompanied Babur in his eastern expedition in 1529 &amp;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(iii) against Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sher Khan Sur</td>
<td>(i) Chanderi expedition (1527)</td>
<td>Farikhi-i Ser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sahi, Ambashty, p. 103.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik Dad</td>
<td>(i) Against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani in 1526;</td>
<td>B.N. Bev. ii/540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karrani</td>
<td>(ii) in the battle of Kanwah;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(iii) against Mian Bibban Jilwani in 1527 and again</td>
<td>B.N. Bev. ii/582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(iv) against Bibban and Bayzid in 1529.</td>
<td>B.N. Bev. ii/682</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Sarwani, the Karrani and the Sur chiefs were also favoured by Babur through the assignments of the revenues of various territories. The greatest beneficiary of the revenue assignment was Fath Khan Sarwani. Babur tells us that he bestowed upon him not only the parganas of his father but also conferred upon
him additional territories equivalent to a total value of 1 crore 60 lacs tankas. Babur does not name the parganas conferred upon him. Since we know that Azam Humayun Sarwani held the jota of Kara Manikpur, obviously Babur must have assigned Karrah Manikpur to him. But it is not possible to ascertain the name of the additional parganas conferred upon him. The other chief who was favoured with the assignment of parganas was Malik Dad Karrani. In his case too, Babur does not mention the parganas, not even the value of the parganas. However, both of them were bestowed these assignments in the year 1526.

Among the Surs, it was only Sher Khan Sur who was favoured with the revenue assignments. In the account of the year 935 H(1529) Babur say that he had granted several parganas to Sher Khan Sur in the previous year, i.e. in 934 H(1528). In his case, too, Babur does not name the parganas. Apparently Babur must have conferred upon him the parganas which were held by him during the Lodi period. The following is the table of the revenue assignments made to the Sarwanis, the Surs and the Karrani chief.


Table No. II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Value of assignments</th>
<th>Territory/Pargana given by Babur</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Path Khan Sarwani</td>
<td>1 60</td>
<td>Karra-Manikpur, but the name of the other parganas conferred upon him is not mentioned</td>
<td>B.N.ii/537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sher Khan Sur</td>
<td>Value of the territory is not mentioned</td>
<td>Several parganas. Name of the parganas is not mentioned.</td>
<td>B.N.ii/652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik Dad Karrani</td>
<td>The value of the territory is not mentioned</td>
<td>Pargana; name not mentioned.</td>
<td>B.N.ii/477-478</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Babur also had social intercourse with some of the above mentioned chiefs. On one occasion he visited the house of Rao Sarwani in Sikandara and had meals there[^1]; while on another occasion, he invited Path Khan Sarwani to a feast at which he offered him wine. On this occasion Path Khan Sarwani was favoured by Babur with the grant of a dastar and a garupa[^2]. Path Khan Sarwani was also one of the few Afghan chiefs who were favoured by Babur with the grants of titles. The title Khan-i Jahan was conferred upon him[^3]. In short, we notice that

[^2]: Ibid., p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 425b-426a.
[^3]: Ibid., p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 425b.
the Sarwanis, the Surs and the Karranis, though numerically small, prominently figured in the period under review. Malik Dad Karrani was also highly favoured by Shaikh Zain with the title of umdat-ul Ayai.¹