THE HISTORY OF HUMĀYŪN
(HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA).
THE HISTORY OF HUMĀYŪN
(HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA).

BY
GUL-BADAN BEGA (PRINCESS ROSE-BODY).

Translated, with Introduction, Notes, Illustrations and Biographical Appendix; and reproduced in the Persian from the only known MS. of the British Museum

BY
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To

MY HUSBAND,

WHO SET MY FEET UPON THE PERSIAN WAY,

AND HAS STREWED IT

WITH OPEN-HEARTED LARGESSE OF HELP AND COUNSEL.

A. S. B.

November, 1901.
PREFACE.

It was in October, 1900, that the late Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot made arrangements with me for the publication of this volume. It has now to put forth bereft of his guidance. I can but trust that he would have given to the finished work the welcome with which he greeted the small portion I was able to show him in print. It is natural to feel towards him what he has expressed in his dedication of the Assemblies of Al Harīrī to Chenery, and to hope he may be glad of the fulfilment of this piece of his work.

The little history which is reproduced in this volume has few, if any, compeers, inasmuch as it is the work of a Musalmānī, and lights up her woman’s world. She writes colloquially and without pose, and is unaffected and spontaneous. For these reasons I have tried to make an accurate copy of her text, and to preserve her characteristics of orthography and diction; and this the more that the British Museum MS. may be her very own, unique, and autographic. With a few chosen exceptions, I have reproduced all her deflections from common rule without comment; my additions to the MS. are limited to a few izāfats and other signs of which example is given at some place in the MS..

Princess Rose-body has rendered one essential service to history, by giving precise details of relationship in her own and some contemporary families. Up till now, however, no use has been made of her information, and her book has remained, both in India and Europe, a literary parda-nīshīn.
The Biographical Appendix, which I have modelled in admiration of Professor Blochmann's in his *Ain-i-akbarī*, will, I hope, be of use to future writers. It is the outcome of the notes of several years, but it is incomplete and over brief. Nevertheless, it discloses the elements of many a romantic story.

One of an author's most agreeable final touches is the expression of thanks to those who have helped his book on its way. My obligation to my husband is too great to be told. I am much indebted to Mr. A. G. Ellis for his unfailing kindness during the long and pleasant time of my work in the British Museum, and to my friends Mr. E. H. Whinfield and Mr. W. Irvine for the expression of their opinions on several perplexing points. As I have said in writing of the plates, I owe all my illustrations but one to Mr. Bourdillon, B.C.S..

The printing of a book so full as is this one of unfamiliar names and of diacritically-marked letters entails a heavy tax upon proof-readers and compositors. I wish to express my sense of this, and to thank Messrs. Billing, their proof-readers and their compositors for what they have done to accomplish a difficult and tiresome task. My thanks are indeed due and are offered to Messrs. Drugelin for the patience and skill with which they have dealt with Persian copy from my untrained hand.

I now venture to express, in Mr. E. Granville Browne's words, the thought which haunts all who make a book, and to beg my critics to listen to their plea:

'Now, seeing that to fail and fall is the fate of all, and to claim exemption from the lot of humanity a proof of pride and vanity, and somewhat of mercy our common need; therefore let such as read, and errors detect, either ignore or neglect, or correct and conceal them, rather than revile and reveal them.'
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NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

The page of the MS. selected for reproduction in Plate I. contains several words which I have found difficult, and concerning which explanation will be welcomed. It and Plate No. II. make silent protest against printing, and plead that the sun best shows the grace and beauty of manuscript.

With the exception of the first illustration, all the plates are photographic reproductions from a splendidly illustrated Persian MS., entitled the Tārīkh-i-khāndān-i-šīrāziya, which is the choicest volume in the library with which Maulvi Khūda-baksh Khān Bahādur has enriched the city of Patna.¹

The Emperor Shāh-jahān appears to have paid R.8,000 for the illustrations in the volume. The MS. itself is of older date, and Mr. Beveridge has found in it some portions, at least, of the Tārīkh-i-alif. The title-page is wanting.

The volume has a further distinction, inasmuch as it bears on an opening page an autograph note of Shāh-jahān. This is reproduced (as Plate No. II.) on the opposite page, and by its charm and grace is worthy of that royal fount of creative beauty.

The pictures of Bābar’s devotion of himself and the triad connected with the birth of Akbar are admirable; they repay close attention and enlargement under a glass.

¹ A copy of the Maulvi’s catalogue (published while he was Chief Justice in Hydarābād) is in the British Museum, and may be consulted for some details of the book. (p. 110) Mr. Beveridge also gives some particulars about it in the R.A.S. Journal, January, 1901, p. 81.
I am indebted for these pictures, first to Mr. Beveridge who, when he examined this Tārikh in 1899, thought of my book, and, secondly, to Mr. Bourdillon, the then Commissioner of Patna, who most kindly photographed them for us.

TRANSLATION OF SHĀH-JAHĀN'S NOTE.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE.

This history, which contains an abridgment of the affairs of his Majesty, Șāhīb-qirān Gītī-sitānī (Timūr), and of his glorious descendants, and of the events of the days of 'Arsh-āshyānī (Akbar)—May God make clear his proof!—down to the twenty-second year of his reign, was written in the time of Shāh Bābā (Akbar).

Signed: Shāh-jahān Pādshāh, son of Jahāngīr Pādshāh, son of Akbar Pādshāh.
INTRODUCTION.

PART I.

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCESS AND HER FAMILY.1

SECTION I.—UNDER BĀBAR.

GUL-BADAN BEGAM (Princess Rose-body) was a daughter of Zahrū-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābar, in whom were united the lines of highest Central Asian aristocracy—namely, that of Timūr the Turk, through his son Mīrān-shāh; and that of Chingiz the Mughal, through his son Chaghatāi. He was born on February 14th, 1483, and succeeded to his father's principality of Farghāna when under twelve. He spent ten years of early youth in trying to save his small domain from the clutch of kinsmen, but, being forced to abandon the task, went southwards in 1504 to Afghanistān, where he captured Kābul from its Arghūn usurpers.

Princess Gul-badan was born somewhere about 1523 and when her father had been lord in Kābul for nineteen years; he was master also in Kunduz and Badakhshān; had held Bajaur and Swat since 1519, and Qandahār for a year. During ten of those nineteen years he had been styled pādshāh, in token of headship of the house of Timūr and of

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1 In selecting from the mass of material which, without discursiveness, might have been included under the above heading, only that has been used which concerns the begam or is in touch with her interests and sympathies.

This Introduction corrects several errors which occur in an article on the life and writings of the begam, and which was published by me in the Calcutta Review, April, 1898.
his independent sovereignty. To translate padshah, however, as is often done, by the word emperor would give a wrong impression of Bābar's status amongst rulers at this height of his rising fortunes. Nevertheless, Gul-badan was born the child of a strong and stable chief, and of one who was better followed in war than his nominal domains would allow, because his army was drawn for the most part from tribes not under his government, and was not territorial and of Kābul but personal and inherited.

Bābar says that he cherished the desire to conquer beyond the Indus for nineteen years. At the date of Gul-badan's birth he was engaged in the attempt, and succeeded when she was about two and a half years old. He then became the first Türkī sovereign in Hindūstān, and the founder of its miscalled Mughal dynasty.

If the princess had first seen light in London instead of in Kābul, she would have had Henry VIII for king, and the slumbers of her birth-year might have been troubled as men marched forth at Wolsey's will to fight and lose in France. Her personal vicissitudes were the greater that she was a Tīmūrid and Türk. She spent her childhood under her father's rule in Kābul and Hindūstān; her girlhood and young wifehood shared the fall and exile of Humāyūn; and her maturity and failing years slipped past under the protection of Akbar.

Her mother was Dil-dār Begam—the Heart-holding Princess—of whose descent, it is noticeable to observe, neither her husband nor her daughter gives any information. This peculiarity of omission she shares with Māham, the wife of Bābar's affection and the mother of his heir; and with Gul-rukh, the mother of Kāmrān and 'Askarī. All three ladies are spoken of by our begam with the style befitting the wives of a king; all were mothers of children, and for this reason, if for no other, it seems natural that something should be said of their birth. Bābar frequently mentions Māham, and calls her by this name tout court. Dil-dār's name occurs in the Türkī version of the Memoirs, but not in the Persian, and she is there styled āghācha—
i.e., a lady, but not a begam, by birth. Gul-rukh is, I believe, never named by Babar. This silence does not necessarily imply low birth. It may be an omission of the contemporarily obvious; and also it may indicate that no one of the three women was of royal birth, although all seem to have been of good family.

Three Timúrids had been Babar's wives in childhood and youth. These were: 'Āyisha, who left him before 1504 and who was betrothed to him when he was five; Zainab, who died in 1506 or 1507; and Ma'sūma, whom he married in 1507 and who died at the birth of her first child. Māham was married in Khurāsān, and therefore in 1506; Dil-dār and Gul-rukh probably considerably later, and after the three royal ladies had passed away from the household. The next recorded marriage of Babar is one of 1519, when a Yusufzāi chief brought him his daughter, Bibi Mubārika, as the seal of submission. She had no children, and was an altogether charming person in the eyes of those who have written of her.

To return now to Dil-dār. She bore five children, three girls and two boys. The eldest was born in an absence of Babar from Kābul and in Khost. This fixes her birth as occurring somewhere between 1511 and 1515. She was Gul-rang (Rose-hued), named like her sisters from the rose; then came Gul-chihra (Rose-cheeked); and then Abū'n-nāsir Muḥammad, the Hindāl of history, who was born in 1519; next was Gul-badan (Rose-body); and last a boy, whom his sister calls Alwar, a word which looks like a sobriquet drawn from the Indian town. He died after the migration of the household to Āgra, and in 1529.

Princess Gul-badan was born some two years before Babar set out on his last expedition across the Indus, so her baby eyes may have seen his troops leave Kābul in November, 1525, for the rallying-place at Jacob's Village (Dih-i-ya'qūb). It is not mere word-painting to picture her as looking down from the citadel at what went on below, for she tells of later watching from this viewpoint which would give the farewell glimpse of the departing
army, and, as weeks and years rolled on, the first sight of many a speck on the eastern road which took form as loin-girt runner or mounted courier.

We who live upon the wire, need a kindled imagination to realize what it was to those left behind, to have their men-folk go to India. With us, fancy is checked by maps and books, and has not often to dwell on the unknown and inconceivable. To them, what was not a blank was probably a fear. Distance could have no terrors for them, because they were mostly, by tribe and breeding, ingrain nomads; many of them had come from the far north and thought the great mountains or the desert sands the desirable setting for life. Such experience, however, would not help to understand the place of the Hindus, with its heats, its rains, strange beasts, and hated and dreaded pagans.

It is not easy to say wherein lies the pleasure of animating the silhouettes which are all that names, without detail of character, bring down from the past. Perhaps its roots run too deep and close to what is dear and hidden in the heart, for them to make way readily to the surface in speech. But it is an undoubted pleasure, and it is what makes it agreeable to linger with these women in Kābul in those hours when our common human nature allows their thoughts and feelings to be clear to us. Sometimes their surroundings are too unfamiliar for us to understand what sentiments they would awaken, but this is not so when there is news of marches, fighting, defeat, or victory. Then the silhouettes round, and breathe, and weep or smile.

Bābar left few fighting men in Kābul, but there remained a great company of women and children, all under the nominal command and charge of Prince Kamrān, who was himself a child. His exact age I am not able to set down, for Bābar does not chronicle his birth, an omission which appears due to its falling in one of the gaps of the Memoirs. Bābar left the city on November 17th, and was joined on December 3rd by Humāyūn at the Garden of Fidelity (Bagh-i-wafā). He had to wait for the boy, and was much displeased, and reprimanded him severely.
Humayun was then seventeen years old, and since 1520 had been governor of Badakhshān. He had now brought over his army to reinforce his father, and it may well be that Māham had something to do with his delayed march from Kābul. She could have seen him only at long intervals since she had accompanied Bābar, in 1520, to console and settle her child of twelve in his distant and undesired post of authority.

Shortly after the army had gone eastwards, disquieting news must have reached Kābul, for three times before the middle of December, 1525, Bābar was alarmingly ill. What he records of drinking and drug-eating may explain this; he thought his illness a chastisement, and set himself to repent of sins which were bred of good-fellowship and by forgetfulness in gay company; but his conflict with them was without victory. He referred his punishment to another cause than these grosser acts, and came to regard the composition of satirical verses as a grave fault. His reflections on the point place him near higher moralists, for he says it was sad a tongue which could repeat sublime words, should occupy itself with meaner and despicable fancies. ‘Oh, my Creator! I have tyrannized over my soul, and if Thou art not bountiful to me, of a truth I shall be numbered amongst the accursed.’ These are some of the thoughts of Bābar which lift our eyes above what is antipathetic in him, and explain why he wins the respect and affection of all who take trouble to know him.

Not long after January 8th, 1526, a messenger would reach Kābul who took more than news, for Bābar had found manuscripts in the captured fort of Milwat, and now sent some for Kāmrān, while he gave others to Humayun. They were valuable, but not so much so as he had hoped, and many were theological. This and other records about books remind one that they were few and precious in those days. How many that we now rank amongst the best of the sixteenth century had not yet been written! There was
no Tarīkh-i-rashidī, and the very stuff of the Tūzūk was in the living and making.

On February 26th Humāyūn created news which would be as welcome to Māham as it was to Bābar, for he was successful in his first expedition on active service. This occurred at Hisār-firoza, and the town and district were given to him with a sum of money. News of the victory was despatched to Kābul from Shāhābād; and immediately after Bābar's record of this in the Memoirs, there occurs a passage of varied interest, although it seems to European ears a somewhat strange commemoration of a detail of toilette: 'At this same station and this same day the razor or scissors were first applied to Humāyūn's beard.' Bābar made an entry in June, 1504, of the same act accomplished for himself. It was one which Türks celebrated by festivity. The entry quoted above is made as though by Bābar, but it is followed by an explanation that it is inserted by Humāyūn in pious imitation of his father's own. Humāyūn did this in 1553-4, shortly before he set out to recover his father's lost domains in Hindūstān. The date is fixed by his statement that he made the interpolation when he was forty-six.1

Humāyūn's little victory would be dwarfed by the next news of the royal army, for April 12th, 1526, brought the battle of Pānīpat and the overthrow of Ibrāhīm Lodi Afghān, the Emperor of Hindūstān. The swiftest of runners would carry these tidings to Kābul in something under a month. On May 11th Bābar distributed the treasures of five kings, and left himself so little that he was jestingly dubbed beggar (qalandar). He forgot no one, but sent gifts far and wide to kinsmen and friends, and to shrines both in

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1 There is a point of great interest about this note of Humāyūn and Mr. Erskine's translation of it. I venture to refer readers who take interest in the Memoirs, as a book, to my article on the Türkī text of the Memoirs (Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, July, 1899), which contains information gathered from some sources which were not at Mr. Erskine's disposition, and which suggest that another reading is allowable to the concluding words (not mentioned in this text) of Humāyūn's interpolation.
Arabia and 'Iraq. Kābul was specially remembered and a small coin sent for every soul within it. Gul-badan tells what was given to the ladies, beginning with the great begams, the aunts of frequent mention. It was certainly a wonderful day when the curiosities and splendid things of Hind were unpacked for their inspection, and very welcome, too, would be the amīr who escorted the precious caravan. He was Bābar's friend, Khwāja Kilān, who had extorted a most unwilling leave from India on the ground that his constitution was not suited to the climate of that country, a delicate assumption of blame to his own defects which it is to be hoped he conveyed to the ladies as a reassurance. After the gay social fashion of the time, no doubt he helped the ladies to run day into night in the tale-telling they loved. It appears probable that there was no such complete seclusion of Türki women from the outside world as came to be the rule in Hindūstān. The ladies may have veiled themselves, but I think they received visitors more freely, and more in accordance with the active life of much-travelling peoples, than is the case in Hindū or Moslim houses in India at the present day.¹

The little Gul-badan will have had her present with the rest, and probably, like some others, it was chosen by her father specially for her. He sent a list with the gifts so that each person might receive what he had settled upon. This he is said to have done both in allotting the jewels and the dancing-girls, the latter of whom are mentioned as sent to the great begams. Their novel style of dancing ranks them amongst the 'curiosities of Hind,' but nothing is said about their views of presentation to foreign ladies in Kābul. Certainly Gul-badan will have seen them dance, and she will also have enjoyed the joke played off by Bābar from Āgra on an old dependent called 'Asas (night-guard).

¹ I remember a Muḥammadan gentleman astonishing me by a story of a Musalāmī child who died of the shock to her propriety when she was taken out from the haram. He was an 'English-educated' man, and the child was his sister.
This and all the begam's stories are left for her to tell, as she does later in this volume.

There came with the gifts an injunction which calls out the remark, that at all crises Bābar gave expression to religious feeling and performed due devotional ceremonies. He had desired Khwāja Kilān to arrange for the ladies to go out of the city to the Garden of the Audience-hall, so that they might there make the prostration of thanks for the success of his arms. They were to go in state, and to remain some days. He must have sighed as he planned an excursion so much to his liking and in which he could not share. The act of thanksgiving would be done under a summer heaven, in an enchanting June garden, of which the snowy hills were the distant girdle. Our princess will have gone out with the rest, and with theirs her small figure, bravely attired, will have bowed forehead to the earth in thanks to the Giver of Victory. Tender thoughts will have travelled to the absent, and especially to him who loved his Kābul as Bābar did.

It is remarkable in him that, longing to return home as he did, he should have had endurance to remain and fight on in Hindūstān. His constitution was assuredly not suited to its climate. His men hated it; his closest friend had left it; Humāyūn and other intimates were soon to follow the khwāja on leave; but he resisted all influences, even when he had become so homesick that he wept at sight of fruit from Kābul. Only love of action, desire to be great, and capacity for greatness, could have held and upheld him at his self-chosen post. It cannot be called a small matter on which the history of hundreds of years turns, and yet it was but the innate quality of one man, and that man very human. Bābar stood fast, and India had Akbar and his splendid followers and all the galaxy of their creations in sandstone and marble.

When Gul-badan was about two years old, and therefore shortly before her father left Kābul, she was adopted by Māham Begam to rear and educate. Māham was the chief lady of the royal household and mother of Bābar's eldest
son; she was supreme, and had well-defined rights over other inmates. Perhaps this position justified her in taking from Dil-där two of her children, Hindal and Gul-badan, as she did in 1519 and 1525. Before 1519 Māham had lost four children younger than Humāyūn; they were three girls and a boy, and all died in infancy. So it may have been heart-hunger that led to the adoptions she made, or they might be the outcome of affection for Bābar (it is said she was to him what ‘Āyisha was to Muḥammad), which determined her, if she could not rear her children for him, at least to give him his children with the stamp of her love upon them. In some cases which are mentioned by Bābar, adoptions were made by a childless wife of high degree from a slave or servant, but no such reason seems behind those from Dil-där. She is spoken of in terms which preclude the supposition that (as Haidar puts it in another place,) she was outside the circle of distinction.

The story of Hindal’s adoption is briefly this: In 1519 Bābar was away from Kābul on the expedition which gave him Bajaur and Swat, and which brought into the royal household Bībī Mubārika Yusufzāi. On January 25th he received a letter from Māham, who was in Kābul, about a topic which had been discussed earlier between them—namely, the adoption by her of a child of which Dil-där expected the birth. Now she repeated her wishes and, moreover, asked Bābar to take the fates and declare whether it would be a boy or girl. Whether he performed the divination rite himself, or had it done by some of the women who were in camp with the army, (he speaks of it as believed in by women,) it was done, and the result was announced to Māham as promising a boy. The rite is simple: Two pieces of paper are inscribed, one with a boy’s name and one with a girl’s, and are enwrapped in clay and set in water. The name first disclosed, as the clay opens out in the moisture, reveals the secret. On the 26th Bābar wrote, giving over the child to Māham and communicating the prophecy. On March 4th a boy was born, to whom
was given the name of Abū'n-nāṣir with the sobriquet of Hindāl by which he is known in history and which is perhaps to be read as meaning 'of the dynasty of Hind.' Three days after birth he was taken, whether she would or no, from Dil-dār to be made over to Māham.

It is clear that Dil-dār objected; and although the separation could not have been so complete where the real and adoptive mothers are part of one household as it is under monogamous custom, it was certainly hard to lose her firstborn son in this way. She had still her two elder girls. Gul-badan was born four years later and removed from her care at the age of two, by which date, it may be, she had her son Alwar. In after-years Dil-dār, as a widow, lived with Hindāl, and she had back Gul-badan while the latter was still a young and unmarried girl.

Bābar was separated from his family for over three years after he left Kābul in 1525. The tedium of waiting for news or for his return was broken for the ladies by several interesting home events, and by several items of Indian news which must have stirred the whole community in Kābul. On August 2nd, 1526, Māham gave birth to a son who was named Fārūq, but he too died in babyhood and his father never saw him. In December, 1526, there occurred to Bābar what must have roused anger and dread in all Kābul, for he was poisoned by the mother of Ibrāhīm

1 The account of the adoption of Hindāl is given in much abbreviated form both by the Persian and English versions of the Memoirs. The latter has, indeed, an error which is not borne out by the Persian; i.e., it states that several children had been born in 1619. The correct statement is that several had been borne by Māham younger than Humāyūn. The Türkī text of Kehr and Ilminsky has a longer account, with curious details which may have been omitted on revision of the Memoirs by Bābar himself in later copies, or may have been omitted by the Persian translator. The former is the more probable suggestion, because if the full passage had occurred in the Elphinstone Türkī text used by Leyden and Erskine, it could not have escaped both these careful workers. (This MS. is unfortunately not forthcoming for consultation.) The point is of interest as bearing on the history of the Türkī texts. It makes for the opinion that Kehr's source was one of the early copies of the Memoirs, since the passage is one which from its domestic nature would be less likely to be added to, than omitted from a revised version.
Lodī Afghān. How Bābar conveyed the news of this to his people at home can be seen, because he has inserted the letter he wrote to allay anxiety, as soon as recovered strength permitted. Gul-badan has given the main points of the crime. She observes that Bābar had called the ‘ill-fated demon,’ mother, and had shown her kindness, a sectional view which leaves out the Afghān mourner, Buw'ā Begam, whose son had been defeated and killed, his dynasty overthrown, and herself pitied by the man on whom she tried to avenge herself. Her fate is worth commemorating. She was first put under contribution—i.e., made over for the exploitation of her fortune to two of Bābar’s officers—and then placed in the custody of a trusty man for conveyance to Kābul. Perhaps she dreaded her reception there, for she contrived to elude her guards in crossing the Indus, threw herself into the water, and was drowned.

The letter above-mentioned is full of what one likes in Bābar. He quotes, ‘Whoever comes to the gates of death knows the value of life,’ and says, with thanks to Heaven, that he did not know before how sweet a thing life is. Here, too, he shows that he felt the tie which bound him to the Power in whose hands are the issues of life and death. He, his daughter, and his cousin and literary compeer, Ḥaidar Mīrza Dughlāt, frequently express religious sentiment; and here Bābar exhibits the human graces of kind thought and solicitude to lessen the anxieties of his distant household and people. He forced himself to live again, in words, the horrible experiences of which he wrote while still in retirement, and four days only after their occurrence.

1 This letter bears date December 26th, 1526, and thus provides a detail which is of use when considering the probable time of composition of the Memoirs. Was a copy of the letter kept? Did the original return from Kābul? The impression given by points of evidence is that the book was written down in present form later than the date of this letter. There are in the beginning of it statements which refer its composition or revised version to 1528. The same point is raised by letters of 1529 to Humāyūn and Khwāja Kilān, the date of which may indicate progress in the composition.

All the letters share another ground of interest, which is that, having
Three months later Kābul had news of an uplifting victory, inasmuch as it had been won from men of alien faith, whose overthrow was a plenary religious duty to the Moslim. It was fought on March 13th, 1527, against Hindū Rājpūts under Rānā Sangā, and at Khānwa, on the skirts of the yet uncrowned hill of Sikri. It was preluded by dread amongst the Musalmāns, and by solemn acts which should make them more worthy to be the tools of Heaven and to enforce the stern belief that in battle with the pagan there was vengeance of the cause of God. Men declared repentance for sin and took oaths of abstinence; gold and silver drinking-vessels, probably of Persian handicraft and artistic beauty, were broken up and given to the poor; wine was poured out upon the ground, and some was salted into vinegar. Where the libation of penitence was offered, the earth was dedicated to the uses of an almshouse with chambered well. So strengthened, the Musalmāns went into the fight and made great slaughter of valiant foes.

The victory was followed by change in the personnel of Bābar's army, which had long been wearying for home and murmuring against Hindūstān. This was especially so amongst Humāyūn's Badakhshīs, who were accustomed to short service of one or two months, and it was now almost sixteen since they had left even Kābul. Only promise of immediate leave to follow had induced some men to stay for this one fight, and they had been told that when it was over, all who desired it should have freedom to go. Many amīrs had given 'stupid and unformed opinions' against remaining in Hindūstān at all, and down to the humblest followers these views had found acceptance. As has been said, nothing would persuade Bābar's closest friend to stay with him, although before his final decision

been composed in Türkī, they have been preserved in Türkī in the Persian translation. This may be an act of pious deference. The Memoirs were certainly altogether in Türkī, but they were not addressed to individuals as were the letters. It is a fact of interest, and open to pleasant interpretation.
was acted on, his master had called a council, and had expressed himself with directness and vigour.

‘I told them that empire and conquest could not exist without the material and means of war; that royalty and nobility could not exist without subjects and dependent provinces; that by the labour of many years, after undergoing great hardships, measuring many a toilsome journey, and raising various armies—after exposing myself and my troops to circumstances of great danger, to battle and bloodshed, by the Divine favour I had routed my formidable enemy (Ibrahim), and achieved the conquest of numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held. And now, what force compels, what hardship obliges us, without visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat to Kābul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture? Let anyone who calls himself my friend never henceforward make such a proposal; but if there is any among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or to give up his purpose of return, let him depart. Having made this fair and reasonable proposal, the discontented were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purpose.’

After the Rājpūt defeat the time came for the promised leave, but there is no mention in the Memoirs of a general exodus. Humāyūn went with his Badakhshīs, and also, as he seemed ‘uncomfortable,’ Mahdī1 Khwāja, Khānzāda’s husband. He, but not only he, had been through one hot season in the plains and another was approaching,—a discomposing fact, and one to wing the fancy and the feet to Kābul. He, however, left his son Ja’far in his government of Etāwa, and returned to India himself in 1528.

Humāyūn said farewell on April 16th, 1527, and betook himself to Dihli, where he broke open the treasury and

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1 There are difficulties in tracing the descent of this man, which are discussed in the Appendix. Cf. Index, s.n. Muḥammad Mahdī.
stole its contents. If he had needed money to pay his men, his act might have taken different colour and have been leniently described; but he had had lavish gifts in money and kind from Bābar, and had been allowed to keep the great diamond which the Rānī of Guālīār had given him as the price of family honour and which, there is good ground to believe, is the Koh-i-nūr. Treated as he had been, his act was a crime, and base and mean. Perhaps it may be set to the credit of the older Humāyūn that the record of his theft has survived 1553-4 and his then perusal and annotation of his father's Memoirs. By that time he had suffered many painful consequences of his own acts, and may have concurred with his father's judgment on his younger self. Bābar was extremely hurt by his unexpected conduct and reproached him severely. There was enough now known of Humāyūn's character to awaken doubt of his fitness to rule, and to need all his father's great affection to veil and forgive. From Dīhlī he returned to Badakhshān, and is next heard of in the autumn of 1528, when he announced the birth of his first-born son, Al-amān. Al-amān was the child of that Bega (Hājī) Begam of whom the histories all speak, when in 1539 she is captured by Shīr Shāh at Chausa.

Together with the news of Al-amān's birth came that of a marriage of Kāmrān with a daughter of Sultan 'Alī Begchik. Bābar sent congratulatory gifts to both sons in response; and he has included his covering letter to Humāyūn in his text. It is frank, fault-finding, and affectionate. It objects to the name given to the child; it urges action: 'The world is his who exerts himself'; it objects to Humāyūn's complaints of the remoteness of Badakhshān, and tells him that no bondage is like the bondage of kings, and that it ill becomes him to complain. It attacks Humāyūn's spelling and composition, and ends this topic with words good to quote: 'You certainly do not excel in letter-writing; and you fail chiefly because you have too great a desire to show off your acquirements. For the future, write unaffectedly, clearly, and in plain
words, which will give less trouble to writer and reader.' Some remarks about Kāmrān have a coming interest; Bābar faintly praises him as a worthy and correct young man, and enjoins favour for him, without a hint of suspicion that it could ever be in Kāmrān's power to show favour to Humāyūn. Humāyūn is also desired to make friends with Khwāja Kilān and with Sultān Wais of Kulāb. He failed with the khwāja, who on Bābar's death joined the worthy and correct Kāmrān. Humāyūn kept on better terms with Sultān Wais (Qibchāq Mughal), and at a later date owed much to his daughter, the inimitable Ḥaram (Khurram), who stands up in history bold, capable, haughty, and altogether strongly outlined.

Something must now be set down about Bābar's third adult son, who was a younger full-brother of Kāmrān and is known in history by his sobriquet of 'Askari, which indicates a camp as his birthplace. Neither his birth nor Kāmrān's is mentioned in the Memoirs, as we now have them,—an omission which other sources allow to be explained by their falling in one of the gaps of the book. 'Askari was born in 1516 (922H.), and during a period of storm and of camp life. His name first occurs in the Memoirs as having presents sent to him after the battle of Pānīpat, when he is classed with Hindāl, as suited their ages of nine and seven, and they received various gifts, and not, like their two seniors, sums of money. In 1528 he was in Multān, but there is no entry of an appointment, perhaps because it would fall in the gap which extends from April 2nd to September 18th. On the latter day he was received, in home fashion, by his father in his private apartments at Agra, and then, having spent till December 2nd with him, he was furnished with munitions of war for a campaign in the eastern districts. Special injunctions were given to the officers to consult with him as to the conduct of affairs. The interest of these details is their relation to the boy of twelve. Few years were needed in those days to support military command. Humāyūn had gone to Badakhshān at eleven; Bābar had been a
fighting king at twelve. Boy chiefs were common when fathers were so apt to die by violent means; so were baby figure-heads of armies such as that few-monthed Persian baby who (like an angel’s semblance on an ancient battleship) led his father’s army for Humayun’s help in 1544.

On December 12th other signs of dignity were bestowed on the boy ‘Askarī: not only a jewelled dagger, a belt, and royal dress of honour, but the insignia of high command, the standard, horse-tail, and kettle-drums; excellent horses, ten elephants, mules and camels, the equipage of a royal camp, and leave to hold a princely court and sit at the head of a hall of state. The small boy’s mind is clear to us about the horses, for where is the child of twelve whom they would not delight? But what was in it about the elephants? and how did he look when he inspected their bulky line?

He bade farewell to his father on the 21st,—the Emperor being in his bath, a statement which exhales the East,—and after this, though there are many details of his campaigning, nothing of living interest is set down in the Memoirs about him. In the future he was Kāmrān’s shadow, and displayed a loyalty to mother-blood which was natural under the difficulty of being loyal to Humayun, but which made him a Timūrid foe to his house, who initiated nothing and walked always in the bad path marked out for him by the ‘worthy and correct’ Kāmrān.

Coming back from this excursion into the future, to the simple topic of Bābar’s presents to his children, there can be mentioned a set which is quite delightful in its careful choice and appropriateness. It was sent to Kabul in 1528 for Hindāl, and consisted of a jewelled inkstand, a stool inlaid with mother-of-pearl, a short robe of Bābar’s own, and an alphabet. What could be better for the royal schoolboy of ten?

In 1528 an order was issued which brought about an event of extreme importance to the ladies in Kabul,—namely, that they should migrate to Hindūstān. There was delay in the execution of the royal command; and
having regard to the number of ladies, the difference of opinion as to the advisability of going at all, discussion as to the details of the journey, and also remembering that (as the facts about the migration come out in the Memoirs,) there would be many who thought their family interest might be better served by remaining in Kabul, it is not remarkable that there was delay in starting the cavalcade.

The migration was amply dictated to many of the party by Bābar's wish to see his own people again; but it is clear that the enforced levée en masse of the ladies was a result of considerations of policy and peace. The city was full of women who, by birth or marriage, were attached to various branches of the Timūrids, and there was conflict of aims and palpable friction. It may well be that Kāmrān's government provoked unrest, because he was the son of a mother of less birth than were very many of the resident begams of Kabul.

The Emperor was put in full possession of the state of affairs by a letter from Khwāja Kilān which reached him in camp on February 6th, 1528, and which was brought by a servant who, in addition to the written words, gave him all the news of Kabul by word of mouth. Bābar replied to the khwāja on February 11th by that letter which those who know the time and writer rank amongst the truly interesting epistles of the world. The tenor of the khwāja's own is clear from it, and in part reply the Emperor writes:

'You take notice of the unsettled state of Kabul. I have considered the matter very attentively and with the best of my judgment, and have made up my mind that in a country where there are seven or eight chiefs, nothing regular or settled is to be looked for. I have therefore sent for my sisters and the ladies of my family into Hindūstān, and, having resolved on making Kābul and all the neighbouring countries and districts part of the imperial domain, I have written fully on the subject to Humāyūn and Kāmrān. ... Immediately on receiving this letter you will, without loss of time, attend my sisters and the
ladies of my family as far as the Nil-āb (Indus); so that, whatever impediments there may be to their leaving Kābul, they must, at all events, start out within a week after this arrives; for as a detachment has left Hindūstān and is waiting for them, any delay will expose it to difficulty, and the country, too, will suffer.'

Who were these seven or eight chiefs in Kābul? Not men! The fighting chiefs were almost all in India; even Mahdī had rejoined the army before the date of this letter. Bābar’s word ‘sisters’ is a guiding light, and it does not altogether exclude the influence of the men who, though in Hindūstān, were in touch with Kābul and its friction and intrigues. First of sisters was Khānzāda, who had certainly a holding for her support; and who had influence of birth and personal, as having sacrificed herself in her earlier marriage to secure Bābar’s safety. She was now the wife of a man, Mahdī Khwāja, who, if the story told of him by the author of the Ṭabaqāt is true even in gist, was such as to suggest him as a possible successor of Bābar to the powerful and sensible Khalīfa. There was, since her husband was with Bābar and all great ladies had been left in Kābul, Shahr-bānū, Khānzāda’s half-sister, wife of Khalīfa’s brother, Junaid Barlās, and mother of a son. There was also, it is probable, another of ’Umar Shaikh’s daughters, Yādgār.¹

Besides Bābar’s sisters de facto, there were others of courtesy. Such was Sulaimān’s mother, whose anxieties for his future were, however, about to find happy end by his reinstatement in 1530 in his hereditary government of Badakhshān. There were the families of three men of Timūrid birth, grandsons of Sulṭān Husain Mirzā Bāyqra, ¹

¹ Of the two others who are the complement in girls of his family, it is safe to say that they were absent. Mihr-bānū was the apparently contented wife of an Uzbeg Sulṭān, and Ruqaiya, who, like Mihr-bānū, had been spoil of battle and an Uzbeg wife, was recently dead. Bābar says she died just when he was making the entries about her parentage at the beginning of the Memoirs. This can hardly have been before 1528, because an appointment mentioned on the same page is recorded on its occurrence as made in 1528.
all of whom were in India, and all of whom were men of high pretension. They were,—Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā, the arch-rebel of the future; Qāsim Ḥusain Sultān Mīrzā, son of an Uzbeg father; and Muḥammad-zāman Mīrzā, son of Ḥusain’s son, Bādī’u-z-zāman. There were in Kābul the people of Yādgār-nāsir also, Bābar’s half-nephew. These instances will suffice to show the reality of the elements of unrest which conflicting family interests and jealousies might and did foment in Kābul; they do not include the many others furnished by Bābar’s personal circle, and by his numerous and influential aunts.

Two Timūrid ladies, Fakhr-jahān and Khadija, both paternal aunts of the Emperor, had gone to Hindūstān so early as November, 1527. With whom they went or why they went is not recorded. The first was the wife of a Tirmīzī sayyid, member of a religious family with which royal alliance was frequent, and she would find relations of her husband in the army. The second, Khadija, has no man mentioned as her husband, an omission by Bābar and Gul-badan which surprises, and which the chance word of another writer may easily fill up. Perhaps these aunts joined their nephew in response to his invitation of April, 1526, that kinsfolk and friends would come and see prosperity with him. They brought their children, and were met outside the city by Bābar on November 23rd, and by him conducted in a lucky hour to their assigned palace1 in Agra.

Fakhr-jahān and Khadija stayed eleven months, and were bidden good-bye before their return journey to Kābul on September 20th, 1528. After all, Khadija did not go, having affairs of her own to detain her, and this delay allowed the Emperor to pay her another of the Friday calls which he habitually made, during the time of his

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1 Readers who are interested in the Türkī and Persian texts of the Memoirs, will like to have attention drawn to the fact of there being a record of this episode in one of the fragments attached to Kehr’s MS., and that this varies in detail from his text and from the Persian source of the Memoirs.
occupation of Hindūstān, on his elder kinswomen. On the 17th three sisters of Fakhr-jahān and Khadija arrived in the suburbs and were welcomed. From all these Bābar could hear the news and gossip of Kābul, and thus add to the impressions which led to his order for the begams to join him in India.

Apropos of the aunts of frequent mention, it may be said that both Bābar and Ḥaidar convey the opinion that deference to elder women was a permanent trait of their age and set. Comings and goings of aunts are set down; houses and incomes provided; advice is sought; troubles are carried to them for sympathy; they are ambassadors of peace; their nephews vie with one another as to who shall entertain them; in short, both the Tāzūk and the Tārīkh indicate distinct deference to women of an elder generation.

A good deal about the exodus of the ladies can be gleaned from Bābar and from our princess, who now comes on the scene in her small person of five or six. The order for it was given at latest in 1528; this is clear from the royal letter to the khwāja and from the fact that Māham started in January, 1529. Bābar heard on March 22nd that all had really left Kābul, which news, taken with the arrival of the main cavalcade three months after her, suggests that Māham started first and travelled quickly, as being of a small company, and that the rest set off in detachments, as they and their transport were ready. The whole party would get off between January 21st and the end of February; this can be surmised, because the letter of March 22nd would be about a month in reaching Bābar. Most of the journey would be made by horse-litter, and some perhaps by palki with bearers. Men frequently dropped down the Kābul River on rafts, being thus able to do in twelve hours what ten marches covered; but one cannot suppose the ladies would make this adventurous journey, which was attended by risk even when people did not fall off the raft after potations, as some of Bābar’s companions had done. Probably the road taken was that by But-khāk (Dust of Idols) and Jagdalik, and by Jalālābād
and the Khaibar; but there is no certainty, because there is no information.

Gul-badan travelled with Maham in advance of her sisters, and thus had experiences all her own and a reception by her father unalloyed by numbers. Her liveliness would while away the tedium of the five months' travel, and help to distract Maham's sad thoughts from the loss of Fārūq, her youngest born. Unfortunately, she sets down nothing about the journey until near its end. Letters between the Emperor and the travellers were frequent. One of the couriers, named Shīrak (Little Lion), who was despatched by him on March 5th, carried not only letters to Maham, but was entrusted with a copy of the Memoirs which had been made to send to Samarqand.¹

On April 1st, and at Ghazipur, Bābar heard that the ladies had been met at the Indus on February 19th by their military escort under his master-of-horse, and by this amīr convoyed to the Chanāb. This might fitly be told of Maham's party, for there are other records of covering the distance to the Indus in about a month.

On the 22nd a servant of Maham brought letters to Arrah from her whom he had left at the Garden of Purity (Bagh-i-ṣafā), near Pind-dādan Khān, and this is the last such entry. Maham reached Agra on June 27th, and Bābar met her outside the city at midnight.

Gul-badan gives amusing particulars of her own arrival, all of which she shall be left to tell. She followed Maham into Agra on the 28th, not having been allowed to travel with her through the previous night. Then she saw her father. Of him she can have kept only a dim memory, and it is likely enough she would stand in some awe of him and his deeds, but no word he has written suggests that a

¹ This is the earliest recorded copying of the Türkī text. This Samarqand MS. and its descendants (if any) may have been written up subsequently; but the points of this early transmission to Central Asia of a copy and the variations of the Russian texts from those found in India, are worth consideration. There is an unexplored MS. in Bukhārā of high reputation.
child needed to fear him, and she soon experienced 'happiness such that greater could not be imagined.' Happy child! and happy father, too! who recovered such a clever and attractive little daughter. It is not only her book that lets us know she had a lively mind, but the fact of its composition at an age when wits are apt to be rusted by domestic peace. Only a light that was strong in childhood would have burned so long to guide her unaccustomed pen after half a century of life, and only a youth of happy thoughts and quick perceptions have buoyed her, still gay and vivacious, across the worries and troubles of Humāyūn's time.

There were pleasant days after the coming to Āgra, when Bābar took Māham, and the child also, to see his works at Dholpūr and Sikrī. He had always been a builder and a lover of a view, a maker of gardens and planter of trees. Much of the scenery of his new location displeased him; he thought the neighbourhood of Āgra 'ugly and detestable' and 'repulsive and disgusting,' words which do not now link well with that Āgra which he and his line have made the goal of the pilgrim of beauty. It is difficult to go back in fancy to the city without a Tāj, with no Sikundra near and with Sikrī uncrowned.

Dholpūr and Sikrī had much to show of work done by the orders of the Emperor,—'my royal father,' as Gulbadan generally calls him, using the home word bābā invariably. At Sikrī, amongst other buildings, was that in which she says he used to sit and write his book, i.e., the Tāzūk. There, too, the great battle which had been fought in 1527 will not have been ignored to ears so sympathetic as Māham's. Perhaps here the little girl first learnt dimly what it was to be a Ghāzī, and to fight on the side of Heaven. She says that when these excursions had been made, and three months after her own arrival had sped by, the begams, with Khānẓāda as their chief, came within meeting distance of the capital, and that the Emperor went out to welcome them. There is nothing of this in the Memoirs, which are silent after the arrival
of Maham as to the doings of the royal ladies. The reunion was soon to be clouded by anxieties and loss.

A brief return in the story of Humayun must be made here. In the summer of 1529 he heard in Badakhshan of his father’s failing health, and, without asking leave, set off for India. He passed through Kabul, and there, to Kamran’s surprise, met him, who had just come up from Ghazni. The two conferred, and persuaded the ten-years-old Hindal, who was under orders for Agra, to take up the government of Badakhshan. Humayun then continued his march, and arrived in Agra without announcement to his father.

He came to the presence just when, by a coincidence which Maham may have helped to bring about, his parents were talking of him. It would be natural for the mother, who cannot have been ignorant of her son’s coming, to stir gentler thoughts of him and to warm his father’s heart towards him before they met, and by this to break the shock of the unpermitted absence from duty.

Babur was greatly angered by the desertion, which in truth placed Badakhshan in difficulty by withdrawing both troops and control. Its consequences were important, and caused him profound regret. To stand fast across the mountains and to push out the royal holdings beyond the Oxus from the vantage-ground of Badakhshan was a cherished dream, and one which he had taken steps through both Humayun and Kamran to realize. He wished Humayun to return to his post, but the latter, while saying he must go if ordered, was not willing to leave his people again. Babur then asked Khalifa to go, but this request was evaded, and there is much to arouse surmise that Khalifa saw in it the act of someone who wished him absent from the scene of crisis now foreseen as near. In his objection to leave Agra, affection for his old master would be a natural factor; another was his own supreme influence, the sequel of his character and of Babur’s recent failure in health; and springing from his power was, perhaps the dominant factor of his objection to leave,—a
disposition to supplant Humayûn in the succession by a ruler of less doubtful character.

The fate of Badakhshân was decided by its bestowal on its hereditary chief, Sulaimân Mîrzâ, Mîrân-shâhî, now a boy of sixteen, while Humayûn’s youthful locum tenens was ordered to come to India. Humayûn betook himself to the idle enjoyments of his jâgîr of Sambhal, and was there, in a few months, attacked by illness which threatened life and which led to the remarkable episode of Bâbar’s self-sacrifice to save him. The narrative of this stands in all the histories and need not be repeated, but for the sake of making our princess’ details clear, it is as well to state what was the rite performed by Bâbar.

There was and is in the East belief that if offering be made of the thing most precious to the suppliant, and if the offering be accepted, Heaven will give the life of a sick man in exchange. The rite observed is simple: first prayer of intercession is made; then the suppliant walks three times round the sick man’s bed. Of Bâbar’s sincerity there is no doubt; in mind and heart he gave himself; he felt conviction that, after the circuits, he had borne away the illness. Humâyûn was restored and Bâbar died,—a return from the gate of death and an entry there which might have occurred without Bâbar’s rite, but none the less was the self-sacrifice complete because he believed in its efficacy and was willing to die.

His health worsened rapidly after this and he made ready to go. Marriages were arranged for Gul-rang and Gul-chîhra; the amîrs were addressed; Humâyûn was counselled and named to the succession. Bâbar died on December 26th, 1530. ‘Black fell the day,’ says his daughter; ‘we passed that ill-fated day each in a hidden corner.’

The question of Khalifa’s wish to supersede Humayûn is of great interest. It is written of by Nîzâmû-d-dîn Aḥmad, in the Tabaqât, who had the story he retails from his father, Muqîm, an old retainer of the Court. Abû’l-faţl repeats the main statement, which is that Khalifa had had
thoughts of superseding Humāyūn by Muḥammad Mahdī Khwāja, the husband of Khānzāda Begam.¹

A few of the many points involved in Nizāmu-d-dīn's story find fitting entry here. Bābar must have been long conscious of the fact that he was not so strong as before he faced the Indian climate; he did not send for Humāyūn; he wished him to leave when he came unasked; he had 'Askārī in the full dignity of a commander near him; as he lay dying, he was fretfully anxious for Hindal's coming; he and Khalīfa were friends of many years' testing; both knew the faults of Humāyūn; if Khalīfa had planned to set the latter aside, it is likely that the thought was not altogether absent from the mind of Bābar; it is not credible that Khalīfa should have regarded a supersession as practicable, if he had no acquaintance with the Emperor's doubts as to Humāyūn, and without knowing that these were shared by others than his master and himself, for the nomination would be made by Bābar and to his chiefs.

Muḥammad Mahdī Khwāja is one of those men about whose birth and descent particulars are looked for with the sure hope of success in the search. Yet nothing is said on the topic by Bābar or by Gul-badan. When he first appears on the scene (in the Persian version, and presumably also in the Elphinstone text), he is not introduced, as it is customary for Bābar to introduce, with some few words indicating family. This omission may be a result of forgetfulness bred of familiarity, or it may be, and most probably is, that he himself first met Muḥammad Mahdī at a date which falls in one of the gaps of his book.²

Nizāmu-d-dīn's statements must have some corn of truth, and they imply that by birth, as well as by marriage and

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¹ Neither of the sources thus describes Mahdī, but a somewhat full consideration of the several Mahdīs of the time allows no other than the husband of Khānzāda to be understood by the name Mahdī Khwāja of the two sources. Cf. Appendix, s.n. Muḥammad Mahdī.
² This omission, and perhaps some others, are straws pointing to the existence, at some time, of material which would fill the gaps.
military rank, Mahdi was a man who, without outrage, might be raised still higher. There are hints which make it seem probable that he was a Tirmizi sayyid and the son of a Timurid mother. The suggestion of Tirmizi parentage is supported by the burial of Abu'l-ma'ali Tirmizi in the place of interment of Mahdi and Khanzada.¹

It has suggested itself to me as possible that Khalifa's plan of superseding Humayun was meant to apply only to Hindustan, or at least to a part of Babar's dominions. Abu-sa'id had partitioned his lands amongst his sons; provinces so varied as Babar's seem to demand division even more than his grandfather's had done. We look back to Babar across Akbar's Indian Empire, and may not give sufficient weight to the fact that Dihli and Agra were not the centre or the desired heart of Babar's. He wanted Farghana and Samarkand and much more beyond the Oxus, and he had taken decisive steps towards securing his object through both his elder sons, and had given them charge and work of extension in those countries. Kabul was the true centre of his desired empire, and to force the Uzbegs back in widening circle was his persistent wish.

If Mahdi or any other competent man had ruled in Dihli, by whatever tenure, this would not necessarily have

¹ It is singular that both Khalifa and Mahdi disappear from prominent place with the death of Babar. From Gul-badan it is known that the latter was living at the time of Hindal's marriage with his sister Sultanan in 1537, because she names his gifts to the bridegroom. A good deal of search has failed to disclose other particulars of action or death of either man after Humayun's accession. Khalifa's brother, Junaid (like Mahdi, a brother-in-law of Babar), fought faithfully for Humayun till his recorded death. Khalifa was older than Junaid, and the impression given by the early part of the Memoirs is that he was older than Babar. The difficulty of the obvious interpretation of the silence about Khalifa's later life is, that he withdrew support from Mahdi's promotion, and it is distinctly said of Humayun by Badayuni that he was made emperor by the concurrence of Khalifa. So there would be no ground for a conspiracy of courtly silence about him. He was probably dead before the exile of the Timurids from India in 1540, because his wife Sultanan was with the royal household, and made her pilgrimage shortly after the exodus to Sind.
ruined Humāyūn, or have taken from him the lands most coveted by Bābar. All Bābar’s plans and orders were such as to keep Humāyūn beyond the Hindū-kush, and to take him across the Oxus. The dislike of the royal army to Hindūstān was a large factor in the question of centralizing government there, and so too would be the temptations to indolence afforded by its climate and customs, to which it was easy to foresee from Humāyūn’s life in Sambhal that he would readily succumb.

Kābul was made an imperial domain by Bābar’s written command to both elder sons, and his own words leave one in doubt as to his further intentions about it. To whom Hindūstān would have been given if Humāyūn had obeyed orders and had held fast in Badakhshān, there is nothing to show, but weight is due to the gist of the story of the supersession. Kāmrān declared that Kābul was given to his mother Gul-rukh, and Humāyūn gave it in fief to Kāmrān at his accession. There is mist over the scene from which only the accomplished facts emerge. Humāyūn came to India; he was Māham’s son; she was there; Khalīfa let Mahdi fall; Humāyūn’s personal charm reasserted itself over Bābar’s anger, and he became Emperor of Hindūstān and all the imperial domains.

Child though Gul-badan was at her father’s death, she must have been impressed by the events that preceded it: Alwar’s death; her own accident at Sikri; her father’s premonitions and dervish-moods; Humāyūn’s sudden arrival and the anger it caused; his illness and the dread for his life; her father’s awe-inspiring rite and its bewildering success; her sisters’ marriages, which could not be joyful; the haunting suspicion of poison; the end and the blank,—all too much for so short a time in strange scenes and in a disabling climate.

Following the death came the forty days of mourning, and of good works and gifts at the tomb in the Garden of Rest at Agra. Sikri furnished a part of the endowment for its readers and reciters, and Māham sent them food twice daily from her own estate. The tomb was put under
the guardianship of a man whom our begam calls Khwāja Muhammad 'Alī 'asas (night-guard), and who may be he that 'never killed a sparrow,' and may be Māham's brother. If so, he will be heard of again under other and widely different circumstances in 1547. As is well known, Bābar's body was conveyed to Kābul, and there laid to rest in the spot chosen by himself.

SECTION II.—UNDER HUMĀYŪN.

In Bābar's history the man holds the interest and lifts the eyes over his shortcomings to his excellence. No character demanding admiration attracts interest to Humāyūn, but yet his story is one which it needs a master-hand to unfold. A Tolstoi could depict his faults and merits; his qualities and defects rolled a tide of retribution over him and those bound to him as surely and visibly as it does over Anna Karénine and her associates. From the historic standpoint, Mr. Erskine has told the tale in a way to hold his readers, and it befits this humble introduction to build up only such framework as will support details, some of which concern the ladies of the time, and others of which may interest readers who are not Orientalists.

In order to realize how fully the fate of the ladies was involved in that of the Emperor, it must be remembered that his occupation of Hindūstān was unrooted, military and the sport of war. When we in Britain have to lament a reverse of arms, we do it in safe homes and we brace ourselves to what will come next, in the familiar surroundings of the daily tradesman, the usual postman, and the trivial comforts of the hearth. Even Colonials had a refuge under the flag at measurable distance from their outraged homes in 1899-1900. But when the Timūrids were defeated in 1539-40, and driven from Āgra and Dihlī and Lāhōr, there was no refuge open to all. Their head, Humāyūn, had none; a brother took his last. Like the Israelites, he and his followers then wandered in deserts and hungered and thirsted; dwelt in strange lands,
pursued and attacked, exiled and humiliated. The course of events was less historic than biographical, was individual and not national. There were no nations behind Bābar and Humāyūn; there were only ruling families who came and went as they could or could not get the upper hand of other houses; and there was the dumb mass whom the earth nourished, and labour of whom fed, in luxury of life and strength of alien arms, whatever dynasty had just struck hardest.

An enumeration of the chief events of the downfall of Humāyūn and of his years of exile will give our required framework. He became Emperor in December, 1530. In the next year Kāmrān took possession of Lāhōr and the Panjāb, in addition to his grant of Kābul, and he was allowed to remain in possession of these wide and potential lands. In 1533 there were rebellions of the 'mīrzās.' By 1535 Gujrat had been overrun, and in 1537 was lost. Years of indifference fostered the growth of Shīr Shāh Afghān's power, and there were campaigns against him in Bengal, which began well and ended ill. There was growing indignation against Humāyūn's character and private life, and this culminated in the attempt to set him aside for Hindāl in 1539. Through months of indolence and folly, he dropped oil on his own descending wheels, and practically abdicated the throne; finally, there were the crushing reverses of Chausa on June 27th, 1539, and of Kanauj on May 17th, 1540. Then came the flight of the Timūrids to Lāhōr, and their exodus from the lands that had been theirs east of the Indus.

Māham was spared the worst of these misfortunes; she died before Hindāl's marriage, which Jauhar places in 1537. Her son had certainly addicted himself to drugs before her death, but his worst lapses into sloth followed it, and it was after 1537 that the pace of his descent became rapid. Much can be learned from our princess of the reaction of outside events on the inner circle, and she gives details which could only be gathered in that circle. This is particularly so as to Hindāl's rebellion and the
home conference about it, and about the murder in his name, but not by his act, of Humāyūn’s favourite, Shaikh Bahlūl. Gul-badan, like the good sister she was, makes excuses for her brother, and those who have not her bias of affection, can add others and stronger. Hindāl was nineteen, a good and successful young general; he was supported by men of rank and age, some of whom had come from Gaur, and had seen Humāyūn’s army perishing in that sink of fever and corruption, and Humāyūn buried within its walls. There was no ruler in Hindūstān; Shīr Shāh was between Humāyūn and the capital. The ‘mīrzās’ were lifting up their heads again, and a chief was needed. Hindāl was perhaps always the best of Bābar’s sons in character, and certainly so when Humāyūn had become the changeling of opium. He had the Friday prayer (khutba) read in his own name; and on his behalf, Nūru-d-din Muḥammad, a son-in-law of Bābar and grandson of Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqrā, murdered Shaikh Bahlūl. The motive of the crime appears to have been desire to place the death as an impassable barrier between the royal brothers.

The news of Hindāl’s rebellion stirred Humāyūn to move from Gaur. His march to Agra was broken off tragically by the rout at Chausa, where he lost 8,000 of his best Türkī troops by sword or river. Here Ma’ṣūma was widowed, and here a terrible blank was made in the royal household by the loss of several women. Bega’s (Ḥāji Begam) capture is known to all the histories, and so, too, is her return to Humāyūn. Shīr Shāh promised safety to all women found in the camp, and there is no reason to doubt that he did his best for them. But there had been fighting round their tents before his guards arrived, and some of Humāyūn’s amīrs had perished in trying to defend them. It came about that there were losses of women and of children as to whose fate no word was ever heard again. Amongst them was ‘Āyisha Bāyqrā, the wife of Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān Mirzā. The next name in our begam’s list takes us far back. It is that of Bachaka, a head-woman servant (khalīfa), and one such and so
named had escaped from Samarqand with Babar's mother in 1501. The one lost at Chausa had been a servant in Babar's household, and may have been she of the memorable siege. Next are named two children, a foster-child and Bega's 'Aqīqa of six years old. Two of Humāyūn's wives of low degree also disappeared.

When Humāyūn had been rescued from the river by a lowly water-carrier, he made way to Agra, and there had a conversation with Gul-badan about the loss of 'Aqīqa. The princess was then seventeen years old, and a comment of his, which she sets down, lets it be known that she is now a married woman. Humāyūn told her he did not recognise her at first, because when he went away with the army (1537) she wore the tāq, and now wears the lachak. The tāq is a cap, and the lachak,—a wife's coiffure—is a kerchief folded crossways, tied under the chin by two corners, and capable of much more elaboration and ornament than this simple description would lead one to suppose. This is Gul-badan's nearest approach to informing her readers of her marriage, and she never mentions her husband as such. He was her second cousin, Khizr Khwāja Khān, Chaghataï Mughal, and of the line of the Great Khāns. His father was Aiman Khwāja, and his mother a cousin of Ḥайдār Mīrzā Dughlāt. One ancestor was that Yūnas whose fate as a chief of nomads was in such entertaining contrast to his taste as a lover of cities and books. Khizr had many other noteworthy kinsfolk, but to tell of them would lead too far afield. It is useful, however, to say that Gul-rang and Gul-chihra had married two of his uncles, and that his brother Yasin (Hasan or Ais)-daulat, the Fair Sultān, became the husband of Kāmrān's Ḥabiba. He had two other brothers in India, namely, Mahdi and Maṣʻūd. Their father and one at least of them came from Kāshghar to Agra just after the death of Bābar.

Shortly after this interview Humāyūn took the field against Shir Shāh, and Kāmrān, deserting his post, left Agra and led off his 12,000 troopers towards Lāhōr. Under
his escort went an immense convoy of women and helpless people, and he wished to take Gul-badan also. She was extremely unwilling to go and only partially resigned herself when she saw that it was Humāyūn’s will. She bewailed herself as parting from those with whom she had grown up, and no uninitiated reader could guess that she was going with her father’s son. She was a clever and attractive girl whose society was welcome to all her brothers, but in Kāmrān’s wish to take her now there is something more. It is possible that he who liked her, thought of her safety; it is probable that, as he had attached two of her husband’s brothers, Yāsin-daulat and Mahdī, and perhaps the third, Masʿūd, he desired to have Khīzr too. Gul-badan’s departure from the home circle was perhaps her first adventure into the foreign world as a married woman. By going when she did and under the escort of Kāmrān’s strong force, she was spared a terrible journey which her mother and the rest of the royal party made under care of Hindāl, with foes in front and behind, and at great peril.

There now followed that amazing battle at Kanauj, in which 40,000 men in armour fled, without a gun fired, before 10,000. Here again, as at Chausa, the deaths in the river were appalling, and here again the Emperor was saved by a lowly man. Again the remnant made its way to Āgra; but, says Ḫaidar, ‘we made no tarry; broken and dispirited, in a state heart-rending to tell, we went on to Lāhūr.’ Their road took them to Sikrī, of which the memories and witness to Bābar’s genius for living must have rubbed salt into the wounds of their spirit. Many ladies had remained in Āgra, and Humāyūn spoke to Hindāl of the difficulty of getting them safe to Lāhūr, and confessed that he had often regretted not killing ‘Āqīqa with his own hand. Hindāl combated the suggestion, born of defeat, that a mother and sisters should be killed, and himself fought his way through country folk and Afghāns, and convoyed them safe to Lāhūr.

Here was a mighty gathering of Tīmūrids and their
following, and five months slipped by in uncertain counsels and fruitless talk. The four brothers met often to discuss plans, and it seems that the emptiness of this in practical result lay in what was in the mind of Kāmrān and made him object to every course proposed. He wished to make terms for himself with the daily approaching victor, and to keep Lāhōr and the Panjāb; but if this could not be, he meant to hold fast to Kābul and keep Humāyūn out of it. The fief of Kābul had been granted to him by Humāyūn; Humāyūn therefore could resume it. That he now do so was Kāmrān's expectation; so, when Humāyūn proposed to go to Badakhshān, Kāmrān would not hear of it, because the road thither lay through Kābul, and once in that beloved city, it was highly improbable that Humāyūn would move further.

On October 30th, 1540, something decisive had to be done, for Shīr Shāh had crossed the Biah and might appear at any hour. 'It was like the Day of Resurrection,' says our princess; the confusion was extreme, and, like the simile, impossible for us to realize. It has been said that 200,000 souls left Lāhōr in flight on that day; an overtax of all resources of transport.

Happily for the fugitives, the Rāvī was fordable, but the Chanāb required boats and the Jehlam was in flood. Many episodes unfolded themselves in the duab of the Rāvī and Chanāb. Ḥaider Mirzā took his departure for Kashmir, hoping to secure in it a royal retreat; Hindāl and Yādgārnāsīr deserted and went south for Multān; Humāyūn was urged to put further mischief out of Kāmrān's power by his death; he refused,—a refusal which would be upheld in the haram, ever faithful to the injunctions of Bābar, and knowing these better than the real risks caused by Kāmrān's disloyalty. Penetrating everything was the irritation aroused by Kāmrān's opposition to the royal march for Kābul,—irritation which diffused itself and barely missed a sequel of bloodshed.

The depression and gloom of the men who were the responsible leaders of the fugitive mob must have been
deep and painful; but what was in the minds of their dependents,—the ordinary troopers, the helpless women, the comfortless children, and the camp-followers?

There were many striking scenes in the lives of Bābar and Humāyūn, but none more dramatic than that in which the latter's flight through the Panjāb ended. A little west of the Jhelam, at Khushāb, the road runs through a ravine of an outlying spur of the Salt Range. Beyond this it forks, north-west for Kābul and south-west for Sind. Kāmrān asserted his intention to enter the defile first, perhaps with the object of closing the Kābul road. Humāyūn insisted on his right to take precedence, and blows threatened between their followers. Mediation was made by Abū'l-baqā, the man who had led Bābar to offer himself for his son in 1530. He directed Humāyūn's attention to the superior force of Kāmrān, and he told Kāmrān that it was the right of Humāyūn to take precedence. In the end Humāyūn marched first and took the southern road. At the fork of the ways each commander and many a man must have made or confirmed his choice between the brothers. And so the mighty caravan split itself, and followed Kāmrān and 'Askari or Humāyūn.

With the Kābul section many women went to the safer asylum. They had no choice to make where the roads parted, but those of them who saw their litters turn southwards and themselves carried by a strange road, of which they knew that it took them from the old home in Kābul, must have had some bitter feelings about their destiny. I believe Gul-badan went with Kāmrān. She does not say so, but it comes out with tolerable clearness incidentally. Her mother, Dil-dār, had gone with Hindāl to Multān, and with her was Ḥamīda-bānū, Akbar's mother to be. Khânzāda seems to have gone with Humāyūn, for her niece mentions her later as an ambassador from him in Sind to Qandahār. No other writer speaks of this embassy, I think; but most tell of her other, made later from Kābul to Qandahār in the service of peace between Kāmrān and
Humayun, after the latter had returned from his Persian exile (1545).

Khizr is not mentioned as with Humayun in the desert wanderings, but he was in Qandahar with 'Askari in 1545. On the occasion of her reunion with Humayun in Kabul, in 1545, Gul-badan says that there had been a 'toil and moil of separation' lasting five years. The lustrum points to a farewell said at the Jhelam. One thing makes for her having gone with the royal party, and this is her lively account of what befell it; but she is equally lively about Persia; where she certainly did not go. She had excellent opportunity of hearing what went on in Sind because she met her mother again in 1543, after she had come to Kabul from Qandahar. She also met Hamida in 1545, and could hear from her not only about her wedding, concerning which she has such an excellent passage, but also about her visit to Persia. There was ample and easy opportunity for the two old companions to talk over the past and to refresh their memories when the book was being written in and after 1587 and when they were comfortably installed as the beloved and respected 'Beneficent Ladies' of Akbar. Moreover, Gul-badan has a note of acknowledgment to Khwaja Kisik for help derived from his writings, as to the early part of the royal wanderings. There is therefore nothing to contradict the probability that she continued under Kamran's protection from 1540, the date of her unwilling departure from Agra, till 1545, when Humayun took Kabul.

During the lustrum in which she did not see Humayun, his adventures were too many and too remarkable for abbreviation in these pages. Mr. Erskine has told them with evident enjoyment, and Gul-badan supplements his narrative with some material he did not use; it may be interjected here that he had no knowledge of her book. For most of the period of the exile in Sind and Persia, Hamida was a good authority, and more than once Gul-badan has prefaced a statement with 'Hamida-banu Begam says.' She was one in the cruel desert march to Umarkot; it will have been from her that the princess heard that
Akbar's birthplace was a beautiful spot where food was very cheap; she was one of the little band which fled from Quetta; she shared the qualified hospitality of the Persian king, and, it should be said, reproduced only a sense of good treatment by him; and she came back to Qandahār with his auxiliary army.

In Kābul Gul-badan did not want for old friends and kinswomen. She had her own home occupations and her children to look after; of these, though she names one only, Saʿādat-yār, she may have had several; but there is no definite statement as to which of Khizr's children were also hers. She was not unkindly treated by Kāmrān, as were the other royal ladies whom he turned out of their usual homes and exploited in purse. Indeed, he wished to regard her as one of his own family and to distinguish between her and her mother; but of this she would not hear.

In 1543 she had again the society of Hindal who, after losing Qandahār to Kāmrān, came as a prisoner upon parole to Kābul and his mother's house. The movements of Humāyūn were made known from Sind to Kābul with speed and completeness, and the news was acted on to Humāyūn's great detriment. There were domestic reasons why Shāh Husain Arghūn should not be well disposed to Humāyūn, besides the substantial one of the latter's entry and long occupation of his country. Of the more intimate causes of ill-will one was inherited; Bābar had dispossessed the Arghūns from both Kābul and Qandahār, and not only so, but had given in marriage to his foster-brother Qāsim an Arghūn girl, Māh-chūchak, daughter of Muqīm Mīrzā. This was a great offence, because it was a misalliance in Arghūn eyes and because it was enforced and the bride was spoil of battle. The story of her anger and of her rebellion at her fate is delightfully told by Mr. Erskine, and to his pages readers may be safely referred for the sequel of my brief allusion to it.

When Qāsim kūka died, Māh-chūchak married her cousin, Shāh Husain, and she was with him during Humāyūn's miserable stay in Sind.
Another cause of friction lay in the presence of a former wife of Husain with Humāyūn’s household. In 1524 Husain had allied himself with Khalīfa’s family by marrying his daughter Gul-barg. As the fact adds to the domestic complication, it may be mentioned that at the same time Husain’s stepdaughter, Nāhīd, the child of Qāsim and Māh-chūchak, married Khalīfa’s son, Muḥibb-ʿalī. Husain and Gul-barg (Rose-leaf) did not get on well, and she left him after what Mir Ma’sūm calls two years of wedded life. She then, says the same author, went to India with Jannat-āshyānī (Humāyūn) ‘previous to the fitrat.’ This last word is frequently used of the rout at Chausa in 1539, but the next nearest catastrophe to which it would apply after 1524 is the death of Babar, because Gul-barg is named by Gul-badan in Humāyūn’s household shortly after his accession. She was with him in Sind in 1541 onwards, and so, too, was Sultānam, who was perhaps her mother, and both were unlikely to make the best of Shāh Husain to Humāyūn.

In 1545 Kābul heard that Humāyūn was on his way back from Persia with the Shāh’s army behind him. A first result of this was to bring the little Akbar within reach of Khānẓāda and to her charge. All the histories tell of his wintry journey from Qandahār taken with Bakhshī-bānū, the one being under three and the other about four. Their coming adds a touch of tenderness to the historic Khānẓāda, who paces through the histories sad and wise and trusted. She kissed the baby feet and hands of Akbar, and declared they were the very hands and feet of Bābar, and that he was like him altogether. Her first marriage with Shaʿbānī had been made to save Bābar from captivity or death. She was divorced because suspected of leaning to his side when his interests conflicted with her husband’s, and she had been restored to him (1511) when she was about thirty-

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1 The presence of Sultānam here, and a royal permission allowed to her to go to Makkā and take her daughter also, gives the impression that Khalīfa is dead.
three years old.¹ To the reader’s fancy she wears a mourning garb; she is mentioned with deference, and is a dignified figure in the turmoil of her day. Her third marriage,—she was doubly widowed at Merv,—takes an impersonal colour, as an alliance which her age, story and loss of her only son make seem rather one contracted to confer honour and afford her a safe home, than on any ground of personal affection. She bore Mahdī no child; she adopted his sister Sulṭānam at the age of two, and reared her to become the wife of Hindāl.

By March 21st Humāyūn was besieging Qandahār, and he then sent an envoy to Kābul, who would be a welcome guest as teller of the events since Humāyūn had left Quetta in 1543. This was Bairām Khān Bahārlū, and with him went Bāyazīd biyāt. Bairām saw Akbar, and could take back to Ḥamīda news of his welfare; and also a number of princes who were kept in Kābul under Kāmrān’s eye. These were Hindāl, Yadgār-nāṣir, some of the ‘mīrzās,’ Sulaimān, Ḥaram and Ibrāhīm.

Bairām spent six weeks waiting till Kāmrān should choose his course now that he knew his brother was the stronger; and when he left the city, he was accompanied by Khānzāda, charged to mollify Humāyūn and smooth the way for ‘Askarī when the latter should submit. She went into Qandahār, but her presence did not bring about the immediate surrender, and the weary siege carried on its burden of suffering. Many of the amīrs of the defence began to slip away; the two Khīzrs, Hazāra and Chaghataī, dropped themselves over the wall. The first got away to the mountains with adventures which fit a Highland setting; the second sought Humāyūn and obtained forgiveness.

Qandahār was surrendered on September 3rd, and ‘Askarī and his amīrs came out with swords hung round their

¹ The date of her return by Shāh Isma‘īl to Bābar in 1511 falls in one of the long gaps (eleven years) of the Memoirs. This covers also, it is probable, Bābar’s first association with Mahdī and the latter’s marriage with Khānzāda.
necks, and some having winding-sheets in their hands. He was forgiven, and a feast with wine and talk and music sped the night away. While 'Askari was gay with the rest, someone laid before him his own letters to the Biluchi chiefs of whom Gul-badan tells, urging them to capture Humayun when he was in flight from Quetta. This was Humayun's revenge.

Meantime Kāmrān was in singular isolation in Kābul. He heard of the fall of Qandahār, of the move of the royal army for Kābul, of the death of the travel-worn Khānzāda, and of the escape of some of his princely détenus. He was depressed and irritable. He sent troops out to meet Humayun, but there was no fighting, and he fled by way of Ghaznī to Sind. Then came the end of the 'toil and moil' of separation, and Gul-badan met her brother again after five years, on November 15th, 1545. For awhile there was peace and festivity in Kābul. Ḥamīda followed the army in the spring; she had now a second child, a girl, born in Persia, and she took possession once more of her first-born. Humayun wished to see if Akbar, whom his mother had had to desert at Quetta when he was fourteen months old, would remember her now. He had him taken into a room in which a number of ladies had assembled and seated him on the masnad. The child recognized Ḥamīda, and made his way to her arms. Abū'l-fazl, who tells the story, gives all the credit of the recognition to the boy; but to those not dazzled by the light in which Akbar lived for his historian, it seems extremely probable that the child had some help from the smile which he had known as one of the first happy things of life.

In the spring, too, Humayun set out on a campaign in Badakhshān. He sent word back to the governor of Kābul, Uncle Muḥammad 'Ali, that he was to strangle Yādgār-nāṣir, who had been tried and condemned to death for treachery. The khwāja declined the office. 'How should I kill the mirzā, I who have never killed a sparrow?'. This uncle (tughāt) seems a mild man for his post. Another
executioner was found, and the mîrzâ 'was relieved of the pains of existence.'

Humâyûn took 'Askârî with him as a precautionary measure. Of the ladies, Mâh-chûchakh went, and in attendance, Bîbî Fâtimâ, the chief armed woman of his haram and mother of Zuhra, whom Hâmîdâ's brother was to marry and murder. Near Khishm Humâyûn fell alarmingly ill and lay unconscious for four days. He had nurses at hand whose excellence is attested by the annals, and it adds life to the scene to know that the long watch over the unconscious man was broken by his opening his eyes just when Mâh-chûchakh was dropping pomegranate-juice into his mouth. He recovered, but it was a perilous time for him and his supremacy, and had a bad sequel.

News of the illness went to Sind, and Kâmrân, reinforced by his father-in-law, Hûsain, hurried up and seized Kâbul. Winter was at its depth on the passes, and the amîrs with the royal force were anxious to get back to protect their families. They had premonitions that he would take the city again, and many slipped away in small parties and went to Kâbul, where they found all their anticipations and dread justified. It does not seem right to stigmatize their leaving Humâyûn as traitorous; they had their own people to save, and this might be done by slight show of submission to Kâmrân. No one can consider Humâyûn a man who had claim to fidelity when the lives and honour of wives and children were in the balance. Indeed, to have left Kâbul under the charge of Muḥammad 'Alî was to court disaster, and to make reasonable a good deal of independence of action in those whose unarmed people he could not protect.

Every fear of the amîrs was justified. On his northward march Kâmrân passed through Ghazni, where Zahîd Beg was governor. He it was who when offered a Bengal appointment in 1538, had asked Humâyûn if he could not find another place to kill him in. He had not waited for a reply, but had left Bengal, and helped Hindâl to rebel in Ìgra. Kâmrân now answered his question in Ghazni, and after this murder hurried off towards Kâbul. 'It was
morning, and the Kābulīs were off their guard, and grass-cutters and water-carriers were going in and out as usual. Mirzā Kāmrān went in with all these common people.' So speaks the princess. The gentle-hearted governor was at the hamām, and was brought before Kāmrān, without time given to dress, and there and then sabred. The list of other cruelties and murders is too terrible reading for these pages, and the ensuing siege was full of barbarous acts. Humāyūn crossed the passes as soon as it was practicable, and sat down to take the city. When Kāmrān saw at length that he could not hold it, he escaped through a hole fashioned in the wall, got through the trenches and away to the mountains. Some say Hindāl let him pass the royal lines; others that Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān kūka overtook him later (so destitute that he was being carried by a man), and that Kāmrān appealed to their milk-brotherhood and was allowed to go free. He then joined his hereditary foes, the Uzbegs.

In 1548 Humāyūn entered upon a campaign in Badakhshan which yielded interesting personal matters, such as this rivulet of the great stream of affairs can convey. He left Kābul on June 12th, and Ḥamīda bore him company with Akbar as far as Gul-bihār. As governor this time a soldier, and a man enraged against Kāmrān, was left in charge of Kābul. The campaign culminated in the capture of Tāliqān, which was made over on August 17th by Kāmrān, who was allowed to go to the refuge of all whose presence was undesired at home, Makka. Piety had no part in Kāmrān's intention to betake himself to the holy city, and when he had heard, with incredulous ears, that Humāyūn was meting out mercy without justice to the revolted amirs he had captured, he took heart and himself asked forgiveness. It is almost incredible, and would be quite so if one did not know Humāyūn, that he was received with kettle-drums, trumpets, tears and pardon. Certainly Humāyūn never deprived himself of the luxury of tears and the loose rein on his feelings. So wonderful was the following scene that Mr. Erskine's words shall tell
When Kāmrān approached the Emperor, who was sitting in state in the pavilion of public audience, he took a whip from the girdle of Mu'nim Khān, who stood by, and passing it round his neck, presented himself as a criminal. "Alas, alas!" exclaimed the Emperor, "there is no need of this; throw it away." The mīrzā made three obeisances, according to the usual etiquette of the Court, after which the Emperor gave him the formal embrace and commanded him to be seated. Kāmrān began to make excuses for his past conduct and to express his regret. "What is past is past," said the Emperor. "Thus far we have conformed to ceremony; let us now meet as brothers." They then rose and clasped each other to their breasts in the most affectionate manner, and both burst into tears, sobbing aloud, so as to affect all present. Humāyūn, on resuming his seat, desired his brother to sit next to him on the left, the place of honour, adding kindly in Türkī, the language of the family, "Sit close to me." A cup of sherbet was brought, of which the Emperor, having drunk one half, handed it to his brother, who drank the other. A grand entertainment followed, at which the four brothers (also Sulaimān), who now met for the first time after a long separation, sat on the same carpet and dined, or, to use the words of the historian, ate salt together. The festival was prolonged for two days in the midst of universal rejoicing. As Kāmrān, from the rapidity and hurried nature of his return, had left his tents behind him on the road, the Emperor ordered a set to be pitched close to his own, and, at his desire, consented to 'Askari's going to stay with him.'

For this historic feast Gul-badan has provided a hors d'oeuvre in shape of a story of improper conduct in Sulaimān which, if it expressed derision, as her vague wording does not forbid to be read, was fully justified by both what had been and what was to come. It is a very funny little tale, and readers are commended to it.

To tears and professions were added lands and freedom. Kāmrān received Kūláb, where Haram Begam's father had
once ruled for Bābar and Humāyūn. He was now dead, and his son, Chakr 'Alī, was left with Kāmrān there. The mirza was not pleased with his fief. 'What!' he exclaimed to the bearer of the deed of grant, 'have I not been king of Kābul and Badakhshān? Kūlāb is a mere district of Badakhshān. How can I serve in it?' The bearer observed that he had heard Kāmrān was wise, and begged permission to remind him that the wonder was he had received anything at all. 'Askari, too, was given a fief, and then, leaving them neighbours and at large, Humāyūn went back to Kābul in October, 1548.

A campaign was planned for 1549 against the Uzbegs and Balkh. This was done despite marked instability in the royal following. Instability or, in a plainer word, desertion, was an accident to which Humāyūn was peculiarly liable. One cause of it is more interesting than the common one of personal gain, because it is rooted in theological bias. Humāyūn's coquetry with Shiism in Persia is one of the most entertaining of the episodes of his sojourn there, and it had consequences in arousing distrust of him, which cropped up from time to time. Bābar himself had lost ground because of his tolerance to variety of faith. But to this, both in the father and still more in the son, were added, as causes of desertion, the flux and reflux of weak government which forbid men to know who will keep the upper hand and have power to oppress.

To return to the Balkh campaign: spring was waited for and there was delay for men. Spring came, and the minds of the ladies turned to thoughts of excursions out of town. They remarked more than once to Humāyūn that the riwāj would be coming up in the hills. This is a plant of subacid flavour which some say is like sorrel and some like rhubarb. It was, at least, a plant that people made excursions to eat, much as others go blackberrying. To these hints for change, the royal reply was that the army was going out; that it would pass by the Koh-i-dāman (which is renowned for its riwāj); and that the ladies should go too. Gul-badan must not be deprived of
her story of the picnic, which illuminates the domestic ways of the court. The ladies went so far as to see the waterfall at Farza, and perhaps even to Istalif, twenty miles north of Kabul, and then returned.

There had been bad omens for the start and there followed plenty of bad news from the front to fix attention on them. Kamran broke his promise to come to Humayun's help. Gul-chihra's second husband, an Uzbeg prince, ran away when he came to know that the army was directed against his people. There was an extraordinary retreat without an enemy, and of which the cause seems to have been fear that, as Kamran was not there, he was oppressing Kabul. Humayun was left almost alone, and the Uzbegs attacked and killed many fugitives. His horse was wounded and the whole affair was a fiasco. After all, too, when Kabul was reached, there had been no sign of Kamran.

It was the expected that Kamran should not keep his word, but perhaps the unexpected was behind his conduct on the occasion of the Balkh campaign. Sulaiman and Ibrahim were with Humayun, and their presence might well have kept him away, for Gul-badan tells of an incident in which the three men had part and which did not make them good company for one another. It is a bit of scandal to which Haram adds salt and vitality. It is repeated here because some little points do not quite stand clear in the begam's wording. While Kamran was in Kulab—i.e., his last holding,—someone, who from her name of Tarkhan Begam must have been a woman of good birth, advised him to make love to Haram Begam. Good, she said, would come of it. So Kamran sent a go-between with a letter and a kerchief to Haram, who, furiously angry, at once summoned husband and son from wherever they were away from home, and told them of the advances made to her. She railed at Sulaiman, saying that it was clear he was thought a coward, and further observed that Kamran feared neither her nor her son. Much was packed in the pronoun here; there
was ground to fear the energetic and resolute woman who had the army of Badakhshān at her disposal. She was a forceful person and had the go-between torn to pieces. Kāmrān was audacious, and his advances look the more so that Ḥaram's sister was his wife; but they may have been made rather to the charms of her army than to those of its commandante.

The events of 1550 sum up in Jauhar's words: 'Mīrzā Kāmrān wandered about the country with bad intentions.' In his course he surprised Ḥumāyūn in the Qibchāq defile, and an engagement took place which was attended by great loss of life. It was witnessed by Kāmrān's wives and daughters from a commanding height. Bāyazīd mentions that the ladies wore turbans (dastār-bastū), a detail which may have been suggested by the great heat of the weather. Why the women were on the scene is perhaps explained by a similar record in the Memoirs which concerns a wife of Sultān Ḥusain Bayqra. Shahr-bānū, a daughter of Sultān Abū-sa‘īd Mīrzā, was, with Ḥusain's other wives, present at a battle between her husband and her brother, Mahmūd Mīrzā. She did not, as the other ladies did, leave her litter and mount a horse, so as to be ready for flight if necessary, but trusting to her brother, in the case of her husband's defeat, remained comfortably in her litter while the fight went on. This dispassionate composure so much offended Ḥusain that he divorced her. Perhaps Kāmrān's family, too, had prepared for whatever was to be their fate by protecting themselves against the sun and by being ready to mount.

In this encounter Ḥumāyūn was badly wounded. Gubādan was able to hear the details of the misadventure, because Khizr Khwāja was with her brother and, it may be said, fighting against his own, Yasin-daulat. Khizr and Mīr Sayyid Birka Tīrmīzī helped to hold the wounded man up on an ambling pony when he could not sit his horse, and so they led him out of the fray, sustaining his courage as they went by tales of other princes who had come through plights as bad. The wound was on the head,
and was like one of Bābar's in that it was given through a covering turban and this was uninjured. The pain was great and caused faintness. Humāyūn took off his quilted coat and gave it to a servant. The man finding its weight an encumbrance, left it lying; it was taken to Kāmrān, who posted off with it to Kābul, showed it as evidence of death, and once more took possession of the unfortunate city.

Jauhar has quaint stories of the destitution in which Humāyūn now was, with his camp equipage lost and deprived of all necessaries. He was helped along through the night, cold and weakened, and in the morning was placed in safety by the arrival of a body of reliable troopers under Ḥājī Muhammad kūkā. He warmed himself in the sun, washed his wound, said his prayer kneeling on a scarlet stool, and borrowed a coat from a servant to replace his own, which was blood-stained. Then came an old woman of the place and offered him a pair of silk trousers, that he might discard his blood-stained ones. He accepted, while saying they were not fit for a man's wear, and remitted her taxes for life. This was drawing well in anticipation of the time when his account in those regions would stand to his credit.

It is said that while he sat with his face still to the ḡibla one of his followers, Sultān Muḥammad qarāvāl, performed again for him the rite his father had observed, and expressed his willingness to die for him. Humāyūn spoke reassuring words and comforted his faithful sacrifice.

For nearly three months Kābul believed Humāyūn dead. These words cover much feeling, sad and joyful; but there is no one to tell the truth and say whether it was thought by some to offer better hope of peace that Humāyūn should be dead. There was always a large following of powerful officers ready to join Kāmrān, and one cannot suppose their changes in allegiance mere folly and fickleness. But no courtly author has told Kāmrān's side of the whole matter, nor his view of his own position.

With Kābul Akbar came again into his uncle's hands.
He was kept safe through all the vicissitudes of his father’s career, and was well cared for both by Kāmrān and by ‘Askari. It has been said that on one occasion Kāmrān exposed him on the battlements of Kābul to his father’s guns, and this charge finds support from our princess. She however, it may be observed, makes no mention of the act attributed by some writers to Māham anaga, of interposing her own body to shield the child; indeed, she never once mentions this latterly influential woman. But this incident notwithstanding, it must be admitted that the boy was well treated. ‘Askari’s wife, who took charge of him after his capture at Quetta, is said to have been most kind to him. He was entrusted by Kāmrān to Khānžāda, itself an act of surety and kindness. Again and again he fell into his uncle’s hands when Kāmrān was exasperated by foiled attempts to keep Kābul, and yet he survived. Kāmrān had a son; it would have surprised no one to learn that, as complement to his effort to oust Humāyūn from his higher place, he had killed Akbar to give his own son more chance. In this there is what fixes attention in the same way that it is fixed by Gul-badan’s record of Kāmrān’s anxiety to obtain from the elder ladies of his house sanction to have the khutba read in his name. It was in his power to have himself proclaimed ruler in Kābul, but he discussed his wish to be so proclaimed with the other members of the royal family before he did it, and the discussion was prolonged, and referred from Dil-dār to the greatest of the ladies, Khānžāda. In both these points there is something which, if better known, might mitigate the sweeping judgment usually passed upon Kāmrān as altogether wrong in all his doings.

Humāyūn spent some time in Ander-āb while his wound was healing and his army gathering, and here Ḥaram comes again upon the scene. Where Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm were, is not quite clear, but it was to Ḥaram a message went asking her for the army of Badakhshān. It was to come as quickly as possible, and fully equipped. It took the energetic woman only a few days to put some thousands of
men in the field. It was she, says our princess, who did it all, took thought, and overlooked everything. Then she led the men to 'the pass,'—amongst so many possible, one cannot fix on which,—and having done her work, went home. It seems probable that Sulaimān and Ibrahim were already with Humayūn, and that Haram despatched a supplementary force. The battle in which it was to engage was that important fight at Ushtur-grām which Humayūn tried hard to prevent by previous mediation, and which was forced on by Kamrān's chief officer, Qarācha Khān.

There was much previous discussion as to terms of peace, but Kamrān and Qarācha would have nothing less than Kābul. A second embassy offered alliance of the 'unique pearl of the khalifat,' Akbar, with the mīrza's 'dear daughter' (who may be 'Āyisha), and that Kābul should be theirs; and suggested that Humayūn and Kamrān should join forces and again attack Hindūstān. All came to nothing, because Qarācha cried, and enforced his cry, 'Our heads or Kābul.' The battle that followed was a complete success for the royal arms, and to add to its good results, Akbar, of whose safety there had been doubt, was brought to Humayūn's camp. His father vowed charitable gifts for his restoration, and also that he would never part from him again.

A pleasant chance befell Humayūn on the stricken field, for when he had claimed, as his share of booty, two driverless camels, he found in their loads his own books which he had lost at the Qibchāq defile. Many would be MSS. of the Persian poets; Babar knew these well and often quotes the Gulistān; and Humayūn was too much of a dilettante and verse-lover not to have made himself familiar with their round.

Happily the tale of the doings of Kamrān is drawing to a close. He made a night attack, by which Hindāl lost his life, on the royal forces on November 20th, 1551; sued for help in vain from Sālim Shāh, the Emperor of Hindūstān; from Adam Ghakkar, and was surrendered by him to Humayūn; was blinded by the insistence of the
amīrs on August 17, 1553, and allowed to go to Makka. He was accompanied, as all the writers tell, by his Arghūn wife Māh-chūchak, and by her equal in compassion, a servant of Humāyūn, Chilma Beg. He made the haj four times and he died on October 5th, 1557. Māh-chūchak survived him seven months. She only of his wives is commemorated as accompanying him to Makka, but I see no reason why others may not also be accepted as equally faithful. Her father opposed her going, and she roundly upheld her view of her duty and has been taken into the texture of history, but her co-wives may have gone unopposed and unpraised. How interesting Kāmrān might have made a book of Memoirs in which he set down his life from his own point of view, his motives, ambitions, opinions of right and wrong, and above all, if he had spoken his inner mind about the religious duties he was enabled to perform before death, through his defeat and mutilation! We do not know all the truth about him; certain crimes, of murder and of treachery after promise given, could never be palliated, but in the matter of possession of Kābul there may be much brought forward which would place him rather in the position of the defender of rights than their assailant. He had no courtly chronicler, and has borne the blame of much that could plausibly be traced back to Humāyūn's own defects and their outcome of opportunity.

To end the story of the faithful brothers;—'Askari too received leave to go to Makka from Badakshān in 1551; he died between that city and Damascus in 1558. Both he and Kāmrān thus lived long enough to see their house triumph again in India and their weary thwartings of its elder branch set at naught by the firmer hands of Akbar's chiefs. Of 'Askari one clear characteristic only comes out: he was true to the blood-tie with his mother's son and own senior, Kāmrān.

A little return must now be made, in order to bring up the tale of home events to the date of those military. In 1551 the first marriage of the younger generation was arranged by the betrothal of Bakhshi-bānū to Ibrāhīm, son
of Haram. The Badakhshi trio had certainly deserved well of Humāyûn and, while doing the best they could to strengthen their own position, had given him efficient help. It is good to tell all that is known of Haram. She seems to have had several daughters who played a part in public events as seals of alliance. When Humāyûn had passed a short time of repose in Kâbul after his victory of Ushtur-gram, he sent to Haram to ask Shâhzâda Khânânam, one of these girls, in marriage for himself. His envoys were two persons whom Haram did not consider worthy of their office. They were members of the royal household, and trusted members too, for one was Khwâja Jalâlu-d-dîn Mahmûd, mîr sâmân,1 who, on Akbar’s accession, was made commander of 2,500; and the other was Bibî Fâţîma, whom we know as having helped to nurse Humāyûn in his illness of 1546.

Haram, the dominant partner in the command of Badakhshân, mother of a girl in whose veins was reputed to flow the blood of Alexander and of Timûr, daughter of a tribal chief, and conscious of intrinsic claim to deference, inquired of the two lowly messengers why no begam or lady (aghâcha) had come to prefer the royal request. She must have known that Humāyûn could not mean to affront her; he had just given his daughter to her son and had testified gratitude for help in substantial ways to Sulaimân at the same time. She allowed herself to be mollified on condition that he himself should come to fetch his bride. The wedding does not seem to have taken place and the alliance was handed on to the next generation, in which, besides Ibrâhîm’s, there was a betrothal of Muḥammad Hakîm to a daughter of Haram.

While speaking of Haram and the alliances of her family with the royal house, there may be named a highhanded act about another quasi-royal marriage. One of

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1 This title is sometimes rendered 'butler,' but this is misleading, and a word not linked in English with intoxicants would be better. Jalâlu-d-dîn it was who led Humāyûn to give up the use of drugs, unfortunately late in life, by a gentle and forcible reproach.
Kāmrān's wives was Muhtarīma Khānam Chaghatāi, and on his death Sulaimān wished to marry her. Of her as co-wife, Haram would not hear, and contrived to make her a daughter-in-law by marrying her to Ibrāhīm.

The death of Hindāl in the night attack of Kāmrān, on November 20th, 1551, was a heavy blow to Gul-badan. She writes of it with feeling, and casts light on the question of rank in the affections of a Musalmān wife. She asks why her son or her husband was not killed rather than her brother. Perhaps she spoke out of feeling born of the fact that no dead father's son can be replaced, and from the deeps of family affection. Dutiful and admirable as were many of the wives of this time, the tie between the husband and a wife can never be so close as it is where the husband's affection is never a divisible factor in the household. Gul-badan shows that Musalmānī affection centred on those of the same blood.

The royal ladies must have felt it hard when, after having mourned Humāyūn through Kāmrān for nearly three months, Hindāl was killed. This happened near Khizr Khwāja's fief of Jui-shāhī, which explains why the body was sent there for burial and entrusted to the khwāja. It was removed later to Kābul and laid at Bābar's feet. Hindāl was thirty-two years old, and left one daughter, Ruqaiya, who became the first wife of Akbar and survived him, a childless woman, to the age of eighty-four.

Unfortunately for her readers, our begam's book ends abruptly (just after she has mentioned the blinding of Kāmrān,) in the only MS. of which we have knowledge, i.e., that belonging to the British Museum. The missing pages are a real loss. The narrative breaks off some three years before Akbar's accession, and for the future the best authority on our topics is silent. There is no occurrence of her own name in the histories until she goes to India in the first year of Akbar. Much of supreme importance happened to the royal family in the interval, and this makes regret the keener for the defective MS.

Set free from the burden of his brothers, Humāyūn
determined, in 1554, to try his fortune again in Hindūstān. He left Kābul on November 15th,—a date so near that of Bābar’s start in 1525 that it looks as if both obeyed the same omen of the heavens,—and with Akbar dropped comfortably down the river from Jalālābād to Peshāwar. The course of his advance beyond the Indus can be followed in Mr. Erskine’s pages, and need not be repeated here. He was proclaimed Emperor in Dīhli on July 23rd, 1555.

A little-known episode of the time is the visit to India and the court of Sīdī ‘Alī Reis, a Turkish admiral of Sulaimān the Great, who by the exigencies of war and weather found himself obliged to travel with a few officers and fifty sailors from Sūrat to Lāhōr and thence across all the wide intervening lands to Turkey. He was welcomed by Musalmāns for his master’s sake, and he was offered appointments in India, all of which he refused. He was received with great honour by Shāh Ḥusain Ārghūn, of whom he says that he had then reigned forty years, and had become so invalided during the last five that he could not sit his horse and used only boats for travel. Elsewhere it is said of Shāh Ḥusain that he was subject to fever of such kind that he could live only on the river, and that he used to spend his time in going up and down from one extremity to the other of his territory in search of ease and health. Probably this is a detail of the admiral’s remark. He heard of Māh-chūchak (wife of Ḥusain), whom he calls Ḥaji Begam, as prisoner of ‘Īsā Tarkhān, and of her return to Ḥusain. He heard, too, something which is not supported by other writers, namely, that she poisoned Ḥusain, and that he died in consequence ten days after she rejoined him. The improbability of this story is shown by the fact that later on she conveyed Ḥusain’s body to Makka for interment, an act which would be incredible if the accusation of murder were true. Much that is interesting is told of the journey to the first place

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1 ‘Travels and Adventures of Sīdī ‘Alī Reis’; Vambéry; Luzac and Co., 1899.
where Sidi 'Ali's route brought him into contact with Humāyūn's people, i.e., Lāhūr. He arrived early in August, shortly after the Restoration (July 23rd), and there awaited royal orders, because the governor would not let him go on until the Emperor had seen him. When one tries to picture one's self without telegrams or newspapers, one judges that a kindly-disposed amir would endeavour to forward everyone who could tell a tale for the entertainment of the court. Humāyūn sent for the admiral, and had him received, in the first half of October,1 outside Dihlī by Bairām Khān-i-khānān, other great amīrs, 1,000 men, and 400 elephants. He dined with the Khān-i-khānān, and was then introduced to the presence.

As was natural, the Emperor wished to keep his guest at court permanently, if possible, and if not this, then long enough to calculate solar and lunar eclipses, their degree of latitude and exact date, and to help the court astrologers to study the sun's course and the points of the equator. What fastened interest on the Ottoman was that he learned to write verses in Chaghatāi Türkī so well that Humāyūn called him a second 'Alī Shīr Nawāt. He had a turn for chronograms, too, and at his first audience presented one of the taking of Dihlī, and made others subsequently which were admired. He was a clever man, and his literary aptitudes suited his royal host and the tone of the entourage. But he had other acquirements than those which ring well the change of words and obtained him his sobriquet of 'book-man,' and these others he used to bring about an agreement between the Emperor and his own former host,

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1 M. Vambéry makes the Emperor urge, as a reason for keeping the admiral, that they were 'now close upon' the rains. But it was October, and, moreover, Humāyūn pointed out that the rivers were in flood and roads impassable. Perhaps this is a mistake of the admiral's, but still he saw the rivers, to his cost, in going to Dihlī. Those who may read the interesting little book, for which thanks are due to M. Vambéry, need to accept it in other places also with some caution—e.g., p. 38, Sultan Mahmūd Bhākhārī is called Ḥusain Arghūn's adopted brother, and, p. 40, his father. He was a kūkā. Some of the mistakes may well be due to the difficulty of getting hold of a fact, and this especially on a journey. But cf. p. 43 n.
Sulţan Maḥmūd Bhakkarī. An official paper was drawn up, to which Humāyūn, literally, set his fist, for he dipped his clenched hand in saffron and laid it on the deed. Maḥmud was much pleased, and both he and his vizier wrote their thanks to the mediator. This incident, and others too, gave occasion for other Türkī ghazels and higher praise. Sidi 'Ali was constantly in the royal circle, and there were contests in verse-making and dilettante amusements which reveal the true and newly-risen Huma once more at ease in untranquillized India. The traveller had not much to coax court favour with in the way of gifts, and this plumed his poetic flights; when he was wearied by his detention, he carried two ghazels to the royal seal-bearer and let them plead for his departure. They were heard, and he got 'leave to go,' with gifts and passport.

His affairs were all in order for his start when there happened the fatal accident which ended Humāyūn's life. That Humāyūn should die violently was in keeping with the violent changes of his career; and that he met his death in a building of Shīr Shāh was a singular chance. His last hours of activity were filled by pleasant occupations; old friends had been seen who had just come back from Makka and would bring him news of both pilgrim brothers; letters had been read from home in Kābul; he had gone up to the roof of the Shīr Mandal, which he used as his library, and had shown himself to the crowd assembled below; then he had interested himself in the rising of Venus, with the object of fixing a propitious hour for a reception,—perhaps to include the farewell of the Turkish guest.

The Shīr Mandal is a two-storied building with flat roof in the middle of which rises a small cupola which looks like a shade from the sun. The roof is reached by two discontinuous, steep, and narrow flights of high and shallow granite steps, which are enclosed in walls and the upper one of which emerges through the roof. The Emperor on that Friday evening of January 24th, 1556, had started down the upper flight and was on its second step, when the muʿazzīn raised the cry for prayer from the neighbouring mosque. Sidi
'Ali says, as though it were some individual habit of Humāyūn, that the latter had the custom of kneeling whenever he heard the cry; other writers say that he tried to seat himself. His foot became entangled, some say in his mantle (postīn), his staff slid along the smooth step, and he fell to the bottom of the flight with severe injuries to head and arm. It is professed that a letter went after the fall from him to Akbar, but this may be a part of the well-meaning deception in which the dangerous nature of the injuries was shrouded; it would seem more probable from the admiral's account of the episode, which is silent as to any recovery of consciousness, that the injuries to the head were too severe to allow of restoration to sense. Three days later Humāyūn died, on January 27th, and in the forty-eighth year of his age.

'We come from God, and to Him we return,' and 'There is no guard against fate,' are the quoted comments of the Turkish admiral. He counselled that the death should be concealed until Akbar's return to Dihlī, and brought forward experience drawn from his own country's similar circumstances. This was done and various fictions were composed. A man personated the dead Emperor in public audience, and there were rejoicings over his recovery from the fall. Sīdī 'Alī took leave of the grandees, and conveyed the false news of Humāyūn's restoration to health in a friendly way along his route. By the time he reached Lāhōr he found that Akbar had been proclaimed, and his name read in the Friday prayers. Here, as before, the traveller had to wait for royal orders, because the governor had, or invented, useful orders for the crisis, that no one should pass to Kābul. Then he was sent to the presence in Kilānūr, where Akbar honoured his father's passport and let the harassed and home-sick man continue his journey, with money for expenses and a strong escort to Kābul.

Before bidding him good-bye on his still lengthy journey, it may be said that he and his four escorting begs and his sailors marched to Peshāwar through the night to escape that
Adam Ghakkar who had made over Kāmrān to Humāyūn; that they saw two rhinoceroses, an event which makes one wonder whether there still remained a part of the ancient lake of the plain of Peshāwar to serve as habitat for the huge and now vanished beasts; and that they crossed the many-memoried Khaibar.

In Kābul the admiral saw Humāyūn’s two sons, Muḥammad Hakīm and Farrukh-fāl, who were born in the same month of 1553, one being the child of Māh-chūchak and the other of Khānish ṣagḥā Khwārizmī. This statement is a surprise, because Bāyazīd says that Farrukh died within a few days of birth. The admiral’s information suggests an error in Bāyazīd’s MS.

Sīdī Ṣulṭān found Kabul beautiful and speaks of its snowy girdle, its gardens and its running water. He traced pleasure and merriment and feasting everywhere, and even instituted comparison between it and Paradise to the disadvantage of the latter. But he had no time for ‘frivolities,’ and thought only of hurrying home. He saw Mu’nīm Khān in the city, and being told by him that he could not cross the passes, observed that men had overcome mountains, and under the care of a local guide whose home was on the road, accomplished the feat with labour and safely. He took the road to Tāliqān and there saw our well-known friends, Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm, but he is silent as to Ḥaram. Here, too, he wrote and offered his ghazal, and was both welcomed and speeded. In Tāliqān we must leave him who has been a welcome new figure amongst familiar actors.

Section III.—Under Akbar.

Protected by the capable men who upheld Akbar, the royal ladies had not again to flee before foes or to suffer violent change of fortune. Humāyūn had planned their journey from Kabul to India. Akbar more than once in his first year of rule had to cancel the orders he had given to effect it. Three military affairs disturbed the plan,—the suppression of the revolt of Abū’l-maʿālī, the operations
against Sikandar Afghân, and the encounter with Himû at Pânipat. At length amirs were named to escort the ladies from Kâbul. The officers set out, but on their march received orders to act first against Sulaimân Mîrzâ, who, on hearing of Humâyûn's death, had come over from Badakhshan to besiege Kâbul. This was the first of a series of his attempts on the city, to which he laid fanciful claim as head of the house of Timûr after Humâyûn. The approach of the imperial troops broke up his siege, and his claim having been accommodated by reading his name once in the khutba at Kâbul, he went home and left the ladies free to start.

They made their journey in time to arrive during the first quarter of 1557 near where lay the royal camp, at Mânkot, in the western Sewâliks. The Emperor came a stage from it to meet them, and was 'much comforted by the reunion.' With Hamîda-bânû Begam, to whom, as Empress-mother, the chief place must be assigned, were Gul-badan, Gul-chihra, Hâji, and Salîma Begams. There was also a large company of officers' wives.

Perhaps the ladies remained near the camp until it broke up and went to Lâhör. It left that city on its march for Dihli on December 7th, 1557; at Jalindhar it halted, and here, with pomp and amidst general interest, Bairâm Khân-i-khânûn married Salîma Sultân Begam, a granddaughter of Bâbar. She was a half-niece of Humâyûn, and she had with Akbar cousinship of the 'four-anna' degree. Bâbar was their common ancestor, and their differing grandmothers diluted the cousinly relation.

This alliance had been arranged by Humâyûn, and the use of sipurdan by Abû'l-fażl when writing of it, shows that what was now celebrated was a marriage, and not a betrothal. This point is mentioned here because some writers fix Salîma's age at this time as five, an estimate which is not supported by known facts of her life. The bride was probably a reward for the surpassing services done by Bairâm for Humâyûn, the newest being those of the Restoration. Bairâm was a man to whom seems due the largesse
of the hand of a king's daughter; he out-topped his contemporaries by his full stature in capacity, culture, faithfulness, and character. Salīma,¹ though much his junior, was in other respects a fit wife for him. She was an educated woman; ranks amongst verse-makers so completely as to have a pen-name (takhallas), and stands out gently, by birth, character, and attainments.

Khizr Khwāja Khān had gone to Hindūstān with Humāyūn in 1554, and early in 1556 had been appointed by Akbar to the government of Lāhōr. He was left to carry on operations against Sikandar Afghān when Akbar was called away by Hīmū's movements, and he was defeated. The few words said about him give the impression that he was not a good soldier, and he is never again named in responsible command. The slight things recorded of him point to subsequent comfortable existence at court as the 'husband of the Emperor's aunt, Gul-badan Begam.' Once he made a gift of horses to Akbar; in 1563 he helped to nurse Akbar when the latter was wounded in Dihli; and there is no record of his death. He was raised to high military rank, and at some time was amīru-l-umara', but the Āīn-i-akbarī does not place him in its list of mansabdārs. He stands twelfth in the general list of the Tābaqāt, and amongst the chiefs of 5,000.

From her coming to India in 1557 to the time of her pilgrimage in 1574, our princess is not mentioned by the historians. The interval held much of deep interest to her and to others of her generation whose lives were slipping away under the safeguarding of Akbar. Some survivors of an older day, witnesses of Bairām's fidelity to Humāyūn, must have felt his downfall keenly. Hamīda can hardly have been ignorant of the intrigue which brought this about, because she was related to the chief actors in it,—Māham anaga, Adham Khān, and Shīhābu-d-dīn Aḥmad

¹ The histories have a definite statement about her descent which yet presents difficulties when looked into. Its points are considered in the Appendix, s.n. Salīma.
Nishāpūrī. The last was governor of Dihli, where she lived, and part of the scheme to separate Akbar from Bairām took him to Dihli to see her, and thus under the eye of Shihāb. Ḥamīda must have had clear in memory the truly valid services done for her husband by Bairām during the Persian exile. The plot had its nucleus in a sayyid circle and in families religious by inheritance, and it was carried out at the point of the tongue. Muḥammad Bāqī Khān kūka, the anaga’s elder son, does not appear as taking part in it. He served the Emperor till 1584, rose to be a chief of 3,000, and of his character nothing is known. His younger brother, Adham, although put to death in 1562, had become chief of 5,000. All that is said of him is bad, and he, like his mother, was fluent in detraction and did all in his power to poison the mind of Akbar against the worthiest of his amīrs.

Many comments have been made upon Māham anaga, both by the Persian writers and by their European commentators. Abū’l-fazl calls her a cupola of chastity, and it is now possible to wipe from her reputation the stain suggested by Professor Blochmann when writing of the parentage of Adham. She was wife of Nadīm Khān kūka, a faithful servant of Humāyūn. This fragment of useful information was brought to light by Mr. Beveridge, who found it in a MS. of Colonel Hanna, which may yield other valuable matter on quasi-domestic points. Māham anaga may be granted the praise she deserves as a nurse who earned the affection of Akbar to the end of her life; she is entitled to such praise as belongs to a mother who screens a son’s every fault and pushes his fortunes with all her influence. She must take the dispraise of not pushing her elder son’s as she did Adham’s. Bāyazid biyāt speaks of her as kind to him, and tells little stories which show her the centre of small affairs. I have not discerned in her any sign of talent. Whatever influence Akbar’s affection gave her would be strengthened by her connection with his mother, and perhaps, too, with other women who were descended from Āḥmad Jāmī. Amongst these was Ḥājī
Begam, Humāyūn’s widow and a person much regarded by the Emperor.

In the year following Bairām’s death, Adham Khān, who, says the Tābaqāt, held a place higher than the other courtiers because he was his mother’s son, was on duty in Mālwa against Bāz Bahādur Sūr. Incidents resulted which emphasize regret that for such as the actors in them Bairām had had to make way. Māham anaga was de facto prime minister; Mu’nim Khān had been made Khān-i-khānān, and it was looked for by his friend the anaga that he should become prime minister de jure. Bāz Bahādur was defeated and fled from Sārangpūr. Aping the Hindūs, he had ordered his servants to kill the women of his household in the event of his defeat. Several had been so killed, many had been wounded, when the sacrifice was interrupted by the imperialists under Adham. Badāyunī says that there followed slaughter by Adham and his colleague, Pīr Muḥammad Khān, of terrible extent, and his own eyes saw that these two regarded God’s creation in mankind as leeks, cucumbers, and radīshes,—a quaint turn of words which covers awful butchery. When remonstrated with in the name of the law, the murderers asked what was to be done with so many prisoners.

If the order for the death of the women of Bāz Bahādur’s household had issued from a Rājpūt heart, there would have been no need for executioners while he was in flight. The victims were, however, not Rājpūtnīs, and they suffered only to gratify the vanity of a Moslim. Amongst those wounded was Rūp-matī, a dancing-girl renowned throughout Hindūstān for beauty, singing, and poetic gifts. Her name seems that of a Hindū. Her wounds, inflicted by Bāz Bahādur’s order, were severe and she wished to die. Adham let her know that, if she would care for herself, he would send her to her master when she could travel. She took his promise as true, had her wounds dressed and recovered. When she claimed fulfilment of Adham’s word, she was told to consider herself as his slave. He entered her room, raised her veil, and saw her dead by her own act.
Perhaps the point of deepest social degradation in this story is that Rūp-matī was, by men’s decree, born to sin without blame, and yet she died because she loved one man. Her heart was single, and yet she was only the most charming, clever and beautiful of a crowd of dancing-girls, purchased slaves, to whom no man’s loyalty and no mercy were thought due.

Adham Khān took much booty from Bāz Bahādur, and he disregarded the rule which required the choicest part to be sent to the Emperor; he also comported himself more like an independent ruler than a king’s lieutenant. This angered Akbar, and he hurried off to Sārangpūr, out-distanced a messenger of Māham anāga whom she had sent with warnings, and took Adham by surprise. She herself came in next day and counselled surrender of the spoil. This and other matters having been adjusted, the Emperor started for his capital. No sooner was he gone than Adham, with his mother’s connivance, regained possession of two of the most coveted of the captive women. News of this went after Akbar, who ordered them to be returned to the royal camp. When they came again within her power, the anāga had them murdered, so that they might not tell the tale of their abduction.

Having spent so many years under the influence of Māham anāga, it is to the credit of Akbar’s humanity and mental force that there are not more than the recorded blots on his scutcheon; at nineteen he rebelled against his nurse, when she had set his feet on the primrose path to ruin of person and empire. He did not punish the murder of the captive girls, but he soon manifested his intention to depose his nurse and her son from power. Instead of appointing their friend Mu‘nim prime minister, he summoned his foster-father, Shamsu-d-din Ahmad Ghaznavī and gave him the post. Shamsu-d-din was an unlettered man, but he was staunch and had sons who were true to Jī-Jī anāga’s nursling.

The next episode in which Māham anāga and her son appear, was one to shake the home fabric to its foundations,
for Adham murdered Shamsu-d-dīn, bursting in upon him as he sat in business audience and unsuspicious. It was done on the night of May 16th, 1562. The incident is well known, how the murderer rushed to the haram door and on the appearance of Akbar began to palliate his crime, but was struck down by a blow of the royal fist and then killed by royal order.¹

It was the Emperor who told Māham anaga of her son’s death: ‘Māmā! we have killed Adham,’ are the words put into his mouth by Bāyazīd. She fell ill from anger and grief; this blow shattered her heart’s idol and her ambition for him and herself. Badāyuni says that she died after having presented the food of the fortieth day of mourning, and this points to her belief that the souls of the dead take final departure from earth on that day and after partaking of the food of their choice which the care of relations sets for them. Mother and son were buried in one spot, and Akbar placed his shoulder under his nurse’s bier in sign of his sentiment to her.

Quite stirring news for discussion through some years, amongst the elder ladies of the royal family, would be the conduct of Māh-chūchak Begam in Kābul. She was the last recorded wife of Humāyūn, and was married in 1546, after the coming of Ḥamīda from Qandahār to Kābul. She was not a woman of birth,—one gathers a general impression that few royal wives married late in life were so,—and her title of begam was probably owed to her having borne a son, Muḥammad Hakīm. In 1554 Humāyūn had left her three-years-old boy as nominal governor of Kābul under charge of Muʿnim Khān, and in 1556 Akbar had confirmed the appointment. When Muʿnim went to court in 1561,

¹ Some writers put into Akbar’s mouth, when he addressed Adham, an epithet which would imply baseness in his birth and opprobrium of his mother; but I am advised that from various considerations weight need not be given to the inference of the word, which, moreover, is not used by all the sources. The point is mentioned here because of the contradiction involved in the epithet with the statement of marriage with Nadim kūkā, and with the terms of respect employed towards the anaga by the Persian writer who uses the degrading epithet.
his son Ghanī became his locum tenens, but Ghanī had neither 'suavity nor sense,' and the begam shut him out of Kābul, one morning when he had gone to walk in the melon gardens. He went to India, and she took up the guidance of her boy's affairs. She chose three men to help her; two soon came by their deaths at her dictation, and the third became supreme. AKBāR, and no doubt the ladies also, heard of these doings, and despatched Mu'nīm Khān with men to put things straight. Māh-chūchak met Mu'nīm at Jalālābād, utterly defeated him, and he fled to court. She then killed the last adviser of her trio and took another, whom she may have married, named Hāidār Qāsim KoHbūR. These proceedings surprise one in Māh-chūchak, and bring her story down to the first half of 1564, when Abū'l-ma'ālī appears upon her stage.

We cannot enter here into the previous history of Abū'l-ma'ālī,—his rebellions, murders, imprisonment, pilgrimage, and reinvigorated return to wickedness. He now came to Kābul fresh from two assassinations in Hindūstān, a fugitive, and indicted a letter to the ruling begam, with profession of affection and devotion to the memory of Humāyūn. She welcomed him, gave him her little daughter Fakhrū-n-nisā' in marriage, and let him take the lead. Before long he stabbed Māh-chūchak with his own hand, murdered Hāidār Qāsim, and stirred revolt against himself which led to woeful slaughter within the walls of Kābul. Word of all this went from Muḥammad Hakīm to Sulaimān and Ḥaram, with a prayer for help. Ḥaram approving and accompanying, the army of Badakhshān marched over the passes, met Abū'l-ma'ālī in the Ghurband valley, captured him, and sent him bound to the prince, who had him strangled. Both he and Adhām Khān had justified Bairām's distrust, which had prompted him to wish their death early in AkbāR's reign.

A little story of Ḥaram may be inserted here, somewhat after date. She had not been always on perfect terms with Sulaimān. Not only, a little earlier, had there been
the discussion between them of his wish to take Muhtärîma to wife, which Ḥaram had frustrated by marrying the khanām to Sulaimān’s son instead of to himself, but she had been angered extremely by the murder of one of her brothers by her husband and her son. She took the resolution of deserting Sulaimān and went over to Kābul, where then Mu‘nîm Khān was governor, and she had meant to carry on her complaints to Akbar. Mu‘nîm, however, who had been begged to mediate by Sulaimān, gave her good advice and pacified her, so that at last she consented to return to Badakhshān. He rode out to bid her farewell; she bade her camel kneel and dismounted; he got off his horse, and there was exchange of friendly greeting. She told him she regarded him as a brother and that for his sake she would never bring the army of Badakhshān against Kābul. It came several times later and with her approval, but Ḥaram could swear and break even ‘awful oaths.’ Bāyazīd biyāt accompanied her to the Ghurband and was charmed by her suavity and agreeableness.

On the death of Abūl-ma‘ālī, Sulaimān sent home for a daughter and married her to Muḥammad Hakīm, partitioned out some of the lands of Kābul to his own people, and went home to Qila‘-i-zafar. Irritation against the interlopers led to their expulsion by the Kābulīs, and this brought the Badakhshī forces again to Kābul, in 1564. Muḥammad Hakīm hurried to the Indus and complained to his big brother and Sulaimān was made to retreat.

In 1566 he and Ḥaram and their girls were again before the coveted Kābul, and on this occasion Ḥaram tried to supplement their failing military action by treachery. She got Sulaimān to lay an ambush for Muḥammad Hakīm, whom, with ‘awful oaths’ of amity, she had persuaded to have a meeting with her under profession of desire to adopt him now that her son Ibrāhīm was dead. The end of this affair was, in net result to the Badakhshīs, nothing; Ḥaram went home and Sulaimān followed. With them went the unfailing daughters, of whom Ḥaram seems to have had many, or who were betrothed and not
‘entrusted,’ so many recorded times. They had been near capture by the Kābulīs in the Four-walled Garden, but the commandant of the city recalled his men and let the girls go free, because he did not think it seemly to capture women.

This is not the place to follow Sulaimān’s interesting fortunes to their close, under Akbar’s protection, by death in Lāhōr in 1589. For our purpose, it is enough to say that he held Badakhshān so long as Ḥaram’s watchful eye was on him, and lost it at her death. It was Muhtarīma’s son, Shāh-rukh, his own grandson, who turned him out of his beloved Badakhshān, and in this, too, there may be Ḥaram’s hand. Muhtarīma would not be likely to teach her boy dutiful conduct to Ḥaram or to Ḥaram’s husband, for the two women were foes, and Ḥaram had tried to separate Muhtarīma from her son, and to expel her from Badakhshān to her parental home in Kāshghar. If Ḥaram had lived, her pride would have found content in two alliances of her grandson with daughters of the royal blood,—one a child of Muḥammad Hakīm, and the other of Akbar himself.

The ill-behaviour of Ḥamīda-bānū’s brother, Khwāja Mu’azzam, must have been a frequent annoyance to the inner circle of the elder ladies at court. From boyhood he had been fantastic and mischievous, and perhaps carried always the germ of the madness which overtook his last years. Bairām, the sensible, had exiled him, then had given him some countenance; on Bairām’s fall he had received a fief, and, so far, had been favoured. But Akbar did not like him, and the murders he had committed were sufficient to warrant dislike. He was a true parvenu, assertive and relying on his sister to excuse his faults. Ḥamīda had been conscious before her marriage that her lowly birth was a point against her wedding with Humāyūn. The disparity in her case, as in other misalliances of the time, had raised unworthy people to power. Now, in 1564, Bibi Fāṭima lamented to Akbar that Khwāja Mu’azzam had threatened to kill his wife Zuhra, who was
her daughter. The Emperor consequently sent the khwāja word that he was coming to his house, and followed the message closely. As he entered, the khwāja stabbed Zuhra and then flung his knife, like a challenge, amongst the royal followers. Abū’l-fażl says that for punishment the murderer was flung into the river, but 'would not drown.' The more sensible Nizāmu'd-dīn Ahmad says he was beaten and then soused in the river. He died insane, in prison, at Guālīār. All the shortcomings and crimes of the man notwithstanding, Hamīda must have cherished some warmth of feeling for the tricksy boy who had lifted suspicion from her in the matter of the stolen rubies of the Persian episode.

In 1571 another old acquaintance comes to the front in the person of Nāhīd Begam, in whom our princess must have maintained interest for the sake of her father Qāsim, Bābar's foster-brother. Nāhīd, as has been said earlier, was the daughter of Qāsim and of Māh-chūchak Arghūn, who must not be confounded with Kāmrān's wife of the same name, one common amongst the Arghūn women of the time. She had married Muḥibb-'ali, son of Nizāmu'd-dīn 'Ali Khalīfa Barlās, and who had risen to high military rank but now lived remote from soldiering and in reposeful retirement. Nāhīd's mother was now in her (third) widowhood for 'Īsā Tarkhān Arghūn, and she was not well regarded by her last husband's son, Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān Arghūn, the ruler of Tatta. Nāhīd, in 1571, went to see her mother, and perhaps conveyed to Bāqī the impression that her visit was something more than filial. He put Māh-chūchak in prison, and so behaved to Nāhīd that she hurried off to court and made bitter complaint of her own wrongs and of the rudeness shown to the royal attendants who had been with her in Sind. She told Akbar, too, that she had talked with Sultan Mahmud Bhakkārī, that old retainer of Shāh Husain who had kept the island-fort against Humāyūn in the forties, and for whom Sūdī 'Alī Reis had negotiated terms in 1555. Maḥmūd had suggested an attack on Tatta, and, supported by him,
Nāhīd pleaded for help from Akbar to act against Bāqī. She was very keen about her plan and persuaded the Emperor to give men and money.

Muḥibb-ʻalī was disturbed from his repose, and put at the head of the force. With him went Nāhīd and also a wife named Sāmīa and her son, Mujāhid. For Nāhīd’s ends the long war that followed was infructuous. An amusing episode of it was that Sāmīa, when things did not go as she wished, went into rebellion against Akbar, and actually held an entrenchment against the royal amīrs a day and a night. In the end, Muḥibb-ʻalī obtained a comfortable town appointment and nothing more is heard of the ladies. Probably they too accommodated themselves to the tolerant and forgiving atmosphere of Akbar’s court.

Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad is somewhat more sober of diction than his fellow-penmen and so, when he says that the Gujrat campaign of 1572 caused the royal ladies joy enough to last their lives, whole-hearted delight is pictured. This was the campaign which made beautiful Sikri the City of Victory (Fath-pūr). Round one incident of the war womanly interest,—and surely compassion also,—will have centred. The veil of historic silence lifts for a brief moment, and shows Gul-rukh, Kāmrān’s daughter, in flight with her son.

Gul-badan’s long span of unchronicled life was probably spent in the peaceful occupation of a wife and mother, with variety from books, verse-making, festivities, and outside news. She must have found much to exercise her lively mind in Hindūstān. That she went about with the royal camp is shown by the record of the place assigned to her tent in the encampments. It was pitched next to Ḥamīda’s, well within the great enclosure, and not far from the Emperor’s own. Since she was a woman, she must have found food for observation in the doings and position of her sex under the conditions of their life in Hindūstān. How did satī look to her? What did she think of the jūhar? Both these Hindū customs were far different from those of
her traditions in similar crises. She came of a tribe which
boasts of the fidelity of its wives to the marriage tie. All
the women of her house must have heard of the defiant act
of Ais-daulat, Bābar’s grandmother, who had ordered her
maids to stab a man to whom her captor had given her, and
who then, for sole excuse, had observed that she was the
wife of Yūnas Khān. Gul-badan had also in her own family
history plenty of examples of the fate of captured girls, for
many of her kinswomen had married foes of their tribe;
and many too had become contented wives, well treated,
and remaining in their foreign homes apparently without
constraint.¹

What Timūrid women saw amongst the Hindūs reveals
another type of virtue and another standard of wedded life.
Our princess must have heard something on the topic
through her father’s experience when she was a child.
Wifehood and motherhood now gave her better insight into
the problems which underlie social relations. She would
hear that Rājpūtnīs died joyfully rather than be captured;
that outmatched Rājpūts killed wives and children and
went to certain death themselves,—a holocaust to honour.
The early years of Akbar furnished plenty of such records.

How, one would like to know, did the Musalmānī regard
the willing death by fire of the Hindū widow, in that exalta-
tion which lifts thought above pain and terror and is
admirable, whether in the martyr for faith or for wifely
duty? Unfortunately, the barriers of language and habit
must have kept Akbar’s Rājpūt wives from charming the
Musalmānī ladies by recital of the legends of their race.
These Hindūs can never have been welcome inmates of the

¹ I think, and the impression is gathered from the Memoirs, that
although women and children were often murdered by victorious
soldiers, wives were often returned to their husbands or families, and
that enforced marriage was usually with the defeated leader’s
daughters. Perhaps the Muhāmmadan law of divorce helped the
wives. Injustice might easily be done under the rough-and-ready
expectation that family ties would be set at naught by conquerors
who were Muhāmmadans. There was certainly diversity of action
and of degree of mercy and chivalry.
palace to any of the Moslims; but, pagan as they were thought, their conduct as wives must have insinuated the thin edge of conviction that to no one form of faith is committed the nurture of the sense of duty.

One common thought Gul-badan and the rest could have shared with the Hindu ladies,—that of the duty of pilgrimage and of respect for holy places. When next history concerns itself with our begam, it is to tell of her setting out, in 1575, for Makka. The Emperor had been unwilling to part with her, and it may be, even, had delayed with the thought of accompanying her. His heart was now much set upon making the haj, but he did no more than walk a short distance with a caravan from Agra, dressed in the seamless wrapper of the Arabian ceremonies. Though debarred from leaving Hindustan himself, he helped many others to fulfil this primary duty of their faith, and opened wide his purse for their expenses. Each year he named a leader of the caravan, and provided him with gifts and ample funds. Sultan Khwaja, Gul-badan’s cicerone, took, amongst other presents, 12,000 dresses of honour. He did not bring her home again; this duty fell to Khwaja Yahya (John). What circumstance extorted royal consent to Gul-badan’s absence is not recorded; her advancing age,—she was past fifty,—and her dislike of the laxity in opinion and practice in matters of the Faith would add warmth to her request for leave to go.

Abu’l-fazl has preserved the names of the chief ladies of the pilgrim party, but many others went with Gul-badan Begam, and for all the royal purse bore the cost. She was the lady of highest birth, and was probably a widow; next came Salima Sultan Begam, widow of Bairam and wife of Akbar. It was not usual for a wife to make the pilgrimage, but Muhammadan law stipulates that permission shall be granted to such wives as strongly desire to do so, and Salima’s seems a case in point. Next comes a woman whose presence reveals pleasant things. She was Sultanam, widow of Akbar’s uncle, ‘Askari, and of her it is recorded in Akbar’s babyhood that she cared for him when
captured, with tender affection. It is probable that she had spent many years under the care and at the cost of the Emperor. Then come two step-nieces of Gul-badan, daughters of Kamrān,—Hājī and Gulʿizār Begams. I do not know which child of his is veiled under the title of Hājī. She seems to be making her second haj, and may well have gone on her first when her father was in Arabia. To these two the pilgrimage would have humanly pious significance, as a visitation to their father’s tomb and to that of Māh-čūchāk Arghūn, whom all his children must have held in reverence. Next comes a grand-daughter of Gul-badan herself, named Um-kūlsum (Mother of Plumpness), presumably after the daughter of her Prophet. Whether she was the child of Saʿādat-yār is not said, nor whether the last name on the list, Salīma Khānam, is that of a child of Gul-badan, as well as of Khizr Khwāja Khān. Here some of the inconveniences of polygamy show themselves to the seeker after family facts.

An old associate of our princess accompanied her in the person of Gul-nār āghācha, who had been of Bābar’s household and was, I think, one of the two Circassians sent as a present to him by Shāh Ṭāḥmāsp in 1526. She was now well on her way through life and considerably older than Gul-badan Begam. Another of the party had also been of Bābar’s household, Bibī Sarū-qad, or Sarū-i-sahī (Straight Cypress). She had been, too, in Humāyūn’s service and later had married, with full nisbat, Muʾnim Khān-i-khānān. She was a widow, had been a singer and reciter, and was a ‘reliable woman.’ Like her in accomplishments were Bibī Safiya and Shāham āghā, both formerly of Humāyūn’s household. Of the first and of Bibī Sarū-qad we have the happy little record that they sang in the moonlight on the road to Laghmān in 1549.

Fathpur-sīkri seems to have been the rallying-point of the caravan and October 15th, 1575, the day of departure from it. It started earlier than was usual, perhaps because the ladies could not travel fast. Caravans generally left Āgra in the tenth month—this left in the seventh—of the
Muḥammadan year. Akbar’s second boy, Murād, was told off to escort the ladies to the coast. Sālim met them one stage out to give last greetings. At Gul-badan’s request, Murād was excused from his long task of escort to Sūrat, and he went back to Āgra. One smiles to find that the princes were five and four years old. The real charge of the caravan was with several amīrs, one being Muḥammad Bāqī Khān kūkā, and another Rūmī Khān of Aleppo, who may have been Bābar’s artillery officer.

It is a real loss that there is no record of the journey from our begam’s pen. It was to be adventurous; even perilous; and it was of great interest whether as sightseeing travel or pious duty. Sūrat was the port of embarkation, but there are no details of the road taken to reach it. Father Rudolf Acquaviva passed between the same two terminal points in 1580, but the military movements of the interval may well have allowed him to travel where the ladies could not go. When they were first in Sūrat, it had been a royal possession for two years only, and even when the Father took the fairly direct route from it to Fathpūr-sikrī, the Rājpūt peasantry was in arms against their new lord. The ladies were probably handed on from one garrisoned place to another as the immediate circumstances of conquest dictated. The main body of their ḥajj joined them by a tedious and weary route, first escorted through Goganda by the army which was on active service, and then passing on to Aḥmadābād, and, perhaps by water, to Sūrat.

The governor of the port, who was to have a good deal of trouble with this caravan, was Qulij Khān Andijānī, a sobriquet of pleasant sound in our begam’s ears. He had inherited Timūrid service from many generations, and his father had been a grandee of Sultān Ḥusain Bāygrā.

‘There was peace with the isles of the Franks,’ but it took the ladies a year to get to sea. The Akbar-nāma attributes some part of the delay to a foolish panic about the Firingis which, after the ladies had embarked in their hired Turkish transport, the Salīmī, seized the other
pilgrims who were to sail in the royal ship, the Ilahī. The real ground appears to have been want of a pass. The Portuguese were then masters of the Indian waters, and no ship might dare to put to sea without toll paid and pass obtained. Alarm about the Portuguese was natural, for there were stories that the very pass was sometimes a letter of Bellerophon enjoining capture and death. Abū’l-fażl says that, although the ladies embarked, they were unwilling to put out and desert their fellow-pilgrims. This may be mere broidery, or the one ship may have had a pass and the other not. Perhaps, too, as theirs was a hired transport, it was also one privileged to sail free. However this may be, Badāyuni makes the difficulty clear by saying that Khwāja Sulṭān’s ships lay idle from want of the pass. He also, it may be added, quotes a legal opinion that at this time it was not lawful to make the haj from India because, of the two practicable routes, one lay through the Shiah country of ‘Irāq, and the other obliged a pass which bore the idolatrous stamp of the heads of the Virgin Mary and of Jesus Christ (‘on whom be peace’).

The mīr haj sent word to the Emperor of his plight, who at once despatched orders to Qulij Khān, in Ídar, to go to Sūrat and arrange the difficulty. Qulij took with him a Cambayan, who was presumably a man versed in seafaring business,—hurried to Sūrat and overcame the difficulty.

It took the ladies a year to get to sea; they sailed on October 17th, 1576. Their port of debarkation is not mentioned; some pilgrims sailed by the Arabian, some by the Persian Gulf. They spent three and a half years in Arabia, and were able to make the haj four times.

Some day perhaps a pious and enlightened Musalmān will set down the inner meaning he attaches to the rites of the pilgrimage. How interesting it would have been if our princess had told us what it was in her heart that carried her through the laborious duties of piety she accomplished during her long stay in her holy land! She might have given us an essential principle by which to interpret the
religious meaning which devout women attach to the rites commanded on the pilgrimage.

The visitation duties are set down in Hughes' 'Dictionary of Islam,' where even their brief recital is attractive and adds to the wish of gauging the sentiment of believers in their efficacy. The acts prescribed are exhausting, not only to the body but also, one thinks, to the mind, because the very conception of the pilgrimage as a Divine ordinance keeps brain and heart tense, as all obedience does which sets the human will parallel to the Divine.

The mere recapitulation of the prescribed ceremonies is impressive: The halt six miles from the city to put on the seamless wrapper (ihram); the chanting of the pilgrim song; the prayer of intention and of supplication for grace to make the visitation duly; the contemplation, touch, and salutation of the mystic black stone; the sevenfold encompassment of the kā'ba, towards which from distant homes has been directed the prayer of the bygone years; the ascent of the Mount of Purity (Ṣafā), and prayer and confession of faith upon it; the race seven times repeated from its summit to that of the Mount of Marwa; the common worship in the Great Mosque, and the sermon preached to the assemblage of common believers; the various pilgrimages and prayers of the eighth and ninth days; and on the tenth the extraordinary pelting of devils, which is symbolized by the patriarchal rite of the stoning of the pillars of Mina. Later in the same day occurs the final act of the ḥaj, an animal sacrifice. Whether the ladies could pay a substitute to perform this is not said.

During these ten busy days the seamless wrapper is worn; after the sacrifice it is laid aside, and attention may be paid to the neglected toilette. The pilgrim stays three days longer in Makka—days of the 'drying of the blood of sacrifice,' 'three well-earned days of rest after the peripatetic performance of the last four.' Still, all is not finished; there should be more circuits of the kā'ba, another stoning at Mina, and a draught drunk from the sacred well. Our princess would certainly do everything
which was due, and probably would go to Medina, and she would also make visitation to the tombs of many pious persons buried in the desirable soil of Arabia.

In 1579 Khwāja Yahyā was mīr ḥaj, a friend of Badāyuni, and the charitable man to whom Ḥusain the Patcher (tukriya) was indebted for decent burial. He was commissioned to escort the ladies home, and also to bring back curiosities and Arab servants, who may perhaps have been wanted for the Arab sarāvī, established near the mausoleum of Humāyūn, outside Dihli.

The return journey was both adventurous and perilous. They were shipwrecked off Aden, and had to stay, some say seven, others twelve, months in that desolate spot, far less habitable then than now, with condensed water, a tide from the Suez Canal, occasional rain, and the British rāj. The governor did not behave well, and quitted the path of good manners, misconduct for which he was punished by his master, Sultān Murād of Turkey. One pleasant incident broke the gloom of the long delay. On a day of April, 1580, the rock-bound travellers saw a ship coming up from the south with the wind, and, wishing to know whose it was, sent a boat out to make inquiry. By a pleasant chance Bāyazīd bīyāt with his wife and children were on board, and he shortened sail, though the wind was favourable, and gave and took news. Bāyazīd says that the persons who sent out the boat to him were Gul-badan Begam, Gul-īzār Begam, and Khwāja Yahyā. Perhaps

1 The passage in the Akbar-nāma about these servants is in its author's later and difficult style. This led to mistake in my article of the Calcutta Review, April, 1898. I referred a difficulty the khwāja experienced to the ladies, whereas it was the servants who were unwilling to leave their Arabian domicile. Several other errors of that article are corrected in this book.

2 His wife and a child died in Arabia; he wished to end his days on the sacred soil, and so sent home his other children. His wish also was to be laid beside his wife, and he tried her grave for several hours to see that it was neither too narrow nor too short. Happily for his readers, he did not stay in Arabia. His children were captured by the Portuguese, and he had to go back to their rescue. He sailed in 1582, but had long to wait in Mocha harbour for a wind, and this, with other delays, kept him eight months on board.
he was instrumental in getting them ships for return to India.

I do not know when the ladies succeeded in leaving Aden, nor when they landed in Surat. Here they again waited long, and this delay is attributed partly to the rains and partly to the royal absence in Kabul. It was March, 1582, when they reached Fatehpūr-sikrī.

On the northward journey they visited the shrines of the Chishti saints in Ajmīr, and there met Prince Sālim. Day after day there came an amīr with greetings from the Emperor, until he met the caravan at Khānwa. The night of reunion was kept awake by 'questions and entrancing stories; gifts were shown, and happiness brimmed over.' One item of home news would cloud the meeting: Bega Begam had died just too soon to welcome her old friends.

Arrived in Fatehpūr-sikrī, Gul-badan Begam would find much to ruffle her orthodoxy; for Father Rodolf Acquaviva was installed there and was giving Prince Murād lessons in the Christian faith. She would hear of the reverence shown by her nephew for the sacred things of an alien faith, and of his liking for the society of the pious and learned guest. Ḥamīda-bānū is named by the Father as protesting, with other ladies of the Ḥaram, against the royal countenance of Christianity, and assuredly Gul-badan would swell the chorus of complaint, in which, too, Hindū wives would join the Moslim lamentation.1 When the Father was leaving Fatehpūr-sikrī, he accepted only so much money as would pay his expenses back to Goa, but he asked a favour from Ḥamīda-bānū Begam. She had amongst her household slaves a Russian of Moscow and his Polish wife, with their two children. These four the Father begged to take with him to Goa. 'The begam, who was no friend to the Firingīs, was most unwilling to give up the slaves; but

1 The whole account of Father Acquaviva's stay at the court is extremely interesting, and much of it may be read in Father Goldie's 'First Christian Mission to the Great Mughal' (Dublin: Gill and Co., 1897).
the Emperor would refuse nothing to the Father,' and the family was carried off to freedom.

The next thing known of our princess is that she wrote her Humâyûn-nâma. The book is its sole witness, for no one speaks of it. It is not literature, but a simple setting down of what she knew or had heard, for the help of the Akbar-nâma. This was not her only composition, for she followed the fashion of her day and wrote verses. Mîr Mahdî Shîrâzî has preserved in his Tazkîratu-l-khwâtîn two lines of hers, in which her thought seems to be, 'No love, no fruit of life.'

"Har parî ki au bâ 'ashaq khud yâr nîst, Tû yaqîn mîdân ki hech az 'umr bar-khur-dâr nîst."

Nine copies were made of Bâyazîd's Humâyûn-nâma, which was written in obedience to the royal command obeyed by Gul-badan Begam and also by Jauhar the Ewer-bearer. Of these two went to the Emperor's library; three to the princes Sâlim, Murâd, and Danyal; one to our begam; two to Abûl-fażl; and one perhaps was kept by the author. This allotment brings out the little point that Gul-badan collected books. Badâyuni has a curious passage about himself which also discloses something 'bookish' of Salima: 'On account of the book Khirad-afza, which had disappeared from the library, and concerning Salima Sulţân Begam's study of which the Emperor reminded me, an order was issued that my allowance should be stopped, and that they should demand the book of me.' He adds that Abûl-fażl did not lay his refutation before the Emperor, and he does not clear up the awkward doubt as to what he had done with Salima's desired book.

The remaining records of Gul-badan Begam's life are few and scanty. When she was seventy, her name is mentioned with that of Muḥammad-yâr, a son of her daughter, who left the court in disgrace; again, she and Salîma join in intercession to Akbar for Prince Sâlim; again, with Ḥâmîda, she receives royal gifts of money and jewels. Her charities were large, and it is said of her that she added day unto day
in the endeavour to please God, and this by succouring the poor and needy. When she was eighty years old, and in February, 1603, her departure was heralded by a few days of fever. Ḥamīda was with her to the end, and it may be that Ruqaiya, Hindāl's daughter, would also watch her last hours. As she lay with closed eyes, Ḥamīda-bānū spoke to her by the long-used name of affection, 'Jiu!' (elder sister). There was no response. Then, 'Gul-badan!' The dying woman unclosed her eyes, quoted the verse, 'I die,—may you live!' and passed away.

Akbar helped to carry her bier some distance, and for her soul's repose made lavish gifts and did good works. He will have joined in the silent prayer for her soul before committal of her body to the earth, and if no son were there, he, as a near kinsman, may have answered the Imam's injunction to resignation: 'It is the will of God.'

So ends the long life of a good and clever woman, affectionate and dutiful in her home life, and brought so near us by her sincerity of speech and by her truth of feeling that she becomes a friend even across the bars of time and creed and death.

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PART II.

GUL-BADAN BEGAM'S BOOK, THE 'HUMĀYÙN-NĀMA.'

It is not generally known to English students of the (so-called) Mughal period of Indian history that Gul-badan Begam wrote a book. It was not known to Mr. Erskine, or he would have given fuller and more accurate accounts of the families of Bābar and Humāyūn. It escaped even Professor Blochmann's wider opportunities of acquaintance with Persian MSS. Until the begam's Humāyūn-nāma was catalogued by Dr. Rieu, it was a literary pardā-nishān, and since that time has been little better. Abū-'l-fazl, for
whose information it was written, does not mention it, but the Akbar-nāma is not without indication of its use.\(^1\)

Bāyazīd’s Tārīkh-i-humāyūn was reproduced several times on its completion. Gul-badan Begam’s Humāyūn-nāma was written under the same royal order and for the same end. It would have been natural to reproduce it also, but no second example of it can be discovered by us in any of the accessible book-catalogues of Europe or India, and prolonged search, made by advertisement, private inquiry, and in person by my husband in India, has failed to disclose knowledge of its existence which may not conjecturally be traced to my own work upon it. Once hope arose that a second MS. was to reward the search, because a correspondent intimated that he possessed for sale a MS. which was inscribed as being the begam’s. On examination this was found to be so, but the MS. was a copy of the Kānūn-i-humāyūn of Khwānd-amīr. It is now in the British Museum.

Hope was again aroused by a mention of Gul-badan’s book in a recent work, the Darbār-i-akbarī of Shamsu-l-ulamā ‘Muḥammad Ḥusain āzād. Mr. Beveridge paid two visits to the author in Bombay, but could learn nothing from him. He appeared mentally alienated, denied all knowledge of the work, and that he had ever written of it. His reference may conjecturally be traced to my article in the Calcutta Review upon Gul-badan Begam’s writings, and does not, unfortunately, appear to indicate access to a second MS.

The MS. from which I have translated belongs to the Hamilton Collection in the British Museum, and was bought in 1868 from the widow of Colonel George William Hamilton. It is classed by Dr. Rieu amongst the most remarkable of the 352 MSS. which were selected for purchase out of the 1,000 gathered in by Colonel Hamilton from Lucknow and Dīhlī. It does not bear the vermilion

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\(^1\) A passage about Bābar (Bib. Ind., edit. I. 87) closely resembles the begam’s on the same topic; and a divergence, noted by Mr. Erskine (Mems., 218 n.) as made from Bābar’s narrative by Abū’l-faẓl, is made also by the begam.
stamp of the King of Oude, so the surmise is allowed that it came from Dihli. It has been rebound (not recently, I believe), plainly, in red leather; and it is unadorned by frontispiece, margin, or rubric. Whether there has ever been a colophon cannot be said; the latter pages of the work are lost. The folio which now stands last is out of place, an error apparently made in the rebinding. Catch-words are frequently absent, and there are none on the last folio. There are blank fly-leaves, prefixed and suffixed, of paper unlike that of the MS.

The absence of a second MS., and, still more, the absence of mention of the work, seem to indicate that few copies ever existed.

Dr. Rieu's tentative estimate of the date of the British Museum MS. (seventeenth century) does not, I am counselled, preclude the possibility of transcription so late in the sixteenth century as 1587 (995 H.) onwards. It may be the first and even sole example.

Gul-badan Begam, as is natural, uses many Türkî words, and at least one Türkî phrase. Her scribe (who may be herself) does not always write these with accuracy; some run naturally from the pen as well-known words do; some are laboured in the writing, as though care had to be taken in the copying or original orthography.

Türkî was Gul-badan's native language; it was also her husband's; it would be the home speech of her married life. Persian was an accomplishment. These considerations awaken speculation: Did she compose in Persian? or in Türkî? That she read Türkî is clear from her upbringing and her references to her father's book. She has one almost verbal reproduction of a passage from it retained in Türkî.

The disadvantage of working from a single MS. is felt at every point, and nowhere more than when the MS. itself is under consideration.
TRANSLATION

OF THE

HUMAYŪN-NĀMA OF GUL-BADAN BEGAM.
NOTE ON THE PERSIAN TITLES.

Of these there are two:

1. 'Humāyūn-nāma. Written by Gul-badan Begam, daughter of Bābar Pādshāh.' This is on the first fly-leaf, which is of paper differing in colour and texture from that of the body of the MS., and identical with that of four blank sheets which are bound up at the end of the MS., perhaps to allow of writing in the missing portion of the work.

2. 'Accounts of Humāyūn Pādshāh. Put together by Gul-badan Begam, a daughter of Bābar Pādshāh and a paternal aunt of Akbar Pādshāh.' This stands on the first folio of the MS., which by the original paging is folio 10, and by the British Museum marking folio 2 (a).
IN the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

There had been an order issued, 'Write down whatever you know of the doings of Firdaus-makanî and Jannat-äshyanî.'

At the time when his Majesty Firdaus-makanî passed from this perishable world to the everlasting home, I, this lowly one, was eight years old, so it may well be that I do not remember much. However, in obedience to the royal command, I set down whatever there is that I have heard and remember.

First of all, by way of invoking a blessing (on my work), and in pious commemoration, a chapter (juzu) is written about my royal father's deeds, although these are told in his memoirs.

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1 Probably that mentioned by Abü'l-fazl, as issued for the gathering-in of material for the Akbar-nāma. (H. Beveridge, I. 29.) If so, the begam's book dates from about 1587 (995H.). There are indications of its use by Abü'l-fazl.

2 Bābar's and Humāyūn's posthumous names, 'Dwelling' and 'Nest-ing in Paradise.' Several women, and notably Akbar's mother, have been named after death Maryam-makānī, 'Dwelling with Mary.' Bābar's half-sister, Shahr-bānū, is styled by A.F. Bilqis-makānī,—Bilqis being the Queen of Sheba. Many other examples might be quoted of the custom which, amongst some savage tribes, takes the extreme form of total suppression at death of the name borne in life, and towards which affection and reverence incline the most civilized peoples.

3 Lunar years. Bābar died December 26th, 1530. The begam's dates and numerical statements must always be taken lightly.

4 From this treasury Gul-badan's meagre historical sketch can be
From his Majesty Ṣahīb-qirānī\(^1\) down to my royal father there was not one of the bygone princes who laboured as he did. He became king in his twelfth\(^2\) year, and the *khutba*\(^3\) was read in his name on June 10th, 1494,\(^4\) in Andijān, the capital of Farghāna. (3a)

For eleven full years his wars and struggles against the Chaghatāi and Timūrid and Uzbek princes\(^5\) in Māvarā’u-n-nahr (Transoxiana) were such that the tongue of the pen is too feeble and weak to recount them.

The toils and perils which in the ruling of kingdoms befell our prince, have been measured out to few, and of few have been recorded the manliness, courage and endurance which he showed in battle-fields and dangers. Twice he took Samarqand by force of the sword. The first time my royal father was twelve years old, the second nineteen, the third time he was nearly twenty-two.\(^6\) For six months he was besieged\(^7\) (in Samarqand), and neither Sulṭān Husain Mīrza Bāygrā, his paternal uncle,\(^8\) who

filled in. The Tūzūk-i-bābārī (Leyden and Erskine: Longman, Rees, etc., 1826.) will be referred to in these notes as the 'Memoirs' or 'Mems.' Mr. W. Erskine's 'History of India under Bābar and Humāyūn' will be indicated by 'B. & H.'.

\(^1\) *Lord of the fortunate conjunction, i.e.,* of Jupiter and Venus, a posthumous title of Timūr (1336-1405), from whom Bābar was fifth in descent.

\(^2\) Bābar was born February 14th, 1483 (Muharram 6th, 888H.). He therefore became king of Farghāna (Khokand) when 11½ years old.

\(^3\) The prayer and oration in which it is ordained that the name of the reigning sovereign should be recited. *Cf.* Dict. of Islām, Hughes, s.v.. The histories show that it was formerly so recited in India. The term 'Ruler of the Age' filled Victoria's place.

\(^4\) Ramzān 5th, 899H. [Text, 909H.].

\(^5\) The first and second of this triad of foes were near and elder kinsmen; the third was the Shaibānī of the histories.

\(^6\) Bābar occupied Samarqand three times. Twice he captured it, and the third time entered without a blow struck and amidst a popular welcome. The dates are respectively 1497, 1500, and 1511, and his age fifteen, seventeen, and twenty-nine.

\(^7\) By Shaibānī, after the second occupation.

\(^8\) 'āmmū. Husain was of the fourth, and Bābar of the fifth degree of descent from their common ancestor, Timūr. Bābar's father was (anglice) Husain's fourth cousin. As Ḥusain was of an elder generation, Bābar calls him 'uncle.' If 'āmmū were ever used to denote an uncle by marriage, it would have triple application here, since Ḥusain married in succession three paternal aunts of Bābar—Shahr-
AMĪR TĪMŪR (ṢĀḤĪB-QĪRĀN).

[To face p. 84.]
(ruled) in Khurasan, nor Sultan Maḥmūd Khān, his maternal uncle, who ruled in Kāshghar, sent him help. When none came from any quarter, he grew desperate.

At this difficult time, Shāhī Beg Khān sent to say: 'If you would marry your sister Khānzāda Begam to me, (3b) there might be peace and a lasting alliance between us.' At length it had to be done; he gave the begam to the khān, and came out himself (from Samarqand). With 200 followers on foot, wearing long frocks on their shoulders and peasants' brogues on their feet, and carrying clubs in their hands,—in this plight, unarmed, and relying on God, he went towards the lands of Badakhshān (Badakhshānāt) and Kābul.

Khusrau Shāh's people and army were in Kunduz and the Badakhshānāt. He came and paid his respects to his Majesty, my father, who, being as he was manly and kind and generous, did not in any way touch the question of retaliation, although Khusrau Shāh had committed such crimes as the martyrdom of Bayasanghar Mīrzā and the blinding of Sultan Mas'ūd Mīrzā, both of whom were sons of my royal father's paternal uncle. In addition to this, when in the early days of the forays, his Majesty chanced

bānū, Latīf and Payanda. Husain is the well-known Mæcenas of Herāt (1438-1506).

1 taghāi. Sultan Maḥmūd Khān was full-brother of Qutluq-nīgar, Bābar's mother, so that here taghāi is exactly equivalent to our 'maternal uncle.' Maḥmūd is 'the Khān' and the 'elder Khān' of the Memoirs, and also Jānākī or Khānākī and Jāngī. He was murdered by Shaibānī in 1508.

2 He was eighteen.

3 Abū'lfath Muḥammad Shāh-bakht Khān Uzbeg (Shāhī Beg Khān and Shaibānī).

4 For details of her life and that of all other women named in this book and some other contemporary works, see Appendix.

5 Early in 907H. (July, 1501).

6 Muharram, 910H. (June, 1504).

7 A Qipchaq Türk, chief beg of Sultan Maḥmūd Mīrzā, the father of Bayasanghar and Mas'ūd. He was put to death by Shaibānī's Uzbegs in 910H. (1505).

8 Brevet rank. Bābar was an exile from his own kingdom of Farghāna, and not yet master of Kābul.

9 Türkī, qazzaqī, from qazzaq (Cossack), the name of the nomads whom the Russians term Kirghiz. I think Gul-badan uses it to de-
to cross his country, he was watched and rudely driven out. Now he was pleased to command that Khusrau Shâh should take whatever his heart desired of his (own) jewels and golden vessels, and so he got leave to go to Khurasân in kindness and safety, and took with him five or six strings of camels and five or six of baggage mules.¹

His Majesty now set out for Kâbul, which was occupied by Muḥammad Muqîm, a son of Zûl-nûn Arghûn, and grandfather of Nâhîd Begam.² He had captured it after Ulugh Beg Mîrzâ’s³ death from Mîrzâ ‘Abdu-r-razzâq, son of his Majesty’s paternal uncle (Ulugh Beg).

His Majesty reached Kâbul in safety. Muḥammad Muqîm kept command for a few days, and then by pact and agreement made over charge to the royal servants, and went off with goods and chattels to his father in Qandahâr. This was in the last ten days of Rabî’ II., 910H.⁴ Being now master of Kâbul, his Majesty went to Bangash, took it at a blow, and returned to Kâbul.

Her Highness, the khânâm,⁵ his Majesty’s mother, had fever for six days, and then departed from this fleeting world to the eternal home. They laid her in the New Year’s Garden. His Majesty paid 1,000 coined misqâl to his kinsmen, the owners of the garden, and laid her there.

At this time urgent letters arrived from Sultan Husain Mîrzâ, saying: (4b) ‘I am planning a war against the Uzbekgs. It would be excellent if you came too.’ My royal father

scribe the time of her father’s military incursions, made when he was trying to carve out a ruler’s seat.

¹ The begam’s brevity makes Bâbar’s capacity and forbearance seem alike remarkable. He had gathered a force, and safety was the condition of Khusrau’s surrender (1504). Mr. Erskine writes (B. & H., I. 208.): ‘Bâbar, whose abhorrence of Khusrau was as deep as it was just, ordered his treasurer to send back the treasure, horses, and whatever had been presented to him, just as they were; although, says our author (Mîrzâ Haidar), the King had only one horse suitable for a person of his rank, and that was used by his mother.’

² Through his daughter Mâh Chûchak.

³ A son of Abû-sa‘îd, known as Kâbulî. He died 1502.

⁴ October, 1504. Bâbar was now twenty-three, and had acquired more territory than his lost Farghana.

⁵ Qutluq-nîgâr. She died June, 1505.
sought counsel of God. At length he set out to join the mirzā. On the way news came that the mirzā was dead. His Majesty's amirs represented that, this being so, it was advisable to return to Kābul, but he replied: 'As we have come so far, we will carry our condolences to the princes.' In the end he went on towards Khurāsān.1

When the princes2 heard of the royal visit, they one and all set out to give him honourable meeting, except Badi'ū-z-zamān Mirzā, who did not go because Barandūq Beg and Zū'l-nūn Beg—amīrs of Sulṭān Ḫusain Mirzā—said, in effect, that as his Majesty was fifteen years younger than Badi'ū-z-zamān Mirzā, it was right that he should be the first to bow, and that they should then embrace one another. Qāsim Beg3 rejoined: 'Younger he is by years, but by the tūra,4 he has precedence because he has more than once taken Samarqand by force of the sword.' (5a) At length they agreed that his Majesty should bow on coming in, and that Badi'ū-z-zamān should then advance to show him honour, and they should embrace. The mirzā was not attending when his Majesty came in at the door; Qāsim Beg clutched my royal father's girdle and pulled it, and said to Barandūq Beg and Zū'l-nūn Beg: 'The agreement was that the mirzā should come forward and that then they should embrace one another.' The prince then advanced in great agitation and they embraced.

As long as his Majesty was in Khurāsān, each one of the princes showed him hospitality, and feasts were arranged, and excursions to all the gardens and places of

1 Bābar set out in June, 1506 (Muharram, 912H.). Ḫusain had died in May (Zū'l-hijja, 911H.), on his way northwards from Herāt, and at Bābā Ilāhī. Word reached Bābar when he had already made a great journey and had crossed the Saighan and Dandān-shikan passes to Kahrmard. After receiving the news he marched some 800 miles to the mirzās' camp on the Murgh-āb.

2 Badi'ū-z-zamān and Muhammad Muẓaffar Ḫusain, sons of Sulṭān Ḫusain Mirzā. The meeting was on November 6th, 1506 (Jumāda II. 8th, 912H.).

3 Bābar's Prime Minister and (I believe) relation. He was of the Qūchm tribe to which Bābar's grandmother, Aīs-duwal, belonged.

4 The Rules of Chingiz Khān. These are referred to again on points of etiquette.
interest. They set forth to him the inconvenience of winter, and said: 'Wait till it is over, and we will fight the Uzbegs.' But they could not in any way settle about the war. Eighty years\(^1\) long had Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā kept Khūrāsān safe and sound, but the mīrzās could not fill their father's place for six months. When his Majesty saw that they were careless\(^2\) about his expenses and revenue, he went to Kābul on the pretext of seeing the places he had assigned to himself. (5b) Much snow had fallen that year. They took the wrong road. His Majesty and Qāsim Beg chose one\(^3\) because of its shortness, but the amirs had given other advice, and when this was not taken, they all left him without a thought for him. He and Qāsim Beg and his sons made a road in two or three days by removing the snow, and the people of the army followed. So they reached Ghūrband. Some Hazāra rebels having met his Majesty here, there was fighting; and cattle and sheep and goods without number belonging to the Hazāra fell into the hands of his people. Then they started for Kābul with their enormous booty.

At the skirts of Minār Hill they heard that Mīrzā Khān\(^4\) and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusain Gūrkhān\(^5\) had rebelled and

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1 A well-rounded number. Sultān Husain was born 842H. (1438), and died 911H. (1506). Bābār calls the joint-kingship of his sons a strange arrangement and one never heard of, and quotes Sa'di's well-known couplet as applicable—'Ten darvishes can sleep on one rug, but one climate cannot hold two kings.'

2 While on the Murghāb, Bābār agreed to winter in Khūrāsān, and he went with the joint-kings to Herāt in order to see the 'sights' of that renowned city. He certainly worked hard, for he names some fifty-two which he saw in twenty days. The invitation to winter was repeated, but neither quarters nor suitable conveniences (?revenues) were allotted. Bābār delicately says he could not explain his real motive for not remaining, and left under pressure of necessity on December 24th, 1506, after snow had fallen along a route which was a month's ordinary journey.

It was during this absence from Kābul that he married Māḥam, Humayūn's mother.

3 Through the Aimaq and Hazāra country, and south of his route to Herāt.

4 Sultān Wais, a son of Bābār's paternal uncle, Maḥmūd, and his maternal aunt (i.e., his mother's half-sister), Sultān Nigār Khānām.

5 Father of Ḫaydar Mīrzā Dughlāt, author of the Tārīkh-i-rashīdī. He married Khūb-nigār, full-sister of Bābār's mother.
were holding Kābul. His Majesty sent a comforting and cheering letter (to his friends in the fort), and said: 'Be of good heart! I too am here. (6a) I will light a fire on the Hill of the Moon-faced Lady; do you light one on the Treasury, so that I may be sure you know of our coming. In the morning we will fall on the enemy, you from that side and we from this.' But he had fought and won before the people of the fort came out.

Mīrzā Khān hid himself in his mother's house; she was his Majesty's maternal aunt. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusain was in his wife's house. She was his Majesty's younger maternal aunt. He flung himself down on a carpet, and in fear of his life cried to a servant, 'Fasten it up!' His Majesty's people heard of this. They took him out of the carpet and brought him to the presence. In the end, his Majesty forgave the mīrzās their offences, for the sake of his aunts. He used to go, in his old fashion, in and out of his aunts' houses, and showed them more and more affection, so that no mist of trouble might dim their hearts. He assigned them places and holdings in the plain-country. (6b)

God the most High, having freed Kābul from the power of Mīrzā Khān, committed it to my royal father's care. He was then twenty-three years old and had no child and greatly desired one. In his seventeenth year a girl had been born to him by ʿĀyisha Sultān Begam, a daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mīrzā, but she had died in a month. The most high God blessed the taking of Kābul, for after it eighteen children were born. (1.) Of my Lady (Akām) who was Māham Begam there were born his Majesty the Emperor

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1 Text, khāna khāls khālahāī. This I do not understand, as there were certainly no mothers' brothers present in Kābul now.
2 He was twenty-three when he took Kābul from Muḥammad Muqīm Arghūn in 1504. Mīrzā Khān's rebellion took place two years later.
3 Fākhrū-n-misā', the Glory of Women. 'She was my first child, and I was just nineteen. In a month, or forty days, she went to the mercy of God.' (Mems. 90.)
4 Written sometimes Akām, and sometimes Akam. The Türkī Akā is used as a title of respect from a junior to a senior. It has also the sense 'elder brother,' which makes application to a woman doubtful.
Humayun, and Barbul Mirza, and Mihr-jan (jahan) Begam, and Ishan-daulat Begam, and Faruq Mirza.¹

(2.) Ma'suma Sultan Begam, daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza, died in childbirth. The mother's name they gave to the daughter.

(3.) Of Gul-rukh Begam were born Kamarun Mirza, and 'Askari Mirza, and Shah-rukh Mirza, and Sultan Ahmad Mirza, and Gul-'izar Begam.

(4.) Of Dil-dar Begam were born Gul-rang Begam, and Gul-chihra Begam, and Hindal Mirza, and Gul-badan Begam, and Alwar Mirza.²

In short, in taking Kabul he got a good omen. All his children were born there except two begams who were born in Khost, viz., Mihr-jan Begam, a daughter of Maham Begam, and Gul-rang, a daughter of Dil-dar Begam. (7a)

The blessed birth of the Emperor Humayun, the first-born son of his Majesty Firdaus-makani, occurred in the night of Tuesday, Zul-qada 4th, 913H. (March 6th, 1508), in the citadel of Kabul, and when the sun was in the sign Pisces.

That same year his Majesty was pleased to order the amirs and the rest of the world to style him emperor (badshah). For before the birth of the Emperor Humayun he had been named and styled Mirza Babar. All kings' sons were called mirzās. In the year of his Majesty Humayun's birth he styled himself badshah.

They found³ the date of the birth in Sultan Humayun Khan, and also in Shah-(i)-fīroz-qadr.⁴

After children had been born to him, news came that Shah Isma'īl had killed Shāhi Beg Khān.⁵

(Cf. Vambéry's 'Cagataische Sprach-studien.') Babar uses the word (Mems. 208.), and Mr. Erskine suggests to read 'My Lady.'

¹ Born 1525; died 1527. His father never saw him.
² Gul-badan or her copyist does not balance accounts. She says eighteen, and names sixteen children. This may be a clerical error only.
³ i.e., by abjad. Cf. Steingass' Persian Dictionary, s.v. abjad.
⁴ 'The king, victorious in might.'
⁵ At Merv, December 2nd, 1510. Cf. B. & H., I. 302. On the removal of this formidable foe, Babar again tried to regain his ancestral lands, but was still outmatched by the Uzbegs. Defeat by them led him to take a road of less resistance through Bajaur to Hindūstān.
His Majesty at this time entrusted Kâbul to Nâsir Mîrzâ, and set out for Samarqand, taking with him his people and wives and children, who were Humâyûn Mîrzâ, and Miharjahan Begam, and Bârbul Mîrzâ, and Ma’súma Begam, and Kâmrân Mîrzâ. (7b)

With help from Shâh Ismâ’il, he took Samarqand (October, 1511), and for eight (lunar) months the whole of Mawará’u-n-nahr (Transoxiana) was in his power. Owing to want of co-operation in his brothers and to the opposition of the Mughals, he was defeated at Kûl Malik by ’Ubaidu-l-lâh Khân. As he could not remain in those parts, he set out for Badakhshân and Kâbul, and put out of his head further thought of Mawará’u-n-nahr.

He had become master of Kâbul in 910H. (1504). He had always desired to go into Hindûstân, and had not carried out his wish because of the feeble counsels of his amirs and the non-agreement of his brothers. When at length these were gone, and there remained no amîr such as could argue against it, he accomplished his desire.

Bajaur5 he took in two or three hours and ordered a general massacre.

On the same day the father of Afghânî āghâcha,6 Malik Manşûr Yûsufzai, came in and paid his respects. (sa) His Majesty took his daughter in marriage and then gave him leave to depart. He bestowed on him a horse and a suit of honour befitting a ruler, and said to him: 'Go and

1 Bâbar’s half-brother, son of Umîd, an Andijânî.
2 January, 1511 (Shawwâl, 916H.).
3 For a more interesting cause of defeat, cf. B. & H., I. 321, et seq. ‘Ubaidu-l-lâh was Shaibânî’s nephew. Kûl (Lake) Malik is in Bokhârâ. Bâbar was again defeated by the Uzbegs in this same year (1511).
4 i.e., dead. Jahângîr died in 1507 and Nâsîr in 1515, both from drinking. This passage resembles Bâbar’s own words. (Mems. 309.)
5 Gul-badan is confusingly brief. Bajaur was attacked 925H. (1519) on the way to India, and its people put to the sword because they were ‘rebels to followers of Islâm’ and addicted to infidel customs. (Mems. 246 et seq. .)
6 The Afghân Lady. It is thus that Gul-badan always speaks of Bibî (Lady) Mubârika, the Yûsufzai wife of Bâbar. Pavet de Courtelle defines āghâcha thus: ‘Se dit des femmes par opposition à begam et khânâm; dame.’ I do not in Gul-badan’s work trace any disrespect attaching to ‘āghâcha,’ such as is indicated by ‘concubine,’ as which it is sometimes translated.
bring men and labourers, etc., to your native land and cultivate it.'

Qāsim Beg,1 who was in Kābul, sent a letter saying: 'Another prince has been born. I have ventured to write as an omen of the conquest of Hind and of taking its throne. As for the rest, the Emperor is master, whatever is his pleasure'2 (let it be done). In an auspicious hour his Majesty named him Mīrza Hindāl.

Having subdued Bajaur, his Majesty went towards the Bhīra country, and on his arrival made peace without plundering. He took four laks of shāhрукhīs3 and gave to his army, dividing them according to the number of his followers. He then set out for Kābul.4

Just now came a letter from Badakhshān saying: 'Mīrza Khān is dead;5 Mīrza Sulaimān is young; the Uzbegs are near; take thought for this kingdom lest (which God forbid) Badakhshān should be lost.' (sb) Until there should be thought taken, Mīrza Sulaimān's mother6 had brought him (to the Emperor). Agreeably to this petition and their wish, the Emperor assigned to Mīrza Sulaimān the lands and inheritance which had been his father's, and he gave Badakhshān to Mīrza Humāyūn.

The mīrza set out for his province. His Majesty and my Lady (Akām) followed and also went to Badakhshān, and there spent several days together. The mīrza remained

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1 Qāsim Beg Qūchīn, an ancient Beg of Andijān, and one of Bābar's best followers.
2 Qy., as to the child's name. His true name was Muḥ. Nāṣir, but he is only known as Hindāl. He was Gul-badan's full brother, and was given, before birth, to Māham Begam, who had lost all her children younger than Humāyūn. Cf. 24a n.
3 Estimated by Mr. Erskine at about £20,000 sterling.
4 End of February, 1519. In his winning fashion Bābar relates that he forbade the news of his return to be taken to Kābul, and that there was therefore no time to put his boys, Humāyūn and Kāmrān, on horseback, and that they were carried out in the arms of the nearest servants to offer their duty on his return, to a place between the fort gates and the citadel.
6 Sultan Nīgar Khānam.
and my royal father and my Lady came back to Kabul (926H.—1520).

After a time his Majesty set out for Qilāt and Qandahār. He was victorious at once in Qilāt, and went on to Qandahār and kept its garrison shut up for a year and a half. Then, by the Divine favour and after great fighting and skirmishing, he captured it. Much gold fell into his hands, and he gave moneys and camels to his soldiers and the people of the army. Qandahār he bestowed on Mirzā Kāmrān, and himself set off for Kabul.

His advance camp having been set up, he crossed the hill of Yak Langa, and gloriously alighted in the valley of Dīh-i-ya‘qūb on Friday, Šafar 1st, 932H. (November 17th, 1525), when the sun was in Sagittarius. (9a) He spent the following day there, and on the next set forth, march by march, for Hindūstān. In the seven or eight years since 925H. (1519) the royal army had several times renewed the attempt on Hindūstān. Each time it used to conquer lands and districts, such as Bhīra, Bajaur, Siālkūt, Dīpālpūr, Lāhōr, etc., up to the fifth time, when on Šafar 1st, 932H., his Majesty went, march by march, from his glorious encamping in Dīh-i-ya‘qūb towards Hindūstān. He conquered Lāhōr and Sirhind, and every country that lay on his path.

On Friday, Rajab 8th, 932H. (April 20th, 1526), he

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1 Humāyūn was now thirteen years old. He was young to be sent so far as Badakhshān. That his parents went with him is one of Gulbadan’s life-giving touches. Akām may now well have shown her boy to her father and her kinsfolk in Khost. (Memoirs of Bāyazīd, I.O. MS., 26a.)

2 Held now by Shāh Beg Arghūn, father of Shāh Ḥusain, Humāyūn’s later enemy in Sind. Firishta gives three years as the duration of the siege, Khāf ī Khān four years, and Mirzā Ḥaidar five years. The occurrence unfortunately coincides with one of the gaps in the Memoirs. This was Bābār’s culminating attempt on Qandahār; his first being in 1505,—this one seems to have ended in 1522 (928H.).

3 Gul-badan, by a sudden transition, passes over some three years, and, as it seems, using her father’s Memoirs, enters on the account of his last and successful expedition to Hindūstān. Yak Langa is a hill between Kābul and Butkhāk, and on the road to Jalālābād.

4 Text, 935H.; clearly a slip.
arrayed battle at Pânîpat against Sulţân Ibrâhîm, son of Sulţân Sikandar, son of Bahlûl Lodî. By God’s grace he was victorious, and Sulţân Ibrâhîm was killed in the fight.

His victory was won purely by the Divine grace, for Sulţân Ibrâhîm had a lak and 80,000 horse, and as many as 1,500 head of fierce elephants; (ob) while his Majesty’s army with the traders and good and all (badr (?) bad, bad) was 12,000 persons and he had, at the outside, 6,000 or 7,000 serviceable men.

The treasures of five kings fell into his hands. He gave everything away. The amîrs of Hind represented that in Hindûstân it was thought disgraceful to expend the treasure of bygone kings, and that people rather added and added to it, while his Majesty, on the contrary, had given all away.²

Khwâja² Kilân⁴ Beg asked leave several times to go to Kâbul. He said: ‘My constitution is not fitted for the climate of Hindûstân. If leave were given, I should tarry awhile in Kâbul.’ His Majesty was not at all, at all willing for him to go, but at last gave permission because he saw him so very urgent. He said: ‘When you go, I shall send some of the valuable presents and curiosities of Hind which fell into our hands through the victory over

¹ ‘A far-reaching, almost illimitable level tract, broken only by insignificant undulations. Here and there, where the shallow soil is moistened from someiggardly watercourse, grow sparse grasses and stunted thorn-bushes. But, for the most part, the eye falls only on the uniform yellowish-gray waste of sterile earth. Everywhere empty silence reigns, and it would almost seem as if this desert had been designed for the battlefield of nations.’ (Emperor Akbar, F. v. Noer., trs. A.S.B. I. 74.)

² Thrice in modern times a decisive battle has been fought out here: (1) by Bâbar against Ibrâhîm and the Lodîs, 1526; (2) by Akbar against the Indian Afghâns in 1556; and (3) by Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî against the Marâthâs in 1761.

³ M. Garçin de Tassy says, in his ‘Mémoire sur la Religion Musulmane’ (46 n.) that khwâja, like sayyid, is a title for a descendant of Muḥammad. Shaw’s Türkî Dictionary states that khwâja is applied to the offspring of a sayyid by a woman of another family, also to their descendants. I find many instances where both titles are applied to the same man.

⁴ One of Bâbar’s most admirable followers and friends, and perhaps a relation. He was one of seven brothers, sons of Maulânâ Muḥammad Ṣâdru-d-dîn, who spent their lives in Bâbar’s service.
Sultān Ibrāhīm, to my elder relations\(^1\) and sisters and each person of the *haram*. You take them. I shall write a list, and you will distribute them according to it. (10a) You will order a tent with a screen to be set up in the Garden of the Audience Hall for each begam,\(^2\) and when a pleasant meeting-place has been arranged, the begams are to make the prostration of thanks for the complete victory which has been brought about.

'To each begam is to be delivered as follows: one special dancing-girl of the dancing-girls of Sultān Ibrāhīm, with one gold plate full of jewels—ruby and pearl, cornelian and diamond, emerald and turquoise, topaz and cat’s-eye—and two small mother-o’-pearl trays full of *ashrafīs*, and on two other trays *shāhrukhīs*,\(^3\) and all sorts of stuffs by nines—that is, four trays and one plate. Take a dancing-girl and another plate of jewels, and one each of *ashrafīs* and *shāhrukhīs*, and present, in accordance with my directions, to my elder relations the very plate of jewels and the selfsame dancing-girl which I have given for them. I have made other gifts;\(^4\) convey these afterwards. (10b) Let them divide and present jewels and *ashrafīs* and *shāhrukhīs* and stuffs to my sisters and children and the *harams*\(^5\) and kinsmen, and to the begams and āghās\(^6\) and

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\(^1\) *waliyyu-n-nī‘matān*, lords of beneficence. Gul-badan’s application of it is to ‘benevolent ladies,’ *i.e.*, the numerous aunts. It is a title of respect for seniors.

\(^2\) I think each begam was to encamp with her own establishment and within her own enclosure (*sarāpārda*), and not in hasty camp-fashion of community of quarters. This would exalt the assembly.

The *sarāpārda* or enclosing canvas wall, run at optional distance round tents, was, it is stated in the *Ma‘āsiru-r-raḥīmī*, invented by Bairam Khān-i-khānān, and if this is true, it must at this date have been a quite modern convenience.

\(^3\) It is waste of time to try to estimate the amount of these money gifts, made as they were in coins of uncertain value and recorded, probably on hearsay, more than fifty years after bestowal. Mr. Erskine puts the *shāhrukhī* at from 10d. to 1s., Steingass, *s.v.* *ashrafī*, gives for its value about 16 *rupis*, presumably of undegenerated rank.

\(^4\) *Qy.*, for the elder relations.

\(^5\) Presumably of his kinsmen and of officers whose families were with Bābar’s own in Kābul.

\(^6\) This word seems to describe women who were heads of household departments and not merely the guardians of *harams*. 
nurses and foster-brethren and ladies, and to all who pray for me.' The gifts were made according to the list.

Three happy days they remained together in the Audience Hall Garden. They were uplifted by pride, and recited the fāṭiḥa\(^1\) for the benediction and prosperity of his Majesty, and joyfully made the prostration of thanks.\(^2\)

The Emperor sent by Khwāja Kilān a large ashrāfī,\(^3\) which weighed three imperial sīr, that is, fifteen sīr of Hind, for . . . 'Asas.\(^4\) He said to the Khwāja: 'If 'Asas asks you, "What has the Emperor sent for me?" say, "One ashrāfī,"' as there really was only one. 'Asas was amazed, and fretted about it for three days. His Majesty had ordered that a hole should be bored in the ashrāfī, and that 'Asas should be blindfolded and the ashrāfī hung round his neck, and that then he was to be sent into the haram. The hole was bored and the ashrāfī hung round his neck. He was quite helpless with surprise at its weight, and delighted and—very, very happy. He took it in both hands, and wondered over it and said, 'No one shall get my ashrāfī.' Each begam, too, gave (? him) ten or twelve ashrāfī, so he had seventy or eighty. (11a)

After Khwāja Kilān Beg had started for Kābul, the Emperor made gifts in Agra to his Majesty Humāyūn and

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1 The first chapter of the Qurān.
2 In this prostration the forehead touches the ground.
3 Perhaps from the Lodi treasury. (Cf. J.A.S.B. Proceedings, 1883; Thomas, 423; Richardson’s Ar. & Per. Dict., s.v. sīkka; Memoirs of the Mughal Empire, Jonathan Scott, 3 and 3 n.)
4 Lit. a night-guard. The words preceding 'Asas offer much difficulty. They may be read ba 'ammū,—to the paternal uncle of 'Asas. But the story is of 'Asas, the night-guard and not of his uncle. Perhaps 'ammū is a clerical error for 'āmah, bewilderment, misleading, and this would suit the story well. Mr. Beveridge has suggested to me to read 'Umarī, i.e., an old servant of 'Umar Shaikh. This, too, would be appropriate, for the victim of the hoax is clearly an old man.

The title 'Asas is applied several times by Bābar. One 'Asas was a boon companion and partook of Bābar’s vow before the battle of Khānwa. (Mems. 283 and 354; Firishta, Pers. Text, Briggs I. 449.) Gul-badan names one (20b) as entrusted with the care of Bābar’s tomb,—Muh. 'Ali 'Asas. I think he was brother to Māham Begam, and the governor of Kābul whom Kāmrān murdered in 1547.
to all the mîrzâs and sultâns and amîrs. He sent letters in all directions, urgently saying, 'We shall take into full favour all who enter our service, and especially such as served our father and grandfather and ancestors. If such will come to us, they will receive fitting benefits. Whoever there may be of the families of Şâhib-qirân and Chingiz Khân, let them turn towards our court. The most High has given us sovereignty in Hindûstân; let them come that we may see prosperity together.'

Seven¹ daughters of Sultân Abû-sa‘îd came (to Hindûstân): Guhar-shâd Begam, and Fakhr-jahân Begam, and Khadija Sultân Begam, and Bâdi‘u-l-jamâl Begam, and Aq Begam, and Sultân Bakht Begam.

(Also) Zainab Sultan Khânam, daughter of his Majesty's maternal uncle, Sultân Maḥmûd Khân, and Muḥibb Sultân Khânam,² daughter of Itâcha Khân (Aḥmad), his Majesty's younger maternal uncle.

In short, all the begams and khânams went, ninety-six persons in all, and all received houses and lands and gifts to their heart's desire. (11b)

All through the four years that (my father) was in Āgra he used to go on Fridays to see his paternal aunts. One day it was extremely hot, and her Highness my lady (Akâm) said, 'The wind is very hot, indeed; how would it be if you did not go this one Friday? The begams would not be vexed.' His Majesty said, 'Mâham! it is astonishing that you should say such things! The daughters of Abû-sa‘îd Sultân Mîrzâ, who have been deprived of father and brothers! If I do not cheer them, how will it be done?'

To the architect, Khwâja Qâsim, his Majesty gave the following order: 'We command a piece of good service from you. It is this: whatever work, even if it be on a great scale, our paternal aunts may order done in their

¹ Six only named.
² Wife of Mîrzâ Ḥaidar Dughlât, the historian.
palace, give it precedence, and carry it out with might and main.'

He commanded buildings to be put up in Āgra on the other side of the river, and a stone palace to be built for himself between the haram and the garden. He also had one built in the audience court, with a reservoir in the middle and four chambers in the four towers. On the river's bank he had a chaukandi built. (12a)

He ordered a tank made in Dholpūr, ten by ten, out of a single mass of rock, and used to say, 'When it is finished, I will fill it with wine.' But as he had given up wine before the fight with Rānā Sangā, he filled it with lemonade.

A year after Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's death, the rānā appeared from the Mandū (or Hindū) side with a countless host. Amīrs and rājas and rānās, every one of those who had come earlier and paid duty to his Majesty, now became an enemy and went and joined the rānā, until Kūl-jalālī and Sambhāl and Rāpārī—every pargana,—and rāīs and rājas and Afghāns became hostile. Nearly two laks of cavalry assembled.

At this time, Muḥammad Sharīf, the astrologer, said to the royal soldiers, 'It would be best for the Emperor not to fight, for the constellation Sakkiz Yildoz (Eight Stars) is opposite.' Amazing perturbation fell upon the royal army. They became exceedingly anxious and troubled, and showed signs of cowardice. (12b) When his Majesty saw his army

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1 i.e., opposite the fort.
2 'A building on the roof which has a door on each of the four sides.' Vullers, 602. Badāonī uses ghurfa, upper room, as an equivalent. Cf. Elliot's History of India, V. 347 and 503.
3 About 20 feet by 20 feet. (Mems, 398 n.)
4 This decisive battle was fought on March 16th, 1527, on the skirts of the hill of Sikrī, at Khānwa. Akbar's prænomen of Fatḥipūr—the City of Victory—was given to Sikrī in 1573 to commemorate the Gujrat campaign.
5 When the fight had been won, Babār soundly rated Muḥammad Sharīf, gave him money, and dismissed him to the place from which he had emerged, apparently only to cause trouble. He had come to India with a royal kinsman from Kābul, and to Kābul in 1519 from Khost (Māham's home).
in this state, he thought over the whole position. As the enemy was close at hand, this device occurred to his blessed mind; he ordered the remnant of what remained over and above deserters and enemies, to gather together. One and all came—amîrs and khâns and sultâns; plebeian and noble, low and high. Then he addressed them, and said: 'Do you not know that there lies a journey of some months between us and the land of our birth and our familiar city? If our side is defeated, (God preserve us from that day! God forbid it!) where are we? where is our birthplace? where our city? We have to do with strangers and foreigners. It is in every way best for each man to set resolutely before himself the two alternatives: if we win, we are avengers of the cause of God; if we lose, we die martyrs. In either fate is our salvation; each is a step and upward stage in greatness.'

To this they all agreed. They swore by the divorce of their wives and on the Holy Book; they recited the fâtiha, and said, 'O King! God willing, we will not spare ourselves in sacrifice and devotion, so long as there are breath and life in our bodies.' (13a)

Two days before the battle his Majesty renounced wine, and, indeed, he forswore all forbidden things. Following his example, 400 young men of name, who had given proof of manliness and one-mindedness and friendship, also renounced these things when he did. His Majesty broke up all forbidden utensils,—vessels of gold and of silver, goblets and flasks, etc.; and he gave them to the poor and needy.

He also sent abroad firmâns with the announcement: 'We exempt (you) from all dues and octroi and tithe on corn, and from all illegal imposts, so that no one, trader or

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1 Mr. Erskine thus gives Bâbar's words: 'Every man dies. God only survives unchangeable. He who comes to life's feast must drink the parting cup of death. How much better to die with honour than to live with infamy!'

Perhaps, as Gul-badan says, Bâbar touched also the thought of home, and this would be recorded by the woman.
other, may be hampered in his comings and goings, but all may move unmolested and free from interference.'

In the night before the battle word was brought that Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān,—a grandson of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā through a daughter, ‘Āyisha Sulṭān Begam,—had come to within ten kōs (of the royal camp) on his way from Khurāsān. (13b)

This news delighted his Majesty greatly. He asked, 'How many men are with him?' When he heard 'thirty or forty,' he at once sent off 1,000 troopers, all armed and equipped, at midnight, so that they might march in again with Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān, and in this way the enemy and outsiders be let know that reinforcements had come in good time. Everyone who heard the plan thought it a good one.

Next morning, which was March 16th, 1527 (Jumāda II. [13th], 933H.), his Majesty arrayed battle against Rānā Sangā on the skirts of the hill of Sikri, where now Fathpūr has been built² and peopled. By the Divine grace he was victorious and became an avenger of the cause of God.³

A year later my lady (akām), who was Māham Begam, came from Kābul to Hindūsān. I, this insignificant one, came with her in advance of my sisters, and paid my duty to my royal father. When my lady reached Kūl(-jalālī—i.e., 'Alighar), his Majesty had sent two litters with three horsemen. (14a) She went on post-haste from Kūl to Āgra. His Majesty had intended to go as far as Kūl-jalālī to meet her. At evening-prayer time some one came and said to him: 'I have just passed her Highness on the road, four miles out.' My royal father did not wait for a horse to be

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¹ Babar says that Qāsim had come earlier and with 500 men. Muh. Sharīf, the 'rascally fellow' and 'evil-minded wretch,' was with him. (Mems., 352.)

² How beautifully built may, in small part, be seen by visiting the Oriental section of the South Kensington Museum and there examining the architectural reproductions, the drawings of Mr. W. B. Carpenter, the photographs, etc. The South Kensington Museum and the British Museum furnish numerous illustrations for Gul-badan Begam's MS., and add to it the charm of life and reality.

³ Ghāzi. Babar now assumed this title, because he had vanquished non-Muḥammadans.
saddled but set out on foot. He met her near the house of Māham’s nanacha.\(^1\) She wished to alight, but he would not wait, and fell into her train and walked to his own house.\(^2\)

At the time of her meeting his Majesty, she desired me to come on by daylight and pay my respects to him.

\(\ldots\) nine troopers, with two sets of nine horses and the two extra litters which the Emperor had sent, and one litter which had been brought from Kābul, and about a hundred of my lady’s Mughal servants, mounted on fine (tipūchāq) horses,\(^4\) all elegance and beauty.\(^5\)

My royal father’s Khalīfa\(^6\) with his wife Sulṭānām\(^7\) came as far as Naugrām\(^8\) to meet (us). My māmā\(^9\) had made me alight at the Little Garden, and having spread a small carpet, seated me on it. They instructed me to rise when Khalīfa came in, and to embrace him. When he came, I rose and embraced him. Then his wife Sulṭānām came in

\(^1\) dar pesh khāna nanacha Māham. This might read ‘in the advance camp.’ Māham’s nanacha appears thrice in the MS.: here and at 18b and 26a. She is clearly of the innermost circle. The word may be rendered ‘dear little mother,’ and is one of close affection.

\(^2\) Cf. Mems., 423.

\(^3\) tūqūz. The Turks made kings’ gifts by nines and attached superstitious reverence to the number.

\(^4\) A tipūchāq horse, according to Shaw, is long-necked like a Türkmen horse, and it seems also to be one with speed, beauty, and specially-trained paces. Vambéry says, ‘ein fettes, gutes Pferd.’

\(^5\) The above passage is inserted without break in the text and suggests transcription from an imperfect MS. It may be an enumeration of the items of the cortége which followed Māham with Gul-badan.

\(^6\) Sayyid or Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn ‘Alī Barlās and Bābar’s vazīr. His brother, Junaid Barlās, married Shahr-bānū, a half-sister of Bābar.

\(^7\) Clearly an intimate. There were close relations, as has been said, between this Barlās family and Bābar. Cf. Biographical Appendix, s.n. Sulṭānām.

\(^8\) Some four miles from Āgra and on the east of the Jamna. The royal palace was not yet built on the western bank. Cf. Rājpūtāna Gazetteer, III. 274.

\(^9\) Steingass translates ‘mother,’ ‘matron,’ and ‘old women.’ One māmā is named later, ‘Fakhru-n-nisā’, my māmā.’ (26a) She was the mother of Nadīm Khwāja kūkā. She is several times mentioned, and it appears from a MS. belonging to Colonel Hanna which Mr. Beveridge has examined, that she was mother-in-law of the celebrated Māham anaga who was Nadīm’s wife.
too. (14b) I, not knowing, wished to get up, but Khalifa raised objections, and said: ‘She is your old serving-woman. There is no need to rise for her. Your father has exalted this old servant (?) himself) by giving such an order about him. So be it! what power have slaves?’

From Khalifa I accepted 6,000 shāhrukhīs and five horses, and Sulțānām gave me 3,000 and three horses. Then she said: ‘A hasty meal (mā hażarī) is ready. If you will eat you will honour your servants.’ I consented. There was a raised platform in a pleasant spot, and a pavilion of red cloth with lining of Gujrātī brocade, and six canopies of cloth and brocade, each of a (differing) colour, and a square enclosure of cloth with painted poles.

I sat in Khalifa’s quarters. The meal drew out to almost fifty roast sheep, and bread and sherbet and much fruit. Having at length eaten my breakfast, I got into my litter and went and paid my duty to my royal father. (15a)

I fell at his feet; he asked me many questions, and took me for a time in his arms, and then this insignificant person felt such happiness that greater could not be imagined.

When we had been in Āgra three months, the Emperor went to Dholpūr. Her Highness Māham Begam and this lowly person also went. A tank had been made there, ten (gaz) by ten, out of one piece (of rock). From Dholpūr his Majesty went on to Sikrī. He ordered a great platform made in the middle of the tank, and when it was ready, he used to go and sit on it, or to row about. This platform still exists.

They also made a chaukandī in the Sikrī garden, and my

1 (?) as that she should rise to greet him.
3 The ‘fifty’ sheep will not reduce by any reading I can suggest. Cf. anglice ‘heaps of,’ ‘hundreds of,’ etc. Perhaps the flock is a product of childish weariness recalled half a century later. Possibly one should read panj āhār, five foods, i.e., courses, dishes. Gul-badan is now between five and six. Her doubt as to the reception due to Sulțānam rings true, and Khalifa’s words suggest a little play-acting to please the small traveller; he treated her like a grown-up, and she tried to act one.
royal father put up in it a tür-khāna,¹ where he used to sit and write his book.²

I and Afghānī āghācha were sitting in the front of the lower storey when my lady went to prayers. I said to Afghānī āghācha: ‘Pull my hand.’ She pulled, and my hand came out. My strength went and I cried. (15b) Then they brought the bone-setter and when he had bound up my hand, the Emperor went to Agra.

After his arrival, word was brought that the begams were on the way from Kābul. My royal father went as far as Naugrām to give honourable reception to my dearest lady (aka-jānam),³ who was my oldest paternal aunt and my royal father’s eldest sister. All the begams who had come with her, paid their duty to the Emperor in her quarters. They were very happy and made the prostration of thanks, and then set off for Agra. The Emperor gave houses to all the begams.

A few days later he made an excursion to the Gold-scattering Garden (Bāgh-i-zar-afshān). There was a place in it for ablution before prayers. When he saw it, he said: ‘My heart is bowed down by ruling and reigning; I will retire to this garden. As for attendance, Tāhir the everbearer will amply suffice. I will make over the kingdom to Humāyūn.’ On this my lady (akām) and all his children broke down, and said with tears: ‘God keep you in His own peace upon the throne many, many years, and may all your children after you reach a good old age!’ (16a)

A few days later Alwar Mīrzā fell ill. His illness led to an affection of the bowels, which grew worse and worse in spite of all that the doctors could do, and at last he passed from this transitory world to the eternal home. His Majesty was very sad and sorry, and Alwar’s mother, Dil-dār Begam, was wild with grief for the child, who was a

¹ “Perhaps a space enclosed by a low railing.” (Mems., 202 n.) Possibly and suitably, a mosquito-room (taur, net). Cf. Khwānd-amīr, B.M. Or. 1,762, and Add. 30,774, ff. 25-114.
² The Tūzūk-i-bābarī.
³ Khānzāda Begam.
rarity of the world and unique of the age. As her lamentation passed due bounds, his Majesty said to my lady and the begams: 'Come, let us make an excursion to Dholpūr.' He himself went comfortably and pleasantly by water, and the begams also begged to go by boat.

Just then there came a letter from Maulānā Muḥammad Farghārī (Parghālī) in Dīhī, saying: 'Humāyūn Mīrzā is ill and in an extraordinary state. Her Highness the begam should come at once to Dīhī, for the mīrzā is much prostrated.'

My lady was very much upset on hearing this news, and started for Dīhī, like one athirst who is far from the waters. They met in Mathura. To her experienced eye he seemed ten times weaker and more alarmingly ill than she had heard he was. From Mathura the two, mother and son, like Jesus and Mary, set out for Āgra. When they arrived, this insignificant one went with her own sisters to visit that royal angel of goodness.

He was then growing weaker and weaker. Every time he came to his senses, his pearl-dropping tongue asked for us, and said: 'Sisters, you are welcome! Come, and let us embrace one another. I have not embraced you.' It might be three times that he raised his head and that his jewel-dropping tongue let fall these uplifting words.

When his Majesty came and saw how it was, his light-revealing countenance at once became sad and pitiful, and he began more and more to show signs of dread. (17a) On this my lady said: 'Do not be troubled about my son. You are a king; what griefs have you? You have other sons. I sorrow because I have only this one.' His Majesty rejoined: 'Māham! although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humāyūn. I crave that this

1 Cf. Bābar-nāma, Ilminsky, 502 et seq., and P. de Courteille, II. 457 et seq., where is one of the supplementary fragments included in Kehr's Bābar-nāma (Tūzūk) and possibly taken from the Bukhārā MS. (Cf. Notes on the Türkî texts of the Bābar-nāma, A. S. Beveridge. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1900.)
2 All Māham's other children died in childhood.
BABAR IN PRAYER, DEVOTING HIMSELF FOR HIS SON.

[To face p. 105.]
cherished child may have his heart's desire and live long, and I desire the kingdom for him and not for the others, because he has not his equal in distinction.'

During Humayûn's illness his Majesty walked round him and turned his face (in intercession) to his Reverence, Murtaza 'Ali Karîmu-l-lâh. He kept up that going-round from the Wednesday and made intercession from the Tuesday, in anxiety and deep dejection. The weather was extremely hot and his heart and liver burned. While going round he prayed, saying in effect: 'O God! if a life may be exchanged for a life, I who am Bâbar, I give my life and my being for Humayûn.'

That very day he fell ill, and Humayûn poured water on his head, and came out and gave audience. (17b) Because of his illness, they carried my royal father within, and he kept his bed for two or three months.

As he grew worse, a messenger was sent to summon his Majesty Humayûn, who had gone towards Kalinjar. He came post-haste, and on paying his duty to the Emperor, noticed that he was very feeble. Filled with compassion, he began to break down, and kept saying to the attendants: 'How has he come to such a lamentable pass all at once?' He sent for the doctors, and said to them: 'I left him well. What has happened all at once?' They said this and that in reply.

1 The account of Bâbar's self-surrender which follows is somewhat puzzling to translate, but the sense is clear and the important statements are in accordance with other sources.

2 One of Kehr's (Ilminsky's) 'fragments' (which, if it be not Bâbar's own, it is not improbable was added to the Tûzûk by Jâhângîr) tells this story in Bâbar's person. After rejection of the suggestion to sacrifice for Humayûn's life the great diamond (the Koh-i-nûr), the narrative continues (P. de C., II. 460): 'J'entrai dans la chambre où il se tenait, et je tournai trois fois autour de lui, en commençant par la tête et en disant, "J'assume sur moi tout ce que tu souffres." En même instant je me sentis tout alourdi, tandis que lui se trouvait léger et dispos. Il se leva en pleine santé, et moi je m'affaissai, accablé de malaise.'

Faith in the rite of circumambulation still prevails in Persia. Bâbar, it is clear, believed his devotion to have borne fruit. (Cf. Hughes, Dict. of Islâm, s.v. Intercession. For Karîmu-l-lâh, see Badâyuni, Bib. Ind. Text, III. 191.)
The whole time my royal father kept repeating: 'Where is Hindal? What is he doing?' Just at this time some-one came in and said: 'Mir Bardî Beg, the son of Mir Khurd Beg,\(^1\) conveys his obeisance.' My royal father, full of agitation, sent for him at once and asked: 'Where is Hindal? When will he come? What trouble waiting gives!'\(^{18a}\) Mir Bardî said: 'The fortunate prince has reached Dihlî; he will wait on you to-day or to-morrow.' On this my royal father said to Mir Bardî Beg: 'Ill-fated little fellow! I have heard that they married your sister in Kābul, and you in Lāhōr.\(^2\) It is because of the wedding festivities that you have (not)\(^3\) sooner brought my son, and so my weary waiting has been very long.' He asked: 'How tall has Hindal Mîrzâ grown?' and 'What is he like?' As Mir Bardî was wearing one of the mîrzâ's dresses, he showed it and said: 'This is a robe of the prince which he bestowed on his servant.' His Majesty called him nearer and said: 'Let me see how tall and how big Hindal has grown.'\(^4\) He kept repeating, 'Alas! a thousand times alas! that I do not see Hindal,' and asking everyone who came in: 'When will Hindal come?'

During his illness, he laid a command on my lady, and said: 'Marriages ought to be arranged for Gul-rang Begam and Gul-chihra Begam.\(^{18b}\) When the royal aunt, my elder sister,\(^5\) honours me with a visit, tell her that I say it has occurred to me to give Gul-rang to Isân-tîmûr Sultan and Gul-chihra to Tūkhta-bûghā Sultan.'\(^6\)

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\(^1\) Hindal's guardian from birth (1519-1530). He had previously been Bābar's bakāwal (house-steward). One of his sons, Khwāja Tāhir Muḥammad, served under Humāyûn and Akbar, and was mîr farâghat (master of comfort). He may be the Mir Bardî (qy. a child's sobriquet, Master Full-of-fum) of this episode. Tāhir's son, Bāqī, was a sewer, i.e., table-decker (sufra-chî).

\(^2\) Hindal, with whom doubtless Mir Bardî and his father were travelling, was on his way from Badakhshān to the court.

\(^3\) The text has no negative.

\(^4\) Hindal was now about eleven years old, so Mir Bardî must also have been a boy.

\(^5\) Khânzâda Begam—aka-jânâm—dearest lady.

\(^6\) Isân (Ishân, or Yussun) was the ninth, and Tūkhta-bûghā the tenth, son of Ḥāmîd Khân, Bābar's maternal uncle. They were uncles of Gul-badan's own husband, Khizr Khwâja.
Dearest lady, the smiling one,\(^1\) came, and they said to her: 'The Emperor spoke in this manner, and it has occurred to him in such a way. It now remains to know your pleasure. Let it be as you wish.' She said the same and, 'God grant blessing and peace! His idea is very good.' My čičha\(^2\) herself and Badi’u-l-jamāl Begam and Āq Begam, both of whom were paternal aunts of his Majesty, were conducted into the hall. Having raised an estrade\(^3\) and spread carpets and chosen a propitious hour, Māham’s nanacha made both sultāns bow the knee\(^4\) in order to exalt them to the rank of sons-in-law.

Meantime his Majesty’s disorder of the bowels increased. The Emperor Humāyūn broke down again when he saw his father’s condition worsen, and called the doctors, and said to them: ‘Think it well over and find some remedy.’

(19a) Having consulted together, they said: ‘Small is our

\(^1\) tabassum kunān.
\(^2\) This Türk word presents great difficulty.
\(^3\) Vambery has čiča, Kirghiz, mother, and čiča, aunt (inferentially maternal); Shaw, čičā, Qāzzāq, mother. P. de Courteille, Dict., čiča, an elder sister. The word has in Samarqand the meaning ‘maternal aunt.’

It occurs again in the text (23a), and is used for Gul-badan’s sisters, the brides of this page (19a); so that it may be right (spite of the singular number) to read ‘my elder sisters themselves’—i.e., the brides. But it might be ‘my mother.’

The word occurs at least once in the Memoirs. (Ilm., 446; Ers., 387.) It is preceded by one which Ilminsky writes yanka, and Erskine Bikeh (Bega). The letters of both words might be identical and the points only decisive. Shaw says yangā is an elder brother’s wife; Vambery, belle-soeur, Schwagerin; and Erskine (208 n.), bridesmaid, by which, I believe, is meant one who leads the bride to the bridegroom—an exactly appropriate use here, since Ḥabība yangā brings her daughter Ma’sūma to marry Bābar. (N.B.—Shaw writes yangā and čičā, where Vambery and others have a final ‘round hā.’)

But if the čiča of Mem., 387, is to be read ‘elder sister,’ Bābar can apply it only to Khānžāda Begam (elsewhere called by him aulugh īgāčī (Ilm., 116.)); and this would, I believe, make the reading of Bikeh (Bega) difficult, since Khānžāda could not be called anything less than Khānam. The same objection would apply to the reading of čiča as mother or as maternal aunt. This inclines one to read yanka, and not bikeh, at Mem., 387; and the Zaínab of the sentence may be grand-daughter (nabira), through the female line, of the belle-soeur, or bridesmaid, of Khānžāda Begam. But nothing is clear as to the relationship.

\(^4\) Text, sufā dāda. Perhaps, content was given to all, but sufā, estrade, fits better with the following basāf.
luck, for our remedies are of no avail. We hope that God, the most Holy, will soon give one from His invisible treasures.'

When they felt his Majesty's pulse, they came to the opinion that there were symptoms of the same poison as that given him by Sultān Ibrāhīm's mother. It was in this way: that ill-fated demon (the mother) gave a tōla of poison to one of her maids, and said: 'Take this and give it to Aḥmad the taster and tell him to put it in some way or other into the special dishes prepared for the Emperor.' And she promised him large rewards. The ill-fated demon did this although his Majesty used to call her "mother," and had assigned her place and lands with every favour, and had been kindly pleased to say: 'Consider me as in the place of Sultān Ibrāhīm.' But as ignorance prevails amongst those people, she did not regard his kindnesses. The (fitting) hemistich is well known:

'Everything reverts to its original type,
(Whether pure gold, or silver, or tin).'

To cut short the story: the cook (Heaven having made him blind and deaf,) spread the poison which had been brought and given to him, on the Emperor's bread only, and so little was eaten. But the symptoms of this illness were like that one's, seeing that day by day he lost strength and became more and more emaciated. Every day the disorder increased and his blessed countenance changed.

Next day he called his chiefs together and spoke after this wise: 'For years it has been in my heart to make over my throne to Humāyūn Mīrzā and to retire to the Gold-scattering Garden. By the Divine grace I have obtained all things but the fulfilment of this wish in health of body. Now, when illness has laid me low, I charge you all to acknowledge Humāyūn in my stead. Fail not in loyalty

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1 Her son, who died fighting Bābar at Pānīpat.
3 (?) after Humāyūn's arrival.
to him. Be of one heart and one mind with him. I hope to God that Humāyūn also will bear himself well towards men.

'Moreover, Humāyūn, I commit to God's keeping you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people; and all of these I confide to you.'

At these words hearers and onlookers wept and lamented. His own blessed eyes also filled with tears.

When his family and the people within the haram heard of these occurrences, they were stupefied and overwhelmed, and cried and lamented.

Three days later he passed from this transitory world to the eternal home. The death took place on Monday, December 26th, 1530 (Jumāda I. 5th, 937H.) (20a)

They brought out our paternal aunt1 and our mothers2 on the pretence that the doctors were coming to look. All rose. They took all the begams and my mothers to the Great House.3

Black fell the day for children and kinsfolk and all. They bewailed and lamented; voices were uplifted in weeping; there was utter dejection. Each passed that ill-fated day in a hidden corner.

The death was kept concealed. After a time Araish Khan,—he was an amir of Hind,—said: 'It is not well to keep the death secret, because when such misfortunes befall kings in Hindūstān, it is the custom of the bāzar people to rob and steal; God forbid that the Mughals not knowing, they should come and loot the houses and dwelling-places. It would be best to dress someone in red, and to set him on an elephant, and to let him proclaim that the Emperor Bābar has become a dervish and has given his throne to the Emperor Humāyūn.' This his Majesty Humāyūn ordered to be done. People were at once reassured by the proclamation, and all offered prayers for

1 Khānzāda Begam.
2 Bābar's wives.
3 Perhaps 'palace,' and the sense may be that they did not go to their separate residences but remained nearer to the dead.
his welfare. On Friday, December 29th, 1530 (Jumāda I. 9th, 937H.), the Emperor Humāyūn mounted the throne, and everyone said: 'May all the world be blessed under his rule.' (20b)

After that he came to visit his mothers and sisters and his own people, and he made inquiry after their health and offered sympathy, and spoke with kindness and commiseration. He was pleased to order: 'Let each keep the office, and service, and lands, and residence which he has had, and let him serve in the old way.'

On the same day Hindāl Mīrzā, having come from Kābul, paid his homage to the Emperor, who received him with kindness, and was very happy, and bestowed on him many things from the treasures left by their father.

After my royal father's death, there were the good works and consecrated days of the first assembly1 at his tomb.2 His Majesty named Muḥammad 'Ali 'asas3 its guardian, and ordered the appointment of sixty good reciters of the whole Qurān and readers with good voices, so that the congregational prayers might be said five times daily and the whole Qurān recited, and prayer offered for the soul of the royal dweller in Paradise (Firdaus-makānī). (21a) The whole of Sikrī—now known as Fathpūr—together with five laks charged on Bayāna, was given as an endowment to the

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1 ma'rkā. Raverty (Afghān Dict.) gives as the first meaning of this word 'a party of ambassadors, or persons sent to make peace between two tribes'; and, secondly, as 'the business of making peace, or an arrangement between two tribes.' Lane and other writers render it 'battle-field' and 'battle,' etc. Steingass adds 'hubbub, tumult' (modern colloquial). Gul-badan uses it for the common social assemblies she names, and here for the gathering of relations at a tomb.

2 Bābar's body was laid first in the Rām or Arām Bāgh (Garden of Rest), on the opposite side of the river from the present Tāj-mahāl. Later it was taken to Kābul. Mr. Erskine (B. & M., I. 517 et seq.) quotes a charming passage from Burns' 'Travels in Bokhārā' (II. 121 et seq.), which describes Bābar's self-chosen resting-place. He follows this by an eloquent estimate of Bābar's character which makes clear his regret in bidding farewell to the great and vivid personality he has so admirably set before his readers.

3 i.e., of the night-guard. I believe he was the brother of Māham Begam.
tomb, for the support of the men of learning ('ulamā) and the reciters who were attached to it.

My lady made an allowance of food twice daily: in the morning an ox and two sheep and five goats, and at afternoon prayer-time five goats. She gave this from her own estate during the two and a half years that she remained in the prison of this world.

During my lady's life I used to see his Majesty in her residence. When she fell into bad health, she said to me: 'It will be very hard that when I am gone, the Emperor Bābar's daughters should see their brother in Bibi Gulbarg's' house.' Just as though her words were in the royal heart and mind, his Majesty used always, so long as he was in Hindūstān, to come to our house. He used to visit us and showed us kindness and affection and favour without stint. He used to come to the house of this insignificant one, and there would come Ma'sūma Sultān Begam, and Gul-rang Begam, and Gul-chihra Begam, etc.—all the married ladies—and pay their duty to him. (21b)

In short, after the death of my royal father and my lady, his Majesty, in the fulness of his affection, showed this broken one such favour, and spoke with such boundless compassion to this helpless one, that she did not know she was orphaned and headless.3

During the ten4 years after the death of his Majesty Firdaus-makānī that his Majesty Jannat-āshyānī was in Hind, the people dwelt in repose and safety, and obedience and loyalty.5

Six months after the death of his Majesty Firdaus-

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1 Cf. post. 29b, and 'Biographical Appendix,' s.n.
2 These three were her half and full sisters respectively.
3 Gul-badan was about eight at her father's death. At three she had been adopted by Māham Begam.
4 Really about nine.
5 This rose-coloured picture accords neither with the facts nor with the narrative of Gul-badan. It may be that some limiting word has slipped out; e.g., 'in Agra,' or 'the people of the country,' in opposition to the dispossessed Afghāns, conquerors of earlier date, or Bābar's people, i.e., household.
makānī, Biban¹ and Bāyazīd advanced from the direction of Gaur. On the news of this, his Majesty at once left Āgra and moved to meet them. He defeated them, and then went to Chanāda (Chunār),² took it, and thence returned to Āgra.

My lady, who was Māham Begam, had a great longing and desire to see a son of Humāyūn. Wherever there was a good-looking and nice girl, she used to bring her into his service. Maywa-jān, a daughter of Khadang (? Khazang), the chamberlain (yasāwal),³ was in my employ. One day (after) the death of his Majesty Firdaus-makānī,⁴ my lady said: ‘Humāyūn, Maywa-jān is not bad. Why do you not take her into your service?’ So, at her word, Humāyūn married and took her that very night. (22a)

Three days later Bega Begam⁵ came from Kābul. She became in the family way. In due time⁶ she had a daughter, whom they named ‘Aqīqa. Maywa-jān said to Lady (Aka) Māham Begam, ‘I am in the family way, too.’ Then my lady got ready two sets of weapons, and said: ‘Whichever of you bears a son, I will give him good arms.’ Then she packed up the arms, and got ready gold and silver walnuts. She procured also the (special) arms of a Mughal commander, and was very happy, and

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¹ Text, Bibban. Biban and Bāyazīd were two distinguished Afghān chiefs and supporters of the fallen Lodī dynasty. The defeat named here occurred at Daurā, on the Gumti, 1531 (937H.).

² 1532 (938H.). Taken from Shīr Shāh late in 1532 (939H.).

³ An attendant on a man of rank, who carries a gold or silver staff (Johnson, Pers. Dict., s.v.) chamberlain in the service of Khāns of Türkistān (Zenker, s.v.) Gul-badan’s use of the word (816) would allow a more extended sense.

⁴ Text has also dar hayāt khud. This is not the only instance of a similar redundant expression.

⁵ Bega had had one son, Al-amān. She is known in the later histories as Ḫāji Begam, but she made her pilgrimage in 972H. She was captured at Chausa in 1539 (946H.) by Shīr Shāh; and most writers give her at this date the brevet title of Ḫāji. It is probable that Bega was not her personal name. It is the title of a lady of rank, and answers to beg.

⁶ Text, b‘ad az yak sāl, which, read literally, spoils the story.
kept saying: 'Perhaps one of them will have a son.' She kept watch till Bega Begam's 'Aqīqa was born. Then she kept an eye on Maywa-jān. Ten months went by. The eleventh also passed. Maywa-jān said: 'My maternal aunt was in Mīrzā Ulugh Beg's ḥaram. She had a son in the twelfth month; perhaps I am like her.' So they sewed tents and filled pillows. But in the end everyone knew she was a fraud.

His Majesty who had gone towards Chanāḍa (Chunār), returned safe and sound.

My lady who was Māhām Begam, gave a great feast. (22b) They lit up the bāzārs. Before that time people used to illuminate the bāzārs (only). Then she gave orders to the better class and to the soldiers also to decorate their places and make their quarters beautiful, and after this illumination became general in India.

... a jewelled throne, ascended by four steps, and above it gold-embroidered hangings, and laid on it a cushion and pillows embroidered in gold.

The covering of the pavilions and of the large audience tent was, inside, European brocade, and outside, Portuguese cloth. The tent-poles were gilded; that was very ornamental.

(My lady) had prepared a tent-lining and a kannat and sar-i-kannat of Gujrāṭ cloth-of-gold, and a ewer for rose-water, and candlesticks, and drinking-vessels, and rose-water sprinklers,—all of jewelled gold.

With all her stores of plenishing, she made an excellent and splendid feast.

1 This will be Bābar's paternal uncle, known as Kābulī.
2 i.e., made all preparations. Perhaps khirgāhā dokhta is not 'sewed tents,' but 'pitched tents.' Cf. zāmīn-dōz.
3 I am very doubtful as to the meaning of the following paragraph. It can hardly be true that India waited for Māhām to instruct it in the art of illumination or decoration. I have conjecturally read that, whereas formerly only bāzārs were made to look festive, she had other houses adorned.
4 Here follows a list of arrangements, plenishing and gifts for the feast. There are here and at p. 123 ff. many difficult words in it.
5 Ar., a pent over a doorway, a veil, an umbrella. Perhaps qanāt, a screen, an enclosure for tents, the tent walls.
... twelve strings of camels, and twelve of mules, and seventy tipuchaq horses, and one hundred baggage horses. She gave special robes of honour to 7,000 persons. The festivities lasted several days. At this time came news that Muḥammad-zamān Mīrzā had killed the father of Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān kūkī, and was meditating rebellion. (23a) His Majesty sent to summon them to the presence, and having laid hands on them, imprisoned them in Bayāna, in charge of Uncle Yādgār. Uncle Yādgār's men sided with Muḥammad-zamān Mīrzā, and let him escape (1533—940H.). At this time it was ordered that Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā and Nāi Khūb Sulṭān Mīrzā should both be blinded. Nāi Khūb Sulṭān lost his sight, but the man who had the blinding of Muḥammad Sulṭān did not injure his eyes. Muḥammad-zamān Mīrzā and Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā,

1 The feast here credited to Māham Begam may be that of the first anniversary of Ḥumāyūn's accession. Of this Gul-badan gives an account, minus such details as are set down here, at 24a et seq...

At the 'accession feast,' held December 19th, 1531, and thus not quite a year after the accession, it is said by Nizāmū-d-dīn Aḥmad that 12,000 robes were bestowed, 2,000 of these being 'special.' For details as to khoīlat, cf. Memoirs, 274 n.

Lists are dull reading, unless each item calls up an image. It is easy to add splendour and beauty to Gul-badan's few poor words by looking at actual things of the kinds she names, as may be done in the Oriental Section of the South Kensington Museum. The links between Persia and India in her day and earlier and later were many and close. Many Persians born and bred in Persia or by descent formed part of the Mughal court. Persian art and manufacture were at their highest development, experts say, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The uncritical eye doubts if the products of those centuries, as exhibited in the examples England possesses, can be excelled for splendour and satisfying charm. With such things the personages of our begam's book surrounded themselves.

2 Son of Bādī'ū-z-zamān Mīrzā, and grandson of Sulṭān Ḥūsain Mīrzā Bayqūrā, and husband of Mašūma, a daughter of Bābar. He was drowned in the Ganges at the rout of Chausa.

3 Cf. B. & H., II., s.n...

4 Sic; apparently the names of his fellow-rebels are omitted. They occur below.

5 Grandson, through a daughter, of Sulṭān Ḥūsain Mīrzā Bayqūrā, and thus, a cousin of Muḥammad-zamān.

6 Called both Nāi and Wāli in the histories.

7 See Mr. Erskine's interesting note on blinding. (B. & H., II. 14 n..)
with his sons, Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, made their escape a few days later.

There was perpetual disturbance from these people during the years we were in Hind.

When his Majesty returned from the campaign against Bīban and Bāyāzīd, he was in Āgra1 for about a year. He said to my lady: 'I am sad at heart in these days. If you approved, I would go with you to Guālīār.'2 Her Highness my lady, and my mother (ājam),3 and my sisters Ma‘ṣūma4 Sulṭān Begam, whom we used to call Elder sister5 Moon, and Gul-rāng Begam, whom we used to call Elder sister Rose,—we all were in Guālīār in attendance on the beneficent ladies.6

As Gul-chihra Begam was in Oude, and her husband, Tūkhtā-būghā Sulṭān, went to the mercy of God, her attendants wrote to his Majesty from Oude and said: 'Tūkhtā-būghā Sulṭān is dead. (23b) What is the order about the begam?' His Majesty said to Mīr Zāycha:7 'Go and bring the begam to Āgra. We also are going there.'

At this time her Highness my lady said: 'If you approve, I will send for Bega Begam and 'Aqīqa, so that they also may see Guālīār.' She despatched Naukār8 and Khwāja Kabīr, who brought them from Āgra.

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1 'Occupied in dreamy speculations of false sciences'—i.e., astrology. (B. & H., II. 14.) The date is 1534 (941 H.).
2 The histories tell us that the Guālīār expedition was a military demonstration against Bāḥādūr Shāh of Gujrāt. Khwānd-amir fixes its date as Sha‘bān 939 H. (February, 1533).
3 'Taken as it is written, this name might be charmingly translated as 'Ma désirée,' but considered with other words in this text after which the enclitic am (my) is incorrectly written, it seems that prossic 'my mother,' Türkī, aĉām, is safer. In favour, however, of reading ājam, desire, is the wording on 25b (No. 48 of the guest-list), ājam walidā-i-mā, our mother. Ājam occurs also at 29b.
4 'Her husband, Mūhammad-zamān, is the rebel of this name just spoken of.
5 Chīcha; which I have rendered 'elder sister' to suit the actual relationship between Gul-badan and her two sisters. Cf. 186 n.
6 The aunts, presumably.
7 The Chief Astrologer.
8 Bābar names this man as being sent from India in charge of gifts to Kābul (Mems., 337.), and Gul-badan names him again (67b) as guardian of the begams' doorway in the citadel of Kābul.
They let two months slip by in one another's company in Guālīār, and then set out for Āgra, which they reached in February, 1534 (Sha'bān, 940 H.).

In April (Shawwl) my lady was attacked by a disorder of the bowels. On the 27th of the same month (13th Shawwl) she passed from this transitory life to the eternal home.

The stamp of orphanhood was set anew on my royal father's children, and especially on me, for whom she herself had cared. I felt lonely and helpless and in great affliction. Day and night I wept and mourned and grieved. His Majesty came several times to comfort me, and showed me sympathy and kindness. I was two years old when her Highness my lady took me into her own house and cared for me, and I was ten when she departed from this life. (24e) I remained one year more in her house. When I was eleven, and his Majesty went to Dholpūr, I

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1 This date cannot be right. The following are approximately correct for this time: Visit to Guālīār undertaken, Sha'bān, 939 H. (February, 1533). Return to Āgra and Māhām's illness, Shawwl (April). Death of Māhām, 13th Shawwl (May 8, 1533). Forty days of mourning carries on the time to late in Zū'l-qā'da (June). Start for Dīhli, beginning of Zū'l-hijja,—after June 24. The building of Dinpanā was begun Muḥarram, 940 H. (July, 1533).

2 Māhām had also adopted Hindāl. Bābar details the circumstances, but the abbreviation, as it seems, of the Persian text, has led to an error. (Mems., 250.) Those children of Bābar who died young, were not born in 'this year' (925 H.), as will be seen in the fuller rendering of Ilmīnsky, 281, and of P. de C., II. 44: 'Après Humāyūn (b. 913 H.) j'eus encore plusieurs enfants, nés de la même mère que lui, mais qui ne vécurent pas,' We know from Gul-badan that these were Bārbūl, Mihr-jahān, and Ishān-dua lat.

'Hindāl n'était pas encore venu dans le monde. Comme j'étais dans ces parages [Kehrāj, in Mandesh, and on his way to India], il m'arriva une lettre de Māhām, dans laquelle elle me disait, 'Sera-ce un fils ou une fille? Prononcez-vous-même sur la part que me réserve la fortune; à moi de mettre l'enfant dans le monde [Erskine, 'I will regard the child as mine'] et de l'élever.' Le vendredi, 26 du mois, toujours à ce même campement, j'adjudgeai Hindāl à Māhām [before birth], et je lui écrivis à ce sujet une lettre qui lui fut portée à Kābul par Yūsuf 'Ali ribāh-dār [courier] quoique Hindāl ne fût pas encore né.'

A passage now follows which, as is noted by P. de C., is neither in the Persian version of the Memoirs nor in the English translation:

'Pour bien comprendre tout ce qui à été dit plus haut, il faut savoir que jusqu'à cette époque, de tout les enfants nés de la même mère
accompanied my mother.\textsuperscript{1} This will have been before he went to Guālīār and began to build.\textsuperscript{2}

At the end of the mourning for my lady, his Majesty went to Dīhli\textsuperscript{3} and began to build the fort of Dīn-panā.\textsuperscript{4} He then returned to Āgra.

Dearest lady\textsuperscript{5} (Khānzāda Begam) said to his Majesty: ‘When will you make Mīrzā Hindāl’s marriage feast?’ His

\begin{quote}
que Humāyūn, soit un fils [\textit{i.e.,} Bârbūl], cadet par rapport à lui, l’aîné par rapport à mes autres enfants et trois filles, dont l’une était Mihr-jān, il n’y en avait pas un qui ne fût mort en bas’age. Je souhaitais vivement de lui voir naître un frère ou une sœur. [\textit{i.e.,} a child of Māham. There were other children of other wives.]

‘Précisément à cette époque Dīl-dār āghācha se trouvait enceinte. Je ne cessais de répéter, ‘Plût à Dieu que l’enfant qui va naitre, sortît du même sein que Humāyūn!’ A quoi ma mère [sic. Türkī text, Ilmīnsky, 271, \textit{haṣrat wālīda}] me répondait, ‘Si Dīl-dār āghācha met au monde un fils, ne pourrais-je pas le prendre et m’en charger?’ ‘Rien de mieux,’ faisais-je à mon tour.

D’ordinaire les femmes ont la manière suivante de consulter le sort, quand elles veulent savoir si elles auront un fils ou une fille. Elles prennent deux morceaux de papier; sur l’un elles écrivent, ‘Alī ou Ḥassān, sur l’autre Fāṭīma; puis elles les placent dans deux boules de limon qu’elles mettent dans une coupe d’eau. Celles des deux qui s’ouvre la première, leur sert à prognostiquer l’avenir; si elle renferme le nom d’un garçon, il y aura un garçon; si c’est celui d’une fille, il y aura une fille, disent-elles. On employa cette méthode; ce fut un enfant mâle qui en sortit. En recevant cette bonne nouvelle, j’écritis aussitôt pour en faire part à ma mère [sic.]. Quelques jours plus tard, effectivement Dieu me donna un garçon. Trois jours après sa naissance et avant de l’annoncer, on enleva l’enfant, bon gré, mal gré, à sa mère et on l’apporta chez moi où on le garda. Lorsque j’en donnai avis à ma mère [sic], celle-ci apprenant qu’elle avait obtenu l’objet de ses vœux, donna au jeune prince le nom de Hindāl, qui était pour nous de bon augure. Par cet arrangement cet enfant fût pour moi [? nous] à la fois un frère cadet (for Humāyūn) et un fils (for Māham and himself).

The words \textit{haṣrat wālīda} cannot mean the mother of Bābar. She had been dead some fourteen years. They may be equivalent to \textit{Sulṭān-wālīda—}\textit{i.e.,} the mother of the heir-apparent. Certainly it was Māham who adopted Hindāl. This initial misconception as to the identity of \textit{Haṣrat wālīda} runs through the whole translation of this most interesting passage. According to Gul-badan, Fārīq (born in 922H.) was Māham’s son. Bābar names the birth. (Mems., 548.)
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{i.e.,} returned to her own mother’s charge \textit{i.e.,} Dīl-dār’s.
\textsuperscript{2} An obscure passage. Humāyūn was building about this time.
\textsuperscript{3} Beginning of Zu’l-hijja, 939H. (June—July, 1533.)
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Humāyūn-nāma,} Khwānd-amīr. (Elliot, V. 125.)
\textsuperscript{5} Cf. 155 n.
Majesty replied: 'B'ismu-l-lāh.' When Mirzā Hindāl was married, my lady (Māham) was living, but there was delay in arranging the feast. (Khānzāda Begam) said: 'The things for the Mystic Feast are also ready. Let us first celebrate this, and afterwards Mirzā Hindāl's.' His Majesty said: 'Let whatever my royal aunt wishes be done.' She replied: 'May God bless it and make it good.'

Description of the House of Feasting which was set up on the River's Bank, and which was called the Mystic House:

First there was a large octagonal room with an octagonal tank in the centre, and again, in the middle of the reservoir, an octagonal platform on which were spread Persian (wilāyati) carpets. Young men and pretty girls and elegant women and musicians and sweet-voiced reciters were ordered to sit in the tank.

The jewelled throne which my lady had given for the feast was placed in the fore-court of the house, and a gold-embroidered divan was laid in front of it, (on which) his Majesty and dearest lady sat together.

On her right sat her paternal aunts, the daughters of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mirzā:

1. Fakhr-jahān Begam.
2. Bādi'ū-l-jamāl Begam.
3. Āq Begam.

1 Tilism; Greek, τιλασμα, talisman. Perhaps an epithet drifted from astrological phraseology. This feast commemorated the accession of Humāyūn. Cf. Humāyūn-nāma, trs. Sada-sūkh La'ī (B.M. Add. 30,774, p. 76.): 'talismanic palace,' which may be the building named by Gul-badan. Cf. 'samite, mystic,' of Tennyson. Khwānd-amir speaks at length of this feast in his Humāyūn-nāma, and calls the building in which it was held 'imarat-i-tilism.

2 The sequel to this order follows later.

3 tūshak, (?) anglice, squab.

4 Translator's numbering. For details as to each woman cf. Appendix s.n.

5 This epithet,—the Fair,—is given to several persons, not all women; and in some instances the true name is also known—e.g., Yasin-daulat Sultān, Kāmrān's son-in-law, and Saliqa, daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mirzā.
5. Gūhar-shād Begam.

Upon another cushion sat our paternal aunts, the sisters of his Majesty, Firdaus-makānī:
7. Shahr-banū Begam.
8. Yādgār Sultān Begam.

(N.B.—Other guests of the right follow).
9. 'Āyisha Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā.
10. Ulugh Begam, daughter of Zainab Sultān Begam, a paternal aunt of his Majesty.
11. 'Āyisha Sultān Begam.
12. Sultānī Begam, daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā, paternal (great-) uncle of his Majesty and mother of Kilān Khān Begam. (25a)
13. Bega Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Khalīl Mīrzā, paternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty.
15. Begī Begam, daughter of Ulugh Beg Mīrzā Kabulī, paternal (grand-uncle of his Majesty.
16. Khānzāda Begam, daughter of Sultān Mas'ūd Mīrzā; on her mother’s side, grand-daughter of Payanda Muḥammad Sultān Begam, paternal (grand-)aunt of his Majesty.
17. Shāh Khānam, daughter of Bādī’u-l-jamāl Begam (No. 2.).
18. Khānam Begam, daughter of Āq Begam (No. 3.).
20. Muhībb Sultān Khānam, daughter of Sultān Ahmad Khān,— known as Ilācha Khān, the younger maternal uncle of the elder Emperor (Bābar).

1 The words used of Sultānī do not grammatically apply to 'Āyisha, but I believe she is also a daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā and is Bābar’s first wife, who left him under the influence of an elder sister, perhaps Saliqa Sultān (Āq Begam). Saliqa married a son of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā, and may have acted under the evil impulses of the family quarrels which did so much to embitter, if also to stimulate, Bābar’s early ambitions.
2 This is not 'my lady,' whose death has been already recorded.
3 Kilān; perhaps, great.
21. Khanish, sister of Mirzā Haidar and daughter of (a) maternal (great-)aunt of his Majesty.

22. Bega Kilān Begam.¹

23. Kichak Begam.

24. Shah Begam, mother of Dil-shād Begam, and daughter of Fakhr-jahān Begam (No. 1.), paternal (great-)aunt of his Majesty.

25. Kichakna Begam.

26. Apāq (Āfāq) Begam, daughter of Sulṭān Bakht Begam (No. 4.).


28. Shah Begam, grand-daughter of Sulṭān Husain Mīrzā, and daughter of a paternal aunt of his Majesty (? No. 22.).

29. Mihr-angez Begam, daughter of Muzaffar (Husain) Mīrzā, and grandchild of Sulṭān Husain Mīrzā. (25b) They had great friendship for one another (? Shād and Mihr-angez), and they used to wear men’s clothes and were adorned by varied accomplishments, such as the making of thumb-rings² and arrows, playing polo, and shooting

¹ Probably the daughter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā and mother of Shād Begam (No. 28.) by a son, Ḥaidar, of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā.

² Text zih-girī tarāśī, which might be experimentally rendered carving thumb-rings, a gentle art of the day. But if wa be inserted, each word would represent a separate accomplishment of the well-bred in knightly arts. These would be congenial to a lady who played polo (chaugān). Cf. Bābar’s account of Ḥaidar’s accomplishments (Ilminsky, 14, Mem., 13, P. de C., 22.), and Ḥaidar’s own recital in his prologue to the Tārīkh-i-rashīdī.

I suggest to take tārashī (a word not used by Bābar or Ḥaidar) as equivalent to the fletchery (auq), or the ‘making arrow-heads’ (paıkān), of Bābar.

Another possible reading has been suggested to me by Mr. Beveridge—(a)z hikārī tarāshī, ’by cutting arrows.’ Hikrī is a Hindi name for cultivated reeds grown on low marshy grounds. (Wilson’s Glossary, s.v., and Platt’s Hindustāni Dict.) There is nothing improbable in Gul-badan’s use of a Hindi word. Arrows were fashioned from these reeds and men-at-arms practised the art. Gujrat reeds were exported for arrows to Persia. The omission of the alif of az is not infrequent in the MS..

A few words on the zih-gīr find fit insertion here. It is a thumb-ring worn on the right hand as a protection against the fret of the bow-string both in drawing and release. Persians, like the Japanese and Mongols and Chinese, drew with the thumb. The zih-gīr is of eccentric
with the bow and arrow. They also played many musical instruments.

30. Gul Begam.
31. Fauq Begam.
32. Khan (? Jân) Begam.
33. Afroz-bânū Begam.
34. Ágha Begam.
35. Firoza Begam.
36. Barlās Begam.

There were other begams, very many, adding up altogether to ninety-six stipendiaries. There were also some others.

After the Mystic Feast (938 H.) came Mîrzâ Hindâl’s wedding-feast (Jauhar, 944 H.). Some of the begams already named went away,¹ and (of those) some had sat at the right hand in that assembly (i.e., the Mystic Feast).²

Of our begams:

37. Ágha (Ágha,—passim, ágha), Sultan ághácha, mother of Yâdgar Sultan Begam.
38. Atûn mâmâ.
40. Sakîna.
41. Bibi Ḥabîba.

thickness and unequal width, elongating on one side into a tongue. This elongation lies along the inner side of the thumb, and points towards the thumb-tip. In drawing, the thumb crooks round the string which pulls against the zih-ğîr. The arrow is released by straightening the thumb, and the string then flies over the hard surface of the ring. The zih-ğîr is of jade, crystal, ivory, brass, gold, etc. Some are chased and carved, and some are jewelled. In December, 1898, a remarkable one was offered for sale at an auction in Edinburgh of Lord Dalhousie’s collections and the jewels of his daughter, Lady S. G. Brown (Connemara). It is cut from a single emerald, and inscribed: ‘Jihat zihgîr shâh-i-shâhân Nâdir sâhib-girân bar tashkîr-i-hind az jawâhar-khâna intikhâb shud’ (‘Selected for a thumb-ring for the king of kings and lord of happy conjunction Nâdir, from the jewel-room on the conquest of Hind’).

An interesting account of Persian archery is included in the ‘Book of Archery,’ G. Agar Hansard (Lond., 1840.). It, however, calls the zih-ğîr, safn. Safn is the rough skin of a fish or lizard which is used to smooth the arrow-shafts. (Cf. Lane’s Ar. Dict.)

¹ Ba wilâyatî. (?) to Kabul and other outside places.
² Perhaps this is an explanation of the paucity of right-hand wedding-guests.
42. Hanīfa Bega.
And the others who had sat\(^1\) at the Emperor's left on
embroidered divans.
43. Ma'ṣūma Sultān Begam.
44. Gul-rang Begam.
45. Gul-chihra Begam.
46. This insignificant one, the broken Gul-badan.
47. 'Aqīqa Sultān Begam.
48. Ājam, our mother, who was Dil-dār Begam.\(^2\)
49. Gul-barg Begam.
50. Bega Begam. (26a)
51. Māham's nanacha.
52. Sulṭānam, the wife of Amīr (Nizāmu-d-dīn) Khalīfa.
53. Alūsh Begam.
54. Nāhīd Begam.
55. Khurshīd kūka, and the children of my royal
father's foster-brothers.
56. Afghānī āghācha.
57.\(^3\) Gul-nār āghācha.
58. Nāz-gul āghācha.
59. Makhdūma āgha, the wife of Hindū Beg.
60. Faṭīma Sulṭān anaga, the mother of Raushan kūka.
61. Fakhru-n-nisā' anaga, the mother of Nadīm kūka.
62. The wife of Muḥammadī kūka.
63. The wife of Muʿyīd Beg.
64. The kūkas of his Majesty: Khurshīd kūka.
65. Sharīfu-n-nisā' kūka.
66. Fath kūka.
67. Rabiʿa Sultān kūka.

1 \(^\text{(?)}\) At the Mystic Feast. Its left-hand guests have not been specified.
There are no repetitions of names, although the list seems to give
the guests at both feasts. Perhaps down to and including No. 36
the names are of begams who were at the first feast, and then went away.
Then come 'our begams' of the right, whose home was near Humāyn,
and who were at both feasts.
2 Cf. 286 n..
3 Nos. 57 and 58 are, perhaps, the two Circassians whom Shah
Tahmāsp sent as a gift to Bābar (Mems., 347.). Gul-nār is named in
Ābū 'l-fażl's list of pilgrims who went with Gul-badan to Makka in
983H., and as being of Bābar's household. They (Nos. 57 and 58) are
named also by Firishta.
68. Māh-liqā kūka.
69. Our nurses (anaga).
70. Our kūkas.
71. The begams' people and the wives of the amîrs.
Those who were on the right.
73. Salima Begā.
74. Bibī Neka.
75. Khānām āgha, daughter of Khwāja 'Abdu-l-lāh Marwârîd.
76. Nigar āgha, mother of Mughal Beg.
77. Nār Sultān āgha.
78. Āgha kūka, wife of Mu‘nim Khān.
80. Kisak Māham.
81. Kābulî Māham.
82. Begī āgha.
83. Khānām āgha.
84. Sa‘ādat Sultān āgha.
85. Bibī Daulat-bakht.
86. Naṣīb āgha.
87. (Illegible) Kābulî.
Other begas and āghas, the wives of the amîrs, sat on this hand, and all were present at the marriage feast. (26b)
This was the fashion of the Mystic House: (there was) a large octagonal room in which they gave the feast, over against this a small room, also octagonal. In both every sort of profusion and splendour appeared. In the large octagonal hall was set the jewelled throne, and above and below it were spread out hangings (adṣaqahār) embroidered with gold, and wonderful strings of pearls (shadhīhā) hung, each 1½ yards (gaz) in length. At the end of each string (larē) were two glass globes. There had been made and hung some thirty or forty strings.
In the small room, in an alcove, were set a gilded bedstead and pān-dishes,¹ and water-vessels and jewelled drinking-vessels, and utensils of pure gold and silver.

¹ This word excites curiosity as to the time when Gul-badan's people learned to eat pān.
Facing west (was) the audience hall; facing east, the garden; on the third side and facing south, the large octagon; and on the side facing north, the small one. In these three houses were three upper rooms. One they named the House of Dominion, and in it were nine military appurtenances, such as a jewelled scimitar and gilded armour, a broad dagger and a curved dagger, and a quiver, all gilt, and a gold-embroidered overmantle.

In the second room, called the House of Good Fortune, an oratory had been arranged, and books placed, and gilded pen-cases, and splendid portfolios, and entertaining picture-books written in beautiful character.

In the third room, which they called the House of Pleasure, were set out a gilded bedstead and a coffer of sandal-wood, and all imaginable pillows. Then in front were spread specially choice coverlets, and before these table-cloths, all of gold brocade. Various fruits and beverages had been got ready, and everything for merriment and comfort and pleasure.

On the feast-day of the Mystic House, his Majesty ordered all the mîrzâs and begams to bring gifts, and everyone did so. He said: ‘Divide the gifts into three heaps.’ They made three trays of ashrafîs and six of shâhrukhîs. One of ashrafîs and two of shâhrukhîs he

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1 As to this threefold classification, Elliot and Dowson, V., 119, may be consulted.
2 Six articles only are separately named, but the qûr (translated armour) may be taken in the sense given to it in the Ain (Blochmann, 109.), and includes four weapons, which makes the total the mystic nine. Cf. Ain, l.c., and plates. (N.B.—The numbering of the weapons [l.c. p. 110.] does not agree with that of the plates. Plate X. should be consulted.)
3 qalam-dân. Several such are to be seen at the S. K. M. They are boxes damascened or painted with pictures, about 10 inches by 3 inches, and contain writing implements. ‘Gilded’ does not seem an appropriate epithet. Perhaps the dictionaries define imperfectly.
4 juz-dân. Perhaps the beautiful book-covers of the day. Those having flaps might be called portfolios.
5 murâqqa‘.
6 nihâlcha. Placed, I presume, over carpets.
7 sâchaq. This word appears to have a special meaning of wedding-gifts, but Gul-badan uses it elsewhere more widely.
gave to Hindu Beg and said: 'This is the share of Dominion; give it to the mîrzâs and chiefs and vazîrs and soldiers.' (27b)

He gave in the same way to Mulla Muḥammad Farghârî (Parghâlî) and said: 'This is the share of Good Fortune. Give it to those who are eminent and respectable, and to theologians and religious men, to ascetics and graybeards, and dervishes and devotees, and the poor and the needy.'

Concerning one tray of ashrafīs and two of shâhrukhīs he said: 'This is the portion of Pleasure. This is mine. Bring it forward.' They did so. He said: 'What need is there to count?' First he himself vouchsafed his blessed hand and said: 'Let them take to the begams on one small tray ashrafīs and on another shâhrukhīs. Let each person take her hands full.' What was left, that is two trays of shâhrukhīs,—which may have been 10,000,—and all the ashrafīs, —about 2,000—he gave in largesse, and scattered¹ first before the wâlî 'u-n-nî' matân (beneficent seniors), and then to those present at the entertainment. No one received less than 100 or 150, and those in the tank especially received very much. (28a) His Majesty was pleased to say: 'Dearest lady! if you approved, they might put water in the tank.' She replied: 'Very good,' and went herself and sat at the top of the steps. People were taking no notice, when all at once (?) the tap was turned and water came. (28a) The young people got very much excited. His Majesty said: 'There is no harm; each of you will eat a pellet of anise² and a bit of comfit³ and come out of there.' Upon this, everyone who would eat the comfit came out quickly. The water was as high as their ankles. To end the story, everyone ate the comfit and all came out.

Then the viands of the feast were set forth, and robes of

¹ nisâr. Again a word which, like sâchaq, would seem to fit the marriage feast better than the accession.
² shîr. The text has no points and would yield seb, apple; but anise is the better remedy against cold.
³ ma'jûn, any medical confection, but commonly an intoxicant. Here it may be some preventive of chill.
honour were put on, and gifts bestowed, and head-to-foot dresses given to the comfit-eaters and others.

On the margin of the tank was a room (tālār) fitted with tale windows, and young people sat in the room and players made music. Also a woman's bāzār had been arranged, and boats had been decorated. In one boat was made (?) the semblance of six people (kast) and six alcoves (kanj); in (another) an upper room, and below it a garden with amaranthus and cockscombs and larkspurs and tulips. In one place there were eight boats, so that there were eight pieces.

In short, everyone was astonished and amazed who beheld what gift of contrivance the great God had bestowed on the blessed mind of his Majesty. (28b)

The Description of Mirzá Hindāl’s (Marriage) Feast is as Follows:6

Sultānam Begam (i.e., the bride) was a sister of Mahdī Khwāja.7 My father’s brother-in law (yazna) had no child except Ja’far Khwāja, and there was no child (?) of Khān-zāda Begam.8 Dearest lady had taken care of Sultānam

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1 It was now that 12,000 khil’ats are said to have been distributed. In this passage Gul-badan twice uses the expression sar u-pāi. Perhaps one might say that the ‘young people’ were given new clothes from head to foot, and so shake off the fetters of the rigid khil’at, sar-u-pāi, and ‘honorary dresses.’

2 The dictionaries I have seen, explain tālār as a saloon built of wood and supported on four columns, and this is appropriate here. Le Strange and Haggard (Vazīr of Lonkūrān) say, 'Alcove or chamber in which a ruler sits to give public audience and hear suitors.' It is raised above the level of the (e.g.) courtyard, so that petitioners are below the hakīm. Approaching this meaning is the ‘throne’ of the dictionaries.

3 Cf. Aīn, Blochmann, 276; Khushroz, or Day of Fancy Bāzārs.

4 nā-firmān, stubborn, (?) because they will break and not bend, Balfour (Cyclopædia) and Forbes (Hind. Dict.) give larkspur; Fallon, poppy. An account of the boats, etc., may be read in B.M. MS. Add. 80,774, where is a translation by Sir H. Elliott’s munshī from Khwand-amir.

5 parcha. Perhaps flower-gardens; perhaps Fr. pièce. Cf. Un appartement de deux, trois pièces.

6 Jauhar’s date for this is 944H. (1587).

7 Many difficulties gather round this name. Cf. Appendix s.n. Mahdī Khwāja.

8 The copyist has perhaps omitted one āka-janām.
as though she were her child. Sultanam was two years old when Khanzada Begam took charge of her. She (Khanzada) loved her very much, and thought of her as a brother’s child of her own. She made a most entertaining and splendid feast.

A kūshka\(^1\) and hangings (adṣaqa)\(^2\) and five divans and five pillows for the head (yīstūq), and one large pillow and two round ones (galūla); and girdles (qūshqa) and veils (naqāb), together with a tent\(^3\) .... with three gold-embroidered cushions and head-to-foot dresses for a prince, with collar and bordering of gold embroidery, and bath-wrappers (fauntu\(\text{a}\) and napkins (rūpāk) and embroidered towels (rūmāl) and an embroidered mantle (qūrposh) to be worn over the armour.

For Sultanam Begam: nine jackets (nīm-tana)\(^4\) with garniture of jewelled balls,\(^5\) one of ruby, one of cornelian,

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\(^1\) M. Quatremère uses this word twice with perhaps two meanings. (Notices et Extraits, XIV. 324, 325 and 406-8.) At p. 408 he translates it kiosques, and it seems to be a building. At pp. 324 and 406 he leaves it untranslated. (Here it may have the sense given by Gul-badan.) It is named amongst items prepared for ambassadors at a post-house. These are: ‘kat, trône ; bastar, estrade; ... kushka; jinlik; sandali, siège,’ etc. Gul-badan might intend to name a canopy or screen for a sleeping-place in a large room or a movable kiosk with sleeping comforts.

\(^2\) Cf. 226.

\(^3\) A word follows tent which I cannot make out. It resembles j-(h, ch)-l-gh (no vowels).

\(^4\) nīm-tana, i.e., demi-corps. Like many of Gul-badan’s words, this is marked by Steingass as ‘modern colloquial.’ Apropos of this, Dr. Fritz Rosen says in the preface of his Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar, that the Persian of Irān differs ‘in every respect’ from the Persian of India. The Persian of Gul-badan allows one to feel at home with the vazir of Lonkurān, and with Dr. Rosen’s own book. Perhaps the difference he indicates is between the literary and colloquial. Gul-badan’s Persian, however, is presumably that of contemporary Irān, and her teachers were probably Persian born. Dr. Rosen’s remark appears to require some restriction.

\(^5\) tukma (dār), usually translated buttons; but the button is so associated with the button-hole as to suggest a fastening. A dressmaker might say ‘ball-trimming.’ Globular buttons were and are placed round the neck and hem of a boddice. The vazir of Lonkurān ordered a jacket with garniture of twenty-four gold buttons, smaller than a hen’s and larger than a pigeon’s. Vests trimmed with ‘buttons’ (Mems.) are repeatedly named by Bābar as gifts.
one of emerald, one of turquoise, one of topaz, and one of cat’s-eye.

Again: of necklaces, nine; and one embroidered collar and bordering, and four short jackets\(^1\) with ball-trimming (\textit{tukma-dār}), and one pair of ruby earrings and another of pearls, three fans,\(^2\) and one royal umbrella.

One \textit{dirakht}\(^3\) and two \textit{khuṭb}\(^3\) and other furniture and effects, and household goods and chattels and workshops\(^4\) of all sorts. (29a) Khānzādā Begam gave everything she had collected, and she arranged a feast such as had not been made for any other child of my royal father. She planned it all and carried it all out.

\ldots nine \textit{tipūchāq} horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles; and gold and silver vessels and slaves,\(^5\) Türkī and Circassian and Arūs (?Rūs) and Abyssinian,—of each (race) a royal gift of nine.

What my royal father’s brother-in-law\(^6\) (Mahdi Khwāja) gave to the mūrzā was a set of nine \textit{tipūchāq} horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles; and

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\(^1\) chār \textit{qartījī}; a suggested rendering only. Johnson gives \textit{karti} (\textit{qartī}) as a short boddice reaching to the hips, and the \textit{qar} recurs in other words, having the sense of a body garment; \textit{e.g.}, \textit{qartāq}, a short-sleeved jacket; \textit{qarza}, a woman’s vest.

\(^2\) \textit{pankha}.

\(^3\) I find no help as to these words in the dictionaries. My only suggestion as to their possible meaning is too slightly based to be of value. It is this: In the South Kensington Museum, Oriental Section, I have seen tall lamp-stands so shaped that they recall the \textit{Quṭb} pillar outside Dihli. That such stands would be a part of good household furnishing the South Kensington Museum allows us to suppose. We have our ‘tall lamps,’ our ‘pillar lamps,’ and also our ‘branched candlesticks,’ which may be a term parallel to \textit{dirakht}, a tree.

\(^4\) kār-khānahā. These may be the kitchen and its plenishing; the goldsmith’s, with his tools, furnaces, and appliances; the perfumer’s, etc. \textit{Cf. Aīn}, Blochmann, and \textit{Tār. Rashīd}, E. & R., 470.

\(^5\) \textit{ghulāmān}, which I have rendered slaves, because they were a gift. But I know no warrant for such servitude as is thus implied.

\(^6\) \textit{yasna}, which is explained by Vambéry and Steingass as ‘husband of the king’s sister.’ Nīgāmu-d-dīn Ahmad styles Mahdī Khwāja \textit{damād}, which Meninsky and Steingass explain as ‘husband of the king’s sister’ and ‘son-in-law.’ I do not find \textit{yasna} rendered son-in-law by any of the dictionaries. To read \textit{yasna} ‘brother-in-law of the king’ agrees with the detailed statement of Mahdī’s relation to Babar made by Bāyazīd \textit{biyāt}. \textit{Cf. Appendix, s.n. Khānzāda.}
gold and silver vessels, and two other sets of nine horses, baggage animals, with velvet saddles and bridle; and brocade and Portuguese cloth, and Türkî and  Habshi and Hindi slaves,—in all, three sets of nine; and three head of elephants.

In his Majesty’s leisure after the feast came news that the vazir of Sultan Bahādur, Khurāsān Khān by name, had attacked Bayāna. His Majesty despatched Mīrzā ‘Askarl, with several amīrs, Mīr Faqr’-ali Beg and Mīr Tardī Beg, etc. These went to Bayāna and fought and defeated Khurāsān Khān. The Emperor set out for Gujrat shortly afterwards, in prosperity and safety. It was on the 15th of the revered Rajab 941H. that he quite decided to go himself to Gujrat. He set up his advance camp in the Gold-scattering Garden, and there spent a month while the forces were gathering in.

On court days, which were Sundays and Tuesdays, he used to go to the other side of the river. During his stay in the garden, ājam (Dil-dār Begam) and my sisters and the ladies (ḥaramān) were often in his company. Of all the tents, Ma’ṣūma Sultan Begam’s was at the top of the row. Next came Gul-rang Begam’s, and ājam’s was in the same place. Then the tent of my mother, Gul-barg Begam and of Bega Begam and the others.

They set up the offices (kār-khānahā) and got them into

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1 Mīrzā Muqīm, Khurāsān Khān.
2 January 29th, 1535. Abūl-fazl gives Jumāda I., 941H. (November, 1534) as the time for collecting the troops. Perhaps the begam’s date is that of departure, a day liable to postponement when Humāyūn was in pleasant quarters.
3 It may be that the copyist has transferred the words ‘my mother’ from a quite usual place,—preceding or following the ājam of the previous sentence. They are inappropriate to Gul-barg Begam; at least, I have never seen them used to describe a brother’s wife, and such I believe this Gul-barg to be. We know of a ‘Bībī Gul-barg,’ mentioned somewhat condescendingly (21a) by Māham Begam; I incline to take Gul-barg there and here as Khalīfa’s daughter, and the former wife of Mīr Shāh Ḫusain Arghūn. Cf. Appendix, s.n. Gul-barg.
4 This is, I think, Humāyūn’s wife and the mother of ‘Aqīqa. The object of Gul-badan’s enumeration of the tents seems to be desire to show that Bābar’s daughters and widow had places of honour higher than Humāyūn’s family.
order. When they had put up the pavilions (khaima) and tents (khar-gāh) and the audience tent (bār-gāh), the Emperor came to see the camp and the splendid set-out, and visited the begams and his sisters. As he had dismounted somewhat near Ma‘ṣūma Sulṭān Begam’s (tent), he honoured her with a visit. All of us, the begams and my sisters, were in his society. (30a) When he went to any begam’s or sister’s quarters, all the begams and all his sisters used to go with him. Next day he came to the tent1 of this lowly person, and the entertainment lasted till the third watch2 of the night. Many begams were there, and his sisters, and ladies of rank (begaha) and of position (aghaha), and other ladies (aghāchaha), and musicians and reciters. After the third watch his Majesty was pleased to command repose. His sisters and the begams made resting-places (takia) in his presence.3

Bega Begam woke (us) up, and said: ‘It is time for prayers.’4 His Majesty ordered water for ablution5 made ready where he was, and so the begam knew that he was awake. She began a complaint, and said to him: ‘For several days now you have been paying visits in this garden, and on no one day have you been to our6 house. Thorns have not been planted in the way to it. We hope you will deign to visit our quarters also, and to have a party and a sociable gathering there, too. How long will you think it right to show all these disfavours to us helpless ones? We too have hearts. Three times you have honoured other places by visits, and you have run day and night into one in amusement and conversation.’ (30b)

When she had finished, his Majesty said nothing, and

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1 khāna, lit., house.
2 pahr. Gul-badan names the Hindūstānī division of time into watches on which her father had commented as being a novelty to himself. (Mems., 331.)
3 It seems, as again later on, that they fell asleep where they were seated, on mattresses and provided with pillows.
4 The early morning prayers, about which the opinion is expressed that prayer is better than sleep.
5 wazīl, ablution before prayers. Cf. Hughes, Diet. of Islām.
6 From what follows, Gul-barg would seem to be the fellow-sufferer.
went to prayers. At the first watch of the day he came out and sent for his sisters and the begams, and for Dil-där Begam, and Afgānī āghācha, and Gul-nār āghācha, and Meywa-jān and Āghā-jān, and the nurses (anagahā). We all went, and he said not a word, so everyone knew he was angry. Then after a little he began: 'Bibi, what ill-treatment at my hands did you complain of this morning?' and: 'That was not the place to make a complaint. You all (shuma) know that I have been to the quarters of the elder relations (walVu-n-ni'mataii) of you all (shumaydn). It is a necessity laid on me to make them happy. Nevertheless, I am ashamed before them because I see them so rarely. It has long been in my mind to ask from you all a signed declaration (sijll), and it is as well that you have brought me to the speaking-point. I am an opium-eater. If there should be delay in my comings and goings, do not be angry with me. Rather, write me a letter, and say: 'Whether it please you to come or whether it please you not to come, we are content and are thankful to you.'

Gul-barg Begam wrote to this effect at once, and he settled it with her. Bega Begam insisted a little, saying: 'The excuse looked worse than the fault. (3ia) We complained in order that your Majesty might lift up our heads by your favour. Your Majesty has carried the matter to this point! What remedy have we? You are Emperor.' She wrote a letter and gave it to him, and he made it up with her also.

On February 18th, 1534 (Sha'bān 14th, 941 H.), he set out from the Gold-scattering Garden and marched for Gujrat, to fall upon Sulṭān Bahādur. They confronted one another at Manḥasūr (Mandsūr); a battle was fought, and Sulṭān Bahādur, on his defeat, fled to Champānīr. Then

1 ba Gul-barg Begam daryāftand.
2 A familiar proverb. Cf. Steingass, 840, s.v. 'azr.
3 daryāftand. Gul-badan frequently uses this word as meaning to embrace and to greet, a sense not mentioned by Johnson or Steingass. The ba of the earlier instance (note 1.) induced me to give it the notion of coming to an understanding. Cf. 16b.
his Majesty resolved to pursue him. Sultan Bahadur left Champanir and went towards Ahmadabad.\(^1\) His Majesty took the country of Ahmadabad also, and portioned out the whole of Gujrat to his men. Ahmadabad he bestowed on Mirza Askari,\(^2\) Bahruch on Qasim Husain Sultan,\(^3\) and Patan on Yadgar-nasir Mirza.\(^4\)

He himself, with a small following, went from Champanir to visit Cambay\(^5\) (Cambay). A few days later there came a woman with news, and said: ‘Why are you sitting here? The men of Cambay have gathered, and will fall upon you unless your Majesty rides off.’ The royal amirs attacked the rabble,\(^6\) and got them into their hands and cut them in pieces. \((31b)\)

His Majesty then went to Baroda, and from there towards Champanir.\(^7\) We had settled down, when there

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\(^1\) Taking his treasure with him, Sultan Bahadur fled before Humayun to Champanir, Ahmadabad, Cambay and Diu.

\(^2\) Humayun’s half-brother.

\(^3\) Grandson, through a daughter, of Sultan Husain Mirza Bāyqrā; on his father’s side an Uzbek.

\(^4\) Humayun’s first cousin, the son of Bābar’s half-brother Nāṣir. He was a posthumous child. Mr. Beveridge has drawn my attention to the fact,—of which there are other examples,—that he is called Yadgar, a souvenir, of Nāṣir, his father.

\(^5\) This excursion preceded the allotment of fiefs. Gul-badan’s way of putting the pursuit of Bahadur is borne out by some other writers. This was Humayun’s first sight of the sea, and the spectacle seems to have been more in her mind than was Bahadur. Akbar’s first sight of the sea is also commemorated in the histories.

\(^6\) Abü’l-fazl calls them Bhils and Gawārs. \((H.B. I. 309,\)\) They were rude tribesmen acting in Bahadur’s interests. Maternal affection saved the small royal camp. The ‘woman’ had a son a slave in it, and she purchased his freedom by revealing the designs of her fellow-tribesmen. Although Cambay had not furnished the assailants, it paid in fire and pillage for the attack. It lay near, was an enemy’s town, and such an incident as the onslaught of the Bhils would not allow of fine distinction of race and person.

\(^7\) Behind this dull statement is a stirring episode. Humayun took Champanir after a four months’ blockade, by night escalade of a rock so nearly perpendicular that seventy or eighty iron spikes had to be driven in to allow ascent. Thirty-nine men climbed up. Bairām Khan was the fortith, Humayun the forty-first of the three hundred who mounted. Such a Bābar-like episode makes regret the keener that Humayun’s life was ruined and stained by his slavery to a drug. The loot of Champanir was enormous; it had been regarded as impregnable, and was full of treasure. It was taken in 1536 (943 H.).
SHİR SHĀH AFGHĀN.
was a tumult, and Mirzā 'Askari's people left Aḥmadābād and came to the Emperor. They represented to him that Mirzā 'Askari1 and Yādgār-nāsir Mirzā had conspired, and wished to go to Āgra. On hearing this, he himself was forced to go; he left the important affairs of Gujrat [(?)] its pacification, and turned away and went to Āgra. Here he spent as much as a year.2

He then went to Chanāda (Chunār), and took it,3 and also Benares. Shīr Khān was in Charkanda,4 and made an offer of service, saying: 'I am your old servant. Give me a place with a fixed boundary in which I may establish myself.'

His Majesty was considering this, when the king of Gaur Bangāla5 came wounded and a fugitive. For this reason he gave no attention (to Shīr Khān), but marched towards Gaur Bangāla. Shīr Khān knew that his Majesty had gone there, and went himself also with a large detachment of horse, and joined his son (Jilāl Khān), who was in Gaur with his servant Khawāṣ Khān. Shīr Khān sent them out, and said: 'Go and fortify Garhī.'6 (32a)

Both came and occupied Garhī. His Majesty had written to Jahāngīr Beg: 'Advance a stage, and go up

Humāyūn now relapsed into an evil mood of feasting and indolence. He remained near Champānīr, and affairs entered on a recurrent phase. There was complete relaxation of discipline.

Gul-badan's 'we had settled down' (nishīsta budīm) allows the inference that she and other ladies had joined the camp. A later instance will be found of the inopportune presence of women and children with the army. But it may mean merely 'we were comfortably awaiting events' in Agra.

1 He was thinking of having the ḥutba read in his own name in Agra. Such an aspiration in Humāyūn's brothers was encouraged by his own abdications of sovereignty.
2 A fatal year which allowed Shīr Khān to gather force. Gul-badan's recital of the historical events of this time has no value.
3 Shīr Khān.
4 Jhārkand.
5 Sayyid Maḥmūd Shāh. He had been defeated by Shīr Khān. (Cf. Erskine's notes on Stewart's Jauhar, B. M. Add. 26,608, p. 12.)
6 'The gate of Bengal,' a pass between it and Bihār, and which has a hill on one hand and the Ganges on the other. It is the Teria garhī or Tilia gulley of our maps.
to Garhī. There was fighting, and Jahāngīr Beg was wounded and many men were slain.

When the Emperor had spent three or four days in Kohlgānū (Colgong), it became advisable for him to march on and halt near Garhī. He marched forward, and when he came near Garhī, Shīr Khān and Khawās Khān fled by night, and he entered Garhī next day. Thence he went to Gaur Bangāla, and took it.

He was nine months in the far-away country of Gaur, and named it Jannatabad. 1

He was comfortably and safely in Gaur, when news came that some of the amīrs had deserted and joined Mīrzā Hindāl. 2

Khusrau Beg 3 (kūkaltāsh) and Zahīd Beg 4 and Sayyīd Amīr 5 paid their respects to the mīrzā, and said: 'The Emperor has gone comfortably far away, and the mīrzās, Muhammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and his sons, Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, have again raised their heads, 6 and continually keep showing themselves in company.' (32d)

Just at this time the asylum of shaikhs, the servitor (bandagī) Shaikh Bahlūl, hid 7 armour and horse-accoutre-

1 City of Paradise. The demoralizing effects of life in Gaur were felt under Akbar. Humāyūn, with his empire crumbling around him, was now (as Jauhar testifies) 'so much devoted to pleasure and sensual enjoyment that, after the first month, he was never seen, as he was always shut up in a private apartment of the palace.' Naturally, Gul-badan's next item of narrative is of rebellion,—this time by her own brother, Hindāl.

2 He was only nineteen, and the crown may well have seemed at anyone's service. The date is 1538 (945H.). Humāyūn in Gaur was cut off from his capital by Shīr Khān.

3 Bābar first names him in 1507-8 as coming from Harāt. There are two men named Khusrau kūkaltāsh by Bābar, but they were not contemporaries. One died in 1502-3, before the other came upon the scene.

4 Husband of the sister of Bega Begam, Humāyūn's wife. He was put to death by Mīrzā Kāmrān at Ghazānī in 1547.

5 Sayyīd Nūrū-d-dīn Mīrzā, the father of Salīma Sulṭān Begam, and the husband of a daughter of Bābar. Cf. App. s.n. Gul-rang.

6 Hindāl had recently defeated them. (Erskine, II. 89 et seq.) For causes of Hindāl's rebellion, and for Bega Begam's part in it, see Erskine's Jauhar, l.c., p. 13.

7 Some words seem to be omitted, e.g., 'was accused of.' Gul-badan
ments and military stores in an underground place, and
would have loaded them on carts and sent them to Shir
Khān and the mīrzās.1 Mīrzā Hindāl would not believe it,
so Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad was sent to inquire into
the matter. He found the armour and accoutrements, and
had Bandagī Shaikh Bahlūl killed.2 The Emperor, on
hearing news of it, set out for Āgra.

He was coming by that side of the Ganges (i.e., the left
bank) opposite Mungīr, when his amīrs represented: 'You
are a great king! Return by the way you came, lest Shir
Khān should say: "Forsaking his road of advance, he took
another of retreat."'3 The Emperor returned to Mungīr,
and brought many of his people and his family by boat up
the river as far as Ḥajīpūr-Patna.

When he went (to Bengal) he had left Qāsim (Husain
Sulṭān Uzbek) there. Now came news of Shir Khān's
approach. Whenever there was fighting, the royal troops
won.

Just now Bābā Beg (Jalāīr) came from Jaunpūr and
Mirak Beg from Chanāda (Chunār), and Mughal Beg from
Oude. (33a) As these three amīrs joined the Emperor,
corn became dear.

Then,—such was God's will,—they had halted without
precaution, when Shir Khān came and fell upon them.
The army was defeated, and many kinsmen and followers
remained in captivity. His Majesty's own blessed hand
was wounded. Three days he remained in Chunār, and
then came to Arail.4

1 The rebels mentioned on p. 23b.
2 For the probable facts, cf. B. & H., II. 162 et seq..
3 It was Mu'īyd Beg Duladai Barlās who urged this foolish point
of honour, and who thus led to the disaster at Chausa. He was a
cruel man as well as one ignorant in military matters. He was a
favourite of Humāyūn, but the Emperor's followers rejoiced when
he died.
4 Gul-badan's brevity (natural enough even if she were more historic
in method) is somewhat misleading. Mr. Erskine allows one to follow
When his Majesty reached the river's bank, he stopped, bewildered as to the crossing, and said: 'How to cross without boats!' Then came the rāja (Bīrbahān) with five or six horsemen and led him through a ford. For four or five days his people were without food or drink. At last the rāja started a bāzār, so that the people of the army lived some days in comfort and repose. The horses also were rested. Many men who were on foot bought fresh mounts. In short, the rāja rendered fitting and dutiful services. Later on his Majesty gave him leave to go, and at the hour of mid-day prayer came himself, safely and comfortably, to the bank of the Jamna. The army crossed at a ford they had found. A few days later they came to Karra, where corn and grass were plentiful, because it was his Majesty's own country.

When his people were rested, he went on to Kalpī, and then marched on to Āgra.

Before his arrival in Āgra, he heard news that Shīr Khān was coming (from) the direction of Chausa. Great anxiety fell upon his people.

Of many who were in that rout (at Chausa) there was never heard, in any way soever, news or sign. Amongst them were 'Āyisha Sultan Begam, daughter of Sultan Ḥusain Mirzā1 (Bāyqrā); and Bachaka, who was a khalīfa of my royal father;2 and Bega-jān kūka; and 'Āqīqa Begam;3 and Chānd Bibi, who was seven months with

the misadventures which culminated in the defeat. This—the rout at Chausa—occurred near to where the Sūn falls into the Ganges and at Chūpat Ghat, on June 27th, 1539 (Ṣafar 9th, 946H.). The statement of Ḥumāyūn's visit to Chunār, I do not find elsewhere. Chunār was then held by royalists. The Araīl named is presumably that near Allabād.

1 Wife of Qāsim Ḥusain Sultan ʿUzbeg, whose timely arrival gave Bābar so much satisfaction. (13a) Qāsim had been Governor of Patna (32b), but, from the circumstance of his wife's being at Chausa, would seem to have left it with Ḥumāyūn.

2 A Bachaka, who was a khalīfa of Bābar's household, escaped with him from Samarqand in 1501 (907H.), some thirty-eight years before the Chausa episode. Khalīfa, as applied to a woman, denotes a servant or slave who exercises surveillance over other women-servants, and has charge of rooms,—an upper maid-servant.

3 Bega Begam's daughter, who will have been about eight years old.
child, and Shād Bībī, all three\(^1\) (sic) of whom were of his Majesty's haram. Of these several people, he never heard even a word, as to whether they were drowned or what became of them. In spite of all possible inquiry and search, what had become of them was never found out.

His own illness\(^2\) dragged on for forty days, and he then grew better.

At this time, when Khusrau Beg (kūkultāsh), and Diwāna Beg, and Zahid Beg, and Sayyid Amīr, had come on in advance of his Majesty, news again arrived that the mīrzās, Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā and his sons, had come to Kanauj. (34a)

After Shaikh Bahlūl's murder, Mīrzā Hindāl went to Dihli. He took with him Mīr Faqr-'ālī and other well-wishers to frustrate and disperse the mīrzās. The mīrzās fled, and came into the Kanauj quarter. Mīr Faqr-'ālī brought Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsīr to Dihli. As there was neither friendliness nor confidence between Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsīr, Mīrzā Hindāl, when Mīr Faqr-'ālī made this mistake, sat down out of sheer annoyance and besieged Dihli.\(^3\)

When Mīrzā Kāmrān heard these things, there arose in him also a desire of sovereignty. With 12,000 fully equipped horsemen he went to Dihli. Mīr Faqr-'ālī and Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsīr closed the city gates on his approach. Two or three days later, Mīr Faqr-'ālī, having made an agreement, went and saw Mīrzā Kāmrān. He represented: 'The news heard of his Majesty and Shīr Khān may be so and so.'\(^4\) Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsīr, from thought of his own interest, does not wait on you. The advisable course at this crisis is, that you should lay hands on Mīrzā Hindāl,

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\(^1\) Perhaps the copyist has omitted a name; perhaps, as a child of Humāyūn, 'Aqīqa is 'of the haram.'

\(^2\) From his wound or from distress of mind. The 'forty days' suggest the ceremonial term of mourning.

\(^3\) The whole of the above paragraph it would be safest to hide with Hindāl under his sister's charitable cloak. For a historical account of the time, see B. & H., II., Book IV., Cap. IV.

\(^4\) Clearly the ill news of the rout at Chausa.
go to Agra, and not think of establishing yourself in Dīhlī.' (34b)

Mīrzā Kāmrān gave heed to Mīr Faqr-‘āli’s words, and bestowed on him a head-to-foot dress. He then seized Mīrzā Hindāl and came to Agra. He visited the tomb of Firdaus-makānī,1 saw his mother and sisters, and halted in the Rose-scattering2 Garden.

At this time Nūr Beg brought word of his Majesty’s coming.3 As Mīrzā Hindāl was excluded from the presence because of the murder of Shaikh Bahlūl, he went to Alwar.4

A few days after his Majesty’s arrival, Mīrzā Kāmrān came from the Rose-scattering Garden and paid his respects to him. We paid our respects on the evening of the day he came. He took notice of this insignificant one, and was kindly pleased to say: ‘I did not know you at first, because when I led the army (whose footprints are victorious5) to Gaur Bangāla, you wore the high cap (tāq), and now when I saw the muslin coif6 I did not recognise you. And oh, my Gul-badan, I used very often to think of you, and was sometimes sorry, and said: ‘I do wish I had brought her!’ But at the time of the disaster (jīfrāt) I was thankful I had not, and I said: (35a) ‘Thank God I did not bring Gul-badan!’ For although ‘Aqīqa7 was young, I have been

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1 Bābar’s remains then had not been conveyed to Kābul in 1539.
2 (?) Gold-scattering. Mr. Erskine calls it so, and it is likely to be that already mentioned by Gul-badan more than once.
3 Retreating from Chausa.
4 His own jagīr.
5 zafr-azar. This, after Chausa, can only be a precative of Gul-badan’s.
6 This change appears to indicate that Gul-badan, who is about eighteen or nineteen years old, has been married. The Persian has lachaq qasāba, without conjunction. Steingass and Johnson describe the lachaq as a square mantle worn by women, doubled into a triangle, but here the description given in the Burhān-i-qātī is more apropos, i.e., a square of stuff folded cornerwise and put upon the head so that the corners tie under the chin. It is often (l.c.) elaborately embroidered in gold. Qasāba appears to have the same meaning as lachaq.
7 Cf. p. 33b.
consumed by a hundred thousand regrets and cares, and have said: “Why did I take her with the army?”’

A few days later he came to see my mother. He had with him the Holy Book. He commanded the attendants to retire\(^1\) for awhile, and they rose and there was privacy. Then he said to ājam (Dil-dār Begam) and this insignificant one, and to Afghānī āghācha, and Gul-nār āghācha, and Nār-gul āghācha, and my nurse (anaga): ‘Hindāl is my strength\(^2\) and my spear;\(^3\) the desirable light of my eyes, the might of my arm, the desired, the beloved. May what I do be right! What shall I say to Mirzā Muḥammad Hindāl about the affair of my\(^4\) Shaikh Bahlūl? What was to be has been! Now there is no anger in my heart against Hindāl. If you do not believe it’ . . . He had lifted up the Holy Book when her Highness my mother, Dil-dār Begam, and this poor thing snatched it from his hand. All cried, ‘May what you do be right! Why do you say such things?’

Then again he spoke: ‘How would it be, Gul-badan, if you went yourself and fetched your brother, Muḥammad Hindāl Mirzā?’ (358) Her Highness, my mother, said: ‘This girlie (dukhtarak) is young. She has never made a journey (alone). If you approved, I would go.’ His Majesty said: ‘If I give you this trouble, it is because it is clearly incumbent on fathers and mothers to feel for their children. If you would honour him with a visit, it would be a healing-balm applied for us all.’

Then he sent Mir Abū’l-baqā\(^5\) with her Highness my mother, to fetch Mirzā Hindāl. At once on hearing this

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1. *kināra kardand*. This metaphor recalls the arrangement of carpets in Persian rooms, with the carpet proper in the centre, an upper end (*sar-andāz*) and borders (*kināra*). ‘Go aside’ might be a good rendering.

2. *qul*, Mongolian,—main body of an army.

3. Ar. *qanāt*.

4. Here and in the apostrophe to Gul-badan I have allowed the *man* to indicate the affection Humāyūn had for his half-sister and for the revered shaikh. It might be, however (as at ‘Now there is no anger,’ cf. text), the simple first person.

5. B. & H., II., s.n..
news: 'She has come to see me!' Muḥammad Hindāl Mīrzā made his mother happy by giving her honourable meeting. He came with her from Alwar, and paid his duty to his Majesty. About Shaikh Bahlūl he said: 'He used to send arms and military appurtenances to Shīr Khān. When this was ascertained, I killed the shaikh on account of it.'

To put it briefly: in a short time came news that Shīr Khān had come near Lakhnau.

In those days his Majesty had a certain servant, a water-carrier. (36a) As he had been parted from his horse in the river at Chausa and this servant betook himself to his help and got him safe and sound out of the current, his Majesty now seated him on the throne. The name of that menial person we did not hear, some said Nīzām, some said Sambal. But to cut the story short, his Majesty made the water-carrier servant sit on the throne, and ordered all the amīrs to make obeisance to him. The servant gave everyone what he wished, and made appointments. For as much as two days the Emperor gave royal power to that menial. Mīrzā Hindāl was not present at his court; he had taken leave, and had again gone to Alwar with the intention of getting arms ready. Neither did Mīrzā Kāmrān appear. He was ill, and sent to say to his Majesty: 'Gifts and favours of some other kind ought to be the servant’s reward. What propriety is there in setting him on the throne? At a time when Shīr Khān is near, what kind of affair is this to engage your Majesty?'

In those days Mīrzā Kāmrān’s illness increased amazingly. He became weak and so thin that his face was not in the least his own, and there was no hope of his life. (36b)

1 Hindāl was received in the presence of Kāmrān and other kinsmen. Humāyūn said to Kāmrān: 'You know who is to blame! Why did Hindāl rebel?' Kāmrān passed on the question to Hindāl himself, who, with profound shame, pleaded that being young he had listened to bad advice, and begged forgiveness. (Erskine’s notes on Stewart’s Jauhar, B. M. Add. 26,608.)
2 Lit., in that assembly.
By the Divine mercy he grew better. He suspected that the Emperor's mothers,\(^1\) by his Majesty's advice, had given him poison. His Majesty came to hear of this, and instantly went to see the mîrzâ and swore that he had never had such a thought, nor given such an order to any one. Nevertheless, Mîrzâ Kâmrân's heart was not purged. Afterwards he got worse, day after day, and he lost power of speech.

When news came that Shir Khan had left Lakhnau, the Emperor marched towards Kanauj, and left Mîrzâ Kâmrân in Agra to act for him. In a few days the mîrzâ heard that he had made a bridge of boats and crossed the Ganges. On this, he himself marched out of Agra towards Lâhôr.\(^2\)

We had settled down\(^3\) when he sent\(^4\) a farman like a king's, and said: 'You\(^5\) are commanded to go with me to Lâhôr.' He must have said\(^6\) to his Majesty about me something of this sort: 'I am very ill and very miserable and lonely, and I have no one\(^7\) to sympathize with me. (37a) If you will order Gul-badan Begam to go with me to Lâhôr, it will be a real favour and kindness.' For his sake his Majesty will have said: 'She shall go.' Two or three days after the Emperor had gone towards Lakhnau, the mîrzâ sent a farman,\(^8\) in royal style, to the effect: 'Most assuredly you will come with me.' Then my mother must have said: 'She has never travelled apart from us.' He replied:\(^9\) 'If she has not travelled alone, do you also go with her.' He sent as many as 500 troopers and trusty grooms, and both his foster-father and his foster-brother, and said (to my mother): 'If she may not go with me (to

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\(^1\) i.e., Bâbar's widows.

\(^2\) A treacherous defection.

\(^3\) The royal family, after the Emperor's and the mîrzâ's departure.

\(^4\) Perhaps from his first halting-place outside the city.

\(^5\) Clearly Gul-badan.

\(^6\) Before either brother left Agra.

\(^7\) i.e., of his kinsfolk, and especially of his women kinsfolk.

\(^8\) This, I think, is the one already named.

\(^9\) ishân farmudand. This seems to mean Humâyûn, and to refer the following speech back to the earliest discussion of the project of Gul-badan's journey at the time Humâyûn was still in Agra. The whole episode is confused in narrative.
Lāhūr), come all of you one stage.' When one stage was reached, he began to declare, on his oath: 'I will not let you go.' Then he took me by main force, with a hundred weepings and complaints and laments, away from my mothers, and my own mother and my sisters, and my father's people, and my brothers, and parted us who had all grown up together from infancy.¹

I saw that the Emperor's command also was in the affair. I was helpless. (37b) I wrote a suppliant letter, saying: 'I never expected your Majesty to cut off this insignificant one from your service, and to give her to Mirzā Kāmrān.' To this humble note he sent a compassionate answer (salām-nāma), to this effect: 'I had no heart to part with you, but the mīrzā persisted, and was miserable, and begged very hard, and I was obliged to trust you to him. For just now there is important work² on hand. God willing, I will send for you when it is settled.'

When the mīrzā was starting, many people, amīrs and traders and so on, made preparation with the intention of letting their wives and families march under his escort to Lāhūr. When we reached (the city) news came of a battle on the Ganges, and that defeat had befallen the royal army.³

At least there was this limit to misfortune,—his Majesty and his brothers came safely through the peril.⁴ Our other relations⁵ came from Āgra by way of Alwar to Lāhūr. (38a)

¹ It must be remembered that Gul-badan's husband, Khizr Khwāja, was a brother of Āq Sultān (Yasīn-daulat), Kāmrān's son-in-law, and Kāmrān may have had other motives than affection for desiring her presence, e.g., the attraction of her husband's contingent.

² The opposition of Shir Khān, soon to be closed at Kanauj. Gul-badan's enforced departure with Kāmrān saved her a painful and hazardous flight.

³ May 17th, 1540 (Muharram 10th, 947H.). Mīrzā Ḥaider gives an admirable account of it as 'the battle of the Ganges.' Gul-badan's full brother, Hindāl, led the van at Kanauj, and defeated Shir Khān's son, Jalāl. Hindāl was a successful general. 'Askārī, Kāmrān's full brother, was defeated by Khwās Khān.

⁴ As at Chausa, so at Kanauj, Humāyūn was nearly drowned. Here he was saved by Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī, whose wife, under the sobriquet of Ji-jī anaga, became a nurse of Akbar.

⁵ They were convoyed by Hindāl. See infra.
Just now the Emperor said to Mīrzā Hindāl: "Aqiqa Begam disappeared in that first interregnum (fitrat1), and I repented extremely, and said: "Why did I not kill her in my own presence?" Now, again, it is difficult to convey women with us.' Mīrzā Hindāl answered: 'What it would be to your Majesty to kill a mother and a sister, speaks for itself! So long as there is life in me, I will fight in their service. I have hope in the most high God, that,—poor fellow as I am,—I may pour out my life's blood for my mother and my sisters.'

Then the Emperor set out for Fathipūr (Sikrī) with Mīrzā 'Askārī and Yādgār-nāṣir Mīrza and the amīrs who had come safely off the battlefield.2

Mīrzā Hindāl sent on before him3 her Highness his mother, who was Dil-dār Begam, and his own sister, Gul-chihra Begam, and Afghānī āghācha, and Gul-nār āghācha, and Nār-gul āghācha, and the amīrs' wives and families, etc. He was marching along when the Gawārs pursued him in great numbers. (386) Some of his troopers charged and defeated them. An arrow struck his horse.4 There was much fighting and confusion. Having saved the helpless women from the bond of the Gawārs, he sent on (to Lāhōr) his mother and sister, and many of the amīrs' people, etc., and went to Alwar. Here he got together tents and pavilions and numerous requisites, and then started for Lāhōr. He arrived in a few days,

1 i.e., battle of Chausa. Fitna would read more easily here. Perhaps behind fitrat is the notion of relaxation in effort, or of an interval between two periods of good fortune.
2 Amongst them was Ijāidar Mīrzā, who describes the fugitives as 'broken and dispirited, and in a state heartrending to tell.' Sikrī must have rubbed salt into their wounds, since it recalls Bābar's triumph. Their halting-place there was his garden, a token of his genius for living.
3 The known enemy, Shīr Khān, was in the rear. With Hindāl's marriage-feast fresh in mind, one may give a thought to Sultānam. She was probably of this party, since her husband's contingent was with Humāyūn, and he was not on his jāgīr of Alwar.
4 Asp-i-mubārik, (?) the horse which had the happiness to bear him. Perhaps asp is a mistake for some word to which 'blessed' would be a more fit adjective.
and brought what was wanted for the princes and the amirs.

His Majesty alighted in Khwāja Ghāzī's garden near Bibi Ḥāj-tāj. Every day there was news of Shīr Khān; and during the three months that the Emperor was in Lāhōr word was brought day after day: 'Shīr Khān has advanced four miles,' 'six miles,' till he was near Sirhind.

One of the amirs was named Muẓaffar Beg. He was a Türkman. The Emperor sent him with Qāẓī 'Abdu-l-lāh to Shīr Khān to say: 'What justice is there in this? I have left you the whole of Hindūstān. Leave Lāhōr alone, and let Sirhind, where you are, be a boundary between you and me.' (39a) But that unjust man, fearless of God, did not consent, and answered: 'I have left you Kābul. You should go there.'

Muẓaffar Beg marched at once, and sent on an express to say: 'A move must be made.' As soon as this message came, his Majesty set off. It was like the Day of Resurrection. People left their decorated places and furniture just as they were, but took with them whatever money they had. There was thankfulness to God, because mercifully a ford was found across the Lāhōr water (Ravī) where everyone crossed. His Majesty halted a few days on the river's bank. Then an ambassador came from Shīr Khān. The Emperor had decided to see him next morning, when Mīrzá Kāmrān made a petition, saying: 'To-morrow there

1 Abū’l-fazl says that Hindāl’s quarters were in Khwāja Ghāzī’s garden, and Humāyūn’s in Khwāja Dost munṣhī’s.

Bibī Ḥaj, Bibī Tāj, Bibī Nur, Bibī Hur, Bibī Gūhar, and Bibī Shābaz are said to have been daughters of 'Aqīl, brother of 'Alī (Muhammad’s son-in law). They were famous for piety and asceticism. After the murder of Imām Ḥusain at Kerbela, these ladies left Syria for India in obedience to a secret intimation. They alighted outside Lāhōr at the place named by Gul-badan and where their shrine now is. They converted many of the townspeople to their faith, and thus angered the, presumably Hindū, governor. He sent his son to command their departure, but the son fell under their influence, and remained near them. This still more angered his father, who went out against them and their followers with an armed force. The ladies prayed that their honour might be preserved, and they not be seen by strange men. Immediately the earth opened and swallowed them. (Khazīna’u-l-asfīyā, II. 407.)
will be an entertainment, and Shīr Khān’s envoy will be present. If I may sit on a corner of your Majesty’s carpet, so that there may be distinction between me and my brothers, it will be a cause of my exaltation.¹

Ḥamīda-bānū Begam says it was his Majesty who wrote and sent the following verse to the mirzā.² I had heard that he sent it to Shīr Khān by the envoy. This is the verse:

‘Although one’s image be shown in the mirror,
It remains always apart from one’s self.’ (396)
‘It is wonderful to see one’s self in another form:
This marvel will be the work of God.’

When Shīr Khān’s ambassador arrived he paid his respects.

The Emperor’s blessed heart was cast down. He fell asleep in a sad mood, and saw in a dream a venerable man, dressed in green from head to foot and carrying a staff, who said: ‘Be of good cheer; do not grieve;’ and gave his staff into the royal hand. ‘The most high God will give you a son who shall be named Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar.’ The Emperor asked: ‘What is your honourable name?’ He answered: ‘The Terrible Elephant,’³ Aḥmad of Jām;’ and added: ‘Your son will be of my lineage.’⁴

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¹ For an account of Kāmrān’s odious and fruitless treachery see B. & H., II. 200 et seq. The meaning of his message to Ḥumāyūn is not clear to me. Perhaps he wished to show the envoy that he was not on the level of Hindāl and ‘Askārī, but able to claim recognition as a ruler and as Ḥumāyūn’s equal. Perhaps it was a hint to Ḥumāyūn that he must recognise Kāmrān’s equality in the lands in which the latter had been supreme while he himself ruled in Dīlī.

² At the time when the verse was written Ḥamīda was not married. The discussion in 1587 (circa) of a ‘point’ between the ladies is a living touch to the old MS. Which was likely to be right,—Ḥamīda who might later have heard the story from her husband, or Gul-badan who was in Lāhūr? Gul-badan puts the difference of opinion gently but does not surrender, and leaves her readers to draw their own inferences.

³ Zinda-fil.

⁴ Ḥumāyūn was of the lineage of Aḥmad of Jām through his mother Māham. (A. N., Bib. Ind., ed.I. 121.) To give force to the prophecy,
In those days Bibi Günwar1 was with child. Everyone said: ‘A son will be born.’ In that same garden of Dost munshi and in the month of Jumāda’u-l-awwal, a daughter was born whom they named Bakhshi-bānū.

At this time his Majesty appointed Mirzā Haidar to take Kashmir. Meantime, news was brought that Shir Khān was there. A wonderful confusion followed, and the Emperor decided to march off next morning. (40a)

While the brothers were in Lāhūr, they conferred and took counsel and asked advice, but they did not settle on any single thing. At last the news was: ‘Shir Khān is here.’ Then, as there was no help for it, they marched off at the first watch of the day (9 a.m.).

The Emperor’s wish was to go to Kashmir, where he had sent Mirzā Haidar Kāshgharī; but news of the mīrzā’s success had not yet come, and people counselled: ‘If your Majesty were to go to Kashmir, and the country was not conquered at once, it would—with Shir Khān in Lāhūr—be a very difficult time.’

Khwāja Kilān Beg2 was in Sīālkūt, and disposed to serve his Majesty. With him was Mū’yid Beg, who wrote: ‘The khwāja greatly wishes to serve you and would come, but he has Mirzā Kāmrān to consider. If your Majesty would come quickly, his help would be made easy in an excellent way.’ The Emperor at once took arms and equipment, and set out to go to the khwāja, and joined company with him and brought him along.3

however, the coming child’s mother had to be of the same descent, since Humāyūn’s claim to rank as of the saint’s lineage required no prophetic announcement. Indeed this story seems to cast doubt on that claim. Akbar’s mother, Ḥamīda, was of the line of Aḥmad of Jām. So, too, was Bega (Ḥāji) Begam. Another of the same family was Bābū or Bānū āghā, wife of Shihābū-d-dīn Aḥmad of Nishāpur.

1 To give value to Ahmad’s prophecy, Bibi Günwar ought also to have traced back to him. She does not seem to have been a woman of rank. The girl now born was at least the third child of Humāyūn, having been Al-amān and ‘Aqīqa, children of Bega Begam and now both dead.

2 The well-known old servant of Bābar and now one of Kāmrān’s chief amīrs.

3 The begam’s story here does not agree with that of Mr. Erskine’s authorities. Mū’yid Beg is the ill-adviser of the march from Bengal to Chausa.
The Emperor was pleased to say: 'With my brothers' concurrence, I shall go to Badakhshān. (40b) Let Kābul remain the fief of Mīrzā Kāmrān.' But Mīrzā Kāmrān would not consent to (his Majesty's) going to Kābul, and said: 'In his lifetime the Emperor Firdaus-makānī gave Kābul to my mother (Gulrukh Begam). It is not right (for you) to go to Kābul.'

Then said his Majesty: 'As for Kābul, his Majesty Firdaus-makānī often used to say, "My Kābul I will give to no one; far from it! Let none of my sons covet it. There God gave me all my children, and many victories followed its capture." Moreover, this expression of opinion is recorded many times in his Waqī'a-nāma. What was the good of my showing kindness to the mīrzā from civility and brotherliness, if he now keep on talking in this way!'

Let his Majesty talk as he would, pacifying and conciliating, the mīrzā resisted more and more. When he saw that there was a large following with Mīrzā Kāmrān, and that the mīrzā was in no way willing for him to go to Kābul, he had no resource but to move towards Bhakkar and Multān. Having arrived in Multān, he halted one day. (41a) A small quantity of corn was obtained in the fort and having divided that little amongst his men, he marched on till he came to the bank of a river which was seven rivers in one. He stood distracted. There were no boats, and he had a large camp with him. Then there came word that Khawāṣ Khān, with several amīrs, was coming up behind.

There was a Balūchī named Bakhshū (sic) who had forts

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1 Kāmrān may well have feared that Humāyūn would get no further than Kābul on his way to Badakhshān.

2 i.e., the Indus. The begam's 'seven' is interesting. Cf. 'Sketch of the Hindūstānī Language,' C. J. Lyall, p.1 n. 'Hindo represents an earlier Hindau, being the modern Persian for the ancient Hendava, i.e., a dweller in the country of the sapta hindū (Sk. sapta sindhu), or "seven rivers," now called, with the omission of two (probably the Saraswati and Drishadwati or Ghaggar) the Panj-āb.'

3 A follower of Shir Khān.
and many men. His Majesty sent him a banner and kettledrums, and a horse, and a head-to-foot suit, and asked for boats and also for corn. After a time Bakhshū Balūchī got together and sent about a hundred boats, full of corn too, for the royal service,—a proper attention which pleased the Emperor very much. He divided the corn amongst his people, and crossed the water¹ safe and sound. May mercy be shown to Bakhshū for his dutiful service!

After a weary journey, they reached Bhakkar at last. The fort is in the middle of the river and very strong. The governor, Sultan Mahmūd (Bhakkatn),² had fortified himself in it. (41b) The Emperor alighted safe and well over against the fort, near which was a garden³ made by Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain Samandar.⁴

At length his Majesty sent Mīr Samandar to Shāh Ḥusain Mirzā with this message: 'We have come into your territory under compulsion. May your country be blessed to you! We shall not take possession of it. Would to Heaven you would yourself come and pay us your respects, and do us the service which is our due! We intend to go to Gujrāt, and should leave you your own country.' By tricks and wiles, Shāh Ḥusain kept his Majesty as much as five months in Samandar; then he sent a person to wait on him, and to say: 'I am arranging my daughter's wedding-feast, and I send (someone) to wait on you. I shall come (later).' His Majesty believed him, and waited still three months. Sometimes there was corn to be had, sometimes not. The soldiers killed and ate their horses and camels. Then his Majesty sent again, by

¹ The Gāra, near Uch.
² Foster-brother of Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, and the man for whom Sīdī ʿAlī Reis negotiated terms with Humāyūn in 1555.
³ A delightful garden, the Chār-bāgh of Rūhrī (Lūhrī), on the left bank of the Indus. Shāh Ḥusain felt no anxiety as to military operations after hearing that Humāyūn had camped here. Chār-bāgh seems to denote a royal and private garden.
⁴ 'A place in Hindīstān from which aloes are brought.' (Steingass, s.v.) Cf. Samandūrī, aloe-wood, of the Aīn. (Blochmann 80.) Samandar seems an equivalent for Sind.
Shaikh 'Abdu-l-ghafur,¹ to ask: 'How much longer will you be? What prevents you from coming?' (42a) Things have come to such a pass that there is inconvenience, and many of my men are deserting.' The reply was: 'My daughter² is promised to Mirzā Kāmrān, and a meeting with me is impossible. I could not wait on you.'

As at this time Mirzā Muḥammad Hindāl crossed the river, some said he might be going to Qandahār.³ On hearing this his Majesty sent several people after him to make inquiry and to say: 'It is reported that you plan going to Qandahār.' When questioned, the mirzā said: 'People have given a wrong impression.' On this the Emperor came⁴ to see her Highness my mother.

The mirzā's haram and all his people paid their respects to his Majesty at this meeting. Concerning Ḥamīda-bānū Begam, his Majesty asked: 'Who is this?' They said: 'The daughter of Mir Bābā Dost.' Khwāja Muʿazzam⁵ was standing opposite his Majesty, who said: 'This boy will be one of my kinsmen (too?).'⁶ Of Ḥamīda-bānū he said: 'She, too, is related to me.' (42b)

In those days Ḥamīda-bānū Begam was often in the mirzā's residence (mahall). Another day when his Majesty came to see her Highness my mother, he remarked: 'Mir

¹ Humāyūn's treasurer (mīr-i-māl) whose official functions must now have been of the least pressing.
² The admirable Māh-chūchak who insisted upon accompanying the blinded Kāmrān to Makka. As her peer in compassion may be commemorated Chilma Beg kuki. (B. & H., II., 418.)
³ He encamped at Pāt (text, Paṭr), about twenty miles west of the Indus and about forty miles north of Sehwān. Pāt is in the sarkūr of Siwistān, a little to the east of the highroad to Hyderābād, and not far north of Meānī, the scene of Napier's victory of 1843. I am indebted to Major-General Malcolm R. Haig for the information that Pāt is 'now a ruin, having been destroyed in the latter part of the eighteenth century when two Kalhora chiefs of Sind called in the Afghāns to quell domestic troubles.'
⁴ Leaving his troops to prosecute the siege of Bhakkar, and passing through Dārbila where was his cousin, Yādgār-nāsir. From the wording it might be supposed that Gul-badan was with her mother in Pāt, but I believe she was in Kābul at this time.
⁵ Cf. Appendix, s.n. Ḥamīda-bānū.
⁶ (?) interrogative, but the preceding verb is guftand, and not pursīdand.
Bābā Dost is related to us. It is fitting that you should give me his daughter in marriage.' Mirzā Hindāl kept on making objections, and said: 'I look on this girl as a sister and child of my own. Your Majesty is a king. Heaven forbid there should not be a proper alimony, and that so a cause of annoyance should arise."

His Majesty got angry, and rose and went away. Then my mother wrote and sent a letter, saying: 'The girl's mother has even before this been using persuasion. It is astonishing that you should go away in anger over a few words.' He wrote in reply: 'Your story is very welcome to me. Whatever persuasion you may use, by my head and eyes, I will agree to it. As for what they have written about alimony, please Heaven, what they ask will be done. My waiting eye is on the road.' My mother fetched his Majesty, and on that day she gave a party. When it was over, he went to his own quarters. (43a) On another day he came to my mother, and said: 'Send someone to call Ḥamīdā-bānū Begam here.' When she sent, the begam did not come, but said: 'If it is to pay my respects, I was exalted by paying my respects the other day. Why should I come again?' Another time his Majesty sent Subḥān Qulī, and said: 'Go to Mirzā Hindāl, and tell him to send the begam.' The mīrzā said: 'Whatever I may say, she

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1 This looks like a side-glance at the wasted fortunes of royalty. No kingdom! No revenues! Whenee then the dowry? It is clear from the sequel that the important point was being pressed.

Jauhar says that Ḥamīdā had been already asked in marriage, but not betrothed or perhaps promised. Her objections to marry Humayūn seem personal, and may indicate preference for another and dislike for him. She is said to have been fourteen years old and Humayūn was thirty-three, an opium-eater, and much married already. Her objections, whatever their true basis, must have been strong or they could hardly have survived, for Gul-badan to record, through the many years of prosperity and proud motherhood which her husband's renewed sovereignty in India and her son's distinction secured to her.

Behind Gul-badan's story of the wooing of Ḥamīdā there were doubtless many talks over 'old times' when the royal authoress was freshening her memory for her literary task, begun (it seems probable) when she was about sixty-five and Ḥamīdā some few years younger.

2 Mūdar-i-dūkhtar az īn ham peshtar nāz mīkanad. Perhaps, 'caressed the idea.'
will not go. Go yourself and tell her.' When Subhān Quli went and spoke, the begam replied: 'To see kings once is lawful; a second time it is forbidden. I shall not come.' On this Subhān Quli went and represented what she had said. His Majesty remarked: 'If she is not a consort (nā mahram), we will make her a consort (mahram).'

To cut the story short: For forty days the begam resisted and discussed and disagreed. At last her highness my mother, Dil-dār Begam, advised her, saying: 'After all you will marry someone. Better than a king, who is there?' The begam said: 'Oh yes, I shall marry someone; but he shall be a man whose collar my hand can touch, and not one whose skirt it does not reach.' Then my mother again gave her much advice. (436)

At last, after forty days (discussion), at mid-day on Monday (fault) Jumīdu-l-awwal (sic) 948H. (September, 1541), and in Pātr (sic), his Majesty took the astrolabe into his own blessed hand and, having chosen a propitious hour, summoned Mīr Abū’l-baqa and ordered him to make fast the marriage bond. He gave the mīr two laks of ready money for the dower¹ (nikāḥāna), and having stayed three days after the wedding in Pātr, he set out and went by boat to Bhakkar.

He spent a month at Bhakkar and he sent Mīr Abū’l-baqa to Sultan Bhakkarī. The mīr fell ill while away, and went to the mercy of God.²

His Majesty then gave Mīrzā Hindāl leave to go to Qandahār, and he dismissed Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsir to his own place, Lār. He himself went towards Seāwān² (Sehwān),

¹ Perhaps the ladies romance a little here. Humāyūn was certainly at a loss for money now and later.
² This is not a historic account of the death. He was sent to Yādgār-nāsir and was shot while crossing the river on his return to Rūhri by adherents of Shāh ʿIḥsān. His death caused great grief to Humāyūn. (B. & H., II., 222.)
³ At the end of September, 1541. Hindāl’s leave is a sisterly gloss on his acceptance of an invitation to Qandahār given by its governor, Qarācha Khān.
which is six or seven days' journey from Tatta.\(^1\) Sehwan has a strong fort, in which was Mir 'Alika, a servant of his Majesty the Emperor.\(^2\) There were several cannon, so no one could possibly go near. Some of the royal soldiers made trenches, and got near and gave him ('Alika) advice, and said: \((44a)\) 'Disloyalty is not well at such a time,' but Mir 'Alika did not agree with them. Then they made a mine and cast down a tower, but they could not take the fort. Corn became dear and many men deserted. The Emperor spent six or seven months there.

Mirzâ Shâh Ḥusain treacherously laid hands on the royal soldiers in all directions, and made them over to his people, and said: 'Take them and throw them into the salt sea.' Three\(^3\) or four hundred would be gathered into one place and flung into boats and thrown into the sea, till as many as 10,000 were cast forth.

\(^4\) As after this there were few men even with the Emperor, (? Shâh Ḥusain) filled several boats with cannon and muskets, and came from Tatta against him. Sehwan is near the river. (? Mir 'Alîka) hindered the coming of the royal boats and provisions, and sent to say: ' (?) I am maintaining my loyalty. March off quickly.' Having no remedy, the Emperor turned to Bhakkar.

When he came near and before he could reach it, Mir (Shâh) Ḥusain Samandar had sent word to Mirzâ Yâdgâr-nâsîr: \((44b)\) 'If the Emperor, when he is retreating, should

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\(^1\) Semblance of relevance can be given to this statement only by reference to other writers. Humâyûn had intended to go to Tatta at this time, and was diverted from the journey by a slight success of arms. He then besieged Sehwan.

\(^2\) Certainly not so, for 'Alika was an Arghûn and follower of Shâh Ḥusain. Perhaps Gul-badan wrote or intended to convey that 'Alika had served Bâbar as once all the Arghûns had done. Perhaps she has confused the import of the story that Mir 'Alika when sent by Shâh Ḥusain to take command of Sehwan, actually passed through Humâyûn's lines and the bâzâr without recognition as an enemy.

\(^3\) Text, thirty—\(Sîrâd\). No wonder Humâyûn's force vanished! He is said to have left Hindûstân, \(i.e.,\) Lâhor, with a following of 200,000. This presumably included Kâmrân's party, and was made up of soldiers and women, children, traders, servants, etc. At this time Humâyûn had lost both Hindâl's and Yâdgâr-nâsîr's troops.

\(^4\) The narrative becomes much confused here.
come near Bhakkar,¹ do not let him in. Bhakkar may remain your holding. I am with you; I will give you my own daughter.' The mîrzâ believed him and did not allow the Emperor to enter the fort, but wished to make him go on, either by force or fraud.

His Majesty sent a messenger to say: 'Bābā,² you are as a son to me. I left you in my stead, so that you might help me in case of need. What you are doing is done by the evil counsel of your servants. Those faithless servants will be faithless to you also.' Whatever his Majesty urged had no effect.³ Then he said: 'Very well! I shall go to Rāja Māldeo.⁴ I have bestowed this country on you, but Shâh Husain will not let you keep it. You will remember my words.' Having said this to the mîrzâ, the Emperor marched away by way of Jīsalmīr, towards Māldeo. He reached Fort Dilāwar (Dirāwal), on the rāja’s frontier, a few days later. (45a) He stayed there two days. Neither corn nor grass was to be had. He then went to Jīsalmīr, and on his approach the rāja sent out troops to occupy the road, and there was fighting. The Emperor and some others went aside off the road. Several men were wounded: Alūsh⁵ Beg, brother of Shāhām Jalā’īr and Pîr Muḥammad the equerry, and Raushang the wardrobe-keeper, and some others.⁶ At length the royal troops won and the infidels fled into the fort. That day the Emperor travelled 60 kos (cir. 120 miles), and then halted on the bank of a reservoir.

Next he came into Sītalmir, where he was harassed all day till he reached Pahlūdī, a pargana of Māldeo. The

¹ The mîrzâ was at Rūhri and had not possession of the fort. Cf. B. & H., II., 226, for a good account of his treachery and credulity.
² (?) ‘My dear boy’—the Persian word of endearment. The relative position and ages of Humāyûn and Yâdgâr-nâṣîr make ‘father’ inappropriate.
³ In this extremity Humāyûn turned his thoughts towards Makka.
⁴ Rāja of Juḍpūr (Mārwar), who had proffered help.
⁵ Var., Lūsh and Tarsh,—all three names of such disagreeable import as to suggest that they are either nicknames or were bestowed to ward off evil influences. Perhaps ālūs should be read. Cf. App. s.n.
⁶ Muqîm Ḥarawî, father of Nîzâmu-d-dîn Ahmâd, took part in this engagement.
räja was in Jodhpūr, and sent armour and a camel’s-load of ashrafīs, and greatly comforted his Majesty by saying: ‘You are welcome! I give you Bīkanīr.’ The Emperor halted with an easy mind, and despatched Atka Khān (Shamsu-d-dīn Ghaznāvī) to Māldeo, and said: ‘What will his answer be?’

In the downfall and desolation in Hind, Mullā Surkh, the librarian, had gone to Māldeo, and had entered his service. (45b) He now wrote: ‘Beware, a thousand times beware of advancing. March at once from wherever you are, for Māldeo intends to make you prisoner. Put no trust in his words. There came here an envoy from Shīr Khān who brought a letter to say: “By whatever means you know and can use, capture that king. If you will do this, I will give you Nagōr and Alwar and whatever place you ask for.”’ Atka Khān also said when he came: ‘This is no time for standing.’ So at afternoon prayer-time the Emperor marched off. When he was mounting, they captured two spies and brought them bound before him. He was questioning them when suddenly they got their hands free, and one snatched a sword from the belt of Muḥammad Gird-bāz and struck him with it, and then wounded Bāqī Guālīārī. The other at once unsheathed a dagger and faced the bystanders, wounded several and killed the Emperor’s riding-horse. They did much mischief before they were killed. (46a) Just then there was a cry, ‘Māldeo is here!’. The Emperor had no horse fit for Ḥāmīda-bānū Begam. He may have asked for one for her from Tardi Beg, who apparently did not give it. He then said: ‘Let the camel of Jauhar, the ever-bearer, be got ready for me. I will ride it, and the begam may have

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1 Presumably to Atka Khān’s message from Humāyūn.
2 (?) gird-bāzū, strong-limbed.
3 Doubtful translation; az mayūn yāk kashīda.
4 This excellent officer is frequently a scapegoat. Our begam, however, imputes her blame tentatively. For estimate of his character see B. & H., I. and II., s.n.. Jauhar brings Raushan Beg into a similar story of this terrible journey.
my horse.’ It would seem that Nadim Beg heard that his Majesty was giving his horse to the begam and thinking of riding a camel, for he mounted his own mother on a camel and gave her horse to the Emperor.

His Majesty took a guide from this place, and mounted and rode for ‘Umrkōt. It was extremely hot; horses and (other) quadrupeds kept sinking to the knees in the sand, and Māldeo was behind. On they went, thirsty and hungry. Many, women and men, were on foot. (46b)

On the approach of Māldeo’s troops, the Emperor said to Īshān(Īsān)-tīmūr Sulṭān and to Muʾnim Khān and a number of others: ‘You all come slowly, and watch the enemy till we have gone on a few miles.’ They waited; it grew night, and they missed their way.

All through that night the Emperor went on, and at dawn a watering-place was found. For three days the horses had not drunk. He had dismounted when a man ran in, shouting: ‘The Hindūs are coming up in numbers, mounted on horses and camels.’ Then the Emperor dismissed Shaikh ‘Alī Beg (Jalāār), and Raushan kūka and Nadim kūka, and Mīr Payanda Muḥammad, brother of Muḥammad Wali, and many others.

They recited the fātibā, and his Majesty said: ‘Go, fight the infidels!’ He thought: ‘Īshān-tīmūr Sulṭān, and Muʾnim Khān, and Mīrzā Yādgār, and the rest whom we left behind, have been killed or captured by these people who have now come to attack us.’ He mounted and left the camp with a few followers.

Of the band which his Majesty had sent out to fight after reciting the fātibā, Shaikh ‘Alī Beg struck the Rājput captain with an arrow, and cast him from his horse. (47a)

1 The husband of Māham anaga, Akbar’s celebrated nurse. (R.A.S.J., January, 1899, art. Māham anaga, H. Beveridge.) His mother was Fakhrūn-n-nisā’. Cf. Gul-badan, 26a and 71a.
2 Perhaps ponies only. Text, chāravā.
3 Gul-chihra’s husband.
4 The well-known Khān-i-khānān of Akbar’s reign.
5 Perhaps ‘Uncle Yādgār’ (ḵagẖāī), the father of Bega Begam. Yādgār-nāṣir was not here, but still in Sind.
Several more (of the royal troop) hit others with arrows; the infidels turned to flee, and the fight was won. They brought in several prisoners alive. Then the camp went slowly, slowly on; but his Majesty was far ahead. Those who had recited the fāṭiḥa came up with the camp.

There was a mace-bearer named Bihbūd. They sent him galloping after the Emperor, to say: 'Let your Majesty go slowly. By Heaven's grace, a victory has been vouchsafed, and the infidels have fled.' Bihbūd himself was taken to the presence, and conveyed the good news.

His Majesty dismounted, and a little water even (ham) was found, but he was anxious about the amirs, and said: 'What has happened to them?' Then horsemen appeared in the distance, and again there was a cry: 'God forbid! Māldeo!' His Majesty sent a man for information, who came running back and said: 'Īshān-timūr Sūltān, and Mīrzā Yādgār, and Mu'īnim Khān are all coming, safe and sound.' They had missed their way. Their return rejoiced the Emperor, who rendered thanks to God.

Next morning they marched on. For three days they found no water. (47b) On the fourth, they came to some very deep wells, the water of which was extraordinarily red. The Emperor halted and alighted near one of the wells; Tārdī Beg Khān was at another; at a third, Mīrzā Yādgār, and Mu'īnim Khān, and Nādim kūka; and at the fourth, Īshān-timūr Sūltān, and Khwāja Ghāzī, and Raushan kūka.

As each bucket came out of the wells into reach, people flung themselves on it; the ropes broke, and five or six persons fell into the wells with the buckets. Many perished from thirst. When the Emperor saw men flinging themselves into the wells from thirst, he let anyone drink from

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1 And also, tied to his girths, two heads of foes which he flung at Humāyūn's feet.
2 to brim of the cup of joy.
3 These cries remind one that even now Humāyūn must have had with him a huge contingent of helpless beings, women and children and non-combatants.
his own water-bottle. When everyone had drunk his fill, they marched on again at afternoon prayer-time.

After a day and a night they reached a large tank. The horses and camels went into the water and drank so much that many died. There had not been many horses, but there were mules and camels. (4sa) Beyond this place water was found at every stage on the way to 'Umrikót, which is a beautiful place with many tanks.

The rānā² gave the Emperor an honourable reception, and took him into the fort, and assigned him excellent quarters. He gave places outside to the amīrs' people. Many things were very cheap indeed; four goats could be had for one rupi. The rānā made many gifts of kids and so on, and paid such fitting service that what tongue could set it forth?

Several days were spent in peace and comfort.

The treasury was empty. Tardi Beg Khān had a great deal of money, and the Emperor having asked him for a considerable loan, he lent 80,000 ashrafīs at the rate of two in ten.³ His Majesty portioned out this money to the army. He bestowed sword-belts and cap-à-pie dresses on the rānā and his sons. Many people bought fresh horses here.

Mir Shāh Ḥusain had killed the rānā's father. For this, amongst other reasons, the rānā collected 2,000 or 3,000 good soldiers and set out with the Emperor for Bhakkar.⁴ (48b)

In 'Umrikót he left many people, and his family and relations, and also Khwāja Mu'azzam to have charge of the karam. Ḥamīda-bānū Begam was with child. Three days after his Majesty's departure, and in the early morning of Sunday, the fourth day of the revered Rajab, 949H.,

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¹ The little desert town must indeed have seemed a haven after the terrible journey, and not least so to the young wife who some two months later became the mother of Akbar. Humāyūn reached 'Umrikót on August 22nd, 1542 (Jumādā I. 10th, 949H.).
² Text, passim, ra'nā. The 'Umrikót rānā's name was Parsād.
³ (?) 20 per cent. Cf. Mems., 138.
⁴ After a stay of seven weeks in 'Umrikót. ⁵ October 15th, 1542.
there was born his imperial Majesty, the world's refuge and conqueror, Jalâlu-d-din Muḥammad Akbar Ghâzî. The moon was in Leo. It was of very good omen that the birth was in a fixed Sign, and the astrologers said a child so born would be fortunate and long-lived. The Emperor was some thirty miles away when Târdî Muḥammad Khân took the news to him. He was highly delighted, and by way of reward and largesse (nîşâr) for the tidings he forgave all soever of Târdî Muḥammad Khân's past offences. He gave the child the name he had heard in his dream at Lâhôr, the Emperor Jalâlu-d-din Muḥammad Akbar.

On leaving this place, the Emperor went towards Bhakkar with as many as 10,000 men who had gathered round him, people of the rânâ and of the outlying tribes and Südmas (Sodhas) and Samîchas. (49a) They reached the district of Jûn, where there was one of Shâh Husain's servants with some troopers. He fled. 1 Here there was the Mirror Garden, a very pleasant and enjoyable place where the Emperor alighted. He assigned its villages (? of Jûn) in jâgîr to his followers.

It is a six days' journey from Jûn to Tatta. The Emperor was as much as six 2 months in Jûn, and brought his family and people and the whole 'Umrkôt party there. 3 The Emperor Jalâlu-d-din Muḥammad Akbar was six months old when they took him to Jûn. The party which had come from various places with the royal family and the harâm now broke up. As for the rânâ, he marched off at midnight for his own country, on account of a coolness 4 caused by some talk between him and Târdî Muḥammad Khân. 5 All the Südmas and Samîchas went off by agree-

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1 Cf. B. & H., II., 256, for stories of the taking of Jûn.
2 Other writers say nine.
3 Ḥamīda and her baby were good travellers. They left 'Umrkôt when the child was under five weeks old (November 20th), and joined Humâyûn early in December (1542).
4 Shukr rangî. I do not find this word in dictionaries, and translate tentatively on the analogy of shukr-āb, a tiff.
5 Other writers give Khwâja Ghâzî as the second in the quarrel.
INCIDENTS FOLLOWING THE BIRTH OF AKBAR.

At the top, on the right, are Hamida-bânit and the child; on the left, the news is announced with sound of castanets and tambourines.

In the middle, the hour of birth is being communicated to the astrologers.

At the foot, the news is being given to Humâyûn by Tardi Beg, and is welcomed by music and dancing.

[To face p. 158.]
ment with him, and the Emperor was left alone, as before, with his own people.

He sent brave Shaikh 'Ali Beg (Jalāīr) and Muṣaffar Beg Turkmān towards the large district of Jājkā (Ḥāj-kān). (49b) Mīrzā Shāh Ḫusain sent a force to attack him, and there was a famous fight. At last Muṣaffar Beg was routed and fled, and Shaikh 'Ali Beg (Jalāīr) was killed and perished with all his men.¹

A squabble arose between Khālid Beg² and Tarsh Beg, a brother of Shāham Khān Jalāīr and his Majesty turned all his favour to Tarsh Beg. So Khālid Beg deserted and went with all his men to Mīr Shāh Ḫusain. Then the Emperor ordered Khālid Beg's mother, Sultānam, to prison and this made Gul-barg³ Begam angry. Then he forgave Sultānam and gave her leave to go to the blessed Makka with Gul-barg Begam. Soon after this Tarsh Beg also deserted. The Emperor cursed him, and said: 'For his sake, I dealt harshly with Khālid Beg, who on this account left the circle of the faithful for the circle of the disloyal. Tarsh Beg will die young.' So it was! Fifteen days later, a servant killed him with a knife as he lay sleeping in a boat. When the Emperor heard of it he grew sad and thoughtful. (50a) Shāh Ḫusain Mīrzā brought boats up the river to near Jūn, and his men and the Emperor's often fought on board, and many were killed on both sides. Day by day there were desertions to Shāh Ḫusain. In one of these fights was killed Mullā Tāju-d-dīn whom his Majesty held in the greatest favour as a pearl of knowledge.

There was a squabble between Tardi Muḥammad Khān and Mu'īnīm Khān. Mu'īnīm Khān consequently deserted.

¹ A stubborn fight, and fateful for Humāyūn. It occurred in November, 1543.
² Son of Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa Bārlās and of Sultānam who appears to be Gul-badān's former hostess (14a).
³ Daughter of Khalīfa, and as such sister or half-sister of Khālid, and daughter or stepdaughter of Sultānam. She is, I believe, the Gul-barg of earlier episodes and a wife of Humāyūn.
Very few amirs remained; amongst them were Tardī Muḥammad Khān and Mīrzā Yādgār and Mīrzā Payanda Muḥammad and Muḥammad Wālī and Nadīm kūka and Raushan kūka and Khadang1 the chamberlain. Then there was word brought: 'Bairām Khān has reached Jājkā (Ḥāj-kān) on his way from Gujrāt.' The Emperor was delighted, and ordered Khadang and others to give him honourable meeting.

Meantime Shāh Ḥusain Mīrzā had heard of Bairām Khān's coming and sent to capture him. Bairām Khān rashly went into a hollow, and there they fell upon him. (sob) Khadang the chamberlain was killed. Bairām Khān and the rest escaped, and the khān came and paid his respects to the Emperor.

At this time letters arrived (addressed to) Mīrzā Hindāl for his Majesty from Qarāča Khān, saying: 'You have been long near Bhakkar, and during the whole time Shāh Ḥusain Mīrzā has given no sign of good-will but the reverse. By Heaven’s grace, an easy way is open, and it is best for the Emperor to come here (to Qandahār). This is really advisable. If he will not come, come you yourself without fail.' As his Majesty's coming was delayed, Qarāča Khān went out and met Mīrzā Hindāl, and made over the town to him (in the autumn of 1541).

Mīrzā 'Askari was in Ghaznīn, and to him Mīrzā Kāmrān wrote: 'Qarāča Khān has given over Qandahār to Mīrzā Hindāl. Qandahār must be considered.' His idea was to take it from Mīrzā Hindāl.

On hearing of these things, his Majesty came to his aunt Khānīzāda Begam,2 and said with great urgency: 'Pray do

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1 Probably the father of Maywa-jān. Bairām arrived April 12th, 1543 (Muḥarram 7th, 950H.).
2 From this it would seem that Khānīzāda was in Sind with Humāyūn. No other writer, I believe, mentions this or the embassy on which she is now sent. The Uzbegs and Turkmāns do not appear apropos here. If, as Gul-badan says,—and her authority is good,—Khānīzāda now went to Qandahār, she will have gone on to Kābul, possibly with Hindāl after he surrendered the town to Kāmrān. Of Mahdī Khwāja, Khānīzāda's husband, I find no mention made by any
NAUTCH IN CELEBRATION OF AKBAR'S BIRTH.

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me the honour of going to Qandahār and advising Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā Kāmrān. (s1a) Tell them that the Uzbegs and the Turkmāns are near them, and that the best plan is to be friends amongst themselves. If Mirzā Kāmrān will agree to carry out what I have written to him, I will do what his heart desires.'

Mirzā Kāmrān came to Qandahār four days after the begam’s arrival.1 Day after day he urged: ‘Read the khutba in my name’; and again and again Mirzā Hindāl said: ‘In his life-time his Majesty Firdaus-makānī gave his throne to the Emperor Humāyūn and named him his successor. We all agreed to this, and up till now have read the khutba in his name. There is no way of changing the khutba.’ Mirzā Kāmrān wrote to her Highness, Dil-dār Begam:3 ‘I have come from Kābul with you in mind. It is strange that you should not once have come to see me. (s1b) Be a mother to me as you are to Mirzā Hindāl.’ At last Dil-dār Begam went to see him, and he said: ‘Now I shall not let you go till you send for Mirzā Hindāl.’ Dil-dār Begam said: ‘Khānzāda Begam is your elder kinswoman, and oldest and highest of you all. Ask her the truth about the khutba.’ So then he spoke to Āka. Her Highness Khānzāda Begam answered: ‘If you ask me! well! as his Majesty Firdaus-makānī decided it and gave his throne to the Emperor Humāyūn, and as you, all of you, have read the khutba in his name till now, so now regard him as your superior and remain in obedience to him.’

To cut the matter short, Mirzā Kāmrān besieged Qandahār and kept on insisting about the khutba for four


1 She had a weary journey from Jūn to Qandahār, and Kāmrān had another, but less toilsome, from Kābul. Kāmrān kept Hindāl besieged, but there seems to have been a good deal of communication between besiegers and beleaguered.

2 Our memory is better than the begam’s, and we remember that Hindāl found no difficulty in changing the khutba to his own name in Dīhlī.

3 She would be probably with her son Hindāl in the fort.
months. At last he settled it in this way: 'Very well! the Emperor is now far away. Read the khutba in my name and when he comes back, read it in his.' As the siege had drawn out to great length, and people had gradually come to cruel straits, there was no help for it; the khutba was read. (52a) He gave Qandahār to Mīrzā 'Askari and promised Ghaznīn to Mīrzā Hindāl. When they reached Ghaznīn, he assigned the Lamghānāt and the mountain passes (Tangayhā)¹ to the mīrzā, and all those promises were false.²

Mīrzā Hindāl went off to Badakhshān, and settled down in Khost and Andarāb. Mīrzā Kāmīrān said to Dil-dār Begam: 'Go and fetch him.' When she arrived, the mīrzā said: 'I have withdrawn myself from the turmoil of soldiering, and even Khost is a hermitage. I have quite settled down.' The begam answered: 'If you intend to lead the darvish-life, even Kābul is a hermitage. Live where your family and kinsfolk are. That is the better plan.' Then she made him come, and for awhile he lived as a darvish in Kābul.

About this time, Mīr Shāh Ḥusain sent to the Emperor to say: 'The course favouring fortune is for you to march for Qandahār. That is the better plan.' His Majesty was willing, and replied: 'Horses and camels are scarce in my camp; give me some to travel with to Qandahār.' (52b) Shāh Husain Mīrza agreed, and said: 'There are a thousand camels on the other side of the river, which I will send to you as soon as you have crossed.'

[If words by Khwāja Kasak (? Kīsīk), kinsman of Khwāja Ghāzī, are recorded about the journey from Bhakkar and Sind, they are copied from the writings of the said Khwāja Kasak.⁴]

¹ (? The Tangī of Rudyard Kipling.
² The Tūríkh-i-badāyunī states that Ghaznīn was given to Hindāl and then taken away, and Mr. Erskine comments on this as probably untrue. (B. & H., II. 265 n.) Gul-badan here supports 'Abdu-l-qādīr.
³ 'as good as any other place' is perhaps the import of the ham.
⁴ We surmise that this is a gloss of Gul-badan, who has copied from a diary or writings of Khwāja Kasak. This name may be the Türkî kīsīk, a guard, a sentinel. No Persian word seems appropriate.
HYMN OF PRAISE FOR AKBAR’S BIRTH.

Of especial interest are the faces of the open-mouthed singers. Hamida-banü is probably the featureless person on the estrade.

[To face p. 162.]
At length the Emperor went on board boats, with kinsfolk and family, army and the rest, and travelled for three days on the great river. At the frontier of Shāh Ḥusain Mīrzā’s territory is a village called Nuāsī. Here they halted, and his Majesty sent Sulṭān Quli, the head-camel-driver, to fetch the camels. Sulṭān Quli brought a thousand, all of which his Majesty gave to his amirs, and soldiers, and others, ordering them to be apportioned.

The camels were such that one might say they had not known city, or load, or man for seven, or rather seventy, generations. As horses were few, many people took camels to ride on, and what were left were assigned for the baggage. Every camel which was mounted, at once flung its rider to the ground, and took its way to the jungle. Every pack-camel, when it heard the sound of horses’ feet, jumped and bounded and tossed off its load, and went off and away to the jungle. If a load was fixed so fast that, jump as it would, it could not get it off, it carried it away and ran with it into the jungle. This was the way the Emperor started for Qandahār. Some 200 camels must have gone off like this.

Shāh Ḥusain Mīrzā’s head-camel-driver Maḥmūd was in Siwī (Sibī), and when the Emperor came near, he strengthened the citadel and retired into it. His Majesty came prosperously to within twelve miles’ distance. Then word was brought that Mīr Allāh-dost and Bābā Jūjūk had arrived in Siwī from Kābul two days earlier, and were going on to (visit) Shāh Ḥusain Mīrzā. By them Mīrzā Kāmrān had sent a dress of honour, and tipūchāq horses, and much fruit, and they were to ask for Mīrzā Shāh Husain’s daughter.

The Emperor said to Khwāja Ghāzī: ‘As there is the

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1 Runāū, B. & H., II. 262. The text is clear.
2 Both these names may be sobriquets. Abu’l-fazl names Shaikh ‘Abdu-l-wahab as Allāh-dost’s companion. (A. N., Bib. Ind. ed. I. 189 et seq.)
3 Jūjūk is perhaps the Türkī ‘sweet-savoured,’ and an epithet of ‘Abdu-l-wahab, a lawyer with persuasive tongue.
4 The daughter has already been named as promised.
tie of father and son\(^1\) between you and Allah-dost, write and ask him in what way Mirzā Kāmrān stands towards me, and what he will do if I go into his neighbourhood.' (536) He also gave this order to Khwāja Kasak: 'Go to Siwī, and ask Mir Allah-dost whether he thinks it advisable for me to come to Kābul.' The khwāja set out, and the Emperor said: 'We will not march till you have returned.'

When the khwāja came near Siwī, Mahmūd, the head-camel-driver, caught him, and asked: 'Why are you here?' 'To buy horses and camels,' he answered. Mahmūd ordered: 'Feel under his arm and search his cap. Heaven forbid that he should have brought a letter to win over Allah-dost and Bābā Jūjūk.' They searched, and brought out the letter from under his arm. He had no chance to twist it into a fold.\(^2\) Mahmūd took it and read it, and, not letting the khwāja go, forthwith conveyed Allah-dost and Bābā Jūjūk into the fort, and with various roughnesses made them swear: 'We had no knowledge of his coming here.' (54a) (?) He has taken the initiative;\(^3\) and 'Khwāja Ghāzi is related to us and he was with Mirzā Kāmrān,\(^4\) and this is why he has written.' Mahmūd decided to send all three to Shāh Ḥusain, and Mir Allah-dost and Bābā Jūjūk spent the whole night smoothing him down and entreating him, and in the end they were set free.

Mir Allah-dost sent 3,000\(^5\) pomegranates and 100 quinces for his Majesty's use, and wrote no letter, because he was afraid it might fall into the wrong hands. By word of mouth he sent to say: 'If a letter should come from Mirzā Askarī or the amirs, it would not be bad to go to Kābul;

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1 Probably a spiritual relationship; that of religious teacher and disciple.
2 (?) to toss it secretly into a corner.
3 sabq khwānda ast. Perhaps Kasak as a pupil ‘has said his lessons to us,’ i.e., to Allah-dost.
4 He had been Kāmrān's diwan up to the time when the royal family left Lāhor, and he joined Humāyūn when the brothers parted for Sind and for Kābul.
5 Text, sīsad, but perhaps only 300 should be read.
but if not, it will be clear to your Majesty that nothing is to be gained by going. You have few followers. What, then, will happen?'

Kasak came and reported this. The Emperor was stupefied and bewildered, and said: 'What is to be done? Where am I to go?' They all consulted together. (54b) Tārdi Muḥammad Khān and Bairām Khān gave it as their opinion that it was impossible to decide to go anywhere but to the north and Shal-mastān,1 the frontier of Qandahār. 'There are many Afghans in those parts,' they said, 'whom we shall draw over to our side. Mīrzā 'Askari's people, too, will join us.'

Having settled it in this way, they recited the fatīha and went, march by march, for Qandahār. Near Shal-mastān they halted in a village named Ranī (? Rāli), but as it had snowed and rained, and was extremely cold, they determined to go on to Shal-mastān. At afternoon prayer-time an Uzbeg youth, mounted on a sorry and tired-out pony, came in, and cried out: 'Mount, your Majesty! I will explain on the way; time presses. There is no time to talk.'2 The Emperor mounted the very hour the alarm was given, and went off.

He went two arrows' flight, and then sent Khwāja Muʿazzam and Bairām Khān to fetch Ḥamīda-bānū Begam. (55a) They went and mounted her, but there was not a chink of time in which to take the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar. Just when the begam left the camp to join his Majesty, Mīrzā 'Askari came up with 2,000 troopers. There was an outcry, and when he heard it, he entered the camp3 and asked: 'Where is the Emperor?' People said: 'He went hunting long ago.' So the mīrzā knew that his Majesty had gone away just as he himself

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1 Approximately Quetta. The route seems to have been over the Bolan.
2 The youth was Chupī Bahādūr, a former servant of Humāyūn. Gul-badan's story differs in some details from that told by other writers.
3 Late in 950H. (1543). The little Akbar reached Qandahār on December 15th, 1543.
came in. Then he took possession of the Emperor Jalālud-dīn Muḥammad Akbar, and gave him in charge to his wife Sultānam, who showed him much kindness and affection. He made all the royal followers march, saying: 'Go to Qandahār.'

His Majesty, when he left, took the road to the mountains. He went eight miles, and then travelled as fast as possible. He had with him Bairam Khān, Khwāja Mu'azzam, Khwāja Niāzī, Nadīm kūkā and Raushan kūkā, and Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān, and Bābā-dost the paymaster, and Mīrāz Quli Beg chūlī, and Ḥaidar Muḥammad the master of the horse, and Shaikh Yūsuf chūlī, and Ibrāhīm the chamberlain, and Ḥasan 'Alī, the chamberlain, and Ya'qūb the keeper of the armoury, and 'Ambar the superintendent and the royal agent (mulk-mukhtār), and Sambal captain of a thousand, and Khwāja Kasak.

Khwāja Ghāzī says: 'I also was in attendance.' This company went with the Emperor, and Ḥamīda-bānū Begam says, 'There were as many as thirty people,' and that of women there was, besides herself, the wife of Ḥasan 'Alī, the chamberlain.

The prayer before sleep had passed before they reached the foot of the mountains. The snow lay deep, so there was no road to go up by. Their minds were full of anxiety lest that unjust creature, Mīrāz 'Askari, should follow them. At last they found a way up, and climbed it in some sort of fashion. They were all night in the snow, and (at first) there was neither wood for fire nor food to eat.

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1 I believe she was in Qandahār, and that she received the child on his arrival there.
2 Perhaps he rode four kos, and then, having waited for Ḥamīda, hurried on.
3 His wife, Māham anaga, remained behind with Akbar. With Akbar was also Atka Khān (Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad) and his wife, Jī-jī anaga.
4 Humāyun's sobriquet for those who went to Persia with him; from chūl, a desert. Others in this list might claim it.
5 Nizāmud-dīn Āḥmad puts the number of the party at twenty-two.
6 The tense used suggests conference and talking over. Jauhar says that Khwāja Ghāzī joined Humāyūn in Persia from Makka. This looks like a contradiction of Jauhar.
They grew very hungry and feeble. The Emperor gave orders to kill a horse. There was no cooking-pot, so they boiled some of the flesh in a helmet, and some they roasted. They made fires on all four sides, and with his own blessed hand the Emperor roasted some meat which he ate. He used to say: 'My very head was frozen by the intense cold.'

Morning came at last, and he pointed to another mountain, and said: 'There are people on that; there will be many Bilûchis there; and there we must go.' On they went, and reached the place in two days. They saw a few houses near them, and a few savage Bilûchis whose speech is the tongue of the ghouls of the waste.

The Emperor halted on the skirt of the mountain. There were about thirty people with him. The Bilûchis saw him, and collected and came near. He had settled comfortably in his tent, so they knew from far off that he was halting. They said to one another: 'If we seize these people and take them to Mîrzâ 'Askârî, he will certainly give us their arms, and many gifts besides.'

Hasan 'Ali, the chamberlain, had a Bilûchî wife who understood what the ghouls of the waste were saying, and who made it known that they meant mischief. Early in the morning the Emperor thought of marching on, but they said: 'Our chief is not here. When he comes, you shall go.' Besides this, the time had become unsuitable, and so the whole night was spent there in strict watchfulness.

Part of the night had gone when the chief arrived. He waited on the Emperor, and said: 'A *farmān* has come from Mîrzâ Kamrân and Mîrzâ 'Askârî, in which it is written: "It is reported that the Emperor may visit your dwellings. If he does, beware!—a thousand times beware!—of letting him go. Seize him and bring him to us. You can keep his goods and horses. Take him to Qandahâr." As I had not seen your Majesty, I at first had this evil thought, but now I will sacrifice my life and the lives of my family, I have five or six sons, for your Majesty's head,
or rather for one hair of it. (57a) Go where you wish. God protect you! Mirzá 'Askari may do what he likes.' The Emperor gave him a ruby and a pearl and some other things.

At dawn he marched to honour Fort Bābā Ḥājī by a visit. He reached it in two days. It belongs to the Garm-sir, and lies on the river (Halmand). There are many sayyids there, and they waited on the Emperor and showed him hospitality.

Next morning Khwāja 'Alāwalu-d-dīn (Jalālu-d-dīn) Mahmūd, having left Mirzá 'Askari, came with an offering of a string of mules, and one of horses and tents, etc., whatever he had. Once more the royal heart was at ease. Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān kūkī brought thirty or forty troopers and offered a string of mules.

Being helpless because of the disunion of his brothers and the desertion of his amirs, it now seemed best to the Emperor,—with reliance on the Causer of causes,—to decide upon going to Khurāsān. (57b)

After many stages and a journey of many days, he came to parts adjacent to Khurāsān. When Shāh Taḥmās (sic) heard that he had reached the Halmand, he remained sunk in wonder and thought, and said: 'The Emperor Humāyūn has come to our frontier by the perfidious revolution of the firmament,—the firmament unpropitious and crooked of gait! The Lord, whose existence is necessary, has led him here!'

He sent all sorts of people to give honourable reception,

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1 Fort of the Pilgrim Father.
2 i.e., a warm climate, a winter habitation in low ground, and cultivated fields.
3 He was a revenue-collector of the mirzā.
4 Son of Bābā Qūshka, an intimate of Bābar.
5 Kāmran was master of Kābul and Ghaznī, Qandahār, Khutlān and Badakhshān. 'Askari was attached to his full-brother's fortunes, and Hindāl was a prisoner in Kābul. Shīr Shāh ruled Bābar's Indian Empire, and Shāh Ḥūsain was in Sind. Certainly there seemed no 'crack' to hold Humāyūn. The date is December, 1543.
6 i.e., on his way to Persia proper. Humāyūn's messenger to the Shāh was Chupī Bahādūr. (55a and n..)
nobles and grandees, low and high, great and small. All came to the Halmand to meet the Emperor.\(^1\)

The Shâh sent all his brothers to meet his Majesty,—Bahrâm Mirzâ, and Alqâs Mirzâ, and Sâm Mirzâ. All came and embraced him, and escorted him with full honour and respect. As they drew near (the Shâh) his brothers sent him word, and he also came riding to meet the Emperor. They embraced. (\(5\text{\(\text{a}\)}\)) The friendship and concord of those two high-placed pâshas was as close as two nut-kernels in one shell.\(^2\) Great unanimity and good feeling ensued, so that during his Majesty's stay in that country, the Shâh often went to his quarters, and on days when he did not, the Emperor went to his.

In Khurâsân\(^3\) his Majesty visited all the gardens and the flower-gardens, and the splendid buildings put up by Sultan Húsain Mirzâ, and the grand structures of olden days.

There was hunting eight times while he was in 'Irâq, and each time trouble was taken for him also. Ḥamīdâ-bânû Begam used to enjoy the sight from a distance in either a camel or a horse litter. Shâhzâda Sultanânam,\(^4\) the Shâh’s sister, used to ride on horseback, and take her stand.

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\(^1\) He had crossed the river without receiving invitation or permission, because of Kâmrân’s threatened approach. The incidents of Humâyûn’s visit to Persia are very entertaining. (B. & H., II. 275 et seq..)

\(^2\) A figure of speech too compact to leave room for the facts. The intercourse of the pâshas was dramatic with human passion and foible. Much of the story would be distasteful to Gul-badan’s family pride and vexatious to her orthodoxy.

\(^3\) Not only in Khurâsân but on and off the route to Šâhmâsp’s summer quarters where the pâshas met, did Humâyûn visit noteworthy places. He saw Harât as his father had done, and later his devious journey took him to Jâm, where he saw the shrine of his own and of Ḥamīdâ’s ancestor, the Terrible Elephant, Āḫūnad. He visited the tomb of the Founder of the Safî dynasty at Ardabil, and the date of his visit (1544) makes it probable that he trod that ‘Holy Carpet’ of Ardabil which had been woven in 1540 for the shrine and which now attracts our respectful admiration in the Oriental Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum (S. K. M.).

\(^4\) This lady afforded Humâyûn vital assistance in Persia, and even pleaded for his life when it was in the balance. She was highly esteemed by Šâhmâsp, and had influence in state affairs.
behind her brother. His Majesty said (to Ḥamīda-bānū): ‘There was a woman riding behind the Shāh at the hunt. She stood with her reins held by a white-bearded man. People told me it was Shāhzāda Sulṭānam, the Shāh’s sister.’ (sāl) In short, the Shāh showed the Emperor much hospitality and courtesy, and laid a charge (on his sister) to show motherly and sisterly hospitality and sympathy (to Ḥamīda-bānū Begam).¹

One day, when Shāhzāda Sulṭānam had entertained the begam, the Shāh said to her: ‘When (next) you offer hospitality, let it be arranged outside the city.’ It was on a beautiful plain, rather more than four miles out, that they pitched tents (khaima) and folding-tents (khirga) and an audience-tent (bārgā), and also set up chatr² and ṭāq.³

In Khurāsān and those parts they use enclosing screens (sarāparda), but they do not put them at the back. The Emperor set up an all-round screen after the Hindu fashion (hinduana). Having pitched the tents, the Shāh’s people put coloured chicks (cheghhā) all round. His kinswomen and his paternal aunt were there, and his sisters and the ladies of his haram, and the wives of the khāns and sulṭāns and amīrs, about 1,000 women in all splendour and adornment.

That day Shāhzāda Sulṭānam asked Ḥamīda-bānū Begam: (59a) ‘Are such chatr and ṭāq met with in Hindūstan?’ The begam answered: ‘They say two ḏāṅg⁴ with respect to Khurāsān, and four ḏāṅ with respect to Hin-

¹ An obscure passage in the text, and conjectural only in translation. The Persian words I have rendered ‘motherly and sisterly’ are mīdarīna va khwāharīna. On this same page occurs hinduana; at 436, nīkāhāna, and at 62a, pādshāhīna.
² (?) umbrella-shaped tents.
³ round-topped tents or balconies, or arched erections.
⁴ or ḏānak. Hazarding a guess, the meaning ‘quarter of the world’ seems fittest to select from the several of ḏāng or ḏānak. Others conceivably applicable are ‘a small grain’ (anglice, peppercorn in this connection), and the sixth of anything (anglice, the colloquial ‘fraction’). Doubtless my difficulty is none to those experienced in colloquial Persian.

Hamīda’s ready use of a colloquial phrase to express that the reputedly greater contains the less is neat and diplomatic.
When a thing is found in two dāng, it is clear it will be found better in four.'

Shāh Sultānām said also, in reply to her own paternal aunt, and in confirmation of the begam’s words: 'Aunt, it is strange that you ask, "Where are two dāng? where are four dāng?" It is clear anything would be found better and more wonderful (in four than in two).'

They passed the whole day very well in sociable festivity. At the time of eating, all the amīrs’ wives stood and served, and the Shāh's ladies placed food before Shāhzāda Sultānam.

Moreover, they were hospitable with all sorts of stuffs, embroidered and others, to Ḥamīda-bānū Begam, as was incumbent and fitting. The Shāh went on in advance and was in his Majesty’s quarters till the prayer before sleep. (596) When he heard that Ḥamīda-bānū Begam had arrived, he rose from the presence and went home. To such a height of pleasantness and kindness was he amiable!

Raushan kūka, spite of his former fidelity and services, was now faithless, in that foreign and perilous country, about some valuable rubies. These used to be kept in the Emperor’s amulet-case (tūmār⁴), and of this he and the begam knew and no one else. If he went away anywhere, he used to give the amulet-case into her charge. One day she was going to wash her head, so she bundled the case up in a handkerchief, and put it on the Emperor’s bed. Raushan kūka thought this a good chance to steal five rubies. Then he agreed with Khwāja Ghāzī, and trusted them to him, meaning by-and-by to barter them away.

When the begam came back from washing her head, the Emperor gave her the amulet-case, and she at once knew

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1 māndand, used transitively; also at 4a.
2 mīhmānī kardand. (?) In the way of gifts, or perhaps by lavish decoration.
3 i.e., from the place of entertainment to the town.
4 Also tūmār, an amulet-case of gold or silver suspended on the neck.
from its lightness in her hand that it had lost weight, and said so. \((60a)\) The Emperor asked: 'How is this? Except you and me, no one knows about them. What can have happened? Who has taken them?' He was astonished.

The begam said to her brother, Khwāja Mu‘azzam: 'So and so has happened. If at this pinch you will act the brother to me and will make inquiry in some way quietly, you will save me from what one may call disgrace. Otherwise, as long as I live, I shall be ashamed in the royal presence.'

Khwāja Mu‘azzam said: 'One thing occurs to me! I, who am so closely connected with his Majesty, have not the means to buy even a poor pony,\(^1\) but Khwāja Ghāzī and Raushan \(kūka^2\) have each bought themselves a \(tipūchāq\) horse. They have not paid the money for them yet. This purchase is not without a ray of hope.'

The begam answered: 'O brother! now is the time for brotherliness! That transaction must certainly be looked into.' Khwāja Mu‘azzam answered: 'O elder moon-sister\(^3\) tell no one about it. Heaven willing, I have hope that the right will be righted.' \((60b)\)

He went out, and inquired at the house of the horse-dealers: 'For what price did you sell those horses? When is the money promised? What security has been given for the payment?' The dealers answered: 'Both men promised us rubies, and took the horses.'

From them he went to the khwāja's servant, and said: 'Where is the khwāja's wallet, with his honorary dress and his clothes?\(^4\) Where does he keep it?' The servant answered: 'My khwāja has no wallet and no clothes. He has one high cap which, when he goes to sleep, he

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\(^1\) Text, \(tūtū.\)

\(^2\) Jauhar states that amongst other disaffected persons these two men, and a third, Sulṭān Muḥammad, the spearman \(nazabāz\), had just returned from Makka, and were of Kāmrān's party. Gul-badan makes it seem probable that Jauhar's statements apply only to Sulṭān Muhammad. \(\text{(Cf. list of companions of Humāyūn on his journey, 55b.)}\)

\(^3\) \(māh chīchām. \text{ Cf.} 18b n.\)

\(^4\) \(nārī wa parī.\)
puts under his head or his arm.' Khwāja Mu‘azzam saw the meaning of this, and made up his mind for certain that the rubies were with Khwāja Ghāzī, and were kept in his high cap. He came and represented to his Majesty: 'I have found trace of those rubies in Khwāja Ghāzī's high cap. In some way I will steal them from him. (61a) If he should come to your Majesty and seek redress against me, let your Majesty say nothing to me.' The Emperor listened, and smiled.

Khwāja Mu‘azzam then repeatedly played off tricks and little jokes and pleasantries on Khwāja Ghāzī, who came and set it forth to the Emperor. 'I am a lowly man,' said he, '(? but) I have a name and a position. What does the boy Khwāja Mu‘azzam mean by playing off these tricks and jokes, and making fun of me in this foreign land, and insulting me?' His Majesty said: 'On whom does he not? He is young. It often comes into his head to do terrifying and ill-bred things. Do not take it to heart. He is only a boy.'

Another day, when Khwāja Ghāzī was seated in the reception-room, Khwāja Mu‘azzam, pretending an accident, filched his cap from his head. Then he took out the matchless rubies, and laid them before his Majesty and Ḥamīda-bānū Begam. His Majesty smiled, and the begam was delighted, and said, 'Bravo!' and 'Mercy be upon you.' (61b)

Khwāja Ghāzī and Raušān kūka, in shame at their deed, made secret communications to the Shāh, and carried their talk so far that his heart was troubled. His Majesty saw that the Shāh's intimacy and confidence were not what they had been, and at once sent some of whatever rubies and other jewels¹ he possessed as a gift to him, who then said: 'Khwāja Ghāzī and Raušān kūka are in fault; they turned my heart from you, and truly I used to regard you

¹ It was now that Humāyūn gave to the Shāh the 'diamond which had been obtained from Sultan Ibrāhīm's treasury,' i.e., the Koh-i-nūr. (Asiatic Quarterly Review, April, 1899, art. 'Bābar's Diamond,' H. Beveridge.)
as a brother.' Then the two sovereigns again became of one mind, and made clean heart to one another.

The two wrong-doers were excluded from the presence, and were made over to the Shāh, who, when opportunity occurred, got possession of those rubies, and, as to the men, ordered: 'Let them be kept in custody.'

His Majesty's time in 'Irāq was (now) spent happily. In various ways the Shāh showed good feeling, and every day sent presents of rare and strange things.

At length the Shāh despatched his own son and khāns and sultāns and amīrs with his Majesty to help him, together with good arms and tents, folding and audience tents; and chatr and ḍāq and shamiāna, excellently wrought, and all sorts of the things necessary and fit for a king, from the mattress-warehouse and the treasury and the workshops and kitchen and buttery. In a propitious hour those two mighty sovereigns bade one another farewell, and his Majesty left that country for Qandahār.

At the time of his departure, he asked pardon from the Shāh for the offence of those two faithless ones (Khwāja Ghāzī and Raushan kūka), and, having himself forgiven them, took them with him to Qandahār.

When Mīrzā 'Askari heard (1545) that he was on his way from Khurāsān and approaching Qandahār, he sent the Emperor Jalālu-d-din Muḥammad Akbar to Mīrzā Kāmrān in Kābul, who gave him into the care of Dearest Lady, Khānzāda Begam, and our paternal aunt.

He was two and a half years old when she received him into her charge. She was very fond of him, and used to kiss his hands and feet, and say: 'They are the very hands and feet of my brother the Emperor Bābar, and he is like him altogether.'

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1 (?) those already bartered away.
2 They were, it would seem, let down by tent-ropes into the celebrated underground prison of Sulaimān's Dīwān. (Janhar, Stewart, 72.)
3 Ḥumāyūn again indulged his love of travel and sights, and delayed so long in Persian territory that the Shāh, coming unexpectedly upon him, angrily turned him off without ceremony.
4 The child was just over three. It was now that he and Bakhshī-bānū travelled together to Kābul in the snow.
When Mîrzâ Kâmrân was sure that the Emperor was approaching Qandahār, he went to Dearest Lady and cried, and was very humble, and said with countless pains: ¹ 'Go you (May your journey be safe!) to Qandahār to the Emperor and make peace between us.'

When she left (Kābul) she made over the Emperor Akbar to Mîrzâ Kâmrân, who gave him into the care of (Muhtarîma) Khānām. Then she travelled as fast as possible to Qandahār. The Emperor besieged Mîrzâ Kâmrân² and Mîrzâ 'Askari for forty days in the city, and he sent Bairām Khān on an embassy to Mîrzâ Kâmrân.³ (63a) Mîrzâ 'Askari grew dejected and humble, admitted his offences, and came out and paid his duty to the Emperor, who then took possession of Qandahār (September 4th, 1545). He bestowed it upon the son of the Shāh, who in a few days fell ill and died.⁴ When Bairām Khān⁵ arrived, it was given into his charge.

The Emperor left Ḥamīda-bānū Begam in Qandahār and set out after Mîrzâ Kâmrân. Dearest Lady, KhāNZāda Begam, went with him, and at Qabal-chak⁶ she had three days of fever. The doctors' remedies were of no avail, and on the fourth day of her illness she passed to the mercy of God. At first she was buried at Qabal-chak, but three months later her body was brought to Kābul and laid in the burial-place of my royal father.⁷

During several years that Mîrzâ Kâmrân was in Kābul,

¹ of persuasion.
² The context shows that this is wrong, and so do the histories.
³ Bairām saw Akbar in Kābul, and also Hindāl, Sulaimān, Ḥaram, Ibrâhîm and Yādgâr-nâsîr, all under surveillance. The embassy reached Kābul before KhāNZāda left, and she travelled with Bairām on his return to Humâyūn.
⁴ He was an infant.
⁵ The begam's chronology is faulty here. Bairām had returned before the capitulation.
⁶ For location of this place cf. Akbarnāma H. B., I. 477 n.. It seems to have been in the mountain district of Tīrī, between the basins of the Halmand and the Arghand-āb.
⁷ KhāNZāda, Mahdî (her husband) and Abūl-ma'ālī are buried in the same spot.
he had never made a hostile raid, and now, all at once, when he heard of his Majesty's approach, desire to break forth (? hunt) seized him, and he went into the Hazāra country. Mirzā Hindāl, who had chosen the darvish's corner (in Kābul), now heard of the Emperor's return from 'Irāq and Khurāsān, and of his success in Qandahār. He saw his chance, and sent for Mirzā Yădgār-nāşir, and said: 'The Emperor has come to Qandahār, and has been victorious. Mirzā Kāmrān sent Khānźāda Begam to sue for peace, but the Emperor did not agree to his sort of peace. The Emperor sent Bairām Khān as his envoy, and Mirzā Kāmrān did not agree to what he proposed. Now the Emperor has given Qandahār to Bairām Khān and has set out for Kābul. Come now, let us, you and I, plan and agree together, and scheme how to betake ourselves to his Majesty.' Mirzā Yădgār-nāşir agreed, and the two made their plan and compact. Mirzā Hindāl said: 'You make up your mind to run away and when Mirzā Kāmrān hears of it, he will certainly say to me: 'Mirzā Yădgār-nāşir has gone off; go and persuade him to come back with you.' You go slowly, slowly on till I come. Then we will go as quickly as we can and pay our respects to the Emperor.'

Having so settled it, Mirzā Yădgār-nāşir ran away. The news went to Mirzā Kāmrān, who came back at once to Kābul and sent for Mirzā Hindāl and said: 'Go and persuade Mirzā Yădgār-nāşir to come back.' Mirzā Hindāl mounted at once, and joined Mirzā Yădgār-nāşir with all speed. Then they travelled post-haste for five or six days, when they were honoured by paying their duty to the Emperor.

1 tākht raftan. I do not know what the begam wishes to say. Kāmrān had made hostile raids to Badakhshān and against the Hazārās. One might read 'hunting expedition.'

2 He had a Hazāra wife. Perhaps the passage about Kāmrān's hostile raid or hunting is merely an introduction to Hindāl's plan of escape. (Cf. B. & H., II. 314, 315, for this story.)
They advised the Khimir Pass as the best route. On Ramzan 9th, 951H. (the third week of October, 1545), his Majesty ordered a halt in that pass. News of this went to Mirza Kamar on the same day and disturbed him greatly. He had his tents taken out very quickly and encamped in front of the Guzar-gah. 2 (64b)

On the 11th of the same month, the Emperor ordered a halt in the valley of (?) Tipa, and Mirza Kamar also came and drew up opposite to fight. Then all his amirs deserted and were exalted by kissing the royal feet. Even Bapuss who was one of his well-known officers, deserted him with all his following and was exalted by kissing the royal feet. The mirza was left solitary and alone. 'No one remains near me,' he thought, so he threw down and destroyed the door and the wall of the house of Bapuss which was near, and went softly, softly past the New Year's Garden and the tomb of Gul-rukh Begam, 6 dismissed his 12,000 troopers, and went off.

When it was dark, he went on in the same direction to Baba Dashti, 7 and halted near a piece of water, and sent back Dosti kūka and Juki kūka to fetch his eldest daughter Ḥabiba, and his son Ibrāhim Sulṭān Mīrzā, and Hazāra Begam 8 who was the brother's child of Khizr Khan (Hazara), and Māh Begam 9 who was sister of Haram (Khurram) Begam, and Māh-afroz, mother of Ḥājī Begam, 10 and Bāqī kūka. 11 (Q5a) This party went with the mirzā,

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1 (?) himār, the Ass's Pass.
2 (?) The Ferry Garden, or perhaps Bābar's burial-place.
3 Not in person, I believe. His troops were under Qāsim Barlās.
4 Governor (ūtalīg) of Yasīn-daulat (Āq Sulṭān), the betrothed husband of Ḥabiba.
5 Mr. Erskine says that Kāmrān escaped by a breach opened in a wall. He went by way of Bini-ḥisār to Ghaznī, where 'Āskarī still was.
6 (?) His mother.
7 The Desert Father; perhaps a shrine in a lonely spot. (Cf. Khwaja Khizr, infra, 70b.)
8 A wife.
9 Probably a wife.
10 Brevet rank at this time. She made one pilgrimage in 983H. (1576). She may, however, have gone earlier with her blinded father, but not so early as 1545.
11 (?) The elder brother of Adham and son of Māham anaga. Mahām anaga would be in Kābul now.
who planned to go to Tatta and Bhakkar. In Khizr Khān Hazāra’s country, which lies on the way to Bhakkar, he married Ḥabiba Begam to Āq Sultān and entrusted her to him, while he himself went on.

The victorious Emperor dismounted in triumph in the Bālā-i-hīsār when five hours of the night of Ramzān 12th had passed,—prosperously and with safety and good luck.1 All those followers of Mīrza Kāmran who had been promoted to the royal service, entered Kābul with drums beating (November, 1545).

On the 12th of the same month, her Highness my mother, Dil-dār Begam, and Gul-chihra Begam, and this lowly person paid our duty to the Emperor. For five years we had been shut out and cut off from this pleasure, so now when we were freed from the moil and pain of separation, we were lifted up by our happiness in meeting this Lord of beneficence again. Merely to look at him eased the sorrow-stricken heart and purged the blear-eyed vision. (60b) Again and again we joyfully made the prostration of thanks. There were many festive gatherings, and people sat from evening to dawn, and players and singers made continuous music. Many amusing games, full of fun, were played. Amongst them was this: Twelve players had each twenty cards and twenty shāhrukhsīs. Whoever lost, lost those twenty shāhrukhsīs, which would make five misqāls.2 Each player gave the winner his twenty shāhrukhsīs to add to his own.3

To widows and orphans, and kinsfolk of men who had

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1 The hour was probably fixed by astrological counsel. Abū’l-faẓl, who may follow the begam’s statement, says that the entry took place on the 12th; other writers name the 10th. The only reason for dwelling on the point is the agreement of Abū’l-faẓl and Gul-badan.

2 One shāhrukhsī was about ten pence. Four shāhrukhsīs made one misqāl.

3 Mr. Erskine says that the earliest mention of cards as made known to him by an Oriental writer is when Bābar sends some to Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn who was very fond of them, by Mīr ‘Alī, the armour-bearer, in 933H. (1526-27). No doubt such an easy means of speeding the hours was known to the ladies of Bābar’s family as early as to anyone else, and Gul-badan is perhaps merely describing a new game.
been wounded and killed at Chausa and Kanauj, or Bhakkar, or who were in the royal service during those intermissions, he gave pension, and rations, and water, and land, and servants. In the days of his Majesty's good fortune, great tranquillity and happiness befell soldiers and peasants. They lived without care, and put up many an ardent prayer for his long life. (66a)

A few days later he sent persons to bring Hamīda-bānū Begam from Qandahār. When she arrived, they celebrated the feast of the circumcision of the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar. Preparations were made, and after the New Year they kept splendid festivity for seventeen days. People dressed in green, and thirty or forty girls were ordered to wear green and come out to the hills. On the first day of the New Year they went out to the Hill of the Seven Brothers and there passed many days in ease and enjoyment and happiness. The Emperor Muhammad Akbar was five years old when they made the circumcision feast in Kābul. They gave it in that same large Audience Hall Garden. They decorated all the bāzārs. Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir, and the sultāns and amīrs, decorated their quarters beautifully, and in Begā Begam’s garden the begams and ladies made theirs quite wonderful in a new fashion.

All the sultāns and amīrs brought gifts to the Audience Hall Garden. (66b) There were many elegant festivities and grand entertainments, and costly khi’lats and head-to-

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1 Text, faṭrathā. The begam writes this word sometimes with a tā and sometimes with a to’e.
2 i.e., Persian era. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad places the date of entry into Kābul by Humāyīn on Ramzān 10th, 953H., and says Akbar was then four years, two months and five days old. ‘Some place the event in the year 952H., but God knows the truth.’ It is strange that there should be doubt about a historical event occurring not more than fifty years before this resigned statement was made. Abū’l-ṭaql gives Ramzān 12th, 952H. (November 17th, 1545), as the date of entry, which would fix the feast for March, 1546, when Akbar was three years and five months old. (Born October 15th, 1542.)
3 Probably in honour of the spring season.
4 This is the garden where the ladies rejoiced after the victory at Pānīpat. (10b) Hence, perhaps, the use of the word ‘same.’
foot\(^1\) dresses were bestowed. Peasants and preachers, the pious, the poor and the needy, noble and plebeian, low and high,—everybody lived in peace and comfort, passing the days in amusement and the nights in talk.

Then the Emperor went to Fort Victory (Qila'-i-zafar).\(^2\) In it was Mīr Zā Sulaimān, who came out to fight but could not stand face to face with his Majesty and so decided to run away. The Emperor then entered the fort safe and sound. Then he went to Kishm, where, after a little while, an illness attacked his blessed frame and he slept day and night.\(^3\) When he came to his senses, he sent Mun'im Khān's brother, Fāzā'il Beg, to Kābul, and said: 'Go! comfort and reassure the people of Kābul. Set them at ease in various ways.'\(^4\) Let them not quarrel. Say: "It began ill, but has ended well."' (67a)

When Fāzā'il Beg had gone, he (Humāyūn) went one day nearer Kābul.\(^5\)

False news having been sent to Mīr Zā Kāmrān in Bhakkar, he set out post-haste for Kābul. In Ghaznī he killed Zāhid Beg\(^6\) and then came on. It was morning; the Kābulis were off their guard; the gates had been opened in the old way, and water-carriers and grass-cuts were going in and out, and the mīrzā passed into the fort with all

\(^1\) Perhaps there is expressed here a difference of degree of honour in the khil'at and sor-u-pū.\(^2\) Sulaimān had not made submission to Humāyūn,—hence this expedition to Badakhshān.\(^3\) He is said to have been insensible for four days. He was nursed by Māh-chūchak and Bībī Fāṭima, an armed woman (ordū-begī) of the haram. She was, it would seem, mother of Zuhra āghā, the wife of Khwāja Mu'azzam, and to save whose life Akbar nearly lost his own. (Elliot, V. 292; B. & H., II. 380 et seq..)\(^4\) (?) As to his health, and their own safety from Kāmrān's return, and the continuance of the situation as he had left it. The illness and convalescence lasted at least two months. He fell ill in Shāhdān, between Kishm and Qila'-i-zafar, and Qarāchā Khān, his vazīr, behaved with decision and good sense, so that Humāyūn's authority was upheld.

\(^5\) Doubtful translation. Humāyūn is elsewhere said to have gone to Qila'-i-zafar to recruit, and Fāzā'il to have arrived in Kābul a few hours after the first news there of the illness. Perhaps one of these occurrences is behind this obscure statement.

\(^6\) Husband of Bega Begam's sister.
these common people. He at once killed Uncle Muḥammad Ali who was in the hot bath. He alighted at the college of Mullā 'Abdu-l-khāliq.

When the Emperor was starting for Qila'-i-zafar, he placed Naukār at the door of the haram. Mīrzā Kāmrān must have asked: 'Who is in the Bālā-i-ḥiṣār?’ and someone must have said: 'It is Naukār.' Naukār heard of this and at once put on a woman's dress and went out. The mīrzā's people laid hands on the doorkeeper of the fort, and took him to Mīrzā Kāmrān, who ordered him to be imprisoned. (c7b) The mīrzā’s people went into the Bālā-i-ḥiṣār, and plundered and destroyed innumerable things belonging to the haram, and they made settlement for them in Mīrzā Kāmrān's court (sarkār). He put the great begams into Mīrzā 'Askari's house and there he shut up a room with bricks and plaster and (?) dung-cakes, and they used to give the ladies water and food from over the four walls.

In what was once Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir’s house he put Khwāja Mu’azzam and ordered his own wives and family to stay in the palace where the royal haram and the begams once lived. He behaved very ill indeed to the wives and families of the officers who had left him for the Emperor, ransacking and plundering all their houses and putting each family into somebody's custody.

When the Emperor heard that Mīrzā Kāmrān had come from Bhakkar and was acting in this way, he returned from Qila'-i-zafar and Andar-āb safe and sound to Kābul. Qila'-i-zafar he gave to Mīrzā Sulaimān. (s3a)

1 Brother of Māham Begam.
2 Probably the servant sent with gifts by Bābār from Agra to Kābul. The name looks like that of an Abyssinian. Is it 'new in work,' and a sobriquet given in youth and retained?
3 zabt wa rafṭ. Is this an indication of Gul-badan’s opinion that Kāmrān profited by the robbery of his relations? His cruelties at this time make theft look innocent. (B. & H., II. 336 et seq.)
4 The translation of this passage is doubtful.
5 An undue honour, perhaps prompted by the khwāja’s disgrace with Humāyūn.
6 Probably for the exploitation so often named in the histories.
When he came near to Kābul, Mīrzsā Kāmrān sent for her Highness my mother and for me from the house, and gave my mother orders to reside in the armourer's house. To me he said: 'This is your house as well as mine. You stay here.' 'Why,' I asked, 'should I stay here? I will stay with my mother.' He then went on: 'Moreover, write to Khizr Khwāja Khan and tell him to come and join me and to keep an easy mind, for just as Mīrzsā 'Askarī and Mīrzsā Hindāl are my brothers, so is he. Now is the time to help.' I answered: 'Khizr Khwāja Khan has no way of recognising a letter from me. I have never written to him myself. He writes to me when he is away, by the tongue of his sons. Write yourself what is in your mind.' At last he sent Mahdī Sultan and Shīr 'Alī to fetch the khān. From the first I had said to the khān: 'Your brothers may be with Mīrzsā Kāmrān, (but) God forbid that you should have the thought of going to him and joining them. (68b) Beware, a thousand times beware of thinking of separating yourself from the Emperor.' Praise be to God! the khān kept to what I said.

When the Emperor heard that Mīrzsā Kāmrān had sent Mahdī Sultan and Shīr 'Alī to fetch Khizr Khwāja Khān, he himself despatched Qambar Beg, the son of Mīrzsā Ḥāji, to the khān, who was then in his own jāgīr, and said: 'Beware, a thousand times beware! Let there be no joining Mīrzsā Kāmrān. Come and wait on me.' The result of this auspicious message was that the khān set out at once for court, and came to the 'Uqābain (Hill of the two eagles) and paid his respects.

When the Emperor passed Minār Hill, Mīrzsā Kāmrān sent forward all his well-ordered soldiers under Shīr

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1 Presumably the brick and mud quarters of the ladies.
2 Su'ād na dūrad ki khaṭ-i-marā shīnasad. I understand that he had not seen her handwriting, and would not know whether a letter purporting to be hers was a forgery. Gul-badan names one son only, Sa'ālat-yār, as being her own. She is now about twenty-five
3 Brother of Khizr and of Yasīn-daulat (Āq Sultan).
Afkan, the father of Shiroya, so that they might go out and fight. We saw from above how he went out with his drums beating, out beyond Bābā Dashti, and we said, 'God forbid you should fight,' and we wept. When he reached the Afghāns' village (Dih-i-Afghanān), the two vanguards came face to face. The royal advance-guard at once drove off the mīrzā's and, having taken many prisoners, brought them to the Emperor. He ordered the Mughals to be cut to pieces. Many of the mīrzā's men who had gone out to fight were captured and some of them were killed and some were kept prisoners. Amongst them was Jūkī Khān, one of Mīrzā Kāmrān's amīrs.

In triumph and glory and to the sound of music, the Emperor entered the 'Uqābain, with Mīrzā Hindāl in attendance and a splendid cavalcade. He set up for himself tents and pavilions and an audience hall. He gave Mīrzā Hindāl charge of the Mastān bridge, and stationed the amīrs one after another. For seven months he kept up the blockade. It happened one day that Mīrzā Kāmrān went from his own quarters to the roof (? of the citadel), and that someone fired a gun from the 'Uqābain. He ran and took himself off. Then he gave this order about the Emperor Akbar: 'Bring him and put him in front.' Someone let his august Majesty (Humāyūn) know that Mīrzā Muḥammad Akbar was being kept on the front, so he forbade the guns to be fired and after that none were aimed at the

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1 Son of Quch Beg, an amīr who lost his life in trying to protect Bega Begam at Chausa.
2 From the citadel where the ladies were.
3 The begam underrates Humāyūn's victory. The struggle was fierce, renewed and stubborn.
4 Doubtful translation.
5 I think she merely wishes to say that Humāyūn camped out on the 'Uqābain, and did not take up quarters under a roof.
6 Under it flows the stream which issues from the defile of Dih-i-ya'qūb. Cf. Ain, Jarrett, I. 404.
7 Of the Bālā-i-ḥiṣār, the actual citadel.
8 Gul-badai's narrative does not support the story that Māham anaga exposed herself to save Akbar. This person,—who later on became so important,—is nowhere named by the begam as in charge of Akbar. Her husband, Nadim kūka, is so named.
Bālā-i-hišār. Mirzā Kāmrān’s men used to fire from the town upon the Emperor on the 'Uqābain. The royal soldiers put Mirzā 'Askari to stand right in front and made fun of him.

Mirzā Kāmrān’s men also used to make sallies from the fort, and on both sides many were killed. The royal troops were often the victors and then the others had not courage to come out. For the sake of his wives and children and the begams and the household, etc., the Emperor did not have the cannon fired nor did he place the large houses in difficulty. (70a)

When the long siege was ended, they (i.e., the ladies) sent Khwāja Dost Khāwand madārchi1 to his Majesty to say: ‘For God’s sake, do whatever Mirzā Kāmrān asks, and save the servants of God from molestation.’2

The Emperor sent for their use from outside nine sheep, seven flasks of rose-water, one of lemonade, and seven sets of nine dress-lengths3 and some made-up jackets.4 He wrote: ‘For their sakes, I could not use force against the citadel, lest I should give an advantage to their enemies.’5

During the siege Jahān Sultān Begam who was two years old, died. His Majesty wrote: ‘Some time or other, if we had used force against the citadel, Mirzā Muḥammad Akbar would have disappeared.’

To finish the story: There were always people in the Bālā-i-hišār from evening prayer till dawn, and there was a continuous uproar. The night Mirzā Kāmrān went away, prayer-time passed and indeed bedtime came, and there was no noise at all. (70b)

There was a steep stair by which people came up from

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1 Follower of the Musalmān saint Madār.
2 This message seems one from the imprisoned ladies. The khwāja to whom it was entrusted may now, as in the earlier siege of Kābul, have been Kāmrān’s envoy to Humāyun.
3 pūrcha and nīmcha dōkhta. There seems between these words an apposition which I render by the Englishwoman’s colloquial terms.
4 Presumably to some kinsman or official to whom the gifts were consigned.
5 i.e., by injuring the royal household.
6 April 27th, 1547 (Rabi‘ I. 7th, 954H.).
below. When all the city was asleep, there suddenly sounded (on the stair) a clashing and clinking of armour, so that we said to one another: 'What a noise!' Perhaps a thousand people were standing in front (of the fort). We were afraid, but all at once, without warning, off they went. Qarâcha Khân's son Bahâdur brought us word that the mîrzâ had fled.¹

Having thrown a rope, they (or he) brought up Khwâja Mu'aẓẓam by way of the wall.²

Our people and the begâm's people and the rest who were outside, took away the door which had kept us fastened in. Bega Begam urged: 'Let us go to our own houses.' I said: 'Have a little patience. We should have to go by the lane and perhaps too someone will come from the Emperor.' At that moment 'Ambar Nâzîr came and said: 'This is the royal order: "They are not to leave that place till I come."' In a little while the Emperor came and embraced Dil-dâr Begam and me, and then Bega Begam and Hâmîda-bânû Begam, and said: 'Come quickly out of this place. (71a) God preserve His friends from such a house, and let such be the portion of His foes.' He said to Nâzîr: 'Guard one side,' and to Tardî Beg Khân: 'Guard the other, and let the begams pass out.' All came out, and we spent the evening of that day with the Emperor in perfect content till night became morning. We embraced Mâh-chûchâk Begam and Khânîsh âghâ and those of the harem who had been with the Emperor on the campaign.

In Badakhshân Mâh-chûchâk had a daughter born. On the same night the Emperor had this dream: 'Fakhru-n-nisâ', my mâmâ,³ and Daulat-bakht came in by the door,

¹ Nîzâmu-d-dîn Ahmad says that Kâmrân escaped by a hole fashioned for the purpose in the wall 'on Khizr Khwâja's' side. This suggests that Gul-badan's husband connived at the evasion, unless one remembers that Khîzr Khwâja is a place outside Kâbul.

² I do not understand this sentence. Either the followers of Kâmrân drew the khwâja up into the fort-precincts to take him with them, he having displeased Humâyûn and being nearly connected with him, or the ladies had him drawn up. He was, it seems, not a prisoner. (67b)

³ Fakhru-n-nisâ', the mother of Nadîm kûka, would seem from this to have been Humâyûn's own attendant in childhood.
and brought something or other, and then left me alone.' Consider it as he might, he could only ask: 'What does this dream mean?' Then it occurred to him that, as a daughter had just been born, he would call her after the two, and taking nisa' from one, and bakht from the other, would run them together into Bakht-nisa'.

Māh-chūchak had four daughters and two sons,—Bakht-nisa' Begam, and Sakīna-bānū Begam, and Amīna-bānū Begam, and Muḥammad Hakim Mirzā, and Farrukh-fāl Mirzā. (71b) She was with child when the Emperor went to Hindūstān (1554), and bore a son, in Kābul, whom they named Farrukh-fāl Mirzā. A little later Khānīsh aghā had a son whom they named Ibrāhīm Sultan Mirzā.

The Emperor spent a full year and a half in Kābul, prosperously and happily, and in comfort and sociability.2

After taking flight from Kābul, Mīrzā Kāmrān went to Badakhshān, and there stayed in Tāliqān. One day the Emperor was in the Inner Garden, and when he rose at dawn for prayers, news came that many of the amīrs who formerly were with the mīrzā, had gone to him again. Amongst them were Qarācha Khān and Muṣāhib Khān, and Mubāriz Khān and Bāpūs.4 Many wretches fled by night and went to join the mīrzā in Badakhshān.

In a propitious hour the Emperor also started for Badakhshān. He besieged the mīrzā in Tāliqān, and after a time made him agree to submit and become obedient (72a) when he waited on the Emperor, who bestowed Kūlāb on him, and gave Qila-i-żafar to Mīrzā Sulaimān, Qandahār (sic; (?) Kunduz) to Mīrzā Hindāl, and Tāliqān to Mīrzā 'Askari.

1 Gul-badan does not name Fakhru-n-nisā' who became the wife of Shāh 'Abūl-ma'ālī and of Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī. Perhaps she is Bakht-nisa'.
2 From 1547; but a term of one and a half years does not quite fit the facts. Humāyūn started for the north on June 12th, 1548. (B & H., II. 352.)
3 ťorta-bāgh.
4 Perhaps it may be taken as an indication of the degradation of 'home life' that Qarācha and Bāpūs again joined Kāmrān, although the latter had exposed Qarācha's son and a wife of Bāpūs on the battlements, with the utmost dishonour, and had killed three of the latter's children and flung their bodies from the ramparts.
One day at Kishm they had set up the tents and there was an assembly of the brothers, his Majesty the Emperor Humâyûn, and Mîrzâ Kâmrân, and Mîrzâ ‘Askârî, and Mîrzâ Hindâl, and Mîrzâ Sulaimân.

His Majesty enjoined certain regulations which are fixed for interviews with kings, and said: ‘Bring ewer and basin so that we may wash our hands and eat together.’ He washed his hands and Mîrzâ Kâmrân washed his. By years Mîrzâ Sulaimân (b. 920H.) had precedence of Mîrzâ ‘Askârî (b. 922H.) and Mîrzâ Hindâl (b. 925H.). So, to show him respect, the two brothers set the ewer and basin first before him.

After washing his hands Mîrzâ Sulaimân did something improper with his nose. Mîrzâ ‘Askârî and Mîrzâ Hindâl were much put out, and said: ‘What rusticity is this? (72b) First of all, what right have we to wash our hands in his Majesty’s presence? but when he bestows the favour and gives the order, we cannot change it. What sense is there in these nose-wagging performances?’ Then the two mîrzâs went and washed their hands outside and came back and sat down. Mîrzâ Sulaimân was very much ashamed. They all ate at one tablecloth.

At this gathering his Majesty graciously remembered this lowly person, and said to his brothers: ‘Gul-badan Begam used to say in Lâhôr: “I wish I could see all my brothers together!”’ As we have been seated together since early morning, her words have occurred to my mind. If it be the will of the most high God, may our assembly be kept in His own place! He knows without shadow that it lies not in my heart’s depths to seek any Musalmân’s ill;

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1 Abûl-fazl says the meeting was at Ishkâmish, and this seems to agree with the movements of Humâyûn better than Kishm.
2 khîrgû dokhta budand. Certain tents are termed dokhta, sewed. They seem to have been large, and were laced together, whence, perhaps, dokhta.
3 For an interesting account of this historic family gathering see B. & H., II. 358 et seq.
4 Tûrâ, the Institutes of Chingîz Khân of which the begam makes other mention.
how then, should I seek the hurt of my brothers? May
God grant to you all the same divine and beneficent
guidance, so that our agreement and concord may endure!'
(73a)

There was wonderful cheerfulness and happiness because
many officers and their followers met their relations again,
for they too had been sundered because of their masters' quarrels. Nay! one might rather say they had thirsted for one another's blood. Now they passed their time in complete happiness.

On his return from Badakhshān the Emperor spent a year and a half in Kābul and then resolved to go to Balkh. He took up his quarters in the Heart-expanding Garden,1 and his own residence was over against the lower part of the garden, and the begams were in Quli Beg's house because it was close by.

The begams said to the Emperor over and over again: 'Oh, how the riwāj2 will be coming up!' He replied:

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1 i.e., moved out of the city as a preliminary to marching.
2 The following account of this plant is taken from Conolly's Travels, I., 213 n.. It is translated by him from the Makhāzinu-l- adwīya (Treasury of Medicines). 'Kūbās, rīvās, riwāj or jīgarī (so named from a person of Nishāpūr who first discovered it) is a shrub two or three feet high, in appearance like beet (sālq). In the middle are one or two short stems of little thickness; the leaves, which separate lengthwise like those of a lettuce, are downy and green, but towards the root, of a violet or whitish colour. The heart is white, delicate, juicy, acidulous and slightly astringent. Altogether the stalk is the size of a man's arm and when the plant is large every leaf has the size of a man's hand. Ard-shīr was named Rāwand-dast (rhubarb-hand) from the length of his hands. The root is called rāwand (rhubarb). The top is like the claw of a fowl. The flower is red, and the taste is subacid with a little sweetness. The seed is formed at the top of a long slender stalk which springs up annually in the centre of the plant. It grows where snow lies and in mountainous countries. The best grows in Persia. It is medicinally attenuating and astringent, gives tone to the stomach, and improves the appetite. A collyrium of the juice strengthens the eye and prevents opacity, and a poultice of it with barley-meal is a useful application to sores and boils. The juice of the rīvās is harsher than that of unripe grapes.' For mention of the name riwāj see Tabaqāt-i-akbari, Lucknow lith. ed., 215; Tūzūk-i-jahāṅgīrī, 47. Vullers, s.v., etc.. Mr. Erskine writes (Mems., 138 n.): 'It is described as somewhat like beetroot, but much larger, red and white in colour, with large leaves that rise little from the ground. It is a pleasant mixture of sweet and acid. It may be the rhubarb, rāwand.'
'When I join the army, I shall travel by the Koh-dāman, so that you may come out and see the rīwāj growing.' It was at afternoon prayer-time that he rode out (of Kābul) to the garden. Qulī Beg's house where the begams were, was close by and overlooked it, and his Majesty pulled up as he passed, and all the begams saw him, and rose and made the kōrnish. (73b) Directly they had made this salutation, he beckoned with his own blessed hand, to say: 'Come.'

Fakhru-n-nisā' māmā and Afghānī āghācha went on a little ahead. There was a stream in the lower part of the garden which Afghānī āghācha could not cross, and she fell off her horse. For this reason there was an hour's delay. At last we set out with his Majesty. Māh-chūchak Begam not knowing, her horse went up a little. His Majesty was very much annoyed about this. The garden was on a height and the walls were not yet made. Some vexation now showed itself in his blessed countenance and he was pleased to say: 'All of you go on, and I will follow when I have taken some opium and got over my annoyance.' He joined us when we had, as he ordered, gone on a little. The look of vexation was entirely laid aside and he came with a happy and beautiful look in his face.

It was a moonlight night. (83a) We talked and told stories, and Mir (fault) and Khānish āghācha and Ẓarīf the reciter and Sarū-sahī and Shāham āghā sang softly, softly.

Up to the time of our reaching Laghmān, neither the

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1 Presumably from Kābul, and on the day of starting for Balkh viā the Koh-dāman.
2 The ladies seem to have been waiting for this signal to start.
3 Probably to allow for the coming of a less unpropitious hour. This expedition to Balkh ended in a way calculated to attract notice to ill-omens such as the begam's misadventures would seem.
4 andak buland raft. Perhaps the horse reared, the begam not knowing how to manage it; but the later and otherwise irrelevant sentence about the unfinished wall suggests that the begam went too high up the hill. The party is now on its way to see the rīwāj growing, and Hūmāyūn's temper is tried by the various contretemps of the ladies' cavalcade.
5 A folio of the MS. is, I believe, misplaced, and folio 83 should come in here. In the MS. volume this is the last folio.
royal tents nor the pavilions of the begams had arrived, but the mihr-ames\textsuperscript{1} tent had come. We all, his Majesty and all of us, and Ḥamīda-bānū Begam sat in that tent till three hours past midnight and then we went to sleep where we were, in company with that altar of truth (Humāyūn).

Early next morning he wished to go and see the riwāj on the Kōh. The begams’ horses were in the village, so the starting-time passed before they came up. The Emperor ordered that the horses of everyone who was outside should be brought. When they came he gave the order: ‘Mount.’

Bega Begam and Māh-chūchak Begam were still putting on their head-to-foot dresses, and I said to the Emperor: ‘If you think well, I will go and fetch them.’ ‘Go,’ he answered, ‘and bring them quickly.’ I said to the begams and to Māh-chūchak Begam and the rest of the ladies: ‘I have become the slave of his Majesty’s wishes. What trouble waiting gives!’ I was gathering them all together and bringing them when he came to meet me and said: ‘Gul-badan! the proper hour for starting has gone by. (sāb) It would be hot the whole way. God willing, we will go after offering the afternoon prayer.’ He seated himself in a tent with Ḥamīda-bānū Begam.\textsuperscript{2} After afternoon prayers, there was the interval between two prayers before the horses arrived. In this interval he went away.\textsuperscript{3}

Everywhere in the Dāman-i-kōh the riwāj had put up its leaves. We went to the skirts of the hills and when it was evening, we walked about. Tents and pavilions were pitched on the spot and there his Majesty came and stayed. Here too we passed the nights together in sociable talk, and were all in company of that altar of truth.

In the morning at prayer-time, he went away to a

\textsuperscript{1} Perhaps a tent of Humāyūn’s invention, in the name of which mihr means sun. Cf. ‘another of his (Humāyūn’s) inventions was a tent which had twelve divisions, corresponding to the signs of the Zodiac. Every sign had a lattice through which the lights of the stars of dominion shone.’ (Akbar-nāma, H. Beveridge I. 361.)

\textsuperscript{2} Perhaps, a tent of Hamīda having come, he seated himself in it.

\textsuperscript{3} (?) the start was made to see the riwāj.
distance (bīrān), and from there wrote separate letters to Bega Begam and to Ḥamīda-bānū Begam and to Māḥ-chūchak Begam and to me and to all the begams,¹ saying: 'Becoming spokeswoman of your own fault, write apologizing for the trouble you have given. God willing, I shall say farewell and go to join the army either at Farzā or Istālīf, and if not we shall travel apart.' (74a)

Then everyone wrote to apologize for having given trouble, and sent the letter for his holy and elevating service.

In the end his Majesty and all the begams mounted and rode by Lamghān to Bihzādī. At night each one went to her own quarters, and in the morning they ate (? alone), and at mid-day prayer-time rode to Farzā.

Ḥamīda-bānū Begam sent nine sheep to the quarters of each one of us. Bibi Daulat-bakht had come one day earlier to Farzā and had got ready plenty of provisions and milk and curds and syrup and sherbet and so on. We spent that evening in amusement. In the early morning (we went) above Farzā to where there is a beautiful waterfall. Then his Majesty went to Istālīf and passed three days, and then in 958H.² marched towards Balkh.

When he crossed the pass, he sent farmāns to summon Mīrzā Kāmrān and Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā 'Askārī, and said: 'We are on the march to fight the Uzbegs; now is the time for union and brotherliness. You ought to come as quickly as possible.' Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā 'Askārī came and joined him. (74b) Then march by march they came to Balkh.

In Balkh was Pīr Muḥammad Khān,³ and on the first

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¹ Humāyūn's comprehensive displeasure looks like a fit of temper directed against every and any one. It is possible, however, that a page which might describe other untoward matters besides unpunctuality, has been altogether lost. The sentence which now continues the story, places all the ladies, deprived of their evening of talk and amusement, in chastened solitude.

² B. & H., II. 368, has 956H. (1549), and other differences of detail.

³ Son of Jānī Beg, and uncle of the famous 'Abdu-l-lāḥ Khān Uzbeg. He ruled till 974H. (1566-67).
day his men sallied out and drew up in battle array. The royal army carried off the victory, and Pîr Muḥammad’s men tasted defeat and returned to the city. By the next morning the khān had come to think: ‘The Chaghatāi are strong; I cannot fight them. It would be better to get out and away.’ Just then the royal officers joined in representing that the camp had become filthy, and that it would be well to move to a desert place (dasht). His Majesty ordered them to do so.

No sooner were hands laid on the baggage and pack-saddles, than others raised a clamour and some cried out: ‘We are not strong enough.’ Since such was the Divine will, the royal army took the road without cause from a foe, without reason or motive. The news of their march reached the Uzbegs and amazed them. Try as the royal officers would, they produced not a scrap of effect. It could not be hindered: the royal army ran away.

The Emperor waited a little, and when he saw that no one was left, he too had to go. Mîrzâ ‘Āskarî and Mîrzâ Hindâl, not having heard of the confusion, rode up to the camp. They found no one and saw that the Uzbegs had gone in pursuit, so they too took the road and made for Kunduz. After riding a little way, his Majesty stopped and said: ‘My brothers are not here yet: how can I go on?’ He asked the officers and attendants whether anyone would bring him news of the princes. No one answered or went. Later on word came from the Mîrzâ’s people in Kunduz that they had heard of the disaster and did not know where the princes had gone. This letter upset the Emperor very much. Khîzr Khwâja Khân said: ‘If you approve, I will bring news.’ ‘God’s mercy on you!’ rejoined his Majesty. ‘May they have gone to Kunduz!’

Two days afterwards the khwâja, to the Emperor’s great

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1 From other sources we learn that the royalists were anxious on two grounds; (1) as to the threatened arrival of an overwhelming Uzbeg force from Bukhārā, and (2) lest Kâmrân should again take Kâbul and have their families at his mercy. The last was perhaps the dominant motive for the flight without a pursuer.
delight, brought word that Mîrzâ Hindâl had arrived at Kunduz safe and sound. His Majesty gave Mîrzâ Sulaimân leave to go to his own place, Qila’-i-ʿzafar, and came himself to Kâbul (1550, 957H.).

While Mîrzâ Kâmrân was in Kûlân, a woman named Tarkhân Bega, who was a thorough cheat, showed him the way by saying: ‘Make a declaration of love to Haram Begam.’ Good will come of it.’ Acting on these words of an ill-judging adviser, he actually sent a letter and a kerchief to Haram Begam by the hand of Begî āghâ. This woman laid the letter and the kerchief before the begam and then set forth the mîrzâ’s devotion and passion. Haram Begam said: ‘Keep that letter and that kerchief now and bring them again when the mîrzäs come home.’ Begî āghâ then wept, and moaned, and coaxed, and said: ‘Mîrzâ Kâmrân has sent you this letter and this kerchief; he has loved you a long time, and you have no pity for him.’ (76a) Haram Begam began to show her disgust and violent anger, and at once sent off for her husband, Mîrzâ Sulaimân, and her son, Mîrzâ Ibrâhîm. She said to them: ‘Mîrzâ Kâmrân must have come to think you are cowards, since he sends me a letter like this. Have I deserved to be written to in this way? He is as your elder brother, and I am to him as a younger brother’s wife. Send off a letter for me about it and rebuke him. As for this wretch of a woman, tear her piece by piece. Let her be a warning to others that no man may cast the evil eye of sinful thought upon another man’s womanfolk. What does such a man deserve who, the son of a mother, yet does such monstrous things, and who fears neither me nor my son? ’

1 This title indicates rank. A ‘Tarkhân Begam’ was wife of Sultan Ahmad Mîrzâ. (Mems., 22.)
2 or Khurram. One of her sisters was a wife of Kâmrân.
3 What fascination may lurk in an embroidered kerchief can be guessed by inspecting the dainty examples in the South Kensington Oriental Section.
4 kîlin. Both here and at 77b this word seems to have wider meaning than is given by the Turki and Persian dictionaries.
5 The begam’s martial character spices this story, since her husband
Instantly hands were laid on Begi āghā Bībī, condemned of fate to die, and she was torn in pieces. In consequence of this affair, Mirzā Sulaimān and Mirzā Ibrāhīm were displeased with Mirzā Kāmrān, or rather they became his enemies. (76b) They wrote to the Emperor that Mirzā Kāmrān wished to thwart him and that this could not be better seen than in his failure to go to Balkh with him.

After this the mīrzā, in Kūlāb,¹ could not find, in his terror-stricken thoughts, any better remedy than to become a darvish. He sent his son, Abūl-qāsim (Ibrāhīm) to Mirzā ʿAskari, and betook himself to Tāliqān with his daughter ʿĀyisha (Sulṭān Begam), and said to his wife (Muḥṭarīma Khānam): 'Do you and your daughter follow me later. I will send for you to whatever place I settle on. Till then go and stay in Khost and Andar-āb.' The khānam was related to the Uzbeg khāns, and some of her kinsfolk let the Uzbegs² know: 'If you want booty, there are goods and men and women servants; take these, and let the lady go free, for if ʿĀyisha Sulṭān Khānam's³ nephew hears to-morrow (that she has been hurt), he will certainly be very angry with you.' By a hundred plans and wiles, and with a hundred anxieties, and without her goods, she got free from the Uzbeg bondage, and reached Khost and Andar-āb. Here she stayed.

When Mirzā Kāmrān heard of the royal disaster in Balkh, he said: 'The Emperor is not so friendly to me as he was.' (77a) So he left Kūlāb, and went hither and thither.

At this time (1550) his Majesty came out from Kābul. When he reached the Qibchāq defile, he incautiously halted in a low-lying place, and Mirzā Kāmrān, coming from higher ground, armed and equipped, poured down foes upon him.

did not dare even to make war without her consent. Perhaps Kāmrān's devotion extended to the armed force she disposed of. It was clearly in Tarkhān Bega's eye.

¹ In Kūlāb were the kinsfolk of his wife, Māh Begam, sister of Haram Begam, daughter of Sulṭān Wais Qibchāq, and sister of Chakr 'Ali Khān.
² i.e., across whose country she had to travel.
³ (?) Mughal Khānam.
Since such was the Divine will, a barbarian,—inwardly blind, an ill-fated oppressor and ill-omened tyrant,—inflicted a wound on the Emperor. The blow reached his blessed head, and all his forehead and his dear eyes were stained with blood.

It was just like it was in the Mughal war when the blessed head of his Majesty *Firdaus-mahānī*, the Emperor Bābar, was wounded by a Mughal, and his high cap and the turban wrapped round it were not cut, but his blessed head was badly hurt. His Majesty Humāyūn used to say with surprise: 'I wondered at it, for cap and cloth were whole, and yet the head was cut.' The very same thing happened now to his own head.

After the rout in the Qibchāq defile, his Majesty went to Badakhshān, and Mīrzā Hindal, and Mīrzā Sulaimān, and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm came and waited on him. (77b) He went to Kābul and the mīrzās were in attendance, friendly and united and at peace together, when Mīrzā Kāmān approached. His Majesty sent a message to Haram Begam: 'Ask my *kīlīn* to send me the army of Badakhshān as quickly as possible and ready for service.' In a few days,—a very short time,—the begam had given horses and arms to some thousands of men. She herself superintended and took thought and she came with the troops as far as the pass. From here she sent them forward, and while she went back they went on and joined the Emperor.

1 'Tambol let fall a heavy sword-blow on my head. It is a singular fact that, though not a thread of my cap of mail was injured, yet my head was severely wounded.' (Mems., 266. Also 111.)

2 Nizām-u-d-dīn Ahmad, 'after forty days.'

3 *Cf. 77a n.* This story bears out Haram's military reputation. Kāmān's power of attraction and Humāyūn's present risk can be gauged by the fact that even after the defeat at Chārikārān some 1,500 horse were with the former, and many amirs again went over to him.

It was now that the remarkable compact which effected Kāmān's downfall was made between Humāyūn and his amirs. (B. & H., II. 338.) These swore fidelity by whatever oath would bind them and then, at the instance of Ḥāji Muhammad Khān *kūka*, Humāyūn bound himself to,—do as he was told. The compact was effective. The amirs were the long-suffering victims of Humāyūn's folly and their present turning was, he admitted, justifiable.
Either at Chārikārān or Qarā-bāgh there was fighting with Mīrzā Kāmrān and his Majesty’s army was successful. The mīrzā fled to the mountain passes (tāngayhā) and Lamghānāt.¹

Āq Sultān (Yasīn-daulat) who was the mīrzā’s son-in-law, said in effect to him (gufta bāshad): ‘You are continually thwarting the Emperor. What is the meaning of it? It is not what should be. (78a) Either make your submission and obeisance to the Emperor or give me leave to go, so that men may distinguish between us.’ Mīrzā Kāmrān said fiercely: ‘Have my affairs come to such a pass that you offer me advice?’ Āq Sultān also spoke angrily, ‘If I stay with you, my position will be unlawful,’ and left him at once, and went with his wife (Habiba) to Bhakkar. The mīrzā wrote to Mīrzā Shāh Ḵusain, and said: ‘Āq Sultān has displeased me and has gone away. If he comes to Bhakkar, do not let his wife be with him. Part them and tell him to go where he likes.’ Shāh Ḵusain Mīrzā at once, on receiving the letter, deprived Habiba Sultān Begam of the company of Āq Sultān and let him depart for the blessed Makka.²

In the fight at Chārikārān, Qaracha Khān³ and many of Mīrzā Kāmrān’s well-known officers were killed.

‘Ayisha Sultān Begam⁴ and Daulat-bakht āghācha were in flight for Qandahār, and were captured at the Khimār Pass, and brought in by the Emperor’s people. Mīrzā Kāmrān went to the Afghāns,⁵ and stayed amongst them. (78b)

From time to time his Majesty used to visit the orange-gardens. That year also, according to his old habit, he went to the mountain passes (tāngayhā) to see the oranges. Mīrzā Hindāl was in attendance, and of the ladies (ḥaramān),

¹ Niẓāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, ‘mountains of Mandrūd.’ B. & H., II. 393, ‘by the Pass of Bādpaj towards the Afghān country.’
² Kāmrān was the son-in-law of Mīr Shāh Ḵusain Arghūn, and was therefore able to secure this interference with Āq Sultān’s domestic affairs.
³ Cf. Elliot, V. 238.
⁴ Kāmrān’s daughter.
⁵ i.e., Lamghān.
there went Bega Begam, Hamida-banu Begam, Mah-chuchak Begam and many others. I could not go because my son, Sa'adat-yar, was ill at the time. One day his Majesty, attended by Mirza Hindal, was hunting near the mountain passes. They had very good sport. The Emperor went towards where the mîrzâ was hunting and had made a very good bag. Following the rules of Chingiz Khan, the mîrzâ proffered his game to the Emperor, for it is a rule of Chingiz Khan that inferiors should so act towards their superiors. In short, he gave the Emperor all his game. Then it occurred to him: 'There is still my sisters' portion. They shall not complain again. I will hunt once more and get them a share.' Again he busied himself in hunting, and had taken one head of game, and was returning, when someone sent by Mirza Kâmran blocked the road, and shot an arrow at the unwitting mîrzâ which struck his blessed shoulder. Acting on the thought 'God forbid my sisters and womenfolk should be upset by news of this,' he wrote off at once to say: 'Ill begun has ended well! Do not be anxious, for I am getting better.' To finish the story: as it was hot, his Majesty went back to Kâbul, and in the course of a year the arrow-wound got better.

A year later word was brought that Mirza Kâmran had collected troops and was preparing for war. His Majesty also, taking military appurtenances, set out for the mountain passes (tangayhâ) with Mirza Hindal. He went safe and well, and made his honouring halt in the passes. Hour by hour, and all the time, spies kept bringing news: 'Mirza Kâmran has decided that an attack must be made to-night.' Mirza Hindal went to the Emperor and submitted his advice: 'Let your Majesty stay on this high ground, and let my brother (nephew) Jalâlu-d-din Muhammad Akbar pâdshâh stay with you, so that careful watch may be kept on this height.' Then he called up his own men, and encouraged and cheered them one by one, and said: 'Put

1 Repetition of a proverb already quoted.
earlier services in one scale and the service of this night in the other. God willing! whatever claim you can make, you shall be exalted to its degree.' One by one he allotted their posts, and then called for his own cuirass and surtout, and high cap and helmet.

His wardrobe-keeper had lifted up the wallet when someone sneezed, and he set it down for a while. Because of this delay, the mîrzâ sent to hurry him. Then the things were brought quickly, and he asked: 'Why were you so long?' The man replied: 'I had lifted the wallet when someone sneezed, and I therefore put it down. So there was a delay.'

The mîrzâ replied: 'You were wrong. (You should have) said rather: 'May there be a blessed martyrdom.' Then he went on: 'Friends all! be my witness that I abjure all forbidden things and all indecorous acts.' Those present recited the fâthiha and prayed: 'May there be benediction.' He said: 'Bring my vest and cuirass and surtout.' He put them on and went out to the trenches to encourage and solace his men. Just then his tabaqchî, hearing his voice, cried: 'They are attacking me.' The mîrzâ, hearing this, dismounted and said: 'Friends, it is far from brave to give no help when my servant is at the point of the sword.' He himself went down into the trench but not one of his followers dismounted. Twice he rallied from the trenches, and in this endeavour became a martyr.

I do not know what pitiless oppressor slew that harmless youth with his tyrant sword! Would to Heaven that

1 Perhaps the notion of this sentence is, 'To-night's service will equal or outweigh previous services, and the lower to-night's scale is forced, the greater will be my largesse.'
2 It is hardly necessary to say that sneezing is by many nations regarded as an omen of other things than catarrh.
3 Clerk of the scullery who has charge of plates and dishes, utensils which are often of value by material and by workmanship.
4 Hindâl was killed on Zîl-qâ'dâ 21st, 958H. (November 20th, 1551). He was born before March 4th, 1519 (Mems., 258.), and was therefore in his thirty-third year.

Gul-badan always speaks of her brother with affection, and her story
merciless sword had touched my heart and eyes, or Sa ādat-yār, my son's, or Khizr Khwāja Khān's! Alas! a hundred regrets! Alas! a thousand times alas! (sob)

HEMISTICH.
O well-a-day! O well-a-day! O well-a-day!
My sun is sunk behind a cloud.

All may be said in a word: Mīrzā Hindāl gave his life freely for his sovereign.

Mīr Bābā Dost lifted him up and carried him to his quarters. He told no one, and fetched servants and placed them at the entrance and gave orders: 'Tell everyone who asks, that the mīrzā is badly wounded and that the Emperor forbids anyone to enter.'

Then he went and said to his Majesty: 'Mīrzā Hindāl is wounded.' The Emperor called for a horse; 'I will go and see him.' Mīr 'Abdü-l-ḥaī said: 'He is badly hurt. It is not desirable that you should go.' He understood, and however much he tried, he could not help it, he broke down.

Jūi-shāhī was Khizr Khwāja Khān's jāḡīr. The Emperor sent for him and said: 'Take Mīrzā Hindāl to Jūi-shāhī and care for his burial.' The khān took the camel's bridle, and when he was going away with weeping and lament and voice uplifted in grief, (sīa) his Majesty heard of the mourning and sent him word: 'We must have patience! This sorrow touches my heart more closely than yours, but I do not give way because I think of our bloodthirsty, tyrannical foe. With him at hand, there is no help but patience.' Then the khān with a hundred regrets, miserable and stricken, conveyed the body to Jūi-shāhī, and there laid and left it.

If that slander of a brother, that stranger's friend, the

shows that she mourned his loss many years. Her book lets us see a group of living and feeling men and women.

1 hafz kardand. Perhaps as a matter of etiquette which demands composure in public.
2 Text, Jūsāhī, the modern Jalālābād, on the road to Kābul.
3 i.e., that of the camel which bore the corpse.
monster, Mirza Kāmrān had not come that night, this calamity would not have descended from the heavens.

His Majesty sent letters to his sisters in Kābul, and the city at once became like one house of mourning. Doors and walls wept and bewailed the death of the happy, martyred mīrza.

Gul-chihra Begam had gone to Qarā Khān’s house. When she came back, it was like the day of resurrection. Through weeping and sorrow she fell quite ill and went out of her mind.

It was by Mīrzā Kāmrān’s evil fate that Mīrza Hindāl became a martyr. From that time forth we never heard that his affairs prospered. On the contrary, they waned day by day and came to naught and perished. (81b) He set his face to evil in such fashion that fortune never befriended him again nor gave him happiness. It was as though Mīrzā Hindāl had been the life, or rather the light-giving eye of Mīrzā Kāmrān, for after that same defeat he fled straight away to Salim Shāh, the son of Shīr Khān. Salim Shāh gave him a thousand rūpīs. Then the mīrzā told in what position he was, and asked help. Salim Shāh said nothing openly in reply, but in private he remarked: ‘How can a man be helped who killed his own brother, Mīrzā Hindāl? It is best to destroy him and bring him to naught.’ Mīrzā Kāmrān heard of this opinion and one night, without even consulting his people, he resolved on flight and got away, and his own men had not even a word of it. They stayed behind and when news of the flight reached Salim Shāh, he imprisoned many of them.

Mīrzā Kāmrān had gone as far as Bhīra and Khūsh-āb when Adam Ghakkar, by plot and stratagems, captured him and brought him to the Emperor. (82a)

To be brief, all the assembled khāns and sulṭāns, and high and low, and plebeian and noble, and soldiers and the

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1 Khwānd-amīr compares a hustle of people to the day of resurrection.
2 A scornful measure of Kāmrān’s fall. The date is the end both of 1552 and of 959H.
rest who all bore the mark of Mīrzā Kāmrān’s hand, with one voice represented to his Majesty: ‘Brotherly custom has nothing to do with ruling and reigning. If you wish to act as a brother, abandon the throne. If you wish to be king, put aside brotherly sentiment. What kind of wound was it that befell your blessed head in the Qibchāq defile through this same Mīrzā Kāmrān? He it was whose traitorous and crafty conspiracy with the Afghāns killed Mīrzā Hindāl. Many a Chaghatai has perished through him; women and children have been made captive and lost honour. It is impossible that our wives and children should suffer in the future the thrall and torture of captivity. (82b) With the fear of hell before our eyes1 (we say that) our lives, our goods, our wives, our children are all a sacrifice for a single hair of your Majesty’s head. This is no brother! This is your Majesty’s foe!’

To make an end of words, one and all urgently set forth: ‘It is well to lower the head of the breacher of a kingdom.’

His Majesty answered: ‘Though my head inclines to your words, my heart does not.’ All cried out: ‘What has been set before your Majesty is the really advisable course.’ At last the Emperor said: ‘If you all counsel this and agree to it, gather together and attest it in writing.’ All the amīrs both of the right and left assembled. They wrote down and gave in that same line (mišrā): ‘It is well to lower the head of the breacher of the kingdom.’ Even his Majesty was compelled to agree.

When he drew near to Rohtās, the Emperor gave an order to Sayyid Muḥammad: ‘Blind Mīrzā Kāmrān in both eyes.’ The sayyid went at once and did so.

After the blinding, his Majesty the Emperor2 . . .

END OF THE MS.

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1 bar jahannum, which I take as an oath. Cf. bar haq.
2 Here in the MS. volume follows folio 83, which I have conjectured should follow folio 73b, and have placed there.
APPENDIX A.

Biographical Notices of the Women Mentioned by Bābar, Gul-badan, and Ḥaidar.¹

I. Āfāq (Āpāq) Begam.

Princess of the Universe; Ar. āfāq, four quarters, universe, etc.

She is mentioned, without clue to her parentage, by Bābar, as a wife of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā Bāyqrā. He mentions her again, with others of the mīrzā’s widows, as seen in Harāt in 912H. (1506-7), and here his wording, both in the Turki and the Persian texts, allows the inference that she is a daughter of Sulṭān Abū-sa’īd Mīrān-shāhī. Mr. Erskine translates the passage thus: ‘Pāyanda Sulṭān Begam, my father’s sister, Khadija Begam and the other (Turki, yena; Pers., ḏīgar) daughters of Sulṭān Abū-sa’īd Mirzā.’

When greeting the ladies, Bābar gave Āfāq precedence over Khadija, and notes the fact. Khadija was not a woman of birth.

Ḥusain Bāyqrā married three daughters of Abū-sa’īd, Shahr-bānū, Pāyanda, and Āfāq. The last bore him no child, but she reared and educated nine children of his by her own foster-sister, Bābā āghācha.

Early in 932H. (1525) she went from Harāt to Kābul and was received by Bābar (before his departure for India in November, 1525) with all possible respect and kindness. He gives the impression that

¹ This Appendix makes no pretence at completeness. It contains the gatherings in of work on Gul-badan Begam’s Humāyūn-nāma.
she was an affectionate and devoted woman, and says that her tender care of her husband in illness surpassed that of all the other ladies of the haram.

News of her death reached Bābar when he was besieging Chandīrī in 934H. (January, 1528).

Mems., 182, 183, 204.

II. Āfāq Begam. (No. 26.)

She was a daughter of Sultān-bakht Begam; her father's name has not yet come to my knowledge; she was a grand-daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'id Mīrzā.

Bābar mentions the arrival of a daughter of Sultān-bakht Begam in Āgra in 935H. (October, 1528), and Gul-badan supplies the name Āfāq by naming an Āfāq of this parentage as at the Mystic Feast in 938H. (1531).

Mems., 387.

(Afghānī āghācha, the Afghān lady. See Mubārika Bībī.)

III. Afroz-bānū Begam. (No. 33.)

Pers. afroz, dazzling, illuminating, and bānū, (?) a form of bān (vān), which in composition means holding, possessing. Also a prince or chief.

Nothing is said to identify her. She was at the Mystic Feast (1531).

Gul-badan, 25b.

IV. Āghā Begam. (No. 34.)

Turkī, āghā, a title of honour, and Ar. sultān, sway, pre-eminence. Steingass classes the word āghā as Persian. It may be āka, lady. The dictionaries do not apply it to women.

Mentioned as at the Mystic Feast in 1531. She may be Bāygrā (infra).

Gul-badan, 25b.

1 Numbers so entered are those of Gul-badan's guest-list, 24b et seq.
V. Āghā Begam Bāyqrā.

She was a daughter of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāyqrā and of Pāyanda Sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. Her descent being so high through both parents, her name Āghā rises above its frequent application to wives of less degree. Here it may have the meaning of chief or great. She married her cousin Murād who was a son of Rābi‘a-sultān Begam (Bedka). The Habību-s-siyār, 327 et seq. (lith. ed.), states that she died before she reached maturity, but this does not agree with Bābar’s statements. The Ḥabīū places her death earlier than 912H. (1506).

Mems., 181.
Habību-s-siyār, lith. ed., 327 et seq..

VI. Āghā kūka. (No. 78.)

Wife of Mun‘im Khān; at Hindal’s Feast (1537).

Gul-badan, 26a.

VII. Āghā-sultān āghācha. (No. 37.)

(?) The lady of chief honour.

She was a wife of ‘Umar Shaikh Mīrzā (died 1494), and mother of Yādgār Sultān Begam (Bābar’s half-sister). She was present at Hindal’s marriage feast (1537), and probably at the Mystic Feast, in 1531. She is classed amongst ‘our begams.’

Gul-badan, 25b.
Mems., 10, 14.

VIII. Āghā-sultān Sultanam Dughlāt.

She was a daughter of Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mīrzā Dughlāt, and therefore aunt of the author of the Ṭārīkh-i-rashidī. She married ‘Abdu-l-qadūs Beg Dughlāt in Kāshghar, after 877H. (1472-73). Her husband was alive in 900H. (1494-95), and was governor of Khost for Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī.

Mems., 27.
IX. Äi Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Turki, āi, moon. Her name is not mentioned in the Memoirs, but is so by Ilminsky (Mems., 30; Ilminsky, 34, line 7 from foot).

She was the fourth daughter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā Mīrānshāhī and Khānzāda Termīzī II.; and wife of Jahangir Mīrzā, half-brother of Bābar. She was betrothed in 901H. (1495-96), married in 910H. (1504-5), bore one daughter, and was widowed not later than 914H. (1508-9).

Mems., 30, 128.
Pavet de Courteille, I. 57, 262.

X. Äka Begam Bāyqrā.

Äka is clearly a title; her personal name I have not found. Her sister who is styled Bedka, appears to be named Rābī'ā-sultān.

Daughter of Manṣūr Mīrzā Bāyqrā and Firoza Begam Mīrān-shāhī, full and elder sister of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā. Bābar states (Mems., 176, 177) that she married (his uncle) Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrza, and had a son, Kichak Mīrzā (the young or small prince). But he does not mention her, either as Äka or otherwise, amongst Aḥmad’s wives (Mems., 22), and he says that Aḥmad had two sons who died young. Kichak, however, lived to change his military occupations for literature.

It is singular that a marriage of the oldest Mīrān-shāhī of his generation with the oldest Bāyqrā girl should not have been entered in Aḥmad’s biographical notice.

Mems., 22, 23, 176, 177.

(Ālūsh—Anūsh—Begam, ‘Ūlūs, q.v.)

XI. Amīna Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Ara., amīn, faithful.

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māḥ-chūchak.

Gul-badan, 71a.
XII. Āq Begam Bāygrā.

Turkī, āq, fair. The word is frequently a sobriquet and the bearer’s personal name is occasionally known; e.g., Yasin-daulat, Āq Sultān; Saliqa Begam, Āq Begam. But frequently the personal name is not traceable.

Daughter of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāygrā and Pāyanda Sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī; first cousin of Bābār; wife of Muḥammad Qāsim Arłat.¹ She had one daughter, known as the Black-eyed (qarā-gūz) Begam.

Mems., 181.

XIII. Āq Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 3.)

Āq Begam was a daughter of Abū-sā’īd Mīrān-shāhī and Khadija. She was one of the several paternal aunts of Bābār who went to India at his invitation. She reached Āgra in October, 1528 (Ṣafar, 935 H.), and was met by her nephew. She was present at the double wedding of Gul-rang and Gul-chihra in 1530 (937 H.), and was probably at Bābār’s death-bed. She was at the Mystic Feast on December 19th, 1531 (Jumāda I. 9th, 938 H.).

Gul-badan, 11a, 18b, 20a, 24b.
Mems., 179, 182, 387.

XIV. Āq Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Third daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī and Khānzāda Begam Termizī; and first cousin of Bābār. The Memoirs do not mention her marriage or (as usual alternative) early death. She was full sister of a wife of Bābār, Zainab.

Mems., 30.

(Aq Begam, Saliqa, q.v..)

¹ Muḥammad Qāsim was a Timurid through his grandmother, Bega Begam, the sister of 'Abdu-l-qasim Bābār qalandar, King of Khurāsān (died 1457).
XV. 'Aqiqa ('Afifa) Begam Mirān-shāhī. (No. 47.)

Her name may be 'Aqiqa, a cornelian, etc., or 'Afifa, a chaste, modest woman. Our begam's MS. allows both readings. I have used the first but the second seems the more appropriate in sense.

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and Begā and second child of both parents. She was born in Āgra in 1531. It is only from her aunt Gul-badan that anything is known of her. She went to Guāliār with her mother in (? 1534; she was at Hindāl’s feast in 1537, and she was lost at Chausa on June 27th, 1539.

Gul-badan, 22a, 23b, 25, 33b, 34b.

XVI. Ātūn māmā. (No. 38.)

An ātūn is a teacher of reading, writing, and embroidery, etc. Māmā seems to be the title of old women-servants.

Bābar mentions an ātūn in 1501. He met her at Pashāghar whither she had come on foot from Samarkand and where she again joined her old mistress, Bābar’s mother, Qutluq-nigār Khānam. She had been left behind in the city after Shaibānī’s capture of it because there was no horse for her to ride.

Gul-badan mentions an ātūn māmā as at Hindāl’s wedding feast, and as māmā seems to be used for old servants, it is possible that she is the woman mentioned by Bābar.

Gul-badan, 26a.
Mems., 99.

XVII. 'Āyisha-sultan Begam Bāyqrā. (No. 9.)

Ar. 'aish, joy, and sultān, sway, pre-eminence. Cf. App. s.n. Daulat.

Daughter of Sultan Ḥusain Mirzā Bāyqrā and Zobaida āghācha of the Shaibān sultāns. 'Āyisha married, (1) Qāsim Sultan Uzbeg, a Shaibān sultan, and by him became the mother of Qāsim Ḥusain Sultan Uzbeg, an amir of Bābar and Humāyūn; (2) by yanga-lik (cf. App. s.n. Jāmal), Būran Sultan,
a kinsman of Qāsim Sulṭān, and by whom she had 'Abdu-l-lāh Sulṭān Uzbeq who entered Bābar's service. 'Āyisha was at the Mystic Feast in 1531, and she was lost at Chausa in 1539 (946H.).

Khwand-amir gives 929H. (1522-23) as a date at which 'Āyisha was in Qāsim Sulṭān's haram, but this does not agree with Bābar's narrative. His entry that 'Abdu-l-lāh was in his service and although young, acquitting himself respectably, cannot at latest have been made after 1530. From 1522 to 1530 is all too short for widowhood, remarriage, birth of 'Abdu-l-lāh, and his growth to respectable military service.

Gul-badan, 246, 336.
Mems., 182.
Habību-ṣ-siyār, lith. ed., 327 et seq.

XVIII. 'Āyisha-sulṭān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (? No. 11.)

Third daughter of Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī and Qūṭūq (Katak) Begam. She was a first cousin of Bābar, and his first wife. They were betrothed in Samarqand when he was five years old, 894H. (1488-89), and married in Sha'bān, 905H. (March, 1500), at Khojand during the 'troubles' i.e., conflict with Khusrau Shāh and Aḥmad Tambol. Bābar says that at first he had no small affection for 'Āyisha and that it declined. She was the mother of his first child, Fakhru- n-nisā' (born 907H., 1501). She left Bābar before the overthrow (wirānī) of Tāsh-kand by Shaibānī in 909H. (1503), being influenced by the 'machinations' of her elder sister, probably Saliqa, who was married to one of those many kinsmen who tried to overthrow the boy-king of Farghana.

Gul-badan mentions an 'Āyisha Sulṭān Begam (No. 11) as being at the Mystic Feast, without describing her. The following entry (No. 12) is that of Sulṭānī, a daughter of Sulṭān Ahmad Mīrzā, and described as being such. It seems likely that Gul-
badan meant this note as to parentage to apply to both begams (Nos. 11 and 12). (Cf. App. s.n. Sultānan.)

Gul-badan, 6b, 24b.
Mems., 22, 78, 90.

XIX. Āyisha-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Daughter of Kāmrān Mīrzā.

Firishta (lith. ed., 241) and Khāfī Khān (I. 122) say that Kāmrān left one son and three daughters.

The son is called Ibrāhīm by Gul-badan, and in the early part of the Akbar-nāma. (Bib. Ind., ed., I. 226.) Later the A. N. and other sources call him Abū’l-qāsim, which may be a hyonymic (kunyat).

As to the three girls, Firishta, without naming them, gives the information that:

No. 1 married (a) Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā (Bāyqrā).  
No. 2 ,,  (b) Mīrzā ‘Abdu-r-rahman Mughal.  
No. 3 ,,  (c) Fakhru-d-dīn Mashhadī who died in 986H. or 987H. (No. 88 of Blochmann’s list. Āin-i-akbar, p. 406).

Khāfī Khān’s information coincides with Firishta’s verbally as to No. 3, and actually as to No. 1 and No. 2. For Ibrāhīm can be described as a son of a ‘paternal uncle,’ if these words are used in the wide sense given to them by contemporary writers. So, too, can ‘Abdu-r-rahman, if he be No. 183 of Blochmann’s list—a Dughlāt Mughal and cousin of Mīrzā Ḥaidar.

If we take the girls’ names from other sources we can (conjecturally in part) fill up the table.

1. Gul-rukuḥ is known in history as the wife of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāyqrā.

2. Kāmrān’s eldest daughter, Ḥābība, was forcibly parted from her husband, Āq Sultān, in about 1551-52, and this would allow re-marriage to (b) or (c). Āq Sultān went to Makka from Sind 1551-52 (cir.), and his name disappears thenceforth.

3. Āyisha may also have married (b) or (c).

In the list of the pilgrims of 983H. (A. N. Bib. Ind.
ed., III. 145) are included 'Hājī and Gul-'izār, farzand-ān of Mīrzā Kamrān.'¹ We have already the three names required by Firishta and Khāfi Khān, i.e., Gul-rukh, Ḥabība and 'Āyisha. Gul-'izār is 'superfluous.' Perhaps farzandān may be read 'offspring,' and she may be a granddaughter. Or Ḥabība or 'Āyisha may have predeceased Kamrān, and for this reason three girls only be specified by historians who wrote of the time of his death.

Which one of the daughters was the Ḥājī Begam of 983H. is not clear.² It would seem that this was her second pilgrimage, since she is enrolled as Ḥājī before starting. Kamrān's daughters may have gone—one or all—to Makka after his blinding and during the four years of his life there. Of the three, Gul-rukh is the only one of whom it is on record that she was widowed in 983H., and therefore quite free to make the Haj. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain died in 981H. (1573).

Ḥājī Begam was visited by Akbar and she died in 991H. (1583).

Gul-badan, 77a, 78a.
Akbar-nāma, III. 145, 373, 375.

XX. 'Āyisha-sulṭān Khānam and Khātim, Mughal Khānam,

Chaghataī Mughal.

Daughter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān. In 909H. (1503) she, together with other ladies of her father's household, was captured by Shaibānī and was married by him. She bore him a son, Muḥammad-raḥīm Sulṭān. She wrote Turkī verses, and her name

¹ Mr. Beveridge tells me that a MS. Akbar-nāma belonging to the R.A.S. has wa (and) before farzandān, but it does not seem practicable to read this.

² Professor Blochmann (Āīn, p. 465, No. 187) has (by a slip of reference numbering) confused Ḥājī Begam, daughter of Kamrān, with Ḥājī Begam, Begā Begam, widow of Ḥumāyūn. The latter died in 989H. before Gul-badan's party returned. Begā Begam went to Makka in 972H.
appears in the biography of poetesses by Fakhřī ṣamīrī. Mīrzā Ḥādīr says that some of her children and of two other Mughal khānams (Daulat and Qūt-liq) who were forcibly married at the same time, were living and reigning in Transoxiana at the time of his writing the Tārīkh-i-rashīdī. She is, I think, the 'Āyishā named by Gul-badan on 76b.

Tār. Rash., 160, 192, 193.
Gul-badan, 76b.
Jawāhir-ul-'ajāīb. Fakhřī ṣamīrī (Bodleian MS.).

XXI. Bābū āghā (Māmā āghā).

Professor Blochmann writes the name Bābū; but Bābā, darling, or Bānū, lady, would seem more appropriate for a Persian woman.

She was the wife of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān Nishāpūrī, and was related to Ḥamīda-bānū Begam Jāmī, Akbar’s mother. Abū’l-faẓl calls her Māmā āghā. He says that she was a good woman, and that on her death Akbar went to her house and offered condolence because of her relationship to his mother.

Shihābu-d-dīn was damād of Māhām anaga, and as damād is presumably used here in its more common sense of ‘son-in-law,’ Bābū āghā would seem to be a daughter of Māhām anaga.

Ain-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 333.

XXII. Bachaka Khalīfa.

Gul-badan, Bachaka; Mems., Bachaka; Ilminsky, Bichkā. Vambéry (Chaghatāische Sprachstudien) has an appropriate word, bechek, Chok. (? Kokand), zierrath; ornament. The name is presumably Chaghatāī Turki, as the bearer of it was an old family servant of a Farghana household.

Bachaka was a head woman-servant (khalīfa) of Bābar’s household, and was one of two women who escaped with his mother and him from Samarqand in 1501. There was a Bachaka whom Gul-badan calls a ‘khalīfa of my royal father,’ lost at Chausa.
in 1539, and the two references may well be to the same woman.

Mems., 98.
Gul-badan, 33b.
Ilminsky, 116.

XXIII. Badi'ul-jamāl Khānam Chaghatāī Mughal.

The khānam of rare beauty; Ar. badī', astonishing, rare; jamāl, beauty.

Daughter of Sa'īd Khan Chaghatāī Mughal, ruler of Kāshghar; and first cousin, once removed, of Bābar. She married Bāush Sultān of the Uzbeg Kazāks. On her father's death, her brother Rashid insisted upon her divorce, and then gave her in marriage to Mumhaddi Barlas whom ᴴᵃⁱᵈᵃʳ Mīrzā styles 'a peasant.'


XXIV. Badi'ul-jamāl Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 2.)

She was a daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī. She went to India during Bābar's life; was at the double wedding of his daughters, and at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Mems., 387.
Gul-badan, 11a, 18b, 24b.

XXV. Bairām (Maryam) Sultān.

Ilminsky calls her Bairam; Khwānd-amīr, Maryam. The Mems. give her no name.

She was the elder daughter of Sultan Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāygra and Mingli-bī āghācha Uzbeg. She married Sayyid 'Abdu-l-lāh Mīrzā of Andikhūd (a Timūrid through his mother). She bore a son, Sayyid Birka, who served Bābar.

Ilminsky, 209.
Mems., 181.
Ḫabību-s-siyār, 327 et seq..
XXVI. Bakhshī-bānū Begam.

Princess Good-fortune. Pers. bakhsh, fortune, and bānū (van), possessing.

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and of Günwar Bibi, and was born in Jumāda I., 947H. (September, 1540), the year of the Timūrid exodus from India. She fell into the hands of her uncle 'Askari with her father's camp and the baby Akbar in 1543. In 1545 she was sent with Akbar in the depth of winter from Qandahār to Kābul. In 957H. (1550), and when ten years old, she was betrothed by her father to Ibrāhīm, son of Sulaimān and Ḥaram. Ibrāhīm (b. 1534) was six years older than Bakhshī-bānū, and he was killed in 1560, leaving her a widow of twenty. In the same year she was given in marriage by Akbar to Mīrzā Sharafud-din Ḥusain Aḥrārī.

Gul-badan, 39b.
Akbar-nāma, s.n..

XXVII. Bakhtu-n-nisā' Begam.

Felicity of womanhood; Pers. bakht, felicity, fortune, and nisā', woman.

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak, and was born in 957H. (1550). Gul-badan says that she received her name in accordance with Humāyūn’s interpretation of a dream. There is, however, ground for thinking that she and Fakhrū-n-nisā', both mentioned in the histories as daughters of Māh-chūchak, are one and the same person. Gul-badan enumerates three daughters of Māh-chūchak, and says that there were four. It is her habit to state, in such matters, one more than she names. She mentions Bakht, but not Fakhr.

Of Bakhtu-n-nisā' it is recorded in the histories that she came from Kābul to India with her son Diwālī, after the death of Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakim, her brother (993H.—1584-85), and that she was concerned in a reconciliation effected by Salīma-sultān Begam between Akbar and Salīm.
Of Fakhru-n-nisā it is recorded that she married Shāh Abū’l-ma’ālī Termīzī and Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī.

Gul-badan, 71a.
Khāfī Khān (Bib. Ind. ed.), I. 226.
Badāyuni, Lowe, 72.
Akbar-nāma, s.n..
Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 322.

XXVIII. Bakht-sultan Begam Mirān-shāhī. (No. 4.)

Daughter of Sultān Abū-sa’īd Mirzā Mirān-shāhī and mother of Āfāq (No. 26). She went to India shortly after its conquest by Bābar, and was at the Mystic Feast.

Mems., 387.
Gul-badan, 11a, 24b, 25b.

XXIX. Barlās Begam. (No. 36.)

There is no clue given by which to identify this lady. Others who were, like herself, at the Mystic Feast might, by tribal descent, be styled Barlās.

Gul-badan, 25b.

(Bedka, Rabī’a, q.v..)

XXX. Bega āghā.

Bega is perhaps not a personal name. It appears to be a feminine of beg, but its application is not always to the daughters of begs, as may be seen by the instances here given. For a confusion of bega and yanga cf. App. s.n. Zainab.

A messenger of Mirzā Kāmrān to Ḥaram Begam.

Gul-badan, 75b.

XXXI. Bega Begam Bāyqrā.

Daughter of Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā Bāyqrā and Pāyanda-sultan Begam Mirān-shāhī; full sister of HING Haidar Bāyqrā; first cousin of Bābar; wife of Bābar.
Mîrzâ of Ḥâjî Tarkhân who was her first cousin and the son of Rabî‘a-sultân (Bedka) Bâyqârā.

Khwând-amîr says that she married ‘Khwâja Mâulânâ.’ This may be a second marriage or a confusion with Khichak, her sister.

Mems., 177, 181.
Hâbîbu-s-sîyâr, 327 et seq..

XXXII. Bega Begam and Bibi.

The Emperor Jahângîr, when in his Memoirs enumerating the gardens of Kâbul, mentions one which belonged to Bega Begam, a widow of his father’s grandfather, i.e., Bâbar. Which of Bâbar’s wives is indicated by this title cannot be said with certainty.

Jauhar has a story of Kâmrân’s want of consideration for ‘Bega Begam,’ in which the points useful here are that on the day in 1545 when Humâyûn took Kâbul from Kâmrân, he asked for food from Bega Begam, and he said of her that she was the very person who had brought Bâbar’s bones and laid them in Kâbul.

These two references of Jahângîr and Jauhar are probably to the same lady. Of Bâbar’s wives, Bibi Mubârika (Afghânî aghâcha) appears to me the most suitable to the time and task.

Bâbar’s body was still in its Agra tomb in 1539. (Gul-badan, 34b.) Mâham was then dead; Dil-dâr’s movements exclude her from consideration; Gul-rukh, if living, will have left Agra with her son Kâmrân before the Timûrid exodus was enforced by defeat at Kanauj; Bibi Mubârika remains, the probable and appropriate agent for fulfilling Bâbar’s wish as to the final disposition of his body. She lived into Akbar’s reign, and her character and respected position in the household add to the sum of probability that she would discharge this duty.

Bâbar’s body was not removed till after the fitrat, i.e., the Timûrid downfall and exodus. Bega Begam,
or, as we may call her with Jauhar for the sake of clearness, the Bibi, must therefore have remained behind the rest of the royal family. This may have occurred in one of two natural ways. She might have stayed in Āgra under the protection of one of the religious families and safeguarded by pious duty to Bābar’s tomb, until Shīr Khān gave permission to remove the body and a safe escort for her journey to his frontier; or she may even have been in Bengal and at Chausa with Humāyūn, and, like Bega (Ḥājī) Begam, have been made captive. It would harmonize with Shīr Khān’s known actions if he had allowed Bābar’s widow to remove his bones, and if he had aided her pious task.

Humāyūn-nāma, Jauhar, Pers. text, s.a. 951H. (November, 1545).
B. & H., II. 325 n.

XXXIII. Bega Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 15.)

This Bega was a daughter of Mīrzā Ulugh Beg Mīrān-shāhī who was king of Kābul and known as Kābulī. She was Bābar’s first cousin, and may be that daughter of her father who married Muḥammād Maṣūm Mīrzā Bāyqrā. Gul-badan styles her ‘ama, paternal aunt, of Humāyūn; anglice, she and he were first cousins, once removed. She was at the Mystic Feast in December, 1531.

Gul-badan, 24b.
Mems., 180.

XXXIV. Bega Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (? No. 22. Bega Kilān Begam.)

Daughter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā and Khān-zāda II. Termiğī; wife of Ḥaidar Mīrzā Bāyqrā and mother of Shād Begam (No. 28).

In 901H. (1496) Sulṭān Husain Bāyqrā was besieging Ḥiṣār which was held for Bega’s brother Maṣ’ūd,
and in which she was. Husain became apprehensive about the spring rains and patched up a peace, the seal of which was Bega's marriage with his son Haidar, her first cousin through his mother, Pāyanda-sultān. The betrothal took place outside the fort, with assistance of such music as could be procured, and later when the bride was taken to Harāt, the marriage was celebrated with the splendour loved by Husain and befitting a Timūrid alliance. Haidar was a full Timūrid; Bega was one on her father's side, and probably as a Termizi sayyida's daughter, drew through her also a strain of the same blood.

Haidar died before his father; i.e., before 912H. (April, 1506).

Mems., 30, 38, 180.
Gul-badan, (?) 24b, No. 22.

XXXV. Bega (Hājī) Begam (?) Begchik Mughal. (? No. 50.)

She was a daughter of Uncle (ṭaghāi) Yadgār Beg who was, I think, a brother of Sultan 'Ali Mīrza, father of Kāmran's wife, Gul-rukh. Abū'l-fażl calls Bega Begam dukhtar-i-ṭaghāi-i-wālida-i-Jannat-āshyānī. Yadgār and 'Ali Begchik are both styled Mīrza, but this elevation is due, it seems, to their alliances with the royal house. Haidar calls their brothers mīrs.

Bega married Humāyūn, her first cousin, and she was the wife of his youth. It is out of harmony with the custom of his house that his chief wife should be of less than royal descent. So far as I have been able to trace the matter, he never made an equal marriage. Gul-barg Barlās, 'Khalīfa's' daughter, whose second husband he was, had best claim to high birth.

The first son, perhaps first child, of Bega and Humāyūn was Al-āmān, born 934H. or 935H. (1528) when his father was about twenty-one and was in Badakhshān. Babar has commemorated his birth both by mentioning it and by preserving his own
congratulatory letter to the young father. Al-aman died in infancy.

Bega came to India after Babar’s death (December, 1530), and her second and last-mentioned child, ‘Afifa (‘Aqīqa) was born in 1531.

In 1534 (circa) Gul-badan’s story (29b, 30b) shows Bega as resenting neglect by Humayūn who accepts invitations to his sisters’ quarters in camp in preference to hers and Gul-barg’s. Some impressions of this story make one question whether the Bega it tells of is Humayūn’s wife or another. But the circumstances that she is associated with a wife, Gul-barg; that Gul-badan does not speak of her as being other than the ‘Bega Begam’ of the home circle; Humayūn’s allusions to the elder kinswomen; and the absence of the deference customary to an elder woman, seem sufficient justification for identifying the complaining Bega with the wife. (Gul-badan, it may be observed, mentions one other Bega Begam—i.e., Mīrān-shāhī, daughter of Ulugh Beg Kābūl.)

Bega was with Humayūn during the idleness of his decadence in Bengal, and with her was her sister, the wife of Zahīd Beg. Zahīd offended Humayūn, and Bega tried in vain to obtain his forgiveness.

She was captured at Chausa by Shir Khān, and here she lost her little girl, ‘Aqīqa. The historians all call her ܚܝܝ Begam in recording her capture; it is only Gul-badan who calls her Bega Begam. She was returned in safety to Humayūn under the escort of Shir Khān’s best general, Khawāṣ Khān. How soon she was returned I am not able to say. Support is to be found for the view that she was sent to Āgra directly after Humayūn’s arrival there, and also for the view that she was not returned to him until after a considerable time had elapsed. I do not know whether she went to Sind with the exiles or was sent later direct to Kābul. She was in Kābul with the royal family after 1545. She remained there with the
other ladies when Humayun made his expedition to recover Hindustan, and she came with Hamida, Gulbadan, and the rest to join Akbar in 964H. (1557). After this she built her husband’s tomb near Dihli, and became its faithful attendant.

Akbar is said to have been much attached to her, and she was to him like a second mother. She went to Makka in 972H. (1564-65), and returned three years later. One thing raises the question whether this was her first pilgrimage, viz., the fact that all the sources, except Gul-badan’s, call her Ḩāji Begam. Why is she singled out to bear this title? It had been earned by many royal ladies before any one of the trio of great writers under Akbar had put pen to paper. The same unexplained distinction is conferred by the histories on a daughter of Kāmrān. In both these cases a renewed pilgrimage might serve as the explanation of the distinction.

Bega Begam died in 989H. (1581), shortly before Gul-badan’s return from Makka. She had almost certainly passed her seventieth year, and was perhaps still older. Abū’l-fażl says that her affairs were settled by one Qāsim ‘Alī Khān. He also records a visit of Akbar to her in her last illness, as well as an earlier visit of hers to him made from Dihli in 981H.

Gul-badan, 22a, 23b, 29b, 30b, 78b, 83a.
Mems., 388, 390.
Akbar-nāma, Bib. Ind. ed., index, s.n.
Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 465. (Confusion has been made here with Kāmrān’s daughter.)
Badāyuni, Lowe, 308 n.
History of the Afghāns, Dorn, I. 103.

XXXVI. Bega Kilān Begam. (No. 22.)

She was at the Mystic Feast. No clue is given to her identification. The ‘kilān’ of her title indicates a pre-eminence which would suit Bega Mirān-shāhī, daughter of Sultan Mahmūd Mirzā. (Cf. supra.)

Gul-badan, 24b.
XXXVII. Bega Sultān Begam Marvī.

Daughter of Sanjar Mīrzā of Marv; first wife of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāyqrā; mother of Bādi‘u-z-zamān Mīrzā. ‘She was extremely cross-tempered, and fretted the mīrzā beyond endurance, till, driven to extremities by her insufferable humour, he divorced her. What could he do? He was in the right:

A bad wife in a good man’s house,
Even in this world, makes a hell on earth.

May the Almighty remove such a visitation from every good Moslim; and God grant that such a thing as an ill-tempered, cross-grained wife be not left in the world.’

There is no later record of her.

Mems., 181, 182.

XXXVIII. Bega Sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 13.)

Daughter of Sultān Khalil Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī; grand-daughter of Sultān Abū-sa‘īd; first cousin of Bābar.

Gul-badan, 246.

XXXIX. Begam Sultān.


Beale’s ‘Oriental Biography,’ s.n.

(Begam Sultān, Sa‘ādat-bakht, q.v.)

XL. Begī Sultān āghācha.

Inferior wife (chāhar-shambihī) of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāyqrā.

Mems., 183.

XLI. Buwā Begam.

Mother of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lōdī Afgān. She attempted to poison Bābar in December, 1526 (933H.) in the manner which is told in most of the histories. The
Iqbal-nāma adds the interesting detail that she was deported from India, and that on her enforced journey to Kābul she drowned herself in the Indus.

Mems., 347.  
Gul-badan, 19a.

XLII. Chūlī Begam Azāk.

The Desert Princess; Pers. chūl, desert. The Memoirs have Jūlī, but the meaning of chūlī (which looks like a sobriquet) suits the descent of the begam better than anything which can be extracted from jūl. Ilminsky writes Jūlī, but for this the Mems. are his possible warrant. B.M. Pers. Or. 16,623, f. 123, l. 7., has a clearly-pointed chūlī; also on f. 124b.

Chūlī (Jūlī) Begam was a daughter of a beg of the Azāks, and married Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāygrā before he conquered Khurāsān in 878H. (1473). She was the mother of Sulṭānām, his eldest girl and her only child, and she died before 912H. (1506).

Mems., 181, 182.  
Ḥabību-s-siyār, 327 et seq..

XLIII. Daulat-bakht āghācha.

(?) The lady of happy horoscope (bakht).

She may be the mother of Kāmrān’s daughter ʿĀyisha, with whom she was in flight for Qandahār. (Cf. ʿĀyisha.)

Gul-badan, 78b.

XLIV. Daulat-bakht Bibi. (No. 85.)

She was clearly an active and working member of Humāyūn’s household. She appeared to him in a dream (71a), and her name formed a part of Bakhtu-n-nisā’ī’s. She went on before the main body of begams when they visited the waterfall at Farza, and saw to the commissariat. She is named as being at Hindāl’s marriage feast.
She may be the Daulat-bakht āghācha of the preceding notice.

Gul-badan, 26b, 71a, 74a.

XLV. Daulat-kitta (?) Arghān.

Kitta I find only as a Turkī word, meaning noble, powerful. With it the name would be a mongrel of Arabic and Turkī. Perhaps Daulat-gūṭ might be read.

She was a servant in Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm Arghān's house, and was an intermediary in effecting the elopement of her master's daughter, Māh-chūchak Arghān, from Kābul. Mr. Erskine tells the story admirably.

B. & H., I. 348 et seq., and the sources there referred to.

XLVI. Daulat-nīgār Khānam Chaghatāī Mughal.

Good-fortune itself; the very image of felicity.
Ar. dauḷat, and Pers. nigār, effigy, image.

Daughter of Isān-būghā Khān Chaghatāī; wife of Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mīrzā Dughlāt.


XLVII. Daulat-sulṭān Khānam Chaghatāī Mughal.

Ar. dauḷat, fortune, and sulṭān, sway. In many proper names, sulṭān does not appear to be a title, but rather to indicate the sway or dominance of the quality imputed by the first word of the name; e.g., Laṭīf-sulṭān, Daulat-sulṭān. In giving these names, one might suppose the prophetic notion to be that the first child should be a regnant delight and the second a prevailing felicity.

Youngest child of Yūnas Khān Chaghatāī and Shāh Begam Badakhshi; half-sister of Bābar's mother; wife by chance of battle, of Timūr Sulṭān Uzbek; mother by him of a daughter.

In 907H. (1501-2) she was in Tāshkand, and Qūṭ-liq-nīgār Khānam went to visit her after thirteen or fourteen years of separation. Bābar, dejected and an exile, joined the family party in the next year. In 909H. (1503) Shaibānī sacked Tāshkand and forcibly married
Daulat-sultān to his son Timūr. She bore him a daughter, and she remained in his haram until Bābar took possession of Samarqand in 917H. (1511), and she joined him. She went south with him in 1513, and remained several years in Badakhshān with another nephew, Mīrzā (Wais) Khān who behaved to her like a son.

Another nephew, Saʿiūd, her own brother Aḥmad’s son, then invited her, with costly gifts, to visit him in Kāshghar. She made the long and difficult journey; joined him in Yarkand; and with him she spent the rest of her life.

Bābar mentions that her foster-brother brought him news and letters from her in 925H. (September 8th, 1519). In the same year Mansūr, Saʿiūd’s eldest brother, went to Kāshghar to visit her, his ‘beloved aunt.’

The Persian text of the Tārikh-i-rashīdī says that Mansūr went so that by looking at her kind face his grief for the loss of his father might be mitigated. The Bible Society’s Turkī version reads: ‘Being prompted thereto by the extreme warmth of his affection for her.’ Both statements illumine her character. The second seems the more appropriate, since the death of Sultan Ahmad Khān took place in 909H. (1503) and Mansūr’s visit in 926H. (1520).

There is no mention of her remarriage, and her story is that of an affectionate and leisured aunt.

Mems., 14, 99, 105, 274.

XLVIII. Daulat-sultān (?) Sakanj Begam.

Sakanj I cannot explain. B. M. Add. 24,090 (44b) has no points, and the word may be S-k-n-gh. B. M., Or. 187 (48a) has k-m-n-j or b-k-n-j. The Turkī (Bible Society’s MS. translations) has Daulat.

Daughter of Amīr Shaikh Nūru-d-dīn Qibchāq Mughal, governor of Turkistān; wife of Wais Khān Chaghatāī Mughal.

Tār. Rash., E. & R., 64 and 64 n.
Neither her husband, Bābar nor her daughter, Gulbadan gives any clue to her parentage. Her marriage is not spoken of in the Memoirs; it, as well as Gulrugh's, probably occurred in the missing decade of 1509-19. If Bābar held the view that four wives were a lawful number, Dil-dār, of whatever parentage, may be counted amongst them, since in 1509 Māhām only remained of his earlier wives, 'Āyisha, Zainab, and Ma'sūma having disappeared from the household by death or divorce.

Dil-dār is mentioned once in the Turki text of Kehr and Ilminsky, and then as āghācha. I am too ignorant of the import of this word in the domestic circle to venture to draw from its use an inference as to social status. It, however, as used by Bābar and by Gulbadan, supports Pavet de Courteille's definition of a 'lady' in contradistinction to a 'begam,' and does not convey reproach to the woman as its occasional English rendering (concubine) does.

The Aklar-nāma (Bib. Índ. ed., II. 62) makes use of the words 'Dil-dār āghācha Begam,' and adds āghā as a variant (cf. App., s.n. āghā). Gul-badan always styles her mother begam, and sometimes ḥazrat. In enumerating her father's children and their mothers, she does not mention the parentage of any wife besides Ma'sūma Mīrān-shāhī, a Timūrid, but no deduction as to the lower birth of the others can be drawn safely from this, and there is some ground for supposing that Dil-dār was of Mīrān-shāhī birth. (Cf. infra, p. 277.)

Perhaps some indication of non-royal birth is given by Māhām's forcible adoption of Dil-dār's son in 1519, but I am too ignorant of the nuances of Muḥammadan etiquette to venture on assertion or even on opinion in such a matter. That Māhām did not take Gul-

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rukh's\(^1\) son tells nothing, since the chief factors in the adoption, i.e., Máham's loss of her own children and wish to adopt, may have become operative only when they were put into practice in 1519.

Five children of Dil-dár are mentioned by Gulbadan: Gul-rang, born between 1511 and 1515; Gul-chihra; Abū-n-nāsir Muḥammad (Hindāl), born 1519; Gul-badan, born 1523; and Alwar, who died in India in 1529.

She is very frequently written of by her daughter; some other authors give of her a clear and pleasant impression; and she is always spoken of with respect and as a good and sensible woman.

Gul-badan, 6b, 16a, 23a, 25b, 29b, 30a, 35a, 35b, 38a, 42a, 50b, 51b, 65a, 70b.
Jauhar, Stewart, 30, 31.
Ilminsky, 281.
_Akbar-nāma, Bib. Ind. ed., s.n._
B. & H., II. 164, 220, 302.

L. Dil-shād Begam.

The Heart-rejoicing Princess; Pers. _dīl_, heart, and _shād_, rejoicing.

Daughter of Shāh Begam and grand-daughter of Fakhr-jahān Begam _Mīrān-shāhī_. Of her paternal descent nothing is recorded.

Gul-badan, 24b.

II. Dūdū Bibi.

Wife of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh _Lohānī_, Afghan King of Bihār; mother of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-dīn; regent for her son in his minority from 1529.

B. & H., s.n.

III. Fakhr-jahān Begam _Mīrān-shāhī_. (No. 1.)


She was a daughter of Sulṭān Abū-saʿīd Mīrzā; a paternal aunt of Bābār; the wife of Mīr ʿAlāʾu-l-mulk _Termizī_; and mother of Shāh and Kīchak Begams.

\(^1\) For _erratum_ in my Introduction as to Gul-rukh, cf. App. s.n.
She went to India in 1526, the first year of Bābar's occupation, with her sister Khadija, and stayed there nearly two years. She took leave of Bābar before starting on her return journey to Kābul on September 20th, 1528 (Muḥarram 5th, 935H.). She was again in Āgra and at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Gul-badan, 11a, 24b.
Mems., 374, 382.

P. de Courteille, II, 453. (This is a fragment, supplied by Kehr and Ilminsky, which has the appearance of memoranda and which concerns a period already and variously written of in the Bābar-nāma of Kehr and contained in the Memoirs of Mr. Erskine.)

Ain-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 322.

LIII. Fakhru-n-nisā'.

The ornament of womanhood; Ar. fakhr, ornament, and nisā', woman.

She was a daughter of Bābar and 'Āyisha-sultān, and his first child, born when he was nineteen. She died when about a month old.

Mems., 90.
Gul-badan, 6b.

LIV. Fakhru-n-nisā' anaga and māmā.

Mother of Nadim kūka; mother-in-law of his wife, Māham anaga.

She and Nadim are several times mentioned by Gulbadan.

Gul-badan, 26a, 46a, 71a, 73b.

LV. Fakhru-n-nisā' Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 61.)

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chuchak; sister of Muḥammad Ḥakīm; wife (1) of Shāh Abūl-ma'ālī and (2) of Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī. (Cf. Bakhtun-n-nisā'.)

Akbar-nāma, Bib. Ind. ed., s.n..
Ain-i-akbarī, Blochmann, s.n..
Badīyuni, Lowe, 72.
LVI. Fāṭima Sulṭān ṣaghā.

Ar. Fāṭīma, a name given presumably in honour of the Prophet's daughter. The meaning of sulṭān here is not apparent. It does not seem as, e.g., in Daulat-sulṭān, safe to consider it as a part of a compound word, and to read Fāṭīma-sulṭān. Nor from the bearer's parentage does it suit to take it as a title, implying that she is of the sulṭāns of her tribe.

There are points in the use of the word sulṭān which require fuller discussion than is practicable here. One Fāṭīma Sulṭān and her sister Bairām (Maryam) were the children of Ḥusain Bāyqrā by an Uzbeg servant of one of his royal wives. They are not given any further title, but their brothers are mīrzsās.

Daughter of the chief of a Mughal tumān (10,000 men); first wife of ʿUmar Shaikh Mīrān-shāhī; mother of his second son, Jahāngīr who was two years the junior of Bābār.

Mems., 10, 14.

LVII. Fāṭima Sulṭān anaga and Bībī. (No. 60.)

Mother of Raushan kūka and of Zuhra, wife of Khwāja Muʿazzam. Bāyazīd biyāt speaks of her as the ʿordū-begi of Humāyūn's ḥaram, a title which Blochmann translates 'armed woman.'

She was at Hindāl's marriage feast; she helped to nurse Humāyūn in 1546; and was an envoy to  Ḥaram Begam for marriage negotiations; and she appears in Akbar's reign when her daughter is murdered.


LVIII. Fāṭima Sulṭān Bāyqrā.

Daughter of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā Bāyqrā and of Mingli-bi āghācha Uzbeg; wife of Yādgār Muḥammad Mirzā Shah-rukḥī (died 875—1470-71). She was dead before 912H. (May, 1506).

Mems., 182. Ḥabību-s-siyār, 327 et seq..
LIX. Fātimah Sulṭān Begam.

A wife of Shāh Ḥusain Beg Arghūn, and mentioned in the Tārīkh-i-sind.

LX. Fauq Begam.  (No. 31.)

Ar. faug, superiority, excellence.

Gul-badan, 25b.

LXI. Fīroza Begam.  (No. 35.)

The princess of victory; Pers. fīroz, victorious, prosperous.

Gul-badan, 25b.

LXII. Fīroza Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

She was a grand-daughter of Timūr, and married Manṣūr Mirzā Bāyqrā. Their son Ḥusain was therefore a double Timūrid, fourth in descent through Manṣūr and third through Fīroza.

Mems., 176.

LXIII. Gauhar-shād Begam and āghā, Turkomān.

The jewel of joy; Pers. gauhar, jewel, and shād, joy, delight.

Wife of Shāh-rukh, son of Timūr; sister of Qarā Yūsuf Turkomān; founder of the Masjīd which bears her name in Mashhad, and, with her husband, of the Bāgh-i-zāghān (Ravens’ Garden) at Harāt. Bābar saw her tomb (dated 861H., 1457) and her mosque in 1506.

Mems., 207.
Northern Afghanistan, C. E. Yate, s.n.
Tār. Bash., E. & R., 83 n..

LXIV. Gauhar-shād Begam Dughlāt.

Daughter of Muḥammad Dughlāt Ḥiṣarī; wife of Amīr Yār (sic); son of Amīr Jān-wafā, who was darogha of Samarqand under Shaibānī in 906H. (1500) when Bābar took the city, and who was an
intimate of Muḥammad Ḥiṣārī, and saved his life by a warning word, as a reward for which Gauhar-shād was given in marriage to his son.

Mems., 86, 88, 239.

LXV. Gauhar-shād Begam Mirān-shāhī. (No. 5.)

Daughter of Sulṭān Abū-saʿīd Mirzā and paternal aunt of Bābar. She was at the Mystic Feast.

Mems., 387.
Gul-badan, 11a, 24b.

LXVI. Gul-badan Begam Mirān-shāhī. (No. 46.)

Cf. Biographical Introduction and her own Ḥumā-yūn-nāma.

LXVII. Gul-barg Begam Barlās. (No. 49.)

The rose-leaf princess; Pers. barg, leaf.

Daughter of Nizāmu-d-dīn ʿAlī Barlās, Bābar’s Khalīfa; niece, therefore, of Sulṭān Junaid Barlās, a brother-in-law of Bābar. (Cf. Shahr-bānū.) She may be the child of that Sulṭānam who received Gul-badan at Kūl-jalāli. (14a) She married, first, Mīr Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, in 930H. (1524). The alliance was not happy and a separation took place. She appears to have remarried Ḥumāyūn at some time before the defeat at Chausa (1539). She was with him subsequently in Sind, and from there went with Sulṭānam to Makka previous to 1543.

She was buried in Dihli. Mīr Maʿṣūm writes of her death: ‘She entrusted her soul to the guardians of the hour of death, and the leaves (gul-barg) of the rose-bush of her life were dispersed by the boisterous wind of mortality.’

Gul-badan, 21a, 25b, 29b, 30b, 49b.
Tārikh-i-sind, Mīr Maʿṣūm.
B. & H., I. 385.
LXVIII. Gul-barg, or -izar, or -rang, or -rukh Mirān-shāhī.

By these various names is mentioned the mother of Salīma-sultān Begam. There are difficult points as to her descent which are discussed s.n. Salīma-sultān.

LXIX. Gul Begam.  (No. 30.)

The rose princess.

She was at the Mystic Feast, and may be one of the various ladies of the rose who are entered *infra.*

Gul-badan, 25b.

LXX. Gul-chihra Begam Mirān-shāhī.  (No. 45.)

The rosy-cheeked princess; Pers. chihra, face.

Daughter of Bābar and Dīl-dār; their second child, and born between 1515 and 1517. She was full-sister of Gul-rang, Hindāl, and Gul-badan.

She married Bābar's first cousin (a son of his mother's brother Āḥmad), Sultān Tūkhta-būghā Khān Chaghātāī Mughal. The marriage was arranged by Bābar, and took place in 937H. (end of 1530). She would then be about fourteen years old.

She was widowed cīr. 940H. (1533), and nothing as to her remarriage is recorded until 956H. (1549), when she was over thirty years old. It is improbable that she remained a widow so many years. (Cf. App. s.n. Salīma-sultān.) In 956H. she entered upon what looks like a *mariage de raison* with 'Abbās Sultān Uzbeg, just before Humāyūn set out on his expedition for Balkh. The bridegroom came to suspect that the Timūrid army was about to act against his own people and ran away. Probably he did not take Gul-chihra with him. Her name next appears in the histories when she accompanies Gul-badan and Ḥamīda to India in 964H. (1557).

Gul-badan, 6b, 16b, 18b, 23b, 25b, 29b, 38a, 65a. Akbar-nāma, Bib. Ind. ed., s.n.
LXXI. Gul-'izār Begam Mīrān-shāhī.
The rosy-cheeked princess; Pers. gul, rose, and 'izār, cheek, face.
Daughter of Bābār and Gul-rūkh; full-sister of Kāmrān and 'Askarī.
Gul-badan names no marriage for her, but she may have been the wife of Yādgār-nāsīr.
Gul-badan, 66.
Mems., 10.

LXXII. Gul-'izār Begam Mīrān-shāhī.
Daughter of Kāmrān Mirzā; she accompanied Gul-badan Begam to Makka (983H., October, 1575). (Cf. App. s.n. 'Āyisha Mīrān-shāhī.)


LXXIII. Gul-nār āghācha. (No. 57.)
The red, red rose; Pers. gul, rose, and nār (anār), pomegranate, carnation red.
She was of Bābār's haram, and may have been one of the two Circassian (Cherkis) slaves (the other being Nār-gul) who were presented to the Emperor by Shāh Tāhmāsp in 933H. (1526).
She was at Hindāl's wedding-feast, and shared in the conferences of Humāyūn and his family; and she was one of Gul-badan Begam's pilgrim band (983H., 1575).
Gul-badan, 256, 30a, 35a, 38a.
Mems., 347.

LXXIV. Gul-rang Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 44.)
The rose-hued princess.
Daughter of Bābār and Dil-dār and her mother's first child. She was born in Khost, probably between 1511 and 1515, during Bābār's exile from Kābul after the Mughal rebellion. She was given in marriage to Isān-timūr Chaghatāi Mughal, her father's first cousin, during the last days of her father's life and in 1530.
Isän-tümür is last mentioned in 1543, and of Gul-rang there is no certain record after cir. 1534, when she was at Gušliär. (23a) (Cf. App. s.n. Salima.)

Gul-badan, 6b, 16b, 18b, 23a, 25b, 29b.

LXXV. Gul-rukh Begam (?) Begchik Mughal.

The rose-cheeked princess.

Wife of Bābar; mother of Kāmrān, 'Askari, Shāhrukh, Aḥmad, and Gul-izār. Outside Kābul there was in 1545 the tomb of Gul-rukh Begam. (64b) This may well have been hers.

She is perhaps a Begchik. This may be judged from the following notes:

(1) Kāmrān married a daughter of Sultān 'Ali Mīrzā taghāī.1 (Mems., 388.)

(2) Humāyūn married a daughter of Yādgār taghāī. (Mems., 388.)

Amongst contemporary Begchik amīrs are Sultān Ali Mīrzā and Yādgār Mīrzā.

If one follows the recorded incidents of Sultān 'Ali's life, one sees that Gul-rukh may be his sister.

(a) In 914H. (1508-9) he was ordered to drown Khalil Khān. (Tār. Rash., 183.) Having done so, he took refuge with Bābar in Samarqand. (l.c., 265.)

(b) In 917H. (1511) he was with Sayyid Muḥammad Dughlāt in Andijān, apparently at Bābar's instance. (l.c., 248.) In the same year he was sent by Sa'id

1 This is a difficult word to deal with. It has a wider use than its usual translation 'mother's brother.' It is used for the uncle, great-uncle, etc., in ascending line. In other words, the mother's brother, in at any rate distinguished families, of one generation remains the mother's brother, taghāī, in the next and the next. Once a taghāī, always a taghāī. The numerous uncles on the mother's side who appear in the Memoirs and the Tārīkh-i-rashīdī as so-and-so taghāī, might be described as brothers of the mothers of a king's or chief's children.

To found opinion of relationship on the unsupported use of the word is to court disaster. Great wariness is needed. A quite perplexing taghāī is the Machiavelli of Mīrzā Haidar's life, 'Alī Mīrzā taghāī (Dughlāt). He is constantly on the scene, and the one fact not mentioned which it is desirable to know is, whose brother was he? Only with much trouble can a surmise as to his parentage be hazarded.
Khan who had reinforced Andijan under Babar’s orders, to Kazan.

(c) In 920H. (1514) he accompanied Sa’id in his conquest of Kashghar, and at this date is named amongst the Begchik amirs of the Kashghar army. (l.c., 308, 326.)

(d) In 925H. (1519) he waited on Babar, and is styled ṯaghā’ of Kāmrān. (Mems., 274.) Babar says here: ‘Sultān ‘Ali Mīrzā, the maternal uncle of Kāmrān (Ilminsky, 311, Kāmrān-nīnak ṯagḥā’ī), who in the year in which I passed over from Khost to Kābul had proceeded to Kashghar, as has been mentioned,¹ waited on me here.’

Babar must several times have passed from Khost (Andar-āb) to Kābul. The Tarikh-i-rashidi fixes the occasion here alluded to as in 920H. (1514). This was Babar’s latest and last crossing of the northern passes to Kabul.

By thus bringing the statements of the Memoirs and the Tarikh-i-rashidi together, Sultān ‘Ali Mīrzā Begchik is fairly-well identified with Sultān ‘Ali Mīrzā, ṯaghā’ī of Kāmrān.’

(e) In 935H. (1528) Kāmrān married his daughter. (Mems., 388.)

Mems., 274, 388.

LXXVI. Gul-rukh Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Daughter of Kāmrān Mīrzā; wife of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāygrā; mother of Mużaffar Ḥusain who married Sultān Khānām, Akbar’s eldest daughter, and of Nūru-n-nisā’ who became a wife of Salīm (the Emperor Jahāngîr).

¹ Something interesting as to the Tūzūk-i-bābārî (Turkî text of the Memoirs) may lie here. The period of Sa’id’s Kashghar conquest falls in a gap of the Tūzūk. Babar referred to an incident of that time as having been already mentioned. This suggests, as a cause of the gap, lost leaves, and not an omission of record. (Cf. Tār. Rash., 247 n.1)
The story of her husband's rebellious pursuit and death (981H., 1573), and of her flight to the Dakhin with her son, is found at length in the histories.

She was living and visited by Jahāngīr in 1023H. (1614). (Cf. XIX. 'Āyishā-sulṭān.)

LXXVII. Gün-war Bībī.
Wife of Humāyūn and mother of Bakhshi-bānū Begam.
Gul-badan, 396.

LXXVIII. Ḥabība Begam Mīrān-shāhī.
The beloved or desired princess.
Eldest daughter of Kāmrān Mīrzā and probably of the daughter of Uncle (ṭagḥāt) Sultān 'Ali Mīrzā Begchīk whom Kāmrān married in 935H. (1528). She married Yāsīn-daulāt (the Fair Sultān) Chaghatāī Mughal, a brother of Gul-badan's husband, Khizr, and her own second cousin. It may be that she married a second time after she was forcibly parted from Yāsīn-daulāt in 1551-52. (Cf. App. s.n. Ḥāji Mīrān-shāhī.)
Gul-badan, 646, 65a, 78a.

LXXIX. Ḥabība-sulṭān Begam Arghūn.
The desired of the desired; Ar. ḥabība, beloved, desired, and sulṭān, pre-eminence, sway.
'Brother's daughter of Sultān Arghūn' (? Muqīm, Shāh Shuja'a, or a brother of Zū'īl-nūn); wife of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī; and mother of Bābār's wife, Ma'sūma. Bābār gave her a name of affection, yanga. (Cf. Index, s.v. .)
Mems., 22, 23, 208, 238.

LXXX. Ḥabība-sulṭān Khānīsh Dughlāt. (No. 21.)
Daughter of Muḥammad Ḥusain Dughlāt and Khūb-nīgār Chaghatāī; full-sister of Mīrzā Ḥaidar; first cousin (maternal) of Bābār; wife (1) of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh Uzbeg, and (2) of her cousin, Sa'id Khān Chaghatāī.
She was taken captive as a child by Shaibâni Uzbek, and she lived in his household until he gave her in marriage to his nephew, 'Ubaidu-l-lâh. Shortly before Shaibâni murdered her father (914H., 1508-9), 'Ubaidu-l-lâh asked for Ḥâdâr (q.tat. 11) to come to him and Ḥâbîba in Bukhârâ, and thus saved him from a general massacre of Mughal sulṭâns.

When 'Ubaidu-l-lâh retreated to Turkistân (cir. 1511), Ḥâbîba remained in Bukhârâ. She then joined her uncle Sayyid Muḥammad Dughlat, in Samarqand, and with him went to Andijân where he married her to her cousin Saʿîd. She reared one of Saʿîd’s children, Rashîd whose mother was a ‘tribeswoman,’ Makhdûm Qâluchî, but he certainly did her training no credit. She was widowed in 939H. (July 9th, 1533), so that Gul-badan may be wrong in saying that she was at the Mystic Feast in 1531. She may have been a wedding guest in 1537.


_Gul-badan, 245._

LXXXI. Ḥâjî Begam Mirân-shâhî.

She was a daughter of Kâmrân, and accompanied Gul-badan Begam to Makka in 983H., but it is to be inferred that this was not the pilgrimage which gave her her title of Ḥâjî, since she is so entered before the ḫaj of 983H. (Cf. XIX., ‘Āyisha-sulṭân.)

(Ḥâjî Begam, Bega, _q.v._)

(Ḥâjî Begam, Mah-chûchak Arghûn, _q.v._)

LXXXII. Ḥamîda-bânû.

_Ar. ḥamîda, praised, laudable, and Pers. bânû._

Daughter of Sayyid Muḥammad Qâsim. She died 984H. (1576-77), and was buried at Andakhui.

The above information is given by Captain Yate,
and as Ḥamīda-bānū may be the daughter of one of Humāyūn’s followers, I have inserted her name.
Northern Afghānīstan, Yate, p. 349.

LXXXIII. Ḥamīda-bānū Begam Maryam-makānī.

Posthumous style, Maryam-makānī, dwelling with Mary.

She was the mother of Akbar. There is difficulty in making precise statement as to her family relations. She was of the lineage of Ḥāmad Jāmī Zinda-fīl.

(a). Gul-badan, whose long intimacy with Ḥamīda invests her statement with authority, states that Mir Bāba Dost was Ḥamīda’s father, and that Khwāja Mu’azzam was her barādar, i.e., brother undefined.

(b). The Tārīkh-i-sind states that her father was Shaikh ‘Alī-akbar Jāmī who was one of the pillars of Mīrzā Hindāl. Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad says that ‘Alī-akbar was father of Mu’azzam.

If the statements of paragraphs (a) and (b) stood alone, ‘Bābā Dost’ and ‘‘Alī-akbar’ might be identified as the petit-nom and the name of one man.

There is a good deal to support this view, and there is something against it.

In favour of the identification of Bābā Dost with ‘Alī-akbar are the following points:

(1). ‘Bābā Dost’ seems to be not a personal name, but a sobriquet of affection and domestic intimacy.

(2). Jauhar calls Ḥamīda the daughter of Hindāl’s akhound, and Mr. Erskine (perhaps, however, inferentially) calls ‘Alī-akbar Hindāl’s preceptor.

(3). Mīr Bābā Dost was alive in 947H. (1540-41), the year preceding Ḥamīda’s marriage, and was then with Hindāl. (Akbar-nāma, H. Beveridge, I. 360.)

(4). Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and Badāyunī contribute negative support to the identification by using the
indefinite khal, maternal uncle, to describe the relation of Akbar and Mu‘azzam.

(5). *The Ma‘asiru-l-umara* confirms the identification by use of the words barādar-i-a’yānī, full-brother. Its authority may not be of the best, but the choice of these words has some weight.

(6). ’Ali-akbar was of the lineage of Ahmad Jāmī. Humāyun had a dream which allowed him to know that the son prophesied in it by Ahmad would be of the latter’s lineage. There is, I think, nothing said on this point of Mir Bābā Dost, but saintly descent was claimed for Ḥamīda’s father.

(7). Gul-badan gives one the impression (it is little more) that Mu‘azzam was younger than Ḥamīda. He calls his sister Māh-chīchām, which may be read as ‘Moon of my mother,’ but also as ‘Elder Moon-sister.’ (Cf. 18b n.) If he were Ḥamīda’s junior, and as Mir Bābā Dost was alive in 1540-41, he could not have been an independent agent in 1543-44.

In opposition to the identification, there are two considerations:
(i.) A minor matter; two names are given by the sources: Mir Bābā Dost and ’Ali-akbar.
(ii.) The important fact that Abū’l-fażl calls Mu‘azzam Ḥamīda’s ukhuwwat-i-akhyāfī,1 which, according to Lane, must be rendered ‘uterine brother.’

Was, then, the name Bābā Dost a sobriquet of Shaikh ’Ali-akbar?
Were Ḥamīda and Mu‘azzam full brother and sister?
Were they the children of one father and two mothers, or were they uterine brother and sister?

Shaikh ’Ali-akbar’s name I have not found in any

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1 Steingass does not recognise the force of ‘uterine,’ since he renders barādar-i-a’yānī by ‘uterine brother.’
passage except the one dealing with Ḥamīḍa's parentage. Mir Bābā Dost may be the man so named by Bābar (Mems., 262), and who was then with Humāyūn in the year of the birth of Hindāl (1519). He may also have gone with Humāyūn, Ḥamīḍa (? his own daughter) and Muʿazzam (? his son) to Persia, the bakhshī in the little party of exiles. He is mentioned by Abūʾl-faẓl not only where already noted, but, we believe, also amongst Hindāl's servants who were transferred to Akbar in 1551 (958H.).

Two men with the name ʿAlī-akbar are mentioned under Akbar, but neither appears to be a Jāmī, or to warrant identification with Ḥamīḍa's reputed father. (Cf. Āīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, s.n. ʿAlī-akbar.)

Whether there was any relationship more close than that derived from common descent from Aḥmad Jāmī between Māham Begam and Ḥamīḍa I am not able to say.

Ḥamīḍa was related to Bānū (Bābū) āghā who was the wife of Shihābu-d-din Aḥmad Nisḥāpurī and a relation of Māham anaga. Begā (Ḥājī) Begam also had claim to descent from Aḥmad Jāmī, so that the saint's posterity was numerous in Akbar's court, and included the Emperor himself.

To Gul-badan's account of the discussion which preceded Ḥamīḍa's marriage, there may be added the following passage from the Taẓkiratu-l-wāqiʿāt of Jauhar. (I.O. MS. No. 221 and B.M. MS. Add. No. 16,711, f. 82.) After Humāyūn has asked whose daughter Ḥamīḍa is, he is told, perhaps by Dil-dār, that she is of the line of his Reverence the Terrible Elephant, Aḥmad Jāmī, and that her father, by way of blessing and benediction, has taught Mīrza Hindāl, and that for this reason Ḥamīḍa is with the mīrzā's household.

The Persian (taken from the I.O. MS.) is as follows: Pidar-i-īshān do sīh kalmā ba jihat-i-tabarruk
wa tayammun ba Mirzā Hindāl sabq farmudand. Az ān jihat ba mā hamrā and.

Erskine (II. 220) and Stewart (Jauhar, 31 n.) both say that Hamīda was married at fourteen years of age. The incidents of her wedded life are set down in Gul-badan Begam's book and in the Akbar-nāma and other sources; but having regard to her interesting personality, they may be enumerated here also.

She was married at Pat early in 948H. (summer, 1541), and remained in Sind until she made with Humāyūn the terrible desert journey to 'Umrkut where Akbar was born (October 15th, 1542). About the beginning of the following December she and her baby went into camp at Jūn, after travelling for ten or twelve days. In 1543 she made the perilous journey from Sind which had Qandahār for its goal, but in course of which Humāyūn had to take hasty flight from Shāl-mastān, 'through a desert and waterless waste.' She went with him, leaving her little son behind. She accompanied her husband to Persia, and it is recorded that on the way and at Sistān, its governor brought his mother and his wives to entertain her. With Humāyūn she made, amongst other pious visitations, one to Jām where was their ancestor Ahmad's shrine. She was kindly treated by Shāh Ṭahmāsp and by his sister, and Gul-badan's details of the Persian episode can hardly have been learned from anyone but Hamīda. In 1544, in camp at Sabz-āwār, a daughter was born. She returned from Persia with the army given to Humāyūn by Ṭahmāsp, and at Qandahār would meet Dil-dār and Hindāl, her former protectors.

It was not until November 15th, 1545 (Ramzan 10th, 952H.) that she again saw her son, who recognised her. She had shortly after this to accept Māh-chūchak as a co-wife. In June, 1548, she and Akbar accompanied Humāyūn on his way to Tāliqān as far as Gul-bihār, and thence returned to Kābul. This may
be the expedition made by the ladies and chronicled by Gul-badan, to see the rīwāj. When Humāyūn, in November, 1554, set out for Hindūstān, she remained in Kābul.

Bāyazīd biyāt mentions that at this time he fell under her displeasure, and was reproved because he had not cleared out a house for one of her servants. He pleaded the commands of Mu‘nīm Khān, and was forgiven. Early in the reign of Akbar, Khwāja Mīrāk, Nizāmu-d-dīn’s grandfather and who was her diwān, was hanged by Mu‘nīm Khān because he had sided with Mīrzā Sulaimān.

She rejoined her son in the second year of his reign (964 H., 1557), together with Gul-badan and other royal ladies. She is mentioned as in Dihli in the fifth year, and she had a part in the plot for deposing Bairām Khān. She was closely associated with Gul-badan in Akbar’s court and affection; together they interceded for Salīm with his father; together they received gifts from the Emperor; and their tents were side by side in his encampments. Ḥamīda was with Gul-badan in the latter’s last hours.

Abū’l-fażl says that when long fasts came to an end, the first dishes of dressed meat used to go to Akbar from his mother’s house.

Ḥamīda died in the autumn of 1604 (19th Shahrīyār 1013 H.), sixty-three years after her wedding, and after almost fifty years of widowhood, passed as the proud mother of a great son. If she was fourteen in 1541, she must have been born in 1527 (circa), the year of Bābār’s victory at Kāṅwā, and have been some seventy-seven years old at the time of death.

Gul-badan, 39a, 42a, 43b, 48a, 55a, 55b, 58a, 59b, 62b, 66a, 74a, 78b, 83a.
Akbar-nāma, Bib. Ind. ed., s.n.
Aīn-i-akbarī. Aīn, 26, Şufiyāna, Blochmann, 61, 62.
Jauhar, l.c., Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, etc.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1898, art.
Bāyazīd biyāt, H. Beveridge, 16.
LXXXIV. Haram Begam Qibchāq Mughal.

Princess of the Haram. Her name has been transliterated by some European workers as Khurram, 'blossoming, cheerful,' and this seems the more probable name to bestow on a child. But some of the Persian texts support Haram, and the editors of the Bib. Ind. Akbar-nāma have adopted it. Gul-badan has Haram.

Haram Begam may be a sobriquet bestowed after the revelation of the facts of the bearer's character and dominance.

Daughter of Sultan Wais Kulābī Qibchāq Mughal; and sister of Chakr 'Alī and Ḥaidar Begs and of Māh Begam, a wife of Kāmrān. She married Sulaimān Mirzā Mīrān-shāhī, son of Khān Mirzā (Wais). She had one son, Ibrāhīm (Abū'īl-qāsim), and several daughters. Her children, through Shāh Begam Badakhshī, their paternal ancestress, claimed descent from Alexander the Great.

Most of the incidents of her career are given in the Introduction to this book, and her remarkable character is exhibited there. Badāyunī calls her Wālī-nī'amat, and says she was known by this name. This may be a tribute to her pre-eminence in character and action and also to the fact of her belonging to an older generation than Akbar's, under whom he wrote. The elder men of royal birth were Lords and the elder women Ladies of Beneficence in those days.

Gul-badan, 65a, 75b.  
Akbar-nāma, Bib. Ind. ed., s.n.
Badāyunī, Lowe, 61, 89, 90, 217.  
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1898, art.  
Bāyazīd biyāt, H. Beveridge, 12, 16.  
B. & H., s.n.
Āin-i-akbarī, Blochmann, s.n.
Introduction, supra.

LXXXV. Hazāra Begam.

Princess of the tribe of the Hazāra. This is a title, and not a personal name.

She was the daughter of a brother of Khizr Khān Hazāra who was the chief of his tribe during the
struggles for supremacy of Humāyūn and Kāmrān.
She married Kāmrān.

Gul-badan, 64b.

LXXXVI. Ḥusn-nigar Khānam Chaghatāi Mughal.
The image of beauty; Ar. ḥusn, beauty, and Pers. nigār, image.

Daughter of Isān-būghā Chaghatāi and niece of Yūnas Khān; sister of Dost-muḥammad and wife of Abā-bakr Dughlāt Mughal.


LXXXVII. Isān-daulat Khānam and Begam Qūchīn Mughal.
Her name takes several forms. The Bābar-nāma, Turki text (B.M. Or. Add. 26,324), has a clearly pointed Ishān; Ilmǐnsky has Isān passim. An early Persian MS. (B.M. Or. 3,714) has Isān and Isan.
The Memoirs have Isān in all but two instances (p. 12), where Āis is used. But Mr. Erskine’s Persian text (B.M. Add. 26,200), which is presumably his authority, can (I venture to think, after comparing the words he renders Āis with those he renders Isān) yield Isān in all places. Where he reads Āis (pp. 10 and 141) the nūn is not dotted; the letters closely correspond with those where it is dotted, and where he reads Isān.
The Tārīkh-i-rashīdī (B.M. Or. 157) writes Isān.
The weight of authority is in favour of Isān.

Isān-daulat was Bābar’s maternal grandmother and a daughter of Ḍūr Shīr-‘alī Beg Qūchīn (Kunjī), chief of the Sagharīchī tumān (10,000) of the Qūchīn Mughals.

She married Yūnas Khān Chaghatāi Mughal when he was forty-one years old. He was born in 818H. (1415-16), so that the date of her marriage is, approximately, 1456. At this time Yūnas was made Great Khān of the Mughals.

Isān-daulat bore three daughters, who were named Mihr-nigar, Qūt-liq-nigar, and Khūb-nigar. She had many brothers, of whom three, Shīrām, Mazīd, and
'Ali-dost, took leading parts in Bābar's affairs. Her chief co-wife was Shāh Begam Badakhšī. She shared the vicissitudes of her remarkable husband's remarkable career for some thirty years; nursed him through two years of paralytic helplessness till his death in 892H. (1487) at the age of seventy-four, and survived him about eighteen years. Four times at least she fell into the hands of an enemy: (1) In Kāshghar, *cir.* 860H. (1455-56), when Mihrnigār was an infant at the breast and when she was returned in safety to her husband. (2) In Tāshkand in 877H. (1472-73), when Yūnas had gone to buy barley at a time of dearth in Mughal-istān. It was then that there occurred the well-known episode which shows Isān-daulat's high spirit and decision of character and which is briefly narrated in the Introduction (p. 68). She was returned with honour to her husband. (3) In Andijān in 903H. (1497-98), when the town was taken from her grandson Bābar by his kinsfolk. She was sent after him in safety to Khojand, and from there went on to the protection of her third daughter's home in Kāshghar. (4) At Samarqand in 906H. (1500-1), when the town was taken by Shaibānī. She remained behind when Bābar left the place, and rejoined him in a few months with his 'family, heavy baggage, and a few lean and hungry followers.' In the eighth year of her widowhood (900H.) she was guiding Bābar's affairs with decision and sense in Andijān. He says that few women equalled her for sagacity, far-sight and good judgment, and that many important affairs were carried out by her counsel. News of her death reached Bābar in Kābul early in 911H. (June, 1505), during the forty days' mourning for his mother. Two slight records of her remain for mention.
Desert-born and of a tribe which clamoured against settled life, she yet had a garden-house at Andijân. She reared a half-sister of Bābar, Yādgār, daughter of Aghā āghācha.

Mems., 10, 12, 16, 27, 58, 59, 100, 111, 169.
B. & H., s.n..

LXXXVIII. Jahān-sultān Begam.

The world-ruling princess; Pers. jahān, world, and Ar. sultān, sway.

Probably a child of Humāyūn. She died in Kābul, aged two, in 954 H. (1547).

Gul-badan, 70a.

LXXXIX. Jamāl āghā.

Grace; Ar. jamāl, grace, beauty.

Wife (1) of Sanīz Mīrzā Dughlāt, and by him mother of Ḫān-sultān Khānām.

(2) of Dost-muḥammad Chaghatāī in 869 H.

(3) of Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, and by him mother of Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā Hisārī (Ḥaidar’s father) and Sayyid Muḥammad Mīrzā.

Her third marriage was made by the Mughal custom of yanga-liḵ, i.e., marriage by a younger brother of an elder brother’s widow. (Cf. Khān-zāda Mirān-shāh.)


XC. Jān-sultān Begam. (No. 32.)

The soul-ruling princess; Pers. jān, life, soul, and Ar. sultān, sway.

She was at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Gul-badan, 25b.

(Jūlī Begam, Chūlī, q.v.)
XCI. Khadija Begam.

Presumably she was named after Muḥammad’s first wife.

She was first a slave1 of Sulṭān Abū-sa’īd Mīrzā, and upon his death in 873H. (1469) she betook herself to Harāt and there became the wife of Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāyqrā.

She had a daughter, known as Āq Begam, by Abū-sa’īd, and two sons, Shāh Gharib and Muẓaffar Ḥusain, by her marriage with Ḥusain.

Hers is an instance where the conferring of a title is mentioned. Bābar says that Ḥusain was passionately fond of her and that he raised her to the rank of begam; also that she managed him entirely. To her are attributed the intrigues and rebellion which ruined Ḥusain’s family. She acquired more influence than any other of his wives, and it was consequently round her surviving son Muẓaffar Ḥusain, that adherents gathered after his father’s death. She forced on the joint-kingship which excited Bābar’s ridicule. Mīrzā Ḥaider when speaking of the death of Jahāṅgīr Mīrān-shāhī, said that he was generally reported to have been poisoned in his wine by Khadija Begam after her old fashion.

In 912H. (1506-7) Bābar saw her in Harāt, and he was there unlawfully entertained by her at a wine-party. When Shaibānī conquered the city in 913H. she was cast down from her high estate and given up to be plundered, and was treated as one of Shaibānī’s meanest slaves.

Mems., 179, 182, 183, 198, 204, 223.  

1 Turkī text (Ilminsky), ghuncha-chī, which Redhouse translates a seller of rosebuds and a young and good-looking female slave. The Persian text has the same word ghuncha-chī. The interest of these details is the light they may cast on the use of such words as ʿoghā and ʿaghācha.
XCI. Khadija-sultan Begam Chaghatai Mughal.

Fourth daughter of Sultan Ahmad Khan Chaghatai. After her father's death in 909H. (1503-4), Mirza Aba-bakr Dughlat took possession of his capital, Aksu, in Farghana, and with it of Khadija-sultan, then a child. He however, says Mirza Haidar, treated her kindly and when she was of age, he gave her in marriage to his son Jahangir who was her second cousin. She accompanied her husband to her full-brother Sa'id's court, shortly after 920H. (1514), and while in Kashghar, Jahangir was murdered by an unknown hand, in Yangi-hišär. She then remained, respected and honoured, in her brother Sa'id's family circle. In 923H. (1517) she was married to Shāh Muḥammad Sultan Chaghatai, a grandson of Sultan Mahmūd Khan, through Muḥammad, the only son of Mahmūd who survived the massacre of sultāns by Shaibānī. The marriage of one of Khadija's brothers, Aiman, was celebrated at the same time.

When Rashid succeeded his father Sa'id, in Kashghar (939H.—July, 1533) Khadija was badly treated by him. She was then ill and confined to bed, but Rashid banished her and her children and made her start on the weary journey for Badakhshān. She died on the road after much hardship of travel. She left four children, Isma'il, Ishāq, Ya'qūb, and Muḥtarima. They went on to Kabul, and were there received with fatherly kindness by their uncle, Isān-tīmūr.


XCIII. Khadija-sultan Begam Miran-shahi. (No. 6.)

Daughter of Sultan Abū-sa'id Mirzā Miran-shahi and paternal aunt of Bābar. I have not ascertained the name of her husband. She went to India in 934H. (1527), arriving in November, with Fakhrjahān and their children. She planned to return with her sister and Bābar took leave of them both on
Muḥarram 5th, 935H. (September 20th, 1528), but various business detained her and Bābar paid her another of his dutiful visits on October 9th. When or if she returned to Kabul is not said, but she was at the Mystic Feast in Āgra in 1531.

Gul-badan, 11a, 24b.
Mems., 374, 382, 387.

XCIV. Khāl-dār anaga.
The nurse with a mole; khāl-dār, mole-marked.
Mother of Saʿādat-yār kūka.
_Akbar-nāma, Bib. Ind. ed., I. 44._

XCV. Khānām Begam. (No. 18.)
Daughter of Āq Begam; grand-daughter of Abū-saʿīd Mīrān-shāhī. The ‘Khānām’ may indicate that she is a Chaghatai chief’s child.

Gul-badan, 24b.

(Khānām, Muḥtarima, q.v.)

XCVI. Khānish āghā Khwārizmī.
Daughter of Jūjūq Mīrzā Khwārizmī; wife of Humāyūn; mother of Ibrāhīm who died as an infant. Bāyazid calls her child Muḥammad Farrūkh-fāl, but Gul-badan and Abū’l-fażl are against him. Farrūkh-fāl was the child of Māh-chūchak. Ibrāhīm was born on the same day as Muḥammad Ḥakīm, i.e., Jumāda I. 15th, 960H. (April 19th, 1553).

Gul-badan, 71a, 71b, (? 73b.

XCVII. Khān Sultān Khānām and Sultānam Dughlāt.
Both these names appear to be titles, and not personal.
Daughter of Sanīz Mīrzā Dughlāt and Jamāl āghā; full-sister of Abā-bakr.
She was a woman of life-long piety and devotion to good works. Perhaps for this reason her brother who seems to have been an incarnation of unjust cruelty, treated her with studied barbarity, as a consequence of which she died in torture and suffering.


XCVIII. Khān-zāda Begam Bāyqra. (No. 16.)

The khān-born princess; Turkī khān, and Pers. zāda, born.

Gul-badan says she is a daughter of Sultān Maṣʿūd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī, and through a daughter grandchild of Pāyanda Muḥammad (sic) Sultān Begam, paternal great-aunt of Humāyūn. Bābar names no such marriage of a daughter of Pāyanda. ‘The second of the daughters [of Pāyanda] was Kīchak Begam [whose name is probably a sobriquet]. Sultān Maṣʿūd Mīrzā was extremely attached to her, but whatever efforts he made, Pāyanda-sultān Begam, having an aversion to him, would not consent to the match. She was afterwards’ (Turkī sūngra, P. de C. _dans la suite_) ‘married to Mullā Khwāja.’

A daughter of Ḥusain Bāyqra and of Bābā āghācha, whose name was Saʿādat-bakht and title Begam Sultān, was married to Maṣʿūd after his blinding. Her daughter might be fitly described as of inferior rank to the great begams. Such a description is given by Bābar of ‘Khān-zāda, daughter of Sultān Maṣʿūd Mīrzā.’ Ḥusain and Pāyanda’s daughter would certainly rank as equal in birth to the daughters of Abū-saʿīd, since she was a full Timūrid.

The ‘extreme attachment’ of Maṣʿūd to Kīchak fits Musalmān marriage better than Musalmān courtship. It may be that, spite of Pāyanda’s opposition, Maṣʿūd married Kīchak. The ‘afterwards’ of the Memoirs (supra) and the _de la suite_ of Pavet de Courteille seem to demand some more definite antecedent than
Mas'ūd’s attachment. Moreover, this presumably persisted with his wish to marry Kichak.

Did he marry Kichak, and was she divorced after his blinding or at some other time, and then was Sa'ādat-bakht given to him?

Mems., 181, 182, 387.
Gul-badan, 246.

XCIX. Khān-zāda Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī and of Qūt-liq-nigar Khānam; full-sister of Bābar and five years his senior. Eldest of her father’s daughters. She is recorded as thrice married: first, to Shaibānī in 1501 (907H.); secondly, to a man of inferior rank, Sayyid Hada; and, thirdly, to Mahdī Mūhammad Khwāja,1 son of Mūsa Khwāja. One child of hers is recorded, Shaibānī’s son, Khurram-shāh Sultān.

She was born circa 1478 (883H.). This is known from the statement of her brother that she was five years his senior. In 1501 (907H.) she was married by Shaibānī when he captured Samarqand from Bābar. Gul-badan makes the marriage a condition of Shaibānī’s peace with Bābar; Haidar says she was given in exchange for Bābar’s life, and Khāfī Khān, as a ransom (ba tariq-i-faida). She was in Shaibānī’s power and could have been married without consent of Bābar. As in 1501 she was twenty-three years old, she had almost certainly been married before, possibly to Mahdī. Her marriage arrangements with Shaibānī might include the divorce which the Musalmān law requires. Bābar does not go into details as to the marriage; he says she fell into Shaibānī’s hands. Presumably as himself of Timūrid birth, Shaibānī would treat a Timūrid woman with respectful forms even when she was spoil of battle. To marry Khān-zāda, he divorced her maternal aunt, Mihr-nigar Chaghhatāī.

1 Cf. Appendix B., Mahdī Khwāja.
Khān-zāda's son by Shaibānī, Khurram-shāh, died a young man. Shaibānī divorced her because she leaned to her brother's side in disputed matters. He then gave her in marriage to a certain Sayyid Hada, who fell in the battle of Merv with Shaibānī himself (1510).

In 1511 and at the age of thirty-three, she was returned to Bābar by Shāh Ismā'īl. At what date she married Mahdi Muḥammad Khwāja I am not able to say. It is probable that the marriage would take place within no long time after her return. As Mahdi is never described by Bābar in any way (as is his custom when a new actor comes upon the scene of his Memoirs), it is probable that Mahdi's joining Bābar and his marriage with Khān-zāda took place in the decade 1509-19, of which no record is known to survive. 1 Mahdi was with Bābar in 1519 (925H.), and is frequently mentioned subsequently.

There are many references to Khān-zāda by Gul-badan who frequently calls her Dearest Lady (aka-janām). She died at Qabal-chak in 1545 (952H.), aged about sixty-seven years, and after a life full of sorrows and chagrins.

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C. Khān-zāda Begam Mihrān-shāhī.

Daughter of Sultan Ḥaḍīth Mihrān-shāhī and Khān-zāda Termizī II.; wife (1) of Abā-bakr Dughlāt, and mother by him of (?) Jahāngīr, Turāṅgīr, and Bus-tāngīr; (2) of Sayyid Muḥammad Dughlāt who married

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1 There are some indications that a record of this decade once existed.
her in conformity with the custom of yanga-lik. (Cf. Jamāl āghā.)

Mems., 30. 

Cl. Khān-zāda Begam Termizī.

Of the family of the Khāns of Termiz; wife of Sulṭān Ahmad Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī. She was a bride when Bābar was five, i.e., in 893H. (1488) but, according to Turkī custom, was still veiled. Sulṭān Ahmad desired Bābar to pluck off the veil and run away, a little ceremony which it was supposed would bring him good luck when his time for marriage should come.

Mems., 23.

CII. Khān-zāda Begam Termizī (a.).

Daughter of the chief (mīr-i-buzurg) of Termiz; wife of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī; mother of Sulṭān Maṣʿūd Mīrzā. She died apparently early in her married life. The mīrzā was greatly afflicted at her death.

Mems., 29, 30.

CIII. Khān-zāda Begam Termizī (b.).

Daughter of a brother of Khānẓāda Termizī (a.); grand-daughter of the chief of Termiz; wife of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī; mother of Ḥusain (who died, aged thirteen, before his father) and of five girls, Khānẓāda, Bega, Āq, Āī, and Zainab.

Mems., 29, 30, 38, 128.

CIV. Khān-zāda Khānam.

‘Épouse légitime’ of Muẓaffar Mīrzā Bāyqra, and illegally taken by Shaibānī.

Mems., 224. 
Pavet de Courteille, II., 10.
CV. Khub-nigár Khānam Chaghataī Mughal.

The image of beauty. Here khānam has its full value, since Khub-nigár was daughter of the Khāqān, the Khān emphatically.

Third daughter of Yūnas Khān Chaghataī and Isandaulat Qūchīn; wife of Muḥammad Ḥusain Dughlāt Ḥisārī; mother of Ḥaidar and Ḥabība.1 She was a year older than her husband, and was married in 899H. (1493-94). Bābar, writing in 907H. (1501-2) mentions the reception of news of her death. Her husband was murdered in 914H.

Mems., 12, 99, 218.

CVI. Khurshed kākī. (Nos. 55 and 64.) Pers., the sun, sunshine.
Gul-badan, 26a.

CVII. Kichak Begam Bāyqrā.
The small princess; Turkī, kīchak, small. The name is probably a sobriquet.

Daughter of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrza Bāyqrā and Pāyanda-sulṭān Begam Mīrān-shāhī; wife of Maulānā Khwāja who was of the family of Sayyid Atā one of her father's best vazīrs.

Khwānd-amīr reverses her marriage with that of her sister Bega, and makes her marry Bābar, son of Rabī‘a.

Mems., 181.
Ḥabību-s-siyār, 327 et seq.

CVIII. Kichak Begam Termizī. (No. 23.)

1 The translation of the Tārīkh-i-rashidi (E. & R., 159) has the statement that Khub-nigár bore six sons (furzandān), and that two died at the breast and four survived. I believe it should read 'six children, of whom four died at the breast, and two survived her.'
She went to Hindūstān with her mother, and was at Hindāl's wedding feast.

Mems., without names. (Cf. Fakhr-jahān and Shāh Begam.)
Gul-badan, 25a.
Akbar-nāma (lith. ed.), s.n..
Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 322.

CIX. Kīchak māham. (No. 80.)
Cf. s.n. Māham for meaning of the word.
She is named as at Hindāl's wedding.
Gul-badan, 26b.

CX. Kilān Khān Begam.
This is clearly not a personal name. Pers. kilān, elder, great, and Turkī khān, a title.

Daughter of Sultānām Begam Mīrān-shāhī and grand-daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā. Which of Sultānām's three husbands was Kilān Khān Begam's father is not said; from her daughter's title, Timūr Sultān Uzbeg seems most probable.
Mems., 22.
Gul-badan, 24b.

CXI. Lād-malik Turkomān.
(? ) Mistress of the Fort; Pers. lād, fortress, and Ar. malik, possessor, ruler.

Wife of (1) Tāj Khān Sarangkhānī and (2) of Shīr Khān Sūr (935H., 1528-29).
B. & H., II. 131, 132, and authorities there cited by Mr. Erskine.

CXII. Lāl-shād Khānam Chaghatāī Mughal.
Perhaps, with a lip like the gleam of a ruby; Pers. lāl, ruby, and shād, gleam, happy.

Eldest daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Khān Chaghatāī and of a 'slave' (amm-i-wald).
'Although she was outside the circle of distinction, she was finally married to Muḥammad Amīr Mīrzā Dughlāt.'
CXIII. Latifa-sultan āghācha.

Of pre-eminent delicacy or gentleness; Ar. latifa, delicate, and a jest, and Ar. sultan, sway.

Čhār-shambihī, a Wednesday wife, of Sultan Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāyqrā; mother of Abū’l-Ḥasan and of Muḥammad Muḥṣin (kepek, round-shouldered).

The Ḥabību-s-siyār says she was a relation of Jahān-shāh (? Turkomān or Barlās). She was dead before 912H. (1506).

Mems., 179, 183.

CXIV. Latīf Begam Duladāī Barlās.

Grand-daughter of Aḥmad Ḥāji Beg; wife (1) of Sultan Aḥmad Mīrzā Mīrūn-shāhī; (2) of Ḥamza Sultan Uzbeg, and by him mother of three sons who fell into Bābar’s hands at Ḥiṣār, and were released by him.

Both her grandfather Aḥmad and his paternal uncle, Janī Beg Duladāt, were amirs of her first husband.

Mems., 23.

CXV. Māḥ-afroz Begam.

The princess who outshines the moon; Pers. māḥ, moon, and afroz, dazzling, illuminating.

She was a wife of Kāmrān and mother of Ḥāji Begam. Two of Kāmrān’s wives are not known by their personal names, Hazāra Begam and the daughter of Uncle ‘Alī Mīrzā Begchik. Māḥ-afroz may be one of these.

Gul-badan, 646.

CXVI. Māḥam anaga.

Nurse of Akbar; wife of Nadīm kūka; mother of Bāqī and Adham kūkas. Cf. Bābū āghā. Much of her story is given in the Introduction to this volume.
CXVII. Māhām Begam: ākā and ākām (lady and my lady).

The word Māhām is explained by Mr. Erskine (who did not know Gul-badan’s book) as Bābar’s name of endearment for his favourite wife, and as meaning ‘my moon.’ Mr. Schuyler also translates it by the same words. He says that a woman who was shot for political offences in Bukhārā was known as ‘My moon (Māhām) of Keninghez.’

But many Māhāms are chronicled, and not only Bābar gives the name to Humāyūn’s mother; Gul-badan speaks frequently of ‘my lady who was Māhām Begam,’ and Māhām seems to be her personal name. It is used at least once as a man’s. (Akbar-nāma, I. 320, Māhām ‘Alī Qulī Khān.)

Whether māhām is to be classed with sultānam, khānam, begam, shāham, I am unable to say.

Sir Douglas Forsyth (Mission to Yarkand, 84) translates khānam and begam by my lord and my ehtef. But neither is a domestic word; both are in common use in the sources to designate, for general readers, the wives or daughters of khāns and begs, or princes. Sultānam also is a common title, and from Gul-badan’s use of it does not appear to be a personal name, but to answer to sultān as khānam to khān, etc.

Against reading khānam as my lady, with a sense of possession or admission of superiority (as is done by Sir Douglas Forsyth), there are the Türkī words formed from it, viz., khānam-ālī, honeysuckle, and khānam-buíjakī, ladybird. Shāham, which has the appearance of being formed from shāh like the others by the suffix am or im, is used both for man and woman. Shiram occurs as a man’s name.

Māhām was a wife of whom it was said that she was to Bābar what ‘Ayisha was to Muḥhammad, and she was Humāyūn’s mother. Gul-badan mentions her often, yet no one of the numerous sources I have consulted, sets down her family or the name of her father.

At one time it appeared to me probable that she was a Begchik Mughal, because Bābar calls Yādgār Begchik, ḫaghaī when speaking of him in connection with Humāyūn. Further consideration led to the abandonment of the theory.

Uncle Yādgār, Uncle ‘Alī, and Uncle Ibrāhīm (Chapūk, slashed-face) are named as being three of the eight brothers or half-brothers of Gul-rukh, the mother
of Kämran; and Begā (Haji) Bēgam is the daughter of Uncle Yadgār.

Amongst these eight Begchiks I do not find one named Uncle Muhammad 'Ali, and there is a good deal to lead one to regard a certain Khwāja Muhammad 'Ali tāghā as being Māham's brother.

He was associated with Khost, and it is on record that Humāyūn visited his maternal grandparents (nanahā) in Khost. The Begchiks do not seem to have been connected with Khost. Babar speaks frequently of Khwāja Muḥammad 'Ali as being employed in the government of Khost (925H.); as coming from Khost for orders, etc., and the mīr-zādas of Khost also are recorded as visiting the court. One of Māham's children was born in Khost.

Babar frequently mentions an 'Abdu-l-malūk Khostī, and he may be a connection of Māham. He, however, appears as Khostī, Khvastī, Qastī, Qūrchī, Qūrchīn, and without a more complete good Turkī text no opinion can be formed as to his identity.

Gul-badan says that Ākā (Māham) was related to the owners of the New Year's Garden in Kābul, and this was made by Ulugh Beg Kābulī Mīrān-shāhī.

Abūl-faṣl says Māham was of a noble Khurāsān family, related to Sulṭān Husain Mirzā (Bāyqrā), and, like Ḧamīda-bānū Begam, was of the line of Shaikh Aḥmad Jāmī (az dišman-i-aʿyān wa ashrāf-i-Khurāsān and, wa ba Sulṭān Husain Mirzā nisbat-i-khwesh dārand. Perhaps nisbat-i-khwesh implies blood-relationship on the father's side.

Gul-badan speaks of Māham's Mughal servants, but a Chaghataī, a Begchik, a Qūrchīn is also a Mughal, and Babar often sinks the divisional tribe-name in the general one, Mughal (e.g., Mem. 9 and 21).

Some considerations suggest that Māham was a Dughlāt Mughal, and of the family of 'Abdu-l-qadīs, but no valid opinion can be formed until a text as good as the Elphinston is available for guidance.
Bābar married Māhām in Harât when he visited that city after Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā's death, and in 912H. (1506). Humāyūn was born on March 6, 1508 (Zū'1-qa‘da 4th, 913H.). Four other children were born to her, and all died in infancy. They were Bār-bul, Mīhr-jahān, Isān-daulat and Fārūq.

The events of her career are detailed in the Introduction to this volume and in Gul-badan Begam's book.

Mems., 250, 405, 412, 423, 428 n.
Gul-badan, 4a, 6b, 7a, 8b, 11b, 13b, 14b, 16a, 16b, 17a, 18b, 21a and b, 22a and b, 23a and b, 24b.
Turkistān, Schuyler, 95 ff.

CXVIII. Māhām Kābulī. (No. 81.)

At Hindāl's marriage feast.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CXIX. Māhām Khānam Chaghatāī Mughal.

Second daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Khān Chaghatāī and full-sister of Mānsūr Khān. Their mother was Ṣāḥib-daulat Dughlāt, sister of Mīr Jabār Bardī Dughlāt. Māhām married Buīlāsh Khān Uzbeg Kazāk, son of Awīq.

Ḥaidar Mīrzā names her as a hostage given, with her mother, by her brother Mānsūr to his half-brother Sa‘īd at a time of their meeting in 1516. She had two other full-brothers, Bābājāk and Shāh Shaikh Muḥammad.


CXX. Māh Begam Qībchāq Mughal.

The moon princess; Pers. māh, moon.

Daughter of Sultān Wais Qībchāq Mughal and sister of Ḥaram Begam; wife of Kāmrān Mīrzā.

Gul badan, 64b.
CXXI. Māh-chachaq Khalīfa.

She is mentioned by Bāyazīd as interceding for him with Ḥamīda-bānū. She may be a servant (khalīfa).

J. R. A. S., October, 1898, art. Bāyazīd biyāt, H. Beveridge p. 16.

CXXII. Māh-chuchak Begam Arghūn, Ḥājī Begam.

The word chuchak presents difficulties. Ilminsky writes chūchūq; Bāyazīd, chachaq; Gul-bādan, chūchak and jūjak; the Memoirs, chuchak. Mr. Blochmann and Mr. Lowe transliterate, jūjak. There is a Turkī word jūjūq, but its meaning of sweet-savoured is less appropriate for a woman's name than a word which, spite of vowel variation it seems safer to take from the Persian; viz. chachak, a rose, and chachak, chucJiuk, a lovely cheek, a mole.

Daughter of Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm Arghūn and of Bibī Zarīf Khātūn; wife (1) of Bābār's kūkaltāsh Qāsim; (2) of Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn of Sind (died 963H.); (3) of 'Īsā Tarkhān Arghūn of Tatta and Sind.

By Qāsim, she was mother of Nāhīd Begam and by Shāh Ḥasan of his only child, Chūchak or Māh-chuchak, Kāmran's wife.

She had an interesting story which Mr. Erskine tells at length. (B. & H., I. 348 et seq.)

On the death of 'Īsā (975H.) his son and successor, Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān, who was a madman, ill-treated Mah-chuchak and Nāhīd who was then visiting her. This led to a plot against him, but in the end Māh-chuchak was imprisoned by him and starved to death. (Cf. s.n. Nāhīd.)

Mems., 233.
B. & H., I. 348 et seg.,
Tarikh-i-sind, Mir Ma'sūm, in the account of Shāh Ḥasan's family.
Ain-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 420.
Ilminsky, 273.
XXIII. Māh-chūchak Begam Arghūn.

Daughter of Shāh Ḣasan and Māh-chūchak Arghūn and her father's only child; wife of Kāmrān; married 953H. (1546). Her wifely fidelity is commemorated by the historians. She went with Kāmrān to Makka after his blinding, and attended him until his death, October 5th, 1557. She survived him seven months.

Tārīkh-i-sīnd, Mīr Maʿṣūm, in the account of Shāh Ḣasan's family.

CXXIV. Māh-chūchak Begam.

Sister of Bārām Oγhlān and of Farīdūn Kānh Kābulī.

She married Humāyūn in 1546. She had two sons, Muḥammad Hakīm (born 960H.—1553) and Fārrūkh-fāl. Gul-badan says she had four daughters and then, with discrepancy frequently found in her writings, names three: Bakht-nisā, Sakīna-bānū, and Aμīn-bānū. The name of the best-known of her girls, Fakhru-n-nisā', is omitted.

Māh-chūchak's story is told by her sister-in-law, in the Introduction of this volume, by Mr. Blochmann and by several Persian writers.

She was murdered by Shāh Abūl-maʿāli in Kābul in 1564.


CXXV. Makhdūma āghā. (No. 59.)

The Lady āghā; A.: makhdūma, lady, mistress.

Wife of Hindū Beg.

Gul-badan, 26a.
CXXVI. Makhdūma Begam (Qarā-gūz).

Wife of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrān-shāhī; mother of Ruqaiya, a posthumous child; she was married at the end of 'Umar's days; she was tenderly beloved, and to flatter him her descent was derived from his uncle, Manūchahr Mīrān-shāhī.

Mems., 10, 14.

CXXVII. Makhdūma-jahān.

The mistress of the world; Ar. makhdūma, mistress, and Pers. jahān, world.

Mother of Sulṭān Bahādūr Gujrātī.

B. & H., II. 96.

CXXVIII. Makhdūma Qāluchī.

A wife of Sa'īd Khān Chaghatāī; a 'tribes-woman'; mother of Rashid; sister of Suqār Bahādūr Qāluchī.


CXXIX. Makhdūma Khānam.

The Lady Khānam; Ar. makhdūma, lady, mistress.

Daughter of Shīr 'Alī Khān Chaghatāī Mughal; sister of Wais Khān; wife of Amāsānji Taishi Qālīmāq; mother of Qadīr, Ibrāhīm, and Ilyās.

Her marriage was a ransom for her brother Wais of whom it was commonly reported that he was routed sixty times by the Qālīmāqs. On her marriage, Wais made Amāsānji become a Musalmān, and Makhdūma continued the work of her husband's conversion and that of his tribe.

She named one of her daughters Karīm Bardi in affection and respect for the Dughlāt amīr of this name.

Mems., 409.
CXXX. Makhdūma-sultān Begam.

Daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrza Mīrān-shāhī and Zuhra Begi āghā Uzbeg; elder sister of Sultān 'Ali Mīrzā. 'She is now in Badakhshān.' (Mems., 30.) The 'now' may be in the late twenties of 1500, and she may have been with Mīrzā Khān (Wais Mīrān-shāhī).

Mems., 30.

CXXXI. Makhfī.

Hid, concealed.

This is the poetical name (takhallus) of Salīma-sultān Begam Chaqānīānī, Nūr-jahān Begam, and Zibu-n-nisā, a daughter of Aurang-zīb.

CXXXII. Malika-jahān.

The world's queen; Ar. malika, queen, and Pers. jahān, world.

Elliot and Dawson, V. 81, 87, 88.

CXXXIII. Maṣūma-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

The very chaste princess; Ar. maṣūm, chaste, innocent, and sultān, sway, pre-eminence.

Fifth and youngest daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī. Her mother was Habība-sultān Begam Arghūn. She married Bābar (her first cousin) in 913H. (1507), and from his account of the affair it was a love-match on both sides. She was half-sister of 'Āyisha, Bābar's first wife. She died in child-bed, and her infant received her name.

Gul-badan, 6b.
Mems., 22, 208, 225, 231, 429 Supplement.

CXXXIV. Maṣūma-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 43.)

Daughter of Bābar and Maṣūma; wife of Muḥammad-zamān Mīrzā Bāyqrā.

Gul-badan, 6b, 23a, 25b, 29b.
Akbār-nāma, s.n..
Mems., 22, 395, 429 Supplement.
CXXXV. Maywa-jān.

Fruit of life; Pers. mayva, fruit, and jān, life.

Daughter of Khazang yasaḏwal and a servant of Gul-badan Begam; an inferior wife of Humāyūn.

Gul-badan, 21b, 22a, 30a.

CXXXVI. Mihr-angez Begam. (No. 29.)

The princess who commands affection; Pers. mihr, affection, and angez, commanding, raising.

Daughter of Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāygra; grand-daughter of Sultan Husain Bāygra and Khadija.

She was accomplished after the fashion of gentlemen-at-arms and she played polo.

She was married by ’Ubaidu-l-lāh Uzbeg when Harāt was taken by Shaibānī (913H., June, 1507).

She was at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Gul-badan, 24b.
Hābibu-s-siyār, 397 et seq.

CXXXVII. Mihr-bānū Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (? No. 27.)

The beloved; Pers. mihr, affection, and bānū, possessing.


Gul-badan mentions a Mihr-liq Begam (No. 27,) who was a paternal aunt of Humāyūn, as being at the Mystic Feast. This may be Mihr-bānū. No aunt named Mihr-liq is mentioned elsewhere, and liq and bānū have the same sense.

Gul-badan, 25a.
Mems., 10.

CXXXVIII. Mihr-bānū Khānam.

I think she is a relative of Bābar, and she may be the daughter of 'Umar Shaikh and Umīd, and thus Bābar's half-sister. (See infra.) From her title of Khānam,
she is very possibly a Chaghatâi on her mother's side (Umîd was an Andijânî), or the style is due to her marriage with a khan. She appears to have married a man of high rank; perhaps Kûchûm (Qûch-kunji) Khan who was Khâqân of his tribe from 1510 to 1530, or his son and successor (ruled from 1530 to 1533). She had a son Pulâd whom Bâbar mentions as fighting with 'Qûch-kunji' and his son Abû-sa'îd Uzbeg at Jâm (1528).

The Qûch-kunji was the tribe of Isân-daulat.

Kûchûm, Abû-sa'îd, Mihr-bânû, and Pulâd sent ambassadors and messengers to Bâbar in the same year, and Bâbar mentions his return gifts with quaint particularity. The envoys were entertained at a feast by him on December 12th, 1528 (935H.).

Mems., 10, 390, 395, 397, 399.
Muḥammadan Dynasties, Stanley Lane-Poole, 278.

CXXXIX. Mihr-jâhân or -jân Begam Mirân-shâhî.

Sun of the world or of life; Pers. mihr, sun, and jâhân, world, or jân, life, soul.

Daughter of Bâbar and Mâham; born at Khost; died an infant.

Gul-badan, 66.

CXL. Mihr-nigar Khânam Chaghatâi Mughal.

The image of affection, or a very sun.

Eldest daughter of Yûnas Khan Chaghatâi and Isân-daulat (Qûchin, Kunji); born cir. 860H. (1455-56); wife of Sulţân Aḥmad Mirzâ Mirân-shâhî; first cousin of Bâbar.

In 905H. (early in July, 1500) she was captured by Shaibânî and married by him. In 906H. (1500-1) she was divorced when he wished to marry Khân-zâda, her niece. She then stayed awhile in Samarqand. In 907H. (1501-2) she went to Tâshkand and joined
the large family party which assembled there. (Mems. 99.) In 911H. (middle of 1505) she came to Kābul with other kinsfolk, soon after the death of her grandmother (Isān) and of her father, and during the ceremonial mourning of Bābar for his mother. "Our grief broke out afresh," he writes.

Mīrzā Haidar gives a pleasant account of the welcome she accorded her generous and kindly nephew Bābar in 912H. (1506-7), when he put down Khān Mīrzā's (Wais) rebellion in Kābul: "The Emperor leapt up and embraced his beloved aunt with every manifestation of affection. The khānam said to him: "Your children, wives, and household are longing to see you. I give thanks that I have been permitted to see you again. Rise up and go to your family in the castle. I too am going thither."

In 913H. (1507), when Khān Mīrzā set out for Badakhshan with his mother, Shāh Begam, to try his fortunes in her father's ancient lands, Mihr-nigār also 'took a fancy to go. It would have been better and more becoming,' writes Bābar, 'for her to remain with me. I was her nearest relation. But however much I dissuaded her, she continued obstinate and also set out for Badakhshan.

Mihr-nigār rued her self-will. She and Shāh Begam were captured on their way to Qila'-zafar by one of Abū-bakr Dughlat's 'marauding bands,' and 'in the prisons of that wretched miscreant they departed from this perishable world.'


CXLI. Mingli-bī āghācha Uzbeg.

A low-born wife (ghūncha-chī) of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāyqrā. The Ḥabibu-s-siyār calls her a Turk and a purchased slave (mamlūqa) of Shahr-bānū Begam
Mirān-shāhī who brought her when she herself married Sultan Ḥusain, and presented her to him.

She was mother of three sons: Abū-tūrāb, Muḥammad Ḥusain, and Farīdūn Ḥusain; and of two daughters: Bairām (or Maryam) and Fāṭima.

Mems., 181, 182, 183.

Hablū-s-siyār (lith. ed.), 327 et seq..

CXLII. Ming-liq kūkaltāsh.

She escaped from Samarqand with Bābar’s mother on its capture by Shaibānī in 907H. (1501).

Mems., 98.

CXLIII. Mubārīka Bībī; Afghānī āghācha. (No. 56.)

Ar. mubārīka, blessed, fortunate.

She was a daughter of Shāh Mansūr Yūsufzai, and was married by Bābar at Kehrāj on January 30th, 1519 (Muḥarram 28th, 925H.). The alliance was the sign and seal of amity between him and her tribe. A charming account of her and her marriage is given in the Tārīkh-i-hāfīz-i-raḥmat-khānī, and Mr. Beveridge has translated it in full under the title ‘An Afgān Legend,’ so that it need not be reproduced here.

Gul-badan never gives the name Mubārīka (Blessed Damozel) as that of the Afgān lady (Afghānī āghācha) whom she so frequently and pleasantly mentions. Ḥafīz Muḥammad (l.c.) says that Mubārīka was much beloved by Bābar, and this is borne out by the fact that she was one of the small and select party of ladies who were the first to join him in India. She went there, it is safe to infer, with Māham and Gul-badan in 1529.

She bore no child, and this misfortune Ḥafīz Muḥammad attributes to the envy of other wives who administered drugs to deprive her of motherhood and weaken her husband’s affection.

She died early in Akbar’s reign.
A brother of Mubarika, named Mir Jamāl, accompanied Bābar to Hindustān in 1525, and rose to high office under Humāyūn and Akbar. Hindāl had a favourite follower of this name who passed, on his death, into Akbar's service. He may well be the Yūsufzai.

Gul-badan, 8a, 25b, 30a, 35a, 38a, 73b.
Mems., 250, 250 n., 251.
Asiatic Quarterly Review, April, 1901, art. An Afgān Legend, H. Beveridge.

(Mughal Khānam, 'Ayisha, q.v.)

CXLIV. Muḥibb-sultān.
The very loving khānam; Ar. muḥībb, a lover, one who loves, and sultān, pre-eminence.
Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqrā and a 'handmaid' (ghüncha-chī).
Mems., 30.

CXLV. Muḥibb-sultān Khānam Chaghataī Mughal. (No. 20.)
Third daughter of Sultān Aḥmad Khān Chaghataī; wife of Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt.
Gul-badan, 11a, 24b.

CXLVI. Muḥtarima Khānam Chaghataī Mughal.
The honoured khānam; Ar. muḥtarim, respected, honoured.
Daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sultān Kāshgharī Chaghataī, and Khadija Sultān Chaghataī; wife (1) of Kāmrān, (2) of Ibrāhim Mīrān-shāhi, the son of Sulaimān and Ḥaram.

1 There is some error here in the translation, as its statements do not agree with known facts.
She is occasionally spoken of simply as 'Khānam.'

Gul-badan, 62b.
Akbar-nāma, s.n.
Ain-i-akbari, Blochmann, s.n.
Cf. Introduction.

CXLVII. Munauwar Sultan Begam Bāyqrā.
The illuminated princess; Ar. munauwar, bright illuminated.

Daughter of Sultan Husain Mīrzā Bāyqrā and Bābā āghācha; wife of Sayyid Mīrzā of Andekhud who appears also to have married her niece. She was famed for her beauty. The Memoirs and Ilminsky’s text do not give her name, and I have found it in the Ḥabību-s-siyr. From this same work is derived the information that Sayyid Mīrzā is a name given to a son of Ulugh Bēg Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī.

Mems., 182.
Ḥabību-s-siyr, 327 et seq.

CXLVIII. Nāḥid Begam. (No. 54.)

Pers. Nāḥid, the name of the mother of Alexander; a name for the planet Venus, etc..

Daughter of Māh-chūchak Arghūn by her marriage as a captive of Bābar, with his foster-brother Qāsim; wife of Muḥibb-‘alī Bārlās.

When her mother, resenting her position in a misalliance, ran away, Nāḥid, then eighteen months old, remained in Kābul.

When her mother was imprisoned in Sind by Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān, Nāḥid escaped to Bhakkar, and was protected, till her return to Akbar’s court, by Sultan Maḥmūd Bhakkarī (975H.).

She was at Hindāl’s wedding feast. Much of her story is contained in the Introduction of this volume.

Gul-badan, 4a, 26a.
Tārīkh-i-sind, Mīr Ma’ṣūm.
Bādshāh-nīma s.n. (fully used by Blochmann).
Ain-i-akbarī, Blochmann, s.n.
CXLIX. Nār-gul āghācha. (No. 58.)

(?) Red as a rose, pomegranate-red. For nār see infra. Pers. gul, a rose.

She was perhaps one of two Circassian slaves, of whom Gul-nār may be the other and who were sent to Bābar by Ṭahmāsp in 1526.

Mems., 347.
Gul-badan, 25b, 35a, 38a.

CL. Nār-sulṭān āghā. (No. 77.)

Presumably Pers. nār, a pomegranate; but it might be Ar. nār, advice, counsel, or even fire, and sulṭān, pre-eminence, a high degree of what is expressed by the first word of the compound name.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CLI. Nīgār āghā. (No. 76.)

Pers. nigār, a mistress, a sweetheart.

Mother of Mughal Beg.

Gul-badan, 26a.

CLII. Nizhād-sulṭān Begam Bāyqrā. The princess of highly distinguished race; Pers. nizhād, family, high-born; Ar. sulṭān, pre-eminence.

Eldest daughter of Sulṭān Husain Mirzā Bāyqrā and Bābā āghācha; wife of Sikandar Mirzā, son of Bāyqrā Mirzā who was her father's elder brother.

Mems., 182.
Hābibu-s-siyār, 387 et seq.

CLIII. Pāpā (? Bābā) āghācha.

Mr. Erskine writes Papa, and Ilminsky, perhaps following him, Pāpā. Bābā—i.e., darling—would seem a more fitting name for one who is said to have been much beloved.

She was a low-born wife of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā Bāyqrā and foster-sister of Āfaq Begam. The mirzā 'saw her and liked her,' and she became mother of seven of his children, i.e., four sons, Muḥammad
Ma'süm, Farrukh Husain, Ibn Husain, Ibrāhim Husain; of three daughters, Nizhād-sultan, Sa'ādat-bakht, and a third whose name Bābar does not give.

Mems., 181, 182, 183.

CLIV. Pāshā Begam Bahārlū Turkomān of the Black Sheep.

(?) Turki Pāshā, a lord, or Pers. pecha, chief, before, The Ma′āṣir-i-raḥimi writes pāshā.

Daughter of 'Ali-shakr Beg Bahārlū; wife (1) of Muḥammadī Mīrzā of the Black Sheep; (2) in 873H. (1468-69) of Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī; mother by Maḥmūd of three daughters and one son, Bayasanghar (born 882H.).

Bābar does not give the name of any one of the three girls, nor does he mention that one of them was a wife of his own. One married Malik Muḥammad Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī. The Ma′āṣir-i-raḥimi supplies the information that another was Ṣalḥa-sultān Begam and that she had a daughter by Bābar whose name was Gul-rukh; that Gul-rukh married Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Chaqānīānī, and had by him Salīma-sultān Begam. Abū'1-fazl says that a daughter of Pāshā by Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā was married to Khwāja Ḥasan Khwāja-zāda, and that on account of this connection Firdaus-makānī (Bābar) married Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn to his own daughter, Gul-barg Begam, and that Salīma-sultān Begam was the issue of this marriage.

(There are difficulties connected with the account here given of Ṣalḥa which are set forth under the name of her daughter, Salīma-sultān.)

Pāshā Begam was of the same family as Bairām Khān. (Cf. genealogical table s.n. Salīma-sultān.)

CLV. PAYANDA-SULTAN BEGAM MIRÂN-SHÂHÎ.

(?) Of fixed pre-eminence; Pers. payanda, firm, stable, and Ar. sulțân, pre-eminence.

Daughter of Abû-sa‘îd Sultan Mirzá Mîrân-shâhî; paternal aunt of Bâbâr; wife of Sultan Husain Mirzá Bâygrâ; sister of Shahr-bânû whom Sultan Husain Mirzá divorced; mother of ʿHaider Mirzâ Bâygrâ; of Āq, Kíchak, Begâ, and Āghâ Begams.

When the Uzbegs took Khurasân, 913H. (1507-8), she went to 'Irâq, where 'she died in distress.'

Mems., 30, 180, 181, 182, 204, 208 and n., 223.
Gul-badan, 25a (here a Muḥammad is inserted after Payanda in the name).

CLVI. QADIR KHÂNAM QÂLMÂQ.

Daughter of Amâsânji Taishî Qâlmâq and Makhdûma Khânam Chaghatâî.


CLVII. QARÂ-GÛZ BEGAM BÂYGRÂ.

The black-eyed princess. Qarâ-gûz is a sobriquet, and I have not found her personal name.

Daughter of Sultan Husain Mirzá Bâygrâ and Payanda-sultan Begam Mîrân-shâhî; wife of Naṣîr Mirzâ, Bâbâr's half-brother.

Mems., 181.

(Qarâ-gûz Begam, Rabî‘a, q.v.)

(Qarâ-gûz Begam, Makhdûma, q.v.)

CLVIII. QÛTÛQ ĀGHÂCHA AND BEGAM.

Ilminsky writes Qûtûq; Mems., Katak.

Foster-sister of Terkhân Begam; wife of Sultan Ahmad Mirzâ Mîrân-shâhî; mother of four daughters: (1) Rabî‘a (Qarâ-gûz), (2) Saliqa (Āq), 'Ayisha (wife of Bâbâr, (4) Sultanam.

She was married 'for love,' and Ahmad was 'pro-
digiously attached’ to her. She drank wine; her co-wives were neglected from fear of her. At length her husband put her to death, and ‘delivered himself from his reproach.’

Mems., 22.

CLIX. Qūt-liq (Qutluq) Khānam Chaghatāī Mughal.

(?) The image of happiness; from Turkī qūļo, happy, and liq, endowed with.
Daughter of Sultan Maḥmūd Khān Chaghatāī; wife of Jānī Beg Khān Uzbeg.
Her marriage was a sequel of victory by Shaibāni over her father. Cf. ‘Āyisha (her sister).


CLX. Qūt-liq-nigār Khānam Chaghatāī Mughal.

Second daughter of Yūnas Khān Chaghatāī and Isān-daulat Qūchīn; chief wife of ‘Umar-shaikh Mīrān-shāhī; half-sister of Maḥmūd and Aḥmad Khāns; mother of Khān-zāda and Bābar.
She accompanied her son in most of his wars and expeditions, and lived to see him master of Kābul. She died in Muḥarram, 911H. (June, 1505).

Mems., 10, 11, 12, 80, 90, 94, 98, 99, 104, 105, 134, 169.
Gul-badan, 4a.
Tār. Rash., s.n.
Akbar-nāma, s.n.

CLXI. Rabī’a-sultān Begam Bāygrā and Bedka Begam Bāygrā.

These two names may indicate the same person.
The Memoirs (176 and 177) say that Sultan Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāygrā had two full-sisters, Āka and Bedka, and that Bedka married Aḥmad Ḥāji Tarkhān, and had two sons who served Sultan Ḥusain. These statements are contained also in the Turki texts (B.M. Add. 26,324, and Ilminsky), and also in a considerable number of good Persian texts in the British Museum and Bodleian.
There is, however, this difference of statement. The Turkī texts write: Bedka Begam ham mīrzā ninak aīkā-chī sī aūtī. P. de C. translates: était aussi l'aïnée du mīrzā. The Persian texts have: Bedka Begam ki khwāhar-i-khurd mīrzā būd; and from this Mr. Erskine translates: ... the mīrzā's younger sister.

The Turkī, it should be observed, uses of Ākā precisely the same word as of Bedka, aīkā-chī sī.

It may be right to regard Bedka as the younger of the two sisters of the mīrzā, and not as the sister younger than the mīrzā.

To pass now to what has led me to make a tentative identification of Bedka with Rabī'ā-sulṭān.

The Memoirs (181) mention Rabī'ā-sulṭān as the younger sister of the mīrzā (Ḥusain) and as having two sons, Bābār and Murād who were given in marriage to two daughters of Ḥusain.

The Turkī texts do not describe Rabī'ā-sulṭān in any way, or say that she was Ḥusain's sister. They simply mention the marriages.

The Persian texts say of Ḥusain's two daughters (Bega and Āghā): ba pisarān-i-khwāhar-i-khurd-i-khudrā Rabī'ā-sulṭān Begam, Bābār Mīrzā wa Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā, dādā būdand.

The Persian texts which state that Rabī'ā-sulṭān was Ḥusain's own sister, have greater authority than most translations can claim for such additional information as is here given, because the Persian translation of the Tūzūk-i-bābarī was made in a court circle and at a date when such additional statements were likely to be known to many living persons.

Ḥusain may have had a younger and half-sister, but the words in the Persian texts which are used of Rabī'ā-sulṭān are those used of Bedka, and they are more applicable to a full than a half sister.

The Āka of the passage in which Bedka is mentioned has no personal name recorded. Bedka may be a word of the same class as āka, i.e., a title or
sobriquet, and Rabi'a-sultan may be the personal name of Bedka. Perhaps the word Bedka is Bega.

The facts of Bedka's descent are as follows: she was a daughter of Mansur Mirza Bayqra and of Firoza Begam Miran-shahi, and thus doubly a Timurid. She was full-sister of Bayqra and Husain Mirzas and of Aka Begam. She married Ahmad Khan Hajji Tarkhan, and had two sons whose names (if Bedka be Rabi'a-sultan) were Babar and Murad and who married two of her nieces, Bega and Agha.

Mems., 176, 177, 181.
Il'minsky, 203, 204, 208.
B.M. Turki Add. 26, 234, f. 48a and b; 58.
Other texts under 911H..

CLXII. Rabi'a-sultan Begam (Qara-guz) Miran-shahi.

Daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza Miran-shahi and Qutuq (Katak) âghâcha (Begam); wife (1) of Sultan Mahmud Khan Chaghatatâi and mother of Babâ Sultan, and (2) of Jâni Beg Uzbek who married her after the murder of her father and her son by his cousin Shaibâni in 914H. (1508).

Mems., 22.

CLXIII. Rajab-sultan Miran-shahi.

Ar. rajab, fearing, worshipping. Sultan may here be a title.

Daughter of Sultan Mahmud Mirza and a concubine (ghûncha-chî).

Mems., 30.

CLXIV. Ruqaiya Begam Miran-shahi.

Ruqaiya was the name of a daughter of Muhammed, and conveys the notion of bewitching or of being armed against spells.

Daughter of Hindâl; first wife of Akbar; she died Jumâda I. 7th, 1035H. (January 19th, 1626), at the age of eighty-four. She had no children of her own, and she brought up Shâh-jahân. Mihru-n-nisa' (Nûr-
jahān) lived ‘unnoticed and rejected’ with her after the death of Shīr-afkan.

Āin-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 309, 509.

CLXV. Ruqaiya-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

Daughter of ‘Umar Shaikh Mīrān-shāhī and Makhduṁa-sultān Begam (Qarā-gūz). She was a posthumous child. She fell into the hands of Jānī Beg Uzbeg, cir. 908-9H. (1502-4), and bore him ‘two or three’ sons who died young. ‘I have just received information that she has gone to the mercy of God.’ The date of this entry in the Memoirs is about 935H. (1528-9).

Mems., 10.

CLXVI. Saʿādat-bakht (Begam Sulṭān) Bāygrā.

Of happy fortune; Ar. saʿādat, happy, and Pers. bakht, fortune.

Daughter of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā Bāygrā and Papa (Bābā) āghācha. She was married to Sulṭān Maʿṣūd after the loss of his eyesight.

Mems., 182.

Hāhibu-s-siyār, 327 et seq.

CLXVII. Sāhib-daulat Begam Dughlāt.

The princess of good fortune; Ar. sāhib, enjoying, and daulat, fortune.

Sister of Mir Jabār Bardī Dughlāt; wife of Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān Chaghatāī; mother of Manṣūr, Bābājāk, Shāh Shaikh Muḥammad and Māham.


CLXVIII. Sakīna-bānū Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

The princess guardian of tranquillity; Ar. sakīna, tranquillity of mind, and Pers. bānū, keeper.

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māḥ-chūchak; wife of Shāh Ghāzī Khān, son of Naqīb Khān Qazwīnī, a personal friend of Akbar.

Gul-badan, 71a.

Blochmann, 435, 449.
CLXIX. Sālha-sultan Begam Mīrān-shāhī.
Cf. Salīma-sultan Chaqānīānī.

CLXX. Salīma-sultan Begam Chaqānīānī.

Daughter of Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Chaqānīānī and of a daughter of Bābar, as to whose name the sources ring changes upon the rose. She appears as Gul-rang (B. and H. s.n.), Gul-barg, Gul-rukh. As her mother was a full Turkomān or Turk by descent, it has occurred to me that she may have borne a Turki name, and that the various forms it assumes in the Persian may have their origin in this.

As to her maternal parentage there are difficulties. From the Maʿāsir-i-rahīmī, under 1024H., the following information is obtained. Pāshā Begam Bahārlū Turkomān married (873H., 1469) as her second husband, Sultān Maḥmūd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī. By him she had three daughters and one son: Bayasanghar (b. 882H., 1477). One daughter whose name was Sālha-sultan Begam, married Bābar and bore him a daughter, Gul-rukh (sic). Gul-rukh married Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Chaqānīānī, and their daughter was Salīma-sultan Begam who married first, Bairām Khān-i-khānān, and secondly, the Emperor Akbar.

Abūʾl-fażl (Bib. Ind. ed., II. 65) adds the particular that Firdaus makānī gave his daughter Gul-barg (sic), to Nūru-d-dīn because a daughter of Maḥmūd and Pāshā had been given to Nūru-d-dīn’s grandfather Khwāja Ḥasan, known as Khwāja-zāda Chaqānīānī. He also states that Salīma-sultan Begam was the issue of Gul-barg’s marriage.

In the Memoirs, as we have them, there is no mention of Sālha-sultan nor of Nūru-d-dīn’s marriage with a daughter of Bābar. Yet Abūʾl-fażl states that Firdaus-makānī arranged Gul-barg’s marriage. The first omission is the more remarkable because Bābar (Mems., 30) states that Pāshā had three daughters. He does not give their names, and specifies the
marriage of the eldest only. On the same page he
tells of his marriage with Sālḥa's half-sister Zainab
and of her death. The omission is remarkable and
appears to have no good ground, since he chronicles
his other Timūrid marriages. Of Pāshā's daughters
it may be noted here that one married Malik Muḥammad
Mīrān-shāhī, another Khwāja Hasan Chaqānīānī, and
the third, Bābar.

It appears to me tolerably clear that Bābar's marriage
with Sālḥa-sultān took place at a date which falls in a
gap of the Memoirs, i.e., from 1511 to 1519. This is
the period which contains the exile from Kābul after
the Mughal rebellion.

Not only does Bābar omit Sālḥa-sultān's name and
his marriage with her (Mems., 30), but Gul-badan is
also silent as to name, marriage and child of Sālḥa-
sultān. This silence is in every way remarkable. She
enumerates her father's children and gives their
mothers' names, and she enumerates some of his
wives in more places than one. From her lists a
Timūrid wife cannot have escaped, and especially
one whose child became the mother of Gul-badan's
associate Salima-sultān.

An explanation of Gul-badan's silence and also of a
part of Bābar's has suggested itself to me; it is con-
junctural merely and hypothetical. The absence of
mention of Sālḥa-sultān and of her child suggests that
she appears under another name in Gul-badan's list
of her father's children and their mothers. She may
be Gul-badan's own mother, Dil-dār Begam without
undue wrestling of known circumstantial witness.

The principal difficulty in the way of this identifi-
cation is Abū'l-fażl's statement that Nūru-d-dīn's
marriage was made by Fīrdaus-makānī, whereas Gul-
badan states that her father arranged two Chaghātāī
marriages for her sisters.

If we might read Jannat-āshyānī (Humāyūn) for
Fīrdaus-makānī much would fall into place; the
marriage with Nūru-d-din could be a re-marriage of Gul-chihra who was widowed in 1533, and of whose remarriage nothing is recorded until her brief political alliance with ‘Abbas Uzbek in 1549. It is probable that she remarried in the interval.

To pass on to recorded incidents of Salīma-sultan’s life:

There is an entry in Hindāl’s guest-list which may indicate her presence.

She accompanied Ḥamīda-bānū and Gul-badan to Hindūstān in 964 H. (1557), and she was married at Jalindhar shortly after Ṣafar 15th, 965 H. (middle of December, 1557) to Bairam Khān-i-khānān. It is said that the marriage excited great interest at Court. It united two streams of descent from ‘Alī-shukr Beg Bahārūī Turkomān. Salīma-sultan was a Timūrid through Bābar, one of her grandfathers, and through Maḥmūd, one of her great-grandfathers.

A few words must be said about her age at the time of her marriage, because the question has been raised through Jahāngīr’s statement that she died at the age of sixty in 1021 H., and commented upon by the Darbār-i-akbarī. If Jahāngīr gives her age correctly she must have been born in 961 H., and this would make her a child of five when she married Bairām, and needs her betrothal by her father to Bairām to date from babyhood.

The Darbār-i-akbarī says that it is clear from Jahāngīr’s statement of her age at death that she was married to Bairām etat. 5, and that her memory is thus cleared from the reproach of two marriages!

Whatever is concealed in Jahāngīr’s ‘sixty,’ nothing is said to indicate that he desired to bring Salīmasultan into the circle of Hindū propriety. He may have had the wish; he was a Hindū mother’s son. The comment of the modern author of the Darbār-i-
akbarī witnesses to the Hinduizing action to which Moslim custom and thought have submitted. Adult remarriage was no reproach to Islām in Salīma's day.

It does not, however, seem correct to accept Jahāngīr's statement that Salīma-sulṭān was sixty only at death. To have betrothed her as a baby and to have married her to a man of, at least, middle-age at five, is not in harmony with the Muḥammad custom of Humāyūn's day. Moreover, Jahāngīr himself speaks of her as married (kad-khudā) to Bairām. She is said by Abū'l-fażl to have been betrothed (nāmzād) by Humāyūn, and married (sipurdan) by Akbar to Bairām Khān.

Badāyuni's words indicate adult and not child marriage; sābiqā dar ḥabāla-i-Bairām Khān Khān-i-khānān būd, b'ad azān dākhil-i-haram-i-pādshāhī shūd.

After the murder of Bairām in 968H. Salīma-sulṭān was married by Akbar. She was probably a few years his senior.

In 983H. she made her pilgrimage with Gul-badan. Particulars of the expedition are given in the Introduction to this volume.

Her name appears in the histories as a reader, a poet who wrote under the pseudonym of makhfī, and as pleading with Akbar for Salīm's forgiveness.

Her death is chronicled by Jahāngīr who heard of it on Zu'l-qa'da 2nd, 1021H. (December 15th, 1612). He gives particulars of her birth and descent, and of her marriages; and he states that she was sixty at the time of her death. By his orders her body was laid in a garden which she herself had made.

Jahāngīr praises her both for her natural qualities and her acquirements. She creates an impression of herself as a charming and cultivated woman.

Gul-badan, (?)26a.
Akbar-nāma s.n.
Badāyuni, Lowe, 13, 216, 389.
Tūzūk-i-jahāngīrī, Sayyīd Ahmad, Aligarh, 113.
Āin-i-akbarī, Blochmann, s.n.
Darbār-i-akbarī, 736.
The genealogical table on the next page illustrates Salīma-sultān’s descent, and the following dates bear also upon the topic:

Pāshā married Māhmūd ... ... 873H.—1469.
Bayasanghar born ... ... 882H.—1477.
Māhmūd died ... ... 900H.—Jan. 1495
Bābār married Zainab, d. of Māhmūd ... 910H.—1504.
Zainab died ... ... 913H.—1507.
Sālha’s child, the wife of Nūrū-d-dīn, was not born in 911H.—1511, because she is not in the list of children who left Kābul with Bābār in that year. (Gul-badan, 7a.)

CLXXI. Salima Khānam Chaghatāī Mughal.
Daughter of Khizr Khwājā, but whether also of Gul-badan is not recorded.
She went with Gul-badan to Makka in 983H. (1575).
Ā’in-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 441.

CLXXII. Saliqa-sultān Begam (Āq Begam) Mīrān-shāhī.
(Ilminsky, 25, reads Sālha.) The princess of excellent disposition; Ar. sāliqa, of good disposition, and sultān, pre-eminence.
Daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī and Qūṭūq (Katak) Begam; wife of her cousin Mā’sūd. The marriage was announced to Bābār in 900H. (1494) with gifts of gold and silver, almonds, and pistachios. She was captured by Abū-bakr Dughlāt with Shāh Begam and Mihr-nigar Khānam.
Mems., 22, 27.

CLXXIII. Sāmiḥa Begam Barlās.
The gentle princess; Ar. sāmiḥ, gentle.
Mujāhid (who is named in the Tabaqât-i-akbarī as commander of 1,000, but is not in the Ā’in) was a son
**Genealogical Table of Salîma-Sultân Chaqânîânî.**

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<th>Black Sheep Turkomâns.</th>
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<td>Khwâja 'Alâ’u-d-dîn, first successor of Khwâja Naqshbandî.</td>
<td>'Âli-shukr Beg Bahârlû Turkomân.</td>
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<td>Khwâja Hasan 'attâr.</td>
<td>Pîr-Âli Bahârlû Turkomân.</td>
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<td>Sultan Mahmûd</td>
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<td>Khwâja Hasan, d.</td>
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of Muṣāhib Khān, son of Khwāja Kilān (Bābar’s friend).
Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 421, 533.

CLXXIV. Sarv-qad and Sarv-i-sahī.

Straight as a cypress; Pers. sarv, a cypress, and qad, form, or sahī, erect.

Sarv-i-sahī, to use Gul-badan’s word, was a singer and reciter. She belonged to the households both of Bābar and Humāyūn, and was subsequently married, with full nisbat, to Mu‘nim Khān-i-khanān.

She acted as go-between of Mu‘nim and Khān-i-zamān (‘Alī Quli Uzbeg-i-shaibānī) during the rebellion of the latter—probably in the tenth year of Akbar, and Bāyazīd calls her a reliable woman and the haram of the Khān-i-khanān. She sang on the way to Lamghān by moonlight in 958H. (1551); she was with Mu‘nim at the time of his death in Gaur (Ṣafar, 983H., 1575), and in Eajab of the same year accompanied Gul-badan to Makka.

Gul-badan, 82a (inserted in the translation after 73b).
Bāyazīd, I.O. MS., 122b, 147b.

CLXXV. Shād Begam Bāyqrā. (No. 28.)

Daughter of Ḥaidar Bāyqrā and Bega Mīrān-shāhī; wife of ʿAdil Sulṭān.

Gul-badan, 25a.
Mems., 180.

CLXXV (a). Shād Bībī.

Wife of Humāyūn; lost at Chausa.

Gul-badan, 33b.

CLXXVI. Shāham āghā.

(? ) My queen; from Pers. shāh, king, ruler.

Of the haram of Humāyūn. She went with Gul-badan Begam to Makka in 983H..

Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 441.
CLXXVII. Shāh Begam Badakhshī.

The princess of royal blood.

She was one of six daughters of Shāh Sultān Muḥammad, King of Badakhshān, the last of a long line of hereditary rulers of his country who claimed descent from Alexander of Macedon. Her mother was a sister of Sultān Sanjar Barlās.

She was given in marriage to Yūnas Khān Chaghataī and was the mother of Maḥmūd and Aḥmad Khāns and of Sultān-nīgār and Daulat Khānāms. She was widowed in 892H. (1487), and survived Yūnas more than twenty years.

She dwelt in Mughalīstān with her elder son, Maḥmūd, the then Khāqān of the Mughals, from the time of Yūnas’ death until about 911H. (1505-6). Then ‘base advisers provoked a quarrel between the mother and son—a son so obedient that he had never even mounted for a ride without her permission. . . . They [the base advisers] decided to send Shāh Begam to Shāhī Beg Khān to solicit a country for herself, because she found living in Mughalīstān distasteful. . . . Now, as the Begam was a very sensible woman, she went under this pretext, and thus left her son before those base advisers could bring about an open rupture, which would have caused endless scandal and reproach to herself. The rumour was that she had gone to entreat Shāhī Beg Khān while she was really enjoying in Samarqand the company of her children.’ (Tār. Rash, E. & R., 180.)

Shāhī Beg did not permit her to remain in Samarqand but banished her to Khurāsān. From Khurāsān she went with other connections and relations to Bābar in Kābul. They arrived early in 911H. (June, 1505), during the ceremonial mourning for Bābar’s mother, Shāh Begam’s stepdaughter. With Shāh Begam was Ḥaidar Mirzā’s father and also Bābar’s aunt, Mihr-nīgār. Ḥaidar says that Bābar gave the party a warm welcome and showed them all possible
honour; and that they spent some time in Kābul in the greatest ease and comfort.

Bābar’s kindness fell on ungrateful ground, since in the following year, 912H. (1506-7), Shāh Begam fomented a rebellion against him in favour of her grandson, Mīrzā Khān. Haidar says that during Bābar’s absence in Harāt her motherly love (it was grandmotherly) began to burn in her heart, and persuaded her that Bābar was dead, and that room was thus made for Mīrzā Khān. The story of Bābar’s magnanimity to her when he had put down the rising she had stirred, is well known and is detailed in the histories.

In 913H. (1507-8) she laid claim to Badakhshān, saying that it had been her family’s hereditary kingdom for 3,000 years; that though she, a woman, could not attain to sovereignty, her grandson would not be rejected. Bābar assented to her scheme, and she set off for Badakhshān, together with Mihr-nigar Khānam and Mīrzā Khān.

The latter went on in advance to Qila'-zafar. The ladies and their escort were at once attacked and plundered by robber bands in the employ of the ruler of Kāshghār, Abā-bakr Dughlāt, and were by them conveyed to him in Kāshghār. They were placed in confinement, and ‘in the prison of that wicked miscreant they departed from this perishable world’ (cir. 913H.).

Tār. Rash., E. & R., s.n.

CLXXVIII. Shāh Begam Termižī. (No. 24.)

Daughter of Fakhr-jahān Begam and of Mīr Alā’u-l-mulk Termižī. She may be ‘Kichak’ Begam, and if not, is her sister.

She was the mother of Dil-shād Begam. If she be
Kichak, she was the wife of Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain.  
(Cf. Kichak.)
She was at the Mystic Feast.
Gul-badan, 24b.

CLXXIX. Shāh Khānam. (No. 17.)
Daughter of Bādīʿu-l-jamāl Begam.
Gul-badan, 24b.

CLXXX. Shahr-bānū Begam Mīrān-shāhī.  
(?) Ar. shahr, the moon, the new moon.
Daughter of Sulton Abū-saʿīd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī;  
wife of Sulton Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāyqrā, and married to  
him before his accession in 873H. (March, 1469).
Bābar gives an entertaining detail about her married  
life. Once at Chekman her husband was engaged in  
a battle with her brother Maḥmūd. All his ladies  
extcept herself alighted from their litters and mounted  
on horseback, presumably for rapid flight if the day  
went against Ḥusain. Shahr-bānū, however, 'relying  
on her brother,' remained in her litter. This being  
reported to her husband, he divorced her and married  
her younger sister, Pāyanda-sultan.
Of her subsequent history nothing seems recorded.  
(Cf. Mīnglī-bī āghācha.)
Mems., 182.

CLXXXI. Shahr-bānū Begam Mīrān-shāhī. (No. 7.)
Third daughter of Umar Shaikhn Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī  
and Umīd Andijānī; half-sister of Bābar and eight  
years his junior; born cir. 1491; full-sister of Nāṣīr  
and Mihr-bānū; wife of Junaid Barlās (brother of  
Nīḡāmu-d-dīn ‘Alī Khalīfa); mother by him of Sanjar  
Mīrzā; widowed cir. 944H. (1537-38).
She seems to have gone to Sind with her nephew,
Yādgār-nāṣir Mīrzā, in 1540 and after the débacle in Hindustān, for when Yādgār-nāṣir had fled from Sind to Kāmrān in Qandahār (a traitor cast aside by his employer, Shāh Ḥusain Arghān), Kāmrān sent ambassadors to Shāh Ḥusain to request that the begam and her son might be returned to his charge. [Shahr-bānū was Kāmrān’s paternal (half)-aunt and full-aunt of Yādgār-nāṣir.]

She was at once started on her journey, but was insufficiently provided with necessaries for traversing the difficult desert tract which stretches towards the western mountain barrier of Sind. Numbers of her party perished before reaching Shāl (Quetta); and many died in that town from ‘malignant fever.’ Amongst its victims was Shahr-bānū, at the age of about fifty-one years.

Gul-badan, 24b.
Mems., 10.
Akbar-nāma, s.n.
B. & H., I. 526 and II. 258. (Here occur errors of statement, i.e., that Shahr-bānū was Yādgār-nāṣir’s wife and Kāmrān’s sister.)

CLXXXII. Shāh Sulṭān Begam.

(?) Wife of Abū-sa‘īd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī; mother of ‘Umar Shaikh Mīrzā.

The news of her death in Andijān reached Bābar in 907H. (1501).
Mems., 20, 99.

CLXXXIII. Shāh-zāda Begam and Sulṭānam Khānam

Safawi.

The daughter of kings.

Sister of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia. Her protection of the Emperor Ḥumāyūn during his sojourn in Persia is named by many of the historians.

Gul-badan, 58a, 58b.
CLXXXIV. Shāh-zāda Khānam Mīrān-shāhī.  

Daughter of Sulaimān Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī and Ḥaram Begam. She was betrothed to Humayūn in 958H. (1551), but the affair went no further.

B. & H., II. 397.  
Cf. appendix s.n. Ḥaram and Fāṭima.

CLXXXV. Sultānam Begam Bāyqrā.  

For meaning of Sultānam, cf. app. s.n. Māḥam.  

Daughter of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā Bāyqrā and Chūlī Begam Azāk; her father's eldest girl and her mother's only child. She married, first, her cousin Wais, son of her father's elder brother Bāyqrā, and, secondly, ‘Abdu-l-bāqī Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī. By her first marriage she had a son, Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā, and a daughter who married Isān-quli Shaibānī, younger brother of Yīlī-bārs Sultān. Through her son Muḥammad she was ancestress of those numerous rebel Bāyqrās whom history knows as ‘the mīrzās.’

When the Uzbegs took Harāt in 1507 (913H.) she went to Khwārizm, and there her daughter was married. On April 12th, 1519 (Rāḥ’ II. 12th, 925H.), Bābār records her arrival with her daughter in Kābul. He gave her the Garden of Retirement (Bāgh-i-khīlwat) for her residence, and waited upon her with the ceremony due to an elder sister. He bowed and she bowed; he advanced, they embraced; and having established this form of greeting, they kept to it.

Sultānam started from Kābul for India in 1527 with a grandson (her sons had six sons), but she died at the Indus and her body was taken back to Kābul for burial.

There are curious discrepancies of the texts in the passage about Sultānam which occurs at Mems., 181.

The first point to note is contained in the words: ‘Her elder brother gave her in marriage to Sultān
Wais Mīrzā, the son of Miāngī Bāyqrā Mīrzā.’ (Mems., 181.)

Barādar kilānash ba pisar miāngī Bāyqrā Mirzā Sultan Wais Mīrzā dāda būd. (Waqī‘ät-i-bābarī, Persian text, B.M. Or. 16,623, 123b.)

Āghā sī Bāyqrā Mirzā nīnak ortānchī oghali Sultan Wais Mīrzāgha chiqarib aidi. (Tūzūk-i-babarī or Bābar-nāma, Turkī text, B.M. Add. 26,324, f. 52b, and Ilminsky, 209.)

‘Son frère ainé l’avait donnée en mariage à Sultan Wais Mīrzā, fils cadet de Bāyqrā Mīrzā.’ (Pavet de Courteille, I. 375.)

Both the English and French versions make the elder brother of Sultānam give her in marriage. But she was an only child, and her father was living to act for her. The French version, here as in so many other places, appears to have relied upon Mr. Erskine. The Turki text appears to yield something more probable, i.e., ‘His elder brother, Bāyqrā Mīrza’s middle son, Sultan Wais Mīrzā. . . .’

Mr. Erskine has read miāngī as part of Bāyqrā’s name. Comparison with the Turkī makes appear as the more probable reading: ‘the middle son’—pisar-i-miāngī.

M. Pavet de Courteille’s fils cadet lets slip the notion of miyān. Redhouse gives for the ortānchī oghal of the Turki text, ‘the middle son out of an odd number’—e.g., the third out of five, the second of three, etc.

In the same passage the Memoirs have: ‘Sultānam Begam set out along with her grandson. . . .’ Here the Persian words ba hamīn tārīkh (Turkī, usahaan tārīkh) are omitted, with loss of precision, for they fix the date of her journey by conveying the information that it occurred at the time of her son’s appointment to the government of Kanauj, i.e., April, 1527.

Mems., 181, 190, 266. Habībū-s-siyār, 327 et seq.

Also the places mentioned in the notice above.
Daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza.

A Sultanam of this parentage is mentioned by Bābar (Mems., 22), by Ḥaīdar (E. & R., s.n.), and by Gulbadan (24b). These appear to be at least two, and perhaps are three women. Their record is as follows:

(1). Sultanam, fourth daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza. (Mems., 22.) She was the child of Qūṭūq (Katak) Begam. She married her cousin 'Alī, son of Mahmūd Mirzā. 'Ālī was murdered by Shaibānī (cf. s.n. Zuhra) in 906H. (July, 1500), and his widow was taken to wife by Shaibānī's son, Muḥammad Timūr. A third marriage is mentioned by Bābar, viz., to Mahdī Sultan. By this style the histories mention the Uzbek chief who was associated with Ḥamza (Khamza) Sultan. But this Mahdī was put to death by Bābar in 1511, and Timūr was living in 1512 (918H.). Either Sultanam was divorced, perhaps to make marriage with some other kinswoman and later captive legal; or Mahdī Sultan may be the father of 'Adil Sultan; or he may be Mahdī Muḥammad Khwāja.

(2). Sultanam, daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirzā, married Muḥammad Ḥusain Dughlāt in the autumn of 1503. She was given to her husband by Khusrau Shāh who describes her as daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirzā wa pāḍshāh-zāda-i-man, by which Mr. Ross has understood that she was of Khusrau's 'family.' There was a son, issue of this marriage and named Abdu-l-lāh.

It is difficult to regard No. 1 and No. 2 as one woman, both because of their marriage dates and of the circumstance that No. 1 was an Uzbek captive and No. 2 in Badakhshān. Bābar mentions no marriage of a Sultanam with Muḥammad Ḥusain Dughlāt. A surmise—it is nothing more—has occurred to me, namely: No. 2 was married to the Dughlāt mirzā shortly after the destruction of Tāshkend; Bābar's
wife 'Ayisha, third daughter of Sultan Ahmad Miran-shahī, had left Babar shortly before that disaster. She might be Sultanam No. 2.

(3). Sultanam, or Sulțanî, daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirzâ, was at the Mystic Feast in 1531. She is said to be the mother of Kilān Khān Begam. This title is not appropriate for the child of any of the marriages mentioned for No. 1 or No. 2. It is quite appropriate for the child of the marriage of Sultan Ahmad and Qūtūq's firstborn daughter, Rabī'a-sulţan, because Rabī'a married Sulțan Maḥmūd Khān who was the Elder Khān (kilān) and also the Great Khān (Khāqān) of the Mughals. Shaibānī murdered five of Maḥmūd's six sons, but probably his girls escaped because of their value as wives.

The above notes make for the opinion that Sultanam is a title, and not a name. Cf. app. s.n. Māham.

Mems., 22.
Gul-badan, 24b.

CLXXXVII. Sulțanam. (No. 52.)
Gul-badan, 14a, 14b, 26a, 50a.

CLXXXVIII. Sulțān-nīgār Khānam Chaghatāī Mughal.

Daughter of Yūnas Khān Chaghatāī and Shāb Begam Badakhshī; wife of Sulțān Maḥmūd Mirzā Miran-shahī; mother of Sulțān Wais (Khān Mirzā); widowed in 900H. (January, 1495).

On Maḥmūd's death in Samarqand she joined her brothers in Tashkand, going off 'without giving any notice of her intentions,' says Babar. Later on she married Awīq (Adīk) Sulṭān Jūjī, the chief of the Uzbeg Qazāqs. Her story is somewhat confused in the Memoirs (13 and 14) by a double mention of her
marriage to Awīq. Ḥaiderā Mirzā throws some light, and it seems that when Shaḥbānī had murdered her brother, Mahmūd Khān, Awīq left him and joined the Uzbeg Qazāqs, his own people, and Sulṭān-nigar followed him into Mughalīstān.

She had two daughters by Awīq, one of whom married 'Abdu-l-lāh Qūchīn and died a young wife, and the other married Rashīd Sulṭān Chaghatāī.

On Awīq’s death, Sulṭān-nigar was married to his brother Qāsim, presumably in consonance with the Turkī custom of yang-lik.

With Qāsim’s death, the khāanship of the Qazāqs devolved on Sulṭān-nigar’s stepson (i.e., Awīq’s by a co-wife) named Tāhir. ‘He was,’ says Ḥaider, ‘very much attached to her, and even preferred her to the mother who had given him birth.’

What follows is full of colour and feeling. Nigar-sulṭān showed her appreciation of Tāhir’s affection, but petitioned him, saying: ‘Although you are (as) my child, and I neither think of nor desire any son but you, yet I wish you to take me to my nephew, Sulṭān Saʿīd Khān. For I am grown old, and I have no longer the strength to bear this wandering life in the deserts of Uzbekistān. Take me where I may enjoy some quiet and repose.’ She then offered to mediate for him and to obtain the support for him of the Mughal Khāqāns against his foes. Tāhir accordingly escorted her to the Mughalīstān borders, and with her waited upon Saʿīd. ‘The latter, from love of his aunt, rose, saying that although his rising to receive Tāhir was contrary to the rules of Chingiz (their common ancestor), yet that he did it out of gratitude because Tāhir had brought his aunt.’

Sulṭān-nigar died of a hæmorrhage in the summer of 934H. (1528).

Mems., 13, 14, 30, 31, 99, 105.
Tār. Rash., E. & R., s.n.
CLXXXIX. *Tarkhān* Begam.

This is a title, and not a personal name.

In Bābar's time, according to Mr. Erskine (Mems., 24 n.), the ancient title of *Tarkhān* had come to belong to a particular family or clan. This may be well seen by consulting Professor Blochmann's *Āin-i-akbarī*, 361, where the genealogical table of the Arghūns of Tatta shows the title to have become hereditary in their branch of the Arghūns.¹

The Tarkhān Begam whose name stands above this notice was linked with these Tarkhān Arghūns in the way shown below. She married her first cousin, Aḥmad *Mīrān-shāhī*, and Qūṭūq Begam was her foster-sister.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urda-būghā Tarkhān Arghūn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daughter = Abū-sa‘īd Mīrān- madd Ṭarkhān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darvish = Muḥammad Mad Ṭarkhān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter = Abdu-l-’alī Tarkhān, Arghūn, d. cir. 1490.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazīd Tarkhān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maḥmūd, b. 1453.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aḥmad, b. 1451; Tarkhān Begam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāqī Tarkhān.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mems., 22, 24.
*Āin-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, 361.
*B. & H.*, I, and II. *s.n.* Sind, Arghūn, etc.

CXC. *Tarkhān* Begam and Bega.

Gul-badan, 75b.

*(Tarsūn-sulṭān, Yūn, q.v.)*

¹ Professor Blochmann (*I.c.*) states that 'Abdu-l-’alī and five sons were murdered by Shaibānī, but Bābar and the Sind historians give no support to the story. It looks as though by some clerical error the account of the murder of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān and his sons had crept in here. Shaibānī drove Bāqī out of his late father's government of Buhkārā.
CXCI. Ulugh Begam. (No. 10.)

Daughter of Zainab Sultan Begam; grand-daughter of Sultan Abū-sa'īd; first cousin of Bābar.

Gul-badan, 24b.

CXCII. Ulūs (Anūsh and Alūsh) āghā Turkomān. (? No. 53)

Turkī, ālūs, tribe. Clearly a title.

Daughter of Khwāja Husain Beg Turkomān of the White Sheep, an amīr of ʿUmar Shaikh Mīrān-shāhī; wife of ʿUmar Shaikh; mother of a girl who died in infancy. She was removed from the haram a year or eighteen months after her marriage. Gul-badan mentions a begam of this name as at Hindāl's wedding-feast; whether she is Ulūs āghā promoted, I have no means of knowing.

Mems., 14.
Gul-badan, 26a.

CXCIII. Īmīd āghācha Andijānī.

Pers. īmīd, hope.

An inferior wife of ʿUmar Shaikh Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī whom she predeceased. She was the mother of Mihr-bānū who was two years older than Bābar and will have been born therefore in 1481; of Nāṣir who was born in 1487; and of Shahr-bānū who was born in 1491.

Mems., 10, 14.

CXCIV. Umm-kulṣūm Begam Mīrān-shāhī.

A surname of Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad; Ar. umm, mother, and kulṣūm, plumpness.

Grand-daughter of Gul-badan Begam and a member of the Ḥaj of 988H.

Akbar-nāma, III. 145.
CXCIV. Üzün-sultân Khânam Chaghatâi Mughal.  
(?) Pers. auzün, or üzün, ample, increase.  
Daughter of Shir 'Ali Khân Oghlan Chaghatâi; sister of Wais Khân and Makhdûma Khânâm; paternal aunt of Yûnas Khân; wife of 'Amîr Sayyid 'Ali Dugh-lat; mother of Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlat and great-grandmother of Ḥaidar Mîrzâ, the historian.  
She was widowed in 862H. (1457-58), and then, in conjunction with her son, received Kâshghar and Yangî-ḥiṣâr from her stepson, Sânîz.  

CXCVI. Yâdgâr-sultân Begam Mîrân-shâhî. (No. 8.)  
Pers. yâdgâr, remembrance.  
Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh Mîrân-shâhî and Āghâ Sultân āghâcha; half-sister of Bâbar, and brought up by his grandmother, Isân-daulat. She was a posthumous child, and, if one may draw an inference from her example and others similar, is for this reason called Yâdgâr (Souvenir). Her father died Ramzan 4th, 899H. (June 9th, 1494). When a child of not more than ten, and in 908H. (1503), she fell into the hands of 'Abdu-l-latîf Uzbeg, after the conquest of Andijân and Akhsi by Shaibânî, and in 916H. (1511) Bâbar's successes at Khûtłân and Ḥiṣâr enabled her to return to him and her own people.  
I do not find any marriage mentioned for her by her name.  
She is in the list of the guests at the Mystic Feast, and her mother is named (as such) as present at Hindâl's wedding festivities.  
Mems., 10.  
Gul-badan, 24b, 26b.

CXCVII. Yun (Tarsûn)-sultân Mughal.  
Ilmînsky, 15, writes Tarsûn.  
Inferior wife of 'Umar Shaikh, and married at the end of his life.  
Mems., 14.
CXCVIII. Zainab-sultan Begam Miran-shahi.

(?) From Ar. zain, adorning.

Fifth daughter of Sultan Mahmud Mirza and Khanzada Begam (b.) Termizti; first cousin and wife of Babar.

She was married at the instance of Qut-liq-nigār, in the year of the capture of Kābul, i.e., 910H. (1504-5), perhaps at the time that Jahāngir Mirza, Babar's half-brother, married her half-sister, Āq Begam. The marriage was not happy. Two or three years later Zainab died of small-pox.

Mems., 30.

CXCIX. Zainab-sultan Khānam Chaghatāi Mughal.

(No. 19.)

Daughter of Sultan Mahmud Khān Chaghatāi Mughal; favourite wife of Sultan Sa'id Khan Kāshgharī, her first cousin; aunt of Shāh Muḥammad Sultan whom Muḥammadī Barlās put to death; mother of Ibrāhīm who was born 930H. (1524), Sa'id's third son and favourite child, of Muhṣin, and of Maḥmūd Yūsuf.

On her husband's death in 939H. (July, 1533), she was banished by her stepson Rashid, and went with her children to Kābul where she met Ḥaidar Mirza and where she was under the protection of Kāmrān.

Gul-badan mentions her in the guest-list, and places her name as present at the Mystic Feast (1531), but this can hardly be right. She could easily have been at the marriage festivities in 1537.

Gul-badan, 11a, 24b.

CC. Zainab-sultan Begam Miran-shahi.

Gul-badan describes her as the paternal aunt or great-aunt (ʿama) of Humāyūn. Bābar had no such sister, and no Zainab is mentioned by Gul-badan as a daughter of his grandfather Abū-saʿīd. An Āq Begam,
however, is spoken of by her, and Zainab may be her personal name. Zainab had a daughter Ulugh Begam. Gul-badan, 24b.

CCI. Zainab-sultān Begam.

There is a difficulty in identifying the begam of this name, whom Bābar mentions (Mems., 387) as coming to India. It will be seen by comparing the sources and their French and English interpretations:

Mems., 387. 'another, by name Zainab-sultān Begam, the granddaughter of Bikeh Chichām.'
P. de C., II. 355. 'et la petite-fille de Yenga-Tehetcham, autrement dite Zeineb-sultān Begam.'
B. M. Or., 3714, Pers., p. 482. digar nabīra yanga chichām ki Zainab-sultān Begam bāshad.
Bodleian, Elliot, 19, f. 180a. digar nabīra bega chichām ki Zainab-sultān Begam.
Ilminsky, Turki text, 447. yana, yanga chichām ki Zainab-sultān Begam būlaghā'i nabīra sī kīlib.

It seems safer to take Zainab as the name of Bābar's relation (i.e., the yanga of his chicha) than as that of the granddaughter (nabīra).

It may be observed here that the best authorities quoted above, i.e., Ilminsky, behind whom is Kehr, and Or., 3714, have yanga where Mr. Erskine and Elliot, 19, have bega. This exchange may occur in the case of other begas of this appendix. Until a good Turki text more complete than that in the B. M. is found, this must be left an open question.

If Zainab be taken as the name of the yanga, she may be identifiable with one of the other women already entered in the appendix, but for deciding this point more examples are necessary of Bābar's application of the word yanga.

Mems., 387.

CCII. Zobaida ḡācha Jalāīr.

The marigold; Ar. zubaida.

Grand-daughter of Ḥusain Shaikh Tīmūr of the Shaiban Sultāns. According to the Ḥabibu-s-siyār, she was a Jalāīr.
She was an inferior wife of Sultan Husain Mirza and the mother of 'Ayisha Begam. She predeceased her husband who died April, 1506.

CCIII. Zuhra Begi and Agha Uzbeg.

Ar. zuhra, beauty, a yellow flower, the star Venus.

An inferior wife of Sultan Mahmud Mirza; mother of Makhduma-sultan Begam and of Sultan 'Ali Mirza.

She was married during the lifetime of Mahmud's father, and therefore before Rajab 878H. (January, 1469), and was widowed Rabi II., 900H. (January, 1495). In 905H. (1499-1500) she entered into an intrigue with Shaibanî, a fellow-tribesman, of which the ultimate aim was dominance in Samarqand for her son 'Ali. A part of her scheme and offer was her own remarriage with Shaibanî. Babar stigmatizes her action as 'stupidity and folly,' and says, further, 'the wretched and weak woman, for the sake of getting herself a husband, gave the family and honour of her son to the winds. Nor did Shaibanî Khan mind her a bit, or value her even so much as his other handmaids, concubines, or women. Sultan 'Ali Mirza was confounded at the condition in which he now found himself, and deeply regretted the step he had taken. Several young cavaliers formed a plan for escaping with him, but he would not consent. As the hour of fate was at hand, he could not shun it. They put him to death in the meadow of Kulba. From his overanxiety to preserve this mortal and transitory life, he left a name of infamy behind him; and, from following the suggestions of a woman, struck himself out of the list of those who have earned for themselves a glorious name. It is impossible to write any more of the transactions of such a personage (? Zuhra), and impossible to listen any further to the recital of such base and dastardly proceedings.'

Memoirs, 29, 30, 31, 83, 84.
APPENDIX B.

Mahdi Khwāja.

Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad has included in his Tabaqat-i-akbarī a story which he heard from his father Muḥammad Muqīm Harāwī, and of which the purport is that Bābar’s Khaltīa (Nizāmu-d-dīn ‘Alī Barlās) had at one time thought of placing a certain Mahdi Khwāja on the throne in succession to Bābar.

Two circumstances cast doubt on the story: (1) It was customary in Bābar’s family for a son to succeed his father; (2) Bābar left four sons, the youngest of whom, Hindal, was eleven years old.

Moreover, there were Timūrids both of the Bāyqrā and Mīrūn-shāhī branches in India with Bābar whose claims to a Timūrid throne would be strongly enforced.

But Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad has left us the story in circumstantial detail and it cannot be passed over unnoticed, and this the less because Gul-badan Begam throws some light on the identity of the Mahdī concerned, and also because in an important particular, i.e., the relation of Mahdī to Bābar, I am able, through Mr. Beveridge’s study of the Ḥabību-s-siyār, to give more accurate information than was at Mr. Erskine’s disposal.

The story was old when Nizāmu-d-dīn set it down and it is not necessary to accept all its details as exact. It is sufficient to consider its minimum contents which are, that in the royal household there had been a rumour of a plan of supersession of Bābar’s sons by Mahdī Khwāja at the instance of Khalīfa.

The question naturally arises, who was the man
concerning whom such intention could be attributed to the wise and experienced Khalifa?

Nizāmu-d-dīn calls Mahdī Bābar’s damād, and Mr. Erskine, amongst other translators, has rendered this by son-in-law. It is unnecessary to consider why any Mahdī Khwāja known in history should have been preferred to those sons-in-law who were of Bābar’s own blood, because Gul-badan calls Mahdī Bābar’s yazna. For this word the dictionaries yield only the meaning of ‘brother-in-law’ and ‘husband of the king’s sister.’ Both these meanings are also attributed to damād. But the Ḥābūb settles the verbal question by a statement that Mahdī Khwāja was the husband of Khān-zāda Begam, Bābar’s full sister.

It is not improbable that he had another close link with the Emperor, namely that of relationship to Māham Begam, but I am not yet able to assert this definitely. Bābar never mentions Mahdī Khwāja’s parentage. This is learned from Khwānd-amīr who states that he was the son of Mūsa Khwāja and grandson of Murtaza Khwāja. He was a sayyid; and from the circumstance that his burial-place was chosen as that of Sayyid Abūl-ma‘ālí Termiẓī, it may be inferred that he belonged to the religious house of Termiẓ. If so, he had probably Timūrid blood in his veins, since inter-marriage between the families was frequent.

Bābar mentions a Khwāja Mūsa who is perhaps Mahdī’s father, in 914H., 1508. He immediately afterwards names Khwāja Muḥammad ‘Alī, Māham Begam’s brother, in suggestive sequence.

Bābar’s first surviving record of Mahdī is made in 925H. (February, 1519) when ‘Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī Khwāja’ brings in a prisoner. It is in cir. 923H. (1517) that Khwānd-amīr speaks of the marriage of Mahdī and Khān-zāda, but this is probably a good deal after the fact, because Khān-zāda was returned to Bābar in 917H. (1511).
Mahdī Khwāja, as Bābar invariably calls him after his first appearance, went to Hindūstān with Bābar and is frequently mentioned. It is significant of his high position and presumably not only by marriage but by birth, that on military duty he is always associated with men of royal blood, either Timūrid or Chaghātāi. He is sometimes given precedence of them, and is never named last in a list of officers. Chīn-timūr Chaghatāi, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā Bāyqār, Sulṭān Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī, and ‘Ādil Sulṭān are constantly associated with him. It seems clear that he was a great noble and ranked amongst the highest. Khāfī Khān calls him Sayyid Khwāja, and so does Khwānd-amīr. Whether the ‘Khwāja’ indicates anything as to his mother’s marriage I am not able to say.

Khāfī Khān (I. 42) has a passage which may relate to him: Sulṭān Mīrzā wa Mahdī Sulṭān binī aʾmāmrā (of Bābar) ki asīr-i-ān jumāʾ būdand khalās sakht. The date of the occurrence is cir. 1511, the year in which another Mahdī, i.e., Uzbeg, was killed by Bābar. Mr. Erskine appears to think that the two men, named here as released, were Ḥamza and Mahdī Sulṭāns Uzbeg, but the sources do not give the style of Mīrzā to either of these chiefs. They appear to have had marriage connections with Bābar in an earlier generation, and a son of Mahdī seems to have been ‘Ādil Sulṭān (Mems., 363) who was father of ‘Āqīl Sulṭān Uzbeg (Akbar-nāma, I. 221).

A Mahdī Khwāja who was undoubtedly of Bābar’s family, appears both in the Tārīkh-i-rashīdī and in Gul-badan Begam’s Humāyūn-nāma. He is the son of Aiman, and grandson of Sulṭān Āḥmad Khān Chaghatāī, Bābar’s mother’s brother. But his age places him out of the question; he was about ten in 1530, and the hero of Nizāmu-d-dīn’s story stroked his beard, and was either a damād or a yazna. Mahdī
Chaghatái, moreover, reached India after Bābar’s death.¹

The Ṭabaqāt states that Mahdī Khwāja had long been connected with Khalīfa; the latter was himself a sayyid.

Nizāmu-d-dīn calls Mahdī a jūwan and Mr. Erskine has accentuated all the faults and characteristics of youth in his version of the story. But Gul-badan calls Hindāl an uninjurious youth at thirty-three, and there seems good ground to read often in jūwan the notion of vigour and strength rather than exclusively of fewness of years. In 1530 Mahdī had served Bābar eleven known years.

Like many other such small problems, that of the family connections of Mahdī Khwāja and the other men of his name may be solved by some chance passage in a less known author, or by a closer consideration of the personages of the Memoirs.


Akbar-nāma, s.n., ‘Āqil Sultān and Mahdī.

Khāfi Khan, Bib. Ind. ed., s.n..

Habību-s-siyār, Khwānd-amīr, under date cir. 923H.

Cf. Index to this volume, s.n. Mahdī.

¹ The rough estimate of Mahdī Chaghatāi’s age is made as follows: Aiman was married to Ḥalīḍar Mīrzā’s cousin in 923H. (1517). (Tūr. Rash., E. and R., 144, 352.) He had five sons by this wife. (l. c. 144 and 401). Of these Ma’sūd is named as the eldest. The rest are Khīzr (Gul-badan’s husband) Mahdī, Isān-daulat (Ḥabība’s husband), and another. Khīzr is inferentially the second son, but if Mahdī were the second, he could hardly have been born before 926H. (1520). This would make him about ten in 1530, but he may have been younger and the third son, as is indicated by the enumeration of Ḥalīḍar Mīrzā.

² At p. 424 Mr. Erskine has an entry of a Sayyid Mahdī who arrives from Guālīār in July, 1529. That this is a mis-reading for Mashhādī is shown by collation with other texts than his own.
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Reference to the Persian imprint is by folio numbering. This is reproduced accurately from the MS., in the Persian imprint, and as closely as the sentences permit in the translation.

Words in 'āin, ghain, etc., are classed with their nearest equivalents.

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This line is quoted by Daulat Shāh. Cf. Mr. E. G. Browne's ed. p. 537.

** The folio which follows in the MS. (83a and 83b) has been conjecturally placed after 73b.

مطبعة دورغلیان في لیسبک
براحوال میرزا سعید شهید گریب و فغانم گردنده و گلیجه یگم در خانه قرا خان رفته بودند و وقتی که ابیشان بار آمدند گویا قیامت شد قام و از گریبه و غم سبیار ابیشان بیمار و جوینی شدند

از بهادئ میرزا کامران ظالم بی رحم میرزا هندال شهید شدند از آن روز بزرگ نلفندم که در کار و بر میرزا کامران رشتی شد باشد بلک روز بروز تنزل کرد و آب و خاک و بند و بحیه روز چرایی (81) آورده که دیگر دولت میرزا کامران بارنشد و کامران نکرد وگویا حیات میرزا کامران بلک روشانیا چشم میرزا کامران هندال بود که از هان شکست که گرفته راست رفت در بخش سلم شاه پسر شیرخان ای یکهزار روبه داده و دردین ضمن میرزا کامران عرض احوال بوده و کومک طلیبد سلم شاه در جواب میرزا ظاهر چیزی تکنف ام اما در مختلی کننده است که کس که برادر خود میرزا هندال را بکشند به آن کومک چنون نوان داد بلک همچون کسی عیان بود کردن و معدوم ساختن بهترین میرزا کامران این کبکایش سلم خان را شنید و بردم خود هم کبکایش نکرد و بگذارید برخود قرار داده گرفتند و می‌رخا خبره نه ندانستند اینها مانند\n
سلیم خان که خیبر دختر بیشتر میرزا در بندوخانه حکم گرده و میرزا کامران نا به بیمه و خوش‌آب رفته بوده که در (82) هان حدود آدم گه‌که بصد و هفته و مکر در قید آورده بیش حضرت باادشآ آورد عافیت الامر جمع خوانان و سلطانیان و وضع و شریف و صغر و کبر وسیاه و رعیت و غیره که از دست میرزا کامران داغ‌ها داشتند در این مجلس منفق سی بعرض حضرت باادشآ رسانیدن که در بادشاه و تحمک رسم برادری منظور نی باشد\n
آگر خاطر برادر می‌توانید ترک پادشاهی بکید و آگر پادشاهی می‌توانید ترک برادری بکیند و آین ها‌نان میرزا کامران است که از سبی ای در دشتش قبایق بر مبارک ابیشان چه نوع زخم رسید
نیما که کدام ظالی بی رحم آن جوان کم آزار وار به تغییر،

پیمان کرده که یافته بدل ودیده من یا بسعادت یار پسر من (۸۰ب) با

بخش خواجته خان آن تیغ بی دریغ میرسید، آه صد آه آفسوس و دریغ

هزار دریغ.

۰۵ ای دریغا ای دریغا ای دریغ، آفتام شد نهان در زیر میغ

عرض که میزرا هندال در خدمت و حضورت جان سباری

کرد، میر بابا دوست میزرا و برداشت در دولت خانه میزرا آورد و نیلی

کس اظهار تکرر و یا ولان آورده در دروازه نشاند و گفت هر که باید

و برسد بگوید که زخم میزرا کاری است و حکم حضرتست که هیچکس

نه در ایت.

و برخی حضرت ادشته آنده رساید که میزرا هندال رختی شده

اند، حضرت ادشته، طلبند که رفت میزرا ای ببنم، میرعبد النگی

گفتِ که زخم ایشان کاریست و رفتی حضرت مناسب نیست، حضرت

فهمید، اند و هر چند که خودرا حفظ کردند، توانستند و بیانیفند.

جوساه جاگیر خضر خواجته خان بود، حضرت خضر خواجته خان، 

طلبند فرمودند که میزرا هندال را در جوساه برد، امات نگاه دارد.

خان مهار شترنا میرته بفراش فغان و جزع وفزع کره میرفت (۸۱ا)

که این خبر از خواجته، پادشاه شیبدن برخواجته، فرشته و نیکه

نصرت باربد کرد، -دل من از تو پشتی مسعود اما از ملاحظه آن غیب خونگوار

ظرم بیاتی نکه و حال آنکه او نزدیکست غیر از صبر جاه نیست.

بصد افسوس و تبیهارگی و درد برد، در جوساه امات. گذاشتند

میزرا کامران ظالم برادرشک بی‌گناه برور ی برح آمر آن شه زنی آمده

این بلال از آسان نازل یا شد، حضرت پادشاه بکابی خطبا نوشند، پیجید

رسیدن این خطها، تحول جوویران گویا تمامی کابل یکتیت، پام سرا ماند شد و در ودیوار
هندال در مارزهٔ حضرت را به سدندَند و وقتی که به نگیش بدولته و سعادت رفته ورود اجال فریاد (۹۷) و جناسان هزینه زمان هزار ساعت خبر می‌آوردند که میرزا کامران قرار داده است امشب شجون باید ریخت میرزا هندال آمد به است حضرت رسائیندند و کنگاش دادند که حضرت درین بلندی باشدند و پاداش جلال الدین محمد آگهی‌آوردند و خود مرم خودرا طلیبی به‌کم‌آمدم علیهده ولی‌دهی دلیاری و دلیارا کردند که همه‌ان آن خدمت‌ها یکطرف و خدمت امشب یکطرف انتخاب آتش‌آوی‌ه‌وا حسب المداعی شی‌های‌ان به‌هم‌ور روش سرافراز خواهد شد هرچا جای‌شان‌ها و برای خود جبی جامه و طاقت و دلیله طلب‌دند توشکی بچه‌ها برداشته بود که شخصی عطسه زد توشکی بچه‌ها ساعت نگاه داشت و جون معطط شد که را برای تاکید فرستادند* جون بتاپید تام آوردن خود برسردند که چرا معطل کردی؟ توشکی عرض کرد که بچه‌ها برداشته بود که شخصی عطسه زد- بنا برآن بچه‌ها بزر مانند وزین (۸۰) سبب معطل شد* فرمودند که خاطر آری بی‌کو انشا الله شهادت مبارک باشد- و بازگنده- یاران هم‌گوار باشند که از جمع جزه‌های حرام و از افعال های ناشایسته‌ن توهیه کردم* حاضران فاصله خواهندند و مبارک باد کنند* فرمودند- بچه‌های جامه جبی بی‌بار* بوشیه در بیش خندق رفتند و مبیسان مردانگی و تسی دادند* درین اثنا طبقه‌ی میرزا هندال آواز میرزا که شهیدند فراید باروارد که مرا به شیشه‌گرفتند* میرزا بچه‌گذر شنیدن از اسب فروز آمدند و بیدو کنند- یاران این از مردانگی دوراً است که طبقه‌ی مارا در ته‌نشین‌گیریکنرد وما کومک نکنید* و خود در خندق فرود آمدند و سبیان‌هی‌چی‌کام آر وی اسپر دولته‌ن آمدند و میرزا در بار از خندق برآمدند و حمله‌گا کردند* در همان ترگ‌د شهید شند.
و عایشه سلطان بیکم و دولت بخت آقاهه گریخته سوژه قندهار میرفتندکه از تکیه عمار مردم پادشاهی گرفته آوردند (78b) و میرزا کامران به افغانان هره شه در میان افغانان ی بوده.

و حضرت بادشاه گاهی بدرین باغ تاریخ مرفتند. در آن سال نیز بدستور سابق بدست از نهایی رفتند و میرزا هندال در ملازمت بودند و از حورا بیکه بیگی و خانم بانو بیگ و ماه چوبه بیگ و غیره آگیرهای هراه بودند و پسران سعی به دارا روزی به باش بودن بنا بر آن می‌توانست رفته. روزی در نواحی تکیه حضرت بادشاه در شکار بودند و میرزا هندال در ملازمت بود و بی‌فقر این بود سیلارا شکار خوب بود و یا اینکه میرزا شکار رفت بودند حضرت هم آنطرف امتدان. میرزا شکار سیلاری کردند. میرزا بدستور چنگیز خان همه شکار خودرا بحراست پیش‌کش کردند که در توره چنگیز خان رسم چنین است که خوردان به برگان خود چنین پیش ی آیند. غرش همه شکارها ی خوردرا پیش‌کش حضرت کردند. بعد از آن به خاطر میرزا رسیده که حس‌های خواهران م باند (79a) باز خواهران گله نکنند. یا به دیگر شکار بکم که برای خواهران حس‌های برم. میرزا بار بشکار مقدا شک اند. یک‌بار شکار کردته بگرنه می‌آمده که میرزا کامران کسیرا تعین کرده بودند. آن کس سر راه گرفته و میرزا اذین غافل تیره و آن تیر به کنف مبارک ایشان رسیده. از ملاحظه آنکه مبادا خواهران من با حرمان من شیبان بی‌طرفی بکنند. در اکثر نوشته فیستادند که 80 رفسنجان بی‌بال ویلی بخیر گذشت. شیبان خاتم خودرا جمع داده که من بهدشت و عافیت هستم. غرش هواهه گرم گر هد حضرت برگنه با کابل امتدان و میدا یک کالک گذشت زخم تیر بی‌شمار. بعد از پیکاس خیر آمده که میرزا کامران باز جمعیت کرده استعداد جنگ دارد. حضرت نیز سامان جنگ هوده متوجه تنگ‌کارها شدند و میرزا.
سلیمان و (77b) میرزا ابراهیم آنهم حضرت را ملازمت کردند و حضرت
بکالر رفتند و میرزاوان در دولتخواهی بکدل و بیکه که شه در ملازمت
بوکند که میرزا کامران متوجه شدند حضرت پادشاه برم بکم گفته
فیستادند که کلینرا یکگونه که بردیم یود لفکر و مردم بدخان را سامان
نوشده فیستیف و ییگم در آن لندک روزاندک فرستی خند هزار کس را اسب و یبراق
دادند و اهتمام و سامان نوشده و بیهمرآ خود تاکونل آورده و از آنجا لشتکر
بیش فیستادند خود مراجعت مونند و یکمک ذکر آنهم بجستارد بادشاه
ملکه شد در ناراکیان یا قراخاغ بیرزا کامران گنجشگد لشتکر حضرت
غالب آنهم و فتح کردند و میرزا کامران را شکست دادند میرزا کامران
گردنگه به تنگهها و لفظان رفت
و آقای سلطان که داماد میرزا کامران بود گفته باشد که شا دام حضرت
هایون با اشکاده متخلف بیش می‌آید چه معنی دارد؟ مناسب نیست با
اطعاء و فرمان برداری حضرت بکیه یا مرا (88a) رخصت بدهد که
مردم از مایانی دادند میرزا کامران به آقای سلطان در که گفت که
کاری من بحیای رسیده که تو بن نصحت کنی آقای سلطان هم از روزی درشتی
گفت آقای سلطان که تو تن بی‌جماعتی کنی آقای سلطان هرام آیتالله
یاهان جدایی شد در بکه رفت و بکوچ خود هر آن بود که فرمانی میرزا
کامران به فنخ سپت میرزا رسیده که آقای سلطان مارا رجایی کن رفته است
آقای میرزا ابیکا اورا تکذیراده که به تن خود هر آور و بکوچ اورا ازد
جدای سراز و اورا بگوئید که هر جانِ من بازکن بازکن * به‌بین رسید فرمان
شاه حسین میرزا حیبه بینی از تصرف آقای سلطان جدای ساخته و سلطان را
پکمه معظم رخصت کرده *
در همان گنجچارکیان فرماه خان و آندر مردم نایب میرزا کامران

کشته شدند
بهتر ازین (۷۸) نیافتند که خودرا بگوشة بکشند ای ایوالاقام میرزا پسر خودرا بیش میرزا عسكري فرستادند وعایشه سلطان بیگم دختر خودرا میرزا کامران هرگاه گرفته بجانب طالقان میرفت ورامین کوه میرزا کامران بود* باو گفتند که شا ودخترشا ازعفب پیامید* در هرچا که قرار خواهم گرفت شهار خواهم طلبید* اما تا آن زمان شا در خوست واندرآب رفته تشنهید* خانم مذکور با خانان اوزبک قربت داشت* در میان آن اوزبکان از خوشنار آن بوده به اوزبکان معلوم کرد و فهنادی که آخر غرض اوچه است مال وداه وغلام دارم بریذ وضعناگذارید که برادرزاده عاشقه سلطان خانم آخر فردای شنود از شا الته خواهد رنجید* بصد مکر وحیله وصد حیران وی سامانی از بند اوزبک خلاصش شد در خوست واندرآب رسید در آنها یه بودند* و میرزا کامران از شکست پبخ اطلاع باخته که حضرت در باره مینه قنیجمه* ملتخت بودند نستند واکولاب (۷۷) برآمته بهتر طرف یگشت* در این ائنا حضرت از کابل برآمته بطرف دشت قپچاق که رسیدند غافل در جزای بهت فرود امکه بودند که میرزا کامران از جای بالندی یکبار مُسِل ووک weakening به امکه برسر دشمن حضرت ریختند* چون خوانست آهی جنین بود یک کور باطن گردن شکسته ظالم ستمکار بدختت نابکار بحضرت پادشاه زخم انداناخ ویس مبارك ایشان رسیدت وتمام بیشانی وچشمانی مبارك ایشان بخورت آلوده شت بود* بطریقه که در جنگ مغرولان بسر مبارك حضرت فدرس مکانی بارب پادشاه مغولی زخم رده وطاقی ودستان بریک نشند آمآز مبارك ایشان مخروش شد حضرت هایون بادشاه دایم نعمت می نودند وی گفتند که نعمت سر استه که طاقی ودستان بریک نشود وسر رخم رسید* غرض بسر مبارك ایشان همان طور شد* حضرت بعد از شکست دشت قپچاق به بدخشان رفته ومیرزا هندال و میرزا
خان خیبر میرزا هندال را بجستارت آورد که بجست وسلامت در قندوز
روسیدند. این خبرها چه حضرت شیخند بسیار خوشحال شدند.
و میرزا سلیمان را بجای خودی که قلیه ظفر باشد رخصت کردن و خود
بکالی آمدند. میرزا کامران به درکولاپ بودند. ترخان یکه نام یورقی
عیار مکار به میرزا کامران راه نموده که به حرم بیگم اظهار عاشق
بکنید صحه دری مصلحتهای میرزا کامران هم بگهنه آن ناقص
القل خلی و روپاکی بمست یگی آغا حرم بیگم فرسنادند. این عورت
خط و روپاکرا به بخش حرم بیگم نهاد و ملامت میرزا کامران و اشتیاق
بسیار اظهار کرد. حرم بیگم گفت که حالا این خط و روپاکرا نگاه
دارید هرگاه میرزلان از پیروی بیابند این خط و روپاکرا بپرداز
یگی آغا در بی گریه وزارت و ملاءت که میرزا کامران این خط و روپاک
بخش فرسناده ومدلتهای که برشا عاشق است و شا ازبن بابت بی مانوی
می کید. حرم بیگم (۷۶) یاد اعضا و شدت تمام نهاده در اخلال میرزا
سلیمان و میرزا ابراهیم طلبه گفت صحه میرزا کامران نا مرتی بهای
شایبان را دانسته است گه که بن هفتو خلت نوشته واقع که از لانق این بودم
که مرا جنین نوید. میرزا کامران براده کلامی تو باند و من بچه یکی
ابشان باشم. مرا ازبن بابت خلت فرسناد. بگریه وابن زنگکا باره باره
سازید تا بر گذوران عبرت شود و هیچ چی بر اهل و عیال کسی بچشم
بخیال فاسد نکند واز زن آن زاده چه مناسب که هفتو چزهای نالین
پیار و از من ویسری مرتی. ویرین جهت میرزا ابراهیم ازبن جهته میرزا کامران
گرفته باه باره باره کردن و میرزا سلیمان و میرزا ابراهیم ازبن جهته میرزا کامران
بد شدند بلکه دشنش فشن و حضورت نوشتنید که قصید مخلطف دارد
و خلافت ازبن صرخچ نی باشندکه در نهاین قوچ تلخ در ملامت هرال
نرتم. این آن میرزا کامران درکولاپ از توم هراسیه هچ علاجی

Contrary to the document, which is in Farsi, the provided text is not accurate for natural language reading. The text appears to be a mix of random characters and Farsi words, making it difficult to discern any coherent narrative or comprehension. The document might contain some text that is not properly transcribed or encoded correctly for translation.
بیبِر مُحمد خان در خِلَّ بُود و دُوُر هان روزِ اول مردم بیبِر مُحمَّد خان برَمَهِ جنگ صف کردن، لَشکرِ پادشاهی غَلاب آمد و مردم بیبِر مُحمَّد خان شکست خورده در شهر در آمَندن صاحب آن بیبِر مُحمَّد خان قرار داده بود که چگُنای زور است... من در توأم جنگ کرد... بَهترائست که برآم به بَروم... که امرابان پادشاهی یکی بعرض رسند که پورت چرکین شد است... آگر ازین منزل برخواسته دشت منزل فانبد مناسب است... حضرت حکم فرِمودند چگون بکند... سیبَرَد که دست به بار و بارخانه نهادند... دیگر مردم تلتُوف شدند و جنگ کس منادی کرد برمَد کس بن نیامد... جوِن خواست آلیه چگون بود ی به جهَه غنی و تقریب و ی واطه مردم راهی شدند... به اورِبی خبر سِید که لَشکرِ پادشاهی کوچی کرد... اوربیک در قبَل شد و اسلوبان پادشاهی هرچند که سی کردن به رزه پایین نه آمِندن (۷۵) وِ بیک کرد نشد... مردم راهی شدند... حضرت مَنْتی استندن... آخر دیدنکه کس فانبد... ضرور شد حضرت هم روان شدند و میرزا عسکری و میرزا هندالی را خبر نود که لَشکر پادشاهی برم خورده است... اینها سواری شک آلیه آمِندن... دیدنکه در لَشکرگاه کس فانبد واوربیک در بی برَمَدن است... اینها نیز بطرف قندوزرایی شدند... حضرت انکه راهی آمیز بودند که استَنادن و گفتندکه برادران تا حالت نه آمَندن... من چطور بشش روم... به بعض امرا و غیبن که در ملازمت بودند فرِمودنکه کسی باشده که از میرابان خبر بیارد... هیچک کچ جواب نداد و ورفت... بعد از آن از قندوز از مردم میرزا خبر آمد... عرض داشت کرده انکه شنید که شکست واقع شده... ندانست که بکدام طرف رفتن... این خط که بِدست حضرت افتاد بسیار ب طافِق کردن... خضر خواجه خان گفت... آگر حکم که خشونت از خبر بیارم... پادشاه فرِمودن... رحمت باد... انشا الله باشد که میرزا بَقدون رفته باشد... بعد از (۷۵) دو روز خضر خوایه
خُرگاهی که به‌یان خُرگاه چه‌گی بانو ییکم آن‌ها نشستند* بعد از آن‌ها بانو ییکم آن‌ها نشستند* بعد از آن‌ها

بیشتری از اسپنگ‌آوردن میان دو ناز شد* در بن طور وقت نشان یافت

بردن* در دامن که هرچگر بارگ برم در آورد و در آن درها کنست

وسیر می‌کردند که شام شد* در هان گچ چادر و خرگاه برابرده آن‌ها

نشستند* آن‌ها در آنجا نیز بیش و عطرت به گذراً ویگم و مایان‌هیه در ملازمت* آن قبله حقیقی بودم* صاحب وقت ناز بیرون تشریف بردند

و آذرباین بی‌بیگم بی‌بیگم و حمیده بانو بیگم و ماه جوجک بیگم و بی‌بیگم

بیکان خلخال خاتم نشستند که بگناه خود قابل شک عذرخواهی نوشتید*

انشا الله در فرضه با در استاشف خیره کرده متوه و شک خواهی شد

و آگره (74a) بجندا (74b) سیردم* آخره عذرخواهی نوشت هدفمند

افتد اشرف فرستادند* عافیت الامام حضرت و همه بیگان سوار شک از

لغان به بیزادری آمدید و شب هرکس بنزین خود رفت و صاحب آن طعام

نوه بانو گنو گنو گنو سوار شد به فرضه آمدن* *

جمعه بانو ییکم بخانه میان‌نه گویست، فرستادند* ویک روز بیشترک

به‌یا دولت بخت در فرضه آمده بود و خودردنی و افر و شیر و جغرات و

شیر و شریفت و غیر طبار کرد بودند* آن شب بیش گذراننی صالح بر

پالایی فرضه نثراند خویست* آن‌ها (fault) استاشف رنگ و سه روز

دبیر در استاشف بودند و بعد از آن کچ کرده در سه‌ی نهصد و بی‌بیگم

هشته متوه شد شده* *

و ازکنگ که گوش‌شند بی‌بیگم کامران و میرزا سلیمان و میرزا عسکری

فرمان‌های طلب فرستادن‌که ما متوه جنگ‌گزار زمین شدید وقت تهجیه

و برادریست می‌بایده که بسرعت تمام برسید* میرزا سلیمان و میرزا

عسکری آمک (74b) مخصوص طلغ شدند* کچ به کچ متوه‌شده شک به

بله رسیدند*
It seems to me that in binding the M.S. in India; fol. 83 has been misplaced and that it should follow at this point where its contents are *à propos*. The catchwords are wanting on it and on 74a.

This emendation has been made only since the preparation of my article on Gulbadan Begam (Calcutta Review, April 1898) and contradicts and modifies some statements of that article.

The account of the journey to Laghman (fol. 83) is appropriate here and is out-of-place in the story of Kamran’s blinding and of Hu-mayun’s subsequent movements.

It is possible that another page also is missing and that the quiet singing was not on the road.

* Ar. *naqs*, an air with its variations. (Pavet de Courteille.)
مردم عجب شوقی و‌خوشحالی روی داده بود - چرا که اکثر امرابان و
نوکران هم خوشی و بادرید یکدیگر بودند از مر جدایت صاحبان خود
آنها هم از یکدیگر چند بالک شنیده خون یکدیگر بودند. احاله هم یکجا
خوشحالی تمام می‌گذاراندند.

و از پدیدن حال آمدن یکپیم سال در کابل بودند. بعد از آن عظم
گرم بدل نمودند و در باغ دلکشا منزل فرمودند و دولت خانه حضرت را
در بایان‌یاب دمکور روی یکدیگر و یک گون در حوالی کلی بیگی چون
نردیک بود اجنا فرود آمدن** حضرت باز عرض رسایندن‌که اب ارواچ
چجو می باشم باشد** حضرت فرمودند - چجو که بلبرک میروم براه
کوه دامن روم نشان نشان بر آند رواجرا به بینید* چنگ دردکری بود که
حضرت سوار شده در باغ دلکشا آمدن و حوالی کلی ییگ که بیگیان در
آن بودند نردیک بود و اجنا سرکوب بود.

حضرت آن استاداندی ییگان؟ هم دیدند و برخاوندند (73b) و کورش
کردند - و بمهدر کورش کرد نیکیا حضرت بدسی مبارک خود اش هوت
کردند که بیادید* نفر النا ماما و افغان آمگاه بیشترک میرافتند
و در دامن کوه باگ دلکشا جوی بوده است* افغان آمگاه از جوی مذکور
توانست گندست و افغان آمگاه ازاسب افتاد* از برابر آن سعتی معتدل
کردند* آخرالامر بعد از ساعتی بلازمی اشرف اقدام مشترک گشت و
ماه چوچک بیگم نا دانسته امیش اندک بلند رفت* از دن آن حضرت
بسیر اعراض کردند - باگ مذکور در بلندی بود و هنوز دیواها نکره
بودند* درین اثر قد جهور مبارک حضرت کلیت بعد ام مشترک عین
کردند* در برابر افیون خورده واين کلیت را تسکین داده خوام آمدن
ماهان بازموده حضرت اندک راهی رفته بوده که حضرت تشريف اوردن*
در واقع کلیت بالکلیه بر طرف شد و خوشحال و فرخ‌نام آمدن* شتب
So too Janhar. Kunduz appears right.
خوشنویسی تام شبه دریکرمان صباح شد—ماه چوجیک بیگم و خانم آغا و حرنامه که در لشکر هریه حضرت آدمه بودند در یاقین.
و وقتی که حضرت به بدخانن رفته ماه چوجیک بیگم دختر زائیدن د خانه شمال حضرت در خواب دیدند که مغریزان مامه و دولت بخت هر دو از در در آنک و چند عورتند و ببش می‌گذارتند. هرچند تفاوت کردنده فرمودند که تعیین آن چه باید! آخراً در خاطر سایرندن که جهن دختره است از نام هردو بیک نسا و از دیگری بخت به‌طور اختصار بخت نسا بیگم نام نهادند.

ماه چوجیک بیگم چهار دختر و دو پسر زائیدن جختن نسا بیگم و سکینه بانو بیگم وامره بانو (۷۱) بیگم ومحمد حکیم میرزا و فرح فال میرزا و وقتی که حضرت متوهمه هندوستان شدند ماه چوجیک بیگم حامله بودند. در کابل پسر زائیدن فرخ میرزا نام نهادند. و بعد از اکنون گاه از خانم آغا پسر نوالد شد: ابراهیم سلطان میرزا نام نهادند و مدّت بیکتم سال کامل بدولت و سعادت در کابل بقیع و عشرت گذارتند.

و میرزا کامران که از کابل خروپوشند پیام بدخانن رفتهن و در طالقان می‌بودند و حضرت در آورده باغ می‌بودند صبح که باز برخاستند خبر شد که آثار میرزا کامران که در مللامی حضرت بودن گرفته‌ه رفته از اینه قراچه خان و مصاحب خان و مبارز خان و بابوس و آکر نا مردان شه گرفته‌ه به بدخانن رفته و میرزا کامران مطلق شدند. حضرت در سخاوت نبک متوهمه بدخانن شدند و میرزا کامران را در طالقان محاصب کردن.

بعد از اکنون گاه میرزا کامران اطاعت و فیان برداری قبول کرد و آگاه حضرت را (۷۲۸) ملاحیم کرده. کولابرا حضرت میرزا کامران دادند.
شیشه آب لیمون و هفت توقوز بارچه و جنگل نیمه دوخته فرستادند و نوشته‌که از جهت‌هایی ایستان فی نوام بلچه زور آورد که میادا بهشانی ایستان
بنویز، بیگر بیش آبید

و در آن‌ی ایام جهان سلطان یکم دو ساله شد در بهترین خوشبختی‌های خود کرد و نوشته‌که آگر بلچه زور آورد زمانی میرزا محمد‌اشک را پناه خواهد کرد.

غرض دایم در خارج مردم از این زمان شام نا صلاح حاضریاش و گوغا داشتند. شیر که میرزا کامران می‌گریخته فدش شام گذشت بلکه خشن شد که (70b) هیچ گهی‌ای ظاهر نشد و کوئی بوده که از آن‌ها مردم بایان بالا می‌بردند. در آن‌ی حین مردم شهر آرام و تسکین یافته بودند که بیک‌بارآوان به جعفر و جوشمن وزره بر آمیز که به‌مندرک خبر کرد که غلو می‌نماید.

در بیش جلوخانه قرب و هزارکس استاده باشند. می‌باید هم در و هم بودیم بیک‌قدر به خیر بر آمیدن و به فراقخان خان بهادران آمدن خریک‌دردینی که میرزا فرار نموده و خواجها معزولا از راه دیوان ریسان اندیخته بر آوردن.

و در میان ویگان و غیر که در پیرون بودند ودری که بالا می‌باید بر آورده بودن واکردنی. بیگر بیگ می‌گلبه کردند که بروی گنجنای خود.

من گفتم که زمانی صربکید. از راه کچره باید رفت و شاید که از بیش حضارت م کمی آید که در این ضمن عنبر ناظر آمید و گفتم که حضارت فرموده اند که تا من نیام از آن خانها نه برآیند. زمانی گذشتاده بودته که حضارت آمیدن و به دل نداریم بیگم و دریافتند از آبآن نه بیگم و جمعه بانویم دریافتند و فرمودند که زود ازین (71a) خانه برآیدیکه دوستان را خدا ازین نورخانه نگا دارد و تصسب دشانی شود. با مانظر فرمودند که در یک طرف تو باش و در یک طرف تری بیگ خان باشند ویگانیا

بگذرندند. آخر هم آمیدن و آن شب در ملزوم حضارت بودین. از
حضرت در ملازمه حضورت بپذیرد و فیروزی
شادگانه نواختن و بکریه و دیده در عقایده در آمدهند — و عزای خود
خیمه و خرگاه و بهارگاه برای کردند — و میرزا هندال را مورچالی بیل مستان
تعین نمودند و امامان هرچا مورچالی تعین کردند:

تا مدّت هست ماه محاصص داشتند. از قضا به بک روی (69) میرزا
کامران از حوزه در دالان میرفتن‌که شخصی از عقایبی نتفنگ انداده
و ایشان دویخ خوده از کاره گرفتند. و اکبر اباده‌نام گفتند که در روبرو
برده نگاه دارد. *آخر مردم بعرض اقدس اشرف رسانیند هک میرزا مهحد
اکبر را در روبرو نگاه داشته اند. حضرت فرومودن که نتفنگ ىاند
بعد از مرنم اباده‌نام در بقای حصار نطفنگ ىن انداده‌نام واز شهر
کابل مردم میرزا کامران بعیابیان در شهر حضرت نطفنگ نناداده‌نام.
و مردم اباده‌نام میرزا عسکری را در برابر رویو ایستاده می‌کردند و سپاهان
اباده‌نام شوخی مینمودند و مردم میرزا کامران هم از قلعه برآشته چنگ
می‌کردند و از جانیان مردم کرتش می‌گفتند. *آخر مردم حضرت غالب
ى آمده — دیگر از قلعه دلبر نی پر آمدهند — و حضرت از ملاحظه عیال
اطفال و بچگان و مردم و حمیان و جماعة دیگر توب و ضرب چنگ نی
انداختند — و بیانها (70 ابراهیم) نتفنگ نی کردند.

جزئی محاصص، بدور دراز انجامش خواجہ دوست خاوند مداری‌گریا در
بیش حضرت فرستادند که از بقای خدا میرزا کامران هرچه الباس می‌کند
قبول فربانند و بندی‌های خدارا از محت قانون کند.

حضرت آز بیرون از بقای ایشان نه کوسند و هفت شیمه گلاب و بیک
عسكري و میرزا هندال برادرانی من اند ایشان نزد برادری من اند که این وقت مبدع است* من در جواب ایشان گفت که خضر خواجہ خان سواد ندارد که خط مرا شناسد و من هرگز خود نه نوشته ام* در بیرون از زبان فرزندانش می نویسنده هرچه مخاطر شیا برسد بنویسید* آخر الامام مهدی سلطان را و شیرعلی را بطلب خان فرستادند و من در اوایل گنده بودم بیان که برادرانی تو بیش میرزا کامرانی باشدند میادا تو هم خیالی آن کنی و بیش ایشان (68b) روی و به برادرانی خود طلق شوی زنهر الف زنهر که از حضرت چیادرا خیال نکنی* باری شکر انحصار الاله بنوی* گنده بودم خان هم تجاوز نه نمود و حضرت باشاده که شیدند که مهدی سلطان و شیرعلی را میرزا کامرانی باوردن خضر خواجہ خان فرستاده حضرت

نیز قطبیک بدر میرزا حاجی ای بطلب خضر خواجہ خان فرستادند* در آن اوان خان در چاگیر خود بود* گنده فرستادند زنهر الف زنهر که میرزا کامرانی محقق نشوید در ملازمت ما بیامبید* آخر خضر خواجہ خان مجید شیدن این خیر و بپیام فرح انجام متوه درگاه فلک

پارگاه گنده و در عفایین آن ملازمت کرد*

آخر حضرات از مناره که گنجهگرد درین انتا شیر افکن بدر شرویه را میرزا کامران ترنبیب داده و ترنبیب کرده تمام لشکر خود هر آر ارده بیش فرستاده که رفته چنج گند* میلان از بالا میهمیدم که او نقاره زده از بپیش بابا دست میکذشت و میلان میگفت که خدا نصیب نکند که (69)

تو رفته چنج گند وگریه میکردم*

آخرچه در برا بر دینه افغانان که رشد و قراولان روی و رو که شدن برهن رویو شدن قراولان حضرت پادشاه قراولان میرزا را برداشتند و آخر دستگیر کرده بیش حضرت آوردن* حضرت حکم کردن ببیل و

که آنها را به باره کردن و آخر مرد میرزا کامران که چنگ چنگ رفته بودند
Armenian, cakes of dung. The word is current in Turki. The translation should read “He closed the door of that house” &c.
I propose to read here— which agrees with other sources.
و آخر اوقات معرفه و مجلس بود و شبها تا صبح ی شیشته و سازنه‌ها
و گوینده‌ها دام در نوازش بودند و آخر بساط نشاط بزاری میکردن - از
آن جمله - دوازده کس بودند پیرکس بیست ورق بیست و بیست
بیست شاهرخی میدادند و کسی که یا میداد هنین بیست شاهرخی یا
میداد که بنگ متفاوت باشد و آخر می برده هرچند که بزاری میکردن زیاده
ی شیرداند.*

و مردم در جنگ جویه و کوچ و بکه و در آن فترات‌ها در توده
حضارت کشتی و خسته گشتند بودند یبوها و بیتانا و عالی از جامعه را
وطیف و روانه و آب و زمین و قلیها عشایی ی مورودن و مردم سیاه و
ریعت و غیره هم سابار اسودگی و فراغت در ایرانم دولت حضرت روی داد
* همیشه بفراغت میکردن بیرون و بجوان dfs درازی حضرت آخر بناته خیرت

قیام و اقدام (66) مهم‌اند.*

بعد از جنگ روز بندن‌هار برای طلب‌حیف، یا نویمک کسان فرستادند.* بعد
از آزادی حیف یا نویمک جلال الدین محمد که بیشتر از بخشی سور کردند
و اصل رسایی سنت‌را طیار میکردن.* و بعد از نوروز هنگ ده روز هاونه
میکردن و لباس‌های سبز ی پیسوند و قربیق سی چهل دختر حکم
ی شده یک لباس‌های سبز پوشیدن و پارچه‌ها براین - و در یک نوروز پرکوه
هنگ داران برآمدنَ.** آخر در حضور و عیش و فراغت میکردن بیرونی
و وقتی یک مهد که آخر بادشا به ساله شدن در شهر کابل ختنه سور
کردند و در هاوان دیوان خانه کنان طولی سن‌دارا دادند - و تمام بازارة
آتین بستند و میرزا هندال و میرزا بادگر ناصر و سلطانان و امیران بجده
آتین بندی جاده خوب و مرهوپ راست کردبه بودن ودر باع پیشه بیکم
بیگان و وضعیتا جاهای عیب و غرب راست کرد بهبودن و ساجدیاهمه
میرزاپان و امیران در (66) هاون یا دیوان خانه اوردن.** بسیار طوی
Erroneously read as in translating.
Perhaps the Tibah of Babar (Mems: L. & E. 139 & 136 n.) which Mr. Erskine says is 3 m. s. of Ak-serai and to the left of the road from that place to Kabul. Abū'l-fażīl (A. N. I. 243) gives Jūlgah-i-dūrī as the meeting place.
پیش بادشاه بقیدهار بروید و میان میان میان علمی گی بکیدَ و بعد از آدم‌ین حضرت خانزاده بیگم بیگم بیگم بیگم بیگم، بایداشگاهی روز ابراز کامران سیرمیدن و بقیدهار کامران بکوچ خود خان سیرمیدن و برسرت تام بقیدهار آمی‌ند* و حضرت بادشاه که بقیدهار آمی‌ند چهل روز میرزا کامران و میرزا عسكری در قندهار قبیل داشتند و بیرم خانرا به بی‌گری بیش میرزا کامران فرستادند (63a) میرزا عسكری عاجز و زبون شک گناه خودرا درخواست یوذه بیرون آمی حضرت بادشاهرا ملازمت کردَ و حضرت بادشاه قندهاررا کرتش فتح نودند و به بیرم شاه دادند* بعد از چند روز بسرش‌های بیمارشان مرد* حضرت بادشاه قندهاررا بعد از آدم‌ین بیرم خان بقیده خان سیرمیدن* وحیده بیگم برگرا نیر در قندهار گذاشتِ منعاقب میرزا کامران می‌تواند نشاند* و آکه جانم خانزاده بیگم که هرگاه بودن در مقام قلیک که رسیدند تا سه روز تپ کردن* هرجنم که اطم‌ب‌علال کردن مفید نشد* روز چهارم در سه‌نیه به‌جا و بیش و بزرگ‌هات حب به‌یوستند* در هیرمل منزل قلیک دفن کردن* بعد از سه‌ماه آورده در مقرّة حضرت بادشاه بابام نگاه داشتند* و میرزا کامران در آن چند سال که در کابل بودن هرگی تابخت نرفته بودند* بیکار آمیدِ حضرت بادشاه شنید در آن وقت (63b) ایشان را هوس تابخت شد بجانب هزار تابخت رفت رهبر بودند* و درین اینا میرزا هندال که پوشیده دروشی را اختبر کرده بودند مراجعه حضرت بادشاهرا از عراق و خراسان و فتح قندهار شنید فرستار غیبت داشته میرزا بادگار ناصررا طلبیک کنند که بادشاه قندهاررا آمی فتح کردن و میرزا کامران خانزاده بیگم برای صلّی فرستاده بودند*
میدانستم باز هردو پادشاه یکدل شدند و با یکدیگر خاطره صاف کردند و آن هر دو حرام خور مردود هر (fault) پادشاه شدند. و آن هر دورا پادشاه به شاه سیرندن آن لعل هارا به هر نوع وقیع که دانست و توانست گرفت و آن هارا فرمود که در قید نگاه دارند و حضرت پادشاه تا در عراق بودند خوشحال کردنی‌داند و شاه انواع خاطره‌جوی مینمودند و هر روز تغییر و هدیه عجیب و غربی (62( از حضرت پادشاه میرفستشند. آخر الامر بر سر خودرا با خانان و سلطانان و امرایان بکومه هیبره حضرت پادشاه کرده با بیرون (؟) خاطر خواه و خرگاه و بارگاه و جنگ و عراق و شامی‌نهای پیکر وکلیماهای ابریشی و زنجیه کلابون دوزی از هر بان اسباب چانچه باید و شاپاد و از نوسنجانه و خزینه خانه و از هر کارخانه و باور عجیب‌خانه و ککچشانه پادشاهانه‌ها طیار کرده سامعی نیک آن دو پادشاه عالی‌مدیر از یکدیگر رقصت شدند و از آنجا حضرت پادشاه متوجه قندهر شدند و حضرت پادشاه در آن وقت گناه آن هر دو بی و فارا از هش طلبیه و بخشیه هر گرفت متوچ قندهر شدند. میرزا عموکریاه که شنید که حضرت پادشاه از خراسان مراجعه نموده بجانب قندهر ی آیند جلال الدین محمد‌آخیر باشدارا بکابی میرزا کامران فرستشنده. میرزا کامران به آهن جامد که (62( خانزاده بیگم عمه ما اند سیرندن و در آن وقت جلال الدین محمد‌آخیر باشدارا دو نم ساله بودند که آهن جامد گرفته نگاه داشتن و بسیار دوست میداشتنند و دست و بیای ایشان را بیوسیدن و بی گفتند که بعینه گویا دست و بیای برادر من بیای پادشاه است و شاهیه تمام دارد. بعد از تحقیق شدن آمدن حضرت پادشاه بقیدار میرزا کامران حضرت خانزاده بیکم زاری و عیج بسیار و ممالکه به شیار ی کردن که شا بدولت که شنید.
وانری بری ندارد... بیک طاقی داردهک وقتی خواب گاهی زبرسر خود وگاهی در بالی خود نگاه میدارد* خواجه معظم فهمید و در دل جزم و بین کرده که آن لعلها در بیش خواجه غازی هست و در همان طاقی نگاه داشته است* بیش حضرت آمده و عرض کرده که من نشنال لعله‌ها در طاقی خواجه غازی یافته ام* بیک روشی می‌خواهم از آن را رایم* اگر (61) خواجه غازی بیش حضرت آمده ازمین استفانه کند حضرت مین جهیزی نگویند* حضرت شنید تسمی فرمودند* خواجه معظم از آن باید جخواه غازی هزل و مطابه و مزاق (؟ک) می‌کرد* خواجه غازی آمده بعرض حضرت پادشاه رسانیده که من مرد غريب و اسم و رسمی دارم و در ولایت بیگانه خواجه معظم خورد سال این چه معنی دارد که به هزل و مطابه و مزاق (؟ک) بکند و بین اهانت رسانید* حضرت پادشاه فرمودند که با کی ندارد... خورد سال است باری خاطرات رسیده باشد و از دلگیری‌ها بی‌ادبی کرده باشد* شما جهیزی خاطرات رسانیده که اخورد سال است.*

روز دیگر خواجه غازی آمده در دیوانگانه نشته بوده که خواجه معظم غافل ساخته بیک بار طاقی را ارزسر روب و لعل بی بدل از طاقی برآورده بیش حضرت پادشاه و حسین بنو بیکم آورد و نهاد* حضرت تسمی کردن و حسین بنو بیکم خوشحال شدند و خواجه معظم شباش و رحتم (61) باد کفتن که خواجه غازی و روشن که از افعال های خود شرمسار شده هر دو بیش شل رفت و سخنان خفیف بعرضی شاه رسانیدند تا نهنده چه کفتن که خاطرات تسمی کردن که اخلاق و اعتقاد شاه به دستور سابق نیست* فی این حال از لعل و جواهر هر چه داشتن بشاه فرستادند* شاه بیادشاه کفت که کننی خواجه غازی و روشن که کفتن که مارا از شا بیگانه کرده بودند ولا م شاشار بیگانه
غشمت دانسته است و پنج لعلرا دزدید و بجنواهه غازی پیکره شک

و بجنواهه غازی سیرده و نیذر ایل صرف سیالمستند صرف نمی‌نیند*

حیب‌البانو بیگم که سیرخودها نشته‌امند حضرت پادشاه آن طومار را به

بی‌گم دادند ** بی‌گم از هواهی دست فتال دریافتند که آن طومار سبک

ظام می‌شود*** بی‌گم به پادشاه گفتند **** حضرت فرودند این چه معنی

دارد (۶۰۸) غیر ما و سا تن اهلاً اطلاع ندارد چه شک باشد که گرفته‌باشد

حیران شدند ** بی‌گم برادری خود خواجی معظوراً گفتند که هبه‌امره واقع

شده او در سرین طور وقت برادری را چا تسدید و نقص این بیک رویش

که شوری‌نیوته بکنید گووا مرا از حیراتی می‌برآردید* و لذا تنک ام از روئید

پادشاه خلجخواه بود

حواجه معظم گفت... بی‌گم بخاطر من ی رسید چه مرا با وجود

تقریب حضرت پادشاه قوت آن نیست که ناتوانی لاغر نواهم خرید بخلال

خواجی غازی و روشن کوکه که هرکدام اینها برای خودها اسپان تهجیق

خیب اند و هنوز زراسی اند ای ناداده اند ** این خردی اینها بن بیک امیدواری

نیست **** بی‌گم گفتند ** ای برادر وقت برادری است... ایله نقصی این

معامله باید کرد ** خواجی معظم گفت... ماه جومه* شیا بکسی نگوتند... انشا

الله تعالى امیدوارم که حق (۶۰۸) برقدار بسید *** از آنجا برآمء نخوانه

سوداگران برپیش که آین اسپان را پیچند فروخنید؟ در بهای اسپان بشا

زره کدی و پیدا کده اند و ادامه ای دزهارا پیچه روش خاطر نشان کرده

اند؟ سوداگران گفتند که این هر دو نقص و عده لعلها کرده اند

و اسپان برده اند ** خواجی معظم از آنها پیچه نفر خواجی غازی آمد و گفت

که تنفیسه سربیاری و نازی و بی‌نفر خواجی غازی درکماش؟ و در چه

جا نگاه میدارد** پنیم خواجی غازی جواب داده که خواجته ما بفه

* Cf. 18b.
The translation of Sultānam’s speech is doubtful.
باستقبال فرستادهٔ این‌ها هم امید دریافتند و به اعزام و اکرام قلم حضرت‌ر
آوردن، و جوهر تزیین‌های نقدی برادرانی شاه به‌شما خبر فرستاده‌ند. شاه نیز
خود سوادش با استقبال حضرت‌آمده‌اندازی‌گیر دریافتند و آشنایی (58a)
ویک جهتی آن در انشا شاه عالی مقام مانند دو مغفرة جنگانونه که ایام‌الچندی که حضرت
آتنا تشییع داشته‌اند؛ آتتردیاً قدرت‌دهان‌های مبارز شاه در منزلی حضرت‌مأم‌ند و روزی‌که
شاعر فی آمین‌ند حضرت‌می‌فردند.

در خرسانی که بودند هر باغ و بوستان‌که بود عواری‌علیه‌ن که سلطان
حسین میرزا بنآ کرده بودند و عواری عالی‌سالی و غیره مهرا سیر
ی‌بودند ونا در عراق بودند هشت مربیه به‌شکار رفته بودند و هرگاه که
بیشکار میرفتند هر مرتبه حضرت‌را هم تکفیف می‌کردند و حیثی بنو
ی‌بیگ در جاقوه‌ی در محافه از دورشانا می‌کردند و شاهزاده سلطان‌خوار
شاعر برسپ سوار شد به‌علتی‌هوش می‌بستند و حضرت‌گفت‌گوه بودند که
در شکار عقب‌‌ی‌شاه ضعیف‌نی‌براسپ سوار بود — جلوش‌را مرد محسن‌سفید
گرفته‌ایستاده بود. مردم چنین ی‌گفتند که شاهزاده سلطان (58b)
خواهر‌شان است. قصه مختصر‌شا به‌جبر‌ب سیب مهربانی و مروت بیش
می‌آمده و تکفیف‌کرده مهربانی و غمزه‌ی‌مادرانه و خواهانه‌ی‌م‌بود.

* می‌آمده و تکفیف‌کرده سلطان حسین فانی پی‌گیرها تکفیف مهربانی‌بوده بود. شاعر
جواهر خود گفت که جنی مهربانی‌ی کیست در بیرون شهر مشروک سازید،
از‌شعر لذید و درب‌پیشه‌خیه و خرگاه‌بر و پیگیری‌که در صفح میدان‌خوب
بریا کردند. چنی و طاق نیز بیراکردن. در خرسانی ودر آن حدید
سوباژت می‌گفرتند و در عقب‌ی‌گفتند و حضرت‌به‌دشام سراپرده‌مدور
ی‌گفتند مثل هندوانه‌مردم‌شاه خرگاه و باگاه‌چر و طاق بریا کرده
در‌گردادر چنیهای‌زنشینگ‌مدوروگفت‌بودند وتایمی خویشاوندان‌ی‌شاعر.
زنده‌کاره‌ی خواهد‌گذاشت... گرفته پیش می‌بایست... مال و اسپان تعلق
بیش‌داده و بادشاها بقهره برسانند... اوّل که مین حضرت از ندیده بوده... خیالی فاس داشتم... ارکاک من حضرت اش مالیتزت کردم جان من و خاندان من... (57a) خوانش شرف زرنده‌ی دارم... صفحه حضرت بلک صدّقه یک‌بار مرا حضرت هرچه‌ی خواهد... بکرد... آخرین پرده دل و مراوید و جیزه‌ی... دبکر به آن بلوز عنایت فرمودند و صالح کرک به‌جان... قلعه بابا حاجی... تشریف فروردین.

بعد از روز رسیدند... آن قلعه داخلی ولایت گرمسیر است و در کاز... دریا واقع شده است و جمعی از اسادات در آنجا یی باند... آمده حضرت اش ملازمت کردن و میزبانی بجا آورند... صاحب او خواجه عالون آن... محمود از میرزا عسکری کرده‌نده آمد و قطعی است... واسب و شامیه‌ی و غيره که... داشته آورده پنشش حضرت كر... دیگری پی دخمه شده.

روز دیگر حاجی محمد خان کوکی با سی چهل سوار آمد و قطعی است... پشکش نمود... آخر از ازامیه برادان و نا هم به هم لا از آن... مصلحت (57b) چنان دیدند که توکل حضرت مسبب الاستاسب کرده عزم جرم خراسان باید... و بعد ازقطع منازل و طی مراحل بنوایی خراسان... رسیدند... باب حلفند که رسیدن شاه طهماسب از استعاع این خبر در... نمیر و تفرکر فو مانده همانون با داشته از گریدن فک گذار... رنهر نازکر به این حدود رسیدند و حضرت واجب الوجود با تجاها... رسیدن.

جمع اهالی وموالی واشارف وکابر و وضعیت وشرف وکیر وصیترا... با استقبال حضرت بدامش فرستادند... هم اینها تا آب حلفند بيشوار امدند... و بهرام میرزا والفاس میرزا وسیم میرزا که برادران شاه باشد... همراه...
بود که راهنبود که بالای کوه روند و این دغدغه برداشتند که مبادا میزرا عسکری بی انصاف از عقب رسد و خواسته بیافته بی‌هر روش بالای کوه رفتن و تمام شد درمانی بر فرودوند* در آن وقت هیزم هم بی‌هم نرسیده که آتش کند و برای خوردن هم چیزی نبود. گرگانی بقایت تنگک کرد. مردم بپیچی شدند (۵۶۶۶) حضورت فرودوندی بک اسب پیکنیق** حالا اسببه که کشتن دیگر نیکه آتش بخشنده* در دلیله گوشت سختشند و کباب کردن و چهار طرف آتش کردن و بدست مبارک خود کباب کرده نوش کردن** بزیان مبارک خودی فرودوندی سر مان از زمین‌های مسرد شک بود* بار چون صح شدکه دیگران نشان دادند که در آن کوهِ ابادانی هم و جمعهُ بلوجان در آنجا چی باشند در آنجا چی باشد رفت* راهی شدنند* در دو روز جدا آتشِ رسیدند* خانه‌ی جنگی دیدند* در آن خانه‌ی جنگی بلوج و خشی که عبارت که از غول بلیان آن مردم اند در دامین کوه نشیتِ بودند* هر یک تأثیرت قربی مس کس بودند* بلوجان که دیدند هم جمع شده آمدنند* حضورت در خرگوسن دبولد نشیتِ بودند که از دور دریافتند که حضورت نشیتِ اند با یکدیگر مگفتند که آگر ما یکدیگر گرفته بیش میزرا عسکری برم اللبه برای این هولا با (۵۶۶۶) می‌دهد بلکه اعمال زادگی هم خواهید داد* حسن علی ایسک آگا زین بلوجی داشت* اور زبان بلوجی میدانند* او معلوم کرد که این غول‌گیری بلیان خیال فاسد دارند و صاحب خیال کچ داشتند* بلوجان گفتند که بلوجی که سرت‌پا است انجا حاضر نیست* وقتی که او بیاب چروق بکید* جون وقت هر یک‌گاه شن بود تمام شد بااختیاب تمام بودند* پاره‌ای از شب کشته‌ها بود که آن بلوج سردار آنِ حضرت را ملازمت کرد و گفت که فرمانِ میزرا کاران و مبرزا عسکری با آنِ است* در آن نوشته‌ی اند که شنیده شد که پادشاه در خانه‌ای شا تشريف دارد... آگر در آنجا باشند زنهر هزار
حضرت در همان ساعت سوار شدن که غوغا افتاد و باذاش روانشند* دو تیرپرتاب (a) راه رفته بودند که حضرت باذاش خواجه معظم ویرام خان رافساتدنکه حیج بانو ییگرما ییارند* اینها آمده ییگرما سوارکردن و فرجه آن نشد جلال مهدی مهدی‌اکبیر باذاشراما هم هرآه بیرون* همین که ییگرما آرزو برآمک بودندکه هرآه باذاش شوندکه درین انتها میرزا عسكریی با دو هزار سوار رسید وشور شد* بهرند رسیدن بدر اردودآمید وگفت که باذاشراما اند* مردم گفتند درهست که بسکار رفته اند و دانست که برآمک رفته اند* آخر جلال الدين مهدی‌اکبیر باذاش را گرفته و هم مردم باذاشی را کوششانی درقنده بر (b) ومهدی‌اکبیر باذاشراماسلطان بیگم کوچ خود سیرد* سلطان بیگم کوچ میرزا عسكری بود* بسیار مهربانی و غمخواری میکرده* 

و باذاش را که سوار شندر روانسپان‌ی که نهادند تا چهار کروه رفنند و بعد از آن بسرعت تمام روان شند* و دران وقت این جعبت در ملازمت بودند، بیرم خان و خواجه معظم و خواجه نبازی (b) و ندم کوچ وروشن کوچ وحاجی مهدی خان ویابا دوست خیث و میرزا قلی ییگم جولی وحیدر مهدی‌اکبیر ییگم و شیخ يوسف چولی و ابراهیم ایشک آغا وحسن علی ایشک آغا وعیوب قورچی وعبیر ناظر وملک مختار وسنبل میر هزار و خواجه کیشک* خواجه غازی میگوید که من م در ملازمت بودم* این جعابت هرآه حضرت روان شند* وحیجت بانو بیگم میگوندنکه با سی کس بودند* واز ضعفا کوچ حسن علی ایشک آغا هم بوده*

* ناز کختن گذشته بود که در باز کوه رسیدند وکوهدرا انتخاب بررف گرفته*}

* Text, wa mîr hazâr; clearly a clerical error.
بکوشه پرنیابد هرگز خواندن و اولا نسرد در ساعت الله دوست و بابا جوکز بدوره قلعه برد و انواع درخشی کرده هاینها سوگند خوردن که مارا از آمدن این خیر نیست و این (54) بیش من سبی خواندن است و خواج غازی جهت با داشت و بیش کامران میرزا بود - باین سبب کتابت نوشته است مجموع قرار داد که کیفیک را با چمی همراه بش بانم حسین فرسند میر الله دوست و بابا جوجوک تمام شب بیش محمود بودند و ملامیت کرده او ار در خواست نوده از بند خلاص کردن و سپس اشار وصد به میر الله دوست برای حضرت فرسناد و عریضه از ترش نه نوشته که مباده بسبست کسی اتفاق - آن از زبانی گفتگه فرسناد که آخر عرضه داشت میرزا عسکری با امرا امکن باشد رفتن کابل به نیست و آگرنه مصلحت در رفتن کابل نیست مک حضرت بادشاها را خواهد دید و حضرت کس کم دارند آخرا تا چه روي دهد کیسه آمیز بعرض رسانید حضرت محیط و متفکر شدند که چه باید کرد و بیگا باید رفت کلگاش کردن د (54) یردی محمد خان و پیرم خان کلگاش دادند که غیر از شیالان و شال مستان که سرحد قندهار است بجای دیگر عزم جرم کردن میکن نیست - چراکه در آن حدود افغان پسیار اند بجای خود خواهیم کشید و اولا و ملامیت میرزا عسکری نیز گریخته بیش ما خواهد آمد آخرا چنین قرار با یکدیگر داده فاده خواندن دو و کوچ بکوچ متوجه قندهار شدند جوان نزدیک شال مستان سیدن دود و در موضع ری نام موضعی فروز آمده و جوان بر ف و پر از ارک بود و هوا باقی خنک بود و قرارداد چنین بود که ازین منزل بشال مستان خواه رفت و چی نام از عصر بود که جوانی اوزیک برای رهرو قله و هوار کلک (؟) رسید و نعره زدک حضرت سوار شودن دک در راه حضیر عرض خواه کرد که وقتی نگ است و اغلال وقتی حضیر گفت نیست
سوار بودندا و آبیه نتمه با قی مانند بود برای بار ناچیز فرمودند* و هر که
سواری‌شدن سوار سوارشدن‌ند سوارها بزینه مبیندند (53a) و راه جنگل
می‌گرفتند. و از شتران بارخانه‌ی هرکدام که بار می‌کردند بچه‌های شنیدند او از سیم
اسب حسجیسته بارها بر زمین اندامه‌ی خود بچه‌ها در آمده میرفتند
و بر هرکدام شترکه بارها محکم بسته‌ی شدت هرچند ای که باری نانی افتاد
یع بار راه چرخ پیش گرفته ویک‌پشت* بدن نوع جالب‌قندیده‌ی می‌رفتند
تا قرب دوست مورد شترگوشته باشد و چون نزدیک سیوی رسدند نمود
ساربان باش ملازم شاه حسین میرزا در سیوی بود - فلعدا ممبوتو کره
مختض شد ** حضرت در شش کوه سیوی فرورآمدند* درین اذن‌نخر
آمد که میراثه دوست و بابا جوجو پیکر از کلاب دو روز است که سیوی آمد
اند و بیست‌شان نمی‌بایست می‌روند* سروه و آسانخاچی و موهبَ بشمار
میرزا‌کامران به شاه حسین میرزا فرستاده و دختر اوا برای خود طلب
نوده‌اند خود حضرت پس‌واجته غازی فرمودند که من در میانه‌نیو
و اوّل دوست نسبت بدر و فرزندی (53b) است کتابی نوشته‌که میرزا کامران بی‌طرف با بیست می‌آید و اگر ما بذلنا روم‌چون سلول
بکنند و حضرت با ادشام خواجته پیکر قدم رفته که می‌گفت سیوی رفته
به میراثه دوست بگویه اگر آمدن مارا به زند* خویست* خواجته
که پر مذکور سیوی روان شد* حضرت فرمودند که تا آمدند تو
ماکوچ نخواهم کرد* اوا چون نزدیک سیوی رسیده بود که محمود ساربان
باش گرفته بر پسرد که بچه کار آمدی؟ اوا گفت بچه‌ی اسب و شتر
خردتن* گفت دست در بغل اندارد و ناجا اوا پالیده‌که مبادا به الله
دوست و بابا جوجوک فرمایست اورده باشد*

چون نقض کردند کتابت از بغل او برآمد* فرست نیافت که کتابت را

* Misread in translating as پند (پیباند)
وقندهارا میرزا عسكری (۵۲) دادنده و غززیه را و عهد کردن میرزا هندال هندال * حالا که بگذینن أنداد لعیف و تنگه‌دارا میرزا هندال دادنده * اینطور و عده‌ای دروغ * میرزا هندال بهدیاش رفته در خوست و اندراب نشستند * میرزا کامران در میان دیگر بگفتنکه شا رفته بباید * حضرت دلدار بیک که رفتند میرزا جواب دادنده که مین خودرا از دغدغه سپای گری کذرانه ام و خوست هم کوشه ایست * نشسته ام * بیکم گفتند آگر غززی درویش و گوشه نشینی باشد هم کابل گوشه ایست با اهل و عیال و فرزندان گنا بانشی * بیتر است * آخر بیکم میرزا روزآوررد و در کابل مدت‌ها بوضع درویشی و بودنده * در انجا میرزا شها حسین پشته حضرت بادشاها کس فرستاده که لایی دولت آنتابه که از اینجا کوچ کرد به بجان بقانیب تقندهار برود - بهتر است حضرت را را میناد و جواب فرستادن حکم در اردوی ما اسب و شتر کم مانن است - شا اسب و شتر با بدهید ما تو بقانیب بروم * شاه حسین میرزا قبول (۵۲) کرد وگفت که هرگاه شا از آب گذرید هزار شتران روى آب هست - هونو وا بشا خواه فرستاد * آکر (?) خانه که در رؤا بکنر و سند از خواهجه کیمیک خوشی خواجگی غازی مذکور بود نقل از نوشته خواجگی کیمیک مذکور است * آخر حضرت به اهل و عیال لشفک و خبره بردکیها سوار شدن * تا سه روز بجرا علی کردن * از سرحد ولایت و گذشته نوای نام موضعی بود آنها فروزآمیزد و سلطان قلی نام ساربان باشی را فرستادند تا شتران را بیارد * سلطان قلی مذکور رفته هزار شتر اورد * حضرت همه شتران را به امر ابان و سیاهی و خیبر مردم لکنار دادن و قسمت فرموذند * آن شتران بنوع بودنده که گوا هفت بست بلعه هفتان بیست آن شتران مذکور شهر و آدم وبارا تندبی بودنده * جون در لک نهاینکه الفرس بود آکر مردم شتر
نرزبد شایان است‌- درین طور وقت عکس بر ما و شایان است در میان خودها باناق باشید بیشتر است وکتیابها که از میرزا کامران نوشته ام آگر قبول کنند و بعل آرد هرچه خاطر اموخاهد مام همان نوع وی کنم عبعد از رسیدن حضرت یکم بفتد به آقای روز میرزا کامران هم رسیدن و هر روز مبالغه‌ها می‌کردن که خطبه بیان می‌گفتند که تغییر دادن خطبه چه معنی دارد؟ حضرت فردوسی مکان در حیات خود پادشاه را به هاپون پادشاه داده اند و لیگ عهد خود کردن‌ها اند و هاپون به قبول کرده خطبه بیان ایشان‌ها این بین مدت خوانند ام‌- اکنون تغییر دادن خطبه صورت ندارد، میرزا کامران حضرت دلدار بیگم خطی نوشته‌ها ما آزکل شیارا بادر کرده آمدم عجب است که بیک زمان آن‌ها ماردیدید (ب) جانشین والده میرزا هندال ابد بهمون طور والده ما ابد* آخر الامر دلدار بیگم بیدین ایشان آمددن* میرزا کامران گفتند اکنون خرائی گذارم تا میرزا هندال را تطليبد* دلدار بیگم گفتند که خانزاده بیگم ولی نعبدشا اند وکلان و بزرگ هم شایان اند* حقیقت خطبه‌را از ایشان پرسید* آخر به آن گفتند حضرت خانزاده بیکم جواب دادند* اگر آز و بر سری به حضرت فردوس مکانی قرار داده اند و بادشاه خودرا به هاپون باشده اند و شایان همه خطبه‌ها تا حال بنام ایشان خوانات ابد* اکنون هم کلان خود دانسته فرمان بردار ایشان باشید* غرض تا جهار‌ها میرزا کامران قندامرا قبل کرد و مبالغه خطبه می‌نودند* آخر قرار دادند* خوب‌اکنون پادشاه داده باید بیان ایشان خواهان خوانات* چون قبل بدور ودراز کنید بود و مردم تنگ* آمده مان بودند ضرور شد خطبه‌را خوانند
بادگر و میرزا پاینده محمد و محمد ولی ونیم کرک وروشن کرک و خدشک
ابشک آغاجی وجمع دبگ بر ملامزی حضرت بوندنده خبر آمد که
پیرم خان از انجاب گیرات ی آیب و پرگنة جاجکه رسبین است حضرت
خوشحال شند و خدشک ابتشک آغاجی را بجیمه حکم کردنده باستقلال
پیرم خان روند

درین اثنا شاه حسین شند که پیرم خان ی آید چنگسرا فرستاده
که پیرم خان را بگیرند گافل در جائی فروز (۵۰ بودکه آمک
ریختند خدشک ابتشک آغا کاشته شد و پیرم خان با چندی خلاص شده
در ملامزم حضرت آمک مشف شد

درین اثنا عرض داشته ای فرما خان آمک حضرت پادشاه (و) میرزا
هندال که مدیستگ که در نواحی بکر نشته اید درین مدت از
شاه حسین میرزا اثر دولتغواهی ظاهر نشد بلکه بدبخش آمک دیگر
بعبایی آلیه کار آسان خواهد شد آگر پدشته بدولت و سعادت بیابند
بهتر و عین مصلحت است و آگر حضرت نیابند شا البه بیانیه چون
حضرت یرق ی کرده بوندن و میرزا هندال(۷) به استقبال پرآمک و قدنها را
پیشکش میرزا هندال کرده بود

میرزا عسکری در غزین بوندن میرزا کامران عرضه داشت کردنده که
فرما خان قدنها را میرزا هندال داد فکر قدنها را بابک کرد میرزا
کامران در صحیب این شندند که قدنها از میرزا هندال بکیرنده
درین ضمن حضرت این خیرهارا شندنه پیش عیه خوی خانزاده
بیگم آمک مباله بسیار (۵۱) بوندن که مرا سرافراز کرده بقدنها
بروید و میرزا هندال را و میرزا کامران را نصیحت کرد که اوزیک و نرگان

* Cf. Turkî ʻishık aghâsi, usher.
بکر شندند ویس واهل وعالیرآ (۴۸ب) در عربی‌کوت گذشته‌ند و خواهه
مُعموراً نیز گذشته‌ند که از هر خریدار باشد حمین بنو یگم حامله بودند.
بعد از متوحه شند حضرت سه روژ گذشته بود که یاد زیان بارش رجب
المرب سپس نهصد وچهل ون و وقت سهر روژ یکسیب بود که تولد
حضرت بادشاه عالم‌پناه عالم‌گر جلال الدین محمد که بزرگ‌دشگاز
قمر در برچ اسد بود تولید در برچ ثابت شد بغاپت خویست و سیبان
گفتند فرزندی که دری دین ساعت شود صاحب اقبال و دراز عمر می‌شد.
حضرت در پانهدرا کرو می‌بودند که تردین محمد خان خیر رساند.
حضرت بسیار بسیار خوش‌خال شندند و از منزل و بشارت این خیر
تفسیرات مانندی‌ند تردین محمد خان معاون کردن
و ان خوبان که در لاهور دیاب بودند هون نام جلال الدین محمد که
بادشاه نام یاد‌ند و از آنجا کچر که متوحه بکر شندند و از مردم
رضا وان‌فرافی وسوده و هستنی‌هند ده هزار کس جمع شند در پرگه
چون رسدین (۴۹ا) یک غلام شاه حسین میرزا با چند سوار در این
بود گرفت رفت در آنجا باغ آینه بسیار خوب بصن باود در آن باغ
حضرت فروز آمدند و مواضعی آنرا برهم چاگیر نشین، فرمودند.
و در خون نشند شش روز راه بود تا شش‌ماه حضرت در آنجا بودند.
و بعمرکوت کس فرستادن اهل حرم و بسیم تمام مردم را طلیدند.
وقت جلال الدین که بادشاه شش ماه بودن که در جون آوردن
و جمعه که از اطراف و جوان هم‌هار یا اهل حرم آمده بودند متفرق شدند.
و رعات‌الاً یا جهه گفت و گو که به تردین محمد خان واقع شد بود شکر
رگ‌دن در مبانی نرده بیگم و او بود نم شیب بود که کچر کرده بجانب
و لایبد خود رفت و جمعه‌سوده و سمایه نیز بدو موافقت کرده رفتند.
حضرت به‌همان جمعیت خود مانندند.
Text, passim, spells thus.
برادر مبیوئی و جمعی دیگرا رخصت کردن و فاقد خوانندگی که رفته با کافران چنگ کید. و یکی حضور شد که ایشان تیرمردان و منعم خان و میرزا ادگار را با جمعی که گذاشته بودند کننده شدن با بدست کافران افتادن که این جمعیت آنها را کشته برسر ما آمده اند. حضور بس خود سوار شده همراه چند کس اوردو گذاشته بیش رفتند و آن جمعیت که حضوراً فانه خوانده بیش فرستاده بودند شیخ علی بنگ سردار (۴۷ا) آن راجوتان را به تریزد از اسپ انداخت و چند کس دیگراً مردم دیگر به تریزد کافران رو بکن گردید نهادند و فتح شد چند کس را زنگ هم گرفته آوردند. اردو آمده آهسته امیر فرخش می‌رفت اما حضور پادشاه دور رفته بودند. این مردم فتح کرد به اردو آماده رسدند.

به‌صورت نام جویداری بود. اورا از عقب حضور دوانده فرستاده که حضور آهسته روند که بعنای آهنی فتح شد و کافران گرفتند. به‌صورت خودرا بخوره رسانی و خبر خوش برد. حضور فرود آمدند و انداک آبی‌می‌پیدا شد. اما در فکر امیر بودند که آنها را چه واقع شد؟ که از دور این سوار بیدا شدند. از دغدغه شد که میادا مالیدی باشد. کس فرستادن که خبر بیار. دویچ آمد که ایشان تیرمردان قبادر و میرزا ادگار و منعم خانه به‌سمت و سلامت می‌آیند. راه گم‌کرده بودند. بعد از رسیدن آنها حضور خودمان شدند و شکر حکم جدا آوردند.

و صاحب کوه کردن سه روز دیگر آب نیافتند (۴۷ب) بعد از سه روز برسر چاها رسیدند و چهاری مذکور بسیار عقیق بودند. برسر آن چاه مقام کردن. آب آن چاه بگایت سرخ بود. برسر یک چاه حضور فرود آمدند. برسر یک چاه دیگر تری بیک خان. و برسر یک چاه میرزا ادگار و منعم خان و نظم کوه. برسر یک چاه ایشان تیمور سلطان و خواجه غازی و روش کوکهُ.
The M.S. writes the name of this jewel of chroniclers in the plural.
جیبالر شندند* بعد از چند روز بقلعه دلور رسیدند که سرد و لایبت‌
را و مالدیبو است (45) دو روز آنجا بودند دانه و گواه بیدا نشد و
از آنجا بجانب جیبالر روان شندند* چون نزدیک جیبالر رسیدند راجع
جیبالر جمعی فربان و سر را گرفت و جنگ شد و حضارت با یکدی از
راه کاره میرفتند* دربن جنگ جنگ گانه شندند* (4) لوش بیک برادر
شاه خان جلایر و پیر محمد اخته و روشنگ کنوشکی و جنگ دبیر زخمی
شبند* آخرت قرنده* کافران گرفته بقلعه در آمدند و حضارت آن
روز تا شست کروه راه رفتن و در سر تالابی منزل واقع شد* بعد از آن
بساتلیم رسیدند* انفراد آن روز توشیش دادند تا آنها در یلودی نام
برگنه که تعلق به مالدیبو داشت روشنند* راجع مالدیبو در جو هبوز بود
یک جهی و یکی شتری اشریف جمدم حضرت فربان و دلایل سببر
نود هکه خوش آمدید* بیگانه‌ها بیشا میهم* حضرت با یک دل جمع
نفسه بومند و آنها خانها بیش مالدیبو فربانند که چه جواب میهد
ملا سرخ کتابدار در آن شکست و ویژنت هنر بجانب* (45) ولایت مالدیبو
رفنده ملازم شده بود* او عریسه فربان که زنانه هزار زناب حضرت
پبش نابیند و در هر جا که منزل دارند درساعت کرچ کننده مالدیبو
در صد گرفتنی شا است و اعتاد بر قولی او نکنید که ایلی شیر خان
آمد و شیر خان نوشته فربناده که هر نوعی هکه دانی و نواید آن
حضرت را بگیرید* آخر این کار کردند تاگور و الور و هرامری که
خواهد بسا میهم* و آنها خان م آمده گفت که وقت است نیست
نماز دیگر بوده حضرت کرمی کردن و در وقت سواری حضرت دو
جالس و گرفته آورندند* هر دورا بسته نزدیک آورده سمن میرسیدند که
دسته‌ای خودرا قبی اتحال خلصه کرده شبستر از کریم محمود کریمْ
کشیده اوآل محمودرا زده* بعد از آن باتی گوالبارا را زختی کرده*
وغله قیمت بوده است و آکثر مردم گرگانیان گرفتند. مدّت شش هفت‌ماه در آنجا بودند و میرزا شاه حسن حرام نمی‌کرد مردم لشکر آز هرطرف گرفته برمی‌خود خود می‌سرد بگذارد برده در دریای شور اندازید. سیصد چهار صد گذشته کرده در کشتی اندلخته به دریای شور ی‌اندیده‌گن تا ده هزار کس را در دریای شور انداخت.

بعد از آن‌که در بیش حضارت هم‌کس کم‌ماند چند کشتی بر نوب و تنگ‌کر کرده خود از تنهاه بر سر حضارت آمده سیاه‌و‌ان‌نرده بدریا واقع شده است. آمده کدک‌های حضارت پادشاها همراه اسباب برد وکس فرسناد که حق‌بک نگاه نداده‌میدارم زود‌کوچ کنید حضارت لغتمائی شندن و بار بک‌یانه متوه مک‌بکر شندن.

چون نزدیک بک‌بکر شندن میرزا حسن‌سپهر بیش‌از‌آن‌که حضارت در بهتر (۴۴۵) بر سرند کس بیش میرزا‌یادگار ناصر فرسناده بود که آگر حضارت بک‌بلوک بکر می‌باید ماده نگذاردند که بکر تعلق بشما دارد. من از آن‌ها م و دختر حضرت بیش می‌موم میرزا‌یادگار ناصر سخن اورا بار کرده حضرت پادشاه‌را در به‌کر آمده نگذاست و لغوست که سچربه‌ی با بچ‌بیش آید.

حضورت کس فرسنادنده بابا شاوهی فرزند ما ابد و بچای خود شاه‌نشانه‌رفتم که اگرما واقع بیش‌آید شاک‌کوعلک ما باشید و الحال از بدراد نوکرانش بی‌پا مادین سلک مک‌کید. این‌نورکران حرام نمی‌بکد به‌همان وفا خواه‌اقد. هر چند حضرت نصیحت کرده فرسنادندا فاده‌بدر نکرد. آخر حضرت فرموده که خوب ماج‌بگان راجه مال دیو میرولوم و این ولايت‌را باش‌دادم اما شاه حسن شاهار از انتخای‌خواه‌گذاشته سخن

مارا باد خواه‌اقد. کرده

میرزا‌یادگار ناصر‌آیین سخن‌را گفته کرده متوه می‌مال دیو شندن و برآ‌
آیتم * سبب آن که از یک گمی این حرف شنید آنست بعرض رسانند * حضرت فرمودند اگر نا محروم اند محروم هستند * غرض که تنها جهال روزارجه حینک بانو بیکم مبلغه و مناقشه بود و یکگم راش نشندند * آخر حضرت واپس آماده دلدار بیکم نصیحت کردند که آخر خود بکسی خواهی رسید یکه از پادشاه که خواهد بود یکگم گفتن که آزی بکسی خواهی رسید خسته دست من بگریز او بررسد نه آنکه بکسی برم که دست از میدان بداین او نرسد * آخر باز (43b) والده ام نصیحت بسبار کردند *

غرض که بعد از جهال روز در ماه جمید الاول سنه نهصد و چهل و هشت در مقام بانر روز دوشنبه نم روز بودکه استنلا بحضرة پادشاه دست مبارک خود گرته ان و ساعد سعدا اختراب کرد که ابوبقلا طلیع حضور فرمودند که نکاح نشتمد * مبلغ دو لک نکاحنه بیرابقلا دادند * بعد از عقد سه روز دیگر آنجا بودند * بعد از این کوچ کرده در کشتی نشستند و مسیره بکهرشدند * ویکاه در بکهر بودند * میرا ابوالبقلا در بیش سلطان بکهری فرستادند * آنگا تشوهش شک برهم حق پوستند *

آخر میرزا هنگلا رخصت قندهار کردن * میرزا یادکار ناصرلا بیای خود در لری گناشتن و حضرت خود متوه سیاواشند که از سیاوان نا نهته شک هنگره راهست * سیاوان قلعه مضبوط دارد و میر علیکه ملازم حضرت پادشاه در آن قلعه بود و نویجه جنیدی بودکه هیچ کس را محاچ تزيد قلعه رفته نبود * جنید کس از مردم حضرت پادشاه مورچال (44a) کرده تزيدبک رسیدند و اورا نصیحت کردند که حرم بکش درین حوق وقت خوب نبست * میر علیکه قبول نکرد * آخر نشب کردن و بک برج قلعه را اندادند * اما قلعه را توانادن گرفت.
کردند، حبیب بانو بیگم را پرسیدند که این چه کس است؟ گفتند که
دختر میر بابا دوست خواجه مخصوص روبروی حضرت استاده بود
گفتند، این پسری خوش می‌شد. حبیب بانو بیگم را گفتند که این هم
خوشی ما است.
در آن‌یام حبیب بانو بیگم (۴۲) آشور در محل مبزه ما بود. روز دیگر
بار حضرت به‌دیدن حضرت و الله دلدار بیگم آمده. فرمودند: میر بابا
دوست خوشباشند ما است. مناسب آست که دختری اورا با نسبت بکنید.
میرزا هندال عذرها گفتند که این دختران از مثل خواهر و فرزند
خود می‌دانند، حضرت پادشاه اند. می‌دانست نیک نشود تا باعث
کلعت شود. حضرت پادشاه خشم کرد به‌حواله رفتند.
بعد از آن حضرت واله خطی نوشته فرستادند که مادر دختر ازین
هم پیشتر ناز میکند. جبرست حق به‌اندک سیف رحمت رفتند. حضرت
پادشاه در قاب نوشته فرستادند که این حکایت شاپا سیا بسیار خوش آمد.
هر نازی که می‌کرد بسر و چشم قول داریم. دیگر از جهتی معاهش که نوشته
اند انشا الله حل تلاع، خواهد شد. حضرت انتظار در راه است.
حضرت واله رفته حضرت پادشاه آوردن. آن روز مجلس دادند.
بعد از مجلس ببندی خود تشیف بردن. روز دیگر حضرت بیش و اللهم
ام آمده و گفتند که وک (۴۳) میر سید حبیب بانو بیگم، طلبیک بیار و
حضرت واله که کس فرستادن حبیب بانو بیگم، نه آمده. گفتند: آری
غرض ملازمت است خود آن روز بپازم، مشرف شکم ام. دیگر برای
چه یاد؟ مرتب دیگر حضرت سیاحان قلی را فرستادند که میرزا هندال را
رفته بکوکه بگیرم. بفرستید. میرزا گفتند، هرچند من گفت نمی‌رومود
تو خود رفته بگوی سیاحان قلی که رفته گفت: بیک جواب دادند که دیگر
پادشاه یک مرتبه جایز است. در مرتبه دیگر نمی‌رود.

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This is clearly the scribe's error. Mir Samandar was a confidential servant of Humayûn and is named in the histories as the envoy. Cf. note to translation.
بله فرزندا نطمک ککی تکنیند - چرکا همه فرزندا را خدای تعالی بن  در کابال داده و اکثر فیقا از نفستن کابال شت بهکه در واکم، نامه وردوس مکانی هم مشهده این معنی بسیار مذکور است*چه شده که من از روي مراهی و بارداری پیرز ریا اسانت کردن - پیرز امرال چین میگوید*  

هرچند حضرت درسا و بكانگی مینمولود - پیشتر از پیشمار مینمولود* چون حضرت دیدنده که هر آیه میرزا جمعت بسیار است و به چی ویه رفت کابال میرزا راضی نیست لا علقوش ضروره بطرف بکر  ولدان متوه شدند* در ملتان که رسیدند 向 روز منزل (41) مینودند* چه کهک یبدا شید و اندک غله که در قلمه یبدا برد بود بردم قسمت کردند کوچ کردن و بر سر درای که هفت درا بیگا شید* است رسیدند* حیران مانندند* کشتی پم مسرد و آدرویی عظم هرهم* درین انا خبر آمد بد خوادان خان با چند امراب از عقب گآید* خفن نام بلوجی بوده که جاهای ممکن داشت وکس (؟کشتی) بسیار هم داشت* حضرت کور راز او فرستندند و علم و نقاره واسب و سرویا نیز فرستندند وطلب کشتی نودند و چه در طلب نودند* آخر الامر خشونت بلوج قرب بیک صد کشتی نودند پر غله می بازمت حضرت فرستندند* ازین خدمت شایسته حضرت بسیار خوشحال کردن و کشتی غله مذکورا بردم لشکر قسمت کردن و سعادت و سلامت از آب گذاشتن* رحمت باد بر بخشن مذکوره خدمت شایسته بجا آورد*  

وآخراً الامر بعد از زلفی مسافت به بکر رسیدند - وقلعه بکه در میان دریا واقع شد و قلعه مضبوط دارد - وادشاً قلعه مذکور کهسلطان محمود (41) باند شریک شت بود و حضرت به پهلوی قلعه بسعاده و سلامت فرود آمک بودند* ونژدیک قلعه باغی بود که میرزا ضیاء حسين سندر راست کرد بهود*
ودرآن ایام بی‌پای گونور حامله بوده، هی کسی نمی‌می‌گفت، نه پسر، نه خواهد شد. در هیان باغ دوست منشی از بی‌پای گونور در ماه جدید اول، دختر تولید شد، بخشی بانو بی‌پای نام کردند.

و در آن روز‌ها میرزا حیدری را درگرفتن کشمیری تنین نموده اند که درین انتخاب آمده، کی شیر خان رسد. صاحب اطراف دست داد، قرار دادند که صحیح کوچ کند.

درین مدت که بردران در لاوه بودند، هر روز مصملت و مشورت و کگشای میکردند، اصلاً بیک چیز قرار نیز دادند. آخر الامر خیر آمد که شیرخان آمد و دیگری علایش شک یک‌پهر روز بوده کوچ کردند.

حدودن داعی مکسیری داشتند و میرزا حیدری کاشغری بر فرستاده بودند. اما هنوز خبر فتح کشمیر نامه و بود که کگشای دادند که اگر حضور متوجه کشمیر شوند و کشمیر در افکان مسیر نشود و شیرخان در لاوه باشد، آن زمان بسیار مشکل می‌شود.

خواجگان این بیگ در سیال کوت بودند. متوجه ملازمت حضور شد. مؤید بیگ هرمان خواجگان بود. حضور عرضه داشت هر چند خواجه دغدغه ملازمتی دارد. وی ابتدای ملاحظه میرزا کامران دارد اگر حضور بسرعت بسابقه ملازمتی خواجه حضور با حسن و جهش بی‌سپر ی شود حضور از شیش تا این خبر در افکان جبهه بخشیر مسلم و مکمل شد. متوجه خواجگان شدند و خواجه‌ها هر امیره کوچ آوردند.

وضر فرمودند که بانفی بردران به بدخوان روی کباب (40b) تعلق میرزا کامران داشته باشد. اما میرزا کامران برفن کباب راضی نشستند. وکلفشند که کباب را حضور فردوس مکانی در حیات خود باوالدی من داده، رفتن کباب لاین نیست. حضور فرمودند که در باب کباب آخیر حضور فردوس مکانی میفرمودند که کبابی را من بچه کس نخواهند داد.
سرهد باشد* آن بی انصاف (۳۹۸) خدا نا ترس قبول نکرده وگفت که
کابل را نسیانم‌ در آتنه باید رفت*

ظرف یکگ در ساعت کوچ کرد و بیشتر کم‌ فرستاده که کوچ می‌ باید
کرد* هنگام که خرس رسد حضارت کوچ کردند کوچا روس قیامت بود
که جای هارا آرائه‌ هرام استاس هم‌ نوع گذاشتند* مگرند آنچه بود
همون را نوانتست گرفت* شکر خدا در بوده از آن لپا لاهور گذر بافتند*

هم مردم بای آب گذاشتند* وچند روز در کار دربیا منزل کردند که
ابلیش شیر خان آمد* قرار دادند که صبح به آن بینند که میترا کامران داد
نوودند که فردا معرف خواهد بود و الجبی شیر خان خواهد آمد* آگر در نوك
زنج حضرت نشینم آن رقیق مبانی من و برادران باشد باعث سرافرازی من

خواهد شد*

هیچ بانو یکم میگویند میترا این رباعی را بادنش نوشته‌ فرستادند و من
شنه بودم که در جواب شیر خانی بستُ الجبی نوشته‌ فرستادند* رباعی
این است* در این بچه خود تمامی باشد* بیسته‌ رخوششان جدلی باشد* (۹۹)

خودرا بیشالی غیر دیدن عجب است* این با الهی کار خداوند باشد*

الجبی شیر خان که آمیز ملزم‌ کرد*

خطرِ مبارک ایشان ملول شد* دلگیر شد در خواب شند و در
خواب دیک انگاش عزیزی آمیز از سرتا با لباس سبز بوگیه و عصای در
دست* گفت مردانه باش و غم وخور و عصای خودرا بست مبارک
حضرت داده اند وگفت‌ ان مخدا تعالی بتو فرزندی خواهد داد* نامش
جلال الدین محمد آنی باشان* حضرت فهیشی وکه اسم شرفی شا
چیست؟ فرموده اند که زندگی فیل احمی چام* و فرموده اند آن فرزند

ازنسل من خواهد شد*
است* آخر میرزا هندالی عرض کردن که قتل کردند مادر و خواهر
حضرت روشان است* تا جان دارم در خدمت آنها ترگذ می‌کم و امیدوارم
از حضرت خن سپانه‌که در قدم حضرت واله و هم‌شیر این حیبر جان
خودرا تنارکم
**آخر حضرت بادشان با میرزا عسكری و برادر ناصر میرزا و امرایه که
از جنگ گاه سلامت بر آلم بودن متوجه فتح بور شدن
و میرزا هندال حضرة والده خودرا که دلدار بینم باشند و هم‌شیر که
کلیشه بینم باشند و افغانی آنها چه و کلنا آنها چه و نارگل آنها چه و اهل
وعیال امراو غیرشا در بیشان اندامه‌که در بیستدانه که گواران بسیار بر ایشان
تأخیر* از سیاه‌یان ایشان چند کس اسب اندامه‌که اند گواران را
(88) شکست دادند و پیک نبرده اسب مبارك ایشان رسید* جنگ و جدال
بسیار کردن* ضعفا از سیری گواران خلاص کرده حضرت واله و
هشیرو خودرا و بسی امراو غیرش مردم را در بیش اندامه به امر آمد
رسیدند* امک* بلاحور رسیدند

چادر و خیمه و غیره بعضی اسباب که در کار بود گرفته متوجه لاهور
شدن* میرزابان و امرابان را آنهم در کار بود هرگاه گرفته در اندک روز
آمک* بلاحور رسیدند* حضرت در باغ خواجه غازی ندیبک یپی حاج تاج فرود آمدن
هر روز خیری شیر خان میرسید* یکد سه ماه دریاهور بودند و روز
بروز خیر م آمک که شیر خان دو کروه سه کروه م آبد – تا انکه خبر
رسید که ندیبک سر هند شید* و حضرت مظاهر بابک نام امرا (Sic)
دارشتن* نرکان بود اورا همراه
قاضی عبد الله بیش شیر خان فرستادنهم که انصافست– تمام‌ملک
هندستان را تو گذاشت* یک لاهور مانه میان ما و شا حد همین
خودرا فرستادن‌که آخر هرهاه نیرود تا یک منزل خود بیاید* آخر در آن منزل چه آمده شد دیگر بنیاد سوگند خوردن کردن‌که من ترا نخواهم گذاشت* 

آخر بصدگه و زاری و فغان از والدها واز والده خود واز هشیرا واز مردم بدر و برادران که از خودنی یک کالان شن بودم – یعنی که باکری و زور بردن دیدم که فرمان بادشاها هم درین باب هست* لا علاج شده و بخشیت عرض داشت (37b) نوشته که از حضرت چشم داشت آن ناشتم‌که این حضرت را از ملازمت خود جدا سازند و به میرزا کامران بن بچشنید* آخر در جوان عربیه حضرت بادشاه سلام نامه نوشته فرستادن به این مضمون که من دل نداشت که ترا از خود جدا کنم – یعنی چون میرزا بسیار مالگه کرد و مجز ولحج نمود ضرور شد که ترا به میرزا سردم چرا که الحال ما هم برسر میرا انشا اعلی‌تَ هرگاه که این میم صورته بذیرد اول ترا خواهم طلید* 

جون میرزا متوجه لاهور شدند آخر مردم از امرآ و سودا گران و گیرو هرکس را استعداد بود گرایه کرده واهل و عیالی خوده‌ها هرذای میرزا کامران چویانی بلاهور بردن* 

بعد از آمدن بلالهور خیر رسید که برای آپ گمگ جنگ شد وکست ن جریی حضرت افتاد* باری این قدرت شد که حضرت با برادران و خوانشان از آن ورطة بحاش وسلامت یا آمدن* دیگر خویشاوندی که در آگه بودند برای اول شن متوجه لاهور شدند* در آنان اثناء حضرت میرزا هنال (88a) از مرودن که درآن فترات اول عقیقه بیبی گایین شدند* آخر بسیار بسیار شد که جرا بحیور خود نکشت* الحال م عورات را درین طور وقت هرهاه بجای رسایند مشکل

* Misread as گرای in the translation.
درین وقت که شیرخان نزدیک رسیده ابین چه گهار است که حضارت
می‌کند، در آن روزها میرزا کامران بیماری که خوب زورکرده * چنان ضعیف
ولاغر شدند و ازبی که لاغری به‌دست اصلی‌چه یا برجا نبود و امدی‌زیستن
نیود* بعنایت (۶۶) آلهی بهتر شدند و میرزا کامران را گانِ آن‌شکه
پمکاً حضارت باشده والدنا به ایشان زهر دادند * حضرت باشده ابین
می‌گفتند. * چنین که یکمته بدیدن میرزا کامران آمدند و سوگند خورندند
که هرگر در خیال ما نگذشته و بخشی نفرموده ایم * با وجود سوگند
خاطر میرزا کامران صاف نشته و بی‌پایه میرزا باز روز بروز بدر شد
چنانچه قوت سختی کردن نداشند.

تا آن‌هی خبر رسیده که شیرخان از لکه‌نشین گذشت حضرت کوچ کرند
وتوجه کوچ شدند و میرزا کامران را خدای خود در آگوه مانندند.
بعد از چند روز میرزا کامران شیدند که حضرت باشده پی بسته از آب
گنگ گذشتند * میرزا کامران شیدند – از آگو کوچ کرند

بطرف لاهور نشته بودیم که میرزا کامران فرار با دوشی و فرستادند
که نورا حکم است که هر ادعا من به لاهور بروید * از جهت من میرزا
کامران حضرت باشده که قطعه تشکیل که وی‌بایری نه یکبود و
دربار غربی و پیکس و بن غنوارم (۸۸) آگر گل‌بندن یکبود حکم که
بین هریا به لاهور برود عین نهات و کرم خواهد بود * حضرت بروید
ایشان گنه باشد که بروید. * چون باشده بلند و سعیام سپادن
دوه منار رفته میرزا فرمان با دوشی ورودند و می‌حلی شدند که الهه
شها هریا با یادشت * والده من درین ان‌گنه باشند که هرگر از میان
جدان سفر نکرده است * ایشان فرمودند اگر نتشه سفر نکرده است مشای ایشد
هریا به‌روید. * تا یانِنی صد از سیاهی و مهتران هجرم و هر دو ایشان وکوه‌
میکوئید* ویاژ فرودنده که کلیدن جه شود (35b) که برادر خود محمد هندال میرزا را ترفته بیاری؟ حضرت واله ام گفتند که این دختر خود سال است - هرگز صرف نکرده است* آگر حکم شود منبروم* آنحضرت فرودنده که من بشایین تصدیعات چون دم این خود ظاهر است که حضوری فرزندان بر مادر و بردار از است* آگر تشریف
برید* حضوریست که بر میان مکینید* آخیر امیر ابو البارا بهمراهی حضرت واله ام طالبی میرزا هندال فرستادند* و محمد هندال میرزا بجای شنیدن این خبر تشریف آورندند و حضرت واله خویشالی‌ها کردن و بیشوار آمدند و هرچه حضرت واله میرزا هندال از اول آمدند و حضرت پادشاه ملزما کردن و قصّه شنیده به بال مذکور گفتندکه جبه و کمی و اسباب شیمه‌گیری‌ها بشير خان معرفت است* چون تحقیق ریس شنید مکورت، مرکب و باید آن کنیم* غرر بعد از این روز خر سیده که شیر خان نزدیک لکه‌که روستای دربین اتّنا حضرت فادشاه بک غلام سقا داشتند* از جهّه آنکه بادشاه درآب جوش از اسب جداً شکبودند (36a) و غلام سقا خوبرا رسانید به وی مداد او از گرداب سعهد و سلسلت بر امدمند - آخر حضرت سقای مکورت بر مخت نشانند* و نام آن غلام مکشّص نشینم* بعضی نظام مکیندت و بعضی سنبل مکیندت* غرر آن غلام سقا بر مخت نشانند و حکم فرودنده که هم امریکورش بغلام سقا بکند و غلام بهرکس هرچه خواهد بخشید و منصب به‌دهد* تا دو روز به آن غلام بادشته دادند* میرزا هندال در آن مجلس حاضر نه بودند* رخصت شده بارز بالر زندگی بودند از برای سباق کردن - و میرزا عکس انز در آن مجلس نیامندند* بماماری داشتند و حضرت گفتند: فرستادند صبح غلام‌خان تحقیق و رعایت‌های بیگر بایست کردن - چه لازم بوده که پر مخت نشیند*
آمدند و فردوس مکانی را زیارت کرد و البته هم‌شهرها دید در باغ گل
افشان منزل کردن
درین انتن نور بیگ آمد و خبر آورد که حضرت باشد می‌آیند
چون از جهته کشتی شیخ بهلول میرزا هندال تجربه بودند خودرا جانب
الور کشیدند
و میرزا کامران حضرت با داشتنی مالزیت کردن * بعد از چند روز از
باغ گل افشان آمد حضرت با داشتنی مالزیت میکردن * هیان روز که
حضرت آمدن شب بود که رنگ حضارت مالزیت کردم * ابن حفیظرا دیدند
فرومودن که اوَل ناشنامه از برای آنکه وقت که فلک و رنگ بود
بنگاه کشیده، بودم - طاقی پوش بودی * انجام که چه قصبه دیدم
نشنامه - و گلی از نزرا نسبت به میدر و کاهی پشیمان شدی می‌گفت
که کسانی هری می‌آورد - آیا وقت که فطرت شد (۳۵ a) شکر میرم
و میگفت اند ایله که گلیم را نیاوردم - با وجودی که عقیله خورد بود
صد هزار غ و افسوس چهارم که چرا بنشک آورد *
و بعد از چند روز حضرت با داشتنی ودیدن والی آده بودند * آن حضرت
هیکی مصطفی هره داشتند * فرومودن که ساخته مرد کناره شوند *
مردم برخاستند * خلوت شد * آخر حضرت به آدم و ابن حفیز و افغانی
آیه چه و گلر ایله چه ونارگل آیه چه وانگه من گفتند که هندال قول
وقتی‌ز من است بنویسی که مارا روشانی دست مطلب قوتی بارو هم
مطلب و مرجوعت * روا باشد - بجدها قضاً شیخ بهلول من *
پیرزا مهدی هندال چه خواه گفت - آنیه تقدریب آله ی بود شد *
املا از هیچ غبار خاطری به هندال ندارم - و آخر باور نکید -
مصطفی را برداشتی بودند که حضرت ولائد و دلدار بیگم و ابن حفیز
مصطفی را از دستِ ایشان کردم و فه گفتند - روا باشد - چرا چنین
پژوهش ایشان تا چهل روز کنید* بعد از آن صحیح یافته نیستند که در آب رفتند یا چه شدند* هرچند شخص
و وشوش یافته نیستند. درین صنف خشخاش و دیوانه ییک وزاهد ییک وسید امیر از
پیش حضوره بادشاه که آمادگی از طرف میرزابان محض سلطان میرزا
وسیراش بار خبر رسید که کنوج آمک اند.
و میرزا هندال بعد از (۳۴) قلی شبنم بهدلیل رفتند* میرفرعی
و دولتخواهان دیگری هرها گرفته نا دفع و رفع محض سلطان میرزا
و وسیرانش بکنند* میرزابان از انظره گرفته بطرف کنوج آمادگی
میرفرعی میرزا بادگار ناصر جایی در دلی درآورد* چون در میان میرزا
هندال و میرزا بادگار ناصر Expand و اخلاص نبود* میرفرعی علی که این
طور حکمتی کرد میرزا هندال از فهر دهی را قبل کرده نشستند* میرزا کامران که این خبرها شنیدند* در ایشان هم داشته ایشان بیدا
شد* با دوازده هزار سوار مسیری متوسطه دلی را شنیدت* بهدلیل که رسیدند
میرفرعی و میرزا بادگار ناصر در روزه دلی بستند* و بعد از دو سه روز
میرفرعی قول و قرار گرفته امکان میرزا کامران دید* و عرض چه که
خسرو حضرت بادشاه و شیرخان با ابن روش شنیدن میشد* و میرزا
بادگارت ناصر از ملاحظه خود شاگرد ملته متی کد* مناسب دولت آنست
که در این طور وقت شا میرزا هندال را گرفته متوسطه آگه شوید و خجال
نشستن (۳۴) دلی نکنند* میرزا کامران سخن میرفرعی علی را پسندید
وسرو نیا بهدلیل رخصت کردند* و خود میرزا هندال را گفته به آگه
Clearly an error. Humayun was marching up the Düāb from the junction of the Jamna and Ganges, towards Āgra.
خان غلام او درگور بودند * خواص خان (33a) ویسر خودرا فرستاد
که بروید وگرگ زرا مضموک کنید * ایشانان آمدند وگرگ هر را گرفتند
و آنحضرت جهانگیر بیگدا بهش نوشته بودند که بیگ شمپش پد رفت * بر سرگرگه روسید * جنگ شد * جهانگیر بیگ زخمی شد و کس
بسویار کشته شد *
آخر حضرة در کهگل گانو سه چهار روز بودند و مصلحت چنان شد که
کچ کرده بیشتر بروید و نزدیک گرگ فرود آمدند * جون کچ کرده بیشتر
رفته نزدیک گرگ فرود آمدند شبد شیر خان و خواص خان گریختند *
فرد آنحضرت به گرگدر آمدند و گرگ هنگام گذشته به بور بداده رفتند
* وگورا گرفتند *
نا گاه در ولایت گور بودند و گورا جنت آباد نام کردن Bá باز بدلوا
در گور بودند که خبر رسید امرآ گریخته بیگرا هندال طلوق شدند *
خسرو بیک و زاهد بیک و سید امیر میرزا ملازمت کرده بعرض
رسانیدند که پادشاه بدلوا دور رفته اند و میرزابان که محمد سلطان
میرزا و پرسایش اولع میرزا و شاه میرزا باز سر بر آورد اند و هر زمان
در بختا نشن مهدی د (33b) و مشنیت پنادی بندگی شیخ شهول در
وقت جبه و کرمان و ایشان سیاهگر در تخیه پنهان کرده و در ارایا
بار کرده بشیر کخ و میرزابانی مفرستد * میرزا هندال باور نی کردن *
آخر بهجه خیص این امر میرزا نور الدين محمد را فرستادن * جبه و کرمان 
پافتند * بندگی شیخ شهول را بقل رسانیدند * این خبرکه به پادشاه
رسید متوجه آگه شدند و آن روى آب کنگر را گرفته م آمدند *
برابر منگری که رسیدند امارا بعرض رسانیدند که شا با داسه کلان
اید بیخان راهی که آمک بودید بهمان راه متوجه شوید * تا شیر خان
نگیزید که راه آمک خودرا مانه برای دیگر رفتند * بار آنحضرت متوجه
و چهاردهم شهر شعبان از باغ زرآفتان کوچ کرده منوشه گزار
شدن و بر سر سلطان بهادر رفتن و در خصوص مقابل شدن و جنگ کرده سلطان بهادری را باکست او گریخته بجان بجناب چینابی رفت. آخر حضارت خود مقیس شد تعاون کردن چینابی را گذاشته بطرف احمد بادرا رفت حضارت ولاستان احمد بادراهم گریختند و بردم تمام گزاره را تقسم کردن و احمد بادرا بیژرا عسکری عینی فرودند و بهروج را باقسم حسین سلطان دادند و پن او به یدگار ناصر میرزا دادند و حضارت خود از چینابی بهرد انگیز بطریق سیر به کمپاین رفتن. بعد از چند روز بک عورت خبر اورد که چه نشته اید مردم کمپاین جمع شده به سراها خواهد رفت. با حضارت سوار شوند و امرابن حضارت برسر انجامات تائید کردن و آنها (31b) گیبرکند و باروزا قتل کردن. 

و بعد از این به برود آمدن. از آنجا بطرف چینابی رفتن. 

نشت عودم که فترات شد و مردم میرزا عسکری احمد بادرا مانه بیش بادشاه آمدن و بعرض رسایندگان میرزا عسکری و یدگار ناصر میرزا منتقق شده اند و به آگو مخواهند برونند جون حضارت شیدند ضرور شد متوجه آگو شدن و یم و معامله گیرز نیرداختن گزار را برتافت کوچ کرده بجان بآگو آمدن. تا یکسال در آگو بودند. 

بعد از آن بجان بجناب رفتند و جنادی ار و بیارس را گریختند. شهر خان در بردند به دیده حضارت عرضه داشت کرده که به بیتر غلام شا است. بکجارا سر حذف سد به سته دهند که در آنجا نشته باشم. درین فکر بودند که پادشاه گور بیگاله خیمه گریخته پیس حضارت آمد و بدان حضارت مقیس نشنتند و کوچ کرده متوجه گور بیگاله شدند. شهر خان دانست که پادشاه بگور بیگاله رفتند خود هم جریبه ابظر کرد بگور رفت و هر یار بسیر خود بجناب کرد. بسیر او و خواص
بنیاد گله کردن که چند روز است که دریب باغ تشريف آورده اید - یک روز بخشه ما به آمدید* در راه خانه ما خوخار نکاشته اند - امیدوارم که در خانه ما نیز تشريف بیاند و معرفت و مجلس سازید* تا گی اینهمه بی انتظارها در بابه این چهار زنده داشتم ما هم دلی داریم - در جاییاه دیگر س مرتی تشريف بریذ و شب و روز در آتیحا بیش و عشرت گذرانیدیم* آخر (30) بادشا به چه تکنند و بناز رفتند و یک بیش روز برآم دو كه همیزها و بی‌گان و دلدار بیگم و افغانی آنهمه و جلال آنهمه و میوه جان و آنهمه جان و اینه ها (sic) طلیبدند - و حالا به همه رفتنم باشاده هیچ تکنند و همه دانستند که بادشاد در چهار انگوان* بعد از آن گفتند - بعد از زمانی - که بی‌ی سحر چه بلا از مگلها کردی - و آن همیزها نبوده که گله باست کرد* شا میدانید که در خانه و لی نعمز آشیان بوده ام* بن ضرورة است خاطر جواز آشیان کردن و یا چون آن از روزی آشیان شرته ام که دیری بنیم - و دایم در خاطر مبود که آشیان سملی طلمی* خوب شد که نا خود بزرگن اورده - من افینی - اگر در آمد و رفتِ من دیبرن واقع شود از من نرجس - و گونه خلی نوشته به‌هدیه به رضای شا خواه به‌این خواه نوامیده ما راضی و شاکر ام از شما* گلبرگ بیگم دریافته و بیگم بهم باره می‌لغه کردن که عذر بدرت از كانهای (31 a) نگرید - غرض ما از اظهار گله ان بود که مرا از اتفاوت خود سرافراز سانند - ایمان کارا تا انجا رسیدند - ما چه جاره داریم - بادشا اند* خلی نوشته دادند* حضرت باشاده م دریافند*  

* (ب) Read as bā wujūd-i-ān.  
** (ب) Read in translating for استجلال; an attested writing.
شکست (20b) دادند* و بعد از چند گاه حضرت با اذنا خود متوجه
گران بساعادت و سلامت شدندُ بنابر یادگار شهر رجب المرجع
سَنّهٔ نهضت و نهضت ویک عرص جرم گران نمودند و بیشتره در
باغ زرافشان بیای کردند و خود در باغ مذکور تا جمع شدن لشکرها
یک یا بودند.

روزها ی دیوان که بکشته و هشتم به امتداد آن‌روی آب ی رفتند و
تا در باغ بودند آخر روزها آمیز و هم‌شیرها و وُرمان در ملازمت حضارت
ی بودند و از هزار بالا چادر معصومه سلطان بیکم—بعد از آن چادیر
گلیگ کرگ می‌کنند و چادیر آمیز یک یا بودند* بعد از آن چادیر مادرم* گلیگ کرگ
می‌کنند و یک یا می‌گیره و یک یا یک یا

و کارخانه‌ها بیای کردند و طیار نمودند* مرتبه اول یکه خه و
خترکاه و بارگاه در باغ بیای کردند به یاد دیوانی بودند و ترتیب فروز آمیز
بیگمان و هم‌شیرها تشریف آوردند* جوی معصومه سلطان بیکم تندیکر
فرؤ* آمده بودند بخانه‌ای بخشان تشریف آوردند* همه یک یا و هم‌شیرها
در ملازمت حضارت بودند* بخانه‌ای هر یک یا و هشیره (30a) که تشریف
ی بودند همه بیگمان و همه هم‌شیرها همه مرتضیان و فردیانی در خانه این
حرف تشریف فرمودند* تا سه هر حضارت مجلس بود و گروه یکیان و هم‌شیرها
و گروه‌ها و آمیزها و آمیزها و وسازندها و گروه‌ها بودند* بعد از هر
حضرت آسیاب فرمودند* هم‌شیرها و بیگمان همه در ملازمت حضارت
نکشی کردند

و یکی یا یک یا یکی بیادار کردند که وقت‌نماز است حضرت فرومودند که آپ
وضورا در هیان خانه طیار سازند* یکی دانشتنکه پادشاه بیدار شدند*

* (مادرم)
* Cf. n. to trs.
** occurs elsewhere where فرومودند might be looked for.
of neck (necklace) — jewels nine. *Nahr* is the part of the neck on which the necklace rests, *zengir* might also be read as *zingir* but I have found no help to this reading in dictionaries.
This word has only the āya points and might yield also sib, apple. Anise seems the safer remedy against chill.

(شیبت) (آنکه) (28b) Translated as ān ast ki.
تصوبرهای و خطهای خوش‌نیاده بودند و خانه‌سیم که آن‌را خانه مراد می‌گفتند در آن خانه خیبرکت از مرجع و ظریف از صندل انداده وتومک‌های خیال انداده و در بابان نیز نهال‌های خاصی انداده در بخش نهالهای دست‌رخانه‌ای انداده هی هی از زریف خیال بود و میوه‌ای الوان و شربتی گوناگون و همه اسیب عیش و طرب تنم‌مهی ساخته بودند و روزی که طولی خانه طلسم شد حکم فرمودند که تمام میرزایان و بیگان و امیران همه سانح سانحیدن بنی‌موده ابیان هی آوردند حکم فرمودند که این سانح را سه نوهد بکنند و سه خوان اشرفی شد و شش خوان شاهرخی و شیخ‌های اشرفی و دو خوان شاهرخی به هندو بیگ دادند که این حضور دولت است بیژزایان و امیران و وزرا و سپاهی‌ها بخش بیگان و بخوان اشرفی و دو خوان شاهرخی (27b) پیان زیت مولای محمد فرزدی دادند که این حلصه سعادت است این‌را به آکبران و اشراف و عالی و صلح و زمین مشابه و دروسی و عبای و فقری و مساکین بخش بکنند و بخوان اشرفی و دو خوان شاهرخی فرمودند که این حلصه مراد است از ما است بیژت بباراد آوردند فرمودند که شریدن چه حاجت است اول خود دست مبارک رسانیدند و فرمودند که اول در بخوانی اشرفی و در بخوانی شاهرخی بیش بیگان به برند هرکی مشت مشت خودها یگیرد و باقی دو خوان شاهرخی و همه اشرفی را قرب دو هزار بود و شاهرخی قرب ده هزار باشد هیهرا پاشیدند و نثار کردند اول بیش ولی نعیمان و ذکر (؟دهبگر) جنازه‌ای مجلس ازصد وصد بخجاء که همچنین نیافت برود بخصوص جامعه که در حوض بودند بسیار یافتد
Several Hindustani words occur in the M.S.
وکیچه بیگم وشاه بیکم مادر دلناد بیکم دختر نخجوان بیگم عمه پادشاه وکیچه بیگم وآبایی بیگم دختر سلطان بخت بیکم ومارلیع بیکم عمه پادشاه وشاد بیگم نواسه سلطان حسین میرزا از جانب مادری عمه پادشاه ومرناکی بیگم دختر مظفر میرزا نواسه سلطان حسین میرزا - بسیار دوست میداشتند (25ب) ولی از مردانه می بودند و البته هنگام آرایه هیچ زهگیری تراشی وچوگان بازی وبر اندوز و آکرسرها می نواختند وگل بیکم و فوق بیگم وجان سلطان بیکم و افرزیانو بیکم و آهه بیگم و فیروزه بیکم وبرلاس بیگم ویگهاین دبیرهم سیار بودند که بتفصیل نود ونشش بیگم - همه علوهدهار بودند - وچندان دبیرهم بودند* 
بعد از طوئی طلسم طوئی میرزا هندال شد - از بیگان مذکور بعضی بولایت رفتند وبعضی که در آن مجلس حاضر بودند آنطور دردست راست نشسته بودند* از بیگان ملایان - آنگه سلطان و آقانه مادر پادشاه سلطان یگم - وآتون ماما وسلامه وسکینه وبيهی حبيبی وحیفه یگه* 
و مردم دبیره به دستچب پادشاه نشسته بودند بر نوش و زردوزی - معصومه سلطان بیکم وگلزنگ بیکم وگلیزه وابن حفیز شکسته گلیزن وعفیفه سلطان بیکم وآعم والدته ماکه دلناد بیکم باشند - وگلزنگ بیکم و بیگمه بیکم (26ا) ونیزه ماما وسلطان کورچ ابرنگیانه وولش بیکم ونابید بیکم وخرشید کورچ وکورچ زاهدی پادشاه بابام - افغانی آقانه وگلیزن آغه ونادرگل آغه چه وکورچ هندو بیگم مخوده آگه وفاطمه سلطان اکنون مادر روشن کورچ - الفرسان آنگه مادر ندم کورچ کورچ میرزا قلی کورچ کورچ محمدی کورچ - کورچ موربد بیکم وکورچای بادشاه - خورشید

* (زهگیری) (I read wa before tarâshî.)
شرح نهاده بودنده

اول خانه کلان مشن بود و در میانه خانه حوض (24b) مشن و باز
در میانه حوض صفحه مشن و بالای آن کلیمه‌های ولایت اندیخته و اکثر
جوان و صاحب حسن دختران و زنان صاحب جال و سازندگان
گویندحا خوش آوازرا حکم کرده که در حوض بشنیدند و در پیشگاه
خانه نهت مرزع که آگاه در توا عنايت کرده بودند نهاده و تویشک
زردوئی در پیش اندیخته بودند

حضرت بادشاه و آکه جان در بیش نهت در یک تویشک نهستند
ودر دست راست آکه جان عهیا ایشان دختران سلطان اب سعید میرزا
نفر جهان یکم و بپدید جمله یکم و آق بیگم و سلطان نهت یکم و گوهر
شاد بیگم و خدیجه سلطان بیگم نهستند

ودر تویشک دیگر عهیا ما که خواهران حضرت فردوس مکانی
باشند– شهرنارو بیگم و باگدار سلطان بیگم و عابده سلطان بیگم دختر
سلطان حسین میرزا والو بیک دختر زنب سلطان بیک عه حضرت
بادشاه و عابده سلطان بیک و سلطان بیک دختر سلطان احدهم میرزا عموی
بادشاه (25a) و مادر کلان خان بیگم بیکه سلطان بیگم دختر سلطان
خلیل میرزا عموی بادشاه و ماه بیگم و بیک دختر غ بیک میرزه
کابلی عموی بادشاه و خان وراده بیک دختر سلطان مسعود میرزا از جانب
مادری نواسه باینک محمد (sic) سلطان بیک عه بادشاه و شاه خاتم
دختر بپدید جمله بیک– و خان بیک دختر بیک و زنب سلطان خاتم
دختر سلطان محمود خان طفائی کلان بادشاه و بیکه سلطان خان دختر
سلطان احدهم خان که به الیجه خان مشهور بودند طفائی خوردن بادشاه
کلان و خانش خواهر میرزا حیدر دختر خاله بادشاه و بیکه کلان بیکم
و در ماه شوال به آکام تشویش شکم شد. در سیدده شهر مذکور یک‌الاثر از عالم فنی بعال جاودانی خرامی‌دانند و فرزران حضرت باشد در آمده و تی ایشان خود مرا بروش فرموده بودند. مرا طرفه حالی و بی‌اطلق و مصیبت صعب دست داده بود. شرب و روز گریه و فغان و زاری میکردم حضرت باشد حسن مرتی آمده دلداری‌ها و غصب‌ها و مهرابی‌ها کردن. دو ساله بودن که حضرت آکام مرا در منزل. (۲۴) خود بردند و پرورش کردن وده ساله شدم که ایشان از عالم رحلت بودند. نا یک سال دیگر هم در منزل آکام بودم. وقتی که حضرت سیسرب ده‌سوری بفتند در حالی بازده‌هم‌هی درآم شدم و بیش از آن‌که بگویلیار رود و عارات را با کرد رفتند. و بعد از آن‌چه آکام باشد بدهلی تشزیف بردند و نبایی قلعه دین بنام هنادند و به آکام می‌آمند. و آکام گرام حضرت باشد گفتنی که نوی میرزا هندیل کی می‌کید حضرت گفتنی بسم الله و در آن ایشان آکام حیات بودند که میرزا هندیل نکاح کردن. اما موقوف باساب نوی بودن که سپارند. فرمودند که اسباب نوی طلسم هم طبار است اول نوی طلسم بدیم. بعد از آن نوی میرزا هندیل بکم حضرت باشد به آکام گفتنی که حضرت عمه چه می‌نمایید؟ ایشان گفتنی خدا مبارک و خبر کردند.

*Cf. 15b n. 3 (جانام)*
The rebellious Mirzás were of the house of Bayqra with which Māham Begam had relationship.
This word occurs thrice in the M.S. i.e., at 22b (here), at 26b—in the plural—and at 28b. It is written clearly and confidently. Nothing like it has been yielded to our search by the Dictionaries. Mr. Beveridge suggests (1) that it may be a corrupt and domestic form of an Arabic word ‘alāqāha’ which he finds as what may be termed a corresponding word, in a description of the Peacock Throne and from this we assume the “hangings” of the translation. Or (2) it may be a corruption of the Turki asqī “tout qui est suspendu pour ornement”. Zenker 58b.

**There are no points. Mr. A. G. Ellis has kindly helped me with the suggestion I have accepted. The meaning of asqī is “feutre qui recouvre la tente”. (P. de C.Turki Dict. 237.) As the lining of the festal tents is described in the preceding paragraph, I have placed the second among the gifts. Vambery translates the word: die obere Filzdecke des Zeltes.

I suggest on the analogy of asqī. One looks for bason after ever but the word following cannot be read as chilumchī or any other equivalent for bason which I can find. Chilumchī, i.e. chilāṃchī occur at 72a and does not resemble the doubtful word here rendered julābīan.
** Text *yarāq-yalqān* for *yarāq-i-ilkhan*.

*** an ambitious little person or a little mad-woman.
کردن‌د و شنست حافظ خواناین و خوشالخان قاری‌ن را مقرر فرمودند که
به وقت ناز بیجاوعت خواناند و ختم قران بکنند و فتیله باروه حضرت
فرودس محکم‌ن میخوانانه باشند و سیگری که گلای (a) فقح بور
مفسه درست و مع زیادن بی نخ ک از بیانه و قابی مزار حضرت
کردن‌د که برای خریج علا و حفاظت و گیری که تعلقی مزار دارند صرف ی شک
بایند دو وقت این آکام تیعم فرودس – سابح یک گاو و دوگویسند
و بی‌خ و نما دیگر بخ بر تا دنیم سال که آکام در قید حیات بودند
ابن طعام دو وقت از سرکار ایشان بر سر مزار بهش میکردن دن
وتا زمانی که آکام حیات بودند در دولت خانه آکام حضرت باشون را
میدیم و وقتی که آکام به حال شکند بی کفند که بسیار مشکل می‌یابد
به بایند گیا که صن حضرت آکام در دل و هوشی حضرت باشون
بود تا در هندوستان بودند دام در خانه ما آقا ماین را میدینند
وبرایان و عشایت و شفقت بهم میکردن و بصعوبه سلطان بیگم
و کلرهن بیگم و گلیهو بیگم و غیرهته بیگم که گذاختی شک بودند
حضرت باشون در خانه این حضرت می امدادند و به گیاکان در خانه این
حضرت آقای ملائم حضرت باشون (b) غرس که حضرت
باشون خاطری این شکسته را بعد از وقت این خدم پابام و آکام به چنین
عنايت میکردن و شفقت بهجید در باره این نسبت به میفرمودند که تنیهی
و بی‌سری خودرا نداشتن
مداده د سال که بعد از وقت حضرت فرودس مکانی حضرت
جامع‌ن ایشان در هند بودند حضرت میرم در رفاهت و امنیت و فرمان‌دار
واطاعت بودند بعد از واقعة فرودس مکانی بین* و بازی‌ز بعد از نش
برای دیدن می‌آیند* همه برخویستند همه بیگانه و مادران مرا بخانه
کلان بردن* و فرزندان و خویشان و غیره مردم را روز سیاه افتاد و طرفه
زاری و فریاد و فعان و بی‌طاقی کردند گرفتند و هر کس بگوشئه بنهائی
این روز سیاه داشتند* و واقعه ایشان را بهنان میکردنند* آخر الام‌آرایش خان تام کی
امرا هدن بود او عرضه داشت که بهنان کردند این امر خوب نبست
از برای آنکه در هندوستان رسم است که اگر ابادشاهان را واقعه چیز دست
میدهد مردم بازاری تاراج میکند* میاده مغلان نا دانسته در خانهای
ورد حولهای در آمک تاراج بکند* مناسب آنست که بیک کی جامعه
سرخ بیوشان و برفیل سوار بکند و از بالا فیل منادی بکند که حضرت
بابر ابادشان دروش شند و بادشاهی خودرا بی‌هاپون باشکه دادند*
ور حضرت هایون پادشاه حکم فرومودنگ که چیز دانید کردن
مردمرا خلیل تسلی شد (3b) و همه مردم دعای دولت ابیشان میکردنند* راز جزین نم شهر مجکور روز جمع حضرت هایون بادشان بخت نشستند...
و بادشاهی ایشان را هم علم مبارک باد گفتند* بعد از آن بیدن مادران و خواهران و مردم خود آمده برسش
ودلداری داده نوازش و غم خواریها فرومودن– و حکم فرومودن هرکس هر
منصوب و خدمت و جاگیری و جایی که داشت همه جبال خود باشد
و نخستین خود بستوت صاحب قیام تابید* و در روز مذکور میرزا هندال از کابل آمک حضرت باشکه ملازمت
کرد* برر میربایان ها کردن و بسیار خوشحال شند* از خراین که از
پدر مانه بود چچر بسیر بیژرا هندال عنایت فرومودن* بعد از وفات حضرت باشکه بابام بام بخبل و ایام متبرکه اوال معرفه برسر
مزار حضرت باشکه بابام بام بخبل و محمدعلی عیسی را ملوا مزار حضرت
بدست احمد چاشقی گیر بود و بگوگه هر طور کرده در آن خاصه بادشاهمی اندازد و باور وص یابرد کرده بود با وجود آنکه حضرت بادشاهمی آن بیه بدخشا مادر ای گفتند و خواهبر جان کرده رعایت کلی فرموده
بودند - و فرموده بودند که مرا جای سلطان ابراهیم خود بدان اما از آنجا که جمل در آن قوم غالب است رعایت دارا منظور و نداشت ته مسیره ایست - ۰۱ بازگرد باصل خود همچون قصه مختصر آن زهره که با آن بورچی آورده داده بود باورچی را از خدا تعلیق کر و گرد بهرکه بود که زهررا بالا نانی پاشیده بود کم نتاول کرده بودند اما اصل بیماری از اثره این بود که روز برز صرف وخیف میشدند و ۰۲ روز تجویز
ایشان در زاید بود و چه چه مبارک ابیشان در تغییر کر فردیاً همه امرابان را طبیعه فرمودند که سال‌الای بود که در دل داشت که بادشاهمی خودرا بهما بیون میرزا بهم و خود در باغ زرافیان بگوشه نشین از کرم آلیه همچون میسر شد اما این نشکه در درندیش خود این امرابا بکش اما این تشونیش مرا بین کرده وصیت میکن یک همه ایشان هایرون اجای من داند و در دوست خوایی او تنفس تکنید رویه او موافق و کنگره باشد از حق
سیبانه امیدوارم که هایرون مبرم خوب پیش خواهد آمد دیگر هایرون ترا و پرادران ترا و هی خویشان و مرم خودرا و نرا جدا می‌سپار و این هارا پتی سیبارم از این سیبانه حاضران و ناظران اگر به و زاری دست داد و خود هم چشمان مبارک پرآب گردن
ابن واقعه اهل حرم و مرم درون سیدندن طرفه حالی و ببطاقی
وگریه و زاری دست داد بعد از‌سه روز از عالم فانی بالا می‌کشند
خراپیماندن بازلی نجم ماه جید الاول روز دو شنه سنه نیصد
وژ و هفت بوده که شنقار شدند

عیه ما و مادران ما (۰۲) به براهه برآوردن که طبیبان و سلیمان
By this term of endearment Hamīda-bānū, Akbar's mother addressed the dying Gul-badan.

I believe this should be a similar omission of the *alif* is not infrequent in the M.S. Cf. for *mamāhā* (14b). So also of the points of the *yā* and the *che*.

As in this M.S. *alif* is several times written for *hā'i hauwaz*, I translate, estrade, raised seat and not stepped.
قرب دو شهاده صاحب فرش نبوت و مریزا هابون بجانب کانی
رفت نبوت فلاش هابون خواسته بادشاه پیشرش دئه بطلب حضرت
هابون بادشاه سی فرستادند ایشتاق برای رستاد رستاد رفت نبوت در روز
ملازمت کردن ایشتاق رضا گرم و گرمی کردن هابون بادشاه
رذت نبوت هابون بادشاه شکر درست گذاشته رفت نبوت یکبار چرا از
ایشتاق ترهم و خواسته هابون رفت نبوت یکبار چرا چرا؟
چی‌ها که گفتند.

ورحمت رفت ایشتاق بامه هر زمان و هر ساعت برسبیدند که هابون کیا
است؟ چیه کار یک کد؟ در این انتای هک آمده گفت که پسر برای خود به گفت
میر بردار یکم کرنش مسیح که در امکان حضرت بادشاه (18) بام
با غطرس تمام طلبی برسبیدن که هندال چیا است؟ چی خواهد آمد؟ چیه
بلا انظار داده گفت که شاهزاده، کامکار بدهی رسیده اند
امروز فردی گفت خواهند رسیده در انتای حضرت بامه فردی بامه بیت
میر یکم کرنش که مردی بخوانتران در کتاب او گفت که کرنش کردن و در لاحک خویش کردن برا این ثوابت این ناز
زوتری گفت که انظار از حد گفت که مردی که هندال میرزا که مقدار شته است و به که مانند است؟ چیزی میر ایشتاق
بیشتر بامه رستاد رستاد رستاد که به گم این گامه شاهزاده است که به بنع عنباد
فرموده بهم رستاد بامه رستاد که به گم و قیامت هندال چه مقدار
شته است.- و هر زمان هر ساعت می گفتند که هزار درگی که هندال را
ندیدم.* هرکس که محتمل برسبیدن که هندال کی خواهد آمد؟

* (همایون)
** (نرمی)

This is probably a clerical error for Hindal.
The text has no negative but it is required by the context.
خوشش دیدند و از آنجا هر دو مادر و پسر مانند عیسی و مرم متوجه آگهی شدند.

و در حین که با گر در رستنده‌ان حسنی هرا هشترها ملایمیت آن حضرت فرسته‌خصال رفته کرد- چون ضعیف اینسان بیشتر از بیشتر بود در آن وقت هرگاه که آن حضرت به‌وسیله خوشش می‌آمدند از زبان درافت‌خسان خوشش بررسی می‌فرمودند که خواهران خوش آمدید.

به‌تدریج تا یک‌دیگر در یک‌دیگر که شاگردان در دبیرستان، سرآفرادزکرده از زبان گوهرا، فرمان خویش با یک عبیر سرافراز فرمودند.

و چون حضرت آمدند و در یاد دیدند- به‌گرد دیدن آن جهوره‌نورافشان در کل می‌رستند و رفت‌شد این یکی از بیشتر اظهار بیدلی کردن گرفتند.

درین این حضرت (۱۷ا) آکام‌گفتند که شاگردان بر زرند من غافلگیر و با یک دیگر چه گاردین و فرمان‌دان دیگری نیز گاردین مرا غام است که فرمان‌دان گه‌گانه دارد حضرت جواب‌دادن که ماه آیانه فرمان‌دان دیگر دارد- اما هچ فرمان‌دان برابر هایون تو دوست نی دارد- از برای آنکه سلطنت و با داشته و بنیمای روشین از برای یگانه جهان و نادرته دوران کامگار بر خوردیار فرمان‌دان دلبند هایون یزیاوه- نه برای دیگران.

وقتی که ایشان به‌مار برودن حضرت روند حضرت منشأ بر جرم کرم الله وجه نگاوه داشتند- و آن روند‌ها از روز چهار شنبه نگاوه می‌دارند.

ایشان از اضطراب و ببلاقی از روز سه شنبه نگاوه داشتند- هوا بی‌بایت گرم بود- دل و جگر ایشان تفید- و در روند مذکور دعا خواستند که خدایا- اگر بی‌بی‌بی‌بی‌بی ایشان بخشم- و در هن روز حضرت می‌دوست مکانی را نشیش‌ش شد (۱۷ب) و هایون با داشته بر سر خود آب ریختند و بیروان آمدن.

بار دادن و حضرت با داشته برای از جهه تشییع درون بردن.
سیدات شکر بیا آوردن و متوهجه آگره شدن و بهمہ بیگمان هوابیها

عنايت فرمودند و بعد از چند روز بسیر باغ زرافشان رفتند

ودر باغ مذکور وضوحانه بود* آن را که دیدند فرمودند -دل من از سلطنت و بادشاهی گرفته در باغ زرافشان بگوشه بنمیم و از برای خدمتگزاری طاهر افتتاحی بن بسیر است و بادشاهی را به هایون بدم درین انت حضرت آکام و همه فرزندان گربه و بيطاقی کرده گفتند که خدا نخواه دارد و همه فرزندان (۱۶) در قدمت شا بکار بییر بیسند

بعد از چند روز آلور میرزا بسیر شدند و بسیری ایشان بدرد شکم کنید که هر چند حکم ها واطبا علاج کردن - بسیری ایشان بیشتر از بیشتر شد* آخر بهم اماری از عالم فانی عالم جادویی خرمایند* حضرت و بادشاه بسیر تاشِب و غم خوردن* والد میرزا آلوره دادار بیگم باشند از غم و غشه آن فرزند - که نادر جهان و بیگمان عصر بود - سودا بیدا کردن* جون دلگیری از حد گذشته حضرت بادشاه باکم و بیگمان کنند - بیایید - بسیر دهلوپور بروم - و خود درکنی نشسته بسعادت و سلامت از آب گذشته و بهلوپور مذکور رفتند* بیگمان نیز متوپاسند که در کرکتی نشسته از آب بگذرند*

که در این انت عرض داشت مولانا محمد فرغلی از دهلم آمد* نوشته بود که هایون میرزا بسیر این و حال غشی دارند بیشیند این خبر حضرت بیگم زودی زود متوهجه دهی ی باید شوند که میرزا (۱۶) بسیر بيطاقی میکنند* بیایید شیدن این خبر حضرت آکام بيطاقی کرده* مانند نشته که هنور آب باشد - بجانب دهی متوهجه شدند* در متروه رسیدند چانچه شنیده بودند از آن ده چند مضوع و متوجه بیشتم جهان بین

* (فرغلی) (Sic. Pargháli is the usual form.)
Erskine (202 n.) says "perhaps a space enclosed by a low railing." Chardin (Voyage en Perse) has a picture of a grandee seated within an enclosure (at sides and back) which as he sits, appears to reach his shoulders. Perhaps this is a *tūr-khāna*. Zenker describes it as a seat of honour of the nature of a throne. It would supply a necessity of Indian life, if one might read *taur*, net, and allow the royal author a mosquito-room.
What follows appears to be an incomplete and perhaps misplaced description of Akâm's cortège.
مباحث بجلال آماد و رفت سوداگر و غیره نرساند و گذارند تا مرحله انجام و فارغ‌البلاع آماد و رفت ناپایند

روحی که به رعنا سنگا جنگ خواهند شد در شب‌های قاسم حسین سلطان نواسه دختری سلطان حسین میرزا که بسر عابشه سلطان بیگم باشد در شب مذکور خبر آماد که قاسم حسین میرزا از خراسان آمده در ده کروهی رسید (18) حضورت را از استنجاب این خبر خوش حالی کی روی نمود فرمودند که چه مقدار کس هرداره دارد؟ چون تحقیق نمودند سی چهل سوار بود فرمانده که هیا شبه مراد بسیاره شک آمدهند تا مردم خوبی و یگانه دانند که کومک آماد رسید و پیچت آماده هرکه این رای و تدبری را نشید بسیار بستندید.

وصباحان که ماده جیب الکل سیستیه نهصد و سی وسه بود در دامن کوه سیکری که نجلاخ فخوربر بالایی این کوه آبادان شه به رعنا سنگا جنگی صف شد بعنایت آلیه فخ کردند و غاری شدند.

بعد از فتح رعنا سنگا بعد بیل سال آماد که ماه یکم باشد از کابل بهندوستان آمادند وابن حیرون هم هره ایشان پیشتر از هشیروها آمده حضرت بادشاه بامهارا ملیتویم کردم و آماد در کول رسیدند که حضرت بادشاه خود محافعه سه رکب فرماندارن از کول باگره لبغر کرده رفنند و حضرت بادشاه خیال داشتن که نا کومجلالی بیشوار (14) روند نازدیک پیکی آمده گفت که حضرت را در دو کروهی گذشت آماد حضرت بادشاه بامه تا اسب آوردن نحمل نکردند و بیاده روان شدن و درختانه نجات ماه در خوردن (آماد میخواستند که بیاده شوندن بادشاه بامه نا، امتداد و خود در جلی آماد تا خانه خود بیاده آمادند (15)
شدن و اظهار به دلیم مبنی و (۱۲) مردم لشکرها جون باین
حالات دیدند ملاحظه کلی تعودند. جون غنیم نزدیک رسید تدبری که
اجاظر مبارک ایشان رسید این بود که جمع آمر اخوان و سلاطین و وضع
وشرف وصفر و کیبره که از گریخته‌گان و باعث آنچه مانند تعودند باقی را
حكم تعودند که همه جمع شوند. هر که جمع شدن بیست و هسردند که هنیه
میدانند که میانه ما و وطن و شهر مالوف ما جند ماهه راه است. خدا
از آن روز نگه‌دارد. که آخر مردم شکست خورند، نیمود بعله ما. ما کجا
وطن و شهر ما کجا که کار بردم اجتنب و گنگان ما افنده همسر هبتر
که خودرا باین دو شق قرار باید داده که آخر غیره ما کشی در گی
شوم و آخر کشته می‌شوم. مهیت می‌شوم. بیهور در تقدیر به‌هوب ما است
و درجه عظیم و مرتبی عالی‌است.

* همه بک دل شه قبول کردند. بنزن طلاق و مشت سکند خوردند و
فارخه خوانندند و گفتند. پادشاه انشاء الله تعالی تا رفیق در جان و در بدن
خواهد بود. در چنان سپاری و چنان نازری خودرا معاف (۱۳) مبیاهم.
و قبیل از چنگ صورتا سنگا به دور روز بیشتر حضورت باشنه آز شراب
نوبه کرده بودند. بلک از جمع مناهی توبه کردن. و جهه موافقت و
متابعه چهار صد حوقان نمی‌خوی در مردانگی و یکدی و یک چهتی می
تعودند. در آخر مجلس بفیل حضرت باشنه آنها نیز توبه کردن و جمع
آلات مناهی و طلا آلات و تنر آلات از بیانه و صرائح و غیره هنگا شکسته
بی‌قفا و بلاکاگن بخش کردن.

و فرمانها اطراف و جوانب با‌کیک تمام فرضاندند که از باج و نفنا و زرگه
حبوات و تکلیفت‌های مشروط‌هیه معاون کردن. که هنیه احیا و فری‌ هم.

* Cf. 3a.
Perhaps a sarcasm is intended by changing the title ranā into the epithet rānā—a foolish admirer of himself. Sangā is always so stigmatized, but so too are other and friendly Rānās. Cf. 48b.

Text uncertain. The enemy came from the side which from a military standpoint, was emphatically Hindū and also may be said colloquially to have come from the direction of Mandū.

I am indebted to Mr. Beveridge for the interesting information in the following note. The name Skhêr (Venus) of the text is, he believes, a mistake for Sakkiz, eight, the Eight Stars being regarded as unpropitious by Persians. Gul-badan has perhaps confused the portents of a defeat by Shaibānī at Khwāja Kārdzin in 1501 and the battle of Khānwa in 1527. Bābar's statement about Khānwa is that Sharīf gave warning that Mars was in the west and that whoever should come from the east, would be defeated.

Bābar has a characteristic story of his having precipitated the fight at Kārdzin (1501) because the Eight Stars were exactly between the opposing armies and if he had delayed, they would have favoured Shaibānī for 13 or 14 days. "These observances were all nonsense and my precipitation was without the least solid excuse." He lost the battle. Cf. Steingass Pers. Dict. 689; Vullers II. 310a; Mem. 92, 353, 368.
Up to this point this alternative name of Māham has been written آکم. Now (as elsewhere in some other words) the orthography of the writer improves and the correct spelling is given آکم = آم = my Lady.
For remarks on this passage cf. note to translation.
ابراهیم یک لک و هشتاد هزار سوار داشت و تا هزار بخش زنگیر فیل
ست (۴۰) ولیکر حضرت بادشاه خود مع سوداگر و نیک و بدر دوازده
هزار کپس بوده و سباهی کار آمدنی نهایتش شش هزار کس بود
و خزانه بخش بادشاه به دست ایشان افتاد و به وی را بخش کردند درین
اثناء امرای هندستان عرض کردند که دهنستان عیب است خزینه
پادشاهان ماهی اکر خرچ کردن بک خزینه را اضافه نموده گنده جمع کند
و حضرت بر عکس آن کردند که تماها خزینه هارا بخش کردند.
و خواجه کلان بیست چند گنج رخت خود کاپل طلبدنکه مزاج من
به‌هوا هند موافق نیست اگر رخت خشت شود چند گده در کاپل آنجا باشم
و حضرت بیداد خواجه اصلّاً اصلّاً و قطعاً راضی نبودند. آخر جون
دیدند خواجه بسیار مبایلله دارند رخت دادند و در موردند که چون
میروید تنه و هدیه هندرا که از فتح سلطان ابراهیم به دست افتاده بولی نیتیان
و هم‌شیرها و اهل حرم مخاوم فرستیم (sic) — هیا برید و منفصل نوشته
میدهم * از روی مفصل (۱۰) تشکیم نمایید و یکنویدی که در باغ و دیوانخانه
هر کدام یکسان سرایند هواجردارها و چادره علاوه بر چندن و معرکه خویی کرده
و نستشر کنن تبحابه به جا آورند که فتحی کلی روی نموده و بهر یکین بدين
تفصیل رسانند — یک بانر خاصه از بانزان سلطان ابراهیم با یک رکیی طلا
بر جواهر ولع و میلواد و باغوت و الاب و زمرد و فیروزه و زریصد
و عین الهر و در خوانه‌ه صدفی بر اشتر و در دو خوان دبگ
شعارخی و هر جنس بارچامه نوقویز که جهار خوان و یک رکیی
و یک بانر و یک رکیی جواهر و هریک خوان از هر جنس اشرفی
و نیاست که حکم کرده بود یکینی جواهر و یک رکیی که به وی نمی‌ماند
خود پیشکش کرده ام برده گذرانند و دیگر پیشکش کرده ام آنها را در
عبق آن گذرانند و خواهران و فرزردان و حرامن و خوشاندان
و بهدختن‌آرا به‌هپایون پادشاه دادند و هیاپون پادشاه متوجه آن‌صورت‌گیرد.

حضرت پادشاه و آدم‌ه‌ا متعاقب بهدختن رفتند و جند روزی با یکدیگر بیم‌گذری‌اند. حضرت هیاپون پادشاه آنجا مانندند و بادشا در بابام و آدم‌کباب آمدند.

و بعد جند‌گاه متوجه قلات و قندهار شدند و در ساعت که بقات رسیدند فتح کرده متوجه قندهار شدند و درمید قندهار تا یکین سال در قلعه بنبدی بودند. بعد بکمین سال سیسته‌ی و جدل بسیار قندهارا بعنایت آلی دفع نبودند و زر بسیر بنست افتاده و سیاها و مردم لشکر زرها و شترها بخش کردن و قندهارا ببزارا کامران دادند و خود متوجه کابل شدند.

روز جمعه سفر سننه نهصد وسی و دوکه آتاق در برق قوی بود، بیش خانه بر آورده از پشتی بک لکه‌گذشته (۹) در جلگه‌های دیگر نزول اجلاس فروشدند. دیگر از آجاق ماقم کردن و روز دیگر کچه بکور متوجه هندستان شدند.

و از سن‌ه نهصد وسی و بین درن دید هشت سال جند مرتبع لشکر بجانب هندستان (Sic) که کرد اند در هر مره‌ی ولایت و پرگه‌ی نفوذ اند. مث هبیر و بیور و سیالکوت و دیبالیور و لاھور و غیره تا آنکه مرتبع بختم روز جمعه سفر سننه نهصد وسی ود از دیه به‌عقوب نزول اجلاس کچ به‌کچ متوجه هندستان شدند ولایت و سره و هر ولایت که در سر راه بود فتح کردند. تاریخ هشت ماه رجب روز جمعه سن‌ه در باینی بسلطان ابراهیم بن سلطان سکدر بن پیروش لودی کنگصف کرد. بعنایت آلیه غالب آمدند و سلطان ابراهیم در آن جنگ کشته گشتند و این فتح محضر از عتابی آلیه بود. از برای آنکه سلطان...
The M.S. writes indifferently and with equal caprice it inserts ṣamma, hamza, under-dotted sin, &c.
و از دلدار بیخیم کلنگ بیگم و گلچهره بیگم و هندال میرزا و گلبند بیکم
و آلور میرزا
غرض که گرفتن کامل را شکون گرفته بودند که همه فرزندان در کابل
شک انده غیردو بیگم که در خوست شک انده مهرجان (sic) بیگم از
ماه بیک و کلنگ بیگم از دلدار بیکم

تولید حضارت هایون بادشاه که بسرکلان حضارت فردوس مکانی اند

ولدت مبارک ایشان در شب سه شنبه چهارم ذی قعدة سنه نهصد
وسیزده - در ارک کابل در وقت که آفت به در برق حوت بود - گِلند
شندند - و در همان سال حضارت فردوس مکانی خودرا فرمودند به امرا
و سایر الناس که مرا بابر بادشاه گُوْهید و الا اولابل قبل از تولید حضارت
هایون بادشاه میرزا بابر موسوم و مرسوم بودند بلکه همه بادشاهزاده‌ها
میرزا گُتنته و در سال تولید ایشان خوُدرا بابر بادشاه گویانیدند

تأخیر
تولید حضارت جنّت اشیاق سلطان هایون خان یافته انده - و گلچهر شاه فبروز

قدر یافته انده

و بعد از تولید فرزندان خبر آمد که شاهی بیگم خان را یافته

کشت

حضارت بادشاه کابل را با ناصر میرزا داده خود اهل و عیال و فرزندان
که هایون بادشاه و مهرجهان بیگم (b) و باربول میرزا و معصومه سلطان
بیک میرزا کامران باشند - هرگاه گرفته متوحه سیرقند شندند - و بامداد
شاه اسیعیل فتح سیرقند کردند - ونا هشت ماه تا ماری ماه نورد در تحت
تصرف ایشان بود - و از تاماق و برادران و مالات اهل مغل در کول
ملک از سبد ایده خان شکست یافتن و نتوانستند در آن ولایت بود - پس
جانب بدخشان و کابل متوحه شندند - و گلچهر خیال ماور الله از سر بدر
کردند - و در سنه نهصد و دو ولایت کابل می‌سر شد بود.
در بلای (۸۶) کوه بیبی ماه روزآ به آنکه خواه اندماخت وشا هم در بالای خوزانه خانه آنکه اندمازد تا دانیم که از آمدن ما خبردای شده اید. وقتی صبح از آنجا بیا و از این جایی ما مقاله غیب خواهیم شد اما آن امکان ممکن قعله حضرت جنگ خرگرده و فتحکرده بوبدند. 
ب) میرزا خان در خانه والد خود خانه بادشاوه بوبدن بنیان شند. 
آخر خانم پسر خودرا آورده گناه طلیبدند و میرزا محمد حسین در خانه کوچ خود که خانه خورد بادشاه بوود از هم جان خوردرا در مشر اندماخته خدمتکاری را گفت که برند. عاقبت الامرد مادم ابادشاه خبردار شده میرزا محمد حسین را از مشر بر آورده بیش بادشاه آوربدن عاقبت الامرد حضرت با خاطر خالی خویلند. 
وصا خالی خالی خویلند بیشتر بیشتر از بیشتر میکردند تا غبار با خاطر کنند با خاطر خالی خالی و در ساحت جا و چگونه تعلیم بوبدند.
و کابل را (۹۷) از قبل میرزا خان خلاف ساخته خدادی تعالی پایشان ارزانی داشت ودر آنوقت بیست وسه ساله بوبدن وهیچ فرزندی نداشتند ودر آرزوی فرزند به سیار بوبدن ودر هنده سالگی از عابسه سلطان یکم دختر سلطان احمد میرزا دختری تولدت شک بود ودر سر ماهیگی فوت شد. وگرتنین کابل خدادی تعالی مبارک کرده که هشک فرزند شد.
اوئل از آنکه ماه بیک باشند حضرت هابون ناداتند میرزا و مرد عظیم بیک اغیشان دولت بیک و اعلای امرزا دیگر معصومه سلطان یکم دختر سلطان احمد میرزا در این زمان.
فوت شد. نام مادرها بذختر مانند.
واز گلخ بیک کلام میرزا و عیرکی میرزا وشاه راز میرزا وسلطان احمد میرزا وعلی‌رغم بیک.
دریابند* بعید الزمان میرزا از جهت تعظیم بهداشت بیش آمک دریابند* در این انتها بهداشت از درد آمدن* میرزا غافل بودند که قاسم بیگَ فوته حضرت بهداشت را گرفته که یکی با برتنوق بیگَ وذو الون بیگَ گفتِ که قرار چنان داده بودند که میرزا بیش در آمک دریابند* در این میرزا با ضطراب تمام بیش در آمک حضرت بهداشت را دریابند* یافتند* و جنگ بوژی که در خراسان بودند میرزایان هر کدام تکلیف میزانی می‌توانند و جشن‌های میرزند و تماشای باغات و محلات را سری مینودند* میرزایان تکلیف زمستان بودند که توافق میانند که بعد از زمستان باوزیگ* جنگ می‌کنند* اما اصلاً و قطعًا نتوانستند بجنگ قرار داد* مدت‌های سال خراسان را سلطان حسین میرزا الدان و معمور ساخته بود* اما میرزایان تا شه ماه نتوانستند که جای پدرها نگه دارند* و جوین بهداشت ایشان را بی پروا دیدند بجعه خرج و خراجات ایشان (56)* جاهای تعین نموده بودند و به‌هنه‌های دیدن آن‌ها بجاناً کاب روان شدند* و در آن سال بر فیسیار باریک بود* راه‌ها غلظ کردن* حضرت و قاسم بیگَ از برای نزدیک ایان به‌داهنده و اما یا دیگر کمک‌گذاری داده بودند* چون که گفت‌های امرای نکردن* ایان هر یک نتفاف کرده* میرفتن* حضرت و قاسم بیگَ مع یسرا خود تا سه چهار روز بر فیسیار کرده راه‌ای طيار میرکردن* و مردم لشکر از عقب می‌گذشتند* باین روشن تا بی‌غورد ریسند و در آتی از هزاره‌ای بانگِ حضرت ور خورده جنگ کردن* از گاو و گوسفنَد سبیار و اشیای بیشتر از مردم هزارا بلست مردم‌بادشا افتاد و باول‌با چند متوحه کابل شدند* در بای‌ماناره ریسند* شبنده که میرزا خان و میرزا مجدد حسین کورکان بانگه شت اند و کابِل را قبل دارند* به‌دام کابل حضرت بادشا* فرمان‌هاي دلدار و دل‌سخش نوشته فرسنادانه مردان به‌اشد* ما هم آمد.
This word may be *atka* or *anaga* and is to be explained by the known ownership of the garden which was made by Bābar's paternal uncle, Ulugh Beg. But for the undotted "prop", it might have been read as ṭakā and as referring to Khān-zāda Begam or Māham, Bābar's wife, both of whom, as will be noticed, are styled āka (*janām*) and āka respectively. Cf. a use of anāka p. 28b.

† Vambery's derivation of this multiform word, "Özbek, his own master, independent" (History of Bokhara, 245) is at least *ben trovato* and in congruity with the acts of the tribe. But several careful writers, Blochmann amongst them, have chosen the form *Uzbak*.

+++ Text, *sic* for 3.
لارینج جواریت-باین طور حال بی براق نوگل بحشرته حقوق سجیانه کرد

موجه بدخشانات وکلاب شک

در قدرت و دخشانات لشکر و مردم خششو شاه بودند* آن حضرت

باذاشه بابام را ملازمت کردِه* با وجود گاهانه که بدرکه-مانند بایسنگر

میرزا شهید کرد - و سلطان مسعود میرزا میل کشید بودند و آبدنی هردو

میرزا عوززاده باذاشه بابام بوده اند-وقبل از آن که عبره آن حضرت

در ایام قُرْاقیها بودت او افتاده بود-از پرورت رفته بودند-بعضی‌ها

و درشت‌به‌ها آخریت را از ولایت خود بدر کردِه بود* و حضرت

باذاشه که مفهوم مرده و مردم و مروگت بوده اند-اصلاً وقعته در مقام

انقامت آن نشده و فروده‌اندِه از جواهر و طلا آل‌ه‌ه جند که دلش

خواهد دربار-و بخشش قطارشتر و بخشش (4) است بار هرمه برده

بی‌حص و سلامت رخصت یافته مراسان رفته و حضرت باذاشه موجه

کابل شدنده*

در آن وقت تخمک کابل محمّد متنم-بپر ذوالنون ارغون که پدر

کلالن تابیم بیگ بود-داشت* کابل را بعد از وقات الغ بیگ میرزا-

ازعید الرازق میرزا آفرزته و آز (؟ آن) میرزا عبد الرازق مذکور عزوزادة

باذاشه بوده*

باذاشه بداول‌کابل آمده* دوشه روز قلع‌گی شد و بعد از جند روز

بی‌پهش و قول کابل را به بنگان حضرت باذاشه سرُده‌به مال واسباب

خود بقندَهار بیش بپر خود رفته* و فتح کابل در اوایل ماه ربيع الثانی سَنن نهصد و وده بوده* بعد از میر

شن کابل به بنگش رفتند و پیکار انجه کرده کابل آمده*

حضرت خانم که والده حضرت باذاشه باشند-در شش روز تب

کرده-از عالم فانی بدار الیفا رحلت تموَند* و در باغ نوروزی حضرت
Comparing this passage with A. F.'s parallel passage (Bib. Ind. I. 67), we find a curious resemblance, e. g. 

*** Pavet de Courteille and Steingass render *chapân* by *haillons* and "tattered garments", Erskine (127 and n.) by "long frocks". Vambery gives no *chapân* but *châpân*, which he translates *Oberrock* and *par-dessus*. Steingass has no *châpân*.

*** The words of the next phrase present difficulty. The sense is "with clubs in their hands", and that this is so, is shewn by the parallel passages from the Turki and Persian texts of Babar's Memoirs.

The difficult words may be a Turki interpolation in Gul-badan's text. The word which follows جاچورق may be read جاچورق جورق, but جاچورق جورق includes the notion of leathern and neither the Turkî nor the Persian text uses any such qualifying word. I propose to read the words as a Turkî phrase—*پایلک لاریدا* جورق. It may be that when Gul-badan was writing she had her Father's book before her. Her close reproduction of his words points to this or to intimate recollection of his words.
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

حكم شاه بود که آنچه از واقعه فردوس مکانی وحضور جنّت آشیانی می‌دانسته باشید بنویسید* وقیه که حضرت فردوس مکانی از دارالفا بدار البتا خرایمیند—این حکیم هشت ساله بود و بیان واقع شاید کمتر بی‌خاطر مانند بود—بنابر حکم پادشاهی آنچه شنید و بی‌خاطر بود نوشته میشود*

در اوّل این جزو از واقعه حضرت پادشاه پابام نوشته میشود—آنچه در واقعه نامه حضرت پادشاه پابام این سخنان مذکور است—بنابر

تیمیا و نبرکا نوشته میشود*

از زمان حضرت صاحب قرانی نا زمان حضرت فردوسی مکانی از سلاطین ماضیه هیچکس برابر ایشان ترددات نکرده* در دوزاده سالگی بادشاه شند و وترازگ بخشم شهر رمضان المارک سنه نهصد و ون در خطّه ** اندیجان (3) که پای تخت ولایت فرغانه است—خطبه خوانه

می‌دیُت بادشاه ساله کمال در الکه ماور النهر با سلاطین چغنده و تیموریه و اوزیگیه چنگه ترددات نوده اندیکه زبانی قلم از شرح تعداد آن عاجز و قاّسر است* وانقفر مخت و مهالک که در باب جهانگیری بحضور

ما زوی نوده—کمک را روزی نوده باشید* و آن قادر دلیری و مردانگی

* Misread in translating as A.F. (Bib. Ind. 87) has

** (خطه)
This title stands on the first page of the M.S. and on paper like that of the M.S.. The page is numbered 15 in the Arabic and 2 in the B.M. marking. The M.S. is numbered by folios, and both with Arabic figures—inscribed in India—and with Roman, added by the B.M.. This reproduction and the translation of the M.S. are numbered in agreement with the Roman figures. A subdivision of folios into pages (1a, 1b &c.) allows easier reference. One index serves for both parts (Persian text and translation).
هیاپن نامه

تصنیف گلپدن بیگم بنت بابر بادشاه

* (Note to بادشاھ) This title is inscribed on the first fly-leaf of the volume containing the M.S. It is upon paper of colour and kind differing from that of the M.S. and identical with four blank pages bound up at the end of the volume, possibly with the intention of writing up the missing terminal portion of the work.